

THE TURKISH ORDEAL:
WRITTEN IN “VOLUNTARY” EXILE,
SELF-TRANSLATED UNDER IDEOLOGICAL EMBARGO

NUR ZEYNEP KÜRÜK

BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY

2017

THE TURKISH ORDEAL:
WRITTEN IN “VOLUNTARY” EXILE,
SELF-TRANSLATED UNDER IDEOLOGICAL EMBARGO

Thesis submitted to the
Institute for Graduate Studies in Social Sciences
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Translation

by

Nur Zeynep Kürük

Boğaziçi University

2017

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, NUR ZEYNEP KÜRÜK, certify that

- I am the sole author of this thesis and that I have fully acknowledged and documented in my thesis all sources of ideas and words, including digital resources, which have been produced or published by another person or institution;
- this thesis contains no material that has been submitted or accepted for a degree or diploma in any other educational institution;
- this is a true copy of the thesis approved by my advisor and thesis committee at Boğaziçi University, including final revisions required by them.

Signature.....

Date04.08.2017.....

ABSTRACT

The Turkish Ordeal: Written in “Voluntary” Exile, Self-Translated Under Ideological Embargo

This study explores the ideological embargo on Halide Edib Adivar and her self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish by analyzing the non-translated parts in the English original. Halide Edib wrote the second volume of her memoirs in English, when she was in a “voluntary” exile in England in 1928. However, she did not translate *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish until 1960. When its Turkish version, *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* was published in 1962, a considerable amount of the source text was omitted by Edib herself. In this study, these omitted/non-translated parts are examined through a descriptive and comparative textual analysis, in relation to Halide Edib’s self-translation practice by investigating her political and personal position as well as the ideological environment of Turkey between the 1920s and the early 1960s. Halide Edib had a more critical tone in her narration while she was living abroad and writing in English. However, her criticism of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and some of his politics, her nationalist emphasis on the minority issues and her rather ‘sincere’ personal thoughts have been lost in non-translation. From this perspective, this study asserts that the overall message of Halide Edib’s memoir has changed losing also its critical tone, and turned into a discourse which seems to be supporting or confirming the official state narrative of Turkey. It is also possible to conclude that her representation has remained incomplete in the Turkish context because of the non-translated parts.

ÖZET

“Gönüllü” Sürgünde Yazılıp Öz-Çevirisi İdeolojik Ambargo Altında Yapılan

The Turkish Ordeal

Bu çalışma, Halide Edib Adıvar ve *The Turkish Ordeal*'ın öz-çevirisi olan Türkçe versiyonu üzerindeki ideolojik ambargoyu eserin İngilizce orijinalinden Türkçeye çevrilmeyen kısımları analiz ederek incelemektedir. Halide Edib anılarının ikinci cildini 1928'de, İngiltere'de “gönüllü” sürgündeyken yazmış, ancak *The Turkish Ordeal*'ı 1960'a kadar Türkçeye çevirmemiştir. Eserin Türkçe versiyonu *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* 1962'de yayımlandığında ise kaynak metnin önemli bir kısmı Halide Edib tarafından metinden çıkarılmıştır. Bu çalışmada, çıkarılan/çevrilmeyen bu parçalar Halide Edib'in öz-çeviri pratiği, politik ve kişisel konumu ve Türkiye'nin 1920'lerdeki ve 1960'ların başlarındaki ideolojik atmosferiyle ilişkilendirilerek betimleyici bir karşılaştırmayla analiz edilmektedir. Halide Edib'in yurt dışında yaşadığı dönemde İngilizce yazarken anlatılarında daha eleştirel bir sese sahip olduğu görülmektedir. Ancak, Edib'in Mustafa Kemal Atatürk ve onun bazı uygulamalarına dair eleştirileri, azınlık meselelerindeki milliyetçi vurgusu ve samimiyetle kaleme aldığı kişisel görüşleri, çevrilmeyen parçalar içinde kaybolmuştur. Bu noktadan hareketle, mevcut çalışma kaynak metinden çıkarılan kısımlar nedeniyle Halide Edib'in anılarının nihai mesajının ve eleştirel tonunun değiştiğini ve Türkiye'nin resmi devlet anlatısını onaylayan ya da destekleyen bir anlatıya dönüştüğünü, dolayısıyla yazarın Türkçe bağlamdaki temsilinin de eksik kaldığını savunmaktadır.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Assist. Prof. Arzu Akbatur who has supported me throughout my thesis not only with her knowledge but also with her patience and encouraging approach. It is her critical reading, insightful comments and guidance that made this thesis possible. Working on this study with her has been a great scholarly experience for me and I will always regard it as a chance to be her student.

I also wish to express my thanks to Prof. Özlem Berk Albachten and Assoc. Prof. Hülya Adak for kindly accepting to be the members of the thesis committee and contributing with their valuable comments. And I would like to thank Prof. Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar for sharing her valuable comments with me, I will always be grateful for her encouragement and support.

During the last three years, I shared great memories with my classmates and I would like to thank them all for making this whole MA experience an enjoyable one. In addition, many thanks to my former and present colleagues Sema, Buket, Nesrin and Deniz.

I also owe a great debt of gratitude to my dear friends, Seda Ünlü who always motivates me to go further, Talar Kaloustian who read every single word that I wrote and shared her valuable comments with me, Ceren Araz who is always there for me, and Toygun Erçetin who has been listening to me patiently for years and supporting me in every step that I took.

Finally, I would like to thank all members of my family but particularly to my parents, Cemal Ercüment and Fisun Kürük, and my 'little' brother Rifat Can Kürük; without your support and unconditional love I would not be able to do this.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK.....	13
2.1 Conceptual framework.....	13
2.2 Methodology	22
CHAPTER 3: HALİDE EDİB ADIVAR AND TRANSLATION	24
3.1 A biographical outline.....	24
3.2 Halide Edib as a (self-)translator.....	28
CHAPTER 4: WRITING IN EXILE: <i>THE TURKISH ORDEAL</i>	35
4.1 Historical background of the 1920s in the Turkish context.....	35
4.2 Halide Edib’s “voluntary” exile.....	39
4.3 Autobiography in English as a self-translation/defense.....	44
CHAPTER 5: SELF-TRANSLATION UNDER IDEOLOGICAL EMBARGO:	
<i>TÜRK’ÜN ATEŞLE İMTİHANI</i>	50
5.1 Historical background of Turkey from 1939 to the early 1960s.....	50
5.2 (Non-)translation of the memoir	54
5.3 The ideological embargo on Halide Edib	61
CHAPTER 6: TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF NON-TRANSLATED PARTS	67
6.1 Parts on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk.....	68
6.2 Parts on ethnic identities	80
6.3 Parts on personal remarks and notes	85
6.4 Target reader-oriented details	91
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION.....	94
REFERENCES.....	99

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. Halide Edib during the Sultanahmet rally in 1919	27
Figure 2. Halide Edib's painted portrait.....	47
Figure 3. Halide Edib at the front	48
Figure 4. Corporal Halide	49
Figure 5. Inner cover of <i>Hayat</i> magazine	55
Figure 6. Three different Halide Edib	57
Figure 7. The front cover of <i>Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı</i> (1994)	65

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

One of the prominent figures of modern Turkish literature, Halide Edib Adivar ends the second volume of her memoirs, *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928) with a quotation from British journalist Henry W. Nevinson: “The battle of freedom is never done, and the field never quiet” (Edib, 1928, p. 407). When Edib published this volume in London, The Turkish War of Independence (1919-1923) had already been over; however, Halide’s battle of freedom – the years of her “voluntary” exile – had just started.

At the end of the Great War, Allied troops (namely British, French, Greek and Italian) occupied Istanbul in 1918 in accordance with the Armistice of Moudros, and concurrently Halide Edib became a leading political figure as an oppositional voice in the Ottoman community. One year later, she ran away from the capital of the Ottoman Empire and moved to Anatolia where a nationalist resistance had risen. She joined the National Struggle and, from its beginning to its end, actively participated in the Turkish War of Independence as a translator, interpreter and corporal in both front and hinterland. She played a crucial role during the meetings between the newly founded Turkish government and the foreign committees as an interpreter. The headquarter office in Ankara was able to follow the international news on the National Struggle by virtue of Edib’s translations from the foreign press. In addition, she worked closely with the leading figures of the war, especially with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (the commander-in-chief and the founder of the Republic of Turkey).

Shortly after the war, Halide Edib had to leave Turkey due to the political conditions of the time, to be discussed later, and lived in England and France for fourteen years. She preferred to write her memoirs in English during these years

abroad. *The Turkish Ordeal* was first serialized in *Asia* magazine in the United States and then published in 1928 in London and New York; however, Turkish readers were not able to read it in Turkish until 1960. Halide Edib did not translate *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish, even though she wrote and published other works in Turkey between 1928 and 1960. Her self-translation of the memoir was partially serialized in *Hayat* [Life] magazine in 1960 and was published as a book, *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* [The Turk's Ordeal with Fire] in 1962. What is interesting about Halide Edib's self-translation is that she left out an important part of the source text. The most important reason behind this delayed and 'incomplete' translation is considered to be Halide Edib's severe criticism of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and some of his practices during the war and the early years of the Republic as well as some aspects of his policy in these years.

This assumption comes along with further questions; are all the non-translated parts about the criticism related to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, or are there any other omissions related to different political issues? Why did Halide Edib wait so long to translate her memoir? Did she self-censor her translation, or was there an official intervention? Why is a 'complete' translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* in Turkish still missing?

It is almost impossible to answer these questions without understanding the socio-cultural history of modern Turkey when *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* were produced. Thus, a study which would contextualize the aforementioned works of Halide Edib Adıvar within the socio-cultural context of Turkey from the 1920s to the 1960s may reveal interesting findings in terms of the author's translation policy.

Based on this perspective, the present thesis aims to present a comparative reading of *The Turkish Ordeal* and its self-translation into Turkish, *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihani*. It mainly focuses on Halide Edib Adıvar as a self-translator and investigates her translation decisions in relation to her political and personal position, as well as to the ideological environment of Turkey between the 1920s and the early 1960s.

The conceptual framework of the thesis and its methodology are mainly based on the principles of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS). In the 1990s, the “cultural turn” in translation studies expanded the scope of the field by emphasizing that “translation is not an isolated act which happens in a vacuum, but is part of an ongoing process of intercultural transfer” (Bassnett and Trivedi, 2002, p. 2). Rethinking translation from this point of view and analyzing the network between the text and the cultural elements in which it is embedded may present intriguing information on both the act and the actor of translation.

In addition to cultural elements, ideology that is derived from a community’s culture, shared beliefs and value-systems, and its relation to translation, therefore, must be taken into consideration. Both the ideology of the translator and the ideology of the target community would affect the production of translation. In some cases, the ideology of the target community may constrain the translator and result in non-translation. Here, non-translation may refer to exclusion of a specific source text from the target literary system due to not being selected for translation, or on the textual level, it may refer to the omitted parts of the source text in translation (Elgül, 2011). From this perspective, the notion of “ideological embargo” suggested by João Ferreira Duarte (2000) becomes a useful tool in my case to explain Halide Edib’s non-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*.

Analyzing Halide Edib's self-translation and non-translation within the framework of ideological embargo may reveal how she presented her political and personal attitude in different contexts. Here, the notion of self-translation metaphorically refers to the process of writing in a language other than the mother tongue (Thiong'o, 2009), while it literally refers to "translating one's own writings into another language" (Grutman, 2009, p. 257).

In the present thesis, I will first cite the related literature which focuses on Halide Edib Adıvar as a translator, and initiates discussion on her translations. This literature review will also display my primary and secondary sources such as (auto)biographical works on Halide Edib and related academic studies.

In Chapter Two, I will present the conceptual and methodological framework of my thesis. I will briefly introduce the notion of "self-translation" by discussing various approaches to the topic (Grutman, 2009; Bassnett, 2013) and try to explain the notion of "non-translation" with reference to Duarte's (2000) typology. Afterwards, I will demonstrate how I associate these notions with Halide Edib and her works. As for my methodology, I will benefit from descriptive translation studies (Toury, 1995). In providing a comparative analysis of *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*, I trace the translation decisions of Halide Edib in her self-translation.

In Chapter Three, I will introduce Halide Edib Adıvar not only as an author, as many studies have already done, but particularly as a (self-)translator; I will present her biography with a focus on her education, her (self-)translations and her statements on translation.

In Chapter Four, the first of my primary sources, i.e., *The Turkish Ordeal*, will be introduced. A brief overview of the history of Turkey in the 1920s will be

given in relation to Halide Edib's personal and political status at that time. Her years abroad and the writing of her autobiography in English (which I regard as her self-translation) as a response to Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* (1927) [*The Speech*] is discussed with reference to Hülya Adak's (2003) argument in "National Myths and Self-Na(rra)tions". Here, I will also conduct a paratextual analysis of *Asia* magazine and *The Turkish Ordeal* in my discussion of how Halide Edib and her memoir were represented in the foreign context in 1928.

In Chapter Five, I will introduce my second main source, Halide Edib's self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish: *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*. In this section, I will discuss the probable reasons behind the absence of any translation of this text over a 32-year period by investigating the socio-historical events in Turkey between 1928 and 1960. By doing so, my aim is to reveal the ideological embargo on Halide Edib and her self-translation. Additionally, I will touch on the representation of *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* in the Turkish context through a paratextual analysis and the effect of non-translation on this process.

The final chapter will present the textual analysis of the non-translated parts of *The Turkish Ordeal* through a comparative reading of the source and target texts. I aim to demonstrate the overall message of these parts by providing examples and discuss how their omission has changed the discourse of Halide Edib in *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*.

Halide Edib Adivar (1882-1964) is a contested figure in the history of modern Turkish literature, and someone who cannot be placed in the neat categories of writer, translator, intellectual, teacher, feminist, soldier, or parliamentarian, since she melted all these titles in the same pot. Edib and her multilayered identity have been the subject of many academic and non-academic studies in Turkey and abroad,

which inform the reader about Edib's life story or analyze her works from various angles. Most of the research, however, focuses on her as a writer and thus on her writing.

This thesis is the first study on Halide Edib Adıvar which focuses on her as a self-translator and analyzes *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* in relation to her personal history as well as the socio-cultural history of Turkey. In this way, it aims to draw attention to Halide Edib's translator identity and to make a contribution to the fields of both Translation Studies and Turkish Literature. On the other hand, being aware of the impossibility of explaining the translation norms of Halide Edib Adıvar completely through a limited case study, the second objective of the study is to attract researchers from Translation Studies and other fields such as literature, sociology and history to work on Halide Edib's both self-translations and translations.

Researchers who are interested in Halide Edib and her works have the opportunity of reading her thoughts and life story in her own words. In the second half of the 1920s, Halide Edib wrote her autobiography in two volumes – though not in her mother tongue, but in English. The first volume, *Memoirs* was published by The Century Co. in 1926 and tells Halide Edib's life story from her early childhood until 1918. The following volume, *The Turkish Ordeal* which mostly consists of Edib's notes and observations during the Turkish War of Independence, was first partially serialized under the title "My Share in the Turkish Ordeal" in *Asia* magazine and then published as a book in 1928. However, Turkish readers had to wait more than thirty years to read these memoirs in Turkish.

In 1955, *Memoirs* was translated into Turkish by the author herself and serialized in *Yeni İstanbul* [New Istanbul] newspaper. Five years later, the Turkish

translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* was serialized in *Hayat* [Life] magazine. The latter was published as a book entitled *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* [The Turk's Ordeal with Fire] in 1962, and the next year in 1963 the self-translation of *Memoirs* was published as *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [House with Wisteria]. These autobiographies are important as they provide direct access to Edib's personal story, thoughts and her point of view on various issues including translation.

In addition to Edib's autobiographies in both English and Turkish, İpek Çalışlar's *Halide Edib: Biyografisine Sığmayan Kadın* (2010) [Halide Edib: The woman who does not fit into her biography] is the most inclusive and detailed biographical work on Halide Edib Adıvar. Çalışlar is a Turkish journalist and award-winning writer, who is mostly known for her studies on gender, and biographies of women. In this particular work, Çalışlar presents Halide Edib's life story using a narrative technique that veers between fiction and documentary.

This biography is important because it is by far the most comprehensive study published on Edib's life – the study provides readers with several sources, such as personal letters, newspaper items, and articles, some of which have not been published before.

In addition to these, yet another important aspect of this biographical work, especially from the perspective of translation, is that it draws attention to Halide Edib's translation activity and presents it to the readers chronologically, and thus, makes Edib more visible as a translator. Although she presents a huge volume on Halide Edib's biography, Çalışlar accepts that it is almost impossible to record each piece of writing on/by Halide Edib. She writes "... I see that there is no "The End". I am faced with two problems. Halide Edib does not fit into her biography; every day I

continue to discover something new related to her¹” (Çalışlar, 2010, p. xi; my translation²).

Halide Edib and her works obviously provide a fruitful field of research for academics, too. In 1977, İnci Enginün received the degree of Associate Professor at Istanbul University, with the thesis entitled *Halide Edib Adıvar’ın Eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı Meselesi* [The East and West Problematic in Halide Edib Adıvar’s Works]. Although the focus of the study was on Edib’s original works, Enginün provides a respectable information Edib’s translations and listed them as a whole for the first time. The invaluable bibliography of the study, which is updated in the third edition, is also important to trace the secondary sources on Halide Edib’s translations until 2007.

Another Turkish scholar, Ayşe Durakbaşa completed her dissertation entitled “Reappraisal of Halide Edib for a Critique of Turkish Modernization” in 1993 at the University of Essex, where she graduated with a PhD in sociology. Her study has been edited and translated into Turkish by Durakbaşa and published as a book *Halide Edib: Türk Modernleşmesi ve Feminizm* [Halide Edib: Turkish Modernization and Feminism] in 2000. From a sociological perspective, Durakbaşa discusses the gendered processes of modernization and power relations in the formation of modernist women in Turkey and presents Halide Edib’s memoirs in English as a case study. In the sixth chapter of the thesis, she touches on Turkish translations of the memoirs and displays the differences between Edib’s narrations in English and Turkish. Durakbaşa (1993) states that “The reminiscences of the little girl are more vivid and are described more naturally in the language of the little girl compared with the English version (p. 141), but she wrote in English more freely (p. 137)”.

¹ “... ‘Son’ diye bir şey olmadığını görüyorum. İki sorunla yüz yüzeyim. Halide Edib biyografisine sığmıyor; ben her gün onunla ilgili yeni bir şey keşfetmeye devam ediyorum.” (Çalışlar, 2010, p. xi)

² All translations are mine unless otherwise indicated.

Durakbaşı also underlines that the definition of the self as “psyche” has shifted to “tamed/behaved social self” in the Turkish version of the *Memoirs* (p. 142). The self-censorship in Edib’s translations is also highlighted by Durakbaşı; however, it is not discussed in detail.

In a similar vein, Hülya Adak, a Turkish scholar who mostly focuses on autobiographies, novel, gender, nationalism and memory, has various studies on Halide Edib Adivar in which she discusses her works from different angles. In “National Myths and Self-Narrations” (2003), Adak compares and contrasts Mustafa Kemal’s *Nutuk* [*The Speech*] to Halide Edib’s *The Turkish Ordeal* and discusses how the Turkish nationalism is represented in them. From the perspective of translation studies, Adak’s argument stating that the Turkish translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* endorsed the Kemalist national myth rather than challenging it (p. 524) is important. On the other hand, it is not possible to follow this argument through a textual analysis, since Adak focuses only the source text in English. In 2004, Adak wrote an introduction for the fourth volume of the Cultures in Dialogue Series I, *Memoirs of Halide Edib*. In this introduction, she expands on her previous argument and claims since Halide Edib edited out her criticism on Mustafa Kemal and his regime in the translation, *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* lost its critical aspects (Adak, 2004, p. xiv). Her argument shows that a further investigation on the translation *The Turkish Ordeal* is needed. More recently, in her book *Halide Edib ve Siyasal Şiddet* (2016) [Halide Edib and Political Violence], Adak discusses Halide Edib’s ambivalent views on political violence, the representation of her political stance and its transformation through time in her works, both fiction and non-fiction. She underlines that many of Edib’s political articles written in English, as well as some of her books on political issues have not been translated into Turkish, yet.

Adak also draws attention to self-censorship in Halide Edib's self-translations and briefly presents the probable reasons behind it, but her focus stays on the content and discourse of Halide Edib's works in English.

There are many graduate theses written on Halide Edib and her works within the field of Turkish literature which focus on the works of the author written in Turkish. The first master thesis on Halide Edib Adıvar in the field of Translation Studies written by Mustafa Ali Arslan (2006), aims to provide a comparative analysis of Halide Edib's novel *The Clown and his Daughter* (1935) and its Turkish version *Sinekli Bakkal* (1935) [The Grocery with Flies]. Considering *Sinekli Bakkal* as not the translation but the rewriting of the source text, Arslan tries to explore the relationship between culture, translation and rewriting³. His study is important as it draws attention to Halide Edib's works in English and encourages further discussions within the framework of Translation Studies.

Sevim Kılınç completed her master thesis "An Analysis on the Reframing of the National Struggle Through English and German Translations of the Novel *Ateşten Gömlek*" at Okan University in 2014. *Ateşten Gömlek* [The Shirt of Fire] was written by Halide Edib in 1922 and it is considered the first example of Nationalist Literature in the Turkish context. In her study, Kılınç examines how the social and political reality regarding the Turkish National Struggle at the beginning of the 20th century is reframed in different contexts through translation. She presents a comparative and descriptive analysis of three translations of the novel: *Das Flammenhemd* [The Shirt in Fire], translated into German by Heinrich Donn in 1923, *The Shirt of Flame*, self-translated into English by the author in 1924 and *The Daughter of Smyrna*, retranslated into English by Maulvi Muhammad Yakub Khan

³ Unfortunately, I could only reach the abstract of the thesis during my literature review. Neither the hard copy of thesis nor its soft copy is available for researchers and readers.

in 1932. Kılınç's work gives visibility to Halide Edib Adıvar as a translator but only focuses on the contextualization of the translations, her translation decisions or norms are not discussed in the study.

