THE INSTITUTIONAL TRANSLATOR'S IMAGE IN TURKEY:

A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS FROM THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

TO THE MODERN REPUBLIC

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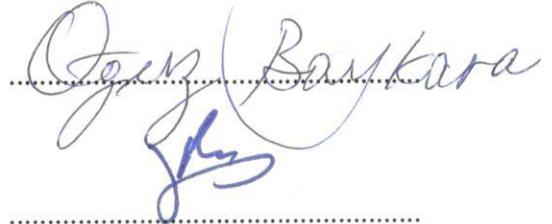
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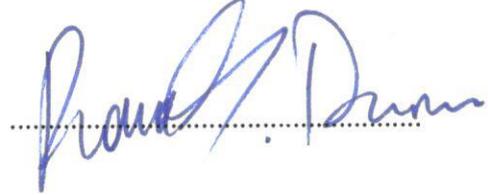
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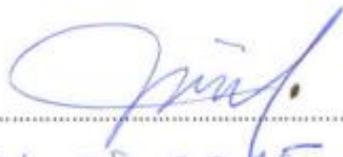
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ABSTRACT

The Institutional Translator's Image in Turkey:

A Comparative Analysis from the Ottoman Empire to the Modern Republic

The present study aims to focus on the institutional translator's image from a historical perspective and examine this professional group's image in the eyes of the state from the fifteenth century Ottoman Empire to today's modern Republic of Turkey. This study argues that the institutional translator's high status in the Ottoman Empire did not continue in the Republican period because of the leading state officials' policy shift towards promoting literary translation. In order to explore the institutional translator's image, this study looked at the different ways in which the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey treated its institutional translators, and at whether they offered the institutional translator special rights and benefits or not. In this respect, we examined the institutional translator's salaries, paths to promotion, rights and privileges. The detailed analysis of historical data on these categories demonstrated that although the institutional translator built up a positive image due to the fact that the Ottoman Empire attached much importance to them, their image started to drop substantially in the early Republican period because of a reverse in the state policy.

ÖZET

Türkiye'deki Kurumsal Çevirmen İmgesi:

Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan Modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Karşılaştırmalı Analiz

Bu çalışma, kurumsal çevirmen imgesine tarihsel bir bakış açısıyla odaklanarak bu meslek grubunun 15. yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndan modern Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne kadar devlet gözündeki imgesini incelemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmanın temel iddiası, kurumsal çevirmenin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki yüksek statüsünün Türkiye Cumhuriyeti döneminde devlet politikasının edebi çeviriyi öne çıkarmaya yönelik değişmesi nedeniyle devam etmediği yönündedir. Kurumsal çevirmen imgesini anlamak amacıyla, çalışmada Osmanlı İmparatorluğu ve Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurumsal çevirmene olan yaklaşımı ve bu meslek grubuna özel haklar ve faydalara sağlayıp sağlamadıkları incelenmiştir. Bu bağlamda, kurumsal çevirmene verilen maaş, sağlanan terfi imkânları, haklar ve ayrıcalıklar gözden geçirilmiştir. Bu ölçütlere göre yapılan tarihsel veri analizi, kurumsal çevirmenin Osmanlı İmparatorluğu döneminde devletin bu iş koluna verdiği önemden ötürü olumlu bir imge oluşturduğu; ancak bu imgenin erken Cumhuriyet döneminde devlet politikasında yaşanan değişiklikten ötürü giderek kötüleştiğini göstermiştir.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 What are image and institutional translation?

Translation activity cannot be considered separately from translators because they are the actual decision-makers in a process of intermingled relations between two languages and cultures. However, different historical periods witnessed the subordination and even denigration of translators, despite the heavy burden placed on these cultural agents' shoulders. Some translators in the Western world were even hung or burnt at stake in the past because of their translations of religious texts (Robinson, 2002, p. 95). Even without referring to such extreme cases, it is safe to state that translators around the world have generally not enjoyed favourable conditions, considering the importance of their works.

It is difficult to determine when the awareness of translator's task and role came to light. One could argue that it started in the late 1970s when translation studies finally emerged as a distinct discipline. We became more aware of the translator's role when (1) translation scholars during the 1980s developed a keener interest in translation history and (2) when translation studies went through the so-called "cultural turn", which meant taking the cultural conditions and "contexts in which translation occurs" rather than the more limited linguistic and grammatical perspective that prevailed in 1960s and early 1970s (Bassnett, 2002, p. 2-3). Following the cultural turn, translators began to be seen more as "creative artists" who mediate between cultures and maintain their continuity "across time and space" (Bassnett, 2002, p. 4). Therefore, the cultural turn enabled translation scholars to highlight the complex network of decisions made during the translation process and consequently reveal the translators' key role in this cultural exchange.

Jean Delisle and Judith Woodsworth's seminal work *Translators Through History* (2012), too, draws attention to translators' diverse roles in history. They give a detailed account of how translators shaped their cultures and pioneered the development of various disciplines such as literature and history. In their book, translators' roles as creators of alphabets, national languages and dictionaries, men of letters, and their contribution to "the dissemination of knowledge", the characterization of national literatures, "the spread of religions" and "transmission of cultural values" are explained in detail (p. vii-ix). In his preface written for this book, Jean-François Joly, the president of International Federation of Translators, states that "translators have been widely scorned at times and their work severely criticized", being even sometimes called "traitors", and underlines the fact that this book is to demonstrate the interdependency of translation and progress (p. xix). Delisle and Woodsworth, similarly, focus on the definition of translators' task "by their subordinate status (as captives, slaves or ethnic hybrids)" and the promising developments in the translation studies from 1980s provided new angles to understand from the perspective of translators as "agents" (p. xiv-xv). Particularly in Chapter 4, as they refer to the dominant of role translators in the "dissemination of knowledge", Delisle and Woodsworth clearly demonstrate how translators in different regions and cultures directly created and shaped the means for scientific development through their translations (p. 95). Therefore, their book is a great source of information about translator's active role in the historical process.

The word "image" will be often used in the present study, and thus it is necessary to define exactly what is meant by this term. The word "image" is defined in the *Oxford Learner's Dictionary* as "the impression that a person, an organization or a product etc. gives to the public" or "a mental picture of that you have of what

somebody/something is like or looks like" (Oxford Learner's Dictionary, online website, www.oxfordlearnersdictionary.com). Similarly, according to the *Cambridge Dictionary of English*, image is "the way other people think someone or something is" (*Cambridge Dictionary of English*, online website, dictionary.cambridge.org). Leerssen (2007), focusing on the question of national image, suggests that one particularly deals with the attitude, capability and needs of an author in his/her analysis of a nation rather than its *de facto existence*, thus the author's general approach towards that nation being the yardstick in evaluating its image (p. 20-21).

It is clear from the definitions above that image does not have anything to do with the way a person or an institution presents itself; it is rather related to the ideas that others express of that person or thing. In fact, when people express their opinions on somebody/something, they actually "do something" to that somebody/something, as the expression of opinions is a kind of action. Therefore, if or when they have positive opinions about a person or thing, they are actively generating a positive image of him/her/it. This indicates that, one must study how others see that thing, and how others deal with that thing in order to study the image of a thing. Therefore, the word "image" in this study gains a comprehensive meaning and is actually used to refer to the institutional translator's status, profile and position in the eyes of the state, especially compared to the previous periods.

Within the framework of the notion "image", it is vital to discuss the meaning of a "positive image" and "negative image" in the context of this study. A positive image refers to the favourable conditions, i.e. rights and privileges that this professional group was and is offered, which the institutional translator could enjoy in a certain period, while a negative image points to the lack of such rights and privileges or the fact that the state does not attach importance to this group. In other

words, the phrase "negative image" does not imply that the institutional translator is subject to any kind of hateful discourse or hostile attacks from the state officials. Instead, it only aims to emphasize the unfavourable conditions which they experienced or experience within the framework of their professional career and implies their low regard in the eyes of the state.

Institutional translation is the task of "translating *in* or *for* specific organizations such as the Translation Bureau of the federal government of the Canada" (Kang, 2009, p. 141); therefore, it can be suggested that institutional translators fall within the category of those translators who work (often, but not always, on a freelance basis) with government institutions (as well as NGOs), both at the municipal and national levels. In this respect, this study focuses on those who work with government institutions both at the municipal and national levels. These translators are responsible for the translation of official government documents as well as other official administrative, bureaucratic, and legal documents. Insofar as they are commissioned and heavily involved with educational institutions, technical and academic translators can also occasionally fall into this category. Basically, this project uses institutional translator as a blanketing term that excludes literary translation activity.

1.2 Literature review

The academic community in Turkey occasionally dealt with the questions relating to the translator's image. This topic is examined in various master's theses of graduate programs in the departments of translation studies. For example, Irem Üstünsöz focuses on the self-image of translators in Turkey in her MA thesis titled *The Legal Status and the Self-Images of Translators in Turkey* (2010). Üstünsöz (2010)

analyzes the discourse developed by translators in order to defend themselves and their profession in cases where they faced "a threat of conviction", when they were legally prosecuted for what they translated (p. 4). She (2010) also refers to the contributions of translation studies to the translator's self-image and claims that translation scholars have demonstrated how translators are "experts", enhancing their institutional and social status (p. 6).

Another MA thesis which deals with the translator's image and identity was *Çevirmen Kimlikleri: Tarihsel, Dizgeci ve Eleştirel Bir Yaklaşım* (*Identities of Translators: A Historical, Systemic and Critical Approach*) by Gülfer Tunalı. This study mainly focuses on the discourse on translation stemming from translation theories. In general, Tunalı (2006) enumerates the different identities and roles undertaken by translators throughout history in the West and argues that they have always shaped "languages, literary systems and cultures" (p. ix, own translation).

Ahu Selin Erkul's MA thesis, titled *Discourses on Translators and Translation in the Turkish Fiction*, discusses the translator's image from a different point of view. In her study, Erkul focuses on fictional translators in Turkish novels and the discourse that the authors of these books produced about translators and translation. She reveals how translators have been represented in different novels since the late Tanzimat period. Erkul (2005) aims to "study some crucial aspects such as the status and role of the translators" (p. xiii) and concludes that the image of the translator in Turkish literature is mainly divided into two categories: the "dandy" and the "industrious" translators (p. 95).

These three above-mentioned are basically the only ones in Turkey that focus on the translator's image, identity and role. This low number of studies indicates that the translator's image has not roused enough interest among Turkish translation

scholars so far. Additionally, the few studies in the area generally revolve around cases involving literary translation. For instance, Üstünsöz analyzed the translation of Elif Şafak's *Baba ve Piç* (*The Bastard of Istanbul*) translated by Aslı Biçen. Similarly, Erkul examined the discourse on translators in novels only. While Tunalı's study can be regarded as slightly different from the other two, it does not mainly focus on the translator's image in Turkey, and only deals with the translator's identities in the Western world.

Although institutional translators (and interpreters) seem to have been overlooked, it is still possible to find sources which offer sporadic information regarding their image today and in the past. These works do not focus exclusively on the issue of the institutional translator's image, yet they do offer interesting insights into the problem. For instance, a thesis written by Yavuz Yener in 2004, titled *Çeviri Bürolarında Çeviri ve Çevirmenlik* (*Translation and Translators in Translation Offices*), focuses on translation offices and the translators who work there in order to give a general account of the translation market in Turkey. Since translation offices and public notaries usually work together in today's market, this study also gives valuable information regarding the profile of sworn translators who are registered in various public notary offices around Turkey. Yener's findings suggest that notaries tend to ignore the educational background of those who get sworn in as translators, as long as they have an undergraduate degree of any kind which evidences that they know a foreign language. This, in effect, reveals the government's view of translators and the degree of importance attributed to this profession today.

Another thesis of interest that deals with institutional translation activities in Turkey is Sezai Balcı's 2007 *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası* (Translation in the Ottoman Empire and the Translation Chamber of the

Sublime Porte). Even though Balcı is not a translation studies scholar, his thesis, which evaluates the performances of institutional translators and interpreters from the early fifteenth century until the late nineteenth century, provides a lot of information about the evolution of translators and their tasks throughout the centuries in the empire. This study focuses both on dragomans and translators, thus offering information about all activities which involve at least two languages. In addition, it is the first study to have covered all translation activity in the Ottoman Empire. It does not, however, focus sufficiently on the institutional translator's image.

A third study, which also sheds light on the translator's image in the Ottoman Empire, is Bilgin Aydın's "Divan-ı Hümayun Tercümanları ve Osmanlı Kültür ve Diplomasisindeki Yerleri" (Ottoman Court Interpreters and Their Position in the Ottoman Culture and Diplomacy) published in 2007. It gives a brief account of the translator's extensive roles and responsibilities in diplomatic relations within the institution of Ottoman Empire. Although it is not as comprehensive as Balcı's thesis, Aydın's study offers important insights regarding the translator's positive image during that period.

Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar touches upon the translator's image in the early Republican period in her book *The Politics and Poetics of Translation in Turkey, 1923-1960* published in 2008. She particularly focuses on the Translation Bureau, founded in 1940, and describes the evolving role and tasks of the translator as the Bureau was trying to create a new literary repertoire for the newborn state. Tahir Gürçağlar suggests that various commentaries and critiques published in journals and newspapers on translation, translators, and the activities of the Translation Bureau enable us to explore the translator's image in the eyes of the state and of Turkish

society in that period. Thus, Tahir Gürçağlar's work reflects the transition period from the Ottoman Empire to the modern Republic of Turkey.

Although these studies focusing on different aspects and periods reveal useful insights, they pay almost no attention to the institutional translator's image. Even Balcı's (2007) thesis which aim to "present a single study about the translation activity in the Ottoman Empire and Translation Chamber" (p. iv, own translation) only briefly refers to the translator's image. Similarly, Aydın's article peripherally mentions the translator's image while describing the diplomatic tasks carried out by imperial court interpreters between fifteenth and late nineteenth century. Yener's study, too, reflects on the translator's image, but only in a limited historical period. Tahir Gürçağlar deals with the poetological, ideological and political aspects of translation in the early Republican period, but does not focus on the notion of image apart from a few examples that will be discussed later.

As can been seen, although there have been works examining the translator's image generally, institutional translators who work for various government offices and other official institutions are not often taken into consideration in the literature, and there has not yet been a comprehensive study of the institutional translator's image in Turkey from the Ottoman Empire to the present day. As a result, very little knowledge regarding their image has been obtained through academic studies. Translators working for public notaries and other government offices in Turkey are ignored by the academic community. In this respect, the first objective of this study is to address this gap in translation studies in Turkey.

1.3 Theoretical framework

This project's main claim is that while the institutional translator's image from the perspective of Ottoman government institutions was actually very positive (when compared to their equivalent in the West), this positive image steadily declined from the early Republican period onward. The current image of the institutional translator is the result of a policy shift connected to the rise of the Turkish Republic, which resulted in the general impoverishment of the profession and its image. The original Ottoman policies empowered institutional translators by enabling them to play central bureaucratic and administrative roles in the Empire. During the Tanzimat period, the translator's task became increasingly connected to academic growth and education. Conversely, the same cannot be said of the Republican period. The institutional translator's role has lost almost all of its former prestige and glory since the closure of the Ottoman Translation Chamber and the establishment of the Republican Translation Bureau. Today, as this project will demonstrate, to be an institutional translator one needs only a diploma suggesting a certain level of bilingualism; there is no sense at all that an institutional translator is also an important intercultural communicator and mediator. With the return of formal education and training in the field in recent decades, it is hoped to re-establish the positive image of institutional translators which they once enjoyed in the Ottoman Empire

The institutional translator's image in the eyes of the state in the history of Ottoman Empire and Republic of Turkey can be analyzed from the perspective of various translation theories. For instance, Anthony Pym (1998) argues that translation history must mainly focus on identifying and solving problems that influence the translator's status as a person and calls for a translator-oriented

approach in the history of translation, rather than a process or product-oriented approach (p. ix-5). This is because he maintains that it is only by putting emphasis on translators that we will fully understand the social and cultural environment in which translations are performed (Pym, 1998, p. ix-5).

Lawrence Venuti's notion of invisibility is also one of the relevant concepts for this study. Stressing the translator's current position in Anglo-American culture, Venuti introduced the concept of "invisibility", and put forward the idea that translations are only considered as acceptable by the publisher, by the reader or any part of society when "it reads fluently" (p. 1). When "the translator's efforts to insure easy readability" (Venuti, 1995, p. 1) make themselves evident in the text, his/her interventions in the translation process go unnoticed. As a result, the process in which translators work to create this seemingly original text are overlooked (Venuti, 1995, p. 1-2). In this respect, translators become invisible elements in their cultural context once "transparency" becomes "the authoritative discourse for translating" (Venuti, 1995, p.6). As a result, the conditions in which institutional translator could not come to light can be considered a case of invisibility.

Gideon Toury's (2002) notion "agents of change" can also be employed to describe how a person within a certain community "introduces new options" to the repertoire of the community (p. 151). In this respect, translators and leading figures in the society who launch massive translation movements can easily be considered agents of change since there are many examples of these figures throughout history of translation who supplied new works and models to their literary and cultural systems.

The polysystem theory by Even Zohar (1990) also offers a useful tool in explaining the relationship between cultural figures and phenomena as he suggests

that "human governed patterns of communication [...] could more adequately be understood and studies if regarded as systems" (p. 9). Polysystem theory reveals the intersections of various systems and assesses its dynamic structure (Even Zohar, 1990, p. 12). Even Zohar (1990) states that cultures within a system of culture create a hierarchy within themselves and "various strata" in these systems struggle to move away from the periphery of the same or adjacent system and occupy its centre, which occur without realization (p. 14). In addition, an item may occupy a central position in a system, while it may be located at the periphery of another system (Even Zohar, 1990, p. 14). Based on Even Zohar's definitions, the cultural, social and political conditions under which institutional translator's image flourished or worsened both in Ottoman Empire and early Republican period can be analyzed from the viewpoint of polysystem theory.

In addition to polysytem theory, Even Zohar's notion of "cultural entrepreneur" is fairly instrumental in explaining the role played by leading figures who direct major cultural movements in a period. Even Zohar (2010) calls these people "idea-makers" and claims that these people are engaged in the task of thinking and "providing alternative and unprecedented new options" (p. 192). He also adds that these people have existed since the earliest times of history and they shape the life of other people with their critical decisions about various walks of life, thus directly contributing to the creation of culture (2010, p. 192). If they are able to convert their ideas to a "socio-cultural reality by implementing them into the active repertoire of the relevant group", they become active "cultural entrepreneurs" (Even Zohar, 2010, p. 195). In this respect, his term can be compared to Toury's agents of change in terms of the role undertaken by the influential person in question. In addition, because Toury and Even Zohar emphasize that these people "directly

shape" the structure of their society by "creating innovative ideas", it can be suggested that they refer to the same concept with different terms.

There are two sets of limitations when it comes to dealing with the Ottoman Empire. The first set of limitations is of a linguistic nature; as the Turkish of the Ottoman period was written in Arabic script, I was not able to fully access the primary sources. I had to rely on secondary sources from those who were able to study the original Ottoman texts.

