

**PROBLEMATIZING TRANSLATED POPULAR TEXTS
ON WOMEN'S SEXUALITY:
A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE MODERNIZATION PROJECT
IN TURKEY FROM 1931 TO 1959**

MÜGE İŞIKLAR KOÇAK

BOĞAZİÇİ UNIVERSITY

2007

PROBLEMATIZING TRANSLATED POPULAR TEXTS
ON WOMEN'S SEXUALITY:
A NEW PERSPECTIVE ON THE MODERNIZATION PROJECT
IN TURKEY FROM 1931 TO 1959

Dissertation submitted to the
Institute of Social Sciences
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Translation Studies

by
Müge Işıklar Koçak

Boğaziçi University
2007

Problematizing Translated Popular Texts on Women's Sexuality:
A New Perspective on the Modernization Project in Turkey from 1931 to 1959

The dissertation of Müge Işıklar Koçak
is approved by:

Prof. Dr. Saliha Paker (Committee Chairperson) _____

Assoc. Prof. Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar _____

Assoc. Prof. Ebru Diriker _____

Assist. Prof. Özlem Berk-Albachten _____

Assist. Prof. Jonathan Ross _____

July 2007

Abstract

In this doctoral research, a database, the first of its kind in Turkey, is established for non-literary translated and indigenous texts for/on women published between 1828 and 1990. Since the critical analysis of the database reveals sexuality to have been the subject most translated and written about, ten texts on women's sexuality published between 1931 and 1959 are selected for analysis in three case studies. In order to contextualize this corpus, a literature survey is presented of works on the history of Turkish women's movements and the republican modernization project, along with a critical overview of non-literary articles (translated and otherwise) in women's magazines. Firstly this thesis aims to analyze the complexities underlying translations, which bear significant consequences for the study of republican translation history: translations were altered in such ways that they became different from their source texts in terms of fullness; several assumed translations were in fact pseudotranslations, with no corresponding source texts, while some assumed indigenous texts were, in fact, concealed translations. Secondly, as an interdisciplinary study, the thesis aims to show that the discursive interventions of the translators foregrounded the issue of sexuality while aiming at informing female readers on the subject. When the full range of translations (those lacking in fullness, pseudotranslations, compilative and concealed translations) are compared with indigenous texts, it becomes clear that translators were less constrained than indigenous writers in expressing themselves and created a freer discourse of their own in the early republican period. Thus, this thesis also throws a fresh perspective on the republican modernization project by positing new findings to question arguments in Turkish women's studies that women's sexuality was suppressed in the nation-building process.

Kısa Özet

Bu doktora tezinde, 1828 ve 1990 arasında kadınlar için ve kadınlar üzerine yayımlanmış edebiyat dışı çeviri ve yerli kitaplardan oluşan bir veri tabanı oluşturulmuştur. Türkiye’de ilk defa yapılan bu veri tabanının eleştirel incelemesi en çok çevrilen ve yazılan metinlerin cinsellik üzerine olduğunu gösterdiğinden, üç ayrı inceleme bölümünde betimleyici analiz yapılmak üzere 1931 ve 1959 arasında cinsellik üzerine yayımlanmış on popüler metin seçilmiştir. Popüler metinlerden oluşan bütüncü bir bağlam içinde inceleyebilmek için tezin ilk bölümlerinde, Türk kadın hareketi tarihi ve cumhuriyet dönemi modernizasyon projesi üzerine yapılmış araştırmalar ve kadın dergilerinde yayımlanmış edebiyat dışı çeviri ve yerli metinler ele alınmıştır. Tezin ilk amacı, cumhuriyet dönemi çeviri tarihi çalışmaları açısından önemli sonuçları olan karmaşık çeviri yapılarını analiz etmektir. Bu dönemde çeviriler öyle büyük değişimlere uğramışlardır ki kaynak metinlerden tamlik açısından farklılaşmışlardır. Bazı çeviri varsayılan metinlerin kaynak metinleri olmayan sözdeçeviriler oldukları ve bazı yerli varsayılan metinlerin aslında gizli çeviriler oldukları ortaya çıkmıştır. Disiplinlerarası bir çalışma olan bu tezin ikinci amacı çevirmenlerin metne yaptıkları söylemsel müdahalelerin kadın okurları konuyla ilgili bilgilendirirken cinselliği ön plana çıkardığını göstermektir. Farklı çeviri türleri (tamlığı olmayanlar, sözdeçeviriler, derleme çeviriler, gizli çeviriler) yerli metinlerle karşılaştırıldığında, çevirmenlerin yerli yazarlara göre kendilerini ifade ederken daha az sınırlandırdıkları ve erken cumhuriyet döneminde kendilerine daha özgür bir söylem alanı yarattıkları görülmüştür. Böylece bu tez kadın araştırmalarında ele alınan ulus-devlet kurma sürecinde cinselliğin bastırıldığı ile ilgili argümanları sorgulamak için yeni bulgular ortaya koyarak cumhuriyet dönemi modernizasyon projesine yeni bir bakış getirmektedir.

Vita

NAME OF AUTHOR: Müge Işıklar Koçak

PLACE OF BIRTH: Kırklareli, Turkey

DATE OF BIRTH: 3 June 1971

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED

Boğaziçi University

University of Warwick

Hacettepe University

DEGREES AWARDED

Ph.D. in Translation Studies, 2007, Boğaziçi University.

M.A. in Translation Studies, 1998, University of Warwick.

B.A., Department of Translation and Interpreting, 1994, Hacettepe University.

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Lecturer, Dept. of Translation and Interpreting, Dokuz Eylül University (2005-)

Research Assist., Dept. of Translation and Interpreting, Dokuz Eylül University
(1998-2005)

AWARDS and HONORS

1st Laureate of the EST-CETRA Grant for a doctoral research project in 2004

GRANTS

Ministry of Education Grant for M.A. at Warwick University, U.K.

(September 1997- September 1998)

Ministry of Education Grant for Language Education in Germany

(January 1996-January 1997)

PUBLICATIONS

- Işıklar Koçak, Müge (2006) “Research in Translation History in Turkey”. *Translation Studies in the New Millennium. An International Journal of Translation and Interpreting*. Vol. 4, Ankara: Bilkent University Publications, 101-110.
- Işıklar Koçak, Müge (2000) “Çeviride Süreç Öncesi Ölçüt (Norm) Kavramı” *Ana Dili*. Vol. 19. İzmir: Ankara Üniversitesi TÖMER Yayınları. 27-34.
- Işıklar, Müge (2000) “*The Great Gatsby* Çevirileri Üzerine Gözlemler” *Çeviri Eleştirisi*. 4-5 Haziran 1999, *Sempozyum Bildirileri*, Bursa: Ankara Üniversitesi TÖMER Yayınları. 216-228.
- Atilla, Mehmet, (2007) “On Children and Poetry”, Trans. **Müge Işıklar Koçak** and Selin Erkul. *III. Uluslararası İzmir Şiir Buluşması*. İzmir: Konak Belediyesi Yay. 74-75.
- Pazarkaya, Yüksel (2007) “Mother’s Milk, the Flag of my Voice, The Mothertongue of Humanity”, Trans. **Müge Işıklar Koçak** and Selin Erkul. *III. Uluslararası İzmir Şiir Buluşması*. İzmir: Konak Belediyesi Yay.215-223.
- Gadjanski, Ivan (2007) “Şiir ve Sanat Akımları”, Trans. **Müge Işıklar Koçak** and Selin Erkul. *III. Uluslararası İzmir Şiir Buluşması*. İzmir: Konak Belediyesi Yay. 98-102.
- McKendrick, Jamie (2007) “Solmayan”, Trans. Selin Erkul and **Müge Işıklar Koçak**. *Ç.N. Çeviri Edebiyatı Dergisi*, Vol.2: 31.
- O’Connor, Bridget (2001) “Kartpostallar”, Trans. **Müge Işıklar Koçak**, *Dünya Edebiyatından Öyküler*, (Ed.) Gülperi Sert, İzmir: İlya Yayıncılık. 237-241.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation could not have been written without Prof. Saliha Paker, who not only served as my supervisor but also encouraged and challenged me throughout my dissertation process. She helped make some sense of the confusion, never accepting anything less than my best efforts. She continually conveyed a spirit of adventure with regard to research and an excitement with regard to teaching. I want to thank her with all my heart.

Each of the members of my thesis committee has provided me with extensive professional guidance. I would like especially to express my deepest gratitude to Assoc. Prof. Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar, who contributed with her suggestions and advice. In addition I wish to thank Prof. Nükhet Sirman, Assoc. Prof. Ebru Diriker, Assist. Prof. Jonathan Ross and Assist. Prof. Özlem Berk-Albachten for their contributions and good-natured support.

My thanks go to the European Society for Translation Studies for awarding me a grant to attend the CETRA Summer School, through which my initial research accelerated. I am also indebted to the CETRA 2004 professors for their invaluable suggestions. I want to express my gratitude to Prof. Theo Hermans, who kindly read the preliminary results of my research and offered many helpful suggestions.

I would also like to acknowledge some friends and colleagues who have supported my research and writing efforts over the years. In particular, I should express my gratitude and deep appreciation to Selin Erkul, my colleague and friend, whose friendship, wisdom and enthusiasm have supported, enlightened, and entertained me during the research and writing process. İpek Şeker, my dear friend, facilitated my research by opening her home to me when I needed a place to stay in Istanbul. I want to thank my friend Sultan Çinkır-Chadwick who opened her home to

me during my research at the British Library in London. I also want to thank dear Serpil Hotaman, with whom I had the opportunity of sharing and exchanging information in Ph.D. courses. She left very early, but I will always remember our enthusiastic long conversations and her intelligent eyes.

Many thanks to Mehmet Güven Koçak for his invaluable enthusiasm and energy and for sharing with me all the trials of conducting doctoral research, and above all his boundless love. He has always been there for me whenever I need him. And, finally, I want to thank my dear mother and father, whose unconditional love and support made me who I am. They believed in me and supported me throughout all these years.

I want to dedicate this thesis to the memory of my dear father. He was waiting with such enthusiasm for me to finish my project before he left suddenly three years ago. I know he is around and is now proud of me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES	18
The notion of “modernization” in women’s studies	19
Rereading the history of Turkish women’s movements in the scholarly works in women’s studies	22
Periodization of the history of Turkish women’s movements	23
The question of women’s in/visibility	35
The question of the in/visibility of the translator/translation in the studies ... on women’s movements	39
Theoretical approaches in the history of translation in Turkey	46
The systemic, descriptive/analytical, explanatory and interpretative approach	47
Towards an interdisciplinary approach in translation studies	51
Theoretical Framework	52
Methodology	55
Conclusions	58
CHAPTER 3: DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS IN THE PRODUCTION OF NON-LITERARY TEXTS FOR/ON WOMEN (1828-1990) AND OF THE CORPUS ON WOMEN’S SEXUALITY (1931-1990).....	60
The bibliographical data.....	62
Sources	63
Selection criteria.....	64
Patterns in the bibliographical data	68
Translations and indigenous texts	69
Trends in subject headings: a comparison of translated and indigenous texts	77
Trends in the main source languages	87
Publishers	89
Translators and authors	92
Description of the corpus on women’s sexuality (1931-1990)	95
Diachronic and synchronic look at the corpus	96
Fe/male translators and writers	102
Publishers and series	108
Conclusions	110
CHAPTER 4: TRANSLATED TEXTS IN WOMEN’S MAGAZINES AND THEIR FEMALE READERS: 1869-1993.....	114
Reading the bibliographies of women’s magazines.....	117
The pre-republican period	118
The republican period.....	127
Representations of translators/translation(s) in women’s magazines:1929-1993	130
How were translators/translations represented, recommended and advertised?	131
What did women read?.....	139
Translated and indigenous articles on women in marriage and family life	142

Indigenous articles on women in society and the nation	151
Translated and indigenous articles on foreign and Turkish female role models	154
Translated and indigenous articles on sexuality	158
Conclusions	165

CHAPTER 5: CASE STUDY I:

MANUALS AS TRANSLATIONS WITH SOURCE TEXTS: THE EXTENT OF TRANSLATORS' MANIPULATIONS

Tools of analysis	169
<i>Aşk Dersleri: Evlenecekler ve evlenenlere</i> (1931)	
[<i>The Philosophy of Love</i>] (1923)	172
Peritextual features	173
A comparative look at matricial features	177
Translator's strategies	179
Omissions	179
Transpositions.....	185
Other changes made in translating ST1	186
Transmission of the style of ST1	190
Translator's conception of women in marriage and romance	191
Conclusions on TT1	195
<i>Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları: Boşanmaların önünü alacak çareler</i> (1942)	
[<i>The Psychology of Marriage and Family Life</i>] (1941)	196
Peritextual features	198
A comparative look at matricial features	201
Translator's strategies	203
Omissions	204
Discursive interventions	207
Transmission of the style of ST2	209
Use of medical terminology	212
Translator's conception of women in marriage: an additional chapter in TT2	213
Conclusions on TT2	217
<i>Aşk Sanatı</i> (1950)	
[<i>Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness</i>] (1949).....	219
Peritextual features	220
A comparative look at matricial features	222
Translator's strategies	223
Omissions	224
Transmission of the style of ST3	228
Use of medical terminology	229
Translator's conception of women in sex life: an addition of diagrams and illustrations	230
Conclusions on TT3	233
Conclusions	234

CHAPTER 6: CASE STUDY II:

PSEUDOTRANSLATION OR INDIGENOUS WRITING?.....

Tools of analysis	240
-------------------------	-----

Manuals as pseudotranslations: following the foreign.....	241
<i>Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?</i> (1939)	
[What Should Every Young Girl Know?]	243
Peritextual features	243
Contextual features	245
Textual features	247
Pseudotranslator's conception of women instructing their daughters	254
<i>Her Nişanlı Genç kız Neler Bilmelidir?</i> (1956)	
[What Should Every Engaged Girl Know?]	257
Peritextual features	257
Contextual features	259
Textual features	260
Pseudotranslator's conception of sexually attractive women.....	269
<i>Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler?</i> (1956)	
[Why Do Women Cheat on Men?]	272
Peritextual features	272
Contextual features	273
Textual features	274
Pseudotranslator's conception of women: betrayed or adulterer?..	280
Manuals as indigenous writing and the pursuit of national ideals	285
<i>Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar</i> (1936)	
[Secret Conversations with Young Girls]	286
Peritextual features	286
Structure and style	287
Writer's conception of women as leaders of the nation	290
<i>Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli?</i> (1947)	
[What Should Every Young girl Know?]	292
Peritextual features	293
Structure and style	295
Writer's conception of women: virtuous and modern	297
Conclusions	299
CHAPTER 7: CASE STUDY III: TWO MANUALS:	
A TRANSLATION AND ITS DERIVATIVE	302
Tools of Analysis	303
<i>Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için bir kılavuz</i> (1958)	
[Reproduction Life: A Manual for All]	304
Peritextual features	306
Structure and Style	310
Translators' conception of women in sex life	312
<i>Dişi Kuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi</i> (1959)	
[The Nest-Maker: A Guide to Every Young Girl and Woman]	315
Peritextual features	316
Structure and Style	317
Writers' conception of women in love and romance	319
Conclusions	321
CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION.....	322

REFERENCES.....	345
APPENDICES	361
A. Translated Texts on Women’s Sexuality	361
B. Indigenous Texts on Women’s Sexuality.....	375
C. Translated Women’s Biographies	381
D. Indigenous Women’s Biographies	385
E. Translated Texts on Women in Society and Feminism.....	391
F. Indigenous Texts on Women in Society and Feminism	395
G. Translated Texts on Women and Islam.....	400
H. Indigenous Texts on Women and Islam.....	402
I. Translated Texts on Women in Marriage and Family Life	405
J. Indigenous Texts on Women in Marriage and Family Life	406
K. Translated Texts on Women and Politics.....	409
L. Translated or Indigenous?	410
M. Sample pages from target and source texts	414
N. Sample pages from pseudotranslations and indigenous texts	419
O. Sample pages from compilative and concealed translations.....	420

LIST OF TABLES

1. Total Production of Non-literary Texts for/on Women between 1828 and 1990
2. Total Production: Distribution in Decades
3. Literacy Rate in Percentages 1935-1990
4. Number of Magazines and of Female and Male Staff in Administration

LIST OF FIGURES

1. The Proportion of Female and Male Students in the Nation's Schools 1928-1935
2. The Proportion of Female and Male Students in Primary, Junior and High Schools 1923-1974
3. Total Production: Translated and Indigenous Non-literary Texts
4. Number of Translated Non-literary Texts
5. Number of Indigenous Non-literary Texts
6. The Ratio of Translated and Indigenous Popular Texts of Six Subject Headings: 1828-1990
7. Translated and Indigenous Popular Texts on Women's Sexuality
8. Translated and Indigenous Women's Biographies
9. Translated and Indigenous Texts on Women in Society and Feminism
10. Translated and Indigenous Texts on Women and Islam
11. Translated and Indigenous Texts on Women in Marriage and Family Life
12. Translated and Indigenous Texts on Women and Politics
13. Translations and Reeditations
14. Source Languages
15. Trends in English, French and German
16. The Number of Translated, Indigenous and Anonymous Texts on Women's Sexuality
17. The Number of Female, Male and Anonymous Translators
18. The Number of Female, Male and Anonymous Writers
19. The Distribution of Women's Magazines between 1869 and 1990

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The history of sexuality in Turkish society has yet to be written. We know little about the way in which sexuality has been defined, the transformations it has undergone, and the types of reformulations of which it has been the object. Has our society experienced a sexual revolution? If it has, where and in which forms did this revolution occur?

(Nükhet Sirman, 1989, p. 12)¹

In recent years, a considerable number of scholars of translation and literature have focused on gender in translation and on feminist translation theories. According to Lori Chamberlain (1998) “the issues relating to gender in the practice of translation are myriad and varying widely according to the type of text being translated, the language involved, cultural practices and countless other factors” (p. 96). Suzanne Lotbinie-Harwood (1991) employs interventionist method, which she calls “rewriting in the feminine”, the purpose of which is to make women visible in language. Louise von Flotow, in *Translation and Gender* (1997), suggests that a favorable cultural context for feminist translation was created around the 1970s by the women's movement. Von Flotow's (1997) argument on “gender awareness in translation practice” (p. 14), is best seen in feminist experimental writing, such as by Hélène Cixous and Nicole Brossard, which display a new wave of practices, including sexist representations, asserting the presence of the feminist translating subject. Another

¹ “Türk toplumunda cinselliğin tarihi yazılmadı daha. Nasıl tanımlandığı, hangi dönüşümlere uğradığı, ne tip düzenlemelerin nesnesi olduğu pek bilinmiyor. Bizim toplumumuzda cinsel devrim yaşandı mı? Yaşandıysa bu nerelerde, hangi biçimlerde yaşandı?” Sirman, Nükhet (1989) “Önsöz: Coward'ın Açtığı Yol” [Preface: The Way Coward Opens] in Rosalind Coward, *Kadınlık Arzuları: Günümüzde Kadın Cinselliği* [*Female Desire: Women's Sexuality Today*, 1984] Trans. Alev Türker. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yayınları.

result of the problematization of gender in translation has been the re-examination of past translations of women's writing, paving the way for new critical readings of translations of women writers. Mirella Agorni (2002), in her study on eighteenth century travel writing, studies the various ways in which Italian images of women influenced women writers in eighteenth century Britain by way of translation, as well as tracing the influence of those writers upon later female authors. Among the most recent research José Santaemilia's (2005) *Gender, Sex and Translation* is a collection of essays in which a variety of subjects such as gender-conscious language, translating as a woman, feminist translators as mediators between cultures are taken up.

The specific aim of the present thesis, however, is to examine the popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality, both those "assumed" (Toury, 1995, p. 139, p. 143; 1995b, p. 32) to be translations and those written locally published in Turkey between 1931 and 1959, with an eye to problematizing the different translation strategies followed, as well as the functions of translations of these texts within the Turkish "culture repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 2002, p. 166; 2005c, p. 159). As will be explained below, the reason for taking 1931 as a starting-point is that this was year in which the first translated text on women's sexuality was published in Latin script. The period chosen for study is significant in that it was marked by the foundation of the Turkish Republic and subsequent reforms which had a major impact on women. My initial research has revealed that, during this period, which witnessed political, cultural and social changes, an ever increasing number of non-literary texts for and on women were translated and written locally. The preliminary findings of my research are that the majority of these texts were related to sexuality, and that approximately 60% of the texts on sexuality were translations.

The subject of women's sexuality in Turkey has attracted the attention of researchers in women's studies. As a consequence of the spread of feminist thinking in the 1980s and a boom in the establishment of graduate programs in women's studies from the 1990s onwards, researchers have become increasingly concerned with problematizing the history of women's movements in the pre-republican and republican periods. In the course of my research it emerged that some studies had been done on the subject of women's sexuality in the pre-republican and early republican period.² One of these is Deniz Kandiyoti's (2000) article exploring the changes in the representation of female characters in the Turkish novel. Kandiyoti comments in the following way on the female characters in novels by Tanzimat writers such as Samipaşazade Sezai and Peyami Safa:

The early novelists favored the usage of male characters to depict false values and anti-communitarian character of Westernism while focusing on the issue of women's plight in the family and society to criticize customs deemed inhuman and archaic. [...] The foolish young man of the *Tanzimat* period caused a problem for society through his selfishness and spendthrift habits, the Westernized woman had lost her most precious possession, her virtue. (p. 103)

Kandiyoti argues that a change occurred in the representation of female characters in the twentieth century, and exemplifies this through reference to the novels of Halide Edip. According to Kandiyoti (2000), Edip's novels "are a telling

² In the past twenty years, a great number of studies have been published on sexuality, drawing on surveys of women and young adults (both female and male) in Turkey. For example, in "Exploring the Context of Women's Sexuality in Eastern Turkey", Pınar İlkaracan (2000) examines the social and traditional norms governing women's sexuality in Eastern Turkey, based on her field work with 599 women. To give another example, Aylin Ayar and Yasemin Elmas (2000) introduce the lesbian movement in Turkey, pointing out that this movement began with the founding of the first lesbian group in 1994, the Sisters of Venus, a group that cooperated with feminist groups such as *Eksik Etek*, *Mor Çatı*, and the *AIDS Prevention Center*. In her article, Dilek Cindoğlu (2000) evaluates the findings from interviews with 6 female and 7 male medical doctors who perform hymen operations, and states that, even though the period from 1980 onwards witnessed a freer atmosphere, which she terms "liberal gender ideology", there was no change in the attitudes of women with regards to virginity.

metaphor of the terms under which women could be accepted into public life in republican Turkey: as asexual and devoid of their essential femaleness” (p. 102). For Kandiyoti, the loss of women’s sexuality in the republican period was a result of the Kemalist reforms. She claims that “[...] this ‘overkill’ was necessitated by the fact that the Kemalist reforms emancipating and literally unveiling women required compensatory symbolism and a new veil –that of sexual repression” (Kandiyoti, 2000, p. 103). In another article, Kandiyoti (1997) defines in the following way the image of the modern woman to which the republican reforms gave rise:

[...The] severe suit and bare face of the woman civil servant can emit powerful messages of sexual unavailability by deemphasizing femininity and projecting a “neuter” identity. Thus the management of femininity and sexual modesty became part and parcel of the symbolic armor of the “modern woman”. (p. 128)

Ayşe Kadioğlu (1998) arrives at similar conclusions to those of Kandiyoti in her article “Cinselliğin İnkârı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları” [The Denial of Sexuality: Turkish Women as the Object of Great Social Projects]. Kadioğlu (1998) maintains that, within the framework of the republican modernization project, women were transformed into symbols of the modern nation-state, and that a certain image was tailored for them and that these new women came to deny their sexuality:

The new republican woman was a heroine who carried the double burden of work and family. She criticized the open sexuality of the western woman. She was an honorable comrade-in-arms. Above all, she was a faithful wife and mother, generous, tender and modest. She was a comrade and friend to her husband, a companion in social activities. Behind every successful man stood an invisible pillar of honor and endurance. (p. 96)³

[Cumhuriyet’in yeni kadını, iş ve aile çifte yükü omuzlamış bir kahramandı. Batılı kadının açıkça belirgin cinselliğini eleştiriyordu. O, namuslu bir silah arkadaşıydı. Her şeyden önce sadık bir eş ve anneydi. Özverili, şefkatli, alçakgönüllüydü. Kocasının yoldaşı ve arkadaşı, sosyal

³ All translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

faaliyetlerde eşiydi. Her başarılı erkeğin arkasındaki görünmez namus ve tahammül abidesiydi. (p. 96)]

In her study, Ayşe Durakbaşa (2002) states that, prior to the 1980s, sexuality was a subject not addressed within public discourse, whilst after the 1980s it gained popularity in the press, in magazines and in women's films, thereby becoming a subject appropriate for public airing (p. 14). Pınar İlkkaracan and G. Seral (2000) point out in their article that the picture which Kandiyoti and Kadioğlu paint of women's sexuality in the republican period is still valid into the 2000s; that women's sexuality remains a taboo in Turkey and that women still repress their sexuality: "Most women have access to little or no information as the issue [of sexuality] is not addressed in either the formal education system or informal systems such as families or the community" (p. 187).

Most of the above studies are based on an evaluation of official or other public discourses such as Atatürk's speeches, male polemical writings, newspaper articles, female or male biographies and literary works. However, alongside such sources there also exist a body of published manuals, translated and indigenous popular texts on women's sexuality dating back to the founding of the republic and continuing up to the 1960s and beyond. The texts I will examine in this study do comply in varying degrees with the image of the new republican woman as defined by Kandiyoti, Kadioğlu and a good number of other researchers. But my research, however, provides evidence that other images of women were presented to female and male readers, those of women who had a role not just within the family, the home and society but also within sexual life. Furthermore, it is possible establish that, by means of the above-mentioned translations, readers were exposed to various themes such as adultery, the sexual mores of other societies, information related to the sex life of women in foreign countries, the female body, frigidity, reproduction,

sexual diseases, sexual fears, different sexual preferences in addition to the stock themes and values such as sexual honor and fidelity.

The increase in the number of translations on women's sexuality in the 1930s was not a phenomenon peculiar to Turkey. The advances in medicine in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century brought with them a rise in the quantity of sexological studies in the USA and the UK as well as increased public interest in sex manuals. Joseph Bristow (1997) notes that sexology was a popular subject in the west from around 1860, after which it expanded rapidly, until the early twentieth century. For Bristow (1997), "Sexology was the science that sought to know the name and nature of diverse desires and sexual types and the comprehensive vocabulary it created retains its influence to this day" (p. 6). In their study of the history of sexuality in Britain between 1650 and 1950, Roy Porter and Lesley Hall (1995) claim that the sexological studies carried out in ever-greater numbers in early twentieth century Britain may have had an impact on subsequent ideologies such as feminism and anti-feminism. (p. 176). Like Porter and Hall, Beatrix Campbell takes the early twentieth century, when abundant sexological texts were published in the West, as constituting the beginning of the movements for sexual reform. Campbell also argues that these early sexual reform movements sowed the seeds of the sexual revolution of the 1960s. Campbell, as well as Porter and Hall, assert that the production of sexological texts in such numbers at the beginning of the twentieth century exposed the need for the discussion of sexual matters, and that the subjects and areas of discussion that emerged in response to this need had a pioneering role in the formation of feminist sexual politics (Porter and Hall, 1995, p. 177; Campbell, 2003, pp. 2-3). For Campbell (2003), the texts on sexuality published in the early twentieth century (a period she terms the "sexual

reform movement”) have acquired such an important place within the history of feminism that they have become “reference points for contemporary feminist sexual politics” (p. 4). Campbell adds that the subjects (in the texts on sexuality published in the early twentieth century) such as virginity, extramarital sex, reproduction, frigidity and the nature of the orgasm were the same ones that feminists would debate from the 1960s onwards.

My research suggests that a great proportion of these subjects were indeed taken up in the translated popular texts which I examine in the present study. As shall be shown in the case studies presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, from the 1930s until the end of the 1940s, the main themes in such texts were love, finding a husband, engagement, the dangers of sexual temptation for single women, adultery, divorce, widowhood, and the functions of the female body organs. As for the period between the end of the 1940s and the 1960s, the main themes were reproduction, intercourse, women’s sexual fears, sexuality in different cultures, and the relationship between love and sexuality. I would argue that the non-literary popular texts on sexuality that were published in ever greater numbers in the West from the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century were progressively imported into Turkey via translation from the 1930s onwards. I would also suggest that the latter publications were an intermediary step on the path to women’s liberation in Turkey, prior to the second wave feminism [“ikinci dalga feminizm”] of the 1980s.⁴

⁴ In order to be able to trace and raise questions concerning the history of sexuality in Turkey, I believe that it is also necessary to study the texts on sexuality published in the pre-republican periods. It is significant, for instance, that the first pornographic films in Turkey, namely *Fahişenin Kızı* [The Prostitute’s Daughter] and *Oires Karnavale*, were screened during the Second Constitutional Period (Karakışla, 2003, p. 94). Yavuz Selim Karakışla emphasizes that these pornographic films were of foreign provenance, noting that they were shown in the Kadıköy and Odeon cinemas in 1922. The screening of them, however, was later prohibited, and the two cinemas were closed down (ibid.). The latter action was ordered by the police on the basis that the cinemas had screened films prohibited for “young men and young girls” [“gençlere ve genç kızlara”] (Karakışla, 2003, p. 95). Ömer Türkeş claims that many erotic novels were published in the freer atmosphere of the Second Constitutional

In her foreword to Alev Türker's (1989) Turkish translation of Rosalind Coward's (1984) *Female Sexuality: Women's Sexuality Today* entitled *Kadınlık Arzuları: Günümüzde Kadın Cinselliği*, Nükhet Sirman (1989) poses the following questions: "The history of sexuality in Turkish society has not yet been written. We know little about the ways in which sexuality has been defined, the transformations it has undergone, and the types of reformulations of which it has been the object. Has our society experienced a sexual revolution? If it has, where and in which forms did this revolution occur?" (p. 12). The questions Sirman raised back in 1989 are, I believe, illuminating when it comes to examining the relationship between translation and women's sexuality. I would hope that my findings from the translations which I will analyze in the following chapters will open up another perspective on the hidden history of sexuality in Turkey.

Against the background of the debates outlined above, in this study I aim to investigate the different translation strategies manifested in popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality, "assumed" to be translations published in Turkey between 1931 and 1959 and to analyze the functions of these "assumed" translations within the Turkish "culture repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 1997c, pp. 355-357; 2002, p.166). The starting and

Period and that the authors of these erotic novels were said to undermine the established values of the society, by "writing about every possible kind of sexual relationship using the boldest language, in a conscious effort to weaken the links between society and its past" ["toplumun eskiyle olan bağlarını sarsmak için -bilinçli olarak- her türden cinsel ilişkiyi en cüretkar ifadelerle dile getirerek"] (see "Eski Kitaplar:Mehmet Rauf" in [<http://www.pandora.com.tr/sahaf/eski.asp?pid=115>])). These novels include Mehmet Rauf's *Bir Zambağın Hikayesi* [The Story of a Lily] (1910); Ebü'l Burhan's *Bir Çapkının Hikayesi* [The Story of a Casanova] (1910); T.P.Z.'s *Muhabbet Odası* [Pillow Talk] (1912), M.S.'s *Zifaf Gecesi* [The Wedding Night] and *Harem Ağasının Muşakası* [The Love Affair of a Eunuch] (1913); A.Hasan's *Bir Bakirenin Gebeliği* [The Pregnancy of a Virgin] (1914); Ahmet Naci's *Bir Aşiftenin Jurnalı* [The Journal of a Harlot] (1914); G.R.'nin *Beyoğlu Alemi* [Beyoğlu Nights] (1914); Adil Nami's *Balodan Sonra* [After the Ball] (1914) and M. Alişan's *Kadınların Aradığı* [What Women Look For] (1914). Türkeş also notes that this type of erotic novel came to Turkey by means of translation. He indicates that Mehmet Rauf's novel *Bir Zambağın Hikayesi* was an adaptation of Oscar Wilde's short-story *Lady Violette'in Aşk Destanı* [The Loves of Lady Violet], enriched with the sexual fantasies of the Ottoman male of that period (ibid.). Türkeş also points out that the non-literary work *Kaymak Tabağı* [A Plate of Cream] [1910-1915?] written by Mehmet Rauf under a pseudonym was an adaptation of a work by the the Marquis de Sade (ibid.).

final cut-off dates of this period are significant for a number of reasons. As has already been mentioned, the reason for beginning my examination with 1931 is that this was when the first translated text in Latin script on women's sexuality appeared. My preliminary research reveals that it was in the early republican period between 1931 and 1960⁵ that an increase in the amount of translations on women's sexuality occurred. In the 28 years under discussion, translations accounted for around 60% of the entire body of non-literary popular texts on women's sexuality (see Chapter 3).

The early republican period is important in the context of the history of translation in Turkey, and has indeed been the subject of studies by several scholars. Many of these studies have focused on the Translation Bureau (1940-1960), which was founded under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and which precipitated in particular the translation and publication of a considerable number of canonized literary works.⁶ The norms observed by the Translation Bureau with regard to the translations it published have attracted the attention of several scholars, but it was only with Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar's (2001) comprehensive study that the translations of popular literature published by private publishers, which resisted these norms, became the object of thorough investigation. In her study, in which she critically analyses and interprets the different translation strategies, forms of translation and decisions of publishing houses underlying the translated popular literary texts of the early republican period, Tahir-Gürçağlar highlights the ways in which private publishers resisted official planning in translation. Private publishers occupy a central place in my research as well. All the translated and indigenous popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality that appeared between 1931 and 1959 were

⁵ In 1960, three translations were published, two of which were from French and one from German. Since my focus is on translations from English, I chose the cut-off date of 1959 (see Appendix A).

⁶ Vedat Günyol (1983), Suat Karantay (1991), Taceddin Kayaoğlu (1998), Turgay Kurultay (1999), Özlem Berk (2004a, 2004b), Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001, 2003), Ayşe Özkan (2004)

published by private publishing houses (see Chapter 3, Appendix A and B).⁷ Tahir-Gürçağlar shows that translators of the popular literary texts changed the source texts through poetic and ideological manipulations, such as omissions and additions, which had an effect on the reception of these texts. The findings from the texts under discussion in the current study both complement and strengthen those of Tahir-Gürçağlar. In addition, however, I will show how the translators and private publishers of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality struggled to generate a debate on the issue of women's sexuality and opened up a free space for themselves by means of translation.

As I will illustrate further on, the years 1931 to 1959 have also been seen as important by scholars engaged in examining the history of the women's movement in Turkey. These scholars have investigated the Kemalist reforms and the "new republican woman", and essentially demonstrate two different approaches to the "woman question" in Turkey. On the one hand, there are scholars in the mould of Nermin Abadan-Unat and Necla Arat who praise the republican reforms, claiming that they improved the lives of women, creating work and educational opportunities, fostering greater equality between the sexes, and generally emancipating women. On the other hand, there are scholars such as Şirin Tekeli, Deniz Kandiyoti and Serpil Çakır who acknowledge that the republican reforms improved the conditions of women but who offer a critical approach to the question of how precisely these reforms shaped the "woman question". They believe that women were "emancipated but not liberated" (Kandiyoti, 1987) by the Kemalist reforms. From my perspective, the most problematic aspect of the above-mentioned studies related to women is that, while mentioning the translations of the early republican period, they fail to problematize these translations and their functions.

⁷ As will be shown in detail in Chapter 3, all of the translated popular texts on women's sexuality and 90% of indigenous texts of the same nature that came out before 1990 were published privately.

As far as I have been able to judge from my readings, there is one exception to this: Ayşe Durakbaşa. In her extensive study of Halide Edip, Durakbaşa (2002) makes the following comment about Edip's translations: "When comparing her memoirs written in Turkish with those in English, I observed that she felt freer when she was expressing herself in English. The reason may have been that, while writing in a Western language, she could free herself from the constraints related to womanhood within the Turkish context" ["Onun İngilizce ve Türkçe anılarını parallel okuma yaparak incelediğimde, İngilizce'de kendini ifade ederken daha özgür hissettiğini gözlemledim. Bu belki de Batı dilini kullanırken Türkiye bağlamında kadınlıkla ilgili kısıklardan bir ölçüde kurtulabildiği içindir"] (p. 176). However, indirectly, this observation may be linked to my findings in Turkey between 1931 and 1959 that translators, feeling freer in dealing with another language and culture, created a forum for the discussion of aspects related to women's sexuality that had hitherto been left unspoken and thereby made women's sexuality visible in the public sphere.

As shall be illustrated in Chapter 2, all the previously mentioned researchers in women's studies allocate some space within their studies to translators and translation, without however problematizing these phenomena. In this chapter, drawing principally on secondary sources, I aim to render visible the translations and translators that have hitherto remained unseen in research into the history of the women's movement in Turkey; and this will be done from a critical and problematizing perspective. In this chapter, moreover, I intend to explore the possibilities that translation studies and women's studies can open up for each another, indicating both the contributions that translation studies can bring to the study of the history of the women's movement and the illumination that women's studies can lend to research into translation history. At

the last section of Chapter 2, the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis will be provided.

Whilst, in the present study, I look at texts on women's sexuality, "assumed" to be translations, within a systemic, descriptive, analytical, explanatory and interpretative framework, I do not ignore indigenous texts. Furthermore, in order to be able to describe both these kinds of texts within their socio-cultural context, in Chapter 3, I offer a broad survey of the various types of assumed translations and indigenous non-literary texts on women. Here I will address some basic questions such as the following: which texts were published, who wrote / translated them and when; who published them, and within which series; and what sexes were the writers / translators? The works covered within this period date from 1828 (the first text I was able to pinpoint) up until 1990.

The reason for breaking off in 1990 is that, from this point on, there occurred a fundamental change in the subjects of translated and indigenous texts, precipitated by new debates on sexuality and feminism. In this sense, the 1990s appear to be the beginning of a phase of transformation and modification with respect to printed books as well as women's magazines, the latter being a topic to which I shall return further on. In short, I will offer a critical exploration of the historical and contemporary development of assumed translations and indigenous non-literary texts on women and sexuality, women and politics, feminism, women and marriage / the family, and women and Islam published in Turkey between 1828 and 1990.

The critical focus of Chapter 3 is to provide an analytical sketch of the body of translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality published between 1931 and 1990 in Turkey. The diachronic and synchronic distribution of assumed translations and indigenous non-literary texts on women's sexuality, the fe/male translators and writers,

and the publishers and their series will be analyzed in order to set the contextual basis for my examination of the agents and institutions active in producing sexual knowledge in the early republican period in Turkey.

In a similar vein, in Chapter 4, through recourse to several bibliographies on women's magazines that cover the period between 1869 and 1990, I will investigate the roles of the female and male translators, directors, editors and owners involved in such magazines. In the second section of this chapter, I will scrutinize a total of sixteen magazines, ranging from *Hanımlar Alemi* (1929), the first women's magazine in the republican period to be printed in Latin script, to *Kadın*, the final issue of which came out in 1993. I chose *Hanımlar Alemi* because it was the first women's magazine to appear in Latin script, while my choice of *Kadın* was motivated by the fact that, even in the 1990s, when the number of translations in women's magazines was progressively on the decrease, *Kadın* continued to introduce translated books to its readers, as well as publishing a plethora of articles on sexuality. The reason why I chose not to go further than 1990 is due to the changes that occurred in the magazines. On the one hand, there was a decline in the number of translated texts that appeared there. On the other hand, magazines underwent a profound change around this time in that, under the influence of feminist endeavors, they started to take up new themes such as sexuality in society and the development of the political status of women, a movement that was also evident in books.

Chapter 4 will demonstrate that translation had an important place within women's magazines. At this juncture, I would like to draw attention to the fact that, in magazines, it was often not even indicated that a text was a translation. Texts about the lives of foreign women or news items from other countries were mostly published anonymously. Through my close reading of the magazines, moreover, I

discovered that there was precious little concern to advertise translations and that, up until the 1990s, the names of translators (and sometimes also of writers) were often absent from introductory texts and advertisements. The same erratic approach and lack of consideration for translation and the translator can be observed in the case of translated stories and articles appearing in magazines. Therefore, this chapter will not only deal with the (non-)identification of translators and translations and the place of translation in women's magazines, it will also explore the different roles offered up to women readers through translated and indigenous texts — their roles within marriage, in single life, and in society — and the educational and didactic function of translated texts in women's magazines. In order to ensure that my later examination of assumed translations and indigenous non-literary texts on women's sexuality has a solid foundation, in Chapter 4 I will also offer a descriptive textual analysis of the translated and indigenous articles on women's sexuality in the magazines.

In Chapter 5, my first case study, I will undertake a descriptive, explanatory and interpretative comparison of three assumed translations with their respective sources, the texts in question being the work of three translators who operated in the field of non-literary text production on women's sexuality in the early republican period. In this case study, the three different translation practices will be first be analyzed in the context of assumed translations which will be revealed as having a source text from which they originated; but they will also be explored within the framework of the notion of rewriting. It is evident that, in assumed translations from the period between the 1930s and the 1950s, although there appeared some amount of basic information on certain sexual diseases and women's bodies, the emphasis was on the importance of marriage and the disastrous consequences of divorce; thus, conventional cultural norms and models were presented to women in an affirmative way. All the same, I aim to illustrate

how these translations managed to create a space in which the femaleness of women came to the fore and became the object of discussion.

When we turn to examine the distinct forms and models of behavior between members of different sexes that were presented to women within the discourse on women's sexuality, it becomes evident that a change occurred in the 1950s. From this time on, translations seemed to constitute a domain of greater freedom, freer in this sense when compared to texts published before 1950 as well as to the indigenous texts that came out after 1950. In this chapter, I shall argue that in the early republican period, within the framework of the modernization project, certain role models (such as that of the honorable, modest and silent mother) were offered to women who were encouraged to emulate them in their lives as single or married individuals and members of society. Contrary to the claims of various scholars, however, the translated texts on women's sexuality helped forge a space in which women were reminded that sexual attraction was significant and that sexuality was an inseparable component of marriage. I will, indeed, argue that these texts had a crucial function within the Turkish culture repertoire; namely, to lay the very foundations of knowledge about sexuality.

In Chapter 6, my second case study, five texts will be examined. I will demonstrate why three of these have to be identified as pseudotranslations, i.e. texts which were generally thought of as translations when they were absorbed into the Turkish culture repertoire. I shall look into the reasons why the pseudotranslators and publishers chose to present these works as translations, and will also investigate the manipulations that the pseudotranslators undertook in their texts in order to produce the illusion of a translated discourse. I shall seek answers to the question of why the pseudotranslators opted to hide their authorship of these texts, which are such striking examples of secrecy and invisibility; I will also identify the kinds of sexual knowledge

and models of sexuality that the three pseudotranslations made available to women readers. In Chapter 6, I will also examine two indigenous texts on women's sexuality. Indigenous texts of this kind are, of course, important objects for comparison with translated or pseudotranslated texts, and in my comparison I endeavor to show how indigenous and translated texts display a distinct discourse.

In Chapter 7, two texts on women's sexuality will be examined as the third case study. These two texts give a particularly clear indication of the difference between indigenous and translated texts when it comes to the treatment of women's sexuality, and exemplify the freer approach towards women's sexuality that translations were able to foster. The first text was initially published in 1958, which I will identify as a "compilative translation" (Toury, 1995a, p.144) on the basis of evidence that it was a collage of translations from several foreign sources (especially magazines). However, as I have recently discovered, this text was re-published as an indigenous work a year later in 1959. This interesting interrelationship of the two texts will be analyzed to see what further insight it will provide into the distinctions between translated and indigenous writing.

As should be evident from the above discussions and formulations of questions to be explored, it is far from easy to arrive at a general characterization of the translation of texts on women's sexuality. In contrast to what we consider "proper translations" (Paker, 2002, pp. 124-127; Demircioğlu, 2005, pp. 224-237) today, the corpus on this subject, produced by pseudotranslators and translators alike consists of works in which huge chunks of the source texts had been omitted, to which huge chunks had been added, and of works whose source text segments had been juggled around, and of works which were 'originally' indigenous, but framed as translations or actually translated but presented as indigenous works. Amidst the complexity of such findings, one stands out

that translators and translations, including pseudotranslators and pseudotranslations, were the prime disseminators of knowledge about sex in Turkey.

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND THEORETICAL APPROACHES

The aim of this chapter is to problematize the role of translation and the translator, which has remained hidden in previous studies on the history of the Turkish women's movements. The scholarly studies on the history of the women's movements in Turkey create agendas of research for translation studies through what they say and do not say about translation and the translator. I will first sketch the historical background by providing an overview of issues and approaches concerning the history of women's movements in Turkey raised in the scholarly studies in order to reveal the unquestioned areas of inquiry in which translation occupies a significant place. I will try to explore in what ways translation is instrumental in questioning female identities, women's in/visibility and women's sexuality in the history of women's movements.

I will focus on selected scholarly studies and first present scholars' approaches to women's movements in Turkish history by focusing on certain issues, namely first modernization, then different periods in the history of women's movements and finally women's in/visibility. Then I will move on to disclose the role of translations and translators, which remains implicit in the discussions on the "women question" in the scholarly studies on the history of women's movement I select for discussion. From this historical context, I will move to a survey of theoretical approaches and methodologies that have been used in the studies of translation history in Turkey. Chapter 2 will conclude with an exposition of the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis.

The notion of “modernization” in women’s studies

Since the 1980s, Turkish scholars of women’s studies have discussed widely the notions of “westernization”, “modernity” and “modernization”. Within the context of Turkish history, “westernization” has been (self)-constructed as an ideology aiming at the compensation for lagged conditions in many societies, including Turkey. Modernity refers to a “project or a reflection whereas modernization refers to the institutional-structural evolution which enables this reflection” (Çiğdem, 2004, p. 68). Since the 1980s, scholars of women’s studies have focused on the notion of “modernization”, which they have used to define the state’s unattained ideal for reaching modernity, a goal which prevailed both before and after the republican periods. They have questioned the place of Turkish women’s emancipation and liberation within the modernization projects in Turkish history.

Nilüfer Göle (1996) states that the heated debates on the relationship between modernizing attempts and the position of women in society goes far back as the nineteenth century, the *Tanzimat* period (the Reformation) (1839-1876) (p. 30). Göle (1996) further notes that the “woman question” and “modernization” have lain at the centre of debates between Westernists, Islamists and Turkists from the *Tanzimat* onwards (p. 36). In the debates between intellectuals in the *Tanzimat* and II. *Meşrutiyet* (Second Constitutional) (1908-1922) periods, the position of women in society seems to have been addressed from two opposing points of view: On the one hand, the Ottoman Westernists defended women’s participation in social life and believed that the emancipation of women could be reached when they were freed from traditional constraints; on the other hand, the Ottoman conservatives argued that there should be a limit to women’s freedom, since freedom of women could end

up with the breakdown of morality in Turkish society (Göle, 1996, p. 37). Göle (1996) explains the differences between the approaches of Westernists, Turkists and Islamists towards the “woman question” in the Second Constitutional period in the quotation below:

Westernists deemed the traditions of Islam a barrier against civilization, and they sought the liberation of women from the chains of these traditions, whereas the Islamists accused the Westernists of being imitators and favoured the preservation of the moral values of a Muslim society. The Turkists, however, sought the elements of an ideal society of the future in past Turkish life, and they did not confine moral identity to the religion of Islam. (p. 37)

In all three ideologies, which appear to have been locked up in-between traditionalism and modernism, women are put at the centre of the arguments on Turkey’s political and cultural decisions. Ayşe Durakbaşa (2002) also calls the westernization attempts in the *Tanzimat*, Constitutional and republican periods “modernization projects” (p. 127) and in a similar vein as Göle, she states that women have been the objects of discussions on traditionalism and modernism throughout Turkish history (p. 128). Similar to Göle and Durakbaşa, Yakın Ertürk (1995) claims that the “woman question” was turned into an invaluable tool for spreading modernizing processes to the masses in Turkey (p. 141).

Scholars of women’s studies argue that women continued to serve as yardsticks within the discussions on the modernizing endeavor in the republican period. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, the quest for modernization, whose ultimate goal was attaining the level of contemporary western civilizations, became stronger. For Göle (1996), the republican reforms approached the “woman question” as part of the reforms aiming at the establishment of a nation-state (p. 64). She argues that “it was the women upon whom the Kemalist movement relied with respect to both the process of modernization and the ideology of

nationalism” (ibid.). For Göle (1996), “unlike most national revolutions which redefine the attributes of an “ideal man”, the Kemalist revolution celebrated an “ideal woman”” (p. 14). She states that women became “bearers of westernization and carriers of secularism, and actresses, who gave testimony to the dramatic shift of civilization” within the Kemalist paradigm (ibid.). Nükhet Sirman (1988), on the other hand, links women to democracy rather than civilization, since women were accepted as patriotic citizens who had the role of educating the nation in the republican period.

Similarly to Göle, Fatmagül Berktaş (2005) states that the issue of women’s identity was considered the fundamental element of the Kemalist modernization project and claims that the modernization of women seems to have been related to the emancipation of women from religious and traditional boundaries, but was actually turned into a reorganization of women’s status within the framework of the nation-state (p. 275). In this respect, the aspiration to turn Turkish women into symbols of the modern nation-state is interpreted by scholars of women’s studies as having the following outcome: the Kemalist reforms emancipated women, but did not liberate them (Kandiyoti, 1987; Tekeli, 1986; 1995).

Different from the scholars above, in one of her recent works, Yeşim Arat (2004) interprets women’s liberation from a slightly different perspective. She accepts that the public appearance and status of women in the early Republican period was the symbolic and visual representation of the modernization project. She stresses the central position of women within the discussions on the “modern”, but she reads the feminist writings which criticize the “Kemalist idealized woman model” as a continuation of the same patriarchal republican modernization project. According to Arat, feminist discourse, in which women rebel against being passive

objects in Turkey, goes hand in hand with the very project, which it harshly criticizes; thus it ironically also demonstrates the continuation of the project. It follows that the modernization project can be freed from the monopoly of Kemalist discourse with the help of feminist criticism of the project (Arat, 2004, p. 83).

In the light of the arguments above, it appears that “modernization” has been used as a framework within which each intellectual outlook has defined its own “ideal woman” in the *Tanzimat*, Second Constitutional and republican periods.⁸ The notion of “modernization” will be used throughout the thesis as implying the attempts to reach modernity, an abstract process which incorporates the ideal of the maximum realization of democracy through open transformation by humans. The next section will delve into the different approaches towards the relationship between women and republican modernization attempts as exhibited in the scholarly studies on the history of women’s movements in Turkey.

Rereading the history of Turkish women’s movements in the scholarly works in women’s studies

The increase in research in women’s studies in Turkey can be traced back to the 1980s.⁹ The Turkish intellectuals who have been interested in the subject are mainly

⁸ Not only in Turkey but also in the Middle Eastern countries women appear to have been the subject of debates within modernization projects. Moghadam (1993) suggests that “in many Third World countries, including Middle Eastern ones, the emancipation of women emerged in the context of national liberation, state-building, and self-conscious attempts to achieve modernity” (p. 69). Additionally, Sullivan (1998) quotes Farzaneh Milani who argues that women dominate the cultural imaginary by becoming emblems of national identity, stating: “Forcefully unveiled, they personify the modernization of the nation. Compulsorily veiled, they embody the reinstatement of the Islamic order” (p. 230).

⁹ Departments of Women’s Studies were established after the 1990s in Turkey, accelerating research on the history of the women’s movements. Some of the first institutions were: Istanbul University Women’s Studies Center (KAUM) (1993), Middle East Technical University Gender and Women’s Studies Graduate Programme (1994), Ankara University Women’s Studies Center (KASAUM) (1996), Marmara University Center for Research on the Female Workforce and Employment of Women (KADİSİSAR), Çukurova University Women’s Studies Research Center (KADAUM) (1996), Gazi

female academics. Their studies are significant for the present study in terms of their informative and argumentative value. There is not enough space here to cover all studies written by Turkish scholars in women's studies. I will therefore limit myself to a selection, first to sketch the socio-cultural contexts of women's movements from the *Tanzimat* to the republican period in order to present the basic arguments on the "woman question" and second to question the role of translations within these arguments. The next section will show that scholars of women's studies first tried to divide the history of women's movements from the *Tanzimat* to the 1980s into periods in order to reveal the fact that women have been active agents in gaining their emancipation and then liberation.

Periodization of the history of Turkish women's movements

One of the common tendencies in the scholarly works of women's studies is the endeavor to propose a periodization. Many scholars tried to divide the time between the *Tanzimat* and the establishment of the Turkish republic into periods according to various parameters. For instance, Durakbaşı's (2002) *Halide Edip: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* [Halide Edip: Modernization in Turkey and Feminism] is one of the most comprehensive studies on the emancipation of women in Turkey. Durakbaşı elucidates the difficulties of identifying feminist paradigms in Turkish history and divides the history of the women's movement into three parts. She names the first period "The Early Period of Turkish Feminism", which started in the *Tanzimat* and lasted up to the Second Constitutional period, and she states that in this period the position of women was at the centre of debates on modernization

University Women's Studies Research Center (1996) and Ege University Women's Studies Research Center (EKAM) (1996).

(Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 66). She claims that the position of Turkish women, which was improved through the acquisition of legal rights and formal education within the empire, was undertaken in a nationalist framework and the definition of feminineness implied the gender roles of women within this framework. Durakbaşa (2002) further claims that male intellectuals tried to overcome the danger of women's moral deterioration, which also signified the deterioration of the morality in society, by excluding sexuality from their discussions (p. 68). Durakbaşa determines that the male intellectuals created the mother motif in the early period of feminism and framed the position of women as educated mothers. Since women would be the mothers of the future, they should be educated well enough to raise their children. It was argued that the educated woman could help the improvement of Turkish society by being a perfect model for her children (Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 104).

Different from Durakbaşa, Zihnioğlu (2003), in her *Kadınsız İnkılap* [Revolution without Women], classifies the same historical period as "The Early Period in Ottoman Women's Movement". She starts this period from 1868, when the first letter from an anonymous woman was published in the newspaper *Terakki*, and ends it in the Second Constitutional period (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 21). Zihnioğlu emphasizes that the first period was characterized by the belief that it was better to be at a certain distance from the West. It was thought that Turkish people could benefit from western civilization by importing science and technology, but when it came to social and cultural norms and codes Islamic civilization was accepted as superior to its western counterpart (ibid.). Like Durakbaşa, Zihnioğlu (2003) emphasizes that another significant discourse of the period was that concerning women's morality. Women were seen as symbols of society's virtue and honor, which should be protected from western influences (pp. 48-49).

It appears that the *Tanzimat* was generally accepted as the starting point for the discussions on women's position and role in society. The duration of the first period seems to have been determined on the basis of the historical juncture, a time when women were becoming visible both in society, as in the case of newspapers, and in the political agenda of the country, where Turkey's scientific and educational development were seen as absolutely necessary for the improvement of the empire. It appears that Zihnioğlu and Durakbaşa opt for different methodologies in their classification. Zihnioğlu starts the first period with the publication of the first letter from an anonymous woman in a newspaper, whereas Durakbaşa takes a more general overview, focusing on the centrality of women within the political and social discussions. Additionally, Durakbaşa prefers to label the first period in women's history using the term "Turkish feminism", which signifies the deliberate actions of women to achieve their rights, yet masks the Ottoman roots of Turkey. Zihnioğlu's choice of the term "Ottoman Women's Movement" discloses Turkey's historical past. Although both scholars follow different methodologies, they define the first period as being located between the *Tanzimat* and Second Constitutional periods and as characterized by similar features as far as the women's movement is concerned.

Durakbaşa (2002) labels the second period between 1908 and 1922 the "Second Constitutional Period" (p. 107) and Zihnioğlu chooses the "Second Constitutional Period in Ottoman Feminism", by which she identifies the foundation of feminism in women's history in this period as opposed to Durakbaşa's earlier dating (Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 21). They both agree that female school education was improved to secure for women a better status at home and in society during the Second Constitutional Period (Durakbaşa, 2002, pp. 106-107; Zihnioğlu, 2003, pp. 56-57). They stress that nationalist discourse was strengthened especially by the

İttihat ve Terakki (The Union and Progress Party), which transformed the woman question into the question of national culture (Zihniođlu, 2003, pp. 54-55; Durakbařa, 2002, p. 107). They argue that the attitude towards western science upheld by Ottoman intellectuals in the Reformation became stronger during the Second Constitutional period: the West should be followed in terms of science and technology, but Turkey should be independent in terms of culture, politics and economics. Therefore, they claim that efforts secured the place of women at the heart of the nationalist discourse during the Second Constitutional period. Women became symbols of “pure” cultural and national values that needed to be preserved, while virtuous, educated mothers bound to their traditional values proved to be the legitimate symbol of the empire (Zihniođlu, 2003, pp. 56-58). Durakbařa (2002) states that women’s active participation in society and their visibility in social life increased dramatically in this period, since women provided themselves with new channels to discuss and to make their voices heard: women’s associations and women’s magazines (p. 10).

Indeed many scholars call the period between 1908 and 1922 “The Period of Women’s Societies and Associations”. For example, Tarık Zafer Tunaya counts 14 different women’s associations, whereas Sibel Özbudun claims that there are 24. Serpil akır states that 31 women’s associations were established in the Second Constitutional whereas řefika Kurnaz gives the number 36 (Yaraman, 2001, p. 85; akır, 1996, pp. 43-78; Kurnaz, 1995, pp. 193-214). Women established these associations in order to coordinate help for soldiers at war and to help families of martyrs, but they also actively took responsibility for supporting the Turkish state in the First World War and the Balkan Wars (Durakbařa, 2002, p. 111). Thus, wars in a way generated a chance for women’s participation in the country’s defense.

Women's magazines boomed in this period as well; in total thirty women's magazines were published in the fifteen years prior to the republican period (Çakır, 1996; Duranoğlu, 1959; Demirdirek, 1993). Compared to the *Tanzimat* period, the number of women's magazines increased dramatically from eight to thirty in this period. Women such as Fatma Aliye Hanım and Şair Nigar Hanım [Nigar Hanım, the Poet] declared that women desired to feel like their male peers and to have a better status in society and magazines served them the opportunity to channel their demands and to make their voices heard via the press (Durakbaşa, 2002, p.106; Zihnioğlu, 2003, p.56). Another scholar, Ayşegül Yaraman (2001), who labels this period simply as "The Post-*Tanzimat* Period" in her work *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine* [From Official History to the History of Women], deals with the condition of women in the republican period vis-à-vis the westernization attempts of the *Tanzimat* and Post-*Tanzimat* periods within the framework of the press and publishing market (Yaraman, 2001, p. 90). She establishes a link between women's emancipation and the publication of texts on women and claims that the "woman question" began to be problematized in the newspapers, journals and books due to the improvement of the press and publishing market in the post-*Tanzimat* period (Yaraman, 2001, p. 92).

Similar to Yaraman, Serpil Çakır (1996), in *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi* [Ottoman Women's Movement], researches into historical grounds for the women's movements in Turkey and confronts the idea that the Turkish women's movement began after the establishment of the Turkish Republic. She argues that women's entrance to social life was rooted especially in the Second Constitutional period, in which a more liberal atmosphere was created as a result of the expansion of the press. Çakır also problematizes Ottoman women's roles within the modernization

project, claiming that women struggled for their own rights and that they tried to manipulate modernization according to their needs in the Second Constitutional period.

Similar to Durakbaşı and Zihniođlu, akır (1996) argues that women were seen as the symbols of social improvement, and that the image of better-educated woman was constructed and placed at the centre of the discussions on western-oriented cultural transformations in Turkey (p. 118). akır accepts that the state’s efforts led to major developments in women’s conditions, which inevitably served as an important tool for women to enter social life in the beginning of the nineteenth century. However, based on her findings from the research she carried out on the women’s magazine *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921) [Women’s World], she claims that Ottoman women then took over the task and became the executives and managers of their own movement (akır, 1996, p. 318).

In short, the Second Constitutional period, as the second period in the history of Turkish women’s movements was mainly characterized by the increasing activities of Ottoman women in associations and magazines. The increasingly prominent ideology of nationalism, which strengthened the image of women as mothers of the nation, led women to be at the centre of the discussions in this period. Within this environment, women found a channel to discuss their own conditions and to announce their wishes. It appears that associations opened the way for them to participate in working life and the magazines played an important role for them to use translating and writing as a tool to make themselves heard in public.

The third period in the history of the women’s movement is labeled as “The Republican Period” by many scholars (Abadan-Unat, 1998, p. 293; Durakbaşı, 2002, pp. 26-27; Berktaş, 2003, p. 108; Göle, 2001, p. 30) and as “The First Wave

Republican Feminism” (1923-1935) by Zihnioğlu (2003, p. 21). Zihnioğlu ends this period with the abolishment of the Turkish Women’s Society. There are many discussions on the early republican period among scholars of women’s studies. But, before going deeper into the discussions, it is illuminating to consider one of Zeki Faik İzer’s paintings, which he called “İnkîlap Yolunda” [On the Road to Reformation] (1933). Durakbaşa uses this painting in her work to exemplify the “woman question” in the republican period, and it constitutes a highly symbolic proof of the role attached to women within the modernization project (Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 26).



Zeki Faik İzer’s painting from 1933 displays a modern Turkish woman with a Turkish flag in her hand, standing in front of several soldiers. Besides her stands a girl with a book in her hand titled *Turkish History* and Atatürk is standing just behind the woman, pointing his finger to the future.



This is an adaptation of Eugène Delacroix’s famous painting, “Liberty Leading the People” (1830) above, in which the French Revolution is depicted. Delacroix painted a woman with a French flag in a battlefield in front of many French soldiers (Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 27). In his painting, in which he related the establishment of the Turkish republic to the French revolution (1789), İzer replaced the French woman with a Turkish woman and thus he put women at the very centre of the society and nation.

The republican period, which has been considered to be the third period in the history of the women’s movement in Turkey, has been viewed in two different ways. One approach, pioneered by Necla Arat and Nermin Abadan-Unat, praises Kemalist reforms and foregrounds their importance in women’s emancipation. In *Aydınlanmanın Kadınları* [Women of Enlightenment], Arat (1998) states that “Mustafa Kemal wanted to bring forth a new and modern identity to the women of this society, he wanted women to appear as individuals in the public sphere; he wanted to prepare suitable conditions for women to disclose their suppressed, restrained and hidden abilities” [“Mustafa Kemal bu toplumun kadınlara yeni ve çağdaş bir kimlik kazandırmayı, kadınların birey olarak öne çıkmalarını; bastırılmış, sınırlanmış ve gizlenmiş yeteneklerini açabilecekleri koşulları yaratmayı istiyordu”]

(p. 23). Arat (1998) criticizes the female scholars who raised the issue of “state feminism” and defends the claims that the state-led promotion of a women’s presence in the public sphere monopolized women’s activism and used women as an area of struggle in the state’s modernization project (pp. 26-27).

Similar to Arat, Nermin Abadan-Unat (1998) states that the social status of women and their conditions improved through the Kemalist reforms (p. 293). She labels these scholars who criticize the republican state due to its reforms that positioned women within the modernization project “radical feminists” (ibid.). She claims that the “radical feminists” have not really engaged with the woman question, but have expressed the problems they have had due to being women and, in order to share their personal problems, have ascribed them to other women (Abadan-Unat, 1998, p. 293). Although she does not overlook some achievements of these feminists, such as their role in bringing into the public sphere the discussions on virginity control at schools, Abadan-Unat (1998) severely disapproves of their argument that the republican reforms were unsuccessful in terms of women’s liberation (p. 296).

Another approach, which has its roots in the 1980s and is pioneered by Şirin Tekeli, prioritizes women’s active roles in their liberation and it tries to analyze republican reforms from a critical perspective. These scholars accept that several republican reforms which improved the condition of women in education and society, were put forward in legislation, such as the adoption of the Turkish Civil Law (1926), which reorganized the family structure, the Unification of Education Act (1924), which made primary education compulsory for all children, and the Law of Municipal Elections (1930), which provided women with the right to vote and to be elected. They do not neglect the importance of these reforms for women’s

emancipation, but they claim that, since the condition women's was handled within the state's efforts at nation-building and modernization in the early republican period, women were emancipated but not liberated. The republican women became the means of legislating the state's ideology, as had been the case with their predecessors in the *Tanzimat* and Constitutional periods (Kandiyoti, 1995a, p. 375; Kandiyoti, 1996, p. 68; Berktaş, 2003, p. 108; Tekeli, 1983, pp. 1190-1191).

Tekeli (1986), for instance, asserts that the republican reforms honored "exemplary-distinguished-elite women, who were educated, had a profession and practiced it without ignoring their traditional duties both as supporting wives and good mothers" (p. 179).¹⁰ She claims that women had an idealized mission of promoting a modern nation and argues that these women did not select this new identity, but "it was ascribed by the state" (ibid.). Therefore, the male leaders of the state used women to reach an ideal modern nation-state. Kandiyoti states her concern about the male polemicists' attitudes towards women in these words:

The predominantly male polemicists on questions relating to women and family used the condition of women as a vehicle for the expression of deeper anxieties concerning the cultural integrity of the Ottoman/Muslim collectivity in the face of western influence (in Paker, 1991a, p. 279).

In a similar vein with Tekeli and Kandiyoti, Nilüfer Göle (2001) suggests that the republican reforms created a new woman, who was "an ideal woman" within a planned project of modernization (p. 30). Similar to Tekeli, Göle claims that girls from the upper class, under the patronage of their fathers and, above all under the

¹⁰ The task of "the mother of the nation" attributed to women in the republic is not peculiar to Turkey. Dominique Godineau (2005) states that the model republican woman in America emerged in the eighteenth century through the American Revolutionary War and women were assigned duties in building the new nation-state (p. 35). They were assigned to guard moral virtues and to be good mothers. The proposed model of the republican woman was mother above all (ibid.). In the same century, the republican woman was also the ideal woman in France (Godineau, 2005, p. 36). Godineau explains the difference between the approaches in America and France with these words: "While the independence of the individual stood at the center of American ideology, collectivism was at the center of French ideology. This means that individuals were thought of not as isolated entities but as members of a society in which the general came before the individual" (Godineau, 2005, p. 38).

symbolic patronage of the father of all Turks, Atatürk, were educated according to the Kemalist modernization principles in order that they may participate in social life. Göle (2001) concludes that in the republican period, women could be visible only at the will of men (p. 106). Like Göle, Ayşe Durakbaşa (2002) concedes that the Kemalist ideology fought to enable equality between women and men in the public sphere, yet she explains that this kind of equality between sexes implies “an equality between women and men as individuals who took over the nation’s responsibility and ideals” [“kadınlar ve erkeklerin, milletin eşit sorumluluk ve ideallerini omuzlamış fertleri olarak eşitliği anlamına geliyordu”] (p. 126). Nükhet Sirman, another scholar who takes a critical approach towards the early republican reforms, maintains that “if the Ottoman debates constituted women primarily as wives and mothers in need of education, the second [republican debates] constituted them as patriotic citizens. The new patriotic woman was still a wife and a mother, but she also had another mission, that of educating the nation” (Sirman, 1998).

Scholars who maintain that women were not liberated in the republican period further claim that the Kemalist reforms deprived women of sexuality and turned them into comrades to men. Kandiyoti (1989), who uses the most radical metaphor to define Kemalist women, claims that the new Turkish women remained “an asexual comrade-woman’, who shared in the struggles of her male peers (p. 142). In her analysis of Halide Edip novels, Kandiyoti argues that women were depicted in the literature as asexual sisters-in-arms whose public activities never undermined their chastity (ibid.). Similar to Kandiyoti, Durakbaşa (1998) maintains that “instead of glorifying female characters who are addicted to freedom and emulate the west, literary works celebrate educated women equipped with traditional values and national morals” [“Edebiyat yapıtlarında da özgürlük düşkünü Batı’ya özenen kadın

kahramanlar yerine yerli değerler ve milli ahlâkla donanmış, eğitilmiş kadınlar yüceltiliyor”] (p. 47). She exemplifies her arguments with Edip’s novels, like *Kandiyoti*, and states that Edip’s female characters devote themselves to the love of the nation rather than to their personal loves (ibid.). Durakbaşa further claims that the female characters in Edip’s novels, such as *Handan*, could only articulate their desires when they were in a psychological depression (ibid.). Similar to the above scholars, but from a more general perspective, Kadioğlu (1998) analyzes the denial of sexuality in Turkey until the 1980s in three categories and claims that;

Traditionally, Turkish women have been perceived within the context of the family. This led to the denial of their identities and sexuality. The stereotypes of the “Kemalist teacher” in the early republican period, the “socialist sister” at the end of the 1960s and the 1970s and the “university student with headscarf” in the 1980s have a common feature: the denial of sexuality. It is interesting that these great social projects, which seem to be incompatible with each other, have converged at the common point of approaching women as asexual beings who are the keepers of the family. (p. 100)

[Türk kadınları geleneksel olarak aile kurumunun içinde algılanmışlardır. Bu, onların bireysel kimliklerinin ve cinselliklerinin inkârına yol açmıştır. Cumhuriyet’in ilk döneminin “Kemalist öğretmen”, 1960’ların sonu ve 1970’lerin “sosyalist bacı” ve 1980’lerin “türbanlı üniversite öğrencisi” klişelerinin ortak bir özelliği vardır: cinselliğin inkârı. Görünüşte birbirlerine zıt olan bu büyük toplumsal projelerin, kadınlara aile birimine bekleme eden cinsiyetsiz varlıklar gözüyle bakmakta buluşmuş olması ilginçtir.] (p. 100)

In the light of the above analysis, it could be suggested that scholars of women’s studies have dealt with the “woman question” principally by problematizing the construction of female images within the state’s attempts at modernization. Scholars have prioritized women’s visibility and have tried to show that women have been active agents rather than passive listeners in Turkish history. I suggest that different forms of women’s visibility emerge in their studies. The next section will problematize women’s visibility in the scholarly works on the history of women’s movements.

The question of women's in/visibility

Scholars of women's studies have analyzed women's visibility mostly within the framework of gender roles attributed to women in the *Tanzimat*, Second Constitutional and republican periods and within the lives of famous female writers, novelists and poets. I will examine and problematize women's visibility in five categories: symbolic, indirect, direct, subjective and mirrored visibility.

Yakın Ertürk (1995) states that women were seen by Westernists and Turkists in both the *Tanzimat* and Second Constitutional and republican periods as an irreplaceable tool for reaching to a modern society and nation (p. 141). Similar to Ertürk, Zihnioğlu (2003) argues that women were accepted as the symbol of "pure" cultural values that needed to be preserved and virtuous and that educated women bound to their traditional values proved to be the legitimate feminine images from the *Tanzimat* onwards (pp. 56-58). For this reason, they became objects of discussion between traditionalism and modernism (pp. 54-55). Therefore, the "woman question" was transformed into a question of the Turkish nation. Here visibility seems to take a form of symbolic visibility. Women were used by men as a symbol or a metaphor using which they engaged in political and national debates. Women, then, might only be visible within the context of different ideologies, such as traditionalism, modernism and nationalism and others made decisions for them. This form of visibility overlooks women's identity and subordinates them, which results in the invisibility of women in the end.

Another form of visibility is seen in the discussions on women's education. Göle (1996) suggests that "the emergence of women from privacy to participation in social life by means of education lies at the very centre of the westernization project"

in the republican period (p. 40). Durakbaşa (2002), in a similar vein, argues that women were seen as the mothers of the future in the modernization framework, therefore they needed be educated well enough to fulfil their tasks in society and in the nation. An educated woman could contribute to the improvement of Turkish society by being a model for her children (Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 104). Here it appears that women could become only visible when and if they had children and if they had education. Educated mothers were needed at home for the improvement of the future generation and thus for the improvement of the society and the nation. This may be interpreted as an indirect visibility, since women could only be visible through their children in this case. Similar to symbolic visibility, indirect visibility disregards women's identity and thus again results in invisibility.

A third form of visibility can be seen in the discussions of women's active roles in their liberation. Zihnioğlu's (2003) question "Did women accept being the passive symbols of westernization and modernization projects?" directly problematizes the visibility of women in Turkish history (p. 15). Zihnioğlu exemplifies the active role of women in the history of the women's movement by analyzing Nezihe Muhittin's life and works. Çakır (1996) also suggests that women struggled for their own rights in women's associations and in magazines in the Second Constitutional period and she argues that women were not manipulated by the discussions of modernization; on the contrary, they tried to manipulate modernization according to their own needs (p. 318). It may be suggested that, when women are seen as active agents, who could even manipulate the ideologies according to their own needs, they gained a direct visibility. Here, women have struggled in organizations, in the press and in literature to make their voices heard,

i.e. to be visible. Therefore, I suggest that this kind of visibility can be called a direct visibility, in which women take over the control of their identities.

Another form of visibility can be seen in the scholarly works on famous women. Durakbaşı (2002), for instance, analyzes the life, speeches and works of Halide Edip, as a case study, to problematize the formation of the “modernist woman identity” in the republican period (p. 127). Halide Edip has been an important subject for many scholars, such as İnci Enginün (1978), F. Erden (1964), Yahya Kanbolat (1986) and Hülya Adak (2004), who took Halide Edip as their case studies to analyze modernization, feminism and gender in Turkey. Nezihe Muhittin is another important female figure whose life and activities in the history of the women’s movement at the beginning of the twentieth century have been examined (Zihnioğlu, 2003; Baykan & Baskett, 1999). Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu’s (2002) study includes a short biography of Fatma Aliye and the Turkish transcription and the interlingual translation of her text *Levayih-i Hayat* [Scenes from Life]. Şair Nigar Hanım is another prominent female figure whose literary career and life have been studied in detail (Bekiroğlu, 1998). All of the above women, who were taken as case studies by scholars, were famous female literary figures of their own periods. Fatma Aliye (1862-1936) was one of the leading novelists who lived at the end of the nineteenth century; Şair Nigar Hanım (1862-1918) is an important poet, Nezihe Muhittin (1889-1958) was a famous novelist and an activist at the beginning of the twentieth century and Halide Edip (1884-1964) was an important novelist and an activist of the early twentieth century. Visibility here may refer to some famous women who found a channel to appear in social life and thus played an active role in Turkish women’s movements. In the context of these studies, visibility is linked to

subjectivity producing something which may be called subjective visibility that does not necessarily provide for other women's visibility.

The literary texts which have been analyzed in the scholarly works of women's studies are rich sources for exemplifying the last form of women's visibility. Yaraman (2001), in the sub-chapter of her study titled "The Woman Question in Literature", gives examples from some literary texts, in which the women's condition is the central topic (pp. 56-72). She states that one of the main themes of literary texts in the late nineteenth century was the place of women in society. For example, Şemseddin Sami's *Taaşşuki Talat ve Fitnat* [The Love Affair of Talat and Fitnat] (1872) went into the problematics of traditional marriages and the inferior condition of women in society. In *İntibah* [The Awakening] (1876), Namık Kemal discusses how women who refused to wear the veil were isolated from society and he criticizes this social pressure. Ahmet Mithat discusses the extramarital affairs of a woman in *Yeryüzünde Bir Melek* [An Angel on the Earth] (1875). Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar uses educated women characters in his novels and especially focuses on women's education and sexual freedom. The first women authors such as Fatma Aliye, Güzide Sabri Aygün, Neriman Nezahat, Mevhibe Ziya, Belkıs Ferit and Halide Edip write about the problems of women in their novels (Yaraman, 2001, pp. 56-72; Moran, 1985, pp. 409-418; Mardin, 2002, pp. 31-34). As can be seen, both female and male writers used female characters to discuss the condition of women in society. It may be suggested that women become visible here only in literary texts, a phenomenon which may be called mirrored visibility; mirrors, however, sometimes lie.

In the studies outlined above, scholars argue that many gender roles were attributed to the early republican women, such as chaste, modest, educated mothers

of the nation and comrades to men in promoting the status of their country. They were identified both with the virtue and traditions of the society and with modernity. Scholars of women's studies have drawn attention to the fact that female sexuality was missing from the features of the "new modern woman" of the republic. But they have only problematized women's visibility with reference to Atatürk's and other male statesman's speeches, official documents, female and male memoirs and novels. In this study, I suggest that translation/translators have had significant roles in the history of the Turkish women's movements, a claim which will be expanded on in the next section.

The question of the in/visibility of the translator/translation in the studies
on women's movements

My aim in this section will be twofold: Firstly, I argue that although translation has been mentioned in one way or another in almost every study on the Turkish history of women's movements, since there has been a lack of a questioning approach to translation in these studies, translators and translations have stayed hidden or invisible in them. In fact, this study emerged as a response to this apparent vacuum. Secondly, I argue that these studies may be valuable sources for opening up new research areas for translation scholars and for the scholars of women's studies. I should assert that this section will include both the major arguments of my thesis and certain questions these studies raised in my mind, but which are beyond the scope of this thesis. Although some of these questions are not directly related to my thesis topic, the reason for including them in this chapter rather than in the conclusion is that they display the links between translation studies and women's studies.

The scholarly works which focus on famous female literary figures in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries include information about the translation activities of these female novelists and poets. For example, both Gençtürk-Demircioğlu and Zihnioğlu inform in their studies that Fatma Aliye, a prominent writer and translator, entered the Turkish literary system with her translation of George Ohnet's *Volentè* (1888) , which was published under the title *Meram* [Will] (1890) (Gençtürk-Demircioğlu 2002: p. xi; Zihnioğlu, 2003, p. 44). It is striking to find out that the first text of a woman in the publishing industry was a translation. It should also be noted that Fatma Aliye signed her translation simply as "a woman" and she signed many of her texts after that as "the translator of Meram" (Meram Mütercimi), not with her own name (ibid.). Paker (1991a) states that the emergence of her name as the translator of Ohnet prompted discussions among some of the male intellectuals of the period (p. 280). Only after Ahmet Midhat introduced Fatma Aliye to readers in the preface of her novel *Muhazarat* [Stories to Remember]¹¹ (1892) did she become known as a translator and a writer (ibid.). Ahmet Midhat wrote that Fatma Aliye was the daughter of the renowned scholar and historian Cevdet Pasha and that she "was to be commended for her courage in translating not only a serious novel but one by a male author and in the appropriate manly style" (ibid.). There were several other women translators who published their translations in the nineteenth century in women's magazines, such as Azize Hanım, Madam Gülnar, Halide Edip, Zeynep Sünbül Hanım and Şair Nigar (Bekiroğlu, 1998, pp. 309-310). Another prominent literary figure, Halide Edip, has been also a rich source for scholars. Her life and works have been analyzed in several case studies, with an eye to tracing modernization, feminism and gender in Turkey, such as in the studies of Durakbaşa

¹¹ Paker's translation. For Paker's research on the name of the novel see Paker, 1991a, pp. 280-296.

(2002), İnci Enginün (1978), F. Erden (1964), Yahya Kanbolat (1986) and Hülya Adak (2004). All these researchers inform us that Edip wrote some of her novels in English then translated them into Turkish, but they do not question her identity as a translator. Only Durakbaşa (2002) suggests that Edip's translations of her own texts were quite different from their source texts (p. 10). Durakbaşa (2002) inform us that, when she was reading Edip's English and Turkish memoirs comparatively, she realized that Edip felt freer in English (p. 176). She further argues that some parts of *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928)¹² were auto-censored in the Turkish translation by Edip (Durakbaşa, 2002, p. 244). Durakbaşa (2002) also states that she understood Edip's passion and sorrow better in the English text when she read the part about Edip's feelings upon the death of her first husband Salih Zeki in the war (p. 248). Durakbaşa's preliminary suggestions indicate that Edip's identity as a translator and writer differs. Durakbaşa (2002) is quite right when she calls for translation workshops on Halide Edip's Turkish and English texts, pointing out that these would be useful in understanding Edip and the history of women in Turkey (p. 10).

There appear to be many female translator-writers discovered in the studies on women, but these need to be rediscovered. It would be more enlightening to do research on female translators in Ottoman/Turkish history and compare their translations with their indigenous works. This may help us to gain new insights about their self-presentation and to find out if they felt more freedom in translating or in writing, as was apparently the case in Edip's works. For instance, moving from the fact that Fatma Aliye's *Nisvan-ı İslam* [Women of Islam] (1891-1892) was translated into French, English and Arabic by various translators, one would wonder if such a

¹² *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928), New York, London: John Murray (first published as *The Shirt of Flame* (1924), New York: Dullfield and Company, then under the title of *Memoirs of Halide Edip* (1926) New York, London: The Century Company), and in Turkish under the title of *Ateşten Gömlek* (1969), Istanbul: Atlas Kitabevi.

comparative study could be extended to a tripartite research to examine the Ottoman Turkish female identity abroad. Here I may also suggest that female translator-writers who translated not only their own texts from English into Turkish but also other texts into Turkish, would also be a research subject, raising significant questions such as these: were there other women writer-translators or translator-writers who translated themselves; how and why did these female translator-writers translate themselves; what are the differences between the translations of their own works and the other translations; did women feel freer in their translations; If yes, in what kind of decisions did they feel free in their translations? All these questions in fact would display how much translation studies and women's studies may offer each other.

Similar to the above scholars, in her research, Yaraman (2001) analyzed the "woman question" in some texts on women's emancipation such as Şemseddin Sami's *Kadınlar* (1880) [Women], Salahattin Asım's *Türk Kadınlığının Terakkisi Yahut Karlaşmak* (1905) [The Improvement of Turkish Women or Becoming Feminized], Ahmed Cevad's *Bizde Kadın* (1912) [Women in Turkey], Kasım Emin's *Hürriyet-i Nisvan* (1908) [Liberation of Women], Nuri Celal's *Kadınlarımız* (1915) [Our Women] and Odette Lacquerre's *Feminizm* (1912) (pp. 72-79). Yaraman argues that these texts increased the mental awareness of women in the Second Constitutional period. She declares that two books from the above list are translations: *Hürriyet-i Nisvan* and *Feminizm*. She supplies the name of Lacquerre's translator as Baha Tevfik, but ignores the publication date of his translation. She does not mention that *Hürriyet-i Nisvan* is a translation and its translator is Asma-i, which leads to a perception that it was an indigenous text. Her emphasis in this part of her study is to display that "the woman question" came to be discussed widely in the

press and in various texts in the Second Constitutional period. However, along with the emphasis on the specific function of these translated and indigenous texts on women's mental awareness, it might have been significant to question the function of the translated texts on women's emancipation within the history of women's movement.

In a similar vein, in Çakır's study, where one of the women's magazines *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921) [Women's World] is analyzed as a case study, translation and the translator remain hidden. Çakır (1996) states in only one sentence that the magazine announced the need for translations, especially on childcare (p. 252). Çakır informs that female readers in *Kadınlar Dünyası* expressed their concerns about the lack of texts in almost every field on/for women, but that there was a particular lack of reference books on childcare. Writers for the magazine indicated that this gap could only be filled with translations, since many texts were written or translated by incompetent people and they called for the Ministry of Education to undertake and supervise this task (ibid.). Çakır mentions that the magazine even published some books on childcare, such as Muzaffer Refik's translation from French titled *Çocuğun Beden ve Ruhunu* [The Body and Spirit of the Child] (ibid.).

Having looked at the period under question in Çakır's study, I should note that there was an official institution established in 1914 called "Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi" [The Department for Original and Translated Works]. While examining the publications of the Department, I came across some translated texts on childcare¹³

¹³ Garcin, F.(1914-1917) *Küçüklere Çamur İşlerini Nasıl Yaptırmalı?* Trans. Ali Ulvi (Elöve) (Ana Mektepleri muallimlerine ve Darülmuallimin talebesine mahsustur) [For the teachers of Ana Mektepleri and the students of The School of Education] Istanbul. Binet, Alfred-Dr. Simon (1915) *Çocuklarda Zekanın Mikyası Usulleri*. Trans. İbrahim Alaaddin (Gövsä). Istanbul. Donmarten (1915) *Küçüklere Mahsus Resim*. Trans. Necmeddin Sadık (Sadak). Istanbul. (Kayaoğlu, 1998, pp. 161-180).

(Kayaoğlu, 1998, pp. 161-180). There were also some indigenous texts on childcare¹⁴ and on women's education¹⁵ published by the Department (pp. 166-167). It may not be a coincidence that the call for translations on childcare and women's education by the readers of *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921) converged with the Department's publications on similar subjects in the same period. However, Çakır (1996) does not supply additional information about the existence of these translated and indigenous texts. Many questions arise from the information gap on translations left by Çakır (1996), such as why did *Kadınlar Dünyası* call for help from the Ministry of Education? Why did the writers of the magazine find the translations incompetent?

The last example is from one of the studies that urged me to search for the translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality. Meral Altındal (1994) notes, in one of the sections in her study titled "Woman and Sex in Literature", that literary texts such as *Karyolada Tatlı Dakikalar* [Sweet Moments on Bed], *Kanlı Zifaf* [The Bloody Wedding Night], *Harem Ağasının Muşakkası* [The Love Affair of a Eunuch], and *Bir Bakirenin Gebeliği* [The Pregnancy of a Virgin] were published in the early twentieth century (p. 158). She claims that these literary texts gave information to young boys and girls on sexuality. She further proposes that the wind of liberty in the post-*Tanzimat* period and the early republican period paved the way for the publication of texts on sexuality and these literary texts served as a source for the sexual education of single boys and girls. However, while emphasizing the

¹⁴ *Çocuk Bahçesi Rehberi* (1915) İstanbul. (Geylangil), Safvet (1916) *Küçüklere Coğrafya Dersleri*. (Mekاتب-i İbtidaiyye birinci sınıfa, ikinci sınıfa ve üçüncü sınıfa). İstanbul. (Emre), Ahmet Cevad (1917) *Çocuklara Hikaye Anlatma Sanatı*. İstanbul. (Erozan), Celal Şahir-(Us) (1918) Mehmet Asım. *Müntehab Çocuk Şiirleri*. İstanbul.

¹⁵ Hakkı, Behire (1913) *Biçki Nazariyet ve Kavaidinin Tedrisat-I Aliye Kısmı*. İstanbul. Onnik, İhsan (1915) *Kadınlara Ameli Sanayi-I Ziraiyye Dersleri* (Sütçülük, tereyağcılık, peynircilik sanatı). İstanbul. Onnik, İhsan (1915) *Kadınlara Ameli Sanayi-I Ziraiyye Dersleri* (Tavukçuluk Sanatı). İstanbul. Onnik, İhsan (1915) *Kadınlara Ameli Sanayi-I Ziraiyye Dersleri* (İpekçilik Sanatı). İstanbul. Onnik, İhsan (1915) *Kadınlara Ameli Sanayi-I Ziraiyye Dersleri* (Arıcılık Sanatı). İstanbul. Onnik, İhsan (1915) *Kadınlara Ameli Sanayi-I Ziraiyye Dersleri* (Ekmek ve Nişastacılık Sanatı). İstanbul. Onnik, İhsan (1916) *Kadınlara Ameli Sanayi-I Ziraiyye Dersleri* (Gülyağcılık Sanatı). İstanbul.

informative function of these texts, Altındal neglects to mention that not only literary translated and indigenous texts but also translated non-literary texts on sexuality were published in the early republican period (See Appendix A and B). Altındal (1994) states that a series of many books on “women and sex”, which were written by Daniş Remzi Korok in the 1930s, were instrumental in giving information to young girls about the first night, and to married and divorced women about marriage (p. 162). Though Altındal ignores translated texts, I found that many translated non-literary texts on women’s sexuality were also published in the early republican period.

The preliminary findings of my research revealed that translated non-literary popular texts on women’s sexuality offered a variety of options to female readers. This thesis will question the functions of translated popular non-literary texts on women’s sexuality in the Turkish cultural repertoire. I will argue that translators of the non-literary popular texts on women’s sexuality promote a free atmosphere for the discussion of women’s sexuality in the early republican Turkey. I will further argue that translations convey additional images of feminine and sensual women, which were missing in the literary works of the period.

The researchers mentioned above have adopted different approaches to the history of the condition of women in the modernization project, yet they have remained silent when it comes to naming translations/translators and questioning the role of translations in the history of women’s movements. But once translation is taken as the focus of analysis, several research areas can be opened up for translation scholars in almost every field of cultural and social life. And these fields may serve not only translation scholars but all who are engaged in the social sciences.

Before analyzing the role and function of translated popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality in the early republican period, I will survey the theoretical concepts and methodologies which have been used in the studies on the history of translation and then outline the theoretical framework of this study.

Theoretical approaches in the history of translation in Turkey

In this part I will survey the research carried out on the history of translation in Turkey and will focus on the theoretical frameworks and methodologies applied in some of the scholarly works. The studies on the history of translation in Turkey employ various theoretical frameworks and methodologies and they benefit from various disciplines such as literature, culture, linguistics and sociology in their analysis of translation activity in history. My intention is neither to make a summary of a general history of translation nor to make a review of historical processes about translation activity in Turkey¹⁶, but to examine the scholarly studies comparatively in order to reveal certain common points of theoretical inquiry and explore alternative

¹⁶ On the literary translation activities in the pre-republican period, see Paker, Saliha (1986) "Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem" in *New Comparison*, Number 1, 67-79. For information on the intense activity of literary translations in the second half of the nineteenth and the early twentieth century see Paker, Saliha (1991) "The Age of Translation and Adaptation, 1850-1914: Turkey" in Robin Ostle (ed.) *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970*, London: Routledge. For a critical analysis of the views of researchers of translation history on translation strategies see Tahir-Gürçağlar, Şehnaz (2001) *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey 1923-1960*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Translation Studies submitted to Boğaziçi University, 9-37 and for a review of scholarly studies on Ottoman translation activity see Demircioğlu, Cemal (2005), *From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking "Translation" (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Translation Studies submitted to Boğaziçi University, 65-78; for the general history of Turkish translation activity from the *Tanzimat* to the 1980s see Berk, Özlem (2004a) *Translation and Westernization in Turkey: From the 1840s to the 1980s*. Izmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları. For a list of all translational institutions established by the state from Lale Devri (Tulip Period) until 1940 see Kayaloğlu, Taceddin (1998) *Tercüme Müesseseleri*. Istanbul: Kitabevi and for a general survey of translation activities from antiquity to the early twentieth century see Ülken, Hilmi Ziya (1997) *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü*. Istanbul: Ülken Yayınları.

concepts and methodologies which were used to interpret historical data on translation.

It is impossible to analyze all works regarding the history of translation in Turkey. Therefore I will analyze a selection of studies carried out by scholars of translation studies from the 1980s on, whose works established the modern paradigm in the studies of translation history in Turkey.¹⁷ I have grouped these studies under two headings, “the systemic, descriptive/analytical, explanatory and interpretative approach”¹⁸ and the “interdisciplinary approach”.

The systemic, descriptive/analytical, explanatory and interpretative approach

In most of the recent Turkish studies on the history of translation, the systemic approach has been employed. The systemic framework remained the same, but their sources and the way scholars use these sources differ according to the cultural research field of the individual scholar. Additionally every new study seems to have retained the framework provided by the systemic approach, but to have extended its concepts and tools of analysis.

Saliha Paker can be accepted as the pioneer in using the systemic framework in her works on the history of translation from the *Tanzimat* onwards and she helped to revise Turkish literary history by using the systemic approach. Paker (1986c) seems to have first drawn a general framework of Ottoman/Turkish literary activities by employing Even-Zohar’s concept of “polysystem”; then by employing both

¹⁷ There are several other researchers who benefit from the systemic approach, which I cannot refer here. For instance, see Seyaliođlu, İpek (2003) *Anthologized Poetry from English and French in Turkish Translation 1985-1995*. Unpublished MA thesis in Translation Studies submitted to Bođaziçi University and Ezber, Gökçen (2004) *Aspects of Agency in the Case of Editor-Translators in the 1990s Turkey*. Unpublished MA thesis in Translation Studies submitted to Bođaziçi University.

¹⁸ I will refer to this theoretical framework shortly as the “systemic approach” or the “systemic framework” in the thesis.

primary and secondary sources, she focused on case studies and problematized for the production and reception of literary translations in the pre-republican period (Paker, 1986a; 1986b; 1988). Paker's first studies focused on the literary translation activities in the *Tanzimat* and the Second Constitutional periods and she analyzed the entrance of abundant translated literature, especially from French. She interprets the literary import within the wider cultural context of Ottoman literary polysystem in which translated literature paved the way for literary innovations, such as new genres (Paker, 1986; 1991a). In one of her recent studies, she questions the concept of "translation" in Ottoman/Turkish literary history by putting culture and time-bound concepts "terceme" and "nazire" in discussion (Paker, 2002), and she makes use of the concept of "Ottoman interculture", invoking Anthony Pym's concept of "interculture" while discussing the concepts of "terceme" and "nazire". She goes beyond the bilingual and bicultural concept of "interculture" to talk of the trilingual and tricultural site of operation of Ottoman poet-translators in Turkey.¹⁹

In her comprehensive work that covers the period between 1923 and 1960, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar analyzes the significant role of the private publishing houses in the Turkish cultural repertoire (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001). She benefits from the systemic approach as a general framework and uses Even-Zohar's notions of "culture planning", "repertoire", "option" and "import" in order to interpret the production and reception of popular literature which were initiated by private publishers. Her study, in which she benefits greatly from extratextual and textual sources, positions translations within a wider cultural and political history in the early republican period. She also makes use of Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" to foreground the role

¹⁹ See Paker, Saliha (2002) "Translation as Terceme and Nazie: Culture-bound Concepts and Their Implications for a Conceptual Framework for Research on Ottoman Translation History" in *Crosscultural Transgressions, Research Models in Translation Studies II Historical and Ideological Issues*, Theo Hermans (ed.) Manchester, UK and Northampton MA, 120-143.

of agents, such as translators and private publishers. She uses Toury's concept of "norms" and Bourdieu's concept of "habitus" as methodological tools in her case studies. Her main contribution to the systemic framework appears to have been her effort to foreground the pivotal role of translators. She approaches translators as agents who shape systems (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 62). In one of her recent works, Tahir-Gürçağlar (2005) again employs the systemic approach as a general framework but this time she benefits from different concepts. For instance, she makes use of Pym's notion of "network" while interpreting the position of translations and the complex relationships surrounding translations in the Turkish literary polysystem. Tahir-Gürçağlar (2002) also benefits from reception theories in one of her studies, in which she analyzes the reader's letters in the magazine *Varlık* to survey the readers' expectations from translation.

Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva's (2006) study on the role of translation in the migration of literary and cultural theories from English into Turkish and from French into English is another systemic study. She uses both extra-textual and textual sources in her case studies on the Turkish translations of Roland Barthes's works and English translations of Hélène Cixous's works. She addresses Barthes's translations into Turkish in order to bring to light and analyze the reception of structuralism and semiotics in the Turkish literary (critical) system. I think she extends the systemic approach by focusing on cultural judgments such as disapproval, friendliness, suspicion, and hostility, as well as power relations between indigenous and foreign cultures.

Cemal Demircioğlu (2005), similar to the scholars above, employs the systemic approach as a general framework and makes use of several concepts such as Even-Zohar's "culture planning", "repertoire", "import" and Toury's notion of

“assumed translation”, Lefevere’s notion of “rewriting” and Saliha Paker’s notion of “Ottoman interculture”. He extends Toury’s notion of “assumed translation”, including three postulates, and added a fourth postulate, “which is related to the receiving culture’s discourse on translation” (Demircioğlu, 2005, p. 91). He argues that, in order to assume that a text is a translation, there should be some relationship between the text and what was written and on that text in a particular culture (ibid.). In this way, he formulates a “relationship between target text and extratextual sources, which serves to show their correspondence to the culture’s attitudes” (Demircioğlu 2005: 92). He also builds on Paker’s notion of “Ottoman interculture”, which was a trilingual and tricultural site of operation of Ottoman poet-translators from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. Demircioğlu (2005) refers to a tetralingual and tetracultural site of operation for Ottoman writer-translators in the late nineteenth century (p. 102).

Finally, differently from the above scholars, Işın Bengi-Öner (1990) focuses on re-evaluating the concept of “translation equivalence” in the literary translations of Ahmet Mithat Efendi. She benefits highly from linguistics, since her focus of research is the term “equivalence”, but she combines it with Gideon Toury’s descriptive concept of “norms” in her methodology (Bengi-Öner, 1990). She also analyzes the extratextual discourse in some translated literature, such as translators’ comments in *Les Aventures de Telemaque*, *Les Miserables*, and *Robinson Crusoe*. Bengi-Öner makes use of Toury’s preliminary, initial and operational norms as methodological tools to survey Ahmet Mithat’s translation strategies. As a follower of Even-Zohar’s systemic approach, Toury had offered several concepts to analyze translations in comparison with their source texts and Bengi-Öner followed Toury’s

methodology in most of her studies.²⁰ For instance, she was the first researcher to pinpoint a pseudotranslator, Nihal Yeğınobalı, and in her study on Yeğınobalı's pseudotranslation, she analyzes the cultural and social reasons for this pseudotranslation (Bengi-Öner, 1999).

Towards an interdisciplinary approach in translation studies

The above survey of the theoretical and methodological frameworks used in the studies on the history of translation in Turkey reveals that the systemic, descriptive/analytical, explanatory and interpretative approach has been opted for by many scholars in translation studies after the 1980s, who have evidently looked on it as a beneficial general framework for analyzing translations and translators in relation to institutions, society and culture. The theoretical concepts used in the above scholarly works seem to have been extended and revised by Turkish scholars as a result of their findings from their diachronic and synchronic analysis of case studies. It seems that Turkish scholars have adopted, expanded and created new options to in order to interpret their own culture-specific cases.

The other main tendency among scholars of translation studies appears to have been towards the use of theoretical and methodological tools from various disciplines such as literature, linguistics, culture and sociology. Tahir-Gürçağlar (2005) calls this new formulation, which has been used in investigating Turkish translation history, the "eclectic" approach (p. 30). She states that this approach cannot be confined to Turkish translation history, since translation studies have long benefited from various disciplines, as can be seen in the works of many scholars,

²⁰ See Bengi Öner, Işın (1999) *Çeviri Bir Süreçtir Ya Çeviribilim?*. İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.

such as Lawrence Venuti, Anthony Pym, Jean-Marc Gouanvic, Maria Tymoczko and Daniel Simeoni (*ibid.*).

From the above survey, it appears that case studies are the most important component of the scholarly research on the history of translation and works that include case studies could generate new tools for translation research. Translation history in Turkey was initially in desperate need of case studies in order to explore the roles and functions of translation activity in history. Combining case studies with a critical and analytical approach will inevitably help researchers to problematize new cases, formulate new concepts and find new ways to question their own culture and history.