The first doctoral dissertation on Halide Edib Adıvar in the field of Translation Studies, written by Aslı Araboğlu (2015), questions Halide Edib's identity as a translator, comparing her memoirs in English and Turkish from the perspective of ethnomethodology. In her dissertation, Araboğlu foregrounds the transformation of the translator's identity within time by highlighting the time gap between the production of the source and target texts. However, the lack of historical and cultural background when the source and target texts were produced limits her study, since without this information it is difficult to contextualize Halide Edib's translation decisions.

In her forthcoming article, Mehtap Özdemir traces two different voices of Halide Edib which she assumed as private and public in *The Turkish Ordeal* and investigates how these voices have changed in Edib's self-translation. Özdemir approaches self-translation as a mode of rewriting and regards Edib's self-censorship in translation as an example of hegemony. Her study clearly contributes to the literature on Halide Edib Adıvar and her translations. On the other hand, the limited information on the social dynamics, which were prevalent before 1962 and clearly influenced Edib's self-translation, confines her discussion on the relation between translation and power dynamics.

Vedat Günyol, Turkish writer, critic and translator worked with Dr. Adnan Adıvar, Halide Edib's second husband, for the publication of *İslam Ansiklopedisi* [Encyclopedia of Islam] in the 1940s and he was also an assistant to Halide Edib Adıvar to some extent. He declared his contribution in the translation of *The Turkish*

Ordeal in an interview with İhsan Yılmaz in *Hürriyet* [Freedom] newspaper on 20 April 2002, which was published with an intriguing title “Halide Edip beni 13 yıl sömürdü” [Halide Edip exploited me for 13 years]. This interview is important as it may help to analyze Günyol’s agency in the Turkish translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*.

In Tarih-Lenk (2008) [Lame History] Y. Hakan Erdem presents the first comparative reading of *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* and examines the differences between the source and target texts by giving examples. The focus of his discussion is on the conflict between Halide Edib Adıvar and Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, and its reflection in Edib’s translation. He points to the ideological background of the 1960s, which is not discussed in his book, as the reason behind Halide Edib’s self-censorship in *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı*. In addition, Erdem underlines Günyol’s declaration in 2002, which is mentioned above, and attempts to trace his contribution to the translation. He blames Günyol for mistranslations and incoherent narration in *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı*.

The volume of the literature on Halide Edib Adıvar and her works are immense. It should be noted that in this subsection of the present thesis I only presented the studies which touch upon her translator identity and foreground her self-translations. My aim is to contribute to this existing literature by providing an analysis on the representation of Halide Edib Adıvar in her self-translations which were produced in different contexts and times.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL AND METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

In this chapter, I will introduce the conceptual framework of my thesis and the methodology that I follow. The notions of “self-translation” (Grutman, 2009) and “non-translation” (Duarte, 2000) will construct the conceptual frame of the thesis. In addition, I will touch on autobiography writing in relation to self-translation, since both processes are often associated with the representation of the self (Wilson, 2009). Methodologically, I will have a case study that presents a comparative textual analysis benefiting from Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS).

2.1 Conceptual framework

In the 1990s many scholars followed the path that was paved by Itamar Even-Zohar’s (1990) polysystem theory and Gideon Toury’s (1980 and 1995) descriptive approach and moved forward. André Lefevere and Susan Bassnett (1995) dismissed the formalist approach in translation and the weary comparisons between the source and target texts by focusing on “the larger issues of context, history and convention” (p. 11) and redefining the object of study as “the text embedded within its network of both source and target cultural signs” (p. 12); in other words, they integrate the cultural elements into the discussion.

In the 1990s, following the “cultural turn” in the field of Translation Studies, the position and involvement of the translators, in other words the translators’ “(in)visibility” in translations has been problematized by scholars (Venuti, 1995). Translators started to be considered as active agents, rather than neutral mediators.

It is possible to observe that the debate on the agency and authority of the translator is heated in the cases where the translator is also the producer of the source text and appears as the self-translator.

2.1.1 Self-translation

In his early description of self-translation, Anton Popovič (1976) defined the term as “the translation of an original work into another language by the author himself” (p. 19). Years later Rainier Grutman (2009) updated this definition: “The term ‘self-translation’ can refer both to the act of translating one’s own writings into another language and the result of such an undertaking” (p. 257). It can be said that this has become a widely accepted definition of the term.

Rainier Grutman and Trish van Bolderen (2014) claim that “the author and the self-translator are not absolutely identical; the self-translating persona often appears later on in a writer’s career,” even though they are the same physical person (p. 323). Following this argument, the authority and agency of the self-translator are problematized by Grutman and van Bolderen. They state that a self-translation refers to a “second original” because, the authority of the author is “transferred metonymically to the final product” (p. 324). In terms of agency, since the author preserves her authority, she has a privileged status and is “routinely given poetic license to rewrite ‘her’ original” (p. 324).

Yet, some contrary arguments exist among scholars about the issue of self-translation. Susan Bassnett (2013), for instance, claims that the notion of self-translation might be misleading (p. 13). Regarding André Lefevere’s (1992) approach to translation which labels both the action and product of translation as “rewriting”, Bassnett argues that the same work written by a bilingual or multilingual

writer in two different languages can be considered as “neither an original nor a translation, rather two versions of a piece of writing in two languages, each with its own set of significations” (p. 15).

Interestingly enough, in her very short preface to *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* Halide Edib suggests that the Turkish version is not a translation but a *rewriting* for Turkish readers. This statement seems to support Bassnett's argument mentioned above.

Nasıl *Sinekli Bakkal*'ı ve hatıratımın birinci cildini önce İngilizce, sonra Türkçe yazdımsa hatıratımın ikinci cildi olan ve 1918'den 1923 sonlarına kadar İstiklal Savaşı'nı içine alan *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*'nı da önce İngilizce, sonra Türkçe yazdım. Bunların hiçbiri tercüme değildir, fakat bazı yerleri kısa, bazı yerleri biraz uzun olmakla beraber, öz itibarıyla aynıdır. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 13)

[I wrote *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*, which is the second volume of my memoirs and includes the Turkish War of Independence from 1918 to the end of 1923, first in English then in Turkish, just like *Sinekli Bakkal* and the first volume of my memoirs that I wrote first in English and then in Turkish. None of these is a translation, but although some parts are shorter and some a little longer, their essence is the same.]

Although, Halide Edib presents the Turkish version of her memoirs as ‘rewriting’ and not as ‘translation’, in this study I will consider both the English and Turkish versions as self-translations. Since the notion of self-translation places emphasis on the *self* and *translation* separately, I will be able to discuss the authority of the self and the author in translation. Moreover, omissions notwithstanding, the remaining body in the Turkish version shows that Halide Edib did not actually rewrite her memoirs, but translated from *The Turkish Ordeal*. In addition, I assume that the English version of the memoirs, in other words, the ‘first original’ version, is also a self-translation. Halide Edib learned English at a very early age and mastered it in

time, but she was not a native speaker. In her introduction to *House with Wisteria* (2003), Sibel Erol writes:

The English she [Halide Edib] used has a defamiliarizing effect as it quickly becomes apparent she is not a native speaker. *Some of her expressions are translations of what can be said in Turkish* [emphasis added]; some others are products of the distinct effort she makes to create a material, sensuous language that can convey fact and emotion at the same time. (Erol, 2003, p. xii)

With reference to Erol's statement, Halide Edib's conscious choice to write in English can be considered a self-translation. As in the case of a post-colonial writer (Tymoczko, 2002), Edib translates the Turkish language and culture in her writing. Within the post-colonial framework, too, scholars use the concept of self-translation metaphorically to describe the cases where the author writes in a foreign language other than her mother tongue. Writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o (2009) claims that "all writing in a language that is not the mother tongue, or the first language of one's upbringing, is largely an exercise in mental translation" (p. 19). Arguably, his concept of "mental translation" may be considered as a self-translation in the case of writers who translate from their mother tongue while writing in the second language.

In the Turkish context, Arzu Akbatur (2010) uses the term "self-translation" in a conceptual sense (p. 59). She analyzes one of Elif Şafak's works, *The Bastard of Istanbul*, that was written in English as a self-translation where Şafak acts as a translator and provide cultural explanation for the English speaking – foreign – reader. In this sense, Halide Edib also acts like a translator and translates and explains the culture specific elements (even the pronunciation of words in Turkish) for her readers.

When we consider *The Turkish Ordeal* as a self-translation, the motivations of Halide Edib to write in English come into question. Among the manifold motives

for self-translation, gaining access to a new and larger audience is given as the most common reason. (Grutman & van Bolderen, 2014, p. 325).

In *The Turkish Ordeal*, Halide Edib clearly states that the reason behind her choice of English was to reach the world.

I would try to recreate that period of Turkish history by preserving a faithful record of my experiences during that great ordeal. I would try to tell the story of Turkey as simply and honestly as a child, that the world might some day read it ... and I would write it in a language far better fitted to reach the world than my own. (Edib, 1928, p. 190)

Grutman and van Bolderen (2014) discuss the other motives for self-translation as follows: self-translation might be considered as a kind of “individual self-promotion” (p. 325) and the author may prefer to translate her own work with/out for the help of a translator. Moreover, displacement – whether exile or not – may stimulate self-translation, especially if the original work of an author would be subjected to censorship or harsh criticism due to ideological and political issues dominating the home country’s atmosphere. Thus, the author may be willing to translate her work in a different environment without these negative consequences. Dissatisfaction with existing translations or the author’s aim to protect her authority on the text might also be listed among the motivations for self-translation (p. 326).

In Halide Edib’s case, if we assume that she was already translating while writing in English as mentioned above, then these reasons might also be valid. When she wrote her memoirs, she was in exile which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. Additionally, if she had written *The Turkish Ordeal* in Turkish back then, she would probably have been subjected to censorship, or she would have had to self-censor her work, as she did in 1962 in her self-translation.

2.1.2 Self-translation and autobiography

Autobiography can be defined, in the simplest form, as a text in which the author writes her own life story. William L. Howarth (1980) defines the genre with an analogy, and says “an autobiography is a self-portrait” where the author builds the self not with paint but with words (p. 85). James Olney (1980) describes autobiographer as “the individual talent who would *translate a life into writing* [emphasis added]” (p. 3). Regarding these definitions, it can be assumed that autobiography, in some sense, is a self-translation where the author translates the life experience of her individual self.

In *Kurgulanmış Benlikler* [Fictionalized Identities] (2009), Nazan Aksoy presents an overview on autobiographical writing of women in the world and Turkey, and introduces Halide Edib as the first Turkish woman autobiographer (p. 82). Comparing women’s autobiographies to men’s in the global context, Aksoy states that the first examples of women’s autobiographies generally revolve around their private life, mainly marriage, financial issues and moral norms. Their narration is more personal, whereas men’s autobiographies have a more public voice as witnessing the history (p. 40). From this perspective, Aksoy asserts that Halide Edib has a privileged status in the Turkish context because she preserves her public figure and does not translate the parts from *The Turkish Ordeal* where she writes about her private life. Thus, *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* sounds similar to a men’s autobiography (p. 90).

In the same work, Aksoy (2009) underlines the difference between autobiography and memoir writing. She states that autobiography is considered a more personal narration which is related to the author’s inner feud and questioning of the self, whereas memoir is a testimonial narration where the author focuses on the

events and people around her rather than her inner world (p. 21). *The Turkish Ordeal* has been regarded as the second volume of Halide Edib's autobiography, even though it was published as *Being the further memoirs of Halidé Edib* in 1928; this is because it is more than a testimony, and presents Edib's thoughts and comments on various issues as well as her feelings. On the other hand, I argue that her self-translation *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* can be considered a memoir due to Halide Edib's non-translation. She did not translate most of the parts into Turkish, which makes the English version an autobiography. The comparative textual analysis, presented in Chapter Five, is expected to support this assumption.

2.1.3 Non-translation

The notion of "non-translation" will be the second concept which will be used to analyze the self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*. In the selection of texts to be translated, the ones which are excluded due to ideological or cultural elements of the target system, can be considered as non-translations. In addition, omitted parts of a translation due to translator's self-censorship or state-enforced can be considered as non-translation too.

One of the academic works which discusses non-translation is *Theories on the Move* where Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva (2006) examines the importation of Roland Barthes's works and structuralism into Turkish and of Hélène Cixous's works and French feminism into English via translation. Susam-Sarajeva discusses how the reign of the more-action based understanding of politics in target critical systems led to non-translation of the political implications of Barthes's and Cixous's texts (p. 202).

Another study that questions the non-translation notion is the unpublished Master's thesis of Sevcan Yılmaz (2007), where the researcher investigates the reasons behind the absence of Salman Rushdie's *Satanic Verses* in the Turkish literary system. The conflict between Rushdie's approach to Islam and the ideology of the Islamist right wing in Turkey, in addition to violent reactions to the book – not only in Turkey, but also in the rest of the world – are stated as the reasons for non-translation (pp. 85-86).

After presenting different comments on the notion of non-translation in her unpublished Master's thesis titled "A *Utopian* Journey in Turkish: From Non-Translation to Retranslation," Ceyda Elgöl (2011) draws attention to a long period during which not a single translation of Thomas More's *Utopia* was carried out into Turkish. She considers this period of absence as non-translation, and benefitting from Susam-Sarajeva's (2006) approach, discusses how the concept of utopia was partially represented and contextualized in this period. From a similar approach which is suggested by the aforementioned works, non-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* might be investigated.

Halide Edib wrote and published her *Memoirs* in 1926 and *The Turkish Ordeal* in 1928; however, she did not translate them into Turkish until the late 1950s. Although she self-translated certain works of her oeuvre that she had written in English, she postponed the translation of her memoirs. For this reason, the absence of the Turkish translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* between 1928 and 1960 can be considered as a case of non-translation. To analyze Halide Edib's choice of non-translation, the socio-historical context of the mentioned period will be examined in the present study.

The comparative textual analysis also shows that Halide Edib left out a huge part of the source text when she translated *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish in 1962. On the textual level, omitted or self-censored parts are analyzed in light of João Ferreira Duarte's (2000) non-translation typology. In "The Politics of Non-Translation: A Case Study in Anglo-Portuguese Relations," Duarte suggests a typology of non-translation which is categorized as omission, repetition, language closeness, bilingualism, cultural distance, institutionalized censorship and ideological embargo. The last one is explained as a case where;

... the non-translation results from the clash of community's system of values and some shattering political event. Unlike category (5) [cultural distance] the cultural objects subject to embargo had been previously familiar to the recipient system; unlike category (6) [institutionalized censorship], what is at stake here is not a State enforced ban but rather the "spontaneous" action of civil society or sections of it. (Duarte, 2000, p. 98)

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Halide Edib Adıvar is the most known woman writer in the history of modern Turkish literature. She was able to write for important newspapers such as *İkdam* [Persistence] and *Tanin* [Reverberation] that were dominated by male writers until the 20th century, a time when women writers were only able to write in specific newspapers for women such as *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* [Newspaper Peculiar to Women]. Her speeches reached thousands both in Turkey and abroad. Some of her works are among the 100 Essential Works which were assigned by Turkish Ministry of National Education⁴. It is important that her works appear in a list provided by a state institution, it shows that now she is more than welcomed in Turkey. Obviously, she was more than familiar to the recipient system; however, during her years in exile, her criticism of Mustafa Kemal

⁴ Halide Edib's self-translated novel *Sinekli Bakkal* [Grocery with Flies] (1935) and her self-translation of *Memoirs, Mor Salkımlı Ev* [House with Wisteria] (1963) among these works. <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/iste-yeni-yilda-ogrencilere-okutulacak-100-temel-eser-251855>

Atatürk and some policies of the newly founded Turkish Republic were not welcomed in Turkey. From this perspective, it can be argued that non-translation may also reveal important information about the author-translator and help readers to complete the puzzle.

2.2 Methodology

Throughout this thesis, I trace Halide Edib's self-translation process in relation to the socio-historical facts of the relevant Turkish context. The most appropriate method to be employed in this research would be the case study. In his *Research Methodology*, Ranjit Kumar (2012) states that the case study is a prevalent method in qualitative research and allows researchers to make thorough, holistic and in-depth explorations of the aspects that they wish to learn more about (p. 126). On the other hand, I am well aware of the fact that my findings would not let me to make generalizations to all translations of Halide Edib.

In my case, the primary sources are i) *The Turkish Ordeal* which was published in the book form in 1928, ii) its Turkish translation *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* (1962), the edition which was edited by Mehmet Kalpaklı and published by Can Yayınları in 2016. The comparative reading of these two texts reveals the non-translated parts, which provide the main data of this study. In addition, a brief paratextual analysis of serialized versions of the mentioned texts in *Asia* and *Hayat* [Life] magazines, is presented to see the contextualization of Halide Edib and her works within the cultural milieu of the time.

I will analyze my case employing the methodology offered by Gideon Toury (1980) in *Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)*. In the textual analysis, I will primarily focus on the omissions to discuss the completeness of the Turkish self-

translation of Halide Edib. Concentrating on the omissions from the source text may offer clues as to the role of Halide Edib as a self-translator and her narrative strategies at the textual level.

The non-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* between 1928 and 1960, and Halide Edib's literary production during this period will be analyzed benefitting from the secondary sources such as İnci Enginün's careful and detailed work, *Halide Edib Adivar'ın Eserlerinde Doğu Batı Meselesi* (2007) [The East and West Problematic in Halide Edib Adivar Works], and the extensive biographical work of İpek Çalışlar (2010). Several other secondary sources, which are already presented in the literature review above, will also contribute to my research.

Unfortunately, it is not possible to find a clear-cut answer to the question of what the translation policy of Halide Edib is by working on a single case. Yet, I believe that connections between her translation and the socio-historical facts of the related period may help us to approach her memoirs from a different perspective; i.e. from a translation studies perspective and reveal how (non-)translation can affect the representation of an author and her work.

CHAPTER 3

HALİDE EDİB ADIVAR AND TRANSLATION

In this chapter, I will briefly present Halide Edib's biography and focus on her education, and the literary and political milestones in her life. By doing so, I aim to re-contextualize her life story within the socio-cultural history of Turkey, which is given in the following chapters. Secondly, I will focus on her translations from different authors and her self-translations as well. Discussions, particularly on her self-translations, may offer a new perspective when reading the non-translated parts of *The Turkish Ordeal*.

3.1 A biographical outline

Halide Edib was born in 1882⁵ into a family close to the court and the Sultan. Her father, Mehmed Edib Bey was the first secretary of Sultan Abdülhamid (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 8). Her maternal grandparents were also from an elite circle of the Ottoman society. Her childhood was spent in a multicultural environment, surrounded by people from different nationalities of the Ottoman Empire, and this cultural habitat left its mark on her and her writing.

Mehmed Edib Bey had decided to follow the British tradition for Halide, and from nutrition to outfits, and recreational activities to education imposed a strict discipline on her. Halide first attended a day-care where the non-Muslim children attended, and there she learned to speak Greek⁶. Then her father decided that home-

⁵ The birth date of Edib is given as 1882 or 1884 in different sources. Regarding the information provided by İnci Enginün which based on Edib's official identity card, in this study I accept it as 1882 (Enginün, 2007, p. 29).

⁶ In *Memoirs* (1926), Halide Edib writes that she had learned the daily language of Greek to be able to communicate at school (p. 28). She was not able to read or write in Greek.

schooling was the best option for her. The first written text that Halide ever read at home was the Quran, but then she never quit reading.

In 1893, Halide Edib was enrolled in the American College for Girls in Üsküdar and started to learn English. Çalışlar (2010) reports that in her college years Edib took translation classes from Miss Fensham who knew Turkish (p. 22). However, after a few years, Halide had to drop out of the college because of the imperial decree by Sultan Abdülhamid II that prohibited Turkish students from attending foreign schools. Therefore, she started to study at home again and mastered English with private classes from Miss Dodd and with the help of her British governesses. She also received private classes from different tutors, learned Arabic and French, and Rıza Tevfik, a Turkish philosopher, poet and politician, taught her philosophy and Turkish and French literature (Enginün, 2007, p. 34-35). Six years later, Halide returned to the college and among her friends with different nationalities, including Greek, Armenian, Bulgarian, Italian, Hungarian, French, British, and Russian, her education continued. In those days, with the help of a friend she started to speak Armenian as well. Needless to say, the multicultural and multilingual environment of the college had widened Halide's perspective.

In 1901, Halide Edib graduated from the college as the first Muslim student (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 39) and within the same year she married Salih Zeki Bey, a famous mathematician and her private teacher. In 1903, she gave birth to her first son, Ali Ayetullah and the following year, her younger son Hasan Hikmetullah Togo joined the family. Until 1908, Halide Edib did not write, but read French literature and worked with her husband and devoted herself to her family.

In 1908, she started to write in the newspaper *Tanin* [Reverberation]. The focus of her articles in the paper was on the political issues, women rights, and

education reform. In addition to her articles, her non-fiction works started to be serialized in different journals and magazines.⁷

After the 31 March Incident⁸, Halide Edib had to leave Istanbul; she first went to Egypt then visited England. In 1909, following the violent incidents in Adana, she wrote an open-letter to *Tanin* which was addressed to Armenian citizens of the Ottoman society and stated her sorrow for the ones who had been slaughtered. Two Armenian ladies, Sirpuhi Markaryan and Baydzar Torkomyan sent their letters of thanks afterwards (Adak, 2016, p. 35).