The second set of limitation is that there is a lack of a broad and comprehensive corpus relating to the image of institutional translators. Based on the definition image used in this study, one may assume that what the state and the society of a certain period said and wrote about those translators can be analyzed. Translation critiques are quite useful sources in terms of image, giving clues as to what people think about translators themselves. However, since substantial translations from Western languages really only started in the early Tanzimat period, translation criticism only began to flourish in the late nineteenth century with a heated debate between three Ottoman intellectuals. The figure who triggered this debate in 1897 was Kemalpaşazade Sait Bey with 18 booklets titled *Galatat-ı Tercüme* (Translation Errors) in which he evaluated various translations from French. Shortly after, Mehmet Halit Bey, a French teacher, and Fatin İhsan Bey, a journalist, published their works that criticized Kemalpaşazade Sait Bey's arguments (Semercioğlu, 2010, p. 29-30). Additionally, because most of primary sources cannot be accessed due to the language barriers, no concrete sources regarding the discourse prior to the Tanzimat period have been yet presented.

Despite these two above-mentioned sets of limitations, the research method used in this study provides a multifaceted view of the institutional translator's image.

Given that analysing a person's image is tantamount to analysing how that person is perceived and treated by others, it is appropriate here to look at how the Ottoman Empire treated those who worked for the state as translators of official imperial documents or interpreters in official gatherings. Therefore, this part of the study focuses on how the Ottoman Empire dealt with its dragomans. In other words, I will analyze how the Ottoman Empire's approach to its staff of translators shaped the economic and social status and profile of its dragomans. In this chapter, I often refer to both institutional translators and interpreters simultaneously, as the dragomans were the direct predecessors to both professions.

A state may offer numerous benefits and special opportunities for its employees depending on their rank or the importance of their work. These benefits and opportunities may take the form of promotions, higher salaries, or special privileges. One such privilege is being granted the right and authority of issuing regulations to protect the members of the group, and of founding educational institutions in order to train its professionals. The rights and benefits granted to institutional translators and interpreters (dragomans) show a positive trend in the Ottoman's image of them. My hypothesis here is that if a governing body offers a great deal of professional recognition through special rights and benefits, it must therefore have had a positive image of the group in question as the actions of that group actually produce that positive image. In other words, an analysis of institutional translators' salaries, paths to promotion, and rights and privileges reveals their image in the eyes of imperial officials. This approach is in many ways more objective in that it is based on imperial officials' actions rather than the individual thoughts of a translation critic.

The second and third chapters of this thesis focus on the main reasons behind the positive image held by translators and interpreters in Ottoman society in the pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat periods. The fourth chapter deals with the institutional translator's image in the transition period of the 1900s-1920s, the early Republican Period (with the impact of Translation Bureau), and the political turmoil of the 1960s-1980s. The fifth and final chapter exposes changing trends in the translation market in Turkey during the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, and it analyzes legislation on institutional translation affairs and presents a case study on how different government offices approach institutional translators and the degree to which they contribute to their image.

CHAPTER 2

THE TRANSLATOR'S IMAGE IN THE EARLY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

2.1 The main reasons behind the positive image of the institutional translator and interpreter

The origins of the contemporary institutional translator in Turkey go back to the dragomans of the Ottoman Empire, who conducted governmental, administrative, and as diplomatic translation and interpreting. Their task was to "interpret and facilitate communication" between Ottoman Empire and representatives of the European powers and its non-Muslim subjects (Paker, 2009, p. 551). Nearing the end of the nineteenth century, the task of the Ottoman translator would come to include institutional, academic, technical and some literary translation.

As far as institutional translators and interpreters in the Ottoman Empire are concerned, it can be inferred that these people generally enjoyed a higher status and privileges during the lifespan of the Empire, especially when compared to their European counterparts. It is also evident that their image before the state was much more positive. According to Sakine Eruz (2010), this prestige was partly due to the colossal territories, as well as the multicultural and multiethnic structure of the Ottoman Empire. Because of the different languages spoken within imperial boundaries, the Ottomans had a special need for interpretation in particular. Carter Findley (1980), too, maintains that the diplomatic intensity in the Ottoman Empire made knowledge of a foreign language, especially a Western language, a "talisman of the preferment," to put it in Bernard Lewis' words (p. 135).

It is clear that the translator's and interpreter's positive image in the Ottoman Empire not only resulted from their institutional and administrative structure but also

from external factors particular to the vastness and diversity of the empire. Therefore, it can be argued that Ottoman translators and interpreters were fortunate to be born in a society where their knowledge of a foreign language and ability to translate and interpret were appreciated by the empire, including the sultan himself. Actually, the Ottoman Empire was forced to attach a great deal of importance to its staff of translators and interpreters as they fulfilled a vital role in the running of the empire. To ensure a more functional administrative and political mechanism, the sultan was obliged to provide their dragoman staff with favourable conditions.

The main reason why translators and interpreters came to the forefront in the Ottoman Empire was the lack of intellectuals and scholars who had sufficient knowledge of foreign languages, particularly European ones, before the nineteenth century. At that time, for instance, all imperial court translators and interpreters were converts, non-Muslims by birth and various ethnic origins such as Greeks or Armenians (Aydın, 2007, p. 41). Even though Turks and Muslims outnumbered other ethnic and religious communities, they usually did not speak European languages. Ottoman intellectuals typically learned Arabic and Persian as a second language due to the proximity of these languages to Islamic tradition (Balcı, 2007, p. 9). As a result, the translation and interpretation activity needed for diplomatic relations with European states were carried out by *mühtedi*s, those who converted to Islam, from late fifteenth to the seventeenth century (Aydın, 2007, p. 45).

Balcı lists two reasons explaining why Ottoman intellectuals rarely had knowledge of a European language. The first reason is that they never resided in European cities long enough to acquire any significant skills in the local language; it was not approved by religious authorities "to stay in a Christian territory for a long period of time" and as it was regarded as a threat to one's Islamic faith (Balcı, 2007,

p. 9). For instance, the *fetva*s (religious consultations) given by Şeyh-ül Islam Ebussuud Efendi, the highest religious authority of the time of Suleiman the Magnificent, reinforced this view. He stated that a Muslim would be assumed to be non-Muslim if he ever learnt a language spoken by a non-Muslim community, unless it was necessary (Düzdağ, 1972, p. 118). This caused fear in the Muslim community and encouraged Muslims to avoid becoming familiar with European languages; this in turn helped originally non-Muslim translators and interpreters to increase their value due to their scarcity.

The second reason why interpreters became prominent figures in Ottoman diplomacy and society can be attributed to a sense of pride. The military success of the Ottoman army in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in consecutive wars against European powers convinced them of their superiority in nearly all fields (Balcı, 2007, p. 8; Demez, 2007, p. 25-26). Until the late eighteenth century, leading Ottoman statesmen therefore did not find it necessary to maintain a close relationship with European states or mimic the technological and scientific developments brought about by the Renaissance movement (Aydüz, 2006, p. 3). They did not attempt feel any need to learn European languages since so many Ottoman subjects who were born in European territories, and who later converted to Islam could already do so as native speakers. As a result of their unique linguistic skills set, the *mühtedi*s dominated institutional translation and interpreting (i.e. dragoman), and they became prominent figures in imperial administration and society.

2.2 The dragomans' role and image in the Ottoman Empire

Institutional translation and interpreting activity in the Ottoman Empire is estimated to date back to the fifteenth century. It is quite probable that imperial court

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dragomans were employed prior to this period, but the first information about imperial dragomans in the Ottoman archives date back to late 15th century (Paker, 2009, p. 550). However, historical studies in Turkey did not pay attention to this field until the late 1970s. Given that translation studies started to emerge at the same time, the topic was partially disregarded. Cengiz Orhonlu (1993), a prominent Ottoman scholar and one of the first historians to give information about dragomans, reports that translation and interpreting activity started during the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror in the fifteenth century and that it was established as a separate and distinct institutional branch in the same period (p. 176).

Saliha Paker (2009) informs us that the profession was institutionalized in the sixteenth century due to the growing number of political and commercial relations with other states (p. 550). According to Orhonlu (1993), too, dragomans found the real chance to prove themselves in the sixteenth century (p. 176) as they became indispensable actors for the state administration and diplomacy when the empire significantly expanded into European lands.

Dragomans were divided into four categories based on the offices and institutions where they were employed: (1) imperial court dragomans, (2) naval dragomans, (3) provincial dragomans, and (4) foreign embassy and consulate dragomans. The provincial dragomans also contained a sub-group, the state tribunal dragomans (Balcı, 2007, p. 18).

2.2.1 Imperial court dragomans

Imperial court dragomans were the most important and prestigious among their colleagues (Paker, 2009, p. 551) and they cannot be seen as ordinary officials or civil servants (Aydın, 2007, p. 41). One of the first interpreters employed by Mehmet the

Conqueror was Dimitri Kyritzes, a former Byzantine citizen. He performed imperial court interpreting after the conquest of Istanbul. When the mother- and sisters-in-law of Francesko Filelfol, an Italian poet and intellectual, were kidnapped by in Istanbul, he wrote a letter to Kyritzes, hoping that he could contact and persuade the Sultan to rescue his relatives (Mirmiroğlu, 1956, p. 14-16). Kyritzes was the first person to come to Filelfol's mind in such an urgent situation, demonstrating that he was one of the leading figures in the Sultan's staff.

The second interpreter to have become famous during the fifteenth century was Lütfi Bey. Actually, he is an important figure because he started the *mühtedi* period in court interpreting. He is also the last interpreter whose name can be seen in the state archives belonging of the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror (Aydın, 2007, p. 45). He conducted negotiations for peace with the Venetians and took an imperial letter to Duke Giovanni Mocenigo in 1479 (Babinger, 1978, p. 371). As the letter contained important diplomatic information, this already shows the confidence the Ottoman Empire had in their dragomans in state affairs.

According to state registers, imperial court interpreters officially gained independent status, during the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1528. In a document dating back to 1528, this professional group is listed under a separate heading and three interpreters' names can be seen on it: Yunus Bey, Ali Çelebi and Huban (Aydın, 2007, p. 47).

Yunus Bey, a convert of Greek origin, is the most important figure in the period of Suleiman the Magnificent and Ottoman history. He could speak Greek, Italian and Latin fluently. In addition to being multilingual, his importance and value is directly related to the role which he played in the complex Ottoman-Venetian relations for about 20 years. He paid around fifteen visits to the Venetian state as

Suleiman the Magnificent's messenger and fulfilled different tasks, such as delivering commercial documents and imperial letters from the Sultan himself, collecting debts, signing agreements and negotiating between allies. In his visits, he was usually warmly welcomed by Venetian officials (Aydın, 2007, p. 48-50). In addition, Paker (2009) reports that a mosque in his name was built in Istanbul, which undoubtedly could not have been done without the sultan's permission (p. 551). All of these significant tasks for which Yunus Bey was responsible and the mosque built in this name show his level of prestige in the empire and shows that he was Suleiman the Magnificent's right hand man in terms of foreign affairs.

Venice was not the only European state with which Yunus Bey established positive relations. He was also close to the first French ambassadors in Istanbul. For instance, a personal letter was sent by King Francois I, to Yunus Bey on December 28, 1546 and was delivered to him by the French Ambassador d'Araman (Aydın, 2007). Similarly, the German Emperor Ferdinand considered him a key figure in his relations with the Ottoman state and told his ambassador to do whatever possible to gain the favour of the grand vizier Lütfi Paşa and Yunus Bey (Uzunçarşılı, 1947, p. 491). It is clear that Yunus Bey possessed great political and diplomatic power and that he occupied an important position according to European powers at the time as well.

Murat Bey is the second most important interpreter in the diplomatic relations of the Ottoman Empire with Western powers. He was a convert of Hungarian origin who was raised and educated in Vienna before being captured by the Ottoman army in the Battle of Mohac in August 1526. He could speak Latin, Arabic and Persian fluently (Aydın, 2007, p. 54). Prior to his tenure in the imperial court, he was sent on a political mission that lasted 30 months to conduct diplomatic negotiations which

finally put Zsigmond Janos on the throne of Transylvania (Krstic, 2011, p. 101). The length and difficulty of this task demonstrates once again the high degree of trust the Ottoman Empire placed in one of its dragomans. Having completed his mission successfully, he returned to the capital and, thanks to the grand vizier's efforts, he was appointed in 1553 as a regular dragoman in the imperial court. He also translated various works on Islam and history between the Ottoman language and Latin (Aydın, 2007, p. 55), thus making significant contributions to the humanities.

The third most famous important interpreter in this period was a Polish convert, Joachim Strasz, who was later called İbrahim Bey. He was appointed as the grand dragoman in 1550 and was active in a diplomatic triangle between Venice, Paris and Frankfurt between 1562 and 1568, during the Suleiman the Magnificent's last years (Aydın, 2007, p. 55). Various officials from the French embassy accused him of bribery and of abusing his position because he allegedly manipulated diplomatic relations mistranslating letters sent to the French king and thus accused him of bribery. However, the Ottoman Empire did not take any action to punish him when the French king informed it of these complaints (Aydın, 2007, p. 56). We see here something of İbrahim Bey's prestige as a dragoman, indicating the extent to which the Ottoman statesmen had full confidence in him.

In the seventeenth century, converts to Islam started to lose their influence in Ottoman diplomacy. Towards the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Christian Greek translators replaced converts as dragomans and regained power and effectiveness in the diplomatic field. These dragomans' families resided in the Fener (Phanar) district in Istanbul, where the Greek Patriarchate is located, and thus they are known as Phanariot dragomans in Ottoman history. They were extremely rich

due to their commercial activities. These families produced 34 grand dragomans in the Ottoman court over a period of 150 years, until 1821 (Balcı, 2007, p. 64).

The rise of Greek translators may be attributed to two interrelated reasons. The first reason was their wealth, which they managed to accumulate due to the birth of a "merchant aristocracy" as Findley (1980) puts it (p. 92). They eventually used their financial power to provide their sons with a quality education abroad. For instance, the sons of these families went to universities in Europe, particularly in Italy, where they studied foreign languages as well as medicine and philosophy (Balcı, 2007, p. 76). Because of their distinctive education, it was easier for them to occupy critical diplomatic positions as dragomans in the empire. According to Balcı, their wealth allowed these Greeks to enjoy a privileged education, which also enabled them to attain higher positions as dragomans and, as a result, they were able to accumulate even more wealth thanks to these positions. For example, Bellos (2012) informs us that grand dragomans had the same status as ambassadors towards the late seventeenth century (p. 36).

Orhonlu (1993), too, refers to the remarkable role of the Greek dragomans in the Ottoman political and diplomatic structure and states that this position created a fierce rivalry between various Phanariot families (p. 177). Balcı (2007) also suggests that Greek families resorted to bribery and other types of illegal activities in order to persuade Ottoman officials to appoint their sons as the grand dragoman (p. 27). Paker (2009), similarly, underlines the fact that Greek families heavily struggled for obtaining this respectable post and the position passed from father to son (p. 551). Although such examples are negative, they reinforce yet again the very positive image of the dragoman profession.

Findley (1980) presents a chart in his book *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire*: *Sublime Porte, 1789-1922,* which places grand dragomans among the higher bureaucracy in the late eighteenth century (p. 75). An imperial court dragoman, the only Ottoman official organizing formal calls on European diplomats and carrying out all correspondence with Western powers, was the most important element in Ottoman foreign affairs after *reis'ül-küttab* (the chief scribe) (Findley, 1980, p. 77-78). Due to prestige and power of this respectable position, Phanariot Greeks strove to dominate this dragoman profession for a very long time.

The first Greek dragoman who started the Phanariot period was Panayot Efendi. He was appointed as the grand dragoman in 1669 after he gained the grand vizier Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Paşa's confidence (Balcı, 2007, p. 58). He played an important role in facilitating negotiations and diplomacy for the Ottoman Empire in the Battle of Kandiye (Candia, Crete). Due to this success, he was praised as "a talented negotiator and politician with a broad vision" by many historians (Balcı, 2007, p. 59, own translation). In addition, he was so influential in the Sublime Porte and other government offices that he only answered to by the grand vizier himself (Balcı, 2007, p. 59).

The second important Phanariot dragoman in the late seventeenth century is Aleksander Mavrokordatos, who occupied this position from 1673 for about 25 years (Balcı, 2007, p. 61). He is considered one of the most important figures in Ottoman foreign diplomacy in this period. He came to the forefront first as a dragoman in the Treaty of Karlowitz where he accompanied the Chief Scribe Rami Mehmet Efendi for 36 diplomatic sessions that lasted 53 days. Even though his rank was inferior to that of the chief scribe, he managed to heavily influence various issues in the treaty negotiations ranging from seating order to discussions about the new borders (Balcı,

2007, p. 62). Due to his remarkable success in this mission, the Ottoman state entitled him to wear a bejewelled fur coat as a sign of acclamation and conferred upon him the title of "bearer of state secrets" (Sözen, 2000, p. 64). Therefore, Mavrokordato is undoubtedly a great contributor to the prestige and image of Phanariot Greek dragomans in general.

At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Phanariot Greeks, especially the Iskerletzade family, emerged as dragomans with the brightest careers. Actually, this century witnessed an undeniable dominance of Phanariot families in the Ottoman court as they began to show their influence in the selection of candidates for these positions (Aydın, 2007, p. 57). This continued until the early nineteenth century and members of these families were appointed to the imperial court, to embassies, and to provinces. However, the reason why the Iskerletzade family was particularly important was that the number of dragomans appointed to the position of grand dragoman of the imperial court from this family was high until the mid-eighteenth century. Their power is even clearer when we look at how members of several Greek families would want to marry into the Iskerletzade clan to benefit from their prestige and to obtain dragoman positions (Uzunçarşılı, 1988, p. 73).

2.2.2 Naval dragomans

Naval dragomans were appointed as the Grand Admiral's scribe and controlled the taxes paid by non-Muslim communities in the provinces under the Grand Admiral's authority in various Mediterranean islands. According to Orhonlu (1993), naval dragomans were as influential and prestigious as imperial court dragomans since they were engaged in this profession in remote areas, which provided them with some independence, authority and special privileges (p. 180). To retain their position,

naval dragomans would strive for success in their work and offer expensive gifts to the Grand Admiral (Orhonlu, 1993, p. 180). Such excessive efforts point, yet again, to the positive image conveyed by the position itself.

The Ottoman Empire also demonstrated the significance of naval translation and interpreting by obliging dragomans to obtain a *berat* (credential) in order to be appointed to the post (Balcı, 2007, p. 27). Requiring an official qualification for this post increases its prestige and respectability, as is recognized that not everyone who could speak a second language was necessarily competent enough to perform its tasks.

