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**THE SHAPING ROLE OF RETRANSLATIONS  
IN TURKEY:  
THE CASE OF *ROBINSON CRUSOE***

**Aslı EKMEKÇİ**

Danışman  
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## ÖZET

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Türkiye’de *Robinson Crusoe*’nun Yeniden Çevirilerinin Şekillendirici Rolü

Aslı EKMEKÇİ

Dokuz Eylül Üniversitesi

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Bu tezin amacı, *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) romanının yeniden çevirilerinin Türk kültür repertuarı içinde şekillendirici bir rol oynadığını göstermektir. Bu rolü araştırmak için *Robinson Crusoe*’nun 1864-2006 yılları arasında yayınlanan Türkçe çevirilerini içeren bir veri tabanı oluşturulmuştur. Hakkında çeşitli yorumlar bulunmasına rağmen, bu hemen hemen 290 yıllık yazın klasiği, özellikle çok sayıda Türkçe çevirisinin olduğu düşünülürse, Türkiye’de yeterince eleştiri alamamıştır. Bu çalışmada romanın yeniden çevirilerinin Türk yazın çoğuldizgesinde değişken bir pozisyonda olduğu ve farklı çevirilerin üç grup altında toplanabileceği bulunmuştur: çocuklar için yapılmış olan kısaltılmış çeviriler, büyükler için yapılmış olan kısaltılmış çeviriler ve birer yazın klasiği olmak üzere yapılan tam çeviriler. 1950, 1968 ve 2005’te basılmış olan kısaltılmamış üç yeniden çevirinin analizi yapılmış, ayrıca iki kısaltılmış çeviri de çalışmada kullanılmıştır. Romanın değişken pozisyona sahip olmasının, kültür-planlama çalışmalarına bir katkı sağlamak, ideolojik sebeplerle değişiklikler yapmak, yeniden çevirilerin birer yazın klasiği konumuna sahip olması için çalışmak gibi farklı amaçlarla yeniden çeviri yapılmasının bir sonucu olduğu gösterilmiştir. Ayrıca bu romanın çeşitli yorumlarının hem yan-metine ait öğeleri hem de çeviri metinleri etkilediği tespit edilmiştir. Bundan başka, bu çalışma romanın yeniden çevirilerinin kültür repertuarını etkilemiş olduğunu ve yeni seçenekler olarak diğer ıssız ada romanlarının çevrilmesine ve benzer yerli telif eserler üretilmesine sebep olduğunu ortaya koymuştur. Bu tez, yeniden çeviri kavramı hakkındaki

**arařtırmalara bir tamamlayıcı olması ve bu konuda daha fazla arařtırma yapılmasını teřvik amacıyla yapılmıřtır.**

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Robinson Crusoe, Daniel Defoe, Yeniden Çeviri, Deęiřken Pozisyon, Yan-metin, Kùltür Repertuarı, Kùltür-planlama, Seçenek, Çoęuldizge Kuramı.

## **ABSTRACT**

**Master's Thesis**

**The Shaping Role of Retranslations in Turkey: The Case of *Robinson Crusoe***

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**This thesis aims to problematize the shaping role of the retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) in the Turkish culture repertoire. To explore this role, a database of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* published between 1864 and 2006 was prepared. Despite its various interpretations, this almost 290 years old literary classic has not received enough criticism in Turkey, considering the large number of different Turkish translations. It was found that the retranslations maintained an ambivalent status in the Turkish literary polysystem, and that the different versions can be categorized into three groups: abridged translations intended for children, abridged translations of non-canonized adult literature, and the unabridged translations produced as literary classics of canonized literature. Three unabridged retranslations (published in 1950, 1968, and 2005, respectively) were analyzed as a case study, and two abridged versions were also included. It was shown that the ambivalent status was a consequence of making retranslations for different purposes, such as contributing to culture-planning activities, making ideological manipulations, and trying to make the retranslations acquire the position of a literary classic. It was also found that the different readings of this novel affect both the paratextual elements and the translated texts. Furthermore, this study revealed that retranslations affected the culture repertoire; and other deserted-island novels were translated and similar indigenous works were produced as new**

**options. This thesis intends to complement the studies of the notion of retranslations, and encourage further researchers to work on this concept.**

**Key words:** Robinson Crusoe, Daniel Defoe, Retranslation, Ambivalent status, Paratext, Culture Repertoire, Culture-planning, Option, Polysystem Theory.

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## INTRODUCTION

Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) has been attracting the attention of many critics and scholars both in the West and in Turkey for years. Many studies were carried out by prominent scholars (e.g. Greif, 1966; Seidel, 1981; Hentzi 1993; Wiegman, 1993; Liu, 1999; Woolf, 1994; Watt, 1994; Hunter, 1994; and Göktürk, 1973). These works have focused on different meanings of the novel and the literary traditions that affected Defoe. Several dissertations and theses have taken this novel as their focus of research (e.g. Jamali, 2006; Kara, 2007). Similar to the criticisms of *Robinson Crusoe*, these researches concentrated on the different readings of the novel. For instance, Leyli Jamali offers a psychoanalytic feminist reading of the novel, and Abdurrahman Kara uses a corpus-based approach to investigate whether the novel represents the characteristics of the 18<sup>th</sup> century England. In addition to these works, some studies on the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* were carried out in Turkey (Karadağ, 2003; Altuntaş, 2007). The main focus of these studies on the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* is on the ideological manipulations made in the translations. The present thesis, on the other hand, aims to problematize the notion of "retranslation" in the Turkish culture repertoire; and to do so, the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* will be taken as a case study.

*Robinson Crusoe* was originally written in English, and published on April 25, 1719, and its title was in fact quite long<sup>1</sup>. Gérard Genette says that it is "legitimate" and "inevitable" to abbreviate such "long synopsis-titles characteristic of the classical period and perhaps especially of the eighteenth century" (Genette, 1997: 71). He thinks that some of these titles are "easily analyzable into elements varying in status and importance" (ibid.) and that "a short title" can easily be distinguished, but he does not consider *Robinson Crusoe*'s original title to be one

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<sup>1</sup> The original title of the novel is *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe of York, Mariner: Who lived Eight and Twenty Years, all alone in an un-inhabited Island on the coast of America, near the Mouth of the Great River of Oroonoke; Having been cast on Shore by Shipwreck, wherein all the Men perished but himself. With An Account how he was at last as strangely deliver'd by Pyrates. Written by Himself.* (Defoe, 1994: 2) Since this title is very long, and it is usually abridged as *Robinson Crusoe*, the novel will be mentioned as *Robinson Crusoe* throughout this thesis.

such title, and he says the “analysis is more difficult for the original title of what we today call *Robinson Crusoe*” (ibid.). *Robinson Crusoe* is among the novels which are argued to be the first English novel (Damrosch, 1994: 373). The book has obtained worldwide fame, and there are hundreds of translations and adaptations<sup>2</sup> (Shinagel, 1994: vii). Probably due to the success of the first novel, Defoe wrote the second book which is entitled *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*<sup>3</sup>. Joe Wheeler says that this book is “a rather unvarnished, sometimes brutal story, complete with all the sociological baggage writers of Defoe’s time often brought to their work, such as prejudice against other cultures and acts of violence against helpless victims” (Wheeler, 1999: xii). He argues that “In it, Daniel Defoe faithfully re-creates the violence and injustices of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries” (Wheeler, 1999: lxxv). This might be the reason why the second book is not as widely known as the first<sup>4</sup>, or perhaps the idea of a lonely man trying to survive in an uninhabited island was found more interesting than a man making voyages around the world. For instance, Everett Zimmerman declares that the second book is less interesting than the first one (Zimmerman, 1971: 390). Alexander Pope also states that the first volume is better than the second one, and that the first part is the only writing of Defoe which is excellent (Pope, 1994: 261). Defoe also wrote a third book entitled *The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*<sup>5</sup>, in which serious issues such as solitude are discussed (Defoe, 1994: 243).

The first Turkish translation of this novel was made by Ahmed Lutfî and published by Takvimhâne-i Âmire as early as 1864 (Cunbur, 1994: 36). It was an abridged translation, and an unabridged translation was not made until 1919, when Şükrü Kaya was in exile in Malta (Defoe, 1950a: iv). This unabridged translation

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<sup>2</sup> By 1895, there were 110 translations of *Robinson Crusoe*, including Bengali, Persian, and Eskimo ([http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel\\_18c/defoe/](http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel_18c/defoe/)). In addition to that, there were 277 imitations of the novel (ibid.).

<sup>3</sup> The full title of the second book is *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, Being the Second and Last Part of His Life, and Strange Surprising Accounts of his Travels Round three Parts of the Globe. Written by Himself*. (See Appendix 3).

<sup>4</sup> Until the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the two volumes continued to be published together ([http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel\\_18c/defoe/](http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel_18c/defoe/)). Since 1860s, publishing only the first part became a common practice (ibid.).

<sup>5</sup> This volume was published in 1720 (<http://scholar.library.miami.edu/crusoe/>). It is composed of some essays Defoe recycled, and does not contain elements similar to those of the first two books ([http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel\\_18c/defoe/](http://academic.brooklyn.cuny.edu/english/melani/novel_18c/defoe/)).

made by Kaya was published by Tanin Printing House in Istanbul in 1923, and it belonged to “The Collection of Immortal Works” [Ölmez Eserler Külliyyatı] (Cunbur, 1994: 37). Since then, many abridged and unabridged translations of this novel have been published in Turkey (See Appendix 1). There are 161 entries in the list prepared in this study, which comprises the books published between 1864 and 2006<sup>6</sup>. This study revealed that *Robinson Crusoe* was abundantly retranslated into Turkish. Excluding the re-editions from the list, there are 94 abridged and unabridged translations published by different publishing houses before 2007; and 87 of these books were published after the adoption of the Latin alphabet<sup>7</sup>. As there are so many retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*, Anthony Pym’s notion of “active retranslations” (Pym, 1998: 82) will be used in this study.

It will be argued that the retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* have had different shaping roles in the Turkish culture repertoire. Itamar Even-Zohar argues that translation is “an activity dependent on the relations within a certain cultural system” (Even-Zohar, 1990: 51). Thus it can be suggested that the analysis of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations might not only give information on the translated texts, but also reveal some cultural relations within the Turkish “culture repertoire” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 97).

The questions to be asked in this thesis can be summarized in two sets. The first set contains questions about the concept of retranslation: (1) What might be the reason for producing “active retranslations” (Pym, 1998: 82) of a novel? (2) What are the possible effects of retranslations in a culture repertoire?

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<sup>6</sup> This number includes the books published before the adoption of the Latin alphabet. This list also contains the re-editions of the books.

<sup>7</sup> This number excludes the translations published in Arabic script. It seems as if there were 87 “active retranslations” (Pym, 1998: 82) of this novel, however, two of these books are the translations of the second volume which were published separately. It should also be noted that the translation made by the same translator might have been published by different publishing houses. For instance, Göktürk’s translation was published by Kök Publishing House in 1968, Can Publishing House in 1983, and Yapı Kredi Publishing House in 1997 (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F>). As some of the translations do not contain the translator’s name, it does not seem possible to make an exact calculation by counting the number of the first editions published by different companies.