In October 1909, Edib returned to Istanbul, and got divorced less than a year later, in April 1910. In the 1910s, Halide Edib mostly focused on education of women, and was among the foundational members of the *Teali-i Nisvan*⁹ [Elevation of Women] association. This organization provided English courses and lectures on different topics for women, and its members who had mastered English were translating articles on women's rights, books on history and social sciences as well as literature. During these years, she also became involved with the *Türk Ocağı*¹⁰ [Turkish Hearth] and became the first female member in 1912.

In 1915, Edib was invited to Syria by the governor of the province Cemal Pasha, and briefly visited the region. When she delivered a conference speech on the Armenian issue, and criticized the violent practices of the Ottoman government in 1916 at the Turkish Hearth, her criticism was not welcomed by the nationalist circle. Following this incident, she left Istanbul for Lebanon and worked in Aintoura as the

⁷ Among them, in 1908, *Raik'in Annesi* [Raik's Mother] in *Demet* magazine and in 1909 *Heyulâ* [Bogey] in *Musavver Muhit* [Imagined Circle]

⁸ Known as "31 Mart vakası", the defeat of the Ottoman countercoup which attempted to dismantle the Second Constitution, by the Hareket Ordusu [The Army of Action], for further information please see Zürcher's *Turkey: A Modern History* (2004) pp. 93-99.

⁹ This organization is known as the first Turkish Women's Association. Its aim was to educate and modernize Turkish women in relation with the Turkish traditions (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 88).

¹⁰ A nationalist organization which was founded in 1912 and aims to raise Turkish educational standards and encourage cultural progress.

manager of the local orphanage. İnci Enginün (2007) writes that this journey of Edib may be considered as an exile because she had to leave the city due to the threats from extreme nationalists (p. 47). When she was still in Syria, Halide accepted Dr. Adnan Bey's proposal and married him. The orphanage was closed in 1918, and Halide Edib returned to Istanbul.

After the occupation of Istanbul by the Allied troops in November 1918, she started to write and give speeches on national independence. Her influence as an orator is proven by one of her statements in the famous Sultanahmet rally, as Figure 1 presents a scene from her speech on 23 May 1919 – “Nations are our friends. Governments are our enemies” – which became the slogan of the national struggle. She had a privileged position during those years; it was very rare for women to speak out loud and get involved in politics.



Fig. 1 Halide Edib during the Sultanahmet rally in 1919
(Edib, H. 1928, p. 32)

In 1920, Halide Edib and her husband Dr. Adnan escaped to Anatolia and joined the National Struggle, which was led by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Shortly after the war, they had to leave the country due to the political conditions of the time and lived in a “voluntary” exile in London and Paris. Their exile has remained as a debatable topic, which I will touch on in detail in the following chapter. For about fourteen years Halide Edib did not come to Turkey except for a short visit in 1935, but she visited the United States of America and India to deliver many lectures and give seminars. She was the most well-known heroine of the Turkish War of Independence; her thoughts and works were widely appreciated by foreigners.

In 1939, Halide Edib returned to Turkey upon İsmet Pasha’s invitation and founded the Department of English Philology at Istanbul University. Between the years 1950 and 1954, she was an active member of the parliament, but quit politics in 1954 and continued her life as a professor of literature until she passed away in 1964. I will continue to tell her biography in relation to the historical background of Turkey in the following chapters.

3.2 Halide Edib as a (self-)translator

Halide Edib started to write and translate at a very young age. Her first work was a serial novel in *Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete* [Newspaper Peculiar to Women], *Çingene Kızı* [Gypsy Girl] published in 1899, but Edib could not complete it. On the other hand, her first translation *Mâder* [Mother] from John Abbot¹¹, was already published in 1892, when Halide was only fifteen years old. Mahmud Esad Efendi, an author and teacher of Islamic law, had edited her translation and published it with his

¹¹ John Abbot’s *The Mother at Home* (1833) is presented as “a superb guide for Christian mothers who want biblical counsel on Christian child rearing” (from the blurb of the book on <https://www.amazon.com/Mother-at-Home-John-Abbott/dp/1611043549>)

introduction. In 1897, Halide Edib received an Order of Charity from Sultan Abdülhamid honoring her translation (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 25). However, Halide Edib was not comfortable with the translation and the decoration from the sultan. In her *Memoirs* (2004), she states: “But the whole thing left an unpleasant feeling in my mind. In the first place the book was really by Mahmoud Essad Effendi, and in the second, a decoration from the sultan was now in my eyes a moral degradation” (p. 181).

After she married Salih Zeki Bey, Halide Edib started to help him for *Kamus-i Riyaziyat* [Dictionary of Mathematics] by translating life stories of famous English mathematicians and philosophers (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 41). Moreover, she was reading the *Sherlock Holmes* series in English and simultaneously translating the stories into Turkish for her father and Salih Zeki Bey (Edib, 2004, p. 207). She writes that those evenings when she read and translated for them, trained her as an interpreter (Adıvar, 2016b, p. 161).

İnci Enginün (2007) argues that Halide Edib chose to translate works in parallel with her political thoughts in the following years. As a supporter of Young Turk Revolution, she translated *Jül Sezar* [*Julius Caesar*] by Shakespeare in 1908 (p. 357). In relation to her involvement in the Turkism movement, she translated *Babür Han* [*King-errant*] by Flora Annie Steel in 1914. In 1952, she translated George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* as a representation of her view on communism (p. 358).

After Halide Edib founded the Department of English Philology at Istanbul University, she started to translate pieces by Shakespeare with her students in the 1940s. *Hamlet Danimarka Prensi* [*The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark*] (1941), *Nasıl Hoşunuza Giderse* [*As You Like It*] (1943), *Coriolanus* [*Coriolanus*]

(1945), *Antonius ve Kleopatra* [*Antony and Cleopatra*] (1949) are among these translations (Enginün, 2007, p. 357).

Not only did Halide Edib translate from English into Turkish, but also changed the direction of her translation and translated from Turkish. After her visit to India, she translated *Taranta Babu'ya Mektuplar* [Letters to Taranta Babu] by Nâzım Hikmet, the famous Turkish poet; this was published in *Bombay Chronicles* in 1936 (Enginün, 2007, p. 359).

As for the self-translations, Halide Edib translated her works between Turkish and English; the first example of these is *The Shirt of Flame* (1924). This novel of Halide Edib, *Ateşten Gömlek* [The Shirt of Fire] was first serialized in *İkdam* [Persistence] newspaper, and published in book form in 1923. The novel focuses mainly on the national resistance during the Turkish War of Independence, and is considered to be the foundational text of a thematic sub-genre, which is named Turkish Independence War Novel (Köroğlu, 2007, p. 1). In addition to its self-translation, the novel was also retranslated into English by Muhammad Yakub Khan in 1938.¹²

In 1935, Halide Edib wrote a novel entitled *The Clown and His Daughter* in English and almost simultaneously translated it into Turkish for Turkish-speaking readers. During her short visit to Istanbul, Vâlâ Nurettin, the owner of the newspaper *Haber* [News], asked for releasing it as a serial-novel. Halide Edib accepted this offer, and her self-translation was serialized in *Haber* under the title *Sinekli Bakkal* [Grocery with Flies] between October 1935 and February 1936 (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 391). In 1942, *Sinekli Bakkal* was awarded the novel prize by Cumhuriyet Halk

¹² Erol Köroğlu (2007), a Turkish Literature scholar, argues that Khan's retranslation, *The Daughter of Smyrna*, is a rewriting rather than a translation (p. 6). The novels of which themes revolve around the National Struggle are considered Turkish Independence War Novel, and Köroğlu argues that Khan's retranslation resembles the examples of this sub-genre.

Partisi (CHP) [Republican People's Party, (RPP)] and attracted Turkish readers once more¹³ (Enginün, 2007, p. 225).

Halide Edib's works of non-fiction are no less important than her works of fiction. During the years she spent in exile, Halide Edib continued to write on political issues about Turkey and published two important works in English. First, she published *Turkey Faces West* in 1930, which is a compilation of her lectures that she delivered at Barnard College of Columbia University in the USA. Five years later, a collection of her speeches in the conferences she attended in India was published under the title *Conflict of East and West in Turkey*. In both works, Halide Edib presented an overview of the westernization movement in Turkey along with her impressions of it (Enginün, 2007, p. 379). Some parts of these two works were self-translated into Turkish by Edib and serialized in *Yeni İstanbul* [New Istanbul] in 1954, and one year later published as a book entitled *Türkiye'de Şark-Garp ve Amerikan Tesirleri* [East and West in Turkey and the American Influences]. Eleven non-translated articles from these two works were translated into Turkish by Can Ömer Kalaycı and published by Can publishing house in 2015 for the first time. In the epilogue of this book, Fatih Altuğ, a scholar of Turkish Literature, states that Kalaycı "faithfully" translated the articles while Halide Edib rewrote the parts that she self-translated in 1954.

Turkey Faces West'ten ve Conflict of East and West'ten Tesirler'e alınan yazılar, büyük bir dönüşüme uğrayarak zamanın ve Türkiye'nin koşullarına göre yeniden yorumlanarak ifade imkânı bulmuşken bu kitaptaki yazılar, original hallerine sadık kalınarak dile gelme şansına kavuşmuştur. (Altuğ, 2015, p. 251)

¹³ For detailed information regarding the reviews on *The Clown and His Daughter* and *Sinekli Bakkal*, İnci Enginün (2007) presents an extensive bibliography (p. 225-226). In 2012, W.D. Halsey translated *Sinekli Bakkal* into English as *Sinekli Bakkal, or, The Clown and His Daughter Part I & II*, these two volumes are published by CreateSpace Publishing Platform.

[Essays in this book had the chance to be translated faithfully to their originals whereas the essays in *Tesirler* from *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West* had been undergone a major transformation and reinterpreted according to the conditions of the time and Turkey.]

In addition, Altuğ (2015) underlines the fact that the criticism of Kemalist regime is missing in Halide Edib's self-translation (pp. 251-252). This argument is also valid in Edib's self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*, which I discuss in detail in Chapter Six.

Following her visit to India in 1935, Halide Edib published *Inside India* in which she wrote her impressions of the country. This book was also translated by Halide Edib herself and then partly serialized in *Tan* [Dawn] newspaper in 1938, and later completely in *Yeni Sabah* [New Morning] in 1940-41. After seventy-four years, the self-translation of *Inside India* was published in book form with the title *Hindistan'a Dair* [About India] in 2014. In the epilogue that she wrote for this book, Hülya Adak states that "... this work is not the faithful translation of *Inside India*, the Turkish version of the work is rewritten by Halide Edib, herself¹⁴" (Adak, 2014, p. 205).

Finally, Halide Edib translated her two-volume memoirs, which she wrote in English. Her self-translation of *Memoirs* (1926) was first serialized in *Yeni İstanbul* [New Istanbul] and published as a book under the title *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [House with Wisteria] in 1963. The second volume, *The Turkish Ordeal*, was serialized in her self-translation in *Hayat* [Life] magazine in 1960. After two years, it was also published as a book and titled *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* [The Turk's Ordeal with Fire], which is the focal case of the present study and will be analyzed in Chapter Six.

¹⁴ "... bu eser *Inside India*'nın sadık çevirisi değildir, eserin Türkçesi yeniden bizzat Halide Edib tarafından yazılmıştır" (Adak, 2014, p. 205).

In addition to the above mentioned works, Halide Edib also translated Henri Massé's *Islam* from French into English in 1938. During the time when she participated in the Turkish Independence War, she translated articles about Western politics concerning Turkey and the East (Enginün, 2007, p. 60). Moreover, she attended crucial meetings between the newly founded Turkish government and the foreign committees as an interpreter. After the war, she continued to translate books and articles about education and women rights.

Another noteworthy instance demonstrating Halide Edib's involvement in translation and her agency as a translator is a speech she delivered at Istanbul University in 1942, which was published in 1944. In this speech, Edib talks about the role of translation in Turkish literature. After she presents the influence of literatures of the east and the west on Turkish literature through translation, she criticizes existing translations for imitating the source cultures and literatures. At the end of her speech, Halide Edib lists common perspectives to translation as word-for-word versus sense-for-sense translation and argues that both options are lacking at some point. The best solution, Halide Edib suggests, is the combination of these two methods.

Ne kadar muvaffak olmuş mütercim varsa o kadar da tercüme nazariyesi vardır diyebiliriz. Fakat bunların hepsi gayet birbirine zıt iki ana nazariyeye vasıl olur ki bunlar pek kısa olarak: 1-Şekil muhafaza edilmeli. ... 2-Şekle değil mânaya sadık kalmalı. ... bu nazariyelerin ikisinden de istifade edelim fakat hiçbirine tamamen bağlanmayalım. (Adivar, 1944, p. 275-276)

[We can say that there are as many translation theories as there are successful translators. But all these reach two main but contradictive theories, they are briefly: 1-The form should be conserved. ... 2-One should be faithful to the meaning not to the form. ... We shall use both but do not stick completely with one or the other.]

Her speech is indeed important for us to understand Halide Edib's perception of translation and her translation policy.

All these show us that translation was a part of Halide Edib's life, and to be able to understand her thoughts, her political point of view and to analyze her works, her translation journey should also be investigated by researchers.

CHAPTER 4

WRITING IN EXILE: *THE TURKISH ORDEAL*

In this chapter, I will first present an overview on Turkey in the 1920s looking at Halide Edib's literary and political status at that time. I will then trace the reasons behind her decision to live abroad between 1925 and 1939 and discuss why this is considered to be a "voluntary" exile. Finally, I will focus on *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928) as a self-translated autobiography, whereby Halide Edib (re)constructed her individual self for the English speaking audience, and as a text of "self-defense" in light of Hülya Adak's (2003) argument.

4.1 Historical background of the 1920s in the Turkish context

At the end of the Great War, the Central Powers – namely Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and the Ottoman Empire – were defeated by the Allied Powers; Great Britain, France, and the Russian Empire. On 31 October 1918, British Admiral Somerset Arthur Gough-Calthorpe and Ottoman Navy Minister Hüseyin Rauf Bey signed the Armistice of Moudros, the articles of which would be disastrous for the Ottoman Empire. Article seven, which granted the Allies the right to occupy any place in the Ottoman Empire in the event of a threat to their security, was the most dangerous clause and Istanbul was consequently occupied by the British and French troops in November 1918.

In the 1910s, Halide Edib was working at Türk Ocağı [The Turkish Hearth] delivering speeches and writing articles on Turanism¹⁵. The theme of her fiction was also revolving around Turkish nationalism; as a political novel, *Yeni Turan* [New

¹⁵ Turanism or Pan-Turanism is a nationalist movement born in the 19th century, which aims to unite politically and culturally all Turkic origin people.

Turan] (1912) is a prominent example. Some parts of this novel are also published in *Türk Yurdu*¹⁶ [The Turkish Homeland] magazine; her articles and translations were also published in the same magazine weekly. However, after a speech she delivered in 1916 criticizing the Ottoman policy on the Armenian question, her position at the Hearth was shaken (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 133).

Halide Edib was among the members of a secret society called Karakol [The Guard], which was founded by Kara Vasıf Bey and Kemalettin Sami Pasha after the occupation of Istanbul in 1918, and whose mission it was to transport armaments to Anatolia for the resistance (Enginün, 2007, p. 53). She also played a crucial role in the foundation of Wilson Prensipleri Cemiyeti [Wilson Principles Association] in 1918, which lasted only two months. The organization was based on the Fourteen Points that was proposed by the American president Woodrow Wilson. İpek Çalışlar writes that the article twelve¹⁷ of the fourteen points, was considered an important judgement on Turkey by the Turkish politicians including Mustafa Kemal Pasha (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 162).

In 1919, the occupation expanded and the Greek Army occupied İzmir on 15 May. Following this invasion, a series of rallies were held in Istanbul, Sultanahmet to protest the occupations of the Allied Powers. Halide Edib was one of the major speakers, addressing the community and calling for a national resistance against the invasions. As mentioned in her biography in the previous chapter, Halide Edib was

¹⁶ Turk Yurdu was first founded as a literary and cultural club by the Turkish students in Geneva in 1910. A non-periodical was issued by the club under the same name. The members of this organization announced Halide Edib as “the Mother of the Turk” (Edib, 2004, p. 321). In 1911, another Turk Yurdu was founded in Istanbul which is still active today. The organization has published a weekly paper on Turanism.

¹⁷ The article reads as “XII. The Turkish portion of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees.”(Retrieved from http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/wilson14.asp)

the first woman in the Ottoman society who was able to gain ground in the political arena, traditionally dominated by men. After the rally, she also became visible in the international arena.

On 19 May 1919, Mustafa Kemal Pasha landed in Samsun and immediately contacted the major commanders who were opposing the Ottoman government in Istanbul and supporting the national resistance. This has been marked as the official start of the Turkish War of Independence. Halide Edib escaped through Anatolia with her husband Dr. Adnan Bey and joined the National Struggle in the same year. In Ankara, she founded a news agency, Anadolu Ajansı [Anatolia Agency], with Yunus Nadi Bey in 1920. Their main aim was to propagate the resistance all around Anatolia and attract the attention of the outer world as well. Halide Edib was translating news and articles from foreign newspapers such as *the Times*, *the Manchester Guardian* and *the Daily Herald*. In addition, she was writing for both local and international magazines.

The War of Independence continued for almost four years, and within this time a new national assembly was founded on 23 April 1920. Two-hundred and thirty-two representatives were elected by the local branches of the resistance and they formed the Büyük Millet Meclisi [Great National Assembly] in Ankara¹⁸. Until 5 December 1934, women did not have the right to elect and be elected in Turkey; therefore, Halide Edib could not become a member of the assembly.

Despite the fact that she could not take part in the assembly, Halide Edib continued to actively take part in politics. She was leading the committee, namely Tetkik-i Mezalim Kurulu [Investigating Committee of Oppression] which was founded in 1921 following the battle of Sakarya to investigate and report the Greek

¹⁸ Today, Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi (TBMM) [Great National Assembly] is still in charge in the Republic of Turkey.

atrocities in central Anatolia. Including members such as Yakup Kadri Bey and Yusuf Akçura Bey, the committee travelled around the villages and interviewed with people and wrote a report which was “an undeniable historical document rather than a propaganda” for Ankara (Edib, 1928, pp. 307-308).

The Battle of Dumlupınar was the last battle between Turkish and Greek armies, which ended with the victory of Turkish forces in August 1922. Shortly after the war, the Turkish side – both the government in Ankara and the one in Istanbul – were invited to Lausanne by the Allied Powers for negotiations. The national assembly in Ankara did not accept to send a joint delegation to the meeting and adopted a motion to abolish the Sultanate on 1 November 1922. The Treaty of Lausanne was signed between the Allied Powers and the Ankara government on 24 July 1923. After the Treaty, Mustafa Kemal was elected as the president of Halk Fırkası [People’s Party], which was the reconstitution of Anadolu ve Rumeli Müdafaa-i Hukuk Cemiyeti [The Association for the Defense of the National Rights of Anatolia and Rumelia] (Zürcher, 2004, p. 160). Notwithstanding the abolishment of the sultanate, the power relation between the Caliphate and the government in Ankara was ambiguous. To clear up this ambiguity, a republic with an elected president and a prime minister was suggested by Mustafa Kemal, and his proposal was accepted by the assembly. Thus, the Republic of Turkey was proclaimed on 29 October 1923, with Mustafa Kemal Pasha as its first elect president and İsmet Pasha its first prime minister. Erik Jan Zürcher (2004) underlines that this decision was taken while the important names of the independence war – Hüseyin Rauf (Orbay), Ali Fuat (Cebesoy), Refet (Bele), Kâzım (Karabekir) and Dr. Adnan (Adıvar) – were not in Ankara. These names severely criticized the aforementioned proclamation as a *fait accompli* in their interviews to Istanbul newspapers (p. 167).

On 17 November 1924, 32 deputies led by Hüseyin Rauf left People's Party and founded Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası [Progressive Republican Party (PRP)]. Dr. Adnan (Adıvar) was among its foundational members. As a woman, Halide Edib did not have the right to be elected for the parliament, but she worked on the doctrine of the new party by analyzing the British and American examples (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 310). This opposition party did not last long. Takrir-i Sükun Kanunu [Law on the Maintenance of Order] was brought into effect in 1925 due to miscellaneous domestic disturbances, and the government closed the Progressive Republican Party in the same year accusing the party and its members of supporting rebellions. On 15 June 1926, a plot to assassinate Mustafa Kemal Pasha was uncovered in İzmir. Although, a direct link between the plotters and the members of PRP was not proven, the Independence Tribunals ordered the arrest of the former members of the party. They would be tried with capital punishment, and all the former members of PRP, except for Hüseyin Rauf (Orbay) and Dr. Adnan (Adıvar) who were abroad at the time, were arrested (Zürcher, 2004, p. 174). All these developments and the political tensions prompted Halide Edib and Dr. Adnan Bey to leave the country and live abroad for a while.

4.2 Halide Edib's "voluntary" exile

Halide Edib and Dr. Adnan Bey left for Vienna in 1925 due to Edib's health problems at first, and her medical treatment continued in Karlsbad, Germany thereafter. When her treatment finished, they moved to Paris and then London, and lived abroad for almost fourteen years. İpek Çalışlar (2010) writes that their departure was actually not an escape or exile, but their decision to live abroad was because they could not tolerate the political tension in Turkey (p. 323). Ömer Sayar,

Edib's grandson, supports Çalışlar's statement in his open letter to Çalışlar, in which he (2010) cites a dialogue between him and Dr. Adnan Adıvar.

Cumartesi günü eve gittiğimde konuyu Adnan Adıvar'a açtım. O da kendilerinin Yüzellilikler arasında olmadığını, gerçekte babaannemin sağlık sorunları nedeniyle yurtdışına kendi istekleriyle gittiklerini ancak İzmir suikastı olayından sonra da dönmekten çekindiklerini, yani durumlarının bir nevi gönüllü sürgün olduğunu söylemişti.