In addition to a diploma, Balcı gives information about some decrees which stressed the naval dragomans' noteworthy role in the imperial affairs. For example, one such decree stated that this post was defined as critical because "it is fairly important for the person in charge of naval translation and interpretation to be familiar with complicated European affairs as well as naval affairs, particularly when European powers are in such turmoil due to the recent revolution" (Balcı, 2007, p. 28, own translation). Another decree informs us that Yakovaki, a naval dragoman in 1811, was dismissed due to his incompetence and disloyalty. He was replaced by another dragoman called Todoraki. Similarly, a law enacted in 1820 emphasized that the selection of naval dragomans was of vital importance and demanded Ottoman officials to evaluate all candidates meticulously (Balcı, 2007, p. 28-29). All of these archive documents are suggestive of the naval dragoman's positive image in the Ottoman Empire, particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

2.2.3 Provincial dragomans

Provincial dragomans were employed in the provinces where most of the population did not speak Turkish to facilitate communication between Ottoman subjects and imperial officials. As these dragomans would convey the demands from the communities living in these regions to the imperial centre, they built a positive image among different segments of the society and were recognized as the "representatives of the people" by the imperial system due to their close relations with non-Muslim populations (Balcı, 2007, p. 19). These dragomans would also collect taxes and other incomes from the people as a part of their jobs. Although the possibility of corruption was always present, translators who behaved impartially and fairly would be trusted and appreciated by everybody. The Cypriot provincial dragoman Yorgaki, who worked there between 1804 and 1805, is an oft cited as a positive example of this (Balcı, 2007, p. 19).

The provincial dragomans also held a respectable position in the imperial hierarchy. For instance, in Egypt, which was a complexly organized province, the head dragoman supervised and oversaw dragomans in other provinces. This head dragoman's prestige is signified by his position as a member in the Sublime Council of Egypt (Balcı, 2007, p. 20). Similarly, Hacı Georgokis Kornessios, who was a dragoman between 1779 and 1809, was one of the more famous figures in Cypriot society. His wealth was largely based on tax collection. However, his real prestige resulted from his broad influence on nearly all public and private proceedings in the island, which strongly demonstrates the positive image held by dragomans (Balcı, 2007, p. 20).

The Ottoman Empire employed a sub-group of provincial dragomans, called tribunal dragomans, to offer interpreting services in formal hearings for its subjects

who did not know Turkish in formal hearings. Little information has been obtained

about them. Therefore, further research is needed in order to fully understand these

dragomans' status, prestige and image in the imperial bureaucracy. However, it is

possible to reach some conclusions regarding their image and prestige from the few

studies that do exist on this topic. According to Kemal Çiçek (1996) and Güven Dinç

and Cemil Çelik (2012), all of whom studied Cypriot tribunal interpreters, tribunal

dragomans had above average incomes and were quite influential in the community

during the eighteenth century (p. 51; p. 45). Working in a more remote area meant

that their local influence was greater and that they could move up in ranks more

easily. These details suggest that the position of the tribunal dragoman, although

subordinate to that of the provincial dragoman, nonetheless held a prestigious image

in imperial affairs.

2.2.4 Embassy dragomans

Embassy dragomans represented yet another indispensable category for diplomatic

relations between the Ottoman Empire and leading European powers. Even though

the Ottoman state did not establish any embassies or consulates in any European

capital until the 1730s, European states started to send their ambassadors to the

Ottoman capital and to other important provinces from the mid-fifteenth century

onward (Orhonlu, 1993, p. 180). The Republic of Venice was the first European state

to establish a permanent embassy in Istanbul and thus set an example for other

countries with their diplomatic effectiveness. Ottoman dragomans were frequently

employed in these foreign embassies, which subsequently made embassy dragomans

a privileged and valuable professional group (Köse, 2011, p. 1066).

These dragomans were chosen among non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Since it was a critical and, at the same time, a prestigious position, the Ottoman Empire would also require its non-Muslim citizens to qualify for a *berat* before being appointed as a dragoman to an embassy or consulate. Some Greek families started to pay for these posts in order to benefit from their advantages (Orhonlu, 1993, p. 180).

The importance of embassy dragomans depended on various factors. First of all, their mediating strength and intermediary position between ambassadors, the Sublime Porte, and provincial governors made them irreplaceable, particularly for European states that were less familiar the Ottoman Empire and its social structure. Their ability to contact top Ottoman statesmen due to their position is also one of the most important factors. In addition, they played a key role for European powers in understanding the complex and unfamiliar structure of the Ottoman state mechanism and society (Köse, 2011, p. 1068). Their bilingualism was another reason why foreign embassies attached such importance to the services, as they could monitor significant events which took place in both the Muslim and Christian worlds (Balcı, 2007, p. 31). In order to emphasize the role of dragomans in their embassy, the Vicomte de Saint Priest, a French ambassador to Istanbul during the reign of Louis XVI, stated that they were actually subordinated to these dragomans because ambassadors could only base their communications with top officials on the information provided by the dragoman (Fontmagne, 1977, p. 40).

In short, embassy dragomans created a bridge between the Ottoman Empire and the embassies of European countries through their familiarity with the two considerably different cultures. As a result, they succeeded in maintaining a favourable image in both the Ottoman Empire and the embassies where they worked.

2.3 The dragoman's rights and privileges

The dragoman's critical and vital positions bear utmost importance in exploring their key role in Ottoman internal and external affairs leading up to the Tanzimat period. Therefore, their professional image can also be attributed to the complexity and breadth of Ottoman diplomatic relations. However, imperial officials also made attempts to improve the status of dragomans, to ensure their happiness and productivity, with numerous regulations which entitled them to enjoy special rights. Eruz (2010), stressing this point, states that the tendency of the Ottoman Empire towards increasing its dragomans' authority was starkly contrasted to the more limited authority of European translators and interpreters working for various embassies in Istanbul (p. 75). Therefore, it is possible to draw enlightening conclusions about the dragoman's images through an analysis of what the empire allowed dragomans to possess as an advantage of their profession.

Along with an increase in their effectiveness, dragomans' rights were improved significantly in the Phanariot dragomans' period. The greatest opportunity in being a dragoman was being awarded the title of Prince of Wallachia and Moldavia in 1709 (Orhonlu, 1993, p. 177). This can be considered a great development in the significance of their position. Actually, it was the first step towards a much more privileged life since they could broaden their jurisdiction (albeit still subordinate to the grand vizier and the chief scribe) and benefit from several rights which other non-Muslim citizens could never otherwise enjoy (Aydın, 2007, p. 58). Even European administrators marvelled at the degree of autonomy and authority they enjoyed. Findley (1980) reports that some Westerners who visited Wallachia and Moldovia were shocked by the Phanariots' luxurious lifestyles and found it surprising to see "a Greek prince ruling as the slave of the Sultan" and

argues that these princes enjoyed an administrative and cultural authority comparable to that of top Ottoman officials (p. 93). Similarly, given the higher status which being Prince of Wallachia and Moldovia brings, Aydın (2007) states that translators and interpreters working for European embassies were far from obtaining such advantages (p. 59).

Among other advantages and privileges, as Orhonlu (1993) describes in his article, a grand dragoman would be able to hire eight *dil oğlanı* (boys of language) and twelve servants (p. 177). They were also exempt from paying the *cizye*, a kind of tax which non-Muslim Ottoman citizens were normally obliged to pay. Furthermore, those who worked for dragomans could also benefit from the same decree and thus did not pay the *cizye* tax. Other privileges which imperial court dragomans could enjoy, along with the grand dragoman, included growing a beard, employing four servants, riding a horse, and wearing fur (Orhonlu, 1993, p. 177). In addition, dragomans also wore clothes particular to their profession in official ceremonies (Köse, 2011, p. 1067), which would show off their professional identity. All of these special rights were associated with a prosperous and prestigious life.

Furthermore, imperial court dragomans would often receive extra money on top of their regular salary. For instance, the Istanbul Patriarchate would give around 5000 *kuruş* to dragomans in the Mora Peninsula. Moreover, if a dragoman showed remarkable success in the tasks which he undertook, he would receive a bonus. Ambassadors to Istanbul would also offer some extra payment to imperial court dragomans and sometimes give them valuable gifts (Balcı, 2007, p. 75). Thus, their performance was appreciated not only through official privileges, but also in the form of extra income.

Provincial dragomans, on the other hand, actually damaged the general image of the dragoman because they too often violated the limits of their power by oppressing the peripheral society while collecting taxes. Non-Muslim communities in various provinces sometimes complained to imperial officials about the dragomans' unfair and tyrannical practices. According to Balcı, these malpractices and instances of corruption had adverse effects on the dragomans' strength as mediators between imperial officials and their provincial subjects (Balcı, 2007, p. 23-24). These cases can, however, be seen as indicators of the power and authority which provincial dragomans disposed of. What is important to retain here is that they were accorded so many privileges that too many of them succumbed to temptation and corruption. On the one hand, it may be claimed that this created a negative dragoman image within the society because the public was negatively affected by their tyrant practices. On the other hand, the limit of their power indicates their positive image in the eyes of the Ottoman state because the state offered them numerous authorities in their professional area.

Embassy dragomans stationed abroad were able to enjoy different kinds of privileges when compared to imperial court dragomans; due to a lack of centralization in imperial affairs, they had more freedom and autonomy (Aydın, 2007, p. 59). However, their *berat*s were the real source of their rights and privileges. These allowed them to facilitate their professional and commercial activities with the empire. In addition to the professional recognition which this credential provided, they could obtain exemptions from the standard two percent customs tax. Combined with the exemption from the non-Muslim tax, this meant that embassy dragomans could avoid losing up to 10% of their earnings to taxes (Balcı, 2007, p. 38). Moreover, nobody was authorized to interfere in what embassy dragomans wore, ate

or used in their private houses. Diplomatic immunity was also granted to these dragomans. Any case which was filed against them would be transferred to religious courts in Istanbul and only these courts could try them (Balcı, 2007, p. 35).

2.4 The dragoman's image in the works of art

Works of art often reflect the political and ideological climate of a society, offering important clues about the social and cultural values and conditions in a certain period. Since society and culture are shaped by the people who live in it, it can be safely assumed that an analysis of a work of art can also provide information not only about the time and place but also about a person or a group of people. Taking this into account, useful information can be gathered about the dragoman's image by looking at their position in paintings which depict official ceremonies between Ottoman Sultans and foreign ambassadors.

Hitzel (1995) notices that French translators and interpreters were often dissatisfied with their salary and could not find opportunities for promotion to higher ranks because of the French bureaucracy (p. 84). It is quite probable that these French translators and interpreters unfavourably compared themselves to their dragoman counterparts. As a matter of fact, this feeling can be sensed in the paintings by Western artists depicting the official ceremonies they attended in the Ottoman palace. In general, a dragoman is represented as a permanent fixture in an audience scene, thus "visually expressing the salience of his professional function" (Gürçağlar, 2003, p. 9). In other words, dragomans found themselves to be central figures rather than being secondary figures in these paintings (Gürçağlar, 2003, p. 21).

The dragoman's image in Westerners' eyes can be seen in their positions in the paintings. For instance, they would usually directly look at the sultan himself and were placed in a position superior to that of an interpreter from a foreign embassy due to his vital role in the imperial hierarchy (Gürçağlar, 2003, p. 12). In addition, it must be also noted that imperial court dragomans would always stand between the top Ottoman official, either the Sultan or the grand vizier, and the foreign representative. Therefore, they become the second most important person in an official ceremony, which makes them "a visible, dominant and indispensable element" in these paintings (Gürçağlar, 2003, p. 16). One can surmise by these paintings that the dragoman's image in the West is one of prestige and respectability.

2.5 Educational institutions for dragoman training

Being able to establish educational institutions specifically designed to train members of a professional group is definitely indicative of the overall importance accorded to the profession in question. Since these schools will produce qualified individuals, their performance will yield more satisfying results due to their higher institutional proficiency; this in turn will further contribute to the positive image of the profession in the eyes of government officials and of society. As a result, receiving training and credentials from an official institution is not merely a formal requirement; it allows a person to gain a concrete professional identity.

In terms of dragoman training, the Ottoman Empire can be criticized since no official institution had been established for this professional group until 1821. As converts to Islam were thought to be able to perform the task it due to their native European languages, and that these individuals could get their training abroad, imperial officials did not find it necessary to establish such institutions. However, the

European powers were not of the same opinion and attached greater importance to their translators/interpreters' training. In this respect, the Venetians in 1551 were the first European country to have founded an educational institution for institutional translation and interpreting training. The students trained in these schools were called *dil oğlanı* in Turkish, *giovanni della lingua* in Italian or *enfants de langue* in French, and they were subject to a specific training in Venice before coming to Istanbul to foster their abilities in the Ottoman language and quite talented at translating both from and into Turkish (Balcı, 2007, p. 13).

France also established a similar school based on the Venetian model in 1669. Their main aim was to train translators/interpreters who were loyal to the French king (Balcı, 2007, p. 14). French boys were put through an extensive education in the Ottoman language as well as in Arabic and Persian. They were obliged to translate a work from these languages into French to graduate from these schools. Balcı (2007) argues that the Frenchs were more successful than the Venetians in terms of the education they provided to their prospective translators/interpreters (p. 14).

It can be suggested that dragomans could not enjoy similar pedagogical facilities as their European counterparts was concerned. Although the empire showed high interest in its translators and interpreters, it did not pay attention to their training and left this critical point to chance. In other words, dragomans remained unqualified in terms of education in the imperial system. In this respect, and in this respect only, one could make the claim that the dragomans were at a disadvantage because they did not receive special training in their field within the empire. This, however, is not necessarily indicative of a bad image. Not understanding the need for specialized training does not mean that the Ottoman elite held dragomans in lower regard. As we have seen, the opposite was more clearly the case.

CHAPTER 3

THE TRANSLATOR'S IMAGE IN THE TANZIMAT PERIOD

The second important period of the Ottoman Empire in terms of the institutional translator's image is the Tanzimat period. Two main events in the Tanzimat period had immense impacts on translation: (1) the establishment of the *Tercüme Odası* (The Translation Chamber) in 1821 and (2) the promulgation of the *Tanzimat Fermanı* (The Imperial Edict of Reorganization) in 1839. The former certainly affected the translator's image in a positive way as it functioned as an institution of translator training; the latter, due to the political and social conditions which it brought about, paved the way for the promotion of translators to prestigious the highest and most prestigious ranks of the Ottoman administration.

First, it is necessary to have a look at the political conditions in which this period flourished. The *Tanzimat Fermanı*, also known as the *Gülhane Hatt-ı Hümayunu* (Gülhane Supreme Edict), was declared in Gülhane Parkı on November 3, 1839 after having been written by the Sultan himself. It included several reforms and regulations concerning military affairs, education, public administration, and the equal rights of various ethnic groups. Since the Tanzimat Edict discouraged any discrimination regarding any ethnic or religious community, and indirectly limited the Sultan's authority and power, it is regarded as an extraordinary event and a crucial step towards modernization and democracy (Berk, 1999, p. 13). There is no doubt that this development indicated the beginning of a new era for imperial translators and interpreters, too. Additionally, it created a new environment where translators and interpreters would play more vital roles grand viziers, minister, and ambassadors.

Although the Tanzimat period started in 1839, I would like to start analyzing this period from 1821, when the Greek revolt took place, leading imperial officials to lose their trust and confidence in the Phanariot dragomans, who had dominated their profession since the mid-seventeenth century. As the imperial court dragomans' principal duty was to interpret and translate for the sultan in case of formal meetings with European ambassadors and official documents, they managed to access top secret information about the imperial affairs and, as a result, they abused their positional power (Paker, 2009, p. 552). It was revealed that dragomans were involved in treason and had co-operated with Greek rebels with letters which provoked turmoil in the Mora Peninsula. This subsequently led to the execution of three dragomans in April 1821, one of whom had worked in the imperial court while the other two worked for naval forces (Akyıldız, 2011, p. 504). This urged Ottoman officials to reorganize their diplomatic core which, unsurprisingly, led to the dismissal of all Greek subjects who served the Sultan in imperial offices (Balcı, 2007, p. 82).

This development can certainly be considered a blow to the translator's and interpreter's image, and this led to a significant shift in their status and prestige. After the removal of all Greek staff in the state mechanism, the empire started to search for Muslim translators and interpreters who were of Turkish origin in order to ensure that it would not be betrayed again in the future. However, since the Ottoman Empire had always relied upon non-Muslim citizens for its translation and interpreting activity in any official capacity, it was not easy to find Turkish Muslims for the position (Findley, 1980, p. 133).

Due to this severe scarcity of qualified individuals, the importance of the translator's and interpreter's role actually increased in the immediate aftermath of the

Revolt. Therefore, Turkish Muslim translators and interpreters who had command of a Western language and familiarity with the diplomatic affairs with European states were desperately needed. The mere knowledge of a foreign language, contrary to the popular belief today in Turkey, was not considered sufficient on its own to occupy such positions (Balcı, 2007, p. 85). In other words, the Ottoman administration needed chief translators or interpreters who would act as second ministers of foreign affairs not only translating official documents but also organizing their content as well (Lewis, 2004, p. 28). As a result, new conditions emerged which would enable Turkish Muslim translators to prove their worth and strengthen their image in the empire.

Soon after the 1821 Revolt, the Ottoman Empire also decided to train its own dragomans who would later become leading figures in the political and diplomatic life as prominent intellectuals in society (Eruz, 2010, p. 170). Given the privileged position held by translators and interpreters in the Ottoman hierarchy, and the void left by the dismissed Greeks, this period offered unprecedented opportunities to many Muslim Turks. As a result, and despite the unpopularity of the Phanariot dragomans following the Revolt, the translator's and interpreter's professional image actually witnessed a positive trend within the Turkish population in the nineteenth century. In other words, the Greeks' image was tarnished, not the profession's.

3.1 The Translation Chamber

The solution to the lack of qualified translators and interpreters was the Translation Chamber. Its importance for the translator's image in the Ottoman Empire of the nineteenth century cannot be overemphasized. Even the existence of an official institution named as such marked the beginning of a new era for this professional

group; they found in it the chance to experience an exhaustive education in language and diplomacy, which resulted in the birth of a new pool of young intellectuals who were going to shape the future of Ottoman culture and politics. Bernard Lewis, drawing attention to the Translation Chamber, maintains that it helped bilingual people to form the new Ottoman elite instead of military or religious authorities; thus the Translation Chamber was seen as a "battle field" which would lead to dominance in the empire (Arslan, 2009, p. 425). It can be argued that the longstanding positive image of translators and interpreters' of the previous centuries grew even stronger as a result of this official institution.

First, the process by which Ottoman Sultans paved the way for the establishment of this institution should be understood in order to gain insight into translators' considerably increasing role in the Tanzimat period. After Selim III started a comprehensive bureaucratic reform in 1789, one of the first institutions to be re-organized was the Sublime Porte. Within it was the Office of the Chief Scribe which was turned into the Ministry of Foreign Affairs towards the mid-nineteenth century. The translators in the imperial court, who worked in this office, were transferred to a new office of their own, called the Translation Chamber, which was one of the first offices to be found in the Sublime Porte. This was probably because Ottoman officials found it useful to create a separate office for a more systematic way of handling foreign correspondence. However, although the Translation Chamber functioned as an office for imperial court translators, it was soon going to play a more important role as a school producing those qualified translators. Since the chief scribe acquired the title of Foreign Minister, he would definitely need a qualified staff to conduct diplomatic affairs in foreign languages and, not surprisingly, this task was to be fulfilled by members of the Translation Chamber. As

a result, students of this school who were promoted to various positions in the ministry shaped the future of Ottoman diplomacy directly for the rest of nineteenth century (Findley, 1980, p. 186). Among these students were famous figures such as Ali Paşa, Fuat Paşa and Ahmet Vefik Paşa who as translators would come to the forefront of the Ottoman imperial administration in the following years. Given that this chamber existed at the intersection of Ottoman political and diplomatic relations, its significance was soon understood by young Ottoman civil servants who worked hard to gain access to this prestigious institution.