The second set comprises questions about the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* as case: (1) What is the diachronic distribution of the translations published in Turkey between 1864 and 2006? (2) What is the status of the novel in the Turkish literary polysystem? (3) Why did translators produce the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*? (4) What kind of effects do the retranslations of this novel have in the Turkish culture repertoire? (5) How did the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* affect the status of the novel in the Turkish culture repertoire?

Before proceeding to the first chapter, the organization of the chapters and the theoretical framework of the study will be presented. The first chapter of this study is going to demonstrate how *Robinson Crusoe* is analyzed and appreciated by many critics, and on the other hand severely criticized by others. Different readings of the novel will also be examined. While it is both impractical and beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss every criticism of *Robinson Crusoe*, it is still necessary to employ some of these critical analyses in this study, not only because they are crucial for understanding the original text, but also because they are considered to be helpful in understanding the attitudes of the translators toward this novel. For example, the Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* made by Şükrü Kaya is produced while the translator was in exile in Malta (Defoe, 1950a: iv). With the help of Michael Seidel's argument, for instance, Kaya's translation might be regarded not only as a translation made in the circumstances of exile, but also as a translation of what Seidel calls an "exile narrative" (Seidel, 1981: 366). This might be the only reason why Kaya decided to translate this novel. It is highly probable that he was feeling depressed and lonely; therefore, he chose to translate the story of a lonely man like himself. Indeed, Kaya declares in the translator's preface to *Robinson Crusoe* that "the activity of translation to an extent made him forget the pain of captivity" [Tercüme meşguliyeti bana esaretin acılarını kısmen unutturuyordu] (Defoe, 1950: iv).

The first chapter of this thesis will also include the plot of the source text and a brief biography of the author. Furthermore, the reception of the novel in Turkey will be analyzed Chapter 1. The graduate studies made about this novel and its

translations will be briefly discussed. The opinions of some Turkish critics such as Akşit Göktürk, Necdet Neydim and Veysel Atayman will be given. The review of Göktürk's indigenous work *Ada – İngiliz Yazınında Ada Kavramı* [Island –The Concept of Island in English Literature] (2004) is also included, because Göktürk devotes a whole chapter to the analysis of *Robinson Crusoe* and gives explanations regarding both the sources of inspiration for the novel and the works which were inspired by the novel. In addition, he explains his own view regarding *Robinson Crusoe*, which will be helpful in analyzing his translation. Another discussion within Chapter 1 is about the effects of the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* on the Turkish culture repertoire. It will be demonstrated that some effects such as the production of indigenous works inspired by *Robinson Crusoe* and some translations which are affected by this novel exist. It might be suggested that analyzing these effects might shed some light on the reception of the translations of *Robinson Crusoe*.

In Chapter 2, the position held by the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* within the Turkish literary polysystem is going to be analyzed synchronically and diachronically. This chapter employs a catalogue research based on “tertiary sources” (May, 2001: 180). In order to analyze the status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations, paratextual material will be used. If genre indications or information regarding the series of the publications did not exist, it would not have been possible to decide the “ambivalent status” (Shavit, 1980: 75, 76) of these translations by only analyzing the lengths of the books. It is seen from my analysis of paratextual material that the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* do not have a “univocal status” (ibid.) in the Turkish literary polysystem. The retranslations of this novel maintain an ambivalent status. Therefore, the reason for regarding *Robinson Crusoe* also as a children's novel will be examined in Chapter 2. It is going to be argued that the reason might be related to the criticisms of some scholars such as Jean-Jacques Rousseau, who declares that the book is suitable for children, and that the story should begin with the shipwreck and end with the rescue of Crusoe<sup>8</sup> (Rousseau, 1994: 263). The reasons of the increase in the number of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations produced in

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<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, the same attitude is present in at least one of the abridged translations of *Robinson Crusoe* in Turkish. *İssiz Ada* [Uninhabited Island], published by Alba Publishing House, is composed of 16 pages containing only the episodes regarding the island-life of the hero. Whether the publisher was aware of the arguments of Rousseau about this novel is debatable, but it is still an interesting find.



certain periods will be examined as well. Also in Chapter 2, the probable reasons of the abundantly made retranslations, such as culture-planning activities and ideological motives are going to be discussed.

The “erosion” (Genette, 1997: 70) of the title of the novel in Turkish translation will also be analyzed in Chapter 2. Additionally, the different spellings of the name “Robinson Crusoe” will be problematized. A discussion about the second volume of the novel will also be given in this chapter, and the possible reasons of its being rarely translated are going to be analyzed.

In Chapter 3, three unabridged Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* will be analyzed comparatively with the source text. Information on the translators and the publishers of the translations will be provided, and “paratexts” (Genette, 1997: 1) of the translations will be analyzed. In addition, “matricial norms” (Toury, 1995: 59) will be discussed, and the treatment of proper names and the religious metaphors will be examined. The three translations which are going to be analyzed are:

- Defoe, D. (1950). *Robinson Crusoe – Hayatı ve Maceraları*. Translated by Şükrü Kaya. İstanbul: Hilmi Publishing House.
- Defoe, D. (1968). *Robinson Crusoe I*. Translated by Akşit Göktürk. İstanbul: Kök Publishing House.
- Defoe, D. (2005). *Robinson Crusoe*. Translated by Pınar Güncan. İstanbul: Bordo Siyah Klasik Publishing House.

The first translation to be analyzed is made by Şükrü Kaya in 1919 (Defoe, 1950a: iv). This text is chosen because it is actually the first unabridged Turkish translation of the novel. The second text is also an unabridged translation, which gives the chance to analyze a translation that can be said to have gained some kind of “state support”<sup>9</sup>. Another reason for choosing this text is that it was also claimed to be the first unabridged Turkish translation of the novel (Göktürk, 1968: 11). The third translation to be analyzed is made by Pınar Güncan. The reason for choosing

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<sup>9</sup> This translation was awarded the Türk Dil Kurumu Çeviri Ödülü [The Translation Award of the Turkish Language Association] in 1969 (<http://www.turkdilidergisi.com/006/AksitGokturk.htm>).

this text is because it is a recent translation that was not announced as an act of plagiarism<sup>10</sup> anywhere.

## **Theoretical framework and methodology**

In this section, the theoretical framework of the study and the methodological tools to be used are going to be explained. In the following chapters of this thesis, various notions of different scholars will be used. As a general framework of this thesis, Even-Zohar's theory of "culture planning" and "culture repertoire" (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 97) will be employed. Zohar Shavit's notion of "ambivalent status" (Shavit, 1980: 75) and Pym's notion of "active retranslations" (Pym, 1998: 82) will be used as well. Methodological tools such as Genette's "paratext" (1997) and Gideon Toury's "matricial norms" (Toury, 1995: 59) are also going to be used.

In this thesis, it is going to be argued that the retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* maintain an "ambivalent status" (Shavit, 1980: 75) within the Turkish literary polysystem<sup>11</sup>. Shavit argues that "Once a text is produced [...] it occupies a certain position in the literary polysystem" (ibid.) and "acquires there a certain status" (ibid.) which "tends to vary in accordance with the dynamic changes of the literary system" (ibid.). She says that "at a given point, in a given period, a text normally has a univocal status in the system it has entered" (ibid.). The translations of *Robinson Crusoe*, however, enter "into more than one opposition of status within the same system" and therefore gain a "diffuse status" (ibid.). While some of the abridged translations are labeled as children's books, some are produced for non-canonized adult literature, and some of the translations are unabridged and these are intended to be a part of canonized adult literature. Shavit employs Jurij Lotman's notion of

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<sup>10</sup> The cases of plagiarism of the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* are going to be discussed in the second chapter. This discussion will be based on the claims of Özge Çelik and Sabri Gürses (Çelik, 2007: 20-24; <http://ceviribilim.com/?p=148>).

<sup>11</sup> The notion of "ambivalent status" (Shavit, 1980: 75) is based on Even-Zohar's polysystem theory, in which he defines the polysystem as "a multiple system, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet functioning as one structured whole, whose members are interdependent" (Even-Zohar, 2005a: 3).

“ambivalence” in order to describe this diffuse status (Shavit, 1980: 76). Lotman classifies three different kinds of ambivalent texts:

*(a) text which have survived many literary periods, have functioned differently in each, and were consequently read differently during each period; (b) texts, which from the historical point of view changed their status in the polysystem, that is, pushed from periphery to center and vice versa, or from adult to children’s literature, etc.; (c) texts which can potentially be realized in two different ways by the same reader, at the same time. (Shavit, 1980: 76)*

Shavit argues that “almost *every* text could be described, from the historical point of view, as ambivalent, because nearly almost every text has historically changed its status in the literary polysystem” (Shavit, 1980: 76). Therefore she reduces the “scope and the range of the notion of ambivalence to include [...] the case of texts which synchronically (yet dynamically, not statically) maintain an ambivalent status in the literary polysystem” (Shavit, 1980: 76). Shavit’s approach of describing ambivalence may well be applied to the case of *Robinson Crusoe* translations in Turkey, since there are three groups of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations and Turkish readers might regard the novel both as children’s book and a classic novel at the same time.

Even-Zohar’s theory of “culture planning” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 97) and his notions of “culture repertoire,” (ibid.) “cultural resistance” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 101) and “option” (ibid.) are also going to be used in this study. According to Even-Zohar “Culture planning is conceived of as a deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by ‘free agents,’ into an extant or crystallizing repertoire” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 97). This description introduces the notion of “culture repertoire,” which is defined as “the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life” (Even-Zohar, 2005c: 69). Even-Zohar says that the culture repertoire is something that has to be made by the members of the group, and that “this making is continuous, although with shifting intensity and volume” (Even-Zohar, 2005c: 70). This continuous making might be made “inadvertently by anonymous contributors” or “deliberately by known members who are openly and dedicatedly engaged in this activity” (ibid.). According

to Even-Zohar, whether or not the repertoire is “accepted by the targeted group as a tool for organizing life” (ibid.) is very important, and he claims that “only a small number eventually becomes established and instrumental” (ibid.; Even-Zohar, 2005c: 71). He says that the acceptance “depends on [...] ‘the system of culture’ which includes such factors as market, power holders, and the prospective users serving as a dynamic interface between them” (ibid.). Even-Zohar also discusses the “market conditions”, that is to say “the relations between socio-cultural planning endeavors and the ensuing processes of acceptance and resistance” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 97). He thinks that the degree of failure of a planned repertoire is closely related to “cultural resistance” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 101), which is “a form of unwillingness towards the advocated or inculcated repertoire” (ibid.). He distinguishes two kinds of resistance, namely passive resistance and active resistance (ibid.). Passive resistance is when “people do not engage themselves with working covertly against the new options” and “simply ignore them” (ibid.). On the other hand, active resistance is when people “engage themselves in a more or less overt and straightforward struggle against the planned repertoire” (Even-Zohar, 2005b: 102).

