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**MASTER'S THESIS**

**TRANSLATION, OBSCENITY AND CENSORSHIP IN**  
**TURKEY: AVNİ İNSEL AS A TRANSLATOR AND**  
**PATRON OF POPULAR EROTIC LITERATURE**

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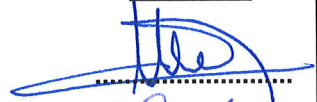
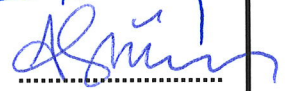

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## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this master's thesis titled as "**Translation, Obscenity and Censorship in Turkey: Avni İnel as a Translator and Patron of Popular Erotic Literature**" has been written by myself in accordance with the academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that all materials benefited in this thesis consist of the mentioned resources in the reference list. I verify all these with my honour.

Date 05/09/2016

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## **ABSTRACT**

**Master's Thesis**

**Translation, Obscenity and Censorship in Turkey:  
Avni İnel as a Translator and Patron of Popular Erotic Literature**

**Devrim Ulař ARSLAN**

**Dokuz Eylül University**

**Graduate School of Social Sciences**

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The purpose of this thesis is to problematize Avni İnel's insistent promotion of popular erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire both as a translator and a patron mainly in the 1940s. Avni İnel (1915-1969) was a controversial translator and publisher who attracted a great deal of attention in the 1940s thanks to his translations. These led to a considerable amount of public debate in Turkish literary history over obscenity and morality. Furthermore, he was tried on charges of obscene publication in 1948 and found guilty. Within this context, this research dwelled on subjects of translation, obscenity, and censorship in Turkey by scrutinizing İnel's activities as a translator and patron in the Turkish culture repertoire. To this end, firstly, translated and indigenous popular erotic literature in Turkey between the 1920s and the 1970s was contextualized by analysing the struggles over obscenity between different groups as they appeared in the public discourse and an erotic Turkish repertoire was formed. Secondly, İnel's activities as an agent of translation in the Turkish culture repertoire along with the repercussions they brought about were investigated in detail by utilising paratextual and extratextual materials.

**This investigation has shown that Avni İnel systematically and deliberately promoted popular erotic literature as an option in the Turkish culture repertoire mainly in the 1940s and shaped the discussions and debates on translated and indigenous erotic literature by resisting the pressures exerted by conservative forces in society. In addition, the findings of this research have also provided insights into the mechanism of censorship due to obscenity in Turkey and shed light on the discourse produced to criticise the erotic repertoire.**

**Keywords: Avni İnel, Translation and Censorship, Obscenity, Popular Erotic Literature, Agent of Translation, Culture Repertoire.**



## ÖZET

### Yüksek Lisans Tezi

**Türkiye’de Çeviri, Müstehcenlik ve Sansür:**

**Popüler Erotik Edebiyat Çevirmeni ve Patronu Olarak Avni İnel**

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**Bu tezin amacı, Avni İnel’in 1940’lı yıllarda Türk kültür repertuarında popüler erotik edebiyatı hem bir çevirmen hem de bir patron olarak teşvikini sorunsallaştırmaktır. Avni İnel (1915-1969) 1940’larda çevirileri sayesinde büyük ilgi uyandırmış ve Türk edebiyat tarihinde müstehcenlik ve ahlak hakkında önemli toplumsal tartışmalara yol açmış bir çevirmen ve yayınevi sahibidir. Ayrıca, 1948 yılında müstehcen yayın suçlamasıyla yargılanmış ve suçlu bulunmuştur. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma İnel’in çevirmen ve patron olarak, Türk kültür repertuarındaki eylemlerini mercek altına alarak Türkiye’de çeviri, müstehcenlik ve sansür konularını irdelemektedir. Bu amaçla, ilk olarak, Türkiye’de 1920’ler ve 1970’ler arasında farklı gruplar arasındaki müstehcenlik tartışmaları incelenerek çeviri ve telif popüler erotik edebiyat bağlamsallaştırılmış ve bir Türk erotik repertuarı oluşturulmuştur. Ardından, bir çeviri öznesi olarak İnel’in Türk kültür repertuarındaki faaliyetleri metin üstü ve metin dışı materyaller kullanılarak ayrıntılı olarak incelenmiştir.**

**Bu inceleme Avni İnsel'in özellikle 1940'larda popöler erotik edebiyatı Türk kültür repertuvarında bir seçenek olarak sistematik ve kasıtlı bir şekilde teşvik ettiğini, toplumdaki muhafazakâr çevreler tarafından uygulanan baskıya direnç göstererek çeviri ve telif erotik edebiyat hakkındaki tartışmaları şekillendirdiğini göstermiştir. Buna ek olarak, çalışmanın bulguları Türkiye'de müstehcenliğe bağlı sansür mekanizması hakkında da bilgiler sunmuş ve erotik repertuvarın eleştirilmesinde oluşturulan söylemlere ışık tutmuştur.**

**Anahtar Kelimeler: Avni İnsel, Çeviri ve Sansür, Müstehcenlik, Popöler Erotik Edebiyat, Çeviri Öznesi, Kültür Repertuvarı.**



**TRANSLATION, OBSCENITY AND CENSORSHIP IN TURKEY: AVNİ  
İNSEL AS A TRANSLATOR AND PATRON OF POPULAR EROTIC  
LITERATURE**

**CONTENTS**

THESIS APPROVAL PAGE	ii
DECLARATION	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZET	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	viii
LIST OF FIGURES	x
LIST OF APPENDICES	xi
INTRODUCTION	1

**CHAPTER ONE**

**LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

1.1. TRANSLATION AND CENSORSHIP	9
1.1.1. The Leading Academic Contributions	10
1.1.2. Theoretical Studies on Translation and Censorship	12
1.1.3. Case Studies on Translation and Censorship	18
1.1.3.1. Agents imposing censorship	20
1.1.3.2. Types of censorship	21
1.1.3.3. Reasons for censorship	24
1.1.3.4. Socio-political environment	26
1.1.3.5. Timing of censorship	28
1.1.4 Research on Translation and Censorship in Turkey	29
1.2. THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE STUDY	37
1.2.1 Agents of translation	40
1.2.2. Culture Repertoire, Resistance, and Market	44
1.2.3. Habitus, Capital, and Structural Censorship	45
1.2.4. Research Subject	47
1.2.5. Methodology	49
1.2.5.1. Data Collection	49
1.2.5.2. Tools and Data Analysis	51
1.3. CONCLUSIONS	52



## CHAPTER TWO

### CONTEXTUALIZING TRANSLATED AND INDIGENOUS POPULAR EROTIC LITERATURE IN THE TURKISH CULTURE REPERTOIRE

2.1. POPULAR EROTIC LITERATURE AND OBSCENITY IN THE OTTOMAN CULTURE REPERTOIRE	55
2.2. POPULAR EROTIC LITERATURE AND EROTICISM IN THE TURKISH CULTURE REPERTOIRE: OBSCENITY VERSUS MORALITY	59
2.2.1. <i>Bin Bir Buse</i> [1001 Kisses] (1923-24)	59
2.2.2. What is nudity and obscenity? A Survey in 1929 by Refik Ahmet Sevengil	63
2.2.3. The Press Law of 1931: A Blow to Erotic Literature	68
2.2.4. The First Turkish Publishing Congress in 1939	73
2.2.5. A Sensational Obscenity Trial in 1939-1940: The Case of <i>Aphrodite: moeurs antiques</i> (1896) in Turkish	77
2.2.6. Discourse on Obscenity and Public Morality in the 1940s and 1950s	82
2.2.7. Expanding debates on obscenity in the 1960s and 1970s in various fields of cultural production	88
2.3. CONCLUSIONS	92

## CHAPTER THREE

### AVNİ İNSEL AS A PROACTIVE AND CONTROVERSIAL AGENT OF TRANSLATION

3.1. AVNİ İNSEL AS AN AGENT OF TRANSLATION	94
3.1.1. Avni İnsel as a Translator	97
3.1.2. Avni İnsel as a Pseudotranslator	105
3.1.3. Avni İnsel as a Publisher	110
3.2. CENSORSHIP AND STRUGGLES OVER EROTIC POPULAR LITERATURE IN THE 1940S: İNSEL'S CAPITAL AS A SHIELD AGAINST CENSORSHIP	121
3.3. CONCLUSIONS	132
CONCLUSION	133
REFERENCES	144
APPENDICES	

## LIST OF FIGURES

<b>Figure 1:</b> Classification of the existing research on censorship in translation	p. 19
<b>Figure 2:</b> Cover Page of <i>Bin Bir Buse</i> , Volume 3	p. 62
<b>Figure 3:</b> Cover Pages of <i>Bıldırıcın</i> , <i>Piliç</i> , and <i>Çapkın Kız</i> magazines	p. 71
<b>Figure 4:</b> Selections from <i>Büyük Doğu</i> magazine	p. 85
<b>Figure 5:</b> Title page of İnsel's <i>Aphrodite</i>	p.103
<b>Figure 6:</b> An advertisement of İnsel's pseudotranslation	p.107
<b>Figure 7:</b> Number of Publications by İnsel through the years	p.112
<b>Figure 8:</b> Selected Cover Pages and caricatures from <i>Kahkaha</i>	p.114
<b>Figure 9:</b> Selected Cover Pages and content from <i>Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite</i>	p.116
<b>Figure 10:</b> Pattern of cover pages published by İnsel until 1946	p.118
<b>Figure 11:</b> İnsel's window dressing that attracted attention in 1952	p.119
<b>Figure 12:</b> The column entitled "Through the lens" in <i>Büyük Doğu</i>	p.125
<b>Figure 13:</b> İnsel's response to Necip Fazıl Kısakürek	p.126

## LIST OF APPENDICES

<b>APPENDIX 1:</b> Books Translated by Avni İnel in Chronological Order	app.p. 1
<b>APPENDIX 2:</b> Books Published by İnel Bookstore in Chronological Order	app.p. 4
<b>APPENDIX 3:</b> Cover Pages of some books published by İnel before 1946	app.p. 7
<b>APPENDIX 4:</b> Cover Pages of some books published by İnel after 1946	app.p. 8
<b>APPENDIX 5:</b> Some Newspaper Advertisements by İnel Bookstore	app.p. 9
<b>APPENDIX 6:</b> News on İnel Bookstore’s window dressing	app.p.14
<b>APPENDIX 7:</b> Mehmet Ali Sebük, Avni İnel and Adnan Tahir before the judge due to charge of obscenity	app.p.17
<b>APPENDIX 8:</b> Other Selections from Newspapers and Magazines	app.p.18
<b>APPENDIX 9:</b> The news article on “unofficial” censorship of foreign magazines in Turkey.	app.p.23
<b>APPENDIX 10:</b> Photographs of Avni İnel	app.p.24
<b>APPENDIX 11:</b> Cover Pages of İnel’s pseudotranslation – <i>Topal Karganın Hatıraları</i>	app.p.26
<b>APPENDIX 12:</b> Photographs of İnel Bookstore	app.p.28
<b>APPENDIX 13:</b> Interviews	app.p.29
<b>APPENDIX 14:</b> Letters written to İnel	app.p.34

## INTRODUCTION

Irvin Cemil Schick's argument suggesting that "erotic literature suffers from significant neglect when it comes to the hallowed halls of academe" (Schick, 2004: 81) holds true for translation studies too. Studies that focus on erotic literature and translation are very limited in number<sup>1</sup> and most of them scrutinize the subject from a gender-based feminist perspective. It can be claimed that sexuality, not only in literary texts but also in other kinds of texts, is an under-researched area in translation studies. Research focusing on sexuality and translation in Turkish translation history can be counted on the fingers of one hand.<sup>2</sup> The most comprehensive among them is Müge Işıklar Koçak's (2007) doctoral research on the role of translations in transferring sexuality especially on and for women in Turkey. In this research, Işıklar Koçak investigates various translation strategies used by translators in non-literary popular texts on women's sexuality published between 1931 and 1959. She reveals that "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" (Işıklar Koçak, 2007: 10) to create a liberal zone in which taboos could be discussed. Along with their problematic nature in terms of women's sexuality, erotic texts have been problematic because they were, in many cultures and in many periods especially after the proliferation of printing press, often suppressed and censored. For this reason, erotic texts, literary or not, are closely related to the phenomenon of censorship. One example that displays the link between censorship and sexuality is Nitsa Ben-Ari's (2006) comprehensive study on the social norms leading to self-censorship which played a more active role in the suppression of erotic literature when compared to legal censorship in Israel.

In recent years, the interest in the topic of translation and censorship has been increasing rapidly to the extent that it has been regarded as a research area and even a "subfield" (Ní Chuilleanáin et al., 2009: 13-16; Merkle, 2011: 18) within Translation Studies. Starting from late 1990s a number of books were published and a number of conferences were held on this area of research. Existing research has revealed that translation and censorship as a field of research elaborates our understanding of the

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<sup>1</sup> Linder, 2004; Santaemilia, 2005; Ben-Ari, 2006; Anne-Lise, 2011; Ziman, 2008; Yu, 2011, 2015.

<sup>2</sup> Işıklar Koçak, 2007, 2015; Aktener, 2010; Üstünsöz 2015.

dilemmas or the constraints the translators face with, the nature of control exerted upon culture and society, reception of various cultures, literatures, and authors in the target culture and the dynamics of translation as an innovative force.

Despite the growing interest in translation and censorship in the world since the late 1990s, research in Turkey on the subject is relatively new and limited in number, starting only after the second half of the 2000s. However, Turkish history provides researchers with a considerable amount of material through which to study censorship and sexuality. A number of large-scale scholarly and non-scholarly works on censorship have been published in Turkey so far by social scientists and independent researchers (such as Şahhüseyinoğlu, 2005; Yılmaz and Doğaner, 2007; Sucu, 2010; Kayış and Hürkan, 2012; Yenerer, 2013; Karaca, 2013; Er, 2014; Güner, 2016), yet none of these works discuss the role and importance of translation in their discussions of censorship. Another shortcoming of these works is that they barely include censorship of erotic works due to obscenity in their research. Most of the cases discussed in these works focus on censorship for political or religious reasons. However, as I will attempt to display in this thesis, obscenity has been a heated subject of debate in Turkey throughout the years and the debates revolving around it are closely related to translation.

This is a microhistorical research, scrutinizing obscenity and censorship in Turkey through translation. Microhistory is a historiographical approach that came into being in Italy in the 1970s, and became largely known thanks to Carlo Ginzburg's seminal work, *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth Century Miller* (1976/1982). In this work, Ginzburg examines the life of a 16<sup>th</sup> century Friulian miller, who was tried by the inquisition and executed for heresy. Microhistory is characterised by its focus on smaller, disregarded and/or forgotten objects of study (especially individuals) in order to explain broader historical phenomena. As put forward by Sigurður Gylfi Magnússon and István M. Szijártó, in contrast to macrohistorians, “[m]icrohistorians hold a microscope and not a telescope in their hands” (Magnússon and Szijártó, 2013: 4). Furthermore, in the microhistorical approach “people who lived in the past are not merely puppets on the hands of great underlying forces of history, but they are regarded as active individuals, conscious actors” (ibid.). In translation studies, some insights into the microhistory of translation have been provided by

Sergia Adamo and Jeremy Munday. Adamo draws attention to the new objects of study introduced by microhistory and emphasises the role of translators as inventive actors (Adamo, 2008: 85-92). Similarly, Munday regards the history of translators as a microhistory of translation and claims that extratextual materials provide more valuable information over textual comparison of source and target texts in producing microhistorical research on a translator (Munday, 2014: 65-66). In recent years a growing number of microhistorical studies, especially on translators, have been published. For example, John Milton and Paul Bandia's collection of essays entitled *Agents of Translation* (2009), a thematic issue of *Hermes* guest-edited by Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen entitled *Focus on the Translator* (2009) and another collection of essays entitled *Translators' Agency* (2010) by Tuija Kinnunen and Kaisa Koskinen. In Turkish translation history the importance attached to individual translators has also been displayed in a number of studies by researchers such as Sevda Ayluçtarhan (2007), Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar (2009), Cemal Demircioğlu (2009), Tansel Demirel (2012), Ayşe Banu Karadağ (2013a, 2013b, 2015), Bilal Çelik (2014), Devrim Ulaş Arslan and Müge Işıklar Koçak (2016) and Ahu Selin Erkul Yağcı (forthcoming).

This microhistorical research dwells on translation, obscenity, and censorship in Turkey by scrutinizing Avni İnel, an influential but disregarded agent of translation, and his activities as a translator and patron in the Turkish culture repertoire. Avni İnel (1915-1969) was one of the most controversial agents in the Turkish history of translation for a few reasons. Firstly, both as a translator and patron, he promoted popular erotic translated fiction in Turkey primarily through his Pitigrilli translations beginning from the early 1940s, which led to a considerable amount of public debate in Turkish literary history over obscenity and morality. Pitigrilli's works are labelled as an example of "cynical amorality" by Alexander Stille in which adultery, drugs, gambling, sensuality, and sexual greed are the main elements (Stille, 2013: para. 3). İnel is the publisher of 21 translated books by Pitigrilli and his name was very much identified with Pitigrilli translations. However, his productions were defined as "prostitution literature" by conservatives and insistently dispraised. In line with fierce criticisms İnel received in the literary field, a work İnel published entitled *Hayatım ve Maceralarım* [My Life and Adventures] (1948) by Pitigrilli was tried on charges of

obscenity. Apart from Pitigrilli, İnsel was the translator of David Herbert Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). His Turkish translation was published under the title of *Lady Chatterley'in Âşığı* in 1942. Secondly, his preface to this work, was a bold manifestation of his challenging views on obscenity. He defended himself against the possible reactions in the following words:

*Why are the words counted as obscene? The words are produced by us, are not they? See what Saint Clement of Alexandria, a saint himself, says on this issue: "Why would I be embarrassed to talk about things that the God was not embarrassed to create?" (İnsel, 1942: 10)*

*[Kelimeler niçin müstehcen addedilir? Bunları imal eden bizler değil miyiz? Bakın, Saint Clément d'Alexandrie ismindeki aziz, hem de bir aziz ne diyor: "Allahın yaratmaktan utanmadığı şeyleri ben söylemekten niçin utanayım?"] (İnsel, 1942: 10)*

This preface proves that İnsel was well-aware of the potential reactions that could arise in response to his translation but did not give up publishing the book. However he admitted that he published the translation "after five years of await, in other words, lying in ambush" ["beş senelik bir intizardan, daha doğrusu bir pusuya yatıştan sonra"] (İnsel, 1942: 6) with the moral support of his close friends such as Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Vehbi Eralp, Hamdi Varoğlu, and Vahdet Gültekin. İnsel wrote prefaces to his translations entitled *Dünya Nimetleri* [The Fruits of the World] (1936/1939) by André Gide and *Afrodite: Eski Örf ve Âdetler* [Aphrodite: Old Manners and Customs] (1939) by Pierre Louÿs, where he underlined the fact that these erotic works have artistic value and clearly challenged the dominant negative views of some writers about obscenity in the 1940s.

The bibliographic study I carried out has revealed that İnsel translated 33 books and published 62 books, most of which (76%) were translations. In addition to his translated novels, I found one pseudotranslated novel as well. İnsel's text entitled *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* [The Memoirs of the Crippled Crow] (1946) allegedly written by Pitigrilli, is in fact a pseudotranslation that was presented as a translation. Apart from his translations, he owned two journals entitled *Kahkaha* [Laughter] (1948-1951) and *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* [The World of Sexuality] (1949-1949). *Kahkaha* was published 33 volumes and *Cinsiyet Âlemi* was published 6 volumes. *Kahkaha* was a monthly humour magazine which included caricatures, jokes, drawings, pictures, short stories, memoirs and satires. The other magazine *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* was

a monthly magazine of sex education. Both magazines included mainly erotic content although the former was promoted as a political humour magazine while the latter was promoted as an educational one. When his activities as a translator, publisher and owner of magazines are investigated as a whole, it becomes evident that İnel's oeuvre is mostly comprised of erotic works.

In this respect, I will claim that Avni İnel was a proactive and controversial agent of translation who systematically and deliberately promoted popular erotic literature as an option in the Turkish culture repertoire, mainly in the 1940s, and shaped the discussions and debates on translated and indigenous erotic literature by resisting the pressures exerted by conservative forces in society. In addition, I will attempt to answer the following research questions:

- 1) What were the characteristics of censorship due to obscenity in Turkey in the 1940s? Who were the agents that took part in the process of censorship?
- 2) What role did translation play in the production of erotic literature in Turkey? Who were the agents transferring the erotic works?
- 3) Why did some men of letters oppose erotic literature and what kind of a discourse did they produce? How did the Turkish culture repertoire become an arena of struggle over erotic literature?
- 4) How did the producers of erotic literature react in the face of criticisms and censorship?
- 5) What led Avni İnel to act in a dissident manner despite the aggressive calls for censorship and harsh criticisms against him by some men of letters?

In order to prove my claim and answer the research questions, I will benefit from "extratextual" (Toury, 1995: 65) materials and "paratextual elements" (Genette, 1997: 4) as methodological tools. I will attempt to create a context regarding translation, obscenity and censorship by focusing on textual materials published in newspapers, magazines and books. The extratextual materials will be analysed in order to understand tendencies, ideas and ideological entanglements regarding the topic of obscenity. As for paratextual elements, I will utilise materials presented with İnel's books such as prefaces and book covers along with distanced elements about İnel's oeuvre such as criticisms, interviews and advertisements.



This is the first scholarly research on Avni İnsel. I have compiled information on İnsel from various sources, since there were no studies including İnsel and his activities. The detailed research process started first with the newspapers and magazines where I collected every bit of information on the obscenity trials, any articles or news about erotic works and any news or advertisements about İnsel's activities. Then I dug out information about İnsel's friends and relatives in order to get detailed information on him. I was rewarded for my efforts and after a thorough pursuit I reached İnsel's son, Hasan İnsel and a former employee who worked in İnsel Publishing House, Necdet İşli. Hasan İnsel and Necdet İşli contributed to this research by conveying information about Avni İnsel's life and activities as a translator and publisher. In addition, they provided me with valuable documents on Avni İnsel.<sup>3</sup> Finally the prefaces İnsel wrote to his translations, the covers of his translated works and the cover pages of the erotic novels he published as a publisher will be used as other peritextual sources in this study.

As for the theoretical framework of this research, I will utilise Itamar Even-Zohar's concepts of culture repertoire, resistance and market (Even-Zohar 1997, 2002a, 2002b, 2008) along with Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and structural censorship (Bourdieu, 1986, 1993, 1990a, 1991). Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and especially his concept of culture repertoire will help me trace the trail of the discussions on erotic literature in Turkey throughout the period of fifty years between the 1920s and the 1970s. Moreover, I will try to establish the contents of the erotic repertoire in the period in question in order to display the cultural context Avni İnsel operated in. Even Zohar's concept of resistance will be used to explain the constant criticisms İnsel came across due to his inculcation of erotic options in the culture repertoire. Finally, I will use Even-Zohar's concept of market in analysing İnsel's marketing strategies as a publisher within the market of erotic literature.

While Even-Zohar's concepts will be useful to contextualize Avni İnsel's erotic productions as options together with other forms of productions in the Turkish culture, Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital will allow me to foreground Avni İnsel as a socialized individual and the sources of power which allowed him to

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<sup>3</sup> I would like to express my sincere gratitude to both Hasan İnsel and Necdet İşli for their contributions to this research.

promote erotic literature. Additionally I will use the term structural censorship to describe censorship that arises from the “structure of the field itself which governs expression by governing both access to expression and the form of expression, and not some legal proceeding which has been specially adapted to designate and repress” (Bourdieu, 1991: 138) in Turkey in the 1940s.

Investigating the questions mentioned above, this thesis is comprised of three chapters. Chapter One dwells first with a selected corpus of research on translation and censorship carried out by scholars of translation in the world at large and specifically in Turkey in order to display major approaches to censorship within translation studies. The second part of the same chapter introduces the theoretical and methodological framework of this thesis.

Chapter Two contextualizes translated and indigenous popular erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire. For this purpose, discussions evolving around obscenity, morality and censorship in the public sphere in the Ottoman and modern Turkish culture repertoires will be discussed. Five different cases will be illuminated in this chapter in order to display the historical background of obscenity and erotic literature. To this end, I have selected five cases between the 1920s and 1940s: the first case is *Bin Bir Buse* [1001 Kisses] (1923-24) which was a magazine of erotic short stories, the second case is a survey on obscenity published in the newspaper *Vakit* in 1929, the third is the Press Law of 1931, the fourth is the first Turkish publishing congress in 1939 and the fifth case is the obscenity trial of the novel entitled *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* published in Turkey in 1939. Following the discussion of these cases, many newspaper and magazine articles along with the books published on obscenity, morality and censorship between the 1940s and the 1970s will be examined to reveal the discourses produced in the public sphere.

Chapter Three problematizes Avni İnel’s constant promotion of popular erotic literature within the Turkish culture repertoire both as a translator and a patron mainly in the 1940s by utilising extratextual, paratextual and bibliographical data. In the first part of this chapter I will critically review İnel’s career as a translator, pseudotranslator and publisher. This part also includes a discussion of İnel’s habitus through his personalized history. In the second part of this chapter I will investigate

the insistent struggle between Insel and his protestors. In addition, I will problematize Insel's capital and question its role in his promotion of erotic literature.



## CHAPTER ONE

### LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will scrutinize the selected scholarly works on translation and censorship under the classification established on the basis of my findings. Secondly, I will present the theoretical framework of this research, which is mainly comprised of Itamar Even Zohar's concepts of "culture repertoire", "resistance" and "market" along with Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of "habitus", "capital" and "structural censorship". Then, in the last section of this chapter I will introduce my methodological framework.

#### 1.1. Translation and Censorship

Censorship is a subject questioned and debated in many academic disciplines worldwide, including literary studies, cultural studies, media studies, sociology, politics and history as well as translation studies.<sup>4</sup> The subject of censorship in translation has been on the scholars' agenda since the 1980s (e.g. Timmer, 1983; Choldin, 1986) and gained momentum after the 2000s. From this time on several articles and books examining the subject from various perspectives were published.<sup>5</sup> In parallel to the increasing attention to the subject, a number of conferences, some of which address specialised research subjects while others addressed censorship in general, were held. These included the Quebec Conference on "Translation and Censorship" in 2001, the Forli Conference on "Translation in fascist systems: Italy, Spain, Germany" in 2005, the Dublin Conference on "Translation and Censorship" in 2005, the Lisbon Conference on "Translation and Censorship: From 19<sup>th</sup> Century to Present Day" in 2006 and the Barcelona Conference on "Francoist Censorship in Literary Translation" in 2012. Moreover, censorship is inserted as an entry in two major encyclopaedias of translation studies, namely *Handbook of Translation Studies*

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<sup>4</sup> Some of the works that study censorship within the framework of different disciplines are Bourdieu, 1991; Müller, 2003; Stark, 2009; Pollard, 2010; King et al., 2013; Moore, 2015.

<sup>5</sup> Some of these books are Sturge, 2004; Ben-Ari, 2006; Billiani, 2007; Seruya and Lin Moniz 2008; Ní Chuilleanáin et al., 2009; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009; Merkle et al., 2010; Rundle and Sturge 2010; Woods, 2012; Spirk, 2014; Yu, 2015.

(2010) and *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (2008), which shows that censorship is regarded as an autonomous research field in Translation Studies<sup>6</sup>.

In Turkey, however, the number of studies on censorship is quite limited compared to the works above and they started only recently, after the 2000s. My analysis of the existing literature on translation and censorship in Turkey has revealed that the scope of the subjects discussed and questioned within the field of censorship in translation is restricted to mostly discovering the reasons for censorship and the strategies of translators and more recently to the legal status of translators.

In the following sections, firstly selected articles and the books on translation and censorship will be critically analysed to reveal the major discussion points and conceptual and methodological approaches used. Secondly, the theoretical and methodological framework of this study will be presented.

### **1.1.1. The Leading Academic Contributions**

Although scholarly work started to be published on the 1980s, Eiléan Ní Chuilleanáin et al. (2009) maintain that the first major academic contribution in the research field of translation and censorship was the special issue of *TTR: traduction, terminologie, redaction* with the thematic content of “Censorship and Translation in the Western World”<sup>7</sup> edited by Denise Merkle in 2002.<sup>8</sup> Even though it is true that this special issue is the first major academic contribution including the word “censorship” in its title, the collection of essays edited by Jean Boase-Beier and Michael Holman entitled *The Practices of Literary Translation: Constraints and Creativity* (1998) also needs to be given credit. Boase-Beier and Holman, in their introduction to this collection, problematizes the role of constraints in translation as follows: “As with original works, so with translations, there is no land where there are no constraints, no controls, no watchdogs, no filters, no pre-existing poetic patterns, no guardians of public morality” (Boase-Beier and Holman, 1998: 11). They maintain that these constraints are, paradoxically, a source of creativity for rewriters and the translator’s role in such an

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<sup>6</sup> Merkle, D. (2010). Censorship. *Handbook of Translation Studies* Vol. 1 (pp. 18-21) and Billiani F. (2008). Censorship. *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies* (2nd edition, pp. 28-31).

<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.erudit.org/revue/ttr/2002/v15/n2/index.html> (Last Access: 27.04.2016)

<sup>8</sup> In 2010, another thematic issue of *TTR: traduction, terminologie, redaction* was published under the title “Censorship and Translation within and beyond the Western World”, and it was edited again by Denise Merkle.

approach changes from that of “a faithful reproducer” to “an inventive interventionist” (ibid: 14). It appears from Boase-Beier and Holman’s words that translators take political, cultural, religious, poetic and linguistic constraints into consideration and make choices for or against them. Translators, “standing at crucial points of control, monitoring what comes in and what stays outside any given cultural or linguistic territory” (ibid: 11), act as gatekeepers similar to censors. For Boase-Beier and Holman, “it is hardly surprising, in a volume dedicated to the constraints operating on and the creativity demonstrated in the practices of literary translation, that a substantial proportion of the essays should be concerned, in one way or another, with censorship” (ibid: 10). In this edited book, various types of socio-political, linguistic, personal and conventional constraints on literary translators were discussed in a number of articles that deal with topics such as Nabokov as an author/translator (Coates, 1998), the Nazi Regime (Sturge, 1998), gay translation (Mira, 1998) and poetry translation (Gaffney, 1998).

Merkle’s (2002) edition of special issue covers a wide range of topics on censorship including literary censorship, the selection criteria regarding translations, colonialism and censorship and censorship under repressive regimes in different times and landscapes. In her introduction, Merkle draws attention to the volatile nature of censorship in translation, arguing that censorship does not take place in overtly repressive situations only. She asserts that “censorship has been practised in both the narrower and broader senses as long as there has been organized culture” (Merkle, 2002: 13-14). She announces her aim in editing the special issue as to “encourage the broadening of the historical and geographical scope of research on the topic” (ibid: 18), since translation and censorship is an under-researched field of study. This aim can be said to be achieved as several collections on the subject of censorship in translation were published in the following years in addition to some articles.<sup>9</sup>

My analysis of these two edited works and many others on translation and censorship has revealed that there appear to be two main types of studies in this field

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<sup>9</sup> Some of the books are Sturge, 2004; Ben-Ari, 2006; Billiani, 2007; Seruya and Lin Moniz 2008; Ní Chuilleanáin et al., 2009; Thomson-Wohlgemuth 2009; Merkle et al., 2010; Rundle and Sturge 2010; Woods, 2012; Spirk, 2014; Yu, 2015; and some early articles are Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2003; Linder, 2004; and Al-Quinai, 2005.

of research: there are theoretical studies focusing on conceptual and methodological discussions and there are case studies focusing on usually a single case (see Figure 1).<sup>10</sup> Theoretical studies can also draw examples from case studies to prove their arguments, but mostly they involve hypothetical discussions of ideas and approaches regarding translation and censorship. Besides, there are a few exceptions in this group which draw theoretical conclusions from case studies and make theoretical contributions to the area such as Elisabeth Gibbels (2009). It should be noted that the number of works analysing case studies is much higher than the number of works focusing on theoretical and conceptual discussions. To this end, the next section will examine studies involving theoretical considerations on translation and censorship since case studies to a large extent make use of these approaches to interpret their data.

### **1.1.2. Theoretical Studies on Translation and Censorship**

Apart from Boase-Beier and Holman, whose theoretical considerations on translation and censorship were displayed above, Merkle (2002) is one of the first scholars to suggest conceptual discussions in the field of translation and censorship. Benefiting from the articles published in the special volume of *TTR* dedicated to the subject of censorship in translation, Merkle highlights the importance of socio-cultural conditions in order to problematize the role of translators as decision-makers within their given contexts. She utilizes the concepts taken from translation studies (“norms” from Toury) and from sociological approaches (“habitus” from Bourdieu) together in order to question the relationship between translators’ decisions and cultural contexts. Merkle, similar to Boase-Beier and Holman, emphasises the control factors of both internal and external constraints operating on translators and she questions whether translators are free to make choices as products of controlled societies (ibid.).

In parallel to these discussions, in her 2004 paper, Merkle analyses the role of internal, i.e. primarily “cognitive or psychological” constraints on the translator and external constraints that “result from a source other than the translator” in relation to the censorship. Benefiting from concepts of “habitus” by Pierre Bourdieu (1990a), “norms” by Gideon Toury (1995), and “patronage” along with “poetics” by André

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<sup>10</sup> I have compiled and classified the existing research on censorship in translation and drawn a figure in order to present tendencies, which will be discussed in the following sections.

Lefevere (1992), she tries to explain the role of constraints on the production of discourse, translation production and textual production, respectively. According to her, translators are always exposed to some pressures in producing their translations and their translation behaviour is under the influence of internal (such as habitus) and external (such as norms, patronage, and poetics) constraints.

In parallel to these studies, Francesca Billiani (2007), in her introductory essay to her edited book, questions the nature of the relationship between translation and censorship from a sociological perspective, scrutinizing mainly totalitarian and dictatorial regimes. She makes use of Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "structural censorship" (Bourdieu, 1991), along with "habitus" (Bourdieu, 1990a), together with Michel Foucault's ideas on censorship emphasising its productive nature and Homi Bhabha's discussions on national textuality and Billiani states that:

*The sociology of structural censorship [based on Pierre Bourdieu's ideas] reaches beyond written forms. The understanding of 'active' censorship in determining both dominant and subordinate discourses [based on Michel Foucault's ideas] fosters a dynamic approach to the analysis of censorial mechanisms. And the necessity of looking at the shape of the ostensibly national textuality in order to explain censorial choices and practices [based on Homi Bhabha's ideas] allows us to account for the pervasiveness of both the political and the aesthetic. (Billiani, 2007: 22)*

Billiani seems to have been mainly dealing with the contextual factors underlying censorship in translation and she shows that censorship does not necessarily refer to overt forms of repression such as prohibition and confiscation. Instead, within the context of translation, censorship is understood as an act "that – in various ways and under different guises – blocks, manipulates and controls the establishment of cross-cultural communication." (Billiani, 2007: 3). As exemplified by Gaby Thomson-Wohlgemuth in her paper on book censorship in the German Democratic Republic, rather than just only overt suppression, many other forms of censorship exist:

*Book censorship in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) was a concept which certainly involved far more than mere textual manipulation by the censorship authority. Its scope covered every aspect of the production cycle, from the choice of books to all the editorial preparatory work, in the form of self-censorship by authors and within publishing houses, all the way to the final printing of the text by the printers. Equally, economic pressures played an important role in censorship mechanisms via the handling of resources (such as paper or printing and binding capacities) and in other measures applied in order*



*to influence the book trade (especially with regard to foreign).* (Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2007: 94)

Therefore, it could be argued that Billiani's collection of essays expands the scope of censorship from blatant forms of suppression to some more subtle ways including issues such as selection of works, marketing and economic pressures. Yet it should be noted that her questioning about censorship in translation is limited to European context, excluding the countries in Asia, Africa and America. Another limitation of Billiani's collection of essays lies in their temporal dimension as they seem to only concentrate on the period between 18<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Ní Chuilleanáin et al. in their introduction to *Translation and Censorship: Patterns of Communication and Interference* (2009), another collection that focuses on translation and censorship mainly in Europe, claim that "the translator's reaction to the threat of censorship is seldom one of passive submission, but rather a complex negotiation which the translator is often able to exploit to his/her and sometimes the text's advantage" (ibid: 19). This argument demonstrates the multi-faceted nature of censorship, supplementing Merkle's (2004) discussion mentioned above. As exemplified by Jane Dunnett (2009) and Christina Gómez Castro (2009) within the same book, translators may enter into negotiations with the socio-political context, publishers, readers, themselves and the source text itself, in order to prevent censorship or attain personal goals (cf. Ní Chuilleanáin et al. 2009: 19). In my opinion, the concept of negotiation might make it easier to understand the motives behind translators' textual decisions and thus elaborate the understanding of censorship.

Tymoczko, in her seminal essay on the role of censorship and self-censorship in translation, discusses how a translator makes decisions on what to do in specific dilemmas and is shaped by external and internal constraints. Similar to Merkle (2002, 2004), Tymoczko claims that external constraints include, but are not limited to, "institutions [...]; the patron and the patronage system [...]; material conditions [...], social norms, linguistic norms, textual norms, and translation norms; structures of language [...]; the conceptual metaphors we live by; discourses; ideologies; and cultural practices" (ibid: 38). Internal constraints, on the other hand, are "those elements of the cultural context that the individual accepts for one reason or another" (ibid: 39). Tymoczko, explains the negotiation process in detail and challenges "the

binary notions of victims and heroes in the translation process” (2009: 22). Furthermore, she justifiably argues that no translator is totally obedient or disobedient in the face of dominant ideas and, therefore, attributing heroism or cowardice to a translator is not realistic. Moving from this idea, Tymoczko suggests that resistance is “a metonymic process” (ibid: 36), i.e. a translator has to choose on what subjects to be resistive and on what subjects to be subversive, therefore has to negotiate and make strategic decisions. Within this framework, she offers the concept of “strategic self-censorship” (ibid.) which refers to situations in which the translator, in order to avoid cultural constraints, applies self-censorship to a degree “for a greater good” (ibid.). It appears that her ideas are in parallel with her agenda of “empowering translators” (ibid: 37).

Another scholar focusing on self-censorship is Elisabeth Gibbels (2009), who examines four German translations of women’s rightist Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792) over a timespan of about 206 years. She finds out that in all German translations, the author “speaks with a much tamer voice than in English” (Gibbels, 2009: 57) in spite of the fact that the translations were done under very different socio-political situations. Moving from her findings on this case and utilising Pierre Bourdieu and Judith Butler’s discussions on censorship, Gibbels claims that the translators of all four translations act as “tacit censors” (ibid: 75) by toning down the author’s tone but not omitting heretical elements. Then she suggests that until the translators acquire a high enough status in the field they operate in, they will have an unintentional tendency to act as “tacit censors” when translating texts that go against the grain of society (ibid.).

In addition to the above studies, Kuhiwczak’s (2009) paper, in examining censorship in the Soviet Union, emphasises the necessity of labour-intensive work for censorship to achieve its aim of suppression. Kuhiwczak, conducts a close analysis of the strictly regulated and closed system of the Soviet Union in which censorship was a “complex, multi-layered and well-organized” act (Kuhiwczak, 2009: 50). In the Soviet Union, as argued by Kuhiwczak, all printed materials including “wedding invitations, classified advertisements, the labels on consumer products, and the weather forecast” (ibid: 51), together with translations, were subjected to a censor prior to publication. Furthermore, all published materials were monitored after they were

marketed too (ibid.). For this reason he undermines “the widespread belief that censorship is a plot of the few directed against many” (ibid. 47) and claims that in order to be successful on such a big scale especially for an extended period of time like in the Soviet Union, censorship must have some support from the society because this kind of extensive censorship is a collaborative project which needs labour power, economic power and surveillance. It may be inferred from Kuhniewicz’s suggestions that if censorship is not imposed as a collaborative project in such regimes there will be undesired leakages into the system. Kuhniewicz’s paper is different from the previous theoretical suggestions in that it scrutinizes the requirements of censorship itself rather than contextual or agent-focused considerations.

Another study examining the notion of self-censorship in literary translation is Agnes Somló’s (2014) recent work. Having given examples from her own translation career, Somló classifies literary self-censorship in three main categories: political, sexual and religious self-censorship. As far as the pressures exerted on translators are in question, Somló, similar to Tymoczko, argues that self-censorship might be a result of external or internal pressures. Yet, Somló’s understanding of these pressures is narrower when compared with Tymoczko. According to Somló, external pressures are, broadly “threatening the translator’s physical being, livelihood or freedom” (Somló, 2014: 199) while internal pressures include “[translator’s] preferences, education, social surroundings, in short, any considerations within” (ibid.). Differently from Tymoczko, Somló further argues that there is “a marked difference between self-censorship in democratic and in totalitarian or quasi-totalitarian regimes” (ibid.), because the former is “a kind of freedom of interpretation as well as responsibility towards the reader of the target text” and towards “the author of the source text” while the latter “requires ideological – mostly political – self-censorship” (ibid.). However, it should be noted that self-censorship in democratic regimes can also be closely related to the ideological and political stance of the translator in some cases (see for instance Ó Cuilleain, 2009 and Nikolowski-Bogomoloff, 2009). For this reason, I think, regarding acts of self-censorship in democratic regimes as freedom of interpretation might result in overlooking internal and external constraints that operate on the translator.

Another point that seems to be clarified particularly through examples in Somló's paper is the argument that translators that take their place in the market "must accept the conditions dictated by it [...] such as the "expectations of readers, target norms i.e. the poetological and ideological norms of the TT culture" (ibid.). Her prescriptive tone here excludes the counter examples and arguments, since even though the translators mostly take the conditions of the market into consideration, they might choose to resist the norms dictated by the market. Several studies have proven that translators and translations can be "instrumental in changing societies in many parts of the world" (Tymoczko, 2010: vii). Tymoczko's collection of essays entitled *Translation, Resistance, Activism* (2010) is full of many cases including translators resisting the existing norms and rules. For instance, Merkle (2010) explains how secret literary societies in late Victorian period of England went against the sexual pressures of the period by establishing private networks for publishing and distributing such works.

In the light of the above studies including theoretical and conceptual discussions related to censorship and translation, it can be suggested that they mainly gather around the internal and external constraints surrounding the translator in the society. As for the internal constraints, self-censorship seems to be the central notion with which scholars have tried to find reasons and present detailed results accordingly. External constraints are numerous, including the patrons, state institutions, traditions and market conditions. As for the concepts employed by these scholars, it appears that the major concepts are "patronage", "norms" and "metonymics" taken from translation studies. These studies also benefited from concepts such as "habitus" and "structural censorship" along with discussions from sociological approaches. Most of the studies that discuss the role of constraints call for a closer analysis of agents within the socio-political and cultural contexts, because these constraints are a result of the socio-political context and they are effective on translators. For this reason, it could be argued that the theoretical studies on translation and censorship steer researchers to a sociological, context- and agent-focused point of view in the field of research.

### 1.1.3. Case Studies on Translation and Censorship

As opposed to a limited number of theoretical studies, there are innumerable case studies conducted by translation scholars regarding censorship in translation. My research has proven that cases are mainly taken from literature.<sup>11</sup> Compared to these cases, the number of research studies made on the censorship of translated non-literary texts is relatively lower.<sup>12</sup> In addition, though limited in number, there are a few studies conducted on censorship in audiovisual translation.<sup>13</sup> However, it appears that censorship has been a neglected area of research in interpreting studies. Researchers of interpreting have not made use of the notion of censorship, even in the works examining the conflicts and constraints in interpreting situations.<sup>14</sup> Since this research is primarily based on translated texts, cases of interpreting and audiovisual translation will not be covered in the literature review.

I have grouped the remaining studies in accordance with a variety of factors affecting or describing the act of censorship in translational activities. In order to provide a clear view of the scholarly trends and the neglected areas in the field of translation and censorship, I have drawn a figure including my classification of these works.

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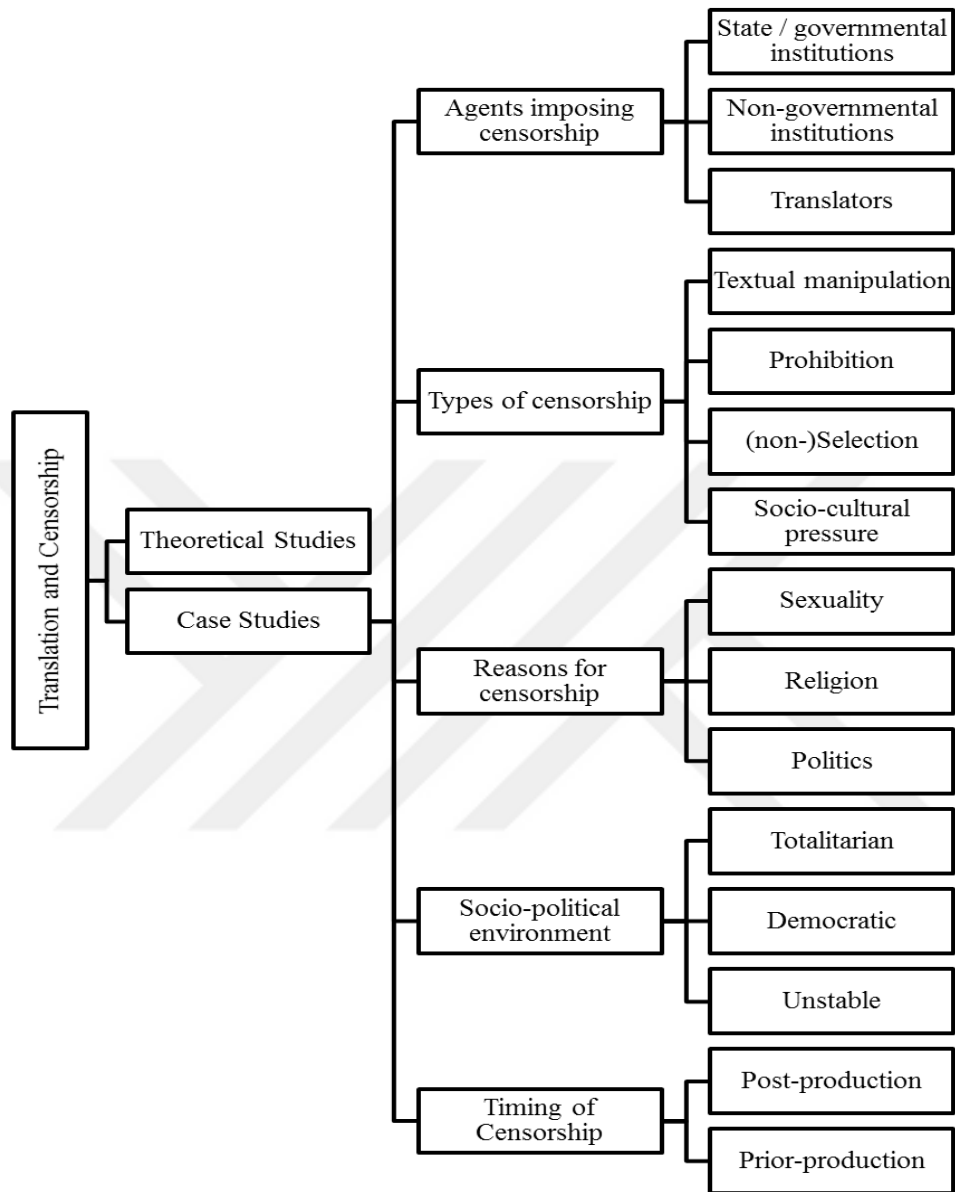
<sup>11</sup> Such as Boase-Beier and Holman, 1998; Sturge, 2002; Dunnett, 2002, 2009; Wolf, 2002; Brownlie, 2007; Santaemilia, 2008; Ben-Ari, 2006; Thomson-Wohlgemuth, 2003, 2009; Van Steen, 2007; Rubino, 2010; Hayakawa 2012.

<sup>12</sup> Such as Terenas, 2008; Olshanskaya, 2008; Gibbels, 2009; Ní Chuilleanáin and Serjeantson, 2009.

<sup>13</sup> Such as Scandura, 2004; Carvalho, 2012; Mereu, 2012; Pardo, 2013.

<sup>14</sup> Malgorzata Tryuk (2011), for instance, focuses on the role of interpreters in Auschwitz-Birkenau Nazi concentration camp without mentioning the concept of censorship. She maintains that the role of the interpreters was never a neutral and passive conveying of messages but rather “active, governed by their social and linguistic knowledge of the entire communicative situation, including not only competence in the appropriate ways of speaking, but also in the management of the intercultural interpreting event” (Tryuk, 2011: 241). She also states that in some situations, interpreters (who were inmates themselves) helped their inmates “by making intentional typographical errors or interpretations in favour of the accused” (Shelley in Tryuk, 2011: 238). Interpreting in situations of crisis can be a fertile area of study in terms of censorship in interpreting.

**Figure 1:** Classification of the existing research on censorship in translation



Source: Prepared by the writer

My classification above is based mainly on the answers to questions of what, where, when, why, how and who is censored by whom in the translation process.<sup>15</sup> Texts are being censored in several ways for several reasons by a variety of actors

<sup>15</sup> Naturally, this classification is based on the most comprehensive studies selected in this research and it may have its own shortcomings. Different type of classifications taking some other focal points might be suggested by other scholars.

before or after production in many parts of the world. The next sub-sections will provide detailed information about the works classified as shown in the Figure 1.

### **1.1.3.1. Agents imposing censorship**

There are several agents involved in the process of censoring the translated text. My research has shown three main possible agents that can impose censorship upon the translator: agents of the state or other governmental institutions, agents of non-governmental institutions such as the media along with ideological or religious pressure groups, and finally translators themselves. Many studies have exemplified the role of state and/or other governmental institutions of mainly dictatorial regimes in imposing censorship upon translators and translations. For instance, Seruya (2010), in her paper on translation during the dictatorial *Estado Novo* regime in Portugal, which lasted for 41 years between 1933 and 1974, states that a censoring commission for the books published in Portugal was founded and 3550 titles were banned by the commission (Seruya, 2010: 139). More or less similar mechanisms can be seen in Soviet Russia (Sherry, 2012), Nazi Germany (Sturge, 2002), and Francoist Spain (Merino and Rabadán, 2002).

The second group of non-governmental institutional agents constitutes many pressure groups that are highly influential in the selection, production, and presentation of texts. As an example, Hannah Amit-Kochavi (2010), describes the sanctions and censorial operations against the Arabic literary works in Israel in five different cases between the years 1961 and 1992; and she concludes that:

*To sum up, the sanctions were mostly imposed by the press and public opinion. They created a negative image of the Arab authors considered here in the Israeli media, as well as of their works in the original and translation. Only in one case was the legal system involved, and, as we have seen, pressure exerted by members of the literary and academic systems resulted in legal sanctions finally being lifted. In the other cases, all of the sanctions imposed on the texts and their writers were cultural or literary rather than legal. (Amit-Kochavi, 2010: 106)*

The last group of agents are translators, who may also impose censorship intentionally or unintentionally on themselves and their texts. Mark Cohen (2001) lucidly explains intentional and unintentional censorship as follows:

*Self-censorship can be intentional (I may choose to keep my criticism of the government to myself because I know it is the only way of obtaining a grant), but*

*it may also be unintentional: I may have so completely assimilated the values of society that my suppression of my opinion may be unthinking or automatic.*  
(Cohen, 2001: 14)

In line with Cohen's ideas, intentional self-censorship in translation might be a result of the translator's own ideology and agenda, and most importantly, choice. On the other hand, unintentional self-censorship might arise from misunderstandings, or undeliberate euphemisms that stem from automatic suppression. Cohen's ideas on unintentional censorship seem to be parallel with Bourdieu's "structural censorship" which is "constituted by the very structure of the field in which the discourse is produced and circulates" (Bourdieu, 1991: 137). In this type of censorship, even though there are no explicit laws on the prohibition of any undesired discourse, no anti-discourse is produced due to the assimilation of the values belonging to the field and/or society.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, Nitsa Ben-Ari (2010), in her thought provoking paper on self-censorship, examines two cases of censorship in the Israeli literary field. The first case is about the: translation of the word "pork", which was systematically self-censored in translations due to religious and historic reasons. The second case is about the obscene elements which were self-censored by subordinate publishers to protect their interests. After analyzing these two cases, Ben-Ari concludes that self-censorship arise when cases censored "have deep historic roots, painfully evocative, burnt into the socio-cultural group's collective memory and that elicit an emotional response" (Ben-Ari, 2010: 159). This claim also matches the concept of structural censorship by Bourdieu, which will be discussed in detail in the second part of this chapter.

### **1.1.3.2. Types of censorship**

Michaela Wolf suggests two main categories for censorship as: "selection criteria, which determine which texts will be translated, or, on the textual level, translation strategies that lead, in some cases, to self- censorship" (Wolf, 2002: 49). In order to elaborate on these categories further, benefiting from studies by the translation

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<sup>16</sup> See Brownlie 2007 for the relationship between self-censorship and structural censorship.



scholars, I suggest four types of censorship: textual manipulation, prohibition, (non-) selection and socio-cultural pressure.