At the end of first decade following its establishment, the staff in the Translation Chamber further enhanced their experience and competence in the diplomatic world thanks to their correspondence with European states, and they increased their numbers until 1841 (Aydın, 2007, p. 61). Meanwhile, during the reign of Mahmud II, Ottoman ambassadors to major European capitals such as Paris, London Vienna were accompanied by young translators from the Translation Chamber (Akyıldız, 2011, p. 505). These civil servants were able to broaden their knowledge of foreign languages in these cities and in their contact with higher diplomatic communities (Akyıldız, 2011, p. 505). They also became more familiar with European society and daily life and became acquainted with the various popular movements of the time, which influenced the potential reformist intellectuals and statesmen of the upcoming decades. The fact that nearly all of these reformists were trained and employed by the Translation Chamber is not a coincidence (Balcı, 2007, p. 99). Following the Crimean War (1853-1856) in particular, the number of people applying for positions in the Translation Chamber reached much higher levels, and Ottoman officials were forced to arrange exams to select the most suitable candidates, who could only start after they were approved by the head dragoman of

the imperial court and Sultan, respectively (Balcı, p. 106). The severity of the selection process and high number of applications point to the prestige and positive image of the Chamber.

3.1.1 The Translation Chamber as a school of translator training

The Translation Chamber as a school of languages made great contributions to translators' professional life. This is even more noteworthy given that no such school existed for Muslim and Turkish translators in the previous centuries, other than those established by European embassies for their own staff. In a sense, with the Translation Chamber, the Ottoman state attempted to recover from this lack of translator training institutions. The Translation Chamber had the positive effect of meeting the educational needs of young civil servants in the areas of language and diplomacy. Since it was a formal imperial institution, young individuals who received the thorough education offered by the Translation Chamber found it easier to have themselves promoted within imperial offices.

Analysing the regulations that structured the Translation Chamber can be quite revealing. The first regulation regarding the chamber was enacted in April 1824. This regulation is important because it divided the chamber into two sections: the Language Chamber and the Translation Chamber. The former was attended by young civil servants who needed to learn foreign languages, while the latter served as an office where graduates of the first chamber would work as translators (Balcı, 2007, p. 87). Such a division of labour definitely yielded a much healthier system; it resulted in the output of a highly functional and respected staff.

Permanency in the Translation Chamber was much more challenging. According to an 1824 regulation, when a translator's performance was considered

ineffective by the Chamber officials, he would be dismissed and another graduate from the Language Chamber would be promoted to the Translation Chamber (Balcı, 2007, p. 88). The Chamber officials maintained a strict and demanding attitude towards the staff and did not tolerate lax or incompetent employees by any means.

Thanks to another document dating back to May 1838, as Balcı (2007) informs us, two classes were created within the school, namely the *sınıf-ı sani* (second grade) and the *sınıf-ı evvel* (first grade), and only those who gained proficiency in translation and speaking in a foreign language in the second grade, and whose general character was tested, would be entitled to resume their training in the first grade (p. 101). Unlike today, translation was by far the more important skill for the appointment to the Chamber or for moving up to its first class; it was not based on nepotism or the mere knowledge of a foreign language.

In 1856, the Translation Chamber went through a remarkable process of change; it was completely transformed into a school of language with new regulations relating to its curriculum. Four sections were created for French courses, and the English language was introduced for the first time as a separate course. In addition, a wide spectrum of courses such as geography, history, mathematics, French law, international law, and syntax were also taught. Young civil servants who started their career in the Chamber enrolled in one of these language courses, and when completed, they would receive significant salary increases and promotion to higher ranks (Balcı, 2007, p. 104-105; Akyıldız, 2011, p. 505).

A critical point must be noted in this new curriculum. Even though young civil servants completed language courses, they were not allowed to work full time in the Translation Chamber unless their ability to translate reached a sufficiently high level (Balcı, 2007, p. 104). This is yet another example of the high value Ottoman

officials placed on translation. In 1866, another school of language was established by the empire in order to train civil servants, who were under the age of twenty five, for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Chamber officials expected them to gain the highest level of proficiency in French within five years (Balcı, 2007, p. 108).

A new regulation consisting of 26 articles was enacted in April 1883 for specific improvements in the functioning of the school of language that was established in 1866. It stated that the positions of one principal, two vice principals (one for the first grade and one for the second grade), a controller, a proof-reader and three interns were to be established and supervised by the head dragoman of the imperial court. Additionally, whenever a vacant position would become available in grades, the new civil servant to be appointed to it would be selected by a council presided by the *Tercüman Bey* (Head Translator) with a translation exam (Balcı, 2007, p. 109). The fact that the head translator oversaw a staff of eight people and that they had full authority in the examining council for new appointments demonstrated the sultan's high esteem for them.

3.2 Key figures in the Tanzimat period

When Muslim and Turkish translators gained much more importance upon the exclusion of non-Muslim staff from all offices after the Greek revolt, they became the only option for the empire. The sultan had to create the Translation Chamber in order to integrate them better into state affairs. This section will analyze the positions held by those who were trained in the Translation Chamber until 1876, the end of the Tanzimat period. I will also compare the different career paths, rights, and privileges of translators and interpreters in the pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat periods.

In 1821, Yahya Naci Efendi, a Bulgarian convert, was the first Muslim translator after the Greek Revolt to have been appointed as the head dragoman of the imperial court. He was already a famous figure as the head professor of the Imperial Army Engineering School, one of the most prestigious schools at the time. However, since he was promoted to head dragoman quite hastily, he could not manage all of translation business of the Sublime Porte. In addition, although he taught French to several civil servants from different offices, his proficiency in French was insufficient to carry out the task of diplomacy and translation. Therefore, Mahmud II, the sultan at the time, was forced to replace him with a non-Muslim Greek named Istavraki. Even though Istavraki had proven himself loyal to the Empire, the Sultan put Yahya Efendi back in charge after only a year (Balcı, 2007, p. 83). This confirms the Ottoman administration's policy shift towards putting Muslims in the positions that had once been held by Christians.

The second important Muslim translator in the Sublime Porte in this early period was İshak Efendi, a convert of Jewish origin, who started his career in 1824. He worked for the Sublime Porte for nearly five years and was later promoted to teaching positions in the Imperial Army Engineering School. İshak Efendi is also well known for having pioneered the development of modern science in Turkey through the translation of scholarly works in the field of mathematics, physics and chemistry (Balcı, 2007, p. 92). Thanks to his knowledge in the field of military engineering, he was also charged with the task of supporting Ottoman troops in Edirne who fought off Russian forces in (Balcı, 2007, p. 92). Unlike Yahya Efendi, İshak Efendi used his position as a dragoman as a springboard towards more prestigious positions; it was by first being a dragoman that he could aspire to those positions.

The translator's image became even more positive for Muslims after the 1830s, when they rose to unprecedented positions. Translators could become ambassadors, foreign ministers and even grand viziers (Eruz, 2010, p. 112). One of the first translators to emerge in the 1830s was Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa. He attended the Translation Chamber first in 1833 and was then appointed as the head clerk of a council which conducted diplomatic affairs in Vienna, where he fostered his knowledge of French. Later, in 1837, he was selected as the head dragoman of the imperial court following a diplomatic mission in St. Petersburg. He also accompanied the grand vizier Mustafa Reşit Paşa in his mission in London in 1838, and was recognized for his exemplary service. He was later appointed as foreign minister in 1846 and grand vizier in 1852 (Beydilli, 1989, p. 425-426). His rise to these important positions can be traced back to his beginnings as a translator. The Ottoman Empire was likely the only place where a translator could aspire to playing such prominent roles in the running of the state.

Keçecizade Fuat Paşa, another important figure, was also a head dragoman of the Sublime Porte in this period. Although he graduated from the faculty of medicine, he preferred following a career in the Translation Chamber and was promoted to the rank of "first class dragoman" in 1839. He worked as the embassy clerk in London for about four years. Following his one-year mission in Spain and Portugal, he was appointed the head dragoman of Sublime Porte in 1845 and was decorated for his achievements in settling a diplomatic dispute with the Russians in 1850. Because of his success in a tax collection mission in Egypt, he was promoted to the grand vizierate in 1852. In the upcoming years, he performed as the grand vizier in the Ottoman state four more times (Köprülü, 1996), p. 202-203). As with

Mehmet Emin Ali Paşa, Keçecizade Fuat Paşa's career path started at the Translation Chamber, and clearly indicated the positive image that translators enjoyed.

Ahmet Vefik Paşa is probably the most famous translator in the Tanzimat period thanks to his contributions to both Turkish language and culture. It can be argued that he was a symbol for translators as far as this period is concerned. Actually, he was innately fortunate because he owed his fame and positive image to his descendant Yahya Naci Efendi, who had also been the head dragoman in the imperial court. Findley (1980) maintains that Ahmet Vefik Paşa prevented translation activity from being marginalized and even increased its status and prestige among the young clerks of the Sublime Porte (p. 135). Thus, his contribution to the translator's and interpreter's image must be examined closely.

Ahmet Vefik Paşa went to Paris during his father's ambassadorship in France and mastered French through his high school education there, which paved the way for his career in the Translation Chamber, which started in 1837. He was appointed the chief scribe in the London embassy in 1840 before being promoted as the head dragoman in the Sublime Porte in 1847. In a period of 30 years, he served as the ambassador to Paris, the minister of state, the minister of foundations and the minister of education as well as a member of the council of state. He became the first president of the first democratic Ottoman assembly. He also translated various works from Victor Hugo and Moliere and introduced new genres to Turkish literature (Eruz, 2010, p. 111). He certainly represents the ideal image of the translator/interpreter of the Tanzimat period.

Ahmet Arifi Paşa was yet another prominent figure for translation in the Tanzimat period. Similar to those mentioned above, he worked first as a clerk in the Vienna embassy and returned to Istanbul in 1843 to work in the Translation Chamber

of the Sublime Porte. In the following years, during the 1850s, he served as a dragoman in the imperial court and was later promoted to grand vizier. According to Aydın (2007), his proficiency in foreign languages, probably French and German, and his translation skills were the first and foremost factor in his rise to the second most important position in the empire (p. 63). This is, of course, just another example of how translation in the Ottoman Empire provided clear opportunities for advancement.

In general, a number of common points may be found in these famous figures' career paths. While translators could aspire to receiving an ambassadorship or even a principality in the previous centuries, the translators in the Tanzimat period followed a career path starting in the Translation Chamber as clerks and leading up to the positions of minister in the Sublime Porte. As a result, it can be clearly seen that the Translation Chamber, as a school for translator training, contributed greatly to the translator's image.

3.3 The translator's image as seen in professional regulations

Tanzimat period witnessed a massive translation movement, particularly towards mid-nineteenth century. The main reason behind this movement was Ottoman officials' attempt to transfer the Western scientific knowledge into the Ottoman society. In this respect, translation was used a means of transferring technological and intellectual developments from the West, particularly from France, to Ottoman culture. Therefore, within the framework of polysystem theory, it can be stated that scientific and technical translation was located at the centre of Ottoman system in this period.

These translation institutions also offer important information in terms of the notion of cultural entrepreneur. As Even Zohar (2010) clearly explains, these people dominantly control the decision-making process when a community seek for new options to shape its cultural system, and they offer alternative options/solutions (p. 192). As will be seen in the upcoming pages, the translators who undertook an active role in various translation institutions of the Tanzimat period can be considered within the scope of agents of change and/or cultural entrepreneurs because they were the ones who decided on the content and amount of technical works to be translated. Furthermore, having gone beyond the role of decision-maker, they actively took part in the translation process by translating scientific and technical works from various European languages.

The image of a professional as seen by the state is often expressed through the regulations implemented by the state in its regard. The way the members of that group are referred to and treated in these legal or professional regulations gives us clues as to their status, rights, privileges, and importance for the state. The Tanzimat period produced several new institutions, and studying them closely can reveal a great deal about how translators and interpreters were perceived. The emergent *Encümen-i Daniş* (the Academy of Knowledge), the *Tercüme Cemiyeti* (the Translation Society), and the *Meclis-i Maarif-i Kebir* (the Grand Assembly of Education) are leading institutions in this process. Therefore, an analysis of the regulations and the official mandates of these institutions will shed light on how translators and their performance were perceived by the Ottoman Empire.

The Academy of Knowledge is the best known and most studied institution in the Tanzimat period due to the prestigious figures it included and the distinguished position it held as the first modern academy in the Ottoman Empire. It was

established in July 18, 1851, and the opening ceremony was attended by both the Sultan and the grand vizier (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 62). It is considered to be a milestone in Turkish scientific history and was directly initiated by the state. Many prominent translators of the period were included in its ranks.

The first *raison d'être* of this academy, according to Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar (1988), was to prepare textbooks for the first modern university to be established in Istanbul, *Darülfünun* (university), which would be a precursor to the University of Istanbul, and adds that the underlying motive behind this institution, however, was to create a bridge between the Ottoman state and the scientific developments in the West (p. 144). Then it can be safely assumed that technical translation, and institutional translators, would play a central role in its activities, and many of its regulations pertain to translators and their tasks.

Article 2 of the Academy of Knowledge Regulation stipulates that a member should be proficient enough in a foreign language to translate into Turkish, indicating that the institution planned to focus on translation activity more than anything else (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 64). In addition, the same article states that the ability to translate from a Western language, Arabic, or Persian would be acknowledged as a necessary qualification for being a prominent figure in a scientific field (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 69). Additionally, Article 7 states that members would receive no formal salary as membership in the Academy of Knowledge was its own reward (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 72). Nevertheless, a member's activities as a translator would be rewarded with various payments and awards (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 72).

The way degrees were awarded in this institution is also suggestive. Three degrees were identified to qualify translations done by any member of this group: (1) If any member translates or writes a useful book on his own even though it is not

necessary, it shall be awarded third degree; (2) if any member translates or writes a useful book on his own or upon the commission by the Academy, it shall be awarded second degree; (3) if any member translates or writes a groundbreaking book from any scientific discipline, it shall be awarded first degree (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 75). In all cases, translation is put on equal footing with the authoring of an original work. In today's world, there is an ongoing and heating debate regarding the status and creativity of the translator when compared to the original author of text. Translations are rarely given the same recognition as original works. Clearly, the Tanzimat period had a very different attitude towards translators and their work.

Kayaoğlu, offering further information on the awarding policy, reports that owners of third degree works were paid a significant amount of money or given copyrights of the book which they produced while second degree owners' names were inscribed on the *Levha-i İmtiyaz* (Board of Prestige) along with the payment granted to third degree owners. The recipient of the first degree, in addition to the payments and awards of the previous two degrees, would also be decorated with a special medal (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 75).

After the Academy of Knowledge was closed down in 1862, a new institution called the Translation Society was founded in 1865. It aimed to resume the translation activities initiated by the Academy of Knowledge. In other words, it continued to deal with translations of books from various languages for academic purposes. This goal was clearly stressed in Article 1 of the Translation Society's policy statement, which states that this institution was going to preserve the Academy of Knowledge's positive attitude towards translators and translation (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 119-120).

Article 3 of the Translation Society's policy statement gives us enlightening information about the nature of its staff. It stipulates that the chairman and all members should be able to translate from a European language (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 125). Article 6 deals with the division of labour and states that any book to be translated or written in any discipline shall be assigned to a member who is specialized in that discipline (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 127). Unlike the pervasive view in Turkey today, this article asserted that knowledge of a foreign language on its own was not a sufficient qualification to undertake a translation task.

The policy regarding awards of the Translation Society partially differs from that of the Academy of Knowledge. For example, according to Article 11, a translator's or author's name shall appear on the cover of his work and it shall be specified why he received the award (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 128). The article, similar to those of the Academy of Knowledge, gives equal value to translators and authors. Article 17 states that if any member of the society displays accomplishments superior to other members with their translated and written works, their names shall appear in the annual report and that they shall also be decorated with a medal by the Sultan (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 129). Apart from the financial aspects of these awards, this prestigious award accolades the high esteem in which the translators of the time were held. The translator's positive image was transferred from the Academy of Knowledge to the Translation Society.

The Grand Assembly of Education was the third important Tanzimat institution, and it supported translators and translation activity via two different sub-organizations: the *Daire-i İlmiye* (the Office of Science) and *Telif ve Tercüme Dairesi* (the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation). They were founded in 1869. As their names suggest, similar to the organizations previously mentioned,

these two offices undertook the translation of scientific books from Western languages for curricular or educational purposes in various public schools in the Ottoman territory (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 136).

The first organization, the Office of Science, also corresponded with various universities in Europe, which definitely required a greater number of translators who had command of French, the dominant academic language of the day (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 136), and this influenced the selection of its members; as Article 133 and 136 of its charter clearly states, any member should be capable of translating from Western languages such as Greek, Latin or French and corresponding with European universities (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 135). Therefore, translators were once again appointed as the leaders and main actors of this organization.

The policy regarding awards in this institution is of a similar character that of the Translation Society's. Article 25 of the charters for both the Office of Science and the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation specified the awards that would be given for works produced by its members: "first award", "second award", and "a certificate of praise". However, the important part of this article, once again, is that it states that books shall be published with their authors' or translators' names on them. Furthermore, the award winning translators (and authors) would be announced in the official gazette (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 142), which clearly helped to build up their image.

The other organization, the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation, was founded during the reign of Abdulhamit II in 1879. It is another example of the importance attached to translation activity within educational institutions (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 149). This institution is the direct outcome of several articles relating to the Ministry of Education from the first constitution of the Ottoman Empire (the *Kanun-i*

Esasî) enacted in 1876. As the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation was active under this ministry, it can be stated that its establishment was actually planned in the constitution by the Ottoman state. Münif Efendi, the then minister of education, prepared a charter to define the main goal of the Office as "to translate existing scientific works deemed necessary for educational purposes from European languages into Turkish" (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 150-151, own translation). Therefore, the reasons behind its existence are basically the same as those of the previous translation institutions.

Even though it was legally grounded in the first modern Ottoman constitution, the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation was unable to translate actively from European languages. This failure is attributed to financial reasons; only two years after it came into being, the Ministry of Education decided to close down the Office, claiming that it was not able to accomplish its pre-determined goals (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 151).

The Council of Inspection and Examination was founded to replace the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation. As its name implies, it was intended to put translations through a meticulous examination in order to prevent any work opposed to imperial policies from reaching the Ottoman market (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 154-155). This Council was definitely considered as mechanism for censorship. This no doubt put pressure on the translators of the day and negatively influenced their performance by restricting their choice of texts and translation strategies. In this respect, it can be argued that the emergence of this council marked the beginning of the change, towards the negative, in the institutional translators' image because the council's censoring attitude towards translators was not a practice as favourable as those seen in the pre-Tanzimat and early decades of the Tanzimat period.

CHAPTER 4

THE INSTITUTIONAL TRANSLATOR'S IMAGE

IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

4.1 The transition period for the institutional translator's image: 1900-1920s

The republican period mentioned in this study refers to when the new Turkish state

declared its independence in 1923 and proclaimed republicanism as the new

administrative system. This radical development is important since it directly

affected the shift in the institutional translator's image. The political and cultural

transition from the Ottoman Empire to the modern republic must be understood to

gain insight into the shifting images of institutional translator and translation.