The systemic, historical, descriptive and critical approach to translation is also employed in many scholarly works by translation scholars in Turkey. For example, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar uses these notions of Even-Zohar in her doctoral dissertation, in which she argues that “in early republican Turkey there was official culture planning in language, publishing, and translation, and that a significant number of private publishers and translators resisted the norms offered by the dominant discourse of the planners” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 31). She says that “Historical studies on translation activity spanning through the 1920s-1950s present a picture of a centrally controlled and centrally defined field, operating in terms of the norms offered by the state officials, writers, translators and the Translation Bureau<sup>12</sup>” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 38). Tahir-Gürçağlar’s argument seems to be

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<sup>12</sup> The translation Bureau was a state-sponsored institution which “worked under the auspices of the Ministry of Education and was active between 1940 and 1966 producing a total of 1120 translations” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 15). Tahir-Gürçağlar says that these translations were “influential in setting the course of translation activity in Turkey in terms of the selection of source texts and the kinds of strategies to be employed by the translators” (ibid.). She also argues that this institution “served an ideological function and was regarded as a cultural instrument by those who attributed translation a major role in their efforts at creating a new Turkish identity” (ibid.).

explaining why so many abridged versions of *Robinson Crusoe* were produced in the early years of the Turkish Republic. Therefore, it is going to be argued that this production was a consequence of the resistance shown by private publishers, who resisted<sup>13</sup> the norm of fullness<sup>14</sup> defended by the Translation Bureau (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 155). This resistance partially explains the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* within the Turkish literary polysystem. It might further be argued that the abundance of abridged versions probably had a significant effect on the reception of the novel as either a children's book or a work of non-canonized adult literature.

It will be seen from the diachronic analysis in Chapter 2 that there is an increase in the number of unabridged translations of this novel in recent years. Although some of those translations are accused of being cases of plagiarism, the production of unabridged versions might be some sort of response to the preceding dominance of abridged versions. It might therefore be argued that at least some private publishers act out of their concerns regarding the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe*, and that they probably believe the novel should better be known as a canonized work of literature.

Moreover, Müge Işıklar-Koçak also uses in her doctoral dissertation Even-Zohar's notions of "culture repertoire" and "culture planning" as a theoretical framework "to problematize translated and indigenous non-literary texts published for/on women in Turkey" (Işıklar-Koçak, 2007: 54).

Since the notion of retranslations will be used in this thesis, this term will be described first. In her *Theories on the Move: Translation's Role in the Travel of Literary Theories* (2006), Şebnem Susam-Sarajeva says that the term "retranslation" is terminologically used in two different ways in the area of Translation Studies

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<sup>13</sup> Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that some private publishers and translators showed "active resistance" since "they not only ignored the options offered by the planners but also developed and maintained an alternative repertoire of translated literature" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 41).

<sup>14</sup> Tahir-Gürçağlar declares that the "Fullness of translations was an important criterion for the canonical status of works especially in the 1940s with the setting up of the Translation Bureau" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 155).

(Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 135). In the first sense, this term is used to denote indirect translations; and in the second sense, it is used to describe the “subsequent translations of a text, or part of a text, carried out after the initial translation which had introduced this text to the ‘same’ target language” (ibid.). In this thesis, this term is going to be used in the latter sense. Susam-Sarajeva argues that “there is no detailed or systematic study on retranslations *per se*” (ibid.). She claims that there are not enough theoretical discussions on the subject, although retranslations are often used as case studies (ibid.). According to Susam-Sarajeva, the discussions on retranslations usually focus on the aging of translated texts (ibid.). In this view, retranslations are regarded as texts, which are produced because the initial translation is no longer “suitable for the needs and competence of modern readers” (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 136). There is also another view regarding the reason to make a retranslation. Susam-Sarajeva says that theorists (such as Paul Bensimon and Antoine Berman) who regard retranslations as texts which “come up as time passes and *succeed* the previous translation(s) in linear fashion” (ibid.) believe that retranslations are made to emphasize the ‘otherness’ of the source text which was lost in the first translation (ibid.). Susam-Sarajeva also states that there is a third view and argues that “there are also those who maintain that some retranslations are much closer to being *adaptations* of the source text, succeeding the initial *literal* translations” (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 137).

The arguments of Bensimon and Berman have also been used in an analysis made about Finnish retranslations. In their article entitled “A thousand and one translations - Revisiting retranslation,” (2004) Outi Paloposki and Kaisa Koskinen discuss the “retranslation hypothesis (the claim that first translations are more domesticating)” (Paloposki and Koskinen, 2004: 27) within the framework of Finnish translations, and introduce Bensimon’s, Berman’s and Yves Gambier’s arguments<sup>15</sup> about retranslations:

*In his preface to the special edition of Palimpsestes, dealing with retranslation, Paul Bensimon (1990) claims that there are essential*

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<sup>15</sup> The arguments of Bensimon and Berman were published in the French journal *Palimpsestes*; therefore they are going to be cited from Paloposki and Koskinen’s article which was written in English.

*differences between first translations and retranslations. First translations, according to Bensimon, are often 'naturalizations of the foreign works'. They are 'introductions', seeking to integrate one culture into another, to ensure positive reception of the work in the target culture. Later translations of the same originals do not need to address the issue of introducing the text: they can, instead, maintain the cultural distance.*

*In the same issue of Palimpsestes, Antoine Berman (1990) outlines his ideas of retranslation as a way of or space for **accomplishment**. First translations date; hence the need for new translations. The position of these two scholars, Bensimon and Berman, is briefly what constitutes the basis for 'the retranslation hypothesis,' (RH) as we understand it here. It is formulate most explicitly in an evaluation by Yves Gambier (1994): [...] " [...] a first translation always tends to be more assimilating, tends to reduce the otherness in the name of cultural or editorial requirements [...] The retranslation, in this perspective, would mark a **return** to the source text", emphasis in the text. (Paloposki and Koskinen, 2004: 27, 28)*

Paloposki and Koskinen say that although the reasons behind this hypothesis seem plausible, their findings show that there is not enough evidence to support the hypothesis. They claim that this hypothesis

*only covers part of the ground of all retranslations: while there are numerous (re)translations that fit in the RH schema, there also exist many counter-examples where the schema is turned the other way round, and also cases where the whole issue of domestication/assimilation versus foreignization/source-text orientation is irrelevant. It is possible to desire that a retranslation be more target-oriented, and it is also possible to use a foreignizing strategy in a first translation. In the latter case there are at least three possible outcomes: the source culture may be familiar to the readers through means other than previous translations of the same text, foreignization therefore not constituting an undesired alternative; foreign elements may be explained in a preface or footnotes; or much of the contents of the translation may be left — deliberately or not deliberately—unclear to the audience. There are examples of all three alternatives in Finnish translations. (Paloposki and Koskinen, 2004: 36)*

Paloposki and Koskinen's argument seems to be valid also for the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*. It seems that the situation is complicated, and it might not be explained with such generalizations. For instance, the early Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* are all abridged versions, and it can be suggested

that abridgments were probably not made to emphasize the otherness of the source text. Furthermore, some of the abridged retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* were produced after the publication of the unabridged retranslations of this novel (See Appendix 1). For example, as will be discussed in Chapter 2, the retranslations published by Kitap Zamanı Publishing House (2006) and Timaş Publishing House (2001) are not only abridged versions, but they also contain ideological manipulations, which proves that they cannot have been produced to “return” to the source text or to challenge previously made assimilating retranslations.

In her book, Susam-Sarajeva explains her own arguments about retranslations and claims that more research might show that not only canonical and literary texts are retranslated, but also other types of texts (such as scientific texts) might be retranslated, and such findings might necessitate the modification of the generalizations about retranslations (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 137, 138). She further argues that retranslations “may emerge as a result of a struggle in the receiving system to create the local discourse into which these retranslations will be incorporated” (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 138). She also contends that retranslations might emerge in a short period of time, which means that they are not necessarily produced because of the aging of initial translations (*ibid.*). Susam-Sarajeva says that a similar view exists in Pym’s work (*ibid.*). In his *Method in Translation History* (1998) Pym claims that there are two types of retranslations: “Passive retranslations” are “separated by synchronic boundaries (geopolitical or dialectological), where there is likely to be little active rivalry between different versions and knowledge of one version does not conflict with knowledge of another” (Pym, 1998: 82). On the other hand, when the retranslations of a text share “virtually the same cultural location or generation”, they are called “active retranslations” (*ibid.*). Pym says that “active retranslations are a particularly subtle index of historical importance” (Pym, 1998: 83). Pym believes that analyzing active retranslations “yield insights into the nature and workings of translation itself” (*ibid.*).

As previously said, all of the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* published after the adoption of the Latin alphabet can be accepted as “active



retranslations,” (Pym, 1998: 82) as they share “virtually the same cultural location or generation” (ibid.). Pym argues that a retranslation challenges the “validity of the previous translation” (Pym, 1998: 83). It might be too bold to argue that every active retranslation of *Robinson Crusoe* was produced with an aim to challenge the validity of the previous ones, but it is nonetheless an important factor in the production of retranslations. My analysis of unabridged retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*, for instance, proves that there are translators and publishers who were not pleased with the ambivalent status of this novel within the Turkish literary polysystem, and that they produce their translations to challenge that status and make the novel recognized as a “classic” which belongs to canonized literature. Another reason to retranslate might be ideological. An interesting example for this case can be found in Ayşe Banu Karadağ’s doctoral dissertation. Karadağ’s analysis of the abridged Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* made by Ali Çankırlı and published under the title *Robinson Kruzo* by Timaş Yayınevi is an extremely interesting case proving the ideological motive to retranslate (Karadağ, 2003: i, 99). Karadağ says that “Çankırlı’s *Robinson Crusoe* translation can be interpreted as striving to establish in society a certain “culture repertoire” which is based on “religion” as an ideological worldview” [... Çankırlı’nın *Robinson Crusoe*’su, “ideolojik” bir dünya görüşü olarak “din” üzerine temellenen belli bir “kültür repertuarı”nı toplumda oluşturmaya yönelik bir çaba olarak yorumlanabilir] (Karadağ, 2003: 101). Two further examples of the relation of ideology and retranslations are going to be given in the second chapter of this thesis.

In this study, it will be argued that the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* do not simply result from the aging of the previous translations because they are produced in abundant numbers in a short period of time (See Appendix 1). It is going to be discussed that these retranslations were not necessarily made to emphasize the “otherness” of the source text and that they could have been made to raise the status of the novel, to change the reception of the novel, and to contribute to the cultural planning activities.

Genette's concept of "paratext" (Genette, 1997:1) will also be used as a methodological tool in this study. Genette's notion of paratext denotes the "verbal or other productions" which accompany a text (Genette, 1997:1). Genette says that a literary work rarely lacks materials such as the name of the author, the title of the work, the preface, notes, and illustrations (ibid.). Paratextual elements "surround" and "extend" the text "in order to *present* it" (ibid.). Genette says he does not only use the word present "in the usual sense of this verb but also in the strongest sense: to *make present*" (ibid.) and claims that paratext ensures "the texts presence in the world" (ibid.). The importance he attributes to this concept and its further qualities are stated as follows:

*[...] the paratext is what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and, more generally, to the public. More than a boundary or sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a **threshold**<sup>16</sup>, or – a word Borges used apropos of a preface – a "vestibule" that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. It is an "undefined zone" between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge, or as Philippe Lejeune put it, "a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text." Indeed, this fringe, always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author, constitutes a zone between text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of **transaction**: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that – whether well or poorly understood and achieved – is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent of course in the eyes of the author and his allies). (Genette, 1997: 1, 2)*

Then Genette distinguishes two main types of paratext, namely "peritext" and "epitext" (Genette, 1997: 5). This distinction results from the "location" of the paratextual elements (Genette, 1997: 4). The term "peritext" denotes the elements which are "around the text and either within the same volume", and the term "epitext" denotes "the distanced elements [...] located outside the book" (ibid.; Genette, 1997: 5).

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<sup>16</sup> The original French title of Genette's book is *Seuils*, which means "thresholds" (Genette, 1997: 2).