The first group of works, through textual comparison of source and target texts, examine textual manipulations and alterations applied by translators, censorship committees, publishers, etc. Overall, omissions, euphemisms and substitutions seem to be the most popular strategies used by translators to apply censorship on their texts. In addition to comparisons at the level of texts (such as İşbuğa-Erel, 2008; Nikolowski-Bogomoloff, 2009; Machado, 2009), lexeme-based comparisons are also conducted (such as Santaemilia, 2008). My research has revealed that case studies on translation and censorship utilise mostly textual comparison to reveal manipulative interferences. For instance, José Santaemilia (2014), examining four Spanish translations of *Fanny Hill* (1748) by John Cleland, three by male translators and one by a female translator, conducts textual comparison and asserts that the female translator has “a tendency to soften or eliminate sexual innuendoes” (Santaemilia, 2014: 106) and apply moral censorship.

The second type of censorship is prohibition which refers to a complete or partial ban by a governmental body of the publication or distribution of a book. This is applied either prior-production or post-production (see section 1.1.3.5). Prohibition is the most explicit way of censorship, especially if the prohibition takes place after the discourse is already marketed. As an example of prohibition, the TRACE (Translations Censored) Project<sup>17</sup>, which mainly benefited from the official censorship archives covering the Franco period in Spain (1939-1985), can be given. To scrutinize the role of censorship in translations during the period in question in Spain, a group of researchers built a database of source and target texts, including the works exposed to prohibition (Merino and Rabadán, 2002). Banning books can be observed in many countries and some universally ‘infamous’ books have been prohibited in many countries at least for some limited period. *120 Banned Books: Censorship Histories of World Literature* (2011) is a catalogue of prohibited books such as *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1928) by D.H. Lawrence, which was banned for a period of time for instance in United States, Australia, and Japan due to alleged obscenity; *The Satanic Verses*

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<sup>17</sup> Under the TRACE (TRAnslations CEnsored) Project, a number of research studies on translation and censorship were conducted in Spain between 1939 and 1985. For more detailed information on TRACE, see: [http://www.ehu.es/trace/inicio\\_eng.php](http://www.ehu.es/trace/inicio_eng.php)

(1988) by Salman Rushdie which was banned in a number of countries such as Iran, Saudi Arabia, Thailand, and India due to religious reasons, and Adolph Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925), which was banned in countries such as Germany, Czech Republic, Netherlands for political reasons.

The third way of censorship is non-selection, which can be regarded as the most implicit type of censorship. Lawrence Venuti states that "the very choice of a foreign text to translate [is] always an exclusion of other foreign texts and literatures" (Venuti, 1998:67). Similar to Venuti, Tymoczko claims "What is not translated in a particular context is often as revealing as what is translated. Thus silences and gaps in specific translated texts — like the non-translation (or zero translation) of entire texts — are fundamental in revealing the politics of translation in a particular cultural context." (Tymoczko, 2010: 6). For instance, Michaela Wolf's (2002) research on censorship by selection or "exclusion processes" (Wolf, 2002: 48) in the late Habsburg Monarchy, is an example of censorship by non-selection. Making use of a corpus of translations from Italian into German between 1848 and 1918, Wolf detects that production of translations was very low (1.28% in 1899) in comparison to indigenous works in the late Habsburg Monarchy and concludes that a "cultural blockage" (ibid: 55) was in effect in these years for political reasons. Thus, like selection, the non-selection process of any text for translation may reveal political and social factors behind the decision-making process.

However, it is not only political and social factors that determine the selection of a work to be published. Commercial reasons also come into play when it comes to the selection procedures. Sue Curry Jansen (2010) explains market censorship as follows:

*The concept of market censorship calls critical attention to systemic forms of restriction of freedom of expression which thrive under conditions of private control of cultural production, especially when that control is concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of large corporate entities. Under these conditions, some ideas get extensive exposure in multiple media outlets, while others are marginalized, ignored or wither at conception because they are deemed too controversial, risky or commercially unviable. In short, market censorship refers to the conditions of production and consumption that produce cultural hegemony. (Jansen, 2010: 14)*

In line with the quotation above, any translation as a cultural production might be exposed to market censorship due to its commercial nonviability in the market for

reasons other than those related to political and social factors. Michelle Woods (2012) is one of the translation scholars who draws attention to market censorship and the impact of market conditions on the selection of translated literature (Woods, 2012: 124-162).

The fourth and the last way in my classification can be labelled as social pressure and it refers to violent and non-violent means of personal attack, insult, humiliation and slander, among others. Sevcan Yılmaz's research entitled *Absence-Silence of a Translation as a Borderline Issue: Şeytan Ayetleri (The Satanic Verses)* (2007) stands as an example of the categories of social pressure and (non-)selection. In her research, Sevcan Yılmaz examines the impact of social pressure that resulted in the exclusion of *The Satanic Verses* by Salman Rushdie from the Turkish context. Radical Islamists burnt the hotel where Aziz Nesin stayed in 1993 in order to punish Nesin, who was the editor-in-chief of the newspaper that serialised Rushdie's novel. Nesin's example shows that this type of social pressure might result in serious damages for translators and publishers. Among more mild-mannered social pressures are harsh criticisms of a destructive nature, exclusion from a field or group, accusations and social denunciation. For instance, Hasan-Âli Yücel, who served as the Minister of Education in Turkey between 1938 and 1946 and founded the state-sponsored Translation Bureau in order to promote the translation of western classics into Turkish systematically, "started to be criticised harshly both inside and outside parliament [...] [and] lost the support of his party and was distanced by İsmet İnönü [who was then prime minister in office], which all led to his resignation from his post in 1946" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2009b: 183), because his policies were regarded as leftist by nationalists. Thus as a result, the planning activities of the Translation Bureau slowed down after Yücel's resignation (ibid.).

### **1.1.3.3. Reasons for censorship**

The third category questions the reasons why any discourse is censored. Having examined scholarly studies looking for reasons of censorship in translation, it appears that there are mainly three groups of reasons, i.e. sexuality, religion and politics (cf. Billiani, 2007; Merkle, 2010; Somló, 2014).

Nitsa Ben-Ari (2006), for instance, displays how erotic literature was suppressed and marginalized in the Hebrew culture repertoire by the Zionist puritanism ideology. In her comprehensive work dealing with how various cultural agents such as writers, translators, critics, or publishers along with “judges, pedagogues, doctors, censors, parliament members, the makers of laws, rules, or norms and those responsible for their implementation and the shapers of repertoire and/or public taste” (Ben-Ari, 2006: 11) had an impact on this suppression, Ben-Ari scrutinizes the Hebrew translations of canonical erotic literature such as *Lady Chatterley’s Lover* (1928) by D.H. Lawrence, *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) by Henry Miller, *Lolita* (1955) by Vladimir Nabokov, and *Fanny Hill: Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749) by John Cleland.

In terms of censorship due to religious reasons, it should be noted here that cases covering censorship on religious grounds are less in number than cases that study censorship due to sexual and political reasons within translation studies. One of the scarce case studies on censorship on religious grounds is Siobhan Brownlie’s article, in which she examines self-censorship using five British translations of Émile Zola’s *Nana* (1880) between 1884 and 1992. Claiming that “there was a dominant middle-class espousal of respectability, encompassing sexual mores and religious piety” (Brownlie, 2007: 207), Brownlie displays how the first translation of *Nana* into English was self-censored by the translator due to religious and sexual sensibilities in the society. In some cases, as in Brownlie’s case, sexual reasons for censorship can coexist with religious reasons because almost all major religions have their own moral rules regarding sexuality.

Censorship on political grounds refers to acts of suppression, usually but not necessarily imposed by the state institutions. As examples of censorship due to political reasons, Ceyda Özmen’s (2013) unpublished paper and Ayşe Saki’s (2014) M.A. dissertation on the Turkish retranslations of *Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator* (1932)<sup>18</sup> by Harold C. Armstrong can be given. Özmen claims that the retranslations, which appeared after a long period of censorship, can be regarded as resistance to the political influence of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, founder of

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<sup>18</sup> *Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator* (1932) has been a highly controversial book in Turkey as the book was claimed to insult Atatürk, founder of the modern Republic of Turkey.

the Republic of Turkey. Saki (2014), similarly, demonstrates how the socio-cultural and ideological structures, by drawing lines of what could and could not be said about Atatürk, made an impact on translations of the book.

#### **1.1.3.4. Socio-political environment**

There are many studies building correlations between censorship and the socio-political environment of target cultures. For example, Cormac Ó Cuilleaináin argues that there are two types of censorship: “firstly, totalitarian censorship (inquisition, Stalinism, various fascisms), whose unabashed aim is repression; and secondly, liberal censorship, whose aim is (in the mind of the sometimes unconscious censor) the spread of desirable and usually libertarian values and objectives.” (Ó Cuilleaináin, 2009: 184). Complementary to Cuilleaináin, I suggest broadly speaking that there are three categories of censorship concerning the political environment: a) totalitarian environments that refer to dictatorships, single-party states, military juntas and other repressive political environments; b) democratic environments that have more than one political party and an electoral system; and finally c) unstable environments which refer to periods of rapid change and conversion. As totalitarian regimes obviously provide rich material for researchers, a number of academic works with a view of translation and censorship have been carried out.<sup>19</sup> Most of these studies are based on European experience, and as Merkle argues “more systematic and in-depth studies are required in non-Western geographical contexts and on non-Western textualities” (Merkle, 2010: 20).

Even though censorship “is a reality of democratic regimes as well” (Kuhiwczak, 2011: 366) and some kind of censorship seems to exist in all kinds regimes and nations regardless of their degree of liberalism or oppressiveness (Merkle, 2002: 9), there is less research on censorship in democratic regimes. One of the few examples is Michelle Woods (2012) who argues that Václav Havel’s plays were subjected to covert censorship by adapting and cutting cultural and aesthetic items in accordance with the English language. Another example is Lawrence Venuti’s (2008)

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<sup>19</sup> Such as Hitler (Sturge, 2002, 2004; Philpotts, 2007), Spain under Franco (Pegenaute, 1996; Merino and Rabadán, 2002; Hurtley, 2007; Castro, 2009), Italy under Mussolini (Rundle, 2000, 2010; Fabre, 2007; Stephenson, 2007; Dunnett, 2009), USSR under Stalin (Gallagher, 2009; Inggs, 2011; Sherry, 2012), Portugal under Salazar (Seruya and Lin Moniz, 2008; Marques dos Santos, 2008; Coelho, 2008; Seruya, 2010).

much-debated work on translator's in/visibility, where he claims that for the sake of creating a more acceptable text in democratic Anglo-American culture, texts can be censored by the translator during the translation process.

My research has disclosed that there may be some unique cases of censorship in contexts that can be labelled as unstable environments, i.e. those regimes in transition or those societies in crisis. I suggest that some examples of unstable environments can be observed in the first few years of Turkey following the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. Similar cases can be observed in Portugal, in the years of the first Republic in Portugal between 1910 and 1926, which was ended by a coup d'état and the years of civil war in Spain between 1936 and 1939. Having been inspired by Merkle's interpretation of Bourdieu's ideas on the relation between censorship and political stability, I suggest the term "unstable environments". Merkle explains that:

*The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu places censorship in a social context, making the distinction between periods of (political) stability and periods of rapid change in political stability, for example, when social conditioning is complete in *Le sens pratique*. During periods of the form of a disposition to act and think in certain ways, the habitus ensures the perpetuation of the dominant discourse, without having to resort to coercive measures. However, during periods of rapid change, when the internalization of the dominant discourse and the cultural habitat is as yet incomplete, formal rules, laws and explicit norms take over in order to consolidate the power of those who dominate. (Merkle, 2002: 15)*

In another example of research on censorship in an unstable environment, Olshanskaya (2008) demonstrates how the military conflicts in Ukraine have undergone censorship in a multilingual newspaper in accordance with the expectations of the readership and concludes that "in today's world of globalization, social and political changes have affected the very nature of censorship, which is now often not administered by a state or government" (Olshanskaya, 2008: 260). Another example can be the protests known as the 'Gezi Park protests' in Turkey, which started on 28 May 2013. During these protests, censorship of the national television and newspaper news about the protests led to an organization named "Translate for Justice", which defines itself as an independent platform of voluntary translators. It "aims at serving as a source of truthful information and analyses in the areas where human rights and freedom of thought are under threat."<sup>20</sup> This case has not been studied within the

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<sup>20</sup> See <http://translateforjustice.com/> (Last access: 24.07.2016)

framework of censorship and translation yet<sup>21</sup>, but I think that in line with Bourdieu's thoughts, unstable socio-political environments might provide a fertile ground of research for translation and censorship.

### 1.1.3.5. Timing of censorship

In addition to the above factors observed in the studies on censorship in translation, the timing of censorship appears to be the last category, which answers the 'when' question. Researchers have shown that prior-production censorship (also called prior censorship or preventive censorship) and post-production censorship (also called post censorship, repressive censorship or negative censorship) are two models (Merkle 2002, 2010). While post-censorship is applied after the discourse is made public, prior censorship is imposed before the publication of a work through preventing the publication of discourse or by self-censorship. Various researchers use different concepts for prior- and post-production censorship but, as Merkle argues, "preventive, punitive and repressive [censorship] are obviously more emotionally charged than the neutral prior and post [censorship]" (Merkle, 2002: 12).

Merkle states that post-censorship generally takes place in the form of prohibition and recalling from the market (ibid: 12). Various examples can be seen in most countries, including United States, China, Israel, Soviet Union, and Turkey. For instance, the case of Henry Miller's *The Tropic of Capricorn* (1938) in Turkish *Oğlak Dönencesi* (1985), as examined by Üstünsöz (2015), is an example of post-production censorship on sexual grounds. Another example can be seen in Nam Fung Chang's paper on censorship in present day China. He states that "in China, there is no mechanism for pre-publication censorship so far as publications on paper are concerned. State control is exercised through post-publication censorship" (Chang, 2008: 236). Contrary to the situation in China, Mario Rubino states that "especially in the field of translations, [Italian] publishers frequently carried out preventive self-censorship, making cuts or changes to the original text in order to avoid topics, such as abortion, incest or suicide, that did not meet with the approval of 'Fascist morality'"

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<sup>21</sup> A recent study analyzes the visibility of the translators taking part in this project. See Ergil and Tekgül. (2014). Visibility through anonymity: the case of TfJ, an internet-based community translation project. Paper presented at the *International Conference on Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation*, Mainz University, 29-31 May.

(Rubino, 2010: 159). It seems that prior-censorship mainly takes place in authoritarian and dictatorial regimes. For this reason, prior-censorship indicates a stricter means of control in comparison to post-censorship. Another difference between prior- and post-censorship is their power to stir debates in society. Prior-censorship, in most cases, is not visible to the general public while post-censorship, which is usually reported in the news, is easily noticeable. The more visible censorship becomes, the more eyebrows are raised against it. In the Turkish history of translation for instance, obscenity trials and aggressive discourses against the so-called obscene publications stirred many debates about censorship (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.5). In short, pre-censorship seems to be a more effective than post-censorship.

The above analysis of the existing scholarly work has shown that research on censorship in translation focusing on the textual and socio-cultural aspect of the phenomenon mostly overlooks the aspect of agency. The concept of agency has been under increasing attention only in recent years for the scholars that focus on translation and censorship (Ben-Ari, 2006; Merkle, 2009; O’Sullivan, 2009; Sherry 2013). It will be scrutinized in the section entitled “Agents of translation”. The case studies examined show that even though translation and censorship is a relatively new field of subject, its multifaceted nature has a lot to offer in elaborating the understanding of both translation and censorship. In the next section, scholarly research in Turkey within the field of translation and censorship will be examined.

#### **1.1.4 Research on Translation and Censorship in Turkey**

The subject of censorship and translation has received the attention of translation scholars in Turkey since the second half of the 2000s. Now it appears that the number of studies focusing on censorship has been increasing in the last five years. To my knowledge, there are 12 studies that directly focus on censorship. Some of these studies take a case study (a translated text or retranslations of one text) and offer reasons behind the censoring of translations by mostly investigating the strategies used in translation (e.g. İşbuğa-Erel 2008; Aktener, 2010; Alan, 2011; Saki, 2014; Ul, 2016). Additionally, there are a few studies discussing censorship from a broader perspective within the socio-cultural and political environment in the given time period



(Yılmaz, 2007; Erkazancı, 2008; Üstünsöz, 2010, 2015; Avşaroğlu, 2014; Toska, 2015; Temo, 2015).

Among the studies including mainly textual analysis, Reyhan Funda İşbuğa-Erel's doctoral thesis (2008), is one of the most comprehensive works. She analyses two retranslations of each of four novels into Turkish which were subjected to censorship and/or were under controversy in their source cultures for a variety of reasons such as sexuality, religion and socio-political issues: *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) by D.H. Lawrence, *Brave New World* (1932) by Aldous Huxley, *God's Little Acre* (1933) by Erskine Caldwell, and *Lolita* (1955) by Vladimir Nabokov. Having employed a descriptive-explanatory approach and critical discourse analysis, she compares the two retranslations of the four works published between 1943 and 2001. She compares the previous translations published before 1961 and the latter translations published after 1980 in order to find discrepancies between the choices made by the retranslators and the shifts they caused in target texts (İşbuğa-Erel, 2008: 14-15). After a thorough analysis of the previous translations and the latter translations, İşbuğa-Erel suggests that the earlier target texts display regular shifts from the source text so as not to delve into taboo subjects such as female genitals, rape, paedophilia and homosexuality, while the latter translations display more faithful translations and do not show regularity in their choices regarding the taboo subjects for most of the time. She claims that:

*[O]n the one hand, choices such as euphemism, change and omission were mostly favoured by the translators of the earlier TTs, while explication was only used once and over-explicitness was not employed at all. On the other hand, the translators of the later TTs favoured over-explicitness, euphemism, and change, while omission was rarely employed. This means that translators of the later TTs sometimes did not mind being more explicit than the ST authors, It was also found that besides displaying shifts from the STs, the later TTs can be generally regarded as faithful translations. (İşbuğa-Erel, 2008: 256)*

For this reason, she suggests that the external constraints on the translators were more intense during the previous translations, while the translators of the latter target texts were not under so much pressure, because “the Turkish readers in the 2000s are more open-minded, more aware of freedom of thought and expression and had either eliminated, or wished to eliminate, taboos” (ibid: 260). Since İşbuğa-Erel does not provide enough extra-textual and paratextual information about the changing socio-cultural contexts and the texts in question, her evaluations about the external

constraints effecting translations lead to inefficient generalizations. Moreover in İşbuğa-Erel's research, there is almost no information about the individual translators of the target texts and their publishers. This lack of information unfortunately led her to the supposition that all the translated texts were translated directly from English, as can be seen in her comparative analysis. However, the case of this research, Avni İnel, the translator of the earlier target text of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (which was analyzed in İşbuğa-Erel's research), does not know English, as his son Hasan İnel explained in the interview I made in May 25, 2015 (See Appendix 13). Therefore, İnel must have not translated the book directly from English, but most probably from an intermediary language, probably French, as he did in most of his translations. The shifts in translation might then have also resulted from the French source text rather than İnel's choices as a translator.

Similar to İşbuğa-Erel, Ilgın Aktener is another scholar who has employed comparative analysis between translations and the source text in her study on censorship in translation. Aktener (2010) took the two Turkish translations of Charles Bukowski's *Women* (1978) as her case study and analysed them in terms of euphemism and dysphemism. She found that in both translations, although to varying degrees, euphemism, dysphemism and omission exist. Approaching the subject from the perspective of gender, she argues that the female translator of the work "employs euphemisms more than [the other translator] does due to her gender" (Aktener, 2010a: 97). However, she neither discusses the concept of censorship in detail nor makes any attempt to create a socio-cultural context to explain in which conditions the translations took place.

In another study, Cihan Alan (2011) analyses the censorship of slang and swearwords in the Turkish subtitles of the animated American sitcom *South Park* within the framework of translation strategies. Alan, examines the textual strategies applied by audiovisual translators and he finds that regarding the slang and swearwords in the series, "with a total rate of 89% [...] translators have adopted a way of translation in which they shift from the original semantic content using translation methods such as conceptual substitution, euphemism, unconventional equivalence, functional equivalence and omission" (Alan, 2011: 97). At the end, he argues that "socio-cultural background of the target audience, governmental policies on broadcasting and the

policy of the broadcasting company play a decisive role in adherence of translated audiovisual material to the source or target culture norms” (ibid: 98). However, even though Alan mentions the role of socio-cultural and institutional norms in censorship in translation, he does not scrutinize the role of agents (translators, patrons, censors) in the process. Similar to İşbuğa-Erel, Alan’s conclusions are mainly based on the textual comparison of source and target texts.<sup>22</sup>

Differently from the studies above, Merve Avşaroğlu (2014) makes a comparative textual analysis with special attention to translators and the socio-cultural context surrounding the case she works on. She examines the Turkish translation of Marjorie Housepian Dobkin’s *Smyrna 1922 The Destruction of a City* (1972) under the title *İzmir 1922 Bir Kentin Yıkımı* (2012). This is a book focusing on The Great Fire of Smyrna, which is a controversial issue because there are various sources that “hold either the Turks, or the Greeks, or the Armenians responsible for the fire” (Avşaroğlu, 2014: 7). Avşaroğlu argues that this translation has a norm-breaking role in the Turkish culture repertoire because the book “alleges that there was a certain kind of maltreatment by the Turkish government and soldiers. [...] It is possible to read many lines which describe minorities falling victims to the alleged Turkish violence” (ibid: 53). Avşaroğlu’s well-documented case study is comprised of paratextual analysis, interviews with the translator, publishing house and writer of the afterword, together with textual comparison. She has revealed that the publishing house (Belge International Publishing House) has assumed the role of breaking taboos in Turkey through translation (ibid: 90). As a result, she demonstrates the existence of a “discursive resistance to the naturalization of the dominant discourse and the dissemination of the dominant ideology” (ibid: 89) as applied in the translation. It is an important piece of research for the field because it proves that external constraints and/or norms do not dictate the actions of the agents in all conditions.

Sevcan Yılmaz (2007) is one of the scholars who focuses on the ways ideology affects the selection process for translations. Scrutinising the relationship between power, ideology and translation and exemplifying the absence of the translation of

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<sup>22</sup> Similar studies can be found; for instance, Ayşe Saki (2014) who examines the censorship through the case study of five different Turkish translations of *Grey Wolf, Mustafa Kemal: An Intimate Study of a Dictator* (1932) between 1955 and 2013. Although she analyses retranslations published in a period of around 60 years, she treats the cultural context as an unstable input in her analysis.

Salman Rushdie's *The Satanic Verses* in Turkish, Yılmaz maintains that ideology affects every process of translation and sometimes even leads to the absence or abortion of texts in a language. In this very unique case, on the reasons for the non-existence of the satanic verses in the Turkish culture, Yılmaz tries to show the significance of an “aborted translation” (Yılmaz, 2007: 5) in understanding the relationship between selection and ideology in translation studies. With a socio-political focus, she argues that in some cases who and what is (not) translated goes ahead of how it is translated (Yılmaz, 2007: 88). The translation of *The Satanic Verses* became a crisis subject in Turkey after the newspaper *Aydınlık* [Enlightenment] started to serialise extracts from Rushdie’s controversial book. Aziz Nesin, who is one of the most prolific and outstanding humourists and writers of Turkish literature, was the editor-in-chief of *Aydınlık*. After publishing these translated excerpts from Rushdie’s novel, he became a target of radical Islamists in the country. When he was participating in a cultural festival in Sivas in July 1993, a mob of radical Islamists organized an attack on the hotel Nesin was staying in and set the building on fire. Thirty-five people were killed in the tragic Sivas Massacre and Aziz Nesin was rescued from the burning building by firefighters. Just before the event Nesin had been noted as a target in local newspapers in Sivas because he was regarded by radical Islamists as to propagandize atheism.<sup>23</sup> Two days before the massacre, a leaflet that presents Nesin as a target was distributed to the public.<sup>24</sup> The news and the leaflet that target Nesin show how censorship can be dangerous if social pressures are exerted by the media. It is noteworthy that Salman Rushdie’s *The Satanic Verses* still does not have a Turkish translation. Yet similar violent attacks due to the novel took place in other countries too. For instance, the Japanese translator of the work, Hitoshi Igarashi was stabbed to death in 1991 (Weisman, 1991). An attempted assassination against the Norwegian publisher of the book, William Nygaard, took place in 1993 (Lyll, 1998).

Selim Temo Ergül (2015), in his paper concerning ideological self-censorship, focuses on the translations from Kurdish literature into Turkish throughout history. Pointing out a case of self-censorship in the Turkish translation of Mehmed Uzun’s

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<sup>23</sup> See “Sivas’ta ne olmuştu?” [What happened in Sivas?] T24.

<http://t24.com.tr/yazarlar/ozge-mumcu/sivasta-ne-olmustu,4771> (Last Access: 25.07.2016)

<sup>24</sup> For full text of the leaflet distributed to the public, see “Ali Nesin’den Oya Eronat’a Açık Mektup” [Open Letter to Oya Eronat from Ali Nesin], Agos.

<http://www.agos.com.tr/tr/yazi/1257/ali-nesinden-oya-eronat-a-acik-mektup> (Last Access:25.07.2016)

*Siya Evîne* (1989) under the title *Yitik Bir Aşkın Gölgesinde* [Under the Shadow of a Lost Love] (2006), one of Ergül's main arguments is that "translators of Kurdish [...] fallen under the the influence of Turkish perceptions of Kurdish identity" (Ergül, 2015: 270) due to "an anxiety of legitimacy carried over from the dominant Turkish understanding" (ibid.). Ergül's paper proves translations of Kurdish literature are exposed to prior-production censorship in contemporary Turkey due to textual strategies by translators.

In another study, Hilal Erkazancı (2008) problematizes the censorial role of language planning in Turkey, which took place "in the form of linguistic purism and standardization" starting from the early republican period in Turkey (Erkazancı, 2008: 243). The Republic of Turkey experienced a vast movement of culture and language planning in the 1930s and 1940s as a nation building effort, as claimed by Tahir-Gürçağlar (2009: 51-61). Erkazancı, by examining the metalinguistic discourse on standard Turkish and its marginalizing nature on heteroglossia, maintains that language planning in Turkey had an implicit censorial impact on translations of literary heteroglossia (ibid: 245). Heteroglossic elements, i.e. dialects in *Pygmalion* (1913) by George Bernard Shaw and *Trainspotting* (1993) by Irvine Welsh, were translated into standard Turkish in most translated texts and, when they were not, they were criticised as being inclusive of mistakes (ibid. 247-249). Erkazancı's research is important in terms that it illuminates a historical and implicit kind of censorship in translation through language planning by focusing mainly on the discourse produced about language in history.

Another study which is closely related to the field of translation and censorship in Turkey was written by İrem Üstünsöz (2010). Üstünsöz scrutinises the legal status of translators in Turkey through public discourse and laws regarding translators. Her main point of focus on the legal status of translators makes her study closely related to translation and censorship, because translators in many cases encounter legal authorities due to issues related to censorship not only in Turkey but also in many countries. Moving from the generally assumed role of innocent messengers used by practicing translators and a professional organization of translators in Turkey (*Çevbir*) based upon the supposition of fidelity to the author, Üstünsöz discusses the controversy of being a messenger or being an expert as a translator within the Turkish

context. Üstünsöz's case study is the Turkish translation of Elif Şafak's *The Bastard of İstanbul* (2006) under the title *Baba ve Piç* (2006), which was tried with the charge of insulting Turkishness. She problematizes the translator's responsibility for a text s/he translated when a lawsuit was brought against the book (Üstünsöz, 2006: 80-112). Being a mere messenger means being subservient to the source text and thus, it means that translators are not to blame for what they translate while being experts means translator is "a "rewriter" in her/his own right" and "is entitled to make decisions as s/he deems fit" (Üstünsöz, 2010: 3-4). It is concluded that this controversy can be the result of two different definitions for the translators in two different laws. Üstünsöz states that "The Law on Intellectual and Artistic Works regards the translator as "the owner of the processed work", whereas the Press Law includes translators in the definition of "the owners of work" in cases where the source author is not a Turkish citizen and/or resides abroad" (ibid: 112). Üstünsöz's remarkable research draws attention to the judiciary aspect of censorship in Turkey, rather than its socio-cultural aspects.

In parallel with this research, in further research Üstünsöz (2015) scrutinizes the court cases concerning the so-called obscene literary translations. Turkish translations of Pierre Louÿs' *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* (1896) under the title *Afrodite: Eski Âdetler* (1939) and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939) under the title *Oğlak Dönencesi* (1985) were tried in Turkey under charges of obscenity following their publications. These two distinct cases taking place with a time difference of about 45 years, were examined by Üstünsöz against the backdrop of the socio-cultural and political contexts of the times they were published. The case of *Aphrodite* which took place in the early 1940s ended in the acquittal of the publisher and translator from the charges but the case of *Tropic of Capricorn* that took place in the 1980s ended in a conviction verdict (Üstünsöz, 2015: 229). Üstünsöz explains the reason for this within the different political contexts in the periods in question: while translation was attributed by the state with the role of westernizing Turkish society during the 1930s and the 1940s, in the 1980s translation lost its role as a transformative tool and the government in power was representative of a conservative Turkish-Islamic synthesis (ibid.). This research highlights the influence of the socio-political context over literary translation in Turkish translation history.

In another recent study, Zehra Toska (2015) investigates the prominent Ottoman author, critic and translator Ahmet Midhat's production of *Hulâsa-i Hümayunnâme* [Summary of the Book for the Emperor] (1888), which is a summary of the 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman translation of *Kelile and Dimne*. The book was produced<sup>25</sup> upon the order and commission of Sultan Abdülhamit II, who was known for his suppressive actions, but later banned by the same sultan (Toska, 2015: 74-75). Comparing Ahmet Midhat's summary and 16<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman translation, which is Midhat's source text, Toska maintains that Ahmed Midhat's production is not a simple intralingual summary but a complicated case of renewal "not just in terms of updating the language but also the cultural context" and the reason for the banning of the book is Ahmed Midhat's additions to the translation and critical remarks which contradicted the acts of the sultan (ibid. 83). Toska's paper is unique in terms that it is the only research that focuses on translation and censorship in the Ottoman period.

To sum up, it appears that there are only a few studies in Turkey that seek answers for the reasons of censorship not only in their textual data but also in paratextual and contextual data. These studies show that censorship has existed in Turkey both in the form of post-production and prior-production, and both in the past and today due to sexuality, religion and politics. It also appears that current research on translation and censorship in Turkey mainly focuses on censorship imposed by the state or other governmental bodies along with self-censorship. As for types of censorship, textual manipulations and prohibition seems to be the most recurrent types researched. However, as for other categories, such as market censorship, non-selection and social pressures, more research is required. For instance, there is no research which directly focuses on publishing houses and magazines, i.e. institutional agents, except Avşaroğlu (2014). In theoretical and methodological terms, most of the current research seems to be product-oriented and Toury's "norms" and critical discourse analysis seem to be the mostly employed approaches. In the next section, I am going to introduce the theoretical and methodological approach I will utilise in my research.

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<sup>25</sup> "Translation" is not the term preferred by Toska (2015: 78) due to unique nature of the case.

## 1.2. Theoretical and Methodological Framework of the Study

After the 1970s, the shift in the perspective of translation studies from that of a linguistic one to cultural one took place. A cultural point of view underscored the importance of socio-cultural contextualization for studying translations, moving the attention of translation researchers from source text to target text and its function in the target environment. Mary Snell-Hornby explains this shift of perspective as follows:

*Towards the end of the 1970s two groups of scholars developed a “prospective” view of translation which concentrated, not on the source text, but on the status and the function of the translation in the target culture. These two groups, the one centred in the Netherlands and Israel round Gideon Toury [...] the other in Germany round Hans J. Vermeer [...] worked independently of each other, but in the mid-1980s they both presented insights which had a striking amount in common, including the emphasis on the cultural context of the translation rather than the linguistic items of the source text. (Snell-Hornby, 2010: 367)*

Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990) were the first scholars to articulate the term “cultural turn” in an attempt to name these developments in translation studies. The “cultural turn”<sup>26</sup> has expanded the horizons of translation studies with major contributions by James Holmes (1972/1988), Itamar Even-Zohar (1978, 1990), Susan Bassnett and André Lefevere (1990), Gideon Toury (1978, 1995) André Lefevere (1992) and Hans Josef Vermeer (1978/2000), among others.

The 2000s witnessed another turn which was mainly characterised by a particular focus on the agents of translation. This shift in translation studies was discussed by a number of scholars such as Anthony Pym (2006), Reine Meylaerts (2006, 2008), Michaela Wolf (2007, 2010), Denise Merkle (2008), Andrew Chesterman (2009) and Claudia V. Angelelli (2014). It was called ‘social turn’ by Wolf (2006) and ‘sociological turn’ by other scholars such as Merkle (2008) and Angelelli (2014). However Snell-Hornby voices her doubts over the ‘sociological turn’ and states that “the notion of translation sociology was already included in the programme of James Homes [sic.]” and “it is implicit in the theoretical model of Justa Holz-Mänttari”, so whether now a new paradigm emerges or not is uncertain. (Snell Hornby, 2006: 172). Whether we label the recent developments as a turn or not, the increasing emphasis on agents in studying translation can be observed in recent

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<sup>26</sup> For a detailed discussion of the cultural turn in translation studies, see Snell Hornby 2006 pp. 47-67.



research in translation studies. I use the term “agent” in the sense used by John Milton and Paul Bandia, as follows:

*[W]e do include translators amongst our agents, who may also be patrons of literature, Maecenas, salon organizers, politicians or companies which help to change cultural and linguistic policies. They may also be magazines, journals or institutions. (Milton and Bandia, 2009: 1)*

Agency is a concept that situates individuals and institutions in a given environment and time. In this sense, the concept is widely used in sociological research with other sociological concepts, such as “habitus” (Bourdieu, 1993: 86) and “capital” (Bourdieu, 1986: 241-258). Sergey Tyulenev (2014) lucidly highlights the requirement of a sociological perspective in translation studies as follows:

*First, translation is never practised (and therefore, should not be theorised) outside the social context: it mediates – successfully or not, partially or impartially – between peoples, nations, groups and individuals. Second, translators themselves are social beings: they grow up in a society, absorbing a particular worldview, and ethical and aesthetical values. Becoming professionals, they remain socialised individuals. They learn to be more open-minded to other cultures, they learn not to be rash, let alone bigoted or biased, in their evaluations of the people for whom they translate. They bear an imprint of their socialisation, sometimes invisible even to translators themselves. On the surface many decisions translators make appear as their own. The social underpinnings of their decisions, however, always lurk behind their individual wills and individual styles. To bring them to the fore, a meticulous analysis, taking into account the entire social milieu in which translators work(ed), is required. (Tyulenev, 2014: 5-6)*

The main characteristic of agent-grounded research in translation seems to be the socialization process of the translator and how this socialization process effects the translator’s decisions. Yet it should be noted that the sociology of translation is not limited to the study of agents. Michaela Wolf asserts that the sociological approach is characterized by its major focus on under-researched areas of translation studies such as “training institutions, working conditions, professional institutions and their social role, questions of ethics [...], (auto)biographies of translators and interpreters, larger accounts such as translation on the global market, sociopolitical aspects of translation, translation and its role in activism and many more” (Wolf, 2010: 337). In addition, Wolf further claims that there are three main tendencies in the sociology of translation:

*‘[S]ociology of agents in the translation process’ analyses the translation activity under the perspective of its protagonists as both individuals and members of specific networks [...], ‘sociology of translation process’ stresses the constraints*

*conditioning the production of translation in its various stages, [and] 'sociology of the cultural product', on the other hand, focuses on the flow of the translation product in its multifaceted aspects and particularly stresses the implications of the inter- and transnational transfer mechanisms on the shape of translations.* (Wolf, 2006: 11)

In accordance with Wolf's categorization, this study mainly falls within the area of the first category. The theoretical approach adopted in the study, however, is not purely sociological. Since censorship, as one of the main themes of this thesis along with agency, is both a culturally and socially embedded phenomenon, this historical research will adopt a sociocultural approach, mainly combining Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory with Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital and habitus. Even-Zohar's polysystem approach allows us to problematize the innovative ideas at the level of the culture, i.e. their situation within the culture, "competing and conflicting repertoires" (Even-Zohar 2010: 19), planning activities and resistance to innovations. Additionally, Bourdieu's *leitmotif* concepts, i.e. habitus and capital, enhance our understanding of "translator's situatedness in society" (Wolf, 2014: 11) and therefore the reasons behind the translator's decisions. Having employed these two approaches together, Rakefet Sheffy suggests that "the idea of models [in polysystem theory] becomes more useful when complemented by the sociological notion of the *habitus*" (Sheffy, 1997: 36).

Earlier studies conducted by translation scholars have proven the usefulness of the marriage of these two theoretical approaches. Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and Bourdieu's various concepts were used jointly in a number of historical studies in Turkey as well. For instance, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar (2002/2008a) in her research entitled *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey, 1923-1960*, claims that she intends to "expand the conceptual tools of the polysystem theory to include the human element that actually creates the structures and the classifications on which the theory is based" and incorporates Pierre Bourdieu's notion of habitus into her systemic point of view (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002/2008a: 43).<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Among many studies including Even-Zohar and Bourdieu's approaches, see Gökçen Ezber (2004), Ahu Selin Erkul-Yağcı (2011), and Ceyda Özmen (2016).

In addition, as previously stated by Gisèle Sapiro (2014), Even-Zohar himself also utilises Bourdieu's formulations in his own papers (Even-Zohar, 1990: 38 and 2010: 23, 101). Consequently, it would be safe to state that the combination of these two theoretical approaches does not seem problematic as long as the researcher is aware of their differences. Sapiro explains these differences as follows:

*First, the underlying paradigm of the systemic approach is functionalism, whereas that of Bourdieu's social theory is sometimes described as genetic structuralism. Functionalism, in its biological inspiration, tends to consider systems as closed and relatively stable and equilibrated, whereas Bourdieu's genetic structuralism lays stress on power relations and the constant struggles to destabilize them. This difference in paradigms, added to the different disciplinary origins of the two theories, has methodological consequences: born in literary studies, and inspired by the Russian formalists, the polysystem approach mainly focused on text analysis prior to the new orientation adopted with the integration of Bourdieu's field theory. Rooted in sociology, the latter deals with the individual agents, groups, and institutions that compete for symbolic capital. (Sapiro, 2014: 84)*

It seems that the difference between the underlying paradigms of the polysystem approach and Bourdieu's social theory is not an obstacle to their combination for a better analysis of sociocultural phenomena. Under the next section, following an overview of the term "agency" used in translation studies, the concepts of "culture repertoire", "resistance" and "market" by Even-Zohar; and "habitus", "capital" and "structural censorship" by Bourdieu along with the methodological framework of the study will be introduced. Secondly, the relationship of the theoretical framework to my research subject will be explained.

### **1.2.1 Agents of translation**

Agency is a concept used in various fields of social sciences such as sociology, philosophy, psychology, cultural studies and translation studies. In different disciplines it carries different but interconnected meanings.<sup>28</sup> Within the framework of translation studies it was firstly used by Juan Sager in 1994. According to Mark Shuttleworth and Moire Cowie agency is:

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<sup>28</sup> For instance, the long-standing "structure vs. agency" debate in sociology and cultural studies is a debate basically on whether human actions are "governed by objective structures or by freewill" (Buzelin, 2011: 6).

*A term used by Sager to refer to the person who is “in an intermediary position between a translator and an end user of a translation” (1994:321). According to Sager, any translation process will involve a number of participants. These include text producers, mediators who modify the text (for example abstractors, editors, revisors and translators; see 1994:111), communication agents, who commission and send the text, and recipients, or end users, although it is possible that one person may perform more than one of these functions (but may not, of course, be both producer and recipient). The agent of a translation may be a publisher who commissions a translation or any other person who assigns a job to a translator. (Shuttleworth and Cowie, 1997: 7)*

Daniel Simeoni, similar to Sager, interprets the concept agency as a “socialised” human subject and claims that “analyses of “products” and “processes” can only gain from focusing on the agent of the practice” (Simeoni, 1995: 452, 445). His paper, exemplifying the developments in other areas of social sciences such as linguistics and sociology, is a call for an agent-oriented study of translations. Anthony Pym makes another call for focusing on agents arguing that the “central object of historical knowledge should not be the text of the translation, nor its contextual system, nor even its linguistic features. The central object should be the human translator, since only humans have the kind of responsibility appropriate to social causation” (Pym, 1998: ix). About ten years after these consecutive calls for studying agents of translation, in the late second half of the 2000s, studies on agents reached a peak. Successive collections on agents of translation such as Milton and Bandia 2009, Dam and Zethsen 2009 and Kinnunen and Koskinen 2010 were published. John Milton and Paul Bandia (2009) highlighted the role of agents in terms of their potential to introduce novelties. They enlarged Sager’s definition to include not only translators but also “Maecenas, salon organizers, politicians or companies” (Milton and Bandia, 2009: 1). In addition, they enhanced the concept by stating that non-human entities such as magazines, journals and institutions can also be regarded as agents (ibid.). Helle V. Dam and Karen Korning Zethsen (2009) rightfully argue that agent-grounded research almost always focuses on literary translation, but there is a growing interest in agents operating within the non-literary area as well.

The increase in the number of studies focusing on agency has led to other suggestions. For instance, Andrew Chesterman, in a paper entitled *The Name and Nature of Translator Studies* (2009), suggests that “we may be witnessing the development of a new subfield, a new branch” (Chesterman, 2009: 13), namely

“translatOR studies” (ibid.) (Chesterman’s capitals). However, Chesterman’s proposal does not seem to include Milton and Bandia’s insertion of non-human entities such as journals, publishing houses and institutions.

In the second volume of the *Handbook of Translation Studies* (2011), the entry entitled “Agents of translation” was written by H  l  ne Buzelin. She suggests that there are two main tendencies in agent-grounded research in translation: “the socio-historiographic path” and “the sociological and ethnographic path” (Buzelin, 2011: 9). The former “relates to translation history” and the latter “borrows the methods of qualitative sociology or anthropology to study contemporary practices” (ibid.). In addition to the above scholars, Reine Meylaerts (2008) and Michaela Wolf (2006) are two other researchers who advocate the use of sociological approaches in translation research.

Agency is an important concept in the later works of Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury, too. Even though they were criticised for being “ferociously abstract and depersonalized” (Hermans, 1999: 118) at the beginning, Even-Zohar, probably taking such criticisms into consideration, highlighted the role of agents in the culture repertoire in his later works such as the one entitled *The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer* (2002). In this paper, Even-Zohar argues that “what plays a role in the culture is the persons, the agents themselves who are engaged in the business” (Even-Zohar, 2002: 172). Furthermore, Gideon Toury in his paper published in the same year offers the concept of “agent of change” for agents of translation who create innovative options within the repertoire.<sup>29</sup> According to Toury:

*[I]n all groups there are also a few members who act as producers on the level of the repertoire itself. Whether entrusted by the group with the task of doing so or whether self-appointed, these persons introduce new options and, by so doing, act as agents of change. It is these few who may be said to engage in planning activities; namely, in direct proportion to features such as consciousness and deliberateness, on the one hand, and success, on the other. (Toury, 2002: 151)*

The concept of agency was also employed in a limited amount of works analysing translation and censorship (e.g. Merkle, 2009; O’Sullivan, 2009; Sherry 2013). Merkle (2009), for instance, scrutinizes the innovative role of a publishing

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<sup>29</sup> Toury’s concept, agent of change, was utilised in some systemic agent-grounded translation research in Turkey. See Aylu  tarhan, 2007, Tahir-G  r  a  lar, 2009b, Arslan and I  ıklar Ko  ak, 2016.

house, Vizetelly & Company during the late-Victorian period in Britain. Merkle argues that the owner of the publishing house Henry Vizetelly, who mainly published realist and naturalist fiction in cheap editions, “was an embodied agent of change that contributed to the modernization of the British publishing industry through his translation activities and cultural exchanges” (Merkle, 2009: 102). Books published by Vizetelly, especially translations from Émile Zola, became very popular for the time, but Merkle argues that “the popular success of Zola’s novels in English was a double-edged sword for Vizetelly & Company: the more popular the novels, the more closely the guardians of public morals followed sales and read the reviews” (Merkle, 2009: 97). Even though Vizetelly was applying self-censorship he was tried on grounds of obscenity and “found guilty on seven counts of translating insufficiently expurgated novels in translation” (ibid: 99). As a result, he was sentenced to three months imprisonment and his publishing house went bankrupt (ibid.). The reason for Vizetelly’s translations, which were dissident to the prevailing norms of the time, is justified by his socialization process in Merkle’s study, i.e. education and experiences. In contrast to the Merkle case, O’Sullivan (2009) explores how another Victorian period publisher, Henry George Bohn, by using translation strategies such as euphemization and elision successfully, remained in the field of publishing market despite publishing books that could be regarded as obscene. O’Sullivan argues that “the most important reason [...] for Bohn’s commercial success and comfortably scandal free career must be the degree to which his policy of widespread, but restrained, expurgation kept him ostensibly within the margins of Victorian decorum” (O’Sullivan, 2009: 126). These two cases together that took place in nearly the same socio-cultural context with different results, display clearly the role of agency in cases of censorship.

My study also employs Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory and Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and capital. In the following sections, I will first introduce Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory and concepts of culture repertoire, resistance and market and then Bourdieu’s concept of habitus, capital and structural censorship.

### 1.2.2. Culture Repertoire, Resistance, and Market

Even-Zohar developed his polysystem theory originally in the 1970s and continued to revise and update it until 2010.<sup>30</sup> Polysystem theory, with contributions made by several researchers around the world, gained momentum in translation studies and literary studies, especially in the 1990s and 2000s. Polysystem theory contributed mainly to the adoption of target text and target culture oriented perspectives in translation studies. Theo Hermans (1999) explains the efficacy of polysystem theory as follows:

*Polysystem theory viewed literary and cultural life as the scene of a perpetual struggle for power between various interest groups. This focus on interaction and conflict gave the model its dynamic character. It also added a teleological dimension to translation by suggesting that translators' behaviour was guided by ulterior motives. Translation, that is, could now be seen as one of the instruments which individuals and collectives could make use of to consolidate or undermine positions in a given hierarchy. In thus broadening the scope, drawing attention to the impact of translation as a historical force and providing an explanatory frame of reference, polysystem theory gave the descriptive paradigm depth and relevance as well as legitimacy. (Hermans, 1999: 42)*

Polysystem theory will be employed as a general framework in this thesis together with the concepts of culture repertoire, resistance and market. "Repertoire", one of the main concepts suggested by Even-Zohar, "designates the aggregate of rules and materials which govern both the *making* and *handling*, or production and consumption, of any given product" (Even-Zohar, 1997: 20). According to Even-Zohar, a generally shared repertoire is mandatory for a community or a group of people to be able to communicate and act in relevant and admissible ways (ibid: 21).

Even-Zohar categorizes repertoire as active and passive repertoires. While active repertoire refers to the tools and goods used by individuals for production, passive repertoire refers to the tools and goods used for deciphering and interpreting what is produced by others. Hence, Even-Zohar associates active repertoire with "strategies of action" (ibid: 20) while he associates passive repertoire with "understanding the world" (ibid: 21). Thence, "the existence of a specific repertoire *per se* is not enough to ensure that a producer (or consumer) will make use of it" (ibid.). Repertoires are made of options or alternatives in this sense. The options within the

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<sup>30</sup> See *Papers in Culture Research* (2010) by Itamar Even Zohar.

repertoire are not intrinsic but generated through invention and/or importation by members of the society (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 168).

The concept of “resistance” is defined by Even-Zohar as “a form of unwillingness towards the advocated, or inculcated, repertoire” (Even-Zohar 2002b: 48). It can be categorized either as passive or active resistance. According to Even-Zohar, while passive resistance refers to just avoiding or ignoring some options, in active resistance people may overtly struggle and go against the options (ibid.).

As for the concept of “market”, Even-Zohar states that it is “the aggregate of factors involved in the selling and buying of products and with the promotion of types of consumption” (Even-Zohar, 2008: 286). Imported items are developed and enhanced or undermined as a consequence of market conditions (ibid: 277). Highlighting the importance of market conditions, Even-Zohar argues that:

*An adequate study of transfer in the context of repertoire making cannot stop at comparing transferred items with their sources, or at analyzing their nature and the processes of adaptation they enter in a target system. What need be studied is the complex network of relations between the state of the receptive system, the nature of the transference activity (e.g., whether it is if the "permanent flow" type, or the "deliberately engaged" type), and the relations between power and market, with a special attention to the activity of the makers of repertoire who are at the same time agents of transfer. (Even-Zohar, 2002a: 173)*

In addition to the concepts above, the notions I will utilise in my research by sociologist Pierre Bourdieu are going to be explained in the following section.

### **1.2.3. Habitus, Capital, and Structural Censorship**

Pierre Bourdieu’s sociological concepts of habitus and capital are instrumental in this study for their explanatory power in answering the questions of *why* and *how* at a micro level, i.e. at the level of individuals. Even-Zohar’s polysystem approach, will additionally provide answers at the macro level, i.e. culture and cultural interactions as a whole. Although Even-Zohar’s polysystem approach, as demonstrated in the previous section, gives due credit to “individuals”, it falls short of offering conceptual tools for analysing the reasons behind an individual’s choices and decisions and in constructing agents “as socialized individuals” (Meylaerts, 2008: 93), i.e. individuals effected by their past experiences. Even-Zohar himself admits the usefulness of



Bourdieu's theoretical considerations for bridging the gap between the repertoire and the individual:

*A significant contribution to the link between the socially generated repertoire and the procedures of individual inculcation and internalization is Bourdieu's habitus theory. Bourdieu supports the hypothesis that the models functionalized by an individual, or by a group of individuals, are not universal or genetic schemes, but schemes conditioned by dispositions acquired by experience, i.e., time- and place-dependent. (Even-Zohar, 1997: 25)*

Bourdieu (1930-2002) is one of the most prominent and productive sociologists of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, whose conceptual contributions, primarily the concept of "habitus", have been integrated into translation studies since the late 1990s.<sup>31</sup> Habitus is "that which one has acquired, but which has become durably incorporated in the body in the form of permanent dispositions" (Bourdieu, 1993: 86), and which contains both "structured" and "structuring" (Bourdieu, 1990a: 53) structures. They are "structured" and "structuring" structures in that they are "principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them" (ibid.).

His other concept, "capital", can be interpreted as the source of the power owned by agents. Pierre Bourdieu distinguishes three main forms of capital, namely: economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital basically refers to economic power while cultural capital refers to the "inculcation and assimilation" process within the society, i.e. the educational background, knowledge transferred within the family, self-improvement and from cultural background. Social capital alludes to connections and relationships with others, which can be summarized as the social network of an agent (Bourdieu, 1986: 241-258).

Bourdieu also mentions a fourth type of capital, symbolic capital, which may emanate as a consequence of high economic, cultural, or social capital. It can be interpreted as "accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration or honour" (Johnson, 1993: 7). All the forms of capital discussed above can be put to use in a number of ways by agents within the literary field in order to accomplish various objectives and

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<sup>31</sup> See Sheffy, 1997; Simeoni, 1998; Inghillieri, 2003, 2005; Wolf, 2006; Meylaerts, 2006; Wolf and Fukari, 2007; Vorderobermeier 2014.

obtain symbolic capital in a number of ways. For instance, in terms of the translation market, economic capital can be useful in achieving copyrights of works to translate, cultural capital may ensure that the agent chooses works which will attract the attention of target readers and sell well and social capital can help the agent by knowing the “right” persons who occupy the “right” positions.

Structural censorship is another concept by Bourdieu I will utilise in this thesis. Structural censorship is a kind of oppression “constituted by the very structure of the field in which the discourse is produced and circulates” (Bourdieu, 1991: 137). Therefore, structural censorship is not an overt or blatant form of censorship. In cases of structural censorship, the structure of the field and habitus of the agents within the field exerts control over the form or production of discourse and hinders production (ibid: 138). On structural censorship, Bourdieu claims that:

*The metaphor of censorship should not mislead: it is the structure of the field itself which governs expression by governing both access to expression and the form of expression, and not some legal proceeding which has been specially adapted to designate and repress the transgression of a kind of linguistic code. This structural censorship is exercised through the medium of sanctions (Bourdieu, 1991: 138).*

In line with Bourdieu’s definition, it can be claimed that structural censorship is a type of prior-censorship exerted by the conditions (excluding legal conditions), in the social arena.

#### **1.2.4. Research Subject**

In the light of the above sections, here I will present my subject and case study within the framework of the concepts discussed. This thesis is an attempt to problematize the role of translation in creating the erotic repertoire between the 1940s and 1960s in Turkey through the productions of a specific agent of translation. As a case, Avni İnel will be taken as a disregarded agent of translation, who was a controversial and prolific translator, publisher and writer of the period in question. He was known for his attempts to promote popular erotic translated fiction in Turkey primarily through Pitigrilli (Dino Segre) translations beginning in the early 1940s. His translations led to heated debates among the writers, translators and publishers of that time and they were defined as “the prostitution literature” (*Büyük Doğu*, 12.03.1948: 3) mainly by conservatives. Furthermore, some of the works translated or published by İnel were

sued for being obscene and were publicly discussed in many newspapers such as *Cumhuriyet*, *Ulus*, *Vakit*, *Yeni Gazete*.