The Ottoman society comprised various ethnic elements such as Turks,

Greeks, Armenians, and Arabs as well as different religious communities such as

Muslims, Christians and Jews. It always bore a multicultural, multiethnic and

multilingual identity from the early fifteenth century. However, with the nationalist

movement and the dissemination of the notion of freedom which the French

Revolution brought about in the late eighteenth century, ethnic groups within the

Ottoman Empire started to express their will to gain independence and, to this aim,

they revolted against the empire as manifested by the Greek revolt. As a result,

throughout the nineteenth century, particularly nations in the Balkan region, started

to become independent and separated from the empire.

When it comes to the twenty-first century, the Ottoman Empire encountered a

similar scene in its territories. The victory in the Independence War in 1919-1923

between European allies and the Ottoman Empire resulted in the proclamation of the

new Turkish administrative system, and Turkey was now a nation-state. It was a

totally new era for the Turkish society because the multi-lingual and multinational Ottoman state turned into a mono-lingual and single-nation Turkish state. This is the point where the attempts to create a new identity for the Turkish nation started. Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of Republic of Turkey and its first president, clearly stated that the new Turkish state would be "a modern, European-oriented (Westernised), and secular society whose members would feel themselves to be primarily Turks" (Berk, 1999, p. 109). In other words, the first and foremost aim of the new and modern republic was to develop a sense of Turkishness.

Before starting to analyze early Republican period, a brief analysis of the translation institutions that were established and abandoned in the transition period leading up to the Republic as well as the official discourse on institutional translation and translators between 1900 and the 1920s may shed further light on the institutional translator's image in this era.

The first two decades of the twentieth century were quite unproductive in terms of the number of translation institutions. The only active institution was the Office of Indigenous Writing and Translation established in 1914 (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 158). Since its name was identical to the translation institution founded in 1879 during the reign of Abdülhamit, it can be assumed that it adopted an identical mission, i.e. of transferring European scientific knowledge to the Ottoman educational system. In other words, the central position of technical translation in the Ottoman polysystem still continued. Additionally, similar to the translation institutions in the Tanzimat period, it was also governed by an official charter which shaped its staff and granted awards for completed works, whether indigenous writing (original in Turkish) or translation.

As its establishment coincided with the beginning of World War I, with the Ottoman Empire experiencing severe political and financial difficulties, the budget for this institution remained relatively limited. Therefore, regular staffers were paid a salary instead of receiving handsome financial awards for each work they produced (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 159). In addition, unlike earlier translation institutions in the nineteenth century, the professional qualities of its members and of its president who were appointed by the Ministry of Education were not clearly specified in the charter. It can be suggested that this factor negatively affected the performance of translators and further damaged the positive image they had acquired in the previous centuries.

On a positive note, however, the high degree of importance accorded to the translators by this institution can be inferred from the fact that translators and authors were again mentioned together in its charter. Moreover, their contribution to Ottoman science through the many books they translated gives us important clues as to their role in this challenging period of the empire. 25 percent of all works produced by the members of the Office were translations, mostly from French, and these were mostly technical texts from a number of fields such as engineering, physics, chemistry, agriculture, history, geography and law, to mention but a few (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 161-180). When these figures are taken into account, it is possible to argue that translators contributed a great deal in this transition period and that they still managed to preserve their distinguished position as their names appeared in these translated books.

There were also three other translation councils which focused, as did their predecessors, on transferring European knowledge via translation. These three councils were established in 1921, 1922 and 1923 and presided over Akçuraoğlu

Yusuf Bey, Samih Rıfat and Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik, respectively. Their fairly short lifespan can definitely be attributed to the volatile conditions prevailing in that period. Although its members were determined to attach importance to translation activity, the financial and political challenges of the time limited their productivity (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 204). As a result, translators were not supported by government agencies as much as they had been in the pre-Tanzimat and Tanzimat periods.

The way in which these councils granted commissions and awards is of interest. For instance, Akçuraoğlu Yusuf Bey's council commissioned translations based on the fields in which translators were specialized. However, it was sometimes impossible to find a specialized person in the council and thus the work to be translated was commissioned to another person outside the council (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 203). This might have caused the council to appear insufficient to the task, and this might have had a negative impact on its image. In addition, monetary awards were only offered when a council member translated an extraordinarily crucial scientific work, which indicates that regular performances were considered less worthy (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 203). It is evident that the Council was generally unable to meet its members' financial needs.

The second council under Samih Rıfat's presidency followed a similar policy. It also commissioned translations to specialists, and when this option was unavailable, the task would be transferred to an external individual (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 208). Financial awards were also out of the question in this council; it only granted a certificate of appraisal on which the president's signature and the official stamp of the Ministry of Education appeared (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 210). No noticeable difference existed in the translator's image in this council, as it is clear that similarly unfavourable economic and political conditions were persisting.

Compared to the limited opportunities offered by the previous two institutions, it can be argued that Abdülfeyyaz Tevfik's third council showed some financial improvement for translators. For example, according to its charter, a contract was signed between the Ministry of Education and the member who undertook a translation task. This contract stipulated that a translator's fee would be one to two Turkish liras per page while authors received one-point-five to three Turkish liras (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 236). Although a better financial incentive did exist for translators when compared to the two preceding councils, translators were paid less than the authors. Such inequality can definitely be regarded as a substantial drop in the translator's image when compared to the equal status that existed in the Tanzimat translation institutions.

The dramatic decline in the institutional translator's image can also be sensed in Mustafa Necati Bey's discourse, the Minister of Education at the time. He put forward the idea that these three councils, established following the emergence of Grand National Assembly, did not sufficiently participate actively in scientific developments and were thus incapable of completing their mission of improving the educational system in the country (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 248). However, Kayaoğlu (1998) criticizes this statement by pointing out that 68 works were produced by these three councils and that more than one third of these were technical translations in various fields (p. 250-264).

It is clear that the minister disregarded the amount of works that was produced despite the challenging financial and political conditions. This signifies a change in the top officials' point of view regarding institutional translators; it would appear as though their work was no longer as valued is it had previously been. In short, the gradual decline in the institutional translator's image is apparent in the

charters of the councils, which were in turn officially approved by the authorities, and signified a worsening image from the government's perspective.

4.2 The effects of Westernization and the Translation Bureau on the institutional translator's image

In the previous pages, it was stated that the new Turkish state aimed for creating a single-nation identity. The most eminent tool in this campaign was to integrate Westernization into the lifestyle in all walks of life as well as in state affairs. It was adopted as the official ideology and its widespread impacts were great, particularly in the 1930s, on Turkish language and culture. The leaders of the new Turkish state aimed to create a society and state mechanism which mimicked Western practices and adopted a Westernizing approach. This goal, of course, was not easy to accomplish quickly since the society and the government offices heavily bore the traces of the Ottoman Empire. It was necessary for statesmen of the new-born Turkish Republic to take major steps to complete their plans.

Various practices intended to promote a Western-oriented approach in several fields ranging from education to daily life. The adoption of European time and calendar in 1925 and European metric system in 1931 and the transition from Arabic letters to Latin alphabet in 1928 were primary examples of the Westernization movement in this period. In addition, government institutions and offices that were too enmeshed with the Ottoman imperial system such as the sultanate and the caliphate were abolished in 1922 and 1924, respectively.

Due to the differences of categories between Ottoman and Republican periods, it may seem problematic to compare these two periods because institutional translators were also affected by the abolition of various Ottoman institutions in the

professional area. Some categories of translators ceased to exist while some categories continued to exist and new categories also arose, particularly towards the last decade of twentieth century. For instance, since the state was no longer an empire and governed by a sultan, the post of imperial court dragoman was abolished. However, it can be said that leading government institutions such as various ministries continued to employ translators, who can be considered successors to the imperial court dragomans, particularly in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. These ministry translators will be mentioned in the upcoming sections. The post of was naval dragoman was not active anymore in the Republican period, either. However, court interpreters continued its activities and still perform in the current translation market. In addition, it can be stated that, a new category, particularly towards the end of twentieth century, emerged: community interpreting. Actually, this category can be compared to the provincial dragomans because it is a mechanism which facilitates communication between official institutions and the people in circumstances in which at least one person who cannot speak Turkish is involved. Therefore, these categories will also be referred briefly in the upcoming sections.

The most significant point for institutional translators was the closure of the Translation Chamber. This is one of the most significant moments in the shift of the official attitude towards translators. The Chamber was integrated into the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was created within the body of Grand National Assembly in 1920 (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). Although it had always been connected to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs since it was first established in 1821, it ceased to exist independently with the fall of the Ottoman Empire. As mentioned above, its role as a centre of translation where all official documents as well as

scientific works were translated continued during the Republican period in the form of new councils and professional organizations; however, the Translation Chamber's vital role as an institution of translator training totally vanished with the closure of the Language Chamber and other related courses. This was certainly the beginning of a downward spiral for institutional translators and their image, as they would not find the opportunity to enhance their abilities in foreign languages and translation again until the 1980s. Therefore, the closure of the Translation Chamber is a major turning point whereby the institutional translator's image was forced into a negative phase that still persists today.

The second step involved the transfer of the Western cultural heritage. Not surprisingly, similar to the reform movements embarked upon in the late eighteenth century and the subsequent Tanzimat practices throughout the nineteenth century, the final and ultimate solution to this problem was to launch a joint and systematic translation activity under the surveillance of the Turkish government. However, another major shift was visible in this method, too. The Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century relied on the translation of scientific and technical works for its reform, which meant that technical translation occupied a central position in the Ottoman system. However, the new Turkish government relied more heavily on cultural material from Western literature as a part of its Westernizing approach (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 117). The rise of literary translation in this era can be related to the notion of centre and periphery in the polysystem theory. As stated in the introduction, Even Zohar (1990) suggests that elements in a certain system always aim to occupy the central position in their respective systems (p. 14). Therefore, this indicates that technical translation, after nearly 100 years, was

dethroned from its central position and literary translation moved from a peripheral position to a central position.

The process in which the literary translation started to occupy the central position in the Turkish translation system must be analyzed from the perspective of various statements by leading state officials and intellectuals. For instance, in his short preface in the newspaper *Tercüme*, Hasan Âli Yücel (1940) concluded that a successful translator was as worthy as a successful author. And for him, a successful translator was one who displayed extraordinary skills (p. 2). As Berk (1999) explains, most translators were heavily affected by his statement and consequently aimed to make their translations "readable for the target text audience" through domesticating strategies (p. 162). It was felt that those who succeeded in making the target text more familiar were seen as being closer to the status of an author by state officials. This statement and consequent efforts by translators to conform to the expectations of target audience can be attributed to the central position literary translation began to gain in this period.

The topics which were dealt with in the First Publication Congress from May 1-5, 1939 also shed light on the solid central position of literary translation in the Turkish polysystem. This congress was held as a preliminary step towards the establishment of the Translation Bureau in 1940. Among the participants were leading men of letters, writers, poets and other intellectuals such as Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, İzzet Melih Devrim, Halit Fahri Ozansoy, Sabahattin Eyüboğlu, Sabahattin Ali and Yaşar Nabi (Berk, 1999, p.150) who left their marks in the Turkish literary and cultural systems, and thus can be given as solid examples of cultural entrepreneurs (Even Zohar, 2010) because they were included in a congress which would shape the future of Turkish culture. In addition to Hasan Ali Yücel's opening

speech which stressed the importance of a translation movement for the country, the general topics covered in the agenda of the Congress were as follows:

1. To identify which classical works must be translated into Turkish with priority.

2. To produce a repertoire for children's literature.

3. To determine prizes as an incentive for translation activity.

4. To revise legal conditions regarding literary copyright.

5. To translate Turkish works from the Ottoman language into Latin script (Berk, 1999, p. 144-145).

In addition, Özlem Berk (1999) also gives us information on additional proposals by Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, Nurullah Ataç, Peyami Safa, and Halide Edip Adıvar, who emphasized the significance of various points such as the selection of which classical works were to be translated into Turkish, the publication of a translation journal for translated literature, and the elimination of discrepancies between written and verbal Turkish usages and faithful literary translation, respectively (p. 147). The questions above, which were discussed during the Congress, and the prominent intellectuals' above-mentioned proposals demonstrate that nearly all participants focused more heavily on problems regarding literary translation than on any other topic. As Berk notes (1999), in the end, the Ministry of National Education did not even pay attention to the issues of children's literature and the intra-lingual translation of Ottoman Turkish works (p. 148). This is another proof that the centre of translation movement was overwhelmingly occupied by literary translation.

While these conditions under which the literary translation solidified its central position, the Translation Bureau was established in 1940. It produced and published more than one thousand works, most of which were translations from

Western literary classics as well as few Eastern literary products. Within the scope of this study, I would like to particularly analyze the first decade of the Bureau's activities because these were its most active years, and it is in these years that Hasan Ali Yücel influenced the direction of the Bureau as a cultural entrepreneur.

Then how can we explain the role played by the people who constantly promoted literary translation as the most important prescription of Turkish cultural development? In this respect, the notion of cultural entrepreneur, who is a person making ideas that will be put into action by a large portion of a community (Even Zohar, 2010, p. 192), and thus contributing to the characterization of a nation's culture, offers a useful theoretical angle. The most striking example of this notion was undoubtedly Hasan Ali Yücel, who was the Minister of National Education at the time and pioneered the establishment of the Translation Bureau in the 1940s through his initiatives on the transfer of European literary capital. For instance, in his foreword to the translations of Western classics published by the Ministry of National Education, Yücel (2006) stated that art is the most eminent form of human expression and that literature is by far the richest and most influential element of this form (p. i). He also added that the translation of literary works into Turkish would enhance the nation's understanding of life and intelligence and that this was why the government attached a particular importance to literary translation activity, and why the Turkish people needed a systematic translation movement (Yücel, 2006, p. i). In one of his articles published in the translation journal *Tercüme* (Translation), too, he wrote that the Translation Bureau was established in order to "translate old and new literary works into the Turkish language in a systematic manner," (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 298, own translation). These statements covered in various media are clear indicators of role as a cultural entrepreneur in a broad translation movement starting

in 1940 because he clearly offered new options for Turkish culture and his suggestions were turned into reality by the Translation Bureau, thus making him an "active cultural entrepreneur" (Even Zohar, 2010, p. 195).

Hasan Ali Yücel's dominant role in the determination of the Translation Bureau can also be explained by the notion of agent of change. As explained in the introduction, translators are influential cultural agents who take charge in re-shaping a nation's culture in a number of ways (Toury, 2002, p. 151). Hasan Ali Yücel was one of the leading figures to control the new Turkish Republic's translation movement as a top government official. Therefore, unlike Tanzimat period when active translators acted as agents of changes, a political figure came to the forefront as an agent of change in the early Republican era.

Hasan Ali Yücel also influenced the translator's image of the period as a cultural entrepreneur through the prefaces he wrote for the literary classics and the other works published by the Translation Bureau. This decision, of writing prefaces for the translations, was actually his. What is important here is that the prefaces by Yücel and İnönü, two top government representatives, appeared in all of the works while the translators' prefaces only appeared occasionally, and, if so, only after Yücel and İnönü's (Berk, 1999, p. 156). Given that institutional translators were cultural entrepreneurs because of their active role in the translation institutions of the Tanzimat period, this is another proof the change in the Republican era and indicator of the superiority of political figures to translators as cultural entrepreneurs. Therefore, it can be associated with the diminishing image of the institutional translator.

Yücel was not the only cultural entrepreneur who pointed to the literary translation. Another famous name, İsmet İnönü, the second president of the Turkish

Republic, underlined the fact that the literary translation of Western classics, particularly those of ancient Greek literature, would provide the most useful means for the improvement of the Turkish intellect and the creation of talented artists in every other field in the future (Yıldırım, 2013, p. 755-756). Similar to Yücel, İnönü promoted literary translation as an option to serve Westernization project with his words. Therefore, he can be regarded as another cultural entrepreneur in the period.

It is evident from these two leading statesmen's words that literary translation was put in a central position in the Turkish system by the government. According to Faruk Yücel (2006), the heavy emphasis on literary translation resulted from their belief that Western values were reflected more clearly in literary works than in academic and technical works, and that literary works could attract a much larger audience (p. 216).

Other cultural entrepreneurs of the period are some famous intellectuals who insisted upon the necessity of literary translation for the Westernization movement. Emre Yıldırım (2013) states that these prominent people, similar to Yücel and İnönü, considered ancient Greece and Rome as the main source of European culture and thus urged for a comprehensive translation movement from these two literary systems (p. 750). For example, Nurullah Ataç, a prominent Turkish writer and intellectual, maintained the idea that Greek and Latin literature should be translated into Turkish in order to provide students with freedom of thought, and to transfer the ancient roots of contemporary European culture and literature to the Turkish cultural system. He considered it necessary to learn the Greek and Latin languages to better grasp the essence of European classical works as well (Yıldırım, 2013, p. 751). Therefore, he, too, strongly associated the development of the Turkish nation with European culture contributed to the strengthening of the central position of the

literary translation. In addition, since he was a quite influential literary figure, he can also be considered as a cultural entrepreneur as his ideas provided an alternative for the system of Turkish translation (Even Zohar, 2010, p. 192) in the Westernization process, thus playing a convincing role in the structuring of new cultural accumulation.

The First Publication Congress is also significant because of the committees that it formed to analyze translation activities. The Translation Committee was one of these, and it is quite interesting to look at the professional titles of its members. The members of this committee can be considered within the realm of the notion of cultural entrepreneurs because they were selected to govern the translation activity. This committee comprised of 25 members and only one of them was an active translator, while the other members included a member of parliament, a professor of politics, a writer, an editor, a teacher, an inspector, a university rector, and the like (Kayaoğlu, 1998, p. 282-283). On the other hand, translation committees and institutions established with similar purposes in the Tanzimat period were overseen almost entirely by translators, and one needed to prove one's ability in translation to be able to participate in them. It is again evident from the formation of the Translation Committee that the institutional translators lost their leading role as cultural entrepreneurs and thus could not enjoy an image as favourable as in the Tanzimat period.

After Hasan Ali Yücel left office in the Ministry of Education in 1946, the Translation Bureau needed a new leader in order to resume its translation activities. Despite the problems he may have created for translators, Yücel was nonetheless a positive influence for translation in general, and his departure created a vacuum that needed to be filled. Suut Kemal Yetkin took over the translation movement and

headed the Translation Bureau between 1947 and 1950. In 1947, a meeting was held

in which the members of the institution discussed the possibility of expanding

translation to scientific works from various disciplines such as philosophy, history

and physical sciences (Berk, 1999, p. 161). This might have lead to a boost in the

institutional translator's image as they might eliminate their invisibility in these more

technical/academic areas. Similarly, Necmettin Özdarendeli in 1950 underlined the

fact that the Translation Bureau did not pay sufficient attention to the translation of

scientific works by leading European figures such as Einstein, Kant and

Schopenhauer (Berk, 1999, p. 205).