[When I arrived at home on Saturday, I brought up the subject to Adnan Adıvar. He told me that they had not been among the 150 personae non grate¹⁹, and had left the country willingly due to my grandmother's health problems. However, after the assassination attempt in İzmir, they had refrained from coming back, and thus their situation was a kind of voluntary exile.]

The İzmir conspiracy damaged the couple's reputation in Turkey, but this was not the only reason behind their "voluntary" exile. Another reason, and perhaps the most important one, was the accusations directed by Mustafa Kemal in his most famous speech entitled *Nutuk* [*The Speech*], which he delivered during the Congress of Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası²⁰ [Republican People's Party] in October 1927. In his speech, Mustafa Kemal presented the history of the Turkish War of Independence starting from his arrival in Samsun in 1919. It is beyond doubt that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was the leading figure in the war as the commander-in-chief yet, he was not alone in the struggle. However, Mustafa Kemal solely foregrounds his role and ignores the role of his former colleagues in the war presenting them as "doubters, incompetents and traitors" in *Nutuk* (Zürcher, 2004, p. 175). In the same speech, Mustafa Kemal also accused Halide Edib for demanding American mandate over

¹⁹ Yüzellilikler (lit. Hundred-and-fiftyyears) 150 Personae non grate refers to one hundred and fifty people who were deported and exiled because of their collaboration with the Allies during the War of Independence.

²⁰ Halk Fırkası [People's Party] changed its name to Cumhuriyet Halk Fırkası [Republican People's Party] in 1924.

Turkey in 1919. Her letter (10 August 1919) to Mustafa Kemal Pasha where she wrote the following lines, was presented as a proof of treason.

Biz İstanbul'da kendimiz için bütün eski ve yeni Türkiye hudutlarını şamil olmak üzere muvakkat bir Amerika mandasını ehven-i şer olarak görüyoruz. ... [D]avamızda zahîr olabilmesi için, bu fırsat dakikalarını kaybetmeden taksim ve izmihlâl korkusu karşısında, kendimizi Amerika'ya müracaate mecbur görüyoruz. (Atatürk, 1997, pp. 64-66)

We consider that a provisional American mandate in Istanbul extending over all the provinces of old and new Turkey, would be a minor misfortune for us. ... [D]istressed by the fear of the possible dismemberment of the State, I feel sure that we would do well to put our trust in America, without losing this favorable opportunity, and rely upon her to defend our cause²¹. (Atatürk, 1981, pp. 77-79)

In her letter, Halide Edib regarded American mandate as an option under the circumstances of 1919, and explained the reasons for her thinking of such an option. Furthermore, she did not insist on her suggestion, and participated in the nation's struggle for independence together with Mustafa Kemal, yet in the end she was presented as a traitor. Hülya Adak (2003) states that "*Nutuk* presented the issue of the American mandate not in its historical context, but as a choice Edib allegedly made over national independence" (p. 511). Notwithstanding this anachronistic approach in *Nutuk*, it became widely influential in Turkey and gained recognition as part of Turkish historiography. As Erik Jan Zürcher writes:

The author's [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk] prestige and the political climate of the period have seen to it that the text has become the basis for nearly all Turkish historiography on the period to the present day. It was translated into German, French and English in 1928-29 and has been deeply influential in foreign historiography as well. (Zürcher, 2004, p. 175)

Therefore, the critical opinion regarding the issue is that Mustafa Kemal's adverse representation of Halide Edib affected her reputation in Turkey negatively. Erdağ

²¹ The translator is not indicated in the book.

Göknar (2013) argues that it is ironic to describe Halide Edib's (and Dr. Adnan's) exile as being "self-imposed" because it ignores the forces of patriarchy and state power (p. 55). Even though there is no official record of a state-forced exile, it is clear that they were not welcomed in Turkey at the end of the 1920s. It is important to note that Halide Edib's works were not even published in Turkey between 1927 and 1935 (Adak, 2003, p. 511).

In relation with this controversial status of her, the representation of Edib and works at abroad also indicates that she was in exile. In June 1928, when *Asia* magazine published the first part of *The Turkish Ordeal* under the title "My Share in The Turkish Ordeal" the editors of the magazine, Gertrude Emerson and Marietta Neff, introduced Halide Edib as a "feminist, revolutionary, author, soldier in the ranks and social reformer" (inner cover) and added "Halidé Hanim is now living in England, practically in exile but far from inactive". The magazine decorated Edib's writing with a few photographs of Istanbul and a portrait of Halide Edib. Under her portrait editor's note again informs the reader that the author "... in England, where she is now living more or less in exile from her country" (Edib, 1928, p. 435). In 1932, Maulvi Muhammad Yakub Khan retranslated *Ateşten Gömlek* (1923) [The Shirt of Fire] into English under the title *The Daughter of Smyrna- A Story of the Rise of Modern Turkey on the ashes of the Ottoman Empire*, thanks to which Halide Edib gained popularity in India.

Three years later, Halide Edib visited the country and shortly before her arrival, the *Bombay Chronicle* published on 12 January 1935 a detailed introduction foregrounding her as a writer and educator living in exile. Halide Edib sent a thank you note to the magazine along with a correction informing that she was not living in exile and could go back to Turkey at will (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 383).

While Halide Edib and her works were ‘unofficially exiled’, they were welcomed by the foreign audience. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Halide Edib wrote and published important works in English between 1926 and 1939. In 1928, she visited the Political Institute in Williamstown in the United States as the keynote speaker. In fact, she was the first woman speaker who was invited by the institution. In 1931, she taught classes on history of women’s movement in Turkey at Barnard College of Columbia University. Living abroad and writing in English for a foreign audience affected Halide Edib’s works; she had a more critical and political narration during these years. This voice; however, is missing in her self-translations into Turkish. Comparing *Memoirs* (1926) to *Mor Salkımlı Ev* [House with Wisteria] (1963), Ayşe Durakbaşa (1993) states that “[Halide Edib] probably felt a certain freedom in expressing herself in English, because a western language, as a second language, may have been a means of liberating herself from the bondage of femininity in the Turkish context” and explains this situation with the effect of target readership and continues “she [Halide Edib] would tell her story according to the commonplaces of self-presentation and of femininity current among the missionary circles of American and English women” (p. 138). I believe her argument is valid for my case, too. Halide Edib has a more independent and critical voice in *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928) than she has in *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* (1962). The textual analysis, which is presented in Chapter Six, aims to support this argument in detail.

4.3 Autobiography in English as a self-translation/defense

As previously mentioned, Halide Edib is considered the first woman autobiographer in the Turkish context (Aksoy, 2009, p. 82). In *Kurgulanmış Benlikler* [Fictionalized Identities], Nazan Aksoy (2009) lists the motivations of autobiography writing as

confession, disclosure, exhibiting, justification, recording, dissimulation or desire for immortality, but her emphasis is on the author's desire for building an "individual self" and introducing it to the community (p. 13). In *The Turkish Ordeal*, Halide Edib builds her individual self as an active agent of the war who joined and contributed to the struggle, and she introduces this self to the English speaking audience. In her doctoral dissertation, which analyzes Halide Edib's autobiographies from a sociological perspective, Ayşe Durakbaşa writes:

The 'self' as the writer and the autobiographer is not only a 'social self' and a 'historical subject'. She is also a 'literary subject' and therefore is subjected not only to the socio-cultural conventions of her gender and class but also to the literary conventions of that socio-cultural milieu and the expectations of the reading public. (Durakbaşa, 1993, p. 121)

Halide Edib writes in English; in other words, writing in her second language, she self-translates her narration, as well as the cultural elements of the society in which she lived for the English-speaking audience. She explains the culture-bound notions for her 'new' readers, introducing not only her individual self but also other figures of the war as if they are characters in a novel, and presents detailed and vividly described scenes.

Furthermore, Aksoy (2009) indicates that according to Karl Weintraub, autobiography is a product of enlightenment in an author's life, which usually emerges in the aftermath of a crisis. This moment of crisis, which holds not a personal but a historical meaning, may force the author to embrace her personal history as a whole. With regard to this, Aksoy presents Halide Edib as an example of the argument (Aksoy, 2009, p. 26). In *The Turkish Ordeal*, Edib (1928) states a short dialogue between her and Mustafa Kemal Pasha was the only argument they had; it is recorded as below.

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha] “What I mean is this: I want everyone to do as I wish and command.”

[Halide Edib] “Have they not done so already in everything that is fundamental and for the good of the Turkish cause?”

He swept my question aside and continued in the same brutally frank manner.

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha] “I don’t want any consideration, criticism, or advice. I will have only my own way. All shall do as I command.”

[Halide Edib] “Me too, Pasham?”

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha] “You too.”

His absolute sincerity deserved a reciprocal frankness.

[Halide Edib] “I will obey you and do as you wish as long as I believe that you are serving the cause.”

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha] “You shall obey me and do as I wish.”

[Halide Edib] “Is that a threat, Pasham?”

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha] “I am sorry, I would not threaten you.” (Edib, 1928, p. 188)

Following this conversation, Edib writes: “It was that very night, as I lay in bed after the scene with Mustafa Kemal Pasha, that I determined to write my Memoirs and to write them in English” (p. 190). Halide Edib published her *Memoirs* in 1926, and *The Turkish Ordeal* in 1928. The publication of the latter follows another crisis mentioned above; that is, the publication of *Nutuk [The Speech]* in 1927 and Edib’s representation as a traitor in it.

In a similar vein, Hülya Adak (2003) argues that Edib’s memoirs can be read as a “defense” or an “alternative historiography” to *Nutuk*. She considers *Nutuk* as “a vindication of the closing of the Progressive Republican Party and the establishment of Mustafa Kemal’s single party regime” and “justification of the acts of the Independence Tribunals which, in 1926, ordered the arrest or execution of former PRP members” (p. 510). It should be kept in mind that personal histories are not unconditioned texts which present the facts of their time objectively, because “no period of time can be traced by a single voice” (Aksoy, 2009, p. 38). Thus, immediately after Mustafa Kemal Pasha delivered *Nutuk*, his political opponents

such as Kâzım Karabekir Pasha, Ali Fuat Cebesoy, Dr. Rıza Nur published letters of defense or alternative autobiographies; and Halide Edib is among these names.

Adak also emphasizes that *Nutuk* was produced not only as an autobiography or memoir, but a political and historical document which has been received as the “sacred text” of the Turkish Republic (p. 512). Halide Edib, on the other hand, narrates her memoirs neither as a historical record nor as political treatise, but rather as a “human document”. In her own words,

I would try to recreate that period of Turkish history by preserving a faithful record of my experiences during that great ordeal. I would try to tell the story of Turkey as simply and honestly as a child, that the world might some day read it – not as a historical record nor as a political treatise, but as a human document about men and women alive during my own lifetime; and I would write it in a language far better fitted to reach the world than my own. (Edib, 1928, p. 190)

Edib’s emphasis on reconstructing/rewriting a period is important. She clearly aimed to create an alternative to *Nutuk*, where she could criticize Mustafa Kemal and some aspects of his politics, and answer his accusations of wanting American mandate for Turkey. Her narration is an attempt to tell that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was not alone in the struggle. As Adak (2003) writes, in *The Turkish Ordeal* Halide Edib not only foregrounds the roles of herself and the other leaders of the struggle but also gives agency to the people of Anatolia (p. 519). By doing so, Edib challenges the absoluteness of *Nutuk* and proves that she was not a traitor but a patriot and an active agent of the Turkish struggle.

In addition to all, the paratextual elements of *The Turkish Ordeal* both its serialized version and book form, shaped the readers’ perception of Halide Edib and her narration. *Asia* magazine presented Edib’s memoirs of the war with several

photographs. Some of these photographs present the views from Turkey in the 1910s and some of them present Halide Edib as shown in Figure 2 and Figure 3.



Fig. 2 Halide Edib's painted portrait
(*Asia* 1928, June p. 436)

“Through this portrait of Halidé Edib Hanım, painted in England, where she is now living more or less in exile from her country, tells nothing of her extraordinary career as Turkish revolutionary and government official, it is eloquent of the woman herself and of the spirit that has given meaning to her life.”[under the portrait]

orehead as is done with a mother's hand. countrymen," I called out as they walked in hand in the manner of little boys. My ed horse. I wondered whether that twist of Nazim's dead mouth would be straightened ster could be averted this wanted to find some way of know all about it if we hearths and homes. s Malli station," said the ain, who opened the door of tment. On the left, men in es sat on the ground, dis-absolutely immobile. The higher, and the light an sion in the cold air. From trucks orderlies were trying horses out. rt military figure walked e. "I am Ismet Pasha's mp," he said, saluting; "he his car." Although I had and my groom somewhere, I e officer in silent obedience. I was a soldier, I was acting ier. Consciously, even sub-y, I seemed to have ceased ividual. I said nothing as long until we neared a kind arthen terrace over which ere and there edges of single Then I asked, "Where is quarters?" illage of Ala-Geuz, in a little lled in by those low hills." lfar-off barking of sheep-dogs several tents looking like huge At last we were in the village, ar stopped before a wooden lights of the lanterns at the ing red behind the crimson Headquarters. Two bay-med, and we descended from a flash of recognition in his a formal salute Ismet Pasha a wooden chair and continues to a young major with very blue eyes and a unmilitary air. When the major has gone, he nds with me cordially and says, "Now you are in my army."

set. I believe the time must We crossed a tiny bridge and got to the largest house in the village on the other side of the stream. I recognized Mustapha Kemal Pasha's body-guards in their black tunics such as the men from the Black Sea wear. The



Here is Halidé Edib Hanım, at the front, with a group of military men during the Greco-Turkish War. She volunteered in August, 1921, as one of the strugglers who would prevent disaster to the Turkish nation or die in the effort

officer left me at the door and retired. One of the guards lighted the way through the entrance and up the stairs. Mustapha Kemal Pasha's aide-de-camp, Captain Muzaffer, met me and led me back across a large landing.

Fig. 3 Halide Edib at the front²²
(Asia 1928, September p. 701)

“Here is Halidé Hanım, at the front, with a group of military men during the Greco-Turkish War. She volunteered in August 1921, as one of the strugglers who would prevent disaster to the Turkish nation or die in the effort.” [under the photograph]

In a similar vein, various illustrations and photographs were published in *The Turkish Ordeal*. Halide Edib again appears in these photographs together with the prominent names of the war at the front as shown in Figure 4, or on her horse. These paratextual elements help the foreign reader to visualize the incidents as well as Edib’s individual self which she constructed in her autobiography.

²²The same photograph was also published in *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928).



Fig. 4 Corporal Halide
(Edib, H. 1928, p. 288)

In this chapter, I presented the socio-political background of the 1920s to contextualize *The Turkish Ordeal* as a self-translation which is written in exile for the foreign readers, and Edib's representation of herself in it. In the following chapter, I will focus on its self-translation *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*.

CHAPTER 5

SELF-TRANSLATION UNDER IDEOLOGICAL EMBARGO:

TÜRK'ÜN ATEŞLE İMTİHANI

In this chapter, before discussing the (non-)translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish, I will first present the historical background of Turkey from Halide Edib's arrival in Istanbul in 1939 to the early 1960s. The socio-political conditions of the target community by the time Halide Edib presented her self-translation are vital to understand the omissions in the translation. In this way, the ideological embargo on Halide Edib which seems to have stemmed from the clash between her point of view and the values of the target reader, will become more visible.

5.1 Historical background of Turkey from 1939 to the early 1960s

Halide Edib Adivar and Adnan Adivar returned to Turkey in 1939 upon İsmet İnönü's invitation²³. The Adivars were not the only couple to have received this invitation; the prominent names of the National Struggle such as Rauf Orbay, Kâzım Karabekir and Refet Bele, whose political views conflicted with Mustafa Kemal Atatürk's, were also welcomed by İsmet İnönü in 1939 and the 1940s (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 403).

After 14 years abroad, the arrival of Halide Edib in Istanbul was in the news on *Vakit* [Time], *Akşam* [Evening] and *Yedigün* [Sevendays] newspapers (Enginün, 2007, p. 481).

²³ In 1934, following the enactment of the surname law, Halide Edib and Dr. Adnan took "Adivar" as their last names. İsmet Pasha took "İnönü" because of his victory in the battle of İnönü, and Mustafa Kemal took "Atatürk" which means the Father of the Turks.

At the beginning, Halide Edib did not appear in the political environment but she immediately started to write articles on the political developments of the time in which she criticized fascism and World War II (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 406). As for her career, she mainly focused on her position at Istanbul University, where she founded the English Philology Department as the first woman professor of Turkey. She was delivering seminars on English literature, working on Shakespeare's plays and translating them together with her students. In addition to these Shakespeare translations, E. J. W. Gibb's *A History of Ottoman Poetry* was translated into Turkish by Edib and her students at that time (Enginün, 2007, p. 76).

In 1942, Halide Edib received a literature award from Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (CHP) [Republican People's Party, (RPP)] with her novel *Sinekli Bakkal* [Grocery with Flies] which was her self-translation of *The Clown and His Daughter*. During the first half of the 1940s, CHP was the only political party in the parliament and it was ruling the government. Its authoritarian politics were not conservative but resembled the dictatorships in Europe, a direct result of the absence of an opposition party in parliament, and opposing voices had started to rise. On 7 January 1946, Demokrat Parti (DP) [Democratic Party] was founded by Celâl Bayar. Dr. Adnan Adıvar returned to politics and got into the parliament as an independent deputy of DP after the elections, which were held within the same year (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 438). Although Turkish women had already gained the right to elect and to be elected in 1934, Halide Edib was not in a rush to be actively involved in politics. She was the independent candidate of DP from İzmir in 1950 elections, which ended up in the DP's surprise victory (p. 449). After the elections, Edib started to travel between Istanbul and Ankara. She was still teaching at the university and following literary, and political developments in the country and around the world.

Halide and Adnan Adıvar were not only actively involved in parliament but were also the leading names of socio-political campaigns. They pioneered and signed the petition for the amnesty of Nâzım Hikmet, the Turkish poet in exile who staged a hunger strike (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 450).

In 1951, several attacks were carried out on the busts of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk around the country. Following these incidents, DP introduced a bill of law in order to prevent potential attacks. The first article of the bill introduces the definition of the crime and its penalty as follows:

Madde 1 – Atatürk'ün hatırasına alenen hakaret eden veya söven kimse bir yıldan üç yıla kadar hapis cezası ile cezalandırılır.
Atatürk'ü temsil eden heykel, büst ve abideleri veyahut Atatürk'ün kabrini tahrip eden, kıran, bozan veya kirleten kimseye bir yıldan beş yıla kadar ağır hapis cezası verilir.
Yukarıdaki fıkralarda yazılı suçları işlemeye başkalarını teşvik eden kimse asıl fail gibi cezalandırılır.²⁴

[Article 1 – Any person who publicly insults or defames Atatürk's memory shall be sentenced to one to three years imprisonment.
Any person who destructs, breaks, damages or pollutes the statues, busts or monuments representing Atatürk or Atatürk's tomb, shall be sentenced to one to five years heavy imprisonment.
Any person who instigates others to commit above-mentioned crimes shall be tried as the perpetrator.] (translated by Toygun Erçetin, esq., LL. M)

This bill became law on 25 July 1951 despite the objections of many deputies of both DP and CHP, including Halide Edib Adıvar, and it is still in effect. In her speech which she made in the parliament on 7 May 1951, Halide Edib asked for the punishment of the perpetrators but also underlined the drawbacks of the proposed bill. She argued that the bill would idolize Atatürk by restraining people from

²⁴ For further information please see <http://www.mevzuat.gov.tr/Metin1.Aspx?MevzuatKod=1.3.5816&MevzuatIliski=0&sourceXmlSearch=5816&Tur=1&Tertip=3&No=5816>

criticizing him, and that it would damage democracy. She also emphasized that Mustafa Kemal was not the creator of the Turkish nation, but was the son of the Turkish nation.

Aziz arkadaşlar; biliniz ki Şarkın hiçbir tarafında Atatürk'ü geri kalmış Şarklı bir millet, Garp medeniyetini benimsememiş bir millet yetiştiremezdi. Binaenaleyh bu milleti Atatürk yoktan var etmiş değildir, Atatürk bu milletin evlâdıdır. ... Atatürk'ü âdeta bir put haline sokmak, inkılâpları bir nevi müstahase haline getirmektir, diyecekler ve bu tenkid hürriyetine mâni olacak bizim ileriye doğru gitme hareketimize de engel olacaktır. (TBMMZC, 1951, pp. 90-91)

[Dear friends; you should know that nowhere in the East, an Eastern nation which is underdeveloped and did not adopt Western civilization would not be able to raise (a person like) Atatürk. Therefore, Atatürk is the son of this nation, he did not create this nation out of nothing. ... They will say that idolizing Atatürk, in a sense, means transforming the reforms into fossils, and this will prevent the freedom of criticism and become an obstacle for our progress.]

Halide Edib retired from politics in 1954, but continued to write on political issues.

Following the political tension between Greece and Turkey because of the disagreement on Cyprus, a news reporting that the Turkish consulate in Greece and the house where Mustafa Kemal was born were bombed caused one of the most disgraceful events in the history of the Turkish Republic. On 6-7 September 1955, massive riots took place in Istanbul, and non-Muslims, particularly Greek citizens, suffered seriously. Their churches were attacked, and shops on İstiklâl Street (Beyoğlu) which belonged to non-Muslims were plundered. After these incidents, Halide Edib criticized the vandalism towards non-Muslims in Istanbul in her articles that were published in *Yeni İstanbul* [New Istanbul] (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 486).