İnsel answered the oppositions mainly in the prefaces he wrote to this translations, in the articles he wrote in newspapers and even on the window of his bookstore. For instance, he is the translator and publisher of the first Turkish translation of David Herbert Richard Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) under the title *Lady Chatterley'in Aşığı* (1942). The original was an infamous book worldwide, accused of being obscene. In the bold preface İnsel wrote for this translation, he challenged the understanding of obscenity and justified his selection humorously in these words: "if we are going to label things obscene; dogs mating outside, cats moaning on roofs, roosters fluttering with pride near their females should be banned first" ["Eğer müstehcen addedilmesi icap ediyorsa sokaklarda çiftleşen köpekler, damlarda feryat eden kediler, dişilerinin yanında azamete kanat çırpın horozlar toplatılmalıdır"] (İnsel, 1942: 6). Additionally, he was the editor and owner of two magazines entitled *Kahkaha* [Laughter] (1948-1954) and *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* [The World of Sexuality] (1949-1949). Contents of both magazines were produced mostly through translations.

Avni İnsel as the translator and publisher then appears to have been an important actor both in the production of popular erotic literature and in the discussions evolving around obscenity and censorship. Thus I suggest that İnsel acted as an active agent shaping the discussions on translating and publishing popular erotic literature and resisting the pressures exerted by conservative literary circles in the 1940s and 1950s. To this end his role as an agent of translation will be critically analysed within the socio-cultural context of the period in question.

Using Even-Zohar's concepts explained above, I will argue that Avni İnsel, both as a translator and as a patron, intentionally and systematically attempted to promote popular erotic translated literature as an option in the Turkish culture repertoire mainly between 1940 and 1960 and met with both "resistance" and approval. Avni İnsel, instead of adopting a submissive or indifferent attitude against the active resistance he faced with, acted strategically by defending the options he introduced and challenging his protestors in his writings, while occasionally using "disguise techniques" (Toury, 2002: 152) when he was faced with a possible sanction. Disguise

techniques are safeguards used by planners arguing that “there actually is very little new about what is being advocated” (ibid.).

Using Bourdieu’s approach, I will also argue that İnsel used the market conditions to his own advantage by utilising them to disseminate his ideas to the masses or to collect capital that would allow him to do so, and that his advertisement policies and other strategies to collect capital were highly successful. Pierre Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and capital will help me draw conclusions from İnsel’s personalized history and explain his choices within a repertoire characterized by the struggle of agents. By interpreting the data on İnsel’s personal past and the various types of capitals he obtained, I suggest that İnsel’s social capital along with his marketing strategies might have protected him in his struggle against censorship in some cases.

As for the methodology, this study will use paratextual data including epitexts and peritexts in the analysis. Piecemeal data from many sources such as bibliographies, newspapers, magazines, interviews and cover pages were collected and classified. The next section will introduce the process of data collection and the methodological tools that will be employed.

## **1.2.5. Methodology**

### **1.2.5.1. Data Collection**

This thesis is the first academic research that has focused on Avni İnsel. For this reason, the process of data collection was a painstaking and time-consuming one. I mainly benefited from bibliographies, newspapers, magazines, biographies and academic studies as secondary sources and interviews as primary sources. The process of data collection continued for about six months. First, I prepared a list of works translated and published by İnsel (see Appendix 1, Appendix 2). The first list (Books Translated by Avni İnsel) includes information on the title of the book in Turkish, source text title, author, publisher, year(s) published and co-translator (if available). The second list (Books Published by İnsel) includes information on the book title, author, year(s) published and name of the translator (if the book is a translation). These lists were formed by using the catalogues of the İzmir National Library and the online catalogue of the National Library of Turkey in Ankara.

While preparing the bibliographies mentioned above, I encountered some difficulties. Firstly, an analysis of the books in the İzmir National Library revealed that a number of books translated or published by İnsel have no information regarding the date they were published. In such cases, I checked the dates in newspaper advertisements, looked for the number of the books in the series that were published, or searched for advertisements for the books within other books published by İnsel. Secondly, I could not detect the title of source texts in some instances because the Turkish titles in numerous cases were not translated faithfully to the source text. For these cases, I checked them in other bibliographies such as Belgin Kader's *İtalyancadan Türkçeye Çevrilen Eserler Bibliyografyası 1839-2011* [Bibliography of Works Translated into Turkish from Italian, 1839-2011] (2011). But still some of the source text titles are missing and are thus included as they were in the lists. Thirdly, in some of the books which İnsel claimed to have published, the name of the publishing house was not stated. If İnsel clearly stated that he was the publisher of the book I still included such books in my bibliography. These lists have clearly revealed that books translated and published by İnsel were originally written in French, English, German, Italian and Russian.

In addition to the bibliographies, a number of newspapers and journals that were active in the 1940s were scanned. It should be noted here that only a very small number of newspapers and journals are in digitalized form in Turkey. Therefore, it was obligatory for me to manually scan and skim a number of other important journals and newspapers in order to find criticisms, news, advertisements or any piece of information about İnsel. This research has proven that there is a considerable amount of information about İnsel and the debates that revolve around the subject of obscenity and censorship. This data collected from many newspapers and journals will form the second chapter of this thesis where I will contextualize İnsel as a translator and publisher in the Turkish culture repertoire.

I also conducted interviews to find information about İnsel's life and work. I first looked for İnsel's friends and relatives in order to get detailed information. I found in his obituary notice in *Cumhuriyet* published on 14 August 1969, that he had two sons. I reached one of his sons, Hasan İnsel, whom I thought to be Avni İnsel's younger son. He verified that he was Avni İnsel's son, and I undertook a face-to-face interview

with Hasan İnel in İstanbul. He provided me with the documents his father kept: news, columns, criticisms about Avni İnel and his publishing house. Furthermore, Hasan İnel informed me that his father spoke only French and no other foreign language. Hence, all the books translated by İnel must have been translated from French, except the ones where he co-operated with another translator. Thus, although my preliminary analysis showed that İnel translated many books from English, German, Russian and Italian, this interview proved that he probably used French as an intermediate language in these translations. I did the second interview with Necdet İşli who worked in İnel Kitabevi in the late 1960s. Necdet İşli provided me with some letters written to Avni İnel. I would like to thank both Hasan İnel and Necdet İşli for their invaluable help in the data collection process.

#### **1.2.5.2. Tools and Data Analysis**

As methodological tools I will utilise “extratextual” (Toury, 1995: 65) materials and “paratextual elements” (Genette, 1997: 4). Toury states that extratextual materials are:

*semi-theoretical or critical formulations, such as prescriptive 'theories' of translation, 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. (Toury, 1995: 65)*

During my research in newspapers and magazines of the period, I found out that there are numerous extratextual sources regarding censorship, morality, obscenity and translation. Therefore extratextual materials regarding translation in this period were abundant. By focusing on materials that discuss translation and obscenity/morality, translation and censorship and translation criticisms and policies I will attempt to create a context regarding obscenity and erotic popular literature in the Turkish culture repertoire of the 1940s. The extratextual materials that revolve around the subjects of censorship, obscenity and morality will be analysed in order to understand tendencies, ideas and ideological entanglements regarding the topic of obscenity. In addition to extratextual materials, some other studies that focus on the same period (1940-1960) will also be used.

Paratexts, as suggested by Gérard Genette, refer to “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the

public” (Genette, 1997: 1). Genette distinguishes between two types of paratexts in relation to their location: peritexts and epitexts. Simply put, peritexts are materials that are presented with the book, i.e. cover pages, prefaces and forewords, author’s name, translator’s name, publisher etc. Epitexts or “distanced elements”, on the other hand, pertain to materials about the book that are found outside the book, i.e. interviews, criticisms, advertisements etc. (Genette, 1997: 5). Genette’s “paratextual elements”, either presented with the book or distanced, have to be related to the book while extratextual materials do not. Preliminary research on İnsel has revealed that he followed specific patterns in creating paratexts for the books he published. Paratexts of the books translated and/or published by İnsel will be investigated using Urpo Kovala’s categorization of paratexts. Kovala argues that there are four types of paratexts: modest, commercial, informative, and illustrative (Kovala, 1996: 127). Modest paratexts are minimalist, including only items such as author’s name and title. Commercial paratexts aim at advertising other books by the same publisher. Informative paratexts include long informative passages before, within or after the text. Illustrative paratexts implement conspicuous illustrations on the back and front covers and sometimes in the text (ibid.). In my study, I will utilise informative-commercial and illustrative paratexts in examining how the books were presented to the readers (see Appendix 3).

### **1.3. Conclusions**

In the first chapter, initially the major academic contributions to the research field of translation and censorship are critically reviewed. This review revealed that censorship in translation has been investigated mainly through texts labelled as sexual, political or ideological. These texts were mostly analysed in terms of internal and external constraints that might have an impact in the production of these texts. This chapter further offered a classification of the existing case studies employed by scholars on translation and censorship based upon the agents imposing censorship, types of censorship, reasons for censorship, the socio-political environment and the timing of censorship. This classification displayed the multifaceted nature of translation and censorship as a field of research. Following a discussion of the existing research on translation and censorship in Turkey, it was concluded that this field of research is

newly emerging in Turkey and that scholarly interest has been growing especially in the last five years.

Chapter One also introduced the theoretical and methodological framework of this study. Emphasising the importance of agency especially in research related to censorship, I suggested that this research will adopt an eclectic socio-cultural approach, combining Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and Pierre Bourdieu's theory of practice along with structural censorship. As methodological tools, extratextual and paratextual analyses are going to be conducted.





## CHAPTER TWO

### CONTEXTUALIZING TRANSLATED AND INDIGENOUS POPULAR EROTIC LITERATURE IN THE TURKISH CULTURE REPERTOIRE

In the second chapter, I will attempt to explore the discussions evolving around obscenity, morality and censorship in the Turkish culture repertoire during the republican period to illustrate the socio-cultural context Avni İnsel operated in. Making use of surveys published in newspapers, criticisms, press laws, lawsuits conducted against literary works on grounds of obscenity, newspaper and magazine articles and scholarly works related to obscenity and censorship I will analyse the discourse constructed about obscenity and morality from the 1920s to the 1970s. I selected five different cases and examine them in detail in order to show the subjects discussed openly in the public sphere. The first case is *Bin Bir Buse* [1001 Kisses] (1923-24), which was a magazine of erotic short stories. The second case is the survey on obscenity published in the newspaper *Vakit* in 1929. The third case is the press law of 1931. The fourth case is the first Turkish publishing congress in 1939. The fifth case is the obscenity trial of *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* translated into Turkish in 1939-40. These five cases are selected for this contextualization because the discussions that revolved around them provide the points of intersection in the literary field where various understandings of morality, obscenity and censorship clashed and manifested themselves as they appeared in public discourses. After these cases, many newspaper and magazine articles along with books published on the subject will also be examined in order to reveal the related discourses produced and reproduced again in the 1950s, 1960s and the 1970s.

Avni İnsel lived between 1919 and 1969. He entered the literary field in 1936 with his first translation and he was active until the mid-1960s both as a translator and publisher. The investigation of the struggles over obscenity in the Turkish culture repertoire between the 1920s and the 1970s will help me display İnsel's role and status in these discussions, both as a translator and as a patron, in the third chapter. For the sake of historical integrity and for a better illustration of the continuity of the subjects of obscenity and censorship and the production of popular erotic texts in the Ottoman and Turkish culture repertoires, I will first include a brief overview on sexuality and

obscenity in the Ottoman period. Then the chapter will proceed with the cases taken from the republican period.

## **2.1. Popular Erotic Literature and Obscenity in the Ottoman Culture Repertoire**

Complaining about the lack of academic works on erotic literature<sup>32</sup>, Irvin Cemil Schick states that: “However widely it may be consumed by the masses in the privacy of their homes, erotic literature suffers from significant neglect when it comes to the hallowed halls of academe. And this is all the more true of Ottoman and Turkish erotic literature” (Schick, 2004: 81). The first comprehensive research on sexuality in the Ottoman period that made the subject visible in the contemporary Turkish culture repertoire is Murat Bardakçı’s work *Osmanlı’da Seks* [Sex in the Ottoman Times] (2005), which was serialised in the newspaper *Milliyet* in 1986 for the first time and then published as a book in 2005. Bardakçı’s research presents the fact that erotic texts were produced on a wide scale during the Ottoman period. By exemplifying sexual elements in folk tales, poetry, novels, sex manuals (*bahnâme*) and song lyrics, Bardakçı proves that sexuality, in contrary to widespread opinion, was a conspicuous element of the Ottoman culture repertoire (ibid.). Complementary to Bardakçı, Irvin Cemil Schick, in his article entitled “Representation of Gender and Sexuality in Ottoman and Turkish Erotic Literature” (2004), focuses on eroticism in Ottoman prose, classical poetry, folk poetry, theatre and novels along with short stories and concludes that they “have much to teach us in terms of past lifestyles and admirations, realities and fantasies” (ibid: 103). Schick, argues that with the proliferation of the printing press in the Ottoman regions in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, erotic literature became accessible to a broader audience and became “stabilised” while it became more vulnerable to state intervention in the form of censorship (Schick, 2004: 94).

As for censorship in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Bardakçı also revealed that, censorship was imposed on erotic texts in the Ottoman period. He gives two books as an example, *Zenânnâme* (1837) [Book of Women] and *Bir Zanbağın Hikâyesi* [The Story of a Lily] (1910). He states that these books were banned by the government on the grounds that

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<sup>32</sup> Following Gaëtan Brulotte and John Phillips, I define erotic literature as “novel, poetry, the short story, drama [...] essays, autobiographies, treatises, and sex manuals [...] in which sexuality and/or sexual desire has a dominant presence.” (Brulotte & Phillips: 2006: x)

they were “contradictory to public moral values” [“umumi ahlaka mugayir”] (Bardakçı, 2005: 195). Both Schick’s and Bardakçı’s findings imply that there might have been other works censored during the Ottoman period, not known due to invisibility of prior-production censorship. As put forward by Fatmagül Demirel (2004, 2007), during the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II, in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> century, the publishing industry was subjected to pre-publication censorship. Both indigenous and translated books were reviewed by censoring committees before publication (cf. Karadağ, 2013c: 108-109). Therefore, censorship appears to have been a common practice in the 19<sup>th</sup> century Ottoman culture repertoire. However, some erotic productions still existed during the reign of Abdul Hamid II. Schick gives Ahmet Rasim's *Ülfet* [later *Hamamcı Ülfet*, or *Ülfet the Bathkeeper*] (1316/1898), which focused on the theme of lesbianism as an example of the ones that managed to appear in spite of the repressive environment (Schick, 2004: 95).

Schick argues that popular erotic literature started to sprout in the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1920) and the armistice period (1918-1920) (Schick, 2005: 16). Many studies have shown that the publishing industry became freer in the Second Constitutional Period, which led to the dethronement of Abdul Hamid II and put an end to his repressive policies. As a result a significant boom in erotic literature took place (Toprak, 1987; Türkeş, 2001; Schick, 2004; 2011).<sup>33</sup>

The role of translation in these works is not negligible. For instance, a much-debated controversial book of its time *Bir Zambağın Hikayesi* [The Story of a Lily]

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<sup>33</sup> *Bir Dakikalık Bekaret* [A Moment's Virginity] (1914) and *Karyolada Tatlı Dakikalarım* [My Sweet Moments in Bed] (1912) by S. Hidâyet; *Bir Zambağın Hikayesi* [The Story of a Lily] (1910) and *Kaymak Tabağı* [Plate of Cream] (1910-15) by Mehmet Rauf; *Fahişe* [Whore] (1919) (anonymous); *Zıfaf Hatırası* [Memento of the Wedding Night] (1914) by Enis Avni; *Nisvan-ı Zarîfe* [Elegant Women] (1911) by Hasan Bahri; *Kadın Esrarı* [The Mystery of Woman] (1914) by Avanzâde Mehmed Süleyman; *Kadın ve Aşk* [Women and Love] (1911) by Mehmed Galib (Schick, 2004: 95-97).

*Bir Çapkının Hikayesi* [The Story of a Casanova] (1910) by Ebü'l Burhan; *Muhabet Odası* [Pillow Talk] (1912) by T.P.Z; *Zıfaf Gecesi* [The Wedding Night] and *Harem Ağasının Muaşakası* [The Love Affair of a Eunuch] (1913) by M.S.; *Bir Bakirenin Gebeliği* [The Pregnancy of a Virgin] (1914) by A. Hasan, *Bir Aşiftenin Jurnalı* [The Journal of a Harlot] (1914) by Ahmet Naci; *Beyoğlu Alemleri* [Beyoğlu Nights] (1914) by G.R.; *Balodan Sonra* [After the Ball] (1914) by Adil Nami; *Kadınların Aradığı* [What Women Look For] (1914) by M. Alişan. (Türkeş in Işıklar Koçak, 2007: 8).

*Düğün Gecesi Sağır Beyin Muşakkası* [The Love Affair of the Deaf Man on the Wedding Night] (1916) by Münir Süleyman; *Kanlı Zıfaf* [Bloody Wedding Night] (1916) by E. Ali (tr.); *Aşk Entrikaları* [Plots of Love] (1915) by R. Adil (tr.); *Hadiye Boşandıktan Sonra* [After Hadiye Divorced] (1914) by Hakkı Semih, *Gıcırtilar* [Squeaks] (1914) by S. Hidayet. (Toprak, 1987: 25-27).

(1910) was claimed to be 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" and *Kaymak Tabağı* [The Plate of Cream] is adapted from Marquis de Sade (Türkeş in Işıklar Koçak, 2007: 8). Differently from Ömer Türkeş's suggestion that these works could be adaptations, Burcu Karahan Richardson claims that *Bir Zambakın Hikâyesi* is a free translation of Marquise Mannoury d'Ectot's erotic novel:

*Bir Zambak'ın Hikâyesi was a free translation or an "Ottomanized" version of French writer Marquise Mannoury d'Ectot's third and final erotic novel Le Roman de Violette (1833). In his translation, Mehmet Rauf transforms this French decadent novel written from a female perspective on lesbian love into a Constitution era erotic text that celebrates male sexual power. In that sense, Bir Zambak'ın Hikâyesi sets an example for numerous (mainly French) erotic novels that had been altered in their Turkish translations. (Karahan Richardson, n.d.: para. 4)*

Other novels and erotic stories adapted from foreign sources seem to have existed in this period. Schick claims that "foreign sources were also important for Ottoman erotic tales; [...] translations were seldom faithful to the originals, and translators often freely expanded and embroidered upon them" (Schick, 2004: 85). It should be noted here that despite the fact that a number of erotic novels were claimed to be translations by various scholars, no research focusing on them from a translation studies perspective has been conducted. Thus we do not have enough information about the nature of these translations.

Whether translated or indigenous, such works were met with criticism by some men of letters (Toprak, 1987: 25-28) because it was argued that these works did not "reflect the sexual mores of its day" but rather fantasies (Schick, 2004: 99). One of the opposing voices was Mehmet Âkif Ersoy (1873-1936), one of the most famous poets of both the Ottoman and Republican periods and a powerful representative of Islamist thought. He criticised erotic literature in one of his poems first published in 1917 referring to *Bir Zambakın Hikâyesi* by Mehmet Rauf:

*What now, our literature? What a shame! It [erotic literature] does not work for anything, apart from bewitching and stupefying the soul of the nation or clashing with feelings. [...]*

*It destroyed everything that needs to stand strong. A few writers who are devoid of shame said "What is the use of decency?" and wanted to end morality, chastity*

and pudicity. They show around their poisonous “lillies” that stimulate the environment of prostitution. (Ersoy in Timurtaş, 1987: 95)<sup>34</sup>

[*Ne kaldı, bir edebiyatımız mı? Vâ esefâ!*

*Bırak ki ettiği yoktur bir ihtiyaca vefa;*

*Ya ruh-ı millet efsunluyor, uyuşturuyor;*

*Ya sînelerdeki hislerle çarpışıp duruyor*

[...]

*Ayakta kalması lâzım ne varsa hep yıktı.*

*“Değil mi bir tükürük alna çarpacak te’dip*

*Ne hükmü var?” diye üç beş hayâ züğürdü edib;*

*Bitirmek istedi ahlâkı, ârı, namusu;*

*Çıkardı ortaya, gezdirdi, saksılar dolusu,*

*Havay-ı fuhşu kudurtan zehirli “Zanbak”lar!]* (Ersoy in Timurtaş, 1987: 95)

Morality seems to be of great importance to some men of letters who objected to ‘obscene’ literature and it continued to be the first subject touched upon by those who opposed erotic literature in the republican period too, as will be shown in the following sections.

This stream of popular erotic novels and the discussions about morality and censorship existed until the end of the 1920s (Schick, 2004: 94) and Avni İnsel revived the genre again through his translations in the early 1940s. However, novels were not the only erotic options presented into the culture repertoire, but also movies and later in the republican period, songs, illustrations and even statues were also regarded as obscene. For instance, Yavuz Selim Karakışla claims that two erotic movies entitled *Fahişenin Kızı* [The Daughter of the Whore] and *Oires Karnavale* were screened in the Second Constitutional Period (1908-1918) and later they were prohibited (Karakışla in Işıklar-Koçak, 2007: 7).

Even though sexuality and eroticism in Ottoman literature and culture is a subject that has received more attention in recent years<sup>35</sup>, more comprehensive and detailed research on the issue is necessary in order to fully comprehend the role of translation in creating options for the erotic repertoire and its related censorial mechanisms. Still, existing research proves that eroticism in the Ottoman culture repertoire had existed for a very long time.

<sup>34</sup> All translations are mine, unless otherwise is stated.

<sup>35</sup> Some other works that focus on sexuality and eroticism in Ottoman literature and culture are: Kandiyoti, 1988; Türe, 1999; Kuru, 2001; Kuru, 2006; Tekin, 2001; Yıldırım, 2001; Dalkıran, 2012.

## **2.2. Popular Erotic Literature and Eroticism in the Turkish Culture Repertoire: Obscenity versus Morality**

Following the Turkish War of Independence after the First World War in 1923, the modern Republic of Turkey was founded, putting an end to the Ottoman Empire that had lasted for around six centuries. Following the proclamation of the republic, a vast movement of westernization, industrialization, secularization and modernization took place in all aspects of life. Political, social and cultural life drastically changed with many reforms presented after 1923, such as the abolition of Sultanate and Caliphate, the introduction of Western legal codes, changes in clothing, new measurement units, the adoption of the Latin alphabet and the right of women to elect and be elected.

In the republican period popular erotic literature continued to be produced in Turkey until the 1930s, after the proclamation of republic. My research has revealed that the proclamation of the republic did not cause a significant change in terms of the production of popular erotic literature. In this section I will try to problematize the way sexuality and erotic literature was perceived and how they led to opposition between different groups of people between the 1920s and the 1970s mainly by exemplifying and examining the cases of erotic publications which, in some cases, led to controversies and debates. As mentioned earlier, extratextual (Toury, 1995: 65) and epitextual (Genette, 1997: 5) sources will be used in my analysis in this chapter.

### **2.2.1. *Bin Bir Buse* [1001 Kisses] (1923-24)**

*Bin Bir Buse: En Şen En Şuh Hikâyeler* [1001 Kisses: The Most Joyous, Most Saucy Stories<sup>36</sup>] was a collection of erotic stories, including caricatures on sexuality written in Ottoman Turkish (in Arabic script)<sup>37</sup> and it was published in two different series under the same title in 1923 and 1924. The first of this series was published in the form of short novellas, each of 32 pages, and the other series included short stories and they were published in the form of 24-page-fascicles. This collection of short stories can be regarded chronologically as the first example of erotic literature published in the republican period. The identity of the publisher of these novellas and short stories is not known, yet both series are attributed to Mehmet Rauf by Irvin Cemil Schick

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<sup>36</sup> Irvin Cemil Schick's (2004) translation of the title.

<sup>37</sup> The Latin alphabet was adopted in 1928. In the Ottoman period, three main languages had been used in writing: Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and Persian.

(2005), who produced the intralingual translation of the series, including the short stories. Having given the poem written by Necdet Rüştü in the magazine *Kelebek* (1924) as evidence, Schick suggests that Mehmet Rauf seems to be the publisher of this collection of erotic novellas and stories (Schick 2005:17). Similarly to Schick, Türe (2015: 135) argues that even though most of the stories in the second series were written anonymously or under pennames, *Bin Bir Buse* was thought to be the published by Mehmet Rauf. Schick states that short stories in the second series were probably written by different authors. Some were indicated in their initials in the collections and some others were attributed to pseudonyms (2015:20). Moreover, he claims that even though these stories were the products of many authors, there was a stylistic and linguistic coherence and unity in these erotic stories. Thus he suggests that these texts could well have been edited by one person, who was Mehmet Rauf.

Schick further argues that “there is no doubt that some [of the stories in *Bin Bir Buse*] were adapted from French publications” “[*Bin Bir Buse*’deki öykülerin] bir kısmının da Fransızca yayınlardan uyarlanmış olduğuna şüphe yoktur”, and he states that translations are abundant in *Bin Bir Buse* (Schick, 2005: 20). Therefore, it appears that similar to the Ottoman period, popular erotic literature continued to make use of translation in the early republican period in line with Schick’s assertions. However, as the sources of translations were not stated and as they were adapted to the Ottoman context, it is hard to determine the source texts. I think that translation played a role in the emergence and progress of erotic popular literature because it emerged and became popular in a period of rapid westernization in the Ottoman Empire and the novel as a genre was still new to Turkish authors in the early 1900s, given that the first Turkish novel was written in 1872<sup>38</sup>.

In her comprehensive research on *Images of Istanbul Women in the 1920s* (2015) Düriye Fatma Türe investigates popular erotic literature and analyses *Bin Bir Buse* in-depth, in addition to various erotic stories from other sources in the 1920s. According to Türe, out of 65 short stories in *Bin Bir Buse*, the most recurrent relationship motif is “sexual acts” (40 stories), followed by marriage (32 stories), infidelity (23 stories) and adultery (23 stories) motifs. In addition, the motifs of

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<sup>38</sup> The first Turkish novel is accepted as *Taaşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat* [Love of Talat and Fitnat] (1875) by Şemseddin Sami.

deception (18 stories), seduction (14 stories), impotence (9 stories), love (9 stories) and rape (one story) are also included (Türe, 2015: 209-210). Stressing that a number of stories are humorous, Türe argues:

*The plot is simple and the characters are stereotypical. By indulging in pleasure, suspense, excitement, and sexuality, they take the reader away from the monotony of daily life. [...] Humorous obscene stories do not assume the mission of stressing female sexuality, underlining a social problem, or criticizing an old custom. Their raison d'être is to communicate to the reader the public concerns about the changing social structure and values by combining them with sexual motifs and embellishing them with a joke taking advantage of the hilarity of the situation. The repeated themes are respectively the power of female sexuality, every woman's potential for infidelity, sexual relation as a direct outcome of men and women being left alone together, and the idea that women are cunning and men gullible. (Türe, 2015: 133, 208)*

Türe also claims that erotic popular literature of the 1920s was not exposed to censorship but criticised by men of letters in various publications (Türe, 2015: 128). Exceptionally, it is known that Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar (1864-1944) was sued with charges of obscenity in his serialised novel in 1924 *Ben Deli miyim?* [Am I Insane?] but acquitted.<sup>39</sup> There are no known cases against *Bin Bir Buse* or other collections of erotic stories of the 1920s such as *Gençlik Demetleri* [Bouquets of Youth], a series of erotic novellas comprised of 22 books, and *Fâcia ve Aşk Serisi* [Disaster and Love Series] which was also comprised of 22 books<sup>40</sup> (Türe, 2015: 135). Yet, criticisms by some men of letters were voiced.

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<sup>39</sup> Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, defends himself against the charges of obscenity as follows: “The novel is a mirror of morality. Its lens shoots what it sees. Does the public prosecutor want novels to change the ugliness it sees, change the smell of scars and consent to burying reality alive, becoming an instrument of hypocrisy, ignorance and bigotry? But then what good would the story and novel do? No sir, no! No government, no country can rob the art of its dignity and degrade it to a status of perjury.” (my translation) (Gürpınar in İleri 2011)

<sup>40</sup> Some interesting titles of the books in *Gençlik Demetleri* [Bouquets of Youth] Series and *Facia ve Aşk Serisi* [Disaster and Love Series] are: *Kız mı? Dul mu?* [Virgin? Or Widow?] (1923), *Fahişe'nin Gazabı* [Wraith of the Whore] (1923), *Kudurtan Geceler* [Rave Nights] (1923), *Acı Zevk* [Bitter Pleasure] (1924), *Orta Malı* [Prostitute] (1924), *İki Kocalı Bir Kadın* [A Woman with Two Husbands] (1923), *Dul Kadının Esrarı* [Mystery of the Widowed Woman] (1925) (Türe, 2015: 135, 136).



**Figure 2:** Cover Page of *Bin Bir Buse*, Volume 3



Source: Türe, 2013: 180.

The criticisms against erotic popular literature were mainly based on the idea that such publications would harm the moral values of youth. Zeki Mesut [Alsan] (1887-1984), for instance, in 1927, suggests that:

*It is our most sacred national service to bring up the youth as bodily, mentally, and spiritually competent individuals for their duties. For this reason, obscene literature which causes and feeds morbid spirits needs to be brought to a halt immediately. (Mesut in Türe 2015: 352)*

*[Gençliği bedenlen, fikren ve rûhen vazîfesinin ehli olacak sûrette yetiştirmek hepimiz için en mukaddes bir vatan borcudur. Bu i'tibâr ile marazî rûhların amili ve gıdacısı olan açık saçık neşriyyâta bir an evvel nihayet verilmek lâzımdır.] (Zeki Mesut in Türe 2015: 352)*

Here, Mesut obviously called for the publication of these books to be stopped. Similarly to Mesut, Osman Cemal [Kaygılı] (1890-1945) in an article written in 1924, stated that erotic literature is dangerous for immature, inexperienced, naïve young men and young girls (Cemal in Türe 2015: 332-336). In a similar vein, Refik Sıdkı [Gür] in a book<sup>41</sup> published in 1927 states that:

*Most of these authors, in their so-called novels that offer no literary value, describe the dirtiest and intriguing aspects of life. Do not forget that life is not so dirty and painful as described in these vulgar works and such books should not enter to our families' private area. Husbands that know the effect such works can*

<sup>41</sup> *İnkılâblar Muvacehesinde Türk İnkılâbı [Turkish Reform in the face of Reforms] (1927).*

*have on morality, without a doubt, would not let such works enter to their house.* (Refik Sıdkı in Toprak, 1987: 25-27)

*[Bu muharrirlerden birçoğu hiçbir edebî kıymet arz etmeyen sözde romanlarında, hayatın en kirlî ve en entrikalı safhalarını tasvir etmek cihetine gitmişlerdir. Unutmayınız ki hayat bu bayağı eserlerde tasvir edildiği gibi hiçbir zaman acı ve o kadar iğrenç değildir ve bu gibi kitaplar ailelerimizin haremine de sokulmamalıdır. Bu gibi eserlerin ahlâk üzerine yapabileceği tesirâtı takdir eden aile reisleri şüphesiz bu tarzda hareket ederler.]* (Refik Sıdkı in Toprak, 1987: 25-27)

It would be safe to argue that in the 1920s, those that opposed popular erotic literature did so for two reasons. First, they were worried because they thought that such literature could distort young people's way of thinking. Secondly, these texts were seen as ugly and devoid of literary value. The former reason might be related to the nation-building efforts in the early republican era. As Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar points out, there was an expectation of literature "as a means of education and nation-building in the early republican era" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008a: 76). For this reason, it seems that those worried about the education of the youth engaged in an "active resistance" (Even-Zohar, 2002b: 48) against popular erotic literature. In addition, based on the criticisms, it would not be unreasonable to infer that erotic popular literature was enjoying a high demand from young readers.

### **2.2.2. What is nudity and obscenity? A Survey in 1929 by Refik Ahmet Sevengil**

The survey entitled *Çıplak ve Müstehcen Nedir?* [What is Nudity and Obscenity?] was serialised in the newspaper *Vakit* between 12 May 1929 and 8 June 1929. The name of the person who prepared the survey was not given in the newspaper. However, later in 1964, Hilmi Yücebaş in his biography of Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, who was among the interviewees, stated that Refik Ahmet Sevengil<sup>42</sup> (1903-1970), one of the known writers and researchers of Turkish theatre, was the surveyor (Yücebaş, 1964: 136).

A total of eighteen interviewees participated in the survey. Among these, eight participants were legal experts such as lawyers, judges and a National Assembly judicial commission reporter. Four participants were professors (two from the

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<sup>42</sup> It is known that Refik Ahmet Sevengil made another survey in the newspaper *Kurun* in 1935 on Turkish literature with the prominent authors of the period, see *Her Gün Bir Ediple* [With an Author Everyday] (2010) Refik Ahmet Sevengil edited by Mustafa Armağan. Sevengil is also the author *Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi* [History of Turkish Theatre] published in five volumes (1959-1968).

Department of Law, one from the Department of Art and one from the Department of Psychology). Three participants were artists and another three participants were writers. This distribution of occupations indicates that obscenity was mainly regarded as a judicial matter at the end of the 1920s, in addition to being an educational, literary and artistic one. The selection of the participants was not random. A number of the participants were either producers of the so-called obscene works or lawyers/judges that had worked on obscenity trials. Thus, it appears that the answers to this survey should present the opinions of both parties; i.e. the producers of erotic texts and the judges and lawyers taking part in obscenity trials. The introduction to the survey reads as follows:

*From time to time various press trials occur. We hear that such-and-such newspaper or magazine has been sued due to such-and-such piece of writing or picture. Criminal law imposes a penalty on obscene and immodest writings and pictures; but, what does “obscene and immodest” mean? The law does not state what is meant by these words. [...] It is necessary to determine the meaning and denotation of these words, which come into prominence in today’s ever-changing understanding in our country. For this reason, we consulted on law, literature, sociology, and art specialists who are interested in this issue. The answers we received deserve to be read with great interest. (emphasis in the original) (Vakit, 12.05.1929:1)*

*[Zaman zaman muhtelif matbuat davaları tahaddüs ediyor; filân gazete, filân mecmua, filân yazıdan veya filânca resimden dolayı mahkemeye verilmiş diye işidiyoruz. Ceza kanunu müstehcen ve hayasızca yazılmış, yapılmış resimlere, yazılara ceza tayin ediyor; fakat “müstehcen ve hayasızca” ne demektir. Kanun, kelimelerden ne kastedildiğini söylemiyor; [...] Halbuki içtimâî telâkkilerin mütemadiyen değiştiği şu sırada ayrı bir ehemmiyet kazanan bu kelimelerin mana ve medlüllerini tespiti ihtiyaç vardır. Bu düşünce ile ki bahsile alâkadar hukuk, edebiyat, içtimayat ve resim mütehasıslarına müracaat ederek fikirlerini sorduk. Aldığımız cevaplar büyük bir âlaka ile okunmak liyakatini haizdir.]<sup>43</sup> (emphasis in the original) (Vakit, 12.05.1929:1)*

The survey seems to have been conducted as a result of an assumed necessity that arose from trials against so-called obscene and immodest publications. Therefore, it might be inferred that obscenity trials against newspapers and magazines were quite common and publicly discussed in the late 1920s.

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<sup>43</sup> There might be misspellings or typographical errors in quotations from the newspaper *Vakit*. In Turkey, the Alphabet reform, which introduced the modern Turkish alphabet based on the Latin script instead of the old Arabic script, took place at the end of 1928. This newspaper used Latin script only about six months after the reform. I did not change their spellings.

In the introduction to the survey, a reference was also given to the “International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications”. This was an international anti-obscenity treaty of the League of Nations signed by 40 countries, including Turkey, in 1924. It was stated in the convention that it was a punishable offence to produce, possess or distribute “obscene writings, drawings, prints, paintings, printed matter, pictures, posters, emblems, photographs, cinematograph films or any other obscene objects” (*International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications*, 1924: 223). This convention reveals that obscenity was seen as a world-wide threat in the 1920s.

The survey comprised five questions:

1. *What is immodest and obscene? What do these words mean?*
2. *Considering that sociological and moral understanding is changing, is it possible to judge a picture of a nude woman/man, or a writing/poem depicting nudity as immodest?*
3. *Is it possible to speak of obscenity in artistic pursuits such as novels, plays, paintings or sculptures? Is it convenient to restrict artists by this means?*
4. *Is it justifiable to be more restrictive against the press while paintings and sculptures are met with more tolerance?*
5. *[In obscenity trials] Who should act as experts when the judge cannot assess the issue? (Vakit, 12.05.1929:1, 2)*

1. *Açık ve müstehçen nedir? Bu kelimeler neyi ifade eder?*
2. *İçtimaî ve ahlâkî telâkkilerin değişmekte olmasına göre, elbisesiz bir kadın veya erkek resmini, yahut bu hali tasvir eden bir yazıyı, bir manzumeyi, bu şekilde bir dansı açık saymak kabil midir?*
3. *San'at meselelerinde, romanda, piyeste, tabloda, heykelde açıklık ve müstehçenlik mevzuu bahsolabilir mi? San'atkârı bu suretle takyit etmek muvafık mıdır?*
4. *Tablolar ve heykeller için bir dereceye kadar müsaadekâr davranıldığı halde neşriyat için takyitkâr davranılması doğru mudur?*
5. *[Müstehçenlik davalarında] Hakimin takdiri elvermezse ehli vukuf kimlerden teşekkül etmelidir? (Vakit, 12.05.1929:1, 2)*

One of the main concerns of the survey seems to be the ambiguity of the terms nudity and obscenity. Obscenity was already defined in the Turkish Criminal Code which came into force in 1926. In the Turkish Criminal Code, under the heading

“Offenses against Public Decency and Family Order”, it was stated that any kind of publication “that is written in an obscene and immodest way” is deemed as criminal and those who publish, distribute and write such publications were to be imprisoned for between one month and two years and have a fine imposed on them of between fifteen and five hundred liras.<sup>44</sup> It seems that publishers of the period were faced with obscenity trials due to nude photographs and erotic stories published in their newspapers and magazines and so on through this survey they were trying to show their concern about the subject and open a public discussion on obscenity and censorship.

As for the answers, ten out of eighteen participants overtly claimed that obscenity and immodesty are time and place-dependent. Therefore, they argued that the meaning of these concepts can change over time. Since most of the participants had witnessed many cultural transformations during the Second Constitutional period, the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the foundation of the Turkish Republic, they had the chance to compare the strict moral values of the Ottoman period with the values of the late 1920s. They generally defined obscenity as being relativistic. Among them, lawyer Haydar Rifat [Yorulmaz] even claimed that “the word obscene itself is obscene” [“Müstehcen kelimesinin kendisi müstehcendir”] (*Vakit*, 12.05.1929: 1). Other participants who attempted to define obscenity argued that works that publicly and intentionally harmed the emotional state of readers were obscene. For instance, lawyer İrfan Emin [Kösemihaloğlu] maintained that “vulgar and coarse emotions and ambitions that attack public morality are obscene and immodest” [“Galiz, bayağı his ve ihtirasların umumi iffete taarruz eder mahiyette sadır olması müstehcen ve hayasızcadır”] (*Vakit*, 19.05.1929: 1). Similarly, artist Namık İsmail, stated that “works which do not provide us with an aesthetic excitement but with only lustful excitement are obscene.” [“Bize bedii heyecan vermiyen, sadece şehvani hisleri tahrik eden eserler müstehcendir”] (*Vakit*, 27.05.1929: 1). In contrast to İrfan Emin and Namık İsmail, writer Sadri Etem [Ertem] emphasised the innovative role of artistic pursuits, asserting that “nudity and obscenity are two sides of the same knife used by morality and the law against art” [“Çıplak ve müstehcen, ahlâkın ve hukukun san’ata karşı kullandığı pıçağın iki yüzüdür”] (*Vakit*, 08.06.1929: 1).

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<sup>44</sup> For detailed information on obscenity and literature in Turkish Criminal Code, see Marakoğlu 2014.

Regarding obscenity in works of art, all except four of the participants seemed to agree that works of art cannot be labelled as obscene. Nevertheless, they can be divided into three groups in terms of their understanding of works of art. The first group, (e.g. Ali Haydar, Ragıp, Aziz, Selahattin Neşet), thought that if the intention was to create a work of art, then one cannot speak of obscenity. This group further argued that if the intention was to address lustful thoughts, such a writing, picture or sculpture could not be considered as a work of art; therefore it can be regarded as obscene. The second group (e.g. Haydar Rifat and Muallim Vehbi) asserted that concepts of morality or immorality were not relevant to works of art or to artists. Morality and art were distinct and irrelevant concepts for them. The third group (e.g. Hüseyin Rahmi, Çallı İbrahim, İsmail Hakkı) argued that artistic works were reflections of reality and there is no obscenity in nature. For this reason, works of art could not be obscene according to them.

In contrary to those who argued that works of art could not be labelled obscene, Cevdet Ferit [Basman] (1882–1953), who was a lawyer and professor, implicitly argued that in works of art, moments of lust should not be described. He stated that “describing and verbalising moments of lust is, to say the least, ugly. If restricted, art does not flourish but it is necessary to be wary of works which are not read by only a few people” [“şehvet anını tasvir ve ifade, hiç değilse kabihtir. Takyit edilirse sanat yürümez fakat kari mahdut olmayan şeylerde biraz ihtiyatkâr hareket icap eder”] (*Vakit*, 16.05.1929: 2). Similarly, another lawyer, Bahir Bey, wrote that “obscene works are those that display the lustful emotions of the public as being bestial” [“müstehcen yazı ve resimler umumun arzuyu şehvanisini hayvanca gösterenlerdir”] (*Vakit*, 28.05.1929: 2).

Almost all participants agreed that judges should apply to expert opinion before making decisions in obscenity trials on art. For instance, literary experts should prepare a report on sued novels or arts experts should write a report on sued pictures to determine if they are obscene or not.

This survey proves that obscenity was an issue that received attention at the beginning of the republican period. The survey also casts light upon the disagreements between different groups of participants. Writer Sadri Etem [Ertem] stated that the subject of obscenity is a clash of innovative and conservative values. In the same vein,

Hüseyin Rahmi [Gürpınar], who would become a close friend of Avni İnel in the 1940s, indicated that “art is breaking its chains. [...] Today’s uproar belongs to the hypocrisy which regards itself as weak in the struggle.” [“Sanat zincirlerini kırıyor. [...] Bugün kopan gürültüler de, bu mücadelede kendini zayıf gören riyanın yaygaralarıdır”] (*Vakit*, 29.05.1929: 2). It should be noted here that four of the participants were also translators: Hüseyin Rahmi [Gürpınar], Haydar Rifat [Yorulmaz], Mustafa Şekip [Tunç], and İsmail Hakkı [Baltacıoğlu]. Two of them Hüseyin Rahmi and Haydar Rifat<sup>45</sup> produced translations in the literary field while Mustafa Şekip translated academic works on psychology and İsmail Hakkı translated the Qur’an into Turkish.

It is noteworthy that artists, writers, legal experts and translators were the agents who actively participated in the discussions on obscenity, morality and censorship. The two main parties struggled as innovative or conservative forces: the former being tolerant and on the side of the avant-garde characteristics of erotic forms in literature and arts and the latter being the conservative element, attached to more traditional moral values.

### **2.2.3. The Press Law of 1931: A Blow to Erotic Literature**

The Press Law in the republican period came into effect in 1931. The Press Law defined the freedoms and responsibilities of the media and publishers and regulated the freedom of the press and of any other printed material, as stated in Article One.<sup>46</sup> This law was primarily prepared to prevent anti-republican political threats and criticisms against the Republican People’s Party that ruled the country under a single-party regime between 1920 and 1945 (Mazıcı, 1998: 145-147 and Topuz, 2003: 154-158). For instance, Article 40 prohibited communist, anarchist, sultanist and caliphist publications. Additionally, as Nurşen Mazıcı argues, one of the reasons the Press Law

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<sup>45</sup> For a detailed research on Haydar Rifat’s translations, see Çelik, 2014.

<sup>46</sup> “The conditions of freedom of publication and printing depends on the provisions of this law. Its provisions are inclusive of either publications printed in printing houses or all other kinds of writings copied by means of mechanical or human labour or chemical tools along with pictures, music with or without lyrics and gramophone plaques. In this law, such works are called publications. [“Matbuat hürriyeti ve matbu eserler neşri bu kanunda yazılı hükümlere bağlıdır. Bu kanunun hükümleri gerek matbaa gerek başka türlü mihaniki ve kimyevî vasıtalarla veya el ile çoğaltılarak neşredilen yazı, resim, güfteli güftesiz musiki eserleri ve gramofon plâkları gibi eserlere şamildir. Bu kanunda bu gibi eserlere matbua denilir.”] (*Resmî Gazete*, 08.08.1931: 1)

of 1931 enacted was against the obscene, slang and abusive content of newspapers and magazines (Mazıcı: 1998: 146). The Articles on obscenity can be seen as a clue to the on-going production of erotic literature in the 1930s, and show the negative attitude of the state towards ‘obscene’ content as published in the news and other printed texts.<sup>47</sup>

Article 31 of the law included a definition of ‘obscene publications’. Obscene is defined here as “things that hurt the shameful and modesty emotions of the public and are regarded as shameful” [“halkın âr ve haya duygularını inciten ve ayıp sayılan şeylerdir”] (*Resmi Gazete*, 08.07.1931). It seems that Article 31 was attempting to clear up the ambiguity residing in the concept of obscenity as discussed by writers, judges and lawyers in newspapers and magazines. Still, this Article presupposed that the moral values of the public were a homogenous phenomenon and it did not define obscenity in objective terms. For instance, the second paragraph of the Article 31 prescribed a conditional exception for works of art and science:

*A work of art or science that is within the scope of the definition above can be published for the use of those concerned. Such a work is not considered obscene if it is understood by evidence that the work’s subject and shape of the work is related to means of publication and place of publication. (Resmi Gazete, 08.08.1931)*

*[Yukarıki tarîfin şümulüne giren bir san’at veya ilim eseri, alâkadarlarının istifadesi için neşredilir, bu da eserin mevzu ve şekli ile neşir vasıta ve mahallinin nevi ve cinsi arasındaki münasebet kârinelerde anlaşılırsa müstehcen sayılmaz.] (Resmi Gazete, 08.08.1931)*

This conditional exception would later cause debates on whether a publication charged with obscenity was a work of art or not because the law on obscenity regulated that works of art and science could not be regarded as obscene if their relation with their subjects was proven.

Another article, Article 51 concerned the conditions regarding the confiscation of publications. It stated that “publications that include lewd and obscene pictures/photographs can be confiscated by order of public prosecutors” [“Âdaba münafi müstehcen resimleri havi neşriyat Cumhuriyet müddei umumilerinin emrile toplattırılabilir”] (*ibid.*). According to this article, newspapers and magazines that

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<sup>47</sup> Since the political implications of the Press law are out of the scope of this thesis, only articles related to erotic literature are selected for discussion here. For the political discussions about this law see Şentürk 2015.



circulated works of “obscene” nature were to be temporarily closed down and it could be requested from the court to arrest those responsible for the publication, if necessary.<sup>48</sup> Overall, the press law of 1931 clearly appears to be an attempt to be a blow to erotic literature. These articles prove that the state itself was opposed to texts including erotic content. Mete Tunçay states that in the second half of 1931 ten newspapers were temporarily closed down, seventy press offences were prosecuted, and most of the offences were related to obscenity (Tunçay, 1978: 91).

After this Press law came into force in 1931, a major crush on so-called obscene publications took place.<sup>49</sup> Numerous items were published in the newspapers of the period about sued novels, poems, short stories and magazines closed due to obscenity. A selection of these novels are *Şeytanın Kızı* [The Daughter of Satan] (n.d.) by Zeki B. (Vakit, 06.09.1931: 3), *Arzu ile Kanber* [Arzu and Kanber] (n.d.) by Muharrem Zeki (Vakit, 11.09.1931: 3) and a translated work *Bir milyonerin talii* [The Fortune of a Millionaire] by Maurice de Kobra that was serialized in a Romaic newspaper entitled *Apoyevmatini* (Vakit, 11.11.1931:3). Among the magazines tried for obscenity, were *Bıldırıcın* [Quail], *Piliç* [Chick] and *Çapkın Kız* [The Casanova Woman] (Güler, 2007: 256; Akşam, 25.08.1931: 2), *Allo! Allo!* (Vakit, 25.08.1931: 3), *Politika* [Politics] (Vakit, 01.09.1931), *Resimli Şark* [The Illustrated East] (Vakit, 06.09.1931: 3) along with some French humour magazines entitled *Pst* (Vakit, 20.08.1931: 3) *Repüblük* (5 Kasım 1931: 3) published in Turkey.

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<sup>48</sup> “If distribution of a newspaper or magazine is regarded as undesirable, public prosecutors of the republic can request from the judge or the court that conducts the case to temporarily close down the newspaper or the magazine and, if necessary, to arrest the suspects.” [“Müstehcen mahiyetteki neşriyattan dolayı gazete veya mecmuanın intişarı mahzurlu görülürse Cumhuriyet müddei umumiliğince gazete veya mecmuanın muvakkaten tatili ve lüzumu halinde de maznunların tevkifi mahkemenin her safhasında davayı görececek olan mahkeme veya hâkimden istenir.”] *Resmi Gazete*, 08.08.1931: 2)

<sup>49</sup> In addition, a theatre play entitled *Mum Söndü* (Vakit, 15.10.1931: 3), a poetry book by Yaşar Nabi Nayır entitled *İkimiz* [Both of Us] (Vakit, 20.06.1932:3), and some songs (Vakit, 26.03.1933: 4) were also tried for obscenity.

Figure 3: Cover Pages of *Bildircin*, *Piliç*, and *Çapkın Kız* magazines



Source: Erkal, 2014: 42, 44, 45.

The Press Law of 1931, on the one hand, imposed bans on ‘obscene’ content, and on the other hand it promoted the ‘moral’ content in publications. In Article 14 it was claimed that “a letter of appreciation is given by the Ministry of Education to newspapers and magazines that continuously produce works of virtue in scientific and moral publications as a result of the decision of the scientific committee” [“İlmî ve ahlâkî neşriyatı ile devamlı surette fazilete hizmet eden gazete ve mecmualara Darülfünun Divanı kararile Maarif Vekâleti tarafından takdimname verilir”] (*Resmî Gazete*, 08.08.1931). This Article is also an indicator of the relationship established by the State between education and morality. It might be inferred that the state was opposed to obscenity for educational reasons rather than religious or traditional ones. To this end, it appears that not only some men of letters, but also the state was in active resistance against obscenity at the beginning of the 1930s.

Another example is the translated novel entitled *Rahipler ve Rahibeler Arasında* [Between Priests and Priestesses] by Vâlâ Nureddin (1901-167) which was serialized in the newspaper *Akşam*. The novel was sued in August, 11 1931 just following the publication of the law in the official gazette.<sup>50</sup> The source text and author

<sup>50</sup> Even though this trial was regarded as the first trial of an obscene publication in the republican period (Kavaklı, 2005: 79), this information is simply wrong. It was the first trial following the enacting of the press law of 1931. It is known that there had been some trials in the 1920s, as discussed in earlier sections.

were not stated in the newspaper but it was stated that the story was transferred [*nakil*] by Vâlâ Nureddin.

Vâlâ Nureddin, during his questioning in the trial, stated that his criterion for the understanding of obscenity was based on European publications, since he chose the ones that were not found obscene in Europe<sup>51</sup> (*Cumhuriyet* 16.08.1931: 2). Following this statement, the judge asked Nureddin whether he translated the text literally<sup>52</sup> (*ibid.*) and Nureddin stated that he used two source texts (one French, one Russian) in his translation, he omitted some parts from both source texts and he created another text at the end (*ibid.*).<sup>53</sup> Thus, he combined some selected parts of two translated novels and he produced another novel which he calls “*telif*” (a sui generis practice covering many kinds of translational and creative mediations practiced in the Ottoman period). As claimed by Saliha Paker, *telif* is “an equivocal term used in modern Turkish scholarship to describe the literary status of a work [...] does not signify “originality” but creative mediation, an inventive form of translation” (Paker, 2011: 460). Complementing Paker's work on translational practices and concepts, Cemal Demircioğlu focuses on the 19th century and shows the boundaries between translation and the original item still remained blurred in Ottoman literary practices at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Demircioğlu 2005, 2009). Demircioğlu further discovered that the relationships between source and target texts were identified and named in an even richer variety that they were ever before (Demircioğlu 2005, 2006, 2009).<sup>54</sup>

Scholars have shown that the blurred boundaries between translation and original production in the Ottoman period continued well into the early republican period. Tahir-Gürçağlar calls these cases the “borderline cases” suggesting that “adaptations, abridgements and vulgarizations, not to mention borderline cases such

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<sup>51</sup> “My scale for obscenity is works published in Europe. I took my criteria from them. I write texts that are not obscene in Europe.” [“Müstehcen bahsinde benim mikyaslarım Avrupa’da neşredilen eserlerdir. Ölçülerimi onlardan alıyorum. Orada müstehcen olmıyan yazıları yazıyorum.” (*Cumhuriyet* 16.08.1931: 2)

<sup>52</sup> “Do you translate literally?” [“Aynen mi tercüme ediyorsunuz?”]

<sup>53</sup> “Sir, the novel which is the subject matter of this trial is in part taken from a novel while another part is adapted from another novel. Neither of these novels are obscene and my work is a translation. One of the novels I translated from is French while the other is Russian. I compiled these two works. One of these novels included wizardry and I omitted such parts.” [“Efendim davaya mevzu olan romanın bir kısmı bir romandan alınmış, diğer bir kısmı da başka bir romandan iktibas edilmiştir. Bunların ikisi de müstehcen değildir ve eser tercümedir. Bu romanın bir tanesi fransızcadır diğeri de rusçadır. Bunların ikisini telif ettim. Romanın birinde sihirbazlık vardı, o kısmı tayyettim.”] (*Cumhuriyet* 16.08.1931: 2).