Although it could be regarded as a fresh hope for the future of technical

translation, the agenda of the above-mentioned meeting and the complaints by

Turkish intellectuals did not contribute to the proliferation of technical translations in

the late 1940s and early 1950s. According to Berk (1999), the political volatility and

the educational policies during 1950s were such that Translation Bureau could not be

as active as it had been during Hasan Ali Yücel's tenure (p. 162). Therefore, it can be

argued that the point when technical translation and, subsequently institutional

translators, could have gained a more central position slipped by, and would not

come up again because of the gradual decrease in the Translation Bureau's

effectiveness starting in mid-twentieth century.

4.3 Discourse on the institutional translator's image

Translation criticism went through a productive phase during 1940s when the

Translation Bureau increased the number of its products and its official journal,

Tercüme, created a suitable environment for discussions of translation. These

discussions evolved around literary translation since the Bureau mainly focused on

the translation of Western literary classics. The positive way in which critics approached literary translators shed light on how translators and their profession were perceived by the leading intellectuals of the time. Given that these prominent figures wrote in a state journal, it can be argued that they represented or perhaps reflected the government officials' opinions and attitudes regarding translators. Therefore, in what we can call the dominant government discourse, translators were evaluated in accordance with the prestige of the work they translated instead of by their success in transferring the source text into the target language (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2005, p. 88).

Before looking into the individual discourse of various critics, I would like to clarify the general outlook of translation criticism in the 1940s. To this aim, an article written for *Tercüme* by Nusret Hızır clearly demonstrates the degree of problems inherent in this field. Hızır (2003) makes it clear that he is content with the increasing number of translations which the Turkish literary system gained as a result of a systematic translation movement (p. 147). However, he (2003) is unsatisfied and even concerned with the form and content of translation criticism on these products and thinks that the critics of the period compared source and target texts based on a few sentences or even words only, resulting in "a superficial assessment" (p. 148). Thus, Hızır (2003) urges for the determination of objective and measurable criteria for translation criticism in the hope of preventing translators from being unjustly criticized for fragments rather than the whole text (p. 149). This single article shows that translators could be too easily criticized for their works towards mid-twentieth century, and this is another indicator of the declining image of the translator.

Tahir Gürçağlar (2008) maintains that only translations of literary masterpieces were considered as a positive development for national culture by the

government and Translation Bureau officials. For instance, she (2008) quotes Bedrettin Tuncel, who complains about a lack of translated classics with high literary values, and Fuat Köprülü, who suggested that only literary classics should be transferred into the Turkish literature. Therefore, it is clear that while technical translation occupied a central position in the Tanzimat period, literary translation got rid of its peripheral position compared to the technical translation in the early Republican period and became a central element in the polysystem of the time.

In addition to the high value of literary translation for the state officials, its central position can be clearly seen in their articles. For instance, Suut Kemal Yetkin, who guided the Bureau for 3 years between 1947 and 1950, stated that the Translation Bureau was the main reason for an increase in translations in Turkey, and the Ministry of Education set an example for private publishers in selecting canonical works, thus increasing the quality of the translations being produced (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 111). Similarly, İbrahim Hoyi drew attention to the role of the Ministry of National Education in training valuable translators for literary translation (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 111). When considered from the viewpoint of invisibility (Venuti, 1995), in addition to the central position of literary translation, it can be also inferred from these statements that literary translators increased their visibility in this period.

Despite appearances to the contrary, however, this is the period when the invisibility of the institutional translator really started. The alleged superiority of writers to translators was one of the most striking aspects in the discourse developed on translation and translators in this period. Even though this discourse generally aimed at literary translators, it is still possible to extend it to institutional translators.

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Like literary translators, the work of institutional translators would certainly also be seen as derivative as well.

In general, it can be argued that state officials and prominent intellectuals always reminded translators of their insufficiency, when compared to original authors. However, another facet of this comparison is visible in these discourses. As far as the 1940s translation movement was concerned, the government officials and leading intellectuals of the time suggested that only a literary author could successfully translate a literary work, which meant that being a writer was a pre-condition for being a translator (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 122). It can be safely assumed that the same mentality could have argued that only a person specialized in a particular scientific/technical field could translate a technical text written in that field. It is not a question of whether literary or institutional translators were despised. The main point is that translation was considered as a task less worthy than that of indigenous writing and that translators could never reach a literary author's level.

The First Publication Congress was the first platform where this notion of superiority of the author was first introduced by the state. For instance, Izzet Melih Devrim's proposal on the equality of translators and writers in terms of fees was denied by the Literary Copyrights Committee in the Congress on the grounds that indigenous writing required hard work while translation only required bilingual skills (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2005, p. 103). Therefore, unlike today's translation scholars who argue that target texts produced by translators are shaped by their own decisions and strategies and thus contain creativity, it seems that state officials considered translation as a mechanical task which did not demand any creative thought.

The following years witnessed various statements which stressed the fact that even literary translation and translators started to lose their central position in the

Turkish polysystem. For example, Suut Kemal Yetkin, before he headed the Translation Bureau, argued that translators should only boast about the creativity in their own indigenous works (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 122). Abdülhak Şinasi Hisar, a famous writer, suggested that it was much better to write one's own literary works than translating some other's (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 123). Nurullah Ataç accused writers of despising translation activity and blamed them for current bad translations (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 123). Izzet Melih Devrim, similarly, underlined that translation was considered as an inferior task (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 123). Poetry translation, too, was approached in a similar manner and it was argued that poetry could only be translated by poets as Sabahattin Teoman claimed (Tahir Gürçağlar 2008, p. 123). All of these statements suggest that the state and intelligentsia regarded translators as performing an inferior activity and thought that only writers could attempt to translate a work when needed. Therefore, it is safe to suggest that even literary translator could not manage to preserve its central position in the Turkish literary system.

Tahir Gürçağlar highlights another interesting point about the prevailing image of the translator by looking at the titles on the covers of the books published by the Translation Bureau and the Ministry of Education. It is quite intriguing that translators' names appeared with another professional title such as teacher, professor or instructor along with the name of the places where they perform these professions Tahir Gürçağlar (2008, p. 125). Tahir Gürçağlar (2008) infers from this practice that translation was acknowledged as a less legitimate occupation or a part-time activity. This can be associated with the exclusion of translators from Translation Committee in the First Publication Congress as the committee offered membership to those who were known in the society with titles other than translator (p. 125). This demonstrates

that the Ministry of Education officials felt the need to underline the fact that translators also had other "more respectable" professions. The fact that translators also did not find this practice problematic indicates the degree of the lack of respect that had developed for translation and translators in this decade.

4.4 The institutional translator's image from a financial perspective

The discourse on translators' fees sheds light on how this profession and its professionals were considered inferior by the state and by many prominent figures of the time. It is already known that the Publishing Congress made a decision about the translators' entitlement to receive a copyright fee, which was actually negative for them due to the fact that translation was considered as a non-creative activity. However, various intellectuals' attacks on translators for seeing their profession as a source of income and some shortcomings in the awarding policy of the Ministry of Education for translators' performances is suggestive about the general attitude towards financial compensation for translation and translators.

The discourse on the financial aspects of translation was generally shaped around a criticism on translators for considering translation as a commercial activity (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 123). For instance, Nahid Sırrı, a writer and translator, claimed that that only the bad translators of the world approached translation solely for financial reasons and only gave importance to their fees (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 124). Halit Fahri Ozansoy, a famous Turkish poet, similarly argued that translators only ever aimed to earn more from a task of translation and called such people as "ruthless translators" (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008, p. 124). It is evident that these people regarded translating for money as somehow unethical.

The awarding policy and privileges introduced by the Ministry of Education left institutional translators out because these only recognized literary translators and publishers. Tahir Gürçağlar (2008) divides these awards and policies into two groups: (1) tax reductions for publishing houses and (2) monetary awards for successful translators; and she also states that the Ministry also paid relatively high fees for literary translators (p. 114). Therefore, although literary translators were only eligible for a limited part of the awards promised by the Ministry, they were not as overlooked as were institutional translators. Only literary translators benefited from monetary opportunities offered by the Ministry while it was institutional translators, i.e. the former dragomans, who were granted such financial rights and privileges in the Ottoman period. It is clear that institutional translators went through a considerable loss of status in the 1940s, which was the continuation of a downward spiral that started in the 1920s.

4.5 The 1960s-1980s

After the Translation Bureau lost its immense influence that lasted for nearly a decade in the 1950s, the institutional translator's image worsened even still. No information regarding institutional translator's particular status and image in this period exists in the literature. However, it is evident that the oppressive practices of the Turkish government against works containing notions against official government ideology made life difficult for all translators, as they were often imprisoned for their translations in the 1960s and 1970s. In other words, their image was heavily diminished by the legal actions of the state. In addition, similar to the 1940s, the notion that translation was not an activity as creative as indigenous writing in general still prevailed in the Turkish intellectual community and even

literary translation had lost its popularity which it enjoyed during the first three decades of the Republican period.

Famous Turkish writers and translators such as Vedat Günyol and Can Yücel were arrested and sentenced up to thirty years for the philosophical books they translated. Vedat Günyol was prosecuted for translating Babeuf's writings (Berk, 1999, p. 210). Shortly after this event, 13 members of the Translation Bureau Members resigned as they protested the government for not allowing them to select the books to be translated (Berk, 1999, p. 211). The latter is fairly interesting and surprising because even a translation institution established by the state itself was fed up with its restrictive practices. However, the oppression still did not end and further convictions and imprisonments followed in the upcoming years. For instance, upon translating a book by Che Guevara, Can Yücel was prosecuted in 1968 and sentenced seven and a half years of prison in 1970 (Berk, 1999, p. 211). In 1974, Muzaffer Erdost was arrested and sentenced to seven and a half years because he translated a book on economy by Stalin. He was sentenced to a further 23 years for translating books on Marxism, too (Berk, 1999, p. 221).

The fact that translation was considered as an inferior activity compared to creative writing did not change in the 1960s, either. According to Tahir Gürçağlar, an indicator of this is the lack of interest in translation seminars organized by *Yeni Dergi* in 1968. As only four applications were received for the seminar which defined its quota as 14, *Yeni Dergi* had to cancel this event. Therefore, it published a notification in which it was stated that translators were trained "randomly" and "recklessly" (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2005, p. 103). This clearly demonstrates that a lack of educational institutions since the 1920s, when the Translation Chamber was closed down, is the result of the gradual decline in the number of qualified translators.

CHAPTER 5

THE INSTITUTIONAL TRANSLATOR'S IMAGE

IN THE LATE 20TH AND EARLY 21ST CENTURIES

5.1 Contributions to the institutional translator's image

Institutional translators, after a long and difficult 60 years, seemed to find an opportunity to elevate their profession's image thanks to consecutive steps taken by the Turkish government towards the end of the twentieth century. Actually, it cannot be argued that these steps resulted from a sudden awakening on the part of state officials regarding the importance of translators and translation activity for official proceedings. The recognition of translation studies as a separate discipline within the academic community during the 1970s also may be a contributing factor to this shift because these scholars truly revealed to the world the cross-cultural and intellectual difficulties involved in the translation process. As a result, translators started to be considered leading actors rather than mere messengers.

Although these developments were groundbreaking for translation activity and translators in general, they were not quite impactful for institutional translators' destiny in Turkey because, they had already known that level prestige at the time of the Ottoman Empire. The discipline's main contribution to the institutional translator's image in Turkey was that it forced the government to establish specialized schools for translation training and to enact laws regarding the definition of the institutional translator. These two points should be further analyzed to explore their impact on the institutional translators' image.

Having understood the importance of translation activity in a globalizing world, Nazmi Küçükyağcı and Burcu Avcı (2011) prepared a report in order to

reveal the current situation in the translation market. It analyzes educational curricula, a translator's potential working places, translation fees, the translators' legal status, the activities of translation offices, the current problems in the translation market, a comparison between translation markets in Turkey and Germany, and offers possible solutions to the problems in the translation market. It is an important study in that an official institution drew attention to the translators and translation. Therefore, it offers valuable information concerning the institutional translator's image, and shall be regularly referred to throughout this chapter.

The first translator training schools in the Republican Period were established at Boğaziçi University and Hacettepe University in 1983. The significance of these institutions cannot be overemphasized due to two factors: (1) they offered a valuable resource for the state to train its own translators and to enable them to maintain a solid career in institutional translation and (2) they generated an awareness regarding the professional identity of these translators among all layers of society. The importance of these factors can be better understood when we remember the positive impact the Translation Chamber had had on the institutional translator's image. Unfortunately, the fact that these university programs were only established 60 year after the founding of the Republic resulted in irreparable damage to perception of institutional translators. I believe that the Turkish government, by closing the Translation Chamber, can be considered responsible for the negative professional image they have suffered, and that they should have compensated by opening university programs much earlier than they did.

The second important step was the enactment of legal codes which defined translation. This was also a breakthrough for translators because it was the first time when translators were mentioned as a separate professional group on a legal basis in

the Republican period. The law that determined the limits of the translator's activity was called the "Code of Public Notaries" and was enacted in 1972. Institutional translators were thereafter defined as regular members of the notary staff (Küçükyağcı & Avcı, 2011, p. 31).

When it was clear that there was an increased translation activity regarding official documents, the Union of Public Notaries issued several amendments to the above-mentioned law to offer solutions to problems which arose in the translation activities during the last decade of the twentieth century. In this respect, six different amendments which focused on different problems within the scope of translation were added. However, it is evident that the definition of translator and the following six amendments pose the same problem: they only define the limits of an institutional translator's activity and give information about their responsibilities. In other words, what this code and its related notices had to say about the institutional translator's working conditions and rights was unclear. Thus, although they represent a step in the right direction, they have not contributed enough to the improvement of the institutional translator's image, or compensated enough for the government's 60 years of neglect. Therefore, an analysis of missing points in these legal amendments in terms of the institutional translator's rights will definitely shed light on the actual position of this professional group and their respective image from the 1980s to 2015.

5.2 A brief analysis of the codes on institutional translation and translators

Although the definition of translator gained a legal dimension thanks to the Code of Public Notaries, it was heavily lacking in the description of the translator's rights in terms of fees, qualifications, promotion, and so forth. As a result, since government

institutions take this law into account as far as a translation task is concerned in their respective legal proceedings, translators have remained subject to the same code since 1972, which means that they suffered from the same problems regarding their rights and privileges as they did 43 years ago (Küçükyağcı & Avcı, 2011, p. 31). This can also be attributed to the low number of articles which deal with translation and translators within this code. In short, it can be stated that the institutional translator's image has continued to remain mostly unchanged and problematic during the rest of the twentieth century and until today.

Two other codes relating to institutional translators and their activity can be identified as (1) the Turkish Penal Code numbered 5237 and (2) the Code of Civil Procedure numbered 6100. These, of course, were not enacted specifically for translators. Only a few of their articles directly address institutional translation and translators. Similar to the Code of Public Notaries, the low number of articles on translation and translators indicates that the government only superficially dealt with the topic. These codes, yet again, only enlighten us about a translator's responsibilities rather than a translator's rights.

The first code to be analyzed in detail is the Code of Public Notaries. It includes five articles regarding institutional translation and translators: Articles 74, 75, 76, 96 and 103. Article 74 states that a translator shall be present in case a person involved in a public notary proceeding cannot speak Turkish. Article 75 states that a translator shall use his/her fingerprint if s/he cannot sign a document and that a translator's certificate of oath shall be issued by the notary as specified in the Civil Code of Jurisdiction. Article 76 states that a sworn translator cannot be involved in a public notary proceeding as an attorney if he or she is related to the person in question. Article 96 defines translation activity and stipulates that a public notary

shall ensure that a person has sufficient proficiency in a language in order to be granted a certificate of oath and be proclaimed a sworn translator. It also gives information about the content of the certificate of oath and stipulates that a translator shall not translate any official document if his/her certificate of oath is not available in the public notary where the translated document is to be approved. Article 103 gives information about the content of the statement to be annotated by the public notary under the official document translated by the sworn translator.

When these five articles are closely analyzed, it becomes apparent that they generally mention the obligations to which translators will be subject to rather than the rights they receive as a result of being a sworn translator, recognized by an official institution. For instance, Article 96 limits the influence of a translator to those public notaries where his/her certificate of oath is kept. However, it would be much easier and favourable for institutional translators if they could translate for any public notary in Turkey as long as they had their certificate of oath with them. Article 103, too, demonstrates that an institutional translator's efforts in a legal proceeding are considered valid by the government only when a public notary approves a document translated by him/her with a statement under the related document. In other words, the diploma awarded to an institutional translator as a result of a four-year undergraduate education is considered irrelevant by the government, and only a certificate of oath is required for legal proceedings. Such practices definitely undervalue the translator training given by all departments of translation and interpretation in Turkey. Furthermore, the fact that it is necessary to possess a certificate of oath with each and every notary an institutional translator wishes to work with indicates that translators must prove their proficiency and trustworthiness over and over again.

Küçükyağcı and Avcı indicate that the Code of Public Notaries was inconsistent in terms of its enforcement. Even though an institutional translator is defined as a regular member of the public notary staff, none of the public notaries employ a regular translator in their office today. Küçükyağcı and Avcı (2011) argue that this leads to problems in the professionalization of translation activity at the government level (p. 31). A successfully professionalized profession is much more likely to create a positive image, and such lack of law enforcement may be the major cause for the institutional translator's lingering negative image today.

When it comes to the amendments, apart from the first notice in 1990, the general outlook does not seem to change. The first amendment, issued in 1990, warns legal authorities about being meticulous as far as the selection of institutional translators where the translation of legal documents is concerned. The second amendment, issued in 1992, deals with the translation of documents that are written in a foreign language and do not bear the stamp of a competent Turkish authority. The third amendment, issued in 1993, addresses foreigners living in Turkey who would like to become sworn translators before public notaries and states that they could work as sworn translator as long as they obtain a work permit from the Ministry of Interior Affairs. The fourth amendment, issued in 1995, relates to one of the prohibitions for institutional translators and states that a sworn translator cannot participate in a legal proceeding in a public notary's office on behalf of his/her employer. Two amendments were issued in 1997. The first is related to the attachment of a copy of the original when a document is translated for a legal proceeding. The second states that the statement "this document was translated based on a copy/fax document" should be annotated when a document is commissioned with its copy or fax version (Yener, 2004, p. 13-16).

When the six amendments are analyzed closely, it cannot be denied that they generally address the problems of translation rather than translators. Only the first amendment can be considered as an attempt to increase standards for the selection criteria as it urges for a more careful process to identify the most suitable person for a legal translation task. Therefore, it can be argued that it drew positive attention to the institutional translator's image because it actually implies that not anyone who can speak a foreign language can be considered an appropriate translator. However, the third amendment works against the spirit of the first, as it does not require a foreigner to have qualifications as a translator; it is assumed that the foreigner, by mere virtue of knowing another language, can be considered proficient enough in translation to be sworn in. This clearly demonstrates that government officials still do not give importance institutional translators' educational background and considers their body of knowledge equal to anyone who is able to speak a foreign language. In such circumstances, it cannot be stated that these amendments significantly made a positive contribution to the institutional translator's image.

The Turkish Penal Code numbered 5237 includes only one article regarding institutional translators and it consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph states that a translator employed by legal authorities to perform in a legal case shall be sentenced to imprisonment from 1 to 3 years if s/he purposefully misstates anything. The second article states that the sentence remains the same if the translator deliberately mistranslates a text for a legal proceeding. Even though this single article demonstrates that institutional are to be legally recognized, it is only under the assumption that they may cause a problem in the legal process. It is quite inconsistent to merely mention what legal sanctions institutional translators are subject to,

without ever stating what kind of compensation they should receive. This is an indicator of a low image, which the state maintains against translators.