During the second half of the 1950s, the conflict between the ruling party DP and the opposition party CHP had reached its peak. On 18 April 1960, DP founded a commission to investigate the activities of the opposition. The press was also under

huge pressure and strict censorship (Zürcher, 2004, p. 240). The kinship between the Turkish army and CHP was not a mystery, while the conflict between DP and the army was visible. On 27 May 1960, Turkey witnessed the first coup d'état in its history, and the army units took over all government buildings. All DP deputies including Adnan Menderes, the prime minister, and Celâl Bayar, the president of the Republic were arrested. The 1960s in Turkey started with a great sympathy for the army, and Kemalism became more popular than ever before. As a political figure who defended democracy all the time, Halide Edib did not publish or assert any criticism on the coup. When some professors were discharged from universities, however, she wrote an article titled *Ruh Mikropları* [Soul Germs] to *Cumhuriyet* [Republic] to criticize Milli Birlik Komitesi²⁵ [National Unity Committee] (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 495).

5.2 (Non-)translation of the memoir

Halide Edib lived abroad until 1939 as discussed in the previous chapters. During those years, she tended to write in English but did not translate her works into Turkish except her novel *The Clown and His Daughter* (1935). Her journey to different continents and her intention to address foreign (English-speaking) readers may be the explanation for the non-translation of the memoir between 1928 and 1939.

After she finally came back to Turkey, Halide Edib continued to write in Turkish and translate the works of foreign authors. Her position as the head of the English Philology Department at Istanbul University was the determining factor in shaping her translation activity and, especially, the selection of the texts to be

²⁵ Milli Birlik Komitesi [National Unity Committee] was a military junta which consisted of 38 soldiers in different ranks and lasted until 25 October 1961.

translated in the 1940s. In the 1950s, she also published her self-translations but none of them were ‘complete’ translations of the source texts; Halide Edib re-arranged their content according to the socio-political conditions of Turkey at the time of the translation. Erol Köroğlu (2016) attributes this situation to Halide Edib’s identity as the prominent public intellectual of her time (p. xiii). The textual analysis which is presented in the following parts, aims to demonstrate the relation between these conditions and the (non-)translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*.

In December 1959, the weekly magazine *Hayat*²⁶ [Life] announced as shown in Figure 5, that Halide Edib would translate her memoirs into Turkish for the first time and that her self-translation would be serialized in the magazine.

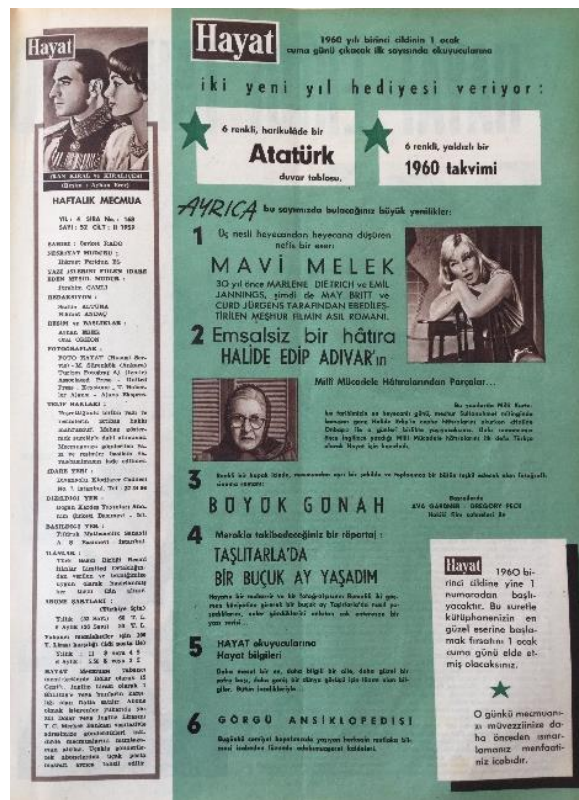


Fig. 5 Inner cover of *Hayat* magazine, (*Hayat* 1959, December 25)

²⁶ *Hayat* [Life] was a weekly popular culture magazine, which was published between 1956 and 1978 in Istanbul. The content of the magazine was composed of the latest news from Hollywood, life stories of famous women from all around the world, articles on fashion and lifestyles, adverts, questionnaires etc. Translated serial novels were also part of this content.

Emsalsiz bir hâtıra, Halide Edip Adıvar'ın Millî Mücadele Hâtıralarından Parçalar ... Bu yazılarda Milli Kurtuluş tarihimizin en heyecanlı günü, meşhur Sultanahmet mitinginde konuşan genç Halide Edip'in cephe hâtıralarını okurken "Halide Onbaşı" ile o günleri birlikte yaşıyacaksınız. Ünlü romancımız önce İngilizce yazdığı Millî Mücadele hâtıralarını ilk defa Türkçe olarak Hayat için hazırladı.

[An incomparable memoir, pieces from Halide Edip Adıvar's memoirs of the National Struggle ... You will live those days together with "Corporal Halide" while you are reading the memoirs of young Halide Edip who spoke at the famous Sultanahmet rally, the most exciting day of our history. Our famous novelist prepared her memoirs, which she had first written in English, for the first time in Turkish for Hayat.]

The Turkish Ordeal was partly serialized in the magazine as "Halide Edip Adıvar'ın Milli Mücadele Hâtıralarından Parçalar" [Pieces from Halide Edip Adıvar's Memoirs on National Struggle] between 1 January and 13 May 1960. In the first issue of the magazine in 1960, two full pages were reserved for Halide Edib and she was introduced with these words: "Halide Edip Adıvar is not only a literary fame to us. She played a crucial role in our War of Independence. As a person who had run from one front to another with Mustafa Kemal, Halide Edip Adıvar is also known as the Quarter Private (Mehmed) Edip's daughter²⁷" (*Hayat*, 1960, p. 7).

In every volume, the magazine published different photographs of Halide Edib as she was writing, delivering her famous speech in Sultanahmet or in the front together with Mustafa Kemal and other commanders. As shown in Figure 6 different identities of Halide Edib were presented for the readers.

²⁷"Halide Edip Adıvar bizde yalnız edebiyat şöhreti değildir. Kurtuluş Savaşımızda mühim bir rol oynamıştır. Mustafa Kemal ile cepheden cepheye koşmuş olan Halide Edip Adıvar'ın bir de 'Karargâh erlerinden Edip kızı Halide' tarafı vardır." (*Hayat*, 1960, p. 7)

UÇ HALİDE

HALİDE EDİP ADIVAR'IN MİLLÎ MÜCADELE HÂTİRALARI

Halide Edip, evliliği, kafa ve gönül birliği kuracak mütefekkir bir eşi vardı. Her genç kadının hayalhanesini süsleyen ilk evlilik günlerini erkeği ile mesut olarak geçirecekti. Fakat, kendi evinin bu huzur köşesinde biraz olsun oturması kismet olmadı. 2- ... Vatan tehlikeye düşünce o da botlarını ayağına geçirdi, mavzerini omuzladı. Ordu safları içinde: "Edip kızı Halide Onbaşı!" diye isim aldı... 3- Savaşın sonrasındaki sulh ve sükun Türkiye'sinde, şeref dolu bir ömrün basamaklarını ağır ağır çıktı. Ve vatan saatinde bir fikir insanı olarak kaldı. Bu defa herkes ona: "Romancı Halide Edip Adıvar" diye hitap etti" [under the photographs]

Kurşunlar başlarımızın üstünden geçiyordu. Erkekler hayvanlardan atılarak tabancalarına sarıldılar. Ben atımın üzerinde kaldım.

1- Evlenmişti; kafa ve gönül birliği kuracak mütefekkir bir eşi vardı. Her genç kadının hayalhanesini süsleyen ilk evlilik günlerini erkeği ile mesut olarak geçirecekti. Fakat, kendi evinin bu huzur köşesinde biraz olsun oturması kismet olmadı. 2- ... Vatan tehlikeye düşünce o da botlarını ayağına geçirdi, mavzerini omuzladı. Ordu safları içinde: "Edip kızı Halide Onbaşı!" diye isim aldı... 3- Savaşın sonrasındaki sulh ve sükun Türkiye'sinde, şeref dolu bir ömrün basamaklarını ağır ağır çıktı. Ve vatan saatinde bir fikir insanı olarak kaldı. Bu defa herkes ona: "Romancı Halide Edip Adıvar" diye hitap etti" [under the photographs]

HER YERDE NEŞE VE SİHHAH KAYNAĞI

YENİ ANKARA MAKARNASI

ANKARA MAKARNA İN VE İHRAK FABRİKASI
 Dış Ticaret ve Sanayi Bakanlığı
 İstanbul Tel: 22 10 72
 Ankara Tel: 1205

HOT

Terazi sistemi nedir?

Filtresiz Mükemmelsiz Filtresiz Basılı ve... Eşsiz bir gaz ocak!

ANKARA İNTESYONUNDU MUSTAFA KEMAL PAŞA HANİ NASIL KAYIYORDU?

ŞEHİR HAYATI

ANKARA İNTESYONUNDU MUSTAFA KEMAL PAŞA HANİ NASIL KAYIYORDU?

Fig. 6 Three different Halide Edip (Hayat 1960, February 5 pp. 10-11)

“Üç Halide 1- Evlenmişti; kafa ve gönül birliği kuracak mütefekkir bir eşi vardı. Her genç kadının hayalhanesini süsleyen ilk evlilik günlerini erkeği ile mesut olarak geçirecekti. Fakat, kendi evinin bu huzur köşesinde biraz olsun oturması kismet olmadı. 2- ... Vatan tehlikeye düşünce o da botlarını ayağına geçirdi, mavzerini omuzladı. Ordu safları içinde: “Edip kızı Halide Onbaşı!” diye isim aldı... 3- Savaşın sonrasındaki sulh ve sükun Türkiye'sinde, şeref dolu bir ömrün basamaklarını ağır ağır çıktı. Ve vatan saatinde bir fikir insanı olarak kaldı. Bu defa herkes ona: “Romancı Halide Edip Adıvar” diye hitap etti” [under the photographs]

[Three Halide 1- She had been married; she had a husband who was thoughtful and related to her logically and emotionally. She would spend the first days of her marriage that lace dreams of every young woman, with her husband happily. However, sitting in a peaceful corner of home was not in her destiny. 2- ... When the country was in danger, she wore her boots and took her mauser on her shoulder. She was known as “[Mehmed] Edip’s daughter Corporal Halide!” in the front... 3- In the peaceful and silent land of Turkey after the war, she slowly climbed the steps of an honorable life, and remained an intellectual of the country. This time everyone called her: “Novelist Halide Edip Adıvar.”]

These paratextual elements are important to better understand the (re)contextualization of Halide Edib and her self-translated memoirs in 1960. In contrast with her representation as a traitor in the 1920s, she was presented as a patriot and respectable author in 1960. It had been a long time since 1928, and Halide Edib had regained her reputation as a professor at university and a deputy in the assembly.

Two years later in 1962, Edib's self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* was published as a book with the title *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* [The Turk's Ordeal with Fire] by Çan Yayınları, but an important part of the source text was left out by the author-translator. Following the publication of the memoir, several reviews were published in newspapers and magazines, but there was no emphasis on the omitted parts. Only, Tahir Alangu (1962) wrote that Halide Edib could not meet the expectations of the Turkish intellectuals since she limited her narration due to her resentment which stemmed from the previous conflicts between her and Mustafa Kemal Pasha (p. 2).

It is also interesting that a 'complete' translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* is not available in Turkish today. Mehmet Kalpaklı states that Özgür Publication had planned to publish a 'complete' translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* in addition to Edib's self-translation; however, due to financial issues and timing problems they could not make it²⁸.

Another point that should be underlined about Edib's translation strategy in *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* is Vedat Günyol's participation in the translation process. When Halide Edib started to translate her memoirs, she was close to her eighties and had been working with her assistants for a while. Vedat Günyol met the Adıvars

²⁸ Mehmet Kalpaklı, personal communication, on 20 July 2017.

while they were living in France when he was a student of law in Paris. When Günyol came back to Turkey, he started to work as Edib's assistant. In 1964, in his article entitled "Halide Edib'in Son Yılları" [Last Years of Halide Edib] in *Yeni Ufuklar* [New Horizons] magazine, Günyol writes that Halide Edib, herself edited and censored her self-translation.

1961 yılı yaz aylarında Savaş anılarını yeniden yazıyordu. Yurt dışında kaleme aldığı Turkish Ordeal adlı kitabını Türkçeleştiriyordu. Yalnız Türkçeleştirmiyor, pürüzlerini gideriyor, fazlalıkları atıyor, yeni şeyler ekliyordu ... Bir bakıma bir ruh arınması, bir iç temizlenmesiydi bu: Eski kırgınlıkların, dargınlıkların üstüne çıkıp, Atatürk'e karşı kullanmış olduğu sertçe sözleri yumuşatıyor onun zamanla daha da beliren büyüklüğü önünde, kendi büyüklüğüne yaraşır insanca bir alçak gönüllükle eğiliyordu. (Günyol 1964, pp. 2-3)

[In the summer of 1961, she was rewriting her memoirs of war. She was translating into Turkish her book entitled Turkish Ordeal that she wrote abroad. She was not only translating it into Turkish, but also ironing out the kinks, omitting redundant parts and adding new things ... This was in a way cleaning her inner self, purifying her soul: she was getting over old conflicts with Atatürk and toning down her words she had used against him and before his greatness that has become even more prominent in time, she was greeting him with modesty, with one that matched her own greatness.]

Years later, in 2002, Günyol told about his experience working with Edib in an interview in *Hürriyet* [Freedom] daily. He stated that he and Halide Edib translated Edib's memoirs together, and again underlined the fact that Edib had censored the translation:

Halide Edip ile Türkün Ateşle İmtihanı'nın İngilizce'den Türkçe'ye çevirisini beraber yaptık. O dikte ediyor ben yazıyordum. Hastalanınca, Vedat sen git tercüme edip getir bana diyor, bu sefer ben tercüme ediyorum, o düzeltiyor. Kitabın orijinali Turkish Ordeal'di. Ama kitabın İngilizce baskısında Atatürk aleyhine yazdığı yerleri Türkçe'ye çevirirken almadı. Yani o bölümleri kendisi sansürledi. (Günyol, 2002)

[We translated The Turk's Ordeal with Fire from English into Turkish together with Halide Edib. She was dictating and I was writing. If and when

she got sick, she would tell me “Vedat go, translate and bring it to me,” so I would translate and she would edit. The original title of the book was Turkish Ordeal. But she did not include the parts which she wrote against Atatürk from the English edition when translating the book into Turkish. She self-censored those parts.]

It is indeed difficult to identify Günyol’s participation in the translation even with a close analysis of the text. A Turkish historian, Hakan Erdem (2010) argues that some examples from *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* show that Vedat Günyol sometimes misunderstood or misheard Halide Edib while he was writing, and this led to translation “mistakes” (pp. 194-196). The first example presented by Erdem is the translation of “great Babi woman”, which was translated as “Babillilerin meşhur kadını” [Famous Babylonian woman or famous woman of the Babylonian] in the first edition of *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* in 1962. This part was not published when the book was serialized, and it was corrected and updated in the later editions as “Bâbilerin meşhur kadını” [Famous woman of Babis] (Adıvar, 2016, p. 149) with a footnote which explains that Bâbi is the religious community founded by Ali Muhammed Bâb from Shriaz. Erdem adds different examples from the source and target texts with his “proper” translation of the related parts, and adds that the manuscript of the memoirs should be analyzed to more fully understand the collaboration of Edib and Günyol on the translation (Erdem, 2010, p. 198). At this point, Mehmet Kalpaklı also agrees with Erdem and states that there were translation “mistakes” not only in *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* but also in other (self-)translations of Halide Edib, and that these mistakes might have been the result of her collaboration with her students and lack of editing (Kalpaklı, personal communication on 20 July 2017).

In addition to Erdem’s argument, it is also difficult to trace the editorial process of the published Turkish version; thus it is almost impossible to trace such

relatively minor mistakes. Nevertheless, the analysis of the non-translated parts strengthens the hypothesis that Halide Edib preferred not to translate the parts in *The Turkish Ordeal*, parts which would have conflicted with the public ideology in the 1960s.

5.3 The ideological embargo on Halide Edib

João Ferreira Duarte (2000) argues that in some cases, although there is no state-enforced censorship or ban on the translators, and although the source text/author is familiar to the target culture and reader, the clash of a community's system of values and political events may cause a non-translation due to an "ideological embargo" on the translator (p. 98). From this point of view, it would not be wrong to argue that Halide Edib self-translated *The Turkish Ordeal* under an "ideological embargo". The political and cultural environment of Turkey never welcomed criticism against Mustafa Kemal Atatürk and his politics.

In 1928, after Halide Edib published *The Turkish Ordeal* in London and New York, some Turkish writers severely criticized her²⁹ because of her critical representation of Mustafa Kemal. On 24 July 1928, Mahmud³⁰ wrote in *Milliyet* [Nation] newspaper as follows:

İnsanın ruhunu kin, garaz ve ihtiras bürüyünce tam manasıyla kör olur. Artık hakikat de güneş de onun için karanlıktır. Dikkat edenler çok iyi anlamışlardır ki bir zamandan beri Londra'da ihtiyar-ı ikamet eden Halide Edib Hanım böyle marız bir ruhla maluldur. Filhakika bu aralık Halide Edib Hanım Türk inkılab ve istiklali vakayını tahrif eder mahiyette, Amerika gazetelerine bir seri makale yazmakla meşgul bulunur ... Reis-i cumhur hazretlerinin [Mustafa Kemal], Halide Hanım tarafından yazılan makâlâtı okuduklarından emin idim. Bir aralık yanlarına yaklaştım, bu neşriyat

²⁹ Among them an anonymous piece titled "Kin ve Garaz, Halide Edib Hanım'ın bir Amerikan Gazetesindeki Gülünç Neşriyatı" [Grudge and Animosity, Mrs. Halide Edib's Ridiculous Publication in an American Newspaper] appeared in *Akşam* [Evening] newspaper on 25 July 1928, and "Haine" [Traitor] by Mustafa Doğan, in *Hizmet* [Service] newspaper, on 01 August 1928.

³⁰ The signature of the author only writes his first name on the paper.

hakkındaki fikirlerini öğrenmek istedim. ... [C]evap vermek üzere bana teveccüh ettiler. Halbuki Müzir Paşa hazretleri buna meydan vermeden dediler ki “İt ürür, kervan yürür.” Gazi bu sözlere bir şey ilave etmedi. (Mahmud, 1928)

[When human soul is full of grudge, animosity and ambition, it literally goes blind. Now both the truth and the sun are dark for it. Those who pay attention are very well aware that Halide Edib Hanım, who has been living abroad for a while, is disabled with that kind of sick soul. In fact, she has been busy writing a series of articles for American newspapers where she defames Turkish independence and revolution ... I was sure that our president of republic (Mustafa Kemal) had read her articles. I approached him for a moment to find out his opinion on this publication. ... He turned to answer me. But Müzir Paşa did not let him answer saying “The dogs bark, but the caravan goes on.” Gazi did not add anything to these words.]

The level of criticism shows that the aim was not to criticize *The Turkish Ordeal*, but to insult Halide Edib. The next day on 25 July 1928, Yusuf Ziya wrote an open-letter entitled “Halide Edib Hanım’a” [To Halide Edib Hanım], in *İkdam* [Persistence] and accused her of demanding American mandate for Turkey, collaborating with the enemy by writing articles for foreign newspapers which humiliate Gazi Mustafa Kemal and distort historical facts.

Baktınız ki siyaset pazarında adınızı anan yok, ver elini İngiltere diyip yolu tuttunuz ve Londra’nın sisli havası içinde, beli kırılmış bir yılan gibi kıvrana kıvrana düşman gazetelerine, zehrinizi dökmeye başladınız. Hatıratınızda, yoklar var oldu, varlar yok. Akı kara gösterdiniz, karayı ak. Geceye gündüz dediniz, gündüze gece!.. Bugün, ortada yığın yığın duran o yapraklar, bir röntgen filmi gibi iç yüzünüzü gösteriyor ve bir zamanlar sizin, başkalarının alınına vurduğunuz kızgın damganın yanık izlerini şimdi sizin alnınızda okuyoruz: satılmış! (Ziya, 1928)

[When you see that no one remembers your name in politics, you went to England and in the fog of London started to pour out your poison in the enemy’s newspapers wriggling like a snake. In your memoir, lies became the truth and the truth became lies. You portrayed white as black and black as white. You called night as morning, and morning as night!.. Today, those piles of leaves that are still present, reveal your true color like a radiogram and now we read the same sear on your forehead that you once put on others’: sell-out!]

In addition to these, Halide Edib also received negative reviews from Turkish intellectuals for *Turkey Faces West* and *Conflict of East and West in Turkey* in the 1930s.

At the beginning of 1952, Kılıç Ali³¹ published his memoirs in *Milliyet* [Nation] newspaper and accused Halide Edib of writing words of hatred towards Mustafa Kemal and insulting him in *The Turkish Ordeal* (Çalışlar, 2010, p. 460).

Fakat sonralar, memleketten kaçtıktan sonra, İngilizce yazdığı bir kitapta sıkılmadan Mustafa Kemal aleyhinde yazdıklarını gördüğüm zaman büyük bir hayal kırıklığına uğradım. Halide Hanım gibi bir kadının Gazi Mustafa Kemal gibi bir adamı ecnebi bir memlekette ve sırf şahsî kin ve garezi yüzünden nasıl o derece kötülediğine şaşım, ağzı açık kaldım. Meğer hırs, kin, garez velev kadın dahi olsa, insanları bazan ne derekelere düşürebiliyormuş! Halide Hanımın kitabından bu noktayı pek iyi anladım. Bu mebus hanımın o kitabındaki yazılarının tercüme edilmiş bazı parçaları şimdi gözümün önünde duruyor. Mustafa Kemal'i korkaklıkla, iki yüzlülükle itham eden ve daha nice safsatalar ihtiva eden o garez, kin ve iftira mahsulü herzeleri nakletmekten memleket hesabına, Gaziye millî hürmetimiz adına utandığım için buraya almaktan utanıyorum. (Kılıç Ali, 1952)

[But then, when I saw her writing against Mustafa Kemal in her book which she wrote in English after fleeing the country, I felt dissapointed. I was surprised how in a foreign country, a woman like Halide Edib could disparage a man like Gazi Mustafa Kemal just because of personal grudge and animosity. It seems that greed, grudge and animosity may degrade some people even women! I learned very well this fact from Mrs. Halide Edib's book. Now, some translated parts of that deputy's book are in front of my eyes. I feel ashamed to quote parts of this product of grudge, animosity and slander which accuses Mustafa Kemal of cowardice, hypocrisy and includes even more nonsense.]