Genette further distinguishes between “the official and the unofficial” paratexts (Genette, 1997: 9). He says; “The *official* is any paratextual message accepted by the author or publisher or both – a message for which the author cannot evade responsibility” (Genette, 1997: 10). On the other hand, “The *unofficial* (or semiofficial) is most of the authorial epitext: interviews, conversations, and confidences [...]” (ibid.). Although Genette argues that “something is not a paratext unless the author or one of his associates accepts responsibility for it” (Genette, 1997: 9) and consequently neglects the translator in his argument, the translated text is still a rewriting of the original and the translator is the rewriter (Lefevre, 1992: vii). Therefore, the translator might be regarded as the “author” of the translated text. Genette nevertheless finds the publisher’s responsibility enough for a paratextual message to be defined as “paratext,” therefore paratextual messages of translated texts may well be analyzed. In Turkey, this notion has already been used by Işıklar Koçak (2007) and Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) in their doctoral dissertations. Işıklar Koçak says that “The peritext is a vital part of any study of translation, since it is an important link between the author, translator, publisher and reader” (Işıklar Koçak 2007: 171). Tahir-Gürçağlar says that “Paratexts offer valuable clues into a culture’s definition of translation” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 203). Similarly, Ayşenaz Koş argues that “The study of the paratexts of a translated text is particularly important because paratexts offer valuable insights into the presentation and reception of translated texts within the target historical and cultural climate” (Koş, 2005: 60).

Genette’s “paratext” has also been used by Seyhan Bozkurt in the master’s thesis entitled *Tracing Discourse in Prefaces to Turkish Translations of Fiction by Remzi Publishing House in the 1930s and 1940s* (2007). Bozkurt’s study employs a corpus of prefaces to translated works; however, only the translator’s prefaces are analyzed. Bozkurt believes that “translators assume a mediating role between the socio-cultural context and the translated text in their prefaces” (Bozkurt, 2007: iii). Bozkurt’s study is limited to the analysis of translator’s prefaces because “they provide a unique platform through which translators address their readers directly without assuming the role of an intermediary” (Bozkurt, 2007: 5). According to Bozkurt “the analysis of translator’s prefaces also suggests that paratexts widen the

scope of translation research by incorporating translation into a wider network” (Bozkurt, 2007: iv).

Another scholar who uses Genette’s concept of paratext is Urpo Kovala. He criticizes the fact that “the case of translated literature, which has special characteristics of its own regarding its position within culture” (Kovala, 1996: 120) is ignored in Genette’s work (ibid.). Nevertheless Kovala finds this concept applicable to the case of translated literature, and argues that

*What is interesting about the paratexts of translations is not their position around the text, which is often in complete accord with the conventions of the target culture, but their special role as mediators between the text and the reader and their potential influence on the reader’s reading and reception of the works in question. When studying this role, it is necessary to study the historical and cultural context of this process of mediation as well. (ibid.)*

Genette also discusses the “temporal situation of the paratext” by describing “prior”, “original”, “later”, and “delayed” paratexts respectively (Genette, 1997: 5). “Prior” paratexts such as prospectuses and announcements are produced before the publication of the book (ibid.). “Original” paratexts “appear at the same time as the text.” (ibid.). “Later” and “delayed” paratexts emerge “later than the text” (ibid.), and Genette finds it necessary to use the term “later” to denote, for example, a paratext added to the second edition of a book a few months later, and the term “delayed” to denote the paratext of “a more remote new edition”, for instance, decades later (ibid.; Genette, 1997: 6). He also uses two more terms, namely “posthumous” to describe the texts which “appear after the author’s death” (ibid.); and “anthumous” to describe the ones are “produced during the author’s lifetime” (ibid.). Genette also describes the “substantial status” of the paratext and says that paratexts may be “textual,” which would be titles, prefaces, and interviews; “iconic,” which would be illustrations; “material,” which would be “everything that originates in the sometimes very significant typographical choices that go into the making of a book” (Genette, 1997: 7); or “factual,” such as the age and sex of the author (ibid.). Genette further discusses the “pragmatic status” of the paratext, including “the nature of the sender and addressee, the sender’s degree of authority and responsibility, [and] the

illocutionary force of the sender's message" (Genette, 1997: 8). He says, for example, that the author is not necessarily the sender of the paratextual message, and that it "may equally be the publisher" (ibid.; Genette, 1997: 9). He also claims that "something is not a paratext unless the author or one of his associates accepts responsibility for it, although the degree of the responsibility may vary" (ibid.). The addressee of a paratextual message is also defined by Genette. While some "paratextual elements are actually addressed to the public in general [...] other paratextual elements are addressed [...] only to readers of the text" (ibid.). Genette also describes the "illocutionary force" of a paratextual message and says that "a paratextual element can communicate a piece of sheer information [...], it can make known an intention, or an interpretation by the author and/or the publisher [...], or it can involve a commitment" (Genette, 1997: 10, 11).

Genette says that "the paratext is an often indefinite fringe between text and off-text" (Genette, 1997:343). He argues that

*[...] the very notion of paratext, like many other notions, has more to do with a decision about method than with a truly established fact. "The paratext," properly speaking, does not **exist**; rather, one chooses to **account in these terms** for a certain number of practices or effects, for reasons of method and effectiveness, or if you will profitability (ibid.).*

In view of this argument, paratext will be used as a methodological tool in this study. In Chapter 1, the paratexts of translated and indigenous texts are going to be analyzed to show the effects of this novel on the Turkish culture repertoire. In Chapter 2, the ambivalent status of the *Robinson Crusoe* translations will be analyzed with the help of the paratextual elements. The three case studies in Chapter 3 will contain paratextual analyses. One of the "original" (Genette, 1997: 5) paratextual elements of the source text, namely Defoe's preface, and "textual" and "iconic" (Genette, 1997: 7) paratexts of the retranslations will be examined.

In order to accomplish the synchronic and diachronic analyses in Chapter 2, a bibliography of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* is prepared (See appendix 1). "Tertiary sources" (May, 2001: 180) are going to be used in order to

make a complete list of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* published between 1864 and 2006. According to Tim May, there are three kinds of documents: primary, secondary, and tertiary (ibid.). Primary sources are documents which are written by people who witnessed the events they describe; secondary documents are written by people who did not witness the event; and tertiary sources are indexes, abstracts and bibliographies (ibid.). Two main tertiary sources are going to be used in this study. The list of the texts in Ottoman script is obtained from *The Union Catalogue of Turkey's Printed Books – Turkish Publications in Arabic Letters III (D-E)* published in Ankara in 1994 by Kültür Bakanlığı Yayınları [Publications of the Ministry of Culture]. The list of translations in Latin alphabet is prepared by using the internet database of the National Library in Ankara. While most of the translations in the list were gathered by using the database of the National Library, some other internet sites were used to complete the list as well<sup>17</sup>. The National Library databases do not contain some recent translations therefore some books were bought and included in the list. The complete list, which includes the titles, the translators' names (and the way it is given), the genre indications, and (if there is one) the name of the series of the translations, will then be used in Chapter 2 to prepare some charts. In the first chart, the number of translations produced for children and adults will be compared. The second chart will display the distribution of the translations published between 1864 and 2006, including the re-editions of translations. The third chart shall demonstrate the distribution of the publishing houses which published the first editions of the retranlations. The fourth chart will show the distribution of the retranlations of *Robinson Crusoe*.

In Chapter 1, various criticisms of *Robinson Crusoe* will be used as secondary sources in order to understand the reception of the book in the West and in Turkey. As primary sources, the source text and three unabridged Turkish translations are going to be used in Chapter 3, but some abridged translations will also be employed in the discussions of the previous chapters to complement the thesis.

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<sup>17</sup> For example, Akşit Göktürk's translation was published by Görsel Publishing House in 1992 in İstanbul, and this information does not exist in the database of the National Library, and it was taken from Selahattin Özpabıyıklar's article on the internet site [ceviribilim.com](http://ceviribilim.com) (Özpabıyıklar, 2006).

The information on the cases of plagiarism about the Turkish translations of the novel will be extracted from “extratextual” sources obtained from magazine articles and the internet. This notion is borrowed from Toury who says that “There are two major sources for a reconstruction of translated norms, textual and extratextual” (Toury, 1995: 65). The “textual” sources are “the translated texts themselves, for all kinds of norms, as well as analytical inventories of translations (i.e., ‘virtual’ texts), for various preliminary norms” (ibid.). The notion “extratextual” denotes the

*semi-theoretical or critical formulations, such as prescriptive ‘theories’ of translation, statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and other persons involved in or connected with the activity, critical appraisals of individual translations, or the activity of a translator or ‘school’ of translators, and so forth (ibid.).*

In Chapter 3, the treatment of the proper names in the translations will also be analyzed. This methodological tool has already been used in Turkey in Tahir-Gürçağlar’s thesis in order to understand whether an intermediary source language is used in the translations, and also to identify the intended readership of the translations (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001: 582). In the present study, the analysis of the proper names in translations will be used as a supplementary tool to identify the roles of the retranslations in the Turkish culture repertoire. Also in Chapter 3, the matricial norms of the translations will be analyzed. According to Toury, “matricial norms” are a type of “operational norms” (Toury, 1995: 58). Operational norms “direct the decisions made during the act of translation” (ibid.). Matricial norms are related to “the degree of fullness of translation”, the location of the target-language material in the text, and “textual segmentation” (Toury, 1995: 59). Matricial norms will therefore be examined in order to make a comparison between the three unabridged translations.

## **CHAPTER 1 – EXPLORING DEFOE’S NOVEL: WHAT DOES CRUSOE STAND FOR IN THE WEST AND IN TURKEY?**

As shall be seen in this chapter, there exists many criticisms of *Robinson Crusoe*, and the life of its author is usually included in the scholarly discussions. Defoe’s real aim in writing this novel seems to be a highly debatable issue, although he states in his preface to the first volume that he has a religious intent and wants to guide the readers with the help of the story of Crusoe, who had learned his lesson from his misfortunes (Defoe, 1994: 3). Therefore in this chapter, the arguments of various critics about Defoe and *Robinson Crusoe* will be discussed in order to problematize the reception of the book both in the West and in Turkey.

This chapter consists of five sections. The first section includes a brief biography of the author. His other novels will also be named, and it will be discussed that his novels constitute only a small part of his writings. A brief discussion on whether or not Defoe is the inventor of the genre of the novel will also be made. Defoe’s opinions about the acts of plagiarism will be given in this subsection as well. The second section contains the plot of *Robinson Crusoe*. In the third section, the reception of the book in the West is going to be analyzed. The criticisms of various scholars of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be presented. Their opinions regarding both the book and the author will be discussed. In the fourth section, the reception of the book in Turkey will be analyzed. The judgments of Turkish critics, namely Göktürk, Neydim, Çığıraçan and Atayman will be given. The recent research in Turkey about this novel will also be briefly reviewed. This section also includes the review of Göktürk’s *Ada* (2004) and his arguments about the robinsonade and the concept of “island”. Finally, in the fifth section of Chapter 1, the effects of *Robinson Crusoe* on the Turkish culture repertoire will be discussed.