Theoretical Framework

In this thesis, I will also employ the systemic, descriptive/analytical, explanatory and interpretative approach. The theoretical foundation of this thesis has various components from Even-Zohar's systemic approach (Even-Zohar, 1996; 1997a; 1997b; 1997c; 2004a; 2004b). Even-Zohar (1997c) defines a culture repertoire as "the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life" (p. 355). The size of the group may vary; it can be a society or a family, which he names "entities" (Even-Zohar, 1994, p. 7). He emphasizes that a society needs "specific cultural repertoires" for the organization of its members and the society as a whole and therefore the groups of people that form a society can be defined as "cultural entities" (Even-Zohar, 1997c, p. 356). One of the important features of a culture repertoire is that it is "made,

learned and adopted” by the cultural entities (Even-Zohar, 1997c, p. 357). Even-Zohar (1997c) suggests that:

The culture repertoire, although sensed by the members of the group as given, and taken by them for granted, is neither granted nor inhibited by our genes, but need be made, learned, and adopted by people, that is the member of the group. This making is continuous, although with shifting intensity and volume. On the one hand, it may be made inadvertently (1) by anonymous contributors, whose names and fortune may never be known, but also deliberately, (2) by known members who are openly and dedicatedly engaged in this activity. (p. 357)

This quotation foregrounds not only the significant role of individuals in the shaping of a culture repertoire of a society, but also its continuity and its dynamic nature that leads to changes, i.e. shifts in time.

Even-Zohar’s approach includes another important concept that of “culture planning”, by which he describes the “deliberate act of intervention either by power holders or by ‘free agents’, into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire” (Even-Zohar, 1997a, p. 2; 2004b). He further states that planning a culture is an “instance of deliberate creation of new options for a repertoire of a culture” (Even-Zohar, 2005). While repertoire designates “the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the making and handling, or production and consumption of any given product” (Even-Zohar, 1997d; 2002, p. 167), planning takes place “once any body, individual or group, holding whatever position, starts to act for the promotion of certain elements and for the suppression of other elements” (Even-Zohar, 1994). For Even-Zohar, the powers behind the production of cultural options and in a way determining the market conditions are not only “individuals” but also “institutions”. He defines “institution” as “the aggregate factors involved with the control of culture” (Even-Zohar, 1997d). “Institutions” can be academies, state offices, educational institutions, the press or publishing houses, all of which may affect the selection and production, acceptance or rejection of options.

Even-Zohar's systemic approach has been abundantly used by many scholars in Turkey for analyzing literary translations, yet non-literary texts could also yield significant data looking from the perspective of the systemic framework. Philippe Codde (2003) suggests that non-literary texts are very important in studying cultural systems and, having quoted Yalahom, he states that

It is useful to study the contacts between a national literary system and other cultural systems through systems of non-literary texts because, in this way, the concept of the double function and the double ontological level of those contacts become more apparent. This concerns a) the entry of new models reality (social, ideological, political) into the literary system, b) the reshaping of textual models in the literary system. (p. 113)

Codde, having quoted from Even-Zohar, further argues that “far too little research is done on cultural texts without reputation and especially on texts which, though saturated with the trait of belles-lettres, do not have the function of literary texts and are not institutionalized as such” (ibid.).

In the present study, Even-Zohar's concepts of “culture repertoire” and “culture planning” will be used as the theoretical framework in order to problematize translated and indigenous non-literary texts published for/on women in Turkey. Translators, pseudotranslators and writers will be approached as the agents, and private publishing houses and women's magazines will be approached as the institutions who were involved in creating options for female readers and who were involved in planning the discourse on sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire. This approach instantly led me to formulate the initial questions: What were the options generated by various agents and institutions? What were the similarities and differences between the options created by various institutions? How did the options correlate or not correlate with each other? How did these options function in the Turkish cultural repertoire? How did non-literary texts on women's sexuality

function as options in the Turkish cultural repertoire? What were the differences and similarities between translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women?

Methodology

Within the framework of the systemic approach, I will draw on several concepts, which will help make up the methodological framework of this study. Firstly, Anthony Pym's concept of "archaeological" research is significant in the analysis of database in Chapter 3. Pym (1998) defines the database studies as "archaeological" research (p. 5) and he suggests that lists could be a productive research tool for historians from any academic field. Following Pym, I will start with the questions "what was translated by whom and from which language, why and how", which he took up from Toury (1980) and defined them as "key tools for archaeological research" (Pym, 1998, p. 5) In a similar vein, through the examination of the sources in the database, I will seek answers to several questions such as the following: What kinds of non-literary texts were translated for/on women in Turkey? From which languages were they translated? Who were the translators? Who were the publishers? How were these texts distributed over time? What was written for/on women by Turkish writers in the same period? What were the differences and similarities between translated and indigenous texts?

This kind of study inevitably relies on extratextual materials (Toury, 1995b, p. 65), i.e. the bibliographic information or in Pym's words "model of frequencies", which can be named extratextual interpretations of documentary research. This study will use catalogues and bibliographies as "tertiary" (May, 2001, p. 175) sources in Chapter 3, women's magazines as both tertiary and secondary sources in Chapter 4,

and translations, source texts, pseudotranslations, indigenous texts and concealed translation as primary sources in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

Pym's notion of "network", which is a socio-cultural concept that shows the complex relations surrounding translation in a culture, will be instrumental in Chapter 3 (Pym, 1998, pp. 86-87). Tahir-Gürçağlar uses "network" in her experimental chapter, in which she analyzes "the social network" surrounding Altın Kitaplar publishing company, the various translators working there and other private publishing houses that published Yeğınobalı's translations (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2005). She uses the notion of "network" also in another article, in which she questions how the networks can expand the framework of translation historiography (Tahir-Gürçağlar, forthcoming). She analyzes the publishers, translators, authors, genre/literary status and translation strategies within and around Altın Kitaplar publishing company in the 1960s and she shows that mapping a network can be helpful to supplement any research on translation-related contexts (ibid.). For my corpus, I will try to map a network of objects/products (translated and indigenous texts) and agents/institutions (translators, writers, publishers, women's magazines) through the axes of time and place between 1828 and 1990 in Chapter 3.

As for the comparative analysis in the case studies, the concepts of "peritexts" (Genette, 1997; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001), "assumed translation" (Toury, 1995a; 1995b; 1999), "compilative translation" (ibid.), "pseudotranslation" (ibid.), "concealed translation" (ibid.) and "nakil" (Demirciođlu, 2005) will be employed in analyzing the texts. "Peritext" is defined as "devices within the text and 'epitext' as devices outside the text that give clues about the text to the reader, i.e. that mediate the text for the reader" (Genette, 1997, p. 5). These terms imply that readers' conceptions of translation are governed by the ways they are presented, that is from

their packaging (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 376). The comparative analysis in Chapter 5 involves peritextual analysis of both assumed translations and their corresponding assumed sources and in Chapter 6 peritextual analysis of pseudotranslations and indigenous texts and finally in Chapter 7 the peritextual analysis of a compilative and concealed translation.

The notion of “assumed translation” derives from Toury’s statement that “any text assumed as a translation in a target-culture is a translation on whatever grounds” (Toury, 1995b, p. 32). Toury suggests three postulates, namely “the source text postulate, the transfer postulate and the relationship postulate” (ibid). He states that a translated text entails the assumption that there is a source text in another language, yet sometimes an assumed translation may have more than one source text, which he calls “compilative translation” (ibid.). Toury further notes that sometimes a translation may lack a corresponding source text and turn out to be a “pseudotranslation” (Toury, 1995b, p. 40). He also determines that an indigenous text may turn out to be a translation but stay for a long time as concealed facts (Toury, 1995b, pp. 70-71). He asserts that, similar to translations, the other two cases, “pseudotranslations” and “concealed translations”, are objects of study for translation studies (ibid.; 1995a, p. 144). The findings of the survey and the description of the corpus on women’s sexuality indicate that there were not only translations but also pseudotranslations and concealed translations on women’s sexuality published between 1931 and 1959. I will analyze three assumed translations with source texts in Chapter 5 and three pseudotranslations without source texts in Chapter 6 together with two indigenous texts. I will also examine one compilative translation together with a concealed translation which derived from this compilative translation in Chapter 7. This analysis will not only reveal the

translator's strategies but also explore the pseudotranslator's strategies to present her/his text as a translation and this kind of analysis will question both the reasons for producing pseudo and concealed translations and their functions in the Turkish culture repertoire.

One translator in my corpus defined herself/himself as “nakleden” (conveyor). In Demircioğlu's study (2005) on the Ottoman concepts of translation, he revealed that the Ottoman term *nakl* (conveying) had been used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with various meanings. *Nakl* was defined in Ottoman lexicons as to convey, pass or move an object from one place to another (Demircioğlu, 2005, p. 141). He further illustrates that *nakl* was also related to “writing a copy of a text, i.e. either an original or translated text” (Demircioğlu, 2005, p. 142) in the late nineteenth century. For Demircioğlu (2005), *nakl* was among the “primary notions that reflected particular varieties of Ottoman translational practice in the late nineteenth century” (p. 332). I found that *nakl* was still used in the 1930s in the translations of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality. The comparative study in Chapter 5 will reveal the strategies used in both “nakledilmiş” (conveyed) and “çevrilmiş” (translated) texts.

Conclusions

Chapter 2 has offered a survey of issues and approaches concerning the “woman question” in the scholarly works on the Turkish history of women's movements from the *Tanzimat* to the republican period. This chapter examined two different scholarly approaches on women's modernization; the one which praises the Kemalist reforms and their liberating affect on women, and the second, which accepts the benefits of

Kemalist reforms, but suggests that women were emancipated but not liberated within the modernization project in the early republican period. As a result of this examination, I discovered that women's sexuality was not a part of such debates. Having studied many scholarly works on the history of the Turkish women's movements from the perspective of translation studies, this chapter has displayed that although the discourse on translation existed, it has remained unproblematized in these studies. Therefore this chapter has set out to reveal the possible link between the discourse on women's sexuality and translation(s).

Chapter 2 has outlined the theoretical framework of this thesis with which the undetected link between translation and women's sexuality could be disclosed. It has explained Even-Zohar's terms "culture repertoire" and "culture planning" that allow me to explore the link between the translated non-literary texts on women and their female readers. These terms will be instrumental in questioning how and why the translated texts on women's sexuality were offered as options to the female readers in the early republican Turkey in the following chapters.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS IN THE PRODUCTION OF NON-LITERARY TEXTS FOR/ON WOMEN (1828-1990) AND OF THE CORPUS ON WOMEN'S SEXUALITY (1931-1990)

This chapter includes both a bibliographic analysis of non-literary texts published for/on women and an analytical description of the corpus of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality. Therefore, this chapter will proceed on two levels. On the first level, non-literary texts on women's sexuality will be analyzed together with five other non-literary text-types produced for and on women between 1828²¹ and 1990²² in order to contextualize the popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality within a broader period of time and within the wider context of the production of texts for and on women in Turkey. The six categories are "women's sexuality", "women's biographies", "women and politics", "women in society and feminism", "marriage and family life" and "women and Islam". In the first section of Chapter 3, all texts will be analyzed and compared with each other both diachronically and synchronically. On the second level, I will provide a description of the corpus of non-literary popular texts on women's sexuality between 1931²³ and 1990. Apart from the bibliographic patterns in the corpus, I will investigate some significant features of the agents involved in the production process, who are translators and publishers.

²¹ The first translated woman's biography was published in 1828 (see Appendix C).

²² The end of the selected period was determined as 1990 since, towards the end of the 1980s, the nature of non-literary texts on women's sexuality changed. Sexuality started to be a subject more easily talked about. This change can be observed more clearly in women's magazines, as will be discussed in Chapter 3. While I was determining the period for this chapter, I also took women's magazines into consideration. Since translated articles gradually lost their importance in women's magazines towards the 1980s, I also set the end of the selected period for the analysis of women's magazines as being 1990.

²³ The first translated non-literary popular text on women's sexuality in Latin script was published in 1931 (see Appendix A) and it will be one of the case books which will be analyzed in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3 first explains the methodology followed in establishing a bibliographical database of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women in Turkey for the period between 1828 and 1990 and, secondly, provides a general overview of trends in the production of this genre. This kind of quantitative research will give information about what was translated and written when and by whom within the framework of my topic. Pym (1998) argues that lists help researchers to frame translational documents. He suggests that

Just as any text gains meaning and function from its genre and context, so translational documents should ideally be placed within a context formed by other translational documents, particularly those that would otherwise be excluded from our intuitions. This would give a researcher a wider vision. (p. 38)

This chapter will compile and examine not only lists of translations but also lists of indigenous texts in order to analyze the general production of non-literary texts for and on women. The database yields various facts and allows a detailed examination of numbers, source languages, publishers, translators and authors. In the first section the database research will be used to investigate the history of production as far as non-literary texts for/on women are considered and it will also enable an informed choice of texts for detailed analysis in the case study.

In his study on social research methods Tim May (2001) states that documentary research

[...] allows comparisons to be made between the observer's interpretations of events and those recorded in documents relating to those events. At the same time these sources may be utilized in their own right. They can tell us a great deal about the way in which events are constructed, the reasons employed, as well as providing materials upon which to base further research investigations. (p. 175)

Any documentary research covers a wide variety of sources. May suggests that documents be divided into three main groups: primary, secondary and tertiary

documents. Primary sources are written by those who witnessed the events they describe, whereas secondary sources are written after an event which the writer did not witness and tertiary sources are indexes, abstracts, bibliographies etc. (May, 2001, p. 180). In this chapter, tertiary sources will be employed to locate the study of patterns in the production of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women in Turkey in the first section and to describe the corpus of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality in the second section.

The chapter begins first with the definition of the sources of the database, after which the selection criteria for the database will be determined. Then the chapter will proceed with the analysis of the number of translated and indigenous non-literary texts published between 1828 and 1990 to see the general production of non-literary texts for and on women. The chapter will go on with the analysis of the subject headings in the database. Then I will proceed with the analysis of the main source languages selected for translation in the database and finally publishers, translators, and authors will be discussed according to the findings of the database. In the last section, I will provide an analytical description of the corpus of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality.

The bibliographical data

This section will describe the sources and criteria used in establishing this database. It then will proceed with the selection procedures. Two sets of criteria for determining which texts to include have been established.

Sources

Six sources were used to build up the bibliographical database of non-literary texts for/on women translated into Turkish and those written in Turkish. The first one is the Turkish national bibliography, *Bibliography of Turkey* [Türkiye Bibliyografyası] and the second source is Neriman Duranoğlu's (1959) bibliography entitled *Works Published on Women in Turkey: Bibliography* [Türkiye'de Kadınlar Hakkında Yayınlanmış Eserler: Bibliyografya], which surveys texts on women from before the republican period until 1959. Thirdly, Baha Bal's (2000) bibliography entitled *Women Writings: The Bibliography of Literary Works of Women, Literature and Theses on Women* [Kadın Yazıları: Kadınların Edebiyat Ürünleri, Kadınlar Üzerine Yazılanlar ve Tezler Bibliyografyası], which includes data from between 1955 and 1990 was analyzed. The fourth source is *Bibliography of Texts on Women* (2006), [Kadın Konulu Kitaplar Bibliyografyası 1729-2002]²⁴ which was prepared by the Women's Library and Information Center. The fifth source is the British Library OPAC catalogues, and, the sixth the international bibliography of translations, i.e., the *Index Translationum*. Catalogues used in the research were examined in four libraries: At Ankara National Library, at Izmir National Library, at Women's Library and Information Centre Foundation in Istanbul, and finally at the British Library in London.

My focus on translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women immediately caused a problem when I started collecting bibliographical material, since firstly a category for women does not exist in some of the bibliographies such as in the Ankara and İzmir National Libraries, the British Library and the Index

²⁴ This bibliography will be called KKKB in the thesis.

Translationum and secondly the above mentioned bibliographies and the ones that are based on publications on women such as Bal's and Duranoğlu's bibliographies have their own system of classification. For instance, Duranoğlu compiled the texts published on women using the same subject headings as the national library. Bal, on the other hand, formed his own categorization, employing new headings such as education, law, arts, health, sexuality, culture, historical development and the women's movement. The bibliography of KKKB is the most systematically classified one. It has twenty-three headings, including sexuality as a separate heading. But a classification of translated and indigenous texts does not exist in any of these sources. Thus the database of this thesis, which was compiled from these six sources, was organized by creating separate classes for translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women for each of the six selected headings. (See Appendices A to L)

Selection criteria

For the purpose of this study I needed to select non-literary texts according to my own purpose; therefore, I established two sets of criteria for determining which texts to include in my database. The first set of criteria refers to the titles and subject-matter of the texts and the second set is related to the determination of the nature of the texts, i.e. whether they are translated or indigenous.

The first criterion of the first set is the titles or subtitles of translated and indigenous non-literary texts. Titles/subtitles which include terms that are clearly meant to attract women readers have been selected, such as "kadın" [woman], "kız" [girl], "dul kadın" [widow], "anne" [mother], "hanım" [lady, Miss./Mrs.] and

titles/subtitles which include a name of a woman, such as “İmparatoriçe Elizabeth” [Empress Elizabeth] or “İlk Kadın Hekim Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell” [The First Female Doctor Elizabeth Blackwell] have also been selected. Furthermore, titles/subtitles which were clearly directed to women through the emphasis on their husbands, such as *Kocalarınızın Muvaffakiyet Sırrı Elinizdedir* [How to Help Your Husband Get Ahead] have also been included. These texts may be classified as ones specifically directed to women.

The second criterion involves subjects presumed to be within a woman’s province. These are the translated and indigenous non-literary texts on topics such as women’s sexual life, women in marriage and family and women in society, which are directed in some way to a female audience. It would be foolish to suggest that men did not read them. However, it can be said that they are on women.

The third criterion pertains to translated and indigenous non-literary texts with separate sections attributed to women’s duties, roles and sexuality. This category includes some of the marriage guides, although it could be argued that many of these books were written for men too, but that these books still have separate sections on women. Books meeting this criterion are included only if they have a substantial section for the female sex.

Apart from the selection criteria above, the second set of criteria concern the decision to determine the division between translation and source. Firstly, texts which include the name of a translator are put in the category of “translated texts” in the database. Secondly, texts which do not include the name of a translator but which carry the name of a foreign author are also included in the category of “translated texts”. Thirdly, texts that give a Turkish name for the author are placed in the category of “indigenous texts”. Some texts have neither an author’s name nor

translator's name; in that case, they are classified as a separate category of anonymous texts.²⁵

The decision whether or not to include a text in my database or exclude a text from my database was made using these two sets of criteria. This database includes a collection of translated and indigenous non-literary texts that authors or booksellers expected women to buy and read. In other words, these are translated and indigenous non-literary texts which presume to have been published in part for women and on women because there is some definite evidence to that effect.

I cannot claim that my database cites all texts read by Turkish women or on Turkish women published between 1828 and 1990. Obviously women, particularly educated women, read many books of current interest, whether or not they were directed specifically to their sex. Unfortunately, libraries did not have catalogues on their readers; therefore it is impossible to find evidence for which texts the female and male readers borrowed and read.²⁶ I should also add that many texts with female associations are not included in the corpus, since they do not satisfy the above criteria. For example, the novels, satires, dramas and specialists' texts²⁷ on women in

²⁵ I also incorporated the list of texts that have neither a translator's nor an author's name in Appendix L. I will refer to this appendix wherever it is necessary, though this appendix needs more detailed research. I should note here that these selection criteria appeared problematic after I saw the texts themselves. This is because in some cases a text that had a Turkish author's name in the bibliography turned out to be a translated text after textual analysis, such as Recep Doksat's text *Cinsi Başarının Esasları* [Fundamentals of Sexual Success] in 1958. Doksat wrote in the foreword that he benefited from Rudolf von Urban's *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness* (1950). The problem of identifying translation from the catalogues or bibliographies will be analyzed in detail in the case study chapters.

²⁶ I conducted a telephone interview with Prof. Meral Alpay, who is the head of the Department of Library and Documentation Centre [Kütüphane ve Dokümantasyon Daire Başkanı] at Istanbul University, on 7 October 2003 on the library catalogues and statistics. She stated that it is almost impossible to reach adequate information about the sex of reader, because libraries do not keep a register of these statistics regularly. Here appears an important problem when readers are considered. Reader reception is an important research area as far as literary and social studies are considered. A text is seen as a whole, with its writer, translator, editor, publisher and reader, and within a historical, socio-cultural and political context. Still, one can gain information about readers' reception via interviews and surveys (see Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2005; Forthcoming).

²⁷ These include texts on the fields of *Kadın Doğum* [Obstetrics], *Kadın Hastalıkları* [Gynecology], *Yapay Dölllenme* [Artificial Impregnation], *Medeni Hukuk* [Civil Law] etc.

relation to medicine and law, which were also published extensively within the mentioned period, were left outside of my database.

Apart from the difficulties of gathering texts for the use of this thesis, there are several other problems that have arisen during the analysis of bibliographical sources. The first one is the incompleteness of the sources. Since bibliographies depend on publishers' data, it is likely that not all texts were listed. Secondly, the classification in the bibliographies, especially the *Bibliography of Turkey* and *Index Translationum*, causes further problems. Translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women can be found under almost all subject headings. There is also some confusion in the classification: in some cases, a text may have been classified under the heading "Physiology" in the 1940s catalogue, whereas another text of the same subject may have been classified under the heading "Philosophy". For example, Maria Stops' book *İzdivaçta Aşk* [Love in Marriage] translated by N.B. was classified under "Physiology" in 1949, but under "Psychology" in 1960. Thus I may have inevitably overlooked some titles in my research, so that in principle all texts in this database must be taken as revisable entries. A third problem concerns the different versions of texts. Mostly, reeditions of a title are not listed in the bibliographies.²⁸ One may suddenly come across a fourth edition, although its previous editions were not listed. Therefore, the reprint data is incomplete. Finally, it is almost impossible to reach the print runs. Almost no text from my database gives the exact number of copies published. Thus, there is no evidence in the bibliographies to discuss the degree of un/popularity of these texts on the market.

The limitations are multiple and I make no claim to comprehensiveness; however, I believe the substantial size of my database means that general trends can

²⁸ All the same, in the Appendices I added the reeditions which I could find.

still be determined and discussed. This database may be seen as the first attempt to list the translated and indigenous non-literary texts separately in order to interpret the role of non-literary translations on women in the Turkish market between 1828 and 1990. I have included in my database both translated non-literary texts from any language which were published in Turkish and non-literary texts written in Turkish between 1828 and 1990. My database includes both first editions and reprints if they exist in the bibliographies. Apart from the translated title and the translator, my database also includes information about the source language author, publisher, place of publication, publication year and the series in which a text that is published. The bibliographies I analyzed, apart from *Index Translationum* and the OPAC catalogues of the British Library, do not provide information on the language from which a text was translated, i.e. the intermediary or source language. Therefore, the language of the has been determined from the *Index Translationum* and the OPAC catalogue when this has been possible; when not an internet search was carried out to gather information about the author and the translator. In some cases, the selected language for translation could not be specified, in which case that entry was not marked in the database. In other cases, the translator, author, publisher or publication year could not be specified, but they are still included in the database marked as [y.y.].

Patterns in the bibliographical data

In this section, I will first look at the total production of non-literary texts for/on women between 1828 and 1990. My survey will proceed with the subject headings, languages of translation, publishing houses, translators and authors. This quantitative research will display not only the diachronic distribution of the data but also enable

the comparative analysis of the synchronic distribution of six categories of the non-literary texts for/on women.

Translations and indigenous texts

I will first study the distribution of total production, i.e. the quantity of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for and on women in Turkey over a period of 160 years. The aim is to provide an overall picture of the publishing market as far as my case is concerned.

The first table, Table 1²⁹ below, provides a general overview of the number of translated and indigenous texts for/on women published per year, the total production and their percentages between 1828 and 1990. The table shows that the number of both translated and indigenous texts fluctuated during the periods in question.

Table 1. Total Production of Non-literary Texts for/on Women Between 1828 and 1990

Year	Numbers			Percentages	
	Translation	Indigenous	Total	Translation	Indigenous
1828	1	0	1	0,28	0,00
1878	0	2	2	0,00	0,58
1879	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1883	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1886	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1888	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1889	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1891	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1893	0	3	3	0,00	0,87
1900	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1907	1	0	1	0,28	0,00
1908	1	0	1	0,28	0,00
1910	1	3	4	0,28	0,87
1911	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1912	0	1	1	0,00	0,29
1913	0	2	2	0,00	0,58
1914	1	1	2	0,28	0,29
1918	0	2	2	0,00	0,58

²⁹ All tables and graphs are mine, unless otherwise noted.

1919	0	1	1		0,00	0,29
1922	0	2	2		0,00	0,58
1923	1	3	4		0,28	0,87
1925	1	2	3		0,28	0,58
1926	0	1	1		0,00	0,29
1928	1	0	1		0,28	0,00
1930	0	1	1		0,00	0,29
1931	3	2	5		0,84	0,58
1932	1	3	4		0,28	0,87
1933	0	2	2		0,00	0,58
1934	0	0	0		0,00	0,00
1935	2	1	3		0,56	0,29
1936	1	7	8		0,28	2,03
1937	0	18	18		0,00	5,23
1938	0	0	0		0,00	0,00
1939	5	0	5		1,40	0,00
1940	0	3	3		0,00	0,87
1941	0	1	1		0,00	0,29
1942	3	1	4		0,84	0,29
1943	3	3	6		0,84	0,87
1944	1	4	5		0,28	1,16
1945	3	1	4		0,84	0,29
1946	2	3	5		0,56	0,87
1947	1	5	6		0,28	1,45
1948	0	2	2		0,00	0,58
1949	1	0	1		0,28	0,00
1950	3	0	3		0,84	0,00
1951	3	0	3		0,84	0,00
1952	4	0	4		1,12	0,00
1953	3	0	3		0,84	0,00
1954	1	0	1		0,28	0,00
1955	4	5	9		1,12	1,45
1956	9	2	11		2,53	0,58
1957	4	1	5		1,12	0,29
1958	1	7	8		0,28	2,03
1959	8	4	12		2,25	1,16
1960	4	6	10		1,12	1,74
1961	4	3	7		1,12	0,87
1962	11	2	13		3,09	0,58
1963	9	6	15		2,53	1,74
1964	3	3	6		0,84	0,87
1965	7	6	13		1,97	1,74
1966	9	6	15		2,53	1,74
1967	6	5	11		1,69	1,45
1968	5	9	14		1,40	2,62
1969	6	3	9		1,69	0,87
1970	22	7	29		6,18	2,03
1971	7	7	14		1,97	2,03
1972	11	4	15		3,09	1,16
1973	11	11	22		3,09	3,20
1974	7	8	15		1,97	2,33
1975	26	8	34		7,30	2,33
1976	15	4	19		4,21	1,16
1977	15	8	23		4,21	2,33
1978	6	7	13		1,69	2,03

1979	8	5	13		2,25	1,45
1980	2	6	8		0,56	1,74
1981	1	7	8		0,28	2,03
1982	6	17	23		1,69	4,94
1983	8	9	17		2,25	2,62
1984	10	13	23		2,81	3,78
1985	10	8	18		2,81	2,33
1986	17	12	29		4,78	3,49
1987	7	13	20		1,97	3,78
1988	7	11	18		1,97	3,20
1989	11	11	22		3,09	3,20
1990	11	12	23		3,09	3,49
Total	356	344	700		100,00	100,00

The above table offers a detailed view of the total production in the period under examination. In order to present the distribution more clearly, another table classified according to ten year periods is prepared below. According to Table 2, there was a dramatic increase in the total production of translated and indigenous non-literary texts after the 1930s.

Table 2. Total Production: Distribution in Decades

Year	Numbers			Percentages	
	Translated	Original	Total	Translated	Original
1828-1869	1	0	1	0,28	0,00
1870-1879	0	3	3	0,00	0,87
1880-1889	0	4	4	0,00	1,16
1890-1899	0	4	4	0,00	1,16
1900-1909	2	1	3	0,56	0,29
1910-1919	2	11	13	0,56	3,20
1920-1929	3	8	11	0,85	2,33
1930-1939	12	33	45	3,38	9,59
1940-1949	14	23	37	3,94	6,69
1950-1959	39	19	58	10,99	5,52
1960-1969	64	49	113	18,03	14,24
1970-1979	128	69	197	36,06	20,06
1980-1990	90	120	210	25,35	34,88

The findings of the above table reveal that the number of translated texts started to increase in the 1930s and rose steadily until the 1980s, while the number of indigenous texts first increased in the 1910s and then in the 1930s, but peaking particularly in the 1980s. The number of translated texts was higher than the number

of indigenous texts between 1950 and 1980, whereas it was lower before 1950 and after 1980.

As for the total production, 39 non-literary texts were published in the almost a hundred years from 1828 to 1930, whereas 660 texts were published in sixty years between 1930 and 1990. This conspicuous increase in the publication of both translated and indigenous texts after the 1930s might be a result of the increase in the literacy rate of women and men as readers after the Alphabet Reform in 1928. The figures for the literacy rate in Turkey after the 1930s seem to confirm the increase in the publication of texts in that period. According to the data of the State Institute of Statistics (DİE), the ratio of literate women has increased continuously since the alphabet reform (DİE, 1995). Before the reform, the literacy rate was estimated to be very small. Buket Uzuner (2005) states that the literacy rate in 1914 was 5-6% and that most of the people who knew how to read and write were non-Muslim. Mehmet Kayıran (1998) estimates the percentage of literate people in the pre-republican period at 7%. Table 3 below shows that 9.81% female literacy rate rose to 71.98% in the republican period from 1935 to 1990.

Table 3. Literacy rate in percentage 1935-1990 (Gök, 1995, p.190)

Years	Women	Men	Total
1935	9.81	29.35	19.25
1940	12.92	36.20	24.55
1945	16.84	43.67	30.22
1950	19.35	45.34	32.37
1955	25.52	55.79	40.87
1960	24.83	53.59	39.49
1965	32.83	64.04	38.72
1970	41.80	70.31	56.21
1975	50.47	76.02	63.62
1980	54.65	79.94	67.45
1985	68.02	86.35	77.45
1990	71.98	88.81	79.21

Table 3 provides information about the literacy rate of the female and male population and their ratios to the total population. It can be seen that the ratio of literate females increased notably after 1935. Perhaps the most important impetus was the establishment of the Nation's Schools [Millet Mektepleri]. They were established in 1928 to teach the Latin alphabet to the public (Şimşek, 2002, p.27). According to the statistics, Nation's Schools were opened in sixty-five cities in 1928, and 377,018 women and 859,647 men graduated from these schools (Başvekalet İ.U.M., 1935a, pp.70-71).

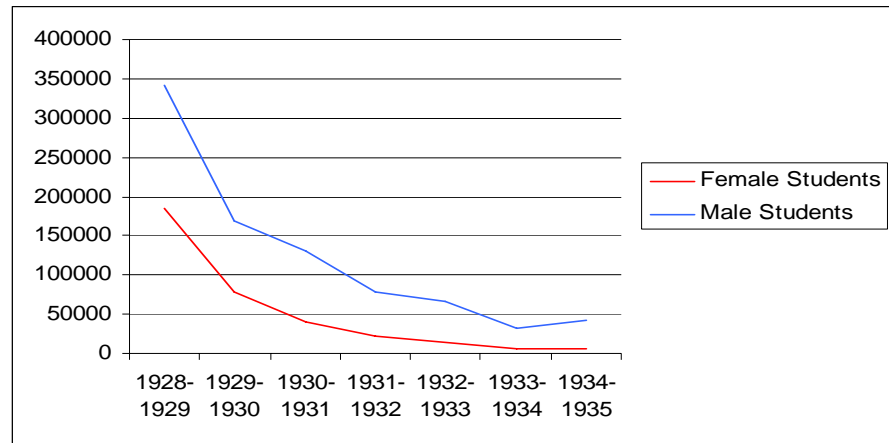


Fig. 1. The proportion of female and male students in Nation's Schools: 1928-1935

Figure 1 reveals that the number of students fell drastically a few years after the establishment of the Nation's Schools. This could be due to the increasing rate of students in primary and secondary schools after the 1930s. When the number of female students in primary, junior and high schools is considered, there appears to have occurred an increase in the number of female students who were educated between 1923 and the 1970s (DİE, 1995, pp. 79-83).

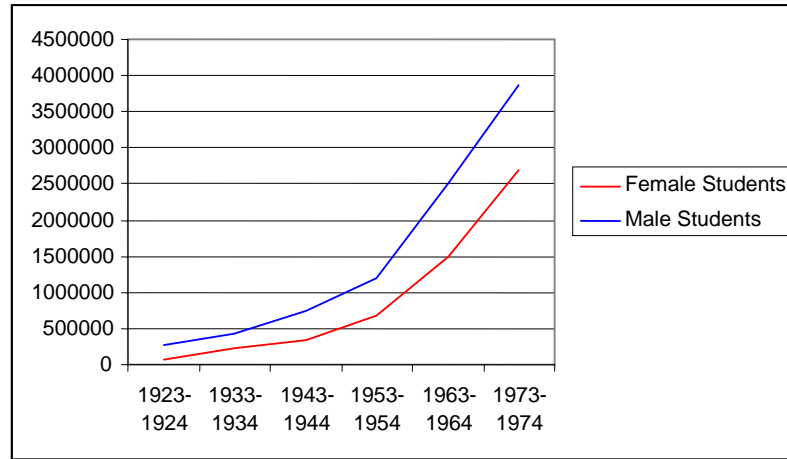


Fig. 2. The proportion of female and male students in primary, junior and high schools: 1923-1974

Other education centers in the early republican period were the People's Houses [Halk Evleri] and People's Reading Rooms [Halk Okuma Odaları] established in the People's Houses. Fourteen People's Houses were established mainly in mainly big cities, in 1932, fifty-five in 1933, eighty in 1934, culminating in a total of 469 in sixty-two cities in 1948 (Şimşek, 2002, p. 251). Then the People's Reading Rooms were established in small villages in 1940. Over eight years, the number of People's Reading Rooms increased to 4261 (Şimşek, 2002, p.249). The People's Houses and People's Reading Rooms were opened to gather young people under one roof, to create a collective responsibility and enthusiasm, to educate them according to the republican reforms and to inform them about literature and arts (Baltacıoğlu in Şimşek (2002), p. 68). In order to encourage young people to gain reading and writing skills, libraries were opened in the People's Houses and the People's Reading Rooms.³⁰ Although statistics for every single year do not exist, the 1933 and 1940 statistics of the People's Reading Rooms prove that many women went to libraries. 46,151 women and 933,549 men were registered in the People's Reading Rooms in

³⁰ See Şimşek, Sefa (2002) *Halkevleri 1932-1951: Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi*. [People's Houses 1923-1951: An Experience of Ideological Mobilization] İstanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları for data on the concerts, art galleries and many other activities in the People's Houses.

1933 according to the library catalogues (Başvekalet İ.U.M., 1935b, p. 57). In 1940 there were a total number of 96,017 readers who visited libraries in order to read books (Şimşek, 2002, p. 266).

My database and the statistics on the literacy rates suggest the general hypothesis that there could be a relation between the increasing number of literate women and the increasing number of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women. In order to observe the increase in non-literary production for/on women more clearly, let us now examine the figures for both translated and indigenous non-literary texts in graph. From now, the distribution over time for both text types shows diverging trends when we compare the two productions in one graph. On average, the proportion of indigenous non-literary texts to translations is higher until the 1950s, but between 1950 and 1980 the proportion of translations to indigenous texts shows a sudden increase. Especially during the thirty years between 1950 and 1980, the percentage of translations occupies a larger proportion of the total production, making up approximately 25% of all non-literary texts for/on women published between 1828 and 1980.

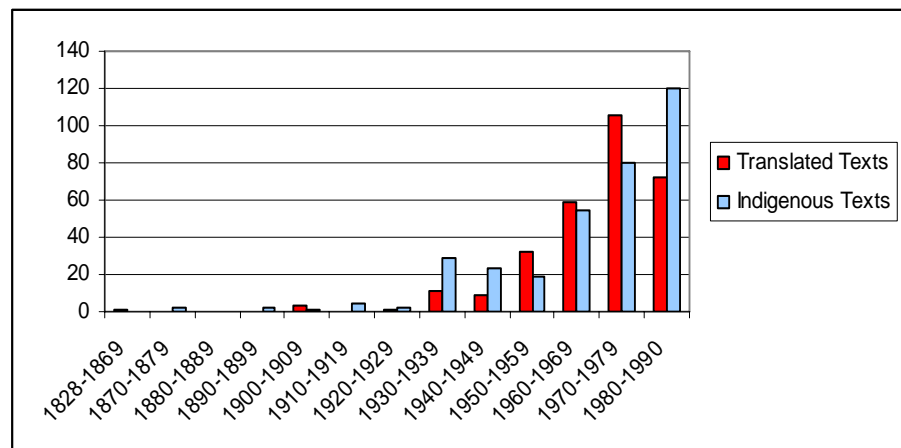


Fig. 3. Total production: Translated and indigenous texts

Figure 3 reveals that there was a marked increase between 1950 and 1980 in the number of translated non-literary texts for/on women. It also makes it abundantly clear that indigenous non-literary texts boomed after the 1980s. Another graph will make the distribution of the publication of translated texts even clearer, since it contains only the production of translated texts between 1828 and 1990.

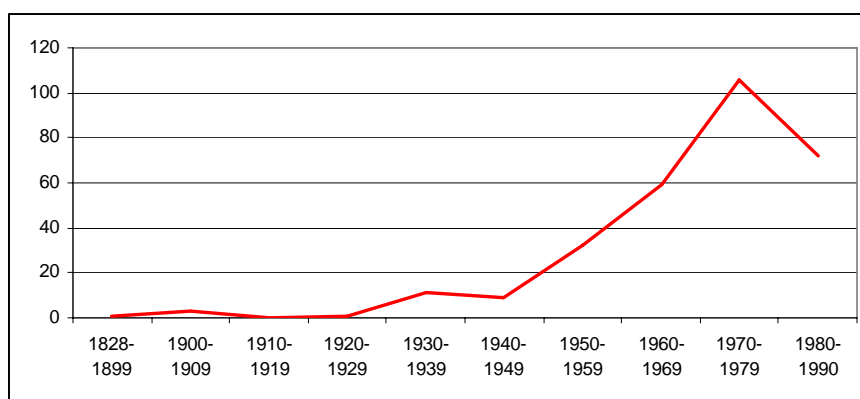


Fig. 4. Number of translated non-literary texts

It can easily be noticed from Figure 4 that over the years 1950 to 1980 the amount of translations increased. There was a slight increase in the 1930s, but also a slight decrease at the end of the 30s. Figure 4 reveals that there was a steady increase until the beginning of the 1980s, but that just after 1980 the publication of translated non-literary texts for/on women decreased sharply. The reasons for the boom in the 1960s and the 1970s will be discussed in the next section.

Figure 5 shows the distribution of indigenous non-literary texts for/on women published between 1828 and 1990. It can be seen that indigenous production accelerated at the beginning of the 1920s and, after a decrease in the 1950s, it rose towards the beginning of the 1960s and kept increasing afterwards. It should be noted that the evident boom in the production of indigenous non-literary texts on women appeared to occur after the 1980s.

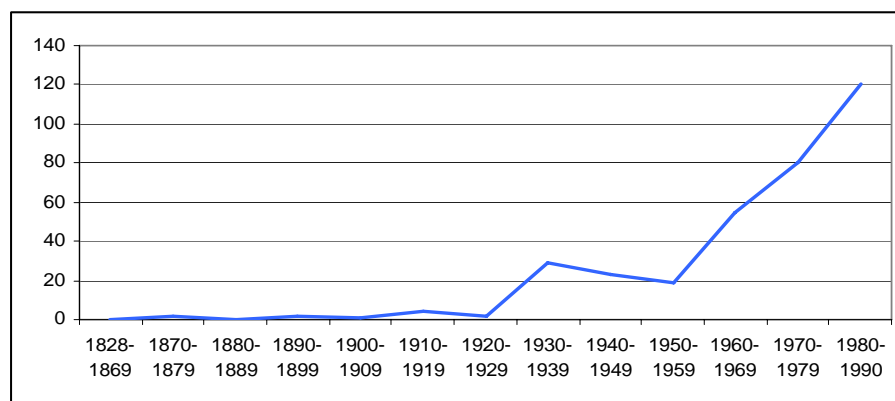


Fig. 5. Number of indigenous non-literary texts

As can be seen from the tables and graphs above, the overall distribution of non-literary texts for/on women display different trends between 1828 and 1990 when translated and indigenous production are considered separately. The publication of translated texts rose in the 1940s and increased steadily until the 1970s, booming between 1970 and 1980. The indigenous texts, on the other hand, began rising in the 1930s and, after a slight decrease in the 1940s, showed a sharp increase, booming in the 1980s. The next section will survey the production of non-literary texts according to subject headings, first in order to reveal the significant place of non-literary texts on women’s sexuality and second in order to clarify patterns of the rise and fall which were documented in this section.

Trends in subject headings: a comparison of translated and indigenous texts

As was discussed in the previous section, the diachronic patterns in the publication of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women display shifts between 1828 and 1990. But apart from this general pattern, the diverse categories of non-literary texts need detailed analysis. In this section six categories will be surveyed. They are “women’s sexuality”, “women’s biography”, “women in society and

feminism”, “women in marriage and family life”, “women and Islam” and finally “women and politics”.

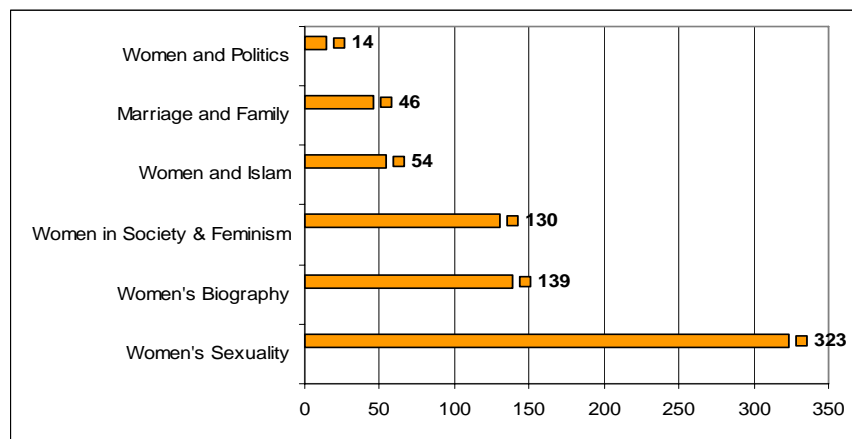


Fig. 6. The ratio of translated and indigenous non-literary texts of six subject headings (1828-1990)

When we look at the subject headings above, we see that translated and indigenous popular non-literary texts on “women’s sexuality” make up around 45.7% of the total production of non-literary texts for/on women on the market. The texts on “women’s biography” account for 19.6 % of the total production of the six categories and then texts on “women in society and feminism” follow with the ratio of 18.4%. The ratio of the texts on “women and Islam” is 7.6% and that of the texts on “marriage and family” is 6.5%. Finally texts on “women and politics” make up 1.9% of the total production. The last group of texts includes only translations; no indigenous texts on “women and politics” appeared until 1990.

The findings from my bibliographic survey reveal that sexuality was not a totally invisible topic in the pre-republican and republican periods. It had been a subject discussed in the public sphere by Turkish translators and writers starting from the nineteenth century. Therefore, translated and indigenous popular non-literary texts will be analyzed in detail in the next section. This section will include a bird’s

eye view of the popular non-literary texts on women’s sexuality and the five other categories.

As the biggest group in my database, the first group, popular non-literary texts on “women’s sexuality”, has a different diachronic distribution when compared with the other translated and indigenous non-literary texts. Let’s look at the graph below:

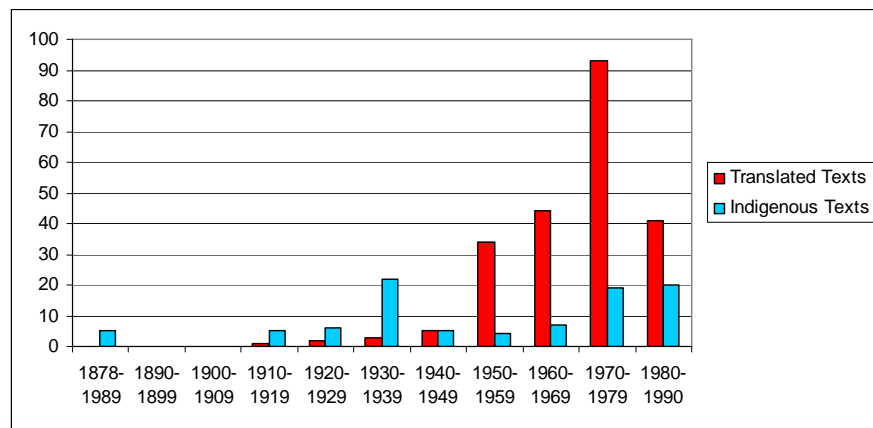


Fig. 7. Translated and indigenous texts on women’s sexuality

It can be seen from Figure 7 that the entrance of popular indigenous texts on women’s sexuality in the Ottoman/Turkish non-literary polysystem began in the nineteenth century. As a member of the biggest group in my database, which includes almost half of all texts in the six categories, the first indigenous popular non-literary text on women’s sexuality appeared in 1878 and the first translated popular non-literary texts appeared in 1914, according to the bibliographies I have analyzed (see Appendix A and B). There seems to have been a gap of about 30 years, after which texts were produced again, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The first popular indigenous texts on women’s sexuality published in Latin script in the republican period belong to Daniş Remzi Korok, a prolific writer who wrote twenty-three texts on women’s sexuality between 1935 and 1939 (see Appendix B). As for

translations, the first text in Latin script was Elinor Glyn's *The Philosophy of Love*, translated by Esmâ Z. as *Aşk Dersleri: Evlenecekler ve Evlenenler* [Lessons in Love: For Those Who Will Get Married and Are Already Married] and published in 1931 (see Appendix A).

Figure 7 shows that the number of translated popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality began to rise in the 1940s and had a steady increase until the 1960s, before booming in the 1970s. There was a sharp decrease in the number of translations in the 1980s. The quantity of indigenous text productions, which increased in the 1930s thanks to Daniş Remzi Korok's productions, as was discussed above, forged ahead after the 1970s. However, after the 1940s, indigenous production could never reach the level of the publication of translated popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality.

The second category of texts, "women's biographies", had a different journey in time. Translated biographies of females entered the Turkish culture repertoire in 1828 with Jean H. Castéra's *Katerina Tarihi* [History of Catherine the Great] which was translated by Yakovaki Efendi;³¹ but then no female biography was translated in the next 100 years until 1931 (see Appendix C). Indigenous biographies started in 1878 with Mehmet Zihni's *Kitab-i meşahir el-nisa* [The Book of Famous Women]. The other texts were published, albeit irregularly, in 1893, 1918 and 1922 and after the 1930s the number of indigenous female biographies rose and then boomed in the

³¹ Franz Babinger states that this translation was done by Yakovaki Argyropulo in Brussa, at the request of a number of high-ranking persons. In that case, the translation might have already been fit for publication already before Argyropulo joined Muhammad 'Alî's *dîwân* at the end of the 1820's, when Argyropulo and some other translators were ordered to translate a number of historical works which were deemed to be of special interest to the government. The first three of these, al-Jabartî's *Mazhar al-taqdîs*, Macchiavelli's *Il Principe*, and Koèi Beg's *Risâle* were never published. The work, which presents Castéra's *Histoire de Cathérine II* first published in Paris in 1797, is therefore the first of these translations to have been published. Already two years later, in 1831, the translation saw a second edition under the title *İkinci Qatrîna Nam Rusiyya İmbaraturiyyanik tarihi* [The History of Catherine the Second, The Empress of Russia], while a third one was published thirty years later in Istanbul, in 1861 (Babinger, "<http://www.smitskamp.nl/645-RAR.HTM>")

1980s (see Appendix D). The graph below displays the distribution of women's biographies between 1828 and 1990:

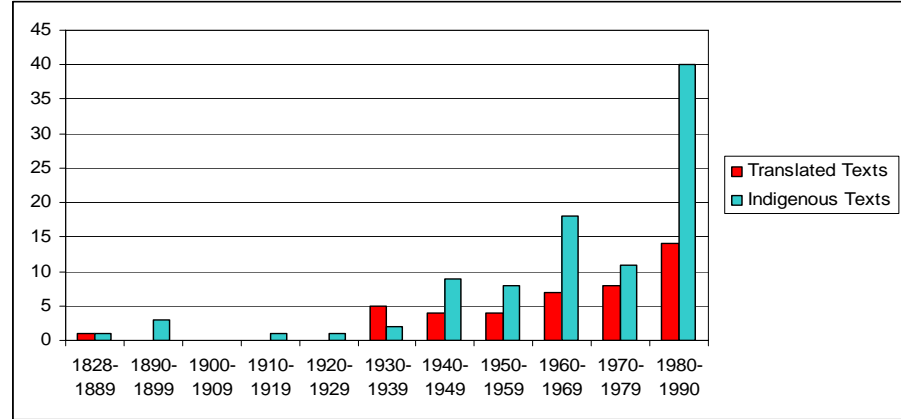


Fig. 8. Translated and indigenous women's biographies

Translated and indigenous biographies appear to have displayed a diverging trend with respect to their titles and subjects. Translated female biographies, mostly the biographies of famous female figures, were largely dedicated to individual woman, beginning with the first translated biography in 1828, and continuing with works such as Marion Cunningham's *Madame Curie ve Radyumun Keşfi* (1931) [Madame Curie-Sklodowska-and the Story of Radium] translated by B. Avni, Markum Leo's *Büyük Katerina ve Aşıkları* (1939) [Catherine the Great and Her Lovers] translated by Ömer Rıza Doğrul, Fleming Maureen's *İmparatoriçe Elizabeth'in Hayatı* (1943) [A Caged Bird: The Romantic Biography Empress Elizabeth of Austria] translated by Mithat Cemal (see Appendix C). Indigenous biographies, however, were mostly collections until the 1930s, such as *Şair Hanımlarımız* (1893) [Our Female Poets], *Küçük Kızlara Örnek Büyük Kadınlar* (1918) [Great Women Who Are Role Models for Firls] (1918), *Tarihte Güzel Kadınlar* (1922) [Beautiful Women in History], *Tarihte Kadın Simaları* (1931) [Women in History] (see Appendix D).

Seven translated biographies were dedicated to religious female figures such as C. Zeydan's *Harunnürreşidin kızkardeşi El-Abbase* (1946) [Harunnürreşid's Sister El-Abbase], translated by Zeki Tuncay, and Aişe Abdurrahman's *Kerbelanın Kızı Hz. Zeynep* (1970) [The Sister of Kerbala: Zeynep] translated by Selami Münir Yurdatap while the rest were about European female figures. Thirty-nine women's biographies in my database portrayed famous religious figures such as *Peygamberimizin sevgili kızı Fatımai Zehra* [The Beloved Daughter of Our Prophet: Fatımai Zehra] (1940), *Hazreti Hatice* (1958) and *Hazreti Amine* (1984). Six indigenous biographies were dedicated to European women, including *Marie Sklodowska Curie* (1968), *Kleopatra: Taçlı fahişe* [Cleopatra: The Crowned Prostitute] (1971).

The number of texts in the third subject heading "women in society and feminism" showed a major increase after the 1970s, as can be seen in Figure 8 below. Fifty titles out of 130 were translations, and the first translation and indigenous text in this category were published in the same periods in Turkey. Odette Lacquerre's *Feminizm: Alem-i Nisvan* [Feminism: Women's World] was translated by Baha Tevfik in the 1910s (see Appendix E). This was one of the first texts in the database that includes the term "feminism" in its title. "Feminism" was also used in the title of Hamid Halil's text *İslamiyette Feminizm yahut Alem-i Nisvan'da Musavvati Tamme* (1910) [Feminism in Islam or Equality in the Women's World] which was the first indigenous text in this category (see Appendix F).³² It seems that feminism as a subject began to be discussed both in translated and indigenous texts at the same time. When the titles of the above texts are taken into consideration, it seems likely that Hamid Halil's text might be a response to Baha Tevfik's

³² According to my research, the term "feminism" first appeared in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, N.89, 1898 in an article titled "Feminizm Havadisı" [News about Feminism], which was written by an anonymous writer under the nickname "Feminist" (Toska, 1992, p. 138).

translation. Now let us look at the graph below to see the diachronic distribution of texts in this category:

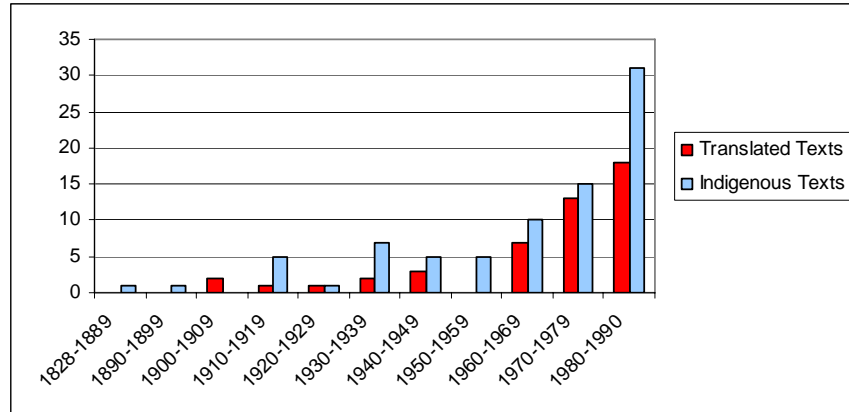


Fig. 9. Translated and indigenous texts on “women in society and feminism”

Most of the texts in this category were indigenous productions, as can be observed from Figure 9. The number of indigenous texts increased particularly dramatically in the 1980s and occupies 25% of the total number of all non-literary texts for/on women published between 1980 and 1990. The number of translated texts increased steadily after the 1960s, but never reached the number of indigenous texts.

Statistics concerning the fourth category of non-literary texts, on “women and Islam”, show that a number of both translated and indigenous texts appeared in Turkey in the 1950s and it seems that their number increased steadily between 1950 and 1990 (see Appendix G and H).

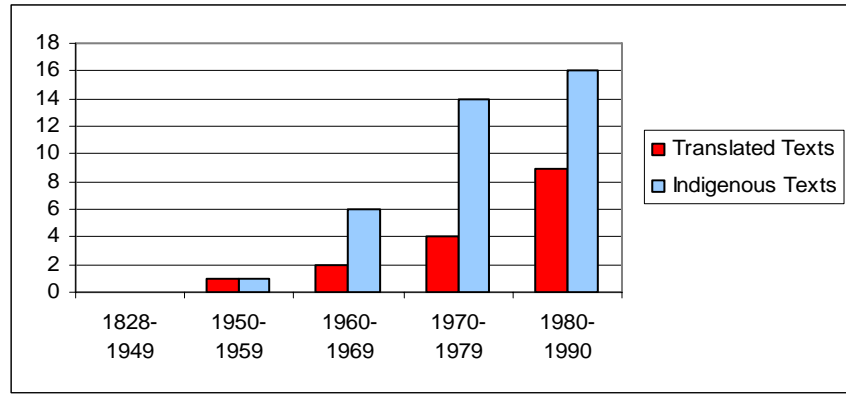


Fig. 10. Translated and indigenous texts on “women and Islam”

Almost all translated and indigenous texts in this category were dealt with women in Islam. These include Ahmet Ağaoğlu’s *İslamiyette Kadın* (1959) [Woman in Islam] translated by Hasan Ali Ediz; Zeynep Polat’s *İslam ve Kadın* (1973) [Islam and Woman] and M.F. Vecdi’s *Müslüman Kadını* (1982) [Moslem Woman] translated by Mehmet Ersoy. Only one text differs from the others, Mustafa Al Sibai’s *İslam ve Garblılara göre Kadın* (1969) [Woman According to Islam and the West] translated by İhsan Toksan, which involves a comparison between Islam and the West in its title. All of the texts were translated from Arabic and as can be seen from the above titles, their titles appear to have been very close to each other regardless of whether the texts were translations or indigenous works.

The fifth category “marriage and family” includes texts such as Hüseyin Avni Güler’s *Evliliğin Sırrı* (1960) [Secret of Marriage], Şaban Ötnü’s *Aile Hayatımız* (1972) [Our Family Life]; Bertrand Russell’s *Evlilik ve Ahlak* (1963) [Marriage and Morals] translated by Ender Gürol and Muhammed Nasiriddin Elbani’s *Hadis-i şeriflere göre evlenme adabı* (1968) [Marriage Manners According to the Prophet’s Deeds] translated by Ali Arslan (see Appendix I and J).³³ Below is the graph that

³³ It was difficult for me to treat this category as a separate one, since most of the texts in this category turned out to be texts on sexuality according to the bibliography of the KKKB (2006). Thus I first compiled the category of texts on “women’s sexuality” and then put the remaining texts in this category. Still, there may be texts which can be placed in both categories.

allows a comparison of the production of translated and indigenous texts on marriage and the family.

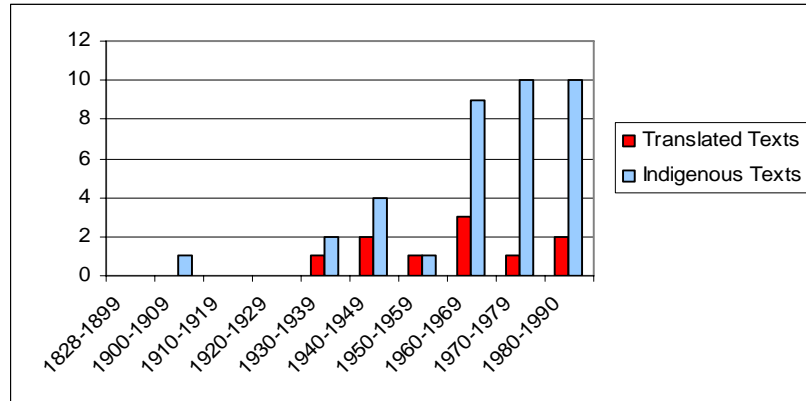


Fig. 11. Translated and indigenous texts on “marriage and family life”

Figure 11 shows that the number of indigenous non-literary texts on marriage and the family was higher than the number of translated texts. The number of translations never went beyond the number of indigenous texts between 1828 and 1990. It should be noted that, although marriage and family life was one of the popular subjects in women’s magazines in the republican period (see Chapter 4), translated and indigenous texts published on marriage and family only occupied 6.5% of the total production among the six categories in my database. It may be speculated that translated and indigenous articles on marriage and family life published in women’s magazines satisfied female readers, so that they did not need to buy books on marriage and family life.

The last category “women and politics” displays a completely different pattern from the other five categories above. All the texts in this category are translations (see Appendix K). The first translated text was published in 1935, but then no text was translated until 1966. This category occupies a minor place in the database with only thirteen translated texts in almost 160 years.

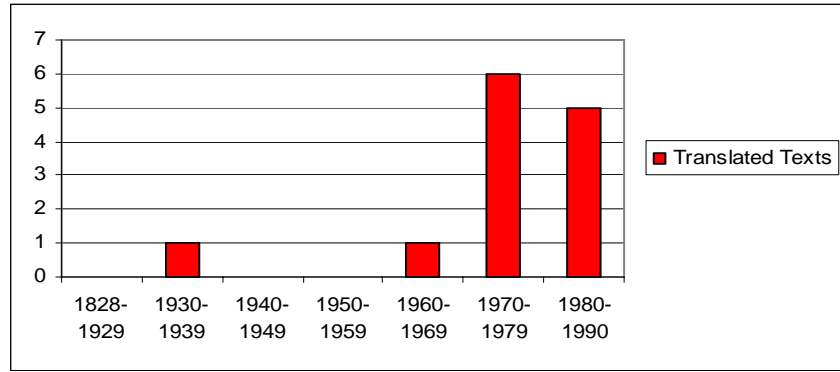


Fig. 12. Translated and indigenous texts on “women and politics”

The publication of translations began with the translation of August Bebel’s famous book *Kadın ve Sosyalizm* (1935) [Women and Socialism] translated by Sabiha Sertel, and then texts on “women and politics” disappeared from the market until 1966, then gained acceleration and increased in the second half of the 1970s. The number of reeditions was higher than that of new translations in the 1970s. Let’s see the translations with the re-editions in the graph below:

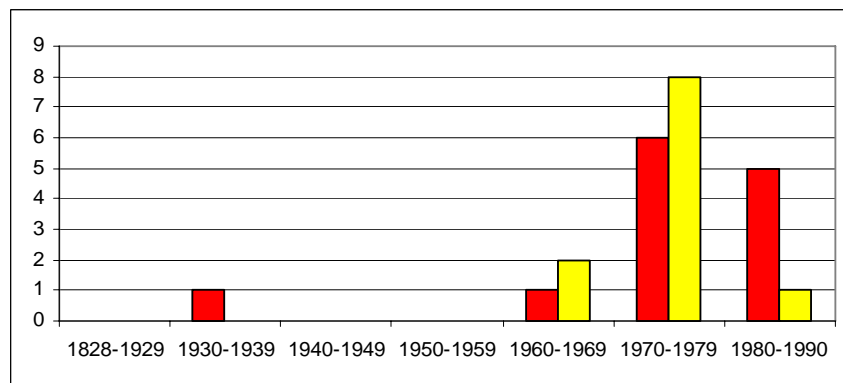


Fig. 13. Reeditions in yellow

August Bebel’s *Kadın ve Sosyalizm* (1935) and Karl Marx’s *Kadın ve Marksizm* (1970) [Women and Marxism] were published in new editions many times between 1970 and 1980. The same period is also marked by the publication of texts such as Simone de Beauvoir’s *Kadın* (1970) [A History of Sex] translated by Bertan Onaran, Kate Millet’s *Cinsel Politika* (1973) [Sexual Politics] translated by Seçkin Selvi, and

Vladimir Ilyiç Lenin’s *Kadınların Kurtuluşu* (1975) [The Emancipation of Women] translated by Ertuğrul Yemenoğlu, which began to be published after the flourishing of feminism in Turkey in the 1970s. The same period also saw the flourishing of translated texts on women and sexuality, as can be seen in Figure 7. I would suggest that the flourishing of texts on feminism in the 1970s may have had an effect on the increase of reeditions of texts on women and politics.

Trends in the main source languages

Figure 14 below shows the three most common source languages of the translations in my database. Here, source language refers to the language of the indigenous text. As can be seen from the graph, English is the dominant source language, and then comes French and German. The “other” column includes various languages such as Arabic, Spanish, Russian, and Japanese and also languages of texts that could not be found during the database research because of the lack of an author’s name.

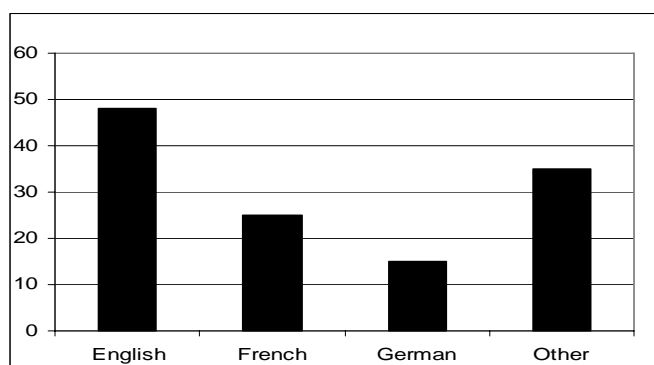


Fig. 14. Source languages

English was the dominant source language in the category of “women’s sexuality”, whereas French and German were the dominant languages in the category of “women in society and feminism”. Russian and German were the basic source

languages for the texts on “women and politics”. For the category of “women and Islam”, Arabic was the dominant source language. The source languages of biographies vary: English, German, French and Russian were preferred interchangeably over the years.

The information on source languages also displays the foreign source cultures of non-literary texts on women that translators and publishers preferred. When the distribution of source languages over years is taken into consideration, it can be seen that German increases in the 1930s, with the publication of political texts such as August Bebel’s *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*, and then there is another increase in German during the 1940s with the help of Heinrich Kisch’s texts on women’s sexuality, such as *Kadın: Seksüel Hayatı ve Evliliğe Sadakatsizliği* [Woman: Her Sexual Life and Infidelity in Marriage]. French, on the other hand, rises rapidly after 1965, with the translations of Simone de Beauvoir’s texts. English, the dominant source language, basically became the source for the categories of “marriage and family life” and “women’s sexuality”, especially after the 1950s. Now let’s see the diachronic distribution of the most preferred three source languages below:

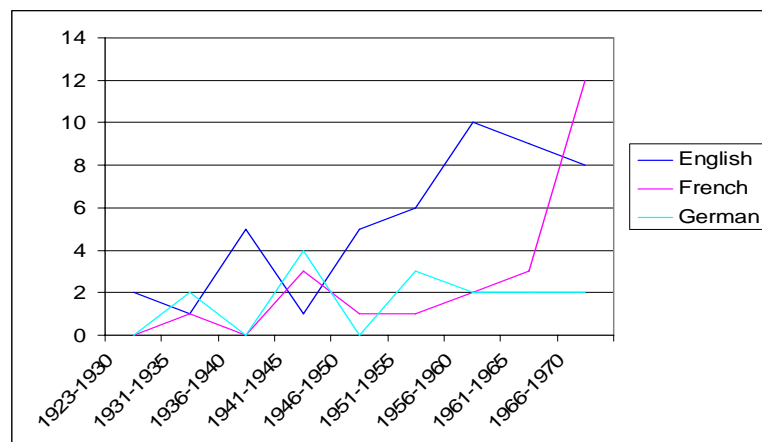


Fig. 15. Trends in English, French and German

The above analysis of the source languages does not take into account the selected language of the source actually used in translation. Many translations were made from an intermediate language; for example, Marion Cunningham's *Madame Curie and the Story of Radium* was translated from the French by B. Avni and Theodoor Velde's Dutch text *Het Volkomen Huwelijk* was translated from German by Safa Yurdanur. It is almost impossible to identify every language that was used in translation. Even if one finds translated texts in the library, some of them still do not include any information about the selected language of translation. Therefore, the results here should not be regarded as flawless. Still, however, they convey some important findings, such as the fact that English was used heavily as the source language in my database, especially in the texts on women's sexuality, giving a clue that Anglo-American culture was preferred as the source culture as far as sexuality is concerned.

Publishers

Many publishers were involved in producing translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women. It appears that most of the translated and indigenous non-literary texts in the six categories of my database were published by private publishing houses. The following works were published by the Ministry of Education: two translated female biographies, Marion Cunningham's *Madam Curie* (1931) and Jean Paul Friedrich Richter's *Maria Lutz* (1955); five indigenous texts on marriage and family *Genç Türk kızlarını hayata nasıl hazırlamalı* [How Turkish Girls Should be Prepared for Life] (1943), *Aile Münasebetleri* [Family Relations] (1943), *Songül'ün Çilesi: Ailede geçimsizlik* [Songül's Trial: Discord in the Family] (1975), *Mutlu*

Evlilik için Reçete [Prescription for a Happy Marriage] (1977) and *Türk Ailesi* [The Turkish Family] (1977) and finally four indigenous texts on “women in society and feminism” *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması* [Atatürk and the Rights of Turkish Women] (1964), *Intihap* [Election] (1930), *Tarihte Türk Kadını* [Turkish Women in History] (1966), *Kadın Hakları* [Women Rights] (1971).

My database shows that the translated and indigenous non-literary texts were mainly brought out by private publishing houses. Around forty translated and indigenous texts were published by the state related institutions or other private organizations mentioned above. Eight out of these forty were translated texts. Compared to the translated texts, more indigenous texts were published by different state and private organizations; such as the Ministry of Health (Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı), *Hürriyet* and *Milliyet* Newspapers, the Teacher’s Society of Turkey, (Türkiye Muallimler Birliği),³⁴ İş Bank (İş Bankası), The Research Organization of Women’s Social Life (Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu), Women’s Circle (Kadın Çevresi),³⁵ The Turkish Historical Society (Türk Tarih Kurumu), The Turkish Association of University Women (Türkiye Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği)³⁶, Şişli Lioness Club (Şişli Lioness Kulübü), Unesco Türkiye Milli Komisyonu (Unesco National Commission of Turkey)³⁷ and The Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey (Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu).³⁸

³⁴ The Teacher’s Society of Turkey was founded in 1921 in Ankara and organized several congresses in order to discuss the education system in Turkey. Its first director was Mustafa Necati Bey, who was the Minister of Justice. The Society published a journal under its own name.

³⁵ The Women’s Circle was founded in 1984 by women and published a journal called *Feminist* between 1987-1990.

³⁶ The Turkish Association of University Women was founded in 1949 and now has 10 offices in various cities (see “www.ifuw.org/turkey”).

³⁷ The Unesco National Commission of Turkey was founded in 1949 and published various texts, especially on Atatürk and the republic.

³⁸ The Touring and Automobile Club in Turkey was founded in 1923 and published various texts, on especially historical places in Turkey (see “www.turing.org.tr”).

It seems that besides publishing translated popular literature and children books, the private publishing market had an interest in non-literary texts on women as well. Berk (2004a) states that the prominent increase in the publication of popular literature was related to the private publishing houses (pp. 197-203). Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) proves that the productivity of the private publishing houses was very high both in the pre-republican and the republican period and informs that private publishers launched around twenty-five series on popular literature in the twenty years between 1940 and 1960 (p. 280). My database reveals that the Ministry of Education did not publish any translations or indigenous texts on women's sexuality. Therefore private publishers gained control over the field of women's sexuality between 1828 and 1990. They appeared to have been the most effective planner in the Turkish culture repertoire as far as texts on women's sexuality is concerned.

According to my database most of the private publishing companies brought out only one or two translated non-literary texts for/on women. I found five major series in which many translated non-literary texts on women's sexuality were published. Among them, Tan publishing house published 11 translations between 1939 and 1940 in the "Pocket Books" series, including non-literary texts on women's sexuality. Hadise publishing house published eleven translations in 1956 in its "Life Series" [İnsan Hayatı Serisi], among which were texts on women's sexuality. Finally, Başak published thirteen translations and Seksoloji publishing company published nine translated texts between 1960 and 1970 in their "Sexology Series" [Seksoloji Serisi], which included a special focus on female sexuality.

As for indigenous publication, the publishing house Hadise seems to have been the only private publishing house that launched a series, the "Sexology and Youth Life Series" [Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı] in 1959. Yeni Şark publishing

house was very active in 1936 and 1937. It ran fifteen indigenous texts on women's sexuality in two years in its "Sihhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi" [Books on Health and Society]. Other private publishing companies seem to have contributed to the market with just one or two books. The production of translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality will be analyzed in detail in the following section.

Translators and authors

No attempt will be made here to investigate the lives of all translators and authors listed in the database. The database information raises certain interesting points about the translators and the authors of the non-literary texts on women. Firstly, the findings of my database show that the number of male translators and authors was higher than that of female translators and authors. Besides this, the number of female translators was relatively low compared to female authors. There are around 60 female translators and 210 male translators in my database and 170 female authors and 400 male authors. Therefore, it might seem that male translators were the main agents who were active in constructing a discourse on women's sexuality.³⁹

From the database we can see that most of the translators and authors produced only one or two texts. Some translators, though, were working regularly to some extent. For example, Selim Yetkili, Muzaffer Aşkın and Semih Yazıcıoğlu were the translators of several texts on women's sexuality. Some translators appear to have been the main translator employed by a certain publisher. For instance, Selim Yetkili translated most of the texts published by Hadise publishing house. Ömer Rıza

³⁹ I should note that the catalogues include the names of most of the translators or authors, but still many of them were anonymous (see Appendix L). Some texts do not include the name of the translator or the author and some names are only written in initials; therefore, these numbers are not wholly accurate.

Doğrul and Muzaffer Aşkın worked mainly for Tan and Bertan Onaran worked mainly for Payel publishing company. Some translators were the leading translator of a certain kind of text. For example Bertan Onaran was famous for his translations of Simon de Beauvoir's works.

Most of the translators of non-literary texts for/on women are not well-known names, but still there are some famous names among them. Semih Yazıcıoğlu was a journalist and is known as the translator of adventure stories such as Agatha Christie's texts, as well as being one of the writers of Mike Hammer's pseudotranslations. Recep Doksat was a doctor of medicine who wrote the famous text *Hipnotizma* [Hypnotism] (1962). Oğuz Alplaçın was known for his translations of popular literature such as Agatha Christie's works and he is especially known for his pseudotranslations of Mikey Spillane. Mehmet Harmancı was the translator of Maksim Gorki, Edgar Allan Poe, Ernest Hemingway and perhaps one of the most productive translators in Turkey, since there are around 400 entries for him in the National Library catalogues. Bertan Onaran was also a well-known writer and translator in Turkey. He translated, for example, Albert Camus's play *Caligula* (1969) and worked for the *Cumhuriyet* newspaper.

It was common for the names of authors to be preceded with titles, especially in the texts on sexuality. Some of them are Dr. Clark Le Mon, Dr. Max Exner, Prof Dr. Heinrich Kisch, Dr. Charles Kinsey, Dr. Rudolf von Urban. Here, it seems that the author's expertise is emphasized, which may serve to guarantee female readers that they will be informed in the best way possible. Some translators have titles too, for example Dr. Recep Doksat, As. Öğretmen Şevket Dilmaç and Öğretmen Ayet Altuğ. In this case, the translator becomes anything but an anonymous figure, since then the translator is put on an equal footing with that of the source language author.

Recep Doksat's case is an interesting example of this phenomenon. Dr. Rudolf von Urban's text *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness* (1949) was translated by Doksat as *Cinsi Başarının Esasları* (1963) [Fundamentals of Sexual Success]. He was introduced on the title page as "Dr. Recep Doksat, who edited via conveying from Dr. Rudolf von Urban's text" [Dr. Rudolf von Urban'ın eserinden naklen hazırlayan Dr. Recep Doksat] (Urban, 1963). Doksat wrote in the preface of his translation:

[...] translating the text as it was would not be beneficial and also its importance could not be emphasized sufficiently. Because of this, it was a necessity to take Dr R. von Urban's text as the main source and to prepare a new text with extra information. (Urban, 1963, p. 6)

[eseri aynen tercüme etmek hem istifadeli olmayacaktı, hem de diğer görüşler muvacehesinde yeri yeteri kadar belirtilmeyecekti. Bunun içindir ki Dr. R. von Urban'ı esas alarak, diğer bilgi ve görüşlerle de desteklenip bezenen, yeni bir kitap hazırlamak icap etti (Urban, 1963, p. 6)]

With regard to the authors of indigenous texts in the database, Daniş Remzi Korok seems to have been the most active author in my database. He wrote twenty-three texts for women, girls, widows between 1935 and 1939 and all his translations were published by Yeni Şark publishing company. Other authors just wrote one text, some of which are well-known. For example, Kemalettin Tuğcu, who is known for his texts on children, is the author of a text on sexuality *Dişi Kuş: Genç kadınlar için cinsi bilgiler* (1943) [The Nest-Maker: Sexual Information for Young Women]. Famous literary figures wrote biographies and texts on women in society such as Ahmet Mithat, who wrote *Fatma Aliye yahut bir muharrire-i Osmaniye'nin neşeti* (1893) [Fatma Aliye or the Emergence of an Ottoman Writer]. Bahriye Üçok wrote *İslam Devletlerinde Kadın Hükümdarlar* (1965) [Female Rulers in Islamic States] and Salahattin Asım wrote *Türk kadınlığının tereddidi yahut karışmak* (1910) [The Degeneration of Turkish Women or Becoming Feminine].

Description of the corpus on women's sexuality (1931-1990)

The first aim of this section is to outline and analyze the diachronic and synchronic production of translated and indigenous popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality between 1931 and 1990 and then to try to frame this sexual movement stimulated by the translators and writers within the Turkish cultural context.

In the bibliography which was compiled by the Women's Library and Information Centre (2006), the number of entries including the texts on women's sexuality is 664, which is the highest number compared to the other categories of text production on women in the bibliography. As was indicated before, the amount of texts on women's sexuality makes up almost 40% of all the non-literary texts for and on women in my database. Therefore, it appears that sexuality attracted great attention on the part of Turkish readers and thus also on the part of the private publishing market. Since all texts in this category were published by private publishing houses.

The chapter will proceed first with the general diachronic and synchronic evolution of the texts between 1931 and 1990. Translators, writers, publishers and series will be examined.⁴⁰ Then texts and their subjects will be discussed in order to form a basis for the case study analysis in the next two chapters.

⁴⁰ I should note that very limited information could be gathered about the agents who were active in the publication of texts on women's sexuality. I discovered that one can only gather bits of information from here and there about translators of these texts. If translators are not famous enough, it is harder to find any detailed information about them. Compiling an anthology of translators, a Who's Who for example, seems to be an urgent need.

Diachronic and synchronic look at the corpus

During the pre-1940 period, the ratio of translations to their indigenous counterparts was relatively low.⁴¹ The noteworthy rise of translations after the 1940s coincides with the beginning of the rise in the number of private publishing houses and their intensive translation activity. They published great amounts of popular literature,⁴² and it appears that they also initiated the production of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality. Texts on female sexuality can be seen as a commercially successful translated genre which was ignored by the state institutions such as the Translation Bureau.

Between 1931 and 1990, the proportion of translated texts on women's sexuality was 64% and the ratio of indigenous texts on women's sexuality was 17.4%, the rest consisted of anonymous texts, which lack a translator's or writer's name. Translation seems to have had a leading role in presenting these texts as options to the Turkish culture repertoire. Below is a graph that shows the distribution of translated, indigenous and anonymous texts on women's sexuality between 1931 and 1990.

⁴¹ Sixteen indigenous texts on female sexuality were published in fifty years of the pre-republican period between 1878 and 1928, whereas five translated texts were published in the same period. The domestic production rocketed between 1928 and 1939, but it decreased quickly in the 1940s.

⁴² The intense translation activity of private publishing houses was studied in detail in Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001), who studied translated popular fiction and the private publishing market. Just like in the case of popular fiction, in my case private publishers appear as planners as far as women's sexuality is considered.

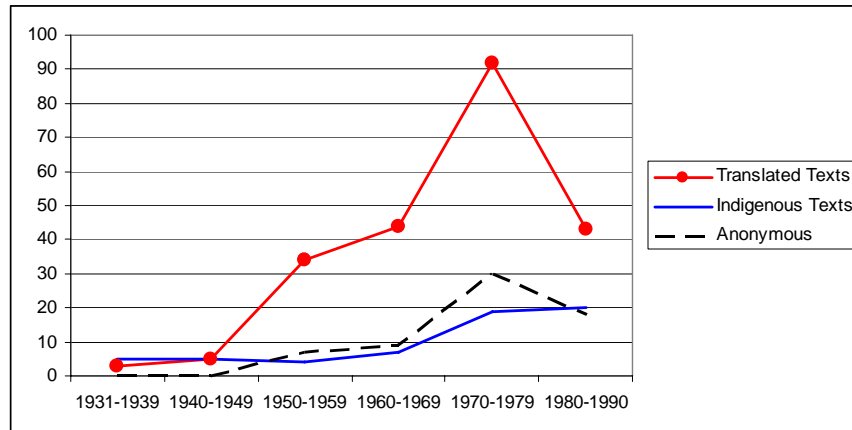


Fig. 16. The number of translated, indigenous and anonymous texts on women's sexuality

Figure 16 indicates that translations have made a significant segment of popular non-literary text production on women's sexuality in Turkey. The number of translated non-literary texts on female sexuality remained high and rose in the 1940s, boomed in the 1970s, dropping only at the beginning of the 1980s. The 1940s also witnessed the rise in the publication of medical translated and indigenous texts on women, such as Wilhelm Weibel's *Kadın Hastalıkları* (1946) [*Lehrbuch der Frauenheilkunde*] (1941), translated by Ziya Üstün, and Münir Hakkı Berkmen's *Jinekoloji* (1945) [*Gynaecology*]. There are 389 entries for medical translated and indigenous texts on women in the KKKB, the second highest number of entries after the number of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality. Among these 389 titles twenty-one texts are related directly to women's sexuality and the others are mainly about female illnesses and population planning. Twenty-one texts on female sexuality were published between 1958 and 1993. It would not be wrong to suggest a relationship between the publications of medical texts on women and popular texts on women sexuality. It appears that the rise in the number of medical texts on women accompanied the rise in the number of popular texts on women's sexuality. One can suggest that the development of medicine might have provided a basis for the discussion on women's sexuality. With regard to the medical texts on women's

sexuality, I should mention that six texts are translations and four are anonymous texts and the rest are indigenous texts. Among the eleven indigenous texts, five were written by Emin Derman, a doctor of medicine. As will be discussed later most of the writers of texts on women's sexuality were doctors of medicine. My survey also revealed that the private publishers of medical texts were different from the private publishers of the popular texts. Considering the small number of medical texts on women's sexuality, it could be suggested that writers, who were mainly doctors of medicine, seem to have opted for producing popular texts on women's sexuality rather than writing academic texts. This could well be due to the fact that doctors tried to reach a wider readership and inform the public about sexuality. As a result, sexuality would become a popular subject which was introduced to all Turkish readers.

Although I could not find any information about the female readers of these books, some personal interviews I carried out showed that women read these popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality.⁴³ I conducted twenty-five personal interviews, and one of the findings was that five women remembered that they had read popular texts on women's sexuality. For instance, Emine Yalçın told that she read *Cinsiyet Hayatı: 500 soru* [Sexual Life: 500 Questions] and *Evlilik ve Mahremiyetleri* [Marriage and Its Intimacies]. These texts are in my database: the

⁴³ I carried out personal interviews with twenty-five women from Kırklareli in May 2007. I asked them three questions: where did they get their knowledge about sex, did they read any popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality, did they read any women's magazines?. I want to note that five of them did not acquire any information on sexuality. Ten women said that they got information about sexuality from their aunts or married friends. Fifteen women told me that they read articles in magazines, watched films, and read books on sexuality. I want to thank these women for their help and name their names here: Aysel Kurtçu (10.10.1939), Ayten Yetüt (05.10.1942), Ayten Çetinkaya (23.04.1943), Emine Yalçın (26.02.1939), Feriha Şahinbaş (21.1.1943), Gülseren Çek (22.11.1944), Gülseren El (26.11.1944), İnci Önder (13.08.1945), Kadriye Ayduman (23.11.1951), Kevser Dengiz (25.08.1948), Meral Afaçan (10.11.1938), Nadide Çankaya (21.12.1933), Nedret Tanydaç (04.02.1938), Neriman Özten (11.12.1934), Nezahat Işıklar (01.12.1946), Nihal Sönel (17.07.1944), Nusret Yener (05.10.1942), Perihan Işık Gültekin (27.09.1944), Sabiha Tosun (17.03.1946), Sabriye Çetinkaya (10.07.1944), Sacide Ayaz (18.08.1941), Selvi Koşdemir (28.01.1945), Şaziye Kızler (05.08.1943), Yaşar Sezen (27.01.1946) and Yurdanur Demiralp (28.11.1945).

first text was an anonymous translation published in 1959 and the second one was Cemal Zeki Önal's indigenous text which was firstly published in 1948 and then reprinted eight times until 1976. Another female interviewer, Yaşar Sezen, said that she read many books on sexuality, but she could not remember the titles. Of course, one cannot know how many women read these texts and men probably read them too. But still these interviews suggest that Turkish women were also interested in these books and that they were among the readers of these texts.

Another finding from Figure 16 is the dramatic increase in the number of texts in the 1970s. There seems to have been an interaction between the boom in the 1970s and the rising popularity of the erotic films. Giovanni Scognamillo (2002) states that the 1970s were known as the decade of erotic films in Turkey (p. 12).⁴⁴ Around two hundred erotic films were made each year from 1970 to 1979, but the number of erotic films dropped to sixty-eight in 1980 (Scognamillo, 2002, p. 141). Scognamillo argues that the 1980s witnessed a shift from eroticism towards a questioning approach to sexuality as far as the film industry is concerned. He determines that the aim was not "exposure" ["teşhir"] in the 1980s (ibid.). The films were made with a clinical approach; that is, the films were made to question women's sexuality and the society's attitude towards sexuality (Scognamillo, 2002, p. 13), probably due to the reason of the rising feminism in Turkey. The link between the production of non-literary texts on women's sexuality and erotic films in the 1970s in Turkey can be seen particularly evident in the case of the film *Helga Sevişiyor* [Helga is Having Sex]. This film was released in Germany in 1968 and then quickly dubbed and released in the other countries and Turkey as well. Fatih Özgüven (2005) calls this film an "instructive erotic film" ["öğretici içerikli erotik

⁴⁴ This period was called the "sex boom" in Turkey (Scognamillo 2002: 12).

film”] and Cüneyt Cebenoyan (2005) states that the erotic films such as *Helga* were made behind the façade of science, calling them “soft-porno”.⁴⁵ Since the film attracted great attention, the book of the film written by Robert Chartam in 1968 and was translated into Turkish by Oğuz Alpaçın in 1970 and published under the title *Helga Sevişiyor* [Helga is Having Love]. There were two more translations published with the Helga Motif: *Helga Sevişiyor* (1975) by Max Lowelace, translated by İbrahim Özoğul, and *Helga'nın Seks Hayatı* (1977) [Helga's Sex Life] by Curt Habner, translated by Ethem Balamur. My research about the authors revealed that these texts are pseudotranslations. It appears that the attention incited by the film was perpetuated through pseudotranslations for many years. Although I could not look into all the texts published in the 1970s, the ones I examined revealed that the content of the texts on women's sexuality was shifted from instructive sexuality to eroticism in the 1970s. As can be seen in Figure 16, when this trend lost its popularity, the production of texts on sexuality dropped back to the level of the 1960s.

Looking at the translated texts in my corpus, it can be seen that fourteen out of thirty three texts were translated from American writers and English was the dominant language of translation in the period between 1931 and 1960 (see Appendix A). Five texts were translated from German, five from French and one text was translated from an Indian writer. I identified ten pseudo-translations, two of which were published in 1939 and eight of which were published in 1956. It may be suggested that American writers were accepted as experts until 1960 as far as texts

⁴⁵ Özgüven, Fatih (2005) “Vahim Dil Sorunları”, [Important Language Problems] in *Radikal* 12.05.2005, in “<http://www.radikal.com.tr/haber.php?haberno=152423>” and Cebenoyan, Cüneyt (2005) “Orta Kademe Yöneticinin Kabusu” [The Nightmare of a Middle Level Administrator] in *Birgün* 13.05.2005, in “<http://www.birgun.net/index.php?sayfa=70&devami=7541>”.

on women's sexuality are concerned.⁴⁶ The next ten years witnessed twenty translations from English out of forty-four translations. For the period between 1970 and 1980, I could find twenty-nine texts out of ninety-two that were translated from English. Considering these numbers, one might think that English had lost its popularity. But this is not the case. First, this period covered a variety of writers from countries other than America, German and France, and I could not reach any information on their selected language for most of them.⁴⁷ Secondly, fifteen texts out of ninety-two were compilative translations, most of which do not include information of their references.⁴⁸ Vietnamese, Dutch, Chinese writers' texts were also selected for translation in this period.⁴⁹ The same variety can also be observed in the last period in question between 1980 and 1990.⁵⁰ I traced sixteen translations from English out of a total of forty-three translations in this period. Similar to the previous period, the practice of publishing edited translations continued and six edited translations were published in this period. Finally, it can be said that American, French and German writers were still the leading figures after the 1960s.

With regard to the indigenous texts, there was one writer who wrote a remarkable number of books on women's sexuality between 1935 and 1937. Daniş Remzi Korok, who published twenty-three books, was the only producer who wrote in the Latin script until 1940. Five texts out of these were written between 1940 and 1949, three between 1950 and 1959, seven between 1960 and 1969, nineteen between 1970 and 1979 and finally twenty texts were written between 1980 and 1990. Indigenous text production rose approximately three times after the 1970s. The

⁴⁶ This data is more reliable, since I saw each of the target and the source text and most of the translations include information about the language of translation.

⁴⁷ For instance, I found out that Andre Morali-Daninos's *Cinsel İlişkiler Tarihi* (1974) [The History of Sexual Affairs] was translated from French.

⁴⁸ Such as Safa, Y. (ED.) (1973) *Cinsel Sorunlar* [Sexual Problems]. Istanbul: Göl.

⁴⁹ Such as Sha Kokken, Hendrik Theodoor van de Velde, Helene Besançon.

⁵⁰ Such as Joan Chang, Sha Kokken.

outstanding feature of the indigenous text production on women's sexuality seems to be the high number of reeditions of Haydar Dümen's texts. His first text *Cinsel Sorunlarımız* [Our Sexual Problems] was published in 1967 and had fifteen reeditions until 1986, while his second text *Cinsel Yaşam* [Sexual Life] published in 1973 enjoyed eighteen reeditions up to 1988.

The last category, the anonymous texts, emerged in 1950 and their numbers rose steadily until the 1970s. Similar to the general production on women's sexuality, the number of anonymous texts on women's sexuality increased sharply between 1970 and 1980. Analysis of the corpus of anonymous texts reveals that illustrated sexual texts have met a wider readership since the 1970s (see Appendix L). The rise in the number of anonymous texts in the 1970s seems to have been closely related with the increasing popularity of erotic films. Texts, such as *Foto-sex: Şehvetli Kızlar* (1974) [Photo-Sex: Sensual Girls] and *Çırılçıplak Dişi Seks Albümü* (1975) [Naked Female Sex Album], can be accepted as the textual versions of erotic films in the 1970s.

Fe/male translators and writers

The texts under discussion are the output of both female and male translators and writers. It appears that the number of female translators is relatively low compared to the number of male translators of the time. The same trend can be observed in the number of female and male writers of translated and indigenous texts. Let's examine a graph showing female and male translators of texts on women's sexuality between 1931 and 1990.

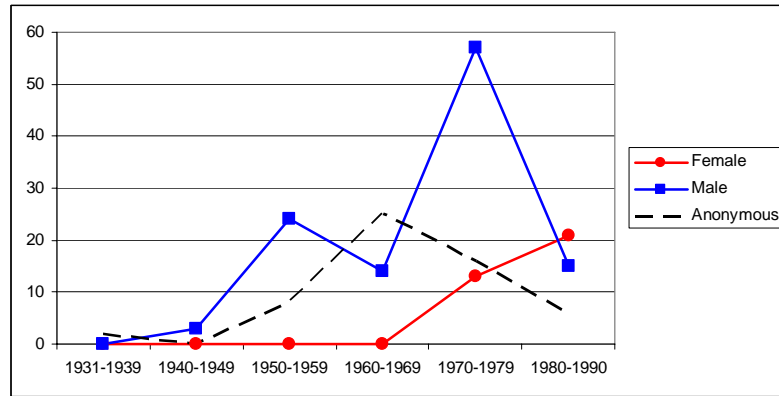


Fig. 17. The number of female, male and anonymous⁵¹ translators

It is impossible to examine the distribution of all the female and male translators between 1931 and 1990. But this little statistical survey might show the most outstanding characteristics of the period. It can be easily observed from the above graph that female translators appeared as the translators of texts on women's sexuality only after the 1960s. There was only one female translator before 1966 in my corpus. Her name is Esma Z. and she was the translator of Elinor Glyn's *Aşk Dersleri* (1931) [Lessons in Love]. There is not any information about her in any of the library catalogues and this text is her only translation. Esma is possibly a pseudonym used by a female or even a male translator.⁵² The first female translator after Esma Z. was Canset Unan, who translated Helen Gurley Brown's *Genç Kızlar Uyanın* [Sex and the Single Girl] published by Altın Kitaplar publishing company in 1966.⁵³ She was especially known as a translator for Altın Kitaplar publishing

⁵¹ Anonymous does not only refer to the texts which lack a translator's name; it also covers some texts with the name of the translator. But since the name of the translator was given in initials, I could not determine the sex of the translator, so I put such translators under the category of anonymous translators. Examples are B. Deniz, C. Arhan, S. Tonguç and R.Ş. I followed the same strategy in placing writers within the category of anonymous writers.

⁵² For the analysis of this translated text, see Chapter 5.

⁵³ I could not find any information about her life; but I am aware that Canset is a female name in Turkish, meaning princess.

company.⁵⁴ The number of female translators rose steadily afterwards and even exceeded the number of male translators towards the end of the 1990s. A reason might be the increasing attention of women scholars in women's studies in translating, writing and studying on women's sexuality. Female scholars from various disciplines translated many of these texts in this period, such as Hülya Tufan, a sociologist⁵⁵, Şirin Artan, a medical doctor⁵⁶ or Feride Çiçekoğlu, who has a Ph.D. in architecture⁵⁷. However, not all female translators of the period were scholars; some were famous translators such as Oya Alpar, who translated many literary texts as well.⁵⁸

Male translators, on the other hand, dominated the translation market until the middle of the 1980s as far as texts on women's sexuality are concerned. There was a decrease in the number of male translators between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s. This period was also characterized by anonymous translators such as S. Tonguç, A. Kahraman, H. Ç. and other totally invisible translators. If the general distribution of the number of male translators is taken into consideration, it can be suggested that these anonymous translators were male. However, if the rise in the number of female translators in the mid-1960s is taken into consideration, some of these anonymous translators might be female as well. According to Figure 17, the number of male translators decreased significantly after the mid-1980s.

⁵⁴ This text appeared in a series called "Women's Books Series" [Kadın Kitapları Serisi]. For a discussion on the publishers and series see the next section. The most famous text she translated is Simone de Beauvoir's *Kadın Bu Meçhul* [Le Deuxieme Sexe] published by Altın Kitaplar in 1965.

⁵⁵ She is teaching at Galatasaray University.

⁵⁶ She translated many books on health such as *Her Yönüyle Çocuk Bakımı* by Barbara Nash, İnkılap publications, 1994.

⁵⁷ She is a well known writer as well. Some of her famous books are *Sizin Hiç Babanız Öldü mü?* (1990) [Has Your Father Ever Died] *Uçurtmayı Vurmasınlar* (1986) [Let Them Not Shoot the Kite] and *Suyun Öte Yanı* (1992) [The Other Side of the River], all published by Can publishing company. She is working at Bilgi University. She also translated *Martı* (Jonathan Livingston's Seagull) by Richard Bach, Arkadaş Publications.

⁵⁸ Some of her translations are Wilde, Oscar (1994) *Mutlu Prenses ve Diğer Öyküler* [The Happy Prince and Other Stories]. İstanbul: İnkılap; Redfield, James (1997) *Onuncu Kehanet* [The Tenth Insight] İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar and Buscaglia, Leo (1995) *Sevgili Babam* [Papa, My Father] İstanbul: İnkılap.

The group of male translators has different characteristics compared with the female translators. Many of the male translators were journalist; such as Adnan Semih Yazıcıoğlu, the director of *Hürriyet* newspaper,⁵⁹ Vural Kakmacı,⁶⁰ Muzaffer Aşkın, the editor of the Sexology publishing company and one of the directors of *Öncü* newspaper,⁶¹ Azmi Nihat Erman⁶² and Cem Cahit Cem, who was the second director of the “Society of Journalists in Istanbul” [İstanbul Gazeteciler Cemiyeti] in 1954⁶³. Another important characteristic of male translators is that some of them were also known for their pseudo-translations of crime and adventure texts in Turkey. Adnan Semih Yazıcıoğlu and Oğuz Alplaçın were famous for their pseudo-translations of the Mike Hammer series in the 1950s.⁶⁴ I found ten pseudotranslations in my corpus of texts on women’s sexuality. But it should also be noted that the names of the pseudotranslators in my corpus are pseudonyms.⁶⁵ Thus one cannot know the sex of the translators for sure.

The first finding related to the female writers of the translated texts is that some of these writers are known for their literary texts, such as Elinor Glyn and Barbara Cartland. Some female writers are doctors of medicine, such as Hannah Stone. Most of the male writers, on the other hand, were medical doctors, for instance, Alfred Charles Kinsey, Eustace Chesser, Abraham Stone, Rudolf von

⁵⁹ See Hızlan, Doğan (2002) “İhap Hulusi ile rakı değil ama karşılıklı viski içtim”, [İhap Hulusi and I drank whiskey together, not rakı] in *Hürriyet*, 21.02.2002.

“<http://webarsiv.hurriyet.com.tr/2002/02/21/91673.asp>”

⁶⁰ See “<http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/AyinTarihi/1991/haziran1991.htm>”

⁶¹ Celepoğlu, Adnan (2006) “Gurbet’in Bab-ı Ali’si ve Eski Dostlar”, [The Grand Port of Exile and Old Friends] “<http://celepoglu.blogcu.com/page2>” and Bortaçına, Azer (2000) “Yalçın bir Gazeteci”, [A Precipitous Journalist] in *Milliyet*, 27 June 2000.

“<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2000/06/27/yasam/yas01.html>”

⁶² He received the “Burhan Felek Basın Hizmet Ödülü” [Burhan Felek Prize for Press Service] in 1991. See “http://www.tgc.org.tr/burhanfelek/bf_odul.html”

⁶³ He was also a writer of short humorous stories. He wrote in *Akbaba*. See

“<http://www.byegm.gov.tr/YAYINLARIMIZ/ayintarihi/1954/temmuz1954.htm>”

and “http://www.hayalsaat.com/index.php?ind=reviews&op=entry_view&iden=35”

⁶⁴ Berköz, Elif (2005) “Çapkın Hafiyenin Türkiye Serüveni”, [The Adventure of the Woman-Chaser Detective in Turkey] in *Milliyet*, 02 April 2005,

“<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/04/02/pazar/paz02.html>”

⁶⁵ The case of pseudo-translation will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6.

Urban and Heinrich Kisch. Here is a graph that shows the distribution of female and male writers comparatively.