At the time when Ali levelled criticism against Edib, Turkish readers were not still able to read her memoir in Turkish and these kinds of negative reviews were built into Halide Edib's representation in the Turkish context. In spite of her political identity as a deputy, and her social status as a professor of philology, Edib was/is still

³¹ Mustafa Kemal's comrade in arms and his confidant. His memoirs were also published as a book *Atatürk'ün Sırdaşı Kılıç Ali'nin Anıları* [Memoirs of Atatürk's Confidant Kılıç Ali] by İş Bankası publishing house, in 2005.

a traitor and the supporter of the American mandate in the eyes of some people. Samim Kocagöz reports that Halide Edib was annoyed with the ones who called her “Mandacı” [Pro-mandate]. When she heard a deputy from DP said “Bırakın şu Amerikan Mandacısını!” [Leave that pro-American mandate!] she commented as follows:

... 1919 yıllarının o meş’um günlerini biliyorlar mı? Hepimiz bir çıkar yol arıyorduk. Herkes mandacıydı. Amerika uzaktır belki bir gün kurtuluruz diye düşünüyorduk. Mustafa Kemal sordu, böyle cevap verdik. Sonra dedi ki Mustafa Kemal Paşa, “Hayır, döğüşeceğiz, kalkın Ankara’ya gelin!” Kalktık koşa koşa Ankara’ya gittik, İstanbul’dan kaçtık, döğüştük. Ben Mustafa Kemal miyim ki bu kadar uzağı göreyim? Öylesine Mustafa Kemal’den yanaydık ki, bizi de İstanbul hükümeti onunla birlik idama mahkûm etti. (Demokrat Partilileri kastederek) Biz bunlar kadar Amerikan mandacısı değildik. (Kocagöz, 1964, p. 7)

[... Do they know the sinister days of 1919? We all were looking for a way out. Everyone was pro-mandate. We thought United States of America was far away so we might have been freed one day. Mustafa Kemal asked and we answered in this way. Then, Mustafa Kemal Pasha said “No, we will fight, come to Ankara!” We ran to Ankara, ran away from Istanbul and fought. I am not Mustafa Kemal, how could I have such a foresight? We were so close to Mustafa Kemal that Istanbul government condemned us to death together with him. (Implying the DP deputies) We were not pro-American mandate as much as them.]

On the other hand, Halide Edib was also presented as “Milli Mücadele’nin Halide Onbaşı’sı” [The Corporal Halide of the National Struggle] by Kenan Harun in *Resimli Yirminci Asır* [Twentieth Century with Pictures] magazine on 13 September 1952. But, İpek Çalışlar (2010) cites from Hüsrev Hatemi and writes that in the 1950s, Halide Edib was rarely introduced as the patriot who had called people for the resistance during the National Struggle (p. 497).

After a while Halide Edib regains her political position as Corporal Halide of the Turkish War of Independence, as also reflected in the way *Hayat* (re-)introduced Edib when serializing the memoirs. It would not be wrong to claim that the publication of *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı* played a significant role in (re)contextualizing

Edib as a close name to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In 1962, the reviews on *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* also supported this argument. Hâluk Y. Şehsuvaroğlu, B. Kemal Çağlar and Mehmed Kaplan praised Halide Edib recommending her work for young generations as a vivid and objective account of the Turkish War of Independence.

Due to the ideological restrictions of 1959 and the 1960s, the critical narrative voice in *The Turkish Ordeal* disappears with the non-translated parts in the Turkish version. The narrator in *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* has a rather 'confirming' voice, which supports the official narrative of the Republic of Turkey, namely *Nutuk* [*The Speech*] by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. In the 1990s *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* was published by Atlas Yayınları with a cover in which Mustafa Kemal Atatürk appears in his uniform as shown in Figure 7.



Fig. 7 The front cover of *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* (1994)

In addition, *Cumhuriyet* [Republic] newspaper presented *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* to its readers in three volumes in 1998. The newspaper has been identified with the Republic and Kemalism, thus its approach to Halide Edib and her work can be considered as proof that Edib's critical approach towards Mustafa Kemal disappeared in her self-translation.

The law on the protection of Mustafa Kemal officially forbids insults aimed toward him; however, this law cannot be the only reason behind Edib's non-translation, because she did not translate it before 1951, i.e., before the law passed. Moreover, the non-translated parts are not only the ones related to Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. Edib avoided translating the 'contradictory' parts of her memoirs where she presented her comments or detailed observations.

In what follows, I will present the textual analysis of *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*, discussing these non-translated parts.

CHAPTER 6

TEXTUAL ANALYSIS OF NON-TRANSLATED PARTS

I now present and discuss the non-translated parts of *The Turkish Ordeal* (from now on *Ordeal*) through a comparative textual analysis. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Halide Edib omitted a significant volume of the source text in her self-translation. Some parts were completely left out while some of them were summarized in *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı*. It can be asserted that one-fourth of the source text is omitted by the author-translator, Edib. On the other hand, the rest of the source text is transferred without much manipulation therefore the focus of the textual analysis will be on the non-translated parts. The content of these non-translated parts in relation to the historical background of the time will help me demonstrate the ideological embargo on Halide Edib's translation.

In this textual analysis, I compare the first edition of the *Ordeal*, which was published by The Century and Co. in 1928 and *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı: İstiklâl Savaşı Hatıraları* [Turk's Ordeal with Fire: Memoirs of Independence War] which was published by Can Yayınları in 2016. The Turkish edition examined here is edited by Mehmet Kalpaklı and S. Yeşim Kalpaklı³². In their presentation of the book, they note that their edition is based on the last published version of the memoir in the lifetime of Halide Edib, and it was compared with different editions, including the serialized version, when necessary. On the textual level, I did not focus on the serialized parts of the source and target text, because Halide Edib only partially serialized her memoirs in *Asia* and *Hayat* and thus they are far from being complete.

³² Mehmet Kalpaklı and S. Yeşim Kalpaklı are academicians in the field of Turkish language and literature, and they edited most of Halide Edib Adıvar's work for Can Yayınları.

The non-translated parts will be divided into four sub-titles; a) the parts on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, b) the parts on ethnic identities and their representation, c) the parts on Halide Edib's personal remarks and notes, and d) the parts which were shaped according to the target reader.

6.1 Parts on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk

The most debated parts of the *Ordeal* are the parts in which Halide Edib presents a detailed portrayal of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Hülya Adak (2003) states that the representation of Mustafa Kemal is equally important as Halide Edib's individual self in the *Ordeal* and that it "can be categorized as Edib's autobiography and a biography of Mustafa Kemal" (p. 519). While confirming the vital role and achievements of Mustafa Kemal in the Struggle, Halide Edib displays the negative aspects of his personality, and comments on his faults and his relations with other people. In fact, as Mehtap Özdemir (forthcoming) states, the "representation of Mustafa Kemal in the *Ordeal* has many points that clash with the established image of the 'immortal' and 'infallible' Atatürk". As a result of this conflict which led to an ideological embargo on Edib's self-translation, contradictory parts on Mustafa Kemal were either omitted from or softened in the Turkish version.

With regards to the representation of Mustafa Kemal, it can be said that the most remarkable point is Edib's criticism of his ambitious and dominant character that expects full obedience of all Turkish people without any criticism. In the *Ordeal*, Halide Edib writes that Mustafa Kemal demanded complete and unquestioning obedience from the Turkish community under any circumstances.

He always considered every Turkish subject to have been brought into the world specially to serve his purpose: each was a member of the collective mass of Turkish humanity which he meant to possess and command. And

should a woman among them oppose him she would be given to chivalrous consideration, but would be ruthlessly dealt with by whatever horrible means he could devise. (Edib, 1928, pp. 188-189)

The given quotation above was not translated into Turkish by Halide Edib likewise with the following part where she imagines an expected speech from Mustafa Kemal in case the Struggle is won.

Should they succeed, Mustafa Kemal Pasha would step forward and say: “You are only the herd! You were in chains and threatened with extermination, and lo! I have delivered you! Bow down and worship me to the exclusion of your God, your Past, your Personality and of very other right!” (Edib, 1928, p. 189)

Even though Edib accepted that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was a great leader of his time, she was uncomfortable with his condescending attitude. In the lines that followed, she writes that it was “not the men of destiny who change the course of history, it is the quality of the human material with which they worked” (Edib, 1928, p. 189). In 1951, when she criticized the law on crimes against Atatürk in the National Assembly, she would emphasize the same point in her speech. According to her, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk is the leader of the Turkish nation but it should not be forgotten that the nation raised this leader (TBMMZC, 1951, p. 90).

At this point, it would be relevant to remember Adak’s (2003) argument which suggests reading the *Ordeal* as “a response to the narration of the self and the nation in *Nutuk*” (p. 518). According to Adak, since Mustafa Kemal foregrounds himself as the most important agent of the Struggle and dismisses the role of others in his narration, Halide Edib, in her response, not only underlines her being another active agent of the Struggle, but also attempts to give agency to the people who also took part in it. Here, “people” refers to successful commanders of the war who were

maligned afterwards by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and it also refers to the Turkish nation who was kept in the background by the official narration of the state. Edib cites Kemaleddine Sami Pasha as an example and writes:

Evidently Mustafa Kemal Pasha was not kindly disposed toward Kemaleddine Sami Pasha in those days, and did his very best to belittle the fame which was his due. (Edib, 1928, p. 298)

She inserts a footnote for this passage stating that even though Mustafa Kemal Pasha did not say anything against Kemaleddine Sami Pasha, he spoke against the revolutionary organization Karakol [The Guard] in which Kemaleddine Sami Pasha was a foundational member, and ignored his services in *Nutuk* (Edib, 1928, p. 299).

In the *Ordeal*, Halide Edib writes that Mustafa Kemal Pasha was criticizing the people around him all the time even during the Struggle, before he delivered his speech in 1927. She disapproves of his disapprobation of the people who served in the fight against the Allied forces, as can be inferred from the lines below:

Throughout his [Mustafa Kemal Pasha] anecdotes and reminiscences of past life ran a dominant vein of bitter irony at the expense of many well-known personalities. He spared no name. And, as the evenings passed, I began to wonder vaguely whether there was any well-known man of whom Mustafa Kemal Pasha had something good to say. (Edib, 1928, p. 136)

This part is translated in the Turkish version as follows:

Mustafa Kemal Paşa geçmiş günlerden uzun uzun bahseder, hemen herkesi acı, fakat parlak bir surette tenkit ederdi. Onu dinlerken memlekete yarayacak hiçbir şahsiyet olup olmadığı hakkında insanda şüphe uyanırdı. (Adivar, 2016, p. 143)

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha would talk about the past in detail, and criticize almost everyone in a bitter but brilliant way. As one listened to him, s/he might wonder whether there was not anyone useful for the country.]

In her self-translation, the critical tone of her narration almost disappears. “A dominant vein of bitter irony” that Edip discerns in Mustafa Kemal’s criticisms turns into a “bitter but brilliant” one in the Turkish version. Moreover, the emphasis on the “many well-known personalities” completely gets lost. In the following parts of her memoirs, Edib also preferred to omit the parts where she held a more critical position. For instance, she writes that İsmet Pasha was the only person whom Mustafa Kemal Pasha appreciated in public, but adds that his appreciation was not actually sincere.

İsmet Pasha is the only military man whom he has ever praised in public, yet behind the praise there was a subtly concealed motive. İsmet Pasha had been badly beaten in Kutahia and in Eskishehir, which defeat had almost brought the Greeks to Angora; so Mustafa Kemal Pasha in praising İsmet Pasha was saying with a wink, “I have commanded Sakaria and the march to Smyrna: İsmet was under me, so by all means praise him freely; it all comes back to me.” Knowing this side of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, it is for the future historian to decide whether İsmet Pasha would have been in the position he is at the present if he had not had that military misfortune. (Edib, 1928, p. 296)

In this non-translated passage, Edib implies that if İsmet Pasha had overshadowed Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s position with his victory, he would have been among the dismissed commanders of the Struggle. Similar to her criticism of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, Edib’s implication on İsmet Pasha’s failure would be welcomed in 1962 neither by İsmet İnönü nor the public. In addition, Edib and her husband came back to Turkey due to İnönü’s invitation thus she may have felt obliged to omit this part.

In parallel with her given criticism, Halide Edib could not hide her bewilderment when Mustafa Kemal Pasha shared his positive comments about people for the first time during a dinner in İzmir. In the *Ordeal*, she says,

This was the only evening that he did not indulge in being satirical at the expense of some one—he seemed to be repressing himself, and it was rather

dull. When he even went so far as to praise people—mentioned some one as the foremost figure in the Nationalist movement ... —I tried to puzzle out why he was doing it. Perhaps he did not believe the moment had come when he could dispense with the services of all those who had helped the national cause. (Edib, 1928, p. 388)

It is clear that she remained suspicious of Mustafa Kemal Pasha about his sincerity and believed that he would phase those people out in due course. In her self-translation, on the other hand, the second part of the passage is omitted, and consequently Turkish reader is not able to hear Halide Edib's critical voice. The above quotation above is rendered in the Turkish version as:

İlk defa olarak da kimse ile alay etmedi ve kimsenin aleyhinde bulunmadı. Hatta Millî Mücadele'ye hizmeti geçmiş olan ve kendisinin sevmediği adamları bile övdü. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 315)

[For the first time, he (Mustafa Kemal Pasha) did not tease and belittle anyone. He even praised the men who served to National Struggle but he does not like.]

Halide Edib indicates that the Independence Tribunals of the 1920s and *Nutuk* were used as tools to eliminate or defame the opponents of Mustafa Kemal Pasha. For example, after she cites a scene between Mustafa Kemal Pasha and Colonel Arif³³ where the Colonel reassures Pasha that they will have the victory, Halide Edib raises the following question:

Did he [Colonel Arif] realize that the time would come when he himself would be sent to an ignominious and undeserved death by this comrade of his youth [Mustafa Kemal Pasha]? (Edib, 1928, p. 294)

³³ Colonel Arif was a friend of Mustafa Kemal Pasha from military school. He arrived in Samsun together with Mustafa Kemal in 1919 and served in the National Struggle.

In another scene, Mustafa Kemal Pasha asks Colonel Arif to read their futures from their palms, and Colonel reads Pasha's and Halide Edib's palms and says glorious things about their future. Edib ends the scene with a similar question which she asks herself:

I wonder if he [Colonel Arif] ever looked at his own palm, if he ever dreamed of the sinister end which his great friend with the tiger-like paw kept in store for him! (Edib, 1928, p. 305)

This friend with the tiger-like paw was Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and Colonel Arif was accused of an assassination attempt on Kemal in İzmir. In 1926, he was executed by the Independence Tribunals and apparently, Mustafa Kemal Pasha approved of this execution despite their close friendship.

Halide Edib labels the verdicts of the tribunals as “human slaughter” and asks further questions which are also among the non-translated parts of the *Ordeal*:

Is the great change in Turkey enough to justify the human slaughter which was carried out by the tribunals of independence in 1925-26? How much of it was necessary for reform, and how much of it an excuse for removing political enemies? Are all changes smeared with so much blood in history? No doubt they are, but the İsmet Pasha I knew in those days was not a man of blood. I know nothing about the İsmet Pasha of to-day, and probably I will never see him again, but I do want to believe that things might have been worse if he had not been there to moderate the cruelty of his chief. (Edib, 1928, p. 346)

Obviously, the omission of this part in the Turkish version also means the omission of Edib's critical stance towards the tribunals.

In the *Ordeal*, Halide Edib describes İsmet Pasha's status as a “buffer state between Mustafa Kemal Pasha and those whom he might easily have offended to the disadvantage of the cause” (p. 297). İsmet Pasha was a close friend of Mustafa

Kemal Pasha but even in this friendship Mustafa Kemal Pasha had a more dominant position which affected İsmet Pasha's relations to others.

Before Mustafa Kemal Pasha had entered Colonel İsmet's life with his all-absorbing personality Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha had been his greatest and dearest friend. (Edib, 1928, p. 203)

This part reads in the Turkish version as:

Duyduğuma göre, Miralay İsmet, Mustafa Kemal Paşa ile çalışmadan önce Kâzım Karabekir'in en yakın arkadaşıymış. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 179)

[According to what I have heard, Colonel İsmet was the best friend of Kâzım Karabekir before he had started to work with Mustafa Kemal Pasha.]

In this quote, Edib's description of "all-absorbing personality" of Mustafa Kemal Pasha is important, but it was not translated. Considering the socio-political facts of the late 1950s as summarized in the beginning of this chapter, it was not possible to write anything that suggested negative implications related to Mustafa Kemal. However, Edib describes him as an ungrateful friend who has mistrust of most people. She repeats that Mustafa Kemal did not trust Colonel Fahreddine on a couple of occasions (Edib, 1928, p. 137) or that he could not hide his defiance and suspicion of Colonel Refet (p. 43). Another figure mentioned in the *Ordeal* is Cami Bey, who had been introduced by Halide Edib as a faithful supporter of Mustafa Kemal in the Assembly. Yet, when he was severely criticized by the Assembly, Mustafa Kemal did not defend him, about which Edib writes that "This was Mustafa Kemal Pasha's first hit below the belt, and he conceived a strong dislike for the man whom he had hit" (Edib, 1928, p. 184). She also implies that Cami Bey was the first but not the last one to be sacrificed by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. In addition to the restrictions of the protection law, presumably the target readers, i.e., the general Turkish public, would

not welcome these kinds of negative comments about Mustafa Kemal, and, as can be inferred from the examples above, this situation may have created an ideological embargo on Halide Edib.

In addition to the personal relations of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, there are also scenes in which Halide Edib draws a vivid picture of him with different metaphors. We see that most of these scenes are not ‘complete’ in the Turkish version, thus non-translation once again appears to be a strategy employed by Edib. After their first meeting in Ankara, Halide Edib compares Mustafa Kemal to a lighthouse lantern to refer to his complex personality. In the *Ordeal*, this part reads:

... this first interview would have been disappointing if I had thought that I could take in Mustafa Kemal Pasha at a first meeting. His mind is two-sided, like a lighthouse lantern. Sometimes it flashes and shows you what it wants you to see with almost blinding clearness; sometimes it wanders and gets itself lost in the dark. This evening the dark side was evident. And as I listened to him I was lost, for he showed none of the clarity I had expected of him, both from his letters and from the prompt and decisive steps he had taken in the quick and dizzily moving panorama of the first days of the revolution. (Edib, 1928, p. 128)

Edib’s rendition is as below:

İlk görüşte onu anlamak güçtü. Mustafa Kemal Paşa deniz fenerlerini hatırlatıyordu. Işık saldıđı zaman göz kamaştıracak kadar parlak, fakat ışık söndüğü zaman bir şey görmek ihtimali yok. Bu ilk konuşmada onu anlamak kabil değildi. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 137)

[It was difficult to understand him at first sight. Mustafa Kemal Paşa reminded me of lighthouses. When it sparks it is bright enough to dazzle, but when it goes dark it is impossible to see anything. It was not possible to understand him from very first conversation.]

Even the lengths of both versions reveal that Halide Edib only partially translated this description. In terms of the content, it is obvious that she kept the metaphor but did not expand on it in Turkish as she did in English. Furthermore, her thoughts regarding their first meeting are completely left out.

And I thought to myself: “This man is either hopelessly confused or too complicated to be understood at once.” I wanted to believe the latter, so I slept. (Edib, 1928, p. 128)

In her self-translation, Halide Edib avoids translating the parts which have adverse implications related to Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Even when she translates the metaphors like above, she does not explain or comment on them.

Here is another example; a scene where Edib compares Mustafa Kemal to George Washington and Napoleon:

He [Mustafa Kemal Pasha] was by turns cynical, suspicious, unscrupulous and satanically shrewd. He bullied, he indulged in cheap street-corner heroics. Possessing considerable though quite undistinguished histrionic ability, one moment he could pass as the perfect demagogue-a second George Washington-and the next moment fall into some Napoleonic attitude. Sometimes he would appear weak and an abject coward, sometimes exhibit strength and daring of the highest order. (Edib, 1928, p. 185)

This part read in the Turkish version as below

Mustafa Kemal Paşa, fikrini yürütmek için her nevi sistemi kullanıyor, zaman zaman, bir George Washington tavrı alıyor, bazan da Napoléon havası yaratıyordu. (Adivar, 2016, p. 171)

[Mustafa Kemal Pasha used all kinds of systems to apply his ideas, sometimes he adopted an attitude of George Washington and sometimes he created a Napoleonic atmosphere.]

In this quote, Edib’s emphasis lies on two different sides of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but due to the non-translated parts both at the beginning and at the end, the overall

message of the passage seems to be changed. In English, Edib challenges the supreme image of Mustafa Kemal Pasha, but she gets a much more neutral position in Turkish.