## 1.1. The life and works of Daniel Defoe

Daniel Defoe was born in London in 1660. He was the son of James Foe and Alice Foe, who were forced to become Presbyterians in 1662. Foe first attended the Reverend James Fisher's school and then the academy for dissenters of the Reverend Charles Morton. He became a merchant, married Mary Tuffley, and they had seven children. He made journeys in England and in Europe. In 1695, he changed his surname and began calling himself "De Foe". He wrote political treatises and was more than once arrested due to his writings. Defoe even suffered bankruptcy and imprisonment due to his debts and also served "successive administrations, Tory and Whig, as political journalist, adviser, and secret agent" (Defoe, 1994: 433). He died in London in 1731. (Defoe, 1994: 433, 434)

Michael Shinagel says "Defoe was one of the most prolific and versatile of English authors, whose publications in poetry and prose numbered in the hundreds and treated subjects as varied as economics, politics, religion, education, travel, and literature. As a journalist he was associated with more than two dozen periodicals" (Shinagel, 1994: 434). James Joyce also praises Defoe, and announces him to be

*The first English author to write without imitating or adapting foreign works, to create without literary models and to infuse into the creatures of his pen a truly national spirit, to devise for himself an artistic form which is perhaps without precedent, except for the brief monographs of Sallust and Plutarch.* (Joyce, 1994:320-321)

Homer Brown declares that "Defoe wrote in every conceivable category of discourse" (Brown, 1996: 301). He says Defoe's novels constitute only a small group<sup>18</sup> in his writings, and some of those novels "were labeled novels only as recently as the twentieth century" (ibid.). Brown announces that "the first collected edition of [...] *The Novels of Daniel Defoe*" (ibid.) was made in 1809-10 by Sir Walter Scott. Brown also says that "Scott [...] anticipated later nineteenth-century critics in calling Defoe the inventor of the historical romance" (Brown, 1996: 302).

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<sup>18</sup> Brown states that "the present official canon of Defoe's novels (Brown, 1996: 311)" consists of "*Robinson Crusoe*, *Moll Flanders*, *Colonel Jacques*, *Captain Singleton*, *Roxana*, *Memoirs of a Cavalier*, and *Journal of the Plague Year* (still somewhat inconsistently or uncertainly accepted as a novel)" (ibid.).

Some critics give importance to Defoe's contribution to the formation of the English novel. For instance Joyce calls Defoe the "father of the English novel" (Joyce, 1994: 321). Nevertheless, this seems to be a debatable issue. For instance, Brown says that Defoe "was not always considered the inventor of the novel" (Brown, 1996: 299). According to Brown, this discussion also depends on the life of the author. He says "our retrospective sense of genre and our knowledge or frustrating lack of certainty about much of Defoe's life have always worked together to generate readings of his works" (ibid.). He says, "According to Defoe's contemporaries and critics during most of the eighteenth century, Defoe didn't invent anything or conversely he invented everything" (ibid.). Nevertheless Brown deems Defoe to be one of "the canonic three founders" (ibid.), the other two being Richardson and Fielding. According to Brown, Defoe himself did not discuss the question of genre as much as these other two canonic founders, because "He was too busy claiming factual truth or at least authenticity for his narratives" (ibid.). Therefore "in the late eighteenth century [...] Defoe was often not included in those discussions" (ibid.) about the concept of the novel, and Brown argues that those discussions contained only "vague definitions [...] for the problem of genre" (Brown, 1996: 300).

Defoe was also one of the early victims of plagiarism. "A pirated abridgement" of *Robinson Crusoe* was made a few months after the publication of the book, and it was of course cheaper than the original (Defoe, 1994: 239). Defoe expresses his complaints in the preface to the second volume, and says that abridging his work is "scandalous, [...] knavish and ridiculous" (ibid.) and that it means to "strip it of all those Reflections, as well religious as moral, which are not only the greatest Beautys of the Work, but are calculated for the infinite Advantage of the Reader" (ibid.). He says that the crime is as bad as "Robbing on the Highway or Breaking open a House" (Defoe, 1994: 240) and that it should be punished accordingly (ibid.).

## 1.2. The plot of *Robinson Crusoe*

The hero of the novel is a young Englishman, Robinson Crusoe, whose wish to become a seaman turns into a passion that changes his whole life. He eventually leaves home to make a voyage, acting contrary to his parents' will. A disastrous storm shipwrecks the vessel, and some of the crew drowns. Fortunately Crusoe's life is saved, and he finds a chance to go back home. Even the captain of the ship recommends him to never go out to sea again. The young Crusoe is ashamed, and he prefers to continue his journey rather than returning home. After a couple of successful voyages he makes some money, but his good luck does not continue. Pirates capture the ship and the voyage ends with the enslavement of everyone aboard, including him.

Crusoe lives in Morocco for about two years, and works in his master's house, until he finds the chance to escape while on a fishing trip with a Moorish man and a boy named Xury. He makes the man leave the boat and swim back to the land, and takes Xury with him. They sail for days until they are saved by a Portuguese ship going to Brazil. The captain is a kind person who offers Crusoe money for all the possessions he has, including the boat. The captain also wants to buy Xury, and Crusoe accepts the offer, selling him as well. Crusoe is then able to buy a small farm in Brazil and he settles there. He works on his farm and improves his financial condition in four years. Dissatisfied with what he has, Crusoe decides to make a journey to Africa to import black slaves illegally. This voyage also ends with a terrible shipwreck, but this time the only man who survives is Crusoe.

Crusoe finds himself on a deserted island and struggles to live there with the help of the tools and arms he fetches from the destroyed ship. He makes himself a secure place to live and manages to find enough food on the island. He not only hunts animals, but also tames goats, learns to milk them, and even makes cheese. He raises crops such as barley, rice, and corn. Crusoe makes small trips in the island, and even makes a canoe to explore the vicinity of the island. He lives there alone for twenty six years and his only friends are tamed animals, including a dog, cats and a

parrot. During his lonely island-life, he also experiences difficulties including an earthquake and a terrible sickness. Therefore, he gradually becomes a more religious person, and begins to pray periodically.

One day he sees a footprint on the shore, and is desperately frightened. He soon discovers that there are cannibals in the mainland and that they come to his island sometimes to eat their victims. He is disgusted with their habits, and decides to save one of their victims if possible. Fortunately he manages to do so, and rescues a savage from being eaten; but that man is also a cannibal. Crusoe names him Friday, and makes him promise that he will never eat human flesh again. Friday turns out to be a very loyal servant, and lives with Crusoe for the rest of his life. Crusoe also teaches him Christianity, and Friday abandons paganism, becoming a religious protestant. They live together for a while, and spend time with farming activities. One day the cannibals return, and this time Crusoe and Friday save two people—Friday's father and a Spaniard sailor. Crusoe learns that there are other Spanish and Portuguese sailors in the mainland where Friday's tribe lives and he tries to find a way to bring those people in his island. He thinks they all can make a ship together in order to leave the island. Therefore, he sends Friday's Father and the Spaniard with a canoe to Friday's land. Another ship appears before their return, and some insurgents in that ship intend to maroon their captain and two other men. Crusoe and Friday save those three people and help the captain take his ship back and punish the rebels. The captain gives Crusoe some presents, and takes him and Friday to England.

After twenty-eight years on the island, Crusoe returns to civilization and finds his relatives. He then goes to Lisbon and manages to obtain the income of his farm in Brazil with the help of an old friend. Crusoe unexpectedly becomes a rich man, and decides to go back to England. He refrains from going by sea, preferring to travel by land. The journey does not turn out to be a safe one and Crusoe and Friday face many dangers including extreme cold and attacks by scores of hungry wolves. Fortunately, they arrive safely in England and Crusoe disposes of his plantation in Brazil with the help of his friend in Lisbon. He then settles in England, gets married, and has three children. Soon after, his wife dies and one of his nephews, a successful

sailor, persuades the old Crusoe to go out to sea again. In that voyage they visit the island and spend twenty days in the new colony. Crusoe leaves the inhabitants some weapons, tools, and two workmen. He then goes to Brazil, buys a ship, and sends back men and women to settle in the island. The story finishes with Crusoe's hint about the continuance of his adventures and his next visit to his island, which are told in the second volume.

### **1.3. The reception of the book in the West**

It is interesting that the seemingly simple plot of *Robinson Crusoe* had allowed scholars of literature to produce very different criticisms of this novel. Although Defoe states in his preface that he has the aim of helping people with Crusoe's account; critics ever since continued to argue about the novel's meaning and discussed what values it might symbolize. Is this novel only the narration of the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor? Or is it a symbol of the British conquest as Joyce argues (Joyce, 1994)? Was it simply written to entertain English boys (Stephen, 1994)? Or was it written in the Puritan emblematic tradition as J. Paul Hunter says (Hunter, 1994)? Might the success of this novel be accidental as Raymond F. Howes argues (Howes, 1927)? Is this masterpiece of Defoe simply an adventure novel, written with inspiration drawn from Alexander Selkirk's account (Sutherland, 1994)? Or as Ian Watt contends, is it a great myth rather than a novel (Watt, 1994)? In this section, various criticisms will be discussed in order to show that there is not a single answer to the above questions and it will be argued that it is up to the reader to decide which criticism to favor.

In this section, the arguments of twenty-two critics are going to be analyzed in order to demonstrate the differences between some of the different readings of *Robinson Crusoe*. The majority of the criticisms which will be analyzed here consist of the views of the twentieth century critics (Martin J. Greif, James Sutherland, Leopold Damrosch, Jr., Virginia Woolf, Gary Hentzi, Manuel Schonhorn, Michael Seidel, Lydia Liu, Ian Watt, Dennis Butts, Hunter, Joyce, Zimmerman, Howes, Hans

Turley and Robyn Wiegman). Some early eighteenth century criticisms made by Charles Gildon and Rousseau; and nineteenth century criticisms by Charles Dickens, Leslie Stephen, Karl Marx and Thomas De Quincey will also be discussed. The following criticisms might be collected in two main groups: The ones which deny the novel's success and the ones which regard the novel as successful and try to explain its success. The negative criticisms will be given first, and then the relatively longer positive criticisms will be discussed in the rest of this section.

Gildon, Dickens, Howes and Zimmerman are the critics who deny the success of the novel, but the extent of denial varies. Among the various criticisms of Defoe's novel, Gildon's<sup>19</sup> satirical work seems to be the harshest one. Gildon wrote a pamphlet entitled *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr. D—De F—*<sup>20</sup>, and it was published in 1719, after the publication of the second volume of Defoe's novel (Gildon, 1994: 257). It sold well, and Gildon "amassed a fortune on the sale" (Joyce, 1994: 321). There is an obvious sarcasm in the text, which begins with a preface similar to Defoe's preface to *Robinson Crusoe*, and even the two sentences at the beginning of both prefaces are the same (Defoe, 1994: 3; Gildon, 1994: 257). Gildon also criticizes Defoe for serving different administrations (Gildon, 1994: 257). According to Shinagel, Gildon attacked Defoe and *Robinson Crusoe* out of envy (ibid.). Shinagel says that the title page and the preface of Gildon's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr. D—De F—* are "designed as a broad parody of Defoe's title page and preface to *Robinson Crusoe*" (ibid.). The pamphlet also contains a dialogue between Defoe<sup>21</sup>, Crusoe, and Friday. In the dialogue, Defoe is described as a coward, who is afraid of his own characters. Crusoe and Friday attack Defoe and bring accusations against him. For instance, the angry Crusoe blames Defoe for making him "a strange, whimsical, inconsistent Being, in three Weeks losing all the Religion of a Pious Education" (Gildon, 1994: 259), and he also cannot "forgive" Defoe for making him "such a Whimsical Dog, to ramble over three

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<sup>19</sup> Shinagel says that Gildon was "a minor playwright and political pamphleteer who earned his living by his pen" (Defoe, 1994: 257). Gildon was "forced to become a professional hack through financial necessity, but in his early career enjoyed the company of popular authors" (Pritchard, 2007).