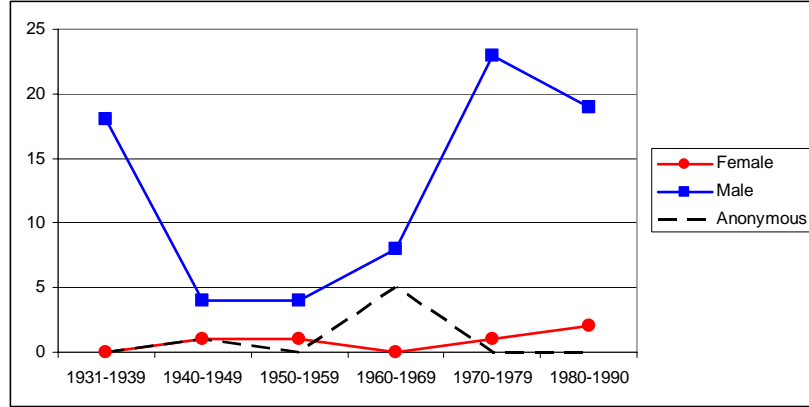


Fig. 18. The number of female, male and anonymous writers

It appears that male writers, who are mostly medical doctors, governed the production of texts on women’s sexuality. Sirman (2007), in her article on gender and the modern family in Turkey in the transition period from empire to nation-state, suggests that “medical doctors were considered to be authorities with regard to women’s issues”. She informs that “as early as 1878 the daily *İkdam* carried an article that referred to doctors’ viewpoints especially on issues such as the education of children and the morality of society” (ibid.). This argument proves itself in the twentieth century as well, with an addition that foreign male doctors were referred to as authorities with regard to issues on women’s sexuality.

The indigenous texts, on the other hand, were produced by Daniş Remzi Korok until the 1940s. He was a writer on all subjects. He wrote novels,⁶⁶ cook books⁶⁷ and research books⁶⁸. But women’s sexuality was his specialization. He also wrote on male sexuality, but his publications on this topic are relatively few

⁶⁶ Such as *Zaloğlu Rüstem* (1981), Sağlam Kitabevi.

⁶⁷ Fahriye Tosun, Daniş R. Korok (1942) (*Alaturka ve Alfranga*) *Ev Kadının Yemek Kitabı*. [Oriental and Occidental: Cook Book of the Housewife] Semih Lütü Kitabevi.

⁶⁸ Daniş R. Korok (1951) *Cumhuriyette Köye ve Köycülüğe Doğru: Milli ve İctimai Tetkikler*. [Towards the Village and Rurality in the Republic: National and Social Investigation] İstanbul.

compared to his texts on women.⁶⁹ After Korok, male doctors of medicine became prominent in the genre such as Zeki Zeren, Cevat Bilge, Zeki Önal, Münir Türkent and Haydar Dümen, paralleling the case of foreign male writers. Only three female writers are in my list. Ayten Başçı appears to have been the co-writer of a text on sexuality in my list (1959) according to the bibliographies.⁷⁰ It seems that she wrote the text with her husband. The second female writer is Zeynep Karabey, a writer and translator who appears as the editor of a translated text (1982).⁷¹ The third female writer is Aysel Ekşi, a scholar and writer of texts on psychological health and the writer of a collaborative study with a male writer in my list (1986).⁷²

In the light of the above analysis, it may well be argued that male translators were the main conveyors of translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality until the 1960s, whereas female translators have become visible in the category of women's sexuality since the 1960s. Both foreign and Turkish male writers, most of whom were medical doctors, were the main producers of popular non-literary texts on female sexuality between 1931 and 1990. Such findings are crucial, since it means that sex was viewed through the eyes of men, which implies that the female sexuality was mainly conjured up in the readers' mind through male viewpoint.

⁶⁹ I found only five texts on male sexuality written by him in the catalogues of the National Library.

⁷⁰ My research revealed that Ayten and İlhan Başçı's text *Dişikuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi* (1959) [The Nest-Maker: A Guide to Every Young Girl and Woman] is in fact a concealed translation and thus Ayten Başçı is in fact the translator, not the writer. This text will be analyzed in detail in Chapter 7.

⁷¹ Feridun Andaç refers Karabey as one of the short story writers of the "The Period of Reformation" [Yenileşme Dönemi] (1980-1990). See Andaç, Feridun (1989) *Çağdaş Öykücülüğümüze Kısa bir Bakış* [A Brief Look at Our Contemporary Short Story Writing] "http://www.worldshortstoryday.org/tr/data/feridun_andac.pdf". Tarnover, Herman (1981) *Scarsdale Zayıflama Rejimi*. [Scarsdale Diet] Trans. Zeynep Karabey. Istanbul: Karacan Yayınları. Karabey, Zeynep (1983) *Kötü Bir Yaratık*. [A Bad Creature] Öyküler. Istanbul: Yazko Yayınları.

⁷² Ekşi, Aysel (1990) *Çocuk, Genç Ana Babalar*. [Child, Young Child and Mothers and Fathers] Ankara: Bilgi Yayınları.

Publishers and series

After the 1930s the trend was to select English as the main source language for translation. French and German came just after English; however, the market for translated popular texts on women's sexuality was mainly shaped by translations from American and British texts. Publishers launched some series for the popular non-literary texts on sexuality between 1931 and 1990. Compared to the series of translations of classics and popular literature,⁷³ the number of series of texts on sexuality was relatively low. Another difference between the series of works of popular literature and the popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality is that many of these series were given generic label names such as "Güncel Kitaplar Dizisi" [Current Books Series], which was launched by Say Company in the 1960s or "Faydalı Kitaplar Dizisi" [Helpful Books Series] which was launched by Varlık in the 1950s. Not only texts on sexuality but other texts were included in these series as well. All the series below include texts on women's sexuality as well as texts on men's sexuality. In this section, I will portray four major publishing companies which produced series focusing on sexuality.

The first one is "Seksoloji Yayınları" [Sexology Publications] launched by Tan Company in 1950. Six books on sexuality were published within this series in 1950 and 1951 (see Appendix A). Tan started many series afterwards, such as "Seksoloji Yeni Seri" [New Sexology Series] in 1955 and "Yeni Seksoloji Kitapları" [New Sexology Books] in 1960. Tan was owned by Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel, a journalist couple very active in the publishing market starting from the 1920s (see Chapter 6). The Sertels published many other series such as the "Children's Books

⁷³ See Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) for a detailed analysis of the series launched in popular literature. She informs, for instance, that there were ninety-three series between the 1940s and the 1950s that published translated novels and short stories.

Series” in the 1940s. Their series on sexology include cheap small and short books in the form of pocket books, which proves that that the publisher was opting for a wide mass of readers.

The second publishing company is Hadise, which was active in the 1950s. It also published popular literature. Its “İnsan Hayatı Serisi” [Human Life Series] which was launched in 1956, consisted of pseudotranslations. The series included twelve translated texts, all of which were pseudo-translations. All the books in the series were translated by Selim Yetkili (see Appendix A). Hadise also published another series in 1959 called “Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı” [Sexology and Youth Life], which again comprised twelve texts. These texts were edited texts by anonymous editors (see Appendix L).⁷⁴

Başak, which was active in the 1960s, launched its “Seksoloji Şaheserleri” [Masterpieces of Sexology] series in 1967 and 1968 and published 10 texts under this series. The company launched another series in 1970 called “Seks İlmî Serisi” [Science of Sex Series] within which seventeen texts were published in two years.⁷⁵ Başak also published a *Seks Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopaedia of Sex] in 1969, which had five volumes.

The last company is Martı, which was active in the 1980s and launched the series “Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi” [Series of Sexual Knowledge] in 1983 and published eighteen texts in two years within this series. Books in this series were all edited texts, which appeared and were listed as anonymous in publications of the catalogues of the National Library. In the bibliography which was prepared by the Women’s Library and Information Center (2006), the titles under “Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi” were

⁷⁴ It is likely that these edited books might be compilative translations. I will examine one compilative translation in Chapter 7.

⁷⁵ There appear to be seventeen texts in the National Library catalogues, but since the series was not listed as such, the number could be higher.

similar to the titles edited by Serap Can produced by the same publishing house. But Can was referred to as the editor of only four texts in the series. The editors of the remaining fourteen texts were still anonymous. Martı also published a “Cinsel Bilgiler Albümü” [The Album of Sexual Knowledge] at the end of the 1980s, but again there was no information about the editor, writer or translator in the catalogues.⁷⁶

One of the characteristics of the popular texts on women’s sexuality which were published in the above series is that they were all short texts like booklets that could be easily read and that were cheap that could be bought by many readers. Another significant characteristic of the publishing market was the anonymity of the producers in the texts on women’s sexuality. Similar to the anonymity of the translators and writers, this recurring practice indicates the preferred secrecy or invisibility of the agents involved in publishing popular texts on women’s sexuality

Conclusions

Chapter 3 has presented the general trends in the publication of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women between 1828 and 1990. Bibliographies were offered as tertiary sources as an important research material for translation history. Several bibliographies were analyzed comparatively and the statistical findings from them were interpreted using graphs and tables. I looked at the overall numbers of publications, subject headings, main source languages, publishers, female and male translators and authors. Finally I offered a diachronic and synchronic

⁷⁶ Some anonymous texts which were published by Hadise, Başak, Tabu, Martı and Göl have quite similar titles to the translated texts of the same publishing houses documented in the bibliographies and catalogues.

analysis of the distribution of the translated and indigenous popular texts on women's sexuality and explored their fe/male translators and writers and their publishers between 1931 and 1990.

The analysis of the network of translations and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women has demonstrated that the private publishing market had a pivotal role in publishing non-literary texts for/on women in Turkey. The findings of this chapter include the fact that private publishers produced 97.5% of the total number of texts. A different trend was observed in the production of indigenous texts. 10% of the total indigenous texts were published by various state-related institutions. I also observed that translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality were published only by private publishing houses and this subject category had an important place in the overall production, since it made up 40% of all non-literary publication in the database.

My findings have further revealed that translators had a leading role in presenting the category of popular non-literary texts on women's sexuality as options to the culture repertoire, since the number of translated texts on women's sexuality is higher than that of indigenous texts on women's sexuality. Indigenous text production on women's sexuality appears to have exceeded the production of translated texts only between 1936 and 1939. This unique status of the indigenous text production can be linked to the extraordinary productivity of Daniş Remzi Korok, who wrote twenty-three booklets between 1936 and 1939.

This chapter also has delved into the general trends by focusing on the agents in the translation process. It has shown that the number of female translators was relatively low compared to the number of male translators of the time and that the same trend can be observed in the number of female and male writers of translated

and indigenous texts. It also discussed the authoritative presence of male doctors as writers of both translated and indigenous texts during the period. Finally, the chapter has examined the anonymity of the producers in the texts on women's sexuality may indicate the preferred secrecy or invisibility of the translators, producers, writers or editors.

Furthermore, this chapter has revealed that the number of male translators and authors was higher than that of female translators and authors and the number of female translators was relatively low compared to female authors between 1828 and 1990 in all four categories. Therefore, the sexual discourse was mainly created by male translators and writers in the twentieth century.

Finally, the findings of this chapter have indicated that the translated and indigenous popular texts on women's sexuality between the 1930s and the 1960s could be a rich research area for case analysis for two apparent reasons. Firstly, the translations with corresponding source texts exhibited different characteristics. This might lead the researcher to question the range of translations between the 1930s and the 1960s in Turkey. Secondly, the indigenous text production in the same period differed from the translated texts, which indicates that women's sexuality took different forms in the translated and indigenous texts.

Before the case analyses, in the next chapter, I will focus on women's magazines between 1869 and 1990. The aim of this is firstly to survey the female and male translators, owners, editors, editor-in-chief and directors of women's magazines before and after the republican period in Turkey; secondly, to problematize the presentations of translators in book advertisements; thirdly, to analyze the function of translations via the analysis of selected translations published in the magazines and to display the formative and educative role of translations in this specific contexts

and finally, to observe the dynamics of the production of translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality in women's magazines.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSLATED TEXTS IN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES AND THEIR FEMALE READERS: 1869-1993⁷⁷

The large number of translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality, which, as was seen in Chapter 3, were published mostly by private publishers, reveals that this subject category had a significant place amidst the overall production of texts on women, since these texts constitute 40% of all non-literary production recorded in the database. Although these texts occupy a peripheral position in the publishing market when compared with published literary texts, they are significant in helping us to understand the emergence of the discourse on women's sexuality in Turkey. There is another kind of extra-textual source which could supply information about the agents involved in the text production for and on women, and these are women's magazines. Chapter 4, then, will focus on the analysis of women's magazines. By their nature women's magazines have defined their readers as women. I will read, therefore, women's magazines as texts that interact within a culture which produces them and which in return they reproduce. In the case of the present study, this dynamic relationship involves agents, such as women, men, translators, writers, editors, editor-in-chief, directors and owners who negotiate discussions on women. Thus, women's magazines might be a fertile ground to analyze the discussions on women through translations and to search for the role of translators in the modernization project. I will approach women's magazines first as sites providing a forum for historical, cultural and social discussions on women; second, as cultural options that

⁷⁷ The last date was determined according to the last issue of the last magazine I will analyze in the second section. The last magazine which will be analyzed in the second part of this chapter is *Kadın* (1984-1993). In order to prevent a possible misunderstanding, I should note that the statistical analysis which will be carried on later will cover the magazines published in the republican period until 1993.

have been addressed to women; third, as tertiary sources and finally, as textual sources for problematizing the role of translations and translators.

Therefore, the analysis in this chapter will be carried out in two parts. The first analysis will focus on the two bibliographies, which cover the women's magazines published in the pre-republican (1869-1922)⁷⁸ and republican period (1923-1990)⁷⁹. These two bibliographies will be used as tertiary sources to question the role of female translators, writers, owners, directors, editors and editor-in-chief who were agents involved in the production for and on women. Bibliographies may also be defined as "extratextual" sources within this framework (Toury, 1995, p. 65). Toury defines "extratextual" sources as materials including "statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and other persons involved in or connected with the activity, critical appraisals of individual translations, or the activity of a translator or 'school' of translators, and so forth" (ibid.). The second part of the analysis aims at analysing selected translations in sixteen women's magazines published in the republican period in order to problematize the representation and role of translations in this specific context and then to investigate the books recommended and advertised for female readers and to examine a variety of topics offered as options to female readers in the magazines. Translated texts in the magazines will be used as textual sources in the analysis undertaken in the second part of the chapter. Finally, in following sections, I will offer an evaluation of how translations were used to strengthen the roles attributed to women in marriage, society and nation, as well as of

⁷⁸ Toska's bibliography starts with the magazine *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (1869). Although this bibliography covered *Süs* (1923), *Ev Hocası* (1923), *Firuze* (1924), *Asar-ı Nisvan* (1926), *Çalığışu* (1926) and *Kadın Yolu* (1927) printed in the Ottoman script, I included these six magazines in the republican period, since they were also published after 1923.

⁷⁹ Toska, Zehra Toska [et al] (1992) *İstanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası* (1869-1927) [Bibliography of Ottoman-Turkish Women's Magazines in Libraries in Istanbul] Istanbul: Metis Publications and Davaz-Mardin, Aslı (ed.) (1998), *Kadın Süreli Yayınları: Hanımlar Alemi'nden Rosa'ya* (1929-1996), [Women's Magazines: From *Hanımlar Alemi* to *Roza*] Istanbul: K.E.K.B.M.V & T.E.T.T.V.

the shifts in these discussions and images of female roles from the 1930s to 1990s. The second section is therefore organized around readings of selected texts from sixteen women's magazines out of 145 women's magazines published in the republican period. Furthermore, I will document the sporadic occurrences of translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality in order to show how women's magazines were the second institution after private publishing houses that offered texts on sexuality as reading options to readers. As planners of the Turkish culture repertoire, translators and writers of the magazines will be investigated to question their roles in forming the discourse on women's sexuality in Turkey.

Let's first examine the chart below to see the diachronic distribution of women's magazines published between 1869 and 1990.

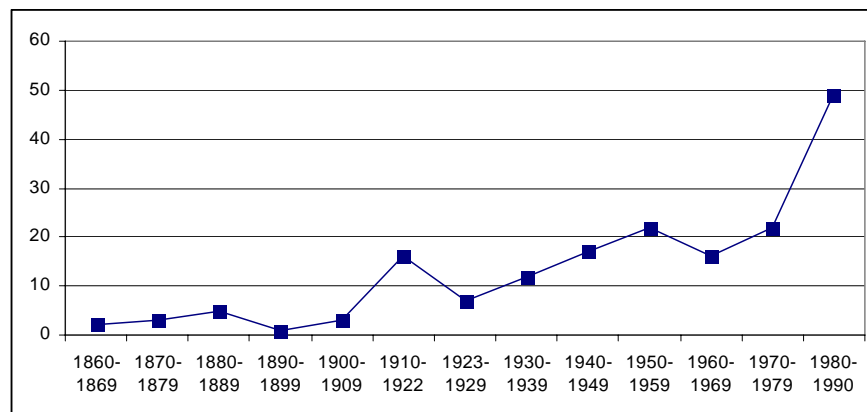


Fig. 19. The distribution of women's magazines published between 1869 and 1990 (Toska [et al], 1992; Davaz-Mardin, 1998)

For the analysis in this chapter, I have chosen sixteen magazines out of 145 published in Latin script between 1929 and 1990. The first magazine I have chosen is *Hanımlar Alemi* [The World of Women] (1929) and the last one is *Kadın* [Woman] (1984-1993?).⁸⁰ The first reason behind my choice of *Hanımlar Alemi* is that it was

⁸⁰ The last issue found in the catalogues was published in 1993. But there was a note in the catalogue that there might have been further issues.

the first women's magazine printed in Latin script in Turkey. The prime reason for selecting *Kadın* as the last magazine is that it was one of the few magazines which published its last issue in 1993, the date of which marks the end of the period analyzed in this dissertation. The second reason for selecting *Kadın* as the last magazine for analysis is that the 1990s signified a shift in the contents of magazines. With the flourishing of feminism in Turkey, topics and the ways of approaching women in marriage and family in these magazines shifted too, as in the case of non-literary text production (see Chapter 3). This shift can also be observed from the first issues of many magazines published towards the end of the 1980s, such as *Feminist* (1987), *Kadınların Kurtuluşu* [Emancipation of Women] (1988) and *Kaktüs* [Cactus] (1988) (Davaz-Mardin, 1998, pp. 225-290).

Reading the bibliographies of women's magazines

Unfortunately, there is no evidence about the circulation rate of the magazines before 1922 and therefore the number of women readers cannot be known. Yet the existence of women's magazines and the rise in the number of magazines towards the 1900s suggest that they attracted attention in the Turkish culture repertoire. In fact, most of the magazines of the republican period did not give the circulation numbers either. The only magazine in my list that included circulation numbers is *Kadınların Sesi* [The Voice of Women] (1975-1980) and it was indeed the first women's magazine that gave circulation numbers. The circulation number of *Kadınların Sesi* rose from 3,000 in 1975 to 30,000 in 1980. According to the statistics of DİE⁸¹, in the population count in 26 October 1975, the population rate of women between 15-49

⁸¹ For the population rates from 1927 to present day, see "<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/VeriBilgi.do>".

years old was determined as 9,124,064.⁸² The female population increased to 10,509,323 in 1980. The number of literate women was 8,212,708 in 1975 and 10,123,133 in 1980. From the statistics, it appears that in 1975 there were around eight million women of the ages between fifteen and forty-nine. If one considers that the vast majority of readers of *Kadınların Sesi* were women, then about three thousand of them would have bought and read the magazine in 1975. The number of female readers of the magazine would have risen to thirty thousand out of ten million in 1980. I should note that there were five other women's magazines which were active in 1975. I could not reach any further detailed statistics on the female readers of the magazines. However the findings of the interviews which I conducted with twenty-five women revealed that fifteen of them bought and read these magazines in their adolescence (see Chapter 3, p. 98).

The pre-republican period

Thirty two women's magazines were published in Ottoman script in Turkey between 1869 and 1922.⁸³ The owners of three of the thirty-two magazines were female, which makes approximately one tenth of the total. The directors of six magazines were female, which makes approximately one fifth of the total. Seven editors were female, which makes approximately one fifth of the total. In short, it appears that most of the women's magazines were owned, directed and edited by men in the pre-republican period.

⁸²The population of women was 19,602,989 and the total population was 40,347,719 in 1975, while the same rate was 22,041,595 and the total population was 44,736,957 in 1980.

⁸³ This section will be based on one of the two bibliographies of women's magazines, Toska [et al] (1992) (The editors transcribed the cover page and the content pages of each magazine). The first issue of the earliest women's magazine in Ottoman script included in Toska's bibliography is *Terakki-i Muhadderat* (1869) and the last issue of the last magazine in the old script is *Kadın Yolu* (1927). Analyses of the magazines after 1923 are not included in this section, and will be discussed in the next section. Thus the last magazine published in the pre-republican period was taken to be *Hanım* (1921).

Judging from the contents pages of the magazines in Toska's bibliography, it seems that twenty four magazines out of thirty two did not include translations.⁸⁴ Nine of these 24 magazines were owned by men, twelve of them were directed by men and ten of them were edited by men. On the other hand, one of these twenty four of these magazines was owned by a woman, four were directed by women and four were edited by women.

Eight of the thirty-two magazines published translations (Toska, 1992).⁸⁵ Three of these eight magazines were owned by women, two were directed by women, and in two of them women worked as editors. The other four were owned by men, four of them were directed by men and one of them was edited by a man. In three of these magazines, only women were in charge, while in three of them only men were in charge. The rest were owned and edited by a team which involved both female and male directors, owners and editors. These eight magazines were printed around the turn of the twentieth century and later.

Although the proportion of female owners, director and editors was approximately 20% in the thirty-two magazines published in the pre-republican period and thus low compared to the proportion to that of their male colleagues, it appears that translations were mainly published in the magazines in which women took an active part.⁸⁶ As for the translators, there were sixteen female translators⁸⁷

⁸⁴ I have analyzed the contents pages in Toska's bibliography. A detailed analysis of the magazines themselves may change the data.

⁸⁵ These are *Şükufezer* (1887), *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* (1895-1908), *Demet* (1908), *Musavver Kadın* (1911), *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913-1921), *Kadınlık* (1914), *Genç Kadın* (1918-1919), *İnci* (1919-1921).

⁸⁶ A detailed textual analysis is needed in order to examine the reasons for the apparent relationship between women and translation. How were translations used as tools by women to make their voices heard? What kinds of translations were published in these magazines and what were their functions?

⁸⁷ Arife, Nezahat Sadri, Safiye Beran, Mesadet Bedirhan, Siret Faik, Sabiha Ragıp, Nigar bint-i Osman, Siret Tevfik, Fatma Fahrünissa, Rasime, Gülistan İsmet, Hatice Aliye, Hatice Leman, Fatma Pakize, Samiha Ziyinet, Emine M.R.

and eighteen male translators⁸⁸ in the eight magazines, which may prove that translation provided Turkish women with an opportunity to appear in literary and cultural life in the pre-republican period.⁸⁹

My analysis of the translated texts and their female translators in the magazines generates various questions about the period as well.⁹⁰ For instance, female translators suddenly disappeared in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* [Newspaper for Women] (1895-1908) after the issue 400 (5 March 1902). Between the first issue and the issue 400, almost all translations were done by female translators, but after that only three female translators appeared in the magazine until the last volume 612 (25 June 1908), and they translated just two stories and two poems in total. It appears that all other translations were done by male translators between issues 400 and 612.⁹¹ Considering the political environment of the period, this vanishing of female translators may well be due to the censorship in the sultanate of Abdülhamid (1875-1909). It appears that, although this period witnessed an abundance of translations in women's magazines,⁹² there seems to have been an interval of six years, during which the names of female translators became invisible in the literary scene.

⁸⁸ Osman Nuri, Lütfullah Şav, Mehmet Fahri, Mehmet Vehbi, Ziya Muhittin, Mustafa Asım, Talat Ali, Faik Sabri, Ali Muzaffer, Hikmet Naci, Sadri, Ali Semih, Ziya Şakir, Mehmet Tevfik, Mehmet Namık, Mahmut Celal, Mehmet Ali, Ahmet Samim.

⁸⁹ The names of nine translators were written in initials, so their sex cannot be specified: M. Şevki, M. Suphi, M. İsmet, M. Timsal, N.M., Y., F.

⁹⁰ This analysis is based on the contents pages in Toska's bibliography. Actually women's magazines published in the pre-republican period seem to be a fertile source for problematizing the role of translations. Elizabeth Brown Frierson for example, stated that some Ottoman women's magazines were "almost entirely filled with foreign news, foreign fiction and ethnography" (Frierson, 2000, p. 177).

⁹¹ One immediately asks herself: Why did female translators suddenly stop translating? Did the owner or director of the magazine change? If so, why did the new directorate not welcome translations from women? Did women stop sending translations after volume 400? If so, why? Did this shift have anything to do with the censorship in the Hamidian period? Were women banned from the magazines in that period? If so, how? Or did women find another way to translate, such as translating under pseudonyms, or men's names?

⁹² For an analysis of the discussions of the "foreign" in women's magazines between 1875 and 1908, see Frierson (2000).

Elizabeth Brown Frierson's article shows that late-Ottoman women's magazines published in the sultanate of Abdülhamid II were full of translations. For her, the non-literary translated articles and news in the magazines contained both positive and negative views of foreign women's lives and behaviours, and female readers "were guided to accept as well as to reject various Western influences and to adopt the acceptable influences into Ottoman and Muslim norms" (Frierson, 2000, p. 178). Frierson does not elaborate on the sex of translators, directors and editors. Still, it appears that translations were presented as options to female readers from which they could choose according to their own needs. Frierson (2000) claims that writers and readers of women's magazines "chose for their needs a broad range of beliefs and practices present within Islam as a socio-political compound, and refitted their choices to forward an Ottoman modernizing project" (p. 199). According to Frierson (2000), translations were used to strengthen the project of modernization. It would then not be wrong to claim that translations in the pre-republican period occupied a central position in the discussions concerning Ottoman modernizing attempts.

Furthermore, bibliographical analysis also reveals the ways translations and translators were represented. Between 1895 and 1900, most translated texts were cited without author's names in the bibliography, but the names of translators were supplied as "translator". In *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete*, only five texts had the names of both authors and translators until issue 119. These authors were William Shakespeare, Albert Laduka, S. Robe, Madame La Barone Saschenbach⁹³ and Charles Baudelaire. The translators of these texts were M. İsmet, Nigar bint-i Osman, Fatma Fahrünissa (for Robe and Saschenbach), and Rasime. *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* published serialized translations in almost each issue. It may be suggested

⁹³ I could not find any information about the identities of S. Robe and Madame La Barone Saschenbach. I mention them as they were published in the contents pages of the magazines in Toska's bibliography.

that authors were invisible and translators were visible in the women's magazines until 1900. After 1900, almost all texts in every magazine were supplied with the names of their authors and translators.⁹⁴

As far as the topics of translated texts are concerned, it seems that women's magazines mostly published serialized translated stories and novels. The most preferred authors were French, such as Guy de Maupassant, Marcel Prévost, Charles Baudelaire and Alphonse de Lamartine. There were also German, English and even Indian authors, such as William Shakespeare, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Leo Nikolayevich Tolstoy and Rabindranat Tagore. From the bibliography, it seems that non-literary translated texts were also published in the Ottoman magazines. They were mostly foreign news, items and some articles taken from foreign writers, for example; Bert Danjen's⁹⁵ "Hayatını Yaşamak İçin Her Kadının Bilmesi Lazım Olan Şeyler" [Things a Woman Should Know to Live Her Life] and Rebecca West's "Amerikalı Kadınlar Nasıl Bir Zevce ve Validedirler" [What Kind of Wives and Mothers are American Women]. The former translated text seems to be a didactic text to teach women required information about their lives and the latter one introduces to Turkish women an alternative foreign female role model, American women.

Texts including reading tips, which may give clues about female readers, appeared only in two magazines in the bibliography. In *Kadınlar Dünyası*, the article "Hangi Eserleri Okuyalım" [Which Works Shall We Read] (1913/42) was published anonymously and the article "Hayat ve Kitaplar" [Life and Books] (1913/115) written by Naima Basri Paşa was published. The magazine *İnci* [The Pearl] includes

⁹⁴ Earlier I noted that eight out of thirty-two magazines published translations and that the publication of these magazines intensified around the turn of the century and later. The representation of the translators and authors or their status in the magazines also appears to have undergone a transformation at the turn of the century in Turkey.

⁹⁵ The name of the writer is supplied as it appears in Toska's bibliography.

a column called “Yeni Eserler” [New Works] in its three issues (1919/9; 1919/11; 1920/13).

The anonymous writer in *Kadınlar Dünyası* warned young readers about the ways of selecting reading materials. The writer states that:

The factor leading me to write these lines is the works recently translated or written in order to gain money. These works are produced as a result of people’s ignorance. Be sure that none of them are written or sold to meet our era’s needs. The reason why they are produced is only financial. Many books that whose names I abstain from mentioning are published, but many useful ones are forgotten in the libraries. More properly, not a single publisher considers the demand for their publications, which is why works that may enhance people’s knowledge and ethics are not published. (1913/42, p. 3)]

[Beni şu suretle idare-i kelama mecbur eden bir saik var ki o da bugün sırf cehl-i umumiden istifade ederek para kazanmak emeliyle yazılan, tercüme edilen eserler. Bunlar emin olunuz ki hiçbirimizin bahusus zamanın ihtiyacı düşünülerek yazılmıyor, satılmıyor. Bunları vücuda getiren şey, yalnız fikr-i temettüdür, menfaat-i maddiyedir. [...] İsmi söylemekten ihtiraz ettiğim birçok kitaplar çıkıyor, sonra nâfi bir eser kütüphanelerde sürünüyor. Daha doğrusu hiçbir kitapçı böyle bir eser tab’ına bile talip olmuyor ve bunun için de umumun seviye-i irfan ve ahlakını yükseltecek eserler neşrinden sarf-ı nazar ediliyor. (1913/42, p. 3)]⁹⁶

It seems that the writer’s main concern is the quality of translated texts in circulation in the 1910s. The writer does not provide any further information about these texts. Naima Basri Paşa in *Kadınlar Dünyası* (1913/115) wrote about novels and their effects on young people. He claimed that “a good novel improves a nation while a bad one destroys the morals” [iyi bir roman nasih-i millet olduğu gibi fena bir roman da müfsid-i ahlaktır] (ibid.). He offered some foreign and indigenous writers to his readers, such as Émile Zola, Jules Verne, Pierre Loti, Morris Dune, Henri Lavadan, Paul Arvie and Hüseyin Rahmi. He also warned female readers

⁹⁶ I am greatly indebted to Tülay Gençtürk-Demircioğlu, who did the intralingual translations from Ottoman into Turkish. Other translations are mine, unless otherwise noted.

about some texts he thought could provide false examples to society in his words below:

Today the great responsibility entrusted to the novelist should be taken into account and publishing the shameless, immoral and unscrupulous hallucinations of some unripe writers should be banned. (ibid.)

[İşte bugün bir romancının vezaif-i mevduası ne kadar âli olduğu nazar-ı itibara alınıp birkaç nev-hevesin müfsid-i ahlak, mugayir-i edeb perde-birunane hezeyanlarını esastan metin olmayan efkar-ı umumiye îsalden men edilmelidir. (ibid.)]⁹⁷

It could be seen that both the anonymous writer and Naima Basri Paşa criticized some texts which they thought were dangerous to the public, but they did not name examples of these texts. Their desire to censor texts seems to be due to their belief that those texts were not suitable for the socio-ethical norms of the Turkish culture.

İnci advertised new books in its column titled “New Works” [Yeni Çalışmalar]. Not only books but also new magazines were introduced in this column, such as Hakkı Naşir’s *Mebus Namzetlerim* [My Ministry Candidates] (1920/13, p. 16), Fuat Hulusi’s drama *Kerem ile Aslı* [Kerem and Aslı] (1919/11, p. 18) and the magazines *Kurtuluş* [Emancipation], *Kaplan* [Tiger] and *Ümit* [Hope]. There is only one translated text introduced to the readers in the column: *İtalyan Edebiyatı* [Italian Literature], which includes translations from Italian literature by Ali Fahri Bey, who was also the editor of the text. It was stated that Ali Fahri’s book covered excerpts from three Italian literary texts. Ali Fahri’s text was not referred to as a “translation” in the column but as “worked on” [“çalışılmış”] (1919/9, p.16).

As a final remark, “women’s sexuality” did not appear as a topic in the pre-republican magazines, although sexuality was a common theme in literature in the

⁹⁷ Translated by Tülay Gençtürk-Demircioğlu from Ottoman into Turkish.

Second Constitutional Period. Türkeş states that Mehmet Rauf wrote the first examples of erotic literature in 1910.⁹⁸ He claims that Rauf's novels *Bir Zambağın Hikayesi* (1910) [The Story of a Lily] and *Kaymak Tabacağı* (1910) [A Plate of Cream] were adaptations from Oscar Wilde and Marquis de Sade.⁹⁹ Türkeş also gives several other examples from the erotic literature of the period¹⁰⁰ and he argues that these writers used the erotic style to resist and subvert old traditions in Ottoman society and they created the first “underground” movement in Ottoman-Turkish literature. It appears that Türkeş's argument implies the innovative position of translators as the actors of that “underground” movement in the Second Constitutional period. Türkeş also states that these novels were so popular that they were even lent to readers in the Second Constitutional Period (Türkeş, 2006). Irvin Cemil Schick (2005) writes in the preface of *Bin Bir Buse: 1923-1924 İstanbul'undan Erotik Bir Dergi* [A Thousand Kisses: An Erotic Magazine from Istanbul in 1923-1924] edited by Ömer Türkoğlu that the magazine *Bin Bir Buse* was published by Mehmet Rauf (Türkoğlu, 2005, p. 17). Schick argues that the erotic novels of these writers reflected the sexual discourse at the beginning of the twentieth century (Türkoğlu, 2005, p. 16). Indeed, he further suggests that they even established the sexual discourse (ibid.). Schick's examples of erotic literary works which were translated from Arabic and his arguments that many stories in the magazine were translations show that translations

⁹⁸ For Mehmet Rauf and erotic literature, see Türkeş's article available in <http://www.pandora.com.tr/sahaf/eski.asp?pid=115> and “<http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/2001/04/10/g08.html>”. For a more detailed analysis of the erotic literature in the beginning of the twentieth century in Turkey, see Irvin Cemil Schick's preface in Türkoğlu, Ömer (2005) *Bin Bir Buse: 1923-1924 İstanbul'undan Erotik Bir Dergi*. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınevi. 9-25.

⁹⁹ Rauf was dismissed from his post in the army because of his erotic novels. When he was accused of being the writer of erotic novels, he defended himself by arguing that he did not write them but made adaptations.

¹⁰⁰ Such as Ebü'l Burhan's *Bir Çapkının Hikayesi* [The Story of a Casanova] (1910), T.P.Z.'s *Muhabbet Odası* [Pillow Talk] (1912), M.S.'s *Zifaf Gecesi* [Wedding Night] (1913), A. Hasan's *Bir Bakirenin Gebeliği* [The Pregnancy of a Virgin] (1914).

occupied a central position in establishing the discourse on sexuality in the twentieth century in Turkey.¹⁰¹

Sexuality and eroticism in literary texts and their non-existence in women's magazines may indicate that sexuality was one of the popular topics in literature but that it was a hidden topic in the pre-republican women's magazines. However, women's sexuality was the topic of some non-literary translated¹⁰² and indigenous¹⁰³ books published in the pre-republican period as well. As was documented in Chapter 3, one translated and eleven indigenous texts on women's sexuality were published up to 1922 (see Appendix A and B). Indigenous writers appear to have been accepted as the professionals of texts on sexuality in the pre-republican period. Compared to the pre-republican period with its twelve texts, around 300 translated and indigenous texts were published on women's sexuality between 1923 and 1990. The pre-republican production on women's sexuality seems to be relatively low compared to the republican production, yet it should be noted that the numbers of these texts were determined only from Toska's bibliography.

In conclusion, the analysis of Toska's bibliography reveals that translation was part of women's life in the pre-republican period. Women translated texts, they

¹⁰¹ I think there is a need for detailed research on the translated and indigenous erotic literature and non-literary texts on women's sexuality before the twentieth century in order to explore the emergence of sexual discourse in Turkey.

¹⁰² Pevaru, Marlis (1914), *Yeni Kadın Mektupları* [New Women Letters] Trans. Ali Kemal. Istanbul: Muhtar Halid.,

¹⁰³ Mehmed İhsan (1888), *Kadınlarda Sabah Kahvesi Yahut Oğlu'nun Kılavuzu* [Morning Coffee for Women or Manual of Their Son] Istanbul: Arşak Gorayan., Mehmed Said (1895), *Vezaif-ül İnas* [Task of Women] Istanbul: Kitapçı Arakel., Rikar Adolf (1898), *Muhabbet-i İzdivaç ve Kadınlık*. [Chitchat in Marriage and Women] Istanbul: Asr Kütüphanesi sahibi Kirkor Efendi Matbaası., Ş.Binti Macid (1905), *Kendini Zevcine Sevdirme Sanatı* [The Art of Making Your Partner Love You] Istanbul: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası., İbni Hasan Müsellem Sami Attar Zade (1911), *Erkeklerle Düstur-i Felah Kadınlara Gonca-i Sabah*. [Rules of Happiness for Men Bright Rosebud for Women] Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaası., Naci, Ahmet (1912), *Rehnumay-ı İzdivac*. [The Marriage Manual] Istanbul: Manzume-i Efkâr Matbaası., M. Alişan (1914), *Kadınlara Aradığı* [What Women Are Looking For]. Istanbul: Tevsi-i Tıbbat Matbaası., Ma'ruf El-Rassafı (1917), *Erkeklerle Kadın Arasında Müsavat Olabilir mi?* [Can There be Equality Between Man and Woman] Istanbul: Evkaf., Bahri, Hasan (1919), *Kadınlara Mahsus Pembe Kitap* [Pink Book for Women] Istanbul: Dersaadet., Mustafa Galib (1922), *Fahişeler Hayatı ve Redaet-i Ahlakiye* [Lives of Prostitutes and The Rejection of Morality] Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası.

edited translated texts and they read translated texts. There appears to have been a variety of topics offered to female readers in the magazines, ranging from literature to news on foreign women, and it appears that sexuality was not a popular subject in the women's magazines of the pre-republican period, although it was a highly popular subject in literary and non-literary texts in the publishing market.

The republican period

145 women's magazines were published in Turkey between 1923 and 1990.¹⁰⁴ Seven magazines were published between 1923 and 1929, twelve magazines between 1930-1939, seventeen magazines between 1940 and 1949, twenty two magazines between 1950 and 1959, sixteen magazines between 1960 and 1969 and twenty seven magazines between 1970 and 1980 and forty-four magazines between 1980 and 1990.¹⁰⁵ It seems that there was a steady increase in the number of women's magazines published until 1960 and then the number slightly decreased between 1960 and 1970, followed by a sharp increase after 1980.

Thirty-eight magazines out of 145 were owned by private publishing houses, seven of which were owned by women. Seventy-four magazines were owned by individuals, nineteen of whom were female. Six magazines were owned by women's societies; nine magazines were owned by women's groups; six magazines were owned by banks; two magazines were owned by a professional women's society; three magazines were owned by women's branches of political parties; one magazine

¹⁰⁴ This section will be based on Davaz-Mardin, Aslı (ed.) (1998), *Kadın Süreli Yayınları: Hanımlar Alemi'nden Rosa'ya*, [Women's Magazines: From *Hanımlar Alemi* to *Roza*. Istanbul: K.E.K.B.M.V & T.E.T.T.V. (The editor included a copy of the cover page of each magazine and some passages from editorial pages). The first issue of the earliest women's magazine in Turkish script is *Hanımlar Alemi* (1929) in Davaz Mardin's bibliography and the last issue of the last magazine is *Roza* (1996).

¹⁰⁵ The bibliography includes magazines published until 1996, I only included the magazines from between 1923 and 1990 in my analysis.

was owned by a newspaper; one was owned by the Ministry of Education and two were owned by Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu [The Institute for Children]. There were twenty-two fashion magazines and six magazines addressed to certain professions, such as nurses or secretaries. Six magazines were addressed directly to mothers and six magazines were directly addressed to housewives.

The survey of republican magazines until 1990 revealed that all magazines were owned, directed and edited by men until 1940. After Nezihe Muhittin, who was the owner of *Kadın Yolu* [Woman's Way] (1925-1927), no women can be seen as owners, directors or editors for the thirteen years until 1940. In 1940, Belkıs Zincirkıran appeared as the first women in an administrative roel, as the editor-in-chief of *Sesimiz* [Our Voice]. Then İffet Halim Oruz was the first women to own and edited a magazine, *Kadın Gazetesi* [Journal of Woman] (8 March 1947). The same year, *Güngör* began its publication, and its owner and editor was Nezihe Saim. At the beginning of the 1950s, the number of women working as editors and directors in the magazines increased. Women's role in administration increased gradually after 1940. Let's look at the table below:

Table 4. Number of Magazines and of the Female and Male Staff in Administration

Years	Number of Magazines	Administration	
		Female	Male
1923-1929	7	4	1
1930-1939	12	-	12
1940-1949	17	6	11
1950-1959	22	9	13
1960-1969	16	9	3
1970-1979	22	11	11
1980-1990	44	32	12

As can be seen from Table 4, women's role in administration of magazines rose steadily over the years. Men, on the other hand, appeared to be power holders in women's magazines until 1940. The regression period during 1960-1970 did not affect women's position in management; on the contrary, the number of female directors and editors was higher than the number of male directors and editors in the given period.

Between 1923 and 1990, 145 women's magazines were published, and women worked as directors or editors in sixty-eight of these magazines which makes almost 46% of the total number. The period between 1923 and 1990 displays two interesting shifts. Firstly, the period between 1930 and 1940 witnessed a lack of women in administration whereas the 1970s exhibits equality when the numbers of women and men in administration are compared, which can also be seen as an index of the increasing visibility of women in administration. Secondly, the period between 1980 and 1990 witnessed a sharp increase in the number of women working in the administration of the women's magazines.¹⁰⁶

Analysis of the bibliography of republican women's magazines in Turkey shows that the popularity of women's magazines and the number of women in administration increased over sixty-seven years. Compared to the pre-republican period, the percentage of the number of women in administration increased from 20% to 46% in the republican period. Thus, women seem to have played a more active role in administration in the republican period. Now I will have a closer look into the republican period in the following sections of this chapter. The ways in which translations were represented, recommended and advertised and the topics

¹⁰⁶ Since Davaz-Mardin's bibliography does not include the contents pages of magazines as Toska's bibliography discussed in the previous section, this section does not include any statistical data on fe/male translators and topics of translated or indigenous texts.

offered to women readers will be discussed from a critical approach within the framework of translation studies.

Representations of translators/translation(s) in women's magazines: 1929-1993

Sixteen women's magazines will be examined in this section. These are: *Hanımlar Alemi* [The World of Women] (1929), *Ana* [Mother] (1938-1942), *Kadın Dünyası* [The World of Women] (1940), *Türk Kadını* [Turkish Woman] (1944-1948), *Aile* [Family] (1947-1952), *Kadın Gazetesi* [Women's Newspaper] (1947-1979), *Modern Türk Kadını* [Modern Turkish Women] (1950), *Kadın Dünyası* (1952-1953), *Kadın Dünyası* (1958-1959), *Kadın Ansiklopedisi* [The Encyclopedia of Woman] (1961), *Aile* (1960-1967, İzmir), *Türk Kadını* [Turkish Woman] (1966-1973), *Kadınların Sesi* [The Voice of Women] (1975-1980), *Kadın Dayanışması* [Women's Solidarity] (1977-1980), *Pamukkadın* [Snowwoman] (1979-1983) and *Kadın* [Woman] (1984-1993?).

The first aim of this section is to observe the ways in which translations and translators were represented, recommended and advertised. The second aim is to survey the topics offered to female readers in the republican period in order to uncover the function of translations in this specific context. For the purpose of this section, I have established some selection criteria for determining which magazines to include in my analysis. The first criterion is that magazines published before 1929 have been excluded, because of my inability to read Ottoman Turkish. The second criterion is that magazines which include translations have been selected. The third criterion is that magazines addressed to certain professions [such as *Hemşireler Dergisi* (Journal for Nurses)], magazines on fashion [such as *Moda Albümü* (The

Fashion Album), *Yeni Moda* (New Fashion)] and latticework [such as *Ev Kadın Yün Örgüleri* (Housewife Weaving), *El İşleri* (Handworks)] and magazines which were designed as “illustrated novels” (fotoroman) [such as *Yelpaze* (Fan)] have been excluded since, due to their restricted subject area, they cannot generate various questions on translation and women. The fourth and last criterion is that magazines including more volumes than others are preferred, such as *Kadın Ansiklopedisi* (20 volumes) rather than *Aile* (6 volumes) or *Sim* (Silver) (1 volume). *Modern Türk Kadını* is involved in this section although it was published in two volumes, since it published numerous translated literary texts in its two volumes. Therefore, it can exhibit a variety of strategies used by the publishers in representing translated texts.

How were translators/translations represented, recommended and advertised?

Analysis of sixteen magazines proves that there is no consensus on the representations of translations in the women’s magazines between 1929 and 1993. Translations of non-literary topics were cited sometimes with their translators only, as in “Huysuz Çocuklar” [Grumpy Children] (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1961/1, p. 150) and in “Geniş Fikirlilik” [Broadmindedness] (*Türk Kadını*, 1967/2, p. 19); and sometimes with their authors only, as in “Bazen Aşk da Yetmez” [Sometimes Love isn’t Enough] (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/15, p. 226), “Dul Kalmak İstemezseniz” [You Do Not Want to be a Widow] (*Aile*, 1950/4, p. 14), “Çocuğun Ruh Gelişimi” [Psychological Development of the Child] (*Pamukkadın*, 1983/5, p. 57).

The representation varies also in the translated texts taken from foreign women’s magazines. Some texts were cited with the name of the source magazine without the name of the translator, such as “from *Abensour*” (*Ana*, 1938/3, p. 24),

“quoted from the *Reader Digest*” (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/1, p. 2), “from *Pageant*” (*Aile*, 1950/4, p. 15) or “from *Companion*” (*Aile*, 1950/4, p. 13). Some texts were cited with the name of the source magazine, such as “from the magazine *Women*” together with the label “translator” at the end of the article (*Aile*, 1949/3, p. 9). The practice of quoting from foreign magazines was a popular strategy until the end of 1950s, but after the 1960s this practice lost its popularity.

My survey of translated texts in sixteen women’s magazines has revealed that the representation of translations with translators never followed a regular strategy used by the publishers in magazines with a few exceptions. Non-literary translated texts were published mostly without an author or a translator’s name. Literary translations have been treated in a different way. They have been published usually with an author’s name and sometimes with a translator’s name. It seems that translators were more visible in literary translations published in the magazines. Yet the place of the translators’ names on the page was not fixed. The name of the author was always just under or near the title of the story, but the name of the translator could be found in various places. It could be at the end of the story (*Modern Türk Kadını*, 1950/3, p. 10), just below the author’s name at the beginning of the story (*Ana*, 1938/5, p. 26), above the author’s name at the beginning of the story (*Türk Kadını*, 1967/2, p. 6) or in the same line as the name of the author at the beginning of the story (*Ana*, 1938/8, p. 25; *Modern Türk Kadını*, 1950/2, p. 14). On two occasions, translated poetry was treated in a slightly different way. The source title of a poem was also supplied and given below the translated title and the name of the source poet and the translator were given at the end of the poem in two translations (*Aile*, 1947/1, p. 4; *Aile*, 1948/2, p. 5). As I stated before, there was no regular representation strategy of the publishers in introducing translated texts. This

ambiguity can be also seen in the magazines published in the 1970s and 1980s. For example, in *Pamukkadın*, which was published in 63 volumes between 1979 and 1983, all translated stories were published with translators' names, with the exception of three literary translations in two volumes.¹⁰⁷

The definition of translation took various forms and thus translators were introduced in various ways in the women's magazines until 1960s. The translators could be referred to as the "conveyor" ["nakleden"] (*Ana*, 1939/18, p. 14; *Ana*, 1939/19, p. 16; *Kadın Dünyası*, 1952/4, p. 7), "adaptor" ["adapte eden"] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/1, p. 4), the "translator" ["tercüme eden"] (mostly used in the pre-republican period) (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/3, p. 4), the "translator" ["terceme eden"] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1948/70, p. 5), "the one who translated into Turkish" ["Türkçe'ye çeviren"] (*Ana*, 1939/20, p. 2), the "translator" ["çeviren"] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/5, p. 3), the "editor" ["derleyen"] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1948/50, p. 2) or "the author of the translation" ["çeviri yazarı"] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1963/765, p. 7). Sometimes magazines also referred to the language of translation, such as in "translator who translates from German" ["Almanca'dan çeviren"] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/13, p. 6). It appears that, after the 1960s, "translator" ["çeviren"] became the norm for addressing translators in women's magazines.¹⁰⁸ As a summary, it might be claimed that women's magazines did not have a particular strategy for introducing translators until the 1960s. After the 1960s, "translator" became a standard form for addressing translators in the magazines. The representation of translations was treated diversely

¹⁰⁷ The names of the translators of these three texts were supplied in the magazine. They are: Dorothy Parker's "Hayat Pahallığı". Trans. Armağan İlkin (1981/3, p. 33), Jorge Luis Borges's "Emma Zunz". Trans. Tomris Uyar (1983/5, p. 49) and Ephraim Kishon's "Zorlamak ya da Zorlamamak". Trans. Moşe Baraze (1983/5: 51).

¹⁰⁸ However, still I came across exceptions in the magazines, which I have incorporated in my study. For example, in a translated story, Asaf Ayçıl was introduced as "conveyor" in *Günün Kadını* (1979/127, p. 11).

in the translated non-literary texts and literary texts. Furthermore, the location of translators' names around the texts was not fixed.

Another way of introducing translators and translations was to publish advertisements and to represent translators in recommendation articles. Many translated and indigenous books¹⁰⁹ were recommended and advertised in women's magazines between 1929 and 1993. It is impossible to know if women bought or read these books, but this analysis will still display the kinds of books presented as options to female readers. These books were presented in three forms in women's magazines: firstly in advertisements,¹¹⁰ secondly in articles promoting the books and thirdly in articles on various other subjects.

It appears that the number of translated books advertised was higher than the indigenous ones advertised in the sixteen magazines. Advertisements were mainly for translated fiction and they were sometimes published with the picture of the book's cover page, occasionally accompanied by general information about the books in one or two sentences. The findings of the survey have revealed that most of the translated books¹¹¹ were published without translators' names. Most of the books

¹⁰⁹ I will use "book" instead of "text" in this section in order to separate the texts published as articles in the magazines from the texts in book form which were recommended and advertised in the magazines.

¹¹⁰ In *Kadın Gazetesi*, a list of new books was published in two of its volumes (1963/786 and 1963/787). I will treat these lists as advertisements, since they only included the names of the books and their writers.

¹¹¹ There are some exceptions, but in several of them the name of the author was not introduced. These texts are: *Istirap Cenneti* [The Heaven of Agony] Trans. Nihal Yeğınobalı (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1952); *Ateş Perisi* [The Nymph of Fire], Trans. Beria Okan (*Türk Kadını*, 1947/4(2): 16); Virginia Andrews *Çatı*. [Flowers in the Attic] Trans. Füsün Doruker (*Pamukkadın*, 1980/2: 18); Honore de Balzac *Otuzunda Kadın* [A Woman of Thirty] Trans. Vahdet Gültekin (*Pamukkadın*, 1981/3, p. 33); Saki *İnsanlar, Hayvanlar ve Yırtıcı Hayvanlar*. [Human Beings, Animals Wilde Animals] Trans. Fatih Özgüven (*Kadın*, 1985/2, p. 15); Brigitte Schwaiger *Denizin Tuzu Nereden Geliyor*. [How Does the Salt Get into the Sea] Trans. Cemal Ener (*Kadın*, 1985/2, p. 19); Vincent Van Gogh *Theo'ya Mektuplar* [The Letters of Vincent Van Gogh] Edit. Mark Baskill, Trans. Pınar Kür (ibid.); Yukio Mishima *Şölen sonra*. [After the Banquet] Trans. Bülent R. Bozkurt (*Kadın*, 1985/2, p. 21); George Sand *Erkek çölünde bir Kamelya*. [The Story of My Life] Trans. Salah Bırsel (*Kadın*, 1991/8, p. 92).

were advertised also without an author's name until the 1960s,¹¹² but after that they published the advertisements always with the name of the authors. The same practice was also seen in the advertisements for the non-literary books, most of which were advertised without a translator's name.¹¹³ It may be argued that there was no regularity in presenting translated books in the women's magazines in the period between 1929 and 1993. Advertised indigenous books were diverse in their subject matter including fiction¹¹⁴, childcare, history and many other topics.¹¹⁵ My analysis has shown that advertising of indigenous books with their authors' names was the norm in women's magazines.

As for the recommended books, a common strategy appears to have been that a translated book was mentioned in an article, usually only the name of the book and its author were supplied. With regards to the genre selection, it can be said that most of these recommended books were novels. For instance, between 1929 and 1960, fifty translations¹¹⁶ were recommended without the names of their translators¹¹⁷

¹¹² Such as *Ayrılık Şarkısı* (*The Song of Separation* by Florence Louise Barclay. Trans. Nihal Yeğinobalı), *Jane Eyre* (Charlotte Bronte by many translators such as Nihal Yeğinobalı and Tahsin Yücel), *Kara İmparator* (*The Black Emperor* by Francis Gerard, Trans. Nihal Yeğinobalı), *Şüpheli Kadın* (*Strong Poison* by Dorothy Sayers Trans. by Nihal Yeğinobalı), *Quo Vadis* (*Quo Vadis* by Henry Sienkiewicz, Trans. Nihal Yeğinobalı), *Seni İstiyorum* (*I Want You* by Sir Hugh Walpole, Trans. Nihal Yeğinobalı) (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1952; *Kadın Dünyası*, 1953)

¹¹³ Such as Benjamin Spock's *En Modern Metodlarla Çocuk Bakımı*. [Baby and Child Care] Trans. Mine Kabağağaçlı. (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/2, p. 16).

¹¹⁴ Kadri Saim and Cemil Cahit's *Zampara Kız* [Flirtatious Girl] (*Hanımlar Alemi*, 1929/1, p. 5), Konsolitiçi Asaf's *Yirmi Yedi Kadını nasıl Sevdim?* [How Did I Love Twenty-seven Women] (*Hanımlar Alemi*, 1929/2, p. 3).

¹¹⁵ Faik Baysal's *Sarduvan* (*Aile*, 1947/1(1), p. 62); Ziya Kozanoğlu's *Kızıltuğ* (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/3, p. 39); Zehra Celasin's *Tarih Boyunca Kadın* [Women in History] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/8, p. 3); *Türk Kadını*, 1946/3(4), p. 31); Semiha Ayverdi's *Yolcu Nereye Gidiyorsun?* [Traveller! Where are you going] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(1), p. 12), Fikret Kanad's *Ailede Çocuk Terbiyesi* [The Education of Child in the Family] (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/2(1), p. 12); Sami Ulus's *Çocuk Bakımı* [Child Care] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(8), p. 13); Muzaffer Sezer's *Sihhi ve İçtimai Bilgileri* [Information on Health and Society] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(3), p. 2); Hamid Refik's *Demokrasi Nedir* [What is Democracy] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/9, p. 2); Halide Nusret Zorlutuna's *Benim Küçük Dostlarım* [My Little Friends] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1948/92, p. 5).

¹¹⁶ Seven of these recommended texts are also in my database. They are Heinrich Kisch's *Kadın ve Seksüel Hayatı* [The Sexual Life of Women], Thomas Félix's *Kızlarımız* [Our Daughters. Trans. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın] *Türk Kadını*, 1945/2(1), p. 12), Clifford Adams' *Eş Nasıl Seçmeli* [How to pick a Spouse Trans.], William Menninger's *Arkadaşlık Nasıl Kurulur ve Devam Ettirilir* [Ways to Build and Protect a Friendship, Trans. Temel İskit], August Bebel's *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*, Simon de

whereas only one translation was recommended with the translator's name.¹¹⁸

Another example is that in all recommended translated texts in *Kadınların Sesi* the translator's name was excluded, with one exception. Only Sabiha Sertel was named as the translator of *Kadın ve Sosyalizm* [Women and Socialism] by August Bebel (*Kadınların Sesi*, 1979/45, p. 12). When it comes to the indigenous production, it appears that various genres were recommended: short stories, novels, poetry, drama and anthology. I found a total of 136 indigenous literary books recommended in the sixteen magazines between 1929 and 1993.¹¹⁹

Only a few articles in which translated books were recommended include advice to female readers related to reading habits. For instance, Thomas Felix's *Kızlarımız* [Our Daughters], which was translated by H. Cahit Yalçın was defined as "very beneficial for our women" ["kadınlarımız için çok faydalı"] (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/1, p. 12) by Recai Ant, the writer of the article, who worked as a Primary Education Inspector. Ant quotes the following sentence from *Kızlarımız*: "If the real occupation of woman is to be a mother, our girls should be educated in the family as if they will all be mothers in the future" ["Eğer kadının hakiki mesleği en kati manasıyla annelik ise aile içinde kızlarımızın hepsi bir gün anne olacak gibi terbiye edilmelidir"] (ibid).

Beauvoir's *Kadın* and Madeleine Vincent's *Toplum ve Kadının Kurtuluşu* [Femmes Quelle Libération, Trans. Bülent Arıbaş].

¹¹⁷ Such as John Steinbeck's *Bitmeyen Kavga* [In Dubious Battle], Trans. Gökmen Tuncay (*Kadınların Sesi*, 1978/31, p. 16), Maksim Gorki's *Ana* [Mother], Trans. Nahit Teoman Ergin (*Kadınların Sesi*, 1979/44, p. 20), Edmondo De Amicis's *Çocuk Kalbi* [Heart], Trans. Nurhan Özaltın, Mehmet Aydın (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1973/1052, p. 30).

¹¹⁸ August Bebel's *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*. [Women and Socialism] Trans.by Sabiha Sertel (*Kadınların Sesi* 1979/45: 12).

¹¹⁹ Such as Nermin Abadan-Unat's *Türk Toplumunda Kadın* [Woman in Turkish Society], Bekir Yıldız's *Beyaz Türkü* [White Folk Song] (*Kadınların Sesi*, 1976/12, p. 1), Cahit Uçuk's *Türk İkizleri* [Turkish Twins] (*Ana*, 1938/8, p. 27), Yılmaz Peker's *Sır Çiçeği* [Flower of Secret], Sait Faik Abasıyanık's *Son Kuşlar* [Last Birds] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1954/363, p. 5). Pınar Kür's *Akışı Olmayan Sular* [Waters that Flow Nowhere] (*Kadın*, 1984/7, p. 5), Gani Müjde's *Burası Törkiye* [This is Törkiye] (*Kadın*, 1991/90, p. 128).

Before the 1980s, translated texts were recommended without any criticism of the translations or translators. But after the 1980s, recommenders started to write a few words about the translation or the translator, although this remained a rare habit. For example, Ahmet Altan, who recommended Saki's¹²⁰ text *İnsanlar, Hayvanlar ve Yırtıcı Hayvanlar*, which was translated by Fatih Özgüven (*Kadın*, 1984/2, p. 14) praises the translator in the blurb with these words: "Saki's easily-read stories have been translated into Turkish by Fatih Özgüven with great success. If Saki had written his stories in Turkish, he would have written just in this way" ["Saki'nin çok rahat okunan hikayelerini Fatih Özgüven de büyük bir başarıyla çevirmiş Türkçeye. Herhalde Saki, hikayelerini Türkçe yazsaydı, böyle yazardı"] (ibid.).

All the above texts were introduced to Turkish female readers, yet it is impossible to gage the readers' reception of the represented, advertised or recommended books in the magazines. The question that quickly comes to mind is this: Did female readers asked anything or write anything about these books in readers' letters? I examined the readers' letters to find an answer, but I came across only two women's letters on books. The first one was from a female reader from Ankara asking for reading advice and the editor advised her to read Nazım İçsel's *Kadın Nedir* [What is Woman], Heinrich Kisch's *Kadın ve Seksüel Hayatı* [The Sexual Life of Woman]¹²¹ translated by Şevket Dilmaç and an anonymous book *İnsan ve Hayat* [People and Life] published by Türkiye Publishing House (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/9, p. 8). The second one was from a female reader who asked the editor to send her books. She wrote that she read so many books and from the editor's answer we can understand that she sent a list of books she had read (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1952/8, p. 30). All in all, readers' letters in the sixteen magazines under examination

¹²⁰ Saki is the pen name of British author Hector Hugh Munro (1870-1916).

¹²¹ The source language of the text is German and its source title is *Die sexuelle Untreue der Frau I& II* (1918). Bonn: Marcus and Weber.

cannot reveal much about the represented books; they were mostly about housework, beauty or cooking.¹²²

To conclude, it could be suggested that the magazines did not have a consistent strategy of recommending and advertising translated books. It should, however, be noted that around 85% of translated books were advertised and recommended without a translator's name. This shows that translators did remain hidden in the women's magazines between 1929 and 1993. Another result of this analysis is that women's sexuality was the topic of any recommended or advertised books in the magazines. Only one book on women's sexuality was introduced to female readers in all the sixteen magazines, which was Heinrich Kisch's *Kadın ve Seksüel Hayatı*, translated by Şevket Dilmaç and Ayet Altuğ and published in 1944.

Before proceeding with the analysis of selected texts from sixteen magazines, I would note that my examination of the ways of representing, recommending and advertising books in sixteen women's magazines published between 1929 and 1993 has revealed that translations occupied a significant place in these magazines. Turkish female readers came across a variety of translated and indigenous texts. The next section will focus on four selected topics in order to question the role of translations in translated and indigenous articles on women in marriage, society and sexuality and to examine the foreign and Turkish female models introduced in articles.

¹²² A few magazines had a readers' letters column. Letters were mostly about women's daily lives, their questions about cooking, housework, etc. See for example *Ana* (1939/17, p. 30; 1939/18, p. 31) or *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947/22, p. 6).

What did women read?

Though she might not have been a purchaser, the woman addressed by the magazine was always a reader. Because reading became identified as an activity carried on in the privacy of the home, the middle-class woman who was the hub of that domestic world became central also to the activity of reading. Her leisure was the signifier of her gender and it was her leisure which was the necessary condition for the emergence not only of the novel but also other forms of print such as the family magazine. (Watt in Beetham, 1996, p.10)

Ian Watt's argument in 1957, positions woman as a reader and a consumer, which are passive roles compared with writing and production. The passive position of women as readers can be clearly seen in Turkish novels since the nineteenth century. Gürbilek argues that the motive of the woman as a reader has been used archetypically by various authors since the early Ottoman-Turkish novels (Gürbilek, 2004a; Gürbilek, 2004b). The significance of Gürbilek's research, apart from its importance as a scholarly study, is that almost all the novels, which are read by female characters in Turkish novels, are translations.¹²³ As we saw in Chapter 2, women were translating and writing in Turkey in the nineteenth century. For this reason, the passive role of reading which was attributed to female characters by male writers in fiction and the active role that women played in translating, writing, editing and managing in women's magazines seem contradictory. Translations appear to have been positioned at the centre of both fiction and women's magazines. In the first case, translation was used as a tool by male writers, who depicted female

¹²³ For example, Zehra in Nabızade Nazım's *Zehra* (1886) reads *The Count of Monte Kristo* (Alexandre Dumas, 1884), Dilber in Samipaşazade Sezai's *Sergüzeşt* (1889) and Lebibe in Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar's *Şipsevdi* (1911) read *Paul and Virginie* (Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, 1788) and Leyla in Yakup Kadri's *Sodom ve Gomore* (1928) reads *The Portrait of Dorian Gray* (Oscar Wilde, 1890). Why do these female characters read those specific translated novels? Were these translated novels also read by women in that period? Why did the authors especially choose those translated novels? Who did translate those novels into Turkish? This would be an interesting piece of research that could relate translated literature with women and fiction with reality.

characters as weak and passives, while in the second case translation was used a tool by female translators and writers through which they made their voices heard and became active in society.

‘What did actual women read?’ or ‘what kinds of texts were offered to female readers?’ will be the questions which will be analyzed in the next section. This section will focus on the various translated and indigenous articles in women’s magazines in order first to study the role of translations which were offered to women readers in the magazines and second to problematize the gender roles attributed to women in family life, society and the nation. Finally the translated and indigenous non-literary articles on women’s sexuality in the magazines will be examined in the last section in order to set a context for comparison with the translated and indigenous popular non-literary texts which were published by private publishers.

Reading activity appears to have been one of the main concerns in women’s magazines between the 1940s and the middle of the 1960s. In an advertisement of the publisher Beyoğlu Kitap Sarayı, a slogan appears “Okuyan ailede hırgür çıkmaz” [There will be no quarrel in a family, in which family members read books] (*Aile*, 1947/1(1), p. 59) and another slogan is “Çocuğuna ne okutursan onu biçersin” [You reap what you make your child read] (*Aile*, 1951/5(19), p. 89). One of the editorial texts carried the title of “Okuyan Aile” [Reading Family] (*Aile*, 1949/3(10), p. 3). There is a column titled “Ayıran ve Birleştiren Kitap” [The book that separates and unites], in which books were advertised (*Aile*, 1948/2(5), p. 15). The cover of the first volume of *Aile*, which was published in İzmir, begins with the slogan “Okumalı, Okumalı ve Çok Öğrenmeliyiz” [We should read, read and learn more] (*Aile*, 1960/1, p. 1).

In these columns and articles, writers build a link between reading and happy marriages and they discuss the benefits of reading for happiness in family life. For instance, Vedat Nedim Tör states that “The book ensures harmony and peace. Happiness of families without personal libraries is always in danger” [“Kitap ailede ahengin ve huzurun sigortasıdır. Bir kitaplığı olmayan ailelerin bahtiyarlıkları daima tehlikededir”] (*Aile*, 1949/3(10), p. 3). In another magazine, Muzaffer Sezer proposes that “Various books, magazines, booklets and other writings which have been published in the republican period, assure the intellectual improvement of the citizens of this nation –especially the mothers and their children” [“Cumhuriyet devrinde çeşitli mevzular üzerinde çıkan kitap, mecmua, broşür ve diğer yazılar bu millet fertlerinin, bilhassa anne ve çocuklarının fikren yükselmesini temin ediyor”] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/3, p. 2).

The explicit emphasis on reading vanished after the 1960s, yet as was shown in the previous section many books were represented, advertised and recommended in this period. This intense practice of introducing books to read was also seen after the 1980s. In *Kadın* (1984-1993), for instance, almost each issue included a column presenting books. The preliminary findings of my research on magazines are that there were various topics in women’s magazines, such as marriage, family, childcare, housework, health, cooking, fashion and sexuality and that magazines were a heaven for serialized literary novels and stories. I have chosen four topics which will help me to analyze the arguments of scholars on the “woman question” in Turkey as was discussed in the second chapter. The findings of the textual analysis in this section will be examined to see how they relate to the claims concerning the central position of women in family, society and nation within the modernization project in the early republican Turkey. This section will survey the discussions of these subjects in the

translated and indigenous articles which were published in sixteen women's magazines until the 1993. This section will also problematize the role of translations in the non-literary articles on sexuality which were published in women's magazines between the foundation of the republic and the 1990s.

The four subject headings are women in marriage and family life, women in society and nation, famous foreign/Turkish female role models and sexuality. The next sections will proceed with the translated and indigenous articles on women in marriage and then in society and the nation. The foreign and Turkish female role models introduced to women will then be analyzed, and finally texts on sexuality will be examined in the last section.

Translated and indigenous articles on women in marriage and family life

All magazines include advice to girls and women concerning married life. However, the contents of the articles show a diverging nature. Most of the translated texts are on divorce and they include surveys, questionnaires or statistics on marriage and divorce from foreign countries. The emphasis in those translated articles is on divorce. In short, the writers of these articles state that the divorce rate has increased in the West, which is dangerous for the society and nation. However, reference to the West as an example of the disasters of divorce gradually decreased towards the 1970s. My survey has displayed that most of the texts on women in marriage life were written by Turkish writers and some of them appear to be anonymous. The advice for happy marriages varies in nature; some advice is related to women's behaviour at home, some to loyalty, to being mothers, to house management.

The first kind of articles on marriage provides female readers with advice on the importance of motherhood. For instance, in a translated article by an anonymous writer, women are warned against the destructiveness of working outside the home: “If a mother works always outside and does not devote herself to her children, that family will be doomed to collapse” [“Bir anne daimi surette evinin dışında çalışır, kendini tamamiyle çocuklarına vermezse, o aile yıkılmağa mahkûmdur”] (*Aile*, 1949/1(4), p. 9). In a similar vein, a survey on couples’ roles in their success at work was studied by an anonymous writer in a translated article from the American magazine *Pageant* (*Aile*, 1950/4(15), pp 75-76). According to the results of this survey, the anonymous writer dictates that women should support their husbands, should prepare a peaceful atmosphere at home and should know when to keep silent at home. In a translated article from Charlotte Paul by Şekure Basman, women are warned against being excessively talkative in their marriages (*Aile*, 1948/1(3), p. 54).

In another anonymous article titled “İş Kadınından Evvel Ev Kadını” [Housewife Before Businesswoman], the anonymous writer states that “We want to point out that the identity of a businesswoman should not be in contradiction with her identities of ‘family woman’ and ‘housewife’” [“Şurasını işaretlemek isteriz ki iş kadını sıfatının, kadınlarda esas olması lazım gelen ‘aile kadını’ ve ‘ev kadını’ ödevleriyle aykırı olacak şekilde tecelli etmemesi icabeder”] (*Ana*, 1938/4, p. 4). Perhaps the most radical statement is made by Turhan Toker, who declares that “A real woman is first and foremost an ideal mother. Only in this case is a woman granted with a trophy called womanhood” [“Hakiki bir kadın, her şeyden önce ideal bir anne olmakla kendini gösterir. Kadına kadınlık denen büyük şeref kupası ancak o zaman verilir”] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/7, p. 2). In the same vein, Mualla Anıl, a female writer, who is not in favour of working women, determines that

If a woman completes her education in accordance with the contemporary position of her nation and becomes a valuable person, it is only for three reasons: for those times when her country needs her, for the knowledgeable, accomplished and healthy children with strong character she brings up and for being her husband's mate in intellectual affairs. The woman is, first of all, the nest-maker of her home and hearth. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/8, p. 8)

[Bir kadın memleketin içtimai vaziyetile mütenasip olan tahsilini yapıyor, değerli bir insan oluyorsa, bu ancak vatanın ona ihtiyacı olduğu zamanlar ve gene o vatan için bilgili, meziyetli, sağlam karakterli, sıhhatli evlatlar yetiştirmesi üçüncü olarak da erkeğine kafa arkadaşı olabilmesi içindir. Yoksa kadın herşeyden evvel yuvanın dışı kuşudur. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/8, p. 8)]

The second kind of articles on marriage focuses on the duties of women toward their husbands and at home. In his article "Aile Kadının Vazifeleri" [Duties of a Family Woman], Muzaffer Sezer, for example, warns young girls that marriages can easily be broken and he recommends girls:

Today's woman has no longer a secondary position and she has become a true companion and close friend of man. More accurately, she has risen to a level where she can struggle with any hindrances for the sake of the prosperity of the family. However, we should confess that it is not possible to wrench out male egoism completely at any time and in any country, so our women should accept this fact as given and they should shape their attitudes and behaviours accordingly, renouncing vain discussions on this subject. (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/1(5), p. 2)

[Bugünün kadını artık ikinci plandan çıkmış ve erkeğe hakiki bir dost, yakın bir arkadaş olmuştur. Daha doğrusu bir ailenin refahı için her türlü zorluklarla savaşıyor bir mevkiye yükselmiştir. Yalnız erkek egoizmini kökünden atıp çıkarmanın hiçbir devirde ve hiçbir memlekette mümkün olmadığını açıkça itiraf etmeliyiz ki, kadınlarımız bunu normal bir keyfiyet olarak kabul edip ona göre hal ve hareketlerini düzenlesinler ve bu husus hakkında boş yere münakaşa kapılarını kapasınlar. (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/1(5), p. 2)]

Girls are criticized by Vedat Nedim Tör because of their ignorance about home management before they get married. Tör gives a list of failures of girls which may cause unhappiness when they get married:

Our daughters are totally ignorant of home management when they get married. They do not know how to cook, how to sew, iron or shop. They

cannot take care of financial affairs, of clothing or furniture. They do not know how to fight against pests and stains. They cannot decorate their houses stylishly, arrange flowers and stick a painting on the wall. They are totally ignorant of childcare. In brief, they are unaware of everything a housewife and a mother should know. (*Aile*, 1948/2(6), p. 13)

[[Kızlarımız] ev idaresinin tamamıyla cahili olarak yeni yuvalarına giriyorlar. Yemek pişirmesini, dikiş dikmesini, ütü ütölemesini, ekonomik alışveriş yapmasını, hesap tutmasını, elbiselere, möbleye, erzaka bakmasını, haşeratla mücadeleyi, leke çıkartmasını, evi zevkle döşeyip dayamasını, vazoya çiçek koymasını, duvara tablo asmasını, çocukları terbiye etmesini, kısaca iyi bir ev kadınının ve annenin bilmesi lazım gelen şeylerin hemen hiç birini bilmiyorlar. (*Aile*, 1948/2(6), p. 13)]

Similar recommendations are given to women and single girls until the end of the 1960s (see *Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/8; *Aile*, 1960/1; *Kadın*, 1967/982). From the analysis above, it appears that women and girls are advised both by Turkish male writers and foreign writers that only understanding, silent, modest, patient and capable housewives are accepted as perfect partners in marriage and can protect their marriages.

With regard to the style of the translated and indigenous texts on marriage until the 1960s, it can be stated that they mostly have a didactic and distant voice in the 1930s and the 1940s, as seen in the above examples. Their authoritarian tone can be seen even from their titles, such as “Anneler! Kızlarınızı Ev Kadını Olarak Yetiştiriniz. Şu Sözü Unutmayınız: Yuvayı Dişi Kuş Yapar” [Mothers! Bring up Your Daughters as Housewives. Do Not Forget This: Nest-makers Build the Home] (*Ana*, 1938/9, p. 4); “İş Kadınından Evvel Ev Kadını” [Housewife Before Businesswoman] (*Ana*, 1938/4, p. 4); “Kadın ve En Kutsal Vazifesi” [Woman and Her Sacred Duty] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/7, p. 2); “Aile Kadınının Vazifeleri” [Duties of an Housewife] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(5), p. 2); “Kadın Nasıl Olmalıdır” [How Should a Woman Be] (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/2(1), p. 3).

The didactic and educative tone disappeared in the 1950s and writers began writing in a friendly and informal tone, such as “Bayanlar Dul Kalmak İstemezseniz” [If You Don’t Want to be a Widow] (*Aile*, 1950/4(14), p. 79), “Genç Kızlarımız Niçin Evlenemiyor?” [Why Cannot Our Girls Get Married?] (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1952/1, p. 8), “Mesut Olmak Elinizdedir” [Happiness is at Your Disposal] (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/17, p. 266), “Nihayet Evlendiniz” [Finally You’ve Got Married] (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/10, p. 152), “Saadetimizi Koruyalım” [Let Us Protect Our Happiness] (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/8, p. 116), “Evlenmekte Acele Etmeyiniz” [Don’t Hurry to Get Married] (*Aile*, 1960/1, p. 14).

In the article “Saadetimizi Koruyalım” [Let’s Protect Our Happiness], which was translated by Gözen Taşan from an anonymous writer, readers are directly addressed using the first person plural ‘we’: “Above all, we must believe this reality. Divorce is not a solution, on the contrary it is the origin of bigger and more serious problems” [“Herşeyden önce şu gerçeğe inanmak zorundayız. Boşanma bir meselenin halli değil, bilakis daha büyük ve ciddi problemlerin başlangıcıdır”] (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/8, p. 116). Kemalettin Tuğcu, for example, speaks to girls in his article “Gençlerimiz Niçin Evlenemiyor?” [Why Our Girls and Boys Cannot Get Married] in a highly sincere tone:

What kind of husband do we want? [...] A young, good-looking, sensitive and good natured man who has not been involved in any serious affair and who comes from a good family. He should neither drink nor gamble [...] You should excuse me if I am wrong, but how many such ideal men are there in the world where at least a hundred thousand girls want to find one? It is a matter of calculation. There are many girls who get old in search of such a suitor.

“She has found one? Why shouldn’t I?”

Then you should wait my dear. (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1952/5, p. 5)

[Nasıl bir koca istiyoruz? [...] Genç, yakışıklı, iyi bir meslek sahibi, hassa ve güzel ahlaklı, başından mühim macera geçmemiş, ailesi temiz, içkisiz ve kumarsız. [...] Rica ederim en aşağı yüz bin kızın istediği böyle yağlı parça kaç tanedir ki hepsinin gönlüne göre bulalım? Hesap

meselesi bu. O kahrolası ümit ve hayalin kör kandiline bağlanarak idealini arayıp ihtiyarlayan az kız mı var?
- O buldu ya, ben neden bulmıyayım?
Öyle ise bekle şekerim. (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1952/5, p. 5)]

Similar to Tuğcu, the anonymous writer of “Nihayet Evlendiniz” [Finally You’ve Got Married] gives advice to female readers by addressing them directly using the second person plural “you”:

At last you have got married, my little lady [...] You have just taken on the real burden of a completely new world. Make balance sheet of the problems and pleasures of this new condition [...] Are you anxious about something? Aren’t you totally content? Then you should revise yourself and your behaviours. Perhaps it is your fault. (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/10, p. 152)

[Nihayet evlendiniz küçük hanım. [...] Yepyeni bir dünyanın idaresi omuzlarınıza çöktü demektir. [...] Bu durumun sıkıntılarının ve zevklerinin bir bilançosunu yapın. [...] Sizi düşündüren bir şey mi var? Tam manasıyla memnun değil misiniz? Öyleyse kendinizi ve kendi hareketlerinizi bir gözden geçirin. Belki de kabahat sizindir.” (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/10, p. 152).]

Discussions on divorce complemented the advice on marriages from the 1930s towards the 1960s. The aim of these articles appears to have been to disclose the negative sides of divorce. For example, the anonymous writer of the article “Boşanma Bir Lekedir” [Divorce is a shame] determines in a forthright tone that

A divorced woman is in a guilty position in the eyes of society. Divorce is the complete opposite of the prosperity and contentment of family. [...] A society in need of protecting its existence in its institutions should fiercely fight against divorce. This is why those who break off their engagements and those who get divorced without any substantial reason should be condemned by society and should be seen as guilty in their social environment. (*Ana*, 1938/8, p. 4)]

[Boşanmış bir kadın , sosyeteye karşı suçlu bir kadın vaziyetindedir. [...] Aile refah ve huzuruyla boşanma hareketi taban tabana zıttır. Sosyete mevcudiyetini uzuvlarında vikaye etmek isterse boşanma ile kat’i bir mücadeleye girişmek istirarındadır. Bunun için de nişanını bozanların ve boşananların mücbir sebepler gösteremedikçe sosyetece açıkça takbih edilmesi ve muhitlerinin onları birer mücrim sayması gerekir. (*Ana*, 1938/8, p. 4)]

The anonymous writer of the article “Evlenmeden Önce Düşünebilmek” [Being Able to Think Before Getting Married] ascertains that “in most parts of the world, they are trying to prevent divorce instead of making marriages easily attainable” [“dünyanın birçok yerinde evlenmeyi kolaylaştırmaktan ziyade, boşanmanın önünü almağa çalışmaktadırlar”] (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1958/3, p. 20). Similar to the previous anonymous writer, the anonymous writer of a translated article from an American magazine *Digest* focuses on the negative effects of divorce on women and justifies his idea by referring to a survey which was made of divorced women (*Aile*, 1950/4(14), p. 39). In this survey American women were asked if they were happy to be widows and one of the answers is as follows: “Loneliness and the necessity of working are the most tiring for me. I am fed up with exhaustion. If I get married again, I will try to be a better wife” [“Beni en çok müteessir eden yalnızlık ve çalışmak mecburiyetidir. Yorgunluktan bıktım usandım. Eğer bir daha evlenirsem daha iyi bir zevce olmağa çalışacağım”] (*Aile*, 1950/4(1)4, p. 39). İhsan Sümertürk defends the position that

The corruption of the institution of marriage results in the corruption of the family and then society. Society should be perfect in terms of marriage and the only reasons for abstaining from getting married should be spriritual, national, humanitarian or academic causes. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1967/982, p. 9)]

[Evlenme müessesesinin yıkımı açıkça ailenin ve ona dayanan toplumun yıkımına yol açar. Toplum evlenmeler yönünden mükemmel olmalı ve evlenmekten kaçınmayı, ancak ulvi sebeplerle, vatani, insani ve ilmi görevler dolayısıyla mazur görmelidir. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1967/982, p. 9)]

The conception of divorce as a disaster for Turkish society could be seen in various articles during the first thirty years of republican Turkey.¹²⁴ However, the period from the 1970s to the 1990s witnessed a completely different discourse on

¹²⁴ See “Boşanmalar Niçin Çoğalıyor” [Why is Divorce Rate Increasing] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1953/309, p. 6; 1954/386, p. 1; 1955/391, p. 2), “Evlenmekte acele etmeyiniz” [Do not Hurry to Get Married] (*Aile*, 1960/1, p. 14), “Evlilikten Kaçış” [Escape from Marriage] (*Kadın*, 1967/982, p. 9).

divorce and marriage in women's magazines. Different from the advice on divorce and advice for women to protect their marriages until the 1970s, the translated and indigenous texts in the period towards the 1980s were characterized by the questioning of other factors in damaged marriages. For instance the anonymous foreign writer in a column titled "Evlilik Sorunları" [Marital Problems]¹²⁵ puts forward jealousy, alcoholism, boredom, sexuality and mother-in-laws as some of the reasons for divorce (*Pamukkadın*, 1981/3, p. 31). S/he states that "No alcoholism cases are observed in happy marriages. It should be stated first that if a human tries to escape using alcohol, s/he is the incompatible one" ["mutlu bir evlilik sürdüren karıkokalarda aşırıya varan içki alışkanlığı görülmez. [...] Önce şunu belirtmek gerekir eğer kaçıışı alkolde arıyorsa insan uyumsuz bir eş demektir"] (ibid.). In another issue of the same magazine the following example on jealousy is given as a marital problem:

For instance, let's take an example of a woman. This woman complains about her husband who perpetually questions her about everything she is doing, her husband often calls him from work to control her, he becomes suspicious when she goes out alone or he gets angry even if she meets some woman in a friend's house. And of course this situation makes the woman unhappy and the marriage becomes unbearable for the woman. (*Pamukkadın*, 1981/3, p. 32)

[Örneğin bir kadını ele alalım. Bu kadın, kocasının her gün ne yaptığıyla ilgili kendisinden hesap istemesinden yakınıyor, kocası onu sık sık işyerinden telefon ederek kontrol ediyor, kadın tek başına sokağa çıktığı zaman kuşkuluyor, kabul gününe gitse bile bozuluyor. Ve bu elbette kadını üzüyor evlilik çekilmez bir durum alıyor kadın için. (*Pamukkadın*, 1981/3, p. 32)]

Nurcan Çakıroğlu adopts a more liberal attitude to divorce in her article (*Kadın*, 1984/1, pp. 12-14). She comments that divorce is not the end of the world and she recommends that if a person cannot get along with her/his partner then it is

¹²⁵ It is stated that in the magazine that this column was prepared by foreign experts, but their names were not supplied.

better to divorce instead of worrying oneself. She states that “Especially in societies like ours, believing in marriage and supporting this institution and the preservation of marriage under very bad conditions has become a mission for the spouses. Belief in destiny plays an essential role in this attitude. Unfortunately, even today, in many regions this stance still continues” [“Hele bizim toplumumuz gibi evliliğe inanan, bu kurumu destekleyen bir toplumda evliliğin en kötü şartlarda bile yürütülmesini eşler bir görev haline getirmişlerdir. Kadercilik de bunda büyük rol oynar. Bugün bile birçok yörelerde ne yazıkki bu anlayış sürüp gitmektedir”] (*Kadın*, 1984/1, p. 12). In another article on divorce, which was written by a female researcher Gülperi Demir in 1988, the results of a survey of divorced couples in the courts are given and the negative result of divorces, such as sharing property and deciding on with whom the child should stay are listed to inform the readers. The writer proposes that the most important factor in divorce is the psychology of the child (*Kadın*, 1988/5, p. 57).

The analysis of translated and indigenous articles has shown that the gender roles attributed to women as obedient and silent mothers shifted in the articles on marriage towards the end of the 1970s. The passive and motherly image of woman depicted in the articles on marriage between the 1930s and the 1960s was compatible with the symbolic image of women, which resulted in the invisibility of women, as was discussed in Chapter 2. However, the 1970s witnessed a shift in approaching women and divorce and a relatively modest approach emerged. Writers advise female readers to divorce if they are not happy, which means that women are encouraged to make their own decisions. The necessities of happy marriages, such as the silent, obedient, modest, capable and chaste character, had actually placed women at the centre of marriages. Such a position made women both the protector and the destroyer of family life. If she was an obedient and a perfect mother, her

marriage would be excellent. If this was not the case, she would be the reason for the sad end. It appears that this approach changed in the women's magazines in the 1970s and the heavy burden on women lifted.

Indigenous articles on women in society and the nation

Among the sixteen magazines surveyed, two magazines published in the 1940s provided valuable data as far as the attributed gender roles of women in society and the nation are concerned. They are *Türk Kadını* (1944-1948) and *Aile* (1947-1952). Both magazines were owned by members of parliament, and they share a similar approach regarding women's position in the Turkish society and nation. Most of the articles in the two magazines were written by indigenous writers.

Türk Kadını devotes a considerable amount of space to the significant role of women in the Turkish nation. The owner of this magazine was Dr. Fuat Umay, who was the director of the *Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu* and also a member of parliament from the Republican People's Party (CHP). Almost all articles in the magazine were written by state employees such as doctors and teachers. Women are defined as "chief commander" ["başkomutan"], "reformist" ["devrimci"], "instructor" ["eğitimci"], "ideal mother" ["ideal anne"] and "the touchstone of the stone of the nation" ["milletin mihenktaşı"] (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(7), p. 2). In the article titled "Yeni Tip Bir Kadın Yetiştiriyor" [A New Type of Woman Grows up] it is stated that the Republican People's Party aims at creating a "new woman" in Turkey (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(8), p. 8) and the features of this woman were listed in various issues of the magazine recurrently as follows: The "new woman" is an educated, hardworking, intelligent working mother, who is bound to her traditions, who

supports her husband to get ahead, does not waste money, does excellent housework and cooking and who is married to a Turkish man (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(5); 1/6; 1/7; 1/8; 1945/2(1)).

Compared with the image of women in marriage and thus in the private sphere, new characteristics are attributed to the image of the “new woman” in society and the nation and thus in the public sphere. The “new woman” is both a housewife and businesswoman equipped with national values. It appears that Şirin Tekeli’s argument on the nationalist agenda of the republican state can be exemplified in this magazine (see Chapter 2). Tekeli (1986), who is among the scholars that criticise the republican approach to the “women question”, argues that women had an ideal mission of promoting a modern nation and these women did not select this new identity, but “it was ascribed by the state” (p. 179). Therefore, the male leaders of the state used women to reach an ideal modern nation-state (ibid.). It appears in the above analysis that at the end of the 1940s the male members of parliament advanced their ideals on women via the magazines they owned. The “ideal woman” of the nation as a tool to reach modernity unites two parties, the Republican People’s Party on the left and the Democrat Party on the right, at a common point.

Similar to Dr. Fuat Umay, Kazım Taşkent, the owner of *Aile*, was a member of parliament, but from the Democrat Party (DP). Halide Edip, one of the writers of the magazine, appeals to women with the following words:

Without interrupting your economic development, if you recognize that the establishment of a spiritual and moral system in addition to the economic civilization as the sole emancipatory objective of today’s world and if you can achieve to pass this idea to your children in the future, you will ensure the future of our nation, on which will never collapse under any condition. (*Aile*, 1948/2(6), p. 4)

[Eğer maddi inkişafınızı bozmaksızın, maddi medeniyete muvazi bir de manevi ve ahlâki bir nizamın tesisi, bugünün dünyasının tek kurtarıcı gayesi olduğunu idrak eder ve onu ilerde yavrularınıza aşılatabilirsanız,

her zaman ve her halde çökmiyecek bir millet olarak kalmamızı temin etmiş olursunuz. (*Aile*, 1948/2(6), p. 4)]

As in *Türk Kadını*, in *Aile* women were accepted as the touchstone of the family and the Turkish nation. Muzaffer Sezer claims that the nationality of the couple is very important in marriages and he explains his radical argument in his article “Evlenmede Prensihimiz” [Our Principle in Marriage] in the following words:

The most important matter is the problem of nationality in marriages. Each woman and man who is a Turkist and nationalist must marry a man or woman of her/his own nationality and own culture and marriages with foreigners should not be tolerated at all. There should be no place and there will be no place for these kinds of degenerated people in Turkish society. (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(6), p. 3)

[Asıl mühim mevzu evlenmede milliyet meselesidir. (...) Türkçü ve milliyetçi olan kadın ve erkek her şahıs; yalnız kendi milliyetinden, kendi bünyesinden biriyle evlenmeli ve ecnebilerle evlenmeye hiçbir veçhile bir Türk için tecviz ve müsamaha edilmemelidir. Böyle dejenere şahıslar bundan böyle Türk camiası içerisinde yer bulmamalıdır ve bulmayacaktır. (*Türk Kadını*, 1944/1(6), p. 3)]

Nezahet Nurettin Ege gives examples from the studies on marriage of an American sociologist, and she cites from Dr. Henry Bawman to justify the importance of nationality with these words: “Most marriages between couples of different religion and nationality end up with divorce” [“Başka dinlere, başka milliyetlere mensup gençlerin izdivaçları çok defa boşanmakla neticelenmektedir”] (*Aile*, 1949/3(10), p. 51). The nationalist approach adopted in the two magazines of the 1940s, and the attitude towards women as the mothers of the nation comply with the dominant nationalist ideology of the state and the image of women created within the modernization project in the early republican period, as was discussed in Chapter 2.

Translated and indigenous articles on foreign and Turkish female role models

The third popular topic in the magazines was the presentation of foreign and Turkish famous women as models for Turkish female readers. The common feature of these texts is that most of the articles written on foreign women were concealed translations. In the 1930s and the 1940s role models were frequently chosen from the Far East. Japanese women and girls are the first foreign female role models offered in the 1930s (*Ana*, 1938/5, p. 23; 1941/36, p. 23). Japanese women as ideal mother figures and Japanese girls as intelligent and hardworking female figures are highly praised in the magazines *Ana* and *Türk Kadını*. However, the Japanese women represented by *Aile* in 1951 were completely different from the ones represented in *Ana* and *Türk Kadını*. Their lives were full of grief since they were treated like slaves at home, wrote an anonymous writer in *Aile* (*Aile*, 1951/5(17), p. 29).

The diversity of the magazines can also be seen in the representation of American and British women. In the magazine *Türk Kadını*, in an anonymous translated article, the American women were depicted as good housewives and wonderful mothers although they are working. “Cooking is hard work for a British woman, but it is very easy for an American woman and the meals she prepares are delicious” [“İngiliz kadını için yemek pişirmek pek güç bir iştir. Halbuki Amerikan kadını için bu çok kolaydır ve hem, pişirdiği yemekler de çok güzel olur”] (*Türk Kadını*, 1947/3(11), p. 4). American women are praised in another translated article in these words:

In America, the mother is responsible for economic affairs. [...] Americans appreciate their wives very much. The reason for this appreciation is that American women are good housewives. [...] Although it is easier and cheaper for them to eat outside, women in the United States often do their own shopping and cook at home. (ibid.)

[Amerika'da ailede bütçeyi yapan annedir. [...] Amerikalılar karılarına son derece hayrandırlar. Bu hayranlıkları Amerikan kadınlarının tam bir ev kadını oluşundan gelir. [...] Dışardan yemek yemek onlar için hem ucuz hem kolaydır. Fakat genel olarak Amerika'da her kadın alışverişini kendi yapar ve yine kendi pişirir. (ibid.)]

Contrary to the negative impression of the British woman in *Türk Kadını*, the British woman was praised in an article by Şevket Rado in the magazine *Aile*. He relates that, during his visit to Britain he saw that British people were bound to their houses with enthusiasm and love. They modified their grandparents' houses and lived in these family houses. (*Aile*, 1952/5(20), p. 5)

The contrasting attitudes towards foreign female models in the magazines *Türk Kadını* and *Aile* are rather significant due to their owners' identities. Fuat Umay, the member of parliament from the Republican People's Party and Kazım Taşkent, the member of the Democrat Party, were in the parliament at the end of the 1940s and at the beginning of the 1950s. Taşkent was also a famous businessman, who established the *Yapı Kredi Bank* and he was also the owner of the children's magazine *Doğan Kardeş* (1945-1970) that was sponsored by the *Yapı Kredi Bank*. In contrast to their similar attitude as far as women's central roles in the Turkish nation is concerned, the two statesmen from different ideologies adopt different attitudes to American, British and Japanese female models and introduce alternative options to the female readers in the same periods.

Another periodical, *Kadın Gazetesi*, published on various foreign women under the column "Dünya Kadınlığı" [World Womanhood] in a serialized form every week between 1947 and 1948, in which columns American and British women were offered as role models recurrently. The selection of foreign women seems to have been based on their being successful in working life. Famous and ordinary foreign women, such as Christina Brown (a babysitter) (1947/15, p. 2), Helena Rubinstein (a

famous women who established the Rubinstein brand of cosmetics) (1947/16, p. 2) and Sara Bernhardt (a famous artist) (1947/17, p. 2) were introduced in the magazine. The common characteristic of these women is that they are all successful in their working life.

Hollywood stars were also given as examples in the magazines. It appears that the reason behind the choice of these artists was to show Turkish female readers that even the Hollywood stars were excellent mothers and housewives. Melih Başar informs the readers that artists like Rita Hayworth or Betty Grable were doing their own housework and Greer Garson spent most of her time cooking in the kitchen (*Türk Kadını*, 1947/4(2), p. 16). It can be suggested that the image of women as housewives and mothers was strengthened by these foreign female figures.

Apart from foreign female models, Turkish role models were also introduced to readers. For instance, the magazine *Türk Kadını* chose famous Turkish women as role models, such as Semiha Ayverdi (a scholar and an author) (*Türk Kadını* 1944/1(1): 12) and Melike-i Adiliye (the wife of the emperor I. Alaeddin Keykubat in the thirteenth century) (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/2(7), p. 13). Their lives and their success in working life were praised and information on their life story was given briefly in the magazine.

When it comes to the period after the 1960s, the nature of the articles in which foreign and indigenous female role models are presented changes. While the articles on female models generally incorporate personal and cultural values until the 1960s, as can be seen from the above paragraphs, the articles published after the 1960s usually introduce female role models with greater objectivity. If a novelist is introduced, her/his works are explained or her/his reputation in the world is

displayed. For example, Ayseli Usluata writes on George Eliot in her article and she introduces the British novelist with these words:

George Eliot is described as a matchless novelist by Charles Dickens. Her works are considered to be the best after those of Shakespeare and described by Alexander Dumas masterpieces of the century. She has been one of the strongest novelists in English literature. She had a groundbreaking understanding and philosophy, a generous love and passion for humanity during the era in which she lived. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1962/705, p. 6)

[Charles Dickens'in eşsiz bir romancı olarak tanımladığı ve yapıtları "Shakespeare'den sonra en iyi olduğu" ileri sürülen, Alexander Dumas tarafından "yüzyılın şaheseri" diye adlandırılan, George Eliot, İngiliz Edebiyatının çağımıza dek süregelmiş en güçlü romancılarından biridir. Yaşadığı çağda bir çığır açan anlayış ve felsefesi, cömert bir insanlık sevgisi, tutkusu vardı onda. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1962/705, p. 6)]

On the other hand, in the indigenous articles readers are still guided by the writers of the magazines. For example, Ferit Ragıp, who introduces the poet Sevim Tümtürk in an article, praises her silence, modesty and diligence in *Kadın Gazetesi*:

Sevim Tümtürk's poetry is published in some journals and literary reviews in Ankara, in the anthology of *Woman Poetry* and [...] in the *Illustrated Calendar of Young Poets*. She likes a calm lifestyle. She is silent and modest. Reading is one of her greatest pleasures. [...] She does not like wasting her time. She is giving. [...] She enjoys equally both Turkish and European music. [...] She is benevolent. She takes it as a duty to help sick and poor people. Although she is keen on clothing, she can save money by tailoring for herself. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1963/758, p. 12)

[Sevim Tümtürk'ün şiirleri Ankara'da çeşitli gazete ve sanat dergilerinde, Kadın Şiirleri Antoloji'sinde, Resimli Genç Şairler Takvimi'nde [...] çıkmıştır. Sakin hayatı sever. Sessiz ve mütevazıdır. Kitap okumak en büyük zevklerinden biridir. [...] Boş durmayı sevmez. Fedakârdır. [...] Alaturka ve alafrağa müziği aynı derecede sever. [...] İyilik yapmayı sever. Hasta ve fakirlere yardımı en büyük vazife bilir. [...] Giyim hususunda müsrif ise de beğendiği şeyi kendi alıp dikmesi onu tasarruf sahibi yapmıştır. (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1963/758, p. 12)]

After the 1970s, the discourse in the indigenous articles on female models also shifted and most of the articles appear to have been prepared from conversations

with the woman that is the subject of the article, rather than her being presented in blurbs.¹²⁶

It appears that the represented foreign and indigenous women and the roles attributed to women in the blurbs were used to strengthen the image of woman until the 1960s as the helper and supporter of her husband in marriage or as an educated, modest, understanding housewife or as a responsible citizen of high morality. Therefore, it is safe to assume that translations seem to have functioned as a tool to protect the prevalent gender roles of women in this period rather than importing new options or models. But the period after the 1960s witnessed not only a variety in the selected occupations but also a change in the discourse and style of these articles.

Translated and indigenous articles on sexuality

This section will focus on translated and indigenous texts on sexuality, although it was a popular topic in the publishing market in the same period,¹²⁷ magazines did paid little attention to this topic until the 1980s. I found twenty-four texts on sexuality published in six magazines out of fourteen between 1939 and 1983.¹²⁸ Only four out of twenty-one texts are cited as translations, but their authors are not supplied and translators are cited as “translator”.

Eight out of twenty-four indigenous texts included a reference to foreign countries and universities, such as “according to Americans” or “according to the

¹²⁶ See *Pamukkadın* 1979; *Kadın* 1984 for such examples.