Another law which addresses institutional translators is the Code of Civil Procedure numbered 6100. It contains two articles related to this professional group. Article 263 states that a witness's statements shall be interpreted by an institutional translator if s/he cannot speak Turkish. The sixth paragraph of Article 375 states that a new trial may be demanded if a deliberate mistranslation or misstatement is documented. Similar to those in the Turkish Penal Code, the latter can be regarded as a sign of mistrust in institutional translators as government officials again ignored the rights of this professional group, focussing instead entirely on how they might hamper the legal system.

Despite the missing elements in the laws and codes mentioned above, it is still possible to find some attempts for improvement in the translator's rights. However, the aggressors of this movement for the standardization of translators' rights were translators themselves, not any government institution or official. Although they have not gained an official identity yet because these proposals only remained as draft bills, they can be considered positive developments for translators' rights and standardization of their professional standards. In this respect, their content must be analyzed to understand the process which institutional translator's image will go through in the future.

Three major developments can be pointed out in this process. The first one is the professional translation draft bill prepared and submitted to relevant government institutions by Türkiye Çevirmenler Derneği (TÜÇED, Turkish Translator's Association) in 2011. The draft bill leaned on various problematic topics such as standardization of professional qualities and criteria for being a sworn translator or

running a private translation office, obligatory internship process (5-year), obligatory exam for obtaining the title of Sworn Translator, differences between freelance translators and sworn translators, establishing a professional chamber and obligatory membership in this chamber for sworn translators, administrative mechanism of the professional chamber, establishing a union of translation chambers for freelance and sworn translators, administrative mechanism of the union, ethical issues regarding translation/interpreting activities, an official tariff for translation fees, and legal sanctions to be imposed upon translators in case of abuse of the profession (Küçükyağcı & Avcı, 2011, p. 35-67).

It is undeniable that this draft bill addresses numerous topics which were not covered in the current legal codes mentioned above. Therefore, it forces the government to provide translators with more professional rights and eliminate existing inconsistencies and discrepancies at the legal level. However, the most important attempt in this draft bill is the fact that it drew attention to the vitality of holding an undergraduate diploma for being a sworn or freelance translator (Küçükyağcı & Avcı, 2011, p. 38), and publishing a binding and obligatory tariff for translation fees (Küçükyağcı & Avcı, 2011, p. 61). These will undoubtedly prevent any misconceptions about the criteria of being a sworn translator and reduce the possibility of potential disagreements between sworn translators and their customers.

The second major development was the draft bill submitted to Turkish National Grand Assembly by Mahmut Tanal, a deputy of parliament and a former lawyer, on August 28, 2012. It aimed for the establishment of the Union of Professional Translation Chambers. Underlining the importance of translation/interpreting activity for the process of Turkey's EU membership and its dominant role in every field of life ranging from politics to social issues, Tanal

(2012) states that the constitution obliges the government to "meet the jointed needs of a professional group and facilitate the group's professional activities" and adds that translators' rights must be protected and their living conditions must be improved via this law (p. 3). In general, this draft bill focuses on the criteria to establish a translation chamber in a city, membership requirements, duties of the chambers, administrative structure of the chambers, general structure of the union, and ethical issues of the union. Its significance for the translators results from its emphasis on the contribution of a union of translators to the standardization of criteria for the profession. However, similar to the draft bill submitted by TÜÇED, it has not gained an official identity since August 2012 and only remained as a draft.

The third attempt in the legal aspect of translation activity in Turkey was put forward by Mesleki Yeterlilik Kurumu (Professional Competence Institution) in 2012. Apart from its importance because of its contribution to the awareness on the topic, it bears utmost importance as a state-led initiative as the Institution contacted departments of translation and interpretation as well as various professional translation associations in order to exchange ideas on the definition and standardization of translation activity and published a draft for standards in the translation activity in Turkey. As its name implies, the Institution focuses on defining the limits of translation and translator in the first place; however, it also addresses various aspects of the profession such as codes on translation and translators, translators' working conditions, setting standards for the profession in various areas ranging from translator's duties to their criteria of success, equipments for translation/interpreting, professional skills required in the field, and assessment and licensing criteria for translation/interpreting. In other words, it is evident that the Institution tries to strengthen the standardization attempts of the other two draft bills.

Therefore, it is a positive development for the translators because a government institution direct intervenes in the process for the improvement of translators' professional life.

5.3 The institutional translator's current image from two different perspectives

An analysis of various different codes on translation activity and translators definitely stresses the importance of a professional code for translators. This is particularly significant for their positive image because the existing codes only address the translator's potential punishments in case of a mistranslation, or limits to what translators are allowed to do. In their report, Küçükyağcı and Avcı (2011) also draw attention to what is lacking in these codes and maintain that they must be expanded in order to standardize the institutional translator's working conditions, fees and rights (p. 28). Until these problems are settled, the Turkish state will continue to maintain a negative attitude towards institutional translators.

The lack of a comprehensive code to standardize the conditions for being a sworn translator also poses problems regarding the commission of a translation task for both the commissioner and translator. Küçükyağcı and Avcı (2011) state that a clerk who can speak at least a foreign language and work for a local court may be employed for a legal translation. In addition, even when a sworn translator is employed by local court officials for such a legal translation, it is not questioned whether s/he possesses sufficient knowledge and ability to translate a legal document or whether s/he can work as a court translator/interpreter. In other words, the selection criteria are quite low for institutional translators.

5.4 The government-employed institutional translator's image in Ankara

5.4.1 Institutional translators working for ministries

Because Ankara is the capital city of Turkey, the core of state administration lies in the various government institutions located there. Ministries are the leading institutions among these government offices, and thus the translators and interpreters employed in these offices can be considered as the first and foremost example of institutional translator. Therefore, analysis of the types of employment, job titles, employment criteria, and translator's salaries in the recruitment process of five different ministries will provide valuable information concerning institutional translator's current conditions in the state institutions. In addition, practices of public notary offices in this city will be also briefly analyzed to offer an account of institutional translator's relationship with this competent authority.

The first ministry that comes to one's mind as far as institutional translators are concerned is Ministry of Foreign Affairs. An office is present in the Ministry under the name of "Office of Translation Affairs" (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 2014). Therefore, it can be stated that the Ministry pays attention to the coordination of translation tasks in a healthy structure. It is an also important development for institutional translators that the Ministry hires translators under the title of "translator" rather than as a civil servant. However, their status in the office does not generate a positive picture in general. For instance, the translators are employed on contract instead of joining in the permanent staff of the Ministry (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latest Developments, 2013). The reason behind this is the fact that the staff employed on contract can be paid less than those who join the permanent staff as a general policy of the Turkish government. Although the Ministry needs and will

always need translation and translators due to the nature of its activities, it avoids hiring a permanent staff of translators because of financial concerns.

The selection criteria for institutional translators in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs are not satisfactory. In the latest job advertisement released by the Ministry in 2013, it was stated that any person who graduated from a department of language such as English language teaching or English language and literature could also apply for this position (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latest Developments, 2013). The opportunity for graduates of departments other than translation and interpretation to apply for this job demonstrates that the assumption that any person who could speak two languages may translate, which was a dominant feature of Code of Public Notaries, persists in this government institution, too. In addition, the requirement of holding a Kamu Personeli Seçme Sınavı (KPSS, Public Personnel Selection Exam) document in order to take the written translation exam held by the Ministry indicates that an exam which has nothing to do with translation is the pre-condition of being employed in this government office (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Latest Developments, 2013). Although the existence of a written exam on the translation of a text on international relations is a favourable unit of measurement for this position, the necessity to get a KPSS grade in order to participate in the written exam still shows the secondary position of translation as a criterion in this post. Therefore, it cannot be said that translation skills are not the first and most important condition for being employed in this Ministry.

Another ministry which deals with a significant amount of translation tasks is the Ministry of Justice. Any case which requires international cooperation with another country makes translation activity an indispensable part of the international law. In addition, some international conventions stipulate that a document to be sent

to the competent legal authorities of another country shall be translated into the official language of that country (Türkmen, 2008, p. 17). Considering the pace of globalization in the world, it is evident that translation activity is an important component of the legal environment. However, Bülent Türkmen (2008), a judge of investigation working for Uluslararası Hukuk ve Dış İlişkiler Genel Müdürlüğü (Directorate General for International Law and Foreign Relations), states that it is not possible to immediately complete translations tasks because there is not an active translation office within the Ministry (p. 18). He (2008) also complains about the lack of qualified staff for legal translation and urges for the elimination of unqualified translators (p. 18). Therefore, it can be inferred from Türkmen's words that the Ministry of Justice does not pay attention to the translator's qualities. Although Directorate General for International Law and Foreign Relations, which is a sub-branch of the Ministry of Justice, harbours a translation office with 19 translators within its body (Directorate General for International Law and Foreign Relations official site, 2015) as well as Ankara Courthouse which also runs a translation office (Ankara Courthouse official website, 2015), it is an unfavourable condition for a large-scale state institution like the Ministry that no translation office exists within its structure.

The latest job advertisement released by the Ministry of Justice in 2014 demonstrates that problems of qualification encountered in previous years in the field of translation affected their selection criteria. The advertisement stipulates that one shall be a graduate of a department of translation and interpretation in order to apply for this position and that the person shall be hired under the title of "translator" by the Ministry (Ministry of Justice official site, 2014). Although holding a KPSS grade, similar to Ministry of Foreign Affairs, is a pre-condition for this position, the fact

that the number of applications was narrowed down to the graduate of translation and interpretation is a proof of the attention paid to the specialization in translation activity by Ministry officials.

Another ministry which attach importance to translation due to the nature of its structure and duties is the Ministry of European Union. The Ministry created a special office for translation, named Office of Coordination on Translation, in order to translate *acquis communitaire*, body of knowledge on European Union (Ministry of European official site, 2015). In addition to this positive attempt, the Ministry, rather than specifying separate conditions for each vacancy, created a special regulation which determined the conditions to be fulfilled in order to join the permanent translator staff. The existence of a permanent regulation makes the standardization of selection criteria easier, thus solving the problem of lack of standards seen in the legal grounds discussed in the previous sections. In addition, because it is not stated in the regulation that the translator to be hired will be on contract (Ministry of European Union Translator Appointment Regulation, 2015), it can be assumed that the person to be employed will join the permanent staff and thus will be paid more, all of which improve institutional translator's working conditions.

Let us have a look at the selection criteria in this regulation. The first thing that draws one's attention is the employment under the title of translator. This is a positive aspect for institutional translators as they find the chance to make their professional title clearer (Ministry of European Union Translator Appointment Regulation, 2015). However, an important gap is visible in this regulation. The only two criteria to apply for this position are to possess an undergraduate diploma from any department and a KPSS grade. Although the applicant profile is kept very extensive, a written exam consisting of two texts on European Union and are held by

the Ministry in order to measure the applicants' translation skills (Ministry of European Union, Translator Appointment Regulation, 2015). Therefore, in general, it can be argued that the Ministry is aware of the importance of translation skills for the post as shown by the content of written exam.

The Ministry of Culture and Tourism also hires translators, but these translators are employed on contract rather than being a permanent member of the Ministry staff. However, although the working domain of the Ministry suggests a close relationship with the translation activity, it is understood from its official website that there is no active translation office within its structure. Therefore, it sometimes releases job advertisements for this position. In the latest job advertisement released in 2013, it was stipulated by the Ministry that applicants should possess a KPSS grade and an undergraduate diploma to apply for the position (Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Office of Personnel Affairs, 2013). However, the statement that "to be a graduate of the related undergraduate departments" may imply two things: (1) only graduates of departments of translation and interpretation can apply or (2) graduates of language departments such as English language teaching and English language and literature can also apply. In addition, it was also stated in the advertisement that an oral exam would be held in order to hire translators. However, no information about the content of this exam was offered. Therefore, it is not possible to analyze the Ministry's approach towards translation skills.

The last example of ministries employing a translator within its body is the Ministry of Health. The non-existence of a translation office in the Ministry, which can be inferred from the institutional structure given in its official site, can be attributed to the fact that translation is not its primary working field. However, the Ministry still employ some translators in order to conduct certain projects. The latest

example of such practice was seen in 2014 when it released a job advertisement for translators who would work in a translation project. The Ministry stipulated that the applicants should bear a diploma from the department of translation and interpretation or English language and literature (Ministry of Health Official site, Project Support Unit, 2014). This statement demonstrates that the Ministry does not pay attention to the specialization in the field of translation. In addition, it was not stated in the advertisement that a written or oral exam is the main selection criterion for the position (Ministry of Health Official site, Project Support Unit, 2014). It is not possible to reach a conclusion about the Ministry's ultimate selection criteria for the post. In general, it can be argued that the Ministry does not give importance qualifications and specialization in the translation activity.

The job advertisements mentioned above do not give any information concerning the salaries which translators are paid. Therefore, it is not possible to reach certain figures and a clear conclusion about the financial conditions which institutional translators working for these government offices experience. However, considering the fact that most of them are employed on contract as stated in the advertisements, it can be concluded that they are not paid generous salaries which match the amount and importance of the tasks they fulfil in the state affairs. Similarly, Küçükyağcı and Avcı (2011) report that institutional translators who work for government institutions are generally paid at different levels ranging from 1.300 TL to 1.700 TL (p. 16). These payments are currently equal to or slightly above the hunger threshold, 1.500 TL, which is the limit determined monthly by Turkish statistical Institute. These figures demonstrate that they are paid less than minimum civil servant salary, 2.100 TL (*Sabah*, Ekonomi Haberleri, 2014) determined

periodically by the Ministry of Finance. Therefore, it is not possible to argue that the ministries provide their staff of translators with satisfactory financial conditions.

An interview with an assistant professor, who is currently working at Bilkent University, and a translation office, which is active in Ankara market, was conducted within the framework of exploring the latest profile of translation activity in which public notary offices are involved in Ankara. Four questions were asked in this interview as shown in Appendix C. In general, the relationship between the public notary offices and translators in Ankara do not yield positive insights in terms of the government approach towards institutional translator's image.

The first question was about the selection criteria used by public notary offices in case of registering a sworn translator. The answers indicate that the assumption that any person who can speak two languages (Turkish and a foreign language), which is heavily embedded in an article of the Code of Public Notaries, still continues in Ankara as public notaries here register those who submit a diploma from a department of language such as English language and literature or English language and teaching. Therefore, it can be argued that public notaries do not pay attention to the specialization in the field of translation.

The second question on the proficiency exam did not produce positive answers, either. The public notary offices, contrary to ministries in Ankara mentioned in the previous pages, do not measure the translation skills of those who apply for a certificate of oath. In addition, as shown by the third question, public notary offices do not employ a staff of editors as a control mechanism. Therefore, the general outlook in the public notary offices suggests that these government institutions have not yet grasped the vitality of specialization in translation.

The fourth question was on the translation fee which is to be shared equally by public notary offices and translator when public notary offices approve a translated document. The amendment numbered 7, which was issued by Union of Public Notaries in 2010, clearly state that the translation fee to be paid by the customer to the public notary will be shared equally between the notary and translator. However, the representative of the translation office in Ankara states that public notary offices tend to pay translation offices rather than the translators as individuals. Therefore, it can be argued that a translator cannot fully enjoy his financial rights in the public notary offices if s/he does not work in cooperation with a private translation office.

5.4.2 Community interpreters

Community interpreters are those translators facilitating communication between "citizens of a country who do not speak the majority/official language [...] as well as asylum-seekers, illegal or legal immigrants, victims of human traffickers, etc" and government institutions "courts, police stations, hospitals, immigration services, border patrols, and schools etc.," (Tahir Gürçağlar & Diriker, 2004, p. 74). The definition of community interpreter's task definitely suggests that they are employed by the government for official proceedings. Therefore, they can be considered and analyzed within the framework of institutional translators.

Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar and Ebru Diriker (2004) argue that the importance of community interpreting is not fully understood yet due to "limited awareness and institutionalisation," (p. 74). As their paper (2004) on the community interpreting clearly demonstrates, Turkish Criminal Procedural Law dating back to 1927 does not define the working conditions, qualifications and fees of community interpreters to

be present at the criminal hearings and only give information about at which point of the criminal proceeding they could be employed (p. 78). It is only seen in the amended Criminal Procedural Law that the community interpreters who work for court proceedings are to be paid by the state (Tahir Gürçağlar & Diriker, 2004, p. 78). Therefore, it can be stated that the unfavourable conditions caused by the gap in the law were rectified by the state itself and there was an improvement in these translators' working conditions.

5.4.3 Court translators/interpreters

Court translators/interpreters work within the scope of providing communication between legal authorities in a country and non-native speakers of that country. In this respect, it can be regarded as a sub-branch of community interpreting because it helps people who cannot speak the official language in a country; however, Aymil Doğan maintains (2004) that it has become a separate profession on its own due to the amount of the work (p.2).

The selection criteria for translators who are to translate legal documents in the Foundation of Strengthening Judiciary Organization do not offer a positive example in terms of the importance attached to the specialization in translation as they do not hold specific exams for translators to be recruited. Doğan (2004) reports that those who work for the Foundation are chosen among people who are assumed to possess translation skills and that no interpreters are hired in the title of "court interpreter" (2004). In addition, the courts do not stipulate that interpreters who are hired by a court for interpreting a non-native speaker's statements shall be a graduate of department of translation and interpretation (Doğan, 2004, p.7). Therefore, it can be stated that the Ministry of Justice and courts which need legal translation/court

interpreting are usually are not aware of the fact that they should find somebody closely familiar with the legal terminology and interpreting. Thus, it cannot be said that the vitality of court interpreting and legal translation are not fully emphasized in Turkey (Doğan, 2004, p. 15).

5.5 The institutional translators' image in three different government offices: A case study

Although institutional translators are employed by various government offices for regular or temporary work, a few government offices are involved in translation activity on a consistent basis since their service also address Turkish citizens living abroad. Therefore, an analysis of how these government institutions approach their translators will reveal the institutional translator's current image in the eyes of the state. However, first of all, a brief analysis of current conditions in the Kahramanmaraş translation market may shed light on the data revealed by the interviews below.

A great amount of translation related to birth certificates, passports, *nüfus kayıt örneği*s (birth registry extracts), and divorce papers circulates in Kahramanmaraş. The translation tasks are generally sometimes busier, particularly during the summer, because Turkish citizens living abroad generally come back to their hometown for visits at this time of the year and, at the same time, conduct their official proceedings. These translations are, of course, required by various government institutions such as local court, birth registry office, public notary offices and police stations. In order to carry out these translation tasks, the officials in these institutions either hire a sworn translator from a private translation office or demand the customer to find a sworn translator on his/her own to complete the work.

Interpreters are sometimes needed in official institutions in Kahramanmaraş; however, it is much less compared to translation activity because the amount of works in which a foreigner is involved in circumstances that need translation or interpreting is not often encountered in the city. Only those foreigners who need to obtain an official permit to permanently work in a project in Kahramanmaraş such as an archaeological excavation or to be involved in a legal proceeding are required to express their demand verbally via an interpreter. Therefore, working field of interpreters is more related to private companies which hire them in order to communicate with their foreign business partners who visit their headquarters in the city.