<sup>54</sup> Such as “*nakl, iktibas, taklid, tanzir, tefsir, şerh, tahvil, hülasa*” (Demircioğlu 2005; 2016)

as pseudotranslations, were considered as concepts belonging under the umbrella term ‘translation’ in Turkey (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008a: 127). Complementary to Tahir-Gürçağlar, Müge Işıklar Koçak (2007, 2015) and Ceyda Özmen (2010) show that these diverse forms of text production can be observed in non-literary popular texts and translated popular cinema novels in the early republican period in Turkey. My research has revealed that diverse forms of translational practice seem to be valid for erotic popular literature too. Furthermore, this kind of translational practice was been used as an excuse by Vâlâ Nureddin to defend himself as the translator of the book. Since these texts were translations and the originals were not seen as erotic and obscene in their home countries, Nureddin claimed that he could not be blamed for the production of the text. Thus, it would not be wrong to suggest that translation was used by some translator-writers as a tool of resistance in the obscenity trials.

#### **2.2.4. The First Turkish Publishing Congress in 1939**

The First Turkish Publishing Congress was held from 01-05 May 1939 in Ankara by the Ministry of Education. Its aim, as stated by the minister-in-office Hasan Âli Yücel, was to “seriously review printing and publishing issues in the whole country with the contributions of all official or private interested parties and to determine the main principles and methods to be followed by the state and by individuals.” [“Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi, memleketin her yerinde basım ve yayın işlerinin – resmî, hususi – bütün alâkahılarca fikir ve emek katılarak ciddî surette gözden geçirilmesi ve ana prensiplerle devlet ve fertçe takip edilecek usullerin tesbit olunması düşünülerek toplanmıştı”] (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939: 1). The state’s involvement in the publishing industry was in general met with approval and eagerness by the media (ibid: 135-266). The state’s involvement also covered translations, since, as stated by Tahir-Gürçağlar, “intellectuals complained about the lack of quality translations in Turkey and openly called for state involvement in this field in the 1930s and 1940s” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2015: 128). For Tahir-Gürçağlar, the First Turkish Publishing Congress was not only an attempt to plan and organize the publishing sector but also a striking example of “culture planning” in Even-Zohar’s terms, because publications were regarded as a tool of westernization and education by the state in the 1940s in Turkey (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008a: 105-107). The participants at the congress included

private publishers, writers, deputies, newspaper representatives, and academics. The congress was comprised of seven committees, including the Translation Committee, the Youth and Children's Literature Committee and the Publication Programme Committee. In this section, I will draw attention to the discussions on morality at the congress.

The duty of the Youth and Children's Literature Committee, as was discussed in the congress, was to plan what to publish, translate and write for children and young people. Their report clearly reflected the importance participants gave to morality. The concepts of morality and decency were emphasised a few times in their report (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939: 80, 83, 85, 86). As stated in the report, for children, works that imbue moral and social rules should be produced (ibid: 83), and movies should have the same moral and decent content (ibid. 86). In addition to morality, youth literature should teach sexual decency, as argued by the committee (ibid.). It appears from the report of the committee that their aim was to create moral norms in society by presenting texts to children and young people including these norms.

Following the announcement of the report, one of the participants, Refik Şevket İnce (1885-1955), the deputy of Manisa, voiced his concerns over immoral content of newspapers and humour magazines as follows:

*The Turkish nation has its own understanding of morality, pudicity and chastity. Its national identity that distinguishes it from other nations is its past. In this respect, I request from the committee to attach importance, in its capacity as a father, to newspapers and especially humour magazines that are read at homes. [...] We come across caricatures that display pictures which are far from the family order that we have dwelt on a lot. These caricatures can cause immoral thoughts in our children's minds. [...] In order to prevent the negative emotions that free French magazines can cause, [...] we need to be on alert. (Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi, 1939: 87)*

*[Türk milletinin kendisine göre ahlâk, namus, iffet telâkkisi vardır. Başka milletlerden ayıran millî mevcudiyeti mazisidir. Bu bapta gazetelerde çıkacak yazı ve mecmualar ve bilhassa mizahî mecmualar, evlerde okunmak vaziyetinde bulunan gazete ve mecmualar, çocukların ahlâki vaziyeti üzerinde bir baba sıfatı ile dün olduğu gibi bugün dahi ehemmiyet vermelerini rica ederim. [...] Öyle karikatürlere rast geliyoruz ki bunlar içinde, üzerinde çok tevakkuf ettiğimiz aile rabitasından uzak [...] resimler. Bunlar öyle şeylerdir ki çocukların kafasında gayri ahlâki düşüncelere sebebiyet verebilir. [...] bilhassa Fransız mecmualarının serbest sahifelerinin Türk çocuğundaki menfi hislere mani olmak [...] için çok uyanık durmak lazımdır.] (Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi, 1939: 87)*

By referring to past events and underlining concepts such as morality and chastity, İnce, as a member of parliament argued that newspapers and magazines published mainly for adults could be harmful to the moral values of the children and youth. But there were also opposing voices. For instance, in the same period the caricaturist Ramiz Gökçe (1900-1953) argued that magazines did not harm the moral values of children and they “have helped the reform movement in the country for 15-20 years more than other newspapers” [15-20 seneden beri bu gibi mecmualar inkılâba diğer gazetlerden daha çok yardım etmişlerdir] (ibid: 88). Another example is İsmail Hakkı Baltacıoğlu (1886-1978), who was also among the participants of the survey by Refik Ahmet Sevengil in 1929. He defended the freedom of art and, opposing İnce, he stated that aesthetic values were as important as moral ones (ibid: 95).<sup>55</sup>

Yet still the voices of the ones defending the importance of texts including moral values was higher. Participating in the debate on morality, sociologist Nusret Köymen (1903-1964) stated that:

*Humorous newspapers and bawdy stories existed in the past too. Everyone knows that. However, there was a social control at that time. Now, the border of this social control is exceeded. This is an issue of social conscience. [...] The most important word for children is “shame”. With this word, we can **control the minds** of children from its first phase until youth. (my emphasis) (ibid: 89)*

*[Eskiden de mizah gazeteleri vardı. O zamanda [sic.] açık hikâyeler mevcuttu. Bunlar herkesin bildiği şeylerdir. Yalnız o zaman maşerî bir kontrol da vardı. Şimdi onların hududu aşıldı. Bu bir maşerî vicdan meselesidir. [...] Çocuk için en mühim şey ayıp kelimesidir. Çocuk şuurunu ilk devresinden gençlik çağına kadar bu kelime ile **kontrol edebiliriz.**] (my emphasis) (ibid: 89)*

Köymen’s suggestion of “controlling the minds of children” indicates a prescriptive perspective and his emphasis on “the social control mechanism” can be interpreted as a call to regulate social norms regarding moral values. In other words, he aims to dynamize a control over erotic repertoire through structural censorship, which is not constituted by the law but “constituted by the very structure of the field in which the discourse is produced and circulates” (Bourdieu, 1991: 137). He also mentioned a social control mechanism which, in his view, was not working properly

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<sup>55</sup> “However, here we face a value as important as morality. It is the freedom of art.” [“Ancak burada ahlâk kadar büyük bir değerle karşılaştığımız bir kıymet vardır ki o da san’atin hürriyetidir.”] (Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi, 1939: 95)

at the time congress was held. Köymen's claim further indicates that he desires a control over the habitus of young people in order to protect them from 'bawdy' works.

These varying perspectives on morality, art and indecency discussed in the congress imply not only personal but also social disagreements on these concepts. Two concepts that come face to face in most of the discussions are morality and art.

The First Publishing Congress, as displayed by Tahir-Gürçağlar, was an open manifestation of the state's culture planning efforts mainly through translation (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008a: 105-107). In order to create a westernized Turkish culture called "Turkish humanism", an attempt was made to use translated literature as an instrument of culture planning by establishing a state-sponsored Translation Bureau which systematically translated western classics into Turkish. In the Congress "state officials and intellectuals made "patronizing statements about what the 'people' needed to read and, in essence, what they needed to 'become' culturally and intellectually" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002/2008: 183). Tahir-Gürçağlar also claims that "[b]y defining canonicity in terms of the lists it prepared and its translations, the Bureau distinguished high literature from low or popular literature" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008a: 72). Erotic literature was obviously not amongst high literature in the state sponsored culture planners' view and they were not tolerant of it. On the contrary, "intellectuals and writers of 'high literature' largely overlooked popular literature and regarded it as a field dominated by commercial concerns and regulated by popular demand, rather than as an effort to advance the cultural level of the readership." (ibid: 258). For instance, Ahmet Ağaoğlu, in an article published in *İkdam* on 21 April 1934 stated that youth today can randomly read detective stories, accounts of prostitution and desire novels and he questions the usefulness of such literature to young people.<sup>56</sup> (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939: 171). Ağaoğlu's perspective shows that detective stories and novels with erotic motifs were seen as inferior or low literature. Ağaoğlu's statement further indicates that erotic literature still existed despite a number of cases brought against its producers after the Press Law of 1931, which was discussed in the previous section. Producers of erotic literature do not seem to have engaged in discussions in

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<sup>56</sup> "Today the youth can find all kinds of things. Anything from detective stories to crime stories. How can such works enlighten them?" ["Bugün gençliğin eline gelişi güzel her şey geçebilir. Polis ve cürüm romanlarından fuhuş ve şehvet hikâyelerine kadar her şey! Bu gibi eserlerden gençlik hangi feyzi alsın?"] (*Birinci Türk Neşriyat Kongresi*, 1939: 171).

order to defend themselves but they obviously kept producing erotic literature. Avni İnel was an exception to this suggestion, as will be discussed in the next chapter.

### **2.2.5. A Sensational Obscenity Trial in 1939-1940: The Case of *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* (1896) in Turkish**

The obscenity trial over a retranslation of Pierre Louÿs' (1870-1925) *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* (1896) in 1939-1940 was probably the most sensational and conspicuous case that had nationwide public repercussions. Literary historian Metin Kayahan Özgül argues that the Aphrodite case was “one of the longest, the most extensive and the most lively trials of our literary world” [“Edebiyat dünyamızın en uzun, en kapsamlı ve en hareketli muhakemelerinden biri”] (Özgül, 2008: 87) and journalist Tekin Erer humorously claims that the case was discussed more than the outbreak of the Second World War in the media (Erer, 1965: 65).

Upon Nasuhi Baydar's, a member of the Parliament then, retranslation of *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* under the title *Afrodit: Eski Âdetler* at the end of 1939, the Sultanahmet Criminal Court of Peace brought a suit against the book on grounds of obscenity.<sup>57</sup> According to the public prosecutor Kenan Onat, some obscene additions that did not exist in the source text were made to the translation (Kurdakul, 1992: 50 and Özgül, 2008: 87), and the reasons for the trial seem to be these alleged additions. The translator Nasuhi Baydar, in response to the accusation, claimed that he translated the book from a complete edition and “there is not a single line of addition in the translation” (*Cumhuriyet*, 24.02.1940: 1). As İrem Üstünsöz describes in her article, the court decided to consult an expert to make a decision about the translation and it chose the historian and author İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, as the expert witness (Üstünsöz, 2015:222). Konyalı wrote a report concluding that the book included additions which were obscene. Following Konyalı's report, the book was confiscated from the market and publisher Semih Lûtfi Erciyas and printer Kenan Dinçman were sent to trial on 19 December 1939. Üstünsöz suggests that since the translator Nasuhi Baydar was a member of parliament he had a “legislative immunity arising from his status” (ibid.).

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<sup>57</sup> Nasuhi Baydar's translation was in fact a retranslation, since Pierre Louÿs' *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* was translated into Turkish for the first time in the Ottoman period in 1913 under the title of *Afrodit Yâni Zühre* [Aphrodite or Venus] by Süleyman Tevfik. (1861-1939).



For this reason he was not among the defendants, but the court made an application to start a lawsuit against him too (*Cumhuriyet*, 20.12.1939: 2).

My research in the newspapers and magazines of the period has revealed that in the course of the trial numerous news, criticisms and discussions were published and many prominent men of letters voiced their opinions on the trial of *Aphrodite*. As will be discussed below, an overwhelming majority of them from different political opinions opposed and criticised the charge of obscenity against the book. Among them there were conservative authors who criticised the increase of erotic novels and emphasised the concept of morality. One of the conservative authors, Peyami Safa (1899-1961) stated that:

*[...] throwing beautiful Aphrodite out of Turkish borders would be equal to dismissing the virgin beauty this name represents in Greek mythology. Even though its antagonist is a prostitute, this novel is under the protection of the god of beauty and, in short, is completely a work of art. (Safa, 7.12.1939: 3)*

*[...] güzel Afrodit'i Türk hududlarından dışarı atmak, Yunan mitolojisinde bu ismin temsil ettiği mücerred güzelliği koğmağa bedel bir hareket olur. Kahramanı bir fahişe bile olsa bu roman, güzellik tanrısının himayesi altındadır ve, kısacası tam bir san'at eseridir.] (Safa, 7.12.1939: 3)*

As mentioned previously, the press law of 1931 stated that works of art or science were out of the scope of obscenity if their artistic value was evidenced. By stressing that the novel was a work of art and benefiting from the Press Law, Safa implied during the trials that this work could not be labelled as obscene. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, a radical Islamist writer, similar to Safa, in an article written in December 19, 1939 stated that “this time, the work that they want to label as obscene has been translated into all civilized languages, has a high artistic value and is one of the rare examples of prose” [“Bu defa göğsüne müstehcen yaftası takılmak istenen eser, bütün medeni dillere tercüme edilmiş, yüksek sanat değerinde, sayılı nesir örneklerinden birisi”] (Kısakürek, 2010). It is worth noting that Kısakürek had written a number of articles on the harms of what he called “prostitution literature” [“fuhuş edebiyatı”] and criticised Avni İnel for his publications of this nature, as will be discussed in the next sections. But in this particular case, Kısakürek did not include the *Aphrodite* novel among this type of “prostitution literature”. While Kısakürek and Safa thought that the work was not obscene because of its artistic quality, Sadri Ertem argued that art and

morality are irrelevant concepts and art is not for the benefit of neither morality nor immorality (Ertem, 19.12.1939: 3).<sup>58</sup>

Almost all of the newspapers and men of letters, with the exception of a small group of people, criticised the confiscation of the book.<sup>59</sup> In addition to Safa, Kısakürek and Ertem, among the men of letters that voiced their concern over the confiscation of *Afrodite*, there were very important figures of Turkish literature such as Vâlâ Nureddin, Refik Halit Karay, Sabiha Sertel, Hüseyin Cahid Yalçın and Halid Fahri Ozansoy. Another point the majority agreed upon was that expert witness İbrahim Hakkı Konyalı, as a historian, was not suitable to be the expert on this literary work. In the first hearing defendants stated that Konyalı was not qualified to be the expert witness in this case and requested a new expert witness. To clarify the issue, the judge decided to take the opinion of a group of literary academicians as expert witnesses. The second expert witnesses report prepared by these three academicians stated that the book was an important work of art and therefore was not obscene (*Cumhuriyet*, 11.01.1940: 5 and 06.02.1940:1). Because of the two contradictory reports, the book was sent to the Turkish Education Board for a third report. It was stated in newspapers that the courtroom was full of young citizens who were there to support the defendants. The third report prepared by the Turkish Education Board also concluded that the book was not obscene and acquitted the defendants in 24 February 1940, deciding to hand confiscated copies back to the publisher. Üstünsöz states that a new wave of charges started to be brought against the newspapers and men of letters that had protested the trial of *Aphrodite* on the grounds of attempting to influence the course of the trial and humiliating the public prosecutor (Üstünsöz, 2015: 223).

The case of *Aphrodite*, with all the criticisms and cases it brought about, became a very popular subject in 1940 and enormously increased the sales of the book following the acquittal. Naci Sadullah (1910-1975) wrote a humorous poem during the course of the trials which drew attention to the increasing popularity of *Aphrodite* among the public in these words:

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<sup>58</sup> Obscenity cannot enter to borders of art works because essentially art is not related to morality or immorality and a real work of art advocates neither a moral value nor immorality.” [“Müstehtecen sanat eseri hududuna giremez, çünkü sanat haddizatında ahlâk veya ahlâksızlıkla alakalı değilse de hakiki sanat eseri ne bir ahlâkın ne de ahlâksızlığın avukatı değildir.”] (Ertem, 19.12.1939: 3)

<sup>59</sup> For instance, Ziyaoğlu (1940) argues that the book has no literary value.

*O beauty, o beautiful fairy  
In the end of the day, someone is very lucky  
When the trial ends, our friend Semih Lütfi  
Thanks to us will have thousands of clients* (Sadullah in Erer, 1965: 68)

*[Ey güzeller güzeli, ey güzeller perisi  
Var bu işin sonunda pek talihli birisi  
Bil ki dâva bitince, bizim Semih Lütfi'nin  
Sayemizde olacak binlerce müşterisi.]* (Sadullah in Erer, 1965: 68)

Indeed, the *Aphrodite* novel sold thousands of copies following its acquittal in 1940. The trial, which had the aim of banning the book, increased the popularity of the book without restraint. Another proof of its increasing popularity was the numerous retranslations which followed its acquittal, including a retranslation by Avni İnsel<sup>60, 61</sup>. In addition to three retranslations in the same year, translators such as Vâlâ Nurettin and Peyami Safa were also encouraged to produce a retranslation, but they declined (Vâ-Nû, 1940: 3). Vâlâ Nurettin also claims that “fake” Aphrodites were also published (ibid.), which is an indication that pseudotranslated Aphrodite novels might have been published, clearly indicating the popularity of the book in the literary repertoire. Therefore it would not be wrong to suggest that this obscenity trial had the reverse effect of providing enormous popularity for a piece of erotic fiction, and actually fuelled public interest in the novel.

The Aphrodite case is not unique to Turkey. The novel aroused interest and became a subject of legal cases in many countries and caused heated debates in other countries concerning its status on being an obscene fiction or a work of art. For instance, the novel was translated into English first in 1925 and, as with the case in Turkey, it was sued for being obscene in the USA (Sova 2006:30). There, against the defence reports saying it was among the classics, the book dealer and the distribution

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<sup>60</sup> *Afrodit: Eski Örf ve Adetler* [Aphrodite: Old Manners and Customs] (1939) was published by Hilmi publishing house. Avni İnsel, the translator of the retranslation, wrote a preface to this translation in 1937 and it was stated in the book that it was published in 1939, however this information seems to be wrong. Even though Özgül (2008: 87) argues that İnsel's translation of *Aphrodite* was published earlier than Nasuhi Baydar's translation (which was published in 1939), he does not cite a direct source. According to my research, the earliest advertisements I could find about İnsel's translation are from 1940. In addition, in many columns on the *Aphrodite* trial, the only translation mentioned earlier than Baydar's translation was the one translated in 1913 by Süleyman Tevfik. The date of the preface in İnsel's translation indicates that İnsel might have started translating *Aphrodite* earlier than Nasuhi Baydar, but still it was published after Baydar's translation.

<sup>61</sup> Three different retranslations were published in 1940: *Afrodit*. Trans. Daniş Remzi Korok. İstanbul: Kultur Yayınları; *Afrodit*. Trans. Kâ-gu. İstanbul: Celtut. İstanbul: Yeni Çığır; *Afrodit: Eski Örf ve Adetler*. Trans. Avni İnsel. İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi.

company lost the case and paid the fine of \$250 for violating state laws against obscene literature (ibid.) But then the novel was retranslated and published again without challenge in 1933, even though this time U.S. Customs prevented attempts to import a deluxe edition in 1935.

Similar to the other *Aphrodite* cases, in Turkey the trial of *Aphrodite* on grounds of obscenity had a tremendous impact amongst the public and the media in 1939-1940. However, *Aphrodite* was by no means the first and only book that was sued on grounds of obscenity in the Turkish context. The question of why *Aphrodite* created so many repercussions while other translated or indigenous books tried for obscenity did not, deserves an answer. On this issue, Üstünsöz claims that firstly, Nasuhi Baydar's identity as a politician inevitably turned the case into a political one (Üstünsöz, 2015:223). Moreover, secondly, Üstünsöz asserts that "this particular case became a medium to emphasise the pro-western perspective of the young republic, thus gaining a symbolic significance for the supporters of republican ideals" (ibid.). Thus for Üstünsöz, this book was evaluated within the framework of westernization and modernization attempts after the proclamation of the Turkish Republic and was seen as one of the symbols of the modernization project in this context (ibid.). This argument then postulates that this political environment enhanced the status of an erotic text to a work of art. I suggest that there could be an additional reason for the acquittal of the novel. In the early republican period, it was the supporters of the republican ideals themselves that prepared the Criminal Code in 1926 and the Press Law in 1931. Both laws include articles against "obscene" publications. Therefore, the supporters of the republican ideals did not seem to be completely liberal in terms of sexuality or eroticism in literary works. In my opinion, one of the main reasons for the attention *Aphrodite* drew was its assumed status as a work of high artistic value. *Aphrodite*, unlike most of the other books sued for obscenity in the Turkish cultural context, was not regarded as low or popular erotic literature as defended in the trials. On the contrary, it was regarded as a masterpiece of world literature by the experts, and that's why this novel seems to have been regarded as compatible with the state's culture planning attempts in the 1930s and the 1940s.

After the acquittal of the *Aphrodite* novel many erotic novels continued to be published along with new *Aphrodite* retranslations. Thus the acquittal appears to have

encouraged other agents in the field of cultural production to publish new books that might be considered “obscene” according to the law. Yet, as will be discussed in the next section, a considerable amount of complaints and criticisms were voiced by some men of letters against the “obscene” literary publications, complaining about the collapse of public moral values further in the 1940s and following decades.

#### **2.2.6. Discourse on Obscenity and Public Morality in the 1940s and 1950s**

Public morality seems to be the most recurrent concept that was held against erotic literature in both the Ottoman and the early republican periods in Turkey. Censorship attempts had been justified by the cause of the morality of Turkish youth and children. For this reason, concepts of morality and obscenity came face to face in a number of cases as displayed above. In this section, arguing that the importance attached to the concept of morality by conservative and nationalist circles gained momentum in the 1940s and the 1950s, I will problematize the concept of morality as discussed within these circles. Besides, the years in question were the most prolific years of Avni İnel both as a translator and publisher.

One of the writers in the early republican period who placed an emphasis on morality was Peyami Safa. He wrote a number of articles discussing morality published in many magazines and newspapers between 1940 and 1960. Safa started voicing his concerns over the collapse of public morality in 1942 (Safa, 1999: 70). Having argued that Turkey and most of the world were going through a crisis of morality, Safa claimed religion is a vital component of morality. Most of his concerns were about crime, greed, prostitution, indecent behaviour of the youth (such as exaggerated makeup, being physically too close to the opposite sex) and obscene literature. In a newspaper article written in 1958, Safa argued that erotic literature caused an increase in the rate of child crimes:

*Ugly implications and even crystal clear obscene words that were introduced into our literature with the claim of “new art” and toilet/brothel literature that inattentive people applaud and publish in their newspapers and magazines does not stay on paper; it injects viruses into innocent children’s imagination, makes its impact and increases child crimes. (Safa, 1999: 107)*

*[“Yeni san’at” iddiası altında edebiyatımızın nazım ve nesir nevilerine uzun yıllardanberi [sic.] sokulan çirkin imalar, hatta apaçık müstehcen kelimeler, gafillerin alkışladıkları, gazetelerinde ve dergilerinde yayınladıkları, mükâfatlar kazandırdıkları abdesthane ve genelev edebiyatı, kâğıt üzerinde kalmıyor, masum*

*çocuk hayallerine virüslerini dolduruyor, tesirlerini yapıyor ve çocuk suçlarını arttırıyor.] (Safa, 1999: 107)*

By mortifying erotic literature, Safa further claimed that communists poisoned the youth through their unions and obscene literature, under the mask of new literature (ibid.). However, Safa was not the first one to correlate obscenity and communism. Back in 1949, a nationalist group called “Turkish Hearths” [*Türk Ocakları*] announced a notice on “obscene” literature as Cemal Oğuz Öcal informs us in *Büyük Doğu* magazine:

*Hands that attack the moral and holy values of the nation should be broken. In these days new laws are being legislated to cope with radical leftism. We suppose it is time to stamp out [obscene] publications and movements which are as dangerous as communism and, to be more precise, lay the groundwork for communism. Such publications and movements are destructive to morality and family unity. (“Turkish Hearths” in Öcal, 1949: 127)*

*[Milletin ahlâkına ve mukaddesatına uzanan eller, artık kırılmalıdır. Aşırı solculukla savaş için kanun çıkarılan şu sırada, en az onun kadar tehlikeli olan, daha doğru bir deyişle, onun yerleşmesi için zemin hazırlıyan, ahlâk ve aile müessesini yıkıcı [müstehcen] neşriyat ve hareketlerin de başı ezilmek zamanı gelmiştir sanıyoruz.] (Turkish Hearths in Öcal, 1949: 127)*

It is known that communism was regarded as both an internal and external threat in Turkey during the Cold War period (1947-1991) (Uslu, 2004: 21). Even though the content of popular erotic literature had nothing to do with communism, it was regarded as a yardstick of the communist movement generally by some conservative writers. The group called “Turkish Hearths” also claimed that obscene literature existed in different forms such as the novel, the story, photography and even scientific works (ibid.). Thus, their perception of obscenity was not only related to literary works, but also other text types, which shows that morality was viewed as a social problem rather than a purely literary one by this nationalist group. Cemal Oğuz Öcal, apart from quoting “Turkish Hearths”, expressed his own opinions on erotic publications and overtly accused them of being publicised only for commercial reasons. He further argued that obscene publications corrupt innocent children and virtuous Turkish women in the following words:

*One of the troubles of this valuable and holy land is “obscene publications”. It is such a trouble that it becomes more gangrenous day by day instead of healing over time. [...] These detrimental periodicals, magazines and books, which were published only with commercial concerns, compete with each other to do*

*whatever necessary, and even more, to throw our innocent children and virtuous Turkish women off a cliff and lead them to disaster. (Öcal, 1949: 126)*

*[Bu aziz ve mübarek vatanın dertlerinden biri de “müstehcen neşriyat” derdidir. Öyle bir dert ki, gündün güne şifa bulacak yerde, bilâkis, gittikçe gangren olmakta. [...] Sırf kazanç maksadiyle çıkarılan bu muzır mecmua, magazin ve kitaplar; masum yavrularımızla namuslu aile kadınlarını felâket ve uçuruma sürüklemek için ne yapmak lâzımsa, birbirleriyle yarışarak, fazlasıyla yapmaktadırlar.] (Öcal, 1949: 126)*

Öcal’s claims indicate that criticisms against erotic literature rose as a result of an increase in erotic publications. Later claiming that “everything, even freedom has its limits” [“her şeyin hatta hürriyetin bile bir haddi, hududu vardır.”] (ibid.), Öcal called on state officials to stop “obscene publications”. His call can safely be interpreted as a call for imposing censorship against erotic literature. His tone was harsh and aggressive and he described the producers of erotic literature as the “cursed and abominable enemies” [“mel’un ve menfur düşman”]. His words and tone prove how fierce and ferocious the criticisms against erotic literature were in the late 1940s.

Similarly to the institutionalized opinion announced by the nationalist group and those expressed by Öcal, Hüseyin Nihal Atsız (1905-1975), a prominent Turkish representative of the extreme nationalist movement in Turkey, argued in a magazine article written in 1942 that bars, balls, beauty contests are like “slaughter houses of morality” (Atsız, 1958: 69-70).<sup>62</sup> Atsız further argued that adopting European standards of morality caused harm to the Turkish nation and encouraging national/traditional standards in all areas of life is necessary (ibid: 63).

Criticisms against erotic literature and eroticism as an option in the culture repertoire were not limited to those voiced in nationalist circles. For instance, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek, champion of Islamic extremism in the period in question, was another writer who voiced his concerns over morality in the 1940s. In his article published in the magazine *Büyük Doğu* (1946), Kısakürek claimed that the collapse of moral values in literature started following the new westernized literary movement in the Ottoman Empire called *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (New Literature) between 1896 and 1901 and had continued until today. Kısakürek’s claim coincides with the dates popular erotic literature started to appear in the Ottoman period. Kısakürek implied that the

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<sup>62</sup> “Places such as bars, tavernas, balls and beauty contests, which are slaughterhouses of morality and vilenesses should be prohibited in Turkey.” [“Millî ahlâkın mezbahası olan bar, meyhâne, balo gibi yerler ve güzellik kıraliçesi seçimi gibi rezâletler Türkiye’de yasak edilmelidir.”] (Atsız, 1958: 69-70)

westernization movement was the main reason for the ‘morality crisis’ in society (Kısakürek, 2014: 56-73). Furthermore, Kısakürek’s magazine entitled *Büyük Doğu* [The Big East] which was published intermittently between 1943 and 1978, several times criticised erotic productions in a column entitled “Through the Lens” [Adesenin gözüyle] in the late 1940s. As can be seen in the figure below, some books were labelled as “prostitution literature” with a caption at the top of the book covers.

**Figure 4:** Selections from *Büyük Doğu* magazine



Source: *Büyük Doğu*, 05.03.1948: 3 and *Büyük Doğu*, 02.01.1948.

Another man of letters who criticised erotic literature in the 1940s was Nurullah Ataç (1898-1957), a prominent critic and translator of the period. Ataç, as with Öcal, pointed out the commercial concerns behind popular erotic literature and claimed that such works would never be among the immortal works of literature. In an article published in the newspaper *Ulus* on 12 August 1946, he claimed:



*Are we going to tolerate those who write bawdy and ugly novels for earning money? As a matter of fact, there is no novel or book written only for immorality but still was beautiful and became one of the immortal works [...]. But we know that today, as in earlier years, some bawdy and ugly novels are written only to be read by many. Do not such writers gross us out? (Ataç, 2008: 118-119)*

*[“[B]ugün para kazanmak kaygısıyla birtakım açık, çirkin romanlar yazan kimselerin yaptıklarını hoş mu göreceğiz? Doğrusunu isterseniz, salt ahlâksızlık için yazılmış, gene de güzel olup ölmez eserler arasına karışmış kitap, roman yoktur [...]. Ama dün olduğu gibi bugün de birtakım açık, çirkin romanların ancak çok okunsun diye, salt para kazanmak isteğiyle yazıldıklarını biliyoruz. Öyle yazanlar içimizde bir tiksinti uyandırmıyor mu?”] (Ataç, 2008: 118-119)*

Ataç’s claims show that many erotic novels were sold and those who wrote and published them earned a lot of money. I think that was why erotic novels were still produced, despite the fact that it was dangerous to publish them and brought about both social and legal sanctions.

Safa, Atsız and Kısakürek were three writers among many others who wrote dozens of magazine articles on morality in the 1940s and 1950s. The magazine *Sebilürreşad*, which was issued by Eşref Edip Fergan in the 1940s, included many articles written by men of letters in this period. However, the concept of morality in most of these writings was quite a flexible concept, defined only with its assumed opposites such as obscenity, gambling, greed, and westernization by conservative and nationalist writers.

Not only those in nationalist and conservative circles, but also the CHP (Republican People’s Party), the pro-westernist ruling party, was involved in active resistance against obscene publications. In a party group report prepared by parliament members on “obscene” publications in 1944 it was stated that: “Today obscene publications are regarded as a danger that threatens societies and avoiding its harms is a subject for international collaboration” [“Müstehcen yayınlar da bugün uyuşturucu maddeler gibi insan cemiyetlerini tehdit eden bir tehlike sayılmakta ve zararlarının önlenmesi milletler arası işbirliğinin mevzuu olmaktadır.”] (*Akşam*, 12.04.1944: 3). The report suggested three solutions to end obscene publications. First, they suggested that the law, which regarded works of art and science as exempt from accusations of obscenity, should be clarified and a standard should be set for works of art and science as some obscene works which label themselves as works of art or science got away without any sanctions. Secondly, it is argued in the report that judges in obscenity

cases should not consult expert reports on whether a work is obscene or not but make the decisions themselves. The judges should consult expert opinion only to be informed about the “degree of a work’s value in the field of science or art” [“ilim ve sanat sahasındaki değerin derecesini öğrenmek için”] (ibid.). Thirdly, the report asserted that the trials of obscene publications should be made privately because public trials increased the popularity of a work charged with obscenity. These suggestions clearly indicate the ruling party’s intentions to end erotic publications. This suggestion was, without a doubt, about the *Aphrodite* novel. By making trials private, it can be claimed that the members of the ruling party aimed to prevent public reactions against obscenity trials.

Besides the novels, the films produced in this period also faced censorship. Yet, in contrast to published works of art, films were subjected to pre-censorship. Both imported and Turkish films to be released were inspected by a committee consisting of policemen and bureaucrats. According to the Regulation on the Control of Films and Film Scripts, which came into force in 1939, films that were harmful to public decency, public morals and national feelings were not to be released (Özon and İçel in Çiftçi, 2001: 23). In addition, movies that made religious propaganda, humiliated Turkish military officers, lampooned a race or nation and promoted crime were also prohibited (ibid.).

In the light of the above information, it could be suggested that the period from the 1940s to the 1960s was characterized by stronger opposition to erotic literature or obscenity in comparison to the period before the 1940s. Discourse produced by men of letters opposing erotic literature shows that along with official censorship applied by the state, an attempt of structural censorship was also in force in the 1940s. It would not be unreasonable to argue that producers of anti-erotic discourse in the literary field aim to exercise structural censorship through social sanctions. Nationalist and Islamist groups on the one hand and the state on the other, explicitly, and in some cases, aggressively criticised the production of erotic literature. In my opinion, this opposition was a response to the increase of erotic productions. However, producers of erotic options in the repertoire did not seem to take any heed of the criticisms and continued to produce such works.

### 2.2.7. Expanding debates on obscenity in the 1960s and 1970s in various fields of cultural production

Obscenity continued to be an increasingly central subject of debate in Turkey in the 1960s and 1970s. Erotic literary texts were abundantly published and discussed within the framework of morality and censorship, as in the previous periods. Magazines such as *Peri* [The Fairy] (*Milliyet*, 11.04.1962: 5), *Flaş* [Flash] (*Milliyet*, 23.06.1974: 8), *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi* [Milliyet Art Magazine] (*Milliyet*, 16.07.1974: 8) and books such as *Körpe Günahkâr* [Young Sinner] (1974) (*Milliyet*, 23.06.1974: 8), *1974 Güzeller Albümü* [1974 Beauties Album] (*Milliyet*, 23.06.1974: 8), *Bir Avuç Gökyüzü* [A Handful of Sky] (1974) were tried for obscenity. Newspapers were not exempt from obscenity trials either. It was stated in *Milliyet* that *Modern Gazete* was sued 23 times for obscenity in 1978 (*Milliyet*, 03.01.1979:9). Furthermore, newspapers such as *Okey*, *Gün Gazetesi*, *Haftalık Gazete*, *Gırgır Gazetesi* were also among the newspapers tried for obscenity in 1974 (*Milliyet*, 16.07.1974: 8).

This research has shown that the debates which were mainly centred on literary works, magazines and art before the 1960s later spread to various other areas such as cinema, theatre, vinyl records and even statues. As was stated before, for instance, as with erotic fiction, erotic films had been censored since the Ottoman period. My survey of newspapers revealed that even though the legal regulation came into force in 1939, the 1960s and the 1970s were the years when censorship for obscenity in the cinema was discussed the most in media. I think that the reason why obscenity and censorship became so visible in the cinema sector in these years is twofold. Firstly, eroticism and sexual trends in Turkish and world cinema started in the 1960s and reached a peak in the mid-1970s and this played an important role in the visibility of the subject. A vast number of erotic films were shot during these years. Giovanni Scognamillo claims that the period after 1960 is the richest period of Turkish cinema (Scognamillo, 2003: 10, 159). However, the films were not purely erotic and most of them included a considerable amount of comic elements too. They were kind of “erotic comedies”.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Names of these films, which are full of puns and erotic connotations, suggest that they were not purely erotic. Most of these titles are so culture specific and inclusive of puns that they are barely translatable. Some examples are: *Dam budalası*, *Kokla beni Melâhat*, *Tokmak Nuri*, *Fıstıklar*, *Ah ne Adem dilli badem*, *Ah deme oh de*, *Şehvet kurbanı Şevket*, *Kâzıma ne lazım*, *Tarağıma oturma*, *Ayıkla beni Hüsnü*, *Tak fişi bitir işi*, *Şimdi yavrum şimdi*, *Ye beni Mahmut*, *Tamam mı devam mı*, *Çalkala yavrum çalkala*, *Yakalarsam severim.*” (*Hürriyet*, 19.12.1975)

Secondly, following 1974, the subject of obscenity came to the fore after Şevket Kazan (1933- ), who served as the Minister of Justice in 1974, started a campaign against all kinds of “obscene” publications, including audio-visual material. Kazan was a member of the Islamic right-wing political party, the National Salvation Party and he was so identified with his anti-obscenity campaign that Rahmetullah Karakaya wrote a book on Kazan entitled *Şevket Kazan Dosyası: Müstehcen Neşriyata Savaş Açan MSP’li Adalet Bakanı* [Case of Şevket Kazan: The Minister of Justice who Started a War against Obscene Publications] (1975). In the year he came to office, Kazan announced his intentions to increase legal punishments for those who published and distributed “obscene publications and to wipe off such publications and films from the Turkish culture repertoire (Milliyet Sanat Dergisi, 12.07 1974: 3, 9). Claiming that the main principle of their party is ‘moralism’ [‘ahlakçılık’], Kazan founded a commission to fight obscene publications (Milliyet, 26.12.1975: 10). In line with his words, in 1974, a number of books, magazines, and newspapers were confiscated from the market. Since morality was reintroduced as a necessity for people and was placed against obscenity and opened for discussion by a member of the Parliament, obscenity and moralism became again public subjects for heated debate in 1974 and 1975.

In 1975, as a response to the suppression of erotic productions in the Turkish culture repertoire, a book entitled *Müstehcen* [Obscene] was published by Soyut Publishing House. The first part of this book comprised writings mostly in defence of freedom of art by prominent authors, poets, journalists, lawyers, doctors and scholars of the period<sup>64</sup>, while the second part included interviews with legal experts and the Minister of Law in office, İsmail Müftüoğlu who took the office following Kazan. In contrast to earlier decades in which both conservatives and westernists opposed erotic productions, most texts in the first part of the book indicate that obscenity was a subject of tension between the conservatives and westernists in the 1970s. For example, a columnist, legal expert and actor Ali Sirmen in his article entitled “Asıl Müstehcen Olan” [“What obscene really is”] ironically claims that:

*In short, obscenity is a relativistic concept. [...] Still, there are some conditions for obscenity. For instance, attitudes behind the times, thoughts that attempt to go against nature itself, ideas that cannot adapt to change are obscene. [...] The man who searches for indecency in works of art is obscene because his head is*

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<sup>64</sup> Some of the contributors were İlhan Selçuk, Melih Cevdet Anday, Atilla İlhan, Ferit Edgü, Haydar Dümen, and Giovanni Scognamillo.

*so ugly that it cannot assess the intellectual product of humans without moving beyond perverted sexual obsessions. [...] Ideas that want to return Turkey to the middle ages or aim to crush flowers of freedom under the boots of fascism are ugly, hence obscene. (Sirmen, 1975: 19-21)*

*[Kısacası müstehcen göreceli bir kavramdır [sic.]. [...] Ancak, müstehcen için de kabul edilebilecek bazı ölçüler vardır. Örneğin, örümcek tutmuş çağ dışı bir kafa, doğanın gereklerine karşı çıkmaya çalışan düşünceler, gelişmeye ayak uyduramayan görüşler müstehcendir. [...] Sanat yapıtında ayıp arayan adam müstehcendir. Çünkü kafası sapık cinsel saplantuların ötesine geçip, insan düşüncesinin ürününü değerlendiremeyecek bir çirkinliktedir. [...] Türkiye'yi ortaçağa döndürmek isteyen, ya da özgürlüğün çiçeklerini faşizmin çizmesi altında ezdirmeyi amaçlayan görüş de çirkin yani müstehcendir.] (Sirmen, 1975: 19-21)*

In addition, another journalist İlhan Selçuk (1925-2010) claimed that the debate over obscenity is a result of a “dilemma” in the society which consists of “residues of feudal moralism” and the “sexual revolution of the West” (Selçuk, 1975: 10). Selçuk’s article suggested that the increase of eroticism in works of art is a result of this “sexual revolution” that took place in the West and spread to Turkey as a result of the westernization attempts.

Translation surely played a pivotal role in making this impact. For instance, the foreign magazines directly imported into Turkey without translation should not be ignored. These magazines<sup>65</sup>, however, were not exempt from censorship. On 23 June 1974, a newspaper article entitled “Once bitten twice shy: the mystery of censorship solved” [“Yoğurdu üfleyerek yiyorlar: Sansürün esrarı çözüldü”] mentions that nude pictures of women in foreign magazines sold in Turkey had been censored with black markers for a time. According to the article, the company importing these magazines had workers whose task was to check all the pages and censor photographs of nude women. The reason for this act of self-censorship was explained by the head of the company Selim Erençil as follows: “Two months ago two charges of obscenity were filed against us. [...] As we understood that we would not be able to cope with these charges, we started to be “twice shy after being once bitten. We try to keep ourselves free of crime by scribbling over nude pictures of women in all the magazines by ourselves” [“İki ay önce iki dava açıldı hakkımızda. [...] Baktık ki, bu işle başa çıkamayacağız.. [sic.] Süt ağzımızı yaktı, bu işin kolayı var diyerek, yoğurdu üflemeği hatırladık ve ne kadar dergi varsa hepsinin çıplak fotoğraflarını kendi kendimize

<sup>65</sup> These magazines were *Stern*, *Quick*, *Neve Reuve*, *Bunte Illustrierte*.

karalayarak suçsuz olmaya çalışıyoruz”] (*Hürriyet*, 23.06.1974). A similar article published in another newspaper *Milliyet* on 31 June 1975 claimed that a group of five workers applied unofficial censorship to imported magazines for one and a half years (See Appendix 9).

Censorship due to obscenity was not limited to magazines, newspapers, books and films as this research revealed. Vinyl records were also subjected to censorship for obscenity. In the mid-1960s especially, a number of vinyl records were tried for obscenity, among them there were: *Halimem* by Gönül Yazar tried in 1965-66 (*Milliyet*, 08.12.1965: 6; 25.12.1965:6; 19.01.1966: 3 and 26.05.1966: 3), *Şakır Şakır* by Güler Gürses tried in 1965 (*Milliyet*, 20.07.1965: 3 26.10.1965: 1), and *Pistt, Pissst* by Öztürk Serengil tried in 1969 (*Milliyet*, 15.03.1969: 3).

Furthermore, in 1967, a theatre play written by the ancient Greek playwright Aristophanes under the name *Lysistrata* and translated into Turkish by Lâle Oraloğlu (1924-2007) under the title of *Kadınlar I-ih Derse* [If Women Say Uh-uh], was also tried for obscenity and found to be guilty. For this reason, the judge banned performances of the play (*Milliyet*, 05.04.1967: 7). Lodging an appeal with the Supreme Court, the translator and stage actress Oraloğlu started a hunger strike and claimed that she would continue until it was admitted that the work was not obscene and otherwise would not hesitate to starve herself to death for art (*Milliyet*, 12.04.1967: 3; 19.04.1967: 3). In the second trial, the judge decided to apply to expert opinion once again. The second expert report on the play script claimed that it could not be regarded as obscene and the play was started to be performed again (*Milliyet*, 28.04.1967). In addition to all these, there are cases in which dancers and photograph artists were tried for obscenity in the 1960s and 1970s (for example, see *Hürriyet*, 26.01.1967 and *Milliyet*, 17.09.1968: 3).

In 1974, a statue named as *Güzel İstanbul Heykeli* [The Statue of Beautiful İstanbul], which portrayed a nude women was erected in Karaköy Square. Ten days after its erection, it was stated in newspapers that an investigation against the statue had started due to alleged obscenity (*Milliyet*, 21.03.1974: 1).

*The debates around Güzel İstanbul started as a result of a campaign started by some media organs that claim the statue “distorts the moral values of Muslim Turks”. Then deputy Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan demanded that the statue be removed from its place on the grounds that it was “contrary to morality”. This demand by Erbakan, became a state decision and the Ministry of*

*Interior claimed that the statue “immodestly exhibits Turkish mothers” and put their decision for removal into practice. (Antmen, 2009: 369-370).*

*[“Güzel İstanbul” çevresindeki olaylar, heykeli “Müslüman Türk’ün ahlâkını bozduğunu” iddia eden bazı basın organlarının açtığı kampanya sonucunda dönemin Başbakan Yardımcısı Necmettin Erbakan’ın heykeli “adaba aykırı” bulunduğu gerekçesiyle kaldırılmasını talep etmesiyle gelişmiştir [...]. Erbakan’ın bu talebi, çok geçmeden İçişleri Bakanlığı’nın resmi açıklamasıyla bir tür devlet kararına dönüşmüş ve Bakanlık, heykelin “Türk anasını hayâsızca teşhir edici” nitelikte olması görüşünü öne sürerek yerinden kaldırılması kararını uygulamaya koymuştur.] (Antmen, 2009: 369-370).*

Later on, the statue was erected again in a more secluded area in Yıldız Park and it has been there since 1974. Antmen states that the statue is in such a secluded area that people barely take notice of it (ibid.).

In short, the debates on obscenity were not limited to literature; other areas of artistic production such as cinema, theatre, music, and statues were closely linked to the debates on obscenity and censorship in the period in question. This research has displayed that translation, even though not discussed in detail at the time, was at the centre of almost all the debates. Therefore it could be concluded that the struggle over obscenity was expanding to other fields in those years, making the subject more visible. All the trials and conflicts mentioned above brought about a considerable amount of public debate on obscenity and morality in the newspapers and in magazines. Special issues on obscenity were published by some magazines such as *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi* [Milliyet Art Magazine] on 12 July 1974, *Günümüzde Kitaplar* [Books Today] in June 1973, *7 Gün* [7 Days] on July 1974. A simple search through *Milliyet* newspaper archives using the key word “*müstehcen*” [obscene] brings 554 different newspaper clippings between 1960 and 1980. Thus it appears that the 1960s and 1970s were very rich in terms of public debates over obscenity as related to various forms of cultural production.

### **2.3. Conclusions**

This chapter scrutinized eroticism presented in different forms of production as options in the Turkish and Ottoman culture repertoires mainly through translations. This survey on popular erotic literature and the discussions around obscenity and morality in relation to eroticism will help me contextualize Avni İnel as an important producer of erotic popular literature in the Turkish culture repertoire he operated in. It has shown

that erotic options, either in the form of literature, music or art existed for a long time in the repertoire but these options were also under constant criticism by nationalist and Islamist circles due to their assumed harmful impact on the moral values of society. In addition to nationalist and Islamist circles, westernists were also against erotic options until the 1970s. Only in the 1970s were some concerns raised by westernists against the censorship of such works on grounds of freedom of expression.

Even though erotic works were, in some cases, under constant criticism and censorship, it seems that no counter arguments were put forward by the producers of these works to defend themselves. Despite official and structural censorship, they remained silent in most cases and continued their production. Perpetual production of erotic options indicates that these options, even though they were met with active resistance by some groups in society, were well received by other groups. This is all the more true for popular erotic literature. Despite the fact that erotic popular literature received a blow with the publication of the Press Law of 1931 and a number of works were tried for obscenity, it gained momentum again in the 1940s, especially after the trial of the *Aphrodite* novel.

In the next section, Avni İnsel, one of the most important agents who played a role in the rise of erotic popular literature again in the 1940s will be examined through his translation and his publishing career along with his habitus and capital.



## CHAPTER THREE

### AVNI İNSEL AS A PROACTIVE AND CONTROVERSIAL AGENT OF TRANSLATION

In this chapter, I will problematize Avni İnsel's constant promotion of popular erotic literature within the Turkish culture repertoire both as a translator and a patron mainly in the 1940s. As discussed in the previous chapter, obscenity was a considerable subject of debate among agents that belonged to both the literary field and other fields such as the juridical and political. The Turkish literary field was a site of struggle over popular erotic literature between those advocating censorship and the ones resisting. İnsel, who entered the literary field in the second half of the 1930s as a translator, became an influential and dominant agent and patron especially after founding his own publishing house in 1942. His individual attempts at reintroducing and promoting popular erotic literature by systematically translating and publishing literary works that were highly inclusive of erotic motifs were met with a high level of resistance and a number of trials. I argue that İnsel is one of the most important agents of translation in the Turkish literary repertoire between the 1940s and 1960s, in terms of the conflict over popular erotic literary works. In this chapter, following his life story, I will investigate and explain his actions and the reactions he met with within the framework of Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory and Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital.

#### **3.1. Avni İnsel as an Agent of Translation**

In this section, by presenting the information I obtained on İnsel's socio-cultural background, I will firstly examine İnsel's habitus i.e. "dispositions acquired through experience" (Bourdieu, 1990b: 9) as an individual. Then, I will analyse İnsel's activities within the Turkish culture repertoire as a translator, pseudotranslator and publisher.

Avni İnsel (1915-1969) was born in Varna, Bulgaria. He graduated from primary school in Varna and came to Turkey with his family in 1926. He started Saint Michel French High School in İstanbul first and in 1929 he transferred to Galatasaray High School.

Galatasaray High School is one of the most prestigious and oldest educational institutions in Turkey, which has been offering education mainly in French. As stated by Emel Engin, it has been regarded by many as the “window to the west” for introducing a westernized mode of education since 1868 (Engin, 2007: 1). The president of the Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk himself visited the school four times between 1930 and 1934 (ibid: 170). It was regarded as one of the best schools in the country to learn French.

The curriculum of the school had been renewed in 1924 to meet the westernist ideology of the republican period. In the few years following the proclamation of the republic, courses on Persian and Arabic were replaced with elective German or English courses. Obligatory courses on religion were abolished in 1927 (ibid: 47). In addition, translation was among the obligatory courses taught in the second and third years of the high school. It seems that the curriculum of the school was highly westernized in the years İnsel studied there.

Avni İnsel graduated from the literature department of Galatasaray High School<sup>66</sup> in 1935. Only one year after his graduation his first translation, entitled *Dünya Nimetleri* [The Fruits of the Earth] (1936), was published by Hilmi Kitabevi. It was a translation of André Gide’s *Les Nourritures terrestres* (1897), a work “expressing the symbiosis of sensuality and asceticism in lyrical prose” (Pollard, 2006: 548). In the same year, he also translated Prosper Mérimée’s famous novella *Carmen* (1845) under the title *Karmen* (1936). İnsel went to Paris to study at Sorbonne University, probably in 1937. His son, Hasan İnsel does not know exactly what İnsel studied in Sorbonne and Avni İnsel does not state what he studied there in any of his writings.<sup>67</sup> İnsel could not graduate from Sorbonne University due to the Nazi occupation of Paris in 1940 and returned to Turkey (İren and Ögünç, 1992: 129). After coming back to Turkey on 4 May 1942, having already started his career as a translator, İnsel founded his own bookstore and publishing house in Babiâli, İstanbul. The

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<sup>66</sup> Students chose a field of specialization in their last year at Galatasaray High School. Areas of specialization were literature, science, and commerce (*Galatasaray Son 25 Yil Mezunlari 1919-1943*)

<sup>67</sup> Regarding the department he studied in, I sent an electronic query to Sorbonne University about İnsel in 2015 but did not receive an answer.

publishing house was first called *Işık Kitabevi* [Light Bookstore] but its name was changed to *İnsel Kitabevi* [İnsel Bookstore]<sup>68</sup> in the following week.

In 1944 he married famous Turkish general Fahrettin Altay's daughter Hayrunnisa Altay, who was also a translator. Between 1936 and 1969 İnsel translated a total of 33 books, wrote two books and published 62 books, most of which were translations. He also published two monthly magazines: *Kahkaha* [Laughter] (1948-1954), a humorous magazine, and *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* [World of Sexuality] (1949-1949), a pseudoscientific magazine on sexuality. A considerable amount of the contents of both magazines were translations. İnsel died because of a heart attack on 13 August 1969 and his bookstore was closed down in 1970.

As his life story indicates, İnsel's habitus was structured in various national environments, therefore İnsel's educational and cultural background did not seem to create a religious or nationalist tendency for him. In my opinion, his experiences in various cultures such as Bulgarian, French and Turkish probably made him genuinely cosmopolitan. However, it was not only İnsel's educational and cultural background but also his first translation that played an important part in his actions as a translator and patron. İnsel's first translation, André Gide's *Les Nourritures terrestres* (1897) under the title *Dünya Nimetleri* [The Fruits of the Earth] (1936) was criticised by some men of letters due to its potentially detrimental effects on young people, as will be discussed in the next section. As a young and inexperienced translator, one of the first reactions İnsel faced with was due to the sexual content of his translation. It should be noted that Gide's book cannot be considered as a work of popular erotic fiction. Some of his books were also translated into Turkish by the state-sponsored Translation Bureau. However, these criticisms on the grounds of obscenity may well have led İnsel to take a position opposing his critics. Therefore, it could be suggested that his self-image was formed as a result of the criticisms levelled against him. At the same time, he probably saw that erotic works sold well and brought commercial profits. As he ideologically did not have religious or conservative tendencies brought from his past, he dedicated most of his career to popular erotic fiction, especially after founding his own publishing house and bookstore.

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<sup>68</sup> Most of the bookstores in Babiâli in the 1940s were operating also as publishing houses.