¹²⁷ The number of non-literary translated and indigenous books on sexuality published between 1829 and 1990 is higher than that of all other kinds of non-literary texts, as was analyzed in Chapter 3.

¹²⁸ *Ana* (1939/14, p. 28); *Ana* (1939/16, p. 3); *Türk Kadını* (1945/2(2), p. 2; 1945/2(4), p. 8); *Kadın Dünyası* (1952/1, p. 30); *Kadın Dünyası* (1958/1(2), p. 6; 1958/1(2), p. 10); *Kadın Ansiklopedisi* (1961/7, pp. 97-108); *Kadın Ansiklopedisi* (1962/ 9, p. 138); *Kadın Ansiklopedisi* (1961/18, p. 288); *Kadın Gazetesi* (1947/23, p. 9); 1948/ 90, p. 5); 1952/282, p. 3; 1953/348, p. 7; 1967/977, p. 10; 1967/964, p. 18; 1967/963, p. 10) and *Kadın Dayanışması* (1978/7, p. 7); *Pamukkadın* (1982/36, p. 30; 1982/43, p. 16; 1984/63, p. 6).

research that was carried out in Harvard, one of the famous universities in America” or “Doctor Kinsey’s research”. Most of the other indigenous texts include references to foreign experts, such as “According to Doctor Menninger”. Many articles on sexuality give neither an author’s name nor a translator’s name. The secrecy and anonymity in the production of sexuality emerged as a norm in women’s magazines. One magazine, *Kadın* (1984-1993) was an exception in that in almost every issue one or two articles on sexuality were published. But the invariant characteristic is that most of the articles in *Kadın* were anonymous. The preliminary findings above display that sexuality became a popular subject in the women’s magazines only after the 1980s, but it was a avoided subject when compared with other subjects. However, it cannot be said that sexuality was not spoken or written about in women’s magazines before the 1980s.

Among the translated and indigenous texts on sexuality published between 1929 and 1993, the period between 1939 and 1950 was characterized mainly by sexual education. Texts such as, “Sevmek ve Sevilmek” [To Love and Be Loved] (*Ana*, 1939/14, p. 19), “Genç Kızlar ve Analar” [Girls and Mothers] (*Ana*, 1939/21, p. 14), “Kızlık Oğlanlık Eğitimi” [Education on Being a Girl and Boy] and “Cinsi Terbiye” [Sexual Education] (*Türk Kadını*, 1945/2(4), p. 8) appear to have been written to instruct mothers and fathers to deal with the sexual education of their children.

In the same period a few articles on women’s sexuality are about medical improvements related to women’s pregnancy. For example, a translated article from Beatrice Green Taines by Nuri Arun is titled “Tenasül Bahsinde Yeni ve Enteresan Bir Etüd” [A New and Interesting Study on Reproduction] (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947/23,

p. 9). The thermometer is introduced as a tool which is used to understand the best time to get pregnant. Readers are informed that

In recent years, doctors have observed that the shifts in the body fever of women are directly related to the monthly cycle and have agreed upon the assumption that the impregnation period of women may be controlled through the limits of these graphics illustrating the shifts in body fever. (ibid.)

[Son birkaç senedenberi hekimler, kadın vücudundaki hararet değişmelerinin, aylık grafik ile sıradan münasebeti bulunduğunu tetkiki ve müşahade etmişler ve neticede hararet ölçüsünün mümkün mertebeye bir kadının meyve verebilecek devresinin mezkur grafik hudutları dahilinde seyredebileceği hususunda ittifak etmişlerdir. (ibid.)]

The topic on the need for giving sexual education at schools first made an appearance in *Kadın Gazetesi* in 1952 (1952/290, p. 6). In a serialized translated article written by an American writer, Pearl S. Buck, and translated by Bedia Çobanoğlu in issue 290, it is written that

Foreigners visiting our country often ask this question:

“Why are adults in your country so interested in sex?”

The answer is obvious.

“Because we have very limited information on sex”

Despite this ignorance, we are only interested in the physical aspects of sex and we go on ignoring its pleasing complexity and important facets. If we ask a school director what they are teaching at school about sex, the answer will be mostly primitive. (ibid.)

[Memleketimizi ziyarete gelen ecnebilere sık sık şu suali işitiriz:

“Niye büyükler, sizin memleketinizde seksle bu kadar meşgul oluyorlar?”

Bunun cevabı meydandadır:

“Çünkü seks hakkında pek az şey biliriz.”

Buna rağmen, sırf cehaletimiz yüzünden, alakamız seksin fiziki cephesinden öteye gitmez ve onun insanı meftun edici kompleksi ve mühim cephelerini hakikaten bilmeyiz. Bir mektep müdürüne, çocuklara seks hakkında neler öğretildiği sorulsa, bize en iptidai şeraitini söyler. (ibid.)]

Here it appears that the writer is complaining about the insufficient education at schools in America as far as sexual education is concerned. The importance of sexual education is discussed in the same magazine a year later, this time in an

indigenous article. Dr. Hafız Cemal suggests that the reason for the increase in divorce is the lack of knowledge about sexual life and he notes that there have been discussions on sexuality in Britain and America for a long period of time and Turkey is undeveloped this matter (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1953/309, p. 6). A final detail worth mentioning is that the announcement that a course given on marriage and sexuality by one Dr. Keys opened at California University appeared in a translated article in the same year (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1953/348, p. 7). It seems that the wish to give lessons or courses to young girls and boys on sexuality continued in the 1970s as well (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1972/1039, p. 14).

Another topic connected with sexuality is the sexual development of girls and boys in puberty. Girls and boys at the age of puberty are addressed in an indigenous article and families are warned against the dangerous ages of their children, since sexual organs are developed in those ages:

Young people struggling with puberty problems without any guidance confront many problems and distressing cases in their lives. [...] The most consecrated mission of the parents and even the teachers should be to deal with our children's sexual development and to educate and support them properly. (*Ana*, 1939/14, p. 19)

[Buluğ devrinin buhranları ile çırpınan ve hiçbir rehberine rastlamayan gençler, hayatlarını körleten hadise ve vakalarla başbaşıdır. [...] Çocuğumuzun cinsi tezahürlerini ele almak ve onu zamanında münasip bir şekilde terbiye ve takviye etmek ana ve babaların, hatta öğretmenlerin en mukaddes vazifesi olmalıdır. (*Ana*, 1939/14, p. 19)]

In another translated text from one Maurice Aucaire by an anonymous translator, mothers are instructed on how to behave towards their young daughters in puberty.

[In the puberty period], your greatest mission is to avoid depicting life as saddening and bad. Try to talk with her about love but you should insist that humans, animals and all natural things deserve to be loved. Be more serious with her and pay more attention to your appearance. (*Ana*, 1939/21, p. 14)

[Buluğ çağında] sizin en büyük işiniz, hayatı acı ve kötü göstermemeğe dikkat etmeniz olmalıdır. Onunla aşktan bahsetmeye çalışınız, fakat insanların, hayvanların, bütün tabiatın sevilmeğe lâyık olduğunda ısrar gösteriniz. Onun karşısında daha ciddi olunuz, tuvaletinizde daha ağır başlı hareket ediniz. (*Ana*, 1939/21, p. 14)]

In a similar vein, in the same magazine H. Bektan describes the negative results of young girls and boys having insufficient knowledge about sexuality. According to Bektan, women can get many diseases, girls can be cheated on by boys, they can neglect their school and they can suffer from an early marriage due to their insufficient knowledge about sexuality.

Some articles on sexuality are on physical differences between sexes. Such texts as “Nüfus Davamızda Ailenin Rolü: Ana ve Bana” [The Role of Family in Our Mission of Population: Mother and Father] can be termed informative texts on sexuality (*Ana*, 1939/16, pp. 3-6). The anonymous writer/translator defines the sexual development of girls as

There are physiological differences in male and female organs as it is the case with all the other types. [...] With the accumulation of fat under the skin the girl’s body becomes roundish, the hips and the breasts take shape, all these developments show that childhood is ending and another period is beginning. All these physiological developments herald the beginning of puberty. (*Ana*, 1939/14, p. 3)

[Erkekle kadının cinsiyet farikası olan uzuvları bütün canlı mahlukatta olduğu gibi teşrih ve fizyoloji bakımından büsbütün ayrı müteala edilir. [...] Kızlarda cildin altında yağ birikmesi ile vücut sathının dolgunluğu, kalçaların toparlanması ve göğüslerin belirmesi çocukluk çağının yeni bir devreye geçtiğini ve beliren fizyolojik arıza buluşun başlamış olduğunu bildirir. (*Ana*, 1939/14, p. 3)]

One of the few articles which were written by an indigenous writer, Dr. Pakize İzzet Tarzı, is on menopause and its psychological effects on women. This article includes new vocabulary on women’s genital organs and sexual periods as well. The new medical terminology is introduced by borrowing the foreign terms, such as “climacterium, psychosomatic, narcissistic, sublimation, neurotic and

hysteric” and sometimes with Turkish orthography, such as “preklemakterik” and “puberite”, and sometimes terms are accompanied by their Turkish equivalents, such as “function (faaliyet)” and “ovulation (yumurtlama)” (*Kadın Gazetesi* 1948/90: 4,5). It can be suggested that medical vocabulary was in its preliminary stage in the 1950s. These productions by writers and translators who wrote and translated on sexuality might be seen as attempts at forming a Turkish vocabulary of sexuality.

After the 1950s, the topic of the role of sexuality in marriage gained popularity, such as in “Saadette Cinsi Münasebetin Rolü” [The Role of Sexual Intercourse in Happiness] (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1958/1(2), p. 6), “Sevişme Sanatı” [The Art of Lovemaking] (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1958/1(2), p. 10), “Samimiyet” [Sincerity] (*Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961/10, p. 156). In an anonymous article, sexual compatibility is classified as the first necessary condition for happy marriages (*Kadın Dünyası*, 1958/1(2), p. 6). In an indigenous article, incompatibility in sexual life is given as one of the reasons for divorce (*Aile*, 1960/4, p. 7). In another indigenous article, it is stated that the dangerous ages for women are between 40 and 45 and for men between 50 and 55, since within these ages women and men experience crises because of their decreasing sexual abilities, and this affects their marriages directly (*Kadın Gazetesi*, 1967/964, p. 18).

In the two articles, sexual education in childhood is discussed and the anonymous writers argue that it is better to tell children the truth when they ask questions about their birth or their sexual organs. The anonymous translator/writer of the article “Cinsel Eğitim” [Sexual Education] writes:

How should parents [...] answer a question on sexuality? Some parents find it shameful to talk about sex with children, even among themselves. They react when something is said on this subject and give harsh answers. Such behaviour is very wrong. Sexual life is a part of human nature. As with all issues, parents should tell their children that they are ready to talk about sex with them and they should work creating a

suitable environment for such discussion. (*Kadın Dayanışması*, 1978/7, p. 7)

[Ana-babalar [...] cinsel konularda da bir soruyla karşılaşınca ne yapmalıdır? Bazı ana-babalar çocuklarıyla, hatta kendi aralarında bile cinsel konuların konuşulmasını ayıp sayarlar. Bu konuda bir şey söylendiğinde tepki gösterirler, hatta sert karşılığa bulunurlar. Bu, son derece yanlış bir davranıştır. Cinsel yaşam insane doğasının bir parçasıdır. [...] Ana-baba çocuklarına her konuda olduğu gibi, bu konuda da kendileriyle konuşabileceğini anlatmalı ve bunu için gereken ortamı hazırlamalıdır. (*Kadın Dayanışması*, 1978/7, p. 7)]

The other article “Cinsel Eğitimin Önemi” [Importance of Sexual Education] is also on the sexual education of children. A list of questions which can be asked by children is given in the article and it is stated that mothers and fathers should answer these questions in a short way and give true answers. Some of the questions listed are:

Why wasn't I present at your wedding? Where was I before I was born? How can a baby fit into the mother's belly? Where does s/he come from? How does s/he live here? How does s/he come out? Why do you sleep with my father while I'm sleeping alone? How does my girlfriend pee? What does “girl” mean? What does “boy” mean? (*Pamukkadın*, 1982/43, p. 16)

[Düğününüzde ben neden yoktum?, Doğmadan önce neredeydim?, Bebek karnına nasıl sığar?, Oraya nereden geldi?, Orada nasıl yaşıyor? Oradan nasıl çıkacak? Neden sen babamla yatıyorsun ben yalnız yatıyorum? Kızkardeşim çişini nasıl yapıyor?, Kız ne demek?, Erkek ne demek? (*Pamukkadın*, 1982/43, p. 16)]

On the basis of the above analysis we can see that the topics related to sexuality until the 1980s were the sexual education of the child, of the girls and boys and the importance of sexuality in marriages. The increase in the production of writing on sexuality after the 1980s led to an increase in the diversity of the topics as well. Some of the titles published after the 1980s are: “Sevişmesini biliyor musunuz?” [Do You Know How to Make Love?] (*Kadın*, 1984/6, p. 77), “Cinsel Oyunlar” [Sex Games] (*Kadın*, 1984/7, p. 81), “Orgazm konusunda merak

ettikleriniz” [What You Wonder About the Orgasm] (*Kadın*, 1984/9, p. 63), “Cinsel Uyarıcılar” [Sexual Stimulis] (*Kadın*, 1984/10, p. 97), “Seks ne kadar sıklıkla yapılır” [How Frequently You Make Love] (*Kadın*, 1984/12, p. 65), and “Kızlık Zarı ve İlk Kez” [The Hymen and the First Night] (*Kadın*, 1984/12, p. 69). As it is evident from the articles, all published anonymously in 1984 in the same magazine, a variety of topics on sexuality began to be discussed in women’s magazines in the 1980s. Just to observe how freely the anonymous translators/writers of the 1980s wrote on sexuality, let’s see the example below:

A woman informed about sex will try to prolong the man’s erection and delay ejaculation in order herself and her partner to have better orgasms. If you want a wonderful orgasm, don’t rush. (*Kadın*, 1984/6, p. 77)

[Cinsel yönden bilgili kadın, hem erkeğin, hem kendisinin olabildiğince yoğun bir orgasm yaşayabilmesi için, fiziksel olarak, erkeğin ereksiyon halini uzatır ve boşalmasını geciktirir. Eğer fırtına gibi bir orgazmın nasıl bir şey olduğunu öğrenmek istiyorsanız, sakın acele etmeyin. (*Kadın*, 1984/6, p. 77)]

Conclusions

Chapter 4 has offered two types of analysis: first the analysis of two bibliographies on women’s magazines and second the analysis of non-literary translated and indigenous articles on four selected topics in sixteen women’s magazines. The first bibliography analysis which covers the bibliographic information concerning magazines that were published in the pre-republican period revealed that translations were frequently published in the magazines where women took an active part. Sixteen female translators and eighteen male translators were working in the eight magazines that contained translations. This may be considered as an indicative of the function of translations in providing a forum or in enabling women to appear in literary and social life. Considering the appearance of their names, translators were

visible and in primary position and authors were invisible and in secondary position in the women's magazines between 1895 and 1900 in Turkey. After 1900, almost all texts in all magazines were published with the names of their translators and authors and that translator's authorial position was maintained.

The analysis of the bibliography of republican women's magazines in Turkey in this chapter showed that the popularity of women's magazines and the number of women in administration in these magazines increased over the period of almost eighty years. The period between 1923 and 1990 displays two interesting shifts. The period starts with the invisibility of women in administration and ends with the decrease in the number of men in administration and also the increasing visibility of women in administration.

Chapter 4 then offered an analysis of sixteen magazines that were published between 1929 and 1993. One of the findings of this analysis is that editors and directors of women's magazines did not have a particular strategy for introducing translations and translators of texts until the 1960s. After the 1960s, "translator" became a standard form for naming translators. Secondly, magazines did not have a consistent strategy of recommending and advertising translated books. It should be noted that 85% of translated books advertised and recommended in the magazines lacked a translator's name. The representation of translations was treated diversely in the translated non-literary texts and literary texts. The names of the authors and of the translators of translated and indigenous non-literary books were not supplied in the blurbs, while the names of the writers of works of translated and indigenous literary books were provided. The names of translators of translated literary books were seldom supplied in the magazines.

Chapter 4 also proved that translation was used as a tool to strengthen the prevalent images of women in marriage, family life, society and the nation of the period in question. Translation was used sometimes to verify the disagreeability of divorce in Turkish society or to validate the importance of nationality in marriages or to encourage women to be educated or to teach them to be silent, modest, diligent and good-looking. My findings in the articles on women in marriage, society and the nation and on female role models provided complementary cases to the arguments of these scholars who criticize the republican reforms for making Turkish women not active but passive symbols of the society and the nation.

In addition, this chapter surveyed the articles on sexuality that were published in the republican period in women's magazines. My research revealed that sexuality was thematized in twenty-four articles in fourteen magazines between 1939 and 1983. The secrecy or the anonymity of the translators and writers of the articles on sexuality emerged as a norm in these magazines. This chapter also displayed that, until the 1980s topics on sexuality covered sexual education of children, of girls and boys, and the importance of sexuality in marriage life. Furthermore, the increase in the production of writing on sexuality after the 1980s led an increase in the diversity of topics as well.

Finally, this chapter demonstrated that sexuality was not only a popular subject that was written on and published by the private publishing houses in the early republican period, as was analyzed in the previous chapter, but also a topic that was offered to Turkish female readers in women's magazines, albeit in less quantity than was the case with the books.

CHAPTER 5

CASE STUDY I: MANUALS AS TRANSLATIONS WITH SOURCE TEXTS: THE EXTENT OF TRANSLATORS' MANIPULATIONS

In this chapter I am going to analyze translations together with their source texts, as opposed to “pseudo-translations” (Toury, 1995, p. 40), which be discussed in the next chapter. The translated texts selected for analysis represent the common translation practices between 1931 and 1950, as far as popular texts on women’s sexuality are concerned. Given that almost a hundred translated titles were published between 1931 and 1950, the selection of a corpus for the case study cannot be neutral. Since exhaustiveness is not my aim, I have applied the principal of “translational relevance” (Van Doorslaer, 1995, p. 250) in my selection. Van Doorslaer suggests that “by using a translationally relevant corpus for the analysis, we can reduce the risk of non-representative conclusions that would also distort the general conclusions of the group research” (ibid.). Thus the choice of the translations for analysis in the following case studies is primarily based on their being representative of translation practices as far as translated popular non-literary texts on women’s sexuality in Turkey are concerned.

All three texts in this chapter have been restructured, reorganized and changed to such an extent and in such a way that almost a new text emerged at the end of the translation process. Listed below in chronological order are the three books selected, which were translated by a female and two male translators and published by three different publishers during a period between 1931 and 1950:¹²⁹

¹²⁹ Only the third text belongs to a series called “Seksoloji Serisi” [Sexology Series]. As we saw in Chapter 4, however, the period under study saw frequent series produced by various publishing houses.

Glyn, Elinor (1931) *Aşk Dersleri: Evlenecekler ve Evlenenelere*. [Lessons in Love: For Those Who Will Get Married and Are Already Married] “Nakleden”: [Conveyed by] Esma Z. Istanbul: Muallim Halit Kitaphanesi.

Glyn, Elinor (1923) *The Philosophy of Love*. New York: The Authors’ Press.

Sargent, W. E. (1942) *Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları*. [Ways to be Happier in Marital Life] Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. Istanbul: Arif Bolat Kitabevi.

Sargent, W.E. (1941) *The Psychology of Marriage and Family Life*. London: Independent Press.

Urban, Dr. Rudolph von (1950) *Aşk Sanatı*. [The Art of Lovemaking] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. Istanbul: Seksoloji Yayınları, N.3

Urban, Dr. Rudolph von (1949) *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness*. New York: The Dial Press.

This chapter will proceed with the description of the tools of analysis that will be used in the case studies in this chapter and then I will look for paratextual as well as operational features, paying special attention to the matrix of texts, additions and omissions and, finally, the treatment of medical terms, structure and style and the translators’ conception of women in the selected translations.

Tools of analysis

The first tool of analysis will be “assumed translation” (Toury, 1995, p. 31), which implies that any text assumed as a translation in a target-culture is a translation on whatever grounds (Toury, 1995, p. 32). For Toury (1999), “assumed translation” suggests three postulates:

- (1) There is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it and which can be assumed to have served as its immediate source (The Source Text Postulate)

(2) The process whereby the assumed translation came into being involved the transference of certain features from the corresponding assumed ST (The Transfer Postulate)

(3) There are accountable relationships which tie the assumed translation to its assumed original, an obvious function of the transferred features that the two now share in the context of the differences that exist between them (The Relationship Postulate). (p. 167)

All three “assumed translations” covered in this chapter have assumed sources, as I indicated in the list above. This chapter will question the transfer and relationship postulates anticipated by Toury. I will also problematize the relationships between target and source texts in order to raise questions as to what are assumed to have been translations in the Turkish culture repertoire in the early twentieth century.

Here I will benefit from the concept of the “translation proper” suggested by Saliha Paker (2002), who used it to explain the differences between “translation” and the Ottoman concept of “*terceme*” and how they represent two different notions of translating practices. Having taken Paker’s approach into consideration, Cemal Demircioğlu (2005) questions the usage of the terms “translation” and “*terceme*” in the Ottoman tradition (pp. 224-237). In her article on the Ottoman conceptions of translation and its practices, Paker (2006) calls for an urgent need to studies that would explore the chronological changes of Ottoman and Turkish conceptions of translation. Paker’s questioning of the Ottoman practices of translation can be adapted to my case as well. She asks “What would our criteria be for ‘assuming’ certain texts as translations in Ottoman culture?” (Paker, 2002, p. 123). My research on translated popular texts on women’s sexuality has revealed that most of these texts, though introduced as translations, do not fit what we understand from “translation proper” today. It seems that, though “translation” has been used as a general concept defining translation practices in the twentieth century, within the

Turkish culture repertoire it appears to have harbored a plethora of forms of translation practice.

One translator in my corpus defined herself as “nakleden” (conveyor) on the cover of the translated text. *Nakil* was seen as a popular form of Ottoman translation practice in the pre-republican period and the early republican period, as far as literary translation is considered (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 207; Demircioğlu, 2005, p. 140), but it appears that *nakil* was also used to define the translation of non-literary texts in the first half of the twentieth century.¹³⁰

Another methodological tool of analysis which will be used in this chapter is the notion of “peritext” (Genette, 1997, p. 5). “Paratext” includes titles, dedications, illustrations and similar phenomena accompanying texts (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 70). In her study, Tahir-Gürçağlar uses Gérard Genette’s concept of “paratexts” as a methodological tool with which she problematizes the reception of the translated texts before the reading process starts. Borrowing the concept of “peritext” from Genette, she further shows how readers’ conceptions of translations are governed by the way they are presented, that is, by their packaging (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 326). Genette (1997) defines “peritext” as devices within the text and “epitext” as devices outside the text that give clues about the text to the reader, i.e. “that mediate the text for the reader” (p. 5). The peritext is a vital part of any study of translation, since it is an important link between the author, translator, publisher and reader. My case study analysis also involves the analysis of the peritextual elements of the translations in order to problematize the changed or reformed presentations of the target texts in question.

¹³⁰ *Nakil* was used to label translations in the women’s magazines in the late twentieth century as well (see Chapter 4).

Finally, as indicated in the second chapter, I will approach the texts by means of a comparison between the target texts and their source text. I will read the pair of texts comparatively by focusing on the various strategies used and the way they correlate with this particular topic. The analysis of the translations in this chapter will make use of the methodology offered by Toury in *Descriptive Translation Studies* (1980, 1995). During the analysis, I will focus on the matricial (fullness of translation) (Toury, 1995, p. 60) and textual-linguistic norms (structural, stylistic preferences of the translator) (Toury, 1995, p. 64).

Aşk Dersleri: Evlenecekler ve evlenenlere
[Lessons in Love: For Those Who Will Get Married or Are Already Married]

The source text is entitled *The Philosophy of Love* (1923) and Esmâ Z. appears as the female translator¹³¹ of the work *Aşk Dersleri(...)* (1931).¹³² The source text was written by the British author Elinor Glyn, whose seven novels were translated and published by various publishing companies in Turkey. According to the catalogues of the National Library, this translation is Glyn's only non-literary translated text in Turkish. It was published by Muallim Ahmet Halit publishing company, which specialized on educational books for children and adults.¹³³

¹³¹ I could find no information about her life nor about other books she translated or wrote. Considering the note of the publisher in the translation, which will be discussed in the next section, Esmâ Z. seems to be a pseudonym and therefore the translator may well be a man using a female pseudonym. Nevertheless, I will use "she" to refer to the translator during my analysis.

¹³² *Aşk Dersleri* was not reprinted or retranslated after its edition in 1931.

¹³³ Muallim Ahmet Halit publishing house was established in 1919 and owned by a history teacher Ahmet Halit Yaşaroğlu. (See <http://www.aypa.net/Aziz-Nesin/>). It was closed between 1920 and 1928, and between those years Ahmet Halit taught history at Şişli Terakki High School. The publishing company stayed open until 1973 (See http://www.obarsiv.com/nedret_isli.html). Although the publishing company was famous for its books on education. Muallim Ahmet Halit publishing company also published translations from various genres, such as novels [Webster, Jean (1931), *Örümcek Dede* (Daddy Long-Legs) Trans. Halide Nusret& Melike Emir and Glyn, Elinor (1942), *Aşkın Saati Gelinçe* (When Time for Love Comes) Trans. Nuriye Müstakimoğlu]; biographies [*17, 18, 19 uncu Asrın Beş Mürebbisi (J. Locke-J. J. Rousseau-Basedow-Salzman-Pestalozzi)* (Five Teachers of the 17th, 18th and 19th Centuries (J. Locke-J. J. Rousseau-Basedow-Salzman-Pestalozzi), 1930]; children's books [Stowe, Beecher (1931), *Kamçılı Medeniyet* (The Whip of the Civilization) Trans.

Peritextual features

Even a first look at the titles of the translated and source text raises questions in one's mind. The title of the translation *Aşk Dersleri (...)*¹³⁴ is different from the source title, which is *The Philosophy of Love* (see Appendix M). The source title refers to "love" as a philosophical phenomenon while the translated title reduced the scope of the book to a marriage manual. In the light of the title of the work, it can be suggested that Esmâ Z.'s translation was presented as a book from which readers can learn how to behave when they want to get married or are already married. It can be suggested that the translated text was turned into a marriage manual by the translator.

The owner of the publishing company, Muallim Ahmet Halit, wrote a note just after the title page, entitled "About the Book". He explained the reason for publishing this text in these words:

Those who will read only the title of the book will perhaps be puzzled when they see the name of my company on it. However, once they read the book, they will understand how we are serving our family life. This book is such that it is worth every young person and every married man and woman memorizing it. The original title of the book was *The Philosophy of Love*. We changed it. (1931, p. 2)

[Bu kitabın yalnız ismini okuyanlar, altında benim firmamı görünce belki de hayret edeceklerdir. Fakat kitabın içerisini okuduktan sonra, bununla aile hayatımıza nasıl hizmet ettiğimizi anlayacaklardır. Bu kitap; her genç, her evli erkek ve kadın için ezber edilecek bir mahiyettedir. [...]
Bu kitabın asıl ismi "Aşk Felsefesi" idi. Biz değiştirdik. (1931, p. 2)]

Halit assumes that readers would be astonished when they saw this translated text which was published by his company. The reason for Halit's explanation can be based on the fact that Muallim Ahmet Halit publishing company was especially known for publishing educational books. In the note, however, he assures his readers

Bedrettin] and self-improvement books [Pauchet, Victor (1939), *Genç Kalınız* (Restez Jeunes) Trans. ? and Pauchet, Victor (1943), *Saadet Yolu* (Le Chemin du Bonheur) Trans. ?]

¹³⁴ I will refer to this translation TT1 and its source as ST1 throughout the analysis.

that this text was also published for educational reasons, namely, to educate young and married people. Halit's statements also display the uneasiness he felt about the topic of the text. It can be suggested that topics of sexuality and love might have seemed taboo or too private to write on. Halit's confession about the title of the book also evinces the active role of the publisher in selecting the text for translation.

A look at the list of translated and indigenous books which were published by the same publishing company and advertised at the back of TT1 indicates that *Aşk Dersleri(...)* was introduced as a novel under the heading "Romanlar, Hikâyeler" [Novels, Stories]. It was sold for 25 *kuruş*¹³⁵, while there were many literary texts in the same list for 100 or 125 *kuruş*. Even the cheapest children's books were sold for 20 *kuruş*. Texts which were advertised under the column "Muallimlere Meslek Kitapları" [Vocational Books for Teachers] were sold for 100 *kuruş*. Many literary texts and educational texts are also listed, as well as non-literary text on sexuality titled "Cinsi Terbiye" [Sexual Education] which was advertised in a blurb, accompanied by the announcement that it would be sold for 25 *kuruş*. Let's see the blurb below:

This great work will be published in parts. It includes information on sexual education for children, youngsters, newly-weds, older people, and people of every class. Each person who reads this work will gain ten more years to live and will be happy. (1931)

[Bu büyük eser kısım kısım çıkacaktır. Çocuklar, gençler, yeni evliler, yaşlılar ve her sınıf halk için cinsi terbiyeye ait fasılları muhtevidir. Bu eserin tamamını okuyan bir kimse hayatından hiç olmazsa on sene kazanacak, mesut ve bahtiyar olacaktır. (1931)]

The above-advertised text was never published, but the existence of a plan to publish a text on sexuality shows the popularity of sexual texts in the 1930s. It appears that the publisher could not decide how to categorize these texts. The borders

¹³⁵ "*Kuruş*" is a form of Turkish money which is still used today. 1 *Kuruş* is the smallest coin.

between literature, vocational books and non-literature are blurred in the publisher's lists. It seems that the reason for including *Aşk Dersleri(...)* in the list of literature was to capture the readership. Besides, when the prices of literary texts and non-literary texts in the 1930s are compared, it seems that popular non-literary texts on sexuality were made rather cheap for the readers to buy and thus easy to read, enabling the publisher to reach a wider readership.

The title page¹³⁶ of the translation gives the name of the writer as “The female writer: Elinor Glyn” [“Muharriresi: Elinor Glyn”] and the name of the translator as “Conveyor: Esma Z.” [“Nakleden: Esma Z.”] (see Appendix M). The name of the translator and writer are placed in the same line at the top of the inner title page; with “Elinor Glyn” appearing on the left and “Esma Z.” on the right. The title of the translated text is placed in the middle of the page and the name of the publishing company at the bottom.

Firstly, it should be noted that the location of the translator's name, on the one hand, makes the translator Esma Z. visible, and on the other hand, assures an equal status of the translator with that of the writer. Secondly, the term *nakleden* was used to define a type of translation that was operational in the pre-republican and early republican periods. As we saw in the previous chapter, it was also used in women's magazines. Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) states that *nakil* was used to refer to both translations and indigenous fiction in the Turkish tradition (p. 207). She further informs us that some authors used the term to refer to free translation and that the term was most commonly used in the realm of popular literature (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 208). Demircioğlu (2005), in his research, has analyzed various definitions of *nakil* in several dictionaries and magazines in the nineteenth century in Turkey

¹³⁶ It is impossible to see the cover page of the translation, because *Aşk Dersleri (...)* was placed in black binding by the National Library in İzmir. I cannot describe the cover page, and thus am unable to answer questions such as whether Esma Z. was named on the cover.

(pp. 140-143). He states that Şemseddin Sami defined *nakil* as “to take from one place to another, to transport; change place, to move, to migrate; to make a copy of a text or a picture, to copy a story, account, rumor, to transfer from one language to another, to translate” (Demircioğlu, 2005, p. 141). Demircioğlu examines the term *nakil* in ten sources published in the nineteenth century and from his analysis it appears that it took various forms, which show different definitions of the term in the Turkish tradition.

With respect to my case study, I would suggest that *nakil* was also one of the definitions used to refer to translated popular women’s sexuality. My analysis also revealed that *nakil* was even used in the 1970s (see Chapter 4). Therefore, it appears that *nakil* is a form of translation practice which has been used over a period of two centuries in Turkey. And I would suggest that *nakil* characterized the translation practice in Esmâ Z.’s text, in which, having been inspired by the source text, she wrote another text.

Dwelling further on the peritextual features of the TT1 and ST1, it should be noted that the foreword from ST1 was not translated. Glyn wrote in her foreword that:

Now in giving this book to the public in America I am actuated by a desire to help on to happiness the present and the coming generation, who seem to be missing one of the most divine things we are allowed to know about earth, and that is, True Love, and its possibilities. (1923)

Glyn explains her reasons and aims of writing the text as being to make men and women happy in their love life, and she starts her text by explaining the ideal love of God, nature and then between human beings. Glyn also states in the foreword that her readers are both women and men. Here is her reader profile:

[...] this little book is for general public of young men and maidens; I am going to take the “Philosophy of Love” to mean the study of the thing

from a common sense point of view –the aim of such study being to see what suggestions can then be made to bring happiness. (ibid.)

The reader profile suggested by the translator is different from that proposed by Glyn. In the first paragraph of the first chapter in TT1, Esmâ Z. asks “Why did we write this book? The reason is to show women the ways of courting and to increase the number of marriages, which is declining” [“Bu kitabı niçin yazdık? Bu kitabı yazmaktaki maksadımız kadınlara erkekleri ele geçirmek yolunu göstermek ve bu suretle gittikçe azalmakta olan izdivaçları çoğaltmaktır”] (Glyn, 1931, p. 3). Here it appears that the translator mainly aimed at helping women to get married while the aim of the writer was to help both women and men.

The contents page was deleted by the translator and she divided the TT1 into six chapters. A look at the contents page of ST1 leads us to see that TT1 has a different structure from its source. It consists of just two translated chapters of the ST1, suggesting that its aim and readers were changed as a result of the translational strategies applied throughout the process.

A comparative look at matricial features

The translation consists of fifty-seven pages, while the source text is 251 pages long. The translation, moreover, is made up of six chapters with no sub-divisions, while the source text includes ten chapters with many sections under each chapter. The translation is not only shorter than the source text but also reduced to fewer chapters. It appears from the matricial features of TT1 that Esmâ Z. carried out vast omissions in her translation. Let’s first look at the titles of the sections in TT1.

Aşk Dersleri (TT1)

Birinci Fasıl	Bir Erkeği Nasıl Tavlamalı?	Part One	How to court a man?
İkinci Fasıl	Nişanlılık	Part Two	Engagement
Üçüncü Fasıl	İlk Sene	Part Three	The First Year
Dördüncü Fasıl	Aşk Nedir	Part Four	What is Love
Beşinci Fasıl	Erkeğin Tarafı	Part Five	The Man's Side
Altıncı Fasıl	İzdivaçta Aşk	Part Six	Love in Marriage

A closer study of the titles in TT1 and the contents page of ST1 reveals that the target text has a different distribution and “textual segmentation” (Toury, 1995, p. 59) compared to ST1. The target text includes translations of chapter six and seven, and some parts of chapters one, two and nine of the source text. This reorganization of the translated text by its translator shows that the translation is quite different from its source as far as the form and structure are concerned. Esmâ Z.’s text is composed of the translation of two chapters, and a translated collage of sections of the source text. We can now turn to examine the contents page of ST1:

The Philosophy of Love (ST1)

I Ideal Love

II Marriage

1. Why some form of legal marriage is necessary 2. The marriage vows 3. Why marriage is often a failure 4. Is the problem of marriage more acute than it was 5. The ideal marriage age 6. The motives for marriage

III Other Aspects of Love

1. Love out of marriage 2. Platonic friendship

IV The Nature of Woman

1. Fundamental instincts 2. The three classes of women 3. The woman of tomorrow 4. American, French and English women

V The Nature of Man

1. Fundamental instincts 2. A man's view of honor 3. The three types of men 4. The man every woman wants

VI Advice to Plain Girls

1. How to win a man 2. During engagement 3. The first year

VII The Man's Side

1. How to win a woman 2. After marriage

VIII Aspects of Love in America

IX Love in Marriage

1. The importance of remaining lovers 2. How to keep love-the man's part 3. How to keep love-the woman's part

X If Things Go Wrong

1. Difficult husbands and tiresome wives 2. The three alternatives 3. The end in view,

In view of the contents page above, it can be stated that the first, second and third chapters in TT1 are translations of the sixth chapter of ST1. The fifth and sixth chapters in, TT1 are translations of the seventh and ninth chapters of ST1. Yet a closer look reveals that, although some chapter-titles in TT1 and ST1 are parallel, several transpositions were applied by the translator between the selected chapters and sections. This complex selection will be discussed in detail in the next part on transpositions.

At this point, I would state that my analysis of the peritextual and matricial features of TT1 proves that Esma Z. took considerable liberties with her translation and changed the distribution and segmentation in TT1, in doing which she behaved like the writer of the source text. I suggest that these broad omissions and the reorganization applied by Esma Z. inevitably resulted in various manipulations at the micro-level in the translated text.

Translator's strategies

Esma Z. followed some strategies in her translation which affected the structure, topic and style of the text that was introduced to Turkish female readers. This section will examine these strategies under four headings: omissions, transpositions, other changes made in following the source text, and style.

Omissions

There are numerous omissions in the translation. I will first begin with the totally omitted topics in order to question the reasons underlying these vast omissions. Then

I will focus on the omitted paragraphs in the translated text. For instance, the parts in which the writer had written about the philosophy of love were completely deleted by the translator. In the first chapter, Glyn analyzed love and sexuality not only in relation to human beings but also in relation to God and nature. Let's see an example:

If a woman of a fine character could meet a mate who could rise with her on to such heights, she could give him her vows without anxiety, and know that God was listening to them, and not laughing, as He must generally do to marriage vows. She could submissively own the man for husband and Lord, and give the rest of her life to beautifying his existence, furthering his ambitions, and bringing him peace and joy. [...] He would know that joy in physical delights was shared by her, not merely simulated to please him. As no union can be perfect without equal capacity for physical satisfaction in both man and woman, as well as capacity for elevation of the soul. [...] While we love, and our love is returned, we are the equals of the God! (1923, pp. 16-17)

These kind of philosophical interpretations of the source text, especially in the first and second chapters, were completely deleted by the translator. Such parts in the source text are actually significant, since they foreground the main theme of the text. Glyn proposes a romantic marriage for the mutual benefit of both women and men. The importance of romance and love in marriage was taken up in a different way by the translator. She underlies the fact that when women get pleasure from sex, they come close to God. Esma Z. omitted all such parts in her translation and she transformed her translation into more a rational and practical text, stripped of all romanticism. As a result, she limited the topic of TT1 by turning it into a marriage manual on how girls can find husbands and protect their marriages once they are married. Esma Z. gave advice to girls to make plans to find a man, to persuade him to marry and then to keep hold of him.

Another section omitted by the translator is where Glyn examines women from three foreign countries, America, France and Britain. Glyn (1923) writes that an

American woman is treated with respect in her family, she is free and she has her own money and she feels sure of herself and “the woman naturally and instinctively thinks herself man’s superior” (p. 100). She further claims that American women have a keen business sense inherited from their forbears and they have a natural self-confidence. Glyn writes that the superior condition of women depends on the automatic result of the low population of female rate in the new world. Yet English women are in a quite different condition according to Glyn. English women “have been taught to obey men –fathers –husbands- even brothers” (Glyn, 1923, p. 101). English girls have very few chances to select their mates; they believe that man is the ruler and they have very little business sense. Additionally, Glyn (1923) suggests that French women, on the other hand, “are brought up to think that marriage and having a suitable family are the chief aims of their sex” (p. 104). They make perfect wives and they accept that they and men are different beings with different functions, so as to make a perfect whole. Glyn (1923) ends her analysis with these statements: “America is the woman’s kingdom, England the man’s; while France shares the crown” (p. 106).

It appears that, as a British writer living in America, Glyn places American women over English women. In the survey of women’s magazines carried out in Chapter 4, I found that American and British women were interchangeably praised as being superior to one another in several women’s magazines in early republican Turkey: while American women were presented as wonderful housewives, mothers and the rulers of family life in one of the magazines, British women were lauded as devoted mothers and housewives in another. It seems that the foreign role models that were introduced to Turkish women were one of the popular topics in the republican period. Having erased these foreign female role models, Esma Z. also

deleted a part that would attract the attention of target readers. The reason might well be due to the fact that, since she determined her aim as being to give advice to girls on how to get married, she might have seen these parts as unnecessary.

Another omission was that of parts in ST1 related to mistresses. The third chapter of ST1 is divided into two and the first section is devoted to love out of marriage, in which Glyn dwells on betrayal and mistresses. For Glyn (1923) “the illicit loves in the world and the desire to mate cannot be controlled by laws and often illicit unions are very happy, much happier, while they last, than married ones” (p. 62). She gives some reasons for this kind of relationship, such as the fact that illicit partners show their best sides to each other, that mistresses can be alluring at all times and that they show great attention to men. She suggests that “the wife can learn a great deal from the mistress: continual attention to physical attraction” (Glyn, 1923, p. 69). Glyn also counts some negative aspects of an illicit relationship for the mistresses, such as continual insecurity, disrespect from society, secrecy and the short duration of happiness. The sections on mistresses, however, were omitted by the translator as well. As a result, Esma Z. erased mistresses wholly from the discourse on happy marriages within her translation, which resulted in a more optimistic text when compared to Glyn’s text. Although Esma Z. did not translate the section on mistresses, she did add one paragraph on mistresses, in which she advised married women to be always good-looking and attractive at home (1931, p. 25).

Esma Z. appeals to her readers as follows:

You thought I would mention virtue and its excellence. But since I consider Selmin’s happiness, I am relating a more simple matter which unfortunately has a greater effect on men. Many married women and virtuous mothers have been complaining about men who love “bad women”. I wonder if they ever think that those bad women never disappoint men by neglecting their beauty. (1931, p. 26)

[“Yüksek fezaili ahlâkiye ve ahlâktan bahsedeceğimi zannediyordunuz. Fakat ben Selmin’in hakikî saadetini düşündüğüm için daha basit ve maalesef erkekler üzerinde daha çok tesir eden şeyleri söylüyorum. [...] Nice on senelik zevcelerle, namuslu valideler erkeklerin “fena kadınları” sevdiklerinden şikayet ederler. [...] O fena kadınların, hiç bir zaman, maddi güzelliklerini ihmal ederek erkekleri sukûtu hayale düşürmediklerini hiç düşünmüyorlar mı acaba?”(1931, p. 26)]

Another omitted topic is in the section entitled “The Woman of Tomorrow” (Glyn, 1923, p. 93). Here, Glyn discusses the contemporary changes in the conditions of western women. She suggests that the woman of today “is far more independent, she is far surer of herself, she is far more indifferent to the laws of convention. The mental emancipation is remarkable in the attitude and point of view of the women” (ibid.). She further resolves that “only a modicum of the female population of the civilized countries of the world know their own mind and distinctly see the end they have in view in regard to complete emancipation” (ibid.). Similar paragraphs on the discussions and analysis on women’s emancipation were all omitted by the translator. It appears that Esmâ Z. chose not to inform Turkish female readers about the improved conditions of western women. It seems that she decided to produce a translation that was limited to the subject of marriage.

In the chapter titled “The Man’s Side”, Esmâ Z. applied further omissions. There are two characters in the source text, called Sallie and Richard, who were changed into Nermin and Reşat by the translator. Esmâ Z. erased the parts on male weaknesses related to the physical passion they feel towards women. For example, Glyn (1923) writes that:

It is such a very sad sight to see young men under thirty tied and bound to impossible young women, who are obviously dragging them down, just because they had not the strength of will to resist the passion in its first stages. Or to see the characters branded with degradation, the result of never turning the recreative instinct to higher spheres, but allowing it to manifest itself solely in a series of sensual and ephemeral passions. (p. 177)

A similar scene depicted by the writer includes advice about how physical attraction is related to tenderness between couples. Sallie and Richard are in love and Richard tries to understand whether or not Sallie really loves him. Below we can see the source paragraph that has been omitted by the translator:

When Richard is quite sure that she loves him, and the psychological moment has arrived that he asks her to marry him, he must see that his caresses are tender as well as passionate, for exquisite caresses are the strongest of love awakens. The touch of a hand in passing is enough to make a delicious thrill! It starts the working of the magnet, and that is why continuous flirtations are so stupid. Love always manifests itself in the desire to touch the beloved ones. (Glyn, 1923, p. 184)

The above examples illustrate that Esma Z. omitted anything that she thought unnecessary to her own aims. She only translated the parts she thought related to her aim, which was to prepare a marriage manual for women. As a result, not only the structure of the source text but also the subjects of the source text were changed by the translator via omissions. The aim of the source text seems to be manifold: to inform the readers about women's conditions in the western world, to warn women to be sexually attractive and playful and to warn mistresses about their unlucky and rotten life, to call for western women to complete their emancipation, to help girls, to examine different forms of love and finally to give advice about marriage to both women and men. It appears from the above analysis that the aim of giving advice concerning marriage was common to the source writer and the translator, although this advice was targeted at different readerships. And as a result, the translator reduced the aims and the scope of the source text and created a translated text for her own aim. Considering the direct address of the publisher to the readers on the title page, it can be suggested that the publisher probably played an active role in deciding the aim of this translation as well. To recap, I suggest that the translator acted like the writer of the source text and made bold decisions. She changed the organization,

structure and the scope of her translation, through which she rewrote¹³⁷ her text and introduced it to Turkish female readers.

Considering the fact that this was the first popular non-literary text on women in Latin script in which physical and sexual attractions are discussed, it might well be proposed that Esmâ Z.'s translation opened up a way for translators and writers to write on the subject. The translated and indigenous texts on women's sexuality published prior to the adoption of the Latin alphabet had appeared ten years before Gyl'n's text. The first indigenous text in Latin script, Daniş Remzi Korok's *Genç Kızlara Gizli Tavsiyeler* [Secret Advice for Young Girls], which was similar to Esmâ Z.'s text, was published in 1935. Thus it could be suggested that Esmâ Z. paved the way for a debate on sexual attraction between women and men in Turkey.

Transpositions

As for the translated parts, which are mainly the sixth and seventh chapters of the source text, Esmâ Z. opted for many "changes of location" (Toury, 1995, p. 59) in her translation. Toury states that "a change of location may often be accounted for as an omission (in one place) compensated by an addition (elsewhere)" (ibid.). In contrast to Toury's suggestion, it seems that changes of location in this translation almost always resulted in omissions with no compensatory additions. The last translated chapter is even completely restructured via transpositions. The last chapter of the translation can be defined as the summary of all the advice given in the

¹³⁷ Andre Lefevere suggests that rewriters "adapt, manipulate the originals they work with to some extent, usually to make them fit in with the dominant, or one of the dominant ideological and poetological currents of their time" (Lefevere, 1992, p. 8). Here I am using "rewriter" in a more specific scope than Lefevere, in the sense that all three translators in this chapter were rewriters, who acted like the writers of the texts, and they created new options for target readers, which were different from the options created by the ST writers for their readers.

previous chapters, just like the ninth (but not the last) chapter of the source text. However, Esmâ Z. wrote this chapter again with many omissions. At the beginning of the chapter, she inserted three paragraphs which she took from the first chapter of the source text and summarized and then she proceeded with the translation of some paragraphs she took from the seventh chapter of the source text and finished the chapter with the translation of the last paragraph of the ninth chapter of the source text.

She further divided the seventh chapter of the source text into two and used the first part as the sixth chapter in TT1. She put the second part of the seventh chapter of ST1 in the last chapter of TT1. These divisions and transpositions in TT1 resulted in the reduction of the scope of ST1 and the target text became a text of its own.

Other changes made in translating ST1

As for the translated chapters, while comparing ST1 and TT1 I found that many interventions were made. Firstly, Esmâ Z. chose Turkish names for the foreign characters through which the nature of a relationship between woman and man was depicted. Selmin and Nihat were chosen by the translator as substitutes for Celia and Henry. Selmin, like Celia, represents a typical plain girl who needs help in attracting the man she desires. The scenario continues with Selmin's efforts to make Nihat love her and ask her to marry him. Nihat is not aware of Selmin and therefore Selmin needs help to achieve her aim.

Although the general structure of this scenario remains the same in the translation, some changes were applied by Esmâ Z. For example, Nihat, unlike Henry, has returned from war. Here is the description of Nihat:

Target Text:

Şunu hatırla tutmalı ki Nihat harpten döneli henüz birkaç sene oluyor. Erkeklerin çok turfanda oldukları bu devirde Nihat'ı gözüne kestiren kestirene. Maalesef "Elimi sallasam ellisi" diyenler kızlar değil erkekler! Bunun için beğenilmeye çalışan erkekler değil kadınlar olmalıdır. Nihat şirketlerde, bankalarda, resmi dairelerde diz dize çalıştığı kızlardan bıkmış; diğer taraftan dudakları boyalı bardan bara dolaşır dans etmekten başka bir şey bilmeyen "Cazbant kızları" diye tesmiye edeceğimiz kızlardan da Nihat'a gına gelmiştir. (1931, p. 6)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

One should keep in mind that Nihat returned home from battlefield a few years ago. In such an era when men are extremely "primeur", there are many women chasing Nihat. Unfortunately, those who are saying "I can get whoever I want" are men not girls. Nihat has got bored of girls with whom he works together in firms, banks and state institutions, and he is fed up with those girls who we can call "jazz band" girls, with their coloured lips and their incessant desire to stroll from one bar to another to dance.]

Source Text:

Henry has grown weary of the "good fellow" who has shown all kinds of sterling qualities of work. He has seen in her hundreds – and he has also seen hundreds probably of "Jazz girls" –I call them that for want of a better name; the kind who helped him to pass the time when away from the business. (1923, p. 141)

This text was published eight years after The War of Independence (1919-1922) and the population of men had decreased because of the long-lasting war in Turkey. Esmâ Z. actually domesticated the source text by adopting the scenario to the prevailing social conditions of the 1930s in Turkey. She also added figurative phrases such as "elimî sallasam ellisi" [I can get whoever I desire] or "gözüne kestirmek" [to have one's eye on sth. as a desirable possession] which was also a strategy that took the writer to the Turkish readers. "Jazz" has various meanings in English. Merriam-Webster's dictionary gives the following meanings: copulation, relating to jazz music, and of seeking pleasure and excitement. According to the

TDK dictionary (1988), the Turkish equivalent “cazbant” means the orchestra which plays jazz. Thus, Esmâ Z.’s decision to insert an explanation and keep the allegory results in a neologism. In addition, at the beginning of the translation, the translator had warned girls that they should strive to get married with a suitable man who is working in a private company or in a bank or a state institution.

The war motif continues through the chapter in such a way that it affects Nihat’s character. Selmin is warned by the translator about the effects of war on men in the paragraph below:

Target Text:

[Erkekler] çok gevezelerden hoşlanmazlar. Asabiyet de canlarını sıkar. Gürültüye tahammülleri yoktur, (top, tüfek sadası canlarına yetmiştir) budala da değildirler. Harp onları çok inceltmiştir. Bunun için boyalı, neşeli, laubali “cazbant kızları” onları bir müddet meşgul etmiş ise de o şekilde bir hayat arkadaşı intihap etmek istemezler. (1931, pp. 11-12)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

[They like neither very talkative girls nor nervous ones. They cannot bear noise (they have been wearied by the noises of guns and shots). They are not fools either. The war has refined them. Although they passed some time with gay, reckless and saucy “jazz band” girls, they do not want to have such types as a companion for life.]

In line with the above quotation, the tastes of Glyn’s men and Esmâ Z.’s men are slightly different. Glyn’s men are tired by the noisy atmosphere in places such as downtown restaurants, while Esmâ Z.’s men have been exhausted by war:

Source Text:

Men dislike incessant talkers, or restlessness; they are wearied with noise (think of the downtown restaurants!). They are not fools now either; work has sharpened their wits; and the jolly, noisy, smoking, slangy, Jazz-band creature is one who only engages their most trivial attention, to while away leisure moments –unless of course she is perfectly beautiful – so they are not very likely to desire such a one if she is plain, as a companion for life. (1923, p. 148)

Secondly, Celia’s womanly desires were also changed and sometimes erased by the translator. See the descriptions of Selmin and Celia below:

Target Text:

Selmin hayat mücadelesi içinde gayri ihtiyari biraz hotkâmlaşmış, biraz da kabalaşmış ve fazla hürriyetperest olmuş. İhtimal elleri de biraz kalınlaşmış ve nasırlanmıştır. Her yaşta taravetini muhafaza eden takımdan olmadığı için –esasen şimdi yirmi ile yirmisekiz arasındadır – hatta kartlaşmış gibidir. Meselenin ne kadar müşkül olduğunu tahmin edebilirsiniz. (1931, p. 6)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Due to the demands of life, Selmin has become involuntarily selfish and rude and too independent. Most probably, her hands have thickened and become calloused. She is not of the type that can maintain her charm at every age; in fact, she is between twenty and twenty-eight and seems to be past her prime. You can imagine how difficult the situation is.]

Source Text:

Celia, as the type of a class, has grown selfish in a way –she has had to– and a little rough and hardy and independent; and as she is not one of those who are naturally fascinating and never lose their charm, even her beauty of youth has become blunted, for she is now from twenty-two to twenty-eight years old. It does not sound as though she had a great chance, does it? The truth is she possesses no magnetism. She is self-conscious, and she has no real self-confidence, even though she may make a show of it. It is not in her make-up. She has seen Henry perhaps casually at their work when to him she was just a comrade – and now they meet again perhaps in some summer resort, and Celia longs for Henry to make love to her– just her! The woman! (1923, pp. 141-142)

Selmin is presented by the translator as a plain, regular and honorable girl who worked hard and could not get married, while Celia had been presented by the writer as a plain girl but who still had feminine desires and wanted to be loved as a woman. The womanly desires of Selmin were erased and her age was also changed by the translator. Selmin is between twenty and twenty-eight, while Celia is between twenty-two and twenty-eight. Esma Z. decreased the lowest border for the ideal age of marriage to twenty for Turkish girls. Such omissions were broadly applied by the translator throughout TT1. However, Esma Z. kept some parts in her translation which focused on the necessity of physical attraction for women who want to get married, although her emphasis on this requirement was less than that in ST1.

Transmission of the style of ST1

It should be noted that the translator kept the informal and direct style of the author in the translated parts when she addressed the readers directly, as well as preserving the imperatives of the author when she gave advice. As can be seen in the above example, the readers were incorporated into ST1 through direct questions. The same narrative strategy was adopted and was even strengthened by the translator:

Target Text:

Çok tehlikeli bir devre! –Kendi sayile bir erkeğin aşkını celbetmiş cazibesiz bir kadının birinci senesi. – Çok tehlikeli ve şüpheli bir devre... (1931, p. 24)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

A very dangerous period! - the first year of a woman without fascination, of a woman who has secured the love of a man by her own effort- A very dangerous and doubtful period!]

Source Text:

A very precarious period! –the first year of marriage for a woman without fascination, who has secured the love of a man by her own effort. (1923, p. 164)

Ellipsis “...” and repetitions were used abundantly in the translation. Although it is impossible to count the punctuation marks or repetitions or additions at the word level, it can be suggested that these manipulations at the micro-level reinforced the straightforward style of the source text in the translation. Nevertheless it can be said that there is a unity in the mode of address between the TT1 and ST1.

Another noteworthy characteristic of Glyn is her literary style. As an author, she ornamented her text in such a way that it reads like a novel. It is not surprising that its translation was presented as a novel in Turkey, as was indicated in the peritextual analysis of the translated text. In Esma Z’s translation, on the other hand, Glyn’s literary style seems to have been weakened. Let us look at an example:

Target Text:

Aşk hislerin en ulvisidir. Duyguların en canlısı, ruhun en tabîî ifadesidir. En bayağı mahlûklar, en alçak adamlar sevdikleri zaman yükselirler. Zira aşk halinde iken insan hotkâm değildir. (1931, p. 32)

[Target Text in Back-Translation:

Love is the most sublime feeling. It is the most vital feeling and it is the most natural expression of the soul. The lowest creatures, the worst men become elevated when they are in love. Because man is not selfish in the time of love.]

Source Text:

Love is beautiful and terrible –and vital. It gilds dark places, and turns stones into jewels. It is tender enough to be of the Angels, and warm enough to be of the Sun. Love is tangible. It means to be close –close- to be clasped –to be touching – to be One! Of all the emotions which Human beings feel, Love is the most divine. It is the vital spark which makes Life, it is the expression of the soul. The lowest creatures, the worst characters, are raised when they love –because for the time it holds them under its sway they cease to be utterly selfish. It is an essence beyond our sight, or hearing, or touch, which uplifts us. (1923, p. 12)

It can clearly be seen from the above example that the sentences omitted from the TT1 changed the creative literary style of the writer and, as a result, TT1 became a duller text compared to its source. The use of inverted sentences, metaphors, similes, exclamation marks and dashes is abundant in the source text, yet most of them were omitted by the translator. Thus it appears that Esmâ Z. did not keep the style of the writer and she produced a more plain text at the end. I suggest that such changes in the style applied by Esmâ Z. contributed to the presentation of TT1 as an advice manual.

Translator's conception of women in marriage and romance

In *Aşk Dersleri (...)*, Esmâ Z. translated all the parts which depicted the advice for plain girls about marriage, except that she toned down the parts on the effect of female sexual attractiveness. For her translation, Esmâ Z. mainly chose the parts on plain girls who want to marry. She followed the author closely in the parts she chose to translate. For instance;

Target Text:

[Selmin] kendine çekidüzen vermeli. Göze hoş görünmeli. Mesela sesi fena ise tatlılaştırmağa çalışmalı ve hotkâm olmamağa gayret etmelidir. Nihat Selmin'le konuştuğu zaman kendisini anlayan bir fikir arkadaşı imiş gibi hissetmeli. [...] Hiçbir zaman kavga etmemeli ve onu sıkıntıya sokmamalıdır. [...] Nihat Selmin'e hürmet etmedikçe sevemez. Bunun için Selmin kendisine hürmet ettirmeli. [...] Selmin izzeti nefsinin hiçbir zaman ayaklar altına almamalı. (1931, pp. 7-13)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Selmin must take care of herself. She must make herself attractive to the eye. She must try to make her voice soft if it is not and she must try not to be self-assertive. [...] She must never dispute with Nihat and she must avoid boring him. Selmin must act as a friend of Nihat, who understands him. She must always be unpretentious; avoiding any affected attitude. [...] Nihat will never love Selmin unless he respects her. Selmin must never do anything which degrades her self-esteem.]

Source Text:

[Celia] must have made herself attractive to the eye, and as unlike a plodding worker as she possibly can, [...] she must try to be gentle of voice and unself-assertive, remembering always that man is polygamous animal, and a hunter, and Celia must keep these facts in view; she must make Henry feel that at last he is with a congenial companion who understands him. [...] She must never make scenes, or let him feel that she is drawing him into boring circumstances. [...] Henry will never love her unless he respects her too. [...] Never do anything which degrades your self-respect. (1923, pp. 143-150)

The above paragraph is a summary of the advice given to single woman who wants to marry. She must be a good-looking, attractive, calm, tender, unpretentious and modest woman who has educated herself enough to talk on many matters with men and share his ideas. The translation appears very similar to the source text on this point, except for the omission of the warning about males being polygamous animals in ST1.

Coming to the profile of the engaged woman in the text, it seems that the female profile almost remains the same, except for the description of Celia showing her sexual feelings to her fiancée. Let's see the image of woman as it is presented in the translation and source text:

Target Text:

Selmin daima üstüne başına dikkat etmeli, ev döşeme hazırlığı içinde pejmürde, asık suratlı olmamalıdır. Nihat onu her tasadüfünde güleryüzlü, giyinişine bir itinayı mahsus vermiş olarak görmelidir. Selmin hiçbir zaman Nihat'la fazla laubali olmamalı ve kendini ona fazla

okşatmamalıdır. Vakar ve ihtiraz erkekleri daima cezbeden meziyetlerdir. Biihassa erkekler zahmet vermeksizin ele geçirilen muzafferiyetlerden pek hoşlanmazlar. Nihat nişanlılık vaktinin büyük bir kısmını Selmin'le geçireceği için Selmin ona kolaylıkla teslim olacak basit bir kadın olmadığını hissettirmelidir. (1931, p. 16)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Selmin must always take care of her looks, she must never be sulky or tatty during the rush of preparing for the new home. Every time Nihat sees her, she must be gay, prime and proper. Selmin must never be too intimate with Nihat and must never allow Nihat to caress her too much. Dignity and caution are precious virtues for men. Men usually do not like easy triumphs. As Nihat will pass most of his time with her during their engagement period, Selmin must make him feel that she is not a simple woman to be conquered easily]

Source Text:

Celia must look her very best and not be fretful and demagnetized by the inevitable rush of preparing for the new home. She must never blur Henry's picture of her as his heart's desire. And above all she must never forget that Henry is human, and so his male hunting instinct must never be allowed to sleep long. If she lets it sleep she may know that it is always possible that some other women will awaken it! We will say that Henry has been drawn to her by her sympathetic understanding of himself. She has created the picture in his mind of one who will be a solace. Then she must met him see that she will only continue to be that while he also plays the game and gives her love and tenderness in return, but that he will lose this good thing unless he minds his p's and q's! She must never be too familiar with him, or allow him to caress her over much –reticence and elusiveness are potent charms. Men tire of anything they can have at any moment, without effort – and presumably, during the engagement, Henry will spend a great deal of time with his fiancée. She must never let him feel that he is satisfied, and that she is no longer an ardent attraction to him, but is simply the ripe peach ready to fall into his mouth. (1923, p. 154)

An engaged woman in the translation and the source text differ slightly when their behaviors to their fiancée are concerned. Both Selmin and Celia must be good-looking and attractive in their engagement period, but they are given different advice by the translator and the writer when it comes to sexual attraction between women and men. Selmin should never be too close with her fiancée and should not allow him to caress her too much, in order that she can show him that she is no easy woman. On the other hand, Celia knows that men cannot wait too long for physical contact and she must know that if she makes him wait he will find another woman. She should not let him caress her too much but she should keep him aroused while

not satisfying him fully. Celia seems to be more knowledgeable than Selmin when it comes to men's instincts and sexual desires in the first place and her method is to show but not to give up herself, yet to be sexually active in such a way that she can make him wait till they get married.

Another example is from the advice for women about the definition of love. Esmâ Z. added this paragraph in her translation, probably to compensate to some extent for the omitted parts elsewhere. Let's look at an example:

Bir erkek bir kadını niçin sever? Çünkü gayri şüuri olarak kendisinden bir takım aşk dalgaları zuhur eder. Kadın da bu dalgalarla hem ahenk olan kendi dalgaları ile erkeği cezbeder, onunla beraber olmak, konuşmak, sevişmek arzusunu uyandırır. Eğer Selmin o dalgaları neşretmez ise Nihat da onu sevmekte devam edemez. (1931, p. 33)

[Why does a men love a woman? Because, unbeknown to himself, he spreads waves of love. Having been tempted by these waves, the woman charms him with her own waves of love and evokes in him such a feeling that he wants to be with her, to talk to her and to make love with her. If Selmin does not transmit those waves, Nihat will not continue to love her.]

In the light of this example, it appears that some features of Celia were kept in the TT1, such as tenderness, modesty and silence, that is, the accepted images of women defined in the women's magazines. Here, we remember, translated and indigenous articles praised the understanding and compassionate woman who supported her husband and prepared a peaceful atmosphere at home (see Chapter 4). Different from the images of women depicted in the articles of women's magazines, however, TT1 projects the image of an attractive woman for whom love is significant. What is more, love and sexual life are presented as inseparable components of marriage. In their comprehensive study on the history of sexuality in Britain, Porter and Hall (1995) claim that "there was a sudden efflorescence of a new form of marriage manual" (p. 208) after 1918 in Britain and they add that "sex within marriage had functions besides the purely reproductive" (ibid.) as a result of this shift. It would not be wrong to suggest that sexual instincts were presented as an

inseparable and important component of marriage life in *Aşk Dersleri(...)* and *The Philosophy of Love*. The romantic love between women and men was related to physical attractiveness and sexual instincts which lead to marriage in the end. The powerful discourse on love and sexual attraction of the ST1 was softened and lessened by Esma Z. However; this was still an important text, since it was the first translated text on female sexuality published in the early republican period, which paved the way for other translators and writers.

Conclusions on TT1

From the descriptive analysis of TT1 and ST1, it appears that the translator opted for several interventions in the translation. First of all, the structure of the translated text was completely changed by Esma Z., in such an eclectic way that she restructured her text by taking bits from various chapters and deleting most of the chapters of the source text. As a result, the fullness, textual segmentation and location of the translated text and the corresponding source text are different from each other.

Secondly, the publisher's note, the presentation of the name of the translator just near that of the writer on the title page, and the liberty Esma Z. took in her translation show us that both the publisher and the translator played active roles in deciding the nature and function of the translation. The presentation of the translator on the title page just near the name of the writer might have been a strategy of the publisher to emphasize that the translator was the second writer of the text. Indeed, the translator really did act like the writer of the text, in the way that she wrote another the text in Turkish. She changed not only the organization and structure of

the source text but also defined a particular purpose with the translated topics selected.

Thirdly, considering the narration and the scope of the translation, I think that the variety of selected topics and the domestications carried out display the target-oriented strategy of the translator. The translator erased the philosophical dialogues and the information on foreign women, but she retained the advice for women to help them to find a husband and to protect their marriages. The scope of the source text was reduced and as a result the aim of TT1 became to give advice to girls in order to help them to get married and uphold their marriages.

Finally, most of the features of single, engaged and married women which were drawn in TT1 were compatible with the ones in ST1, but with different levels of emphasis. For instance, honor was stressed as the most important feature of women in the translated text, although it was not foregrounded in the source text. Female attractiveness or femininity, which was commented on at length by the writer in ST1, became a peripheral subject in TT1 as a result of the vast omissions applied by the translator. But still the image of attractive woman was one of the options offered to Turkish readers.

*Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları:
Boşanmaların önünü alacak çareler*
[Ways to Be Happier in Marital Life: Remedies to Prevent Divorces]

Ömer Rıza Doğrul (1893-1952), the male translator of this text, translated several novels¹³⁸, some biographies¹³⁹ and some other kinds of non-literary texts¹⁴⁰ between

¹³⁸ Such as Dumas, Alexander (1939) *Borjiyaların Cinayeti*. [The Borgias] Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. Cep Kitapları Serisi: 42 [Pocket Book Series]; Bromfield, Louis (1948) *Yağmurlar Gelince*. [When The Rains Came] Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. İstanbul: Ahmed Halid, Şarktan-Garptan Tercümeleler: 44-48; Buck, Pearl S. (1946) *Canavar Tohumu* [Monster's Seed]. Trans. Ömer Ziya Doğrul. İstanbul: Ahmed Halid, Şarktan-Garptan Tercümeleler: 59-60;

1928 and 1950. Doğrul was born in Cairo and left Egypt in 1915. He became known for his articles in the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar*. He was the owner of the journal *Selamet* between 1947 and 1948.¹⁴¹ A famous writer and translator, he was especially known for his interpretations and translations of the Qur'an.¹⁴² According to my preliminary research, this was the only text he translated on women's sexuality and marriage. The publishing company Arif Bolat produced two texts on women's sexuality; this one was published in 1942¹⁴³ and the other in 1959. *Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları (...)* was reprinted in 1976 and retranslated in 1992 and 2002, each by different publishing houses.¹⁴⁴ It appears that the translation has attracted the attention of Turkish readers for a period of 50 years.

W.E. Sargent, the writer of the source text *The Psychology of Marriage and the Family Life* (1941), was a psychologist and wrote many works on sex and psychology.¹⁴⁵ In other words, the source text was written by a male scholar of psychology. As was stated in Chapter 2, when it came to texts on women's sexuality,

¹³⁹ Such as Moritzan (1939) *Goethe'nin Hayatı*. [The Life of Goethe] Trans. Ömer Ziya Doğrul. Cep Kitapları Serisi: 50 [Pocket Book Series] and Hedin, Sven (1933) *Gobi Çöllerinde*. [A Conquest of Tibet] Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. İstanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi.

¹⁴⁰ Such as *İslam Tarihi: Asr-ı Saadet* [History of Islam: Era of Happiness] Vol: 5. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. İstanbul:?, 1928 and Carnegie, Dale (1947) *Söz Söylemek ve İş Başarmak Sanatı*. [The Quick and Easy Way to Effective Speaking] Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. İstanbul: Ahmed Halid: 805.

¹⁴¹ Karabulut, İlhami (2001) "Tanrı Buyruğu ya da Bir Tahrifin Anatomisi" [The Command of God or the Anatomy of a Distortion] in "<http://www.kuranmeali.com/omerriza.asp>".

¹⁴² Some of his translations are: *Tanrı Buyruğu: Kur'an-ı Kerim'in Tercüme ve Tefsiri* [The Command of God: Translation and Exegesis of Qur'an] Vol: 1& 2. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul, 1943, Ahmet Halit Kitabevi. and *İslam Tarihi: Asr-ı Saadet* [History of Islam: Era of Happiness] Vol: 5. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul, 1928, İstanbul.

¹⁴³ The text was not presented in a series and Arif Bolat publishing company does not seem to have introduced other texts on sexuality except for one more book published in 1959, which is Schae, Dr. S. (1959) *Cinsi Hayat: Bekarlar Evliler Doktorlar Mürebbiler İçin*. [Sexual Life: For the Single, Married Doctors and Teachers] Trans. Ekrem Akman. İstanbul: Arif Bolat Kitabevi.

¹⁴⁴ Sargent, W.E. (1976) *Evlilikte Mutluluğun Yolları*. [Ways of Happiness in Marriage] Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. İstanbul: Tokar; *Evlilikte Cinsel Yaşam ve Mutluluk*. [Sexual Life and Happiness in Marriage] (1992) Trans. Serhat Bayram. İstanbul: Tokar. [Doğudan Batıdan Seçmeler Dizisi.5] and *Evlilikte Cinsel Yaşam ve Mutluluk* [Sexual Life and Happiness in Marriage] (2002) Trans. Yunus Karaaslan. İstanbul: Huzur Yayınları.

¹⁴⁵ He is the writer of *Sex: Its Meaning and Purpose*. London: English Universities Press (1952) and *Teach Yourself Psychology*. London: English Universities Press (1960).

works of foreign male doctors were imported into Turkey in great numbers during the republican period.

Peritextual features

The title of the translation is *Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları (...)* (1942) which is different from the source title *The Psychology of Marriage and the Family Life* (1941) (see Appendix M).¹⁴⁶ The word “psychology”, which was omitted in TT2, refers to the science of behaviors that studies the interactions between mental or motivational processes of men and their physical and social environment; in this case, their family life. This omission leads to the disappearance of the scientific approach the source text was intended to have. Doğrul’s addition of a second title specified his aim of producing a text, which was to prevent divorces. Divorce was one of the most frequently discussed topics between the 1930s and 1970s in Turkey, as was evidenced in Chapter 4. As was discussed, the increasing divorce rates in the West were criticized in many articles in the women’s magazines. It appears clearly from the title of TT2 that this translation was aimed at giving advice to couples in order to protect the Turkish family. The changes applied by the translator in the title of TT2 cause a change in the presentation and potential reception of TT2 as well. A reader who took TT2 in her hand in a bookshop would inevitably think that she was going to read a marriage manual.

Moreover, Sargent’s title was also erased in TT2. In the source text, Sargent was introduced as “W.E. Sargent, M.A., B.D.”, while he was introduced only with his name and surname in TT2. Another omission applied in TT2 was the blurb, in

¹⁴⁶ Throughout the analysis, the translation will be referred to as TT2 and the source text as ST2.

which Sargent was introduced, on the back cover of ST2. In this note, Sargent's academic career and his career as a psychologist was introduced to the source readers.

The title page¹⁴⁷ of the translation consists of the name of the writer at the top, the title of the book just under it and the name of the translator. Doğrul was introduced as “İngilizce aslından ve son tabından çeviren Ömer Rıza Doğrul” [Translated by Ömer Rıza Doğrul from the original text in English and from its latest edition]. Turkish readers were being informed from the outset that this book was a translation from English and that it was being translated from the latest edition of ST2.

Doğrul added a translators' note entitled “Words from the translator” which appeared just after the title page (see Appendix M). In this note, Doğrul states that he translated Dale Carnegie's *Dost Kazanmak* (1938) [How to Win Friends and Influence People, 1936] before and it gained popularity at once. He states that the reason for the popularity of Carnegie's book was the chapter on marriage. He explains that the reason for selecting Sargent's text for translation is that he received many letters from readers telling him that they had benefited greatly from the marriage advice in Carnegie's translation. Doğrul's words signal that not the publishing company but he selected ST2 for translation. Moreover, he states in the note that

Family is the most important national institution and has the mission to carry all the aspects of national spirit. For this reason, a work dealing with family life and all the phases of family life should be a national work. My readers will understand the great care I have taken in this respect while reading, since they will not come across a single disturbing sentence. Besides, I completely renewed points that should be totally national or I paid great attention to putting them through a national filter. (1942)

¹⁴⁷ I found the translated text in the National Library. The text was bound in such a way that its cover pages cannot be seen. Therefore I started the peritextual analysis from the title pages.

[Aile, milli müesseselerin en mühimidir ve milli ruhun bütün hususiyetlerini taşımakla temayüz edenidir. Bu yüzden aile hayatı ile ve aile hayatının her safhasıyla meşgul olan bir eserin milli bir eser olması icap eder. Okurlarım, bu noktaya ne kadar ehemmiyet verdiğimi, eserde yadırgayacakları bir tek cümle bulmamakla görecektir. Eserin Türk okuruna müfti olması için bu noktaya ehemmiyet verdikten başka tamamen milli mahiyeti haiz olması lazım gelen bahislerini ya tamamen yeniledim, yahut milli görüş süzgecinden geçirmek için azami dikkat gösterdim. (1942)]

Doğrul seems to have opted for many manipulations in his translation. He assured Turkish readers that they would not come across anything foreign in TT2. It appears from the above quotation that he domesticated ST2 according to the indigenous national norms. Doğrul defines himself as the co-writer of TT2 in these words: “mütercimin de emeği muharririn emeğine mezcedilmiştir” [the translator’s labor was added to the writer’s]. It would not be wrong to suggest that Doğrul took many liberties in TT2 and applied many changes to adapt the source text to the target culture.

The foreword and the introduction of ST2, in which Sargent explains his aim of writing ST2, illustrate that Sargent’s aim and Doğrul’s aim differ only at the beginning.

Target Text:

Bu kitabı evlenmeyi düşünenlere yardım etmek; evlenmiş olanlara evlilik hayatını bahtiyarlığa kavuşturmak için, bu işi dürüst bir kafa ile kavramak ve ona dair bilinmesi gereken herşeyi öğrenmek icap ettiğini belirtmek için yazıyorum. (1942, p. 7)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

I am writing this book to help those who are thinking about getting married and those who are already married to be happy, and to illustrate that marriage should be dealt with in an honest way in order to learn all it involves.]

Source Text:

This book is written with the hope of helping those who are thinking about getting married, and also to show those already married how successful the blessed state of matrimony can be, if marriage is approached with a right attitude of mind, and with knowledge of what it involves. (1941, p. 11)

It appears that both TT2 and ST2 were presented to women and men. However, considering the topics on women and addressed to women in the text, it should be noted that woman appear to be the main concern in both texts. For example, the parts on having children are almost entirely about women, the chapter titled “Triangular Situations” is on mistresses and the chapter titled “For the Unmarried and the Widowed” is on widows and unmarried women.

The title page of TT2 also covers the contents of the source text in a short paragraph. The source text was divided into ten chapters while the translated text was divided into eleven chapters. As will be discussed in the next section, Doğrul added one more chapter to his translation. It appears from the peritextual analysis of TT2 that, similar to Esmâ Z.’s text in the previous case study, Doğrul applied some changes in the matrix of the text.

A comparative look at matricial features

TT2 includes eleven chapters and 96 pages while ST2 consists of ten chapters and 154 pages. The translation seems to be much shorter than the source text. However, the translation has approximately 38 lines on each page while the source text has 30 lines. Thus, considering the page layout of TT2 and ST2, it appears that Doğrul did not omit chapters. However, having looked at the contents page of TT2, I found that there are many changes as far as textual segmentation of TT2 and ST2 are concerned. This is evident from the contents chart below:

Evlilikte Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları (TT2)

Mütercimın Sözleri [The Words of the Translator]
Önsöz [Preface]
Sevgi Nedir? [What is Love]

Birinci Fasıl [Part One] Sevginin Tarifi [Definition of Love]

İki çeşit genç; İlk sevgiler; Eş nasıl seçilir, İlk bakışta sevişmeler; Aşk ve cinsiyet; Yanılmak mümkündür, fakat.

[Two types of young people, How to choose a spouse? Love at first sight, It's possible to make a mistake but...]

İkinci Fasıl [Part Two] Eşlerin Birbirine Uymaları [Mutual Adjustment of Spouses]

Evlilik mahremiyeti; Ferdiyete hürmet; Cinsi ahenksizlik; İktidarsızlığın ruhi sebepleri; Cinsiyetin yaşı; Eşler birbirine uymağa mecburdur

[Privacy of marriage, Freedom for individualism, Psychological reasons for impotency, The age for sex, Spouses must adjust to each other]

Üçüncü Fasıl [Part Three] Evlilik Hayatında Üçüncü Şahıslar [Third Persons in Marital Life]

Üçüncü şahısları doğuran amiller; İhmal; Cinsi hoşnutsuzluk; İdeal arkadaş; Evlenmek ne demektir?; Üçüncü şahsa karşı karar; His meselelerinde ateşle oynamak; Boşanmak; Bedbahtlık; Çoluk çocuk endişesi; Sadakat ve feragat; Çocukluktan kurtulamayanlar

[Factors leading to a Third person, Negligence, sexual dissatisfaction, The ideal friend, What does "to get married" mean?, The decision in case of a third person. The danger of emotional matters, Getting divorced, unhappiness, Anxiety regarding children and the family, Fidelity and sacrifice. Those who are always childish.]

Dördüncü Fasıl [Part Four] Evlilik Hayatının Geçirdiği İmtihanlar [Tests of Marital Life]

İhtilafları bayatlatmamak lazımdır; Alakaların ayrılışı hayatı zenginleştirmelidir; Şahsiyeti canlandırmanın yolu; Hayattaki ilgileri çeşitlendirmek hayata renk verir; Arkadaşların durumu; Evlilik, hürriyet mefhumuna en geniş şümülu verir; İkiz artistler

[Never let conflicts fester, Ways to awaken the personality, Different hobbies enliven life, The position of friends, Marriage dominates the notion of "freedom", Twin artists]

Beşinci Fasıl [Part Five] Çocuksuz Evlenmeler [Childless Marriages]

Gebeliğe mani olan sebepler; Zevcenin yaşı; Malul çocuklar; Çocuksuz annelere öğütler; İktisadi sebepler; Harp korkusu; Çocuksuz aileler daha rahat değildirlir; Yalnız kendi nefisleri için yaşayanlar; Çocuksuz bir dünya

[Factors hampering pregnancy, The age of the wife, Handicapped children, Advice for childless mothers, Economic reasons, Fear of war, Childless families do not feel comfortable, Those living only for their own pleasure, A world without children.]

Altıncı Fasıl [Part Six] Tek Çocuklu Aileler [Families with an Only Child]

Evliliğin ilk hedefi; Zararlı hareketler; Tek çocuklu kalmanın sebepleri; Çocuklarda hayal devri; Benimsenmenin fena neticeleri; Sarsak karakterler

[The aim of the marriage, Harmful behaviors, Reasons for having an only child, The fantasy period in childhood, Bad results of not internalizing, Doddering people]

Yedinci Fasıl [Part Seven] Aile Hayatı [Family Life]

Ahenkli terbiye; Doğumlar arasındaki fasıla; Çocuklar arasındaki kıskançlıklar; Çocukların hataları; Çocukların inkişafını teşvik etmek; Çocuk mukaddes bir emanettir; Geçimsizliğin çocuklar üzerindeki tesiri; İsyankar çocuklar; Bahtiyar ev

[Manners for harmony, Intervals between births, Jealousy among children, Encouraging children's development, A child is a sacred trust, The effect of discord on children, Rebellious children, A happy home]

Sekizinci Fasıl [Part Eight] Birlikte Kocamak [Growing Old Together]

Aileye mukavemet hissi; Aile baskısı; Dost ihtiyacı; Beraber kocamanın manası; Can yoldaşlığının şartı; Yaşlılık ve hayatta son konak

[The feeling of resistance towards the family, Family pressure, The need for friendship, The meaning of growing old together, The condition for companionship, Old age and the last stage in life]

Dokuzuncu Fasıl [Part Nine] Aile Hayatında Dinin Mevkii [The Position of Religion in Family Life]

Kutsiyet kaynağı; Din hissi ve terbiyesi; Manevi düşkünlük; Ruh kuvvetini açığa vuran hadiseler; Ana baba kamil insanlar değildirlir

[The Source of holiness, Religious feelings and education, Spiritual corruption, Cases revealing spiritual strength, Fathers and mothers are not totally perfect]
Onuncu Fasıl [Part Ten] Bekarlara ve Dullara Birkaç Söz [A Few Words for Unmarried and Widowed People]
Evlenmiyen kadınlar; Hisleri ulvileştirmek; cinsiyet hayatının üç safhası; Evlenmeyen kadının meselesi; Maziden istikbale
[Unmarried women, Ennobling feelings, Three phases of sexual life, The problem of Unmarried women, From the past to the future.]
Onbirinci Fasıl [Part Eleven] Ameli Öğütler [Practical Advice]

From the contents page of TT2 above, we can see that Doğrul divided his text into eleven chapters and many sections, while the ST2 was divided in ten chapters without any sections. Now let's look at the contents of ST2:

The Psychology of Marriage and the Family Life (ST2)

Foreword

Introduction

I. Falling in Love

II. Marital Adjustment

III. Triangular Situations

IV. For Better or For Worse

V. Childless Marriages

VI. The Only Child

VII. The Family Life

VIII. Growing Old Together

IX. The Place of Religion in the Family Life

X. For the Unmarried and the Widowed

Doğrul's text contains one more chapter than the source text. He added an extra chapter "Ameli Öğütler" [Practical Advice]. From the analysis of the matrix of TT2, it seems that several manipulations were applied by the translator. It can be suggested further that Doğrul behaved like the second writer of the text, since he took many liberties in his translation.

Translator's Strategies

The manipulations will be studied under various headings in this section, namely translator's strategies, additions, omissions, style and the treatment of foreign medical terminology in TT2.

Omissions

My analysis of *Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları (...)* has revealed that omissions are mostly on the level of paragraphs. Compared to the relation between TT1 and ST1, it can be said that there is a closer correspondence between TT2 and ST2. The omissions mostly concern utterances describing men. Below is an example from the third chapter in which Sargent suggests that when a married woman or man meets someone whom s/he thinks to be her/his ideal mate, a triangular situation arises. The translation proceeds like this:

Target Text:

Hayal inkisarının şiddeti karşısında bazı erkekler ve kadınlar, kendilerini yeniden aldatacak bir ideal peşinde koşarlar ve tam ideale kavuştuklarını sanarak ikinci bir hata işlerler. Bu çeşit kimselerin karşılaştıkları asıl güçlük, ideal kadını veya ideal erkeği bulamamak değil, hakiki hüviyetlerini keşfedememektir. (1942, p. 23)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Due to the intensity of disappointment, some men and women may chase an ideal partner and make a second mistake, believing that they have found their ideal partner. The real difficulty these people face is not failing to find an ideal partner but their failure to find their own true identity.]

Source Text:

[...], but most people have to suffer disillusionment, and then, if the disappointment is too keen, some men and women may still go on searching for the elusive ideal. A man may be foolish enough to believe that some woman he meets –long after he is married– is the only one he really ought to have chosen for his wife. Why didn't he? In all probability because he thought at the time that the woman he married was the fulfillment of his ideal. And if he were to transfer his affections from his wife to this newly discovered ideal, would they be likely to remain long with her? The man whose affections flit easily from one woman to another has never grown up properly. In his emotional life he has not yet passed through the adolescent phase, and he should seriously take himself to task to find out why it is he cannot find joy and happiness with the woman he has married. His real difficulty is not that he has failed to find his ideal woman, but that he has never found his true self [...]. (1941, pp. 39-40)

The translator left out most of the parts which contain psychological analysis.

For instance, in Chapter 2, Sargent (1941) discusses the reasons for the impotence of

one of his male patients and he suggests that “his choice of a wife had been determined by a strong mother-fixation, and unconsciously he thought of his wife as he thought of his mother” (p. 32). Sargent (1941) further argues that: “Where the latter was concerned there was a definite fear of incest in his mind, which originated in the experience of witnessing coitus between his parents when as a little boy he slept in their bedroom” (ibid.). Doğrul (1942) translated this as; “When the man decided to get married, he behaved as if he was choosing not a wife but a mother for himself. His feelings for his wife, then, were a kind of love for mother. For this reason, he did not have any special feelings for his life and this was destroying their marriage” [“Erkek evlenmeğe karar verdiği zaman bir zevce değil, bir ana seçiyormuş gibi hareket etmişti. Onun karısına karşı şuur altında hakim olan his analık hissinden ibaretti. Bu yüzden karısına karşı cinsi bir his taşıyor ve bu da aile hayatını temelinden sarsıyordu”] (p. 18). Here Doğrul eliminated both the fear of incest and the male patient’s witnessing his parent’s coitus. Doğrul seems to have censored what he thought to be unacceptable or disturbing for target readers. As a result, Doğrul’s women and men in TT2 do not come across unfamiliar situations and neither do the readers who encounter them.

Doğrul also opted for vast omissions about marriage and religion, sometimes even deleting entire pages. The religious values and guidance of Christianity occupy an important part in ST2. Doğrul omitted these parts or domesticated them according to the teachings of the Islamic religion. One of the most extensive omissions was made in the fourth chapter. Three pages were deleted by Doğrul. These pages focus on the Christian view of marriage and divorce and it is argued that the Church should recognize that if couples cannot live together divorce is inevitable. Here is an example:

There are circumstances in which divorce is the only way of ending an impossible marriage relationship. The Church hesitates to recognize this, because marriage must at all times be regarded as a sacrament, and therefore cannot be dissolved. The Roman Church will have nothing to do with divorce, because it holds that marriages are made in heaven. If a marriage has to be dissolved, it can only be on the grounds that it never truly existed. But for the Church to insist that marriage is indissoluble even when the moral and spiritual ties no longer exist can only point to a total disregard of the real issues that confront certain unhappy men and women. (1941, pp. 51-52)

All three pages were centered on the arguments that the Church should allow, even sanction divorces if necessary. Doğrul deleted all such arguments which are related to Christianity and marriage. The reason for his deletions of such parts was clearly due to his aim of making TT2 conform to Turkish religious and national values. As a result, the translated text was turned into a text which would not interrupt the reading process of the target readers. However, I believe that his strategy of omitting and of adapting the text to suit Turkish cultural and national values, as he stated in his note, went to such extremes that he essentially censored the parts which he thought not suitable for the target readers. In the name of the readers, he took the decision of what was suitable or not.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Sabiha Sertel writes in her memoirs *Roman Gibi* (1969) [Like a Novel] that she worked with Ömer Rıza at Tan publishing company. She recounts how she realized Ömer Rıza's censorship in one of the translations he was working on. Sertel's anecdote reads as follows: "I did some translations and I gave the others to Cevat Şakir and Ömer Rıza. Cevat Şakir was educated at Oxford and he knew Shakespeare's language better than a British man. Ömer Rıza was also competent in English. But I witnessed an interesting case one day. I had given Ömer Rıza Anatole France's text *Justice, Royal Highness* for translation. I was shocked when I started to edit the text. It seems that Anatole France was an opponent of socialism, he was devoted to religion and he advocated the philosophy of religion. I said to myself that Anatole France could not have written these words. I had the original and compared it with the translation. The source text was completely changed. I called Ömer Rıza and showed him the text. I asked "What's all this?" Ömer Rıza turned red and said "I am a religious man. Anatole France is writing against religion. I am an opponent of socialism. He defends social justice. I changed the text to prevent readers from learning his ideas". I asked Ömer Rıza "How dare you do that?" and dismissed him." (Sertel, 1969, pp. 192-193)

[Tercümeleleri kısmen kendim yapıyor, diğerlerini Ömer Rıza'ya ve Cevat Şakire yaptırıyordum. Cevat Şakir İngiltere'de Oxford'da okumuştur, Shakespeare'in dilini bir İngilizden daha iyi bilirdi. Ömer Rıza'nın da İngilizcesi kuvvetliydi. Fakat bir gün tuhaf bir olaya şahit oldum. Ömer Rıza'ya, Anatole France'ın, *Haşmetmeap Adalet* adlı kitabını tercüme etmek üzere vermiştim. Tashihleri okurken hayretler içinde kaldım. Meğer Anatole France sosyalizmin düşmanıymış, dindarmış, din felsefesini savunuyormuş. ... Anapole France böyle laflar etmez, dedim. Kitabın orijinalini getirttim, tercüme ile karşılaştırdım. Kitap tercümede tamamıyla değiştirilmişti. Ömer Rıza'yı çağırdım, kitaptaki yazıları gösterdim. - Bu ne demek? dedim. Ömer Rıza kızardı, bozardı: - Efendim, dedi. Ben dindar bir

Discursive interventions

Doğrul changed some of the religious arguments and adopted them to the Islamic norms of the Turkish culture. He put a footnote at the beginning of the ninth chapter and informed his readers that “bu fasıl, eserin mütercimi tarafından tadil edilmiş ve Türk türesine, Türk telakkisine göre yazılmıştır” [This part was changed and written by the translator according to Turkish culture and considerations] (1942, p. 72). This chapter, “The Place of Religion in Family Life”, was radically domesticated or rewritten by Doğrul. He translated one paragraph in the following way:

Target Text:

Bu yolda tecrübelerle girişen erkek ve kadınlar, eninde sonunda Allahın inayetine iltica ederek içlerinde başkalarına karşı daha geniş bir sevgi, hayat meseleleriyle karşılaşmak için daha büyük bir cesaret duymuşlar, iyiliğin kötülüğe mutlaka galebe çalacağına inanmışlardır. Peygamberlerin biri de Allahın varlığını ispat için fenni delailden bahsetmemiştir. Fakat Peygamber, yalnız tabiat alemine, ve bu alemin hadiselerine işaret etmiş ve asıl kendi yaşayışıyle, sözleriyle ve hareketleriyle Allahı tanıdığını, sevdiğini, Allaha güvendiğini, ilahi ve semavi bir kudretten kuvvet aldığı ispat etmiş, Allaha karşı sevgisinin, inancının ve güveninin verdiği neticelerle, telkin ettiği itikadın doğruluğunu aleme belirtmiştir. Peygamberin uzun asırlardan beri sarsılmayan ve hala da sarsılmasına imkan olmamak üzere telkin ettiği iman, erkek, kadın bütün bu imanı kabul eden insanların hayatı üzerinde müessir en büyük kuvvetti. Felsefe ve fen bu imanı sarsamadı. Bilakis, bu iman, her imtihanı muvaffakiyetle geçirdi. Ve bu imanı, irfanı bütün, bahtiyarlığı bütün olan insanlar yaşattı. Bu insanların hepsi de, ilahi bir kaynaktan gelen sevginin kalblerinde yaşaması sayesinde başkalarına güzel bir örnek oldular. Bunların içlerinde hüküm süren sevgi, aile yurdumuzda yaşarsa o zaman bahtiyarlığımız kemal bulur. (1942, p. 75)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Men and women experiencing [these] have felt a greater love for others and greater courage to face the struggles of life, believing that good should ultimately triumph over evil. One of the prophets also mentioned the scientific evidence to prove the existence of Allah. However, the Prophet only referred to the natural world and natural phenomena, and his life, teachings and works left no doubt that he knew, loved and trusted Allah and proved that his path was drawn from a divine and heavenly source. The faith he held and which has been accepted by all his followers over many centuries has been a great source of inspiration. Neither philosophy and science could overthrow this faith. On the contrary, this faith withstood all the tests. And this faith lived through the

adamım, Anatole France din aleyhine yazıyor. Ben sosyalizme düşmanım, O, sosyal adaleti savunuyor, halkın bu fikirleri öğrenmemesi için metni değiştirdim. - Buna ne hakkınız var? dedim. Ve işine son verdim. (Sertel, 1969, pp. 192-193)]

lives of people full of happiness and knowledge. They lived as good examples to others through the love in their hearts that come from a divine source. If love like theirs can be found in our homeland, our happiness will attain perfection.]

Source Text:

As a result of their spiritual experiences such men and women have felt a greater love for others, a stronger courage to face life, and a deeper conviction that good must ultimately triumph over evil. Jesus never troubled about arguments for God's existence and love: but His life, teachings and works left no doubt whatever in the minds of those who knew Him that He knew, loved, trusted, and drew strength from a divine and heavenly source. The faith which He held, and which has been accepted by all His disciples throughout the last two thousand years, is no "make-believe", as some like to call it. It just can't be, because it works in the lives of men and women. It has withstood all the tests of philosophy and science which have from time to time been applied to it. The lives of men like St. Francis of Assisi, William Carey, James Chalmers, Dr. Livingstone, and Dr. Schweitzer of our own day, and of women like Elizabeth Fry, Josephine Butler, Mary Slessor, and Sister Eva of Friedenshort, are living testimonies to the undying practical faith they held in God. Their love for humanity had its source in the divine hearth, and it flowed through their lives, like pure water through unsullied channels, out to those who were desperately in need. If love like theirs can be found in our homes, then the men and women who compose them must be united together in one happy fellowship. (1941, p. 131)

As can be seen in the above example, Dođrul adapted Sargent's interpretation of Christian sayings in the form of Muslim sayings. Dođrul did not opt for introducing a foreign religion; instead he wrote the chapter in an Islamic vocabulary in such a way that Turkish readers would read the translation without being interrupted. He produced a completely different chapter framed within the Islamic discourse. Dođrul certainly fulfilled his aim of providing the intended target reader with as few foreign elements as possible. Dođrul's strategies of simplification, explication and domestication help to create a smoother reading experience for Turkish readers. His strategies complied with the set objective as it was verbalized in his preface.

Transmission of the style of ST2

Doğrul changed the style of ST2 and generated a text that could be read easily. He translated ST2, making its style as easy and intelligible as possible by providing sub-sections, by dividing the long sentences and paragraphs and by adding explanatory sentences. I will look at these strategies and will consider other minor strategies, and sometimes contradictory strategies applied in TT2.

All of the chapters in the source text, which lacked any sub-division, were divided into many sections by Doğrul. He did not eliminate any topics entirely or add a completely new subject. But he made many minor changes which affected the style of the writer. Additionally, his strategy of changing the segmentation of the ST2 and the division of the sentences affect the reading process. For instance, the first chapter, entitled “Falling in Love”, was translated as “Sevginin Tarifi” [Definition of Love] and was divided into four further sections, which are “İki Çeşit Genç” [Two Types of Young People] , “İlk Sevgiler” [First Loves], “Eş Nasıl Seçilir” [How to Choose a Partner] and “İlk Bakışta Sevişmeler” [Love at First Sight]. This chapter is eight pages in ST2, and by dividing it into sections Doğrul produced four sections, each of two pages long. On one hand he generated new sections and changed the style of the writer, on the other hand he created the image that TT2 contains more topics than ST2. Doğrul applied the same strategy in the other chapters as well and in this way TT2 became a text that included many topics, somewhat like an encyclopedia. It can also be suggested that the division of the chapters into many sections constituted a reorganization of the source text which helped target readers to understand more easily.

Further structural manipulations are related to the length of the sentences and paragraphs. For instance:

Target Text:

Bu çeşit sevginin karakterini kısaca tetkik edelim: Bu sevgide hakim olan amil, cinsiyettir. Çünkü platonik denilen aşkın erkek kadın arasında yeri yoktur. (1942, p. 10)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Let's analyze the characteristics of this kind of love. The real factor is sex because there is no room for the existence of a platonic love between men and women.]

Source Text:

The character of this love must here be briefly examined. There can be no denying the fact that the dominant factor in it is sex, for what is popularly called platonic love between men and women simply does not exist. (1941, p. 17)

As can be seen, the sentences were shortened and the punctuation was changed. In this excerpt, a colon was added and through this minor addition it was suggested straightforwardly that the next sentence would include an explanation. Another example will also manifest Doğrul's main concern, which was to be clear and understandable.

Target Text:

Evlilik bize yaşamak sanatını öğreten bir mekteptir. Bu mektepte başarılacak vazife güçtür ve mühimdir. Bir kimsenin de bu vazifeler karşısında irkilmemesi için, bu mektebe tam bir ciddiyetle girmesi, ve bütün gayretiyle çalışarak bu mektepten istifade etmesi icap eder. (1942, p. 31)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Marriage is a school teaching us the art of living. The task to be achieved in this school is difficult and important. For one to be not scared of these tasks, one should work hard to benefit from this school.]

Source Text:

Marriage is a school in which we learn the art of living, and which must not be entered lightly or indiscreetly, because there are many hard tasks to learn. (1941, p. 50)

It seems that the divisions or additions did not change the meaning or the messages of the source text. I suggest that Doğrul divided sentences and paragraphs, combined sentences and paragraphs and added extra words, phrases and sentences wherever he thought it was necessary for the sake of better understanding. Two opposite strategies were used by the translator: long sentences and paragraphs were simplified and cut into shorter ones, while short sentences were combined into long sentences. Although the effect of these changes is hard to establish quantitatively, it would not be wrong to suggest that they shaped the reception of TT2, which is probably easier for Turkish readers to follow.

His strategies of reorganizing within the chapters by adding sections and changing the length of the sentences and paragraphs led to the simplification of the style of the source text as well. Using modal verbs of obligation was one of the stylistic characteristics of Sargent. Doğrul strengthened the didactic tone of the writer in his translation by adding “-meli, -malı” for the verbs which do not imply obligation. Let me give an example:

Target Text:

Her evli çift birbirinin şahsi düşüncelerine, hislerine ve görüşüne saygı göstermeli, beraber yaşamaya karar verdikleri andan başlayarak karakterlerindeki ayrılıkları tanımalı, ve birbirlerine karşı sevgilerinin bütün tazeliğini muhafaza ettiği sırada bu ihtilafları bertaraf etmeğe bakmalıdır. Yoksa bu ihtilafları sonraya bırakmak çok büyük bir yanlıştır. Bunları peşinden tanımak ve anlaşma çarelerini peşinden arayıp bulmak en doğru harekettir. (1942, p. 17)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

Every married person should respect the ideas, emotions and views of his/her spouse and from the very moment they decide to live together they should recognize the differences in their characters and try to reconcile the conflicts when their life for each other is still fresh. It is a big mistake to defer these conflicts. The best solution is to recognize them at the beginning and to search for ways to overcome them.]