The languages which dominate the translation market in Kahramanmaraş are English, German and French. Given its current status as the *lingua franca*, the frequency of translation and interpreting in English is not surprising. Translation in the other two languages, German and French, are particularly important because Turkish citizens who are abroad generally live in Germany and France and, as a result, the documents such as birth certificates or passports to be translated in Turkey are in German or French, which increases the amount of translation in these languages. In addition, due to the increasing number of Syrian refugees in the city, the number of translations from/into Arabic has showed a remarkable upward trend in recent years.

This study was conducted via interviews with officials whose department often deal with translations in the local court, birth registry office, and the public notary's office in Kahramanmaraş. The location was selected because the author of this study worked there as a sworn translator and was often involved with translation activities commissioned by these three government offices. A total of eight questions

were asked in the local court and birth registry office regarding the translation staff, the commissioning process, the selection criteria, the legislation on translator's rights, the translation fees, the commissioner's demands, technical facilities during the translation process, and the control mechanisms as shown in Appendix A. Public notaries were also asked a series of questions, and although their answers were relatively short, they gave significant clues as to the current condition of institutional translators as well as the value of translation activity for the state. Since the location is a relatively small town, the results obtained display a more pessimistic outlook for institutional translator's image when compared to metropolitan cities such as Istanbul or Ankara, where awareness about the importance of translation and translators is higher.

The first interview was held in the local court offices. The translation activity in these offices is completely related to notifications delivered by the family court to a foreign citizen married to a Turkish citizen. The translation is performed from Turkish into the official language of the country where the foreign citizen in question resides. The translation cannot be done in a *lingua franca* such as English or French due to legal obligations dictated by international treaties. It is a delicate process in which translation must be carried out meticulously in order to prevent the legal notification from being considered null and void. Therefore, the selection of a qualified translator is of vital importance.

The first question was about the existence of a regular translation staff or of a translation office within the court. The local court in Kahramanmaraş does not employ a regular translator or run a translation office, indicating that they do not consider it necessary for their organizational structure despite the significant amount of legal documents that need translation. As for the question on commissioning, the

director of the family court stated that the court demanded the applicant to solve the translation problem on his/her own by commissioning it to a sworn translator from a translation office. In a public case, however, the court requests the services of a sworn translator whose name appears on a list in the public notary office to complete the translation. For the translator, this becomes a legal obligation at fixed fee, since the request came from a legal authority. This can be regarded as a sign of the government's negligence concerning the institutional translator's personal rights, and reinforces the translator's negative image. On the question about the selection criteria for a sworn translator, the director stated that a notary's certificate of oath is sufficient to work for their court. As stated in the previous sections, factors such as competency in legal translation are not taken into account by court officials. In other words, they consider translation to be a single activity with no sub-branches or fields of specialization. In terms of the institutional translator's rights, it seems that the court considers itself as the sole authority to determine the compensation and/or benefits to be granted to this professional group. The answer to the fourth question sheds more light on this point as the director said that they did not rely on any legal professional code in order to oversee the translation process and protect translators from any problems regarding their fees. Such arbitrariness sometimes leads to the violation of the translators' rights. Furthermore, it accounts for the negative impacts the lack of a professional code has for translators as stated in the previous sections.

The fee is one of the most significant indicators of government attitude towards institutional translators as far as local courts are concerned. The family court director confirms that the fee to be charged by the translator in a case of legal translation is determined by the family court judge rather than according to the translator's own tariff. This fee is based on the general tariff set by the Ministry of

Finance at the beginning of each financial year. Institutional translators are not even given the right to determine their own fees even though they are the ones familiar with current tariffs in the translation market.

Another problem revealed in this interview, which again signified the little importance given to translation activity and to translators, was the lack of control mechanisms for the translations. When asked the reason why translations are not subject to any kind of proofreading process, the director stated that the certificate of oaths granted to translators employed by the court guaranteed that the translation of their documents would be accepted without any problems. Given that these certificates are granted to any person that received a diploma from a department of language teaching, foreign literature, or linguistics, it is very common to encounter problems in their translations; after all, they were not properly trained in a department of translation. It is, of course, impractical to employ a proof-reader for each language in which a translation is performed. However, a government office with so much translation activity should at least employ a full-time staff competent in English, German, and French. As a result, it cannot be said that translation activity receives the necessary attention from this government office.

The second interview was carried out in the birth registry office. The translation tasks in this office generally involve the translation of birth certificates issued for Turkish citizens' children born abroad. It is required by legal amendments to have these birth certificates translated by a sworn translator in order for these children to become Turkish citizens and bear a Turkish identity card. A considerable amount of translation tasks comes from this government office, particularly during the summer. The eight questions asked in the local court were also used in this interview as shown in Appendix A.

As for the first question, the director of the birth registry office stated that they did not need any permanent translation office or a regular translation staff in their office because those who need their birth certificate translated could hire a sworn translator from a private translation office. The non-existence of a permanent office in this government institution points to their lack of concern for translation. In this case, the question of translation commissioning, too, is answered since the director leaves the problem of finding a qualified translator to the customer. The customer often ends up finding an unqualified translator. Cases of mistranslations of birth date, of place of birth, of the child's name, or of the sex lead to further problems in legal proceedings in the future. As for question three on the selection criteria, the only requirement for this office is the possession of a certificate of oath; the director stated that the translations of birth certificates were accepted as a legal document if signed by a sworn translator. Therefore, similar to the local court, the birth registry office does not require any specialization. This also suggests that this government institution is not particularly interested in legislation regarding translation rights as it is not actively involved in the translation process.

Three out of the remaining four questions on translators' rights concerning translation fees, intervention in the translation process, and technical facilities did not yield any positive answers since the birth registry office is not actively involved in the translation process. Although its passive role is a positive point for translators in terms of their freedom during the translation process, the absence of a tariff for translation fees or technical guidance on the translation of birth certificates are actually problems for institutional translators as these lead to problems in the standardization of financial aspects of translation business and its working conditions.

The director also stated that there were no control mechanisms for translations in his office. Actually, it is the most important problem in the birth registry office because the mistranslation of identity information such as date or place of birth or a misspelling in the child's name is very likely to create procedural barriers in the future. Even a qualified translator may make some spelling mistakes. However, since civil servants of this office do not take any responsibility in cases of a mistranslation because they consider the translators to be the sole decision-maker due to his/her certificate of oath, such mistakes often remain unnoticed. However, a controller who compares important on the birth certificate, (date of birth, etc.) with its respective translation could prevent many problems for both the translator and the customer. Since the birth registry office does not employ such staff, it can be safely assumed that they ignore the possibility that the institutional translator may encounter serious problems. It demonstrates that this office does not give importance to institutional translators and does not take any action to protect them.

Public notaries which constitute the third type of office in this survey are actually the most important element in the trio of government offices. It is in the Code of Public Notaries that we find the limited set of laws that are relevant to institutional translators. Furthermore, since public notaries are the legal executers of this code, they have tremendous influence over the translator's image. However, it can be argued that the way in which public notaries interpret and execute the laws negative affect translators, particularly in their selection criteria.

Among eight public notaries in Kahramanmaraş, the first public notary was interviewed as he handles the highest number of translated documents in a calendar year. Six questions were asked, which dealt with the selection criteria for sworn translator, the selection exam, the translation fees, the control mechanisms,

intervention in the translation process, and the translators' rights as shown in Appendix B.

The answer to the first question regarding the selection criteria demonstrated that the Code of Public Notaries were definitely inadequate for translators. The notary stated that they granted a certificate of oath to anyone who submitted a diploma from a department dealing with the linguistics, teaching, or translation of a foreign language. Actually, this practice is based on Article 96 in the Code of Public Notaries which stipulates that a person's bilingual proficiency shall be ensured in order to grant a certificate of oath for translation in any language. It is evident from this article that the public notary finds it sufficient to graduate from a language department to become a sworn translator. Since they do not distinguish between institutional translators and those who study language teaching or linguistics, it can be argued that they do not attach importance to a specialization in a certain discipline and that they consider translation to be a general activity which any person speaking a foreign language can perform. In other words, the word proficiency in the related article is interpreted as the possession of a diploma related to language study. Therefore, the related article is unsatisfactory because it does not adequately specify the yardstick to be used in measuring a prospective sworn translator's proficiency.

The second question reveals an important problem in Article 96 in terms of public notaries' practices of granting certificate of oath. The public notary said that they did not hold any exams in order to measure the proficiency of a prospective sworn translator. This is quite problematic in that they do not attempt to determine whether the person in question is suitable for the translation of legal and official documents. Even those who graduated from translation departments may not have the specialization required for the task. It cannot be denied that an exam held by

public notaries to determine the level of competence in translating legal and officials documents is of vital importance for a healthy translation process in legal proceedings in the future.

The third question, on the translator's fees for any official document to be approved by the notary following translation process, reveals the violation of the institutional translator's financial rights. As a matter of fact, it is a general problem in the translation market as notaries impose many taxes such as a stamp tax, and a copy tax, and charge the owner of a translated official document a translation fee based on Code of Public Notaries. Although the fee in question is supposed to be reserved for the sworn translator as a result of his/her own efforts, Küçükyağcı and Avcı (2011) informs us that public notaries usually demand translators to share it with them (p. 31). Public notaries typically argue that they deserve an equal share of the fee because translators could not work in the official translation market were it not for their approval and the certificate of oaths that only they can grant. This kind of institutionalized extortion is a clear violation of the translator's rights.

The fee issue seems to be even worse in Kahramanmaraş due to public notaries' practices which totally ignore translators' financial rights. Although public notaries in other cities, as indicated by Küçükyağcı and Avcı (2011, p. 24), allocates 50 percent of the translation fee to the translator, the public notary interviewed in this study stated that they did not give any amount from this fee to their registered sworn translators. In addition, they demand that their translators sign an invoice which demonstrates that they waive their financial rights and leave all charged fees to the public notary. Therefore, the institutional translator is forced to make do with the fee paid by the commissioning customer and cannot benefit from the legal fee envisaged by the Code of Public Notaries. According to the public notary interviewed, this is a

valid and legal practice because they pay tax on behalf of those translators. However, charging only stoppage taxes from translation fees included in the total public notary fee could also be an option which would not deprive sworn translators of the whole translation fee they deserve. Therefore, it is evident that institutional translators do not enjoy a very positive image in terms of financial issues from the perspective of public notaries.

The fourth question, on the control mechanism, reveals a significant gap in the circulation of translation business in public notary offices. The notary stated that they did not employ any staff to proofread or check translated official documents prior to the official approval process. However, it is inconsistent for an official institution which grants certificates of oath to translators not to establish any control mechanism to ensure that they are doing their jobs well. The notary claimed that they did not need to employ a proof-reader because the translator's certificate of oaths guaranteed that they would complete their translation without any mistake. Therefore, in case of a problem arising from a mistranslation, the sworn translator is fully responsible for what appears in the translated document. However, even though it is the public notary who granted the certificate of oath to the translator and who approved the final translation, the codes mentioned in the previous sections enable them to avoid any accountability or responsibility. This is clearly a double standard. In other words, similar to the local court, the public notary does not make any attempt to protect an institutional translator in any way from being charged for a mistranslation. Therefore, one can only conclude that they hold the institutional translator in rather low regard.

As an answer to the fifth question on whether they intervene in the translation process, the public notary stated that they only demanded that a sworn translator

annotate a statement specifying that s/he translated the document fully and truly without any addition or omission. Similar to the discussion in the previous paragraph, this is another attempt by the public notary to leave all accountability to the translator. The subsequent freedom that the translator may enjoy is thus in no way a sign of respect or prestige.

When it comes to the sixth question, on the legislation of the institutional translators' rights, similar to the previous two official institutions, public notaries do not offer a very positive image for institutional translators. The public notary in Kahramanmaraş reported that they only depended on the Code of Public Notaries in terms of granting certificates of oath and of approving official documents translated by sworn translators. Therefore, as was the case in the two other offices, no concrete legal solution to the institutional translator's problems was offered by public notaries.

Public notaries can be held responsible for the lack of satisfactory laws which ensure the protection of the institutional translators' rights because Code of Public Notaries enacted in 1972, as discussed in the previous section, set low standards and specified only a translator's responsibilities and limitations. Since amendments enacted by the Union of Public Notaries on translation during the 1990s did not change any of the circumstances, institutional translators still suffer from the same problems, particularly financial issues. In this respect, it can be safely assumed that institutional translators' subjection to the Code of Public Notaries and their obligation to be registered in a public notary in order to work for any government institution and translate official documents is one of the most apparent problems for their image. Thus, it can be argued that public notaries do not make any contributions to the improvement of institutional translators' image before the government.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to look at the translator's image from a different perspective. Various studies indicate that researchers often tend to approach the translator's image from the viewpoint of literary translation, even though a great number of translation tasks today revolve around technical and institutional document translation. Therefore, those who do not translate literature, referred to as institutional translators in this study, do not possess a central position in the market and are not sufficiently acknowledged by the state.

Translators in the Ottoman Empire enjoyed a remarkably higher status than those of the Western world as a result of special rights and privileges granted to them by the Ottoman state. However, it is undeniable that the same circumstances ceased to continue during the Republican period because translators started to lose their distinguished position within government institutions; translators in the Republican period were no longer seen as civil servants with high status, nor were they offered key roles in the administration, and the effects of this policy shift are still felt today. Institutional translators went from being top imperial government official in the Ottoman period to being the lackeys of minor local government representatives in the Republican period. Therefore, by revealing the subordination of institutional translators to literary translators within the academic community and the negative image attached to institutional translators within the governmental community, this study demonstrated how the institutional translator's image has seen a rapid and dramatic decline in the last century. To better understand the shift in the governmental attitude, the rights and privileges granted to translators were analyzed in order to explore the institutional translator's image in the Turkish tradition.

Institutional translators started to become prominent during the reign of Mehmet the Conqueror, when the state became an empire following the conquest of Istanbul in 1453. The multicultural society paved their way, as the state needed a talented bilingual staff to establish communication between non-Turkish subjects and imperial officials. The Ottoman officials' unwillingness to learn a foreign language for religious reasons, too, made converts from various ethnic origins indispensable. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, in addition to their prestigious position in the administration, dragomans started to enjoy rights and privileges which other non-Muslims could not, indicating that the state attached more importance to them than to any other non-Muslim professional group.

The nineteenth century witnessed a shift in the institutional translator's image. When Phanariot Greek imperial court translators collaborated with Greek rebels, the Ottoman state started to hire Muslims exclusively for translation activities. Thus, the translator's professional prestige was transferred from one religious group to another. Another crucial development was the Tanzimat and the establishment of the Translation Chamber in 1833. Although it was originally intended as a centre to conduct all foreign correspondences in the imperial capital, it soon became a school of language and then, finally, a school for translator training. The Translation Chamber trained many skilled translators who undertook critical missions for the state and were promoted to higher ranks as both translator and diplomats. The school was considered as the first step into the Ottoman diplomatic world and as a path to consecutive promotions. Translation was a means of gaining prominence in the state administration, and this consequently increased the translator's prestige.

Along with the Translation Chamber, new translation institutions that were designed to appropriate European scientific knowledge were founded in the mid-

nineteenth century. The first and foremost condition of membership in these institutions was the ability to translate from a European language into Turkish. Setting translation as a priority for membership increased yet again the translators' level of importance in Ottoman society. In addition, in contrast to the heated debates in the Western world as to whether translators and authors were equal, these institutions offered equal pay and recognition to translators.

The transition period between 1900 and 1920 marked the beginning of a real decline for the institutional translator's image. Although translation institutions were the only ones to actively produce anything useful for the Ottoman scientific world, the prevailing political instability in the Empire caused technical and institutional translators to suffer from financial problems as the government could no longer pay for translated works. Besides, some state officials found that 68 translations produced during the War of Independence were inadequate. Since this was the first time when the state took a negative stand regarding translation, it can be argued that this is the moment when translators started to lose their positive image.

Towards the 1940s, the closure of Translation Chamber and the establishment of the Translation Bureau completely changed the scene for institutional translators as the state shifted its attention entirely towards literary translation. The deterioration of the institutional translator's image was manifested in the fact that only one translator appeared in the Translation Committee. In the following years, particularly between 1960 and 1980s, translators were prosecuted, convicted and imprisoned for their translations. This is a sign of their negative image in the eyes of the state, and serves as a shocking contrast to their positive image in Ottoman times.

When it comes to the 1980s and later, the establishment of the first departments of translation and interpretation sparked a new hope regarding the

improvement of the institutional translators' conditions. However, the state did not enact the necessary laws to protect this professional group's rights and only focused on their professional responsibilities. Therefore, their image in government institutions did not seem to change for the better.

Government offices did not make any attempt to improve institutional translators' working conditions in terms of fees or technical facilities. In addition, since these offices' criterion in selecting a translator for an official proceeding is a mere certificate of oath rather than a diploma from a translation department, they can hire anyone who can speak Turkish and a foreign language. This practice indicates that they cannot distinguish between a bilingual person and an institutional translator and, as a result, that they do not pay attention to an institutional image of this group.

In general, a detailed analysis of historical data from the fifteenth century until today suggests that the image of institutional translators in Turkey gradually worsened and it is still negative. The main reason for this was that the official policy in the Ottoman period was always one of empowering the professional rights of translators, while the Republican government policies have been entirely focused on literary translation and translation as a product. Thus, no satisfactory professional codes have been developed to valorise the translation process, which would subsequently protect the translator himself or herself; such a code would inevitably enhance the translator's image in Turkish society. In this respect, by looking at how the state approached its institutional translators at different points in Turkish history, this study attempted to establish how the official or professional image of the institutional translator changed through time. To this end, this study sewed together fragmented works which only focused on certain periods to produce a larger and more complete picture of the problem facing institutional translators today.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR GOVERNMENT OFFICES

1. Do you employ a regular external translator/interpreter or is there an active translation department in your office?

2. How do you hire translators for your translation tasks?

3. What are your criteria while hiring a translator from a translation bureau or public notary?

4. Do you take into account any regulation/act for the translation process and translator rights?

5. Which methods do you use to pay translators?

6. Do you ever demand translators to intervene in the meaning of target texts?

7. Do you support translators in any ways (legal consultation, technical facilities) during the translation process?

8. Do you employ any staff or mechanism to check official document translations submitted by translators?

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PUBLIC NOTARY OFFICES IN

KAHRAMANMARAŞ

1. What are your criteria for a certificate of education when registering a sworn translator in your office?

2. Do you hold any exams to measure a translator's proficiency?

3. Which methods do you use to pay translators?

4. Do you employ any staff or mechanism to check official document translations submitted by translators?

5. Do you ever demand translators to intervene in the meaning of target texts?

6. Do you depend on any regulation/act for the translation process and translator rights?

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR PUBLIC NOTARY OFFICES IN ANKARA

1. What are the selection criteria for public notary offices in Ankara when registering a sworn translator?

2. Do public notary offices in Ankara hold any exams to measure a translator's proficiency?

3. Do public notary offices in Ankara employ any staff or mechanism to check official document translations submitted by translators?

4. Do public notary offices in Ankara share the translation fee charged by the customer on behalf of the public notary?

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