In the following lines, she continues to comment on Mustafa Kemal Pasha's personality:

... [T]here were men around him who were greatly his superior in intellect and moral backbone, and far above him culture and education. But though he excelled them in neither refinement nor originality, not one of them could possibly cope with his vitality. Whatever their qualities, they were made on a more or less normal scale. In terms of vitality, he wasn't. And it was this alone that made him the dominant figure. (Edib, 1928, p. 185)

This part is translated into Turkish in a similar vein mentioned above:

Fakat, ilim sahasında çok yüksek olanlar bile onun kudretine yaklaşamazlardı. İnsan tabiatının en zeki bir mümessili olan Mustafa Kemal Paşa daima mevkiini muhafaza edebildi. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 171)

[But, even those who were very high in scholarly fields could not reach the level of his might. As the most intelligent representative of human kind, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was always able to keep his position.]

Again, the comparison between Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the others is lost in Edib's self-translation. In the Turkish version, Edib prefers to lay her emphasis on his intelligence instead of his vitality. The following lines of this passage are completely left out by Halide Edib in translation.

Take any man from the street who is shrewd, selfish, and utterly unscrupulous, give him the insistence and histrionics of a hysterical woman who is willing to employ any wile to satisfy her inexhaustible desires, then view him through the largest magnifying glass you can find – and you'll see Mustafa Kemal Pasha. (Edib, 1928, p. 185)

Mustafa Kemal Pasha's comparison to the image of a hysterical woman and all negative adjectives describing his personality would have been unacceptable for Turkish readers in 1962 and they probably still would be unacceptable today.

In another scene which does not appear in the Turkish version, this time Halide Edib compares Mustafa Kemal Pasha to Çerkez Ethem³⁴.

I could not help thinking that it was not the famous soldiers or the intelligentsia in Angora who put Mustafa Kemal Pasha in the shade, but this fantastic-looking simple Circassian fighter. And, naturally, I could not help comparing and contrasting them, for a future clash between Edhem representing irregular methods and Mustafa Kemal Pasha representing disciplined methods appeared to be quite possible. (Edib, 1928, p. 168)

Edib might have thought that comparing Mustafa Kemal Pasha to such a rebellion would be unacceptable for Turkish reader as it would be considered an insult.

Among the non-translated parts of the *Ordeal*, the scenes where Halide Edib questions the power that Mustafa Kemal Pasha held and his self-opinionated attitude in his political decisions are highly significant. She presents Mustafa Kemal as an ambitious commander with a huge ego and who criticizes every single man in the army except for himself and who always follows his own way.

Besides, Mustafa Kemal Pasha always asked for everybody else's opinion as well as mine, and in action followed that which was in agreement with his own vies. (Edib, 1928, p. 158)

In addition, Halide Edib questions the infinite power of Mustafa Kemal Pasha which was given to him by the Assembly. Surprisingly, however, she did not 'avoid' translating the parts where she describes him as a dictator:

³⁴ Çerkez Ethem was a Circassian-originated soldier in the Turkish irregular army. He refused to join the regular army during the Independence War and revolted. Thus, he has been known as a traitor until recently.

On August 5, 1921, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was elected as the “Bash-Commandan” (generalissimo) and became a kind of military dictator, invested for a time with the full power of the assembly. (Edib, 1928, p. 281)

The Turkish version reads:

5 Ağustos 1921’de Mustafa Kemal Paşa Başkumandan, yani bir nevî bütün kudrete sahip askerî bir diktatör olarak Büyük Millet Meclisi tarafından seçildi. (Adivar, 2016, p. 230)

[On 5 August 1921, Mustafa Kemal Pasha was elected by the Great Assembly as commander-in-chief, in other words as a military dictator who owns all the power.]

Contrary to the previous examples, this passage is translated into Turkish completely, but in another scene with Mustafa Kemal Pasha when he offered to give his cape to Halide Edib, her thoughts would not be translated:

When he put it [the cape] on my shoulders I had a vision of the great man in Turkish history—a vision even the figure of the present dictator cannot entirely efface. (Edib, 1928, p. 390)

She clearly describes the president of the Republic of Turkey in 1928 as a dictator. Nonetheless, she does not seem to be willing to repeat this throughout her self-translation of the *Ordeal*.

Edib was also worried about the political power of Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his vindictive attitude towards other commanders, as can be inferred from the passage below:

We were at the very beginning of the final realization of our dream. Was he going to use his power, a power achieved at the cost of such national sacrifice, for petty grudges? He deserved the highest price he could ask from the nation for his services; but this desire for revenge for political purposes expressed so early was nauseating. (Edib, 1928, p. 355)

The passage sounds rather positive in the Turkish version:

Nihayet gayemize ulaşıyorduk. Bu kadar büyük bir millî fedakârlıktan sonra O, milletin en büyük mükâfatını hak etmişti. (Adivar, 2016, p. 290)

[Finally, we were achieving our goal. After such a national sacrifice he had deserved the biggest reward of the nation.]

In the above example, the representation of Mustafa Kemal Pasha is changed because of the non-translated parts to the extent that the tone shifts from negative to completely positive. In the *Ordeal*, Halide Edib reminds her readers that Mustafa Kemal Pasha owes his power to his nation and their sacrifice, and implies that he has a dark side guided by a desire for revenge. In the Turkish version, on the other hand, she only appreciates his leadership without translating any of the negative comments.

In light of these examples, it can be argued that Halide Edib preferred to mute her criticism of Mustafa Kemal Pasha in her self-translation, and holds a position which is closer to publicly accepted image of the ‘Turks’ great leader’.

6.2 Parts on ethnic identities

The Ottoman Empire had a cosmopolitan community; people who belonged to different ethnic and religious groups were living together. After the Great War, these groups started to diverge due to nationalist movements, and conflicts between them became a matter of debate for a long time.

The Turkish War of Independence was also a National Struggle against Allied forces. As a reflection of this, Halide Edib’s narrative in the *Ordeal* also has a nationalist voice and it reveals her point of view on other ethnic and religious groups in the Ottoman Empire. The non-translated parts of the *Ordeal* related to this issue are also important to see the evolution of the political viewpoint of Halide Edib through time.

In the first part of the *Ordeal* Halide Edib presents a few incidents from the Ottoman society that she witnessed and underlines the nationality of the characters, presenting them accordingly as Greek, Armenian, or Christian. In the Turkish version, however, she generally presents them using the generic word *azınlık* [minority]. Below is an example:

With the entry of the Allied armies, the insolence of the Greeks and the Armenians and the treatment of the peaceful Turkish citizens in the streets became scandalous. (Edib, 1928, p. 4)

The Turkish version reads:

Müttefik kuvvetlerinin İstanbul'a girişi ile bir kısım azınlıklar sokaklarda barış içinde yaşamaya alışmış olan Türk vatandaşlarına çok kötü muamele etmeye başladılar. (Adivar, 2016, pp. 19-20)

[A group of minorities started to treat Turkish citizens who used to live peacefully in the streets, very badly.]

After the Treaty of Lausanne, *azınlık* [minority] has been used to describe both non-Muslims and non-Turkish citizens of the Republic of Turkey (Oran, 2014, pp. 30-31). Since the word makes ethnic identities invisible, it might have been preferred to prevent further discussions or conflict between the groups years after the war. This might have been Edib's intention, as well.

In the *Ordeal*, Halide Edib narrates various incidents and prefers to summarize some of these in the Turkish version. In the first chapter of the *Ordeal*, she reports a scene in a ferry where a Greek Lady argues with the conductor to be able to travel in first class. Here, Edib writes the dialogues of the scene in detail; the Greek lady swears at the Turkish passengers and displays impudent behaviors. Even though her portrayal does not represent the whole Greek community, she leaves a bad impression on the reader. In her self-translation, Edib prefers to summarize the issue

without going into detail; the reaction of the passengers is also missing.

For instance, a Cretan woman gets involved in the argument, and Edib's comment on her in the *Ordeal* is rather interesting:

Evidently she was one of the Cretan Moslems (whose mother tongue is Greek). No Moslem hates the Greek as a Cretan. Having suffered from the Greek oppression in Crete and having seen frequent Moslem massacres, the Cretan is as bitter against the Greek as the Armenian is bitter against the Turk. (Edib, 1928, p. 8)

Here, Edib reminds the readers that Greek oppression in West Anatolia in the 1920s was not the first instance; Cretan Moslems had also suffered from Greek oppression. But, she did not translate this information into Turkish. She reports unpleasant incidents of the war both in Turkish and English, but her narration in the latter is much more detailed and has a stronger effect in terms of literariness.

The *Ordeal* and its self-translation into Turkish are also important to trace Halide Edib's point of view on the Armenian issue. In the *Ordeal*, Edib holds a position which is clearly confirming the official nationalist narrative of the state. On the other hand, because of the non-translated parts, it is more difficult to say that she continues to hold the same position in the Turkish version. Even so, her political status on this issue is important to understand her nationalist transition. Halide Edib who wrote an apology letter after the Adana incidents in 1909, and criticized Ottoman politicians due to their violent executions in 1916, holds a totally different position in the *Ordeal*.

At the end of the first chapter of the *Ordeal*, Edib reports that there were several Turkish orphanages in Anatolia, which were accused of taking Armenian children and making them Muslim. In response to this accusation, Edib writes that some of the Armenian children were registered in Turkish orphanages, while some of

them were adopted by Turkish families who did not have any missionary motives, and the rest were taken by the Americans (Edib,1928, p. 16).

Moreover, Edib complains that Armenians were taking Turkish orphans and forced them to act as if they were Armenian, either by persuasion or threats or hypnotism, so that they could be registered in Armenian orphanages (Edib, 1928, p. 17). Halide Edib presents the incidents that she personally witnessed or that she heard from Nezihe and Nakiye Hanım, who both served as the general secretary of Turkish women's Red Crescent. For three full pages, she writes about the Turkish children who were registered as Armenian and then managed to run away (p. 18). Nevertheless, in the Turkish version Edib writes about the situation of these orphanages without providing details and comments. She only mentions that there was a disagreement between Turks and Armenians on the issue of orphanages.

In the second chapter of the *Ordeal*, Halide Edib visits Colonel Heathcote Smythe³⁵ to discuss the situation of the orphans. She states,

... [I] told him about the friction between the Armenians and the Turks over this question of children, and that there was a possibility of worse things if the Christians went on taking Turkish children in this way. (Edib, 1928, p. 52)

In the Turkish version, this mention is rendered as below:

Ona, bu Ermeni-Türk yetimleri meselesinin Türklerle azınlıklar arasında nasıl bir vaziyet doğuracağını anlattım. (Adivar, 2016, p. 63)

[I explained to him what sort of consequences this issue of Armenian and Turkish orphans would result in among the minorities and the Turks.]

In the English version, Edib's emphasis is on religion, she underlines the fact that Armenians, who are Christians, were taking Muslim children and changing their

³⁵ Colonel Heathcote Smythe was a British soldier who held an influential position in occupied Istanbul.

religion. On the other hand, in her self-translation, she does not give much detail but points to a possible contradiction between Turks and Armenians, yet substituting Armenian with the word “azınlıklar” [minorities].

Giving information about the status of Anatolia, which was occupied by the Allied forces after the Armistice of Moudros, Edib also mentions an important detail in the *Ordeal*.

Adana, decimated by the massacres conducted by the Armenian legions armed by the French, wanted to protest (Edib, 1928, p. 58)

The Turkish translation of the sentence is as follows:

Adana’da Ermeni-Türk kıtali devam ediyordu. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 65)

[In Adana, Armenian-Turkish battle continues.]

The relation between Armenians and the French Army is lost in translation. There is no information indicating that Armenians were taking ammunition from the French. Moreover, the Arabic rooted word *kital* [massacre] emphasizes that the massacre had two sides, and people were killing each other, whereas in the English the narration is accusatory of Armenians, explicitly saying “the massacres [were] conducted by the Armenian legions”. In the Turkish version, the word *kital* is explained with a footnote by the editor because it is not used in modern Turkish anymore, and it is defined as “killing each other” (Adıvar, 2016, p. 65).

In another non-translated part, Edib writes about a report on South Anatolia which was prepared by Dr. Gates³⁶ for the Paris Peace Conference. After his trip to Adana region, Dr. Gates prepares the report in which he stated that Armenians were a minority in the region, and that it was therefore impossible to build an Armenia in

³⁶ Dr. Gates was the head of NER (Near East Relief) activities in the Ottoman Empire and the president of Robert College in Istanbul in 1918 (Uyanık, 2016, p. 104).

South Anatolia. This report of Dr. Gates was severely criticized in Paris by the Armenian press, as Edib writes in the *Ordeal*:

The Armenian press was furious, never realizing that his declaration, if listened to in Paris, would prevent a tragedy in the unfolding of which the Armenians as well as Turks would suffer. Dr. Gates failed to get a hearing in Paris, where the Peace Conference was in preparation. The “Down with the Turk!” cry drowned every voice which spoke truth. (Edib, 1928, p. 11)

The passage is translated into Turkish by Edib as below:

Tabii, buna karşı Ermeni basını çok şiddetli bir dil kullandı. Ne yazık ki, Dr. Gates sözlerini Paris’te hazırlanan Barış Konferansı’nda dinlemedi. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 26)

[Of course, the Armenian press used a fierce language against this. Unfortunately, Dr. Gates could not make people listen to his words in the Peace Conference that was in preparation in Paris.]

Edib translated most of the passage without much change or omission; however, her emphasis at the end of the sentence does not appear in Turkish. She underlines that Dr. Gates’ report was telling the truth which was ignored by the West. These small details in the wording can be considered to further reveal Halide Edib’s adoption of ‘toning down’ strategy in the Turkish version.

6.3 Parts on personal remarks and notes

Compared to the *Ordeal*, the Turkish version, *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı*, seems to be closer to a memoir rather than an autobiography, since Halide Edib omitted the parts where she sincerely and more openly wrote about her personal feelings and thoughts, and her political comments.

The *Ordeal* is important in revealing Halide Edib’s representation of herself to the foreign readers. As Hülya Adak (2003) argues, it can be read as a text of self-

defense where Halide Edib regains her agency and displays her pivotal role in The Turkish War of Independence (p. 511). In the *Ordeal*, Edib tries to define her role and her close status to Mustafa Kemal as much as possible. This effort is much clearer in English. She writes how they were represented in the foreign press:

... [A]n American journalist representing the “Chicago Tribune”, a young and pleasant man named Williams, arrived in Angora and had an interview with Mustafa Kemal Pasha. I naturally interpreted for them. Before he left the room he took Mustafa Kemal Pasha’s photograph. Next day he took mine at the farm. When the film was developed the pictures were superimposed so that I appeared behind Mustafa Kemal Pasha against a background of a single cypress. Williams showed it to me and said laughingly, “The woman behind Kemal.” Strangely enough, although he promised not to publish the funny thing, it appeared in several papers under the title “The Woman Behind Kemal.” (Edib, 1928, p. 142)

This incident is summarized and translated into Turkish as below:

O aralık Ankara’ya *Chicago Tribune*’ün muhabiri William adında biri gelmişti. Bizim resimlerimizi aldı. Bunlar muhtelif Amerikan gazetelerinde basıldı. (Adıvar, 2016, p. 147)

[At that time a journalist of Chicago Tribune named William came to Ankara. He took our photographs. Those were published in several American newspapers.]

Presenting such a scene, she proved to her reader that she was important for Mustafa Kemal Pasha and the struggle, since she was the voice of the Struggle which could be heard abroad.

On the other hand, from the following passage, it can also be inferred that Edib was not able to influence Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his decisions, referring to the unfounded news in the foreign press.

There has been a great deal of nonsense published since in the foreign papers about my being the woman behind Mustafa Kemal Pasha, and it has been stated that I even influenced his strategic decisions. That is entirely untrue. (Edib, 1928, p. 158)

Even though, Edib writes that she did not influence Mustafa Kemal Pasha and his decisions, her introducing such an incident can be considered an attempt to underline her position and close relation with Mustafa Kemal Pasha in the 1920s. Yet, while this was presented as an ordinary incident in Turkish/Turkey, the news about her was not mentioned at all. It is difficult to verify the reason why Edib did not translate these parts, but it might be assumed that she did not prefer to be part of a polemic.

Another noteworthy point is that the image of Edib in the *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihani* is closer to an independent third person narrator rather than a narrator who is also owner of the story. For instance, regarding the shooting of her dog, Edib wrote in detail how she felt and its cathartic effect on her with a vivid description in English.

I lay down with my face to the carpet, and the report of the gun opened the floodgates which I had kept closed for so long. I marveled that so much salt water could have accumulated behind my eyes: it came not as drops, but in a steady stream. But afterward, in spite of being utterly worn out, I felt relieved as though something hard and bitter which I had been pretending to ignore had now dissolved and left me free from it. (Edib, 1928, p. 212)

This vivid description disappears in the Turkish version, since many of the details are not translated:

İyi hatırlarım onu vurmaya götürdükleri zaman, yere yüzükoyun yatmış, kulaklarımı tıkamış, bir çocuk gibi ağlamıştım. (Adivar, 2016, p. 183)

[I remember well; when they took him for shooting, I laid down, closed my ears and cried like a child.]

In the Turkish version, it can be seen that Edib only informs the readers about the incident and does not comment on it much, unlike in the English version.

In contrast with the early years of her life, Halide Edib had to live under difficult conditions in the 1920s as did many people in Anatolia; sometimes she could not even find a proper mattress to sleep on or enough food to eat. After the first victory of Turkish army in İnönü War, Halide Edib went to Eskişehir to visit the wounded in the hospitals. She stayed in Madame Tadia's hotel in Eskişehir and when she saw herself in a mirror after a long time, the reader hears how she became a stranger to herself.

I forgot to examine the mattress to see whether it had a spring or not in my anxiety to prevent Yoldash from smashing the mirror, from which an enormous dog was growling at him in a frightful rage. I did not blame Yoldash, who had never seen a mirror in his life: his resentment was natural. For even I, who had been so familiar with big mirrors all my life, had forgotten what it felt like to see myself in one. And the sudden appearance of a woman in black with high boots made me stare back at her with a resentment equal to her own. She seemed to be a stranger thrust into the intimacy of my room. Leaving Yoldash in Fatish's care, I walked to the Red Crescent hospital. (Edib, 1928, p. 240)

Every single sentence Edib wrote about herself would count as a brick of her image, which she constructs for the foreign readers in 1928. On the other hand, it can be said that since she had already constructed one in the Turkish context in the 1960s, she may have not preferred to present the Halide Edib in the 1920s. And that is why she might have translated the above passage into Turkish as follows:

Yoldaş'ı duvardaki aynaya hücum etmekten zor alıkoyabildik. Çünkü ömründe ilk defa ayna görüyordu. Ben Yoldaş'ı, Fatiş'in yanına bırakarak Hilâl-i Ahmer Hastahanesi'ne gittim. (Adıvar, 2016, pp. 200-201)

[We barely prevent Yoldaş from attacking the mirror because it was the first time that he saw a mirror. I left Yoldaş with Fatiş and went to Red Crescent hospital.]

Another day at the same hotel, she saw a newspaper reporting Salih Zeki's (Halide Edib's first husband) death. Here is how she describes the scene and her feelings:

... I took up the papers from Istamboul and glanced at them rather absent-mindedly. "Great loss," "The death of a savant," dominated a page. I read a few lines without understanding, but I had an uneasy feeling in me somewhere . . . Salih Zeki Bey had died . . . the father of my sons had died . . . (Edib, 1928, p. 264)

As soon as she reads the news, Halide Edib remembers her marriage with Salih Zeki Bey and writes these lines as in a stream of consciousness for the next three pages. She ingeniously expresses how she loved him and their marriage, while in the Turkish version she only gives the rather 'dryly' expressed information that Salih Zeki Bey had passed away and it was in the newspapers (Adivar, 2016, p. 219).

Neither did she translate or completely translate the parts where she had written about her sons and her memories with them. In the *Ordeal*, Edib sometimes remembers them and gets emotional, but this aspect of Halide Edib is not visible in the Turkish version. Below is an example of a passage that is not translated into Turkish:

It was exactly what my little Hassan used to do when he was three: watch his brother's bed stealthily, then jumped into my bed and curl himself up against my shoulder like a puppy. I put my hands over my eyes to restrain the tears which welled up at this thought. (Edib, 1928, p. 195)

Halide Edib not only omits her feelings or her notes on her private life, but also some of her political comments.

For instance, in the *Ordeal*, presenting a comparative analysis of regular and irregular Turkish forces, she writes that the nationalist movement did not have to fight only against the Allied forces. There were local groups who were armed and

supporting the Caliphate and the Istanbul government, and the regular army was not able to control them.

It was clear that a regular army was an unreliable instrument, as it would not fight with the reactionaries who were threatening to bring the Nationalist resistance to an end. (Edib, 1928, p. 156)

In addition, she underlines the fact that some commanders were not supporting the idea of a regular army:

But, strange to say, the feeling against the formation of a regular army was expressed even by very distinguished soldiers. They contended that a regular army was not only useless in civil war, but also of no value for fighting the Greek army; it was impossible to raise and equip the regular forces necessary to expel the large army of occupation. (Edib, 1928, p. 157)

The conditions in the regular army were really difficult; they did not have adequate equipment or armament. Edib reports that they were trying to make the impossible happen under very difficult conditions:

And the regulars were badly clad and irregularly paid, besides being under a rigid discipline. Any poor and shabby private could desert his battalion and join the irregulars, where an excellent equipment, a good horse, a silver-mounted whip, a belt of shining cartridges, a better and regular pay, as well as an easier life, awaited him. Why should any one be a regular soldier under such conditions? (Edib, 1928, p. 231)

In the Turkish version, all these passages regarding the regular army are omitted. It should be noted that the army is considered almost sacred in the Turkish culture. Even after the war, the difficult conditions of compulsory military service have been presented as a school, where men learn to protect their nation and country, and become a 'real' man afterwards. If it is also considered that the army, whose roots belong to the regular army of the war time, was in power after the coup in 1960, any

negative comment even when referring to the past would not be welcomed by the Turkish community.