In the following sections, İnsel's productions as a translator, pseudotranslator and patron will be examined along with the debates circulating around him, by utilising paratextual and extratextual materials.

### 3.1.1. Avni İnsel as a Translator

Avni İnsel translated 33 books in total between 1936 and 1958 (see Appendix 1). However, his translation activity was highly intensive in the 1940s. Out of 33 books in total, he translated 6 books (18%) in the late 1930s, 24 books (73%) in the 1940s and only 3 books (9%) in the 1950s. When the list of his translations are examined, it appears that many books he chose to translate were originally written in a variety of languages such as English, Italian and Russian along with French. Yet his son states that Avni İnsel knew only French. Therefore, he must have translated 21 (64%) of the books from intermediary languages, mostly from French and perhaps also from Bulgarian. Additionally there are some books that were translated with the help of his co-translators<sup>69</sup>. The most translated author by İnsel is Pitigrilli with 7 books (21%). Pitigrilli is followed by André Gide and Margret Mitchell with 3 books each (9%).

What is striking about İnsel's translated oeuvre is that 25 (75%) of the 33 books include varying degrees of one or more of the motifs such as sexuality, extramarital affairs, prostitution, adultery and concubinage. This is not to say that all of these 27 books can be defined as erotic literature, but it can be argued that in the high majority of his translations eroticism has a dominant presence. To my knowledge, İnsel seems to be the only translator in the whole of Turkish literary history that promoted eroticism in literature to such a large extent. For these reasons İnsel deserves to be scrutinized as an agent of translation.

Avni İnsel was the first translator who introduced André Gide as an option to the Turkish readers with his translation. His first translation was André Gide's *Les Nourritures terrestres* (1897) under the title *Dünya Nimetleri* (1936). Gide was translated into Turkish for the first time by İnsel. This book was reprinted two times in 1939 and 1944. İnsel's preface to the second edition printed in 1939, reveals that his translation drew a good amount of attention, but was met with mixed reactions. The

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<sup>69</sup> İnsel's co-translators in various books are Vecihi Görk, İlhan Akant, Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Hamdi Varoğlu, Hayrun İnsel, Nihal Yeğinoğlu, and Beatris Posbıyık.

preface is a defence against the two main criticisms directed at İnsel due to his translation. Firstly, İnsel, as indicated in his preface, was accused of depraving and corrupting the youth in the following words:

*Some critics, even though they do not think that the translation is bad, mentioned that such works will cause a reaction in the sexual lives [...] of the youth for the reason that they are not mature enough to understand the work. (İnsel, 1939a: 68)*

*[Bazı mütefekkir kimseler, bu eserin tercümesini pek fena bulmamalarına rağmen, gençlerimizin onu anlayabilecek derecede kemale ermediklerinden, binaenaleyh bu kabil eserlerin onların cismanî hayatlarında [...] bir aksülâmel husule getireceğinden bahsettiler.] (İnsel, 1939a: 68)*

Secondly, as İnsel mentioned in his preface, his translation was labelled as “a bad translation” by some critics. In response to the first criticism, İnsel stated that he, as the translator, is just an intermediary and quotes from Oscar Wilde’s preface to *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1890) in order to defend himself against the criticisms based on corrupting the moral values of young people: “No artist has ethical sympathies. The artist can express everything. Thought and language are to the artist instruments of an art.” [“Ahlâka karşı sempatisi olan san’atkar yoktur. San’atkar her şeyi ifade edebilir. Düşünce ve lisan bir san’atkarın aletleridir.”] (Wilde in İnsel, 1939a: 67). In response to the second type of criticism, İnsel invited his critics to take the pen and translate the book themselves. He concluded by stating that he would not take heed of such criticisms and would continue publicising Gide for the youth (ibid: 69). It appears that the tension and struggle between İnsel and other men of letters started to sprout as early as the first translation by İnsel.

However, among the erotic works that İnsel translated, Pitigrilli translations were the most popular and ground-breaking ones. İnsel’s name as a translator was largely identified with Pitigrilli in the newspapers of the period as well (see *Vakit*, 19.01.1944: 1-2 and *Milliyet*, 11.01.1964: 3 and İşli, 2001: 17 and Özyalçın 2015: 48). Pitigrilli, in fact, was the pseudonym Dino Segre (1893-1975) used in his works. Alexander Stille clarifies Pitigrilli’s literary stance as follows:

*Behind Italy’s official façade of bourgeois morality, traditional family life, and patriotism, Pitigrilli saw a world driven by sex, power and greed, in which adultery, illegitimate children, and hypocrisy were the order of the day and husbands and wives were little more than respectable-seeming pimps and prostitutes. (Stille, 2013)*

Thus, for Stille, his novels and stories were examples of a “cynical amorality” in which adultery, drugs, gambling, sensuality and sexual greed were the main elements (ibid.). Some works by Pitigrilli were put on a list of forbidden books by the Italian Church in the 1920s (Pitigrilli, 2013), tried, and, in some cases, banned for being harmful to public morals (Bonsaver, 2007: 25, 119). Likewise, some of the Pitigrilli’s works translated into Turkish by Avni İnsel and some works published by him were highly criticised, tried, banned and confiscated in the 1940s, as will be discussed in the following sections. However, all the books enjoyed high popularity among the public in Turkey (Naci, 2002: 39 and Parlak, 2011: 153-159). Pitigrilli became so influential in the Turkish literary market in the 1940s that Özgül suggests his works paved the way for a new type of reader and novelist in early republican Turkey (Özgül, 2008: 112).

Pitigrilli had an ideological stance which is indicated by his critical stance against the bourgeoisie (Nesin, 2013: 31). After reading a few Pitigrilli novels translated by İnsel, Aziz Nesin (1915-1995), a prominent Turkish humourist, explains his opinions on Pitigrilli as follows on 3 March 1951:

*From what I heard here and there, I thought Pitigrilli was the author of some obscene works who aimed at arousing interest by inciting sexual desires of the youth. I understood how wrong I was when I read his three books. Unfortunately, many people still think as I did before. However, this author whose shining intelligence dazzles the reader, powerfully satirises the dirty and stinking family relations of the bourgeoisie. [...] He attacks and destroys everything that is fake, corrupt, bad and evil. Here is his biggest shortcoming... Because he does not encourage any hope. [...] He lets the reader down without carrying him to reality. Thus, he practices anarchy of art in a way. (Nesin, 2013: 31)*

*[Evvelce şurdan burdan işittiklerimle Pitigrilli’yi, gençlerin cinsi arzularını tahrik ederek, alaka toplamak isteyen müstehcen bir takım eserlerin yazarı zannedirdim. Onun bu üç kitabını okuyunca ne kadar yanıldığımı anladım. Maalesef, memleketimizde çok kişi tarafından, benim eski hatalı görüşüm gibi sanılmaktadır. Halbuki bikez, pırıl pırıl zekâsı, her cümlesinde insanın gözünü kamaştıran bu muharrir, burjuva cemiyetinin pis, kokmuş aile münasebetlerini, ahlak anlayışlarını kuvvetle hicvetmektedir. [...] O sahte, bozuk, fena, kötü ne varsa hepsine hücum edip yıkıyor. İşte onun en büyük kusuru da bu... Çünkü bize hiçbir ümit vermiyor. [...] Okuyucuyu hiçbir gerçeğe götürmeden orta yerde bırakıyor. Yani bibakıma sanatın anarşizmini yapıyor.] (Nesin, 2013: 31)*

Nesin’s statements also prove that works by Pitigrilli were perceived as obscene by the majority of public in Turkey. The reason for this public opinion is

probably the recurrent theme of sexuality Pitigrilli used in his novels. Yet, Nesin asserts that Pitigrilli used this theme to criticise the bourgeoisie in Italy.

Another ground-breaking translation by İnsel was D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley'in Âşığı* (1942), which was the first Turkish translation of the world famous and contentious *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928). This translation was analysed in some scholarly works as if İnsel had translated the novel from English. Since İnsel did not know English as previously mentioned, this book must have been translated from an intermediary language, most probably from French, in contradiction to wide-spread assumption (see Taşcıoğlu, 2005; İşbuğa-Erel, 2008; Üstünsöz, 2013). For instance İrem Üstünsöz (2013), as a result of textual and paratextual analyses, asserts that İnsel employed self-censorship in *Lady Chatterley'in Âşığı*. However, since this book could have been translated from the French translation, the assumed self-censorship might arise from the intermediary text in French. Similarly in two other researches by Serkan Taşcıoğlu (2005) and Reyhan Funda İşbuğa-Erel (2008), the researchers assumed that Avni İnsel translated the book from English without question.

İnsel's *Lady Chatterley'in Âşığı*, was surprisingly not prosecuted, although the book was tried due to obscenity in many other countries such as United States and Britain (Sova, 2006: 139-142.) İnsel wrote a preface to this translation as well, and in the six-page-long preface he created a defence in advance against possible charges of obscenity that could be brought against his translation. He boldly challenged society's understanding of obscenity in the 1940s and stated that there was no sense in labelling works of art as obscene. Moreover, İnsel's preface to this translation displays that there was a kind of structural censorship in the years the book was published. His statements in the preface prove that structural censorship (Bourdieu, 1991: 137) was preventing publishers and translators from promulgating some novels:

*D. H. Lawrence is one of the highest novelists and thinkers not only of England, but also of the world. There is no one in our country who has not heard of him and his masterpieces. However, unfortunately none of his works has been translated into Turkish. The reason for Lawrence's non-existence in Turkish is that his works are labelled as obscene by Turkish society. [...] But firstly, I would like to clarify that Lawrence's name has occupied not only my mind but all Turkish highbrow minds. Everyone has thought of translating his works but no one has dared to make an attempt. (İnsel, 1942: 5)*

*[D. H. Lawrence yalnız İngiltere'nin değil aynı zamanda yeryüzünün en yüksek romancı ve mütefekkirlerinden biridir. Bu muharririn şimdiye kadar bizde ismini duymıyan, romanlarının birer şaheser olduğunu işitmiyen kalmamıştır. Fakat ne*

*yazık ki eserlerinden hiç biri Türkçeye tercüme edilmiş bulunmıyor. Buna da sebep muharririn eserlerine Türk efkârı umumiyesi tarafından müstehcen damgası vurulmuş olmasıdır. [...] Yalnız ilk önce şunu tebarüz etmek isterim ki Lawrence'ın ismi yalnız benim değil hattâ bütün Türk münevverlerinin zihnini kurcalamış, eserlerini Türkçeye tercümeye herkes yeltenmiş fakat bu hususta ciddî bir teşebbüse girişmeğe kimse cesaret edememiştir.] (İnsel, 1942: 5)*

İnsel's statements prove that he was aware of the book's controversial status in other countries, and the reason for his hesitation in publishing *Lady Chatterley's Lover* was the fear of facing social or legal sanctions. Therefore, even though publishing Lawrence's works was not prohibited by legal authorities, İnsel's statements indicate that literary agents refrained from publishing Lawrence's works. This is an indication of structural censorship, i.e. censorship that arises from "structure of the field itself which governs expression by governing both access to expression and the form of expression and not some legal proceeding which has been specially adapted to designate and repress" (Bourdieu, 1991: 138). İnsel also stated that he published the book after five years of "observation and, more precisely, lying in ambush" ["Beş senelik bir intizardan, daha doğrusu bir pusuya yatıştan sonra"] (ibid: 6). Thus, İnsel, after five years of hesitation decided to breach the walls of structural censorship in the field of literary production. He stated that he decided to do so because other literary works (written by Pierre Louÿs, Pitigrilli, Petre Bellu, Émile Zola, and André Gide) that were thought as "semi-amoral and immoral" by society were published and these publications showed that Turkish society can read such works with pleasure (ibid.).

Arguing that sexuality is a natural part of life, İnsel humorously said: "if we are going to label things obscene, dogs mating outside, cats moaning at roofs, roosters fluttering with pride near their females should be banned first" ["Eğer müstehcen addedilmesi icap ediyorsa sokaklarda çiftleşen köpekler, damlarda feryat eden kediler, dışilerinin yanında azametle kanat çırpın horozlar toplatılmalıdır."] (İnsel, 1942: 6). Furthermore, he stated that "food feeds the stomach while bodily desires feed the mind" ["gıda mideyi besler, ten arzuları da kafayı."] (ibid: 9), for this reason he suggested that his translations would never harm society, but revive it (ibid: 10). İnsel's challenge against the concept of obscenity indicates that he was well-aware of the reactions that were going to arise in response to his translation but he did not give up publishing the book. Furthermore, he stated that he published the translation with the moral support of his close friends Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Vehbi



Eralp, Hamdi Varođlu, and Vahdet Gültekin, all of which were prominent and known men of letters in this period.

In an article on the prefaces of two different Turkish translations of *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lütfiye Oktar and Neslihan Kansu-Yetkiner analyse İnsel's preface too and argue that İnsel used legitimatization and reification strategies "in an effort to defocus its [Lady Chatterley's Lover's] sexually stigmatized nature" (Oktar and Kansu-Yetkiner, 2012: 361) when he claims in the preface that there is no other book describing motherly feelings as well as *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. However, in my opinion, there are many parts of the preface in which İnsel emphasised the sexual content of the book as a translator. I suggest that besides using legitimatization and reification strategies in introducing the book to the public, as argued by Oktar and Kansu-Yetkiner, İnsel overtly challenged the concept of obscenity in a number of points in his preface:

*Why are words counted as obscene? The words are produced by us, are they not? See what Saint Clement of Alexandria, a saint himself, says on this issue: "Why would I be embarrassed to talk about things that the God was not embarrassed to create?" (İnsel, 1942: 10)*

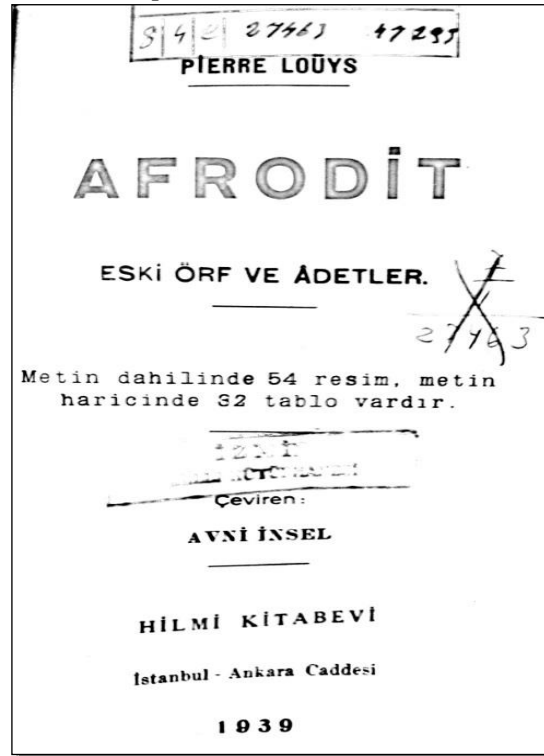
*[Kelimeler niçin müstehcen addedilir? Bunları imal eden bizler değil miyiz? Bakın, Saint Clément d'Alexandrie ismindeki aziz, hem de bir aziz ne diyor: "Allahın yaratmaktan utanmadığı şeyleri ben söylemekten niçin utanayım?"] (İnsel, 1942: 10)*

İnsel also hinted at the structural censorship that was in force in the field of literature in an interview published in the newspaper *Milliyet* on 11 January 1964. He cited that an army officer named Sezai Atilla ran across *Cocaina* written by Pitigrilli by chance in the 1930s. According to İnsel, when Atilla read the book, he found it so fascinating that he finished it overnight. Then, he decided to translate the book into Turkish and went to *Babiali*, center of publishing industry in İstanbul. However, no publisher agreed to publish Pitigrilli's book for two reasons: Pitigrilli was not popular and the book was regarded as too bawdy. Publishers were afraid of being sued should they publish the book. Then İnsel himself translated and published *Cocaina* under the title *Kokain* in Turkish in 1941. He states that the book sold like hot cakes so that he had to reprint it in a short period of time (*Milliyet*, 11.01.1964: 3). It is also noteworthy that İnsel published the book himself, although his translations had been published by Hilmi Publishing House until then. The reason could be Hilmi Publishing House's

unwillingness to publish an unrecognised and potentially dangerous book. Therefore, İnsel himself took over the responsibility and published *Kokain* by himself for the first time. Later on, when he established his own publishing house, he reprinted his translation under his publishing house's name.

There was another controversial book translated by İnsel, namely Pierre Louÿs' *Aphrodite: mœurs antiques* published under the title *Afrodit: Eski Örf ve Adetler* [Aphrodite: Old Manners and Customs] in 1939. The peritextual analysis has revealed that the preface of the book was dated as 18 February 1937, although the publication date on the cover is 1939 (İnsel, 1939b: V). As discussed in the second chapter, *Aphrodite* was also translated into Turkish in 1939 by Nasuhi Baydar, a parliament member, and made a tremendous impact in the media during its trial on the grounds of obscenity. Whether İnsel's or Baydar's translation appeared first is not certain. As stated earlier, Özgül (2008: 87) argues that İnsel's translation appeared earlier in 1939, since Baydar's translation was introduced to the market in November. Contrary to Özgül, Üstünsöz (2015) suggests that Avni İnsel retranslated the work in 1944. After a thorough research, I found a copy of the book in which it is stated that it was published in 1939, as can be seen in the figure below.

**Figure 5:** Title page of İnsel's *Aphrodite*



Source: Louÿs, 1939.

However, I think that İnsel's translation was probably distributed to the market in 1940. In the newspaper articles related to the trial of *Aphrodite* in 1939 and 1940, there was no mention of İnsel's translation. It was only after the acquittal of Baydar's translation in 1940 that the first advertisement of İnsel's translation appeared in the newspapers. It is highly probable that İnsel's translation was published by Hilmi Publishing House at the end of 1939, but was not distributed after Baydar's translation was sued for obscenity. After the acquittal of Baydar's translation in 1940, not only İnsel's retranslation but three other retractions were produced as was stated earlier.<sup>70</sup> Another proof is that İnsel did not mention the trial of *Aphrodite* in his preface where he said nothing about obscenity, although he elaborated extensively on the subject in the prefaces he wrote to his earlier translations.

İnsel's preface to *Aphrodite* is mostly an elucidation of Louÿs' literary background and importance. However, he highlighted the artistic beauty of the work and implicitly defended himself against potential accusations:

*The protagonist of this novel, even though an ordinary prostitute in the eyes of the public, gains a sacred quality in front of a complete man. To the extent that she wants him to even commit murder... And succeed in her goal too... However, what predominates here is not the woman but beauty. (İnsel, 1939b: IV)*

*Okuyacağınız romanın kahramanı halkın nazarında lâlettayin bir fahişe olmasına rağmen tam erkeğin karşısında mukaddes bir mahiyete bürünüyor.. [sic.] O derece ki ondan bir takım cinayetler işlemesini bile istiyor.. Ve emelinde muvaffak bile oluyor.. Fakat burada galebe çalan kadın değil, güzelliştir. (İnsel, 1939b: IV)*

Besides the novels *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and *Aphrodite*, İnsel translated many other erotic works but did not write a preface for these works. Among these are: *Corydon* (1924) by André Gide translated under the title *Koridon* (1942), which is a plea for homosexuality, and *La Garçonne* (1922) by Victor Margueritte translated under the title *Lagarson (Erkek Kız)* [The Tomboy] (1947?) which, shockingly for the time it was published, narrates the story of a woman who breaks off from traditional values and starts to have bisexual relationships. These books were controversial since

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<sup>70</sup>*Hakiykî Afrodite: Eski Ahlak ve Adetler* [Real Aphrodite: Old Morals and Customs]. Trans. Daniş Remzi Korok. İstanbul: Kültür Yayınları.; *Afrodite*. Trans. Kâ-gu. İstanbul: Celtut. İstanbul: Yeni Çığır; *Afrodite: Eski Örf ve Adetler* [Aphrodite: Old Manners and Customs]. Trans. Avni İnsel. İstanbul: Hilmi Kitabevi.

the subjects of homosexuality and lesbianism were seen only erratically in the period in question. As stated by Işıklar-Koçak, homosexuality was regarded as “weird and unacceptable” (Işıklar Koçak, 2007: 264) in Turkish culture even in the 1970s. In addition, André Gide’s *Corydon* was translated into Turkish by *Varlık Yayınları*, a major publishing house in Turkey, as *Sapık Sevgi* [Perversed Love] in 1966 and reprinted in the following years with the same name. Therefore, it could be argued that İnsel acted boldly to translate *Corydon* into Turkish in the 1940s. Furthermore, *Dük ve Gözdesi* (1958), a translation of Daphne du Maurier’s *Mary Anne*, was introduced to Turkish readers as being the story of the author’s grandmother who was a prostitute in a newspaper advertisement (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.12.1959: 1).<sup>71</sup> For this translation, İnsel explicitly emphasised the erotic content of the book and used it as a marketing strategy.

Based on the examples discussed above, it is obvious from the evidence that İnsel was an insistent agent who promoted erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire with his translations. As a translator, he furthermore used his prefaces in order to answer the criticisms against him and to express his ideas on obscenity. He also defended the freedom of art. His prefaces indicate that structural censorship was in force in the literary field of the early republican period. It would be reasonable to argue that İnsel broke through the structural censorship in the 1940s as a translator.

### 3.1.2. Avni İnsel as a Pseudotranslator

Gideon Toury defines pseudotranslations as “texts which have been presented as translations with no corresponding source texts in other languages ever having existed – hence no factual ‘transfer operations’ and translation relationships” (Toury, 1995: 40). Toury further claims that as well as proper translations, pseudotranslations can also be relevant objects of study in translation studies (ibid: 46). Seeing pseudotranslations as tools for culture planning, Toury argues that pseudotranslations can be produced in order to introduce new ideas into a culture, or to avoid censorial mechanisms (ibid. 41-42). Tahir-Gürçağlar adds that commercial concerns can also cause pseudotranslations (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014: 519). Pseudotranslations exist in the Turkish history of translation too, as displayed by many researchers for various

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<sup>71</sup> “Rebeka muharriri bu son eserinde bir fâhişe olan ninesinin hayatını anlatıyor.” [“Author of the Rebecca narrates the story of his grandmother who was a prostitute.”] (*Cumhuriyet*, 14.12.1959: 1)

reasons, such as introducing new ideas, avoiding censorial mechanisms and commercial concerns (e.g. Bengi-Öner, 1999; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2005, 2008a and 2008b; Işıklar-Koçak, 2007 and 2015; Sabuncu-Artar, 2007).

Under this section, I will propose that Avni İnel also produced at least one pseudotranslation in his career and I will question his possible motivations for doing this. There may be other pseudotranslations produced by İnel, because I could not determine the source texts of some books that he translated (see Appendix 1). But I will examine the case which I am most sure about. *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* [Memoirs of the Crippled Crow] (1946) is, allegedly, a book written by Pitigrilli and on the cover page it stated that it was transferred [*nakil*]<sup>72</sup> into Turkish by İnel. *Nakil* is a term utilised for one kind of translational practice in both the Ottoman and republican culture repertoires (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008a: 127).<sup>73</sup>

The book was published by İnel himself in his own publishing house, İnel Kitabevi. The story takes place in Italy before the World War II. The protagonist, İzidor Petrarkano, is a witty Casanova who disgusts the flatterers around the prominent officials of the fascist regime. After having sexual affairs with a number of women, he unwillingly marries Yolanda, daughter of Mussolini's mistress. Thanks to his mother-in-law's connections, İzidor becomes a minister in the fascist regime, but shortly after being assigned, he resigns from his post due to Yolanda's excessive demands of luxury. Political corruption, greed, bribery and adultery are the dominant motifs in the book. Aziz Nesin claims that the book can be categorized as a humourous socio-political satire of pre-war Italy (Nesin, 2013: 31). It includes a number of sexually explicit scenes that take place in various places such as a graveyard, a brothel, and a hotel. The book depicts women as two-faced creatures who seem decent and chaste in the society but in fact constantly seek sexual pleasure and cheat on their spouses. In terms of its content, characters, tone and locations it is very similar to Pitigrilli's works.

However, I assert that *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* is a pseudotranslation for a few reasons. Firstly, in an interview in 1964, sixteen years after the first publication of the book, when asked about how many Pitigrilli books he had published, İnel stated that he translated 20 books written by Pitigrilli and gave the names of the books one

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<sup>72</sup> See Demircioğlu, 2005 for various uses of *nakil* in the Ottoman Empire.

<sup>73</sup> Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that *nakil* was mostly used as an equivalent of free translation in the early republican period. But it was used to refer to indigenous productions as well (2008a:127).

by one. However, he did not include *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* among them. When the interviewer asked İnsel about *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* İnsel's answer was as follows:

*I would rather not hear this question. I will tell you just this: at that time only Doğan Nadi knew the inside story. Hence I dedicated the book to him with the note 'To my big friend Doğan Nadi... Only you and I understand this book...' I got into many troubles because of this book. But it was not my fault. (my emphasis) (İnsel in Milliyet, 11.01.1964)*

*Bu suali ben duymamış olayım daha iyi... Yalnız şu kadarını söyleyeyim size... O zaman işin iç yüzünü bilen bir tek kişi vardı: Doğan Nadi. Nitekim eseri de ona: "Büyük dost Doğan Nadi'ye... Bu kitabı bir sen anlarsın bir de ben..." şeklinde ithaf etmişim. Bu kitap yüzünden başım hayli derde girdi. Ama kabahat bende değil.] (my emphasis) (İnsel in Milliyet, 11.01.1964)*

İnsel's furtive answer led me into a deeper analysis of the book, and then I found that the translation was advertised as "the latest work of Pitigrilli" in a newspaper in 1946 as can be seen in the following figure.

**Figure 6:** An advertisement of İnsel's pseudotranslation



Source: *Cumhuriyet*, 24.12.1946: 2.

The figure above proves that the book was not presented to readers as indigenous fiction but as translated fiction. However, when the front cover of the book is analysed, it is seen that Pitigrilli's name was not mentioned in the first edition. The only clue to the readers indicating that the book was presented as a translation is İnsel's name on the front cover as *nakleden* [agent of transfer]. In the inner cover of the book İnsel noted that he transferred the work, but did not change original names. By stating that, İnsel probably indicated that he adopted a free translation strategy except for names. It is noteworthy that *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* is the only book that presents

İnsel as the agent of transfer (*nakleden*), in all other translations by İnsel he was identified as the translator (*çeviren*).

Then, I found out that in *Kahkaha* (1948-1954), a monthly humour magazine published by İnsel, there are some articles written under the pseudonym *Topal Karga* [Crippled Crow]. I was suspicious that the articles could have been written by İnsel himself. In my interview with Hasan İnsel, Avni İnsel's son, I asked whether the pseudonym *Crippled Crow* was related to his father in any way and learnt that Avni İnsel used this pseudonym because he injured his leg during his military service and became crippled (İnsel, personal communication, May 25, 2015).

Moreover, in the third edition of İnsel's translation the title and the book cover was modified. The title was changed to *İçimizden Biri: Topal Karganın Hatıraları* [One among Us: Memoirs of the Crippled Crow] and the name of Pitigrilli was also added to the front cover, but this time İnsel's name was not given on the cover page while the inner page shows only İnsel's name. Therefore, there were inconsistencies in both editions. In the third edition of the book, İnsel again dedicates the book to his friend Doğan Nadi, but with a different caption: "Once upon a time, only you and I understood this book, but nowadays there are a number of people who understand it." ["Vaktiyle bu kitabı bir sen anlardın, bir de ben ama, şimdi anlıyanlar çok oldu."]. Then, I further examined the peritextual materials (Genette, 1997) and I realized that the man who sat down in front of a half nude woman in the third edition's front cover looks very similar to Avni İnsel himself. It is probably a drawing of İnsel (see Appendix 10 and 11). These points increase the possibility that the book was a pseudotranslation.

İren and Ögünç's comments on *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* in the catalogue of graduated from Galatasaray High School increased my suspicion about the book's status. In the catalogue, they ironically claim that:

*[İnsel's] Pitigrilli translations could be among the best sellers of these years. We are sure that should "Topal Karganın Hatıraları" written by him had been translated into Italian, foreign authors would have put their signature under it without hesitation. (my emphasis) (İren and Ögünç, 1991: 129).*

*[İnsel'in] Pitigrilli'den yaptığı çeviriler o yılların satışlarında liste başı olabilirdi. Kaleminden çıkan "Topal Karganın Hatıraları" İtalyancaya çevrilseydi eminiz yabancı yazarların tereddütsüz imzasını atacağı bir eser olurdu.] (my emphasis) (İren and Ögünç, 1991: 129).*

All in all, I think the evidence suggests that İnsel presented *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* as a pseudotranslation. However, the issue did not create repercussions in the period in question, as I could not find any articles on this issue.

Pitigrilli, as a representative of erotic popular literature in Turkey, enjoyed high popularity among the youth and his sales figures were high (Naci, 2002: 39; Özgül, 2008: 112; Parlak, 2011: 153-159). It is known that in the 1940s, the popularity of eroticism and sexual issues was not peculiar to literary works. As put forward by Işıklar-Koçak, translated pseudoscientific sex manuals were also in high demand and they were regarded as a source of great income by the private publishers (Işıklar-Koçak, 2015: 204). Moreover, translations overall sold much more when compared to indigenous works in the 1940s. Popular literature was enjoying a high demand too (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 142). As claimed by Şinasi Özdenoğlu:

Translation by private publishing houses is the most attractive publishing movement in recent years. *These translations, which satisfy the reading demand in our country, to a large extent is evidence of the interest shown in western culture. In fact, it would not be wrong to suggest that interest in translations has reached to such a degree that it has reduced the interest in indigenous works.* (my emphasis) (Özdenoğlu, 1949: 24)

[*Özel ellerle yapılan tercümeleler, son yılların en göze çarpan yayın hareketidir. Yurdumuzda geniş ölçüde okuma talebini karşılayan bu tercümeleler, bizde, okuyan kütlenin garp kültürüne geniş bir ilgi gösterdiğinin delilidir. Hattâ, bu ilginin telif eserlere olan rağbeti hayli azaltacak kadar ileri gittiğini iddia etmek, yanlış olmaz.*] (my emphasis) (Özdenoğlu, 1949: 24)

Parallel to this demand, a number of pseudotranslations in popular literature, most of which were detective stories, were produced in the early republican period (see Üyepazarcı, 1997; Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008; Sabuncu Artar, 2007). Complementary to these findings, the case of *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* proves that pseudotranslations existed in the area of popular erotic fiction too.

In line with the arguments above, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that İnsel, instead of presenting his book as an indigenous work, decided to publish it as a translation mainly for commercial reasons.

The second reason in play might be the sexually explicit content of the book. Pitigrilli was already known for such works in the 1940s, thanks to İnsel. For this reason, instead of risking himself directly as the author of the novel, İnsel might have chosen to publish it as a translated novel. This is not to say that translators in the 1940s



were exempt from possible accusations or trials because of their translations. However, writing an obscene work instead of translating one probably was regarded as a more serious crime because translators always had the chance of defending themselves by claiming that they were mere messengers in such cases.

My research has revealed that there are numerous Pitigrilli translations of which the source texts are unknown (see Kader, 2011: 109-112 and Parlak, 2011: 158). In addition to the books, there are also serialised novels by Pitigrilli as can be seen in the table below.

**Table 1:** Serialised Pitigrilli translations in Turkish newspapers

Title	Newspaper	Translator	Start Date
Aşk Arayan Adam [The Man Who Searched for Love]	Vakit	fa. [Fikret Adil]	01.12.1932
Aşk Dersleri [Love Courses]	Akşam	Adnan Tahir	27.01.1951
Aşkın Sonu Selâmet [Good Things Come to Him Who Loves]	Milliyet	Ahmet Tevfik Tan	31.12.1951
Üzme Tatlı Canını [Don't Be Sad]	Akşam	Not stated	16.11.1958
Pitigrilli Pitigrilli'yi Anlatıyor [Pitigrilli Talking About Pitigrilli]	Milliyet	Adnan Tahir	12.01.1964

Future research on Pitigrilli translations in Turkey might reveal the nature of these works and further help to analyse the production of pseudotranslations in the Turkish culture repertoire.

### 3.1.3. Avni İnsel as a Publisher

After Avni İnsel had started his career as a translator, he founded his own publishing house and bookstore in Babiâli under his own name as *İnsel Kitabevi* (İnsel Bookstore) on 4 May 1942. Babiâli was the most important centre of printing and publishing in Turkey from the 1880s to the 1990s (Osmanoğlu, 2015: 24). A high majority of publishing houses and bookstores such as *İnkılap Kitabevi*, *Semih Lütüf Kitabevi*, *Hilmi Kitabevi*, *Remzi Kitabevi*, the newspaper headquarters of *Cumhuriyet*, *Akşam*, *Vakit*, *Tan* and some printing houses were located in Babiâli in the 1940s. The fact that İnsel

founded a publishing house and bookstore<sup>74</sup> in this centre might prove that he aimed to be among the prominent publishers. İnel's enterprise was met with enthusiasm by some writers, critics and columnists of the period in question. The main reason for this enthusiasm seems to be İnel's career as a translator. Server Bedi [Peyami Safa], a prominent author and critic, for example, claims that this is the first time a translator and author had owned a publishing house in Turkish publishing history. He states that all authors should wish that his enterprise becomes successful because "a restaurateur who does not know how to cook can offend the chefs and customers" ["yemek pişirmesini bilmeyen bir lokanta sahibinin çok defa hem hem müşterileri hem de aşçıları gücendirdiği görülür"] (Safa, 10.05.1945: 2). According to Bedi, İnel, as an agent with experience in translating, had the skills for making good selections of books to publish. Similarly, Şevket Rado, a journalist and author, regarded İnel's enterprise as an upturn in the publishing industry and argued that it would serve to invigorate thought life in Turkey. Rado claimed that İnel was to translate and publish books of little known but valuable authors into Turkish and also publish books of young Turkish authors (Rado, 2003: 230). Adnan Yassitepe, a translator, also congratulated İnel but advised him to publish more books by Turkish authors instead of translating "secondary and obscure" (Yassitepe, 1942: 172) European works.

İnel Kitabevi remained active until 1970 and published 62 books (see appendix 2). In contrast to Yassitepe's advice, 47 (76%) out of the total 62 books published by İnel were translations. This extremely high rate is an indicator of the importance attached to translation both by İnel and the other agents in the literary repertoire. 14 books published by İnel Kitabevi were translated by İnel himself and 2 were indigenous works written by İnel (25% in total). After 1942, İnel published 18 books, 5 of which were published by other publishers (4 by *Hilmi Publishing House* and 1 by *İstanbul Kitap Yayıncılık Odası*). By establishing his own publishing house, İnel became the patron for his own translations and thus removed the publisher's patronage on himself<sup>75</sup> as a translator and increased his autonomy.

The most translated author by İnel Kitabevi was Pitigrilli. 21 (45%) out of 47 translations, including the pseudotranslation *Topal Karganın Hatıraları*, consists of

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<sup>74</sup> Most of the publishing houses in Babıâli were also functioning as bookstores.

<sup>75</sup> After André Lefevere, I define patronage within this context as "any power (person, institution) that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature" (Lefevere, 1992: 15).

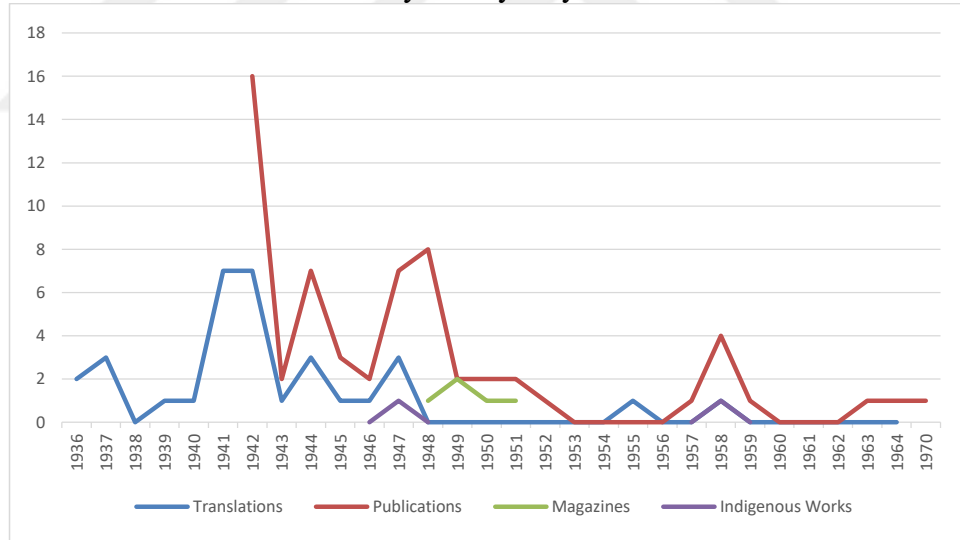
Pitigrilli translations. For this reason, it is not wrong to identify İnsel Kitabevi with Pitigrilli translations. Avni İnsel summarizes his own publishing career in the following words:

*I was both appreciated and reprimanded because of Andre Gide and Pitigrilli. As I could not rein in my head and pen, I published spicy books. For this reason, I gave an account of myself in the courts. (İnsel in Oral, 1967: 329)*

*[‘Andre Gide’ ile ‘Pitigrilli’ yüzünden takdirle karışık kalaylar yedim. Kafama ve kalemime gem vuramadığım için baharatı bol kitaplar çıkardım. Bu sebepten de ar ve hayâ hislerinin bir tahripkârı olarak mahkemelerde hesap verdim.] (İnsel in Oral, 1967: 329)*

Even though Pitigrilli was not translated into Turkish for the first time by İnsel, he became famous thanks to İnsel Kitabevi. André Gide is the second most translated author with 4 books (9%). Gide is followed by Gabriel D'annunzio with 2 books (4%). As can be seen in the figure below, the 1940s were the most active period for İnsel Kitabevi, and 47 out of the 62 books were published in the 1940s.

**Figure 7:** Number of Publications by İnsel yearly



Source: prepared by the writer

Three Pitigrilli translations, entitled *Bekâret Kemerî* [Chastity Belt] [1945], *İvet Fransızca Öğretiyor* [İvet teaches French] [1946] and *Aşk Otlayıcıları* [Love Spongers] [1947] do not seem to have been published by the İnsel Publishing House. The name of the publisher was not stated in *Bekâret Kemerî*, while in the two other books, the name of the publisher was indicated as *Efe Neşriyat* [Efe Publishing]. However, in an interview in the newspaper *Milliyet* on 11 January 1964 İnsel counted

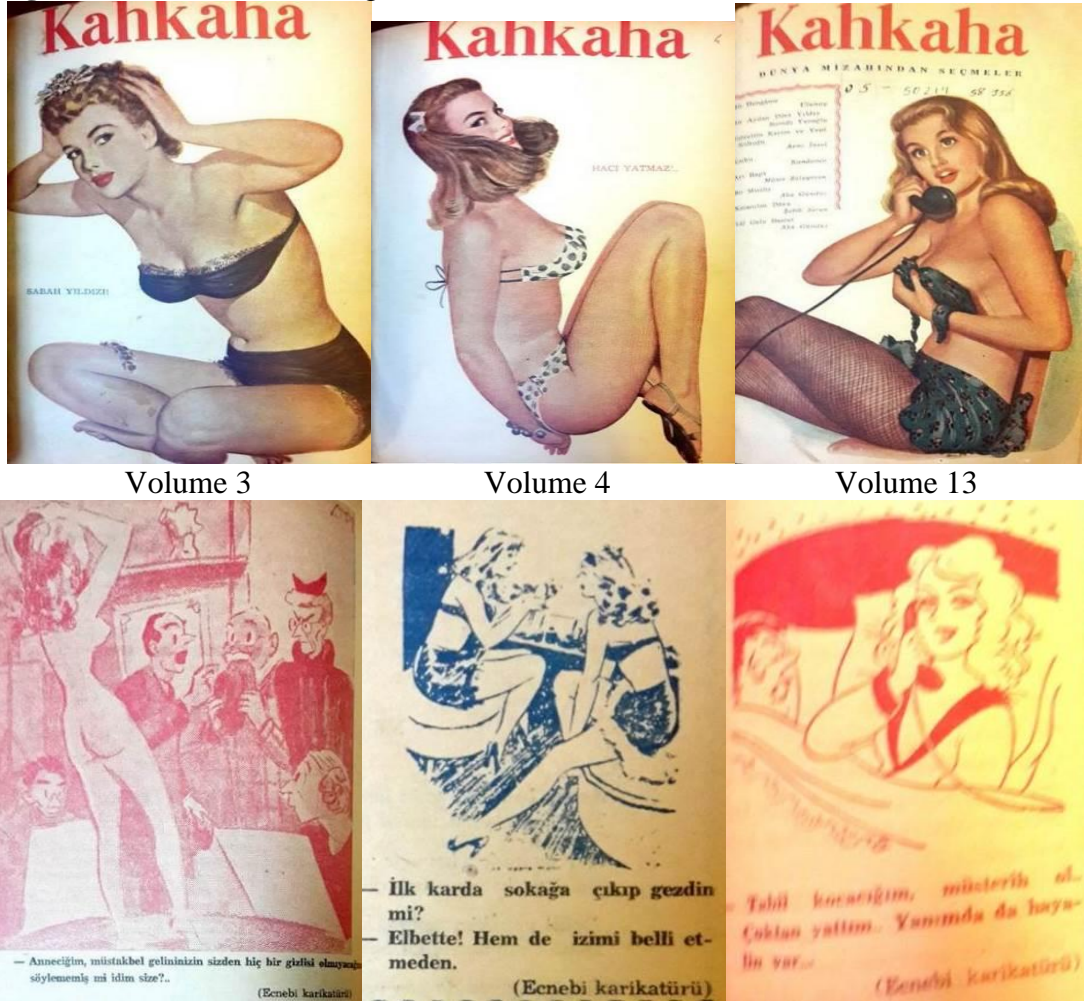
these books among his own publications. For this reason, it seems that these books were also published by İnsel but he decided to conceal his publishing house's name on the book covers. The reason why İnsel concealed his publishing house's name might be related to the obscenity trials taking place against Pitigrili's books in the years his books were published. In 1945 a trial against Apa Publishing House began due to two books by Pitigrilli.<sup>76</sup> Even though İnsel was not sued, as will be discussed in the next section, he probably concealed his publishing house's name in these books as a precaution.

In addition to translated books, İnsel Kitabevi published two magazines: *Kahkaha* (Laughter) and *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* (The World of Sexuality). *Kahkaha* was published 33 volumes between 1948 and 1951 and *Cinsiyet Âlemi* was published only 6 volumes in 1949. *Kahkaha* was a monthly humour magazine which included caricatures, jokes, drawings, pictures, short stories, memoirs and satires. Interestingly, *Kahkaha* was presented to the readers as a humorous political magazine and the caption of the magazine was "We are neither leftist nor rightist. There is no left or right to us." ["Biz ne sađcıyız, ne solcu. Bizim sađımız, solumuz yoktur"]. But, when analyzed, it appears that in parallel with İnsel's translated novels the content of this magazine was mostly erotic, as can be observed even on their cover pages below.

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<sup>76</sup> These books were *Bekâret Kemeri* [Chastity Belt] (1945) and *Beni İyi Aldat* [Cheat on Me Well] (1945).

**Figure 8:** Selected Cover Pages and caricatures from *Kahkaha*



Source: *Kahkaha*, Volumes 3, 4 and 13.

Caricatures, drawings and jokes with erotic associations were abundantly evident in every volume of the magazine. Most of the caricatures with erotic content were claimed to be “foreign caricatures” [“ecnebi karikatürü”], i.e. they were translated caricatures. As can be seen in the figure above, almost all cover pages of the different issues were illustrated with pin-up girls. However, this was not specific to *Kahkaha*, similar designs had been observed in many cinema and tabloid magazines in the culture repertoire. As Güven Erkin Erkal has demonstrated, pin-up girls had been widely used in a number of popular magazines since the 1910s and there were many other magazines with cover pages similar to *Kahkaha* in the 1950s (Erkal, 2014: 203-324).

The other magazine owned by İnel, *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite*, was also a monthly magazine and it was about sexual education. It was first published in January

1949, to my knowledge only two months after the publishing of the first sexual education magazine in Turkey, titled *Seksoloji: Cinsî Bilgiler* [Sexology: Sexual Knowledge] (1949-1954). However, in a newspaper article published in the second volume of *Cinsiyet Âlemi*, it was claimed by Nusret Safa Coşkun that İnel was the first publisher with the idea of publishing a sex education magazine in Turkey, but that other publishers had heard his idea and taken the action ahead of İnel.

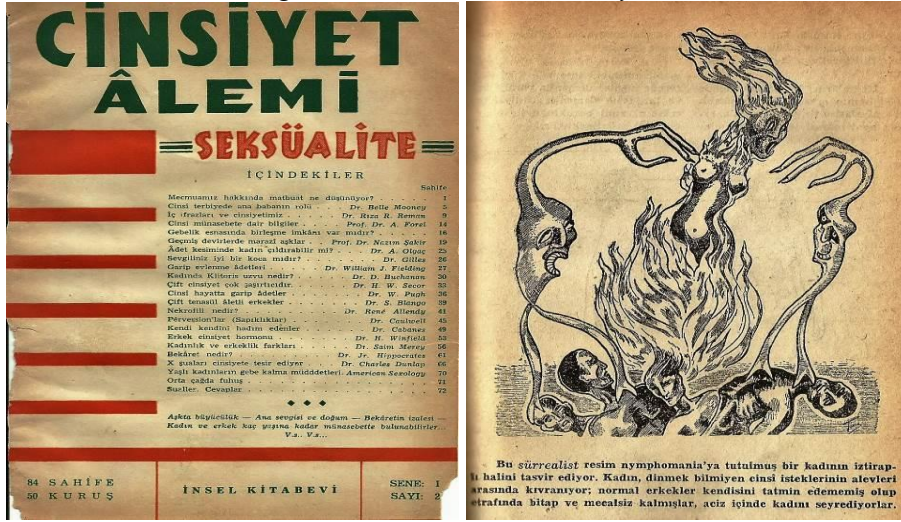
In the introduction to the first volume, the aim of the magazine was stated as to eliminate marital conflicts and to inform males and females about their bodies. The introduction starts by explaining the reasons for publishing this kind of magazine:

*There is a boundless desire in human beings about private issues. They cannot avoid from adjusting themselves to wrong suggestions coming from their close environment in order to satisfy this desire. Thoughts of our ancestors taking the morally detrimental impacts of sexual knowledge into account and creating theological principles have gone bankrupt. Reality, always reality, enhances the moral values of the individual and, by extension, of society to the highest degree. ("Cinsiyet Âlemi: Çıkarken Birkaç Söz", 1949: 2.*

*[İnsan oğlunun mahremiyet bilgisi hakkında içinde hudutsuz bir ihtiras vardır. Bunu tatmin için en yakın muhitin yanlış telkinlerine kendini uydurmaktan çekinmez. Bu bilgilerin ahlâki tesirini düşünerek teolojik prensipler meydana getirmek zaruretinde kalan ecdadımızın düşünceleri artık iflâs etmiştir. Hakikat, daima hakikat, insanları ve dolayısıyla cemiyeti en uygun ve en üstün ahlâki seviyeye ulaştırır.] ("Cinsiyet Âlemi: Çıkarken Birkaç Söz", 1949: 2)*

Taking into consideration that *Cinsiyet Âlemi* was one of the first magazines of its type, as expected, its content included a large amount of translations. Out of 98 articles of which the author's name or source text is stated, 75 (%77) articles were translations. This is a very high rate. Therefore it appears that İnel as a translator and a publisher attached a significant importance to translation activity. Hasan İnel claims that his father played a key role in choosing material that was going to be published in both *Kahkaha* and *Cinsiyet Âlemi* (İnel, personal communication, May 25, 2015). Thus, it would not be wrong to suggest that İnel was the main decision-maker concerning the contents of both magazines. Cover pages of *Cinsiyet Âlemi* did not include any coloured illustrations of pin-up girls. Instead, a contents page of the articles within the volume was given. Content was mostly written, but some illustrations and pictures were also provided as can be seen in the figure below.

Figure 9: Selected Cover Pages and content from *Cinsiyet Âlemi Seksüalite*



Source: *Cinsiyet Âlemi*, Volume 1 and 2.

In the light of the above analysis, it can be suggested that İnsel's activity as a patron, in parallel with his translation activity, revealed his systematic attempts at promoting popular erotic literature and texts on sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire in the 1940s. Becoming a patron himself after founding his own publishing house, İnsel certainly became an influential agent in the field of cultural production. In order to question İnsel's promotion of erotic popular literature and sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire, an analysis of the peritextual elements of the books published by İnsel Bookstore and İnsel's marketing strategies might be useful.

The peritextual material of the books published by İnsel Kitabevi displays a regular pattern. My analysis has revealed that the cover pages of the translated and indigenous books published between 1942 and 1946 were informative and simple (see

Appendix 3). Making the distinction between translations and indigenous works on the cover page of the book, İnel Kitabevi followed a pattern in the presentation of their books. This pattern seems to have been similar to the presentation of books produced by the Translation Bureau.<sup>77</sup> The covers of the books produced by the Translation Bureau were described by Tahir-Gürçağlar as follows:

*The covers of these books were rather plain, printed in white cardboard and featuring no illustration. It was the white colour that these books were later identified with, and the classics translated by the Translation Bureau came to be called 'White Books' or the 'White Series' by the general readership, terms which are still in circulation today. The front cover carried the name of the author, the title of the book and the logo of the Ministry of Education. [...] The cover layout of Translation Bureau books became a hallmark of translated canonized literature in Turkey. [...] The translator's name only appeared on the title page (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002: 48-49)*

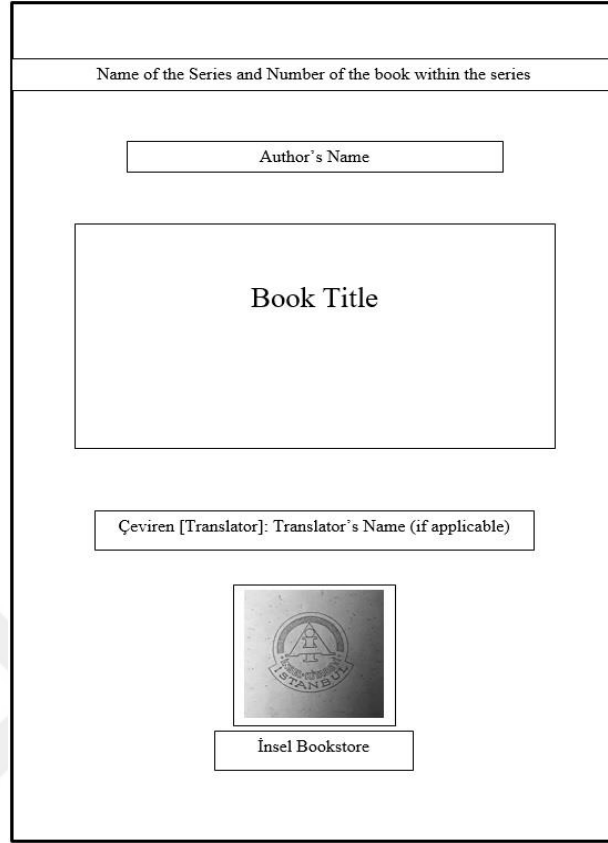
Similar to this design, the books translated and published by İnel between 1942 and 1946 were also plain and featured no illustrations. They were in most cases printed in white cardboard too. However, different from the cover pages produced by the Translation Bureau, the translator's name was indicated both on the cover page and the title page probably because İnel himself was also a translator. However, all the other characteristics of the cover pages were very similar to the presentational style of the other private publishing houses. Tahir Gürçağlar states that “the general strategy of the [private] publishers, reflected an indiscriminating attitude towards translation and original writing” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2002: 56). The reason for the similarity of presentation between İnel Publishing House and the Translation Bureau between 1942 and 1946 might be the high symbolic capital the Translation Bureau acquired in the field of translation by publishing “canonical and high literature” with the support of the state. İnel, in contrast to other private publishers, might have aimed at presenting the books he published as if they were “canonical literature” and thereby benefiting from the symbolic capital that the Bureau acquired. The pattern of the cover pages published by İnel Publishing House until 1946 is displayed in the figure below.

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<sup>77</sup> The Bureau was founded by the Ministry of Education and was operational between 1940 and 1966. It produced over a thousand translations of mainly western classics and “proved to be most influential translation institution founded in the republican Turkey” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2014: 113).



**Figure 10:** Pattern of cover pages published by İnsel until 1946



Source: prepared by the writer

However, the books published and reprinted by Kitabevi after 1946 display a dramatic change in their cover page compositions. The cover pages of these later books show striking similarities with the cover pages produced by other private publishers. It should be noted that there is no regular pattern in cover pages of the books published by İnsel after 1946. Even though the type of books published did not change at all after 1946, the name of the translator was not mentioned in some cases and instead of simple backgrounds used before 1946, coloured drawings depicting the plot were utilised as can be seen in Appendix 4. Evidently, this was a deliberate marketing decision by İnsel to make the books more eye-catching to readers of popular literature. Another significant change in the cover pages of books published after 1946 was their explicit emphasis on eroticism and sexuality. Therefore, İnsel's promotion of popular erotic literature became more obvious after 1946 when he changed his cover page compositions. For this reason, I think it is no coincidence that obscenity charges against İnsel increased and became more visible after 1946, as will be displayed in the

following section. I think that the cover designs prepared before 1946 imitated the canonical texts and might have provided İnel with some protection from censorship.