<sup>20</sup> Shinagel says that the title is *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Mr. D—De F—, of London, Hosier, Who Has liv'd above fifty Years by himself, in the Kingdoms of North and South Britain* (Joyce, 1994: 321).

<sup>21</sup> Defoe's name is given as "D—I" (Gildon, 1994:258).

Parts of the World” (ibid.) after the age of sixty five. Defoe defends himself and says that Crusoe is “a greater Favorite” (Gildon, 1994: 260) to him than Crusoe thinks and that Crusoe is “the true Allegorick Image” of Defoe himself (ibid.). Gildon even makes “D—I” say that he has been all his life “that Rambling, Inconsistent Creature” (ibid.). Therefore Gildon ridicules Defoe, who claims in the prefaces of the first two volumes of *Robinson Crusoe* that the novel is based on facts rather than fiction (Defoe, 1994: 3, 239). Friday also has reasons to assault his creator. He expresses his anger for making him “such Blockhead” who learns “to speak English tolerably well in a month or two, and not to speak it better in twelve Years after” (Gildon, 1994: 259). Friday also complains that Defoe makes him killed by the savages in the second volume of the novel (ibid.). Then Friday, with the help of some other raging characters from the second book, makes Defoe swallow both volumes of *Robinson Crusoe*, and says that it will be good for his health (Gildon, 1994: 259-261). Defoe finally wakes up and realizes that it was only a dream (ibid.).

This early criticism of *Robinson Crusoe* might not be regarded as simply an envious attack and Gildon’s book was indeed discussed by some other critics of *Robinson Crusoe*. For example, Joyce describes this parody as “supreme luck” for *Robinson Crusoe* (Joyce, 1994: 321). He might have considered being “parodied by a London wag” (ibid.) as a sort of advertisement, which contributed to the success of *Robinson Crusoe*. On the other hand, Defoe seems to be disturbed by the satire in this work. Shinagel says that Defoe gives “an answer to Gildon’s criticisms” (Defoe, 1994: 241) in his preface to *Serious Reflections during the life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*. Calling Gildon “a malicious, but foolish Writer” (ibid.), Defoe repeats his previous claims and says that although his story is allegorical, it is also historical (Defoe, 1994: 240). Interestingly, this argument between Gildon and Defoe was used in other discussions about this novel as well. For instance, Zimmerman comments on Defoe’s answer and claims that “Defoe’s response to Gildon complicates the question of Crusoe’s relation to his creator” (Zimmerman, 1971: 377). Zimmerman makes this comment because he does not

believe in what Defoe claims in his prefaces<sup>22</sup>. Zimmerman says that “Defoe insisted on Crusoe’s autonomy with an obstinacy that is, at least in retrospect, comic” (ibid.). Hunter also comments on Gildon’s book, saying that it “is historically valuable because it suggests how Defoe’s contemporaries viewed his aim and accomplishment” (Hunter, 1994: 342). Hunter argues that Gildon’s criticisms result from his religious beliefs<sup>23</sup> which were essentially different from those of Defoe. Hunter says “Gildon viewed the book in religious terms and felt that he must attack it ideologically rather than simply expose its fictional nature” (Hunter, 1994: 343).

The success of this book, on the other hand, is acknowledged by many critics; although some of these people do not regard this success as a result of the author’s talent for literature. For example, Stephen argues that the charm of this novel is difficult to analyze and he says that it is “the most fascinating boy’s book ever written” (Stephen, 1994: 277). This seems to be a polite way of saying that this is an unsuccessful novel, because Stephen indeed knows that it is not a work of juvenile literature<sup>24</sup> and he admits that *Robinson Crusoe* is an allegory of Defoe’s life (ibid.). Stephen thinks that Defoe is not as successful in describing emotion as he is in describing facts, and that

*Robinson Crusoe is a book for boys rather than men, and, as Lamb says, for the kitchen rather than for higher circles. It falls short of any high intellectual interest. When we leave the striking situation and get to the second part, [...], it sinks to the level of the secondary stories. But for people who are not too proud to take a rather low order of amusement Robinson Crusoe will always be one of the most charming of books.* (Stephen, 1994: 278)

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<sup>22</sup> The prefaces to the first and second volumes of the novel contain this claim about the story’s being an allegorical history, but Defoe’s preface to the third volume comprises an even longer discussion (Defoe, 1994: 3, 239-243). Zimmerman, on the other hand, argues that writing such a preface and attaching Crusoe’s name “to a collection of religious essays” might have been done “to sell old moral essays” (Zimmerman, 1971: 377).

<sup>23</sup> Hunter describes Gildon as “a Roman Catholic turned deist turned Anglican” (Hunter, 1994: 343).

<sup>24</sup> It might be understood from Defoe’s original preface that this novel was not simply written to entertain boys, and it is surprising to find critics who argue that it is a boy’s book (Defoe, 1994: 3). In the second chapter of this thesis, it is going to be discussed why this novel might be regarded as a children’s book. It will be argued that Rousseau’s arguments might have been an important factor in this process. Interestingly, Stephen also quotes Rousseau’s argument that this novel is suitable for children (Stephen, 1994: 279).



Stephen nevertheless thinks that having entertained children for such a long time is a great success (Stephen, 1994: 279).

In some of the criticisms of *Robinson Crusoe*, there are also arguments about the author. For example, although Dickens acknowledges the popularity of *Robinson Crusoe*, he not only criticizes the book, but also Defoe himself. He describes the book as “the only instance of an universally popular book that could make no one laugh and could make no one cry” (Dickens, 1994: 274) and claims that “there is not in literature a more surprising instance of an utter want of tenderness and sentiment, than the death of Friday” (ibid.). Dickens defines the second part of the novel as “perfectly contemptible” (ibid.), because he thinks that Crusoe’s character seems to be unaffected by the years spent on the island. He also finds Defoe’s women to be “terrible dull commonplace fellows without breeches” (ibid.), and says he believes that Defoe “was a precious dry disagreeable article himself” (ibid.).

Another similar example is Howes’ criticism, in which he reproaches both Defoe’s fame and his novel by declaring that there is “an unduly inflated bubble” (Howes, 1927: 31). Although he acknowledges Defoe’s success in journalism, he says that *Robinson Crusoe*’s success is circumstantial and that it is not an accomplishment of Defoe (Howes, 1927: 31, 35). He contends that the “realistic manner” applied in the novel was “the custom in those times” since “fiction was a pack of lies” (Howes, 1927: 34). Howes does not believe in Defoe’s genius either, and says that the novel’s theme is not Defoe’s invention, and it would not have emerged if the account of Alexander Selkirk had not been written (Howes, 1927: 31, 32). He admits that this novel is a masterpiece, but an “accidental” one (Howes, 1927: 35), and therefore argues that Defoe’s other novels are not “as worthy of study” (ibid.).

Another critic who negatively criticizes Defoe and both volumes of the book is Zimmerman. He says that “The pattern for *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* is that of a fall, repentance, and redemption—both spiritual and secular” (Zimmerman, 1971: 387). He claims that in the novel there are

“subsidiary narrative cycles (the island episode is the major one) interconnected by many cross references” (ibid.). Zimmerman admits the presence of the religious pattern of the book, but considers it to be somewhat incomplete. He deems the ending to represent “only temporary salvation” (ibid.), since Crusoe “will continue the rambling that has been symptomatic of his evil” (ibid.). Zimmerman further claims that Defoe wrote the second book, because “The religious structure has not resolved the psychological problem: Crusoe’s story has been organized according to a traditional pattern that does not explain his behavior” (ibid.). He says there are “disharmonies” in both books, and that the second volume was written “to tidy up left-over narrative matters” (ibid.). He criticizes Defoe for continuing to use the same pattern in which “aggressive impulses build up, are sated, and build up again” (Zimmerman, 1971: 388) and claims that “Defoe seems powerless to construct any other pattern” (ibid.). Zimmerman also argues that the use of a journal as a structural device in *Robinson Crusoe* aimed toward making “the narrative assume the shape of a traditional repentance story”, but he finds the application unsuccessful (Zimmerman, 1971: 392). Moreover, Zimmerman says that in the second volume “the theological language” is merely “Crusoe’s device for explaining his psychological instability” (Zimmerman, 1971: 390) and that the second book is “less interesting than the earlier one” (ibid.). This criticism would obviously have disturbed Defoe, who claims in his preface to the second volume that “The Second Part, [...], is (contrary to the Usage of Second Parts,) every Way as entertaining as the First” (Defoe, 1994: 239).

The critics who accept the success of the novel do not seem to be in agreement as far as the meaning of the novel is concerned. The wide variety of these readings will be shown in this section. For instance, Greif argues that the novel is written with a “Christian intent” (Greif, 1966: 551), and Hunter claims that it is related with the Puritan emblematic tradition, as well as the traditions of spiritual biography and guide literature (Hunter, 1994: 247, 253, 343). These arguments are also in conformity with Defoe’s preface, in which he states that he has a religious intent (Defoe, 1994: 3). On the other hand, some critics totally deny the relation of the book with the Puritan emblematic tradition. For example, Marx contends that the

prayers of Crusoe are only “a source of pleasure to him, and he looks upon them as so much recreation” (Marx, 1994: 274, 275). Some other critics argue that *Robinson Crusoe* is the “symbol of British conquest” (Joyce, 1994: 323) or “a political fable” (Schonhorn, 1991:141). The diversity of these criticisms might be a consequence of what Hunter describes as the “interpretive problems” (Hunter, 1994: 331) regarding both “Defoe study” and *Robinson Crusoe* (ibid.). Hunter claims that such problems “result [...] from a disguised anti-historicism in applying known facts” (ibid.). Hunter argues that “knowledge of Defoe’s political journalism” was misused and this led to “some serious misconceptions” (ibid.). He declares that among such misconceptions is the general tendency to associate *Robinson Crusoe* to the account of Alexander Selkirk, and says that “Alexander Selkirk’s four year sojourn on the desolate island of Juan Fernandez” (ibid.) should not be considered as the “direct inspiration for *Robinson Crusoe*” (Hunter, 1994: 331, 332). Hunter finds that attitude “inadequate and inaccurate” (Hunter, 1994: 332), and claims that Defoe had the knowledge of other survival stories of castaways as well and that “any of these castaways might have provided some inspiration for Defoe” (Hunter, 1994: 333). According to Hunter, Defoe’s “artistic aim” should also be taken into consideration, because Defoe follows “antithetical procedures” (ibid.) in different kinds of writings<sup>25</sup>. Therefore, Hunter finds it necessary to determine “what kind of book” *Robinson Crusoe* is in order to understand the procedure applied (Hunter, 1994: 334). Hunter also declares another misconception to be the categorization of *Robinson Crusoe* into “the tradition of fictionalized travel literature,” (ibid.) because he thinks “it differs from that literature in crucial ways”<sup>26</sup> (ibid.). Hunter also criticizes Arthur W. Secord’s *Studies in the Narrative Method of Defoe*<sup>27</sup>, published in 1924, in which Secord interrelates *Robinson Crusoe* with Robert Knox’s *An Historical Relation of ... Ceylon* and with William Dampier’s *A New Voyage Round the World* (Hunter, 1994: 336). According to Hunter, the similarities between the

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<sup>25</sup> Hunter says Defoe was a journalist and a moralist, and that he might have followed different “authorial procedures” in his other works as well (Hunter, 1994: 333, 334).