Source Text:

Let every married couple respect the personal thoughts, feelings and outlook of each other, let them at the beginning of their joint career recognize these differences in character, and resolve their conflicts when their love for each other is fresh and in its full bloom. It has been done by

many, and it can be done by all who are eager to make their marriage a gloriously joyous thing. (1941, p. 29)

Here, the verb “let” is consistently rendered with the suffix “-meli” and “-malı” in Turkish, which denotes an imperative when used at the end of verbs. Moreover, the last sentence in the source text, which implies “to be able to do or make” was changed into “wrong” and “right” ways to behave. Doğrul created a more imperative and didactic voice in TT2 compared with that in ST2. I suggest that he strengthened the didactic tone of Sargent’s style, since one of the goals of the translator was to educate his female and male readers.

Use of medical terminology

It appears that Doğrul did not have a consistent strategy in translating the medical terms of sexuality. He found Ottoman equivalents for some of them, such as “hayız ve nifastan kesilmek” (p. 19) (for menopause, p. 33), “yumurtacıkların manevi hüvayna ile imtizacı” (p.40) (for fusion of the ovum and spermatozoon, p.68) and “mukaretinden çekinmek” (p.47) (for abstinence, p.83). He used Turkish equivalents for some terms, such as “soğukluk” (p.23) (for frigidity, p.39), “erkeğin kısırılığı” (p.40) (for sterility in man, p.69) and “çiftleşme” (p.40) (for copulation, p.68). There are some terms that were taken over by the translator and left untranslated, such as “extravert” (p.10) and “introvert” (ibid). They were written in italics in the TT2 and left untranslated. It seems that Doğrul did not have a consistent strategy for translating the medical terminology and he used Turkish equivalents when he found them, otherwise having recourse to Ottoman equivalents. When he could not find an equivalent he opted for borrowing the terms as they are. This can be seen as an

indication of the absence of Turkish vocabulary in the 1940s as far as the medical terminology on sexuality is concerned.

Translator's conception of women in marriage: an additional chapter in TT2

Doğrul added one chapter to the TT2 which does not exist in the source text. The eleventh chapter he added is entitled “Ameli Öğütler” [Practical Advice]. The title of the chapter denotes that the translator wrote this part especially to give advice to his readers. The existence of such a chapter indicated that Doğrul wanted a place for himself to convey his ideas on marriage.

He wrote in his chapter that there are some factors which can destroy marriage life, such as jealousy, lack of respect, negative criticism, lack of appreciation and sexual health. He gives several examples for each factor, and then at the end of the chapter he provides two lists of questions, one for women and one for men. He wanted his readers to answer the questions in order to see whether or not they are happy in their married lives. This chapter seems to be a condensed form or summary of the previous chapters, but still it has a different style as far as the overall TT2 is considered. The first difference is that the chapter is composed of examples given from famous foreign people and their married lives and the second difference is that the lists provided are directly addressed to readers, which does not comply with Doğrul's style in translating TT2 as discussed in previous sections.

An analysis of the examples reveals that women were chosen as the subject of examples in the case of jealousy while men were the subject of examples in the other cases. Here is an example:

One of the greatest men in the world, Lincoln was unhappy at home because of jealousy. The only thing his wife was doing was to whine and

to poison hier husband. [...]This woman was jealous to the point of madness and sometimes she really did not know what she was doing. At the end, the woman became mad and was put in an institution. This jealousy killed the love between the husband and wife. [...] From all that, we have arrived at a truth: that in the interests of familial happiness it is vital to avoid jealousy, which can lead to sorrow for the sake of nothing. (1942, p. 88)

[Dünyanın en büyük adamlarından Lincoln evi yüzünden bedbaht olmuştu. Karısının işi gücü sızlanmak ve kocasını zehirlemektir. [...] Bu kadın kıskançlığı çılgınlık derecelerine vardırıır, ve o zaman ne yaptığını bilmiyecek hale gelirdi. Nihayet bu kadın çıldırmış ve bir şifa yurduna götürülmüştü. Kadının bu kıskançlığı karı koca arasında sevgiyi söndürdü. [...] Bütün bunlardan öğrendiğimiz bir hakikat vardır: Kıskançlık gibi boş yere üzüntü veren her halden korunmak aile bahtiyarlığı namına bir zarurettir. (1942, p. 88)]

Jealousy is here characterized as a female weakness which can bring an end to happy marriages. However, in the second example, in which “negative criticism” is introduced as a factor that can destroy marriages, Doğrul gives a British politician as an example. Let’s see the example:

Gladston, who is considered as one of the greatest politicians in England, was a man of great power. He never abstained from criticizing any mistaken behaviours and challenging his political rivals in the public sphere. The only place he never criticized anything was in his home. [...] This most important man of Europe woke up very early before all the other members of his family and went downstairs for breakfast. When he saw that the breakfast was not ready, he did not say anything to anyone or scold anybody. [...] This man might well have behaved differently and shouted at his family “Why are you still sleeping?” “Haven’t you prepared the breakfast?” “How long will I have to wait” “What disrespectfulness, what audacity!” But he never said anything like that. [...] This is why he lived with his wife for fifty-nine years. (1942, pp. 89-90)

[İngiltere’nin en büyük siyaset adamlarından sayılan Gladston, umumi hayatta, tenkit edilmesi icab eden her şeyi tenkit eden, siyasi rakipleriyle mücadele etmekten çakinmeyen bir adamdı. Fakat onun tenkidi aklından geçirmediği bir yer, evi idi. [...] İngiltere’nin bu en mühim adamı, bazen bütün aile efradından evvel uyanır ve kahvaltı için aşağı inerdi. Kahvaltının hazır olmadığını görünce kimseye seslenmez ve kimseyi azarlamazdı. [...] Bu adam, bu şekilde hareket etmiyerek ailesine bağırabilir: “Hala uyanmadınız mı? Hala kahvaltıyı hazırlamadınız mı? Beni ne vakte kadar bekleteceksiniz? Bu ne saygısızlıktır, bu ne küstahlıktır!” diyebilirdi. Fakat ömründe bu sözleri söylemedi. [...] Onun için karısı ile tam ellidokuz yıl yaşamıştı. (1942, pp. 89-90)]

As can be seen clearly from this example, Gladston was given as a positive example, since he did not criticize his wife, although he had grounds to. Doğrul

depicted Gladston in such a way that if Gladston had criticized his wife he would have been right in doing that. The list of questions provided for female readers at the end of the additional chapter is like a summary of Doğrul's list of advice for women as ideal wives. Here is Doğrul's list:

1. Do you give your husband total freedom in his professional life? Are you interested in his professional life? Do you avoid intervening in the details of his job?
2. Do you make him happy by espousing his life and profession?
3. Do you plan some surprises to make your husband happy?
4. Do you help your husband in his professional life?
5. Do you manage to live with your husband's income and avoid at the same time comparing him with more well-off men?
6. Do you get on well with the parents and relatives of your husband?
7. Is your style of dress pleasing for your husband?
8. Do you compromise with your husband, despite some conflicting ideas?
9. Do you share your husband's spare time activities?
10. Are you interested enough in daily events, works and new ideas and do you concord with your husband's ideas and opinions?

(1942, pp. 95-96)

[1. Kocanıza iş hayatında tam hürriyet veriyor, iş hayatına alaka gösteriyor, iş hayatının teferruatına müdahaleden sakınıyor musunuz? 2. Kocanızın hayatını ve mesleğini benimseyerek onu hoşnut ediyor musunuz? 3. Kocanızı hoşnut edecek bir takım sürprizler yapıyor musunuz? 4. Kocanızın mesleğini kavriyerek ona meslek hayatında yardım ediyor musunuz? 5. Kocanızın kazancını iyi idare ediyor, onu kendisinden daha engin adamlarla mukayeseden çekiniyor musunuz? 6. Kocanızın anasile ve akrabasile iyi geçiniyor musunuz? 7. Kocanızın zevkini okşıyacak tarzda giyiniyor musunuz? 8. Kocanızla anlaşmak için bir takım düşünce farklarını feda ediyor musunuz? 9. Kocanızın boş vakitlerini geçirmek için oynadığı oyunları öğrenerek boş vakitlerinin zevkini paylaşıyor musunuz? 10. Günün haberleriyle, eserleriyle, yeni fikirleriyle alakadar olarak kocanızın fikir hayatına iştirak ediyor musunuz? (1942, pp. 95-96)]

The questions above frame the ideal image of woman in marriage who was also characterized in *Aşk Dersleri (...)* and in the women's magazines as discussed in Chapter 4. In this sense, Doğrul's approach to the roles of women in marriage complies with the image of women constructed in the magazines.

However, aside from the standard features of women as discussed in the public sphere, Doğrul writes in his additional chapter that one of the dangers that can destroy marriages is sexual discord between couples. He suggests that "Acquiring information about sexual intercourse, which is the most significant part of marriages,

strengthens the happiness and harmony of the family” [“Evlilik hayatının en mühim fiili olan cinsi mukarenet hakkında bilgi sahibi olmak, ailenin saadetini sağlamlar ve aile hayatının âhengini kuvvetlendirir”] (1942, p. 94). The significance of sexual harmony as an indispensable factor in marriage seems to be a notion which one scholar has seen as deriving from the liberal atmosphere in the west in the 1920s (Cott, 2005, p. 84).

Doğrul also translated the parts on women’s sexuality in TT2. For instance, in a section on the factors preventing pregnancy, Sargent warns female readers to read books on sexual health and to see doctors if necessary and he lists some illnesses that can prevent them from becoming pregnant (1941, pp. 67-68). Doğrul translated these parts and all similar parts literally in TT2 (1942, p. 40). In another chapter of the source text, Sargent questions the purpose of the sex act and he advances the view that “when women and men come together in marriage their primary purpose is not procreation only, but also the enriching of their personalities, which is only possible when they love each other physically as well as spiritually” (1941, p. 80). Doğrul translated all the parts following the source text as literally as possible. He translated the above quotation as “Cinsi münasebetin hedefi yalnız yavrulamak mıdır? Evlenen erkek ve kadının ilk hedefi yalnız çocuk sahibi olmak değildir. Birbirlerini maddeten ve manen sevmek dolayısıyla, karı kocanın şahsiyetlerini de zenginleştirmeleridir” (1942, p. 47).

From the examples above it can be perceived that the idea of sex in marriage for spiritual and enjoyable reasons rather than just for the sake of having children was one of the subjects translated and read in Turkey. As was discussed in the previous case study, this element of the discourse on marriage, which was a popular subject in 1920s Britain (Porter and Hall, 1995, pp. 208-211), seems to have been

discussed and read through translations in Turkey in the 1930s and the 1940s. And this argument was not unique to Britain. The same discourse gained popularity in America in the same period. Nancy Cott states that, as a result of the decrease in pregnancy at the beginning of the twentieth century, sex in marriage without reproduction gained a value and this broad interest led to many productions on sex such as films, advertisements, magazines and books (Cott, 2005, p. 83). The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed the spread of erotic literature in Turkey, as was noted in Chapter 4. It would not be wrong to suggest that the celebration of marital sex in its own right was a link between the developments in the west and the spreading eroticism in Turkey at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Conclusions on TT2

The analysis of TT2 comparatively with ST2 has shown that the translator applied omissions at the level of paragraphs. He omitted the parts he thought to be unnecessary and unsuitable for Turkish readers, such as the parts on the fear of incest or on the Christian pronouncements about marriage and divorce. As a result of these deletions, TT2 became a familiar text for the Turkish readers. He also changed the organization of ST2 and made every effort to make TT2 a more readable text by supplying many more sections and dividing the long sentences, which also changed the style of the writer. His strategy of changing the organization of ST2 provided an easy reading process for the readers.

The manipulations adopted by Doğrul transformed the target text into a more natural text, which created the illusion of an indigenous text for target readers. Doğrul's initial decision of rewriting a text that would be suitable for Turkish

cultural and national values was accomplished via domesticating the Christian teachings on marriage and adapting them according to the Islamic discourse in the ninth chapter of TT2. He completely changed the ninth chapter entitled “The Place of Religion in the Family Life” and wrote another chapter.

In addition, he added an extra chapter to his translation, in which he gave advice to married couples. In the additional chapter “Practical Advice”, he summarized all the previous topics and provided two lists of questions for women and men to make them realize the important factors for happy marriages. This addition transformed the TT2 into a form of marriage manual and, by using examples to introduce advice, Doğrul on the one hand distanced himself from his source; while on the other hand, by characterizing the role of women and men in marriage life, he inserted the local expectations on marriage and social life. To recap, it can be suggested that the translator behaved like the writer of the text and he interfered not only in the structure and style but also the topics discussed whenever he deemed it necessary.

The final point is that Doğrul translated most of the parts on sexuality. He resorted to deletions only when the writer gave religious information on sexual matters. Doğrul also warned the target readers about the importance of sexuality in marriage in the chapter he added to TT2. Sexuality as a significant component of marriage and the idea that sex in marriage had spiritual and recreational benefits that strengthened the harmony between spouses was repeated by him in the chapter he wrote. Therefore, it appears that the translator Doğrul not only imported a foreign text on sexuality but also imported the western approach and ideas on sexuality as well as opening up a discussion on sexuality in Turkey.

Aşk Sanatı
[The Art of Lovemaking]

Muzaffer Aşkın, the male translator of this text, translated three other non-literary texts on women's sexuality between 1950 and 1953, which belonged to the same series and were published by the same publishing house, Seksoloji.¹⁴⁹ He was also the editor of the Sexology publishing house¹⁵⁰ and translated many other non-literary texts, especially biographies.¹⁵¹ The sexology series launched by the publishing company Seksoloji was composed of six books published between 1950 and 1951. There is a standard format for all books in the series; they are all between 60 and 100 pages long and are small books in the form of a booklet.¹⁵²

Rudolph von Urban, the writer of the source text, was a psychiatrist and psychologist, who emigrated from Germany to America. He published many academic works on marital problems and sexual life in marriage, but his most famous book is *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness*, which will be analyzed in this section.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁹ Exner, Dr. Max J. (1950) *Mükemmel İzdivacın Şartları*. [The Sexual Side of Marriage] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Seksoloji Yayınları: 1., Clark, Le Mon. (1950) *İşte Evlendiniz*. [Emotional Adjustment in Marriage] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Seksoloji Yayınları: 2., Hoppeler, Dr. Jean (1951) *Evlenmeden Önce*. [Before Getting Married] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Seksoloji Yayınları: 4.

¹⁵⁰ The Seksoloji publishing house was owned by Nihat Karaveli, who was the owner of the journal *Seksoloji* (1949) and later one of the owners of the newspaper *Vatan* (1957), finally becoming the owner of the newspaper *Tercüman* (1960). See Pulur, Hasan (1999) "Bir Babıalî Hikayesi" in "<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/1999/07/16/t/yazar/pulur.html>"

¹⁵¹ Some of them are Grew, Joseph (1966) *Atatürk ve İnönü (Amerika'nın İlk Büyükelçisi John Grew'in Hatıraları)* [Atatürk and İnönü (Memoirs of the first American Ambassador in Turkey)] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Kitapçılık Ticaret Ltd. Şti. Yayınları, Akşam Kitap Kulübü Serisi: 25 and Marchenko, Anatoly (1972) *Yaşamak ve Ölmek Arasında*. [To Live Like Eveyone] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Kervan Yayınları, Kültür Serisi: 1.

¹⁵² The company published another series on sexology in 1952 called "Yeni Seri" [New Series], under which I found ten books.

¹⁵³ The source writer Dr. Urban received his medical degree from the University of Vienna in 1904. In his text *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness*, which is a collection of case studies, Urban uses his experiences as a doctor and puts forward his theory of sexual energy. For instance, he claims that there is a bio-energetic potential difference between sexually-charged males and females which requires about half an hour to be exchanged and reach equilibrium.

Peritextual features

A brief glance at the titles of the translation and the source text shows that they differ from each other. The title of the source text is *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness* (1949)¹⁵⁴ and the title of the translated text is *Aşk Sanatı* (1950).¹⁵⁵ It appears that the translated title was changed from “sex” into “love” and from “perfection” into “art”. There is also an expansion in the translated title, since *Aşk Sanatı* can refer to both love and sex, while also encompassing bachelorhood and marriage, whereas the source title directly implies that the text is about married women and men.

The front cover of TT3 includes the title of ST3 and the name of the writer, with his title given as “Prof. Dr. Rudolf von Urban” just under it, after which comes the name of the publisher. Dr. Rudolph von Urban, as was printed on the cover of the source text, was introduced as a professor on the translated cover page, which foregrounds the academic credentials of the writer.

The back cover of TT3 presents the content of the book in a classification of ten points and there is the logo of the publishing house, in which a naked woman and man are depicted walking hand in hand (see Appendix M). It can be assumed that the Seksoloji publishing company designed a new logo for this special series on sexuality. The back cover of ST3 reproduces three commentaries published in three different journals: *Psychiatric Quarterly*, *San Francisco Chronicle* and *Pastoral Psychology*, in which the book was praised due to its “realistic approach to sex life” in marriages (Urban, 1949). It appears that the ST3 was introduced as an approved text which included scholarly elements and was written by a scholar of psychology.

¹⁵⁴ The text was retranslated many times after Aşkın’s translation in 1950. See *Cinsi Başarının Esasları*. [The Fundamentals of Sexual Success] (1963) Trans. Recep Doksat. İstanbul: Okat; *Cinsi Başarının Sırları* [Secrets of Sexual Success] (1976) Trans. Vecdi Bürün. İstanbul: Okat;

¹⁵⁵ The translation will be referred to as TT3 and the source will be referred to ST3 during the analysis.

However, TT3 was presented as a text that included a how-to-do list for women and men related to their love life, and which was written by a foreign scholar whose research area was unknown.

A portrait of Venus was added to the title page of TT3, which was accompanied by the translated title and the name of the series. Readers were informed that the portrait was called “Venüs and Aşk” [Venus and Cupid] by Tizian and was exhibited in the Louvre museum. Venus is the Roman goddess of love and beauty. The addition of the selected portrait seems to have been the decision of the publishing house, but considering that the Aşkın was also the editor of the publishing house, this decision could well have been made by the translator.¹⁵⁶

The name of the translator appears first on the second title page under the name of the writer and he is labeled as the “translator”. The dedication and the foreword written by Urban are omitted in the translation. Urban dedicated ST3 to Henry G. Jorgensen, the Judge of the Superior Court of Monterey County, California, with whom he worked as psychological advisor. The foreword consisted of the reasons behind Urban’s decision to write this book, which also give information about his research fields. With the omission of the dedication and the foreword, the scope of the text and the aim of the writer were lost in TT3. In the foreword, Urban had explained his reasons for writing ST3 in the following words:

First [...] to produce a satisfactory sex life for ordinary men and women and to convince my readers that the sex impulse of children and adolescents needs correct guidance to help them avoid the dead ends frivolity and neurosis. [...] To work toward a practical solution of this important problem, by indicating the progressive steps necessary to a

¹⁵⁶ Some of the other translations of the same series also include various portraits on their title pages, such as the portrait “Les Trois Grâces” by Rafäel exhibited in the Vatican museum which was added to the translation of Kisch, Prof. Dr. Heinrich (1951) *Kadın ve Evlilik Hayatı* I. Trans: Şevket Dilmaç-Ayet Altuğ. Istanbul: Seksoloji Yayınları. It cannot be claimed, however, that this was a general strategy of the publishing house, since it does not show a consistent pattern. The reason might be a kind of sales strategy to attract the Turkish readers’ attention.

sound sex education, and so to lift the sex problem from its present degraded state, is a further aim of this book.

TT3 lacked the contents page as well. A summary of the contents is given in a contents list which is different from the classification of the chapters in the source text and which appears on the back cover of TT3. It contains some points such as when to get married, how long the engagement period should last, how many children we ought to have, and how a woman should behave to make her husband happy. Yet it does not follow the segmentation of ST3.

A comparative look at matricial features

TT3 is ninety pages long, but ST3 is 233 pages in length. This indicates that Aşkın's text is considerably shorter than Urban's text, which shows that Aşkın carried out considerable omissions in TT3. The translation is composed of three main chapters, whereas the source text is composed of ten chapters, indicating the total deletion of some chapters by the translator. Here is the chart of the contents of the TT3 and ST3:

Target Text:

Aşk Sanatı (TT3)

Giriş: Cinsi Münasebetin Beş Kaidesi
Kaideler

1.Hazırlanış; 2.Müddet; 3.Dikkatin teksifi; 4.Gevşeme; 5.Tekerrür nisbeti

Kaidelerin Tatbiki

Gurup A: Tedavi edilemiyen vakalar: Vaka I, Vaka II, Vaka III

Gurup B: İyi netice veren misaller: Vaka IV, Vaka V, Vaka VI

Gurup C: Fevkalade netice veren istisnai vakalar: Vaka VII, Vaka VIII, Vaka IX

[Target Text in Back-translation:

The Art of Lovemaking (TT3)

Introduction: Five Rules of Sexual Intercourse

Rules

1. Preparation 2. Duration 3. Concentration 4. Relaxation 5. Frequency

The Practice of Rules

Group A: Cases that cannot be treated: Case I, Case II and Case III

Group B: Cases that are treated well: Case IV, Case V, Case VI

Group C: Exceptional cases with very good results: Case VII, Case VIII, Case IX]

Source Text:

Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness (ST3)

Foreword

I. Introduction

II. Sex Development of Children

III. Talking to Children about Sex

IV. The Problem of Masturbation

V. The Six Rules of Sexual Intercourse

VI. The Application of the Rules (Case histories)

VII. Birth Control

VIII. Impotence and Frigidity

IX. Love Choice (Its principles and pitfalls)

X. Resumé: Advice, Questions and Answers

Glossary of Terms

It can be clearly seen from the above charts that TT3 was the translation of two chapters of ST3, the fifth and the sixth chapters, and that the six rules of intercourse in ST3 were reduced to five rules by Aşkın in the TT3.

The contents page above shows that the fifth and the sixth chapters of ST3, which are ninety-three pages long, makes up the totality of TT3. The source text also has a glossary which includes medical terminology about the fertility organs and sexuality, such as clitoris, coitus, hymen or ovulation. The glossary was deleted by the translator, resulting in the neglect of medical terminology as well.

Translator's strategies

The vast omissions at the level of chapters in TT3 naturally reduced and removed many features of ST3. I will first analyze the omissions, which happened at two levels, namely omitted chapters and omitted paragraphs in the translated chapters. Then I will go on with the other strategies of the translator, such as additions, the transmission of the style of ST3, the treatment of medical terminology in TT3 and

the roles attributed to women in sex life that were illustrated in case examples and the added illustrations.

Omissions

The most significant manipulation Aşkın carried out in TT3 was to omit most of the chapters of ST3. The consequence of this was not only the change of the structure of the text but also the narrowing of the scope of TT3. Urban's text was divided into ten chapters which were related to each other, beginning with sexual education in childhood and then youngsters, later moving on to sexual problems, followed by birth control and ending with the physical and psychological reasons for impotence and frigidity. This sequence in Urban's text provided the possibility of tracing the role of sexuality in the lives of women and men from childhood to maturity. Aşkın deleted the period of childhood and the period after marriage and generated a text on the rules of sexual intercourse. This strategy led Aşkın to rewrite the target text with a special focus on sex life in marriage.

To exemplify the chapters Aşkın left out, some paragraphs will be taken from the beginning of the chapters in order to show the organization of the ST and the parts deleted by the translator. A paragraph from ST on the sex development of children reads as follows:

Why was the world so deeply shocked and so fiercely indignant when Sigmund Freud announced that sex activity begins in infancy, and that sex frustration produces more of the world's adult neuroses than any other single cause? [...] Sexual activity begins in the infant, and at first, is not restricted to the genitals. As the child develops he passes through stages and practices which are perfectly natural and normal to his immature years, but which, if not outgrown later on, are called –very often erroneously – perversions. (1949, p. 24)

Another paragraph on the masturbation of children and young girls and boys in the fourth chapter was omitted completely by Aşkın.

Masturbation cannot be regarded as a perversion. According to the estimates made by investigators in this field, masturbation is practiced by 90 percent of children all over the world; it is also practiced, more or less occasionally, by about 70 percent of adults –a group which includes both married couples and elderly persons. Most of the remaining 10 percent of the children who never masturbated turn out to be neurotics, perverts or sufferers from impotence or frigidity. (1949, p. 66)

It can be seen from the selected paragraphs above that the four chapters which included information about sexual life focused mainly on children and young adults. These were omitted entirely by the translator. Aşkın applied the same strategy with respect to the last four chapters of ST3. For example, in the seventh chapter of ST3, Urban presented pregnancy tests to his readers with these words: “A new pregnancy test, said to be the easiest yet discovered, and 100 percent accurate in its first 250 cases, is described in the September, 1948, *American Journal of Surgery*. This test is made by injecting a female hormone, estrone, three times in five days” (1949, p. 183). In the eighth chapter, Urban explained the causes of impotence and frigidity. Aşkın’s strategy of omitting eight chapters of ST3 transformed the translation into a text on the case histories of nine married couples, in which their problems in sex life were described and solutions were given.

Aşkın opted for omissions at the level of sentences, paragraphs and pages in the translated two chapters as well. The translation begins with an introduction, which was in fact taken from the fifth chapter of ST3. Again, Aşkın created a completely different structure and organization in the translated chapters when compared with the structure of the source text. Firstly, all references to foreign scholars in the source text, such as to Krafft-Ebbing, Havelock Ellis and Van de Velde (1949, p. 79), are deleted by the translator, as are references to other books

such as *Allgemeine Psychologie* and *Science News Letter* (1949, p. 110). Aşkın's decision to omit references seems to have been due to their being irrelevant to the newly defined aim of the target text. Therefore it can be suggested that Aşkın did not only omit chapters but also changed the location and segmentation of the paragraphs of ST3 and, using the information given by the author about sexual intercourse, he produced a new text in the target language.

The four events defined in the source text, in which Urban explained the bio-electrical energy that emerges in female and male bodies in sex union (1949, pp. 80-88), were completely restructured by Aşkın. These four events read as follows:

1. The remarkable experiences of an Oriental couple.
2. The study of sex practices and taboos of certain native tribes in different parts of the world.
3. Information furnished by some followers of Karezza.
4. Observation of a neurotic patient. (1949, p. 80)

The findings from the above cases were shown in representative examples given for each event by the author. Not only the four events above, but also all the examples related to these events, were deleted by the translator. Aşkın, however, summarized the findings of these events and reclassified them. Here is an example of two findings:

Target Text:

1. Bu hayati elektrik akımları, iki vücuttaki bu enerji yayılmaları (isterseniz buna başka bir ad da verebilirsiniz), birbirini ifna edebilmek için en az yirmi yedi dakika süren bir cinsi birleşmeye ihtiyaç göstermektedirler.
2. Eğer cinsi münasebet tam tatmin edici olursa, 5 gün geçene kadar yeniden münasebette bulunma arzusu hissedilmez. (1950, pp. 8-9)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

1. These vital electric flows, the spread of energy in the two bodies (you may also give it another name if you so wish), need an intercourse lasting at least twenty seven minutes to be lessened
2. If the intercourse is satisfying, there will not be sexual arousal for five days]

Source Text:

Intercourse for periods of less than twenty-seven minutes increased the distance at which sparks would jump from to more than one inch, indicating that the tension in their [the Arabian couple in question] bodies became stronger with each intercourse of brief duration. They [the Arabian couple] found that a sex union of half an hour's duration induced deep satisfaction in both for five days; one lasting an hour satisfied them for one week; an intercourse lasting two hours brought contentment for two weeks. (1949, pp. 83-84)

Aşkın preferred to generalize the findings of the events by omitting the cases and by deleting the plural pronoun “they” in ST3. Actually it seems that what Aşkın opted for was to present the findings of a specific couple and generalize the results to supply a general rule for sexual intercourse. Urban, in fact, stated in ST3 that “the findings were applicable to this specific couple only, or to other couples only under special circumstances” (1949, p. 84). It appears that, having utilized Urban’s cases, Aşkın incorporated his own ideas into TT3.

Aşkın’s strategy of translating the text for his own purpose - which was to produce rules for married couples - can be observed in the other parts of his translation. In the second chapter of TT3, where stages of sexual intercourse are defined, Aşkın pinpoints five stages (hazırlanış, müddet, dikkatin teksifi, gevşeme and tekerrür nispeti) instead of the six stages in the source text (preparation, position, duration, concentration, relaxation and frequency). The second stage “position” is deleted by Aşkın. This stage explained several positions that could help couples to have a better sex life. I cannot understand the reason for Aşkın’s deletion, since it is within the framework of his educative aim to give information on sexual intercourse. But I suggest that Aşkın may have abridged some parts of the source text to make his text as short as possible due to the page restrictions of the series to which it belonged.

Transmission of the style of ST3

The style of the author was also shifted in the TT3 due to the omissions. Urban had employed a second person plural when he wrote the case histories, including the children's, young adults' or the couples' letters or memories, or wherever he wanted to give advice. He employed an academic style wherever he reported his findings in ST3. But since Aşkın deleted most of the reports in ST3, the style in the overall translation was turned into a friendly tone, through which the readers were addressed directly. Here is an example from a report in ST3:

William Reich, opposed by many scientists, performed experiments in Oslo with an electro-magnetic oscillograph, measuring the actual changes in the bio-electrical charge on the surface of the various skin areas. Certain of his findings can be stated as axioms in support of the theory and prescription advanced in this book. [...] Sexual excitement thus is identical with bio-electrical charge of the periphery of the organism. Freud's concept of the libido, as a measure of psychic energy, is no longer a mere simile. It covers actual, bio-electrical processes. (1949, p. 125)

The academic style of Urban can clearly be seen in the above excerpt, and since these kinds of argument were included especially in the first four chapters of ST3, which were completely omitted by Aşkın, the academic discourse of ST3 was lost in TT3. Here is an example from a case in TT3 and ST3:

Target Text:

Barbara'nın kocası olan bu zat, muayenehaneme geldiği zaman, karısının soğuk halini nasıl değiştirmek icab ettiğini sordu. Ona, kendisinin bu hususta hiç bir suçu olmadığını belirtmeye bilhassa dikkat ettim. Dedim ki, birçok kadın gibi, sizing karınız da cinsi arzularını harekete geçirmek için, önceden uzun ve dikkatli bir şekilde bu işe hazırlanmaya ihtiyaç gösteriyor.

“Peki karımın cinsi münasebetten kaçınması neden?” (p.26)

[Target Text in Back-translation:

When he came to my office, that man, the husband of Barbara, asked how to change his wife's frigid attitude. I especially tried to persuade

him that he was not to blame at all. I said that his wife, just like many women, needs a long and careful preparation to be sexually aroused. “Why does she avoid sexual intercourse?” he asked.]

Source Text:

When George T. came to the office I found him eager to hear what could be done to change his wife, and I took care that he should not feel that any blame could be put on him. I explained to him that his wife was one of a well known type of woman who needs a long and careful preparation before she can be sexually aroused. “Why should she be resentful?” he asked. (p.131)

Since TT3 is about such cases from the beginning to the end, the style of the target text remains informal and is full of reported dialogues. If the translated parts are compared with the corresponding source parts, there appear to be no stylistic shifts, but if the omitted chapters of ST3 are taken into consideration, it can be said that the style of the translator and the author are different from each other.

Use of medical terminology

The medical terminology related to sexual organs and intercourse was treated in a slightly different way by the translator. Aşkın left some medical terms untranslated or he borrowed some of them directly from English, such as “vagina” (p.11), “sphincter” (p.14) and “orgasm” (p.99). He translated some of them by finding Ottoman equivalents, such as “cinsi münasebet” (p.12) (for coitus), “meni” (ibid.) (for sperm), “erken inzal” (p.13.) (for ejaculation) or “istimna” (p.13) (for masturbation). This translation was published in 1950, actually just after the efforts of intense language planning activities in Turkey.¹⁵⁷ But it appears that a Turkish medical terminology for the terms related to sexuality had still not emerged in the 1950s. Aşkın did not follow a consistent strategy in translating the medical terminology as is evident, from the examples above. However, although he deleted

¹⁵⁷ See Tahir Gürçağlar (2001) for the discussions on language planning in Turkey after 1928.

the glossary of medical terms, Aşkın tried to supply the medical terms in the translated chapters and he added diagrams showing the female and male sex organs, probably to compensate for the deletion of the glossary. The diagrams illustrated the vagina and penis in detail, including the names of the parts of the vagina and the penis (see Appendix M).

Translator's conception of women in sex life: an addition of diagrams and illustrations

As mentioned above, Aşkın supplied diagrams of female and male sexual organs in TT3, which did not exist in the source text (See Appendix M). He added three diagrams, two of which showed the inside and outside of the vagina and one of which illustrated the penis and its functions. It would seem that the drawings were added to compensate for the descriptions of the function of sexual organs in ST3 and the glossary of medical terminology given at the end of ST3. Let me give an example from ST3, which depicts female orgasm:

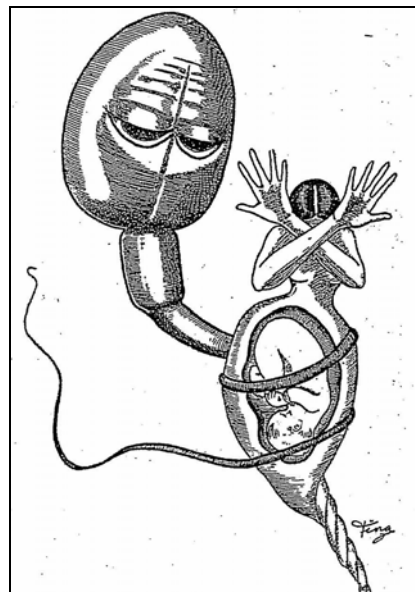
A woman can have either one of two kinds of orgasm – a clitoral orgasm or a vaginal orgasm. The clitoral orgasm is all that is known by most immature women, even during vaginal intercourse. They can only be satisfied with it. However, if a woman will abandon that half satisfaction, she can eventually learn the deep, mature satisfaction coming from the orgasm brought about by stimulation of the vagina and the tip of the uterus. (1949, p. 99)

In the very location where this paragraph appeared in the ST, Aşkın inserted a drawing that showed the inside of the female vagina. Aşkın also gave the names of the parts of the vagina around the diagram, showing the positions of the parts with arrows, such as “klitoris, idrar yolu, guddeler and rahim boynu” [the clitoris, the ureter, the glans and the cervix/neck of the uterus] (1950, p. 12). Having supplied such information in diagrams, Aşkın seems to have opted for a shorter text. This

seems to conform to the translator's strategy of fitting the translation to the format of the series to which it belonged.

There were other visual additions as well. Aşkın added eight drawings in the third chapter of TT3, which did not exist in ST3. The third chapter was about nine cases which depicted the married lives of nine different couples. Through these nine cases, various problems of married couples were discussed and solutions for their problems were presented. Aşkın translated this part of the source text almost literally, yet he added drawings which depicted the problems of the couples in question. These drawings were all related to the problems of the couples, most of which revolved around women.

The first couple, for example, is Fred and Ann, who have been married for a year. Ann's love for Fred lessens day by day and they decide to consult a doctor. Urban tried to understand first the reason for Ann's repulsion for her husband. After having listened to Ann in private sessions, Urban came to a conclusion that "Ann did not want to get pregnant as long as her marriage was not secure" (1949, p. 129), and that is why her husband's sexual demands, irritated her. Aşkın added a drawing just in the pages where Ann's problem was raised.



The above drawing entitled “Fear of Pregnancy” [“Gebelik Korkusu”] was added by the translator. He also inserted an explanation under the drawing, which reads as follows: “In the painting above, a woman scared of the male seed, fearful that she will be left pregnant, is depicted” [“Yukarıdaki resimde kendisini gebe bırakacağı korkusuyla erkek tohum hücrelerinden ürken bir kadın tasvir edilmektedir”] (1950, p. 23).

Another example was from another couple, Barbara and George. Barbara is a 28-year-old married woman and she wants to divorce. Barbara has been married for five years and she has not had sexual intercourse for two years. Urban understood from his examinations that her frigidity depended on her husband’s ruthless behaviours at home and in sexual intercourse. Aşkın added another drawing in the pages depicting this case (see Appendix M). This time the drawing was entitled “Frigidity” [“Cinsi Soğukluk”] and the definition under the drawing reads as follows: “The picture above depicts a woman who does not want the man to approach her. The famous American painter Tina expresses the emotional and sensual frigidity of woman through ice covering her” [“Yukarıdaki resimde, erkeğin kendisine yaklaşmasını istemeyen bir kadın tasvir edilmektedir. Meşhur Amerikan ressamı Tina, kadının bu hissi ve cinsi soğukluğunu, etrafını kaplayan buzlarla ifade etmektedir”] (1950, p. 27).¹⁵⁸

Aşkın added a different drawing for each case study.¹⁵⁹ It should be noted that drawings and pictures were used abundantly in each translated text of the same series such as *Kadın ve Evlilik Hayatı, Evlenmeden Önce* (1950) and *Mükemmel İzdivacın*

¹⁵⁸ I could not find any information about an American painter called Tina, who seems to be the painter of these drawings, as is stated in TT3.

¹⁵⁹ See Appendix M for more drawings which were added to TT3.

Şartları (1950).¹⁶⁰ It seems that this strategy transformed the translated text not only into a more interesting and colorful text but also depicted women in a depressive state in marriage. In all drawings, the sexual fears of women are exposed and the results of their fears are shown. The strategy of the translator to add diagrams and drawings in TT3 seems to have strengthened the identity of the TT3 as an informative text for women readers. ST3, on the other hand, was written as an educative textbook for adults, in order to help them to deal with the sexual problems of their children. However, I would suggest that Aşkın's text is significant in that it introduced new topics of debate on sexuality to the Turkish culture repertoire in the 1950s. Differently from TT2, this text focused on the sexual problems of women. Aşkın's deliberate manipulations in TT3 lead me to the conclusion that he wanted to bring the sexual problems of women to the public sphere.

Conclusions on TT3

Aşkın's extensive omissions of chapters from ST3 and his manipulations in the structure of the source text by concentrating on sex in marriage suggest that his intention was to create a text addressing female and male readers who wanted to get informed about sexuality. Moreover, the omissions of scholarly reports and references indicated that Aşkın avoided delving into issues that had academic implications, which could probably mitigate the casual style of the translation. The determined format adopted by Sexology publishing company seems to have affected some of Aşkın's decisions as well. Tahir Gürçağlar argued that "in certain cases

¹⁶⁰ Kisch, Heinrich (1951) *Kadın ve Evlilik Hayatı I ve II*. [Woman and Marital Life I and II] Trans. Şevket Dilmaç ve Ayet Altuğ; Exner, Max (1950) *Mükemmel İzdivacın Şartları*. [Rules for a Perfect Marriage] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın; Hoppeler, Jean (1951) *Evlenmeden Önce*. [Before Getting Married] Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın.

paratextual elements, such as the series format, may be established before the texts themselves, and guide not only their reception but also their translation/writing” (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 340). The same can be applied to Aşkın’s translation as well. Some of Aşkın’s translational strategies seem to have arisen from the marketing strategies employed by the publisher.

The drawings depicting the cases of married couples which were added by the translator reinforce the way he disregarded the scholarly aspects of the source text and strengthened the female focus of TT3. Aşkın did not only change the scope of the source text but also established a different kind of readership than that aimed at by Urban. Aşkın’s translation demonstrated that he took liberties in translating the source text and created another text in the target culture. He disregarded Urban’s structure and style and formed another text in a format that was directed to a different readership compared to the source readers. In other words, Aşkın isolated the source text from its original context of reception and behaved like the writer of the book. Moreover, Aşkın introduced in his translation a topic of debate, which was the sexual fears of women. It seems that he made deliberate manipulations to generate a text on women’s sexual fears. It would not be wrong to suggest that translation supplied a more liberal space in which Aşkın could discuss women’s sexuality.

Conclusions

All translators analyzed in this chapter produced their texts in an easily readable format, full of advice coming one after another, and with omissions, additions and manipulations to the structure and style of the writers. The works analyzed in this chapter offered different forms of translation practice, which are quite different from

what we understand as “translation proper” today. Esmâ Z. and Aşkın restructured their texts by taking bits from various chapters and deleting most of the chapters of the source texts, whereas Doğrul simplified the source text’s structure and style by either dividing the long sentences or combining the short sentences and providing extra sections in the chapters. The authoritative role of translators was exemplified by Tahir-Gürçağlar in her study on translated popular literature between 1923 and 1960. She suggests that the writer-translators of the popular literature of the period did not pay attention to “the unitary structure of their source texts and they freely manipulated the integrity and fullness of the source texts”, which did not conform to the poetics of the translated canonized literature published by the Translation Bureau (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 473). As far as the translated non-literary texts for and on women are concerned, authorial originality was violated even more extensively than in the case of translated popular literature. In this sense, the findings of this case study are complementary to Tahir-Gürçağlar’s findings, in the way that private publishing companies and the translators had their own poetological motivations and constraints in the case of non-literary text production on women’s sexuality. Translators manipulated the integrity of the source texts in such a way that they chose a different aim and a different readership compared with the ST writers.

Esmâ Z. erased the philosophical dialogues, sexual implications, womanly desires and illicit relationships in her translation and rewrote the text in the form of a marriage manual with the only aim of giving advice to them to marry and to preserve their marriages. Doğrul domesticated or omitted the Christian teachings on marriage, and also censored some parts which he thought disturbing for Turkish readers, simply by omitting them. Aşkın erased the parts which provided the possibility of

tracing the role of sexuality in a human's life starting from childhood. He created a completely different text with a focus on sexual life in marriage.

The approved image of woman which was drawn within the project of modernization was fostered by Esmâ Z.'s and Dođrul's translations. The image of women as silent, obedient, tender and modest housewives depicted in the first two cases complied with the ideal woman which was depicted in the women's magazines in the period under question. However, different from characteristics of the ideal woman which were discussed in many translated and indigenous articles in the women's magazines, sexual attraction and femininity were added to the above list in the translated texts. The importance of sexuality as a vital component of love and marriage came on the scene in the case studies.

Finally, on the basis of the descriptive analysis of the works of Esmâ Z., Dođrul and Aşkın, it can be suggested that these translators provided new options for Turkish readers in their translations. Firstly, they appear to have reformulated a genre of advice-books on women's sexuality. Translations gained an educative function in this case. The peritextual designs of the translations and the image of sexually attractive woman presented in them show us that translators tried to inform target readers about sexuality.

CHAPTER 6

CASE STUDY II: PSEUDOTRANSLATION OR INDIGENOUS WRITING?

The previous chapter focused on the comparative analysis of three assumed translations on women's sexuality and their sources, translations which were published between 1931 and 1950 in Turkey. As was noted in Chapter 5, with regards to popular text production for/on women's sexuality, the period between 1930s and 1960s was marked by "pseudotranslations" (Toury, 1995, p. 40) and by numerous compiled translations without references to any source, or with references to many sources. Thus the choice of pseudotranslations for analysis in this case study is based on their being one of the forms of translation/writing practices between the 1930s and the 1960s. In addition, two indigenous texts will also be analyzed in this chapter in order to compare the indigenous production with the local production presented as translations. The aim of this chapter is, then, first to problematize different pseudotranslating and writing practices and thereafter to display the pseudotranslators' and writers' conceptions of women in marriage, society and sex life in the given period. The ordering of the five texts will be chronological, covering the period between 1936 and 1956.

The reason for my selection of the pseudotranslations below lies first in the fact that they are among the ones which I could determine as being pseudotranslations and, secondly, in the fact that they are among the ones I could find in the Ankara National Library or İzmir National Library. The selected three pseudotranslations are:

Markun, Leo (1939) *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Young Girl Know?] Trans. B. Deniz. Istanbul: Tanevi. (Cep Kitapları Serisi. 44) [Pocket Book Series.44]

Mc Mauldin, Fred (1956) *Her Nişanlı Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir? Yarın Evleneceksin.* [What Should Every Engaged Girl Know? You Will Be Married Soon] Trans. Selim Yetkili. Istanbul: Hadise Yayınevi. (İnsan Hayatı Serisi. 5) [Human Life Series.5]

Bisch, Louis E. (1956) *Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler?* [Why Do Women Cheat on Men?] Trans. Selim Yetkili. Istanbul: Hadise Yayınevi. (İnsan Hayatı Serisi. 7) [Human Life Series.7]

The two indigenous texts which will be analyzed in the second section of this chapter are:

Korok, Daniş Remzi (1936) *Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar.* [Secret Conversations with Girls] Istanbul: Sebat Basımevi.

Bilge, Cevat (1947) *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli?* [What Should Every Young Girl Know?] Istanbul: Güven Basımevi. (Cinsiyet ve Hayat Terbiyesi.1) [Education of Sex and Life Series.1]

Most of the popular texts translated and written for and on women were how-to-do-it guides or manuals, in which advice for women was frequently given with respect to their behavioral and sexual attitudes in married life. They gave instructions to women on how to give sexual education to their daughters, how to know what to do in the engagement period, how to prepare themselves for marriage, how to live as a wife and as a widow, how to give birth, what to pay attention to in order to preserve marriages, and so on. Women were described in various forms in these texts: as faithful or unfaithful, wanton or chaste, sensuous or cold. Love was generally idealized in these texts and the problems, joys and agonies of love outside marriage were one of the central topics of these manuals. Most of those emphasized qualities of loyalty, morality, devotion and constancy.

The reason for producing a pseudotranslation may vary in cultures. Toury determines four cases which may give rise to the production of pseudotranslations in a culture. Firstly, the production of pseudotranslation “constitute[s] a convenient way of introducing novelties into a culture” (Toury, 1995, p. 41) and so it opens ways “to a writer to do so without arousing too much antagonism in [that] culture” (ibid.). The second case determined by Toury is that sometimes a particular author seeks a change and “would not like his new endeavors to be associated with what his name already stand for” (Toury, 1995, p. 42). This case is much more an individual one and is related to the individual activities of the writer.¹⁶¹ Thirdly, Toury states that the decision to produce pseudotranslation always “suggest[s] an implied act of subordination to a culture and language which are considered prestigious, important or dominant in any other way” (ibid.). Writing a pseudotranslation then is an attempt by pseudotranslators to gain prestige, importance or superiority. The fourth factor Toury suggests is connected with censorship. He claims that the reason to produce a pseudotranslation could be an author’s fear of censorship in that culture (ibid.). I will question the reasons underlying the production of pseudotranslated popular texts on women’s sexuality in this chapter.

This chapter will first explain the conceptual tools of analysis which will be used in the following five studies. Then it will proceed with the peritextual, contextual and textual analysis of the texts in order to problematize the local text production on women’s sexuality and then the roles attributed to women in the three pseudotranslations and two indigenous texts.

¹⁶¹ See Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001, pp. 442-454) for a detailed analysis of Kemal Tahir’s pseudotranslations as an example of this case.

Tools of analysis

The notion of “pseudotranslation”, which implies that there is no corresponding source text (Toury, 1995, p. 40), will form the basis of the first part of the second case study. Toury suggests that, even though no source text exists “the study can still pertain to translation studies” (Toury, 1995, p. 143). He further explains that:

To be sure, a target fact which was tentatively marked as a translation, with the Source-Text Postulate implied, may then turn out to lack a corresponding text in any other language/culture, and not only when one has simply failed to locate it. A concrete source text may never have existed, to begin with. This is why fictitious translations form legitimate objects of study within our paradigm: until the mystification has been dispelled, the way they function within a culture is no different from the way 'genuine' translations do. On the other hand, an assumed translation may later on be found to have more than one source text, being a case of compilative translation, or a single source text which, however, differs from the one it was initially assumed to have (as in the case of indirect translation). (Toury, 1995, p. 144)

Analyzing pseudotranslations in her study, Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) affirms that “the cultural circumstances which give rise to them as well as the textual strategies employed by the pseudotranslators can supply significant insight into a society’s concept of translation, as well as its expectations from it” (p. 70). She examines some pseudotranslations of popular literature published between 1923 and 1960 in Turkey. I share her opinion and want to add that the existence of pseudotranslations in a culture could be a significant indication of culture planning as well. Considering the period under study, it can be suggested that pseudotranslators contributed to the educational role taken up by translators and publishers as far as women are in question.

The analysis of texts will begin with the description of their “peritexts” and then will proceed first with the analysis of contextual features covering the descriptions on the pseudotranslators, the imaginary writers, publishers and the series

they belonged to. Additionally a textual analysis will be carried out with a focus on the status of texts as pseudotranslations and the pseudotranslators' conception of women. The analysis of indigenous texts will follow in the next section of this chapter and the two indigenous texts will be scrutinized under three sub-headings, including peritextual, textual descriptions and writers' conceptions of women in the texts. At the end of the chapter there will be general conclusion giving a comparative look at the three pseudotranslations and two indigenous texts.

Manuals as pseudotranslations: following the foreign

Three different practices of pseudotranslating will be analyzed in this section.¹⁶² Although, for reasons of space, only three cases can be examined here, it should be born in mind that the practice of pseudotranslating could be dealt with on the basis of a broader corpus. I was able to determine a total of fourteen popular pseudotranslations published on women between 1939 and 1956, but there may be more before the 1930s and after the 1960s, since the production of pseudotranslation was a practice of long tradition in Turkey. For instance, Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) analyzed two pseudotranslations and one concealed translation from popular literature published in 1926, 1928 and 1955 in Turkey (pp. 322-475). Üyepazarcı (1997) also revealed that there were many literary pseudotranslations published in the 1920s (pp. 108-110). Çağlayan publishing house published more than 250 pseudotranslations from popular literature in the 1950s.¹⁶³ Refik Erduran (2005), one of the owners of Çağlayan publishing house, states in his memoirs that they gained

¹⁶² I suggest that the following cases are pseudotranslations, but they could well be translations of pseudotranslations, for example from French, since French was a widely translated language and an intermediary language in the first half of the republican period.

¹⁶³ Çağlayan publishing house was owned by Refik Erduran, Ertem Eğilmez and Haldun Sel. See <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/ozel/kitap/060102/1.html>

around twenty times more money from the Mayk Hammer series (a pseudotranslated series, according to Üyepazarcı) than from the sales of any other novel (p. 97).¹⁶⁴ The same may have applied to the production of popular pseudotranslations on women as well. Ertem Eğilmez recounts in his memoirs that he came across the publisher Arif Bolat after he had finished military service and they decided to publish something together that could sell in great amounts (Erduran, 2005, p. 313). Eğilmez further confesses that: “I wrote a book titled *Sex in 10 Lessons* by collecting from here and there. The sales were fantastic. 50.000 copies were sold immediately. When I saw the high profit I immediately started the second book” [“Oradan buradan toplayıp *10 Derste Cinsiyet* diye bir kitap yazdım. Satış müthiş oldu. 50 bin tane hemen tükendi. Baktım tatlı kâr, hemen ikincisi.”] (ibid.).

It seems from the above examples that pseudotranslation or compilative translation were widespread practices of translating/writing literary and non-literary texts in Turkey in the early twentieth century. One of the reasons for this specific recurring practice of pseudotranslation in the early twentieth century is that several new translated genres which attracted readers’ attention sold very well. Thus, publishers may have decided to introduce texts to readers as translations rather than as indigenous texts. I also suggest that another reason may be that pseudotranslations served as a safe site for pseudotranslators to introduce new options for women readers on the subject of female sexuality. The following parts will display the textual poetics of these specific fictitious cases and question how they are constructed and how women are handled in them.

¹⁶⁴ Erduran, Refik (2005) *İblisler, Azizler, Kadınlar*. [Demons, Saints, Women] Istanbul: Dünya Kitapları.

Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?
[What Should Every Young Girl Know?]

This text was introduced as a translation to the Turkish readers. It is in the category of translated texts both in the National Library catalogues and in the catalogues of the bibliography of the Women's Library and Information Center (2006, p. 146). At the beginning of my research, I thought that this text was a translation, since there is an author called Markun Leo. But, after detailed research on Leo's books, I found out that he did not write this text.¹⁶⁵ Another characteristic of this case is that the name of the pseudotranslator, B. Deniz, seems to be a pseudonym of a fe/male pseudotranslator. The translator was referred to as B.D. on the title page of the text, which not only left the sex of the translator unknown but also hid his/her identity. B.D. appeared as B. Deniz in the bibliography of KKKKB (2006, p. 146). Deniz's text can then be defined as a pseudotranslation which had no corresponding source but which was written by an existent male or female author who wrote as a pseudotranslator, using a pseudonym.

Peritextual features

This pseudotranslation includes a set of peritextual features. Firstly, its author's apparently "foreign" American or English name on the title page can quite easily project the image of a translation.¹⁶⁶ The name of the series is given at the top of the title page as "Cep Kitapları Serisi" [Pocket Book Series] and we are informed that this text is the forty-fourth text in this series. Of primary importance in this case is the

¹⁶⁵ There is another pseudotranslation on women's sexuality which was allegedly the work of the same author. It was *Her Evli Kadın Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Married Woman Know?], which was translated by the same translator and published in the same series by the same publisher in the same year (see Appendix B). This discussion will be carried out further in the following sections.

¹⁶⁶ The front and back cover pages cannot be seen due to the black binding at the National Library.

name of the author. Genette (1997) notes that the author's name can be an important indicator of nationality but it can also act as a "red herring" (p. 40); for this reason, the author's name is crucial in the presentation of pseudotranslations.

The author's name is written as "Writer: Leo Markum" ["Yazan"] on the title page just after the title of the text and beneath it the translator's name is given as "The one who translated into Turkish" ["Türkçeye çeviren: B.D"]. Thus, the text was definitely presented as a translation, with the names of an author and translator. This said, the author's name is written wrongly as Markum, whereas his real name was Leo Markun. What is more, both the name and the surname of the translator are written in initials. These findings show both the publisher's indifference to the presentation of the so-called author and the desire of the pseudotranslator to hide behind a pseudonym and to stay unknown. The name of the series positioned at the top of the inner cover may also be an indication of its reputation among the readers. There is no preface, dedication and contents page in the text and no further information about the author or the pseudotranslator. On the back cover, the name of the publisher "Sabiha Zekeriya" is given in an advertisement for the series "Pocket Books". The advertisement is about the details for subscription and it provides the address of the publishing company and the cost of the books in the series. The subscription fee is given as 800 *kuruş* if readers want to subscribe for 100 books and 450 *kuruş* for fifty books. This means that each book was sold for around 9 *kuruş*.

Contextual features

According to the catalogues of the National Library, B. Deniz, the pseudotranslator of the text, translated ten literary texts between 1938 and 1939.¹⁶⁷ S/he translated only two non-literary texts, one of which is the subject of this case-study, the other bearing the title *Her Evli Kadın Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Married Woman Know?], which was published again by Tanevi in 1939. Deniz's translations were published in the same series by the same publishing company.¹⁶⁸ Given the number of her/his translations published in two years and then the fact that (s)he vanished from the catalogues after 1939, it is tempting to suggest that B. Deniz was a pseudonym used by a fe/male translator/writer.

Markun was an American writer who wrote on several subjects such as history¹⁶⁹, economics¹⁷⁰, law¹⁷¹, astrology¹⁷², philosophy¹⁷³ and some texts on men and women¹⁷⁴ between 1923 and 1932. I found sixty-nine texts written by Markun in the catalogues of three libraries.¹⁷⁵ All his texts, except for one¹⁷⁶, were published in

¹⁶⁷ I identified ten literary texts translated by Deniz. These include: O. Henry (1939) *Kabahat Kimde*. [Who is Guilty] Trans. B. Deniz. Cep Kitapları Serisi: 22 [Pocket Book Series]; Gorki, Maksim (1939) *26 Erkek ve Bir Kız*. [Twenty-six Men and a Girl] Trans. B. Deniz. Cep Kitapları Serisi: 17 [Pocket Book Series]; Lenč, Leonid (1939) *Bir Sokak Hadisesi*. [A Street Incident] Trans. B. Deniz. Cep Kitapları Serisi: 39 [Pocket Book Series]; Pushkin, Alexandr (1938) *Acemi Bir Köylü Kızı*. [A Clumsy Village Girl] Trans. B. Deniz. Cep Kitapları Serisi: 5 [Pocket Book Series].

¹⁶⁸ See Chapter 4 for the other series launched by Tan company.

¹⁶⁹ Such as Markun, Leo. *A Short History of the World War*. Little Blue Book No. 110. 1923;

Markun, Leo. *A Short History of the Civil War*. Little Blue Book No. 503. 1927.

¹⁷⁰ Such as Markun, Leo. *A United States Commercial Geography*. Little Blue Book No. 431. 1927.

¹⁷¹ Such as Markun, Leo. *Principles of International Law*. Little Blue Book No. 1602. 1931.

¹⁷² Such as Markun, Leo. *What You Should Know About Astrology*. Little Blue Book No. 767. 1925.

¹⁷³ Such as Markun, Leo – Max Stirner and the Philosophy of the individual. Girard Kan; Haldeman-Julius Co. 1925.

¹⁷⁴ Such as Markun, Leo. *The Mental Differences Between Men and Women*. Little Blue Book No.

731. 1927; Markun, Leo. *The Psychology of Love and Hate*. Little Blue Book No. 1247. 1927;

Markun, Leo. *Facts You Should Know About Masturbation*. Little Blue Book No. 1576. 1931;

Markun, Leo. *Evolution of Marriage*. 1926; Markun, Leo. *Women Who Have Lived For Love*. Little Blue Book No. 644.

¹⁷⁵ See the online catalogues of The Library of Congress at <http://www.loc.gov>, the British Library at <http://www.bl.uk> and the Pittsburg State University, Leonard H. Axe Library at <http://library.pittstate.edu/spcoll/ndxhjulius.html>.

the “Little Blue Book Series” by the Haldeman-Julius publishing company. My research revealed that the so-called writer of this pseudotranslation was not this prolific writer.¹⁷⁷

The publishing company Tan was owned by Sabiha and Zekeriya Sertel, as we learn from the back cover of the text. They were a well-known journalist couple who were very active in the publishing market between 1914 and 1945, the year in which their publishing company Tan was set on fire, and after many years of law cases they left Turkey and lived in exile in various countries.¹⁷⁸ They published some series such as “Pocket Book Series”, “Children’s Books Series” and “Twins Series” after 1933. Their daughter Yıldız Sertel (2002) states in her memoirs that these series had an educative goal and some of the texts published within these series were supported by the Ministry of Education (p. 188).¹⁷⁹ They were also known for their leftist activities and writings. Sabiha Sertel was also a translator and she translated many texts on politics.¹⁸⁰ She informs in her memoirs that she translated many of the texts in the “Pocket Book Series” and that the other translators of the same series were Cevat Şakir and Ömer Rıza.

They expressed their ideas on the condition of women in their newspapers and magazines as well. Zekeriya Sertel, for example, wrote in *Selanik* (1911) that not only the intellectual improvement of women but also their roles in family life should

¹⁷⁶ Markun, Leo (1930) *Mrs. Grundy: A History Of Four Centuries Of Morals Intended To Illuminate Present Problems In Great Britain And The U. S.* NY D. Appleton.

¹⁷⁷ I saw and examined all of Markun’s texts on marriage , women and men during my research at the British Library, and this case text did correspond with none of them.

¹⁷⁸ They owned Resimli Ay and Tan publishing houses and also the newspapers *Turan* (1914) and *Tan* (1934), along with magazines such as *Büyük Mecmua* (1919), *Resimli Herşey* (1935) and *Projektör* (1936).

¹⁷⁹ Unfortunately she did not supply the names of these subsidized texts. See Sertel, Yıldız (2002) *Susmayan Adam*. [The Incessantly Talking Man] Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları.

¹⁸⁰ She wrote her memories in *Roman Gibi* [Like a Novel] (1966) Istanbul: Ant Yayınları. She wrote that she translated texts such as Vladimir Adoratski’s *Diyalektik Materyalizm* (1936) [Dialectical Materialism], Vladimir Ilyiç Lenin’s *Harp ve Sosyalizm* [Socialism and War] (based on the catalogues of the National Library, it appears that this translation was not published) and August Bebel’s *Kadın ve Sosyalizm* (1935) [Woman and Socialism] (1935) (1969, p. 181).

be considered in school education (Sertel, 2002, p. 30). Otherwise, feminism “seems to alienate women from womanhood and thus bring harmful and self-defeating results” [“kadınları kadınlıktan uzaklaştıracak zararlı ve ters bir sonuç getirecek gibi görünüyor”] (Sertel, 2002, p. 31). In one of her anecdotes about a text on women published in *Sevimli Ay* in the 1920s, Sabiha Sertel (1966) recalls that

The prosecutor was calling me to the court because of an article entitled “The Control of Birth” published in the magazine. It was me who wrote the article under a male pseudonym. I talked with friends before going to the prosecutor. All of them said that it was not proper to confess my real identity, since it was not proper for a woman to write on these issues. My cousin İbrahim Refik was there. He said he could pretend to be the writer. [...] In that era, even writing a scholarly article on women’s sexuality was considered shameful. (p. 120)

[Savcı dergide çıkan “Doğumun Kontrolü” başlıklı yazı yüzünden beni çağırıyormuş. Yazıyı takma bir erkek adıyla ben yazmıştım. Savcıya gitmeden arkadaşlarla konuştum. Hepsi yazının benim tarafımdan yazıldığını belirtmenin doğru olmadığını, bir kadının bu konuya dokunmasının kötü karşılanacağını söylediler. Teyzemin oğlu İbrahim Refik oradaydı. Yazıyı ben üzerine alırım dedi. [...] O devirde kadınların cins meselesi üzerinde ilmi bir yazı yazılması dahi ayıp sayılıyordu. (p. 120)]

It seems that the Sertels were interested in not only political but also social problems in Turkey, such as women’s conditions and problems. The above quotation shows us that women writers wrote under male names on the subjects censored by the government such as sexuality, and that even writing on scientific subjects such as birth control was forbidden at the beginning of the twentieth century.¹⁸¹

Textual features

The introduction informs us that this book was written for women. Consider the paragraph where Deniz explains her/his aim:

¹⁸¹ Sabiha Sertel was sued many times due to various texts she wrote or translated for various reasons. For example, she was sued because of a translated text titled “Liderin Psikolojisi” [The Psychology of a Leader], which was taken from the journal *American Psychology* and published in *Resimli Ay* in January 1930 (Sertel, 1966, pp. 150-161).

The aim of the scholars who have been studying the reasons for moral corruption is to find out the factors causing corruption and to decrease the rate of prostitution. [...] The main factor leading young girls into a bad lifestyle is their ignorance about sexual issues. (1939, p. 3)

[Ahlâki düşkünlüklerin senelerdenberi sebeplerini araştıran alimlerin gayesi, ahlâksızlığa sebep olan amilleri bulmak ve bilhassa fuhuşun azalmasını temin etmektir. [...] Genç kızları kötü bir hayata sevkeden en kuvvetli amil, cinsi faaliyet hususundaki malûmat noksanıdır. (1939, p. 3)]

Young girls' lack of information on sexuality is seen by the pseudotranslator as the basic reason for women's immorality and s/he proposes this solution: mothers should give sexual education to their daughters. Deniz goes on to specify that her/his targeted readers are mothers

[...] This is the mother's task. If a mother meets the needs of her daughter's curiosity by giving her direct and clear answers to her questions, the daughter will understand that the sexual issues are not the only concern but only a part of her general knowledge. It is not necessary for all mothers to have a good education on the subject; it is enough that they have general knowledge to inform their daughters on how they were conceived or how were they born.[...] The aim and the objective of this book is to provide this information. (1939, pp. 4-6)

[...] Bu vazife anne tarafından yapılmalıdır. Eğer anne kızının suallerine doğruca ve açık bir tarzda cevaplar vererek onun merakını tatmin edecek olursa, kız, cinsiyet mevzuunun müstakil bir bahis olmayıp, umumi malumatından bir kısmını teşkil ettiğini anlar. Bu hususta her annenin ali tahsil görmüş olmasına ihtiyaç yoktur; elverir ki kızının nasıl hasil olduğuna, nasıl doğduğuna dair hakiki bilgiyi verecek kadar umumi malumatı bulunsun. [...] Bu kitabın maksat ve gayesi de bu malumatı vermektir. (1939, pp. 4-6)]

The readership was specified as mothers who were assigned responsibility for supplying information about sexuality to their daughters in order to protect them from immorality. Deniz reveals her/his disquiet a few pages later that girls are usually, given sexual advice and information by older female relatives or friends instead of their mothers. According to Deniz, there could be negative results of building friendship with older women, since girls could select inappropriate friends and could be influenced easily; thus the best way is for there to be a close relationship between mothers and their daughters. An anonymous writer/translator in

one of the women's magazine published in 1939 mentions the same concern in the article titled "Genç Kızlar ve Analar" [Girls and Mothers] (*Ana*, 1939/21:, p. 14). The responsibility of instructing girls was shifted from mothers to schools in the 1950s. Some translators in women's magazines, who were introducing new options to readers, announced that courses on sexuality were opened at schools in the west and they referred to the same need in Turkey (see Chapter 4).

Deniz's text mainly focuses on different physical periods in women's lives, such as puberty, pregnancy or menstruation. A closer look at the chapters shows that Deniz organized and presented her/his text as a translated scientific manual of 60 pages. S/he claims that "to supply our boys and girls with information provided by science is the most correct and successful attitude" ["fen'in açığa çıkardığı malûmatı erkek ve kız çocuklarımıza bildirmek en doğru ve muvafık bir harekettir"] (1939, p. 5). There is no contents page, but the text involves ten chapters and all chapters have a title. Let us examine the classification of the chapters in the following list:

Giriş	Introduction
Kızlık ve Bünyevî Tezahürler	Virginitiyand Bodily Manifestations
Buluğ	Puberty
Cinsi Temayüller	Sexual Inclinations
Her Kızın Hayâlindeki Sevgili	The Ideal Lover for Every Girl
Gebelik	Pregnancy
Doğum	Birth/Labour
Cehaletin Doğurduğu Fena Neticeler	Bad Results due to Ignorance
Frengi	Syphilis
Hayzın Kesilmesi	Menopause

It seems from the contents that the text was structured like a text written by a medical doctor, which reinforces its instructive and informative feature. Deniz strengthens this illusion by giving references to doctors in several parts of the text such as:

Being a doctor, I met many patients [...] Doctors recommend eating a small piece of meat once a day and consuming a large quantity of water, milk, grains, vegetables and especially fruit. [...] Doctors agree that a syphilis patient may only get married in the case that no symptoms have

been observed in the last two years or no treatment has been needed in the last five years. (1939, p. 26, 42, 55)

[Mesleğim icabı birçok hastalarla karşılaştım. [...] Doktorlar günde ancak bir defa az miktarda et yemeyi ve çok miktarda su, süt ve hububat, sebze hususile meyveyi tavsiye ederler.[...] Son iki senesini araz ve alâmet göstermeksizin veyahut tedaviye ihtiyaç hasıl etmeksizin beş seneyi ikmal eden bir frengilinin evlenmesine doktorlarca cevaz verilmektedir. (1939, p. 26, 42, 55)]

Doctors are usually not named but rather referred to generically by Deniz. It appears that Deniz tried to prove that the writer was a doctor. The contents and references to doctors inevitably give readers an impression that this text is a translation which was written by a foreign male medical doctor. Taking foreign male doctors as experts may be interpreted as one of the strategies used by Deniz in order to strengthen and guarantee the status of her/his text as a translation.

Deniz elaborated on the physical periods in women's life in a scientific and didactic tone. S/he described female organs and their functions as in the example below:

The sexual and birth organs are ovaries, tubes connecting ovaries to the womb, the lips of the womb and the breasts. Ovaries are two glands in almond size and they are situated at the lower part of the abdomen. (1939, p. 18)

[Tenasül ve doğum azası şunlardır: yumurtalık, yumurtacıkları yumurtalıktan rahme isal eden kanallar, rahmin dudakları (mihbel) ve memeler. Yumurtalık badem büyüklüğünde iki küçük gудde (bez) olup karnın alttan iki tarafında bulunur. (1939, p. 18)]

Deniz's frame of reference was undoubtedly physical. S/he focuses on the structure and the function of fe/male reproductive organs throughout the text. However, it could be suggested that Deniz pitched her/his text at educated mothers, and at lay people rather than the medical profession, since s/he wrote in such a way that every reader could understand the text and s/he also includes advice on clothing or food in relation to the mentioned mechanical periods. For instance, while describing pregnancy, s/he mentions that

The clothing of a pregnant woman is also important. The most basic feature is the simplicity of the clothing and its quality to keep warm. Accessories such as belts, corsets and tight shoes should never be used. All the underwear and clothes of a pregnant woman should hang straight down from her shoulders. Wearing a chemise is highly recommended. (1939, p. 41)

[Gebe kadının giyeceği elbiseye de ehemmiyet verilmelidir. Bunda gözetilecek en iptidaî şey, elbisenin sadeliği ve sıcak tutmasıdır. Kanın cereyanına mani olacak kuşak, kemer, dizbağı, korsa ve sıkı ayakkabı gibi şeyler asla kullanılmamalıdır. Gebe kadının giyeceği çamaşır ve elbisenin hepsi omuzdan asma olmalıdır. Bu hususta kombinezon kullanılması tavsiye olunur. (1939, p. 41)]

The text continues until the end with scientific information on sexual organs in accordance with daily practices and advice, with the exception that Deniz also inserts her/his own ideas on women's immorality here and there within the text. For instance, while describing girls in puberty, s/he proposes that

Those who investigated the factors of immorality among girls claim that luxury goods they cannot afford such as diamonds and silk clothing play an important role among the reasons why they are selling themselves and eventually becoming prostitutes. Parents should not ignore the fact that young girls might go too far and sell themselves in order to have these little things they want during their natural development period. (1939, p. 12)

[Kızlarda ahlâk düşkünlüğünün sebeplerini tetkik edenler, kızları kendilerini satmağa, bunun neticesi olarak fahişeliğe düşmeğe sevkeden sebepler arasında elmas, ipek eteklik vesaire gibi elde edemedikleri ziynet eşyasının ehemmiyetli bir rol oynadığını iddia ediyorlar. Kadınların tabii inkişaf devresinde elde etmek istedikleri bu gibi ufak tefek şeyler için kendilerini satmağa kadar varmaları anne ve babanın ihmal edemeyeceği kadar mühim bir meseledir. (1939, p. 12)]

Luxury goods, such as silk and jewelry, which are also symbols of femininity, are presented as dangerous attractions for girls in puberty. This warning complies with the image of new woman in early republican Turkey: "The new woman of Turkish republic elevated a completely opposite image of woman with their "feminine" congeners in the West" (Kadioğlu, 1998, p. 95). It could be argued that this culture-specific discourse of the time is stressed and scattered between the lines within the text. The result is a book which resembles a translated scientific manual,

with the personal touches of the pseudotranslator who elevates the image of the sexually virtuous woman.

In another discursive insertion, in which love and sex are harmonized, Deniz discusses the relationship between love and the physical development of the body. S/he warns that love that depends on physical beauty will end marriages and that both girls and boys in puberty may not be able to differentiate between love and sexual affection (1939, p. 29). S/he further claims that sexual attraction between girls and boys in puberty is mistaken with love, whereas in fact it is only “feeling the necessity of pouring the accumulated male’s energy out” [“vücutta toplanan erkek kuvvetinin ihracı zarureti hissetmekten ibarettir”] (1939, p. 30). It could be suggested that Deniz championed solid medical knowledge and ignored the nature of love and its spiritual and physical tensions within the body.

While focusing on scientific knowledge, Deniz points out that some of the physical dimensions of the body may be harmful and wrong. For instance, s/he labels masturbation as one of the causes of immorality in girls, claiming that

Masturbation has become a widely controversial issue investigated by many doctors from different viewpoints. [...] One can masturbate any time in any place. As a result, the strength required for the development of the body is wasted and dissipates. Most of these girls remain bony. (1939, p. 26)

[El ile istimna itiyadı, bir çok noktalardan doktorlarca tetkik ve münakaşa mevzuu olmuştur. [...] El ile istimna her yerde ve her zaman yapılabilir. Bunun neticesi olarak ta kendisinin tam inkişafı için lâzım olan kuvvet israfa uğrayarak kurur. Bu kızların bir çoğu sıska kalırlar. (1939, p. 26)]

In this text, masturbation is described as a bad habit, which can physically destroy girls as well as boys. Girls are even advised not to marry with boys who masturbate frequently. Muzaffer Aşkın’s 1950 translation of Rudolph von Urban’s text, which was analyzed in the previous chapter, revealed that Aşkın omitted the paragraphs on masturbation in his translation (see Chapter 5). It could be suggested

that, within the sexual politics of the early republican period, masturbation was regarded as an instinct which should be warned against or just overlooked.

Deniz dedicates two chapters to epidemic illnesses such as syphilis and gonorrhoea. Soner Yalçın (2007) states that syphilis was one of the key contagious illnesses and that in 1920 a new bill was put before Parliament about the treatment of women infected by syphilis.¹⁸² Deniz wrote on this popular subject and gave scientific information on the signs of these two fatal illnesses and the ways people may be infected and s/he advised women and men to receive medical treatment without delay. S/he also warned that infected women and men should not get married, since they could transmit the illness to their children as well. It appears that Deniz also inserted current issues of the time in her/his pseudotranslation.

As for the treatment of medical terminology, Deniz does not employ any foreign terms in her/his text and does not have a particular strategy for introducing them. S/he uses medical terms both in Ottoman such as “mihbel” [lips] (ibid.), “hayız” [menstruation] (p.20), “istimna” [masturbation] (p.26); some in Turkish such as “yumurtalık” [ovary] (p.18), “rahim” [womb] (ibid.), “frengi” [syphilis] (p.36) and some in Ottoman with their Turkish equivalents in parentheses such as “gudde (bez)” [gland] (p.18).

Finally it can be stated that Deniz did not use any specific strategies in the text to present her/his text as a translation, with the exception that s/he made a reference to a foreign anonymous person only once “Once a French nobleman gave this advice” [“Vaktile Fransız asilzâdelerinden birisi şu nasihatte bulunmuş”] (p.49).

¹⁸² Yalçın, Soner (2007) “Düello Serbest Bırakılsın”, [Let the Duel Be Settled Freely] in *Hürriyet*, 6 May 2007, 36. Yalçın explained that women could not be inspected and thus epidemic illnesses, especially syphilis, could not be prevented in the 1920s. But some parliament members still did not want women to be inspected and at the end the bill was changed and women got their rights for medical treatment. In addition, it was added that female virgins did not need medical inspection unless the need was proven.

It may thus be suggested that Deniz made no extra effort to create the impression that her/his text was a translation, but still the text was presented as a translation. I suggest that her/her presentation of the text as a translation might had two causes. The decision may have been made partly by the publisher due to the significant place translations on women's sexuality occupied in the Turkish repertoire, so that the publisher might have introduced Deniz's text as a translation due to commercial reasons. As was discussed in Chapter 5, indigenous texts on sexuality did not appeal to readers as much as translations. The decision may also have been taken by Deniz with the intention of introducing women's bodies to female readers.

It appears from the above analysis that the text was written in a didactic tone and the pseudotranslator asserted her/his own ideas, suggestions, warnings and advice in the text. Its focus is predominantly physical, in that its chapters mainly deal with the structure and functions of sexual organs. But still it involves individual and moral notes as well. In this case, translation has first an educative function, since the pseudotranslator used it as a tool of giving knowledge about their body to women. It functions secondly as a shelter for the pseudotranslator who inserted and spread her/his ideas on women and their behaviors. While doing this, the features of modern woman were also drawn by Deniz: educated and chaste mothers equipped with knowledge on sexuality were to instruct their daughters.

Pseudotranslator's conception of women instructing their daughters

The first role attributed to women by Deniz was to be mothers, who had enough knowledge on sexuality to help their daughters. Deniz suggested that the appropriate age for giving sexual knowledge to girls by mothers was between 12 and 18, the

period s/he called puberty. Deniz tells mothers that “This period, which will have the most important effects on the young girl’s future life, should be carefully supervised by mothers” [“Kızın ilerdeki hayatında en ehemmiyetli tesirler yapan bu devre, annelerce en ziyade tetkike layık olan devredir”] (1939, p. 6).

Deniz gave many warning about girls in puberty to mothers. For instance, s/he declares that girls start masturbation at the end of puberty and in the beginning of adolescence and argue that this is a disaster. Deniz states that this is such a disaster for a girl that it would ruin her life for sure. Here is an example:

They know that the health and nervous system can be corrupted and they cannot control themselves and they behave immorally because of their masturbation habits. [...] Being a doctor, I met many different patients, but I claim that the masturbation habit is mostly untreatable and incurable. The disastrous confessions of young girls addicted to masturbation are so long as to fill several pages. (1939, pp. 27-28)

[El ile istimna müptelâları adiliğe düştüklerini, seciyelerinin harap olduğunu, kendilerini kontrol edemeyecek bir hale geldiklerini, sıhhatlerinin ve sinirlerinin bozulduğunu bilirler. [...] Mesleğim icabı bir çok hastalarla karşılaştım. Fakat bunlardan müzmin el ile istimna müptelâsı kadar tedavi kabul etmez ve iyileşmez bir hastalık daha görmedim. Bu fena adetin müptelâsı olan genç kızların feci itirafları sahifeleri dolduracak kadar uzundur. (1939, pp. 27-28)]

It appears that masturbation was seen as a bad and disastrous habit which may cause nervous breakdowns in girls. Deniz additionally warned girls against boys who masturbate and advised them not to marry such boys, since such boys would be impotent in their sex life in the future (ibid.). Another warning concerned the physical attraction between girls and boys, which could be mistaken for love in puberty. For Deniz, physical attraction in puberty can cause early and unsuccessful marriages. He states that:

When the sexual inclinations in girls and boys have begun to appear in puberty in full force, they get married due to physical attraction. However, they are unaware of the fact that love based on bodily beauty will fade soon. This is why such marriages do not last for long. (1939, p. 29)

[Bulûğa ermiş kız ve erkek çocukta cinsi temayül olanca şiddeti ile kendini göstermeye başlar başlamaz bunlar, çehre ve beden güzelliğine kanaat ederek evlenirler. Fakat münhasıran bedenî güzelliğe dayanan aşk ve muhabbetin çabuk sönüp gideceğinden haberleri yoktur. Onun içindir ki bu gibi izdivaçlar devamsız olur. (1939, p. 29)]

The analysis reveals that advice, warnings and information on sexuality are mainly related in the text with marriage and divorce. Deniz also seems to have aimed at finding solutions to divorces caused by unawareness and insufficient knowledge of sexuality. Being an educated mother is prioritized by Deniz throughout the text. S/he even tells mothers to show utmost care for their daughters' physical health in puberty, since they will get pregnant and be the mothers of the future.

Mothers, as the constructed readership of Deniz's text, were informed about their bodies' transformation from puberty to the age of 50 and were warned against many sexual, psychological and behavioral transformations and dangers such as masturbation, menstruation, pregnancy, giving birth, dressing and food. Some items of advice were generally accepted practices, such as eating sufficiently in pregnancy, yet some advice is plainly subjective, such as the the warning about the bad effects of masturbation or the comment on the increasing religious tendency of girls in puberty. The difference between Deniz's "ideal mother" and the "ideal mother" in women's magazines at the end of 1930s and the beginning of 1940s is that mothers in Deniz's text gained the additional role of giving sexual education to their daughters (see Chapter 4). Thus it can be suggested that writing and presenting the text as a translation may have provided a convenient space for Deniz to write on sexuality, all the same, tolerance with regards to sexuality was still strictly limited compared to the 1950s, as will be exemplified in the following case-studies.

Her Nişanlı Genç kız Neler Bilmelidir? Yarın Evleneceksin
[What Should Every Engaged Girl Know? You Will Be Married Soon]

This pseudotranslation was introduced to Turkish readers as a translation. It is under the category of translated texts both in the National Library catalogues and in the catalogues of the holdings of the Women's Library and Information Center. It was published as part of the series "İnsan Hayatı" [Human Life] by the Hadise publishing company and this text was presented as the fifth translated text of the series. It seems that it was written by Prof. Dr. Fred McMauldin and was translated by a male translator Selim Yetkili. Detailed research revealed that the writer did not exist and that Selim Yetkili was a pseudonym used by the translator. Thus this case can be defined as the pseudotranslation of a text without a corresponding source, of a text written by an imaginary writer and a translated by a pseudotranslator using a male pseudonym.

Peritextual features

The first detail to point out is that the imaginary author's name and the pseudotranslator's name are not found on the cover page. The cover page includes the title of the text and the name of the series, accompanied with a drawing that displays a half-naked woman with a passionate expression on her face and flowers in her hands. Her breasts are covered by a thick horizontal line running from the left side of the page towards the right. Just under the picture of the girl there is a dressed couple looking amorously at each other. It may be concluded that the design of the cover page makes reference to a feminine woman, love between a woman and man, and sexuality. The foreign name of the author is printed in English orthography on

the title page, thereby immediately framing the text as a translation. The pseudotranslator's name is given just under the name of the author on the title page.

No preface, contents page or translator's notes were added to the text, as is the case with the other pseudotranslations in the same series. On the back cover, two texts from the same series are advertised (see Appendix N). These texts are also presented as translations, one from the same author and the other from another imaginary foreign author, W. Hollidat. The intended audiences of the first advertised text were mothers and fathers, who are advised to buy the book and then make their daughters read it.¹⁸³ The intended readers of the second text advertised on the back cover were married men, who are advised to buy the book and make their wives read it.¹⁸⁴ In the advertisements, both imaginary writers are presented as American experts on sexology. McMauldin is introduced as follows: "The book written by the greatest expert on sexology in America, Prof. Dr. Fred McMauldin, which sold one million six hundred and eighty thousand copies in one go ["Amerika'nın en büyük seksoloji mütehassısı Prof. Dr. Fred Mc Mauldin'in kaleminden çıkan ve Amerika'da bir çırpıda 1 milyon 680 bin satış yapan kitap"] (1956, p. 95). The writer of the second text is introduced in remarkably similar fashion: "This work by one of the greatest sexology experts in America, Prof.Dr. W. Hollidat, sold one million seven hundred thousand copies when it first came out" ["Amerika'nın büyük seksoloji alimlerinden Prof. Dr. W. Hollidat'ın ilk çıkışta 1 milyon 700 bin satan eseri"] (ibid.). It may be suggested that the allegedly famous American male doctors were deliberately chosen and introduced as experts of sexology in the series. This is not a single case; America was, of course, also an important source in the women's magazines in the same

¹⁸³ *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Young Girl Know?]

¹⁸⁴ *Her Evli Kadın Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Married Woman Know?]

period. Many articles taken from American magazines were translated and published in the women's magazines in the 1950s (see Chapter 4).

Contextual features

Selim Yetkili, the pseudotranslator of the text, seems to have translated all twelve texts in the same series published by Hadise. My research on Yetkili, however, revealed that there is no other text written or translated by Yetkili in the catalogues of the National Library or in the other bibliographies. These findings strengthen the assumption that Selim Yetkili was used as a pseudonym by a fe/male pseudotranslator.

The imaginary writers of the twelve pseudotranslations in the series are Fred McMauldin, W. Hollidat, Betty Whiting, Fernande Ikambert and Roch Bess. All writers are referred to with their title as "Professor", both in the catalogues and on the cover or title pages of the pseudotranslations. The preliminary research I carried out in the British Library catalogue, in the catalogue of the Library of Congress, and on the internet revealed that these writers did not exist.

The publishing company Hadise,¹⁸⁵ which published twelve pseudotranslations in 1956, used a specific format for this series. All texts have 96 pages and each text was sold for 1 TL (Turkish Lira) in 1956.¹⁸⁶ Thus in effect, a

¹⁸⁵ See Chapter 3, 3.3.3. for further analysis of the publishers and their series.

¹⁸⁶ Seven books in this series were on women, three on men, and one on both women and men. Here is the list: *Her Evli Kadın Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Married Woman Know?], *Kimseye Söyliyemiyorum* [I Can't Tell Anyone], *Her Dul Kadın Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Widow Know?], *Dulun Etekleri Düşmandır* [The Widow's Skirts are Enemies], *Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler?* [Why Do Women Cheat on Men?], *Kızıma Nasıl Söyliyeyim?* [How Do I Tell My Daughter?], *Ah Bu Kadın Milleti?* [Ah, These Women!], *Evli Kadınlar İçin Metres Tehlikesi Nedir?* [What is the Danger of Mistresses for Married Women?], *Buluğ Çağında Bir Kız Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should a Girl in Puberty Know?], *Buluğ Çağında Her Erkek Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should a Boy in Puberty Know?], *Her Evli Erkek Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Married Man Know?], *Her Genç Erkek Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Young Man Know?], *Oğluma Nasıl*

whole series of twelve books published by the same publishing house can be seen to have been pseudotranslations, written by five different imaginary writers but translated by the same pseudotranslator under the same male pseudonym.

Textual features

As is clearly indicated in the title of the text, the constructed readership was engaged girls. Yetkili describes her/his aim as being to prepare girls for married life and to help them overcome the engagement period, which is depicted as the most critical stage before marriage. Yetkili states that “the preparation of the couples for the new life they are entering is important. They need to overcome the problems of the engagement period in order to achieve a new life” [“çiftlerin yeni girecekleri hayata hazırlanmaları meselesi çok mühimdir. Bunu başarabilmek için nişanlılığın o buhranlı devresini atlattak lazımdır”] (1956, p. 6). According to Yetkili, this crisis begins in the flirting stage just before marriage.

There is no contents page in the text, but all the chapters have titles and the distribution of the chapters is as follows:

Çiftlerin Anlaşma Güçlükleri [Problems of Couples]

Aşk cazibesinin sarhoşluğu ; Aşkın gözü kördür Hasret ve iştıyak devri
[The Intoxication of Love; Love is blind; The Period of Longing and Desire]

Flört ve Nişanlılık [Flirting and Engagement]

Kur yapmak; Flörtün zararlı tarafları; Hayalindeki erkekler; Gözlerin tesiri; Fena neticelerden ders; Nişanlılık devresini uzatmalı mı?; Çetin bir problem
[Flirting; Harmful Aspects of Flirting; The Men in her Dreams; The Impact of the Eyes; Morals from Bad Outcomes; Should one Prolong the Engagement Period?; A Difficult Problem]

Flört Sanatı [The Art of Flirting]

İstikbâli tayin edecek devre; Flörtten önce; Mukavemet; Tehlike; Buluşmalar; Flört manevraları; Flört sancıları; Peki ne yapmalı?; Nişanlılıkta flört; Psikolojik flört; Nişanlılıkla evlilik arası;
[The Period of Determining the Future; Before the Flirt; Resistance; Danger; Dates; Flirting Manoeuvres; The Troubles of Flirting; So What to Do?; Flirting during the Engagement; Psychological Flirting; The Period between Engagement and Marriage]

Söyliyeim [How Do I Tell My Son?], *Evliliğin İlk Basamağında Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Be Known about the First Days of Marriage?] and *Evliliğin İlk Gecesi* [The Wedding Night]

Aşkın İç Yüzü [The Internal Face of Love]

Hakikat ve hayâl; Evliliğin selameti; Kulağınıza küpe olsun; Acele etmeyin; Bu akıbetten sakının; Sevgi ve fedakarlık; Aşkın mihenk taşı
[The Real and the Imaginary; The Welfare of the Marriage; Keep it always in Mind; Do not Rush; Avoid this End; Love and Self-sacrifice; The Touchstone of Love]

Cinsi Cazibeye Malik Olabilirsiniz [You Can Have Sexual Charm]

Kadın olmak gururu; Çirkinler de cazibeli olabilir; Elbiselerin rolü
[Pride in Being a Woman; Ugly can also be attractive; The Role of Clothes]

Nişanlıların Bilmesi Gereken Bir Mesele [One Thing Engaged People Should Know]

Korkunun cinsiyete tesiri; Kötü bir şakanın feci akıbeti; Genç evli kadın korkusu; Kızlarda hayvan korkusu; Yüksek yerde durmak korkusu; Mantıksız korkular; Cinsi korkular

[The Effect of Fear on Sexuality; The Tragic End of a Bad Joke; The Fear of a Young Married Woman; Fear of Animals in Girls; Fear of Heights; Irrational Phobias; Sexual Phobias]

Nişanlılığın Gülleri ve Dikenleri [The Roses and Thorns of Engagement]

Nişanlı kızın haleti ruhiyesi; İdeal nişanlılar; Sahte nişanlılar; Altı ayda altı nişanlı; Müsamahakârlığın sonu

[The State of Mind of an Engaged Girl; Ideal Engaged People; Fake Engaged People; Six Engagements in six Months; The End of Tolerance]

Erkekleşen Kızlar [Girls Who Become Menlike]

Hovarda kızlar; Fakir kızların cömertliği; Arkadaş seçme meselesi: iyi bir arkadaşın vasıfları

[Raffish Girls; The Generosity of Poor Girls; The Problem of Choosing Friends: Characteristics of a Good Friend]

Bir Nişanlı Kızın Bilmesi İcab Eden Cinsi Gerçekler [Sexual Realities that an Engaged Girl Should Know]

Kadın ve erkek vücutları arasındaki farklar; İki cinste yapılaş farkları; Hormonların tesiri; Tiroid bezinin kadın cinsi hayatı üzerindeki tesiri; Canlılığa ve neşeye doğru; Tiroidin bekareti tayindeki rolü; Tiroide ait rahatsızlıklar

[Differences between the Female and Male bodies; The Different Natures of the two Sexes; The Effect of Glands; The Effect of the Thyroid Gland on Women's Sexuality; Towards Liveliness and Joy; The Role of Thyroids in Determining Virginity; Illnesses relating to the Thyroids]

Göğüs Güzelliği ve Cinsiyet [Beauty of Breasts and Sexuality]

Göğüslerinizi güzelleştirmek sizin elinizde

[Keeping your Breasts Beautiful is up to you]

Evliliğe Girerken [Towards Marriage]

Dünküler ve bugünküler; Bugünse...; Genç kızların tercih ettiği erkekler; Bunları hatırlıktan çıkarmayın; Nasıl güzelleşebilirsiniz?; Mütevazı olunuz; Aşk arayış; Evlilikten evvel; Nişanlılık adetleri; Evvela büyükler evlenir; Yakın akrabaların evliliği; Nişan yüzüğünün manası; Utangaçlık; Nişanlılık ve cinsi perhiz; Nişanlı genç kızlara öğütler; Zifafa son hazırlık.

[Yesterday and Today; As for today...; The Men Preferred by Young Girls; Do not Forget this; How can you be beautiful?; Be Modest; The Search for Love; Before the Marriage; Engagement Traditions; The Oldest Marry First; Marriage between Relatives; The Meaning of the Engagement Ring; Shyness; Engagement and Sexual Abstinence; Advice for engaged girls; Final preparation for the Wedding Night]

It can be seen from the contents page that the book was divided into eleven chapters and into many short sections under them. The subject of Yetkili's

pseudotranslation is different from the subject of Deniz's pseudotranslation in that, in Yetkili's text, social and personal concerns were at stake while the main concern of Deniz had been to provide medical information to mothers, who are addressed as guides on sexuality for their daughters. Yetkili also gives medical information on sexuality, yet in only one chapter, in which sexual organs and glands that are important for the physical health of women are treated.

The subject of this pseudotranslation is mainly the engagement period and its importance for marriage. Throughout the text, emphasis is placed on some social and sexual behaviors which should be avoided by girls in the engagement period. For instance, girls should not give themselves over to the arms of their boyfriends or fiancés and they should not have sexual intercourse before marriage, since this might cause many undesirable immoral results. Yetkili suggested several undesirable results of such physical contact, as in the following examples:

During the flirting period, men will try to satisfy their desires by embraces and kisses and will achieve this easily and rapidly due to the natural build of the male. This may lead to very bad results for marital and family life. The man who gets used to this kind of behavior in the long flirting period will continue this practice during sexual intercourse with his wife in their marriage. (1956, p. 8)

[Flörtte başbaşa kalınan zamanlarda erkek, kucaklama ve öpme ile kendini tatmine çalışacak ve erkek yapılışının verdiği imkanla buna çabucak ulaşacaktır. Bu halin evlilik, aile hayatı için büyük bir zarar olduğu aşikârdır. Çünkü uzun süren flört devresi içinde erkeğin buna alışması evlilikte eşi ile yapacağı cinsi temas ve münasebette de hep bu alışkanlığa göre hareket etmesi neticesini verecektir. (1956, p. 8)]

There is another danger for young women in this period: becoming a mistress. If you cannot resist the man's desires, if you allow yourself to fall into his arms without thinking about the future because of your low morals, he can make you his mistress. (1956, p. 18)

[Genç kızları bu sıralarda bekleyen bir tehlike daha vardır: Metres durumuna düşmek. Erkeğin arzularına mukavemet edemez, kendinizi hemen onun kollarına atarsanız, karakterinizde koketlik varsa, sonunuzu düşünmezseniz, erkek sizi metres durumuna düşürebilir. (1956, p. 18)]

Single and engaged girls are warned against sexual relationships before marriage. Any physical closeness, even embracing one another, is seen as a cause for self-satisfaction or masturbation, which (according to Yetkili) will also lead to unhappiness in marriage. Her/his analysis of masturbation in two chapters at the beginning of her/his text displays the prominent place of this topic in the sexual discourse of the 1950s. It appears that masturbation was still seen as something inappropriate and harmful in the Turkish culture repertoire in 1956, but in a different context. Masturbation was still seen as a bad habit, but Yetkili informed the readers that the strict attitude to masturbation had shifted in “developed societies” [“İleri cemiyyetler”] (1956, p. 11). He notified the readers that

In developed societies, attitudes towards masturbation have shifted remarkably in recent years. The number of those claiming that everyone might have to masturbate during some periods in her/his life and that masturbation was not as bad a habit as it was considered in the past, so long as it was practised in a controlled manner, is increasing. The most terrible and dangerous part of the masturbation habit is the possible occurrence of a real abuse. [...] As many scientists argue, although masturbating is a must in some periods of life under certain conditions, it has to be limited within this frame. It should never become a substitute which will harm natural intercourse in the future. (1956, pp. 11-12)

[İleri cemiyyetlerde istimna hakkındaki fikirler düne göre çok deęişmiştir. Hayatın belli bir devresinde herkesin kendi kendini tatmin etmek mecburiyetinde kalabildięi ve bu çeşit hareketlerin ölçüsüz bir dereceye varmaması halinde şimdiye kadar söylendięi gibi pek korkunç bir şey olmadığını iddia edenler çoğalmaktadır. Kendi kendini tatminin en fena ve tehlikeli tarafı, kolaylıkla gerçek manasında suistimal şeklini almasıdır. [...] Bazı âlimlerin iddia ettikleri gibi, kendi kendini tatmin hayatın belli şartlarında ve devresinde bir zaruret ise de bu, ancak bu zaruretin çerçevesi dahilinde kalmalıdır. Hiç bir vakit ilerde, tabii münasebetlere de zarar verebilecek hale kadar götürülmemelidir. (1956, pp. 11-12)]

Yetkili’s strategy in handling masturbation can be described as, on the one hand, informative and, on the other hand, prescriptive. S/he lets readers know that masturbation is no longer regarded as something disastrous in the developed countries, but warns them against excess. It may be suggested that Yetkili benefited from writing her/his text as the pseudotranslator, since s/he could transfer the views

on masturbation from other countries freely. But s/he, nevertheless, articulated her/his own negative judgement. Bearing in mind the censorship applied in the paragraphs about masturbation by Aşkın in his translation published in 1950; Yetkili's decision might be described as a novelty.

A similar attitude can also be observed with respect to other types of relationships, such as homosexuality and lesbianism. Yetkili warned her/his readers not to be in such a relationship with these words: “unnatural and perverse habits of having affairs between men or between women have many hazardous effects for marital and family life. Engaged couples should especially avoid these kinds of relationships” [“erkeklerin erkeklerle, kadınların kadınlarla tabiat dışı münasebetlere alışmaları da evlilik ve aile hayatı için büyük zararlar verir. Bunlardan nişanlıların dikkatle sakınması gerekir”] (1956, p. 13). Homosexuality and lesbianism were thus described as sexual perversions by Yetkili. Additionally, incestual relationships are also mentioned in one of the case examples in the text. Yetkili tells a story about a lieutenant who had a crowd-anxiety and states that the cause of his anxiety was his feeling of guilt resulting from his abuse of his own sister. Yetkili writes that “At the beginning, these were childish behaviors and he wanted to have sex with his fifteen years old sister” [“İlk zamanlar çocukça hareketlerle gelişti ve on beş yaşında kız kardeşiyle cinsi münasebette bulunmak istemişti”] (1956, p. 43). Writing on homosexuality, lesbianism or incest—even if they were described as unnatural and corrupt relations—could be seen as a bold decision of the pseudotranslator, since these codes of sexual choices were labeled as weird and unacceptable even in the 1970s.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁷ For instance, Marisa Querlin's *Women Without Men* (1965), which was translated into Turkish and published in 1974, was presented by the publisher with the following words: “This is a story of odd women who stayed distanced from the men in their life; who hated them and felt only for other women. It is a story of odd women, about whom we have always heard but whom we rarely know,

Moreover, Yetkili made references to foreign scholars in order to prove and justify her/his ideas concerning the inappropriate nature of relationships between engaged girls and boys before marriage. For example, s/he refers to Kinsey as an American prominent sexologist and writes that: “Many American experts on sexology, particularly Kinsey, complain about the abnormal sexual behaviours that young Americans resort to in order to satisfy their sexual desires before marriage” [“Başta Kinsey olmak üzere, birçok Amerikalı seksoloji mütahassısları Amerikan gençlerinin evlenmeden evvel, cinsi arzularını tatmin hususunda başvurdukları anormal sevişme hareketlerinden şikayet etmektedirler”] (1956, p. 50). It appears that America, as a developed country, and American doctors, as experts on sexology, were used by Yetkili to appropriate moral codes of western culture for Turkish culture, a strategy which reinforces her/his text being accepted as a translation in the Turkish culture repertoire.