Against the backdrop of the examples presented above, it can be concluded that Halide Edib avoids translating the parts where she displays her personal comments, thoughts or observations; and when she does translate these parts, she tends to erase her signature and presents the information as if it were a general opinion on the matter.

6.4 Target reader-oriented details

When Halide Edib decided to write her memoirs in English, her position as an author concomitantly expanded to an author-translator. As discussed in Chapter Four, *The Turkish Ordeal* may be considered a self-translation, whereby Halide Edib translated her memoirs of the Turkish War of Independence as well as the Turkish culture and history. Thus, in the *Ordeal*, it is perhaps not surprising to see that Halide Edib explains every culture specific detail or information to the foreign, English-speaking readers.

Edib must have assumed that her target readers in English naturally have no or little information about Turkish heroes of the war, the Turkish culture or language in general. She, therefore, writes long and detailed descriptions of people to help her reader to visualize them. Below are a couple of examples:

[Colonel Refet] His face was as thin and strong as his slim, wiry, and rather elegant military figure. His head was very large and handsomely covered with gray hair. Energy of an unusual quality sparkled from his face, his eyes, his movement; and head, hair and hands all talked together with dramatic gestures. His clothes were faultlessly cut, his spurs and buttons flashed, his boots were of the shiniest patent leather, his whole attire just glowed with fastidiousness. (Edib, 1928, p. 132)

[Major Nazim] He was a dapper man who just radiated energy. He wore the blue uniform of the artillery, to which he belonged, and his large blue eyes with very black lashes laughed at you with a good deal of human and common sense. (Edib, 1928, p. 226)

[Colonel Arif] The same slim, rather elegant figure, the same lines of the head, the same cynical curve on the thin-lipped and tightly closed mouth. But Colonel Arif's relaxed on the corners, and the cheek-bones and the square chin were less formidable. The same blue eyes, but they protruded slightly and were not so pale. (Edib, 1928, p. 288)

Moreover, she updates the readers about the political environment in Turkey by providing them with the current political positions of former commanders in 1928: "Colonel Ismet (the present prime minister)", "Major Husrev, the deputy from Trebizond (the present Turkish minister to Bulgaria)", "Captain Redgeb (the present minister of national defense)", etc. It can be safely assumed that Edib did not find it necessary to give this information to Turkish readers, who were already familiar with the all characters who had taken part in the struggle, and their political backgrounds.

On the lexical level, Halide Edib preferred to use some Turkish phrases and idioms in her narration, and writes them as they were pronounced.

"Buda Gecher." (This also will pass.) (Edib, 1928, p. 9)

"Allaha Ismarladik, Hanum Teizé" (Good-by, Lady Aunt) (p. 54)

"Haidi Ogloum, Haidi Ogloum" (Come along, my son, come along, my son) (p. 55)

"Allah Selamet Virsoun, Allah Yolunizi Achik itsoun" (May Allah give you peace, may Allah open your ways) (p. 110)

In this way, her narration becomes more vivid and realistic, which is vital for a memoir, but they are to be translated for the reader, and, therefore, Halide Edib explains these culture specific terms within parentheses (i.e., translates the Turkish

phrases into English). Naturally, these explanations are also among the non-translated parts in the Turkish version.

Edib does not translate the English idioms into Turkish, either. Or, when she does, she substitutes the idiom with a Turkish phrase and gives its explanation as she did with the phrases above. For example,

He immediately took up the I-have-swallowed-a-walking-stick- I-am-forced-to-stand-straight-and-rigid attitude which is the military salute. (Edib, 1928, p. 324)

This part is simply translated as “Selâm verdi. (He saluted.)” (Adivar, 2016, p. 263).

Additionally, the proper names of well-known restaurants or neighborhoods, as well as some Turkish words which she uses as they pronounced in Turkish are also explained in parentheses by Edib, the self-translator.

Tokatlian (a well-known Armenian restaurant in Pera) (Edib, 1928, p. 5)

Emin-Eunu (Istamboul side of the bridge) (p. 9)

“Son Teltgraph” (a Turkish daily published in 1924) (p. 60)

caique (a kind of small gondola on the Bosphorus) (p. 84)

... to cheer him up I told him about Halime and her *couma* – the rival or the second wife is called the *couma* in Anatolia. (p. 219)

These examples indicate that Halide Edib catered her memoirs to the two different target readers. It is clear that the assumed cultural background of the readers and the distance between the two cultures were instrumental in determining Edib’s decisions in her self-translation, *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihani*.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In this thesis, my aim was to demonstrate the ideological embargo on Halide Edib and her self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* into Turkish, and to draw attention to the impact of the socio-political conditions of the target culture/reader on the translation and the (self-)translator, which led to non-translation in my case.

As is well-known, Halide Edib is mostly known for her author identity in the Turkish context. My purpose; however, was to focus on her as a (self-)translator. Accordingly, I set out by presenting the literature review and briefly introduced the works of scholars, which foreground her translation(s) and her identity as a (self-)translator. These studies examine Halide Edib's works from different perspectives but they meet at a common ground, which indicates and emphasizes that there are omissions and/or self-censorship in Halide Edib's self-translations. The reason(s) behind this 'incomplete' (self-)translations, on the other hand, is not discussed in detail; neither they are problematized from translation-based perspective.

Following this introduction and literature review, in Chapter Two, I presented my theoretical and methodological framework. The concept of "self-translation" helped me to discuss Halide Edib's works from two different, but complementary perspectives. First, I considered *The Turkish Ordeal* itself, as a self-translation of Halide Edib, where she translates her memoirs from her mother tongue while writing in a second language; i.e. English. Secondly, as Rainier Grutman's (2009) definition of self-translation suggests, Halide Edib translated her memoir, which she wrote in English in 1928, into Turkish in 1960. That is to say, she is, literally speaking, the

translator of her own work. Additionally, I highlighted some principles of autobiography writing in relation with self-translation, since these two types of narratives are both associated with the representation of the individual self. Another concept that I dwelled on in the second chapter was “non-translation”. With reference to Sevim Yılmaz’s (2007) and Ceyda Elgül’s (2011) studies, I assumed the period between 1928 and 1960, during which the translation of *The Turkish Ordeal* was absent in Turkish, as non-translation. In the comparative textual analysis of *The Turkish Ordeal* and *Türk’ün Ateşle İmtihanı*, I also benefitted from the concept of non-translation when focusing on the omitted and/or shortened parts.

In Chapter Three, I presented a short biography of Halide Edib, which focuses on certain events in her life and demonstrates her education, intellectual and political status. My aim was to contextualize her life-story within the socio-cultural history of Turkey that I presented in the following chapters. In this chapter, I also focused on Halide Edib as a (self-)translator and introduced her translations. I believe her translator identity has been overshadowed by her author identity, and because of this situation her representation remains incomplete in the history of Turkish literature, too.

In Chapter Four, I presented an overview on Turkey in the late 1910s and 1920s in relation with Halide Edib’s literary and political status at that time. Particularly I focused on her decision to live abroad, in other words her “voluntary” exile, and the reasons behind it. My findings revealed that it was not an official or state-enforced exile; however, the political and ideological conditions in the late 1920s and her representation as a “traitor” in *Nutuk [The Speech]* made it impossible for her to live and write in Turkey. Thus, Halide Edib and her husband, Dr. Adnan Bey, preferred to stay abroad for a long time. During this period, Halide Edib did not

quit writing, and she mostly wrote in English. As has been claimed by some scholars, Halide Edib's writing in English, especially *The Turkish Ordeal*, is laden with a critical tone which cannot be heard in Turkish. And this is a highly significant, which I believe, needed to be further problematized. Since I consider writing in a second language as a self-translation, in the rest of the chapter I focused on the relation between autobiography and self-translation in the case of *The Turkish Ordeal*. A close reading of the source text revealed that Halide Edib *translated* most of the cultural elements of the Turkish society in which she used to live, and explained culture-bound signifiers for her foreign readers. Furthermore, with reference to Hülya Adak's (2003) argument, I focused on *The Turkish Ordeal* as a "self-defense" narration. The way Halide Edib presented her individual self as an active agent in the National Struggle, and her visual representation both in the *Asia* magazine and in the book clearly proved that her memoir was a 'response' and 'reaction' to the accusations in *Nutuk*.

In Chapter Five, I started with presenting the historical background of Turkey from 1939 to the 1960s. Even though Halide Edib returned to Turkey in 1939, she did not translate *The Turkish Ordeal* until 1960. I discussed the 'non-translation' of *The Turkish Ordeal* in this period and tried to explain the ideological embargo on the author, which stemmed from the dominant ideology in Turkey. Due to the same ideological embargo, as my analysis revealed, Halide Edib omitted some specific parts of her source text, as a result of which her translation lost its critical tone. In this context, I examined the representation of Halide Edib in *Hayat* magazine which published various photographs of Edib, and (re-)introduced her as a 'patriot' in contrast to her representation in the late 1920s.

In the last chapter, I presented my findings of the comparative analysis of the source and target texts and focused on the non-translated parts under four sub-titles; a) the parts on Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, b) the parts on ethnic identities and their representation, c) the parts on Halide Edib's personal remarks and notes, and d) the parts which were shaped according to the target reader.

After Mustafa Kemal Atatürk accused Halide Edib in *Nutuk* (1927) for being in favor of American mandate, Halide Edib criticized him and some of his politics in *The Turkish Ordeal* (1928). However, these parts and others which might have negative connotations about Mustafa Kemal were omitted. In addition to the law on crimes against Atatürk, the dominant ideology of the 1960s, namely Kemalism, is considered to be the reason behind the ideological embargo on Edib's translation.

In the early 1910s, Halide Edib's discourse on the minorities who were living in the Ottoman community was not nationalist. However, her political views and status clearly transformed after the Turkish War of Independence. In 1928, her narration appears to be closer to the official state narration. In the Turkish version of her memoir, Edib did not omit the parts related with Armenians or Greeks, but her nationalist emphasis did not appear in translation, either. Since minorities, and the Armenian issue were 'delicate' subjects in the 1960s, as they still are in Turkey, Halide Edib may have tried to avoid further polemics.

Halide Edib was eighty-two years old when she published *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihani* in 1964. She had already built her individual self-image in the eyes of Turkish readers. In other words, she was writing and translating for an audience who already knew her. Thus, she omitted some parts of her memoir in which she wrote about her personal feelings on some specific incidents and her political thoughts in

the 1910s and 1920s. Due to these omissions, I claim, in line with Nazan Aksoy's argument that the Turkish version turned into a memoir rather than an autobiography.

Since she was writing for a foreign audience as I previously mentioned, Halide Edib explains culture specific details or information for the English-speaking readers. On the other hand, she omitted these explanations from her self-translation, probably deciding that Turkish readers would already be familiar with the names taking part in the National Struggle, the historical background, and with other linguistic or culture specific elements.

According to the findings of this thesis, it can safely be argued that the ideological conditions of the Turkish community in the 1960s played a crucial 'transformative' role on Halide Edib's self-translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*. As a consequence of the non-translated parts of the memoir, Turkish readers are not able to read Halide Edib's thoughts and comments on various issues back in 1928. Neither does it seem possible to trace the transformation of her political status. Researchers who analyze Halide Edib and her works in Turkish without consulting the English 'originals' are, therefore, working with incomplete information. In my opinion, the most important consequence of this non-translation is that the overall message of Halide Edib's memoir has changed and turned into a discourse, which seems to be supporting or confirming the official state narration of Turkey. Today, it is not a surprise to see *Türk'ün Ateşle İmtihanı* next to *Nutuk* as a supportive text, and not as a criticism or a self-defense against it.

All in all, a complete translation of *The Turkish Ordeal*, which is still needed in Turkish, would open new grounds for further discussion on Halide Edib Adıvar, and would probably raise new questions about the other self-translations of hers.

REFERENCES

- Adak, H. (2003). National myths and self-narrations: Mustafa Kemal's *Nutuk* and "Halide Edib's *Memoirs* and *The Turkish ordeal*. *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 102(2-3), 509-528.
- Adak, H. (2004). An epic for peace. In Halide Edib, *Memoirs of Halide Edib* (pp. v-xxvii). [Introduction]. New Jersey: Gorgias Press.
- Adak, H. (2014). İkinci dünya savaşı esnasında Hint bağımsızlık hareketi: *Hindistan'a dair*'in sessizlikleri. In Halide Edib Adıvar, *Hindistan'a dair* (pp. 205-210). [Epilogue]. Istanbul: Can.
- Adak, H. (2016). *Halide Edib ve siyasal şiddet*. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Adıvar, H.E. (1944). *Edebiyatta tercümenin rolü*. Istanbul: Kenan Matbaası.
- Adıvar, H.E. (1960, January 1-May 13). Millî mücadele hatıralarından parçalar. *Hayat*. 1-20.
- Adıvar, H.E. (2016). *Türk'ün ateşle imtihanı*. Istanbul: Can.
- Adıvar, H.E. (2016b). *Mor Salkımlı Ev*. Istanbul: Can.
- Akbatur, A. (2010). *Writing/translating in/to English: The 'ambivalent' case of Elif Şafak* (Unpublished PhD thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Aksoy, N. (2009). *Kurgulanmış benlikler*. Istanbul: İletişim.
- Alangu, T. (1962, August 4). Kurtuluş Savaşı üzerine iki kitap. *Vatan*, p. 2.
- Altuğ, F. (2015). Halide Edib Türkiye'ye bakıyor. In Halide Edib Adıvar, *Türkiye'de şark-garp ve Amerikan tesirleri II* (pp. 251-256). [Epilogue]. Istanbul: Can.

- Arabođlu, A. (2015). *İki ayrı dilde iki aynı/ayrı otobiyografik yapıt üzerine etnometodoloji-çeviribilim odaklı bir inceleme: yazar/çevirmen Halide Edib* (Unpublished PhD thesis). Yıldız Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Arslan, M. (2006). *A comparative study on Halide Edip Adivar's The clown and his daughter as a rewrite* (Unpublished Master's thesis). 9 Eylül University, İzmir, Turkey.
- Atatürk, M.K. (1997). *Nutuk*. Istanbul: Atatürk Araştırma Merkezi.
- Atatürk, M.K. (1981). *A speech/ delivered by Gazi Mustafa Kemal Atatürk*. Ankara: Başbakanlık Basımevi.
- Bassnett S. (2013). Self-translator as rewriter. In Anthony Cordingley (Ed.), *Self-translation: Brokering originality in hybrid culture* (pp. 13-25). London, New York: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Bassnett S. & Trivedi H. (2002) Introduction. In Susan Bassnett & Harish Trivedi (Eds.), *Post-colonial translation: Theory and practice* (pp. 2-18). New York: Routledge.
- Çağlar, B. K. (1962, May 22). Türk'ün ateşle imtihanı. *Vatan*.
- Çalışlar, İ. (2010). *Halide Edib: Biyografisine sığmayan kadın*. Istanbul: Everest.
- Doğan, M. (1928, August 1). Haine. *Hizmet*, p. 2.
- Duarte, J.F. (2000). The politics of non-translation: A case study in Anglo-Portuguese relations. *TTR: Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 13(1), 95-112. Retrieved from <http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/037395ar>
- Durakbaşa, A. (1993). *Reappraisal of Halide Edib for a critique of Turkish modernization* (Unpublished PhD thesis). University of Essex, Colchester, England.
- Durakbaşa, A. (2014). *Halide Edib: Türk modernleşmesi ve feminizm*. Istanbul: İletişim.

- Edib, H. (1928, June-October). My share in the Turkish ordeal. *Asia*, 6-10.
- Edib, H. (1928). *The Turkish ordeal*. New York, London: The Century Co.
- Edib, H. (2004). *Memoirs of Halide Edib*. New Jersey: Gorgias Press.
- Elgül, C. (2011). *A utopian journey in Turkish: From non-translation to retranslation* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Enginün, İ. (2007). *Halide Edib Adıvar'ın eserlerinde Doğu ve Batı meselesi*. Istanbul: Dergâh.
- Erdem, Y.H. (2010). *Tarih-lenk*. Istanbul: Doğan Kitap
- Erol, S. (2003). Introduction. In Halide Edib Adıvar, *House with Wisteria* (pp. vii-xxxv). [Introduction]. Virginia: Leopolis Press.
- Even-Zohar, I. (1990). Polysystems theory. *Poetics Today*, 9, 26.
- Gökner, E. (2013). Turkish-Islamic feminism confronts national patriarchy: Halide Edib's divided self. *Journal of Middle East Women's Studies*, 9(2), 32-57.
- Grutman, R. (2009). Self-translation. In Mona Baker & Gabriela Saldanha (Eds.), *Routledge encyclopedia of translation studies* (pp. 257-260). London, New York: Routledge.
- Grutman, R. & van Bolderen, T. (2014) Self-translation. In Sandra Bermann & Catherine Porter (Eds.), *A companion to translation studies* (pp. 323-332). West Sussex: John Wiley & Sons.
- Günyol, V. (1964, February). Halide Edib'in son yılları. *Yeni Ufuklar*, 141, 1-3.
- Günyol, V. (2002). *Halide Edip beni 13 yıl sömürdü*. Interview conducted by İhsan Yılmaz on April 20, 2002. *Hürriyet*. Retrieved from <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/halide-edip-beni-13-yil-somurdu-38371674> (last accessed June 14, 2017).

- Harun, K. (1952, September 13). Milli Mücadele'nin Halide Onbaşısı. *Resimli Yirminci Asır*, 5, 8-9.
- Howarth, W.L. (1980). Some principles of autobiography. In James Olney (Ed.), *Autobiography: Essay theoretical and critical* (pp. 84-114). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Kaplan, M. (1962, June 21) Türk'ün ateşle imtihanı. *Yol*, 3, 14.
- Kılıç, A. (1952, January 1). Kılıç Ali anlatıyor. *Milliyet*, p. 7.
- Kılınç, S. (2014). *Ateşten gömlek romanının İngilizce ve Almanca çevirileri aracılığıyla Milli Mücadele'nin Avusturya, Amerika ve Hindistan'da yeniden çerçevelenmesi üzerine bir inceleme* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Okan University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Kin ve garaz, Halide hanımın bir Amerikan gazetesindeki gülünç neşriyatı. (1928, July, 25). *Akşam*.
- Kocagöz, S. (1964, February) Halide hanıma saygı. *Yeni Ufuklar*, 141, 4-7.
- Köroğlu, E. (2007) "Lost in nationalist translation: Configurations, appropriations, and translations of history in Halide Edip Adıvar's *The shirt of flame*." Paper presented at Nation and translation workshop, Europe in the Middle East in Europe Research Program, Berlin, June 18-20.
- Köroğlu, E. (2016). Sunuş. In Hülya Adak, *Halide Edib ve Siyasal Şiddet* (pp. xi-xiii). [Introduction]. Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları.
- Kumar, R. (2012). *Research Methodology*. London: Sage Publications.
- Lefevere, A. & Bassnett S. (1995). Proust's grandmother and the thousand and one nights. In André Lefevere & Susan Bassnett (Eds.), *Translation, history and culture* (pp. 1-13). London: Cassell.
- Lefevere, A. (1992). *Translation, rewriting and the manipulation of literary fame*. London, New York: Routledge.

- Mahmud. (1928, July 24). Kin ve garaz ve ihtirasla dolu bir ruh. *Milliyet*, p. 1.
- Olney, J. (1980). Autobiography and the cultural moment: A thematic, historical, and bibliographical introduction. In James Olney (Ed.), *Autobiography: Essay theoretical and critical* (pp. 3-27). New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Oran, B. (2014). Azınlıklar nasıl azınlık oldu. In Yasemin İnceoğlu & Savaş Çoban (Eds.), *Azınlıklar, ötekiler, medya* (pp. 17-49). Istanbul: Ayrıntı.
- Özdemir, M. (forthcoming). Self-translation as testimony: Halide Edib rewrites *The Turkish ordeal*. In Castro, O. Mainer, S. & Page, S. (Eds.), *Self-translation and power*. London: Springer Nature.
- Popovič, A. (1976). *Dictionary for the analysis of literary translation*. Edmonton: University of Alberta, Department of Comparative Literature.
- Sayar, Ö. (2010). Halide Edib'in torunu Ömer Sayar'dan İpek Çalışlar'a mektup. *T24*. Retrieved from <http://t24.com.tr/haber/halide-edibin-torunu-omer-sayardan-ipek-calislara-mektup,85315> (last accessed June 14, 2017).
- Susam-Sarajeva, Ş. (2006). *Theories on the move*. Amsterdam, New York: Rodopi.
- Şehsüvaroğlu, H.Y. (1962, May 20). Türk'ün ateşle imtihanı. *Cumhuriyet*, p. 2.
- TBMMZC, Dönem 9, Cilt 7 [Parliamentary Minutes of Turkish National Assembly]
- Thiong'o, N. (2009). Translated by the author: My life between languages. *Translation Studies* 2(1), 17-20.
- Toury, G. (1980). *In search of a theory of translation*. Tel Aviv: Porter Institute.
- Toury, G. (1995). *Descriptive translation studies and beyond*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Tymoczko, M. (2002). Post-colonial writing and literary translation. In Susan Bassnett & Harish Trivedi (Eds.) *Post-colonial translation: Theory and practice* (pp. 19-40). New York: Routledge.

- Uyanık, N. (2016). *Dismantling the Ottoman empire: Britain, America and the Armenian question*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Venuti, L. (1995). *The translator's invisibility: A history of translation*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Wilson, R. (2009). The writer's double: Translation, writing, and autobiography. In *Romance Studies*, (27)3, 186-198. doi:10.1179/174581509X455150
- Yılmaz, S. (2007). *Absence/silence of a translation as a borderline issue: Şeytan ayetleri (The satanic verses)* (Unpublished Master's thesis). Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey.
- Ziya, Y. (1928, July 25). Halide Edib hanıma. *İkdam*, p. 3.
- Zürcher, E.J. (2004). *Turkey: A modern history*. London, New York: I.B. Tauris