<sup>26</sup> According to Hunter, travel books contain a lot of “geographical detail [...] about the places and about the natives and their customs, but there is relatively little emphasis on event” (Hunter, 1994: 340). In travel books, “chronology [...] is the only organizing force (ibid.)”, and “thematic considerations” are “inappropriate to the “pose” or conventions of the form” (ibid.).

<sup>27</sup> Hunter claims that “Secord’s book has been the most influential study of Defoe in the 20<sup>th</sup> century” (Hunter, 1994: 338).

stories are not enough to claim a direct relationship (Hunter, 1994: 337). He says, “In *Robinson Crusoe*, the facts about various places are never presented as information for its own sake; each fact is introduced because of its function in the narrative situation” (Hunter, 1994: 340). He further argues that Defoe uses chronology as “a conscious device to dramatize development” (Hunter, 1994: 341). Therefore Hunter considers *Robinson Crusoe* to be “more like contemporary adventure stories than like travel books” (ibid.). Moreover, he says that in *Robinson Crusoe* there is a “larger coherence than that produced by narrative sequence—a coherence which ultimately separates *Robinson Crusoe* from both travel literature and adventure stories” (ibid.). Hunter says travel books and adventure stories “seem to lack ideological content and [...] thematic meaning” and denies the arguments of the critics who claim that “*Robinson Crusoe* resembles them in this respect” (ibid.).

According to Hunter, “*Robinson Crusoe* is structured on the basis of a familiar Christian pattern of disobedience-punishment-repentance-deliverance” (Hunter, 1994: 342) and it is connected with “Puritan religious traditions” (Hunter, 1994: 343) which “illuminate both the theme and structure of *Robinson Crusoe*, and ultimately, the development of the novel as a literary form” (Hunter, 1994: 344). He says that “Defoe himself worked in the guide tradition, but his method differs from that of the typical Puritan moralist” (Hunter, 1994: 246). Hunter gives as an example Defoe’s *The Family Instructor*<sup>28</sup>, a very popular book which was “throughout the eighteenth century [...] republished almost as often as was *Robinson Crusoe*” (ibid.). He claims that *Robinson Crusoe* was also related to the guide tradition, and that it shares the “theological and moral point of view” (Hunter, 1994: 247) of the guide books. Hunter says that Defoe continued to write<sup>29</sup> in the guide tradition after the publication of *Robinson Crusoe*. Therefore he considers the guide tradition to be a “vital perspective” which could be used to analyze the “fictional theme in *Robinson Crusoe*” (ibid.), and to discuss “the relationship between didacticism and literary form” (ibid.). He admits that “*Robinson Crusoe* [...] is “far more than a guide for

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<sup>28</sup> This book was “published in two volumes, shortly before *Robinson Crusoe*” (Hunter, 1994: 246). Hunter says *The Family Instructor* “shares the typical concerns of guide books, but it relies primarily on example rather than exhortation (ibid.)”.

<sup>29</sup> For example, *Religious Courtship* published in 1722, and *The New Family Instructor* published in 1727. (Hunter, 1994: 246,247)

youth” (ibid.), but he still emphasizes the resemblance of the novel with the “treatises whose primary concern is religious and moral” (ibid.). Hunter also gives importance to the name of Defoe’s character, that is, Crusoe. Hunter says that Defoe had a schoolmate named Timothy Cruso, who was a famous “preacher and casuist” (Hunter, 1994: 248). Cruso wrote a dozen books including three youth guides, one of which is *God the Guide*, in which “filial obedience” is especially emphasized (Hunter, 1994: 249). Therefore Hunter believes that Defoe did not choose the name Crusoe by coincidence and that he thought his readers would “associate the name with the thematic aspects of” (ibid.) Cruso’s book (ibid.). Furthermore, Hunter claims that

*Failure to recognize Robinson Crusoe’s relation to guide literature is to miss not only an illuminating segment of eighteenth-century background; it is to misinterpret significant developments in the narrative itself and to be misled on the tantalizing question of the relationship between the new prose fiction and the conventional didactic literature which helped form the minds of that fiction’s first creators. (Hunter, 1994: 250)*

Hunter also relates *Robinson Crusoe* to the Providence tradition in which Defoe wrote *The Storm*<sup>30</sup> in 1704 (ibid.). Nevertheless, he believes that “*Robinson Crusoe* is not adequately defined as a providence book any more than as a youth guide” (Hunter, 1994: 251). Hunter still finds it necessary to admit the fact that “*Robinson Crusoe* relies upon providence literature in a manner which Defoe could expect his contemporaries to recognize” (ibid.).

Hunter also claims that Defoe was aware of “spiritual biography as a tradition” (Hunter, 1994: 253), and that *Robinson Crusoe* is related to this tradition as well. He says “*Robinson Crusoe* is shaped more directly by the pilgrim allegories which grow out of the spiritual biography tradition” (Hunter, 1994: 252) and that Defoe built “novels upon a structure developed in spiritual biography and upon themes and aims developed in other Puritan traditions” (Hunter, 1994: 253). According to Hunter,

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<sup>30</sup> The full title is: *The Storm: Or, a Collection of the Most Remarkable Casualties and Disasters Which Happen’d in the Late Dreadful Tempest, Both by Sea and Land.* (Hunter, 1994: 250)

*The organizational pattern of Robinson Crusoe follows chronological lines, but, as in a typical spiritual biography, a thematic superstructure is the real unifying principle. Events in Robinson Crusoe, like those in spiritual biographies, are validated relative to the total pattern of an individual's life, and the events are "improved" appropriately in order to draw the reader himself to a special view of religion and to a personal practice of higher morality. (Hunter, 1994: 252)*

Hunter also says that the "principle of selectivity"<sup>31</sup> (Hunter, 1994: 253) is particularly important in this tradition and declares that Defoe is selective in *Robinson Crusoe* (ibid.). On the other hand, Hunter admits that these biographical traditions are not enough to describe the "artistry of *Robinson Crusoe*" (ibid.; Hunter, 1994: 254).

Quite contrary to Hunter's approach, Sutherland regards Selkirk as "the prototype of Robinson Crusoe" (Sutherland, 1994: 344). He says "Defoe must have known some or all of" Selkirk's accounts (ibid.). Sutherland considers Defoe's not mentioning "Selkirk in the *Review* or elsewhere" to be "odd" (ibid.); and even believes that Defoe probably found Selkirk to "learn his story from his own lips" (ibid.). He says *Robinson Crusoe* has "a firm basis in actuality" (ibid.), and that Selkirk's experiences gave Defoe inspiration. Sutherland also acknowledges the presence of other accounts of "shipwrecked seamen" (Sutherland, 1994: 345), and says Defoe "may have taken a few hints from one or other of those" (ibid.). Sutherland even thinks that "Crusoe's description of his religious exercises may owe something to" (ibid.) Selkirk's regular "exercises of devotion" (ibid.). Nevertheless, he says "Defoe's indebtedness to the Selkirk narratives was small" (ibid.), and claims that Defoe "as a writer of fiction" (ibid) concealed it "as much as possible" (ibid.). Sutherland considers the differences between Crusoe's and Selkirk's accounts (such as the reasons of their arrivals in deserted islands) to be some sort of evidence to Defoe's efforts to conceal the similarities between the two stories (ibid.). Regarding Defoe's writing method, Sutherland argues that "Defoe was almost certainly inventing continuously as he went along" (Sutherland, 1994: 346). He says that the "late introduction of the dog and the two cats" (Sutherland, 1994: 347) is probably an

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<sup>31</sup> "Spiritual biography, [...] is polemical biography, and it selects facts to accord with its thesis" (Hunter, 1994: 253).

“afterthought” (ibid.) which shows “Defoe’s casual mode of composition” (ibid.), and this mode “does no damage to the credibility of the narrative” (ibid.). He also mentions some of the mistakes in the novel and claims that “It is often possible to look over Defoe’s shoulder [...] as he writes, and to watch him correcting or modifying some statement that he has just made” (ibid.). According to Sutherland, “the autobiographical form” (ibid.) Defoe uses in his stories helps him justify the “anomalies or contradictions or repetitions or other defects of composition,” (ibid.) since “none of his heroes or heroines is a professional writer” (ibid.). Sutherland also argues that

*Defoe’s own day readers of all classes [...] enjoyed Robinson Crusoe as a story of “strange, surprising adventures”. Twentieth-century critics have seen it more than just that; but it is primarily as an adventure story that it still lives, and its continuing vitality is largely due to the skill and narrative confidence with which Defoe told it. (Sutherland, 1994: 346)*

Regarding the novel’s success, Sutherland claims that “much of the power of *Robinson Crusoe* lies in its appeal to the permanent feelings and essential interests of the human race” (Sutherland, 1994: 351). Sutherland defines this notion as “return to the essential” (ibid.), and argues that it was easy for Defoe to write such a story since he lived a simple life himself (ibid.). Sutherland underlines another attribute of the novel and says that although the “isolation of human soul would normally provide the conditions usually associated with tragedy [...] Defoe avoids the tragic implications of Crusoe’s position” (Sutherland, 1994: 353). Sutherland declares that Crusoe is not a “tragic hero” (ibid.), but he still believes that he is a hero just like “London’s wartime firemen and air-raid wardens digging in the rubble for survivors” (Sutherland, 1994: 354).

Similar to Hunter, Greif accepts the religious pattern of the book and says that “*Robinson Crusoe* has become a world myth independent of the original religious and didactic purpose of its creator, the work was nevertheless composed with a moral Christian intent” (Greif, 1966: 551). Greif claims that this novel is “far more than the account of a practical man’s adjustment to life on a deserted island” (ibid.) and it “is the record of a notable spiritual pilgrimage across the sea of life, from a lawless

course of living to true Christian repentance: a symbolic voyage from sin and folly to the gift of God's grace attained through sincere belief in Jesus Christ" (ibid.; Greif, 1966: 552). Greif says that "Christian repentance is the central theme of the major narrative episodes of the work," (ibid.) and finds it necessary to know enough about Protestantism in order to be able to criticize the novel (ibid.).