In addition İnel, as a publisher, used “market conditions” to his advantage through a number of newspaper advertisements and window dressings of his publishing house. For Even-Zohar market conditions are the “aggregate of factors involved in the selling and buying of products and with the promotion of types of consumption” (Even-Zohar, 2008: 286). Even-Zohar justifiably claims that the “implementation of culture planning is [...] obviously a matter of successful marketing carried out among other means by propaganda and advertising” (ibid: 287). İnel frequently advertised the new books and magazines published by his bookstore in newspapers and in his publications (see Appendix 5). In addition, he was an exceptional window-dresser. In 1952, he dressed his bookstore’s window as a jail to advertise the indigenous novel *Mapushane Çeşmesi* [Fountain of the Jail] written by Adnan Tahir and caught the attention of newspapers and the public immediately (see Appendix 6). As can be seen in the figure below, he even employed two men to act as prisoners in his bookstore’s window.

**Figure 11:** İnel’s window dressing that attracted attention in 1952



Source: *Milliyet*, 17.12.1952: 4.

This was an unprecedented advertisement strategy in the 1950s and it was regarded as sensationally successful in the newspapers of the period. İnel’s skill in window-dressing in general was also mentioned by Adnan Yassitepe, Şevket Rado and

Sadun Tanju.<sup>78</sup> Sadun Tanju in the newspaper *Vatan* claimed that people walking in İnsel Kitabevi's street stood before the window for a long time and tried to see the window above the shoulders of others (Tanju, 18.12.1952: 3).

Another example, showing that İnsel used market conditions to his own advantage, is his ideas on book readers. İnsel categorized these readers in the market in four groups:

*We have no well-heeled customers. Most of them are down at the heels. Such customers save money, they buy food for their stomach and try to provide food for their heads. This poor class looks for intellectual books. Cocktail girls, on the other hand, look for books that appeal to the body or to cinema world. Apart from them, there is a group who looks for religious books. [...] Students are customers of crime novels.* (İnsel in Kamber, 12.01.1947: 2)

*[Bizde kalantor müşteri arama, [...] ekserisi pejmürde kılıklı, midesinden arttırıp kafasına gıda temin etmeye çalışan insanlar. Bu fakir tabaka fikre hitabeden kitaplar arar. Koktelci kızlarsa vücuda hitabeden veya sinema âlemine dair kitapları isterler. Bunların dışında da din kitapları arayan bir sınıf vardır. [...] Talebeler bilhassa cinaî romanların müşterisidirler.]* (İnsel in Kamber, 12.01.1947: 2)

With regard to this categorization by İnsel, it could be argued that the first books he translated from André Gide, Nikolai Gogol, and Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov were regarded as “canonical” literature, and they were addressed to readers that looked for intellectual books. However, after founding his own publishing house, he produced and published mostly for readers of popular fiction, mainly through Pitigrilli translations.

To conclude, İnsel, as a publisher, besides a translator and a pseudotranslator, systematically promoted erotic literature and texts on sexuality in the Turkish culture repertoire in the 1940s. Even though sexuality as an option was not new in the repertoire but existed for centuries in the Ottoman and Turkish culture repertoires, İnsel certainly made it more visible, accessible and discussable by empowering its existence in the repertoire. Furthermore, the consistency of erotic motifs in his translations and publications proves that he acted deliberately. For these reasons, İnsel

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<sup>78</sup> “Window organized with taste and care” [“zevk ve itina ile süslediğin vitrin”] (Yassitepe, 1942: 172);

“a clean and roomy place. Its shelves were organized with taste, the walls are painted, the window is sparkling, and particularly it is a bookstore without dust” [“Temiz, ferah, rafları zevkle tanzim edilmiş, duvarları boyalı, camları pırıl pırıl, bilhassa tozsuz bir kitabevi”] (Rado, 2003: 229).

acted as a shaping agent of translation in the erotic repertoire. The Turkish erotic repertoire of literary texts, movies, songs, magazines and newspapers throughout the years was shown in the second chapter. İnsel was one of the actors that played a shaping role in forming the popular erotic repertoire. The most important feature of the erotic repertoire, when compared to other popular repertoires, is that it has been always met with resistance by some men of letters and in many cases, censorship by the state. İnsel encountered a number of hardships during his activities, such as harsh criticisms by other agents in the field and a trial but despite these problems he persistently translated and published texts with erotic content. In the following section, the “active resistance” İnsel met with during his planning activities will be demonstrated.

### **3.2. Censorship and Struggles over Erotic Popular Literature in the 1940s: İnsel’s Capital as a Shield against Censorship**

In this section, I will scrutinize the struggle over erotic popular literature in the Turkish literary field in the 1940s by analysing the criticisms and trials of İnsel. As was shown in the previous chapter, the Turkish culture repertoire had been a heterogeneous arena of struggle over obscenity for decades between the 1920s and 1970s. On the heterogeneity of repertoires, Even-Zohar claims that:

*Given the hypothesis of heterogeneity in socio-semiotic systems, there is never a situation where only one repertoire may function for each possible set of circumstances in society. Concurrently different options constitute competing and conflicting repertoires. (Even-Zohar: 1997: 21)*

Given that options within a repertoire were created by agents, the main constituent of the competition and conflict are agents themselves. In the Turkish culture repertoire many forms of erotic production such as literature, movies, songs and short stories were produced, mainly through translation. Many agents of translation took part in forming this repertoire and İnsel was one of the most important agents among them. In contrast to other repertoires, the erotic repertoire has always been under the threat of censorship due to obscenity. Hence censorship is one of the main characteristics of this repertoire. In addition to censorship, numerous criticisms against the producers of the erotic repertoire were voiced by other writers, critics and intellectuals.

My research has revealed that criticisms against İnsel can be categorized into two groups. The first group of criticisms are those related to İnsel's attempts at promoting erotic literature as mentioned above. The second group, on the other hand, are translation criticisms that mostly dwell upon so-called 'wrong translations', but these are out of the scope of this study. Here, I will demonstrate the persistent struggles between the agents on obscenity and censorship through Avni İnsel's translations.

The criticisms against İnsel's erotic production date back to his first translation, *Les Nourritures terrestres* by André Gide under the title *Dünya Nimetleri* in 1936. As can be seen in İnsel's preface to the 1939 edition of this translation, they were based on the assumption that the youth in the country were intellectually not mature enough to understand these works and for this reason such works could harm their moral values (İnsel, 1939a: 68). However these criticisms were not aggressive because André Gide was regarded as a prestigious and important writer of western literature. Gide's selected works were translated into Turkish even by the Translation Bureau under the titles *Seçme Yazılar* [Selected Writings] (1948) and *Günlük* [The Diary]. However Pitigrilli was never regarded as a canonical author. After İnsel founded his own publishing house in 1942 and started promoting works by Pitigrilli, the degree of criticisms started to gradually increase. For instance, İbrahim Hoyi (1908-1984), in a newspaper article written in 1943 entitled *Avni İnsel and his translations*, criticised İnsel over his selection of works to be translated into Turkish:

*The prolific translator [İnsel] who presented the Italian Pitigrilli to readers not long ago with Kokain, Ölmeyen Aşk, and Şehvet Çocuğu, has translated a new novel written by Pitigrilli into Turkish: 18 Kıratlık Bakire. We personally are not in favour of attaching so much importance to such works because we believe that there are other one hundred percent literary works we can benefit more from in comparison to such works. In our opinion a good translator such as İnsel would better use his labour and energy in more concise and fertile areas. (Hoyi, 13.09.1943)*

*[Son zamanlarda ise İtalyan Pitigrilli'yi okurlarına sunan çalışkan mütercim [İnsel], türkçeye [sic.] çevirdiği Kokain, Ölmeyen aşk, Şehvet Çocuğu isimli romanlarına, bir yenisini Pitigrillinin [sic.] "18 kıratlık bakire" romanını kattı. Biz, şahsan bu gibi eserlere bu kadar fazla önem verilmesi taraftarı değiliz. Zira, bunlardan çok daha önce faydalanacağımız daha başka ve çeşidli yüzde yüz edebî mahsuller bulunduğu inaniyoruz. Bize öyle geliyor ki Avni İnsel kıratında bir mütercim emeğini, enerjisini daha özlü, daha verimli alanlarda kullanabilir ve daha iyi de eder.] (Hoyi, 13.09.1943)*

Regarding İnsel as an important translator, Hoyi explicitly advises İnsel to translate ‘canonical’ or ‘high’ literature instead of popular literature. However İnsel did not seem to take heed of Hoyi’s advice and he published three more books by Pitigrilli in the following year. In 1944 İnsel wrote a newspaper article published in *Vakit* on Pitigrilli’s life and literary characteristics. Stating that his Pitigrilli translations aroused great interest and curiosity in the country, İnsel briefly mentioned Pitigrilli’s life story. In addition, he answered the criticisms and accusations against him. Emphasising the cynical style of Pitigrilli he states that:

*Some wanted to see immorality in his works that destroy, deny and also set the cat among the pigeons. If immorality is understood as satirising relationships tainted by prejudices, hypocrisy and deception, pleasures and desires, then Pitigrilli is surely an immoral author. Pitigrilli’s sarcastic, mocking, sceptic, cynical works that deny and destroy, spray acid scented with art on prejudices and lies. (İnsel, 19.01.1944: 2).*

*[Bazıları onun tahrir eden, inkâr eden ve ortalığı karıştıran eserinde bir ahlâksızlık görmek istediler. Ahlâksızlık mefhumu altında [...] peşin hükümlerle, riyakârlık ve yalanla, zevk ve ihtiraslarla kirlenmiş aşk münasebetleriyle hiciv anlaşılıyorsa Pitigrilli muhakkak ki fevkalade ahlâksız bir muharrirdir. Lâkin onun bütün müstehzi, alaycı, septik, sinik, inkâr ve tahrir eden [eserleri], peşin hükümlere ve yalana karşı sanat parfümlü bir kezzap püskürtmektedir.] (İnsel, 19.01.1944: 2).*

It is worthy of attention that İnsel, as the translator and publisher of Pitigrilli, advocated him with all his power, instead of arguing that he was just a messenger and not responsible for what Pitigrilli wrote. However, his unyielding attitude and constant promotion of Pitigrilli got him into more serious trouble in 1948. Here is how the story took place: In 1945 a publishing house called Apa published two translations from Pitigrilli, entitled *Bekâret Kemerî* [La cintura di castità] and *Beni İyi Aldat* [?]. However in 1946 the translator Yaşar Çimen and publisher Mustafa Apa were sued under charges of “obscene publication that unsettles family existence and the desire to start a family” and in addition of “weakening the inherent tendency of women to be a mother” (*Vakit*, 30.07.1946: 2). The court found Çimen and Apa guilty of the accusations directed against them and sentenced them to three and a half months of imprisonment. In addition, all the aforementioned books in the market were to be confiscated and destroyed. On 1 August 1946, Hakkı Süha Gezgin wrote a newspaper article on this issue and stated that he welcomed the verdict with pleasure. Gezgin’s

article is seemingly a manifestation of his hate against Pitigrilli. His tone was very harsh and aggressive, as can be seen below:

*[[Pitigrilli] is a creature who has devoted his intelligence to the devil. He is hostile to moral values because he does not have any. [...] He describes family as a stage of adultery. He fills each page of his writings with drools of mad kisses, flutters of lust and cuckolds. His disgusting jealousy of virtue never ends. [...] To me, Pitigrilli is sick. He wants to stick his teeth into our souls just like a person suffering from rabies.] (Gezgin, 01. 08.1946: 2)*

*[Pitigrilli] zekâsını iblisin kulluğuna vakfetmiş bir mahlûktur. Kendinde olmadığı için ahlâka düşmandır. [...] Aile yuvasını bir zina sahnesi diye tasvir eder. Yazılarının her sayfasına kuduz öpüşlerin salyasını, şehvet çalkanışlarını, boynuz ormanlarını doldurur. Ruhundaki iğrenç fazilet kıskançlığı bir türlü dinmez. [...]Pitigrilli bence hastadır. Kuduza tutulanlar, nasıl herşeye [sic.] saldırırlarsa, bu da dişlerini ruhumuza saplamak ister.] (Gezgin, 01. 08.1946: 2)*

As Gezgin's fierce criticisms suggest, in the second half of the 1940s, some groups were bursting with anger against Pitigrilli. It can be safely argued that this anger was directed not only against Pitigrilli but his translators too. In a newspaper article written during the course of trial, author Zahir Güvemli, similarly to Gezgin, claimed:

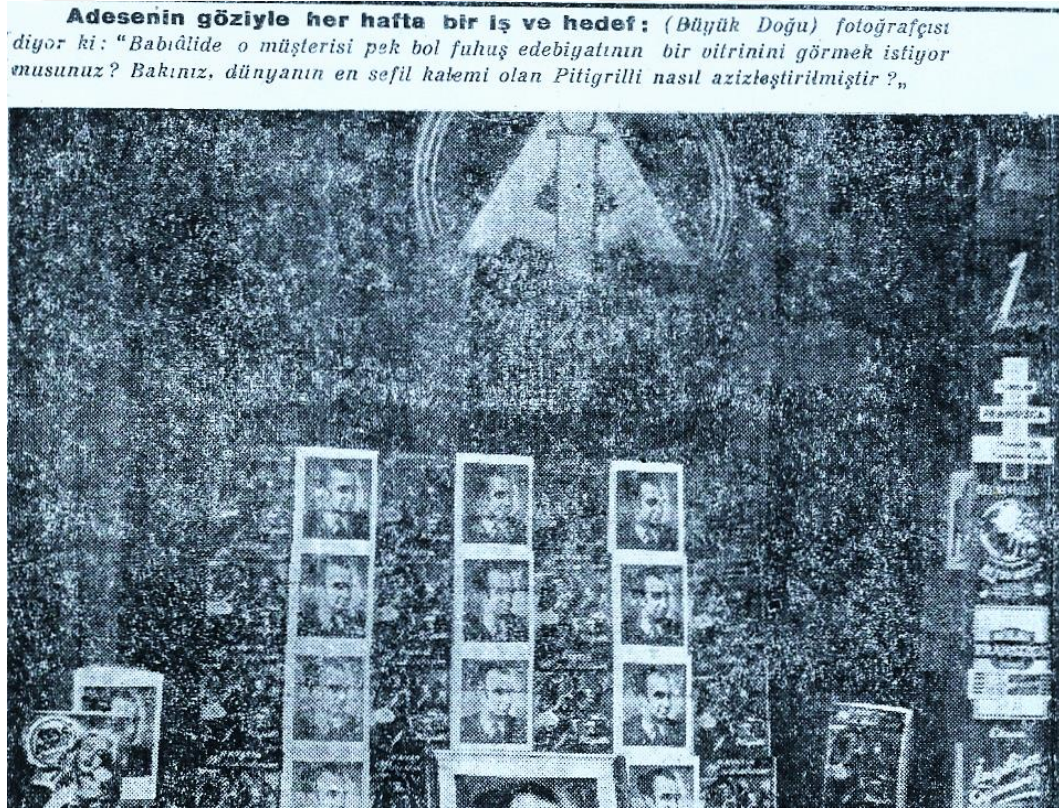
*What kind of people can enjoy Pitigrilli? Those that have lost their social values and attach importance to nothing, just like him. Secondly, those rejected by society. Such people read Pitigrilli's novels with a feeling of consolation and vindication. They can also be called the dissatisfied people. Thirdly, so-called highbrows and especially women. (Güvemli, 21.02.1945: 2)*

*Pitigrilli'den kim zevk alabilir? Onun gibi, toplumsal değerlerini kaybetmiş, nazarında hiçbir şeyin kıymeti kalmamış olanlar. İkinci derecede de toplumun kendisini reddettiği insanlar. Ki bunlar bir nevi teselli bulacak [sic], hınç zevki duyarak o romanları okurlar. Bunlara gayri memnunlar da diyebiliriz. Üçüncü derecede ise herhangi bir meşguliyete sahip olmayan sözde aydınlar ve bilhassa kadınlar. (Güvemli, 21.02.1945: 2)*

Güvemli, here marginalizes readers of Pitigrilli. One of his concerns seems to be the women who were reading Pitigrilli. Interestingly enough, by 1946, the year Çimen and Apa were sentenced to imprisonment due to Pitigrilli, İnel had published at least six books by Pitigrilli: *Kokain* [Cocaine] (1942), *18 Karatlık Bakire* [The 18 Carat Virgin], *Kibar Aşıfteler* [The Gentle Hussies] (1943), *İhtiras Şarkıları* [The Songs of Passion] (1944), *Aşk Arayan Adam* [The Man Who Searches for Love] (1944), and *Mavi Gözlü Prens* [The Prince with Blue Eyes] (1945?) (see Appendix 2). But it is highly suspicious that İnel was not tried like Çimen and Apa until 1948.

When it is considered that İnel advertised Pitigrilli translations in the newspapers and even in his bookstore, this suspicion grows further. In the second half of the 1940s, İnel Bookstore's window was full of Pitigrilli books and advertisements. During these years, Necip Fazıl Kısakürek started a campaign against "obscene literature" and published a photograph in his weekly magazine, *Büyük Doğu* showing İnel Kitabevi's window which was full of Pitigrilli's photographs and books. The caption above the photograph was as follows: "Do you want to see a window in Babiâli presenting prostitution literature which has a number of customers? See how Pitigrilli, the poorest author of the world, is sanctified." ["Babiâli'de o müşterisi pek bol fuhuş edebiyatının bir vitrinini görmek istiyor musunuz? Bakınız, dünyanın en sefil kalemi olan Pitigrilli nasıl azizleştirilmiştir."] (*Büyük Doğu*, 12.03.1948: 3).

**Figure 12:** The column entitled "Through the lens" in *Büyük Doğu*



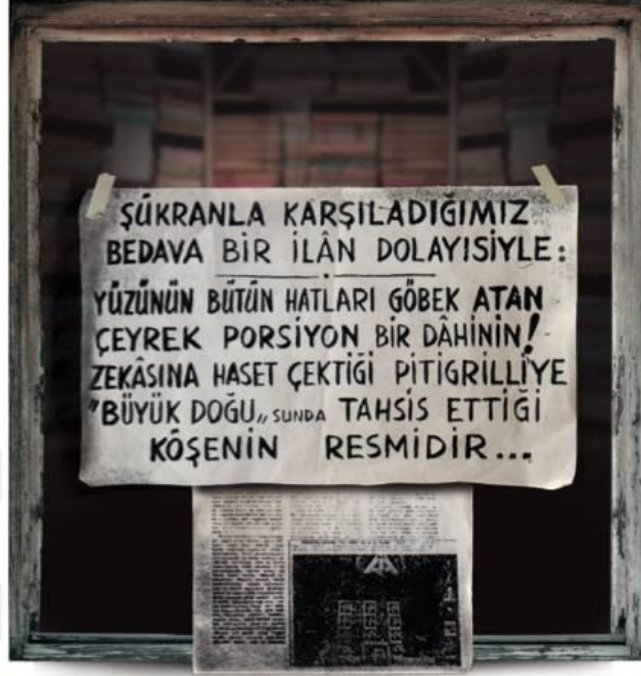
Source: *Büyük Doğu*, 12.03.1948: 3

İnel answered Kısakürek in a sensational way. Only a few days after Necip Fazıl wrote that criticism in the magazine, İnel attached the page that includes the photograph of his bookstore's window to a big blank page and wrote a note saying: "On account of a free advertisement we met with gratitude: This is the column that a



one-quarter genius (!) whose features belly dance, reserved in his *Büyük Doğu* for Pitigrilli who he envies”. Let’s see this note below:

**Figure 13:** İnel’s response to Necip Fazıl Kısakürek



Source: İşli, 2014: 98

Kısakürek was one of the most prominent representatives of Islamic thought in Turkey in that period. İnel’s sharp-tongued and mocking answer to Kısakürek had wide repercussions amongst the public (cf. Okay, 2002). This was one of the most visible examples of the struggle over obscenity in the public sphere.

Only a few months after İnel’s sensational confrontation with Kısakürek, İnel was sued with charges of obscenity for the first time in his career. A Pitigrilli book published by İnel and translated by Adnan Tahir, *Hayatım ve Maceralarım* [My Life and Adventures] (1948), was sent for trial on 11 August 1948. One of the reasons for the trial might be İnel’s mocking and salient response to Kısakürek. The public prosecutor requested that the trial continue in closed session (*Son Saat*, 03.08.1948). As discussed in the second chapter, in the trial of *Aphrodite* just eight years prior to İnel’s case the newspapers protested the trial publicly with a heated debate over obscenity. The public prosecutor’s request was probably due to his fear of facing a similar situation. Even though Mehmet Ali Sebük, İnel’s lawyer objected to this request, the judge accepted the public prosecutor’s request. At the first hearing, the

judge decided to consult an expert witness report. On 23 November 1948, a second hearing was held, but this time it was open to the public. The expert witness report indicated that the books were obscene. The defendant's lawyer Mehmet Ali Sebük made his statement of defence over the concept of obscenity, indicating that it was too much of a subjective concept because it changed from time to time and from culture to culture. Arguing that intention should be the main factor taken into account in making decisions on whether a work was obscene or not, Sebük also touched upon Pitigrilli's literary value. He claimed that the intention of İnsel and Tahir was to convey a work of art in Turkish. Afterwards Sebük started comparing Pitigrilli's books with passages from Turkish translations of Émile Zola's *La Terre* (1887) and to Rumi's *Mathnawī* (15<sup>th</sup> century). Both Zola's and Rumi's book were translated into Turkish by the state-sponsored Translation Bureau and published under the series entitled "The Classics". Sebük argued that even though these works include passages that could be considered obscene, they were read at schools. In conclusion, pointing out that the state itself would not promote obscene works, he claimed that works of art cannot be considered obscene. However, two days later, on 25 August 1948 the court found İnsel and Tahir guilty and sentenced them to one and a half months of imprisonment and a fine. As the defendants had no criminal record their sentence was reprieved, but the copies of the book subject to accusations were confiscated (*Vatan*, 23.11.1948 and *Son Saat*, 23.11.1948).

In addition, the lawyer's comparison of Pitigrilli to Rumi in his statement of defence during the trials was met with harsh criticisms in the media (see Appendix 7). For instance, Refi Cevad Ulunay, in a newspaper article published on 24 November 1948, criticised Sebük for comparing a writer such as Pitigrilli to Rumi. Arguing that Pitigrilli's pen was as dirty as a sewer, Ulunay complained about the popularity of Pitigrilli:

*There is a pimp of literature called Pitigrilli. His works that mention virginity, sexual relations etc. are translated into Turkish and published. Everyone buys and reads this contemporary bahnâme [sex manual]. (Ulunay, 24.11.1948)*

*[Pitigrilli adlı bir edebiyat pezevengi vardır. Bunun bekâretten, cinsî muamelelerden ve daha bilmem nelerden bahseden eserleri bizde terceme edilerek intişar sahasına çıkarılır ve herkes bu asrî behnâmeysi alır, okur.] (Ulunay, 24.11.1948)*

Ulunay further claimed that the passages from *Mathnawī* read by Sebük in the court were Sufistic symbols and could never be compared to works by Pitigrilli. After the court decision, İnsel did not publish any other works by Pitigrilli until 1950 but kept advertising and promoting his books in his bookstore. Following the trial, Ahmed Kâmil in an article entitled “Edep Dışı Edebiyat” [Literature without Decency] in another Islamist magazine *Sebilürreşad*, claims that the court justifiably confiscated some Pitigrilli books from the market but still the verdict could not stop such publications. Complaining about indigenous works, Kâmil claimed that:

*The merchants who wear the black glasses of greed for money do not fail to publish a modern sex manual every day under a new title. As if the translations were not enough, now indigenous works have started to be published. (Kâmil, 1949: 121)*

*[Gözlerine para hırsının kapkara gözlüğünü geçiren bezirgânlar her gün yeni bir ünvanla, asrî bir bahnamenin yayınlanmasından geri kalmıyorlar! Tercüme az geliyormuş gibi, şimdi de telif başladı.] (Kâmil, 1949: 121)*

Kâmil’s claim indicates that the main source of erotic literature was regarded as translation. He explicitly called on the official authorities to ban both indigenous and translated erotic productions and, similar to some other writers in his period such as Peyami Safa and Cemal Oğuz Öcal, he associated erotic literature with communism (ibid.). In the same year, Halit Fahri Ozansoy, a poet, in an interview with Şinasi Özdenoğlu answered a question about translation activity in Turkey as follows:

*I welcome the translation activities in Turkey. However, as it has got out of hand, no one can tell which books are good and which books are bad. For instance, with Pitigrilli’s entrance into our translation library, will not the country acquire immorality? (Ozansoy in Özdenoğlu, 1949: 72-73)*

*[Çok iyi karşıyorum. Yalnız, çığrından çıktığı için hangisi iyi, hangisi kötü kimse farkına varamıyor. Meselâ bir Pitigrilli’nin tercüme kütüphanemsize girmesiyle, memleket ahlâksızlık kazanmış olmaz mı?] (Ozansoy in Özdenoğlu, 1949: 72-73)*

But despite all the criticisms and pressures from conservative circles, İnsel, from the 1950 onwards, published five more Pitigrilli translations. They are: *İt Ürür Kervan Yürür* [Dogs bark but the caravan goes on] (1950), *Fettan Kız* [Coquette Girl] (1951), *Aşk Dersleri* [Love Courses] (1951), *Sapık Oğlan* [The Perverted Boy] (1958?), *Üzme Tatlı Canını* [Don’t be Sad] (1959?). Interestingly, the title of the first work published after the trial, *İt Ürür Kervan Yürür* [Dogs bark but the caravan goes on] might be making an innuendo against his critics and protestors.

My research has also revealed that the first volume of *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* [The World of Sexuality] was confiscated from the market due to obscenity (*Yeni Gazete*, 26.06.1949: 2). However, no trial took place in this case and the magazine continued to be published. As stated in the Press Law of 1931, which was scrutinized in the previous section, “publications that include lewd and obscene pictures/photographs can be confiscated by order of public prosecutors” [“Âdaba münafi müstehcen resimleri havî neşriyat Cumhuriyet müddei umumilerinin emrile toplattırılabilir”] (*Resmi Gazete*, 08.08.1931). In my opinion, the public prosecutor ordered the magazine to be confiscated but did not file a lawsuit.

Analysis of the obscenity trials İnel was involved in yields three interrelated results. Firstly, it appears that censorship due to obscenity in the 1940s was not systematic, i.e. while some books with erotic content were being tried, others with a similar content were left unnoticed. Secondly, there was not any official institution or committee exerting control over published erotic literature. The crime of obscenity as described in the Press Law of 1931 was pursued by individual public prosecutors. Thirdly, it seems that censorship was exerted in the form of post-production censorship in the period in question. The main sanctions were confiscation of the book in question, fines and imprisonment. No mechanism for prior-production censorship existed. As Nazım Hikmet Ran clearly indicates in an essay written in 1955, there was no mechanism of pre-censorship in Turkey:

*When we talk about censorship and its conditions in Turkey, we cannot say that books, magazines and newspapers etc. were sent to an institution of censorship before publication. Such a censorship did not exist earlier and does not exist now.* (Ran, 1991: 242)

*[Türkiye’de sansür, sansür şartları denildiği zaman bunu, kitaplar, dergiler, gazeteler filan yayımlanmadan önce bir sansür kurumuna gönderilir manasına almamalı. Böyle bir sansür o zaman da yoktu, şimdi de yok.]* (Ran, 1991: 242)

Having published 20 books written by Pitigrilli along with other erotic novels and been criticised constantly by conservative agents in the field of literature İnel was tried only once for one of these books, entitled *Hayatım ve Maceralarım* in 1948. I suggest that principally İnel’s social capital acted as a shield against censorship. Social capital, according to Bourdieu, is “made up of social obligations ('connections'), which are convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be

institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility” (Bourdieu, 1986: 47). İnel’s social capital was his most distinctive feature. He had friends from elite circles such as parliamentary members, journalists and prominent men of letters. For instance, in his preface to *Lady Chatterley’in Aşığı* (1942) he expresses his gratitude to intellectuals and men of letters such as Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Vehbi Eralp, Hamdi Varoğlu and Vahdet Gültekin for their encouragement to him to publish the book. Among them, Suut Kemal Yetkin was a member of parliament between 1939 and 1950. İnel had a friendship with another parliamentary member and a prominent writer Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar who was also accused of “obscene” publication in 1924. Governor of İstanbul, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, who became a minister in 1962, was among İnel’s close friends. Gökay was also known as a supporter of the magazine *Seksoloji: Cinsî Bilgiler* [Sexology: Sexual Information] (*Hürriyet*, 25.12.2012). As Orhan Karaveli, owner of the magazine, claims, Gökay was the one who defended their magazine against the public prosecutor when the prosecutor attempted to bring a case of obscenity against the journal (ibid.). He might have secured İnel’s way out of trouble against the censors too when İnel’s magazine *Cinsiyet Âlemi* [The World of Sexuality] was confiscated from the market. In Avni İnel’s personal notebook there is a photograph of Gökay and İnel (see Appendix 10) which was taken following an award ceremony of İnel’s magazine *Kahkaha*.

In addition to members of parliament, some prominent journalists and critics such as Şevket Rado and Bedîî Faik advertised İnel’s bookstore in their writings and backed him up in debates about obscenity. One of the most important publishers of translated literature in the 1940s, İbrahim Hilmi Çığıracı was the publisher of İnel’s early-career translations and he was a friend of İnel. As Necdet İşli claims, Burhan Arif Ongun, who was an author of the period, was a very close friend of İnel. In addition to his close friends from the literary field, İnel was the son-in-law of Fahrettin Altay, one of the heroes of the Turkish War of Independence and a senior diplomat. When I asked his son Hasan İnel about this invisible shield surrounding İnel against censorship, he stated that his father’s actions were the result of teamwork. For this reason, I suggest that İnel’s social capital in particular was the decisive factor in his dissident practice of translation and publishing.

Secondly, İnsel's marketing strategies, in particular the cover designs of the translated books he published until 1946, protected him from censorship in the early phase of his career as a publisher. As discussed earlier, cover pages of the books published by İnsel were very similar to canonical works translated by the state-sponsored Translation Bureau. This might also be regarded as a "disguise technique" (Tourey, 2002: 152) which safeguarded İnsel from censorship. As stated earlier, it is no coincidence that many criticisms against İnsel were voiced only after 1946, the date he changed his book covers from plain and informative to illustrative and commercial pages. To this end, it can also be suggested that the paratextual characteristics of literary works played an important role in attracting the attention of critics and censors in Turkey during the 1940s.

İnsel seems to have been a powerful agent in terms of economic capital too. He was one of the partners of the Turkish Textbooks Company Limited (İnsel, personal communication, May 25, 2015). It should be noted that publishing textbooks was a much more profitable job than publishing literature in the 1940s because the former were obligatorily bought by a number of students each year all around Turkey. Kamber claims that even the bestsellers in the 1940s only sold about five to six thousand copies (Kamber, 12.01.1947: 2). Nevertheless, in addition to textbooks, it is highly likely that İnsel increased his economic capital after founding his own publishing house thanks to Pitigrilli, who became very popular among readers. Furthermore, the letters written to İnsel by Hakkı Tunaboşlu, (a brigadier general in the army), indicate that İnsel was retired due to disability in 1947 (probably due to an injury during his military service which left him crippled) and was paid (see Appendix 13). Thus, as sustaining his living conditions was not highly dependent on his literary publishing activities, İnsel may have been able to act more boldly. As Bourdieu claims, all types of capitals are convertible to each other (Bourdieu, 1993: 8). İnsel's economic capital which enabled him to found a publishing house increased his symbolic capital too, without a doubt. Having increased his symbolic capital, İnsel acquired more social capital by meeting new people in the literary field. Therefore, it could be argued that a chain reaction among İnsel's economic, symbolic and social capitals took place and they were highly influential in his escape from censorship.

### 3.3. Conclusions

In this chapter, I problematized Avni İnel's constant and deliberate promotion of erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire in the 1940s. In the first part of this chapter, İnel's habitus through his personalized history was examined and Avni İnel was scrutinized as a translator, pseudotranslator and publisher. It has been shown that even though İnel suffered heavy criticism by men of letters, he did not assume a subversive role and answered most of his critics while continuing his production of erotic literature in Turkish. His actions as a translator, pseudotranslator and publisher all interrelatedly served the purpose of disseminating erotic popular literature. This chapter has also displayed that Pitigrilli was the most translated and published author by İnel. It can be safely argued that İnel was the primary agent of translation that introduced the controversial and popular Pitigrilli translations into Turkish.

It has become apparent in this chapter that even though İnel promoted erotic popular literature on a huge scale, he was tried only once due to a book as a publisher. I suggested that this was thanks mainly to İnel's social capital and marketing strategies. In addition, the analysis of the cases of censorship has shown that the censorship mechanism in Turkey during the 1940s relied on mainly post-production censorship and it was not systematic. No specialised censorship institution or committee exerted control over the literary field. Public prosecutors were the agents who pursued crimes of obscene publications.

Another finding of this chapter is that criticisms against popular erotic literature and İnel as the producer of this kind of literature were voiced mainly by conservative men of letters. In addition to moral reasons, İnel was also criticised with the claim that he promoted erotic literature only for commercial reasons and his productions did not have any artistic value. Some even associated erotic literature with communism and criticized İnel's publications harshly. However, despite the criticisms and censoring attempts, İnel was one of the most controversial and important agents of translation who played a major role in the formation of an erotic repertoire in Turkey in the 1940s.

## CONCLUSION

This historical research was set out to explore and question the role of Avni İnel as an agent of translation in the production of discourse on eroticism and obscenity in Turkey mainly in the 1940s. To this end, firstly the erotic repertoire between the 1920s and the 1970s was investigated in order to reveal the points of discussion related to obscenity and eroticism. Then I discovered that translation had been the main tool of transferring erotic texts into the Turkish culture repertoire. I tried to construct the erotic repertoire of early republican Turkey by examining extratextual and peritextual materials. My research showed that translated popular erotic literary texts occupied an important place along with erotic magazine, films, songs, statues and caricatures in the repertoire. Moreover, some agents such as Avni İnel appeared to have been more active within the erotic repertoire. Finally, Avni İnel emerged as an active agent of translation who entered the literary field in 1936 and remained active until 1964 and produced many erotic options (mostly popular erotic novels, but also magazines) to the repertoire both as a translator and a publisher. Having focused on Avni İnel, I suggested that translation was the main tool of transfer in the production of erotic popular literature. Additionally, I discovered that İnel systematically and deliberately promoted erotic literature in the repertoire, mainly in the 1940s, despite the fact that he was exposed to many criticisms by men of letters and also a number of censorship attempts. Thus I argued that İnel, as an antagonistic agent of translation, shaped the discussions revolving around the subjects of obscenity and censorship mainly through his insistent translations of popular erotic literature in the 1940s. By examining İnel's productions and activities in the literary field, this research also unveiled various criticisms directed towards erotic literature on the grounds of obscenity, mainly by conservative agents in the 1940s. Furthermore, this research offered information on the mechanism of censorship due to obscenity in Turkey.

**Chapter One** consists of two main parts. In the first part, I conducted a literature review of selected scholarly works on translation and censorship. Translation and censorship as a field of research was my main point of departure in this thesis, because erotic literature in both Turkey and the world was exposed to censorship in many cases. Furthermore, my preliminary research showed that discourse produced by men of letters in Turkey about erotic literature was closely related to censorship and



obscenity. My analysis of the selected scholarly works showed that translation and censorship started to emerge as a field of research in the world in the late 1990s. This growing interest in the subject emerged largely as a result of the increasing focus on constraints effective upon translators. The study of political, cultural, religious, poetic and linguistic constraints and how translators reacted to them unavoidably brought about an increasing attention to censorship. In the 2000s a number of books, academic journals and articles on translation and censorship were published and a number of conferences were held.

In the first part of Chapter One, I examined selected research offering both theoretical studies and case studies on translation and censorship and I suggested a classification of these works. An analysis of theoretical studies displayed that the major concepts used in theoretical research related to translation and censorship are Lefevre's concept of patronage, Toury's concept of norms, and Tymoczko's concept of metonymics. Having benefited from these concepts, scholars mainly tried to examine the internal and external constraints framing translators in the translation process. In addition, various sociological approaches and concepts such as Bourdieu's habitus and structural censorship were also used by scholars to contextualize translators within a cultural environment, which helped to understand the reasons for self-censorship or structural censorship. For the works, including case studies, I made a classification regarding the questions of what, where, when, why, how and who is censored by whom in the translation process under five categories: agents imposing censorship, types of censorship, reasons for censorship, socio-political environment, and timing of censorship. My analysis of case studies has shown that most research examined the reasons behind translators' censoring their texts including erotic elements, political elements and religious elements, by making a comparative analysis. Only a limited amount of research employed an agent grounded perspective and those works did not focus on the erotic repertoire.

Following the analysis of existing research in the world, it became apparent that research in Turkey started in the late 2000s and interest in the topic of translation and censorship has increased in the last five years. Research showed that censorship has existed in the Turkish context from the distant past to the recent past for a variety of reasons such as sexuality, religion and politics. It existed in many forms, such as in

the form of textual manipulation, self-censorship and prohibition or ban. Complementary to these forms, I suggested that structural censorship was also in force in the 1940s. Similar to works in other countries, most of the research in Turkey is product-oriented and based on comparative analysis. In these studies researchers, by investigating the strategies used in translation through textual comparison, offered reasons for (self-)censorship in translations, mostly overlooking the contextual information. There were only a few studies that discussed translation and censorship within the broader perspective of the socio-cultural and political environment of the period. Still, similar to other studies in the world, an agent-grounded perspective is missing in these studies.

In the second part of Chapter One I introduced my theoretical and methodological framework. Itamar Even-Zohar's polysystem theory formed the theoretical framework of this research, and here I first presented the concepts of culture repertoire, resistance, and market. I also presented the concept of agency as introduced by Even-Zohar and Gideon Toury. Then I explained Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus, capital and structural censorship. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital helped me foreground translators as agents of translation. Even-Zohar's understanding of culture repertoire led me to trace erotic literature within the context of Turkish literature throughout the years in order to analyse how erotic options were generated and received. In addition, the concept of culture repertoire allowed me to form an erotic repertoire which not only included erotic literature but other erotic productions such as art, music and cinema. In this way I suggested that obscenity was regarded by some agents not only as a literary but also as a social and cultural problem. The constant criticisms İnsel faced because of his promotion of erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire were evaluated within the concept of resistance. In addition, I drew on the concept of market in analysing İnsel's activities in the market of translation and literature. Along with Even-Zohar's repertoire perspective, I also benefited from Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and capital in order to explain the reasons behind İnsel's decision to promote popular erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire. These concepts helped me to examine İnsel as a socialized individual.

Then I presented my data collection process and methodological framework. In obtaining data on İnsel and erotic literature in Turkey, I benefited from

bibliographies, newspapers, magazines, biographies, academic studies as secondary sources and interviews with İnel's son Hasan İnel and an employee of his bookstore, Necdet İli as primary sources. As methodological tools, I utilised paratextual and extratextual materials. Extratextual materials such as magazine and newspaper articles related to censorship, obscenity, morality and translation provided me with a considerable amount of information on the history of the erotic repertoire in Turkey, while paratextual materials regarding İnel's translations, such as criticisms, prefaces, and book covers provided information on İnel's translational activities.

In **Chapter Two**, I aimed to contextualize translated and indigenous popular erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire. To this end, I attempted to demonstrate the debates revolving around obscenity, morality, censorship and translation in the public sphere in the Ottoman and republican periods. My research on the Ottoman context was completely based on scholarly research scrutinizing erotic literature in the period in question. My analysis showed that popular erotic literature did not emerge in the republican period but started to appear in the first decade of the 1900s. Furthermore, eroticism as an option in the culture repertoire dated back to as early as the 15<sup>th</sup> century. As demonstrated by Bardakçı, erotic elements existed in a number of productions such as folk tales, poetry, novels, sex manuals (*bahnâme*) and song lyrics. Researchers that focused on popular erotic literature in the Ottoman period such as Irvin Cemil Schick, Ömer Türkeş, and Burcu Karahan Richardson asserted that some early works of popular erotic literature in the Ottoman and early republican period were free translations or adaptations of European works.

For the contextualization of erotic literature in the republican period, I selected five cases which can be regarded as points of intersection in the literary field where various approaches to morality, obscenity and censorship clashed and manifested themselves publicly in newspapers and magazines. These five cases were: the case of *Bin Bir Buse* [1001 Kisses] (1923-24), which was a magazine of erotic short stories, a survey on obscenity published in the newspaper *Vakit* in 1929, the press law of 1931, the first Turkish publishing congress in 1939 and the obscenity trial of *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* in Turkish in 1939-40. In addition to these five cases, I scrutinized the discourse produced on obscenity and censorship between the 1940s and the 1970s

with the help of advertisements, articles and news articles published in various newspapers and magazines.

Chapter Two has a number of points to suggest regarding the history of translation, obscenity and censorship in Turkey. First of all, my research showed that the production of erotic options in the Turkish culture repertoire were very diverse in forms including novels, films, statues, songs and caricatures. Secondly, as my research demonstrated, this erotic repertoire was under constant criticism throughout the period between the 1920s and 1970s. The topic of obscenity was the topic of heated debates in each decade within the period in question. Even though the erotic repertoire, and in particular the popular erotic literary repertoire had subsisted in the Turkish culture repertoire for decades, it was never fully accepted by some groups in society or the state. For this reason the Turkish culture repertoire had been an arena of struggle over erotic options. My research disclosed that the fiercest criticisms against the Turkish erotic repertoire were voiced by religious and nationalist conservatives and obscenity was generally discussed within the framework of moral values. Many men of letters from the 1920s to the late 1970s claimed that erotic literary texts had harmful effects on the moral values of society, especially women and children. Erotic popular literature was even associated with communism in the 1940s and 1950s. Given the fact that communism was regarded as a threat to Turkey in this period, this could be seen as a strategic move by protestors against popular erotic literature, in order to hinder its production. Another fundamental criticism directed against popular erotic literature was that it had no artistic or literary value and was produced only with commercial concerns in mind. In general, the tone of many critics was very aggressive and marginalizing. Yet the producers and consumers of erotic literature did not seem to make an attempt to respond to their critics in a systematic way until the mid-1970s. Avni İnel was an exception as a translator and publisher because he publicly fought back against these accusations, sometimes with sarcastic remarks.

Another agent that engaged in active resistance against the erotic repertoire was the state, especially in the early republican period. For instance, the Press Law of 1931 can be regarded as a huge blow against erotic literature. After the law came into force numerous trials were started against publishers and translators for obscenity and the production of erotic works was brought to a halt for a few years, in some cases. The

state's stance against erotic literature was not unique to Turkey. *The International Convention for the Suppression of the Circulation of and Traffic in Obscene Publications*, an international anti-obscenity treaty of League of Nations signed by 40 countries including Turkey in 1924, indicated that there was world-wide resistance to erotic literature. The very existence of erotic literature in such an unfavourable environment was maintained despite the resistance both by the State and the critics.

In **Chapter Three**, I problematized Avni İnsel's constant promotion of popular erotic literature within the Turkish culture repertoire both as a translator and a patron mainly in the 1940s. This chapter comprised two main parts. The first part provided a critical review of Avni İnsel's productions in the Turkish culture repertoire as a translator, pseudotranslator and publisher, along with his personalized history as an individual, i.e. his habitus. Analysis of İnsel's personalized history revealed that İnsel's habitus was structured in a multicultural environment. When İnsel's activities as a translator were analysed it was found that İnsel translated 33 books in total between 1936 and 1958 and his translation activity was highly intensive in the 1940s. Out of 33 books in total, he translated 6 books (18%) in the late 1930s, 24 books (73%) in the 1940s, and only 3 books (9%) in the 1950s. Remarkably, 25 (75%) out of 33 books translated by İnsel include varying degrees of sexuality. The most translated author by İnsel, was Pitigrilli with 7 (21%) books. İnsel's name as a translator was significantly identified with Pitigrilli in the 1940s due to his translations and he was known as the translator who introduced Pitigrilli to Turkish readers. İnsel translated many other erotic novels such as the translation of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) by D. H. Lawrence, published under the title of *Lady Chatterley'in Âşığı* (1942), which was an ill-reputed work in Turkey, due to obscenity debates taking place about the book around the world. In addition, Avni İnsel was the first translator who introduced André Gide to Turkish readers with his translation *Dünya Nimetleri* [The Fruits of The Earth] (1936) which was criticised in some circles due to erotic motifs in the book.

Among the translations of İnsel, the retranslation of *Aphrodite: moeurs antiques* (1896) by Pierre Louÿs' can be counted as well. İnsel's Turkish translation of this novel was published just after its previous translation was acquitted from charges of obscenity by the court in Turkey. He also translated *La Garçonne* (1922) by Victor Margueritte under the title *Lagarson (Erkek Kız)* [The Tomboy] (1947?)

which, shockingly for the time it was published, narrates the story of a woman who breaks off from traditional values and starts to have bisexual relationships.

From the prefaces İnsel wrote to *Dünya Nimetleri*, *Lady Chatterley'in Âşığı*, and *Afrodite: Eski Örf ve Âdetler* and from his interview on Pitigrilli translations published in the newspaper *Milliyet* on 11 January 1964 it appeared that İnsel selected these controversial works deliberately. He overtly challenged opposing writers and critics in his prefaces.

Benefiting from İnsel's preface to *Lady Chatterley's Lover* and the interview mentioned above, I suggested that structural censorship was in force in Turkey in the 1940s. In his preface to *Lady Chatterley's Lover* İnsel stated not only he, himself but also what all Turkish intellectuals thought about publishing D.H. Lawrence's book however "no one dared to make a serious attempt on this issue" ["ciddi bir teşebbüse girişmeğe kimse cesaret edememiştir"] (İnsel, 1942: 1). Similarly, in an interview conducted in 1964, İnsel claimed that no publisher in Turkey wanted to take the risk of publishing Pitigrilli due to the sexual content of the books and the obscurity of the author. Therefore publishers refrained from publishing some controversial or potentially "risky" books even though there was no law prohibiting translation of these works. Actually the Press Law of 1931 prohibited obscene publications, but it included also the statement that works of science and art were exempt from the charge of obscenity. Yet still some publishers were afraid of facing either legal or social sanctions and for this reason they refrained from publishing some books while İnsel can be said to have breached the walls of structural censorship.

In Chapter Three, I also examined İnsel's production of a pseudotranslation. *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* [Memoirs of the Crippled Crow] (1946) was a book allegedly written by Pitigrilli and translated into Turkish by İnsel. The book was published by İnsel's own publishing house. I suggested that İnsel had two main reasons for producing this pseudotranslation. Given the fact that İnsel's pseudotranslation and genuine Pitigrilli translations are parallel in terms of their motifs and characters, İnsel's main reason for publishing a Pitigrilli pseudotranslation could be his commercial concerns. A second reason might be the sexually explicit content of the book. Instead of risking himself directly as the author of the novel, İnsel might have chosen to present it as a translated novel.

Even though Avni İnsel started his career as a translator, on 4 May 1942 he founded his own publishing house and bookstore in Babıâli, which was named after himself as İnsel Publishing House. After scrutinizing İnsel's activity in the market as a translator and pseudotranslator, I examined İnsel as the patron of his publishing house. İnsel Publishing House remained active until 1970 and published 62 books. The analysis of the bibliography of the works published by İnsel Publishing House revealed that 47 (76%) out of the total 62 books published were translations. Thus it was suggested that in line with his activities as a translator, İnsel systematically promoted erotic popular literature as a publisher too. 21 (45%) of the total books published by İnsel were Pitigrilli translations. In addition, İnsel owned two magazines *Kahkaha* [Laughter] which was published 33 volumes (1948-1951) and *Cinsiyet Âlemi: Seksüalite* [The World of Sexuality] (1949-1949) which was published only 6 volumes. *Kahkaha* was full of mostly translated erotic caricatures and jokes, even though it was presented to readers as a humorous political magazine. The magazine *Cinsiyet Âlemi* was presented to readers as a scientific sexual education magazine. Both magazines published mainly translated articles and thus İnsel promoted eroticism and sexuality in the culture repertoire as a translator, publisher and owner of a magazine mainly through translations.

İnsel's marketing strategies as a publisher were also scrutinized in Chapter Three through epitextual and extratextual materials. The analysis of the epitextual features of the books published by İnsel revealed that a dramatic change in cover page compositions was observed in 1946. While the epitexts produced by İnsel before 1946 displayed striking similarities with the epitexts of the Translation Bureau, the epitexts published or reprinted after 1946 were mostly erotic coloured drawings depicting the plot which substituted earlier epitexts, as can be seen in Appendix 4. The reason for this drastic change in İnsel's marketing strategy is not clear, but in my opinion, it is no coincidence that most of the criticisms against İnsel were raised after 1946 when his presentation of erotic novels changed. It appeared that cover pages of the novels increased their visibility and thus attracted more attention in the market which resulted in an increase in criticism too. Yet İnsel was only sued for his publishing activities in 1948 because he published a work Pitigrilli. I suggested that the presentation strategies

before 1946 (plain cover, no pictures, similar to the designs of the Translation Bureau) might have protected him from criticisms and from censorial interferences to an extent.

The second part of Chapter Three, in compliance with what I suggested in the first part, set out to scrutinize the struggles over erotic popular literature between İnsel and other agents by analysing the criticisms and the obscenity trial against İnsel. To this end I analysed and discussed the criticisms directed at İnsel by numerous men of letters. It became evident in this part that almost all of the criticisms against İnsel were based on his translations of Pitigrilli. The criticisms against İnsel were very similar to criticisms voiced by some men of letters in the earlier periods. The main concern of İnsel's protestors was morality. They regarded Pitigrilli as an author harmful to the moral values of the society. This was different from the criticisms voiced earlier against other producers of erotic literature and their tone was very fierce and aggressive. However, İnsel did not assume a subversive role and responded to criticisms throughout his career in the prefaces to his translations, in interviews and even in the window of his bookstore, as was the case in his debate with Necip Fazıl Kısakürek.

My research also revealed that despite all the fierce criticisms against İnsel, he was never tried for obscenity until 1948. In 1945, Apa Publishing House published two books by Pitigrilli entitled *Bekâret Kemerî* [Chastity Belt] and *Beni İyi Aldat* [Cheat on me Well]. Within the same year publisher Mustafa Apa and translator Yaşar Çimen were sued for obscene publication and sentenced to imprisonment in 1946. However, by the year 1946, İnsel had already published 6 translations by Pitigrilli, namely *Kokain* [Cocaine] (1942), *18 Karatlık Bakire* [The 18 Carat Virgin], *Kibar Aşıfteler* [The Gentle Hussies] (1943), *İhtiras Şarkıları* [The Songs of Passion] (1944), *Aşk Arayan Adam* [The Man Who Searches for Love] (1944), and *Mavi Gözlü Prens* [The Prince with Blue Eyes] (1945?).

İnsel was sued on charges of obscene publication for the first time in his career following his sensational debate with Kısakürek over Pitigrilli in 1948. Pitigrilli's *Hayatım ve Maceralarım* [My Life and Adventures] (1948), translated by Adnan Tahir and published by İnsel was sent to trial on 11 August 1948. Tahir and İnsel, as with Apa and Çimen, were sentenced to imprisonment for one and a half months but as the



defendants had no criminal record, their sentences were reprieved. However, the book subject to the accusations was confiscated by the court.

An analysis of obscenity trials yielded three interrelated results. Firstly, censorship due to obscenity in the 1940s was not systematic, i.e. while some books with erotic content were tried, some others with a similar amount of eroticism were left unnoticed. Secondly, in relation to the first result, there seems to have been no official institution or committee exerting control over published erotic literature. The crime of obscenity as described in the Press Law of 1931 was pursued by individual public prosecutors. Thirdly, censorship was exerted mainly in the form of post-production censorship. No mechanism for prior-production censorship existed. The main sanctions were confiscation of the book in question, fines, and imprisonment.

In addition to the unsystematic nature of censorship, I claimed in the third chapter that İnel's social capital acted as a shield against censorship because İnel had been friends with a number of people with high symbolic capital such as members of parliament, journalists, and some prominent men of letters. For instance, my research revealed that the first volume of İnel's *Cinsiyet Âlemi* was confiscated from the market but no trial regarding this magazine took place and *Cinsiyet Âlemi* continued to be published. The governor of İstanbul at that time, Fahrettin Kerim Gökay, who became a minister in 1962, was among İnel's close friends. Gökay was known as a supporter of *Seksoloji: Cinsî Bilgiler* magazine, the first sex education magazine in Turkey, which was published for the first time a few months before İnel's magazine (*Hürriyet*, 25.12.2012). As Orhan Karaveli, owner of the magazine claims, Gökay defended them against the public prosecutor when the prosecutor attempted to bring a case of obscenity against the journal (*ibid.*). He might have kept İnel out of trouble against the censors too when İnel's *Cinsiyet Âlemi* [The World of Sexuality] was confiscated from the market. Furthermore, İnel in his preface to *Lady Chatterley'in Aşığı* (1942) expresses his gratitude to intellectuals and men of letters such as Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Suut Kemal Yetkin, Vehbi Eralp, Hamdi Varoğlu, and Vahdet Gültekin for their encouragement to publish the book. Among them was Suut Kemal Yetkin, a parliamentary member between 1939 and 1950. İnel had a friendship with another parliament member and a prominent writer Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar who was also accused of "obscene" writings in 1924. As Hasan İnel informs us that, in addition to

the figures mentioned above, important businessmen of the period such as Haluk Eczacıbaşı and Semih Tanca were also among İnsel's close friends.