Furthermore, while giving advice and examples, Yetkili refers several times to “modern marriages” and the “modern family” (1956, p. 50, 71, 86). S/he sees the modern family as the family of the 1950s. Yetkili assures the reader that, compared to the beginning of the century, the condition of women has changed and that women’s rights have developed. S/he claims that “There occurred great differences between today’s young girls and those of yesterday. The patriarchal familial system controlling our grandmothers disappeared due to economic conditions, traditions and wars. The struggle to survive has become the basis of the modern family” [“Bugünün genç kızı ile dünün genç kızı arasında dağlar kadar farklar belirdi. Büyük annelerimizi bağlayan patriarkal aile sistemini ekonomik şartlar, âdetler ve savaşlar

women who are somewhere between female and male and who are more like men than women” [“Hayatlarında erkekten uzak kalmış, erketen nefret etmiş, yalnız kadınlara karşı his duymuş garip dişilerin hikâyesidir. Daima bahsini duyduğumuz, fakat kendilerini nadiren tanıdığımız kadınla erkek arası, kadından çok erkeğe benzeyen garip kadınların hikâyesidir”] See *Erkeksiz Kadınlar* (1974) Trans. by Başak Kitabevi Tercüme Bürosu. İstanbul: Başak Yayınevi.

ortadan kaldırdı. Modern ailede hayat mücadelesi temel haline geldi”] (1956, p. 72). It appears that Yetkili introduced her/his personal thoughts on the modern family under a pseudonym, which seems to have been a widespread writerly behaviour employed also by the translators of texts on women’s sexuality during the period (see Chapter 5). It seems, moreover, that the translators’ strategy of inserting discursive and subjective codes into their texts on women’s sexuality erased boundaries between the practice of translating and writing. The same strategy can frequently be observed in translations and pseudotranslations on women’s sexuality.

In the ninth chapter of the text, there are some medical explanations about the hormones and the sexual organs of women. These parts present some medical terminology. It should be noted that Yetkili did not have a consistent strategy in the treatment of medical terms. They were sometimes written in Ottoman Turkish, sometimes in Turkish, some were given with their English equivalents in parentheses after the terms, while others were left in English orthography in the text. Examples of the later include the following: “gudde” [gland] (p. 60), “husye sancısı” [menstruation pains] (p. 22), “tenasül uzvu” [sexual organ] (ibid.), “bikir” [hymen] (p. 85), “kızlık zarı” [hymen] (p.25), “yumurtalık” [ovary] (p. 60), “kadın cinsiyet hormone (estrogen)” [female sexual hormone] (p. 59), “orgasm” [oragasm] (p.26), “seksüel hayat” [sexual life] (p.42), “nevralsi” [neuralgia] (p.22), “tiroid guddesi” [thyroid gland] (p.62), “hypofiz” [hypophysis] (p.61) and “myxodem” [myxodem] (p. 67).

As for the style of the pseudotranslator, it can be said that Yetkili wrote mainly in an informal tone in the second person singular. S/he addressed the readers directly. Only when s/he wanted to warn the readers or to inhibit them from certain behavior did s/he use imperatives, as is evident from some of the above examples. As

well as using direct forms of address in the text, in contrast to Deniz, the pseudotranslator of the previous text examined, Yetkili employed a highly literary style throughout the text. Here is an example of how Yetkili describes the breasts of women in the ninth chapter, which includes physical knowledge on women's sexual organs:

Women's breasts are situated on the front side of the body and their thickness from the rear is around 5-6 cm. Apart from their function as providing milk needed for children, they are one of the organs that draws men's attention. The poets of the past reflected the male perception of the time when they likened the red nipples of the breasts to rosebuds which have not yet opened. (1956, p. 57)

[Kadın göğüslerinin ön kısmında iki tarafta bulunan memelerin önden arkaya kalınlığı 5-6 santim kadardır. Memeler, doğacak yavrunun beslenmesi için gereken sütü yapan bezler olduktan başka kadın vücudunda erkeğin dikkatini çeken uzuvlardan biridir. Çok defa rengi kırmızı olan meme başlarını, henüz açılmamış bir gül goncasına benzeten dönün şairleri o zamanın erkek duyusunu da ifade etmişlerdir" (1956, p. 57)]

This sort of literary language was not seen in the translated texts analyzed in the previous chapter. Yetkili sometimes turns her/his text into a visual feast. As an example, we can look at her/his description of women's glottis: "The female throat is small and slightly protruding. A layer of fat covers this part. Therefore, the front part of the neck is in harmony with well-rounded shoulders and the breast. This harmony is one of the reasons for women's enchanting effects on men" ["Hançere kadınlarda küçük ve az çıkıntılıdır. Yağ tabakası bu kısmı güzelce örtmüştür. Bu suretle boynun ön kısmı dolgun omuzlar ve kabarık göğüsle tam bir ahenk halindedir. Bu ahenk, kadının erkek üzerinde yaptığı sihirli tesirlerden birini izah eder"] (1956, p. 58). Selim Yetkili's literary style could be interpreted as an indication of her/his literary career. S/he could well be an author or a translator of literature. Using a literary and sophisticated style in pseudotranslation was also exemplified by Tahir Gürçağlar, who studied translations, pseudotranslations and indigenous texts of popular

literature in Turkey. She showed that Kemal Tahir opted for a literary and metaphorical style in *Ecel Saati* [Deadly Watch], the pseudotranslation published in 1954 (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 447).¹⁸⁸ It appears that the use of literary language in pseudotranslations applied to both detective literature and texts on women's sexuality in the 1950s in Turkey; thus it can be seen as a much broader tendency that needs to be studied further diachronically in the same genre or synchronically across various genres.

Finally, Yetkili employed some strategies to disguise her/his text as a translation. The first strategy used was Yetkili's abundant use of references to foreign experts. These include such references as to "Fransız Profesörü Dr. Fernande Isambert" [French Profesor Dr. Fernande Isambert] (p. 4), "Bazı yabancı alimler" [Some foreign experts] (p. 7), "Bosc'un dediği gibi" [As Bosc states] (p.21), "Dr. Stephen Karin tarafından kati delillerle saptanmıştır" [t is verified by precise evidence by Dr. Stephen Karin] (p.26), "Bir Amerikalı yazarın makalesi" [The article of an American writer] (p.42), "Amerikalı muharrir Hartley James" [The American writer Hartley James] (p.51), "İngiliz kadın yazar G. Eliot'un yazısı" [The article by English female writer G. Eliot] (p.90). Such references to foreign names served to create the impression that the text was a translation and that the source was written by a foreign medical doctor. Another strategy of Yetkili was to use foreign place and country names such as "New York" (p.49), "Arjantin" [Argentina] (ibid.) and "Fransa'nın cenup bölgeleri" [The Southern Regions of France] (p.65). This strategy also strengthened the position of the text as a translation in the target culture.

¹⁸⁸ Anikó Sohár, who studied translations and pseudotranslations of science fiction in Hungary, also observed that literary and playful language use could sometimes be detected in pseudotranslations. For detailed information, see Sohár, Anikó (1999) *The Cultural Transfer of Sciencefiction and Fantasy in Hungary 1989-1995*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH.

Yetkili's decision to stay behind a pseudonym might have been due to her/his reputation as a writer of literary works and the desire to hide her/his identity which could be associated with her/his past works. By hiding behind a pseudonym and an imaginary writer, on the one hand, s/he could manipulate the text according to the domestic and personal values, while on the other hand s/he could benefit from the status of translations in the given period. Since translations on women's sexuality sold well during the period, the decision to present the text as a translation seems to have been mainly due to market conditions. Analysis of both the previous and this case might also show that the decision to pseudotranslate could have been an implied act of subordination, above all to American culture in the 1930s and especially in the 1950s. This may have been due to the fact that American culture was considered prestigious. The reason for writing a pseudotranslation, then, may be considered on the one hand an attempt to gain money and prestige. On the other hand, both Deniz and Yetkili used translation as a site to write on one of the unmentionable topics, on women's sexuality, and to introduce a discourse on sexuality into the Turkish culture repertoire.

Pseudotranslator's conception of sexually attractive women

The first advice given to women in the text was that they had to be virtuous in order to get married. Yetkili warns girls about their relations with boys and states that "The aim of the woman-man relationship is not flirting; it is rather to get married and establish a decent family. It can be said that flirting is only acceptable if it has this aim without any other harm" ["kadın-erkek münasebetinin gayesi flört yapmak değildir, evlenme ve temiz bir aile yuvası kurmaktır. Flört ancak böyle bir maksat

için yapılıyorsa ve sonunda da bu maksada zarar vermeyecek surette idare ediliyorsa mesele yoktur denilebilir”] (1956, p. 11). Moral values, especially chastity, appear to have been identified as the most important values of engaged girls, yet, in contrast to the texts dealt with already, morality is not directly related to housewives in this text. Contrary to the glorification of the housewife in the women’s magazines from the same period (see Chapter 4), Yetkili praises working women. S/he suggests that

Many young girls at the age of marriage today are working in different places in order to earn their own living. They may go on working after they get married. With the sum of the incomes of husband and wife, they may be able to lead a modest family life. (1956, p. 14)

[Şimdiki zamanda evlenme çağına girmiş genç kızların çoğu kendi masraflarını kendileri temin etmek için muayyen işlerde çalışıyorlar. Bunu evlendikten sonra da devam ettirebilirler. Karının ve kocanın ayrı ayrı kazandıkları para birbirine eklenince mütevazı bir aile hayatını devam ettirebilirler. (1956, p. 14)]

Her/his emphasis on the modern family and modern girls is almost always associated with living conditions in Turkey in the 1950s. See the example below on the changing status of Turkish girls:

The struggle to survive has become essential in modern families. Young girls no more wait for the ideal husband while knitting away behind closed windows. She is capable of determining her own destiny. She goes to school as her brothers do, she has a profession and a job. Today’s conditions have provided women with all the rights they merit. Today’s young girl should be aware that tomorrow she will become a mother and set up a new home. (1956, p. 16)

[Modern ailede, hayat mücadelesi temel haline geldi. Artık genç kız, pencere arkasında dantela örerek koca beklemiyor. Mukadderatını bizzat kendisi tayin etmek mevkiindedir. Erkek kardeşleri gibi okuyor, bir iş, bir meslek sahibi oluyor. Bugünün hayat şartları kadına lââyık olduğu bütün hakları hazırlamıştır. Bugünkü genç kız, yarın bir anne olacağına, ayrı bir yuva açacağına müdrik olmalıdır. (1956, p. 16)]

There is confusion about the definitions of the modern girl and modern life in Yetkili’s text. S/he projects a diverse series of images while describing modern life. S/he states that men and women are equal in education and at work. But when s/he describes behavioral features and personal choices, Yetkili displays a different

attitude and disapproves of some of the modern girls. For instance, a free-spirited girl who is dressed in pants and has her hair cut short is given as an example of a modern girl, but is then criticized by Yetkili. It is argued in the text that

Modern girls trying to prove that they are equal to men in every field are no longer different from men in appearance because of the latest trend of wearing pants and having hair cut short. These girls talking to their male friends and fiancés in a manly manner without any embarrassment do not just aim at becoming equal with them but want to surpass and dominate them. (1956, pp. 50-51)

[Her sahada erkekten aşığı kalmadıklarını isbata çalışın modern kızların, son pantolon modası ve kısa avare saçlarıyla kıyafette de ondan farksız oldular. Erkek arkadaşlarıyla veya nişanlılarıyla bir erkek edası ile sıkılmadan konuşan bu tip kızların gayeleri yalnız erkek arkadaşlarıyla herşeyde müsavi olmak değıl, onları geçmek ve tahakküm etmektir. (1956, pp. 50-51)]

It appears that educated and working girls and women are associated with modernity, but when it comes to their clothing and behaviors they should be beautiful and sexually attractive, but submissive. The ideal girl is depicted by Yetkili (1956, p. 29) as “obedient, caring, charming and calm” [“uysal, anlayışlı, celbedişi ve ketum”]. I would suggest that Yetkili’s ambivalent attitude towards women sustained throughout the text could be a consequence of the dilemma s/he was in: s/he wanted to inform women readers on sexuality and tried to convey news on women’s status and conditions in the west yet at the same time s/he was bound by cultural norms and values. This dual response can be felt in the differences between chapters but also within individual his chapters. It would appear, however, that the motif of the modern family or of modern girls dressing or behaving similar to men occurs almost always in juxtaposition to warnings on marriage. Yetkili’s ideal female candidate for marriage seems to have been a working girl who was thoughtful, silent, chaste and sexually attractive.

Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler?
[Why Do Women Cheat on Men?]

This text, which is classified under the translated titles in the catalogues, was presented to readers as a translation. It was published as the seventh text in the series “İnsan Hayatı” [“Human Life”] by Hadise publishing company. I chose a text from the same series published in the same year due to the fact that this example shows a different practice of pseudotranslating. The text was presented as the work of one Dr. Louis E. Bisch, translated by Selim Yetkili, the pseudotranslator of the previous example. My research revealed that there was a writer called Louis E. Bisch and he did write many works on psychology in particular. Research on Bisch and his texts, however, revealed that he wrote neither this text nor any other text on sexuality. Having said this, some parts of Yetkili’s text do bear similarities with some parts of Bisch’s *Your Nerves: How to release emotional tensions* (1945). This specific case can be defined as the pseudotranslation of a text with no directly corresponding source but assigned to an existent author, a pseudotranslation which was written by a translator under a fe/male pseudonym. By “directly corresponding source”, I mean a source which has a direct relation with its translation. In this case, I found a source which I think has some resemblances with the pseudotranslation in a few parts but which still was quite different from its assumed source.

Peritextual features

The cover page contains neither the author’s name nor that of the pseudotranslator. It includes the title of the text and the name of the series, accompanied by a drawing that displays in the foreground a half-naked woman covering her breasts with her

arms and in the background another dressed woman is sitting thoughtfully. The drawing of the naked woman raises association with sexuality. Just like the other pseudotranslations of the series, this text also includes on the title page - in this order - the title of the text, the name of the writer and the name of the translator. There is no preface, dedication and contents page in the text and no further information about the author or the pseudotranslator, as is the case of the other pseudotranslations in the same series. On the back cover, a list of works published by Hadise is given and the next text of the series *Ah Bu Kadın Milleti* [Ah, these Women!] is advertised.

Contextual features

The pseudotranslator of this text too is Selim Yetkili. The work is the seventh in the series in which all the other texts were published. The writer Dr. Louis Edward Bisch was an American doctor of psychology who wrote many self-improvement texts between the 1920s and 1940s.¹⁸⁹ He appeared as the writer of *Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler?* [Why Do Women Cheat on Men?]. In one of his works, titled *Your Nerves: How to Release Emotional Tensions* (1945), we come across a few sentences which are taken up in Yetkili's text. Yet still this practice seems to be a form of pseudotranslating. It can be suggested that Yetkili might have read an article or an advertisement about Bisch's work and been inspired by these points. However the

¹⁸⁹ Some of his works are: Bisch, Louis Edward (1922) *Your Inner Self*. New York: Garden City; (1936) *Be Glad, You are Neurotic*. New York: Mc Graw-Hill; (1925) *Clinical Psychology*. Baltimore: Williams and Wilkins.; (1923) *Conquest of Self*. London: William Heinemann; (1953) *Cure Your Nerves Yourself*. New York: Wilfred Funk (1957, 1961); (1945) *Your Nerves. How to Release Emotional Tensions*. Marple: Psychology Publishing; (1941) *Why be Shy? How to Banish Self-Consciousness and Develop Confidence*. New York: Simon and Schuster;

genesis of the book occurred, I will now approach the text as one of the practices of pseudotranslating that was carried out in 1956 and analyze it in detail in the next section.

Textual features

As opposed to the previous pseudotranslations, Yetkili did not clarify her/his aim of writing this text and did not attempt to construct her/his readership either. The title is about women who cheat on men and partly on men who cheat on women. Yetkili mainly defines a typology of treacherous women, besides giving advice to single girls on how to behave in order to have a happy marriage life.

The text is divided into ten chapters and further divided into many subsections in such a way that most of these subsections consist of a half page or one or two paragraphs. Since the text is a mere ninety-six pages long, it has the appearance of a manual that was prepared in order to give basic information. Let's first examine the structuring of the text below:

Erkekler Neden Aldatır? [Why Do Men Cheat on Women?]

Cinsiyet piyesi; Kadın vücudunun cazibesi; Soğuk kadınların ihanete meyilleri; Kırkıncıdan sonra azanlar

[The Sexuality Play; The Charm of the Female Body; The Inclination to Cheat on Frigid Women; Those who are Sexually Excited after 40]

İhanetin Sebeplerine Toplu Bir Bakış [A General Overview of the Causes of Betrayal]

Evlileri ve bekârları düşündüren mesele; Bazı kadınlar neden aldatırlar; Mukabil tedbir; Kocaları ihanete zorlayan sebepler

[The Problem Affecting the Married and the Single; Why do some Women Cheat on Men?; A Counter-Precaution; The Causes that Force Husbands to Cheat]

Korkunç Hakikat [The Dreadful Reality]

Kimseye göre evlilik dışı münasebetler; Evlilik dışı münasebetlerde yaş; Evlilik dışı münasebetlerde ailevi durum

[Illegitimate Relationships; The Age Factor in Illegitimate Relationships; The Family Conditions in Illegitimate Relationships]

Kadın İhaneti Ezeli Bir Yaradır [Womens' Betrayal is an Ancient Trauma]

Kocalarını aldatan kadınların destanı; Kadının fendi; Erkeklerin hoşuna gidiyor muyum?; İntikam peşinde; İsyankâr zevceler; Donjuanlık gösterişi; Evlenme fırsatını

kaçırın, fakat teslim olmayın; Kadın şüphesi; Evlilik hayatının temeli, cinsiyet değil, aşktır; Aşk ve cinsiyet kokteyli

[The Legend of the Adultresses; Discreet Women have neither Eyes nor Ears; Do I Attract Men?; In the Pursuit of Revenge; Rebellious Wives; Showing-Off like Don Juan; Throw away the Opportunity of Marriage, but do not Give in; Female Skepticism; The Basis of Marriage is not Sexuality but Love; The Cocktail of Love and Sexuality]

Evlilikte Saadetin Sonu [The End of Happiness in Marriage]

Usanç afeti; Gizli tiksinti; Kadınlarda hayâl kırıklığı; Tecrübesiz erkekler; Yuvanın yıkılışına nasıl mani olunur; Fedakârlık lazım; Buhranlı anlar; Heyecanlı arzular; Başka erkek; Memnu meyva; Hayâllerindeki aşık; On günah; Erkeklerin suçu, Aşk arayan kadın; Ateşle oynanmaz

[The Disaster of Boredom; Secret Repulsion; Women's Disappointment; Inexperienced Men; How to Prevent the Collapse of the Family; Sacrifice is needed; Moments of Crisis; Passionate Desires; Another Man; Forbidden Fruit; Fantasy Lovers; The Ten Sins; The Crime of Men; The Woman who Looks for Love; Do not Play with Fire]

Cinsi Soğukluk [Frigidity]

İhanetin sebepleri; Tatmin edilmenin çaresi; Balayında orgasm; Cinsiyette inançların rolü inkâr edilmez; Kadına hakim olan iki kuvvet

[The Causes of Betrayal; The Recipe for Satisfaction; Orgasm on Honeymoon; The Role of Faith in Sexuality Cannot be Denied; Two Drives Dominating Women]

Karı-Koca Anlaşmazlıkları [The Conflict Between Couples]

Neden boşanmak isterler?; Lakayd koca; Kadını uçuruma sürükleyebilen bir sebep; Kadınlar okşanmak ister; Koca ihaneti; Yalnızlık işkencesi; Kadını ihanete sürükleyen amil

[Why do they Want to Divorce?; The Indifferent Husband; A Motive that Drags Women to the Brink; Women Want to be Caressed; The Betrayal of a Husband; The Torture of Being Alone; The Factor that Forces Women to Cheat]

Evlilikte Tehlikeli Dönemeçler [Dangerous Turning Points in Marriage]

Aşk tuzağı; İlk darbe; İhanetin sonu; Kuvvet tanımayan aşk; İntikam; Kadında aşk merakı; Tehlikeli dört dönemeç; Birinci senenin sonu; Üçüncü yıl; Yedinci yıl; Onbeşinci yıl; Düşen kadın; İhanet; Kocaya itiraf etmeli mi?

[Love Trap; The First Blow; The End of the Betrayal; Unpreventable Love; Revenge; The Interest for Love in Women; The Four Dangerous Turning Points; The End of the First Year; The Third Year; The Seventh Year; The Fifteenth Year; The Slutty Woman; Treachery; Does she Need to Confess to her Husband?]

İhanette Biyolojik Sebeplerin Rolü [The Role of Biological Reasons in Betrayal]

Nymphomaniaklar; Sadistler; Erkeğin cinsi münasebette rolü; Zifaf gecesinden korkanlar; Robot kadınlar; Mühim bir sebep; Erkeğin cinsi kusurları; Manyak erkekler; Enteresan bir vak'a

[Nymphomaniacs; Sadists; The Role of Men in Sexuality; Those who are Afraid of the Wedding Night; Robot Women; An Important Reason; The Sexual Weaknesses of Men; Male Maniacs; An Interesting Case]

İhanetin Psikolojik Sebepleri [The Psychological Reasons for Betrayal]

Bir şaheserden ilhamlar

[Inspirations from a Chef d'Oeuvre]

It should be noted that the subject of women's unloyalty was not discussed in the women's magazines of the same period. Besides this, men's betrayal of their wives and their taking of mistresses were omitted by Esmâ Z., the translator of the first text I analyzed in the previous chapter (see Chapter 5).

Let's first look at the assumed source text to question the similarities and differences between the two texts. Bisch's text is divided into thirty-two chapters and is 310 pages long. Having compared the length of the two texts and their contents, one can easily notice that these two texts are completely different in scope. The contents page of the assumed source text reads as follows;

1. It's dumb not to be different
2. Do you really want what you wish?
3. Can you take it?
4. You asked for it?
5. Maybe you secretly wish to fail
6. Perhaps your nerves are lying to you
7. We are all a trifle screwy
8. Stop worrying about insanity
9. Six emotions that can destroy you
10. Which feelings should you let loose?
11. Don't let your emotions rule your thinking
12. Boredom is a danger signal
13. Have you toyed with the idea of suicide
14. There are also subtle ways of killing yourself
15. What you need is self-discipline
16. How to route self-consciousness
17. How to stop being lonely
18. Conquer doubt and uncertainty
19. Don't feed your pet phobia
20. Are you a neurotic smoker?
21. Are you forced to drink
22. Do your nerves keep you aware
23. How to relax and calm your nerves
24. How to prevent a nervous breakdown
25. Make your daydreams practical
26. Find the meaning in your night dreams
27. Sex guilt – how to overcome it
28. Glands are glands –but-?
29. How to avoid nerves when married
30. Middle life is not dangerous for love
31. Strengthen your nerves through diet
32. Turn your nerves into assets
33. Get a new lease on life

As is evident from the above contents of Yetkili's text and Bisch's text, the two works are different texts not only in terms of their titles but also in their contents. Yetkili's aim seems to have been to produce a text on women's betrayal while Bisch's aim was to write a text on the physiological and psychological transformation in women and men. Thus it may be suggested that Yetkili wrote a completely different text with a completely different aim, yet still using the name of Bisch.

When we come to examine the precise relationship between the two texts, we find that one of the few parts of Yetkili's pseudotranslation that resembles Bisch's text is on women and men in their fifties. This part seems to be related to a paragraph of the thirtieth chapter in Bisch's text about the mid-life crisis.

Pseudotranslation:

Kadının hayızdan kesilme yaşına gelmekten korkması, erkeğin ihtiyarlıktan endişe etmesi gibidir. Bu korku, ekseriya aşk pınarından son

bir yudum su içmeye teşvik eder... Onun için erkek ve kadınların 40-50 yaşları arasındaki zaman tehlikeli bir devir sayılır. Bu devrede yapılan çapkınlıklar, tavizde ifrat; açıkçası vücudun kaybedeceği bir şeyi telâfi ettirmek demektir...Çünkü, bu merhalede cinsiyet hormonları yavaş yavaş yok olmaya başlar. Bundan müteessir olan şuur dalgaları gelecek ziyani telâfi etmek gayesiyle olağanüstü bir hamle yapar. (1956, pp. 8-9)

[Pseudotranslated Text in Back-Translation:

The fear of menopause in women is similar to men's fear of getting old. This fear usually leads to the wish to drink one last drop from the fountain of love. This is why the age period between 40 and 50 is considered dangerous both in men and women. Philandering in this period may be seen as a compensation to replace something the body will lose. In this period, sexual hormones began to decrease. In order to compensate for this deficiency, the waves of the mind make an unnatural effort. (1956, pp. 8-9)]

The Assumed Source Text:

Here may be included the fallacious idea, almost universally subscribed to by women, that sex life of the female must necessarily terminate at the menopause. The facts are that, despite ovarian disfunctioning at about age forty-five, the sex life can and should be continued. Here is where a proper mental attitude is of the highest importance. Men, of course, undergo a so-called "change of life" –a true menopause- the same as women, only it occurs at about age fifty and is much more subtle in its manifestations. Sex desire may decrease and it is certain that chemical and glandular changes occur which affect the psychic as well as the physical constitution. For this apparent waning of sexual ability, "compensation" is likely to occur. The man may seek stronger stimuli or he may phantasize about them, with the result that actual and theoretical philandering with strange or younger women may take place. This wayward interest can, and should, be routed back into some form of ego manifestation –a new hobby, a new ambition- anything that will neutralize inferiority convictions. (1945, p. 256)

Here, Yetkili took the topic of menopause and wrote only a paragraph on it. S/he added a highly literary style, just as s/he had done in the previously examined pseudotranslation, and s/he omitted the information that sex life does not come to an end with the menopause but rather that this depends on the mental attitude of women and men. Yetkili focused on the high possibility of women' and men's betrayal by adding women to the discourse on sexuality in menopause. It seems that s/he deployed the information to further his/her aim of defining treacherous women. Yetkili used the same strategy of writing in a highly playful style and making additions according to her/his own aim throughout the text. Consider the following example about women's frigidity in the two texts:

Pseudotranslation:

Frijitlik veya cinsi soğukluk, kadının orgasm haline yani tenasüli hazzın en yüksek noktasına erişmemesidir diye düşünülebilir. [...] Bazı kadınlar normal şekilde cins arzular duydukları halde tam tatmin olmazlar. [...] Tababette ve seksolojide “soğuk kadın yok, fakat beceriksiz kocalar vardır” diye bir düstür vardır. Kadın ve erkek cinsiyet temposu farklıdır. Bu tempoları birbirine uydurmak hiç şüphesiz kocanın vazifesidir. Bu bir kocalık saltanatıdır. Zira evliliğin cinsiyet tarafı, birdenbire mükemmeliyet zirvesine fırlayan bir insiyak değildir. (1956, pp. 51-52)

[Pseudotranslated Text in Back-Translation:

Frigidity or sexual coldness in women may be thought of as a lack of climax in her orgasm or sexual pleasure. [...] Some women cannot be satisfied although they have normal sexual desires. [...] In medicine and sexology, there is a saying that “there are no cold women, they are only maladroit husbands”. The sexual rhythm of men and women are different. Adjusting these rhythms is certainly the husband’s task. It is the domain of the husband. In fact, satisfying sexuality is not easily and successfully achieved in marriages. (1956, pp. 51-52)]

Bisch’s Text:

Frigidity on the part of wife, [...] is frequently encountered. Many other reasons for such coldness also exist, such as the idea that sex is dirty or that is practiced only for the pleasure of the male. [...] The fault may, to be sure, be on the husband’s side and even both parties may be to blame. Many husbands are poor loves and their sexual approach is too direct and selfish. (1945, pp. 261-262)

Here again, Yetkili used her/his unique style while describing the frigidity of the female. In contrast to the other text, s/he blamed only men for their wives’ frigidity. There are a few more parts that appear to have been similar between Bisch’s and Yetkili’s texts. It could be suggested that Yetkili perhaps read Bisch’s text and by using some information given there s/he wrote her/his own text in her/his own style. Moreover, s/he added short citations from various authors in his text which estranged her/his text from its assumed source. For instance, Yetkili quoted from Rabindranath Tagore, an Indian poet and writer, a story about a whore who at the end showed that other women have the same sexual instincts as her (1956, pp. 94-96). It appears that, although there seems to be an assumed source, the translation could still be a pseudo one, given that there is such a weak relationship between the assumed translation and the assumed source.

As far the medical terminology is concerned, Yetkili used medical terms in various forms; sometimes in Ottoman, sometimes in Turkish. S/he wrote some of them in English and gave explanations in parentheses nearby. Apparently, Yetkili did not have a particular strategy in treating medical terminology. Terms deployed in the texts include “hayız” [menstruation] (p.8), “sex” (p. 4), “coitus” (p.25), “frijit (veya cinsel soğukluk)” [frigid or sexually cold] (p.51), “orgasm” (p.53), “menopause (adet kesimi devresi)” [menopause or the period of permanent cessation of menstruation] (p.83), “vulval oxyuris” (p.83), “nymphomaniak” [nymphomaniac] (p.84), “mehbil” [lip] (p.86), “klitoris” [clitoris] (p.86), “impotence” (p.88), “psikasterik” [psycho-hysterical] (p.89), “nevrastenik” [neurasthenic] (p.89).

Yetkili used some strategies to present her/his text as a translation, such as using foreign names of doctors or writers, using foreign medical terminology, as was discussed above, and making references to America above all. Some of the foreign names referred to are Somerest Maugham, C. Bocacio and Dr. Huhner. Among the references to countries we find the following phrases: “Konuştuğum Amerikan kadınlarından öğrendiğim bilgiler” [Information I got from the American women I spoke to] (p.15), “Amerika’da taammüm eden kadın değiş tokuşu” [The habit of exchanging women in America] (p.25), “Amerika’daki meşhur Gallup enstitüsünün yaptığı anket” [The survey carried out by the well-known Gallup Insititute] (p.43).

The main reason behind the choice to present the text as a translation appears to have been commercial, as in the previous cases. Since texts on women’s sexuality brought profits to publishers, as we saw in Chapter 5 and the previous section above, it is evident that publishers preferred to introduce the texts as translations. Apart from commercial success, Yetkili may have had other reasons not to present it as an indigenous text. In my view, the lack of sexual discourse within the Turkish cultural

repertoire also played a role in this decision. As maintained by a number of researchers, women's sexuality remained hidden in the public sphere for a long period of time in Turkey. In an article, Kadioğlu (1998) argued that sexuality was denied within the modernization project in the early republican period and "new women" were seen as desexualized, chaste, silent, obedient and educated mothers (pp. 95- 96). Kandiyoti (1995), in a similar vein, claims that women took on an asexual identity and that they could only participate in social life if they avoided being feminine (p. 381). I suggest that pseudotranslators tried to create an option for female and male readers by introducing sexual knowledge. These pseudotranslations, in addition to the translations, could well be read as evidence of the early discourse on sexuality, and might thus provide the basis for a more comprehensive study on the history of sexuality in Turkey.

Pseudotranslator's conception of women: betrayed or adulterer?

The pseudotranslator Yetkili identified several images of women in the text, such as those of thoughtful, hardworking, beautiful and sexually attractive mothers. Betrayal was dealt with from two angles: women who are cheated on by their husbands and women who cheat on their husbands. With regards to the former case, Yetkili maintains that if women do not know how to deal with their husbands they can be easily betrayed. Women who can be definitely deceived by their husbands were classified into seven types:

1. Those that are not interested in their husbands' professional affairs
2. Those who are so naïve that they believe everything they are told
3. Those who only talk to their husbands to ask for money and always behave counter to the interests of their husbands
4. Untidy and lazy women
5. Those who remain passive during sexual intercourse
6. Those who wear dirty and cheap clothes at home and clean and elegant clothes outside
7. Dragonish and aggressive women. (1956, p. 13)

[1. Kocasının işleriyle alâkadar olmayanlar 2. Her şeye çabuk kanıp, her söze inananlar 3. Kocalarıyla yalnız para istemek için konuşanlar ve daima onların menafiinin aleyhinde hareket edenler 4. Tembel ve pasaklı olanlar 5. Coitusta daima pasif kalanlar 6. Evde en adi ve pis kıyafetlerle dolaşp sokağa temiz ve şık kıyafetle çıkanlar) 7. Şirret ve kavgacı kadınlar. (1956, p. 13)]

Once we consider the seven types of women in Yetkili's list, who are likely to be betrayed by men, it emerges that the woman who will retain the loyalty of her husband is an expert as a housewife and looks after herself well, is thoughtful, silent and active in sex life. This ideal image of woman described by Yetkili appears to be similar to the ideal image of woman constructed in the previous pseudotranslations. What is added here, though, is the active role of women in sexual life. Yetkili advises the woman to be active and to know that "she should be sexually attractive and endearing in some cases in order to attract his attention and make him faithful" ["kocasını yuvasına bağlamak isteyen kadın, eşine karşı icabında hoppa ve işvebaz olmasını bilmelidir"] (1956, p. 26). In the chapter titled "Kadını uçuruma sürükleyebilen bir sebep" [A Motive that Drags Women to the Brink], Yetkili tells a story about a couple and writes that the husband had another relationship and lost all his passion for his wife. The wife, for her part, realized that her husband did not want her any more and decided to break up with him. Just at that moment she learned the reason for his indifference and found a solution. Yetkili describes the solution as follows: "This woman, who for years had looked like an old woman, was suddenly wearing a clean and attractive dress when she greeted her husband on his return home. They kissed and made up" ["Yıllardır karşısına yaşlı bir kadın gibi çıktığı kocasını temiz ve çekici bir kıyafetle karşıladı. Öpüştüler ve barıştılar"] (1956, p. 59). It appears that women's sexual attractiveness is proposed by Yetkili as an important part of marriage and s/he draws a picture of a woman active in sexual life.

With regards to the second case, Yetkili gives many examples of women who betrayed their husbands. S/he defines women's betrayal in marriage with these words:

[The woman] lives with the great pain of having failed to achieve her aims and of not finding a man who truly understands her. She feels completely abandoned. She cannot bear any conflicts or disputes with her husband or any bad behavior on his part. The ultimate consequence is infidelity. (1956, p. 48)

[[Kadın] hayâlinde yaşattığı gayeye kavuşamamış, kendisini gerçekten anlayan bir erkeği bulamamış olmanın ızdırabı içinde kıvrılır. Kendisini büsbütün yüzüstü bırakılmış hisseder. Kocasının en ufak itirazına, münâkaşasına ve kendisine hoyratça muamelesine tahammül edemez olur. İşte bunun sonu sadakatsizliktir. (1956, p. 48)]

Yetkili seemingly regarded unhappy marriages as one of the reasons for women's betrayal. S/he also depicted women's sexual instincts and acknowledged how women were in search for excitement. Let us look at the description below:

Women are always looking for pleasure, enjoyment and excitement. They think every change will generate storms of endless pleasure for them. Especially the woman who believes in her charm thinks that she will be pursued by many men adoring her and that her charm will definitely open to her the door of great happiness. Yes, woman is in a way a lunatic being. She takes pleasure at playing with fire on purpose. Even though the fire burns her hands, she is mostly not well-behaved. She even disregards the dangers threatening her home. Some women, on the other hand, look for a man only for pleasure, for having a great time and to dally with love. (1956, pp. 48-49)

[Kadın daima zevk, haz ve heyecan arar. Her yeniliğin kendisinde sonsuz zevk fırtınaları yaratacağını zanneder. Bilhassa cinsi cazibesine inanan kadın, kendisine tapacak bir çok erkekleri arkasından sürükleyeceğini, bununsa kendisine geniş saadet ufukları açacağına muhakkak gözü ile bakar. Evet, kadın bir bakıma çılgın bir varlıktır. Bile bile ateşle oynamaktan zevk alır. Ateşle oynayıp ellerini yaktığı halde çok defa uslanmaz. Yuvasını tehdit eden pençeleri bile bile görmezden gelir. Bazıları da meşguliyetleri olmadığı için sırf eğlenmek, vakit geçirmek, gönüllerini avutmak bir aşık ararlar. (1956, pp. 48-49)]

Yetkili describes women as being self-confident and bold enough to seek a lover. This highly confident image of women in search of sexual desire is very different from the image of woman projected in the women's magazines (see Chapter 4). Yetkili does not condone women's betrayal, but s/he is in search for the reasons

for betrayal and argues that men are mainly responsible for women's unhappiness and unloyalty. For every example s/he gives, Yetkili concludes that virtue is very important and morality and loyalty are the ingredients of a happy marriage. For instance, s/he states at the end of one chapter that "A chaste and virtuous woman has a single lover: her husband. A woman who has many lovers will certainly divorce one day later or sooner. The woman who does not close her doors to the attraction of this word will ultimately be punished in a terrible way" ["Faziletli ve iffetli bir kadının tek bir aşığı vardır, o da kocası. Kocasından başka aşığı olan kadının ergeç yuvası yıkılacaktır. Bu kelimenin cazibesine kalbinin kapılarını kapamayan kadın ileride bunun cezasını korkunç bir surette çekecektir"] (1956, p. 55). Yetkili concludes her/his argument with the suggestion that women who have cheated on their husbands should not confess their betrayal but should keep it as a secret till the end of their lives and try to return to their moral lives (1956, p. 82).

Yetkili's text is full of examples of stories of women's betrayal and s/he states that her/his aim is to display these examples to society, since they can be seen as lessons for women. His argument reads as follows:

The existence of such affairs of love and passion is somehow beneficial for the wellness of the society. This is because these kinds of affairs provide new directions for the society's perspectives on virtue and morality. If there were not any perversions along with the virtues, life would be too monotonous. A chaste woman devoted to her home, husband, children and moral values will learn lessons from these affairs and will continue on her way fearless and with honor. For the woman who can see the truth, the above examples can be a significant lesson. (1956, p. 71)

[Bu gibi aşk ve ihtiras olaylarının varlığı bir bakıma toplum için faydalıdır. Çünkü bu gibi olaylar toplumun fazilet ve ahlâk görüşüne yeni istikâmetler verir. Eğer faziletlerin yanı sıra iptila bulunmasaydı, hayat monotonluklardan ibaret olacaktı. Evine, yuvasına, çocuklarına, kocasına ve inandığı ahlâk prensiplerine bağlı bir kadın bütün bunlardan ders alacak, doğru bildiği, toplumun iyi karşıladığı yolda korkmadan; alnı açık olarak yürüyecektir. Gerçeği gören bir kadının gözünde yukarıdaki örnekler büyük birer ders olur. (1956, p. 71)]

Yetkili's pseudotranslation could be seen as one of the cases where women's sexual desires were openly discussed. The main difference between Yetkili's text and the other two pseudotranslations is that Yetkili offered choices to women readers and left the decision to them. Women here were responsible for their own choices and examples were given for them in order that they could realize the negative results of betrayal for marriage and society. Yetkili sometimes gives examples without any accompanying judgement or advice. For instance, in one of the chapters, Yetkili presents the results of a survey which he claimed to have done in America. S/he announced that "the orgasm rate in extramarital sexual affairs is remarkably high. In some instances, the orgasm rate in extramarital affairs is even much higher than the rate of orgasm in marital intercourses" ["Evlilik dışı cinsel münasebetlerde orgasm nisbeti bir hayli yüksektir. Hatta bazı durumlarda orgasmla neticelenen evlilik dışı münasebetler, orgasmla neticelenen evlilik münasebetlerinden fazladır"] (1956, p.17). It could be suggested that Yetkili introduced new options into her/his pseudotranslation under a pseudonym, which helped him to write her/his ideas freely in her/his own style. Yetkili's endeavor as the pseudotranslator complied with Toury's definition of pseudotranslation. Toury (1995) suggests that the production of pseudotranslation "constitute[s] a convenient way of introducing novelties into a culture" (p. 41) and so it opens ways "to a writer to do so without arousing too much antagonism in a culture" without having his name associated with the text. (ibid.) In the case of the local production of pseudotranslation in Turkey, it appears that pseudotranslators benefited from all advantages the practice of translation gave them: prestige, money, free space to write without any responsibility and a convenient place to create an agenda to be taken up by other Turkish translators and writers.

Manuals as indigenous writing and the pursuit of national ideals

In this section, I will offer an analysis of two indigenous texts: Daniş Remzi Korok's *Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar* [Secret Conversations with Young Girls] (1936) and Cevat Bilge's *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?* [What Should Every Young Girl Know?] (1947). I want to repeat that the production of indigenous texts on women's sexuality in early republican Turkey displayed diverging trends (see Chapter 3). The number of popular indigenous texts on women's sexuality was higher than the number of popular translated texts between 1931 and 1937, but then decreased and stayed always under the number of translated texts until the 1990s. The increase in the number of indigenous texts was due to the efforts of Daniş Remzi Korok, who wrote twenty-three manuals on women's sexuality between 1935 and 1937. The later years saw a maximum of one or two texts each year until the 1960s. Therefore, I have selected the first text from Daniş Remzi Korok and the second text from Cevat Bilge, one of the few writers who produced a popular text on women's sexuality in the 1940s.

The findings of the previous section have revealed that pseudotranslators entered the market to present new options to female readers. They generated an agenda on sexuality through hidden identities as translators which provided them with a conveniently free space in which to present their ideas. This section will study two Turkish writers who wrote manuals on women's sexuality, in order to examine the variety of topics on sexuality and the ways that these topics were narrated, as well as to generally problematize indigenous production as far as women's sexuality is concerned.

Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar
[Secret Conversations with Young Girls]

Daniş Remzi Korok,¹⁹⁰ a prolific writer of texts on sexuality, wrote eight texts in the series “Sıhhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi” [Health and Social Books Series] in the three years between 1935 and 1937.¹⁹¹ Some texts in the series were for women and some for men. They all came in the form of pocket books and were around thirty pages long. They sold for five *kuruş*, a rather cheap price compared to *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?*, which sold for nine *kuruş* in 1939, and to *Aşk Dersleri*, which sold for twenty-five *kuruş* in 1931 (see Chapter 5). My research has revealed that all Korok’s texts on women’s sexuality had similar titles; such as *Hamile kalmak için gizli konuşmalar. Hamile kalmamak için gizli konuşmalar* [Secret Conversations about How to Get Pregnant. Secret Conversations about How not to Get pregnant] (1936) and *Genç Evli Kadınlarla Gizli Konuşmalar* [Secret Conversations with Young Married Women] (1937) (see Appendix B). All the titles imply that sexuality is a topic that should be spoken about secretly.

Peritextual features

Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar (1936) consists of twenty-nine pages without any further sections and titles. On its cover page, the book is credited to Daniş Remzi, without any reference to his being the writer of the text (see Appendix N). The cover

¹⁹⁰ I could not find any other information about Korok except for his works on sexuality and the indigenous literary texts and pseudotranslations he produced in the 1930s and 1940s, such as *Zaloğlu Rüstem*, 1941, Sağlam Kitabevi; *Vatan Kurtaran Aslan* [Robin Hood], 1940, İstanbul, Güzel, Resimli, Heyecanlı Yeni Sinema Romanları Serisi.

¹⁹¹ Some of these texts are: *İstimna Delk ve Temas* [Masturbation, Petting and Touching], 1937, Sıhhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi: 5, Yalnız Gençler İçin.; *İstişha ve Zürefalık*, 936, Sıhhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi: 6, Gizli Konuşmalar 1. Seri; *Hamile Kalmak ve Kalmamak İçin Gizli Konuşmalar* [Secret Conversations about How to Get and not to Get Pregnant], 1936, Sıhhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi: 8, Gizli Konuşmalar 1. Seri.

page includes the title of the book, the name of the printing house “Sebat Basımevi”, the price of the book and the year of publication. The cover page also includes a note saying “Only for young adults” [“Yalnız gençler için”] at the top of the page. On the title page, the same components can be seen, with the exception that this time Daniş Remzi is presented as the writer of the book. The printing house named on the title page, “Reklam Basımevi”, is different from the one referred to on the cover page. There are no illustrations or any kind of picture on the cover page, which gives the impression that this text was presented as an informative booklet.

There is no preface, postface, table of contents, introduction or sub-titles in the book. On the back cover, a list of books in the same series is advertised, alongside a note: “Each week, one book from the Health and Social Books series will be published” [“Sıhhi ve içtimai kitaplar serisinden her hafta bir kitap çıkacaktır”] (see Appendix N). In the list, eight books are advertised, without the names of their writers. I discovered, however, that they were all written by Korok. Daniş Remzi Korok’s name was printed on the last page of the texts. Korok’s texts were published by three different printing houses, Sebat, Reklam and Bozkurt, yet none of the texts include the name of the publisher. Finally, my research revealed that all books in the same series were published in the same format.

Structure and Style

Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar is composed from beginning to end of sentences one after another, without any further divisions or headings. Daniş Remzi formed a text which reads like a manual for young girls, yet written in a highly literary style. He addresses his readers directly and his voice seems that of an authoritative wise

old man giving advice to young girls who are sitting around him. On encountering the floweriness and verbosity of the opening pages, one might be inclined not to consider the text a book on sexuality. In the first paragraphs of the first chapter, for instance, Remzi introduces the subject as follows:

The words of the poet and great and sensitive artist Celal Sahirin, “Without women, my hairs would be orphaned”, are uttered so clearly and to the point, that nobody can deny their truth. There are even those who say “He is doing an injustice”, since he confined these words to the limits of his soul and his poems. Because, if woman and womanhood did not exist, we would be without not only the poetic spirit of Celal Sahirin and his poems, but also the genesis, all creation, all the universe, spirit, poems and love. (1936, p. 3)

[Yalnız şair değil, aynı zamanda büyük bir artist ve çok hisli bir sanatkar da olan Celal Sahirin ‘Kadınlar olmasa öksüz kalırdı eş’arım’ deyişi o kadar haklı ve yerinde söylenen hakikatlerdendir ki bunu hiç kimse inkar edemez. Hatta bu hakikatı dar bir çerçeveye alarak yalnız kendi ruhuna ve şiirlerine hasrettiği için şaire ‘Haksızlık ediyor’ diyen birçok hakikatçılar bile vardır. [...] Çünkü kadın olmasa, kadınlık olmasa; yalnız Celal Sahirin şair ruhu ve şiirleri değil, bütün fitrat, bütün yaratılış, bütün kainat olmazdı; ruh olmazdı, baştanbaşa şiir ve aşk olmazdı. (1936, p. 3)]

In this paragraph, Daniş Remzi appears to be engaged in literary activity. Rather than being the writer of a non-literary text on sexuality, he sounds like a poet. Throughout the book, Daniş Remzi displays the same penchant for style, thus providing his female readers with a text that could be read like a short story or a long poem. He does not only write in a literary narrative style but also sometimes addresses the readers directly, as if he is talking to them. He just switches from one style to another, from one voice to another in his text. Only one page after the above-cited excerpt, he addresses his readers in the following words:

She is the one who provides every motion, every will to live, every improvement, only she.., just she.. woman. Yes, the biggest, most powerful, unbeatable force is surely you, my readers!... (1936, p. 4)

[Hayata, insanlığa her hamleyi, her yaşama zevkini, her ilerlemeyi veren odur, yalnız o.., sadece o.. kadın. Evet hayatın en büyük, en kudretli, en yenilmez kuvveti muhakkak ki sizsiniz, sizlersiniz okuyucularım!... (1936, p. 4)]

In this paragraph, Daniş Remzi addresses the readers in the form of a dialogue. In the following pages, he changes the “I” voice and shifts to using “we” when he begins to write on marriages. The usage of the “we” pronoun, which implies just from the beginning that the writer involves herself/himself in the discourse, is used by Daniş Remzi to add a collective dimension to the single voice giving advice. Now there appear many wise voices giving advice. This is evident in the example below:

We say that
The station of greatest happiness on every road young girls and boys
walk is a serious marriage. A person who has the arrogance to deny this
fact will never accept the rules of nature. (1936, p. 8)

[Diyoruz ki;
Genç ömürlerin üzerinde yürüdüğü her yolun en büyük saadet durağı;
hakiki ciddi bir izdivaçtır. Bunu inkar etmek küstahlığında bulunabilecek
hiçbir insan dimağ ve düşüncesi; tabiat ve onun kanunları kabul etmez ve
dünya durdukça da etmeyecektir. (1936, p. 8)]

He sometimes becomes so enthusiastic that he writes like a politician addressing women in a public speech. For instance, at one point he writes: “May the clear lights of happiness and joy glitter in the eyes of those who look at this beautiful and heavenly country. You see, you are the ones who will make all this happen, young girls, girls of the young Turkey” [“Bu güzel ve cennet yurdun her bir görülüşünde, ona bakan her bir gözde saadetin, neşenin temiz ışıkları parıldasın. İşte bütün bunları yapacak sizlersiniz genç kızlar, genç Türkiye’nin kızları”] (1936, p. 13). In the rest of the text, Daniş Remzi pursues a similar strategy and creates a work that is a mixture of literary, oral and non-literary styles. In my view, Daniş Remzi was not interested in producing a book to give information on sexuality and this does not seem like a book which has many secret or private topics in it. The next section will reveal that his main aim appears to have been to remind women about social and national moral values and traditions and to transmit his ideas about, and expectations from, women in the new republic.

Writer's conception of women as leaders of the nation

Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar treats a number of themes that concern women, such as the woman as the leader of manhood, of the society and nation, the fascinating woman, the woman as a sinner and the lesbian woman. Daniş Remzi's style is marked by a number of judgements about all kinds of women, except for the first two mentioned above. His judgements and style reflect the nationalist ideology within which he centered women.

Daniş Remzi starts by defining the woman of good character who is the touchstone of a society and nation:

Vigorous young boys with bronze faces and virtuous girls with tender eyes befit the society and its celebrity and glory. These people, who are today's young generation and tomorrow's elders, should always bear in mind these realities and never forget that they live for this nation and society. (1936, p. 11)

[Cemiyete, onun kanına ve şanına yakışır tunç yüzlü dinç delikanlılar ve açık alınlı, şefkat gözlü genç kızlar. Bugünün gençliği, yarının büyükleri olurken bu açık hakikatleri daima göz önünde tutarak her şeyden önce yurt ve cemiyet için yaşadıklarını unutmamalıdır. (1936, p. 11)]

His discourse appears to praise the woman who thinks of her nation and the society she is living in. Daniş Remzi persistently incorporates his nationalist discourse in the text and, as a result, *Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar* becomes a kind of pamphlet glorifying the new nation-state. Daniş Remzi states his expectations about Turkey's future in these words:

Above all, what we want with all our heart is that this country, the young souls of this country, and later all humanity can get rid of bad habits and evil beliefs. May the healthy natural bodies of this land of white lilies not remain far away from us like the fairy tale characters in an imagined ideal kingdom? May all the faces be happy and healthy, every corner of the country clean and decorated and may all the water that flows be clear and bubbling with joy. (1936, p. 12)

[Gönül istiyor ki her şeyden önce bütün bu yurt, bütün bu yurdun genç hayatları ve sonra bütün beşeriyet; çirkin itiyatlardan, fena akıdelerden kurtulsun. Beyaz zambaklar diyarının gürbüz, tabii vücutları; bize muhayyel, ideal bir alem ve tipler gibi efsane ve masal ömrü olarak uzak

kalmasın. Bütün bu yüzler şen ve sıhhatli, her köşe temiz ve bezeli, her akan su berrak ve şakrak olsun. (1936, p. 12)]

Daniş Remzi depicts the fascinating woman as one who lives according to the values and norms of the society. Any woman who does not want to marry and who is fond of masturbation or eventually becomes a lesbian is depicted by Daniş Remzi as a sinner, cheap and unnatural. His secret conversation, which is referred to in his title, begins at this point in the text. He invites his female readers for a secret conversation. Consider the extract below:

If we can have these conversations secretly, whispering in your ears quietly I would tell you this: literary works show us such unnatural types of young girls who escape from marriage that they make our hairs stand on end. The waves of intense desire and passion can be heightened in girls due to the practical jokes they play on younger or similarly-aged boys from their families, which may transform later on into odd habits, and the end of such cases is unpleasant and tragic. (1936, p. 23)

[[...B]u başbaşa konuşmalarımızı biraz daha yavaş sesle ve kulaktan kulağa, gizli olarak fısıldaşabilseydik size derdim ki: Edebi tababet sayfaları izdivaçsızlıktan veya izdivaçtan kaçmaktan dolayı anormal kaydettiği öyle genç kız tipleri göstermektedir ki insan bazen ürperen tüylerini hisseder. Genç kızların [a]ileleri arasında genç veya küçük erkek çocukları ile yaptıkları el şakalarından, ağız oyunlarından başlayarak ilerlettikleri şehvet ve ihtiras dalgaları öyle genişler, öyle garip tezahürler gösterir ki, neticelerinde görülen bu vakalar ekseriye acı ve acıklı olur. (1936, p. 23)]

In the above paragraph, Daniş Remzi lists the reasons for masturbation in young girls. For him, masturbation is a bad habit that can lead to lesbian instincts in the future. As was discussed in Chapter 5 and the previous section of this chapter, masturbation was also a topic in the translations and pseudotranslations of the time. But there it was just identified as a bad habit that could affect girls in a negative way. Indeed, we will recall that Yetkili even informed in his pseudotranslation that it was not seen as a bad habit in western countries. Daniş Remzi, on the other hand, wrote that masturbation definitely had disastrous affects in women's lives that triggered lesbianism in a country. He disparaged lesbian women in such a way that he called them "between human and animal, a bit from one and a bit from the other" ["biraz

insan biraz hayvan arası mahlûklar”] (1936, p. 26). Daniş Remzi displays his subjective views on matters related to women throughout the text. It appears that the motive behind the production of *Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar* was not to inform or educate female readers on sexual matters but to give advice to young girls to behave according to the norms of Turkish society.

Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli?
[What Should Every Young Girl Know?]

Cevat Bilge, the writer of this text, is presented as “Dr. Cevat Bilge” at the top of the cover page, and the title of the book and the name of the series it belongs to “Cinsiyet ve Hayat Terbiyesi” [Education on Sexuality and Life] are given subsequently. Cevat Bilge functioned as a translator of another non-literary text on health which was published in the same year¹⁹² and these two are the only works he wrote and translated, according to the catalogues of the National Library.

Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli? was published by Varlık publishing company, which was owned by Yaşar Nabi Nayır (1908-1981), a prominent translator, poet, author and publisher of republican Turkey. He worked as a writer and translator in the newspaper *Hâkimiyet-i Milliye* (1934-1940) and then in the Turkish Language Foundation (Türk Dil Kurumu) (1940-1943) and the Translation Bureau (1943-1946). He founded Varlık publishing company in 1946 after having resigned from his job in the Bureau. He later worked as a translator at the Bureau, for which he translated many books between 1943 and 1951, mainly from French literature.¹⁹³

¹⁹² Dr. Hemmerdinger (1947) *Midenizi Koruyunuz (Neler Yemeli, Nasıl Yemeli)* [Protect Your Stomach: What Should We Eat and How Should We Eat it?], Trans. Dr. Cevat Bilge. Varlık Yayınları, Faydalı Bilgiler Serisi: 1.

¹⁹³ For detailed information about Yaşar Nabi and Varlık publishing company, see “<http://www.varlik.com.tr>” and for detailed information about his ideas on literary translation as a

Although *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli?* was published in a series and the publisher stated his wish to publish similar texts under the same series, this text turned out to be the only book published in the “Education of Sexuality and Life” series. It appears that the book did not attract the attention of Turkish readers.

Peritextual features

Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli? (1947) is a title very similar to those of the pseudotranslated manuals on women’s sexuality. In fact, it is the same as the title of B. Deniz’s pseudotranslation analyzed as the first example in this chapter. *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli?* consists of seventy-nine pages and is divided into two chapters with individual subtitles, whereby the two chapters also also divided into many sub-chapters. The cover page includes the name of the writer, the title of the book, the name of the series and the name of the publisher. There are no illustrations or any kind of picture on the cover page and the title page is the duplication of the cover page. There is a contents page following the title page and it reads as follows:

Sexual Education

Knowledge of Sexuality
Female sexual organs

Menstruation
Practical jokes
Perverse love
Being friends with boys
Be careful when choosing your girlfriends
What is love?
The selection of a husband
The question of age in marriage
Engagement and the wedding ceremony
An intimate conversation

Knowledge About Life

Freedom to dress up
Freedom is one thing, being impertinent is another
Should a young girl work?
Fantasy and reality
Knowledge and culture
Joy: a sign for spiritual health
Slim or fat
Are you organized?
Physical education and sport
Three major enemies

translator and a publisher, see Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001, p. 95, 107, 154, 182, 214, 270, 276, 296, 521, 553)

Cinsiyet Terbiyesi

Cinsiyet bilgisi
Kadın tenasül cihazı
Âdet
El oyunları
Sapık sevgi
Erkeklerle arkadaşlık
Kız arkadaşlarınızı iyi seçiniz
Aşk nedir?
Koca intihabı
Evlenmede kadın ve erkeğin yaşı
Nişan ve Nişanlılık
Düğün
Mahrem bir konuşma

Hayat Terbiyesi

Süslenme hürriyeti
Hürriyet başka, şımarıklık başka
Genç kız çalışmalı mıdır?
Hayal ve hakikat
Bilgi ve kültür
Neşe: ruh sıhhatinin alameti
Zayıf mı? Şişman mı?
İntizamsever misiniz?
Beden terbiyesi ve spor
Üç büyük düşman

The contents of the text indicate that Cevat Bilge selected a wide range of subjects, all of which he thought female readers should learn about. There is a preface preceding the first chapter, written by the publisher. The publisher explains in the preface that the company chose to publish an indigenous text rather than publishing a translation, which was seen as the easiest way. In the preface, the publisher also states their sensitiveness about approaching such a subject and explains the reasons for publishing this text in these words:

Considering the peculiarities of the conditions of our lives and our country and that we are in the phase of breaking free from one civilization and passing over to another, we have opted to have expert pens rewrite these works according to our needs, while bearing in mind our national morals and traditions. (1947)

[Memleketimizin ve içinde bulunduğumuz hayat şartlarının hususiyetlerini, bir medeniyetten sıyrılarak başka bir medeniyete geçiş safhasında bulunduğumuzu ve milli ahlâk geleneklerimizi göz önünde tutarak bu eserleri kendi ihtiyaçlarımıza göre yeniden mütehasıs kalemlere yazdırmayı daha uygun bulduk. (1947)]

It appears from the preface that the publishing house, in the person of the patron, found someone to write on the subject and initiated the translation project. The publisher decided to give the text to a doctor, who was seen as a specialist on the

subject. It would not be wrong to suggest that the publishing house interfered in the selection of the topics as well.¹⁹⁴

Structure and style

Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli? consists of two main sections, one titled “Cinsiyet Terbiyesi” [Sexual Education] and the other “Hayat Terbiyesi” [Knowledge About Life]. The first section is further divided into thirteen sub-headings and the second section into ten sub-headings. Bilge organized his text in such a way that he gave not only information on sexuality but also on some general subjects related to the daily lives of girls. As a doctor of medicine, he saw himself as an expert on sexuality and on life in general.

His being a doctor clearly affected the way he presented medical knowledge. At the beginning of the first section, he writes that his aim is to give knowledge on sexuality to women, since they have been left destitute due to the traditional belief that sexuality is something shameful to talk about. Bilge states that “Due to the wrong and unprogressive considerations of families, there is no alternative way to complement the lack of this kind of education other than the books written especially on this subject” [“Ailelerin yanlış ve geri telâkkileri yüzünden ekseriya noksan kalan bu terbiyeyi hususi kitaplar vasıtasıyla tamamlamaktan başka çare kalmıyor”] (Bilge, 1947, p.14). He presents information about the sexual organs, menstruation, masturbation, flirting with men, homosexuality (which he calls “perverse love”

¹⁹⁴ Yaşar Nabi, as the owner of Varlık, seems to have been a patron who took an active part in the translation process from beginning to end. Tahir-Gürçağlar conducted a telephone interview with Azize Erten Bergin who worked as a translator in Varlık publishing company. She informs that Azize Bergin applied omissions in her translation of *Gulliver'in Yolculukları* [Gulliver's Travels] published by Varlık company, since Yaşar Nabi Nayır told her how much she had to cut from the source text in order to make the translation conform to the format of the pocket book series (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001, p. 521).

[“sapık sevgi”] (p.21)), the definition of love, ways of choosing a husband, and girls who have had sexual intercourse before marriage. It seems that, though Bilge opted to classify this section as “Sexual Education”, and introduced the text as mainly an informative one, he inserted many other topics in the first section as well.

Bilge’s text reads like a manual like the other examples we have seen. He wrote seventy-nine pages in twenty-three sections, with the outcome that each section is around three or four pages long. It appears that he structured his text as a manual for women not only on sexuality but also on many topics related to social life. As far as his style is concerned, my reading of the text showed me that Bilge did not write in an academic style. He wrote in such a way that all female readers could understand the text. Additionally, his abundant usage of directives in the text exposed his main aim as being to instruct female readers. An example of this is the instructions he gives to engaged girls:

If you do not want your happiness that starts like a fairy tale to end in a tragedy, you have to understand perfectly the meaning and nature of the period you are in. If you will disregard the boundaries of reasoning and common sense and only aim at enjoying yourself, you should take into account that the responsibility for the bad events you will face in the future is yours alone. The person who wants to be happy should serve for their happiness. (1947, p. 44)

[Bir peri masalı gibi başlayan nişanlılık hayatınızın acı bir trajedi ile sona ermesini istemiyorsanız hayatınızın bu devresinin mâna ve mahiyetini iyice anlamanız şarttır. Mantık ve akliselimin size çizdiği hudutları hiçe sayarak sadece keyfinize hizmet ederseniz yarın karşılaşacağınız kötü âkıbetlerin mesuliyeti yalnız sizin olacağını hesaba katınız. Mesut olmak isteyen saadetine hizmet etmesini bilmelidir. (1947, p. 44)]

Apart from his directives, Bilge uses a rather informal style like a patient father talking to his daughter. He always addresses the female readers with the second person pronoun and gives direct advice. For instance, in the section titled “An Intimate Talk”, he appeals to his readers with the following words: “My girl, you’ve

made a big mistake, a very big mistake. There is no way to correct this tragedy but the heart will not accept the fact that you should pay for it with your life or state of mind” [“Kızım hatan büyük, çok büyüktür. [...] Evet bu felaketin tamir edilmesine imkan yoktur ama bir anlık gafleti bir kimsenin canile veya aklile ödemesine gönül razı olmaz”] (1947, p. 48).

Bilge only uses a rather academic style in two chapters, in which he gives medical information on sexual organs. For instance, he defines the female uterus in the following terms: “The female uterus is a hollow organ as large as a child’s fist. Its shape is like a pear hanging downwards from its stalk. The size of its inside cavity can only contain a walnut” [“Rahim, bir çocuk yumruğu büyüklüğünde, içi boş bir uzuvdur. Şekli, sapı aşağı doğru çevrilmiş bir armuda benzer. İç boşluğu ancak bir ceviz sığacak kadardır”] (1947, p. 15). It appears from the example that Bilge provided explanations by building relations between the organ and fruits such as walnuts or pears, presumably to enable all readers to understand the text.

In the rest of the text, Bilge pursued the same strategy. In my view, he tried to write a book of many topics on women mainly in order to instruct regarding them the norms of the society and to make them abide by them. It appears that giving information on sexuality to female readers was only his secondary aim. This suggestion can be better exemplified in the next section on his conception of women in the nation and society.

Writer’s conception of women: virtuous and modern

Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli? focuses on a number of themes that concern women, such as the engagement period, the ways to choose a good husband, knowledge on

sexual organs and their functions, and so on. Yet, it appears that Bilge's conception of women revolved around their position in the society and nation. He frequently linked information or advice to the importance of women in society. The first example is on the importance of knowledge and cultivation in women's life. Bilge states his views on the different conditions of women in the East and West, commenting that

In the East, the woman was never seen as an equal of a man. She is the one who proved useful in doing housework, in bringing up the children and satisfying her husband's sexual desires; she is not worth considering and she is a worthless kind. After we started to enter the sphere of western civilizations, this dilemma slowly began to vanish in our society. [...] Seeing that women have been in search of equality, they should rise to the level of men and be their companions. It has been widely observed that a girl who was raised among uneducated women, who has never taken a book or newspaper in her hand, and who has rarely gone to a cinema or theatre, cannot reach happiness in marriage even if she is honest, tidy, good-natured and hardworking. It is often the case that this girl sees her husband being snatched up by another woman, who is educated and clever. (1947, p. 65)

[Şark cemiyetinde kadın hiç bir zaman erkeğe eşit sayılmazdı. O ev işlerini görmeğe, çocuk doğurup büyütmeğe, bir de erkeğin şehvi arzularını tatmine yarayan, ciddiye alınmaya değmez, hakir bir cinsti. [...] Garp medeniyet çevresine girmeye başladığımız zamandan beri kadınla erkek arasındaki bu ayrılık ve zıtlık cemiyetimizde yavaş yavaş ortadan kalkmaya başlamıştır. [...] Kadın madem ki erkekle eşitlik davasına kalkışmıştır; her bakımdan ona eş olmaya, onun seviyesine çıkmaya mecburdur. Yalnız cahil kadınlar arasında büyüyen, eline kitap, gazete almıyan, sinema tiyatroya pek seyrek giden bir kızın, ne kadar dürüst, temiz, halûk, çalışkan ve vefalı olursa olsun aile hayatında saadete erişemediği ve eşini, bütün bu saydığımız vasıflardan mahrum, fakat bilgili ve zeki bir rakibesine kaptırdığı çok görülen hallerdendir. (1947, p. 65)]

A few pages later, it appears as if Bilge's model of an educated and clever woman who is a companion to her husband is actually only important for Bilge because women of this kind would be the mothers of the future, who would raise children for Turkish society. Bilge's nationalist ideas can be traced throughout the text. One example occurs in a section on health. Bilge wants women not to be thin, because;

Before praising herself for being so slim, the girl should not forget that she will be a mother in the future, will raise children for this society and

will try to have a strong and lively body in order to protect her health that she will need in raising sturdy children. It is unusual for mothers with a pale complexion and bony bodies to have strong and sturdy children. (1947, p. 72)

[Genç kız dal gibi bir vücutla iftihar etmeye kalkmadan önce, yarının bir annesi olduğunu, memlekete yavrular yetiştireceğini düşünmeli, bu işin annelerden isteyeceği sıhhat ve sağlamlığı muhafaza edebilmek ve gülbüz çocuklar yetiştirebilmek için metin ve canlı bir vücuda sahip olmaya çalışmalıdırlar. Saz benizli, sıska vücutlu annelerden sağlam ve gülbüz çocuklar doğduğu pek nadirdir. (1947, p. 72)]

Bilge's model woman is one who is virtuous, educated, clever, hardworking, bound to her traditions and to her society, nation, and modernity. The image of healthy, educated and modern Turkish women was the one that was praised in the women's magazines of the period (see Chapter 4). Bilge's aim of writing a text for women to remind them of the national values of the Turkish republic is clear enough in his words below:

We can never thank Atatürk enough for saving women from a kind of slavery and giving them human dignity and a place that they deserve through the reforms which we tried to carry out in order to keep up with the advanced of the technical civilizations. With his ingenious talent of vision, Atatürk realized the location of the injury and, like a surgeon; he removed the tumor from our society's body with a scalpel. (1947, p. 56)

[Teknik medeniyetin ileri hamlelerine ayak uydurmak için girişmiş olduğumuz inkılâplar arasında kadına insanlık şerefine lâayık mevkiini vermiş, onu bir nevi kölelik hayatından kurtarmış olduğu için bu memleket Atatürk'e, ne kadar minnet duysa azdır. O dahi görüşile, Atatürk, asıl yaranın nerede olduğunu farketmiş, usta bir operatör gibi bir neşter darbesile, kaç asırlık uru cemiyetimizin bedeninden koparıp almıştır. (1947, p. 56)]

Conclusions

Three pseudotranslations and two indigenous manuals on women's sexuality were analyzed in this chapter. Analysis of the pseudotranslations revealed that pseudotranslators manipulated their texts in order to create the image that their texts were translations. All pseudotranslators chose doctors as experts and behaved in such

a way as if the writers of their texts were foreign doctors. There seem to have been various factors behind the choice to present their works as translations. Firstly, the decision of the publisher seems to have played a decisive role in producing pseudotranslations, since translated manuals on women's sexuality occupied a significant place in Turkey in the early republican period and it is obvious that indigenous texts did not appeal to readers as much as translations. In this case, the main motivation of publishers to produce pseudotranslations could have been commercial. In addition, choosing to present their texts as translations and hiding behind a pseudonym seems to have provided two main advantages for pseudotranslators. On the one hand, this allowed them more easily to inform female readers about western ideas on issues such as masturbation, lesbianism, sexual desires and the importance of sexuality in marriages. On the other hand, pseudotranslators benefited from the status of translators in the given period as well. With regards to the scope of the pseudotranslated manuals, it could be suggested that it was similar to that of the translated manuals.

Finally, as far as the pseudotranslators' conceptions of women are considered, it can be suggested that the pseudotranslators' ideal woman was a perfect mother, chaste, thoughtful, submissive and loyal, but also sexually attractive and active. As we saw in this chapter, pseudotranslators wrote freely on many subjects connected with sexuality, and I would like to argue that defining their works as translations generated for them a suitable site in which they could introduce new options for women together with the traditional ones offered within the modernization project. It may not be wrong to suggest that pseudotranslators with hidden identities introduced novelties into the Turkish culture repertoire without arousing antagonism.

The indigenous texts, however, give a quite different picture. Indigenous writers of manuals on sexuality wrote in such a style that they sounded like authoritative fathers giving advice to female readers. The main concern of indigenous writers seems to have been to instruct female readers about their significant positions within the Turkish society and nation. It could be proposed that the main motive behind their decision to write manuals on sexuality for female readers was not to give information on sexuality but to remind them of the cultural and national values of the new republic. As a result, the ideal image of the Turkish woman constructed in their texts was of one who was virtuous, educated, modern, and bound to her society and nation; in a way, she was the leader of the new nation-state.

CHAPTER 7

CASE STUDY III: TWO MANUALS: A TRANSLATION AND ITS DERIVATIVE

In this chapter I will analyze two texts: a “compilative translation” (Toury, 1995, p. 32) and a “concealed translation” (Toury, 1995, p. 70) which is derived from the compilative translation. Before going into the analysis, I should note that, according to the catalogues of the National Library, only four popular indigenous manuals on women’s sexuality were published between 1950 and 1960. Therefore I was limited in my choice of a text for analysis. I chose *Dişi Kuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi* (1959) [The Nest-Maker: A Guide to Every Young Girl and Woman] because I realized that its title was quite similar to the other pseudotranslations and translated texts in my lists (see Appendix A). Only recently have I discovered that *Dişi Kuş (...)* is in fact a concealed translation. It is a translation which is derived from another translation, *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için bir kılavuz* (1958) [Reproduction Life: A Manual for All], which itself is a translation compiled from many sources. This chapter then will focus on these two texts, firstly aiming at problematizing the interrelationship between these texts to see what further insights they might provide into the distinctions between translated and indigenous writing. Secondly, the translators’ conception of women in the two texts will be questioned in relation to one another, whereby I will investigate the differences and similarities evidenced. The bibliographic details of these two texts are:

Hirsch, Edwin [et al.] (1958) *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için bir kılavuz*. [Reproduction Life: A Manual for All] Ed. Mustafa Kızıltan. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı and Ayten Başçı. 8 volumes. Akça Matbaası.

Başçı, Ayten and İsmail İlhan Başçı (1959) *Dişi Kuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi*. [The Nest-Maker: A Guide to Every Young Girl and Woman] Istanbul: Seks. (Kadınlara Ait Neşriyat.1-2) [Publication for Women. 1-2]

Tools of Analysis

Toury, in his article “The Notion of ‘Assumed Translation’ - An Invitation to a New Discussion” (1995a) explains the notion of “assumed translation” in the following words:

[A]ny target-culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded - within that culture - as necessary and/or sufficient. (p. 146)

His postulates of source text, transfer and relationship underly his determining the study of translations as being target-oriented, in that the target culture and language, he claims, are where observations about translations should start. Toury’s emphasis on the target-orientedness of any translation study might have gained a further meaning in the case of pseudo-, indirect, compilative or concealed translations.

He suggests that “a translated text entails the assumption that there is a source text in another language, yet sometimes an assumed translation may have more than one source text” (Toury, 1995b, p. 32). He calls this kind of translation that is composed of more than one source “compilative translation” (ibid.). For Toury (1995a), it is important to start any research on translation by assuming that there is a source text that corresponds with the target text, yet he warns that “a target fact which was tentatively marked as a translation, with the Source-Text Postulate implied, may then turn out to lack a corresponding text in any other language/culture” (p. 143). Thus, a “source text may never have existed”, but still the

way pseudotranslations function “within a culture is no different from the way ‘genuine’ translations do” (Toury, 1995a, p. 144).

Toury further explains that an indigenous text may have turned into a translation, as in the case of “concealed translation”, which denotes that the text in question was not initially written in the target language but is introduced into the target culture as having been so. He writes:

Knowledge of the existence of a text in another language and culture, which a target-language text is taken to have replaced, may also serve as a trigger for adopting the assumption that that text is a translation. This last possibility is of paramount heuristic importance for cultures, or historical periods, where translations exist as concealed facts – whether it is only the presentation of a text as being of a derived nature which is not customary or whether the very distinction between translations and non-translations is not culturally functional and is hence blurred (Toury, 1995b, pp. 70-71).

Here, in my third case-study, I discovered that *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* is a compilative translation, which has more than one source, while *Dişi Kuş (...)* is a concealed translation which was introduced as an indigenous text. The following analysis will be carried out under three headings: peritextual features, structure and style, and translators’ conception of women in sex life.

Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için bir kılavuz
[Reproduction Life: A Manual for All]

This text was published in eight fascicles, each of which was sold for 100 *kuruş*. Each volume is around thirty pages in length and the page numbers follow consecutively between the volumes. In total, the eight volumes make up a 253 page book. All volumes were published under the same title in 1958. It is evident from the title that this book was translated for both women and men. It is a translation compiled from many sources, yet the source texts are not supplied; only the names of

the source writers¹⁹⁵ appear on the title page (see Appendix O). The translators were İsmail İlhan Başçı and Ayten Başçı. İsmail İlhan Başçı was introduced as “conveyor” [“nakleden”] in all eight volumes, whereas Ayten Başçı, who was introduced as “conveyor” and indicated as the co-translator of the first issue, was cited as one of the source writers in the remaining seven issues. Mustafa Kızıltan, who was introduced as the publisher of the book [“çıkaran”], was very active in the publishing market in the period. For instance, he published another book on sexuality just a year later, which was *Kadın ve Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı: 500 Soru 500 Cevap* (1959) [Sexual Life of Woman and Man: 500 Questions, 500 Answers], a compilative translation again translated by İsmail İlhan Başçı.¹⁹⁶ In an advertisement that appeared on the back cover of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*, readers were informed that *Kadın ve Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı(...)* would be the next series of the same publisher.

I carried out research on the source writers of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* in order to decide whether this was a compilative or even pseudo-compilative translation. My research on the source writers revealed that some of them were known doctors of medicine. For instance, Edwin Hirsch, the first name in the list of source writers, was a doctor of medicine and a well-known medical sexologist in the 1950s. He was especially known for his study *Modern Sex Life* (1957).¹⁹⁷ Laurence Gould, one of the other source writers, was a consulting psychologist who wrote many texts on

¹⁹⁵ There are many source writers in the eight volumes. Their names, as they appear on the title pages, are Dr. Edwin W. Hirsch, Dr. Michele Orenco, Dr. Smulders, Dr. Lawrence Gould, Dr. Hafız Cemal Lokmanhekim, Prof. Auguste Forel, Dr. William Fielding, Dr. J. Carnot, Dr. S. Mooley, Ayten Başçı.

¹⁹⁶ Partington, T.B. [et al.] (1959) *Kadın Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı: 500 Soru 500 Cevap*. Conveyed [“nakleden”]: İsmail İlhan Başçı. (Ed.) Mustafa Kızıltan. Seks Yayınları. Vakit Basımevi. Mustafa Kızıltan also published indigenous works, for example İhsan Boran’s *Afrodite Uyaniyor: Aşk ve İhtiras Romani*. [Aphrodite Awakes: A Novel of Love and Passion] (1947) Istanbul: Vakit Basımevi.

¹⁹⁷ Some of his works are; Hirsch, Edwin W. (1934) *The Power to Love: A Psychic and Physiologic Study of Regeneration*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart and *Impotence and Frigidity*. (1966) Citadel Press.

psychological behaviors. He also wrote for magazines; his article titled “The Truth about Petting” (1936), for example, was published in *Physical Culture*.¹⁹⁸

Therefore there is solid evidence that *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* was not a pseudo-compilative translation but rather a genuine compilative translation. Although there was no indication in the book of the precise source texts, there were clues inside the text that it was compiled by translators from many foreign sources, such as articles or newspapers. Besides, on the title page of the second series launched by the same publisher, it was indicated in a note that *Kadın ve Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı (...)* was compiled from many sources. The note reads as follows: “500 *Questions and Answers* was prepared and compiled by drawing on various works and articles published in different newspapers and magazines” [“500 *Sual 500 Cevap* çeşitli eserlerden, muhtelif gazetelerde ve mecmualarda çıkan makalelerden faydanılmak suretiyle hazırlanmıştır”].

The research on the writers and the publisher of the book has yielded the findings that *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* was not a single compilative translation and that the practice of compilative translation should be considered in a broader corpus. The next section will dwell on this issue in detail.

Peritextual features

Even a brief glance at the cover of the translated text *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* suffices to raise many questions in one’s mind. The cover page includes the name of the book as *Tenasül Hayatı*, without the sub-title, and just after the title there is a drawing

¹⁹⁸ This magazine was published in January, 1937 (for many cover samples of foreign magazines and some articles published in them between 1920s and the 1960s, see http://blog.modernmechanix.com/2007/02/27/the-truth-about-petting/?Qwd=PhysicalCulture/1-1937/petting&Qif=petting_0.jpg&Qiv=thumbs &Qis=XL&Qtmp=S#qdig).

depicting a man with a syringe, looking rather serious while waiting for an injection, and just in front of him there is a woman holding her head with one hand and looking rather ill (See Appendix O). The title of the book and the illustration on the cover give an immediate message to the reader that it is about sexual health. The names of the source writers or translators are not indicated on the cover. The cover page also includes the price of the book, 100 *kuruş*, and the information that this book is the first volume. The back cover includes a list of contents from the book, such as “İktidarsızlık ve Kısırlık” [Impotency and Infertility] or “Mesut Aile” [Happy Family].

The name of the first translator, İsmail İlhan Başçı, is supplied at the top of the inner page together with the epithet “conveyor” [“nakleden”]. It is followed underneath by the full title of the book and the name of the second translator, Ayten Başçı, who is also called the “conveyor”. My research on İsmail İlhan Başçı found that, in the catalogues of the National Library, he appears only as the translator of *Kadın ve Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı: 500 Soru 500 Cevap*, as mentioned above. The catalogue reveals that this book had nine re-editions by the same publisher, yet each was published under a different title.¹⁹⁹

After the names of the “conveyors”, the names of five source writers are listed, as is the name of the publisher, referred to as “publisher” [“çıkaran”]. The translated text does not have a contents page, but the publisher and the first translator of the book supplied a preface. In the preface they state that:

Works on reproduction and sexuality which comprise all subjects related to woman and man have not gained popularity only in our country; they have also been published in every corner of the world. [...] In order for people to be informed about reproduction and sexuality, there is and will be a need for such texts. We produce this humble work with this consideration. (1958)

¹⁹⁹ I could not reach any information on Ayten Başçı, except that she was the co-translator of the first volume of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* and the co-writer of *Dişi Kuş (...)*.

[Kadın ve erkeğe dair bütün mevzuları dikkatle ele alan tenasül ve cinsiyet hayatımız hakkındaki eserler değil sadece memleketimizde dünyanın hemen her köşesinde gittikçe artan bir yayın olmakta devam etmektedir. [...] İnsanoğlunun tenasül ve cinsiyet bahislerinde umumi bilgilerinin artması için böyle eserlere muhakkak ihtiyaç vardır ve olacaktır da. Biz bu mülâhazayla elinizdeki nâçiz eseri meydana getirdik. (1958)]

As can be clearly seen from the above quotation, the professed aim of the publisher and first translator was to compose a manual about reproduction and sexuality. At the end of their preface, they praise their work and try to assert the authenticity of the information in the book with these words:

Our work is a production of highly qualified people who carried out meticulous research and investigations. It took shape after we had spent many months reading indigenous and foreign books, encyclopedias, magazines and serial writings, and then translating and classifying these materials. (ibid.)

[Eserimiz en yetkili kimselerin son derece titizlikle yaptıkları araştırma ve tetkiklerinin bir mahsulüdür. Eserimiz yerli ve yabancı kitap, ansiklopedi, mecmua ve seri yazıların okunup tercüme edilmesi, tasnif olunması aylarca devam ettikten sonra bunların bir araya gelmesiyle vücut buldu. (ibid.)]

At the top of the next page, there is the following statement written in capital letters: “Every young girl and boy must read it” [“Her kızın, her gencin mutlaka okuması lâzım”]. It thus appears that the intended readership consisted of both girls and boys.

All remaining seven volumes in the series were organized in the same format, with the exception that the second translator of the first volume became one of the writers in the following ones. There is also an addition to the volumes starting from the third one; a column comprising the answers to readers’ letters began to be published. On the last page of the third volume, there is a note saying that the series had attracted great attention and that they had received many letters from readers so

that they decided to answer some of them at the end of the volumes (1958/3, p. 95). From the columns on readers' letters in five volumes, it can be seen that both female and male readers wrote to the publisher. However, the letters themselves were not published in the columns but rather only the answers to them. At the beginning of each answer, the publisher supplied the name of the reader, sometimes their full names and sometimes in initials. One of the answers to a female reader in the sixth volume reads as follows:

Ms. Remziye Hoşgör –Beşiktaş: The female orgasm is more often dependent on certain psychological factors. Because of this, in a normal woman, orgasm occurs before or during ejaculation. This subject will be dealt with in subsequent issues. (1958/6, p. 159)

[Bayan Remziye Hoşgör-Beşiktaş: Kadında orgazm daha ziyade ruhi birtakım faktörlere bağlıdır. Bunun içindir ki normal bir kadında orgazm ya ejakülasyondan [sic.] evvel veya ejakülasyon sırasında vukubulur. Bu husustaki bahisler gelecek sayılarımızda yer alacaktır. (1958/6, p. 159)]

A total of fifty-three readers' letters were answered, twenty-eight of them from women and twenty-three from men. Two letters were anonymous. Female readers thus appear to have shown considerable interest in the volumes and to have written to the publisher about their problems. At this point, I should note that an examination of the female readers' letters showed that the names of most women inquiring about sexual problems were written in initials, but when they asked questions about general issues, such as children or pregnancy, their names appeared in full. Having scrutinized the questions, though, I saw that most of the women's letters were answered simply with the advice that readers should look out for the subsequent volumes. For instance, "Ms. R.A.-Okmeydanı" is told: "You will find the answer for your questions in our next volume. You can expect to be satisfied" ["Bayan R. A. –Okmeydanı: Suallerinizle ilgili bahisleri gelecek sayımızda bulacaksınız. Tahmin ediniz ki tatmin olacaksınız."] (1958/4, p. 127).

Before going on with the analysis of the structure and the style of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*, I should note that the practice of producing compilative translation seems to have been popular in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s (see Appendix A and L). These compilative translations were mostly introduced in the catalogues and bibliographies with their editors' names and sometimes anonymously.²⁰⁰

Structure and Style

Tenasül Hayatı (...) addresses various subjects in its eight volumes, such as the nature of the hymen, sexual education of children, impotency, infertility, sex on honeymoon, menstruation, sex games, love and sex, interesting old traditions of sexuality, alcoholic women, pregnancy, reproduction, sexual perversion, and the female body. Each volume is divided into many chapters and sections and further sub-headings. It is organized in such a way that every subject is handled in one or two pages, sometimes even in just half a page. There are no references to any of the source writers or any source texts, so it is impossible to know which writer wrote which chapter or section.

Illustrations of sexual organs were inserted abundantly, with the female vagina, male penis and a child in the womb being shown in their simplest form. A significant number of paintings were also included. They were from famous artists, depicting mostly naked women and men, such as Auguste Renoir's "Reclining Nude" (1902) or "Bathers" (1887) and Tiziano Vecelli's "Venus of Urbino" (1538). The name of the artists were indicated and the name of the paintings were given in Turkish, such as "Yıkanan Kadın" [Bathing Woman] for "Reclining Nude", "Banyo"

²⁰⁰ Therefore it is left to the researcher to consult the sources themselves in order to acquire more precise bibliographic details.

[Bath] for “Bathers” and “Kusursuz Kadın” [Immaculate Woman] for “Venus of Urbino”. All illustration and paintings were in black and white and they were scattered among the volumes in a seemingly random fashion, since they did not have any relation with the subject most of the time.

It appears that İsmail İlhan Başçı organized his text as a manual for women, with the aim of providing information related to sexuality. As far as the style is concerned, I should note that there is not any difference between the first volume, the one translated by İsmail and Ayten Başçı, and the other seven volumes, in which İsmail Başçı was the only translator.²⁰¹ My analysis showed that Başçı used a rather formal and directive style. Let’s see an example from the sixth volume:

Intercourse during Pregnancy

Apart from this, there are two physiologically-grounded exceptions: periods and childbirth. There should be a break of at least four weeks after the delivery. Except for extremely lustful men, every husband should be able to agree to this break and cope with this period with the aid of erotic dreams (1958/6, p. 185)

[Gebelikte münasebet

Bunun dışında aybaşları ve doğum, fiziyojiye dayanan iki istisna teşkil eder. Doğumdan sonra hiç olmazsa dört haftalık bir ara vermek lazımdır. Pek şehvetli erkekler müstesna, her koca buna razı olabilir ve bu müddet zarfında pek ala gece ihtilamları ile dayanabilir (1958/6, p. 185)]

The translated text continues with this style throughout all eight volumes, which gives the impression that the subject of sexuality was handled as something serious. A further example of this is the following excerpt from the second volume about old sexual traditions from Brazil and Mexico:

In old times, many very strange things used to happen in Brazilian tribes. The hymens of the girls who were going to be married were perforated by a magician from this tribe or by the leader of the tribe. It is true that, in Mexico, priests were responsible for this operation. These kinds of traditions are common in different parts of the world. (1958/2, p. 36)

²⁰¹ To avoid repetition, I will refer to the translator simply as Başçı when dealing with the second and subsequent volumes, and give the two full names whenever I quote from the first volume.

[Eskiden Brezilya'daki bir çok kabilelerde garip garip hadiselere şahit olunmuştur. Evlenecek kızların bikri bu kabileye mensup büyücü tarafından, yahut kabile reisi tarafından izale edilirdi. Meksika'da bu işin rahiplere yaptırıldığı bir hakikattir. Bu ve benzeri adetler dünyanın muhtelif yerlerinde görülmüştür. (1958/2, p. 36)]

Başçı mostly used passive and indirect sentences, by means of which he not only distanced himself from the readers in the text but also strengthened the feeling that the text was written by another person and he was only transmitting the information. It seems almost impossible to discern the voice of the translator. In the following excerpt, Başçı is presenting information on young girls by referring to the source writer:

Mr. Kirkendall, in one of his articles published in a journal of medicine (Hygiene), states that “Children who are given information on sexuality by their parents are fourteen or fifteen years old.” (1958/7, p. 200)

[Mr. Kirkendal [sic.] (Heygeia) [sic] adlı tıp mecmuasında yayımlanan bir yazısında: “Ebeveynlerinden cinsi meseleler hakkında bilgi edinmeye başlayan çocuklar, on dört, onbeş yaşındadır” demektedir. (1958/7, p. 200)]

L.A. Kirkendall, a famous scholar who worked on sexual education, was not one of the source writers of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*. There are many names like this inside the book, which shows that the actual number of source texts and writers was greater than that indicated on the title pages of the volumes. Finally, it could be said that the translator's style in the eight volumes indicates that this was an informative text which aimed to give knowledge on sexual matters to its readers.

Translators' conception of women in sex life

As mentioned above, *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* takes up a number of themes on sexuality that concern women and men. Yet it appears that Başçı's conception of the subject of

women and sexuality centered mainly on the importance of knowing that sex is pleasurable and that women should not be ashamed of the sexual pleasure or desire they feel. Having collected and selected the source texts from various newspapers and magazines, Başçı seems to have opted to remind women about the significance of sex in their lives. The first example of this is a statement concerning the importance of women accepting sexual pleasure as one of the factors in their lives.

The translated paragraph reads as follows:

A young girl should not blame herself because of the sexual manifestations she is trying to hide in the depths of her personality. She should know that these are the voice of ,nature calling her to future events, to the honors and task of womanhood, to the happiness of love and the greater happiness of motherhood. She should take care of her body in order to be a worthy lover for her prospective husband. (1958/4, p. 118)

[Genç kız benliğinin derinliklerinde saklamaya çalıştığı cinsi tezahürleri ayıp kabul etmemelidir. Bilakis kendisini yaşayacağı olaylara, kadınlık şeref ve vazifelerine, aşk saadetine ve ondan çok daha büyük bir saadet olan analık saadetine çağırmanın tabiatın sesi olduğunu bilmelidir. Genç kız vücuduna itina etmelidir ki müstakbel zevce teabbüde layık bir sevgili olabilsin. (1958/4, p. 118)]

Moreover, women are advised in the book to be active in sexual intercourse.

A comparison made between animals and human beings is a clear example of Başçı's aim. Let's see the quotation below:

In the world of animals, females are quite passive. Among civilized people on the other hand [...], the woman who has become a man's companion for love and life participates very actively in sexual intercourse. And the more active she is, the more pleasure she and her partner derive. (1958/8, p. 231)

[Hayvanlarda cinsi münasebet sırasında dişi gayet pasiftir. Medeni insanlar arasında ise [...] erkeğin aşk ve hayat arkadaşı olmuş olan kadın, cinsi münasebet hareketlerine faal bir şekilde iştirak eder ve ne kadar faal olursa zevkini ve birleşmenin zevkini de o derece artırır. (1958/ 8, p. 231)]

One of the additional aims of the translator appears to have been to give medical information to the readers about the sexual organs. Almost each volume includes one or two section on this subject. Here is an excerpt taken from the first volume, where Ayten and İsmail Başçı depict an ovary:

Each ovary weighs six grams. It is four centimeters long and two centimeters high. Each ovary contains approximately thirty thousand blisters. These blisters are called ovary bladders. (1958/1, p. 22)

[Yumurtalıklardan her biri altı gram ağırlığındadır. Uzunluğu dört yüksekliği iki santimdir. Her yumurtalıkta sayıları otuz bine varan kabarcıklar vardır. Bu kabarcıklara ‘yumurta kesecikleri’ adı verilmektedir. (1958/1, p. 22)]

This kind of knowledge is always given in an explanatory style, sometimes with extra information provided in parentheses, in such a way that every reader can understand easily. The text also includes translated sections on men. While women are called upon to behave freely and to take pleasure in an active sex life, men are usually treated as the ones who have the responsibility for steering the intercourse, as in the excerpt below:

The man should always know how to control himself during intercourse so that he and his wife can be satisfied simultaneously and he should behave accordingly. (1958/6, p. 188)

[Erkek her zaman birleşmeyi, karısı ile aynı anda tatmin olacak şekilde ayarlamasını bilmeli ve ona göre hareket etmelidir. (1958/6, p. 188)]

In the light of the above analysis, it could be suggested that the translator’s main concern was to compile a translated text in order, first and foremost, to give information on sexuality to female and male readers. The close textual reading has revealed that Başçı tried to make women readers aware of the significance of sex in their lives, even to provoke them to be active in sexual life. Therefore it appears that

Başçı's (and Ayten Başçı's) compilative translation was intended to have not only an informative but also an operative function as far as women were concerned.

Dişi Kuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi
[The Nest-Maker: A Guide to Every Young Girl and Woman]

Dişi Kuş (...) was published in 1959, a year after the previous text. It was introduced as an indigenous text which was published by Mustafa Kızıltan, also the publisher of the *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*. It was introduced as a guidebook for young girls and women. It was written by Ayten and İsmail Başçı, the translators of the previously analyzed compiled translation. A closer look inside immediately tells us that it was not an indigenous text, since one can easily see that *Dişi Kuş (...)* was a translation from *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*. Only recently have I discovered that *Dişi Kuş (...)* is a translation, a concealed translation, the work of Ayten and İsmail Başçı. The Başçıs translated the text from the previous compilative translation, which had been translated by them. One needs to consult the books in order to determine the precise nature of these publications, since *Dişi Kuş (...)* is listed in the catalogues as an indigenous work while *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* is known as a translation from an anonymous foreign writer. At this point, I should note that I take *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* to be the source text from which *Dişi Kuş (...)* was derived. Since it has proved impossible to find the source texts of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*, the comparison will be made between two translations, between a concealed and a compilative translation. The aim here is to question the translators' conceptions in these compilative and concealed translations, the latter of which was treated as an indigenous text.

Peritextual features

Dişi Kuş (...) consists of seventy-one pages and is divided into seven chapters and many sections.²⁰² It is much shorter than its source, *Tenasül Hayatı*. The cover page presents the names of the writers at the top in the format “Writers: Ayten-İsmail Başçı” [Yazanlar] and the title of the book is indicated in the middle of the page, with the sub-title beneath in parentheses. The name of the publisher is given at the end of the page as “Publisher: Mustafa Kızıltan” [“Çıkaran”] (see Appendix O).

There is no preface, postface or table of contents accompanying the text. But still the text is divided into sections, which are as follows:

What Can Be Love?	Aşk Ne Olabilir?
What is True Love?	Gerçek Aşk Ne?
Science and Love	İlim ve Aşk
Love and Genius	Aşk ve Dehalar
Married People and the Art of Love	Evliler ve Aşk Sanatı
The Nest-Maker Makes the Home	Yuvayı Dişi Kuş Yapar
What are the Things that Undermine Happiness?	Saadeti Baltalayan Şeyler Nelerdir?

The titles of the chapters indicate that the Başçıs selected love as the main subject for their text. It appears that they applied extensive omissions in their translation when compared with *Tenasül Hayatı*. It would not be wrong to suggest that the two texts were quite different from each other and each functioned differently in the Turkish culture repertoire.

The next sections will focus on the structure and style in *Dişi Kuş (...)* and the writers’ conception of women in love and romance.

²⁰² Due to the binding format of the National Library, it is impossible to see the cover page. Thus I started my peritextual analysis from the title page.

Structure and Style

Dişi Kuş (...) is organized primarily as a text on love and the main idea is to describe the meaning of love, giving examples from ancient times, showing the difference between love and physical attraction, justifying the importance of real love by invoking references from psychology, giving examples from famous people like Goethe or Schubert and their great love stories, focusing on the importance of love in marriages, telling a story about the dangers for women if they can not make the right choices, besides restating the key points from *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* outlined in the previous chapter.

From this outline of the topics in *Dişi Kuş (...)*, it should be evident that the Başçıs' excluded sexuality from their text completely, omitting chapters on men, and drawing on only certain sub-sections from *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*. Having analyzed the two texts closely, I discovered that the so-called writers of *Dişi Kuş (...)* arranged their texts mainly from the first and the second chapter of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*. They took some sections completely from the compilative translation, such as the sections titled "About Love" ["Aşk Hakkında"] (1958, pp. 46-47) and "Love and Manifestation" ["Aşk ve İnkişaf"] (1958, pp. 47-48). It would appear that the Başçıs cut bits and pieces from their compilative translation and compiled a new text with a new aim which they introduced to the female readers as an indigenous text.

As for the style of the translators, it can be said that they wrote mainly in an informal tone, addressing the readers directly. Let's see the example below:

Yes, dear readers, it is the nest-maker that makes the home. She uses all her skills and grace to decorate her home and she does her best to make others admire it. (1959, p. 47)

[Evet sevgili okuyucularımız yuvayı dişi kuş yapar. Bütün inceliğini, özelliğini ve bütün hünerlerini kullanarak yuvasını süsler, ona hayran nazarları çevirmek arzusu ile adeta yarışır. (1959, p. 47)]

The Başçıs made abundant use of questions, a style which draws the readers immediately into the text. Here is an example from the first chapter titled “What Can Be Love?”

There are some animals that are completely unaware of the pleasure of making love. Here is an example. Species of fish do not enjoy this most delightful pleasure. Fish do not mate. If you ask for details, I will explain that the female fish leaves billions of eggs in the depths of the sea. The male fish passing over the eggs inseminates them and continues on his way without knowing to whom these eggs belong – males do not even try to search for females. It means that most mating animals have only senses rather than feelings. (1959, p. 11)

[Sevişmenin zevkini hiç bilmeyen hayvanlar da mevcuttur. Misal mi istiyorsunuz? Pullu balık çeşitleri o tatlı, o pek tatlı şeyden tam manası ile mahrumdur. Pullu balıklar çiftleşemez. Nasıl oluyor dersen, işte bak anlatayım: Dişi balık deniz diplerine milyonlarca yumurta bırakır. Bu yumurtalara rastgelen erkek balık onların üzerinden geçer ve hangi dişiye ait olduklarını bilmeksizin –araştırma yapma zahmetine de girmeden-tohumuyla yumurtaları döller ve geçer gider. Demek ki çiftleşen hayvanların çoğu bir tek duyguları ile haz duymaktadır. (1959, p. 11)]

It can be seen clearly from the above examples that Ayten and İsmail Başçı wrote in a friendly tone and tried to build a close relationship with their women readers. They did not only change the structure in their concealed translation by selecting the sections and topics on love, but also altered the style of the new text.

At this point, it is salient to add that only a few indigenous texts were published in the 1950 and 1960s, whereas translations were produced abundantly and they sold well, as was discussed in the previous chapters. Therefore, it is difficult to suggest the reason behind the decision to organize such a text and present it as an indigenous text, although both this text and the compilative one were produced by the same translators and initiated by the same publisher. It is hard to suggest a reason for their choice, but easy to observe the differences between the functions of the two texts in the Turkish culture repertoire. The compilative one was clearly aimed at

giving sexual information and thus served as a medium to create a freer environment for a discussion on sexuality, whereas the concealed one – the one that functioned as an indigenous text- only repeated the same traditional norms in order to encourage women to conform to them.