To sum up, this thesis has proven that Avni İnsel was a proactive and controversial agent of translation who systematically and deliberately promoted popular erotic literature in the Turkish culture repertoire, mainly in the 1940s. It was shown that İnsel was the most prominent agent of translation who shaped the discussions and debates on translated and indigenous erotic literature by resisting the pressures exerted publicly by conservative literary circles.

The present thesis includes the lists of İnsel's translated erotic novels and publications of erotic novels. I hope these lists will be helpful for future researchers who will complement my findings with further studies. The main limitation of the present study is that it does not include a comparative analysis between İnsel's translations and source texts. This kind of linguistic analysis might show textual manipulations İnsel made in his translations including censorship if he had had applied in his products. For instance, there are numerous Pitigrilli translations whose source texts are unknown but which seem to have been produced by İnsel. A thorough analysis of these texts might uncover some more Pitigrilli pseudotranslations

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**APPENDICES**

**Appendix 1: Books Translated by Avni İnsel in Chronological Order**

	<b>Target Title</b>	<b>Original Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Publisher</b>	<b>Year(s) Published</b>	<b>Co-translator</b>
1	Dünya Nimetleri*	Les Nourritures terrestres	André Gide	Hilmi Kitabevi	1936, 1939, 1944	-
2	Karmen	Carmen	Prosper Mérimée	Hilmi Kitabevi	1936, 1945	-
3	Senfoni Pastoral (Kır Senfonisi) *	La Symphonie pastorale	André Gide	Hilmi Kitabevi	1937	-
4	Müfettiş (Revizor)*	Ревизор [Revizor]	Nikolai Gogol	Hilmi Kitabevi	1937	Vecihi Görk
5	İblis	Демон [Demon]	Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov	Hilmi Kitabevi	1937	Vecihi Görk
6	Afrodit: Eski Örf ve Adetler *	Aphrodite: mœurs antiques	Pierre Louÿs	Hilmi Kitabevi	1939, 1944	-
7	Zamanımızın bir Kahramanı*	Герой нашего времени	Mikhail Yuryevich Lermontov	Hilmi Kitabevi	1940	-
8	Kokain*	Cocaina	Pitigrilli	Şirketi Mürettibiye Basımevi, İnsel	1941, 1945 (İnsel), 1958 (İnsel)	-
9	Kadınlar Mektebi*	L'école des femmes	André Gide	Efe Neşriyat (?)	1941	-
10	Budala (1. Cilt)	Идиот [Idiot]	Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky	Hilmi Kitabevi, Ak Kitabevi	1941, 1960(Ak), 1967 (Ak)	İlhan Akant
11	Budala (2. Cilt)	Идиот [Idiot]	Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoyevsky	Hilmi Kitabevi, Ak Kitabevi	1941, 1960(Ak), 1967 (Ak)	İlhan Akant
12	Rüzgar gibi Geçti (1. Cilt)*	Gone with the Wind	Margaret Mitchell	Hilmi Kitabevi	1941, 1942, 1944, 1964	Hilmi Ziya Ülken,



						Nihal Yeğınobalı (1964)
13	Rüzgar gibi Geçti (2. Cilt)*	Gone with the Wind	Margaret Mitchell	Hilmi Kitabevi	1941, 1942, 1944	Hilmi Ziya Ülken
14	Rüzgar gibi Geçti (3. Cilt)*	Gone with the Wind	Margaret Mitchell	Hilmi Kitabevi	1941, 1942, 1944	Hilmi Ziya Ülken
15	Nana (Cilt 1)*	Nana	Émile Zola	Hilmi Kitabevi	1942, 1945	-
16	Nana (Cilt 2)*	Nana	Émile Zola	Hilmi Kitabevi	1942, 1945	-
17	Sakuntala (Meşum Yüzük)	Śakuntalā	Kālidāsa	Hilmi Kitabevi	1942	-
18	Şehvet Çocuđu (1. Cilt)*	Il piacere	Gabriel D'Annuzio	İnsel Kitabevi	1942, 1943, 1960	-
19	Şehvet Çocuđu (2. Cilt)*	Il piacere	Gabriel D'Annuzio	İnsel Kitabevi	1942, 1943, 1960	-
20	Lady Chatterley'in Aşıkı [Aşığı]*	Lady Chatterley's Lover	D. H. Lawrence	İnsel Kitabevi	1942, 1943, 1945, 1960	-
21	Ölmeyen Aşk (Anafor Tepe) (Cilt 1)	Wuthering Heights	Emily Brontë	İnsel Kitabevi	[1942]	Hamdi Varođlu
22	Ölmeyen Aşk (Anafor Tepe) (Cilt 2)	Wuthering Heights	Emily Brontë	İnsel Kitabevi	[1943]	Hamdi Varođlu
23	Gündüz Yosması*	Belle de Jour	Joseph Kessel	İnsel Kitabevi	1944	-
24	Aşk Arayan Adam*	L'esperimento di Pott	Pitigrilli	İnsel Kitabevi	1944, 1948	Hayrun İnsel
25	Apaşın Aşkı*	?	J.-H. Rosny aîné	İstanbul Kitap Yayıma Odası	1944, 1963	-
26	18 Kıratlık Bakire*	La vergine a 18 carati	Pitigrilli	İnsel Kitabevi	1945, 1955	-
27	Topal Karganın Hatıraları*	?	Pitigrilli	İnsel Kitabevi	1946, 1948, [195?]	-

28	Lagarson (Erkek Kız)*	La Garçonne	Victor Margueritte	İnsel Kitabevi	[1947]	-
29	Bir Çapkının Hayatı*	?	Pitigrilli	İnsel Kitabevi	1947	-
30	Ihlamurlar Altında	Sous les Tilleuls	Alphonse Karr	Hilmi Kitabevi	1947	-
31	Kibar Aşıfteler*	Mammiferi di lusso (?)	Pitigrilli	İnsel Kitabevi	1955	-
32	Sarışın Bebek*	Dolicocefala bionda	Pitigrilli	İnsel Kitabevi	1958	-
33	Dük ve Gözdesi (Mary Anne)*	Mary Anne	Daphne du Maurier	İnsel Kitabevi	1958	Beatris Posbıyık

(\*) = Books that include at least one of the following motifs in varying degrees: Sexuality, sensuality, extramarital affairs, prostitution, adultery, and concubinage.

**Appendix 2: Books Published by İnsel Bookstore in Chronological Order**

	<b>Book Title</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Year(s) Published</b>	<b>Translator</b>
1	Karanfilli Kadın	A. J. Cronin	[1942]	Asude Zeybekođlu
2	Şehvet Çocuđu (Cilt 1)	Gabriel D'annunzio	1942, 1943, 1960	Avni İnsel
3	Şehvet Çocuđu (Cilt 2)	Gabriel D'annunzio	1942, 1943, 1960	Avni İnsel
4	Asılmıřlar Ormanı	Liviu Rebreanu	1942	Ziya Yamaç
5	Ebulalel Maarri divanından seçmeler	Ebulalel Maarri	1942	A. Seni Yurtman
6	Yeni nimetler	André Gide	1942	Sahir Ergin
7	Söz Müdafaanın	Petre Bellu	1942, 1948	Fikret Adil
8	Lady Chatterley'in Ařığı	D.H. Lawrence	1942, 1943, 1945, 1960	Avni İnsel
9	Manken	Baha Vefa Karatay	1942	-
10	Kalpazanlar (Cilt 1)	André Gide	1942, 1943	Reřat Nuri Darago
11	Kalpazanlar (Cilt 2)	André Gide	1942, 1943	Reřat Nuri Darago
12	18 Kıratlık Bakire	Pitigrilli	1942,1945, 1955	Avni İnsel
13	Kokain	Pitigrilli	[1942], 1945	Avni İnsel
14	Erkekler Sarıřınları Beęenirler	Anita Loos	[1942]	Hamdi Varođlu
15	Ölmeyen aşk	Emily Bronte	[1942]	Avni İnsel & Hamdi Varođlu
16	Harp ve Ekonomi	Seyfi Kurtbek	1942	-
17	Kibar Ařıfteler	Pitigrilli	[1943], 1955	Suad Derviş (1943), Avni İnsel (1955)
18	Corydon	Andre Gide	[1943]	İzzet Güneri
19	İhtiras Şarkıları	Pitigrilli	1944	İhsan Ünesen
20	Ařk Arayan Adam	Pitigrilli	1944, 1948	Hayrun & Avni İnsel
21	Hayatım ve Psikanaliz	Sigmund Freud	1944	Selmin Evrim
22	Mozaik: Neoklasik Şiirler	Edip Ayel	1944	-
23	Gündüz Yosması	Joseph Kessel	1944	Avni İnsel

24	General Ali İhsan Sabis'in Müdafaası	Suad Tahsin Türk	1944	-
25	Mavi Gözlü Prens	Pitigrilli	[1944], 1950	İhsan Ünesen
26	Canım	Helen Grace Carlisle	1945	Hayrun İnel
27	Perişan Hisler	Stefan Zweig	1945	Ziya Yamaç
28	Bekâret Kemerı	Pitigrilli	[194?]	Hayri Tayfur Sonkur
29	Topal Karganın Hatıraları	Pitigrilli	1946, 1948	Avni İnel
30	İvet Fransızca Öğretiyor	Pitigrilli	[1946?]	[Not stated]
31	Aşk Otlayıcıları	Pitigrilli	[1947?]	[Not stated]
32	Harp ve Sosyal Davalarımız	Süreyya Temel	1947	-
33	Bir Çapkının Hayatı	Pitigrilli	1947, [1958]	Avni İnel
34	Lagarson = Erkek kız	Victor Margueritte	[1947]	Avni İnel
35	Rus Efsanesi ve Hakikat: Kızıl Rusya'nın İyüzü	Arthur Koestler	1947	Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın
36	Yanık Kalbler	Avni İnel	[1947]	-
37	Casus	Maxim Gorky	1947	Hayrun İnel
38	Saba'nın Kedileri	Saba Tektaş	[1948]	-
39	Musa ve Çömezleri	Pitigrilli	1948, 1960	Adnan Tahir
40	Sarışın Bebek	Pitigrilli	1948, 1958	Hasan Baskın (1948), Avni İnel (1958)
41	Ben Koca Olamam	Pitigrilli	1948	Adnan Tahir
42	Emsalsiz Macera	Pitigrilli	1948	Adnan Tahir
43	Hayatım ve Maceralarım	Pitigrilli	1948	Adnan Tahir
44	Bir Olalım	Ercüment Eren	[1948]	-
45	Macera	Clyde Brion Davis	1948	Aysel Bilgişin
46	İstiklal Harbimizde Süvari Kolordusu	Fahrettin Altay	1949	-
47	Adsız Kahramanlar	Baha Vefa Karatay	1949	-
48	İt ürür Kervan Yürür	Pitigrilli	1950	Adnan Tahir

49	Semaya Karşı şiirler	Nejat Tahsin Alper	1950	-
50	Fettan Kız	Pitigrilli	1951	Mahmut Abac
51	Aşk Dersleri	Pitigrilli	1951	Mahmut Abac
52	Mapusane Çeşmesi	Adnan Veli	1952	-
53	Maviler	Biltin Toker	1957	-
54	Sapık Oğlan	Pitigrilli	[1958]	Adnan Tahir
55	Anne Frank'ın Hatıra Defteri	Anne Frank	[1958]	Hayrun İnsel
56	Dük ve Gözdesi	Daphne du Maurier	1958	Avni İnsel & Beatris Posbıyık
57	Sisler Dağılırken	Avni İnsel	[1958]	-
58	Hazreti Muhammed	Muhammed Essad	1959	Hüseyin Avni
59	Üzme Tatlı Canını	Pitigrilli	[1959]	Adnan Tahir
60	Navaron'un Topları	Alistair Maclean	1963	Altemur Kılıç
61	Rüzgar Gibi Geçti (Cilt 1)	Margret Mitchell	[1964]	Avni İnsel & Nihal Yeğınobalı
62	10 Yıl Savaş 1912-1922 Ve Sonrası: Görüp Geçirdiklerim	Fahrettin Altay	1970	-

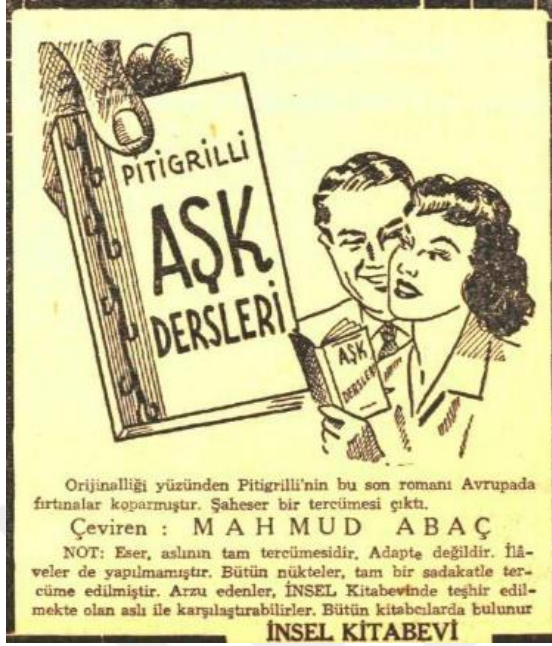
**Appendix 3: Cover Pages of some books published by İnsel before 1946**



Appendix 4: : Cover Pages of some books published by İnsel after 1946



Appendix 5: Some Newspaper Advertisements by İnsel Bookstore



PITIGRILLI  
**AŞK**  
DERSLERİ

Orjinaliği yüzünden Pitigrilli'nin bu son romanı Avrupada fırtınalar koparmıştır. Şaheser bir tercümesi çıktı.  
Çeviren : MAHMUD ABAÇ  
NOT: Eser, aslının tam tercümesidir. Adapte değildir. İla-veler de yapılmamıştır. Bütün nükteler, tam bir sadakatle ter-cüme edilmiştir. Arzu edenler, İNSEL Kitabevinde teşhir edil-mekte olan aslı ile karşılaştırabilirler. Bütün kitabelarda bulunur  
**İNSEL KİTABEVİ**

(Cumhuriyet, 13.02.1951: 2)



PITIGRILLI  
**AŞK**  
DERSLERİ

**BU ŞAHESER ROMAN ÇIKTI**  
NOT: Kâğıd fiyatlarının son derece artmasına binaen bu ese-rin ikinci baskısı belki de yapılmıyacaktır. Bu sebehten okuyu-cularımızın AŞK DERSLERİNİ biran evvel tedarik etmelerini rica ederiz. Bütün kitabelarda bulunur.  
Beyoğlunda, FOTO SABAH'ta satılmaktadır.  
Umumî tevzi yeri: İNSEL KİTABEVİ

(Cumhuriyet, 17.02.1951: 3)

EMİLY BRONTE  
**Ölmiyen Aşk**  
(Anaför Tepe)  
Çevirenler :  
AVNİ İNSEL — HAMDİ VAROĞLU  
Bütün dillere çevrilen ve Türk karilerinin merak ve heyecanla beklediği bu şaheser çıktır. Fiyatı : 100 kuruş.  
**İnsel Kitabevi**

(Cumhuriyet, 04.06.1942: 1)

Emily Brontë  
**ÖLMEYEN AŞK**  
Çevirenler :  
Avni İnsel - Hamdi Varoğlu  
İngiliz edebiyatının şahikasını teskil eden bu eser için A. Y. Cronin şöyle diyor: «Bu güne kadar aşka dair böyle bir kitap ne çıktı ne de çıkacaktır. Beşer takatinin fevkinde bir aşkta birbirlerini seven bu insanlar ara-sında aşk bir bıçak gibi sallanıp duruyor...»  
Bu eser renkli lüks ciltli: Fiyatı 10 Lira  
İNSEL KİTABEVİ- Ankara Cad. 109 İstanbul

(Cumhuriyet, 19.03.1960: 1)





(Ulus, 13.05.1947: 7)



(Tanin, 22.07.1945: 4)

(Cumhuriyet, 15.12.1942: 1)



(Ulus, 24.12.1946: 6)

# CİNSİYET ÂLEMİ =SEKSÜALİTE=

Hakkında

## Matbuat Neler düşünüyor ?

«Önümde duran - Cinsiyet Âlemi — isimli zarif dergiyi bir tetkikten geçirir geçirmez, derhal gördüm ki, bizde de böyle bir adım atılmış, hem de, garbdaki emsalinden asla farksız olarak atılmıştır. Her sahifesinde ilmin ışığını dikkatle tuttuğu dergisile Avni İnsel'in, çok derin bir boşluğu doldurmağa başladığı muhakkaktır.»

Tan gazetesi  
Bedii Faik

★

«Batıda, ilim ve lâboratuar haysiyetine kavuşturulan cinsiyet mevzuunun, bizde çok defa ciddi bir hüviyetten uzak kitaplarda ve daha ziyade aşk romanı maskesile istismar mataz haline getirilmesine üzüldür dururduk.

İtiraf edelim ki «Cinsiyet Âlemi», hiç bir bakımdan, menfi telkine sahifelerinde yer vermemiş. Derginin mevzuunu bu idrak seviyesinde kavramış bulunması onun, memleketimizde, terbiyecilerimizin ihtisası yokluğundan veya başka bir imkânsızlıktan ihmal edilmiş cinsî terbiye kolunda, faydalı olacağı ümidini uyandırıyor.»

En Son Dakika gazetesi  
Vecdi Bürüm

★

«Cinsiyet Âlemi» ni müsbetin güzel bir eseri olarak selâmlıyorum. Ana babalar, çocuklarının ellerine sanat çerçevesi içinde gösterilen baldırları, kalçaları, göğüsleri açık resimlerle süslenmiş pornografik kitaplar vereceklerine hayatlarıyla alakalı kitaplar, müsbet neticeler yaratan eserler sunmalıdır.

Bu eserlerden birisi, hattâ ilki, muhakkak ki «Cinsiyet Âlemi» dir.

Son Saat gazetesi  
Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu

## CİNSİYET ÂLEMİ

Acemi sevgililerle en olgun insanların ve huzuru kaçmış ailelerin hayat yoldaşı oldu. Yuvalarında saadetlerinin kaçtığını gördüğünüz dostlarınıza bu mecmuayı tavsiye ediniz. Onlara en büyük iyiliği yapmış olursunuz.

84 Sahife — 50 Kuruş

2 nci Sayısı Çıktı.

İNSEL KİTABEVİ

(Cumhuriyet, 24.06.1949: 3)

**İNSEL KİTABEVİ**  
D. H. Lawrence  
**LADY CHATTERLEY'**in  
**ÂŞIKI**  
Çeviren: **AVNİ İNSEL**

İngilterede bir milyondan fazla, Fransada da bir okadar satılmış olan ve dünyanın her diline çevrilmiş bulunan bu büyük İngiliz romancı ve mütefekkirinin eseri bizde de nihayet çıktı. Bir kadının, baba olmaktan âciz bir kocanın yanında geçen kasvetli hayatını, analık hislerini, âşıkıyla beraber yeni bir hayata nasıl doğduğunu anlatan bu eser yalnız roman meraklılarını değil, aynı zamanda bütün doktor ve ruhlyatçıları alâkadar edecek derecede bedif ve insanidir.

Bir cild halinde çıkmış olan bu muazzam kitabın fiyatı: 100 kuruştur.

(Cumhuriyet, 15.12.1942: 3)

**AVNİ İNSEL**  
**YANIK KALBLER**

«Topal Karganın Hatıraları» ndan sonra en çok rağbet gören kitab.. «Her mesamem birer ağız olup tarafından öpülmek istiyor» diye feryad eden kara pars mizaçlı ve yalçın gururlu bir kadının aşkla nefreti, saadetle felâketi, neşeyle elemi, ölümden bir parça olan ayrılıkla buluşmayı, ruhla teni kaynaştıran roman. Cehennemî bir aşk.. Nefis bir baskı..

**İNSEL KİTABEVİ**

(Cumhuriyet, 21.02.1947: 3)

**Kahkaha**  
**TÜRKİYENİN EN BÜYÜK MİZAH MECMUASI**  
**Pek yakında**  
Çıkaranlar: **AVNİ İNSEL - HAMDİ VAROĞLU**

(Cumhuriyet, 22.10.1948: 2)

**Kahkaha**  
BÜTÜN DÜNYA MIZAN  
MUHARRİRLERİ  
BİR ARADA  
MERAKLA BEKLEYİNİZ

Çıkaranlar: Avni İnsel - Hamdi Varoğlu

(Cumhuriyet, 23.10.1948: 2)

**KAHKAHA**  
İKİNCİ SAYI BUGÜN ÇIKTI

BU SAYIDA: Fazıl Ahmed AYKAÇ - Aka GÜNDÜZ - Erolmend Ekrem TALU - Neyzen TEVFIK - YEDEKÇİ - Doğan NADİ - Hamdi VAROĞLU - Kandemir - Bedii FAİK - Topal Karga - Cevad Fehmi BAŞKUT - Osman NİHAD imzalı seçme mizah yazılarını:

Georges Fabrin'in, Alphonse Allais'in, Mak Twain'in, İeno Hel-tai'nin, G. Riklin'in, İrdro Montanelli'nin, J. K. Jerome'un imzaları altında, Fransız, Amerikan, Macar, Rus, İtalyan, İngiliz mizah edebiyatının en güzel örneklerini bulacaksınız.

Ayrıca yerli ve yabancı bol karikatür, bol fıkra  
FİYATI: 1 LİRA

Çıkaranlar: AVNİ İNSEL — HAMDİ VAROĞLU  
Umumi Satış Yeri: İNSEL KİTABEVİ - Ankara Cad. 109 İstanbul

(Cumhuriyet, 30.11.1948: 2)

**KAHKAHA**

Türkiyenin en büyük mizah mecmuasını mutlaka okuyunuz.

Çıkaranlar: Avni İnsel — Hamdi Varoğlu

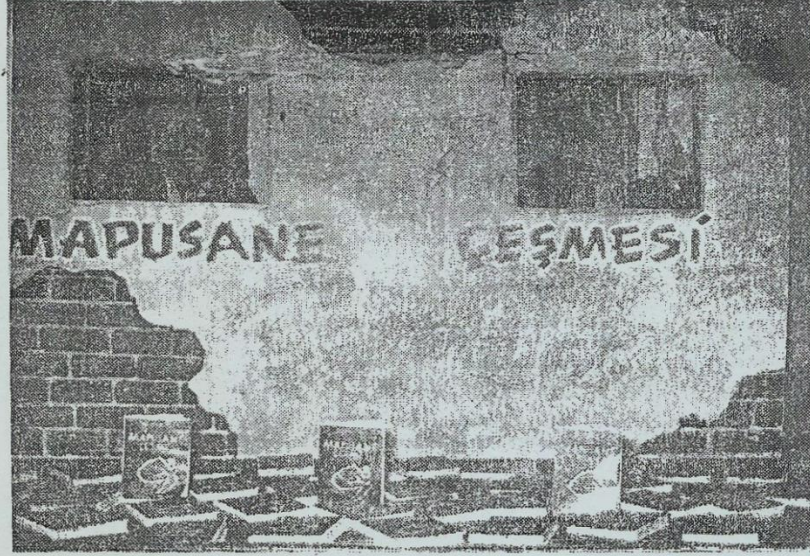
100 Sahife  
100 kuruş.

yerli ve yabancı mizah örnekleri  
mizahî makaleler  
mizahî hikâyeler  
fıkralar  
karikatürler

Taşra Bayilerinin Dikkatine: Siparişler doğrudan doğruya «İNSEL Kitabevi - Ankara Cad. İstanbul» adresine yapılmalıdır.

(Cumhuriyet, 11.11.1948: 3)

## Appendix 6: News on İnsel Bookstore's window dressing



Yazıda bahsi geçen vitrinin resmi

### ŞEHİRDEN RÖPORTAJLAR

## Ankara Caddesinde değişik bir vitrin

«Mapusane Çeşmesi» kitabı için hazırlanan vitrin, kitapçılık âlemine yeni bir reklâm çeşni getiriyor

Bir kaç gündenberi Ankara caddesinden geçenler bir kitapçının vitrini önünde uzun uzun duruyor ve içersini görebilmek için birbirlerinin omuzları üzerinden başlarını uzatıyorlardı.

Tâbi Avni İnsel, senelerdir vitrininin önünden şöyle bir bakıp geçen insanların bu akasından ziyadesiyle memnun görünüyordu. Adnan Veli Canığın «Mapusane Çeşmesi» idli kitabı, zekice bir vitrin orijinalitesi ile halka takdim ediliyor; gramofonda çalınan «Mapusane çeşmesi, yandan akıyor yandan» nağmeleri, bütün caddeden geçenleri yolundan çeviriyordu.

Kitapçılarımız bir de «Bizde kitap satılmıyor, bizde kitap okunmuyor» diye şikâyet ederler! İyi bir esere rağbet edildiği yine dün, Avni İnselin kitaphanesine girip çıkanlardan belli oluyordu. Kitap almağa gelenler muayyen tipte insanlar değildi. Üstü başı temizce, münevver olduğu hariçten belli olanlardan tutunuz; hırpani kıklı, fakir halli yüzlerce insanı da orada kitap alırken görebiliyordunuz. Köylü bir adam, «bana üç tane sar» dedi ve parasını uzattı. Kimbilir bu

Yazan:

**Sadun Tanju**



«Mapusane Çeşmesi» nin yazarı  
«Mehmet Yanık»  
(Adnan Veli Kanık)

kitapları kimlere gönderecekti. Belki vaktiyle hapiste yatmış birisiydi. Belki de oğlu veya kardeşi «çerçde» idi de, onlara alıyordu.

Öyle limit ediyorum ki, Adnan Velinin kitabı, yakın bir

zamanda tükenecektir. «Vatana okuyucuları, bu kitaptaki yazıların yabancıca değillerdir.

Zaten bunların ikinci kısmı hâlen de bu gazetede intişar ediyor. Bilmediğimiz bir âlemdede, bizden, kalın duvarlarla ayrılmış bir dünyada yaşayan «mapusane» insanlarını, bâzan dehşet, bâzan ibret ve çok zaman da hayret duygularıyla dolu olarak tanıdık ve yazarın kudretine hayran olduk.

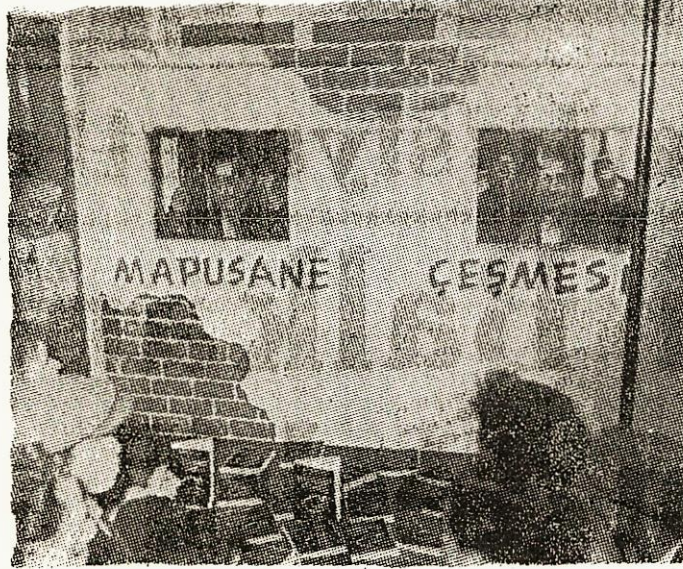
Adnan Veli dostumdur. Burada ne kitabını, ne de sahasını fazla methetmem yakışık olmaz. Bu yazıda sadece, İstanbul kitapçılık âlemi için yenilik sayılabilecek bir vitrinden bahsetmek istedim. O tarafa yolunuz düşerse, siz de bir kitapçının vitrininde şunları göreceksiniz:

Bir hapishane duvarı... Üzerinde «mahpuslar tarafından yazılmış» cümleler, mısralar... Demir parmaklıklı iki ufak pencere... Pencerelemin arkasında iki amahkûm oturmuş, çile doluyor... Vitrinin ön kısmı kitap dolu: «Mapusane Çeşmesi!» Ve gramofonda Sâfiye Aylâ'nın veya bir başkasının sesi: «Mapusane çeşmesi yandan akıyor, yandan...»

(Vatan, 18.12.1952)

# Mapusane Çeşmesi

Adnan Veli (Mehmet Yanık) ın kitabı görülmemiş şekilde reklâm ediliyor



Bâbı-îâli yokuşunu sessiz sedasız inenler dündenberi, caddenin sol tarafında olduk ça alâka çekicel bir manzara ile karşılaşıyorlar. Bir ki - tapçı vitrini.. Vitrinin arka kısmı bir hapishane duvarı gi bi boyanmış. Cephede iki tane de demir parmalıklı pen çere var. Parmaklığın ardında iki kişi görünüyor. Yani iki canlı insan.. Bunlar da birer mahkûm rolünde.. Birbirleri le konuşuyorlar. Vitrinin önü mahşer gibi kalabalık. Halk yığılmış. Mağazanın içinden, Safiyenin yanık bir türküsü duyuluyor:

*“Maabusane çeşmesi”  
“Yandan akıyor. yandan”*

Neden sonra mesele anlaşılıyor. Müstear adıyla Mehmet Yanık'ın, asıl adıyla da “Adnan Veli” nin “Maabusane çeşmesi” isimli eseri satışa çıkarılmış.

Halk merak içinde.. Alâka ile vitrindeki mahkûmları seyrediyor. İçeriden akseden yanık türkü sesi, yoldan gelip geçenlerin yüzlerinde, garip hüznün çizgileri yaratmış. San-

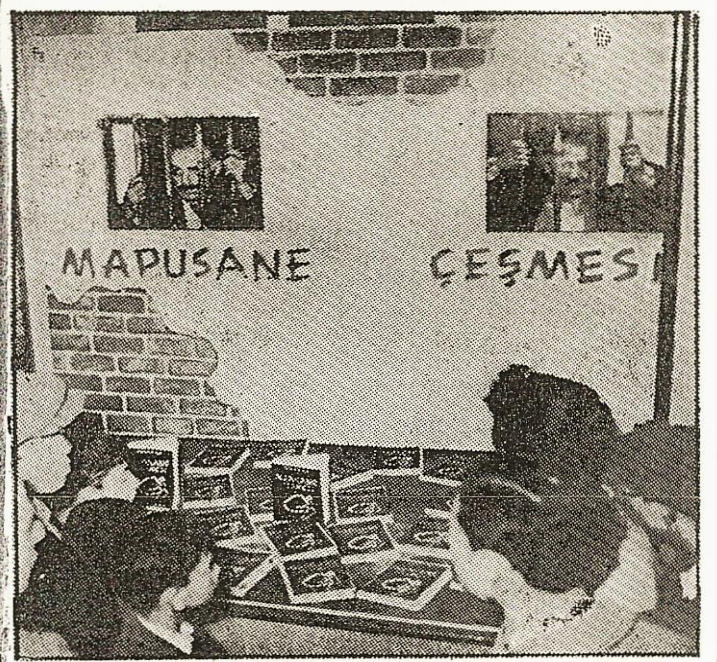
ki mahkûmun omuzlarını çökerten ağır hava içeriden dışarıya doğru yayılıyor.

Kapıdan içeri girenlerden bazısının bir kitap yerine iki kitap aldığını görüyorum. Ne ye bir kitap değil de iki kitap? Orasını Allah bilir. Ama anlaşılıyor ki “Maabusane çeşmesi” halkın içine girmiş, onun ruhunda yanan ateşi yakalamış bir sanatçının eseri.. Kitabın ilk günde mazhar olduğu alâka bunu gösteriyor.

Şimdiye kadar memleketimizde çeşit çeşit reklâm usulleri denenmişti. Lâkin bugüne kadar bu çeşitli yapılmamıştı. “Maabusane Çeşmesi” san'at eserinin reklâmında da yeni bir yol bulmuş oluyor.

Kitabın içinde, bir memleket davasını ustaca neşterliyen 45 yazı yer almış. Her birinin kendine göre bir tadı var. Kitabın asıl değeri, halkın nabzına girebilmiş olmasındadır. Maabusane Çeşmesi, çünkü gidişe bakılırsa, şimdiye kadar memlekette hiçbir san'at eserinin mazhar olmadığı bir râğbete ulaşacağı benziyor.

(En son dakika, 18.12.1952)



**İNSEL KİTABEVİ'NİN GÜZEL BİR BULUŞU!** — Avni İnsel Babıâli caddesindeki durgunluğu bir hamlede gideriverdi. Mehmet Yanık imzasıyla tanınan ve şair Orhan Veli'nin kardeşi olan Adnan Veli'nin uzun yıllar hapisanede kaldıktan sonra yazdığı "MAPUSANE ÇEŞMESİ," adlı kitabını takdim etmek üzere, dükkanın vitrininde canlı bir dekor yaptırmış ve mahpusların türküsünü çaldırarak güzel bir reklâm usulü tatbik etmiştir. Bu suretle, hem yeni bir muharrir, hem de yepyeni bir reklâm usulü kazanmış oluyoruz. Bu nedenle, kitap sahifemizde ayrıca bahsedilecektir.

(Hürriyet, 18.12.1952)

### Orijinal Bir Kitab Reklâmı

19 Aralık 1952 - Cumhuriyet



İnsel Kitabevi yeni bastıracağı bir kitabın satışa çıkarılması dolayısıyla çok orijinal bir reklâm tarzı düşünmüş, ve tatbik mevkiine koymuştur. Basılan kitap Adnan Veli tarafından yazılan (Mahpushane Çeşmesi) adlı eserdir. Bu münasebetle kitabı dükkanının vitrini bir mahpushane odasına benzetilmiş, demir parmaklıkların arkasına mahkûmlar oturtulmuştur. Resim, vitrini gösteriyor.

(Cumhuriyet, 18.12.1952)

**Appendix 7:** Mehmet Ali Sebük, Avni İnsel and Adnan Tahir before the judge due to charge of obscenity

## Mevlâna ile Pitigrilli'yi mukayese eden avukat

Bir müstehcen roman davasında bu mukayese yapıp Mesnevi ile dava mevzuu eserden parçalar okunurken bazı kadın dinleyiciler salonu terkettiler



Dünkü muhakemede sanıklar ve avukatları

Pittigillinin «Hayatım ve Maceralarım» isimli kitabının müstehcen olduğu savcılığa iddia edilmiş ve eserin mütercimi Adnan Tahir ile tâbi Avni İnsel aleyhinde Türk ceza kanununun 426 ve Matbuat kanununun 31 inci maddelerine muhalefetten İkinci Asliye Ceza mah-

kemesinde bir dava açılmıştı. İlk celseleri gizli olarak yapılan bu davanın dünkü duruşmasında müdafaalar yapılacağı için mahkeme bu celsenin aleni olarak yapılmasına karar vermişti.

Dünkü celsenin açılmasını müteakib,

— Arkası Sa. 3. Sü. 4 te —

(Cumhuriyet, 23.11.1948: 1)



## Appendix 8: Other Selections from Newspapers and Magazines

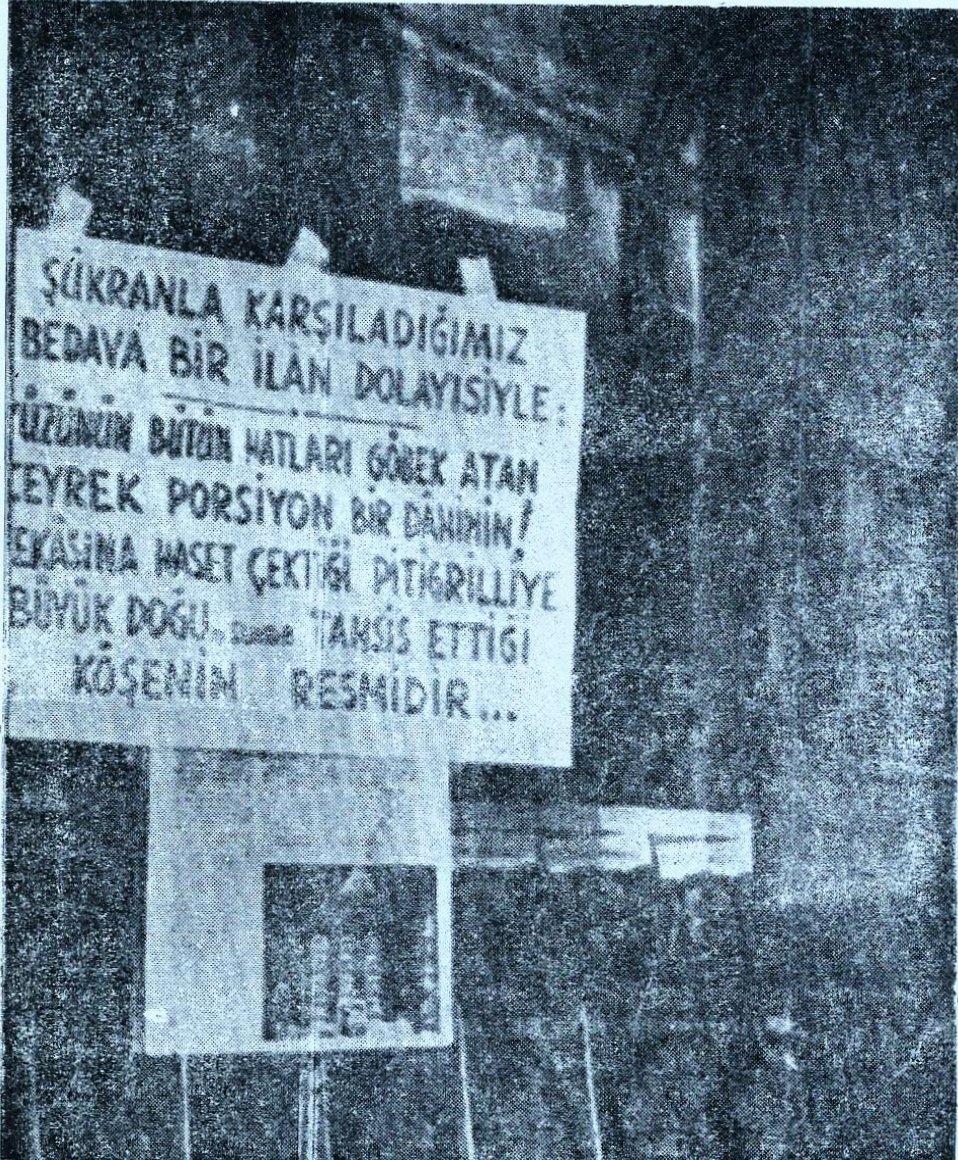
### Bir misli görülmemiş ibret levhası!

Geçen sayımızda, vitrinlerindeki neşriyatın mahiyetini; ve dünya fuş edebiyatının baş tellâhı ve mukaddesat baş karmanyolacısı (Pitigrili) yi nasıl azileştirdiğini belirttiğimiz kitabevi, bu neşriyatımıza karşılık ne yapmıştır, biliyor musunuz? Derhal vitrinine (Büyük Doğu) nun o sayısını asmış ve üzerine de gayet büyük yazılarıyla, aşağıdaki resimde gördüğünüz satırları yazdırmıştır. Belki iyi okuyamazsınız, diye aynıyle kaydedelim :

"Şükranla karşıladığımız bedava bir ilân dolayısıyla : Yüzünün bütün hatları göbek atan çeyrek porsiyon bir dâhinin (!) zekâsına hasret çektiği Pitigrilli'ye Büyük Doğu'sunda tahsis ettiği köşenin resmidir..."

Düşününüz ki, teşhirimizi bedava ilân telâkki ediyor; ve iddiamıza karşı, Necip Fazılın yüzündeki çizgilerin oynadığından ve (Pitigrili) yi kışkırdığından ve çeyrek porsiyon bir dâhi olduğundan başka birşey söyleyemiyor.

Dünyanın neresinde bir teşhir gördünüz ki, teşhir edilen, nefsini müdafaa edecek hiç bir söze malik olmasın da teşhiri büsbütün belirtmek için onu alına assın ve göğsüne de "gözünü kırpan çeyrek porsiyon dâhi beni kışkırtıyor ve bana bedava reklâm yapıyor!," diye bir yafta takabilsin? Eh, bu kazanına pes!!!



(Büyük Doğu, 19.04.1948: 8)

# PİTİGRİLLİ



YAZAN:  
AVNİ İNSEL

Avni Insel

**Y**APTIGİM bir kaç tercümesile son zamanlarda memleketimizde büyük bir alaka uyandıran bu İtalyan muharriri 1895 senesinde Turin şehrinde doğmuştur. Fakat ne yazık ki o, tasvir ettiği muhayyel veya hakiki insanların hayatı hakkında son derece çömet davranmış olmasına rağmen kendi hususî hayatının kesesini gayet cimrice açmıştır, zira hakkında aşağıda okuyacağımız ve bizzat kendi ağzından dinleyeceğimiz malûmat, ten başka bir şey bilmiyoruz:

"Kendi kendinin hal tercümesini yazmak, halka kirli çamaşlıklarını göstermek demektir. Muharrirler ekseriya temizlerini gösterdikleri için ben kirlilerini göstermeğe, böylece de daha şamim olmağa çalışacağım.

**Vücut faslı:**

Yaş: yirmi altı; yüzün rengi: kül; vücut: ince; disler: sağlam ve beyaz; burun: muntazam ve şehvetli; cene: sivri; ağız: küçüçük; dudaklar: ince; alt kısmı sarıkaça (heşşeleliğe alâmet); sakalları yoktur; tahsil: üniversite; 1914 de asıldım; (yatak numarası: 37) kafatası: genişlik kutru: otuzbir santim, uzunluk: iri otuz bir santim (şu halde zarabba bir başım var); Beyin: henkesle alay edecek ve hiç bir şeye inanmayacak şekilde voğurmuş..

**Hayat faslı:**

2 yaşına kadar: mühim değil, 4 yaşında: Tifüs, 12 yaşında: Akilbaliğ, (kapi arasında hizmetçileri çımdüklerdim), 13 yaşında: İlk sigara, 18 yaşına kadar: Hergelelik, 20 yaşında: Pêni sevmi en bir kadına karşı aşk, 21 yaşında: Kadın beni hâlâ sevmiyor, 22 yaşında: Hâlâ sevmiyor, fakat senenin sonunda kararımı değiştirdi, 23, 24, 25, 26 yaşlarında: Kadın beni deli gibi seviyor, Hâlâ da devam ediyor. (Ke ne gibi bir aşkı varmış)..

Sebatkârik ve sadakat hususunda nümünelik bir adam değilim. Kuzil derililer gibi de intikamcıyım. Üstelik de fillere mahsus ikinci bir hafızam var.

Her enavi gibi ben de yazı yazmak illetine tutuldum. Zimmeimde birkaç tel mısra, bir tu tam da makale var. Beni rahat sız ettikleri için onları bir sürü mecmua ve gazeteye tükürdüm. Bir hayli düşman kazandım. İntikam almış olmak için beni pederast, jigolo ve kız kardeşimin (hani kız kardeşim?) aşkı olarak ilân ettiler. İlk itham bana en az dokunur. Zira kadınları daha yakından tanıdıkça nederastlara o derece fazla değer veriyordum.

Sivasetten birşey anlamamı Musolininin palavracı ve sahte bir Demosten olduğunu söylediğim için beni İtalyadan koçdu

Hayvan etini olduğu kadar kadın etini de sevmem. Nebatla beslenirim. Fakat fena tesir yapmamak için misafirlerim varken et de yerim.

Yazı kalemini, bütün münevver berberler gibi sahadet parmağı ile orta parmak arasında tutarım. (Çünkü insanlar bu tarzda daha iyi tres edilir) Kadınlar arasında "muhayyerülükül, bir talihim yoktur. Onlara, kapsaplardaki et nazarele bakarım. Zira kadın basit bir fiyat meslesidir. İhtiyar minelerimden tutun da, ana karındaki kızlara varncaya kadar bütün kadınlar fahisedir. Her erkekte bir asker ruhu olduğu gibi her kadında da aşiftelik vardır. Evlenenlere acırım. Zira onlar idam sehpalarmı bizzat kururlar. Üstelik de aile, zehirli bir kucaktır.

Merdümgiriz bir insanım. Beni en fazla hiddetlendiren şey bir kimse ile tanıştırılmaktır. İnsanlardan kaçıp sık sık mezarlıkları ziyaret ederim. Ve ruhum ölmezliğine inanmış olanların nasıl aldandıklarını görmek için ebedi uykularından beş dakika çık uyanmalarını isterim.

Rıqman ve Otoblografilelerden hazzetmem. Okuyucu, ben vaftizi mi oldum, sünnetlimiyim, şeker hastalığım mı var, böbreklerimden mi rahatsızım diye neden merak etsin?

Aska gelince bunun basit epidermik ve ciddi bir hormon meselesi olduğuna ve müşil ile tedavi edileceğine inanırım..

Gayet garip bir tarzda otobioğrafisini yapan bu mizahçı muharriri, trajik bir mizahçı yapan müthiş acı bir septisizmdir.

Bazıları onun tahrir eden, inkâr eden ve ortalığı karıştıran eserinde bir ahlâksızlık görmek istediler.

Ahlâksızlık mefhumu altında sokakta örtülen uzuvlara, kıskaçlılıkla, her şeyi görenlerin körlükle istihza, peşin hükümlerle, rivakârlık ve yalanla zevk ve ihtiraslarla kirlenmiş aşk müna-sebetleriyle hiciv anlaşıyorsa Pitigrilli muhakkak ki fevkalâde ahlâksız bir muharrirdir. Lâkin onun bütün müstehzi, alaycı, septik, sinik, inkâr ve tahrir eden, peşin hükümlere ve valana karşı sanatî parfümlü bir kezzap püskürtmektedir.

Onun hayat hakkındaki müstehzi görüşleri, şayanı hayret tecrübe ve bilhassa parlak sezgilerinin mevvesi mizahî şekillerde ifadesini bulur.

Pitigrilli sadece nükte yapan bir muharrir değil, aynı zamanda

da en modern ruh haletlerini büyük bir inceliikle aksettiren bir kabiliyet ve kudrettedir.

Fransız romancısı Pierre Mac Oran onun hakkında: "Bütün İtalyan mizahçıları Pitigrillinin istihza ve komiklik kudretine sahip olsalardı hiç kimse Parisli nüktesinde ve bunun bize ait bir hususiyet oluşundan bahsedemezdi..", der.

Filhakika, Pitigrillinin hikâye ve romanlarında bir Parisli havası eser. Mükemmel bir dünya kavrayışı arkasında kabiliyetli bir hikâyeci gizlenmektedir. O bugün, pek az kimsenin muvafak olabildiği tahkiye sanatını bilir. Üstelik de edebiyat sahasında her türlü kavaide düşman olan bu adam fikir ve şekil başarılarındaki ihtimamla çekinir. Cümle teşkileri kolay, senetik ve kısadır. Edebiyatı sık sık rastlanan tasvirlerden de uzaktır. "Aksam güneşinin kızılıklarından.. Zümrüt yeşili tarlalarından... Elmas gibi cakan yıldızlardan... nefret eder ve kahramanlarını "Som balığı kadar sarı... fazilet bezzeren ayak kapları vardı..", diye tasvir eder...

Münekkitler onun eseri için pek çok yakıcı mürekkep herca yabilirler. Çünkü itiraf etmelidir ki bu tahrirkâr mizahçı okuyucusunu erkeklerin şerefine, kadınların namus ve ifetine karşı o nankör ve batıl hülvalarından mahrum ettiği için bazı zararlar verebilir. Buna mukabil de onlar fikirlerin ve şeklin hayret verici derecede orijinal olusuna itiraz edemezler ve onu pornografi ile itham edemezler.

(Vakit, 01.02.1944)

# Hayatım ve Maceralarım adlı eserden çıkan dâva

“Müsteşçen,, kelimesi üzerinde bir müdafaa

Pierre Janet'in « EDEB » i tarifi. — Bali adalarında genç kızlar nasıl gezermiş ? — İklim zaruretî ve çıplıplak gezinme. — Müsteşçende esas kasıttır. — Fransada ahlâk zabıtası. — Pitigrilli kimdir ? — İtalyada sokakta öpüşenler karı koca olsalar dahi 10 lîret ceza alınıyor.

## Mahkeme kararını 25 kasımda verecek!

Insel Kitabevi tarafından «Hayatım ve Maceralarım» adlı Pitigrillinin kitabını dilimize çeviren Adnan Tahîrle, Avni Insel aleyhine basın savcılığınca eser müsteşçen olduğu iddiasıyla açılan dava aslıye ikinci ceza mahkemesinde son safhaya girmiştir. **Dün öğleden sonra devam**

eden duruşmada Avni Insel'in vekili Mehmet Ali Sebük 12 sayfalık yazılı müdafaaname-sini yargıca vermiştir. Bu müdafaaname okunmuş ve eserin müsteşçen olmadığı tezi delillerle anlatılmıştır. Avukat «Müsteşçen» kelimesi üzerinde bilhassa durarak şunları söylüyor:

Bu mefhum dünyamın her tarafında tetkik ve münakaşa mevzu olmuştur. Bu münakaşa ve tetkik sonunda her memleket bir neticeye varmış ve bu husustaki mahkeme içtihatları istikrar kesbetmiştir. Gerçekten müsteşçen tâbirinin âdâp ve ahlâka münafi şeklide Romadan kalma bir tarifi vardır. Fakat dünyamın, Roma imparatoruğundan çok geniş bir âlem olması ve âdâp ve ahlâk telâkkinin ilerlemiş bulunması bu tarifi artık hükümden düşürmüştür. Pierre Janet, edebi tarif ederken, bir memlekette buruna torba takmak ahlâksızlık olsa o memlekette burunu torbalı gezenleri ahlâksız saymak icâp eder demektedir. Fotoğraf, sinema ve radyo, milletler arasındaki telâkki hududlarını az çok muvazil ve müsavi hale getirmiştir. Meselâ Hollandaya ait Bali adalarında genç kızların evleninceye kadar memeleri açık olarak gezmeleri örf ve âdet icâbidir. Ancak evlendikten sonra memelerini kapamaları zarurî olan genç kızlar, yüz yıllar boyunca bu mahallî âdete riayet et-

kasıttır. Halkın umumî ahlâkını bir menfaat temini işeyiyle hozma teşebbüsü, müsteşçende esastır.

b) Bir eserin müsteşçen olması için bu kasdın mevcudiyeti, onda sanat ve terbiye gayesinin bulunmaması ile ölçülmelidir. Bu umumî girişten sonra şimdi sözü geçen Pitigrillinin eserini ve kendisini ele alacağız.

### PTİGİRİLLİ KİMDİR?

Dâva mevzuu olan eser bizat Pitigrillinin kendi hayatından ibarettir. Onu dikkallice okursak Pitigrillinin şahsiyetini anlayabiliriz. Ayrıca başta İtalyanca olmak üzere bir çok edebî ansiklopedilerde o, bugünkü sosyetenin iğrenç taraflarını en geniş kütleye aktarabilmiş eserleriyle ortaya atan bir sosyal reformatör olarak tarif edilmektedir. Bilhassa kadını okuyuculara hitap eden Pitigrilli bütün eserlerinde kadın

mesiyile, şehircilerde göğsü açık gezmek yasak edilmiş ve mahallî kanaat beyanmahall telâkkiye feda edilmiştir. Bu halde artık müsteşçen tarifi etrafında beyanmahall Pitigrillin mahallî kanaatlere ve telâkkilere karşı şahsiyetini bir emrivakî olarak kabul etmek zaruretî kendisini göstermiştir.

Nişekim tebaasının büyük çoğunluğu çıplıplak gezen zevcelerden ibaret. Af-ile

ıfrenç taraflarile teşhir etmiştir. Dâvamızın mevzuunu teşkil eden eserin ilk on sahıfesi, bütün bir hayatın ve prensiplerin tarifi ile geçmektedir. Bundan dolayı kendisininin 1914 İarbindenberi muhtelif sosyal fikirleri kavvetile müdafaa eden bir kanaat adamı olduğu anlaşılmalıdır. 1921 senelerinde muhavır, İtalıyanın ve İtalya İlisinin Avrupa-İnn en çok okunan muhavırile-ri arasında yer almıştır. 1922

...genç kız- ların evlenmeye kadar memeleri açık olarak gezmeleri örf ve âdet tabiidir. Ancak evlendikten sonra memelerini kapamaları zaruri olan genç kızlar, yâri yıllar boyunca bu mahallî âdete riayet et-

Atıyınca olmak üzere bir çok edebî eserde de, o gün- günkü sosyetein iğrenç taraflarını en geniş kitleye okuyabil- diği eserlerle ortaya atan bir sosyal reformatör olarak tarifi edilmektedir. Bilhassa kadın okuyuculara hitap eden Püçgü- rülli, bütün eserlerinde kadın

mesyle, şehirden göçtü a- çık gezmek yasak edilmiş ve mahallî kanaat beyanıyla telâkkiye feda edilmiştir. Bu halde artık müstehcen tarifi etrafında beynelmütel âlemin mahallî kanaatlere ve telâkkilere karşı şakısesini bir emrivâki olarak kabul et- mek zarureti kendisini gös- termiştir.

İğrenç iş- raflarile şehir etmiştir. Dö- ruzun mevzuunu şekil eden eserin ilk on safıdaki bütün bu hayatın ve prensiplerin tarifi- le geçmektedir. Bundan dolayı kendisinin 1914 tarihinde yazdığı muhtelif sosyal eserleri kav- vete nakletme edebî bir kanaat adamı olduğunu iddia etmektedir. 1921 senesinde muharir, İtal- yan ve hatâ bütün Avrupa- nın en çok okunan yazarları ar- rasında yer almıştır. 1938 senesine kadar Püçgürlü'nün ki- tapları yalnız satılmakla kalmay- ıp Almanya'nın muhtelif yer- lerinde otomatik makinelerle halka tevzi edilmiştir. Püçgürlü 1938 senesinde İtalyada müs- tehcen yazı yazmaktan bazı

Nitelik tahaasının büyük çoğunluğu gürçüplük gezen zevcelerden ibaret Afrika- daki Liberya cumhuriyeti de yalnız mahallî kanaatlere de- ğil, iklimin zaruretlerine de karşı gelecek şehirlerde teset- tülü mecburi kılan Amerikan nizamnâmelerini aynen kabul ve ilân etmiştir.

hücumlara uğradı. Onu müs- tehcen mevzularla okuyucu a- vına çıkan bir dejenere olarak tavsif edenler bulundu. Bu yüzden kendisi mahkemeye bile verildi. Mahkemelerdeki tetki- kat sonunda kendisinin hüviyet ve şahsiyeti şu şekilde tesbit edildi:

Garp telâkkillerine göre müstehcen: Bu mesele üze- rinde garp uzun münakaşalar yapmış hukuk ve estetik âlimler arasında uzun münakaşalar cereyan etmiştir. Büt- ün bunlar bir neticeye bağ- lanmış ve müstehcen mefhu- mu tebellür etmiştir. Müs- tehçende esas kasittir. Yani eseri meydana getiren men- faat veya başka şakilerle eser de umumî ahlâka fena örnek olacak bir hava tesis edilmiş midir? Bunu anlamak lâzım- dır. Amerika nizamları da şehvet duygularını tahrik su- retiyle menfaat temini kaidi üzerinde durmuştur.

Hiç bir zaman okuyucunun asabını tahrik edecek şehvi ifadeye kaymış değildir. Bi- â- kis yakıcı, yıkıcı ve hırpalayıcı işlemlerle "realiteyi en iğrenç, en aşâklık cephelelerinden açıkla- dığı için şehveti, arzuları, istekleri ve sınır hazmelerini şak- sine olarak hattatmıştır.

Fransada ahlâk zabıtası ü- zerinde bu hususta düstur o- lan mâruf belediye emriname- sinin vazettiği tarif dahi dik- kate şayandır. Bir eserin u- mumî âr ve hâyâ duygularını rencide hususundaki kasidini şu esaslara göre mütalâa et- mektedir:

Bunun üzerine Püçgürlü ve eserleri İtalyada beraat etmiş- tir. İtalya o zamanlar dünya ölçüsünde müstehcen denilecek kadar bir menleketti. Bugün cari olan İtalyan ceza kanunu- na göre sokakta birbirleriyle ö- püşmeler kav koca olsalar dahi on lire nakit cezaya çarptırılır.

A) Bir eser herhangi bir beynelmütel, millî ve hattâ mahallî sanat jürisi tarafın- dan eser olarak kabul edildi- ği takdirde her ne olursa ol- sun müstehcen değildir.

Avukat bundan sonra Mevlâ- na Celâleddini Rûmî'nin eser- lerinden bir kaçını misallerle göstermiş ve:

B) Bir eser herhangi bir ilmi mevzuun anlatılmak gaye- siyle yapılmış ve yazılmışsa- bunu illüstrî eden her türlü tafsilât müstehcen sayılmaz.

Şimdi kendi kendimize soralım. Mevlâna Celâleddini Rûmî, bir şehvet ve müstehcen yazılının şakî midir? Mesnevi müstehcen bir eser midir? Millî Eğitim Bakanlığı bu gibi müstehcen ve ahlâkî bozucu neşriyat yapan bir makam mı- dır?

C) Bir eser, nefret ettirmek gibi psikolojik bir unsura şay- ır ve terbiye gayesiyle hazırlanırsa müstehcen olamaz.

Mehmet Ali Sebük ehliivükuf raporlarına da bir çok noktalar- dan itirazda bulunmuş ve müvekkilinin beraatini istemiş- tir. Bilâhare eseri tercüme eden Adnan Tahtî'nin yazılı müdafâ- sı okunmuştur. Mahkeme kar- rar vermek üzere duruşmayı 25 Kasım Perşemec saat 15 e bırakmıştır. Kitap piyasaya çık- tıktan 5 ay 27 gün sonra müs- tehcen görüldüğü için edile- rek toplanılan bu kitap hak- kında mahkemenin ne karar vereceği marulda beklenmekte- dir.

Paris belediye meclisinin bu kararındaki mucip zebeplerden müstehcen mefhumu izah edil- miş ve hak bu vadiide aydın- latılmıştır. Bu üç esaslı pren- sip, geniş ölçüde beynelmütel bir sanat ve ahlâk telâkisinin tetkikinden sonra büyük ve il- mi araştırmalar neticesinde tesbit olmuştur. Şu halde müstehceni tarif ederken şu esasları kabul edebiliriz:

a) Müstehcende esas olan gey

## Müstehcen neşriyat dâvası

Pitigrilli'nin «Hayatım ve Maceralarım» adlı eseri aleyhine açılan dâvaya dün bakıldı

Dört ay evvel savcılık tarafından Pitigrilli'nin «Hayatım ve Maceralarım» namındaki eseri aleyhine bir dâva açılmış ve bunun müstehcen olduğu ileri sürülerek sanıkların cezalandırılması istenmişti.

Dâvaya bakan ikinci ceza mahkemesi, duruşmanın gizli icrasına karar vermiş ve keyfiyeti ehli-vukufa havale etmişti. Nihayet, deliller toplanmış olduğu için mahkeme, gizlilik kararını kaldırmış ve müdafaanın alenen icrasına müsaade etmiştir.

Dün, sanıklardan Avri İnselin vekili avukat Mehmet Ali Sebük iki saat süren müdafaasını yapmış ve bilhassa «Müstehcen mefhumunu» etraflı bir şekilde izah etmiştir.

Bu arada müstehcen mefhumunun şark ve garp literatöründe takip ettiği seyri açıklamış ve Garp eserlerinden misaller vermiştir.

Müdafaanın bir yerinde de;

«Ben, bir mücrimin beraatinin temin etmek için huzurunuza çıkmış değilim. Ben, yirmi beş senede beri, memleketimizin fikir hayatı üzerine korkunç bir kâbus gibi çöken şu müstehcen mefhumunu izah etmeğe geldim.

Çok uğraştım. Ve size 50 sayfalık bir müdafaaya hazırladım. Tâ ki, vereceğiniz karar, fikir hayatımıza yeni bir ufuk açsın ve artık her muharrir ve müellif, müstehcen neşriyat yapmaktan dolayı kolay kolay hapishaneye girmesin..»

Bundan sonra avukat, müstehcen de esas «Kasıt» olduğunu ve muayyen pasajlar ele alınarak bir esere bu damgayı vurmanın imkânı bulunmadığını belirtmiş, Mevlâna Celâleddini Ruminin Mesnevisinden bazı pasajlar okumuş ve Emil Zola'nın «Toprak» namındaki eserinden misaller vermiştir.

Bu eserlerin Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı tarafından basılarak mekteplerde okutulduğunu ve müstehcen sayılabilecek pasajlara rağmen, eserlerin san'at kıymetlerine halel gelmediğini ilâve etmiştir.

Memleketimizin matbuat âlemini çok yakından ilgilendiren bu dâvanın müdafaasında kalabalık ve seçkin bir kütle hazır bulunmuştur.

Mahkemenin vereceği karar, yalnız iki sanığı değil, memleketin fikir ve neşriyat hayatını ve onun istikbalini alâkadar edecektir.

Müstehcen nedir? Bir eser veya makale hangi şartlar altında müstehcen sayılır? Bunu, ancak bu karardan sonra kat'i suretle anlamak mümkün olacaktır.

Mahkeme, müdafaayı dinledikten sonra, duruşmayı karar verilmek üzere başka güne talik etmiştir.

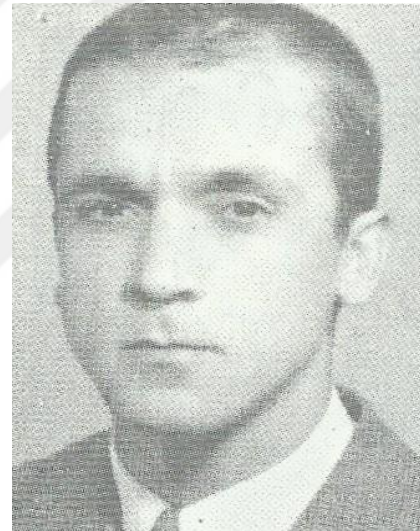
(Vatan, 23.11.1948)

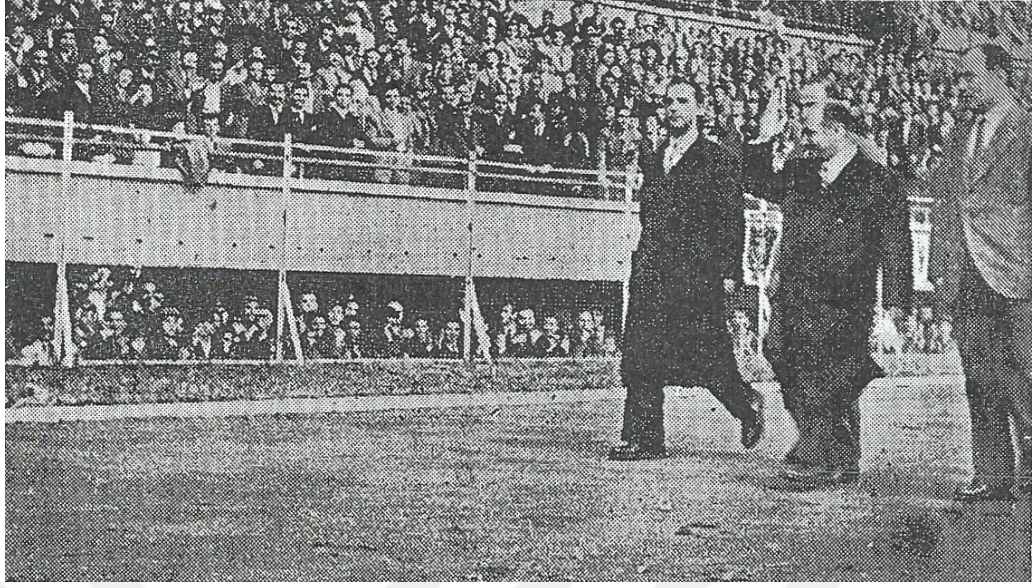
**Appendix 9:** The news article on “unofficial” censorship of foreign magazines in Turkey.



(Milliyet, 31.07.1975: 1)

**Appendix 10: Photographs of Avni Insel**





Avni Insel (the first from the left hand side) and Fahrettin Kerim Gökay (the second from the right hand side)

28/Kasım/1949 yılında  
"Kalkaka" isimli miğah me-  
murasımın kupa larını Vali F. K.  
Gökay ile verdikten sonra Miğah  
Paşa stadına tur attık...

Insel's handwriting under the photograph

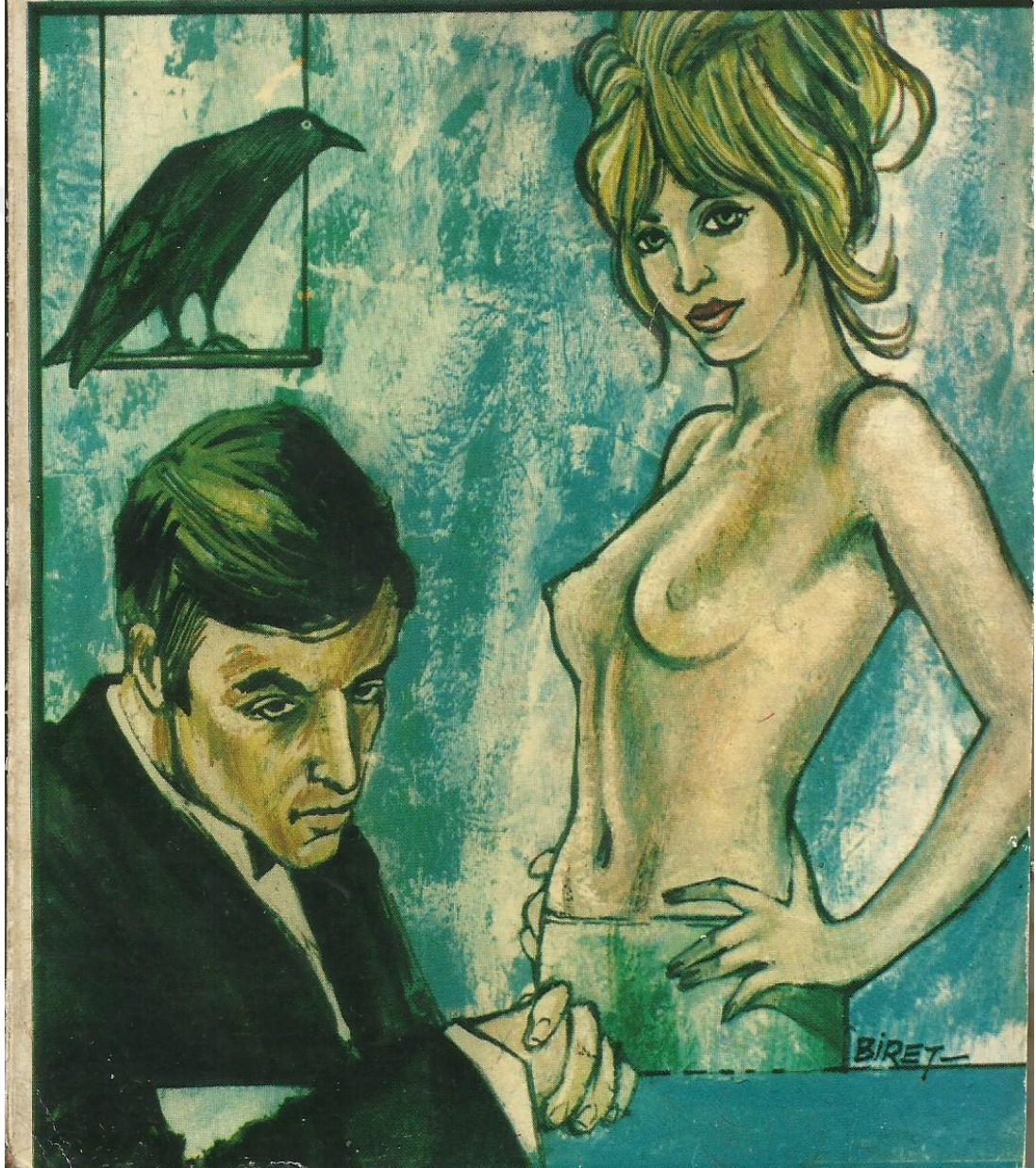


**Appendix 11:** Cover Pages of İnsel's pseudotranslation – *Topal Karganın Hatıraları* [Memoirs of Crippled Crow]



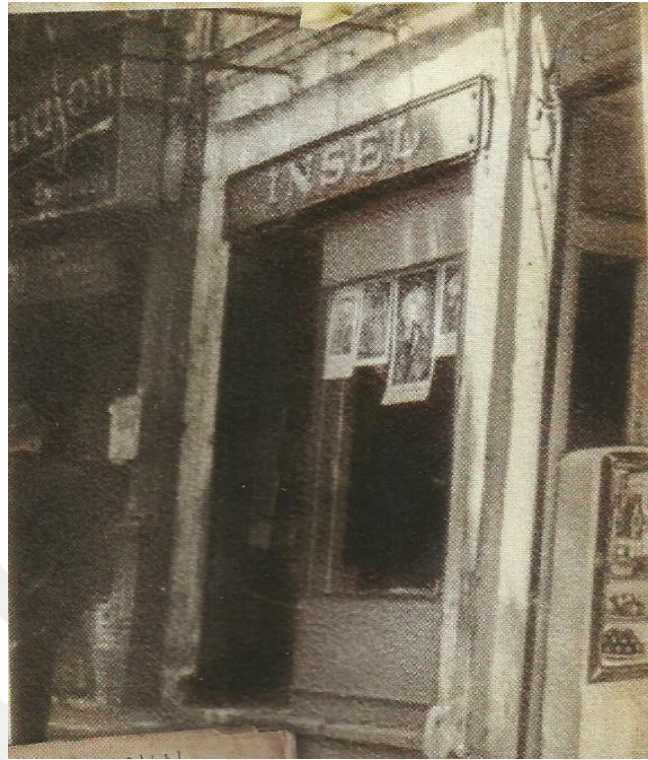
(The first edition, 1946)

PİTİGRİLLİ İÇİMİZDEN BİRİ  
TOPAL KARGANIN HATIRALARI

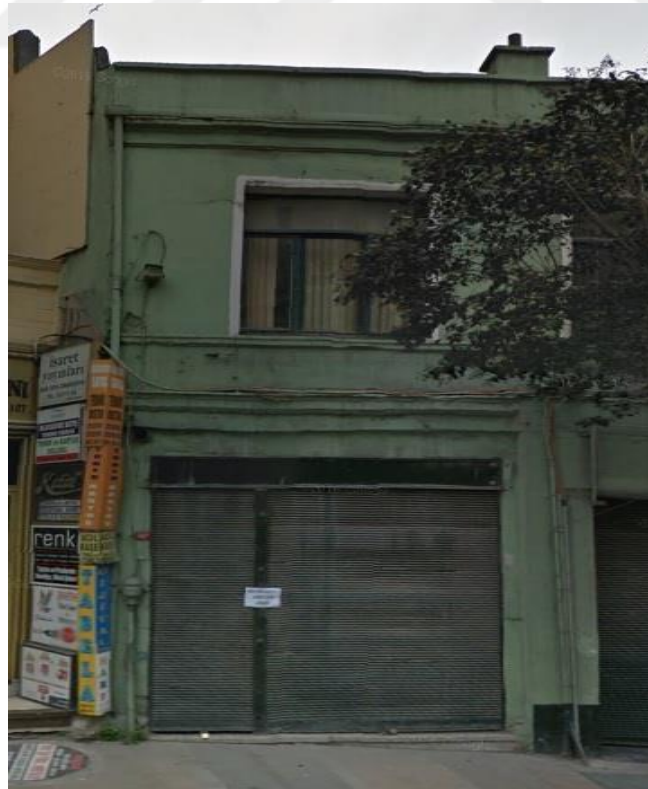


(The last edition with drawing of İnşel on the cover page, 1957?)

**Appendix 12: Photographs of İnsel Bookstore**



Source: İşli, 2014: 99.



Source: Yandex Street View, 2013.

## Appendix 13: Interviews

### Interview with Hasan İnsel (11.05.2014)

**Devrim Ulaş Arslan (D.A.):** Babanız Avni İnsel hangi tarihte nerede doğdu? Ben 1915 yılında Varna'da doğduğum bilgisine ulaştım, doğru mudur?

**Hasan İnsel (H.İ.):** Varna doğru, evet. Ben 1912 diye hatırlıyorum doğum tarihini ancak emin değilim.

**D.A:** Siz kaç yılında doğdunuz?

**H.İ:** 1945'te.

**D.A:** Babanızın çevirmenliği ve yayıncılığı hakkında genel olarak neler biliyorsunuz?

**H.İ:** Babamın tercümedeki en büyük özelliği, tercüme yapmakla kalmazdı, redaksiyon ve adaptasyon yapardı. Yani Türk halkının anlayacağı şekilde yorumlardı. Direkt tercümanlık değil motamot. Yani aslında yorum yapardı. Zaten kıymeti oradaydı. Her çıkan kitap orijinalinden aslında daha farklıdır bu yüzden. Ne bileyim, orada tramvay varsa bizde otobüs varsa otobüs denirdi. Tramvay denmezdi. Ve o dönemde tercüme çok enteresan yapıldı. Şöyle kitap alınır, tercüme bittikten sonra kitabın üzerinde tashihler yapılırdı. Her bir tashih basılır tekrar gelirdi. Eve sürekli basılı kitaplar gelir giderdi bilgisayar olmadığı için. Çok zor bir işti o zaman kitap çevirmek. Babam için Türkiye'nin en iyi Fransızca adamı derlerdi.

Ve en önemli şey, İnsel Kitabevi o zamanlar bir kültür merkeziydi. Herkesin buluşma yeri, bunu çok iyi biliyorum. Orada bir küçücük yazıhane bölümünde, birçok ünlü yazar yokuştan yukarı çıkarlar gazetelerine gitmeye. İnsel'e uğrarlar Avni ile bir kahve içmeye. Eminim ki babamın yaptığı bir sürü şey, Kahkaha'sından vitrin yapmaya kadar, bunlar bir ekip halinde konuşup bunları yapıyorlar. Nasıl siz bir şey yaparken dostlarınızla konuşuyorsanız onların dostları da bu adamlar işte. Bir de karşı grup var anladığım kadarıyla, yani yazılanlardan bunu ben uyduruyorum, işte mesela Necip Fazıl falan gibi. Ama yine de enterasanlığa bakın ki yine hepsi merabası olan, yine bir arada konuşan insanlar.

Babam çok şık bir insandı. Her zaman takım elbise kravat, yelek. Her zaman. Hepsi öyleydi ama. Resimlere bakarsanız hepsi öyleydi. O zaman ben hatırlarım Babiâli'de gelenleri geçenleri, hepsi öyleydi.

**D.A:** Avni İnsel çevirmenlik ve yayınevi yönetmek dışında herhangi bir iş yaptı mı?

**H.İ:** Ders Kitapları Türk Limited Şirketi ortağıydı. Fethi Ul vardı şirketin başında. Onunla beraber babam bütün Anadolu'yu gezer, hocalara ders kitapları tanıtırlardı. O arada Ali Bey, babamın yardımcısı, kitabevine bakardı.

**D.A:** Ali Bey'in soyadı neydi?

**H.İ:** Hatırlamıyorum, Ali Bey ve Resmiye Teyze...

**D.A:** Kahkaha dergisinin sahibi olarak Avni İnsel dergi için her hafta yazı yazıyor muydu? Dergiye seçilecek içeriğe direkt müdahalede bulunuyor muydu? Bir mahlası var mıydı? Topal Karga mahlasıyla yazılmış bazı yazılar var Kahkaha dergisinde. Bu Avni İnsel'in mahlası mıydı?

**H.İ:** Evet kesinlikle yazıyordu ve içerik seçimini de kendisi yapıyordu. Bundan eminim. Topal Karga mahlasıyla yazan babamdır. Askerlik yaparken bacağı sakat kalmış babamın.

**D.A:** Babanız İnsel Kitabevi’ni kurmadan önce kitapları Hilmi Kitabevi’nden çıkmış. Ancak İnsel Kitabevi’ni kurduktan sonra da bazı kitaplarını Hilmi’den çıkarttığını görüyoruz. Bunun sebebi neydi?

**H.İ:** Aradaki münasebeti bilmiyorum ancak şunu biliyorum ki muhakkak dosttular. Yani bir şey olurdu sen Remzi Kitabevi’ne git derdi bana. İnkılap’tan şuna uğrasana derdi hemen karşıya geçerdim. Yani büyük bir dostluk vardı. Onlar da gelirdi. Yani orada 8-10 tane kitabevi zaten hepsi iç içe. Hepsini birbirinin arkadaşı.

**D.A:** Babanız hangi dilleri biliyordu?

**H.İ:** Babam yalnızca Fransızca ve Bulgarca biliyordu. Annemin de çevirileri vardır. Annem Fransızcanın yanında Almanca ve İngilizce de biliyordu. Babamla çok çeviri yaparlardı.

**D.A:** Annenizin adı Hayrun İnsel değil mi? Fahrettin Altay’ın kızı.

**H.İ:** Hayrunnisa normal adı. Hayırlı kadın demek. Ama aile içinde herkes Hayrun derdi. Kitaplarda da Hayrun İnsel kullanırdı. Evet Fahrettin Altay’ın kızıdır.

**D.A:** Babanızın Pitigrilli çevirileri ve bu yüzden dava edilmesi hakkında bilginiz var mı?

**H.İ:** Dava olduğunu bilmiyordum. Ancak Pitigrilli çevirileri olduğunu biliyorum tabii ki.

**D.A:** Babanızın o dönem için tabuları yıkan kitapları var.

**H.İ:** Evet, kesinlikle. Bir sürü böyle şeyler var. Hep böyle ucundan dokunarak yapardı. Enteresan bir kişiliğe sahipti. Çok iltifat ederdi ama herkese. Babamın aşk için de lafı vardır size vereceğim belgelerde göreceksiniz. “Aşk vücut denilen mihrabın önünde kılınan namazdır.” diye. Böyle bir lafı bugün etseniz herhalde baya problem olur.

**D.A:** Avni İnsel’i çevirdiği ya da bastığı kitaplar nedeniyle tehdit eden, hedef gösteren oldu mu hiç bildiğiniz kadarıyla?

**H.İ:** Hayır hayır hiç yok. Necip Fazıl Kısakürek’le de öyle bir düşmanlıkları yoktu böyle yazışmalarına rağmen. Hiçbir zaman duymadım evde mesela bak işte Avni’nin başı belaya girdi falan gibi bir şey.

**D.A:** İnsel Yayınevi nasıl kapandı? Babanızın ölümünden sonra direkt kapandı mı 1969’da?

**H.İ:** Hayır. Ben Tıp Fakültesi’ndeydim 69 senesinde babam öldüğünde. Babam bir vasiyetname bırakmıştı. Çok enteresandır ölümüne çok yakın bir tarihte yazmış. “Canım oğlum” diyor “dükkâna üç aylık kira borcumuz var. Kirası 900 liradır bu dükkânın. Elden gönderdim almadı, eğer bana bir şey olursa bu adamcağıza kira borcunu öde. Çok ayıp olur.” yazmış. Babam öldükten bir ay iki ay sonra bizim önümüze bir kontrat çıkardılar. Kontratta 2100 lira yazıyor. Ben gittim mal sahibiyle, tanıdığımız biriydi, konuştum. Dediler ki 2100 lira, babanız yanlış yazmış. Babam yanlış yazmaz dedik. Mahkeme açıldı. Mahkemede, tabii onlar çok güçlü firmaydı, Avni İnsel’in imzasının yüzde 50’si doğrudur diye bir karar çıktı. Şimdi imzanın yüzde

50'si doğrudur ne demek? Bunun üzerine mahkeme bizim haksız, onların haklı olduğuna karar verdiler. Onlar da bizim tahliyemizi istedi. Tahliye ettik dükkânı. Zaten ben idare edemiyordum dükkânı, yani götürüyordum ama babamın bilgisi bende yoktu. Babamın aldığı kitapları koyuyordum. Yani bir sene içinde böyle kötü bir davayla kapatıldı. Aslında daha devam edecekti İnsel Kitabevi. O günden beridir de Ankara Caddesi 109 numarada Afitap Kitabevi'nin yanındaki dükkân hala kapalıdır. Niye bizi çıkarttılar onu da anlamadım. Hala şu an geçerseniz babamın kepengi kapalı, kilitli durumda duruyor. Bunlar herhalde 70 sonlarında falan oluyor.

**D.A:** Babanızın birçok beraber yapılmış çevirisi var, mesela annenizle ya da Hamdi Varoğlu'yla. Ortak çevirilerde nasıl bir yol izliyorlardı? Hatırlıyor musunuz?

**H.İ:** Yok, hiç hatırlamıyorum. Evde sürekli bir şeyler yazıldığı için... Hep bizim evde birileri bir şey yazardı. Çoğu tercümeyle babam yazıhanesinde de yapardı evde de yapardı.

**D.A:** Babanızın yakın dostları kimlerdi?

**H.İ:** Fahrettin Kerim Gökay vardı. O zamanın İstanbul valisi. Çok yakın dostuydu. Güzellik yarışmalarına falan babam jüriye katılırdı. Fahrettin Kerim'le babamın stadyumda beraber fotoğrafları vardır. Bunun dışında Feyyaz Işıl, Semih Tanca, Haluk Tanca. Bunlar çok yakın dostlarıydı.

**D.A:** Babanız da anneniz de tercüman olduğu için sizce annenizin çevirdiği bir kitap babanızın adıyla yayımlanmış olabilir mi? Ya da tam tersi?

**H.İ:** Yok, sanmıyorum.

**D.A:** Babanızın gazetedeki ölüm ilanında Hasan İnsel ve Baskın Sokulluoğlu'nun babası yazıyordu. Kardeşiniz nerede?

**H.İ:** Baskın, annemin ilk kocasından. Annemin ilk kocası Prof. Ahmet Kamil Sokullu, Ankara Üniversitesi'nde hocaydı. Sonra ayrılıyorlar. Babam annemin ikinci kocası. Baskın 2011 yılında vefat etti.

**D.A:** Babanızın kitapları, bir kütüphanesi var mıydı? Halen duruyor mu sizde?

**H.İ:** Hayır. Babamın hiç öyle evde kitaplarım diye bir köşesi yoktu. Çıkardığı kitapları ben bile sonradan internette alarak topladım.

**D.A:** Sağladığınız bilgi ve belgeler için çok teşekkür ediyorum. Eklemek istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

**H.İ:** Bildiklerim bu kadar. Size verdiğim gazete kopyalarında da çok fazla bilgi var. Babam hakkında araştırma yapınız beni çok mutlu etti. Teşekkürler.

### Interview with Necdet İşli (03.06.2016)

**D.A:** Kaç yılında doğdunuz? Hangi tarihler arasında İnsel Kitabevi'nde çalıştınız ve ne iş yapıyordunuz?

**Necdet İşli (N.İ):** 1953 doğumluyum. 1968 yılından 1970 yılı başına kadar tezgâhtar olarak İnsel Kitabevi'nde çalıştım.

**D.A:** İşe nasıl başladınız?

**N.İ:** O yıllarda öğrenciydim. Bir senelik bir boşluğum vardı. Benim çalıştığım dönemde İnsel Kitabevi'yle fiili olarak İbrahim Orga ilgileniyordu. İbrahim Bey bizim akrabamızdı. 61 ihtilalinde ulaştırma yarıbaylığından emekli olmuştur. Kendisi bir sabah beni aldı ve İnsel Kitabevi'ne götürdü, boş durma burada çalış dedi. Bu şekilde başladım.

**D.A:** Sizden başka orada çalışan var mıydı?

**N.İ:** Avni İnsel'in yanında uzun yıllar çalışmış olan Ali Bey vardı ancak 1968 yılının ortalarında o işten ayrıldı. İbrahim Orga'nın akrabası Bülent Orga ve ben beraber çalışıyorduk. İbrahim Orga kitabevinin başında bekleyen birisi değildi. Genellikle Bülent Orga ve ben vardık dükkânda.

**D.A:** Avni İnsel'i ne sıklıkla görüyordunuz? Nasıl biriydi?

**N.İ:** Orada çalıştığım dönemde Avni İnsel'i hiç görmedim. Fiili olarak İnsel Yayınevi'ni o yıllarda yöneten İbrahim Orga'ydı. İnsel o yıllarda hiç kitabevine gidip gelmedi. Belki hastaydı o dönem diye düşünüyorum. Ancak çevreden çok ince, kibar ve modern bir beyefendi olduğunu duydum.

**D.A:** İnsel Kitabevi nasıl bir yerdi? Avni İnsel'in çevresi geniş miydi? Çok tanıdığı, dostu, arkadaşı, hayranları var mıydı?

**N.İ:** Ufak bir kitabeviydi. İçeride Avni İnsel'in bir yazıhanesi ve ufak bir depo vardı. 68'in ortalarından sonra dükkânda kitap dışında kırtasiye malzemeleri de satılmaya başlandı. Dükkâna Babıâli'den birçok dostunun gidip gelirdi. Bunların arasında en çok aklımda kalan isim Burhan Arif Ongun'dur. Ongun da Galatasaray Lisesi mezunudur ve Fransız kültürüyle yetişmiştir. İnsel'e hayrandı kendisi.

**D.A:** İnsel, müstehcen addedilen kitaplarından dolayı çok eleştiri almış 1940 ve 50'lerde. Sizin bu konuda kişisel olarak tanık olduğunuz bir eleştiri oldu mu?

**N.İ:** Afrodit isimli kitabın dava edildiğini duymuştum. Onun dışında bu konuda pek bir şey bilmiyorum.

**D.A:** İnsel Kitabevi'nin kitapları diğer Babıâli kitapçılarına göre daha fazla mı satıyordu sizce? Sadece İnsel yayınevi'nin kitapları mı yoksa başka yayınevlerinin kitapları da mı satılıyordu?

**N.İ:** Benim orada çalıştığım dönemde kitabevi satış açısından durgundu. Yalnızca kitap değil kırtasiye malzemeleri de satılmaya başlamıştı.

**D.A:** Hayrunnisa İnsel'i tanıyor muydunuz? Yayınevi ile ilgileniyor muydu çalıştığınız dönemde?

**N.İ:** İsmen tanıyorum tabii ki fakat yayınevine gelip gittiğini görmedim hiç.

**D.A:** İnsel'in kitabevindeki yazıhanesinde kitaplığı var mıydı? Nasıl kitaplar vardı?

**N.İ:** Yazıhanede iki raflık küçük bir kitaplığı vardı. Orada Ahmet Vefik Paşa'nın Moliere çevirilerinin ve Fransızca Pitigrilli kitaplarının olduğunu hatırlıyorum.

**D.A:** Kitabevi ya da İnsel hakkında dikkatinizi çeken, aktarmak istediğiniz bir şey var mı?

**N.İ:** İnsel'in yazıhanesinde bir kasası vardı. Bu kasada İnsel'e ait özel evraklar, mesela gazete küpürleri gibi, diploma gibi, bir de imzalı bir André Gide fotoğrafı vardı.

**D.A:** Teşekkür ediyorum.





Appendix 14: Letters written to İnsel

A) Hüseyin Namık Orkun

HÜSEYİN NAMIK ORKUN

H  
8-III-1951  
Ankara

Muhterem Avni İnsal Beyefendi,

Bugün Milli Eğitim Bakanlığında tâbilerin insafsızlığından şikâyetle bahsederken Orta Öğretim Umum müdürü Doğan bey sizi bu nevi tâbilerden tenzih etti. Ben Orta mektebler için yazdığım üç ciltlik tarih kitabıma karşı bazı tâbilerin yaptığı gülünç teklifleri anlattım. Bunun üzerine size müracaat etmemi ve Doğan bey delaletile müraccat ettiğimi yazmamı söyledi. Ben de bunun için size bu mektubumu yazıyorum.

Benim adımlı belki bilirsiniz. Türkiyedeki tarih hocalarının yüzde doksanı benim yetiştirdiğim eski talebelerimdir. Onun için yazdığım üç ciltlik orta mektep tarih kitabının çok satılacağını her kes takdir eder. Bir kaç güne kadar kitablara Milli Eğitim Bakanlığına vereceğim. Bu hususda sizinle görüşmek ve şartlarınızı öğrenmek istiyorum. Auresimi aşağıya yazıyorum. Lütfen ne gibi şartlarla basabileceğinizi bildirmenizi rica ederim. Zuhurinin kitabı gibi eserimde siyasi mülahazalarla ihmal edilmiş cihetler yoktur. Söylediğim gibi ben yirmi senedir orta mekteblere hoca yetiştirmekteyim. Kitabımın bugün elde mevcut kitabların hepsinden daha iyi olduğunu iddia edebilirim. Zuhuri ile yaptığınız ilk anlaşmayı ben de kabul edebilirim. Ve kitabım Zuhurinin satışından daha çok satış yapmazsa mukaveleyi lehimize çevirebilirim. Hörmetler.

Bahçelievler, 57 sokak N: 14  
Ankara.

Hüseyin Namık Orkun

25 / 1 / 1951

اولم حوتی

بوی به کله کلبک کلفت نه هکتوی آلم ، نایمی  
 نایمی اولد بینه جوانی کچی در حله ! حذره کوردم .  
 بوی ده بن لری ای بی ، کله صی آیت اورته لریه دودغور  
 استاجوله دوقک قرانه نه بی .  
 موسیو یا پینتی بی کلدیم کونده نری تقیب ایتیم برده  
 بوجفی هته اولد بینه بی ارنده صغره منده کورده  
 وای بزغانی برطه اوجوبه و خلیفه منده کلدیم دیبا سار کله  
 صیای بویه دم ، دود بقیه منده بولوشده دیبا بوتونه  
 طاد نری کورده صقیقا ناده رانهای توره کیهاده  
 کورده وای طاد نری وای ، نریایت سکه کی بی برطغم  
 طاد نری کورده کلدیم دقت برانه بو صهره بکللیک  
 کورده ایته دم « بیز برالحی دلمی » دیم ، صر بوی  
 « Sussex » هو کسی دیم اوره لرنده کی خرده برالحی لرن  
 ایترنده یا چالری واره بیزن یوقده ، برالحی لرنده بر  
 هفت واره استاجوله هوقو بوستانده حرائلی بیسی  
 واره اولما ویریم دمی ادرینه ایته منده سنک  
 طادده حرائق ارنده ادرندیم ریه کله ناکد برالحی دم

بیخشی بوقدره ندیم در بر دل دیدم بونب ادوزنیه اودفت  
 اوزده فرضندم ، خفته خاضه نی اولورده سنه ۱۸۱۵  
 قدره بوجده با سید بر ، هریم تولی اولورلی ایچون نام صفانه  
 واقع اولورده دعوه طراره دوتی اولورده ، ادره دویم  
 ادره ده قلمه برده ویا برافزای اولورده اوزده هریم ادره بریم  
 دو شهر دویم ، شهر پیشانده اولورده ، بکیده انکاره دویم  
 بوجده لرئی کین شهر سویم بوجده ، بوجده حاکمه سنه و صفا  
 بعام نفل اولورده ، حقیقتاً بونوبه کوجان کوجان حکم حاکمه  
 تصادف ایچیم ، دیکر Sussex کرده کریم همه نطوره  
 ایچ کرده انکاره نیما جیبلا نه ، بونورده ، خادده  
 عدولری میا آنده بوجده لرئی و صفا نطوره ، ادره  
 صیده محدود بوجده ده یعنی ۱۸۱۵ کوجان لچو ، دیکر  
 بجه بوجده ، ادره دوتی و دوتی بوجده ، بوجده ایچده  
 صفا صفا بوجده بوجده Sussex خادده نطوره صفا صفا اولورده  
 ادره نطوره بوجده بوجده بوجده ، بوجده بوجده بوجده  
 ایضا حاکمی ادره بوجده ، دیکر بوجده بوجده بوجده بوجده  
 بوجده بوجده ، بوجده بوجده بوجده بوجده بوجده  
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عیون  
 K. Karim

## B2) Transcription of Altay's Letter<sup>79</sup>

25 Ocak 1951

Ođlum Avni

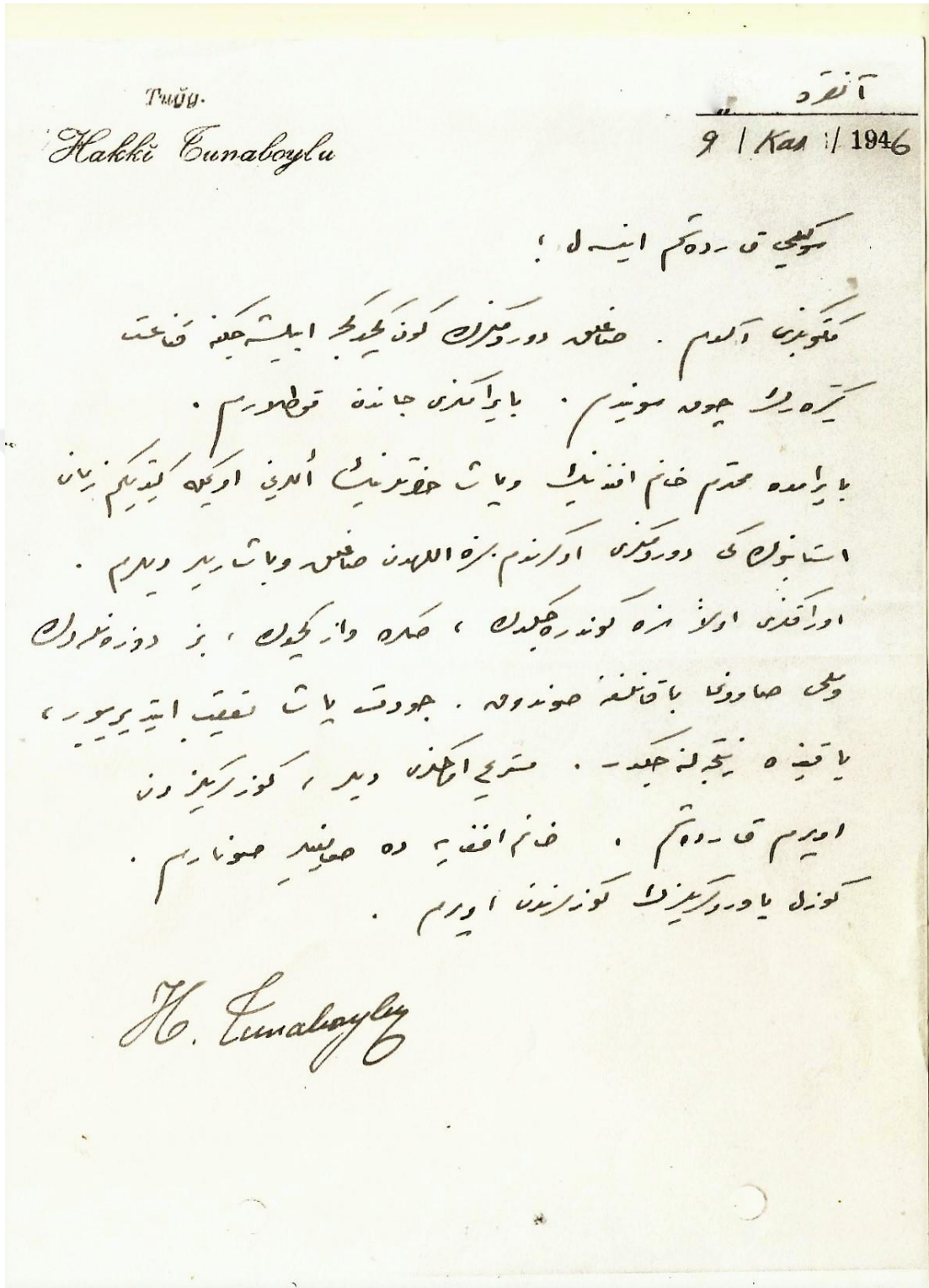
Buraya geldiđimin haftasında mektubunu aldım, tarihi yazılı olmadığından cevabımı geç vermekte mahzur görmedim. Burada bizler iyiyiz, gelecek ayın ortalarına doğru İstanbul'a dönmek kararındayız.

Mösyö Pariyentiği geldiđim günden beri takip ettim. [...] çocuđu hasta olduğundan pek evinden çıkamadı bende görmekte ve iyi bir zamanı bulmak için vazifemde geciktim ve buna binaen sana da cevap veremedim. Dün bahçesinde buluştuk ve bana bütün tavuklarını gösterdi hakikaten nadir ve emsali Türkiye'de görülmemiş tavukları var. Nihayet resimdeki gibi birtakım tavukların kümesine geldiđimiz vakit biraz bu hususta bilgililik göstermek istedim "Bunlar Brahma değil mi?" dedim. "Hayır, bunlar Sussex." dedi aralarındaki fark Brahmaların ayaklarında paçaları vardır bunların yoktur. "Brahmalardan bir çift vardı İstanbul'da Çukur Bostan'da meraklı birisi var ona verdim" demesi üzerine işte bende senin tavuk merakın ondan öğrendim diyerek [...] Brahmadan başkası yoktu neye[?] verdin dedim. Bunun üzerine o vakit onlara kızmıştım.

[...]

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<sup>79</sup> I am indebted to Deniz Karadeniz and Özlem Öztura for the transcriptions.



C2) Transcription of Tunaboylu's letter

9 Kasım 1946

Ankara

Sevgili kardeşim İnsel;

Mektubunuzu aldım. Sağlık durumunuzun gün geçtikçe iyileşeceğine kanaat getirerek çok sevindim. Bayramınızı candan kutlarım. Bayramda muhterem hanımefendinin ve paşa hazretlerinin ellerini öpmeye gittiğim zaman İstanbul'daki durumunuzu öğrendim. Size Allah'tan sağlık ve başarılar dilerim. Evrakınızı evvela size gönderecektik, sonra vazgeçtik. Biz düzenledik ve Millî Savunma Bakanlığı'na sunduk. Cevdet Paşa takip ettiriyor, yakında neticelenecektir. Müsterih olmanızı diler, gözlerinizden öperim kardeşim. Hanımefendiye de saygılar sunarım. Güzel yavrularınızın gözlerinden öperim.

Tugq.  
Hakkı Tunaboylu

②  
Wakara  
18/5/1947

غز قاردهم عوف

لطف ايديغ ادره قديم ادم . سوي شمس پروري افسر لقم  
 خود نوزادوك . آخيره اهنه . انظار درو ادره جهان بوني  
 آسفالته آتو اوغوش اوش باقالم حاله نه الا صوه ؟ الله  
 لغزه صغله رفعت دريسه .  
 هودت ياش ايله كوردنم . تقاعد شعري . قار عديت  
 نهنه يوسورليني اوراتدك . تقيم عديت نهنه نوزادليني  
 باياجه . آخيره برتامه كونه صدمه قار نهنه بر ادم  
 كندهريك اوراتدك تقيم نهنه نوزادليني نوزادليني نوزادليني  
 كندهريك ادره يوسورليني ايه قنده بولند كوكور  
 بر اتمه آلامايسيز لطف با يازيد . بوران امرجهنا نامم

لغزه وقتاندا . صغله جهاننه صغله وساده . يا و در ايزدك ره  
 نوزادليني ادره . غز ديكجهنا ادره .  
 H. Tunaboylu

**D2) Transcription of Tunaboylu's (2nd) letter**

12 Şubat 1947

Ankara

Aziz kardeşim Avni;

Lütuf ettiğiniz eserleri teşekkürle aldım. Sevimli Hasan'ın geçirdiği rahatsızlığa çok üzüldük. Geçmiş olsun. Engellerle dolu olan hayat yolunu asfalte[?] etmeye uğraşa uğraşa bakalım halimiz ne olacak? Allah hepimize sağlık ve kuvvet versin. Cevdet Paşa ile görüştüm. Tekaüt şubesi; Fener Askerlik Şubesi'ne yolladığı evrakınızın Taksim Askerlik Şubesi'ne gönderilmesini yazacak. Ancak birkaç gün sonra Fener Şubesine bir adam göndererek evrakınızın Taksim Şubesi'ne gönderilip gönderilmediğini yoklatmanızı ve gönderilmedi ise oraya yollanması için teşebbüste bulunmanız gerekiyor. Bir netice alamaz iseniz lütfen bana yazınız. Buradan emir çıkartayım. Size ve hanımefendiye [...] ve candan sağlık ve saadet. Yavrularınızın da gözlerinden öperim aziz ve sevgili kardeşim.



Hakkı Tunaboylu  
Tuğgeneral

Ankara  
17 Ocak 1947

غزیر قاردهم انسه ل :

زنگ اینی سحابه دوزه نوردک . اذبولوکی  
دوسه زره ایلک و صون دفعه سزه دیرله  
ایپورای بولسوردک بر یازی ایجه تقاضا شم  
وردک . موثولو داخله راره سی باشقا نقد  
امر حبابی یوز باقی کمالی بکذات کوره رک تعقیب  
دانتاچی صافلوروم . بکوننده صونجه یوزدولم  
ادامیم . بوانک بوقدر اوزون سوسیم  
تقدیر کوز و کولیمی آکلانامام . قوشدیریلان  
برایسه بوقدر یا کلمه ساسه کوردور و اوزاریم  
یا اولورک نه اولور ؟

**E2) Transcription of Tunaboylu's (3rd) Letter**

17 Mart 1947

Ankara

Aziz kardeşim İnsel;

Sizin işi şöyle düzenledik. Okuldaki dosyanızda ilk ve son defa size verilen raporları birleştirerek bir yazı ile Tekaüt Şubesine verdik. Motorlu Vasıtalar Dairesi Başkanlığı'nın emir subayı Yüzbaşı Kemal'i bizzat görerek takip ve intacını sağladım. Bu günlerde sonuçlandırılacağını umarım. Bu işin bu kadar uzun sürmesine ne kadar üzüldüğümü anlatamam. Kovuşturulan bir iş bu kadar yanlış muamele görür ve uzarsa ya öbürleri ne olur? İşinizin aldığı istikamet hakkında daha evvel bilgi veremediklerine ayrıca üzüldüm. Sevgi ve saygılarla gözlerinizden öper, sağlık ve saadetinizi candan dilerim kardeşim. Hanımefendiye hürmetler sunar, güzel yavrularınızın gözlerinden öperim.

General  
Hakki Tunaboylu

(4)  
Tuzumi  
28 Eylül 1947

خیز قاردهم انیسر :

2/ هرکس آلاخی لفظلر آخیر بولون آلیو طوی . عیبات  
ارلاغبندی آغوزون / اول آریلازه اولر تور مسلامیدن دوجیه ، سوز  
رفتم انقی . سولدی ، عقیب دیو کهری کوتورین عجب آخیم .  
بولر کمدلن صده سوسی ی بولر ده ده لورمه دباشاری  
کجه عیبتنا صده قوتلکدن اولرنده وجود سونم .  
بوند صده انق منی قورسون قاردهم . یتر دجه ده  
بجاده ییز .  
یک سوبای اولور کی قوتلری قعه قوتلن صایا دتندن  
26 / آغوزون بره 65 . تور قوروتانغی یا یورم .  
یک سوبای اولور ای یی تر ضعیف انق اولدی .  
الله خیر و برسیه .

مدرک انیزک موندیملر ایله آغوز ده ایله برتاو رو غنجه ایله باسه دورم .  
هقد اولر بوروانک تجر لدرلنده هیو انکم یوقه قاردهم .  
خانم انقی دیزه سوز و صایندی صونار ، هتک و صایندی جانن دید ، یاد دکنیز کده  
کوزلندن ایرم خیز قاردهم .

H. Tunaboylu

**F2) Transcription of Tunaboylu's (4th) Letter**

28 Eylül 1947

İzmir

Aziz kardeşim İnsel;

2 Eylül tarihli lütufnameniz ancak bugün elime geçti. Ameliyat olacağınızı Ankara'dan ayrılmadan evvel operatör Selami'den duymuş, size ve hanımefendiye sevgilerimi, afiyet dileklerimi götürmesini rica etmişim. Buraya geldikten sonra kuvvetlendiğinizi öğrenmiş ve çok sevinmişim. Bundan sonra Allah sizi korusun kardeşim. Yeter derecede bıçak yediniz.

Yedek Subay Okulu'ndaki hizmetlerimi kıta hizmetinden saymadıklarından 26 ağustostan beri 65. Tümen komutanlığını yapıyorum. Yedek Subay Okulu iki yıl terfiime engel oldu. Allah hayırlar versin.

Malullük işinizin sonuçlandırılması için Ankara'da iken birkaç kere [...] başvurmuşum. [...] olan bu davanın neticelendirilmesinde hiç emeğim yoktur kardeşim.

Hanımefendiye ve size sevgi ve saygılarımı sunarım, sağlık ve saadetinizi candan diler, yavrularınızın da gözlerinden öperim aziz kardeşim.

General  
Hakki Tunaboylu.

*Tunaboylu*  
26 EK. I 1947

عجزِ رستمِ خاردهم :

لفظانِ آندم . هومِ موندم . مانتو چ مانتو

دلم اینه الیون دلم . بارانیندی قوتد .

ایمن سوک و صافیدی صوناسم .

منج رفیقزه ده و قندرم صوناسم . کوزل یادردنیزک

کوزلندن ادرم .

منج قانع بدین یات قندرم تقابله انرندن ادرم .

جانم تن ردهم :

ازیره آندیم . طوی و صوی هوم کوزل . فقط جوقهدی

آنقه دفا ترم دم . قزیم بورده بوسه بر خوجالده بولارم .

اؤل دوی مایه قد . بلایان جقم . یو یا شنه مده بارسه

دولک هوم دورکلی . خاردهم .

*H. Tunaboylu*

**F2) Transcription of Tunaboylu's (5th) Letter**

26 Ekim 1947

İzmir

Aziz ve muhterem kardeşim;

Lütufnamenizi aldım. Çok sevindim. Sağlık ve saadette daim olmanızı Allah'tan dilerim. Bayramlarınızı kutlar, içten sevgi ve saygılarımı sunarım.

Muhterem refikanıza da hürmetlerimi sunar, güzel yavrularınızın gözlerinden öperim.

Muhterem kaim pederiniz paşa hazretlerinin \_\_\_\_\_ ellerinden öperim.

Canım kardeşim;

İzmir'e alıştım. Havası ve suyu çok güzel. Fakat çocuklarımı Ankara'dan getirtemedim. Kızıma burada boş bir hocalık bulamadım. Önümüzdeki Mayıs'a kadar bekâr yaşayacağım. Bu yaştan sonra bekârlık doğrusu çok zor geliyor kardeşim.