Writers' conception of women in love and romance

Dişi Kuş (...) focused mainly on the idea that sexuality was not and should not be at the center of women's lives and that love was more important than sex. Ayten and İsmail Başçı linked every topic or advice to the importance of love and the dangers of sexual attraction. Here is an example which gives a clear indication of the significance of love:

Sexual intercourse should never be the only basis of a relationship between partners. [...] A relationship depends on the heart and soul rather than on sex. (1959, p. 14)

[Cinsi münasebetler asla iki kişi arasında başlıca münasebetleri teşkil etmemelidir. [...] Münasebet cinsi olmaktan ziyade ruha ve kalbe bağlıdır. (1959, p. 14)]

In another example, the translators explain the difference between animals and human beings, indicating that sex is sometimes dangerous. They provide this example at the very beginning of their text:

This is where humankind is superior to animals... However, besides all these pleasures animals will never know, you have several problems they will never encounter. Yes, the most terrible thing for you is the fact that nature has poisoned the pleasures of making love in many parts of the world. Only humans have caught this horrific disease. And the only thing this disease causes to rot is the human's sexual organs. (1959, p. 12)

[İşte insanoğlunun hayvanlardan üstün oluşu... Lakin onların bilemediği bu kadar çeşitli zevke karşın senin de, hayvanların hiçbir vakit akıl erdiremeyecekleri kadar çok derdin vardır. Evet. Senin için işin en feci en korkunç tarafı, yeryüzünün ekseriyetinde, yani dörtte üçünde, tabiatın

sevişmenin zevkleri, hayat kaynaklarını müthiş bir hastalık ile zehirlemiş olmasıdır. O müthiş hastalığa sadece insanoğlu yakalanır. Ve o hastalık yalnız ve yalnız insanın zürriyet uzuvlarını çürütür. (1959, p. 12)]

These kinds of warnings are given in almost every chapter by Ayten and İsmail Başçı. They even tell a moral story about a girl who has a sexual relationship and is destroyed at the end. This story does not exist in the compilative translation, so it appears that the translators prepared this story specifically for their concealed translation. The story was nineteen pages long. Let's see an excerpt from the story:

He leaves her pregnant or with an innocent child. This is more tragic than anything, than any other disaster. It is opprobrium for a woman. When she pleads to him to share the shame, he, the evildoer, says without any regret: "How dare you insist that the child is mine? (1959, p. 60)

[Onu karnında veya kucağında herşeyden bihaber bir yavru ile ortada bırakır. Bu, her şeyden, her felaketten elimdir. Bir kadın için [...] yüz karasıdır. Bu yüz karasını beraber paylaşmalarını ısrarla söylediği zaman ırz düşmanı, hiç bir nedamet hissi duymadan: Çocuğun benden olduğunda nasıl ısrar edebilirsin? diye konuşur. (1959, p. 60)]

Finally I want to point out that Ayten and İsmail Başçı gave advice to women in a list in the last section of the text, which was in fact a summary of the text in two pages. The list reads as follows:

Each woman who thinks, understands and judges well [...] reaches the peak of the spiritual summit called happiness. A woman should have some qualities to make herself and her husband happy: 1. She must have a good family education 2. She must have good manners concomitant with a good family education, 3. She must be sincere and genial, 4. She must avoid lies and hypocrisy, accepting the truth as it is. 5. She should not undermine her happiness by focusing on anything save for her husband and children. 6. She must have foresight, be understanding, she must have good reasoning and she must take into consideration even minute details. 7. She should never envy the money, goods or lifestyle of others, even her close relatives. 8. She must cut her coat according to her cloth. (1959, pp. 67-68)

[İyi düşünen, iyi anlayan ve iyi muhakeme etmesini bilen her kadın [...] saadet denen o ulvi zirvenin ta son noktasına ulaşmış olur. Bir kadının hem kendisini hem de kocasını mesut edebilmesi için bazı şartların bulunması gerekiyor: 1. Aile terbiyesi iyice kökleşmiş olması, 2. Aile terbiyesinin kendine verdiği görgünün tam olmasını, 3. Güler yüzlü ve samimi olması, 4. Hakikatleri olduğu gibi kabul edip, yalandan ve riyadan daima uzak durması, 5. Kocasından ve çocuklarından başka bir şey düşünüp saadetini baltalamaması, 6. İyi görüşlü, iyi anlayışlı ve her şeyi en ince teferruatına kadar düşünebilmesini bilmesi, 7. Başkalarının,

hatta en yakınları dahi olsa parasını, malını, yaşayışını kıskanmaması, 8. Ayağını yorganına göre uzatması gerekiyor. (1959, pp. 67-68)]

Conclusions

Two texts were analyzed in this chapter; first a compilative translation, which was published in eight slim volumes, and secondly a concealed translation, which was introduced as an indigenous text but in fact was derived from the compilative translation. My analysis revealed that *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* (the compilative translation) included various topics, such as the female organs, sexual intercourse, sexual diseases, old traditions about sexuality from various countries, masturbation and the sexual education of children, whereas *Dişi Kuş (...)* (the concealed translation) had a more limited range of topics, excluding sexuality and focusing mainly on love and romance instead. The writers of the latter work omitted most of the chapters and created a shorter text, although they extracted almost all the contents of their second book from their first one and they further added a moral story at the end of their text.

The textual analysis of the two texts revealed that translators in the compilative translation felt freer in writing on sexuality. As a result, it could be suggested that the practice of translation provided them with a suitable channel for introducing new options for women readers. The same translators displayed a different attitude in the indigenous work. Their main concern was not to inform or offer novelties to women readers, but to remind them of the traditional and cultural norms to which they should conform.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

I started my research for this thesis in order to explore and problematize the role of the translator/translation in constructing the discourse on women's sexuality in early republican Turkey. This was carried out on several levels. On the broadest level, I investigated the significance of translations/translators in the discussion on the "woman question" while surveying the issues and approaches concerning the history of women's movements in Turkey from the *Tanzimat* to the republican period. In this process, I discovered that neither translations nor the question of sexuality had been problematized in translation studies or women's studies in Turkey. On another level, my findings led me to challenge views that placed emphasis on the "asexual" identity of women in scholarly studies on the history of the women's movement. I therefore set out to trace any relationships between translations and women's sexuality and, as a result of my research I realized that I could problematize both in relation to each other. I also considered translators, pseudotranslators and publishers as agents who were active in constructing the agenda on women's sexuality in early republican Turkey. Having focused especially on translation and translator on an empirical level, I discovered that practitioners of translation, with different attitudes towards the question of women's sexuality, pursued different strategies, which led to the production of diverse popular texts on the subject.

My analysis of the different dimensions of translations and studies on the history of women's movements showed that translated non-literary texts may harbor significant and diverse practices of translating in a culture and may also create a specific and liberal zone in which the unspoken or the taboo can be introduced and

debated. The notions of “culture repertoire” and “culture planning” (Even-Zohar, 1994; 1996; 1997; 2004), which are pivotal elements of my theoretical framework, helped me to place translation within a wider context in which I could compare translation and indigenous writing on women’s sexuality and their interrelationship. My findings revealed that the need for planning the production of translated popular texts on women’s sexuality in early republican Turkey arose from the absence of sexual knowledge and of texts on sexuality. This gap was primarily filled by translators, pseudotranslators and private publishers of books and manuals. A few articles were published on sexuality in women’s magazines, but they were superficially informative until the 1980s.

In **Chapter 2**, I examined the notion of “modernization” as taken up in the scholarly debates on the history of women’s movements from the *Tanzimat* to the republican period. After the 1980s, Turkish scholars depended on the notion of “modernization” to explain the unfulfilled official attempts at liberating women in Turkey. Their studies tended to focus on forming a women’s history with special emphasis on women’s active roles in their liberation. From this perspective, scholars examined the history of women’s movements in three periods; the *Tanzimat*, Second Constitutional and republican periods. According to these studies, women became the subject of debates on westernization between Westernists, Turkists and Islamists in the *Tanzimat* and the Second Constitutional period. In the republican period, women were placed at the centre of discussions on nationalism and modernization. While, in the two periods mentioned above, the model for women was to be chaste and modest, and protected from foreign influences, in the early republican period the model projected was of women as modern, educated mothers of the nation. My survey of literature on women’s studies illustrated that sexuality was not a part of

such debates. Modern scholarship tried to foreground women's visibility in history, but without reference to sexuality as part of their identity. Similar to the question of sexuality, the position of translation in the history of women's movement was also overlooked and left unproblematized by researchers. My findings in this section revealed that there was much to be explored, especially in the field of translated non-literary popular texts on women's sexuality. There was also a wide corpus of non-literary translations on other subjects which addressed female readers. These findings led me to formulate a series of questions: What kind of non-literary texts were translated for and on women? Who were the translators and publishers of these texts? What kind of roles did translators play in the production of non-literary texts for/on women? As I delved further into such texts, these questions became more detailed, covering such issues as (a) deciding to publish translations for and on women, (b) selecting works for translation, (c) translation strategies and (d) marketing strategies employed.

My survey of the position of translations in contemporary research on the history of women's movements revealed that there was a lack of information about the activities of translators in this specific field, which had been overlooked by researchers. The agents of translation, publishers and marketing conditions that gave rise to the production of translated non-literary texts on women's sexuality had also been overlooked.

The theoretical and methodological framework outlined in Chapter 2 helped me to investigate the broad database and my corpus within a systemic, descriptive, analytical, explanatory and interpretative framework. I analyzed the assumed translations and assumed sources as options offered to female readers. I both

described and analyzed them in order to problematize the various translation practices and question their functions within the Turkish culture repertoire.

In **Chapter 3**, I presented a database of non-literary translated and indigenous texts published for/on women between 1828 and 1990 in order to set up a general socio-cultural “network” (Pym, 1998; Tahir-Gürçağlar 2005; Forthcoming) against which the role of translations in the production of non-literary texts for/on women could be studied diachronically, synchronically and comparatively with the indigenous texts. I selected six categories of non-literary texts published for/on women: “women’s sexuality”, women’s biographies”, “women and politics”, “women in marriage and family life”, “women in society and feminism” and “women and Islam”. In this chapter, I compiled two different lists, one for translations and another for indigenous texts, for each of the above categories. My findings displayed that no distinctions were made between translated and non-translated texts in the library catalogues and the bibliographies; translations were listed together with the indigenous texts. These two lists of translated and indigenous texts for/on women must be recognized as the first attempt at such a categorization in Turkey. These categorizations helped me to survey and study the lists diachronically, synchronically and comparatively. At this juncture, I think it is important to point out that one cannot be sure that all texts purporting to be translations originated from a foreign source text and that they were not actually pseudotranslations. Neither is it certain that so-called indigenous texts were actually indigenous and not partly or wholly concealed translations.

My survey in Chapter 3 revealed that (a) the production of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women increased dramatically by a factor of around fifty between 1828 and 1990, (b) among the six subject headings mentioned

above, “women’s sexuality” was the subject most translated and written about between 1828 and 1990, making up 38.5% of all non-literary text production in the market. Biographies followed women’s sexuality at 21.5% and gender and feminism at a slightly lower percentage of 20.6%. The percentage of the texts in the category of “marriage and family life” was 10%, followed by texts on “women and Islam” at 8.4%. Finally texts on “women and politics” were the least translated subject at 2%.

Further study of the lists demonstrated that there were some peak points in the overall distribution of translated and indigenous texts published for/on women, such as the 1950s and the 1970s, with a sharp decrease after the 1980s. The peak points in the distribution were significant, since the first increase in the 1950s was related to the slower and steady entrance of texts on sexuality in the first half of the twentieth century.

As far as the category of women’s sexuality is concerned, my survey revealed that (a) the production of non-literary texts on women’s sexuality began in 1878 with indigenous texts (see Appendix B) and was followed by translations in 1914 (see Appendix A); (b) though the indigenous production seems to have begun earlier compared to translations, the number of translated popular non-literary texts on women’s sexuality surpassed the indigenous text production after the republican period, especially after the 1940s; and (c) the number of translations was higher than the number of indigenous texts when the overall pattern was taken into consideration.

As for the women’s biographies, I discovered that (a) the translating activity began in 1828 (see Appendix C) whereas the local production started in 1878 (see Appendix D) and (b) until the 1940s translated biographies were different in their nature when compared to indigenous biographies. Translations were mostly on one woman, such as *Katerina Tarihi* (1828) [History of Catherine the Great] and

Madame Curie ve Radyumun Keşfi (1931) [Madame Curie-Sklodowska-and the Story of Radium], while indigenous texts were mostly collections, such as *Şair Hanımlarımız* (1893) [Our Poet Women] and *Tarihte Kadın Simaları* (1931) [Women in History].

Coming to the texts on “women in society and feminism”, my survey of patterns showed that (a) the number of texts on feminism increased dramatically after the 1970s; (b) different from the trends in the above categories, both translators and indigenous writers of this category started their activities in the 1910s (see Appendices E and F); (c) the number of translated texts on feminism had a similar distribution trend compared to the number of indigenous texts until the 1980s, but indigenous text production surpassed the translations after the 1980s, which I think shows the beginning of the prolific local production due to the spreading of feminism in Turkey.

The survey of the non-literary texts on “women in marriage and family life” revealed that (a) they were mostly produced by indigenous writers (see Appendix H); (b) the number of translations never went beyond the number of indigenous texts between 1828 and 1990; (c) there was an increase in the number of translated texts in the 1960s compared to the number of translations before 1960 and after the 1970s (see Appendix G). This unique distribution of the texts on “marriage and family life” could be seen as an indication of readers’ preferences for indigenous texts on this subject.

Finally, the survey of the categories of “women and politics” and “women and Islam” showed that (a) all texts in the category of “women and politics” were translations (see Appendix I) and that a total of eleven texts were published between 1828 and 1990; (b) the translating activity for the texts on “women and Islam” began

almost synchronically with the local production of the same subject. The first translated text appeared in 1959 (see Appendix J) while the first indigenous text came out in 1958 (see Appendix K); and (c) the number of indigenous texts on women and Islam had been always higher than the number of translations until 1990.

Chapter 3 further examined the trends of main source languages from which non-literary texts for/on women in the above six categories were translated. I discovered that (a) English was the most preferred source language, followed by French and German, which shows that Anglo-American countries, France and Germany were the preferred cultures for private publishers to import until 1990 and (b) the selection of the foreign cultures was different with respect to the six categories: America and Britain (followed by France and Germany) were chosen for importation when non-literary texts on sexuality were concerned, France and Germany were favored for texts on “women in society and feminism”, Germany and Russia for the texts on “women and politics”, and Egypt for the texts on “women and Islam”. At this point, I should add that not only source languages but also intermediate languages were used in the translations; therefore, the survey of languages could not provide completely accurate data, but still it showed the general tendency in the selection of foreign cultures.

Chapter 3 also explored the publishers of translated and indigenous non-literary texts for/on women. My survey yielded the conclusions that (a) private publishers dominated the market as far as non-literary texts for/on women are concerned; (b) almost all translated non-literary texts and around 90% of the indigenous texts were published by private publishing companies, and (c) private publishers ran some series for these texts, in which they, however, launched only a few texts.

The overview of the number of fe/male translators and writers of non-literary texts for/on women demonstrated that the number of female translators and writers was relatively low compared to the number of male translators and writers in the period between 1828 and 1990 and that the number of female translators was lower than the number of female writers of the same period.

The second part of Chapter 3 was devoted to the description of the corpus of popular texts on women's sexuality which were published in the republican period between 1931 (the date of the first text in Latin script) and 1990. This descriptive analysis showed that (a) the proportion of translated texts was 64 %, which was four times higher than the number of indigenous texts; (b) all translations and indigenous texts in this category were initiated by private publishers; (c) there was a noteworthy rise in the number of translations after the 1940s, which coincided with the rise in the number of private publishers in Turkey. Bearing in mind the significant translation activities of the Translation Bureau in the period between 1940 and 1960, I determined that the popular texts on sexuality did not attract the attention of the Bureau. This survey revealed that private publishers served as the only planners of the discourse on sexuality. Some of the private publishing companies which initiated the production of such texts introduced these texts in series, most of which were given generic names, such as "Güncel Kitaplar Serisi" [Current Books Series] or "Faydalı Kitaplar Dizisi" [Beneficial Books Series]. Only a few private publishing houses launched series especially on sexuality, in which they published translated and indigenous texts on both female and male sexuality.

Another significant period for the production of women's sexuality was the 1970s, in which the number of translated popular texts on female sexuality boomed. This dramatic increase in the 1970s appeared to be a result of the rising popularity of

erotic films in the same period, given the fact that around two hundred erotic films were made each year from 1970 to 1979 in Turkey. The same impetus was seen in the rise of the production of translated anonymous popular texts on women's sexuality in the same period. The production of these texts, such as *Foto-sex: Şehvetli Kızlar* (1974) [Photo-Sex: Sensual Girls] and *Çırılçıplak Dişi Seks Albümü* (1975) [Naked Female Sex Album] was a clear indication of the link between the popularity of the translated popular texts on women's sexuality and the rising popularity of erotic films in the 1970s. This period also displayed a shift in the nature of the popular texts on sexuality: while translators seem to have benefited from one "assumed" (Toury, 1995; 1999) source before this period, they appear to have compiled their texts benefiting from various sources afterwards.

My examination of the indigenous popular texts on women's sexuality on the other hand revealed that there were two significant peak points in the number of these texts between 1931 and 1990, the first of which was in the 1930s and the second in the 1960s. The reason for the first rise was Daniş Remzi Korok's twenty-three texts published between 1935 and 1937. The second peak coincided with the numerous re-editions of Haydar Dümen's texts in the 1960s.

Chapter 3 further demonstrated that (a) the number of female translators and writers was relatively low compared to the number of male translators and writers of these texts; (b) the number of male translators and writers decreased slowly after the 1970s; (c) the hegemony of male translators in the production of popular texts on sexuality was taken over by female translators after the 1970s. The increasing number of female translators, particularly in this period, appeared to be a result of the increasing number of texts published on feminism.

As for the professions of the fe/male translator and writers of the popular texts on sexuality, I discovered that female translators were mostly scholars from various disciplines and some of them were famous translators of literature. Some of the foreign female writers of the assumed source texts, on the other hand, were known for their novels while others were doctors of medicine. Male translators of the popular texts on female sexuality were journalists, editors and directors of magazines and newspapers. Some of them were known pseudotranslators of popular literary texts. As far as the foreign male writers of the source texts are concerned, most of the male writers were doctors of medicine.

Finally, my research on the translated and indigenous popular texts on women's sexuality and the fe/male translators of the period between 1931 and 1990 indicated that (a) the early republican period involved diverse practices of translating activity as far as texts on women's sexuality is concerned and (b) anonymous translators, pseudotranslators and pseudowriters were all active in translating and pseudotranslating popular texts on women's sexuality. Therefore I selected the period between 1931 and 1959 for the case study analysis in order to explore the strategies of the translators, pseudotranslators and the function of translations and translators in constructing the discourse on women's sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire.

In **Chapter 4**, in order to provide additional insight into the context surrounding the non-literary text production for and on women in Turkey, I examined what was discussed or written on women in women's magazines. Just like the books or manuals which were translated and written on women and were offered as reading options to female readers, women's magazines, which define their readers in advance as women, offered a variety of translated and indigenous topics to their

readers. This chapter surveyed women's magazines with a special focus on the place and role of translations and translators in them. This chapter consisted of two parts. The first part focused on the analysis of two published bibliographies of women's magazines, one for the pre-republican and the other for the republican periods (Toska et al., 1992; Davaz-Mardin, 1998). The second part focused on the analysis of selected articles from sixteen magazines published between 1929 and 1993 in order to determine the popular subjects for women readers.

First, I explored extratextual discourse on translators and translations in the bibliographies, including indigenous writers and texts, in order to provide a basis for a comparative analysis between translations and indigenous text production. My special focus was on the agents who were involved in publishing the magazines, such as translators, writers, owners, editors, editor-in-chief and general managers. I examined the bibliography of the women's magazines in the pre-republican period (1869-1922) in terms of the number of female and male translators, owners, editors, directors and the number of translations and their topics. The findings of this section demonstrated that (a) most of the thirty-two women's magazines published in the pre-republican period were owned, directed and edited by men; (b) eight magazines out of thirty-two published translations; three of these magazines were owned by women, in two of them women worked as directors and in the other two they worked as editors; (c) in three of these eight magazines only women were in charge and in three of them only men; (d) the eight magazines which carried translations were published just around the turn of the twentieth century; (e) translations were mostly published in the magazines where women were active as owners, editors and managers.

The critical analysis of the bibliographies of the pre-republican period further illustrated that (a) sixteen female and eighteen male translators worked in the eight women's magazines in the mentioned period, (b) most of the translations were cited with their translators, but without their authors until 1990, with an exception of five texts which included names of both translators and authors, (c) the position of the visible translators and invisible authors in the magazines shifted after the 1900s and both translators and authors were indicated in translations thereafter.

The analysis of translated topics in the magazines revealed that translations had several functions: entertaining, informing and educating female readers of the period. The survey further displayed that (a) translated stories and serialized translated novels were the most popular genre in the magazines, (b) the number of non-literary texts was relatively low compared to the number of literary texts and (c) "women's sexuality" as a subject did not appear in women's magazines in the pre-republican period.

The bibliography of women's magazines published in the republican period between 1923 and 1990 was also examined in terms of the number of female and male owners, directors, editors and publishers. The findings of this section were that (a) the number of women's magazines increased steadily until 1990, with the exception of the slight decline between 1960 and 1970, (b) after the 1940s the number of female owners, directors and editors increased steadily and surpassed the number of men in administration after the 1980s, and (c) compared to the pre-republican period, the proportion of the women in administration increased from 20% to 46 %.

In order to question the role and function of translations and translators in the women's magazines in the republican period, I problematized the representation of

translations and translators, the translated topics offered to female readers and finally the translated texts on women's sexuality. Sixteen selected women's magazines published between 1929 and 1993 were analyzed with a special focus on translations and translators. The findings revealed that (a) the translator's name was generally not indicated on the translated non-literary texts in the magazines, but sometimes it appeared subordinate to the name of the author, while there appeared a standard strategy of including the translator's name, mostly cited at the beginning or at the end of the story, with the author's name in the translated literary texts in fifteen magazines. *Pamukkadın* (1984-1993) was the exception, since most of the translated stories in this magazine were published without the name of the translator, (b) translators were introduced in various ways, such as "conveyor" ["nakleden"] , "adaptor" ["uyarlayan"] , "translator" ["çeviren"] , "translator into Turkish" ["Türkçeye çeviren"], "editor" ["hazırlayan"] and "author of translation" ["çeviri yazarı"] until the 1960s, after which "translator" became the standard form of indicating the translator, (c) translators were invisible in the advertisements and recommended readings published in the magazines; the strategy was often to supply only the name of the source author, although in some cases even the name of the source author was omitted. This resulted in total anonymity. Indigenous books, on the other hand, always carried the name of the author.

Within the non-literary articles in the sixteen women's magazines mentioned above, I explored the topics common to all of them: "women in marriage and family life", "women in society and nation", "famous foreign and Turkish women" and "women's sexuality". My survey revealed that (a) translated and indigenous articles, which included advice to women on marriage and family life, were published in great numbers until the 1970s and that most of these articles were by indigenous

writers; (b) many translations on marriage and the family included references to surveys and questionnaires from foreign countries, which showed that they were translated from foreign magazines; (c) until the 1970s, women and young girls were advised to be understanding, silent, modest, patient and capable housewives and to be perfect partners in marriage in order to be able to protect their marriages; (d) both translations and indigenous articles published until the 1970s instructed female readers to be good mothers and housewives and warned them against the negative results of divorce. The idea of divorce as a disaster for Turkish society could be seen in various articles during the first forty years of republican Turkey. The passive and motherly image of woman depicted in the articles on marriage between the 1930s and the 1960s was compatible with the symbolic image of women which resulted in their invisibility, as was discussed in Chapter 2; (e) the period from the 1970s to the 1990s witnessed a completely different discourse on divorce and marriage in the women's magazines. Different from the advice for women to preserve their marriages that could be seen in translated and indigenous texts until the 1970s, the period towards the 1980s was characterized by questioning other factors, such as jealousy, alcoholism, boredom and sexuality in damaged marriages; (f) both translated and indigenous texts on marriage and family in the period between the 1930s and the 1970s reinforced the stereotype of the female as "silent, obedient, excellent mothers at home", which was compatible with the findings of the scholars of women's studies and (g) translated texts on marriage and family appeared rather infrequently in the magazines after the 1980s.

Indigenous texts which position women at the centre of the society and nation appeared in only two magazines out of sixteen until the 1950s: *Türk Kadını* (1944-1948) and *Aile* (1947-1952). Both magazines were owned by male members of

National Assembly and the writers of the magazines had a similar approach towards the place of women in society and nation. Women were defined as “chief commander” [“başkomutan”], “reformist” [“devrimci”], “ideal mother” [“ideal anne”], “tutor” [“eğitimci”] and “touchstone of the nation” [“mihenktaşı”] in both magazines, in which articles praised “the new woman” of the republic. The nationalist approach adopted in these magazines revealed the type of the discourse depicting women as symbols of the modern Turkish nation in the agenda of the state until the 1950s and foregrounding the image of “ideal woman” of the nation as a tool to achieve modernity. The nationalist ideology which was criticized by some of the scholars of women’s studies did not find a place in the other fourteen magazines. The notion of women as mothers of the nation fitted in with the dominant nationalist ideology of the state and complemented the image of women created within the modernization project in the early republican period, as was discussed in Chapter 2.

My findings on the translated and indigenous female role models introduced in the women’s magazines included a common characteristic of the articles on this subject: these articles were, in fact, mostly concealed translations. Here, foreign women were introduced to Turkish female readers. The 1930s witnessed the appearance of foreign female role models from the Far East, such as Japan and China. They were presented as ideal mother figures, as in the magazine *Ana* (1939/5, 1941/36). However, the image of the Japanese woman portrayed in *Aile* (1951) was completely different from the Japanese role model introduced in *Türk Kadını* (1952). The anonymous writer of the latter article depicted Japanese women in a negative light, arguing that their lives were full of grief since they were treated like slaves at home. The contradictory attitude towards foreign female role models, as manifested in the articles on the Far East, was also to be found in the texts on models from

Western countries: while British women were praised as hardworking and excellent housewives in the magazine *Aile* (1952/5), they were defined as clumsy in comparison with American women in *Türk Kadını* (1947/4). Bearing in mind that *Aile* and *Türk Kadını* showed a similar nationalist attitude in the articles on women in society and nation as discussed above, it is interesting to observe that they offered two different sets of role models in the same period.

This kind of contradiction was not observed in other magazines. Most foreign female models were chosen from working women who were successful and famous, like Helena Rubinstein or Madame Curie. Until the 1970s, all such women were praised as excellent housewives, educated and hardworking women. Even the Hollywood stars were described as good mothers and housewives in this period. It appears that, until the 1970s, articles on foreign female role models did not introduce new options to female readers; on the contrary, they functioned as a tool to protect the prevalent gender roles of Turkish women.

The last section of this chapter focused on the translated and indigenous non-literary articles on women's sexuality. A detailed analysis was carried out in order to trace discourse on sexuality in translated and indigenous articles which were especially introduced to female readers. I discovered that (a) twenty-four texts on sexuality were published in six magazines out of fourteen between 1939 and 1983; (b) only four out of twenty-four texts were cited as translations, but their source writers were not supplied in the magazines and their translators were cited as "translator" in the magazines; (c) many articles on sexuality have neither the name of the source writer nor the name of the translator. As a result, it appeared that secrecy or anonymity was preferred in the women's magazines when sexuality was in

question. There was only one magazine *Kadın* (1984-1993), in which texts on sexuality were published in each issue.

The findings of the textual analysis further demonstrated that, in the period between 1939 and 1950, texts informing readers of the importance of sexual education were published and there were a few articles on medical developments, as well as on sexual development in puberty. Finally, the strategies introducing foreign medical terminology (borrowing, transcription or untranslated terms) displayed an attempt to form an indigenous medical terminology on sexuality in the 1950s. My analysis also demonstrated that the topics of the articles on sexuality in the magazines varied after the 1980s when almost all kinds of topics were translated or written about, such as sexual play, orgasm, lesbianism or helpful hints for perfect sex partners.

Having surveyed and examined the general corpus of non-literary texts for/on women in book form and in magazines, I undertook three case studies on the topic of sexuality which appeared the most popular in terms of numbers in my survey.

In **Chapter 5**, I offered the first of the case studies on three translators - Esmâ Z., a pseudonym for a female or perhaps a male translator, Ömer Rıza Doğrul and Muzaffer Aşkın - as well as their works. My peritextual and matricial analysis revealed that all three translators made extensive omissions from their source texts as well as additions, transpositions and changes in segmentation. Even a cursory comparative look at the titles of the three translations and their source texts demonstrates that the former differed widely from their indicated sources. Close textual analysis revealed that the translators worked like sculptors on the source texts, also altering the style of their sources with their discursive interventions, ultimately producing texts with different aims from their sources. Each translator in

his/her individual manner seems to have followed a policy of domesticating the source text in the form of reader-friendly manuals. One of the translators, Ömer Rıza Doğrul, even declared himself as the co-writer of the target text. Thus, these translators may be said to have invented a genre of guidebooks for women on the subject of sexuality. The works by the three translators indicate that they did not solely act out of commercial concerns, though texts on sexuality were popular and sold in great numbers in the period I studied. They also created an informative and educative agenda about sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire. While conforming to the image of the modern Turkish woman which was generated within the project of modernization, they introduced new images which had not found a place before in the project. Sex as an unspoken subject in Turkish culture seems to have come to light through the efforts of such translators.

Through analysis of the three texts, it was seen that Esma Z, Ömer Rıza Doğrul and Muzaffer Aşkın produced and offered new points of view on sexuality in the public sphere. In the rhetoric generated in these translations, Esma Z focused on the importance of the sexually attractive women, while Ömer Rıza Doğrul emphasized the significant place of sexuality in marriage in an almost entirely Islamicized context and Muzaffer Aşkın drew attention to the idea of sex for pleasure, which was a vital part of happy marriages and not simply a way of producing children. The findings of this chapter revealed that Esma Z, Ömer Rıza Doğrul and Muzaffer Aşkın deliberately changed the form and the scope of the source texts to foreground sexuality as an issue for their readership, informing and instructing them also about the female body, the functions of sexual organs and female sexual fears.

The heavily manipulated target texts analyzed in Chapter 5 offered a fresh perspective on texts assumed to be translations on the basis of the names of the foreign authors indicated on the cover pages, of their titles and styles. Therefore, in **Chapter 6**, I first investigated three books assumed to be translations but for which I could discover no corresponding source texts in the course of my detailed research. Thus these texts, two of which were penned by the same person Selim Yetkili, had to be treated and analyzed as pseudotranslations. These and two texts assumed to be indigenous, but which were also necessary for my comparative analysis, comprised my second case study.

My findings on pseudotranslations revealed that their writers made many manipulations in their texts to create the illusion that their works were translations. Both pseudotranslators used a mixed style: B. Deniz shifted back and forth between an academic and informal style while Selim Yetkili applied a highly literary idiom, occasionally resorting to informality. The tone in the texts strengthened the illusion that they had been written by foreign male doctors, evidently to guarantee the readers of the professional authority behind them. Another significant result derived from the descriptive analysis in this chapter is that both pseudotranslators wrote under pseudonyms, thus concealing their identity. The decision to present these works as translations seems to have had many reasons. Firstly, the translated popular texts on women's sexuality had gained popularity and sales had risen. Secondly, by hiding behind a penname, these pseudotranslators must have been able to open some space for themselves to speak freely on the subject. On the one hand they benefited from the identity of a foreign writer, thus raising the status of the text in the Turkish culture repertoire; on the other hand they avoided the responsibility for their ideas in the texts on sexuality.

My analysis in this section further illustrated that these pseudotranslations, just like translations with source texts, would have an informative function in the Turkish culture repertoire, since translation had become a medium for generating a freer space for writers to transmit their ideas on women's sexuality. Thus new options were presented to the reading public and to the general culture repertoire. Pseudotranslators reconstructed the image of women in their texts, partly conforming to the image depicted in women's magazines but also contributing additional features. Now the ideal woman was conceived as a sexually attractive and informed one. In other words, translation became a suitable site for pseudotranslators (i.e. indigenous writers) to introduce new options for women in addition to the traditional ones offered within the modernization project.

My analysis of two separate indigenous texts by Daniş Remzi Korok and Cevat Bilge respectively, showed that, in terms of discourse, the latter were more conservative than translations or pseudotranslations. It may be inferred that their aim was to remind women of their roles in the new Turkish society and nation. Daniş Remzi Korok appears to be the more radical one, writing in an overtly propagandist style, while Cevat Bilge engaged in a more toned-down nationalist rhetoric. In Bilge's case, the publisher also appears to have been involved in the decisions taken during the translation process. The analysis of the indigenous texts generally revealed that social and traditional constraints affected the writers' decisions; therefore, in contrast to translations and pseudotranslations, these texts emerge as sites for the preservation of traditional cultural norms.

Case studies one and two showed shifts in Turkish writing from (a) heavily manipulated and domesticated translations to (b) pseudotranslations which were, in fact, indigenous texts presented to the readers as translations and to (c) overtly

indigenous texts with a bias for nationalism. My last case study in **Chapter 7** revealed an even more complex practice involving translation. Here I first analyzed *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için bir kılavuz* (1958) [Reproduction Life: A Manual for All], a compilative translation, “conveyed” [“nakleden”] by İsmail Başçı and Ayten Başçı, which was published in eight slim volumes. Then I discovered a second text, *Dişi Kuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi* [The Nest-Maker: A Guide to Every Young Girl and Woman], which was published a year later (1959) by Ayten and İsmail Başçı as an indigenous book. My analysis revealed that the second text was in fact a concealed translation derived from the former compilative translation by the same authors, this time Ayten Başçı’s name preceding İsmail Başçı’s. İsmail Başçı was indicated as a translator of all eight volumes of *Tenasül Hayatı (...)*, while Ayten Başçı was named as the co-translator of the first volume AND as one of the source writers of the remaining seven volumes.

My comparative analysis revealed that *Tenasül Hayatı (...)* included many topics, such as the female organs, sexual intercourse, sexual diseases, old traditions connected with sexuality from various countries, masturbation and the sexual education of children, whereas *Dişi Kuş (...)* had a more limited range of topics, excluding sexuality and focusing on love and romance instead. However, the authors had extracted almost all the contents of their second book from their first one. In view of the findings of this particular case study, we may conclude that writing practices in Turkey within this period produced concealed translations as well as matricially altered translations and pseudotranslations. Translators of various kinds appear to have undertaken the role of planners as they transmitted knowledge on women’s sexuality and generated topics for discussion in the public sphere by creating a more liberal environment for discussion.

The database established of non-literary translated and indigenous texts for/on women published between 1828 and 1990, the critical analysis of this database that revealed sexuality as the subject most translated and written about, the literature survey of works on the history of Turkish women's movements and the republican modernization project and the critical survey of non-literary articles (translated and otherwise) in women's magazines highlighted the fact that translations and translators have served significant functions in the Turkish culture repertoire in establishing a discourse on sexuality.

The three case study analyses carried out in the last three chapters displayed the complexities underlying translations, which bear significant consequences for the study of republican translation history: translations were altered in such ways that they became different from their source texts in terms of fullness; some assumed translations were in fact pseudotranslations, with no corresponding source texts; finally, some assumed indigenous texts were, in fact, concealed translations. As an interdisciplinary study, the thesis showed that the discursive interventions of the translators foregrounded the issue of sexuality while aiming at informing female readers on the subject. When the full range of translations (those lacking in fullness, pseudotranslations, compilative and concealed) are compared with indigenous texts, it becomes clear that translators were less constrained than indigenous writers in expressing themselves and created a freer discourse of their own in the early republican period. Thus, the case studies throw a fresh perspective on the republican modernization project by totalizing views that the discourse on women's sexuality did exist in the early republican Turkey and by positing new findings to question arguments in Turkish women's studies that women's sexuality was suppressed in the nation-building process.

The present thesis is the first of its kind to categorize assumed translations and indigenous texts separately and analyze them from various perspectives. The extensive data collected from the bibliographies and catalogues point to the necessity of forming special catalogues for the use of translation historians, since these could be used as basic sources which would help scholars to question their assumptions about so-called indigenous texts as well as translations. I hope my database will be helpful for future researchers who, no doubt, will complement my findings with further studies on Turkish translation history.

My analysis of translated popular texts on women's sexuality and their functions in creating a discourse on sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire has shown that research on translations may harbor diverse perspectives for research on women. This may prove illuminating for future researchers in both translation studies and women's studies who are interested in conducting interdisciplinary research.

REFERENCES

- Abadan Unat, N. (1998). Türkiye’de Kadın Hareketleri ve Küreselleşme. In N. Arat (Ed.), *Aydınlanmanın Kadınları* (pp. 288-302). İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları.
- Adak, H. (2004). Otobiyografik Benliğin Çok-karakterliliği: Halide Edip’in İlk Romanlarında Toplumsal Cinsiyet. In S. Irzık & J. Parla (Eds.), *Kadınlar Dile Düşünce* (pp. 161-178). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Agorni, M. (2002). *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: Women, Translation, and Travel Writing, 1739-1797*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publications.
- Ahıska, M. (2005). *Radyonun Sihirli Kapısı: Garbiyatçılık ve Politik Öznellik*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları..
- Ahmed, L. (1982). Feminism and Feminist Movements in the Middle East. *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 5(2), 153-168.
- Aile*, 1947-1952, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Bankası, Quarterly, 20 Volumes
- Aile*, 1960-1961, İzmir, Monthly, 6 Volumes
- Albayrak, S. (2002). *Meşrutiyet İstanbul’unda Kadın ve Sosyal Değişim*. İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları.
- Altındal, M. (1994). *Osmanlıda Kadın*. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar.
- Ana*, 1938-1942, Ankara,: Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu, Monthly, 50 Volumes
- Arat, N. (Ed.) (1993). *Kadın ve Cinsellik*. İstanbul: Say Yayınları.
- Arat, N. (1998). Cumhuriyetin 75. yılında Türkiye’de Kadın Tartışmaları. In N. Arat (Ed.), *Aydınlanmanın Kadınları* (pp. 21-34). İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları.
- Arat, Y. (2004). Türkiye’de Modernleşme Projesi ve Kadınlar. In S. Bozdoğan & R. Kasaba (Eds.), *Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusak Kimlik* (pp. 82-99). İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı.
- Atatürk’ün Söylev ve Demeçleri* (1954) Cilt 2,3. Ankara: Türk İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü Yayınları.
- Ayar, A. & Elmas, Y. (2000). A Lesbian’s Network in Turkey. In P. İlkaracan (Ed.), *Women and sexuality in Muslim societies* (pp. 275-278). İstanbul: Women for Women’s Human Rights Publications.
- Badran, M. (1996). *Feminists, Islam and Nation*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press.

- Bal, B. (2000). *Kadın Yazıları: Kadınların Edebiyat Ürünleri, Kadınlar Üzerine Yazılanlar ve Tezler Bibliyografyası:1955-1990*. İstanbul: KEKBVM & TETTV.
- Başçı, A. & Başçı, İ. İ. (1959). *Dişi Kuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi*. İstanbul: Seks. (Kadınlara Ait Neşriyat.1-2).
- Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü (1935a). *Maarif 1928-1935 Millet Mektepleri Faaliyeti İstatistiği*. İstanbul: Hüsnütabiat Matbaası.
- Başvekalet İstatistik Umum Müdürlüğü (1935b). *Maarif 1933-1934 Halk Okuma Odaları ve Umumi Kütüphaneler İstatistiği*. İstanbul: Devlet Matbası.
- Baykan, A. & Ötüş-Baskett, B. (Eds.) (1999). *Nezihe Muhittin ve Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Beetham, M. (1996). *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine 1800-1914*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bekiroğlu, N. (1998). *Şair Nigar Hanım*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Belge, M. (Ed.) (2004). *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce: Modernleşme ve Batıcılık*, Cilt 3. İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları.
- Bergin, A. (2004). *Babıali'de Topuk Tıkırtıları*. İstanbul: Epsilon Yayınları.
- Berk, Ö. (2004a). *Translation and Westernization in Turkey: from the 1840s to the 1980s*. İzmir: Ege Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Berk, Ö. (2004b). Batılılaşma ve Çeviri. In T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Vol: 3 Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* (pp. 511-520). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Berktaş, F. (2003). *Tarihin Cinsiyeti*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Berktaş, F. (2005). Doğu ile Batı'nın Birleştiği Yer: Kadın İmgesinin Kurgulanışı. In T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Vol: 3 Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* (pp. 275-286). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Bilge, C. (1947). *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmeli?* İstanbul: Güven Basımevi. (Cinsiyet ve Hayatt Terbiyesi.1)
- Bircan, İ. et al. (1992). *2000'li Yıllar Öncesinde Türkiye'de Kadın Eğitimi*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı.
- Bisch, L. E. (1936). *Be Glad You're Neurotic*. New York & London: Whittlesey House, McGraw-Hill Book Company.

- Bisch, L. E. (1945). *Your Nerves: How to Release Emotional Tensions*. New York: Wifred Funk Inc.
- Bisch, L. E. (1956). *Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler?* Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise Yayınevi.
- Bock, G. (2004). *Avrupa Tarihinde Kadınlar*. Trans. Zehra Aksu Yılmaz. İstanbul: Literatür Yayınları.
- Booth, M. (1998). The Egyptian Lives of Jeanne d'Arc. In Lila Abu-Lughod (Ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East (171-211)*. Princeton University Press.
- Bozdoğan, S. & Kasaba, R. (Eds.) (2005). Giriş. In *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik*, Trans. Nurettin Elhüseyni (pp. 1-12). İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
- Bulut, A. (1999). Kadının Yazın Söyleminin Çevirisi: Emily Dickinson'ın Kadın Konulu Şiirleri. *Çeviribilim ve Uygulamaları*, Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, 87-105.
- Bulut, F. (1999). *İttihat ve Terakki'de Milliyetçilik, Din ve Kadın Tartışmaları*, Cilt 1. İstanbul: Su Yayınları.
- Chamberlain, L. (1998). Gender Metaphorics in Translation. In M. Baker (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (pp. 93-96). London: Routledge.
- Campbell, B. (1980). A Feminist Sexual Politics: Now you see it, now you don't. *Feminist Review*, 5, 1-18.
- Çakır, S. (1996). *Osmanlı Kadın Hareketi*. İstanbul : Metis Yayınları.
- Çeçen, A. (2000). *Atatürk'ün Kültür Kurumu Halkevleri*. İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları.
- Çiğdem, A. (2004). Batılılaşma, Modernite ve Modernizasyon. In T. Bora & M. Gültekingil (Eds.), *Modern Türkiye'de Siyasi Düşünce Vol: 3 Modernleşme ve Batıcılık* (pp. 68-74) İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Codde, P. (2003). Polysystem Theory Revisited : A New Comparative Introduction, *Poetics Today*, Spring 24:1, Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics.
- Cott, N. F. (2005). 1920'lerin Modern Kadını, Amerikan Tarzı. In G. Duby & M. Perrot (Eds.), *Kadınların Tarihi: Yirminci Yüzyılda Kültürel bir Kimliğe Doğru*, Vol. V (pp. 80-93). İstanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları.
- Davaz, A. et al. (2006). *Kadın Konulu Kitaplar Bibliyografyası 1729-2002*. İstanbul: İletişim. Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Vakfı Yayını, 21.

- Davaz-Mardin, A. (1998). *Kadın Süreli Yayınları Bibliyografyası: 1928-1996. Hanımlar Alemi'nden Roza'ya*. İstanbul: KEKBVM & TETTV.
- Demircioğlu, C. (2005). *From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking Translation (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Translation Studies submitted to Boğaziçi University.
[[http://www.transint.boun.edu.tr/html/tezler/Cemal Demircioglu.pdf](http://www.transint.boun.edu.tr/html/tezler/Cemal%20Demircioglu.pdf)]
- Demirdirek, A. (1993). *Osmanlı Kadınlarının Hayat Hakkı Arayışının Bir Hikayesi*. Ankara: İmge Kitabevi Yayınları.
- Desmet, M. K. T. (2002). *Babysitting the Reader: Translating English Narrative Fiction for Girls into Dutch (1946-1995)*. Unpublished PhD Thesis submitted to the University College London.
- Dino, G. (1978). Sabahattin Eyüboğlu ve Türkiye'de Çeviri Hareketleri, *Türk Dili*, July, 322, Çeviri Özel Sayısı. 104-111.
- Doorslaer, Luc van (1995). Quantitative and Qualitative Aspects of Corpus Selection in Translation Studies, *Target*, 7(2), 245-260.
- Durakbaşa, A. (2002). *Halide Edib : Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm*. İstanbul : İletişim Yayınları.
- Duranoğlu, N. (1959). *Türkiye'de Kadınlar Hakkında Yayınlanmış Eserler: Bibliyografya*. Ankara: Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu.
- Enginün, İ. (1996). *Halide Edip Adıvar'ın Eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı Meselesi*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Erden, F. (1964) Halide Edip Hanım'ın Bilinmeyen ve Az Bilinen Tarafları ve Türk Ocağı ile Alakalı Hatıraları, *Türk Yurdu*, November, 17-30.
- Ertürk, Y. (1995). Rural Women and Modernization in Southeastern Anatolia. In Ş. Tekeli (Ed.), *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader* (pp. 141-152). London & New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1994). *Culture Planning and the Market*. Retrieved 23 April 2007, from http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/papers/plan_clt.html.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1996). *The Role of Literature in the Making of the Nations of Europe*. Retrieved 23 April 2007, from <http://chass.utoronto.ca/french/assa/ASSA-No1/Vol1.No1.EvenZohar.pdf>.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1997a). Culture Planning and Cultural Resistance in the Making and Maintaining Entities. *International Workshop*, Duke University, May 6-11, 1997.

- Even-Zohar, I. (1997b). *Polysystem Theory and Culture Research*. Retrieved 23 April 2007, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/EZ-CR-2005.pdf>.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1997c). The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer, *Target*, 9:2, 355-363.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1997d). *Factors and Dependencies in Culture*, Retrieved 8 June 2007, from http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/papers/papers/fac_dep1997.pdf.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2002). The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer. In S. Paker (Ed.), *Translations: (re)shaping of literature and culture* (pp. 166-174), Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2004a). *Culture as Goods, Culture as Tools*, Retrieved 13 April 2006, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/papers/papers/good-tools.pdf>.
- Even-Zohar, I. (2004b). *Culture Repertoire and the Access to Resources*”, Retrieved 13 April 2006, from http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/papers/papers/culture_wealth.pdf
- Even-Zohar, I. (2005a). *Culture Planning*, Retrieved 04 June 2007, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/papers/papers/CULTURE/PLANNING.pdf>
- Even-Zohar, I. (2005b). *Laws of Cultural Interference*, Retrieved 04 June 2007, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/papers/papers/laws-of-cultural-interference.pdf>
- Even-Zohar, I. (2005c). *The Making of Repertoire, Survival and Success under Heterogeneity*, Retrieved 04 June 2007, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/papers/papers/rep-success-d.pdf>
- Frierson, E. B. (2000). Mirrors Out, Mirrors In: Domestication and Rejection of the Foreign in the Ottoman Women’s Magazines 1875-1908. In D. F. Ruggles (Ed.), *Women, Patronage and Self-Representation in Islamic Societies* (pp.177-204). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Gençtürk Demircioğlu, T. (Ed. & Trans.) (2002). *Fatma Aliye: Hayattan Sahneler*. Istanbul: Boğazçi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Genette, G. (1997). *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Trans. Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge University Press.
- Glyn, E. (1923). *The Philosophy of Love*. New York: The Authors’ Press.
- Glyn, E. (1931). *Aşk Dersleri: Evlenecekler ve Evlenenelere*, Trans. Esmâ Z. Istanbul: Muallim Halit Kitaphanesi.
- Godineau, D. (2005). Özgürlüğün Kızları ve Devrimci Vatandaşlar. In G. Duby & M. Perrot (Eds.), *Kadınların Tarihi: Devrimden Dünya Savaşına Feminizmin Ortaya Çıkışı*, Cilt IV (pp. 23-38). Istanbul: Türkiye İş Bankası Yayınları.

- Gökçe, B. (1983). *Cumhuriyet Döneminde Çocuk ve Gençlere Ait Yasal Düzenlemeler ve Yayınlar*. Ankara: T.C. Gençlik ve Spor Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Göle, N. (1996). *The Forbidden Modern: Civilization and Veiling*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.
- Göle, N. (2001). *Modern Mahrem. Medeniyet ve Örtünme*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Gümüšođlu, F. (1996). *Ders Kitaplarında Cinsiyetçilik 1928-1995*. İstanbul: Kaynak Yayınları.
- Günyol, V. (1983). Türkiye’de Çeviri. In *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* Vol. 2 (pp. 324-330). İstanbul. İletişim Yayınları.
- Günyol, V. (1986). *Sanat ve Edebiyat Dergileri*. İstanbul: Alan Yayıncılık.
- Gürbilek, N. (2004a). Erkek Yazar Kadın Okur. In S. Irzık & J. Parla (Eds.), *Kadınlar Dile Düşünce*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Gürbilek, N. (2004b). *Kör Ayna Kayıp Şark*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Godard, B. (1991). Translating (With) the Speculum. *TTR (Traduction, Terminologie, Redaction)*, 4(2), 85-121.
- Gök, F. (1995). Türkiye’de Eğitim ve Kadınlar. In Ş. Tekeli (Ed.), *1980’ler Türkiye’sinde Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar* (181-198). İstanbul: İletişim.
- Halk Kütüphaneleri* (1991). T.C. Kültür Bakanlığı, Kütüphaneler Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Hanımlar Alemi*, 1929, İstanbul, Weekly, 16 Volumes.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı & A. Başçı. Forma 1. Akça Matbaası.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 2. Akça Matbaası.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 3. Yeni Savaş Matbaası.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 4. Yeni Savaş Matbaası.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 5. Yeni Savaş Matbaası.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 6. Yeni Savaş Matbaası.

- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 7. Yeni Savaş Matbaası.
- Hirsch, E. et al. (1958). *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için Bir Kılavuz*. Trans. İ. Başçı. Forma 8. Yeni Savaş Matbaası.
- Hull, S. W. (1982). *Chaste, Silent and Obedient: English Books for Women 1475-1640*. San Marino: Huntington Library.
- İlkkaracan, İ., & Seral, G. (2000). Sexual pleasure as a woman's human right: Experiences from a grassroots program in Turkey. In P. İlkkaracan (Ed.), *Women and sexuality in Muslim societies (187-196)*. Istanbul: Women for Women's Human Rights Publications.
- İlkkaracan, P. (2000). Exploring the Context of Women's Sexuality in Eastern Turkey in *Women and sexuality in Muslim societies*. In P. İlkkaracan (Ed.), *Women and sexuality in Muslim societies (229-244)*. Istanbul: Women for Women's Human Rights Publications.
- İlyasoğlu, A. & Akgökçe, N. (Eds.) (2001). *Yerli Bir Feminizme Doğru*. Istanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- Index Translationum 1932* (1974). (International Bibliography of Translations) No.1&2, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1933* (1974). No.3&6, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1934* (1974). No.7&10, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1935* (1974)., No.11&14, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1936* (1974). No.15&18, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1937* (1974). No.19&22, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1938* (1974). No.23&26, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint.
- Index Translationum 1939-1940* (1974). No.27&31, Nendeln/Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint
- Index Translationum 1948* (1949), 1, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1949* (1950), 2, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1950* (1951), 3, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1951* (1952), 4, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1952* (1953), 5, Paris: Unesco.

- Index Translationum 1953* (1954), 6, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1954* (1955), 7, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1955* (1956), 8, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1956* (1957), 9, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1957* (1958), 10, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1958* (1959), 11, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1959* (1960), 12, Paris: Unesco.
- Index Translationum 1960* (1961), 13, Paris: Unesco.
- Kadın*, 1984-1993, Istanbul: Karacan Yayınları, Monthly, 113 Volumes.
- Kadın Ansiklopedisi*, 1961-1961, Istanbul , Weekly, 20 Volumes.
- Kadın Dayanışması*, 1977-1980, Istanbul, Monthly, 30 Volumes.
- Kadın Dünyası*, 1958-1959, Ankara, Fortnightly, 12 Volumes.
- Kadın Dünyası*, 1 March 1940-23 March 1940, Istanbul , Weekly, 4 Volumes.
- Kadın Dünyası*, 1952-1953, Istanbul: Türkiye Yayınevi, Monthly, 10 Volumes.
- Kadın Gazetesi*, 1947-1979, Istanbul, Weekly and Montly, 1125 Volumes.
- Kadın Konulu Kitaplar Bibliyografyası: 1729-2002* (2006). Kadın Eserleri Kütüphanesi ve Bilgi Merkezi Yayını.22. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Kadınların Sesi*, 1975-1980, Istanbul: İlerici Kadınlar Derneği, Monthly, 65 Volumes.
- Kadıoğlu, A. (1998). Cinselliğin İnkârı: Büyük Toplumsal Projelerin Nesnesi Olarak Türk Kadınları. In A. B. Hacımirzaoğlu (Ed.), *75 Yılda Kadınlar ve Erkekler* (pp. 89-100). Istanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
- Kanbolat, Y. (1986). *Halide Edip Adivar'ın Romanlarında Feminizm Sorunu*. Ankara: Bayır Yayınları.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1987). Emancipated but Unliberated? Reflections on the Turkish Case, *Feminist Studies*, 13(2), 317-338.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1989). Women and the Turkish State: Political Actors or Symbolic Pawns? In N. Yuval-Davis and F. Anthias (Eds.), *Women, Nation and the State* (126-149). London: Macmillan.

- Kandiyoti, D. (1995a). Ataerkil Örüntüler: Türk Toplumunda Erkek Egemenliğinin Çözümlemesine Yönelik Notlar. In Ş. Tekeli (Ed.), *Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar* (367-382). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1995b). Çağdaş Feminist Çalışmaları ve Ortadoğu Araştırmaları. In S. Çakır & N. Akgökçe (Eds.), *Kadın Araştırmalarında Yöntem*, Trans. Neslihan Cangöz (pp. 123-140). İstanbul: Sel Yayıncılık.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1995c). Patterns of Patriarchy: Notes for an Analysis of Male Dominance in Turkish Society. In Şirin Tekeli (Ed.), *Women in Modern Turkish Society: A Reader* (pp. 306-318). London & New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1996). *Cariyeler Bacılar Yuttaşlar*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Kandiyoti, D. (1997). Gendering the modern: On missing dimensions in the study of Turkish modernity. In Sibel Bozdoğan & R. Kasaba (Eds.), *Rethinking modernity and national identity in Turkey* (pp.113-132). Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Kandiyoti, D. (2000). Slave Girls, Tempresses and Comrades: Images of Women in the Turkish novel. In Pinar Ilkcaracan (Ed.), *Women and Sexuality in Muslim Societies* (pp. 91-106). İstanbul: Women for Women's Human Rights (WWHR)-New Ways.
- Kandiyoti, D. (2004). Modernin Cinsiyeti: Türk Modernleşmesi Araştırmalarında Eksik Boyutlar. In S. Bozdoğan and R. Kasaba (Eds.), *Türkiye'de Modernleşme ve Ulusak Kimlik* (99-117). İstanbul: Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları.
- Karakışla, Y. S. (2003). Arşiv'den Bir Belge: Osmanlı Sinemasında İlk Porno Film. *Toplumsal Tarih, July 115*, 94-95.
- Karantay, S. (1991). Tercüme Bürosu, Normlar ve İşlevler, *Metis Çeviri, 16*, 96-101.
- Kayaoğlu, T. (1998). *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri*. İstanbul: Kitabevi.
- Kayıran, M. (1998). Atatürkçü Düşünce Işığında Çağdaş Eğitim. *Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi Dergisi, XIV(42)*. Retrieved from <http://www.atam.gov.tr/index.php?Page=DergiIcerik&IcerikNo=378>.
- Korok, D. R. (1936). *Genç Kızlarla Gizli Konuşmalar*. İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi.
- Kurnaz, Ş. (1995). *II. Meşrutiyet Döneminde Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.
- Kurnaz, Ş. (1997). *Cumhuriyet Öncesinde Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları.

- Kurultay, T. (1999) Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nde Çevirinin Ağır Yükü ve Türk Hümanizmi, *Alman Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi* İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları, XV, 13-36.
- Lefevere, A. & Bassnett, S. (1998). *Constructing Cultures*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Lefevere, A. (1985). Why Waste Out Time on Rewrites? The Trouble with Interpretation and the Role of Rewriting in an Alternative Paradigm. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *The Manipulation of Literature* (pp. 215-243). London and Sidney: Croom Helm.
- Lefevere, A. (1992). *Translation, Rewriting and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Lotbiniere-Harwood, Suzanne de (1991). *The Body Bilingual. Translation as a Rewriting in the Feminine*. Toronto: The Women's Press.
- Lucas, C. (1989). *Writing for Women: The Example of Woman as Reader in Elizabethan Romance*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Mardin, Ş. (2002). *Türk Modernleşmesi. Makaleler 4*. In M. Türköne & T. Önder (Eds.). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Markun, L. (1939). *Her Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir?* Trans. B. Deniz. İstanbul: Tanevi. (Cep Kitapları Serisi 44).
- May, T.. (2001). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Philadelphia: Open University Press.
- Mc Mauldin, F. (1956). *Her Nişanlı Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir? Yarın evleneceksin*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise Yayınevi. (İnsan Hayatı Serisi.5).
- Agorni, M. (2002). *Translating Italy for the Eighteenth Century: Women, Translation and Travel Writing (1739-1797)*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Modern Türk Kadını*, 1950, İstanbul, Monthly, 2 Volumes.
- Moghadam, V. M. (1993). *Modernizing Women: Gender and Social Change in the Middle East*. Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Moran, B. (1985). Tanzimat'tan Cumhuriyet'e Roman, in *Tanzimattan Cumhuriyete Türkiye Ansiklopedisi Cilt 2* (pp. 409-418). İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Oral, H. & Özsoy, M. Ş. (2005). *Erol Güneş'in Ke(n)disi*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Ortaylı, İ. (2003). *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları.

- Özkan, A. (2004). *Tercüme and Individual Thought: Conflict and Consensus over Concepts and Norms of Translation*. Unpublished M.A. Thesis submitted to Boğaziçi University.
- Paidar, P. (1995). *Women and the Political Process in Twentieth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Paker, S. (1986a). Hamlet in Turkey, *New Comparison*, (2), 89-105.
- Paker, S. (1986b). Changing Norms of the Target System: Turkish Translations of Greek Classics in Historical Perspective. In *Studies in Greek Linguistics*, Proceedings of the 7th Annual Meeting of the Department of Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy, Aristotelian University of Thessaloniki.
- Paker, S. (1986c). Translated European Literature in the Late Ottoman Literary Polysystem, *New Comparison*, (1), 67-82.
- Paker, S. (1988). Nineteenth Century Ottoman Adaptations of Moliere. In *ACTES*, Volume 5, Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the International Comparative Literature Association, München.
- Paker, S. (1991a). Unmuffled Voices in the Shade and Beyond: Women's Writing in Turkey. In Helena Forsas-Scott (Ed.), *Textual Liberation: European Feminist Writing in the Twentieth Century* (270-300). London and New York: Routledge.
- Paker, S. (1991b). The Age of Translation and Adaptation, 1850-1914: Turkey. In R. Ostle (Ed.), *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850-1970* (17-32). London and New York: Routledge
- Paker, S. (1998). Turkish Tradition. In M. Baker (Ed.), *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (pp. 571-582). London & New York: Routledge.
- Paker, S. (2002). Translation as *Terceme* and *Nazire*, Culture-bound Concepts and their implications for a Conceptual framework for Research on Ottoman Translation History. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *Crosscultural Transgressions, Research Models in Translation Studies II Historical and Ideological Issues* (pp. 120-143). Manchester: St. Jerome Publications.
- Paker, S. (2006). Ottoman Conceptions of Translation and its Practice: The 1897 'Classics Debate' as a Focus for Examining Change. In T. Hermans (Ed.), *Translating Others Volume II* (325-348). Manchester: St. Jerome Publications
- Pamukkadın*, 1979-1983, Istanbul: Pamukbank, Monthly, 63 Volumes.
- Peppis, P. (2002). Rewriting Sex: Mina Loy, Marie Stopes and Sexology, *Modernism/Modernity*, 9(4), 561-579.
- Porter, R. & Hall, L. (1995). *The Facts of Life: The Creation of Sexual Knowledge in Britain, 1650-1950*. New Haven, London: Yale University Press.

- Pym, A. (1998). *Method in Translation History*. Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing.
- Quataert, D. (2000). *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu 1700-1922*. Trans. Ayşe Berktaç. Istanbul: İletişim Publications.
- Santaemilia, José (Ed.). (2005). *Gender, Sex and Translation*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Sargent, W. E. (1941). *The Psychology of Marriage and Family Life*. London: Independent Press.
- Sargent, W. E. (1942). *Evlilik Hayatında Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolları*. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. Istanbul: Arif Bolat Kitabevi.
- Scognamillo, G. and Demirhan, M. (2002). *Erotik Türk Sineması*. Istanbul: Kabalcı Yayınevi.
- Sertel, S. (1969). *Roman Gibi*. Istanbul: Ant Yayınları.
- Sertel, Y. (2002). *Susmayan Adam*. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet Yayınları.
- Şimşek, S. (2002). *Halkevleri: Bir İdeolojik Seferberlik Deneyimi 1932-1951*. Istanbul: Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Sirman, N. (1988). *Turkish Feminism: A Short History*. Retrieved 12 February 2007, from <http://www.wluml.org/english/pubsfulltxt.shtml?cmd%5B87%5D=i-87-2616>.
- Sirman, N. (2007). Constituting the Modern Family as the Social in the Transition from Empire to Nation-State. In A. Frangoudaki & C. Keyder (Eds.), *Ways To Modernity In Greece And Turkey*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan Ltd.
- Sohár, A. (1999). *The Cultural Transfer of Sciencefiction and Fantasy in Hungary 1989-1995*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH.
- Sullivan, Z. (1998). Eluding the Feminist, Overthrowing the Modern? Transformations in Twentieth-Century Iran. In Lila Abu-Lughod (Ed.), *Remaking Women: Feminism and Modernity in the Middle East* (pp. 215-243). Princeton University Press.
- Susam-Sarajeva, Ş. (2006). *Theories on the Move. Translation's Role in the Travels of Literary Theories*. Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi.
- T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü (1995)., *İstatistiklerle Kadın 1927-1992*. Ankara: Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü .
- Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş. (2001). *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey 1923-1960*. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation in Translation Studies submitted to Boğaziçi University
<http://www.transint.boun.edu.tr/html/tezler/SehnazTahirGurcaglar.pdf>

- Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş. (2002). Translation as Conveyor: Critical Thought in Turkey in the 1960's. In M. Sell (Ed.), *Works and Days, 39/40, Vectors of the Radical: Global Consciousness, Textual Exchange, and the 1960's*, Vol. 20(1&2) (pp. 253-276).
- Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş. (2003). Tercüme Bürosu Nasıl Doğdu. Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi ve Çeviri Planlaması. In M. Rifat (Ed.), *Çeviriyi Düşünenler* (pp.48-58). Istanbul. Dünya Yayıncılık.
- Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş. (2005). *Kapılar: Çeviri Tarihine Yaklaşımlar*. Istanbul: Scala Yayıncılık.
- Tahir-Gürçağlar, Ş. (Forthcoming). Chaos Before Order: Network Maps and Research Design in DTS, *Meta*.
- Tekeli, Ş. (1983). Kadın, In *Cumhuriyet Dönemi Türkiye Ansiklopedisi* Cilt 1 (pp. 1190-1204). Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Tekeli, Ş. (1986). The Meanings and The Limits of Feminist Ideology in Turkey. In F. Özbay (Ed.), *The Study of Women in Turkey: An Anthology*. Istanbul: Unesco in Cooperation with Turkish Social Science Association.
- Tekeli, Ş. (Ed.). (1995). *Kadın Bakış Açısından Kadınlar*. Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları.
- Toska, Z. et al. (1992). *Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası*. Istanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Toska, Z. et al. (1992). *Istanbul Kütüphanelerindeki Eski Harfli Türkçe Kadın Dergileri Bibliyografyası* (Bibliography of Ottoman-Turkish Women's Magazines in Libraries in Istanbul). Istanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Toury, G. (1980). *In Search of a Theory of Translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute.
- Toury, G. (1995a). The Notion of 'Assumed Translation' - An Invitation to a New Discussion. In H. Bloemen, E. Hertog & W. Segers (Eds.), *Letterlijkheid, Woordelijkheid / Literality, Verbality* (pp. 135-147). Antwerpen/Harmelen: Fantom.
- Toury, G. (1995b). *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing.
- Toury, G. (1999). How Come the Translation of a Limerick Can Have Four Lines (Or Can it?). In G. Anderman & M. Rogers (Eds.), *Text, Translation: Liber Amicorum for Peter Newmark* (pp. 157-168). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. Retrieved 14 September 2006, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~toury/works/limerick.htm>

Toury, G. (2002). Translation as a Means of Planning and the Planning of Translation: A Theoretical Framework and an Exemplary Case. In S. Paker (Ed.), *Translations: reshaping of literature and culture* (pp. 148-165). Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press.

Toury, G. (2005). *Enhancing Cultural Changes by Means of Fictitious Translations*. Retrieved 17 September 2006, from <http://www.tau.ac.il/~toury/works/fict.htm>.

Türk Kadını, 1966-1973, Ankara, Monthly, 90 Volumes.

Türk Kadını, March 1944-February 1948, Ankara: Türkiye Çocuk Esirgeme Kurumu, Monthly, 48 Volumes.

Türkeş, A. Ö. (2006). *Eski Kitaplar: Mehmet Rauf*. Retrieved 2 May 2006, from <http://www.pandora.com.tr/sahaf/eski.asp?pid=115>.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1928-1938 (1939). Vol I & II. Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1939-1948 (1950). Vol I & II. Ankara: Maarif Vekilliği Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1949 (1949). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1950 (1950). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1951 (1951). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1952 (1952). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1953 (1953). Istanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1954 (1960). Ankara: Bereket Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1955 (1956). Vol 1&2. Istanbul: Maarif Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1956 (1956). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1957 (1957). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1958 (1958). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1959 (1959). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.

- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1960* (1960). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1961* (1961). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1962* (1962). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1963* (1963). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1964* (1964). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1965* (1965). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1966* (1966). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1967* (1967). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1968* (1968). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1969* (1970). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkiye Bibliyografyası 1970* (1970). Vol 1&2&3&4. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi.
- Türkoğlu, Ö. (Ed.). (2005). *Bin Bir Buse: 1923-1924 İstanbul'undan Erotik Bir Dergi*. İstanbul: Kitap.
- Uçuk, C. (2003). *Erkekler Dünyasında Bir Kadın Yazar. Silsilename 1*. İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları.
- Urban, Rudolph von (1949). *Sex Perfection and Marital Happiness*. New York: The Dial Press.
- Urban, Rudolph von (1950). *Aşk Sanatı*. Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Seksoloji Yayınları, N.3.
- Uzuner, B. (2005). *Çanakkale Savaşı Gerçeğini vaad eden bir Belgesel: Gelibolu*. Retrieved 23 February 2007, from <http://www.buketuzuner.com/default.asp?sayfa=132&bolum=&srcWrd=gelibolu>.

- Üyepazarcı, E. (1997). *Korkmayınız Mr. Sherlock Holmes: Türkiye’de yayınlanmış çeviri ve telif romanlar üzerine bir inceleme 1881-1928*. İstanbul: Göçebe Yayınları.
- Venuti, L. (1995). *The Translator’s Invisibility*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Von Flotow, L. (1997). *Translation and Gender: Translating in the ‘Era of Feminism*. Manchester: St. Jeorme Publishing.
- Von Flotow, L. (2001). *Gender in Translation: The Issues Go on*. Retrieved 23 August 2006, from <http://orees.concordia.ca/numero2/essai/VonFlotow.html>.
- Yaraman, A. (2001). *Resmi Tarihten Kadın Tarihine*. İstanbul: Bağlam Yayıncılık.
- Zihnioğlu, Y. (2003). *Kadınsız İnkilap*. İstanbul: Metis Yayınları.
- Zilfi, M. C. (Ed.). (2000). *Modernleşmenin Eşiğinde Osmanlı Kadınları*. Trans. Necmiye Alpay. İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları.

Appendix A. Translated Texts on Women's Sexuality

1914

Marlis Pevaru. *Yeni Kadın Mektupları*. Trans. Ali Kemal. Istanbul: Muhtar Halit Külliyyatı.

1923

Alfred Fouillee. *Kadın Erkek Irklar Ruhiyatı*. Trans. Mustafa Rahmi Balaban. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire.

1925

Haçins. *Genç Kadın ve Erkekler için Düstur-ı Ahlak*. Trans.? Istanbul: Matbaa-i Samoil K. Harutunyan.

1931

Glyn, Elinor. *Aşk Dersleri: Evlenecekler ve Evlenenlere*. Trans. Esmâ Z. Istanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi.

1939

Markun, Leo. *Her evli kadın neler bilmelidir?* Trans. B. Deniz. Istanbul: Tanevi. (1926, Sevimli Ay Matbaası Trans.?) - PS

Markun, Leo. *Her genç kız neler bilmelidir?* Trans. B. Deniz. Istanbul: Tanevi. (Cep Kitapları, 44) (1926, Sevimli Ay Matbaası Trans.?) - PS

1942

Sargent, W. E. *Evlilikte Mutluluğun Yolları*. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. Istanbul: Toker. (İhtiyaç Kitapları Dizisi, 5) (1976, Second Edition)

1944

Kisch, E. Heinrich. *Kadın: Seksüel Hayatı ve Evliliğe Sadakatsizliği*. Trans. Şevket Dilmaç ve Ayet Altuğ. Ankara: J.Gn.K. Matbaası.

1945

Anet, Claude. *Erkekler, Kadınlar ve Aşk Hakkında Mütalealar*. Trans. Vural R. Kakmacı. Istanbul: Halk Basımevi.

Bourgas, Michel. *Kadın ve Cinsi Hayat*. Trans. Doğan Salim. Istanbul: Nebioğlu.

Stopes, Marie. *İzdivaçta Aşk*. Trans. N.B. Istanbul: İkbâl. (Third Edition 1960)

1950

Clark, Dr. Le Mon. *İşte Evlendiniz*. Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. Istanbul: Tan Matbaası (Seksoloji Yayınları.2) (Second Edition 1962 Istanbul: Yeni Seksoloji)

Exner, Dr. Max Joseph. *Mükemmel İzdivacın Şartları*. Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. Istanbul: Tan Matbaası ("Seksoloji Yayınları.1) (Second Edition 1962 *Mükemmel İzdivacın Başlangıcı*, Trans.?, Istanbul: Yeni Seksoloji)

Urban, Dr. Rudolf von. *Aşk Sanatı*. Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Tan Matbaası (Seksoloji Yayınları.3)

1951

Hoppeler, Jean. *Evlenmeden önce*. Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Tan Matbaası (Seksoloji Yayınları.4) (Second Edition 1953)

Kisch, Prof. Dr. Heinrich. *Kadın ve Evlilik Hayatı*. First Vol. Trans. Şevket Dilmaç ve Ayet Altuğ. İstanbul: Tan (Seksoloji yayınları.5)

Kisch, Prof. Dr. Heinrich. *Kadın ve Evlilik Hayatı*. Second Vol. Trans. Şevket Dilmaç ve Ayet Altuğ. İstanbul: Tan (Seksoloji yayınları.6)

1952

Chickedel, Maurice. *Bekarlarda Cinsi Hayat*. Trans. Semih Yazıcıoğlu. İstanbul: [y.y.] [Pseudotranslation?]

Chickedel, Maurice. *Nişanlılarda Cinsi Hayat*. Trans. Semih Yazıcıoğlu. İstanbul: [y.y.] [Pseudotranslation?]

1953

Chickedel, Maurice. *Evlilikte Cinsi Hayat*. Trans. Semih Yazıcıoğlu. İstanbul: [y.y.] [Pseudotranslation?]

Fielding, William J. *Evlilikte İlk Gece*. İstanbul: Bütün Kitabevi. (Cinsiyet Kitapları, 2)

Hoppeler, Jean. *Evlenmeden Önce*. Trans. Muzaffer Aşkın. İstanbul: Seksoloji. (Seksoloji Yayınları, 4)

1954

[y.y.] *Mahrem Saadet*. Trans. Semih Yazıcıoğlu İstanbul: Bütün Kitabevi.

1955

Kinsey, Alfred Charles [et.al.]. *Kadınların cinsi hayatı hakkında Kinsey raporu*. Trans.? İstanbul: Seksoloji (Seksoloji Yayınları Yeni Seri, 1)

Stone, Hannah and Abraham Stone. *Evlilik Rehberi*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Seksoloji. (Seksoloji Yayınları, Yeni Seri, 2)

1956

Bess, Roch. *Evli Kadınlar için Metres Tehlikesi Nedir?* Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise. (İnsan Hayatı Serisi, 9) [Pseudotranslation]

Bisch, Louis E. *Kadınlar Niçin İhanet Ederler*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise. (İnsan Hayatı Serisi, 7) [Pseudotranslation]

Holliday, W. *Kimseye Söyleyemiyorum*. Trans. C.Arhan. İstanbul: Hadise. (İnsan Hayatı Dizisi, 2) [Pseudotranslation]

Isambert, Fenande. *Evliliğin İlk Basamağında Neler Bilmelidir*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise. (İnsan Hayatı Dizisi, 6) [Pseudotranslation]

McMauldin, Fred. *Buluğ Çağında Bir Kız Neler Bilmelidir*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise (İnsan Hayatı Dizisi, 10) [Pseudotranslation]

McMauldin, Fred. *Her Nişanlı Genç Kız Neler Bilmelidir*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise (İnsan Hayatı Dizisi, 5) [Pseudotranslation]

McMauldin, Fred. *Kızıma Nasıl Söyliyeyim: Her genç kız neler bilmelidir*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise (İnsan Hayatı Dizisi, 1) [Pseudotranslation]

Vatsyayana, Malla Naga. *Kama sutra: Aşk İlmi*. Trans. Süleyman Alpadoa İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1958, 1960)

Whiting, Betty. *Her Dul Kadın Neler Bilmelidir*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise. (İnsan Hayatı Serisi, 4) [Pseudotranslation]

1957

Chavernac, Laurent. *On Derste Cinsiyet*. Trans. A. Kahraman. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1958, Third Edition 1960, Fourth Edition 1965, Fifth Edition 1969)

Weinheim, G. *Kadınlık Uyanıyor*. Trans. S. Tonguç. İstanbul: Hadise. (Seksüel Hayatın Esrarı, 2) (Second Edition 1957)

Wylie, Paul. *Evlilik Bahçesi*. Trans. S. Tonguç. İstanbul: Hadise. (Seksüel Hayatın Esrarı, 3)

1958

Hirsch, Edwin [et al.] *Tenasül Hayatı: Herkes için bir kılavuz*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı-Ayten Başçı. İstanbul: Akça Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

Stone, Abraham. *Cinsiyet Saadetinin Anahtarı*. Trans. Selim Yetkili. İstanbul: Hadise. (Seksüel Hayatın Esrarı, 4)

1959

Schauer, R. *Cinsi Hayat: Nizamsızlıklar ve Tedavi Çareleri*. Trans. Ekrem Akman. İstanbul: Arif Bolat Kitabevi. (Third Edition)

[y.y.] *Cinsi Tatminsizlik: 500 Soru*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. İstanbul: Yeni Savaş Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

[y.y.] *Cinsiyet Hayatı: 500 Soru*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. İstanbul: Yeni Savaş Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

[y.y.] *Kadın-Erkek Aşk Sanatı, 500 Cevap*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. İstanbul: Yeni Savaş Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

Partington, T.B. [et al.] *Kadın Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı: 500 Soru 500 Cevap*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. Seks Yayınları. Vakıf Basımevi. [Compilative Translation]

[y.y.] *Kadın-Erkek Cinsiyet Hayatı, 500 Cevap*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. İstanbul: Yeni Savaş Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

[y.y.] *Kadın-Erkek Evlilik Hayatı, 500 Cevap*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. İstanbul: Yeni Savaş Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

[y.y.] *Kadın-Erkek Tenasül Hayatı, 500 Sual*. Trans. İsmail İlhan Başçı. İstanbul: Yeni Savaş Matbaası. [Compilative Translation]

1960

Guyot, Jules. *Cinsiyette 15 Ders*. Trans. Azmi Nihad Erman. İstanbul: Demet. (Second Edition, Third Edition, Fourth Edition 1962)

Guyot, Jules. *Cinsiyette Kadın*. Trans. Atilla N. Ersin. İstanbul: Demet. (Second Edition, Third Edition Ressay Kema Baki Yayınevi, 1964)

Kahn, Fritz. *Tenasül Hayatımız*. Trans. Cemil Cahit Cem. İstanbul: Türkiye. (Second Edition 1971)

1961

Kirsch, Heinrich. *Evlilikte Cinsiyet*. İstanbul: Yeni Seksoloji. (Yeni Seksoloji Kitapları, 2)

Lewin, Samuel A. and John Gilmore. *40'ından sonra cinsi hayat*. Trans. ? İstanbul: Cep Kitapları.

Urban, Rudolph von. *Cinsiyette Aşk*. Trans. ? İstanbul: Seksoloji.

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *Cinsi Münasebetler*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Yeni Seksoloji. (Yeni Seksoloji Yayınları, 3)

1962

Chanson, Paul. *Evlilikte Cinsi Anlaşma*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1972)

Chesser, Eustace. *Aşk Tekniği*. Trans. G. Durakoğlu. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Guyot, J. *Cinsiyette 250 Sual 250 Cevap*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Demet. (Second Edition)

Exner, Max Joseph. *Mükemmel İzdivacın Başlangıcı*. Trans.?. İstanbul: Yeni Seksoloji.

Fayerabent, W. *Cinsiyet Alfabeti*. Trans. H.Ç. İstanbul: Yeni Seksoloji.

Freud, Sigmund. *Cinsiyet Üzerine*. Trans. Ali Avni Öneş. İstanbul: Say. (Güncel Kitaplar Dizisi, 15) (Second Edition 1975, Third Edition 1981, Fourth Edition 1984, Fifth Edition 1989)

Cluzat, Anne. *Kadınlık Sınırları*. Trans. Selçuk Erez. İstanbul: Hayat. (Faydalı Eserler Serisi, 2)

R.Ş. (Ed.) *Cinsiyette, seksolojide 500 sual 500 cevap*. İstanbul: İtimat. [Compilative Translation]

R.Ş. (Ed.) *Cinsiyette, seksolojide, evlilikte cinsi münasebetler*. İstanbul: İtimat. [Compilative Translation]

R.Ş. (Ed.) *Cinsiyette, seksolojide, evlilikte ilk gece*. İstanbul: İtimat. [Compilative Translation]

1963

Guyot, J. *Cinsi Hayatımızda Kadının Vazifeleri*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Demet.

Freud, Sigmund. *Cinsiyet ve Psikanaliz*. Trans. Selahaddin Hilav. İstanbul: Varlık. (Faydalı Kitaplar Dizisi, 27) (Second Edition 1967, Third Edition 1972, Fifth Edition 1981)

Kinsey, Arankot, Mare Ellivine and Marie Stops. *Evlilikte Cinsi Arzu*. İstanbul: Hakiki Ucuz Kitabevi. (Cinsi Kitaplar Serisi, 4)

Stekel, Wilhelm; Julies Erhes and Mere Ellivine. *Cinsiyette Ruh Sağlıkları ve Mahrem Bilgiler*. İstanbul: Hakiki Ucuzluk Kitabevi.

Stone, Hannah and Abraham Stone. *250 Soru 250 Cevap*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: İtimat. (1964, İstanbul: Hakiki Ucuzluk Kitabevi)

Von Urban, Rudolph. *Cinsi Başarının Esasları*. Trans. Recep Doksat, Vejdi Bürün. İstanbul: Okat.

R.Ş. (Ed.) *Cinsiyette Fuhuş*. İstanbul: İtimat.

1964

Stone, Hannah and Abraham Stone. *200 soru 200 cevap*. Trans.? İstanbul: İtimat (Seksoloji Yayınları)

Urban, Rudolph von. *Evlilikte Cinsi İstek*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: İtimat. (Seksoloji Yayınları)

Walker, Kenneth MacFarlane. *Fizyoloji açısından cinsiyet*. Trans. Ender Gürol. İstanbul: Varlık (Faydalı Kitaplar, 34) (Second Edition 1973)

1965

Hirschfeld, A. Lutaud. *Cinsel Hayatımız ve Önemli Konuları*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Üçdal.

Kinsey, Alfred Charles, Mere Ellivine and Wilhelm Stekel. *Evlilik Münasebetleri*. Trans.M.H. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *Cinsi Hayatta Bilgiler ve 600 Soru ve 600 Cevap*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: [y.y] (1973)

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *Cinsel İlişkide Pozisyonlar*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Erotik Dizi, 1)

[y.y.] *Bekarlarda Cinsi Faaliyet*. Trans. Z.Z. İstanbul: Seksoloji. (Cinsiyet Kitapları, 1)

1966

Brown, Helen Gurley. *Genç Kızlar Uyanın*. Trans. Canset Unan. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar. (Kadın Kitapları Dizisi, 3)

Lewinson, Richard. *Cinsi Adetler Tarihi*. Trans. Ender Gürol. İstanbul: Varlık. (Faydalı Kitaplar Serisi, 65)

Morce, Benjamin. *Cinsel Sapıklıklar*. Trans.?. Ankara: Kıtaş. (Kadın Aile Dizisi) (1969 Toplum Dizisi, 3; 1973 Akşam Kitap Kulübü Serisi, 17)

Tizard, Leslie James. *Evlilik Kılavuzu*. Trans. Muzaffer Bakkalbaşı. İstanbul: Özgü.

1967

Nefzavi, Ömer İbn-i Muhammed. *Kokulu Bahçe: Müslümanlığın En Meşhur Seksoloji Kitabı*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Başak. (Seksoloji Şaheserleri, 1) (Second Edition 1970) [El raud el asir va nüzht el hasir]

Querlin, Marise. *Erkeksiz Kadınlar*. Trans. Zeyyat Özalpsan. İstanbul: Başak. (Seksoloji Şaheserleri, 4)

Romanet, Jean Jerome. *A'dan Z'ye Kadın*. Trans. Oğuz Alplaçın. İstanbul: Başak. (Seksoloji Şaheserleri, 2)

Valinieff, Pierre. *Sevişmenin İncelikleri*. Trans. Suat Yıldırım. İstanbul: Seçem Kitaplar (Sarı Dizi) [Guide des caresses]

1968

Braddock, Joseph. *Gelin Odası*. Trans. Adnan Semih Yazıcıoğlu. İstanbul: Başak. (Seksoloji Şaheserleri, 5) (Second Edition 1973)

1969

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *15 Derste Cinsiyet*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Volde, Vamole. *Evlilikte Cinsiyet*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Seksoloji.

Durak, G. (Ed.) *Cinsi Faaliyet ve Bekarlık*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Fifth Edition 1975) (Stone?)

1970

Chartham, Robert. *Yalnız Kadınlar İçin*. Trans. Reha Pınar. İstanbul: Başak. (Seks İlmi Serisi, 7) [Mainly for women]

Chartham, Robert. *Cinsel Sorunlarımız*. Trans. Cengiz Akın. İstanbul: Başak (Seks İlmi Serisi, 1)

Chartam, Robert. *Helga Sevişiyor*. Trans. Oğuz Haluk Alplaçin. İstanbul: ?. (Second Edition 1973, 1974)

Kelly, George Lombard. *Kadın ve erkekte cinsi arzu*. Trans. Müfit Şimşir. İstanbul: Başak (Seks İlmi Serisi)

Kraft-Ebing, Richard. *Bir Kadın Bir Erkek: Sex Açısından*. Trans. Canset Işık. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar. (Kadın Kitapları Dizisi, 5)

Kaufman, Joseph J. And Griffith Borgeson. *Evlilik Bekarlık Cinsiyet*. Trans. Reha Pınar. İstanbul: Başak. (Seks Kitapları, 2)

Kokken, Sha. *Aşk Oyunları*. Trans. Haluk Pertev. İstanbul: Artel Yayınları. (Eros Cinsel Bilim Yayınları Dizisi, 1) (Second Edition 1983 Trans. ?. İstanbul: Martı. Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 2)

Kokken, Sha. *Cinsel Mutluluk*. Trans. Haluk Pertev Koloğlu. İstanbul: Artel (Cinsel Bilim Yayınları Dizisi, 1)

Letourneau, Charles. *İlkel Topumlarda Seksüel Yaşantılar*. Trans. Gökalp Sungurgil. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Masters, William H. *Seks Raporu*. Trans. Adnan Semih Yazıcıoğlu. İstanbul: Ağaoğlu. (Second Edition)

Olsen, Henry. *Seks Rehberi*. Trans. Reha Pınar. İstanbul: Başak. (Seks İlmi Serisi, 2-3)

Pomeroy, Wardel Bixter. *Erkek Çocuk ve Gençlerde Cinsiyet*. Trans. Reha Pınar. (Seks İlmi Serisi, 6)

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *Büroda Seks*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: [y.y.]

[y.y.] *İlkel Topumlarda Seksüel Yaşantı*. Trans. Gökalp Sungurgil. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1971

Kokken, Sha. *Cinsel Teknik*. Trans. Ahmet Burak. İstanbul: May. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 1) (1976, 1976, Eighth Edition 1976, Tenth Edition 1978, Eleventh Edition 1981) (Second Edition, İstanbul: Yalçın 1983)

Kolle, Oswald. *Aşk Sanatı*. Trans. Ahmet Burak. İstanbul: May.

Krich, Aron M. *Aşkın Anatomisi*. Trans. Mehmet Harmancı. İstanbul: Milliyet. (Second Edition 1983 İstanbul: Say)

Reuben, David. *Cinsellik Konusunda Bilmek İsteddiğiniz Herşey Ama Sormaya Utandığınız*. Trans. Haldun Karan. İstanbul: Artel Yayınları. (Eros Cinsel Bilim Yayınları Dizisi, 2)

1972

Chesser, Eustace. *İlk Gençlik Çağı Cinsel İlişkileri*. Trans. Nihal Önal. İstanbul: Varlık. (Faydalı Kitaplar, 131)

Gebbard, P.H. and J. Raboch. *Kadın ve Seks*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Hegeler, Inge. *Sekste XYZ: Seks Konusunda Sorularınıza Verilmiş İçten Cevaplar*. Trans. Erdal Karan. Ankara: Adam. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 1)

Masters, William H. *Cep Seks*. Trans. Safa M. Yurdanur. İstanbul: Emel. (Second Edition 1973)

Masters, William H. *Sevişme Tekniği*. Trans. Safa M. Yurdanur. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Third Edition 1973)

Reuben, David. *Kadın İsterse*. Trans. Leyla Soykut. İstanbul: Hürriyet Yayınları. (Danışma Dizisi, 3) [Any woman can] (Second Edition 1983 Trans. Oya Alpar, *Kadın: Cinsel ve Duygusal Sorunlar* İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka)

Sentilhes, Nicole. *Cinsel Eğitim Kılavuzu*. Trans. Nida Tektaş. İstanbul: Milliyet.

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *Seks Rehberi: Çağlar Boyunca Kadın*. Trans. Safa M. Yurdanur. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1973)

[y.y.] *Haydi Aşk Yapalım: Doktor C'nin Kitabı*. Trans. Ayfer Sözer. İstanbul: [y.y.]

[y.y.] *Seksorama: 50 Ülkede Aşk ve Seks Hayatı*. Trans. Ülkü Yavuz. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1973

Kinsey, Alfred Charles. *Evlilik Sanatı*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Kitap Yayınları. (Kadın-Aile-Cinsiyet Dizisi, 2)

Krafft-Ebing, Richard. *Seks Manyakları*. Trans. Mehmet Şilliler ve Oğuz Aran. İstanbul: Üçler. (Second Edition 1977)

Morali-Daninos, Andre. *Cinsel İlişkiler Sosyolojisi*. Trans. Semih Tiryakioğlu. İstanbul: Varlık. (Faydalı Kitaplar, 138)

Spock, Benjamin. *Aşka Doğru*. Trans. Muammer Tuncer. İstanbul: K. (Seksoloji Dizisi, 2)

Walker, Kenneth. *Fizyoloji Açısından Cinsiyet*. Trans. Ender Gürol. İstanbul: Varlık. (Second Edition) (Faydalı Kitaplar, 34)

Yerkes, Rober Mearns. *Cinsel Gücümüze Cevap*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Başak.

[y.y.] *Kadında Cinsel Tatmin*. Trans. Çiğdem Volkan. İstanbul: Anten. (Seksoloji, 1)

1974

Cartland, Barbara. *Aşk, Hayat ve Seks*. Trans. Kezban Akçalı. İstanbul: Koza. (Güncel Kitaplar Dizisi, 11)

Morali-Daninos, Andre. *Cinsel İlişkiler Tarihi*. Trans. Galip Üstün. İstanbul: Gelişim. (Gelişim Dizisi, 2) [Histoire des relations sexuelles] (1991, İstanbul: İletişim Trans. İbrahim Yakupoğlu)

O'Neill, Nena. *Açık Evlilik*. Trans. Günseli Arran. İstanbul: Hürriyet. (Danışma Dizisi, 11)

Yurdanur, Safa M. (Ed.) *Cinsel Sorunlar ve Gençlik*. İstanbul: Göl.

1975

Bergson, J. *Kadını Sevmeye Sanatı*. Trans. Ethem Balamur. İstanbul: Tabu. (Bilimsel Dizi, 1) (Kadın Okşama Sanatı, Bilimsel Dizi, 22) (Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh, Eighth Editions 1976)

Besançon, Helene. *Dr. Besançon'un Mahrem İtirafı*. Trans. E. Ejder. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Courtenay, Michael. *Evlilikte Cinsel Uyumsuzluk: Bir Kısa Psikolojik Tedavi Alanı*. Trans. Mehmet Mahir. İstanbul: Bozak. (Psikoloji Dizisi, 8)

Freud, Sigmund. *Yasaklar ve Normal Dışı İstekler*. Trans. Muammer Sencer. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar. (Bilimsel Kitaplar Dizisi, 8)

Gallien, Louis. *Cinsellik*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Gelişim

Habner, Kurt. *Helga'nın Seks Hayatı*. Trans. Ethem Balamur. İstanbul: Şafak (Bilimsel Dizi, 2) (Second Edition 1975)

Kokken, Sha; Van de Velde and A. Daninos. *Sevişme ve Seks Sanatı*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Eros.

Llewelly-Jones, Derek. *Her Kadın İçin*. Trans. Çiğdem Öner. İstanbul: Hürriyet. (Danışma Dizisi.12).

Lowelace, Max. *Helga Sevişiyor*. Trans. İbrahim Özoğul. İstanbul: Tabu. (Bilimsel Dizi, 2) (Second Edition 1975, Third Edition 1977)

Millet, Kate. *Sokak Kadınları*. Trans. Seçkin Cılızoğlu. İstanbul: Payel. (Bilgi, 22) Morali-Daninos, Andre and Eustace Chesser. *Resimli Modern Seks Kılavuzu*. İstanbul: Venüs. (Cinsel Eğitim Serisi, 1)

Ramble, Taylor. *Aşk Yatağı*. İstanbul: Yeni Akşam. (Mini Seks Kitapları, 1)

Remberg, Ernie. *Türkiye'de ve Dünyada Seks Geceleri*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1977)

Reuben, David. *Cinsel Düzen*. Trans. Reha Pınar. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar. (Bilimsel Dizi, 5) [How to get more out of sex]

Simons, Gil. *Dünya Seks Rekorları*. Trans. Adem Şensoy. İstanbul: Koza. (İlgi Dizisi, 1) (Second Edition 1975)

Stops, Marie. *Evlilikte Cinsel İstek*. Trans. ?. Istanbul: [y.y.] (Third Edition)

Velde, Van de Theodor Hendrik. *Mutlu Evlilik*. Trans. Ethem Balamur ve İbrahim Aksoy. Istanbul: Şafak. (Bilimsel Dizi, 1) (Second Edition 1977)

Akalın, Canan. (Ed.) *Sevişme ve Seks Tekniği*. Istanbul: Göl. (Genel Dizi, 14)

Balamur, Ethem. (Ed.) *İktidarsız erkek, soğuk kadın yoktur*. Istanbul: Şafak.

1976

Arnold, Jane. *Kadının Seks Kılavuzu*. Trans. ?. Istanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition)

Bailey, Alice [et.al.] *Gizemciler ve Seks*. Trans. Umur Erim ve Kerem Lokman. Istanbul: Söz. (Seks Yazıları Dizisi, 1)

Bry, Adelaide. *Şehvetli Kadınlar*. Trans. Filiz Dönmez. Istanbul: Varol.

Burney, Pierre. *Aşk*. Trans. Afşar Timuçin. Istanbul: Gelişim.

Fox, Edgar H. *Süper Evlilik Süper Seks*. Trans. Orhan. Istanbul: Tempo. (Erotik Dizi, 3) [Super marriage super sex]

Gondonneau, Jean. *Cinsel İlişkiler*. Trans. Savaş Okyalaz. Istanbul: Olay.

Lobell, John. *Cinsel Açıdan Serbest Evlilik*. Trans. Serap Can. Istanbul: Gül. (Genel Dizi, 22)

Verdier, Jean Ren. *Zevk Alma Hakkı: Masturbasyon*. Trans. Suat Yıldırım. Istanbul: Seçme Kitaplar. (Second Edition 1977) (Sarı Dizi, 6)

Von Urban, Rudolph. *Cinsiyette Aşk*. Trans. ?. Istanbul: Seksoloji.

Balamur, Ethem. (Ed.) *Kadın Okşama Sanatı*. Istanbul: Tabu (Eighth Edition.) (Bilimsel Dizi, 22) (Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth, Seventh Editions 1976)

Sepin, Bahattin. (Ed.) *Genç Kızlık ve Ötesi*. Istanbul: M Yayınevi. (Bilimsel Araştırma Dizisi, 1)

[y.y.] *Eşinizi Yatakta Nasıl Çıldırabilirsiniz*. Trans. Nahit Emirosmanoğlu. Istanbul:Göl. (Second Edition) (Genel Dizi, 28)

[y.y.] *Mutluluk Getiren Seks*. Trans. Cemal Süreya Seber. Istanbul: Seçme Kitaplar. (Seçme Kitaplar yayınları, 7)

1977

Bentham, Alan. *Seks Suçları ve Seks Suçluları*. Trans. İsmail Varol. Istanbul: [y.y.]

Chavernac, Laurent. *Sevişmek Sanatı*. Trans. Ethem Balamur. Istanbul: Tabu. (Bilimsel Dizi, 19)

Greewood, John. *Cinsel Güç: Cinsel Gücü Arttıran Tüm Yiyecekler ve İçecekler*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Cinsel Eğitim.

Darwin, Charles. *Seksüel Seçme*. Trans. Öner Ünalın. Ankara: Çağ Matbaası. [Selection in relation to sex]

Kirsch, Irving. *Resimli Cinsel Tedavi*. Trans. Murat Garay. İstanbul: Seçme Kitaplar. (Second Edition)

Morris, Desmond. *Sevmek Dokunmaktır*. Trans. Engin Darıca. İstanbul: Sander. (Bilim ve İnceleme Dizisi, 3) (Second Edition 1980) (1986 İstanbul: İnkılap Trans. Nuran Yavuz, Third Edition 1988)

Philips, P.I. *Seks ve Ruhsal Tedavi*. Trans. Deniz Tamer. İstanbul: Varol.

Reuben, David. *A'dan Z'ye Seks 1*. Trans. Murat Garay. İstanbul: Seçme Kitaplar.

Valinieff, Pierre. *Sevişmenin İncelikleri*. Trans. Suat Yıldırım. İstanbul: Seçme Kitaplar.

Walton, Alan Hull. *Seks Reçetesi*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Başak.

[y.y.] *Cinsel Alanda Herkes Neler Bilmelidir*. Trans. Tekin Arcayürek. İstanbul: Nebioğlu.

[y.y.] *Cinsel Sorunlarımız ve Seksolojinin Gerçek Sırları*. Trans. Süleyman Elaldı. İstanbul: Göl.

[y.y.] *Cinsel Teknik*. Nihal Yeğınobalı. der. İstanbul: Göl.

1978

Galier, Pier re Henri. *Ellisinden Sonra Seks*. Trans. Ali Avni Öneş. İstanbul: Seçme Kitaplar. (Seksoloji Dizisi, 1)

Johnson, Eric W. *Gençler için cinsel eğitim*. Trans. İhsan Fahri. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Pomeroy, Wardel Baxter. *Genç Kızlarda Cinsel Yaşam*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Cinsel Eğitim (Cinsel Yaşam Dizisi, 1) (1984 retranslation *Genç Kızlar ve Cinsel Sorunları*. Trans. M. Serdaroğlu. İstanbul: Milliyet)

Reich, Wilhelm. *Bedensel Boşalmanın İşlevi*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel (Bilgi dizisi.28) [La fonction de l'orgasme] (Second Edition 1982 Bilim ve Felsefe Kitapları, 15 [Die funktion des orgasmus])

1979

Courtenay, Michael. *Evlilikte Cinsel Uyumsuzluk*. Trans. Mehmet Mahir. İstanbul: Bozak (Psikoloji Dizisi, 8)

Firestone, Shulamith. *Cinselliğin Diyalektiği: Kadın Özgürlüğü Davası*. Trans. Yurdanur Salman. İstanbul: Payel. (Bilgi Dizisi, 32) (Second Edition 1993) [The dialectic of sex: the case for feminist revolution]

Gourmont, Pierre. *Tek Başına Seks*. Trans. Sadık Doğru. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Seks Ansiklopedisi, 1 / 2)

Morris, Hugh. *Öpüşme Sanatı*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Seksoloji Dizisi, 4)

Ward, Brian. *Seks ve Yaşam*. Trans. Nida Tektaş. İstanbul: Remzi.

1980

Oakley, Gilbert. *Aşk Kitabı: Kırkıktan sonra seks*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Cinsel Eğitim. (Cinsel Yaşam Dizisi.3) (Second Edition 1983)

Sönmezler, Mustafa. (Ed.) *Kadın İsterse*. Trans.? İstanbul: Tabu.

1981

Talese, Gay. *Komşunun Karısı*. Trans. Armağan İlkin. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar. [Their Neighbour's Wife]

1982

Duby, Georges. *Batı'da Aşk ve Cinsellik*. Trans. Ayşen Gür. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları. (Araştırma-İnceleme) [Amour et sexualite en occident]

Miller, Henry. *Cinsellik Dünyası*. Trans. Gürkal Aylan. İstanbul: Alaz. (Sanat Düşünce Dizisi, 1) [The world of sex]

Reich, Wilhelm. *Cinsel Olgunlaşma*. Trans. Hüseyin Portakal. İstanbul: Deniz. (Bilim Dizisi, 2)

1983

Chang, Jolan. *Taocu sevişme ve seks*. Trans. İlhan Güngör. İstanbul: Yol.

Kokken, Sha. *Aşk Oyunları*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Martı. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi.2)

Reuben, David. *Kadın: cinsel ve duygusal sorunlar*. Trans. Oya Alpar. İstanbul: İnkılap. [Any women can]

Can, Serap (Ed.) *Cinsel İlişkiler*. Trans.? İstanbul: Martı. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 4)

Can, Serap (Ed.) *Kadın İsterse*. Trans.? İstanbul: Martı. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 6)

Can, Serap (Ed.) *Seks Rehberi*. Trans.? İstanbul: Martı. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 5)

Can, Serap (Ed.) *Evlenmeden Önce*. Trans.? İstanbul: Martı. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 3)

1984

Hite, Shere. *Hite Raporu: Kadınların Cinselliği Konusunda Masters ve Johnson ile Kinsey'den Sonra En Kapsamlı Araştırma*. Trans. Esin Eden. İstanbul: Cep Kitapları. (Cinsellik Dizisi, 2) [The Hite report]

Hollander, Xaviera. *Patroniçe*. Trans. Fulya Ereker. İstanbul: Kelebek. (Second Edition) (Anılar Dizisi, 2) [The Hoopy Hooker]

Humana, Charles. *Çin'de Sevişme*. Trans. Kerem Lokman. İstanbul: Yol.

Penney, Alexandra. *Nasıl Sevişmeli*. İstanbul: Ağaoğlu.

Can, Serap (Ed.) *Aşk Sanatı*. Trans.? İstanbul: Martı. (Cinsel Bilgiler Dizisi, 7)

1985

Friday, Nancy. *Annem ve Ben*. Trans. ?. Glasgow: William Collins Sons and Co. [My mother Myself: Daughter Search for Identity]

Foucault, Michel. *Cinselliğin tarihi*. Trans. Hülya Tufan. İstanbul: Afa. [Histoire de la sexualite] (Second Edition 1986, 1988)

Haeberle, Ervin J. *Cinsel Atlas*. Trans. Mesut Akın. İstanbul: Say.

Lanson, Lucienne. *Kadının Cinsel Sorunları: Sorular-Yanıtlar*. Trans. Sonay Özdemir ve Anita Karl. İstanbul: Can. [From women to women]

Spock, Benjamin. *Aşk ve Cinsellik*. Trans. Muammer Tuncer. İstanbul: Yalçın Yayınları. (Second Edition) (Bilim-Belge-İnceleme Dizisi, 7)

Stoppard, Miriam. *Kadının Yaşam Kılavuzu*. Trans. Şirin Artan. İstanbul: Milliyet. [Every girl's life guide] (Second Edition *Her Genç Kızın Yaşam Rehberi*. Trans. Eshar Kütevin, Ziya Kütevin. İstanbul: Inkilap, 1990)

1986

Baruch, Dorothy Walter. *Evlilikte cinsellik: Duygusal ve Fiziksel İlişkiler*. Trans. Nihal Yeğinoğlu. İstanbul: Remzi. (Second Edition 1992) [Sex in marriage]

Berne, Eric. *İnsanca Sevgi ve Cinsellik*. Trans. Emre Kapkın. İstanbul: Yaprak.

Faust, Beatrice. *Kadınlar Seks ve Pornografi*. Trans. Erdem Bagatur. İstanbul: Yaprak.

Hyde, Harford Montgomery. *Pornografinin Tarihi*. Trans. Feride Çiçekoğlu. Ankara: Kalem.

Kinsey, Alfred Charles. *Kadınlarda Cinsel Yaşam*. Trans. Tahsin Yılmaz. İstanbul: Beydağ.

Kinsey, Alfred Charles [et al] *Kadınların Cinsi Hayatı Hakkında Kinsey Raporu*. Trans. ?. İstanbul: Beydağ.

Sandford, Jeremy. *Kiralık Kızlar*. Trans. Elif Ağlarca. İstanbul: Cep. (Cinsellik Dizisi, 3) [Prostitutes]

Shain, Merle. *Bazı Erkekler Daha İyidir*. Trans. Gönül Suveren. İstanbul: Kelebek Yayınları. (Fifth Edition) [Some men are more perfect]

1987

Chartam, Robert. *50 Yaşlarından Sonra Cinsel Yaşam*. Trans. Kaya Öztaş. Ankara: Hacan. (Bilim Dizisi, 2)

Reich, Wilhelm. *Cinsel Ahlakın Boygöstermesi*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel. (Second Edition) (Bilim Kitapları, 11) [Der Einbruch der sexualmoral]

1988

Cooper, David Grahan. *Ailenin Ölümü*. Trans. Güzin Özkan. İstanbul: K1y1. [The death of the family]

Norwood, Robin. *Kadın Eğer Çok Severse*. Trans. H. Kambur ve S. Yararbaş. İstanbul: İnkılap. (1994)

1989

Coward, Rosalind. *Kadınlık Arzuları: Günümüzde Kadın Cinselliği*. Trans. Alev Türker. İstanbul: Ayrıntı. (İnceleme Dizisi, 2) (Third edition 1993) [Women's Sexuality Today]

Malinowski, Bronislaw. *İlkel Toplumlarda Cinsellik ve Baskı*. Trans. Hüseyin Portakal. İstanbul: Kabalcı Yayınları. (Bilim Kitapları, 1) [Sex and Repression in savage society]

Omarr, Sydney. *Burcunuzda Seks ve Yaşam*. Trans. Güler Dikmen Nalbantoğlu. İstanbul: Yaprak.

1990

Burneyi Pierre. *Aşk*. Trans. Ayşen Ekmekçi. İstanbul: İletişim. (Fifth Edition) (Cep Üniversitesi) [L'amour]

Hite, Shere. *İyi Aşıklar Kötü Aşıklar*. Trans. İpek Çalışlar. İstanbul: Pencere. (Kadın, 2)

Weber, Eric and Mary Cochran. *Kadınları Baştan Çıkarma Yolları*. Trans. Atilla Demircioğlu. [y.y.]:[y.y.]

Appendix B. Indigenous Texts on Women's Sexuality

1878

Mehmed Emin. *Risale-i mürşid üt-talak ven-nikah ve Risale-i nuhbe-i eminiye li-hukuk iz-zevciye*. Istanbul: Süleyman Efendi Matbaası.

1883

Ş. Binti Macid. *Kendini Zevcine Sevdirme Sanatı*. Istanbul: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası.

1886

Mehmed Said. *Vezaif-ül İnas*. Istanbul: Kitapçı Arakel. (Third Edition)

1888

Mehmed İhsan. *Kadınlarda Sabah Kahvesi yahut Oğlu'nun Kılavuzu*. Istanbul: Arşak Garoyan Matbaası.

1889

Rikar Adolf. *Muhabbet-i İzdivaç ve Kadınlar*. Istanbul: Asr Kütüphanesi sahibi Kirkor Cemal Efendi Matbaası.

1911

İbni Hasan Müsellem Sami Attar Zade. *Erkeklere Düstur-ı Felah Kadınlara Gonca-i Sabah*. Istanbul: Yeni Osmanlı Matbaası.

1912

Ahmed Naci. *Rehnümay-ı İzdivaç*. Istanbul: Manzume-i Efkar Matbaası.

1914

M. Alişan. *Kadınların Aradığı*. Istanbul: Tevsi-ı Tıbbat Matbaası.

1918

Ivanzade Mehmet Süleyman. *İzdivaçta Büyücülük*. Istanbul: İtimad Kütüphanesi.

1919

Hasan Bahri. *Kadınlara Mahsus Pembe Kitap*. Istanbul: Dersaadet. (Second Edition)

1922

Mustafa Galib. *Fahişeler Hayatı ve Redaet-i Ahlakiye*. Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası.

1923

Nusret Fuat Dr. *İzdivaç, Şeriat-i Sıhhiye ve İçtimaiyesi*. Istanbul: İkbal Kütüphanesi. (Third Edition)

Rasim Ali. *Kadının Hayatta Vazifesi*. Istanbul: Evkaf-ı İslamiye Matbaası.

1925

Rızaeddin Bin Fahreddin. *Aile Sinesende Kadın ve Erkek*. İstanbul: Suhulet Matbaası.

Şeriye Reisi. *Kadın ve Erkek*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1926

Besim Ömer. *Fenni İzdivaç. Evlenebilecekler ve Evlenemeyecekler*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kütüphanesi sahibi İlyas Yeni Matbaa.

1935

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç kızlara gizli tavsiyeler*. İstanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi.

1936

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Erkek ve Kadında Cinsi İktidarsızlık*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Hamile kalmak için gizli konuşmalar. Hamile kalmamak için gizli konuşmalar*. İstanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi. (Sıhhi ve İçtimai Kitaplar Serisi, 8) (Second Edition 1937)

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Evli kadınlarla gizli konuşmalar*. İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç kızlarla gizli konuşmalar*. İstanbul: Sebat Basımevi

1937

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Çocuklu ve Çocuksuz Dullar*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dul Kadın ve Erkeklerle Gizli Konuşmalar*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dul Kadınlara Rağbet ve Sebepleri*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dullarda Aşk ve İhtiras*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dullarda İhtiyarlık ve Izdırap*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dullarda İzdivaç ve Neticeleri*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dullarda Serbest Hayat ve Sefalet*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Dulluk ve Zararları*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Evli Kadınlara Göre Memnu Meyva*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Evli Kadınlarda Son Gençlik ve İhtiras*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç Evli Kadınlarla Gizli Konuşmalar*. İstanbul: Bozkurt. (Second Edition)

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç Kadınlar 45 Yaşına Kadar*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç kızlarda fena adetler*. İstanbul: Nümune Basımevi.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Kızlar onaltı yaşına kadar*. İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Kızlar onsekiz yaşına kadar* İstanbul: Bozkurt.

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç kızlarda sevişme ve muaşaka arzusu*. İstanbul: Bozkurt. (Sihhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi)

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Genç kızlara göre izdivaç ve zıfaf*. İstanbul: Bozkurt. (Sihhi ve İctimai Kitaplar Serisi)

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Kadın nasıl erkek ister*. İstanbul: Özeniş Basımevi (Gençlere öğütler serisi.1)

1940

Zeren, Zeki. *Bekarlık ve Evlilik: Bilgisi ve Öğütleri*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi.

1943

Tuğcu, Kemalettin. *Genç Kadınlar için Cinsi Bilgiler*. İstanbul: Arif Bolat Kitabevi.

1944

Yahya, F. *Tarihte Cinsi Hayat ve Evlilik*. İstanbul: A. İhsan Basımevi.

1947

Bilge, Dr. Cevat. *Her genç kız neler bilmeli*. İstanbul: Güven Basımevi. (Cinsiyet ve Hayat Terbiyesi, 1)

1948

Önal, Cemal Zeki. *Evlilik ve Mahremiyetleri: sevmek, sevilme aşkın fizyolojisi*. [y.y.]: Hüsnütabiat Basımevi. (Fourth Edition, 1949, 1961; Seventh Edition, 1972 İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1976)

1955

Özgü, Halis. *Cinsiyet Eğitimi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Muallimler Birliği.

Türkent, Münir. *Kadın Ruhu ve Kadında Cinsi Hayat*. İstanbul: Nurgök Matbaası.

1959

Başçı, Ayten ve İsmail İlhan. *Dişikuş: Her Genç Kız ve Kadının Rehberi*. İstanbul: Seks. (Kadınlara Ait Neşriyet, 1-2) [Concealed Translation]

Menemenci, Suat. *Seksiyel Hayat ve Mahremiyeti*. İstanbul: Ölçülü.

1960

Erişirgil, Mehmet Emin. *Kadın-Erkek*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Özdemir, Mustafa. *Karı ve Kocanın Karşılıklı Aşkları*. Adana: [y.y.]

Tulay, M. Şükrü. *Fuhuş ve Sebepleri*. Ankara: [y.y.] (İctimai Araştırmalar, 2)

1963

Adasal, Rasim. *Cinsiyet Aşk Evlilik: Tabii ve Hasta Cepheleri ile*. Ankara: Tarhan Kitabevi.

1964

Aytul, Turan. (Haz.) *Türkiye’de Cinsiyet Problemi*. İstanbul: Varlık. (Faydalı Kitaplar, 39) (Second Edition 1964)

1967

Dümen, Haydar. *Cinsel Sorunlarımız*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1969, Third and Fourth Editions 1971, Seventh Edition 1975, Eighth Edition 1976, Eleventh Edition 1978, Twelfth, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Editions 1980, Fifteenth Edition 1986)

1968

Çakmut, Nurettin. *Kadının Psikoseksüel Yapısı*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1970

Derman, Emin. *Yaşlılarda Seks Hayatı*. İzmir: Halk Sağlığı. (Halk Sağlığı Yayınları, 11)

Koloğlu, Orhan. *Tarih Boyunca Aşk*. İstanbul: Kitaş. (Toplum Dizisi, 5)

1971

Ağaoğlu, Yılmaz. *Kadınlara Evlilikte Öğütler*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1973

Baktır, Yaşar. *Bütün Dünyada Seks Hayatı*. İstanbul: Latin Matbası.

Baktır, Yaşar. *Kışkırtılmış Erkeklik, Bastırılmış Kadınlık*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Dümen, Haydar. *Cinsel Yaşam*. İstanbul: Alaş. (Third, Fourth, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh Editions 1974, Eighth Edition 1975, Seventeenth Edition 1980, 1988)

Semi, Burhanettin. *Aşk: Çeşitli Açılardan*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1974

Dümen, Haydar. *Cinsel Rapor*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Yurdanur, Safa M. *Seks İhtilali*. İstanbul: Göl. (2. bas.) (Genel Dizi, 10)

1975

Özgüç, Agah. *Türkiye’de Kiralık Kızlar*. İstanbul: Göl. (Martı Dizisi, 13)

Yurdanur, Safa M. *Ömür Boyu Cinsel Yaşam*. İstanbul: Göl. (Genel Dizi, 13)

1976

Duru, Abdülkadir. *Evlenmenin Yöntemi*. İstanbul: Özden. (Second Edition) (Third Edition 1977, Fourth Edition 1978, Fifth Edition 1980, Sixth Edition 1982)

Emirosmanoğlu, Nahit. *Cinsel Yaşam ve Seks Problemleri*. İstanbul: Göl. (Genel Dizi, 29)

1977

Aksoy, Abdullah. *Evlilikte Cinsel Yaşam*. İstanbul: Tabu. (Second Edition) (Bilimsel Dizi, 22) (Third Edition 1977)

Balamur, Ethem. *Cinsel yaşamda Mutlu İnzal*. İstanbul: Tabu.

Balamur, Ethem. *Mutlu Evlilik için Reçete*. İstanbul: Tabu. (Bilimsel Dizi, 13)

Dümen, Haydar. *Evlilik*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Sixth Edition) (1980)

Erkal, Erdal. *Seks ve Özgürlük: Eğitim, Eylem, Eleştiri*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1978

Derman, Emin. *Seks Zevki ve Masturbasyon*. İzmir: [y.y.]

1980

Gürel, Nail. *Cinsel Mutluluk: Seks Araştırmaları, Cinsel Sorunlar ve Öğütler*. İstanbul: Gür. (Second Edition) (Başvuru Dizisi, 1)

Nazlı, Ramazan. *Sözde Evlilikler*. İstanbul: Birlik.

1981

Demircan, Ali Rıza. *İslama Göre Cinsel Hayat*. İstanbul: Eymen. (Second, Third, Fourth Editions 1981)

1982

Altınköprü, Tuncel. *Genç Kız: Psikolojisi ve cinselliği*. İstanbul: Altınköprü. (Psikoloji Dizisi, 6)

Başaran, Nedim. *Cinsiyet ve Küfür*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Sosyal-Psikoloji yayınları Cep Kitapları Dizisi, 5)

Derman, Emin. *Kadınların Seks Sorunları*. İzmir: [y.y.]

Karabey, Zeynep. haz. *Kadın erkek gövdesi ve cinsellik dosyası*. İstanbul: YAZKO. (Gençlik Dizisi)

1983

Derman, Emin. *50 Yaşından Sonra Seks Yaşamı*. İzmir: [y.y.]

Derman, Emin. *Gerdek Gecesinde Sorunları ve Başarısı*. İzmir: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1986)

1984

Dümen, Haydar. *Cinsel Dünyamız*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Fahri, İhsan. *Toplumumuzda Kadın ve Cinsellik*. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar. (Bilimsel Sorunlar Dizisi,) (Second Edition 1984, Third Edition 1985)

1986

Aydın, Abdullah. *İslama göre Kadın ve Cinsel Meseleler*. İstanbul: Müjde.

Ekşi, Aysel ve Sezai Şahmay. *Cinsel Mutluluk*. İstanbul: Milliyet.

Erbıyık, İbrahim. *İnsan ve Cinsi Hayat*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya. (Aile Serisi, 1) (Third Edition 1990)

Onur, Bekir. *Kadın Gençlik ve Cinsellik: Psikoloji Yazıları*. İstanbul: Gür Yayınları. (Araştırma-İnceleme-Başvuru Dizisi, 7)

Yüzgün, Arslan. *Türkiye’de Eşcinsellik*. İstanbul: Hüryüz.

1987

Yüzgün, Arslan. *Mavi Hüviyetli Kadınlar*. İstanbul: Hüryüz.

1989

Bilaloğlu, Neşet. *Gençkızlık-Delikanlılık Dönemi*. Adana: Türkiye Milli Pediatri Derneği.

Derman, Emin. *Seks Kılavuzu*. İzmir: [y.y.]

Appendix C. Translated Women's Biographies

1828?

Castéra, J. H. *Katerina Tarihi*. Trans. Yakovaki. Egypt: Bulak Matbaası

1931

Cunningham, Marion. *Madam Curie ve Radyumun Keşfi*. Trans. B. Avni. Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası (Büyük Adamlar Serisi.6)

1932

[y.y.] *Parmaklarıyla konuşan kız: Körler, sağırlar, dilsizler kraliçesi Helen Keller'in hatıraları*. Trans.? Istanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi

1939

Markun, Leo. *Büyük Katerina ve Aşıkları*. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. Istanbul: Tan Evi

Markun, Leo. *Tarihin Meşhur Kadınları*. Trans. Ömer Rıza Doğrul. Istanbul: Tan Evi (Cep Kitapları.26)

Wood, Clemend. *Kleopatra ve Aşkları*. Trans. Leman Berkmen. Istanbul: Tan Evi

1943

Curie, Eve. *Madam Curie*. Trans. Mebrure Sami Koray. Istanbul: Remzi (Second Edition 1946)

Fleming, Maureen. *İmparatoriçe Elizabeth'in Hayatı*. Trans. Mithat Cemal, Ziya S. Istanbul: Semih Lütfi Kitabevi

1946

Zeydan, C. *Harunürreşidin Kız Kardeşi El-Abbase*. Trans. Zeki Tuncay. Istanbul: Rıza Coşkun Neşriyat (Büyük Muharrirlerden Tercümeler.6)

1947

Baker, Rachel. *İlk Kadın Hekim: Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell*. Trans. Sofi Huri. Istanbul: Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi

1952

McFee, Inez N. *Florence Nightingale: Modern hemşireliğin kurucusu*. Trans. Sofi Huri. Istanbul: Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi

Smith, Cecil Woodham. *Florence Nightingale*. Trans. Mukaddes Balım & A. İhsan Balım. Istanbul: Ahenk Matbaası (retranslation: Second Edition 1954 *Sonsuz Fedakarlık: Hemşireler nasıl kurtuldu*. Trans. Sofi Huri. Istanbul: Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi; Third Edition 1973 *Sonsuz Fedakarlık: Florence Nightingale'in Hayat Hikayesi*. Trans. Sofi Huri. Istanbul: Redhouse) [Lady-in-chief The story of Florence Nightingale]

1955

Richter, Jean Paul Friedrich. *Maria Lutz*. Trans. Melahat Özgü. İstanbul: Maarif Basımevi (Alman Klasikleri.87) [Leben des vergnügten Schulleisterlein Maria Lutz]

1957

Gooch, George Peabody. *Taçlı Fahişe Kraliçe Katerina*. Trans. S. Münir Yurdatap. İstanbul: Hadise (Dünya Çapında Günün Kitabı.2)

1960

Bardot, Brigitte. *Brigitte Bardot: Fransa'nın Döviz Kaynağı ve Milli Annesi*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1965

Sewell, W. Stuart. *Büyük Adamlar. Türk ve Yabancı 230 Ünlü Kişi*. Trans. F. Bengü. İstanbul: Varlık (Faydalı Kitaplar.4) [Brief Biographies of Famous Men and Women]

Yost, Edna. *Çağdaş Bilimde Kadınlar*. Trans. Handan Ertun, Ali İrtem. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1966

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Brigitte Bardot*. Trans. Ülkü Tamer. İstanbul: Uğrak

1967

Richomme, Agnes. *Meryem Ana'nın Güzel Hayatı*. [ç.y.]. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1968

Aişe Abdurrahman. *Hazret-i Muhammed'in Kızları*. Trans. Selami Münir Yurdatap. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Cliff, Tony. *Rosa Luxemburg*. Trans. Yurdakul Fincancı. Ankara: Anadolu

1970

Aişe Abdurrahman. *Kerbelanın Kahraman Kızı Hz. Zeynep*. Trans. Selami Münir Yurdatap. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Aişe Abdurrahman. *Peygamberimizin Mübarek Zevceleri*. Trans. Selami Münir Yurdatap. İstanbul: Abdullah Şenyıldız

1971

Niyaz, Mevlana. *Kadın Sahabiler*. Trans. Ali Genceli. İstanbul: Toker

1973

Mailer, Norma. *Seks Meleşği Marilyn Monroe*. Trans. Nihal Yeğınobalı, Dündar Demirođlu. Hazırlayan: Tanju Gönül. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Thérèse. *Lisieux'lü Azize Thérèse'in Hayatı ve Ruhiyatı*. Trans. Antun Göral. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1975

Piaf, Edith. *Kaldırım Serçesi*. Trans. Aydın Emeç. İstanbul: E Yayınları (Belgeler, Bilgiler, Bölgeler Dizisi.12) (Second Edition İstanbul: Hürriyet 1978 Yaşantı Dizisi.10)

1976

Sperco, Willy. *Safiye Sultan*. İstanbul: Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kurumu

1978

Witke, Roxane. *Bayan Mao'nun Günlüğü*. Trans. Orhan Yüce. İstanbul: İz [Comrade Chiang Ch'ing]

1984

Collins, Joan. *Gizli Yaşantım*. Trans. Gülten Suveren. İstanbul: Kelebek [Past Imperfect]

1985

Baez, Joan. *Gün Doğumu: Biten Duyguların Günlüğü*. Trans. Nukhet Turgut. Ankara: Kuzey (Anı Dizisi.4)

Gazeli, Zeynep. *Zindan Hatıraları*. Trans. H. Hüseyingil. İstanbul: Madve

1986

Ed-Dumi, Ahmed Abdülcevat, *Müminlerin Annesi Hz. Hatice*. Trans. Nedim Yılmaz. İstanbul: Hisar (İslamın Kadın Kahramanları Serisi.1)

Luxemburg, Rosa. *Hapishane Mektupları*. Trans. Anna Çelikel, Murat Çelikel. İstanbul: Boyut (Anı, mektup, biyografi dizisi.1) [Briefe aus dem Gefaengnis]

Barrios de Chungara, Domitila. *Konuşmak İstiyorum: Bolivya Madenlerinden Bir Kadının Yaşantısı*. Trans. Nadire Mater. İstanbul: Belge (Belgesel Anılar Dizisi.2)

1987

Aişe Abdurrahman. *Resulullahın Annesi ve Hanımları*. Trans. İsmail Kaya. Konya: Uysal

1988

Zetkin, Clara. *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine Seçme Yazılar ve Clara Zetkin Üzerine*. Trans. İsmail Yarkın. İstanbul: İnter

1989

Baez, Joan. *Yürekten Kopup Gelen Ses*. Trans. İpek Ongun, Belkıs Çorak. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar [Add a voice to sing with]

Kollontay, Alexandra Mikhailovna. *Birçok Hayat Yaşadım*. Trans. S. Kaya. İstanbul: İnter (Anı Dizisi.1)

Marina, Vittoria. *Azize Klara'nın Hayatı*. Trans. Asdğik Yaupyan. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Şeyh, Belkıs. *Göksel Babamın Kucağında: Bir Pakistanlı Kadının Ruhsal Serüveni*.
Trans. A.K. Barış. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1990

Peron, Eva. *Evita Hayatım*. Türkçesi: Mehmet Ali Kayabal. İstanbul: Güneş (Anı,
biyografi dizisi.4) [La raison de mavié]

Thain, Andrea. *Merly Streep: Hollywood'un Yeni Yüzü*. Trans. Alev Yalnız. İstanbul:
Afa (Sinema Dizisi.18)

Appendix D. Indigenous Women's Biographies

1878

Mehmet Zihni. *Kitab-i meşahir el-nisa*. Two volumes. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Amire

1893

Ahmet Muhtar, Hacıbeyzade. *Şair Hanımlarımız*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Safa

Ahmet Mithat. *Fatma Aliye yahut bir muharrir-i Osmaniye'nin neşeti*. Istanbul: Kırk Ambar Matbaası

Süleyman, A'vanzade Mehmet. *Muharrir Kadınlar*. Istanbul

1918

E. Ali. *Küçük Kızlara Örnek Büyük Kadınlar*. Istanbul: Orhaniye Matbaası

1922

Mehmet Enisi. *Tarihte Güzel Kadınlar*. Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası 1922-1924

1931

Altınay, Ahmet Refik. *Tarihte Kadın Simaları*. Istanbul: Muallim Ahmet Halit Kitaphanesi

1932

Altınay, Ahmet Refik. *Türkler ve Kraliçe Elizabeth*. Istanbul: A. Halit Kütüphanesi

1940

Öğüd, Mehmet Cemal. *Peygamberimizin sevgili kızı Fatımai Zehra*. Istanbul: Bürhaneddin Basımevi

1944

[y.y.] *Mualla Gökçay: Hayatı ve Muvaffakiyet Sırları*. Istanbul: Yürüyüş Basımevi

[y.y.] *Müzeyyen Senar Işıl: Hayatı ve Muvaffakiyet Sırları*. Istanbul: İktisadi Yürüyüş Basımevi

[y.y.] *Zehra Bilir*. [y.y.]: [y.y.]

1946

Çavdarlı, Rıza. *Tarihin evliya fahişesi Theodora*. Istanbul: Tuna Basımevi (Trans.?)

1947

Güngör, Salahaddin; Cemalettin Bildik. *Hamiyet Yüceses*. Istanbul: [y.y.] (Ses sanatkarlarımız serisi.1)

Güngör, Salahaddin; Cemalettin Bildik. *Safiye Ayla*. Istanbul: Gündüz Yayınevi (Ses sanatkarlarımız serisi.5)

Güngör, Salahaddin; Cemalettin Bildik. *Zehra Bilir*. İstanbul: Gündüz (Ses sanatkarlarımız serisi.6)

Ülkütaşır, M. Şakir. *Meşhur Türk İmparatoriçeleri*. İstanbul: Varoğlu (Faydalı Kitaplar.8)

1956

Gavsi, Mehmet (der.) *Ümmül müminin: Peygamberimizin en sevgili zevcesi*. İstanbul:Ergin

Gavsi, Mehmet (der.) *Ümmül müminin: Seyidetün Nisa Haticeül Kübra Binti Huveyld: İslamda veliyye kadınların menkıbesi*. İstanbul: Ergin

1957

Berker, Şevki. *Jan Dark*. [y.y.]: Yeni Matbaa

1958

Örik, Nahid Sırrı. *Eski Zaman Kadınları Arasında Hatıralar*. İstanbul: İnkılap

Soko, Ziya Şakir. *Hazreti Hatice*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Soko, Ziya Şakir. *Hazreti Fatıma*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1959

Karagözoğlu, Tefik Fikret. *Nene Hatun*. İstanbul: Dağarcık Çocuk

Nigar Bint-i Osman. *Hayatımın Hikayesi*. İstanbul: Ekim

1960

Akalın, Abdulhamit. *Peygamber Anneleri*. İstanbul: Okat

1962

Akıncı, Ayşe (Ed.). *Vedide Baha Pars: Hayatı, Makaleleri, Konuşmaları*. İstanbul: Amerikan Bord Neşriyat Dairesi (Örnek Hayatlar)

Güven, Halil. *Kadın Kahramanlarımız*. İstanbul: Dağarcık Çocuk

1963

Ali Bey. *Kızlarımıza Örnek Büyük İslam Kadınları*. İstanbul: Bedir (Ecdadımızın Külliyyatı.4)

Barlas, H. Uğuroğlu. *Halide Edip Adıvar*. İstanbul: Yurttaş

Yücebaş, Hilmi. *Bütün Cepheleriyle Halide Edip Adıvar*. İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka

1965

İnan, Yusuf Ziya. *Ehli Beytin Kutsal Kadınları*. İstanbul: Arıbeyi (Ünlü İslam Kadınlar.1)

Pilavoğlu, Mehmet Kemal. *Hazreti Hatice Validemiz*. Ankara: [y.y.]

Üçok, Bahriye. *İslam Devletlerinde Kadın Hükümdarlar*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası (Kültür Yayınları)

1966

Akıncı, Ahmet Cemil. *Hazreti Hatice*. İstanbul: Bedir (Second Edition İstanbul: Fatih 1970, Third Edition 1978 ve Fourth Edition 1982 İstanbul: Sinan)

Yurdatap, Selami Münir. *Hazreti Ali'ye meydan okuyan kız*. İstanbul: Mehmet Şakir Kitabevi

1967

Arıt, Fikret. *Havalar da İlk Türk Kadınları*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Necefzade, Yakub Kenan. *Ayşe Anamız*. İstanbul: Atlas

1968

Necefzade, Yakub Kenan. *Fatma Anamız*. İstanbul: Atlas

Necefzade, Yakub Kenan. *Hatice Anamız*. İstanbul: Atlas

Tuncel, Bedrettin *Marie Sklodowska Curie*. Ankara: Unesco Türkiye Milli Komisyonu

Uyguner, Muzaffer (Ed.). *Halide Edip Adivar: Hayatı, sanatı, yapıtları*. İstanbul: Varlık

1969

Arzık, Nimet. *Osmanlı Sarayında Yabancı Kadın Sultanlar*. İstanbul: Cem

1970

Akıncı, Ahmet Cemil. *Hazreti Amine*. İstanbul: Sinan (Second Edition 1978, Third Edition 1982)

Huri, Sofi. *İslam aleminde ilk kadın sufi olarak tanınan Rabi'at-ül Adeviye*. İstanbul: Redhouse

Öğüt, Mehmet Cemal. *Fatimatüzzehra*. İstanbul: Bahar (Second Edition 1971, Third Edition 1974)

1971

Akıncı, Ahmet Cemil. *Hazreti Aişe*. İstanbul: Sinan (Second Edition 1978)

Arıt, Fikret. *Kleopatra: Taçlı Fahişe*. İstanbul: Yalçın Ofset (Second Edition 1979)

1973

Aygen, Şehbal ; Adnan Tahir Güntan. *Unutulmayan Kadınlar*. İstanbul: Anten (Kadın Dizisi.1)

Gezer, Güngör (Ed.). *Bedia Muvahhit: Sahnede 50 yıl*. İstanbul: Milliyet

1974

Emre, Mehmet. *Büyük İslam Kadınları*. İstanbul: Vatan

1977

Emre, Mehmet. *Hanımlarımıza, Genç kızlarımıza Örnek Büyük İslam Kadınları*. İstanbul: Çile

1978

Bara, Fahri (ed.). *Türk Kadınları*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1979

Bursalı, Mustafa Necati. *İslam-Türk Tarihinde Mübarek Hanımlar*. İstanbul: Çile (Second Edition 1980, Third Edition İstanbul:Çelik 1984)

1980

Akıncı, Ahmet Cemil. *Hazreti Fatma*. İstanbul: Sinan (Second Edition)

Uluçay, Mustafa Çağatay. *Padişahların Kadınları ve Kızları*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu (Second Edition 1985)

1981

Üçok, Bahriye. *İslam Devletlerinde Türk Naibeler ve Kadın Hükümdarlar*. Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı

1982

Bursalı, Mustafa Necati. *Hazret-i Aişe*. İstanbul:Çile (Second Edition 1984)

Bursalı, Mustafa Necati. *Hazret-i Fatıma-i Zehra*. İstanbul: Çile (Second Edition 1984)

Bursalı, Mustafa Necati. *Şanlı İnci ve Anneler Sultanı Hazreti Amine*. İstanbul:Çile

Nedevi, Seyyid Süleyman. *Müslüman Hanımların Kahramanlıkları*. İstanbul:Fırat

Öztürk, Yaşar Nuri. *Hazreti Fatıma: Kadınlık aleminin sultanı*. İstanbul: Bodur Vakfı

Gökçen, Sabiha. *Atatürk'ün İzinde Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti*. İstanbul: Türk Hava Kurumu

Tanju, Haluk Cemil (haz.). *Meliha Avni Sözen*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1983

Bursalı, Mustafa Necati. *İlk Müslüman, İlk Zevce Hz. Hatice-i Kübra*. İstanbul: Kübra

Efe, Mehmet. *Peygamberimizin Hanımları Annelerimiz*. Ankara: Seha

1984

Ağaoğlu, Süreyya. *Bir Ömür Böyle Geçti*. İstanbul: Ağaoğlu

Aktaş, Cihan. *Hazreti Fatma*. İstanbul: Beyan (Küçük Kitaplar.44)

Bursalı, Mustafa Necati. *Hazret-i Amine*. İstanbul: Çile

Maruf, Meral. *Hicret Günleri*. İstanbul: Akabe

Osmanoğlu, Ayşe. *Babam Sultan Abdülhamid: Hatıralarım*. İstanbul: Selçuk (Second Edition 1985, Third Edition 1986)

1985

Aktaş, Cihan. *Hazreti Zeynep*. İstanbul: Beyan (Küçük Kitaplar.58)

Üçok, Bahriye. *Atatürk'ün izinde bir arpa boyu*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

1987

Aşık, Nevzat. *Hazreti Aişenin Hadisçiliği*. İzmir: [y.y.]

Coşkuntürk, Hüveyla. *İhsan Raif Hanım*. Ankara: Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı

Karamustafa, Sadık (haz.). *Gül Derman: Kişiliği ve Sanatı*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Mutlu, İsmail. *Peygamber Hanımları*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya (Aile Serisi.2)

Öztürk, Yaşar Nuri. *Asr-ı Saadetin Büyük Kadınları*. İstanbul: Hürriyet

Şensoy, Didar. *Bir İnsanlık Onuru Savaşçısı Didar Şensoy*. İstanbul: kin

Tekelioğlu, Meral (haz.). *Prof. Dr. Kamile Şevki 1906-1987*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Tıp Fakültesi

Yalçın, Ayhan. *Velayet Yıldızı: Hz. Rabitü'l Adeviye (Rabia)*. İstanbul: Çelik

Yelen, Pakize. *Bir Ektim Bin Biçtim: Bir Öğretmenin Anıları*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1988

Akdoğan, Lütfi. *İmparatorluğu Yıkan Kadın Sara*. İstanbul: ABC

Boran, Behice. *Behice Boran: son nefesine kadar*. İstanbul: Amaç (Anı, belge dizisi.1)

Sabancı Sıdika. *Sıdika Ana: Sıdika Sabancı'nın Hayat Hikayesi*. [y.y.]:[y.y.]

Özgüç, Agah. *Türk Sinemasına Damgasını Vuran On Kadın*. İstanbul: Broy (Sinema Dizisi)

Öztuna, T. Yılmaz. *Osmanlı Hareminded Üç Haseki Sultan*. İstanbul: Ötüken (Third Edition) (Kültür Serisi.48)

1989

Hacıkadıroğlu, Tahir. *Nasıl Kötü Kadın Oldum*. İstanbul: Yeni

Kuban, Güner. *Sevişmenin Rengi*. İstanbul: Kazancı

Mutlu, İsmail. *Örnek Hanımlar*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya (Aile Serisi.4)

Özgüç, Agah, Sonku Cahide. *Cahide'nin Son Günleri*. İstanbul: Broy

1990

Aldemir, Hasan (Ed.). *Anılardan Bugüne Musikimizin Ustaları ve Nesrin Sipahi: Müzikle 35 yıl*. İstanbul:[y.y.]

Başaran, Deniz. *Hoşçakal Dünya:Deniz Başaran'dan Kalanlar*. İstanbul:Cem

Hacıkadıroğlu, Tahir. *Bir Kadının Notları*. İstanbul: Yeni

Köküöz, Nur. *Bir Selin Vardı*. Ankara: Bilgi?

Appendix E. Translated Texts on Women in Society and Feminism

1907

Mehmet Ferit Vecdi. *Müslüman Kadını*. Trans. Mehmet Akif Ersoy. İstanbul: Ahmet Zeki Bey Matbaası

1908

Kasım Emin. *Tahrirül mer'et yahut hürriyeti nisvan*. Tercüme eden: Asma-i Mısır.

[1910-1914?]

Lacquerre, Odette. *Feminizm: Alem-i nisvan*. Trans. Baha Tevfik (1884-1914). İstanbul: Müşterekülmenfaa Osmanlı Şirket Matbaası (Teceddü-i İlmi ve Felsefi Kütüphanesi) [t.y.]

1928

Petrov, Grigoriye. *Kadın Meselesi*. Trans. T. N. ; Muhsin Ahmet. İstanbul: İkdam Matbaası

1931

Thomas, Felix. *Kızlarımız*. Trans. Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın. İstanbul: Ahmet Halit Kitabevi

1936

Ongun, Cemil Sena. *Yeni Kadın*. İstanbul: Vakıf Kitabevi (Dün ve Yarın Tercüme Külliyyatı.60) (Trans.?)

1942

Foerster, Dr. Fr. W. *Genç Kız ve Erkeklerle Yükseliş Yolları*. Trans. Nevhiz Gücüyener. İstanbul: Anadolu Türk Kitabevi

[y.y.] *Muvaffakiyet ve Saadetin Sırrı*. Trans. Vahdet Gültekin. İstanbul: Muallim Fuad

1946

[y.y.] *Kadının cemiyette yeri, kadınlık*. Trans. Nezahat Nurettin Ege. İstanbul: Dünya Kağıtçılık ve Kitapçılık Evi

1962

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Kadın nedir? İkinci cins*. Trans. Orhan Suda. İstanbul: Düşün

1963

Freud, Sigmund. *Cinsiyet ve Psikanaliz*. Trans. Selahattin Hilav. İstanbul: Varlık (Second Edition 1967, Third Edition 1972, Fifth Edition 1981)

1966

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Kadınlığın Kaderi*. Trans. Canset Unan. İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar (Kadın Kitapları Serisi.2)

Monestier, Marianne. *Gizli Kadın Cemiyetleri*. Trans. Matilda Sakar. İstanbul: Okat

1967

Fenelon, François de. *Kızların Eğitimi*. Trans. Bahattin Fırtına, İsa Öztürk. Ankara:MEB (Öğretmen kitapları.124)

1968

Hernton, Calvin C. *Amerika'da Cinsiyet ve Irkçılık*. Trans. Günsel Koptagel. İstanbul: Fahir Onger (Araştırmalar.4)

1969

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Kadın*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel (Bilgi Dizisi.9) [Le deuxime sexe] (Second Edition 1970, Third Edition 1974, Sixth Edition 1986)

1970

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Kadın: genç kızlık çağı*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel First Vol. (Bilgi Dizisi.9) (Third and Fourth Edition 1971, Fifth Edition 1980)

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Kadın: evlilik çağı*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel Second Vol. (Bilgi Dizisi.9) (Second Edition 1972, Third Edition 1974, Fourth Edition 1976, 1981, 1986)

Beauvoir, Simone de. *Kadın: bağımsızlığa doğru*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel Third Vol. (Bilgi Dizisi.9) (Second Edition) (Third Edition 1972, Fourth Edition 1975, Seventh Edition 1975 (Çağdaş Kadının Kitapları.1), 1981, 1986)

1972

Huliy, Behiy. *Ailede ve Toplumda Kadın*. Trans. Abdullah İşler. Ankara: Eyüp Sanay

1973

Millet, Kate. *Cinsel Politika*. Trans. Seçkin Selvi. İstanbul: Payel (Bilgi dizisi.17) [Sexual Politics] (Second Edition 1987 Çağdaş kadının kitapları.6)

Seaman, Barbara. *Kadınım Hürüm*. Trans. Ziya Şenalan. İstanbul: Hürriyet [Free and Female]

1974

Reich, Wilhelm. *Cinsel Devrim: insanın karakter özerkliği için*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel (Bilgi dizisi.18) [Le revolution sexuelle] (Second Edition 1977, Third Edition 1980, Fourth edition 1989)

1975

Freud, Sigmund. *Cinsiyet Üzerine*. Trans. Ali Avni Öneş. İstanbul: Koza (Güncel Kitaplar.15) (Third Edition 1981 İst: Say, Fourth and Fifth Editions 1989)

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyiç. *Toplumda Kadının Rolü Üzerine*. Trans. Mehmet Güneş. Ankara: Ürün (Temel Eserler Dizisi.1) [Sur le role de la femme dans la societe]

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyiç. *Kadınların Kurtuluşu*. Trans. Ertuğrul Yemenoğlu. İstanbul: Günce [The Emancipation of Women] (Bilimsel Dizi.1) (Second Edition 1978)

Millet, Kate. *Sokak Kadınları*. Trans. Seçkin Selvi. İstanbul: Payel (Second Edition) (Çağdaş kadının kitapları.22) [The prostitution papers]

1976

Reich, Wilhelm. *Cinsel Ahlakın Boy Göstermesi*. Trans. Bertan Onaran. İstanbul: Payel (Bilgi dizisi.25) [Der Einbruch der sexualmoral] (Second Edition 1987)

1977

Reich, Wilhelm. *Gençlerin Cinsel Mücadelesi*. Trans. Hüseyin Portakal. İstanbul: Öz

Vincent, Madeleine. *Toplum ve Kadının Kurtuluşu*. Trans. Bülent Arıbaş. İstanbul: Konuk

1978

Kovalski, N. A. *Günümüzde Kadınların Durumu*. Trans. Nurhan Doğan. Ankara: Toplum (Sosyalizm Kitaplığı.27)

1979

Firestone, Shulamith. *Cinselliğin Diyalektiği: kadın özgürlüğü davası*. Trans. Yurdanur Salman. İstanbul: Payel (Bilgi Dizisi.32)

1982

Caporal, Bernard. *Kemalizm ve Kemalizm sonrasında Türk Kadını*. Trans. Ercan Eyüboğlu. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası (Atatürk'ün doğumunun 100.yıl dizisi.9)

Reich, Wilhelm. *Cinsel Olgunlaşma*. Trans. Hüseyin Portakal. İstanbul: Deniz (Bilim dizisi.2)

1983

Friedan, Betty. *Kadınlığın Gizemi: Kadınlar için yeni bir dönem başlatan kitap*. Trans. Tahire Mertoğlu. İstanbul: E Yayınları

1984

Michel, Andréé. *Feminizm*. Trans. Şirin Tekeli. İstanbul: Kadın Çevresi (Kadın sözü dizisi.1)

Mitchell, Juliet; Ann Oakley. *Kadın ve Eşitlik*. Trans. Fatmagül Berktaş. İstanbul: Kaynak [The rights and wrongs of women]

Mitchell, Juliet. *Kadınlık Durumu*. Trans. Günseli İnal [et.al.]. İstanbul: Kadın Çevresi (Kadın sözü dizisi.2)

1985

Reed, Evelyn. *Kadın Özgürlüğünün Sorunları*. Trans. Zeynep Saraçoğlu. İstanbul: Yazın

1986

Foucault, Michel. *Cinselliğin Tarihi*. Trans. Hülya Tufan. İstanbul: Afa 1.c. [Histoire de la sexualite la volonte de savoir]

Foucault, Michel. *Cinselliğin Tarihi*. Trans. Hülya Tufan. İstanbul: Afa Two Vols. [Histoire de la sexualite la volonte de savoir]

Kollontay, Alexandra Mikhailovna. *Kadınların Özgürlüğü*. Trans. Yasemin Çongar. İstanbul: Yarın (Eleştiri, deneme, inceleme dizisi.1)

1987

Bendt, Ingela. *Geri Döneceğiz: Mülteci kamplarında Filistinli kadınlar*. Trans. Tunç Soyer. İstanbul: K1y1 (Yaşayan tarih dizisi.1)

Reed, Evelyn. *Bilimde Cins Ayrımı*. Trans. Şemsa Yeğin. İstanbul: Payel (Çağdaş Kadının Kitapları.12)

Saint George, George. *Sovyetler Birliği'nde Kadın*. Trans. S. Özbudun,O.Yener. İstanbul: El Yayınları (Bilim-araştırma.4) [Our Soviet sister]

1988

Marx, Karl [et.al.]. *Kadın Sorunu Üzerine*. Trans. İsmail Yarkın. İstanbul: İnter

1989

Fourtouni, Eleni. *Yunan İç Savaşında Direnen Kadınlar*. Türkçesi: Alev Ertürk. İstanbul: Koral (Anı dizisi.1)

1990

Bensadon, Ney. *Başlangıcından Günümüze Kadın Hakları*. Trans. Şirin Tekeli. İstanbul: İletişim [Les droits de la femme des origines a nos jours]

Segal, Lynne. *Gelecek Kadın mı?* Trans. Suğra Öncü. İstanbul:Afa

Taheri, Amir. *Kadın Hakları ve İran Deneyimi*. Trans. Handan Gorbun, Oya Sebük, Aysel Ekşi. İstanbul: Çağdaş Yaşamı Destekleme Derneği

Appendix F. Indigenous Texts on Women in Society and Feminism

1879

Şemseddin Sami. *Kadınlar*. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası (Cep kütüphanesi. 3)

1891

Fatma Aliye. *Nisvan-ı İslam*. İstanbul

1910

Ahmet Cevat. *Bizde Kadın*. İstanbul: Kader Matbaası

Hamid Halil. *Musavvatı Tamme, Feminizme Dair*. İstanbul

Salahattin Asım. *Türk kadınlığının tereddidi yahut karşılaşmak*. Firs Vol. İstanbul: Resimli Kitap Matbaası

1913

İleri, Celal Nuri. *Kadınlarımız*. İstanbul: Matbaa-i İçtihat

Kadriye Hüseyin. *Muhadderatı İslam. Meşhur İslam Kadınlarının Terceme-i Halleri*. Kahire

1923

Ülkem, Dr. Rasim Ali. *Kadının Hayatta Vazifesi*. İstanbul

1930

Afetinan, Prof. Dr. *İntihap*. İstanbul: Devlet Basımevi

1931

Tepedelenligil, Nezihe Muhittin. *Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Nümune Matbaası

1932

Efzayış, Suat. *Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Milliyet Matbaası

1933

Oruz, İffet Halim. *Yeni Türkiye'de Kadın*. Ankara: Hakimiyeti Milliye Basımevi

1936

İçsel, Nazım. *Kadın nedir*. İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi (Second Edition 1942, Third Edition 1945)

Mehpare, Tevfik. *Türk tarihinde aile hayatı evrimi ve bunda kadın*. İstanbul: Hüsnü Tabiat Basımevi

Uzunhasan, Semiha. *Kadın Gücü*. İstanbul: Bozkurt Basımevi

1941

Rodoplu, Refet. *Türk İçtimai Hayatında Kadın*. Kırklareli: Yeşilyurt Basımevi

1942

Onar, Ord. Prof. Sıdık Sami. *Kadının Cemiyet ve Ailedeki Rolü ve Hukuki Vaziyeti*. İstanbul: Kenan Basımevi

1943

Baltacıođlu, İsmail Hakkı. *Genç Kız*. İstanbul: Sebat (Yeni Adam Gençlik Kitapları)

1946

Celasin, Zehra. *Tarih Boyunca Kadınlık*. İstanbul: Ülkü Kitabevi

1948

Çaka, Cahit. *Tarih boyunca harp ve kadın*. Ankara: As. Fb. Basımevi

1955

Özgü, Halis. *Cinsiyet Eğitimi*. İstanbul: Türkiye Muallimler Birliđi

Torkak, Meliha (Ed.) *Son elli yıl içinde yabancı memleketlerde kadın hareketleri*. Ankara: Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu (Second Edition 1959)

1958

Afetinan, Prof. Dr. *Herkesin bir dünyası var*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu

Beydeşman, Haluk Cemal. *Günahkarlar Kervanı: bahtsız kadınlar arasında*. İstanbul: Harman

Taşçıođlu, Muhaddere. *Türk Osmanlı Cemiyetinde Kadının Sosyal Durumu ve Kadın Kıyafetleri*. Ankara: Kadının Sosyal Hayatını Tetkik Kurumu

1961

Deliorman, Altan. *Atatürk'ün Hayatındaki Kadınlar*. İstanbul: Burhan

Oğuzcan, Lütfi (Ed.). *Atatürk ve Türk Kadını*. Mersin: Kuvayı Milliye Dergisi (Atatürk'ten hatıralar serisi.3)

1963

Akarsu, Bedia. *Modern Toplumda Kadın*. İstanbul: İzlem

1964

Afetinan, A. *Atatürk ve Türk Kadın Haklarının Kazanılması: Tarih boyunca Türk kadının hak ve görevleri*. Ankara: MEB (Atatürk Serisi.10) (Second and Third Editions 1975, Fourth Edition 1982)

1965

Onger, Beria. *Atatürk Devrimi ve Kadınlarımız: denemeler, araştırmalar*. İstanbul: Fahir Onger (Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneđi Kitaplığı.1)

1966

Toker, Tarhan. *Tarihte Türk Kadını: Aile hayatı, kadın hakları*. Denizli: [y.y.]

1967

Onger, Beria. *Kadınların Kurtuluşu: denemeler, araştırmalar*. İstanbul: Fahir Onger (Türkiye İleri Kadınlar Derneği kitaplığı.2)

Rodoplu, Refet. *Türk Sosyal Hayatında Kadın*. Kırklareli: [y.y.] (Second Edition)

1969

Onay, Perihan. *Türkiye'nin sosyal kalkınmasında kadının rolü*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası

1970

Özkaya, Günseli. *Kadınların Savaşı: tutsaklıktan özgürlüğe*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1971

Arıt, Fikret. *Harem: Osmanlı Sarayında*. İstanbul: Yalçın Ofset (Genel Kültür Dizisi.32)

Su, Mükerrerrem Kamil. *Tarihte Türk Kadını*. Ankara: MEB Halk Eğitimi Yayınları

Taşkıran, Tezer. *Kadın Hakları*. Ankara: MEB (Second Edition 1983)

1972

[y.y.] *Türkiye'de Kadın*. Ankara: Türkiye Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği

1973

Savcı, Kemal. *Türk Kadını*. Ankara: [y.y.]

Taşkıran, Tezer. *Cumhuriyet'in 50.yılında Türk Kadın Hakları*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Kültür Müsteşarlığı

1974

Arık, Remzi Oğuz. *Meseleler, Köy Kadını*. İstanbul: Hareket

Saz, Leyla. *Haremin İçyüzü*. Düz: Sadi Borak. İstanbul: Milliyet (Tarih Dizisi.36)

[y.y.] *50 Yılda Türk Kadını*. Ankara: Türkiye Üniversiteli Kadınlar Derneği Ankara Şubesi

1975

Altındal, Aytunç. *Türkiye'de Kadın*. İstanbul: Birlik (Second Edition İstanbul: Havas 1977 Türkiye Araştırmaları dizisi.1, Third Edition 1980 Havass, Fourth Edition İstanbul: Süreç Siyasal kültür dizisi.3)

1978

Ceneviz, Macit. *Geçmişten Bugüne Kadın*. Ankara: Bulut

Erten, Özgül. *Yüzyılımızda Kadın ve Kadınlarımız*. Ankara: Türkiye Yazıları (Araştırma inceleme dizisi.1)

Göze, Hacer Hicran. *Türk Kadını*. İstanbul: Kalem

Vakkasoğlu, A. Vehbi. *Bilinmeyen Kadın*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1980

Afetinan, A. *Atatürk'ün ekonomiye verdiği önem ve Türk kadın hakları*. İstanbul: Boğaziçi

Arat, Necla. *Kadın Sorunu*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi (Second Edition 1986, İst: Say)

1981

Alkan, Türker. *Kadın-Erkek eşitsizliği sorunu*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi

Dikmen, Mehmet. *İslamda Kadın Hakları*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya (Sosyal İlimler Serisi.6) (Second Edition 1983 and Third Edition 1989 İstanbul: Cihan)

Tayanç, Füsün. *Dünyada ve Türkiye'de Tarih Boyunca Kadın*. Ankara: Tan (Tan Düşünce Dizisi.1)

Tunçbilek, Nesrin (Ed.). *Basında Atatürk ve Kadın Hakları*. İstanbul: Şişli Lioness Kulübü Derneği

1982

Abadan-Unat, Nermin (Ed.). *Türk Toplumunda Kadın*. İstanbul: Araştırma Eğitim Ekin (Second Edition) (Sosyal Bilimler Araştırmaları Dizisi.1)

Darga, A. Muhibbe. *Eski Anadolu'da Kadın*. İstanbul: İstanbul Ü. Edebiyat Fakültesi Yayınları

Doğramacı, Emel. *Türkiye'de Kadın Hakları*. Ankara: Üniuersal

Güran, Kemal. *Atatürk ve Başörtüsü*. Ankara: [y.y.]

Işıl, Hülya (Ed.). *Kadın Gözüyle Nasıl Olmalı*. [y.y.]: [y.y.] (Second Edition İstanbul: Birleşik Yayıncılık 1983 Faydalı Kitaplar Dizisi)

Öngören, Mahmut Tali. *Sinemada Kadın ve Cinsellik Sömürüsü*. Ankara: Dayanışma

Tekeli, Şirin. *Kadınlar ve Siyasal Toplumsal Hayat*. İstanbul: Birikim (Yerli araştırmalar dizisi.6)

1983

Yağmuroğlu, Mustafa. *Çağımızda Kadın Sorunu*. İstanbul: Beyan (Second Edition 1984)

1984

Aktaş, Cihan. *Sömürü Odağında Kadın*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1988 İstanbul: Beyan Seçkin Kitaplar.7)

Darga, A. Muhibbe. *Eski Anadolu'da Kadın*. İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi

Özbudun, Sibel. *Niçin Feminizm Değil*. İstanbul: Süreç (Niçin değil dizisi.1)

Tuğlacı, Pars. *Türkiye'de Kadın*. İstanbul: Cem (Second Edition 1985)

1985

Özkaya, Günseli. *Tarih içinde kadın hakları*. Ankara: [y.y.]

Şahinkaya, Rezan. *Cumhuriyet köye, köylü kadınına ve Türk ailesine neler getirdi*. Ankara: TBMM

1986

Aktaş, Cihan. *Kadının Serüveni: Eleştirel Bir Bakış*. İstanbul: Girişim (İnceleme, Araştırma Dizisi.2)

Kılıçarslan, Zeynep. *Niçin Kadınsız Çağdaşlaşma Değil*. İstanbul: Süreç (Niçin değil dizisi.12)

Tozduman, Aysel Zeynep. *İslamda Kadın Hakları*. Ankara: Kadın ve Aile Yayınları (İlmi araştırmalar serisi.)

Oruz, İffet Halim. *Atatürk Döneminde Türkiye'de Kadın Devrimi*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1987

Sevinç, Nedret. *Eski Türkler'de Kadın ve Aile*. İstanbul: Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları Vakfı

1988

Tansel, Fevziye Abdullah. *İstiklal Harbinde Mücahit Kadınlarımız*. Ankara: Atatürk Kültür Dil ve Tarih Yüksek Kurumu Atatürk Kültür Merkezi

Tekeli, Şirin. *Kadınlar için Yazılanlar*. İstanbul: Alan (Düşünce Dizisi.14)

Yıldırak, Nurettin. *Köy Toplumunda Kadın*. Ankara: [y.y.]

1989

Doğramacı, Emel. *Türkiye'de Kadının Dünü ve Bugünü*. Ankara: Türkiye İş Bankası (Sosyal felsefi dizi.3)

Tarakçıoğlu, Tülin Baysan. *Moskova Dünya Kadınlar Kongresi*. İstanbul: Gerçek Sanat (Deneme, araştırma, inceleme dizisi.4)

1990

Çelebi, Nilgün. *Kadınlarımızın Cinsiyet Rolü Tutumları*. Konya: [y.y.]

Tekeli, Şirin (Ed.) *Kadın Bakış Açısından 1980'ler Türkiye'sinde Kadınlar*. İstanbul: İletişim (Bugünün kitapları dizisi.7)

Appendix G. Translated Texts on Women and Islam

1959

Ağaoğlu, Ahmet. *İslamiyette Kadın*. Trans. Hasan Ali Ediz. Ankara: Nebioğlu (Aydınlıklar Serisi.4) (Second Edition 1985 Ankara: Birey ve Toplum Belgesel Dizi.1)

1966

Elsavvaf, Muhammed Mahmut. *Resulullahın Pak Zevceleri ve Birkaç Oluşunun Hikmeti*. Trans. Ali Arslan. Ankara: Nur (retranslation: *H. Peygamberimizin Pak Zevceleri ve Birden Fazla Olmalarının Hikmeti*. Trans. Ramazan Nazlı. İst: Emin 1987)

1969

Sibai, Mustafa al. *İslam ve Garblılara göre Kadın*. Trans. İhsan Toksan. İstanbul:Nida

1970

Elbani, Muhammed Nasiriddin. *Hicab: Müslüman Kadının Örtüsü*. Trans. Akif Nuri Karcıoğlu. İstanbul: Sinan

1971

[y.y.] *Kadınlara Hitap eden Hadisi Şerifler*. Trans. Ali Arslan. İstanbul: Arslan (Second Edition) (Third Edition 1975)

1974

Mevdudi, Ebu'l A'la. *Kur'an açısından kadın*. Trans. Necmettin Gevri. İstanbul: Fikir (Sosyal Eserler Dizisi.1)

1975

Akkad, Abbas Mahmud. *Kur'an'da Kadın Hakları*. Trans. Ahmet Demirci. İstanbul: Çığır (Fikri eserler.4) (Second Edition 1977)

1982

Vecdi, M.F. *Müslüman Kadını*. Trans. Mehmet Ersoy. İstanbul: Sinan (Third Edition 1982)

1986

Buti, Said Ramazan. *Allah'a inanan Kızlar*. Trans. İsmet Maden. İstanbul: Madve (Gündemdeki Konular.5)

Cemal, İbrahim. *Müslüman Kadının Fıkıh Kitabı*. Trans. Beşir Eryarsoy. İstanbul: Risale (Third Edition 1989)

Huda, Bint-ül. *Peygamber ve Kadın*. Trans. Ubeydullah Dalar. İstanbul: Seçkin

1987

Breyğış, Muhammed Hasan. *Davetçi Müslüman Kadın*. Trans. Mehmet Çelen. İstanbul: Seçkin

1988

Burucerdi, Zeyneb. *Kadının Adı*. Trans. Mehmet Durmaz. İstanbul: Dünya (Second and Third Editions 1988, Fourth Edition 1989, Fifth and Sixth Editions 1990)

Sibai, Mustafa al. *Kadının yeri: İslam fıkhı ve beşeri hukuk açısından*. Trans. Abdullah Yalçın, Mehmet Yolcu. İstanbul: Akabe

1989

[y.y.] *Allah Resulü'nün Dilinden Kadınlara Hitap*. Trans. Ali Arslan. İstanbul: Arslan

1990

Şeraiti, Ali. *Fatıma Fatımadır: Kadın sorunu üzerine*. Trans. İsmail Babacan. İstanbul: Dünya (Second Edition 1990)

Appendix H. Indigenous Texts on Women and Islam

1958

Nursi, Bediüzzaman Said. *Hanımlar Rehberi*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1959, Third Edition 1977 İstanbul: Sözlür, Fourth Edition 1980 and Fifth Edition 1990 İstanbul: Sözlür)

1964

Pilavođlu, Mehmet Kemal. *Tarihe ve dinimize göre kadın*. Ankara: [y.y.]

1965

Topalođlu, Bekir. *İslamda Kadın*. İstanbul: Yađmur (Fikri eserler.12) (Second Edition 1966, Third Edition 1968, Fourth Edition 1970, Fifth Edition 1973, Sixth Edition 1975, Seventh Edition 1977, Eighth Edition 1979, Twelfth Edition 1982, Thirteenth Edition 1983, Fifteenth Edition 1985)

1966

Pilavođlu, Mehmet Kemal. *Müslüman Kızın Din Kitabı*. Ankara: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1973 and Third Edition 1974 İstanbul: Bedir)

1968

Arslan, Ali (Ed.). *Kadınlara Hitap eden Hadisi Şerifler*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Küçükler, Ali. *İslamda ve Günümüzde Kadın*. Ankara: Nur

Öğüt, Mehmet Cemal. *Kadın İlmihali: Müslüman kadınların hususi hallerine dair dini bilgiler*. İstanbul: Bahar (Second Edition) (Third Edition 1969, Fifth Edition 1974, Sixth Edition 1975, Eighth Edition 1976, Eleventh Edition ve Twelfth Edition 1980, Thirteenth 1983)

1970

Arslan, Ali. *Kadınlara Örtü*. İstanbul: Arslan (Second Edition 1970, Third Edition 1973, Sixth Edition 1977, 1981)

1971

Şener, Abdullah Naim. *Peygamberimizin dilinden Müslüman kadını*. İstanbul: Fatih Gençlik Vakfı

1972

Beşođlu, İnci. *Hanımlara Saadet Yolu*. İstanbul: Bahar (Second Edition 1975)

1973

Can, Fahreddin. *Kızıma Sesleniş*. İstanbul: Nizam

Kaplan, Cemaletdin. *İslamda Kadın ve Özel Halleri*. Adana: [y.y.] (Second Edition)

Polat, Zeynep Münteha. *İslam ve Kadın*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya (Third Edition) (Ninth Edition 1980)

1974

Kayıkcı, Ali. *Kan Pıhtısı: İslamın ışığında kadın ve erkek ilişkileri*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1975

Civcık, Uçma. *Müslüman Kadının Özel Hali ve İnançları*. Konya: [y.y.]

Duru, Abdülkadir. *Kadının Toplumdaki Yeri*. İstanbul: Özden (Third Edition)
(Fourth and Fifth Editions 1976, Sixth Edition 1980, Seventh Edition 1983)

Duru, Abdülkadir. *Toplumsal ve Bireysel Düşünce Işığında Kadın*. İstanbul: Özden

1977

Bozkurt, Ali. *İslamda Kadının Yeri*. Ankara: [y.y.]

1978

Okiç, M. Tayyib. *İslamiyette Kadın Öğretimi*. Ankara: Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı
(Second Edition 1981)

1979

Aktaş, Melahat. *Savaş Çağrısı: İslami yaklaşımla kadın sorunu*. İstanbul: Düşünce
(İnceleme, araştırma.7)

Vakkasoğlu, A. Vehbi. *Bilinmeyen Kadın*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya (Second Edition
1979, Fourth Edition 1983 İstanbul: Cihan)

1983

Çelik, Halid. *Müslüman Kızları İrşat*. İstanbul: Petek

Dedeoğlu, Abdulkadir. *Hanımların Vazifeleri*. İstanbul: Osmanlı

1984

Kutsal, Necdet. *Kadının değeri, ölçüsü, örtüsü*. İstanbul: Selamet (Second Edition)
(Third Edition 1985, Fourth Edition 1987)

Orhan, M. Naci. *İslamda kadının yeri ve vazifeleri*. Konya: Can Kitabevi (Second
Edition 1988 İstanbul: Berekat)

1985

Efe, Mehmet. *Kadınlarımız ve Özel Halleri*. Ankara: Kandil (Second Edition) (Third
Edition 1986)

Güneş, Mümine. *Genç Kızlarla Baş Başa*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya (Gençlik Serisi.5)
(Second Edition 1986, Third Edition 1987, Fourth Edition 1988, Fifth Edition 1990)

Lemu, B. Ayşe. *İslamda Kadın*. İstanbul: İslama Çağrı Cemiyeti

1986

Çelik, Halid. *Kadınlar için İrşat*. İstanbul: Petek

Sağlam, Bahattin. *İslamda Kadın ve Mutluluk*. İstanbul: Tebliğ (Araştırma dizisi.2)

1987

Arsel, İlhan. *Şeriat ve Kadın*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Third Edition 1989 İstanbul: Arkadaş, Fifth Edition 1990 İstanbul:[y.y.]

Şahinbaş, Mürsel. *Hanımlara Rehber*. Çorum: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1989 Ankara: [y.y.]

1988

Dilipak, Abdurrahman. *Bir Başka Açıdan Kadın*. İstanbul: Risale (Second Edition 1988, Third Edition 1990)

Hatemi, Hüseyin. *Kadının Çıkış Yolu*. Ankara: Fecr

1989

Başar, Alaaddin. *Kadın Nedir?* İstanbul: Zafer

Beşer, Faruk. *Kadınlara Özel İlmihal*. İstanbul: Seha

1990

Demircan, Ali Rıza. *İslam Zaviyesinden Kadın, Evlilik ve Sevgi Üzerine Söyleşiler*. İstanbul: Eymen

Karakaş, Zehra Ö. (Ed.). *Dünya Müslüman Kadınlar Münasebetiyle Sesleniş*. Ankara: Furkan

Appendix I. Translated Texts on Women in Marriage and Family Life

1935

Stekel, Wilhelm. *Bir Anneye Mektuplar*. Trans. Şeref Erdoğan. İstanbul: Ülkü (retranslation: Trans. Refik Durlu 1964 İst: [y.y.], retranslation: Trans. M. Rauf İnan. İstanbul: İnkılap ve Aka, 1974)

1949

Wilson, Margery. *Kadınlık Sanatı: beğenilmek elinizdedir*. Trans. Semih Yazıcıoğlu. İstanbul: Arif Bolat Kitabevi

1955

Carnegie, Dale. *Kocalarımızın muvaffakiyet sırrı elinizdedir*. Trans. Haluk H. Günay. İstanbul: Derya

1963

Russell, Bertrand. *Evlilik ve Ahlak*. Trans. Ender Gürol. İstanbul: Varlık (Faydalı kitaplar.24) [Marriage and morals] (Second Edition 1967, Third Edition 1971, Fourth Edition 1977, retranslation: Trans. Vasıf Eranus İst: Say 1983)

1967

Engels, Friedrich. *Ailenin, özel mülkiyetin ve devletin kökeni*. Trans. Kenan Somer. Ankara: Sol [Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats] (Second Edition 1971 retranslation from French “L’Orgine de la famille, de la propriete et de l’etat”), Third Edition 1974, Fourth Edition 1976, Fifth Edition 1977, Sixth Edition 1978, Ninth Edition 1990

1968

Elbani, Muhammed Nasiriddin. *Hadis-i şeriflere göre evlenme adabı*. Trans. Ali Arslan. İstanbul: Kazdal (Second Edition 1972, Third Edition 1976, 1981, 1990)

1969

Ferruh, Ömer. *İslamda Aile Hukuku*. Trans. Yusuf Ziya Kavakçı. İstanbul: Sebil [El-Üsretu fi’ş-şer’il-İslami]

1979

Marx, Karl; F. Engels; V.I. Lenin. *Kadın ve Aile*. Trans. Ömer Ünalın. Ankara: Sol [Über die Frau und die Familie]

1985

Richter, Horst-Eberhard. *Hasta Aile: evlilikte ve ailede çatışmaların doğuşu, yapısı ve tedavisi*. Trans. Günsel Koptagel-İlal. İstanbul: Yaprak

1989

Poster, Mark. *Eleştirel Aile Kuramı*. Trans. Hüseyin Tapınç. İstanbul: Ayrıntı (İnceleme dizisi.8) [Critical theory of the family]

Appendix J. Indigenous Texts on Women in Marriage and Family Life

1900

Nazım. *İslam Hanımları ve Alem-i İslamiyette Hayat-i Aile*. İstanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası

1933

Malik, B. ; Hilmi A. Malik. *Annelerin Kızlarına Öğütleri*. Ankara: Ankara Halkevi

1940

Oksal, Feliha Sedat. *Genç Kız Yetişirken*. İstanbul: Kanaat Kitabevi

1943

Abir, Memduh. *Genç Türk kızlarını hayata nasıl hazırlamalı*. Çankırı: Maarif Vekaleti Matbaası

1945

Yeşil, Şemseddin. *Kızlar niçin evlenmiyor? Evlenenler neden çabuk boşanıyor?* İstanbul: Sinan

1946

Korok, Daniş Remzi. *Hazreti Muhammed'e göre çok kadın almak ve boşanmak*. İstanbul: Yeni Şark Kitabevi

1955

Başak, Hasan Tahsin. *Evlenme ve Saadet Şartları*. Kastamonu: [y.y.]

1960

Güler, Hüseyin Avni. *Evliliğin Sırrı: yuvaya düzenlik ve saadet çağıran öğütler*. İzmir: [y.y.]

Yeşil, Şemseddin. *Boşanma kapısı ne vakit kapanabilir, çocukların diri diri yetim kalması nasıl önlenir, kızlar ne vakit tam çağında evlenebilir*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1961

Şahinkaya, Rezan. *Aile Münasebetleri*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (Second Edition 1964, Third Edition 1967, Fourth Edition 1970, Fifth Edition 1973, Sixth Edition 1974, Eighth Edition 1976, Ninth Edition 1981)

1963

İşler, Mehmet Hulusi. *Cemiyetin Temeli: İslamda izdivaç ve aile*. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Second Edition) (Fourth Edition 1967, Fifth Edition 1968, Sixth Edition 1972, Seventh Edition 1974, Eighth Edition 1976, Ninth Edition İst: TÜRDAV 1979, Tenth Edition TÜRDAV 1981, Eleventh Edition 1983 TÜRDAV, Twelfth Edition 1984)

1965

Artun, Ercüment (Ed.). *Fransa'da aile yardımları*. Ankara: Sosyal Sigortalar Kurumu

1966

Düner, Safi. *Yuva kuracaklara öğütlemeler*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Oğuz, Kadri. *Anne*. İstanbul: Yonca

1968

Şenel, Adem. *Teleandrogenos utopiasında evlilik hayatı*. Ankara: Bizim Yayınları

1969

Şahinkaya, Rezan. *Aile ilişkileri ve evliliğimizin yaşantımızdaki rolü*. Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Ziraat Fakültesi

1972

Ötnü, Şabat. *Aile Hayatımız*. İzmir: [y.y.]

Serdaroğlu, Servet. *Aile Çevresi: kadın-erkek ilişkileri*. İstanbul: Redhouse (Aile serisi.2)

1974

Emre, Mehmet. *İslamda Kadın ve Aile*. İstanbul: Bedir (Second Edition 1974, Third Edition 1975, Fourth Edition 1977, Fifth Edition 1978, Seventh Edition 1980, Eighth Edition 1981, 1983, 1986)

1975

Gülsaran, Sadrettin. *Songül'ün Çilesi: ailede geçimsizlik*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı

Özgü, Halis. *Evlilik Psikolojisi*. İstanbul: Özgü

1976

Duru, Abdülkadir. *Toplumsal ve bireysel düşünce ışığında evlenmenin yöntemi*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Velidedeoğlu, Hıfzı Veldet. *Ailenin Çilesi Boşanma*. İstanbul: Çağdaş (Tarih, Anı, Gezi, Olay dizisi.7)

1977

Eröz, Mehmet. *Türk Ailesi*. Ankara: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı (Eğitimde temel kavramlar serisi.3)

1979

Emirosmanoğlu, M. Nahit. *Evliliğe hazırlık*. İstanbul: Göl (Genel dizi.37)

Erdoğan, Hüseyin Suudi. *İslamda kadın, tesettür, izdivaç*. İstanbul: Çile (Second Edition) (Third Edition 1983, Fourth Edition 1984)

1981

Köknel, Özcan. *Ailede ve Toplumda Ruh Sağlığı*. İstanbul: Hürriyet (Danışma dizisi.28)

1983

Aslantürk, Ahmet. *İslamda Evlenme Adabı ve Müslüman Kadın*. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Mutlu, İsmail. *Teaddüd-ü Zevcat: Çok kadınla evlilik ve İslam dini*. İstanbul: Cep Kitapları

1985

Özüğurlu, Kurban. *Evlilik Raporu*. Nilgün Himmetoğlu, Aynur Sezer (Eds.). İstanbul: Altın Kitaplar (Bilimsel sorunlar dizisi)

1986

Sercan, Fehremez. *İslamın Kadına ve Aileye Kazandırdıkları*. İstanbul: Temel

1988

Çiltaş, Nazife. *Kadın insan ana*. İzmir: [y.y.] (Second Edition 1988)

1989

Paksu, Mehmed. *Kadın, evlilik ve aile*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya

1990

Gökçe, Cem. *Bir yastıkta çile*. İstanbul: Aralık (Second Edition 1990)

Gökçe, Cem. *Evlilik Çıkmazı*. İstanbul: Aralık (Fifth Edition)

Mutlu, İsmail. *Hadislerle Evlilik ve Aile*. İstanbul: Yeni Asya

Appendix K. Translated Texts on Women and Politics

1935

Bebel, August. *Kadın ve Sosyalizm*. Trans. Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel. Istanbul: Vakıf Kitabevi (Second Edition 1965 Ankara: Toplum, Third Edition 1966, Fourth Edition 1974, Fifth Edition 1975, Sixth Edition 1976, Seventh Edition 1978, Eighth Edition 1980)

1966

Muldorf, Bernard. *Sosyalizm açısından cinsiyet ve kadın*. Trans. Atilla Tokatlı. Istanbul: Gerçek

1970

Marx, Karl [et.al]. *Kadın ve Komünizm*. (Ed.) Jean Fréville, Trans. Ö. Ufuk. Istanbul: Öncü (Bilim Dizisi.12) (*Kadın ve Marksizm* Trans. Ö. Ufuk, Second Edition 1970, Third Edition 1975, Fourth Edition 1977, Fifth Edition 1978, Sixth Edition 1979)

1971

Shaw, George Bernard. *Genç bir bayana sosyalizm ve kapitalizm üzerine öğütler*. Trans. Mehmet Harmancı. Istanbul: Milliyet (Genel Kültür Dizisi.7)

1974

Kollontay, Alexandra Mikhailovna. *Marksizm ve Cinsel Devrim*. Trans. Aysem Göztok. Ankara: Bilgi (Bilgi Dizisi.17)

1975

Le Duan. *Devrim Sürecinde Kadın ve Gençlik*. Trans. Şükrü Doğan. Ankara: Tan

1979

Zetkin, Klara. *Lenin'in bütün dünya kadınlarına vasiyetleri*. Trans. Atilla Temiz. Istanbul: Sorun

1984

Rowbotham, Shella [et.al.]. *Feminizm, Sosyalizm ve eylemde birlik*. Trans. Emel Çetin Özgül. Istanbul: İletişim

1988

Naiman, Joanne. *Marksizm ve Feminizm: iki ayrı kuram*. Trans. Saadet Özkal. Istanbul: Amaç (Second Edition)

1989

Enloej, Cynthia (Ed.). *Latin Amerika'da Askeri Diktatörlük ve Kadın*. Ümit Cizre, Serpil Üşür (Eds.). Istanbul: Belge

1990

Rosenberg, Chaine. *Kadınlar ve Perestroyka*. Trans. Osman Akınhay. Istanbul: Pencere

Vogel, Lise. *Marksist Teoride Kadın*. Trans. Mine Öngören. Istanbul: Pencere (Kadın Dizisi.1)

Appendix L. Translated or Indigenous?

1941

Alice Faye'nin Hayatı. İstanbul: Türkiye (Yıldız Hususi Nüsha)

Joan Crawford'un Hayatı. İstanbul: Türkiye (Yıldız Hususi Nüsha)

1942

Marlene Dietrich'in Hayatı. İstanbul: Türkiye (Yıldız Hususi Nüsha.12)

1944

Hedy Lamarr. İstanbul: Türkiye (Yıldız Biyografileri.16)

1945

Betty Grable. İstanbul: Türkiye

1953

R.Y. (Ed.) *Genç kızlara tavsiyeler.* İstanbul: Beküs (Seksoloji konuları.1)

H. B. (Ed.) *Evli kadınlara tavsiyeler.* İstanbul: Beküs (Seksoloji bahisleri.3)

1959

Aşktan Çıldırınlar. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Yakılacak Kitaplar Dizisi)

Çıldırın Gelin. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Yakılacak Kitaplar Dizisi)

Dans Derslerinde Genç Kızlara Kurulan Tuzaklar. İstanbul: [y.y.] (Yakılacak Kitaplar Dizisi)

Genç Kızlığın En Esrarlı Tarafı: Bakirelik. Hadise Yayınevi Neşriyatı, Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı: 1.

Genç Kızların Cinsi Bilgisizlikleri. Hadise Yayınevi Neşriyatı, Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı: 3.

Kızlık Merdivenleri., Hadise Yayınevi Neşriyatı, Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı: 5.

Genç Kızlarda Cinsi Rüyalarda. Hadise Yayınevi Neşriyatı, Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı: 7.

Genç Kızlarda Sevilmek Arzusu. Hadise Yayınevi Neşriyatı, Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı: 9.

Her Genç Kızın Gözüyle Erkek. Hadise Yayınevi Neşriyatı, Seksoloji ve Gençlik Hayatı: 11.

1960

Hem Nişan Hem Doğum: Messalina. İstanbul: Fikir (Tarihte Güzel Kadınlar)

Evlilikte en önemli başlangıç: ilk gece. İstanbul: Hadise

1962

Aile Reislerine Ait Anket. Ankara: [y.y.]

Gelinin Rehberi. İstanbul: Demet.

Zıfaf Gecesi. İstanbul: Demet.

1965

Cinsi Hayatta Saadet Yolu. İstanbul: Demet.

1966

Cinsi Bekaret Nedir. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Evlilik Sanatı. İstanbul: Kitapçılık Limited Ortaklığı.

1970

Evlilik Sanatı: Karı Koca İlişkileri ve Cinsi Hayat. İstanbul: Kitap. (Toplum Dizisi, 4) (Second Edition 1972, Third Edition, 1973)

1973

Seks Raporunda Bin Cevap. İstanbul: Başak.

1974

Alman Kızları Soruyor: benimle evlenir misiniz? İstanbul: Su

Foto-sex: Şehvetli Kızlar. İstanbul: Eş.

1975

Bekaret Kemeri ve Sevişme Teknikleri. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Çırılçıplak Dişi Seks Albümü. İstanbul: Tempo.

Dünya Kadınları Nasıl Sevişir. İstanbul: Tempo.

Harem: Seks Albümü. [y.y.]: [y.y.]

1976

Dilber: Çıplaklar Albümü. İstanbul: Yeni.

Seksoloji: Cinsel Bilgiler Albümü. İstanbul: Yeni. (Third Edition)

Temas: Resimli Cinsel ve Sosyal İlişkiler Rehberi. İstanbul: Cey. (Second Edition 1977, Third Edition 1978)

Yatak: 10 Soru 10 Cevap. İstanbul: Yeni.

1977

Canım Benim: Resimli Süper Mini Seks Albümü. İstanbul: Tabu.

Cinsel Hayat: Resimli Cinsel Bilgiler. İstanbul: Yüce.

Cinsel İlişki: Resimli Cinsel Bilgiler Kılavuzu. İstanbul: Yüce.

Cinsel Kılavuz: Resimli Cinsel Bilgiler. İstanbul: Yüce.

Cinsel Yaşamda Kadınlar. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Çılgın Dişi: Süper Seks Albüm. [y.y.]: [y.y.] (Yakılacak Kitaplar Dizisi)

Gerdek: Resimli Cinsel Eğitim Rehberi. İstanbul: Cinsel Eğitim. (Second Edition)
(Third Edition 1979)

İlk Gece: Mutlu Evliliğin Başlangıcı. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Leydi: Resimli, Süper Mini Seks Albümü. İstanbul: Tabu.

Mutlu Evlilik. Resimli Cinsel Bilgiler Kılavuzu. İstanbul: Yüce.

Seks Albümü. [y.y.]: [y.y.]

Seks Cinayetleri: Resimli Cinsel Eğitim Rehberi. İstanbul: Cinsel Eğitim.

Seks Karnavalı. İstanbul: E Bora. (Meraklı Seks Yazıları Dizisi,1)

1978

Fahişeler. İstanbul: Tabu.

Love: Büyük Seksoloji Rehberi. İstanbul: Siva.

Seks Sırları. İstanbul: Venüs.

1979

Cinsel Sorunlar. İstanbul: Bahar

Gerdek 4: resimli cinsel eğitim rehberi. İstanbul: Cinsel Eğitim

Seks Raporları: Simon Raporu, Martino Raporu, Broche Raporu. Ankara: Yankı.

1980

En Güzel Seks Kadınları. İstanbul: Nilgün.

İnternasyonal Sex. İstanbul: Nilgün.

Kadın ve Seks. [y.y.]: [y.y.]

Lokum. İstanbul: Tabu.

1981

Seks Kadını Emanuelle. İstanbul: [y.y.]

Stardust Sex: Tamamen Resimli Seks Albümü. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1983

Cinsel Yaşam. İstanbul: Martı.

Erotik. İstanbul: Ide Ajans.

Seks Nedir. İstanbul: Gündüz Ofset.

1984

İşte Evlendiniz. İstanbul: Kuşak Ofset. (Clark LE Mon, 1962)

Michelle: Seks Kadını. İstanbul: [y.y.]

1985

Süper Seks Albümü. İstanbul: Magazin.

1986

Cinsel Bilgiler: Aile için Kılavuz. İstanbul: Milliyet.

Cinsel Bilgiler ve Aile. İstanbul: Güneş. (Güneş Cep Kütüphanesi, 2)

Cinsel Sorunlarınız. İstanbul: Sabah

Lucy Süper Seks. İstanbul: Magazin.(Second Edition 1987)

1987

Cinsel Bilgiler Ansiklopedisi. İstanbul: Günaydın Gazetesi.

1988

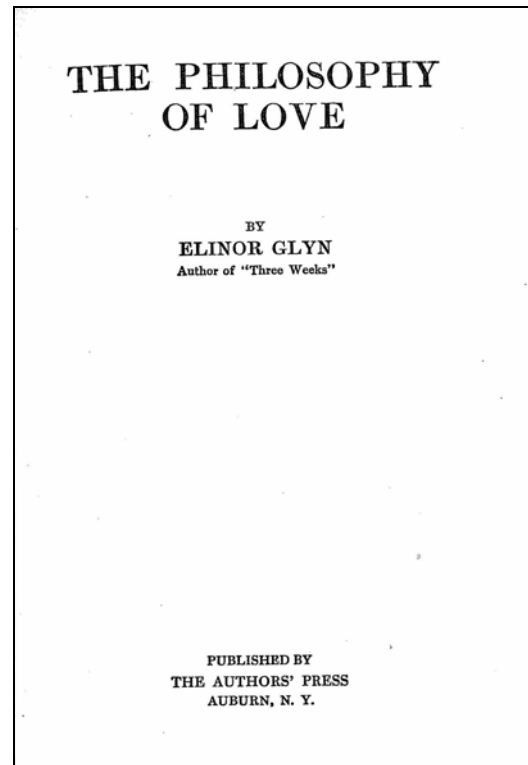
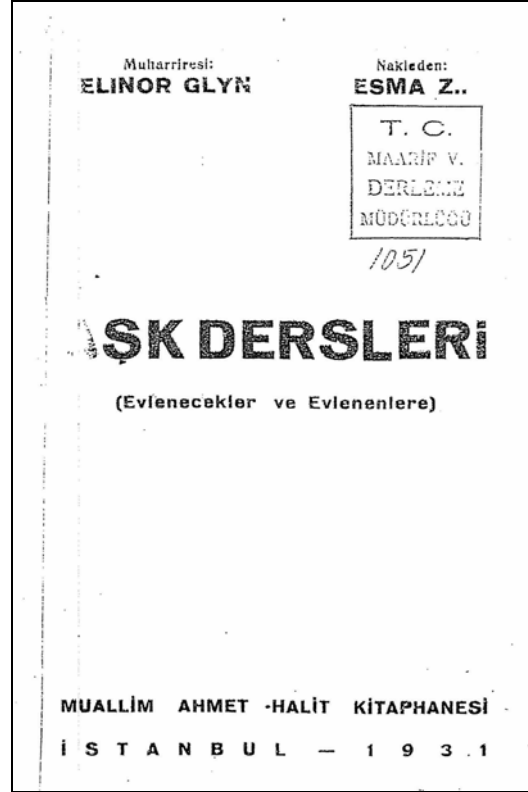
Bekarlık: Nimetlendirici Bir Yaşam Tarzı. İstanbul: Kule Kitapları. (Bilimsel Seri 27)
(Yehova Şahitlerinin İnancını yansıtan Yayınlar)

Kadın ve Sömürü. İstanbul: Yeni Çözüm (Kadın Sorunları Dizisi.1)

1990

Aşk Oyunları. İstanbul: Mikado. (Genel Dizi, 8)

Appendix M. Sample Pages from Target and Source Texts



6/1-3202/40179

W. E. SARGENT

Evlilik Hayatında

Daha Bahtiyar Olmanın Yolu

Boşanmaların önünü alacak çareler

İngilizce aslından ve son tabandan çeviren:

ÖMER RIZA DOĞRUL

M u k a d d e m e
S e v i ŷ m e k
E ŷlerin birbirine uymuŷması
Aile hayatında üçüncü ŷahus
Daha iyi veya daha fena
bir hayata dođru
Çocuksuz aileler
Tek çocuklu aileler
A i l e h a y a t ı
Birlikte kocamak
Aile hayatında dinin mevkii
Bekârlara birkaç söz
Ameli nasihatler

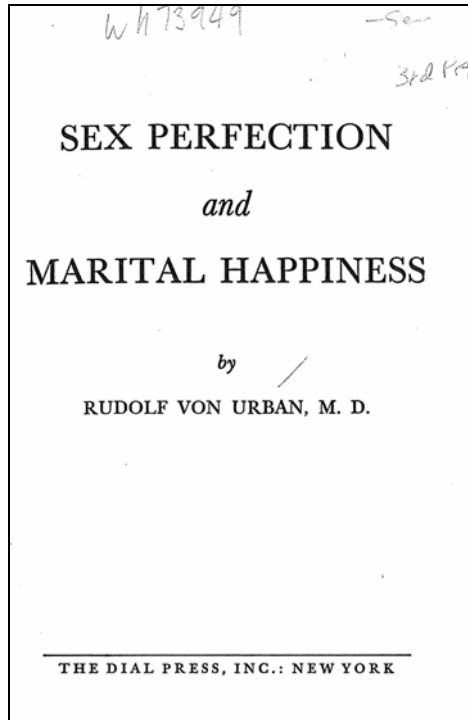
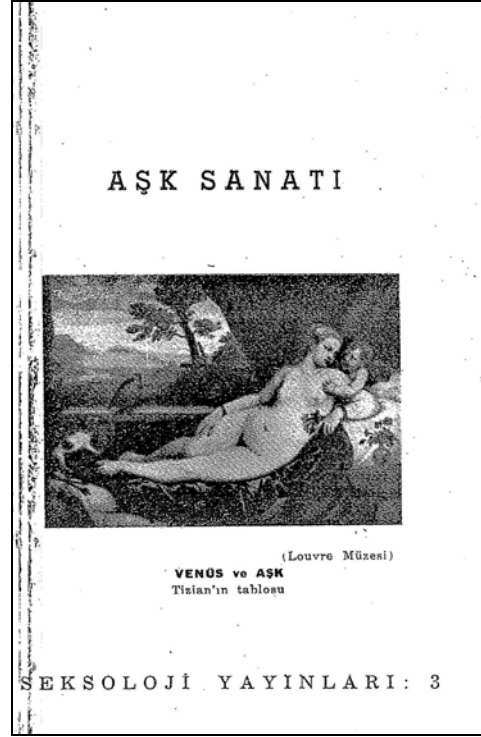
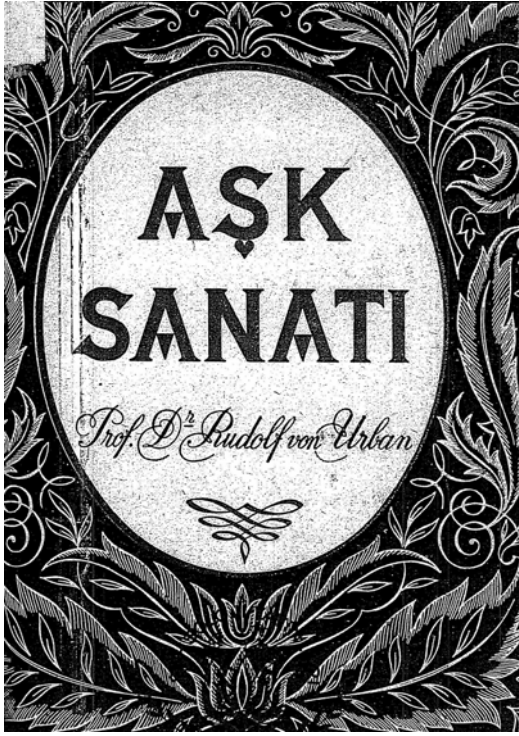
ARIF BOLAT KİTABEVİ
İSTANBUL

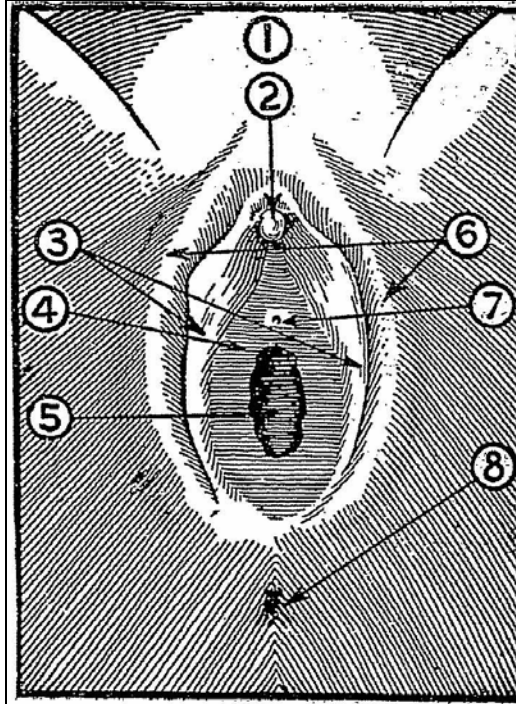
THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY LIFE

by

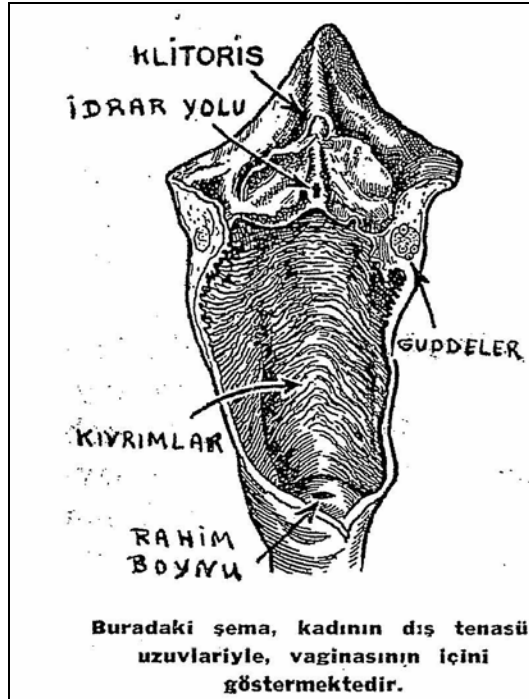
W. E. SARGENT
M.A., B.D.

LONDON
INDEPENDENT PRESS LTD.
MEMORIAL HALL, E.C.4





Burada da kadının dış tenasül uzuvlarının umumi durumu gösterilmektedir.

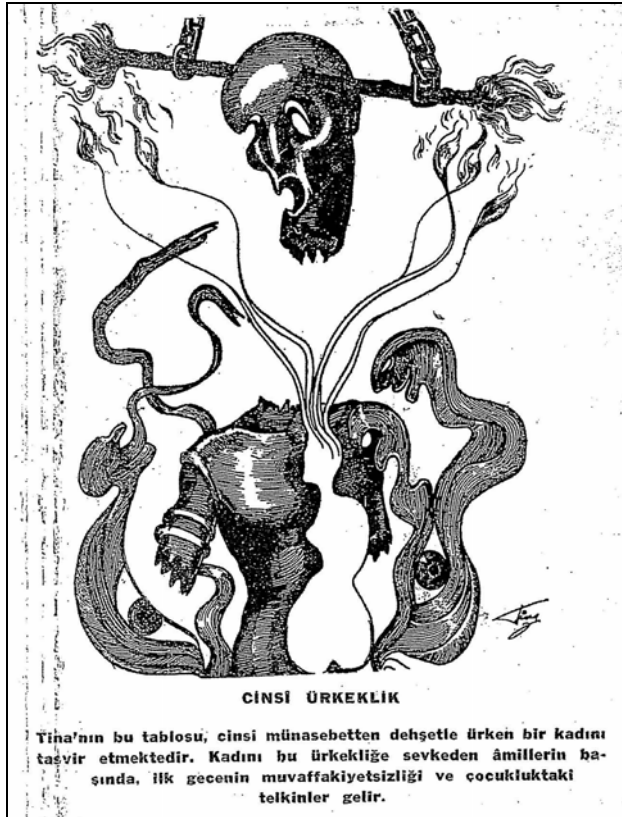


Buradaki şema, kadının dış tenasül uzuvlarıyla, vaginasının içini göstermektedir.



CINSİ SOĞUKLUK

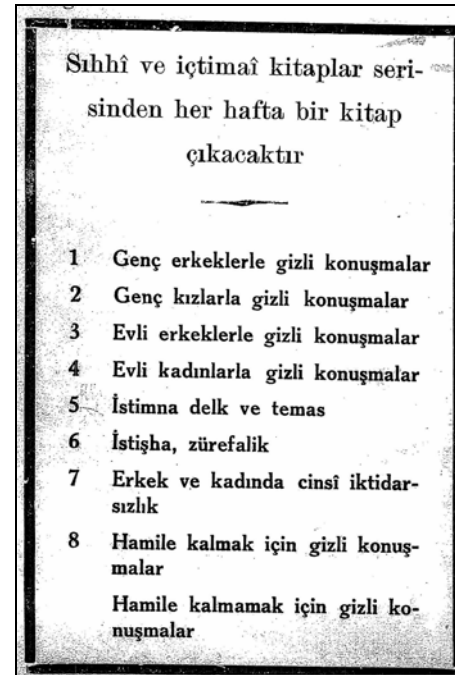
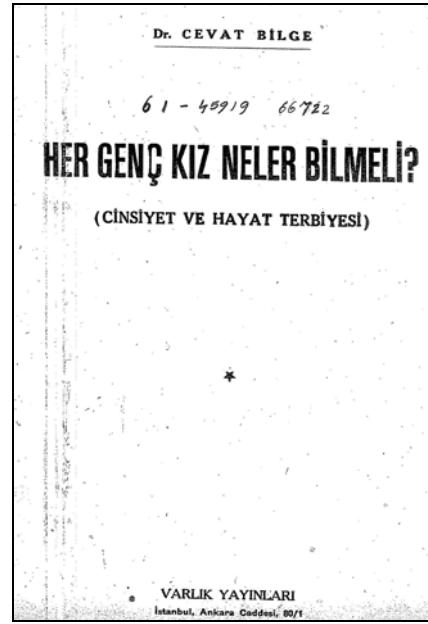
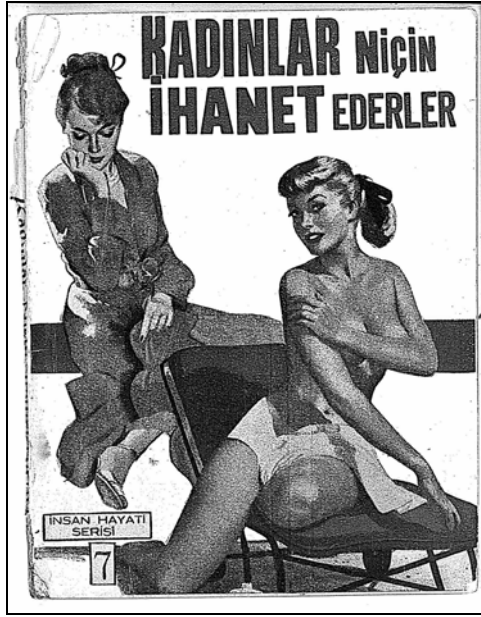
Yukarıki resimde, erkeğin kendisine yaklaşmasını istemiyen bir kadın tasvir edilmektedir. Meşhur Amerikan ressamı Tina, kadının bu hissi ve cinsi soğukluğunu, etrafını kaplıyan buzlarla ifade etmektedir.



CINSİ ÜRKEKLİK

Tina'nın bu tablosu, cinsi münasebetten dehşetle ürken bir kadını tasvir etmektedir. Kadını bu ürkeklığe sevkeden âmillerin başında, ilk gecenin muvaffakiyetsizliği ve çocukluktaki telkinler gelir.

Appendix N. Sample Pages from Pseudotranslations and Indigenous Texts



Appendix O. Sample Pages from Compilative and Concealed Translations