Damrosch, Jr., who regards *Robinson Crusoe* as "the first English novel" (Damrosch, 1994: 373), seems to be of the same opinion as Hunter, because he says that "The affinities of *Robinson Crusoe* with the Puritan tradition are unmistakable: it draws on the genres of spiritual autobiography and allegory, and Crusoe's religious conversion is presented as the central event" (ibid.; Damrosch, 1994: 374). He declares that "the narrative contains many scriptural allusions, which are often left tacit for the reader to detect and ponder" (Damrosch, 1994: 377). However, he claims that the end of the novel digresses from Defoe's original purpose, which is to "dramatize the conversion of the Puritan self" (Damrosch, 1994: 374). According to Damrosch, Crusoe's becoming successful in the end praises "a solitude that exalts autonomy instead of submission" (ibid.). He even claims that "Defoe must have been aware of these ambiguities" (ibid.) and cites in what ways "this primal novel" (ibid.) diverges from the Puritan emblematic tradition: "A Puritan reading of *Robinson Crusoe*—such as Defoe himself might have endorsed—would hold that [...] Crusoe is an abject sinner. But the logic of the story denies this" (Damrosch, 1994: 388). According to Damrosch; "Defoe's determinism becomes a defense of his own impulses, whereas for Puritans it would have been a confirmation of their sinfulness" (Damrosch, 1994: 386). It seems paradoxical that Damrosch also gives a detailed account of how the novel is in conformity with the Puritan tradition: "As in other Puritan narratives, separate moments are valued for their significance in revealing God's will, and become elements in an emblematic pattern rather than constituents of a causal sequence" (Damrosch, 1994: 377). Therefore it might be argued that Damrosch is not totally convinced that *Robinson Crusoe* is in line with the Puritan emblematic tradition. He even argues that "*Crusoe* reflects the progressive de-sacralizing of the world that was implicit in Protestantism, and that ended (in Weber's phrase) by disenchanting it altogether" (Damrosch, 1994: 379). Damrosch



makes a comparison between *The Pilgrim's Progress*<sup>32</sup> and *Robinson Crusoe*, and says "In *The Pilgrim's Progress* everyday images serve as visualizable emblems of an interior experience that belongs to another world. In *Robinson Crusoe* there is no other world" (ibid.).

On the other hand, there are critics who do not emphasize the religious pattern in the book. For example, Joyce, who regards *Robinson Crusoe* as "Defoe's masterpiece" (Joyce, 1994: 322) offers a different reading of the novel. Although he admits that there are errors in the plot of the novel, he defends Defoe and says that "the broad river of the new realism carries them off majestically like bushes and reeds uprooted by the flood" (ibid.). According to Joyce,

*The true symbol of the British conquest is Robinson Crusoe, who, cast away on a desert island, in his pocket a knife and a pipe, becomes an architect, a carpenter, a knife grinder, an astronomer, a baker, a shipwright, a potter, a saddler, a farmer, a tailor, an umbrella-maker, and a clergyman. He is the true prototype of the British colonist, as Friday (the trusty savage who arrives on an unlucky day) is the symbol of the subject races. The whole Anglo-Saxon spirit is in Crusoe: the manly independence; the unconscious cruelty; the persistence; the slow yet efficient intelligence; the sexual apathy; the practical, well-balanced religiousness; the calculating taciturnity.* (Joyce, 1994: 323)

Like Joyce, Woolf emphasizes the realism in the novel and says that "reality, fact, substance is going to dominate all that follows" (Woolf, 1994: 285). She regards *Robinson Crusoe* as "a masterpiece largely because Defoe has throughout kept consistently to his own sense of perspective" (Woolf, 1994: 285). Therefore, she deems it the "first task [...] to master his perspective" (Woolf, 1994: 284). She thinks that the details of Defoe's life are irrelevant and that they distract the reader during the process of reading (ibid.). She believes that "we are forced to drop our own preconceptions and to accept what Defoe himself wishes to give us" (Woolf, 1994: 286). She says "we must climb upon the novelist's shoulders and gaze through his

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<sup>32</sup> John Bunyan wrote this work of English literature and it was published in two parts, in 1678 and 1684 (Pooley, 2006). It is a religious classic and there are hundreds of translations of the book, being translated into eighty African languages alone (ibid.).

eyes until we, too, understand in what order he ranges the large common objects upon which novelists are fated to gaze[...]" (Woolf, 1994: 284).

It can be suggested that critics apply diverse approaches to explain the success of *Robinson Crusoe* and also the literary traditions that affect Defoe. It was already discussed that Joyce and Woolf regard this novel as a masterpiece which belongs to the movement of realism (Joyce, 1994: 322; Woolf, 1994: 285). On the contrary, Hentzi relates it to "the aesthetics of sublime" (Hentzi 1993: 419), which is categorized under the movement of romanticism<sup>33</sup>. Hentzi describes Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722) as "exemplary Enlightenment texts" (Hentzi 1993: 422) in which "everything from stalks of rice to dead bodies" (ibid.) is counted and "the relationship between the reflex of calculation and the interests of an expanding commercial class" (ibid.) is emphasized. He relates these two novels to "the aesthetic of the sublime" (Hentzi 1993: 419), and says that they "testify to their author's fascination with the power of natural catastrophes" (ibid.) and argues that "they reveal a social and political dimension of the sublime that has too often been ignored in recent discussions" (ibid.). According to Hentzi, "the most prominent characteristic of the sublime moments in Defoe's narratives is fear" and he contends that this fear is related to the "theological currents that shaped Defoe's mind" (Hentzi 1993: 420).

Hentzi further argues that "*Robinson Crusoe* [...] represents an attempt to negotiate the coexistence of religious and secular tendencies in a period of profound cultural change" (ibid.). He finds it paradoxical that the concept of sublime "reflects the movement of secularization that is the signature of Enlightenment thought" (Hentzi 1993: 421) although it is partly indebted to religious tradition (ibid.). He says that "the uniqueness of Defoe's narratives" results from using "a broad spectrum of intellectual motifs, shifting from one to another in an effort of negotiation that reflects the dynamic and heterogeneous character of eighteenth century culture" (Hentzi 1993: 422). Hentzi uses the episode of the footprint on the shore as an example of sublime fear, for the footprint brings into Crusoe's mind "innumerable

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<sup>33</sup> The philosophical concept of sublime is a key concept in eighteenth-century and Romantic aesthetics (Fludernik, 2001).

fluttering thoughts” (Defoe, 1994: 112) all of which are frightening (Hentzi 1993: 423). He argues that

*Along with the specific insights it affords into passages like this one, the sublime can also help to focus a more general historical analysis of the relationship between secular forms of representation and traditional religious habits of mind in Defoe’s narratives. For the emergence of the sublime is not a simple linear progression, moving steadily onward from decade to decade. Rather, it is a multilayered history, which traces the elaboration of the concept alongside of the older religious experiences to which it bears a demonstrable relation; and a noteworthy feature of *Robinson Crusoe* is that it contains two separate and distinct moments of history within the bounds of a single text. (Hentzi 1993: 424)*

Hentzi further makes an objection to claims which relate some episodes of *Robinson Crusoe* to the tradition of spiritual autobiography<sup>34</sup> (ibid.; Hentzi 1993: 425). He says that the nightmare episode in which Crusoe sees a man “descend from a great black Cloud, in a bright Flame of Fire, and light upon the Ground” (Defoe, 1994: 64) is reminiscent of “a traditional conversion scene” rather than “the genre of spiritual autobiography” (Hentzi 1993: 424). He also says the episode of the footprint also “departs decisively from the tradition of spiritual autobiography, omitting the otherworldly figure and instead presenting a moment of sublime astonishment” (Hentzi 1993: 425). According to Hentzi, not only are Defoe’s works analyzable from the viewpoint of the sublime, but also such analyses may be helpful in understanding the different dimensions of the concept of sublime (Hentzi 1993: 432). He says, “In contrast to the view of the sublime as a productively disruptive force, the example of Defoe’s novels ought to call our attention to the politics of response to such moments of overwhelming disturbance” (Hentzi 1993: 433). Rather than making generalizations “about the politics of sublime” (Hentzi 1993: 434), Hentzi finds it more helpful to analyze “individual cases in specific historical situations” such as *Robinson Crusoe* and *A Journal of the Plague Year* (ibid.). According to him, these two novels of Defoe emerged “at the crossroads of secularization and the beginnings of English imperialism” (ibid.) and “reflect some of the most expansive

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<sup>34</sup> “Spiritual autobiography is a genre of non-fiction prose which was effective during the seventeenth century, particularly in England (Sim, 2001).

and liberating impulses in eighteenth-century English culture, and simultaneously link those impulses to the culture's worst abuses" (ibid.).

A nineteenth century critic, De Quincey makes an interesting comment and announces the "double character" of Defoe's works (Quincey, 1994: 272). Quincey says that Defoe makes his tales "so amusing, that girls read them for novels, and gives them such an air of verisimilitude, that men read them for histories" (ibid.). This emphasis on gender is an interesting comment, since *Robinson Crusoe* is usually associated with the "boy's adventure stories" (Butts, 2002: 454). De Quincey's argument also shows that a novel might be loved by different groups of readers for different reasons, and this might be one of the factors which explain the success of this novel (and of its translations) as a children's book.

Nicholas Hudson says that in Manuel Schonhorn's *Defoe's Politics: Parliament, Power, Kingship and Robinson Crusoe* (1991) this novel is described as "a fable of kingship" (Hudson, 1993: 427) inspired by the reign of "Defoe's great hero [...] William III" (ibid.; Schonhorn, 1991:140). While Schonhorn claims that "*The Life and Strange Surprizing Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* is a political fable that emanated from an imagination that had been actively engaged in the most intense political debates in modern English history" (Schonhorn, 1991:141), Seidel describes the novel as an "exile narrative" and argues that "[a]s a fable of reconstitution in exile and legitimacy on return, *Robinson Crusoe* takes its place alongside exile narratives of traditional stature" (Seidel, 1981: 366). Similar to Schonhorn, Seidel associates this novel with the political events in English history and argues that there is "an interplay between the twenty-eight years of Crusoe's island exile and the concurrent years in England" (Seidel, 1981: 365). He claims that the period Crusoe spent on the island virtually overlaps the "twenty-eight years of restored Stuart rule before the 1688 Glorious Revolution"<sup>35</sup> (Seidel, 1981: 366), and argues that this is not an idle coincidence for "Defoe the narrative allegorist" (ibid.). Seidel also says that this similarity is usually overlooked in most of the criticisms

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<sup>35</sup> Seidel says "Crusoe begins his exile just before Charles II returns, and he returns just before James II is, in effect, exiled. The invited king, William III, Defoe's hero and his later friend, takes over the home kingdom" (Seidel, 1981: 366).

and he mentions Hunter and Douglas Brooks as scholars who have noticed this coincidence in the timing of Crusoe's story (Seidel, 1981: 372).

Among the seemingly endless interpretations of *Robinson Crusoe*, an alternative one made by Liu is rather interesting. She claims that the novel might be partly regarded as a science fiction. She says there are "traces of science fiction" (Liu, 1999: 737) and they should be overlooked in order to be able "to imagine the work as a realist novel" (ibid.). She deduces an evidence for her argument from Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Émile*<sup>36</sup>. She says that "Rousseau's tacit admission to having dreamed up an elaborate castle in the air suggests an interesting figurative exchange between *Émile* and *Robinson Crusoe*" (Liu, 1999: 736) and argues that "this economy of exchange took place in the imaginary realm of proto-science fiction, where Rousseau's technology of pedagogy found itself responding creatively to elements of science fiction in Defoe's novel" (ibid.). She further explains her claim and says "that *Émile* foregrounds the science fiction of Defoe's novel by casting itself as a science fiction of sorts, one about the technology of pedagogy" (ibid.). Another proof she presents is Jules Verne's acknowledgment of "*Robinson Crusoe* as a major source of inspiration for all his works" (ibid.). According to Liu, when Defoe wrote his novel, "Britain had not yet discovered the secret of white porcelain" (Liu, 1999: 738) and these products were imported from China and Japan. Defoe, who was also a manufacturer of bricks and pantiles, was aware of "the symbolic and technological difference between earthenware and porcelain" (Liu, 1999: 731). He knew that there was a high demand of porcelain in Europe and argued "against imported chinaware and its negative impacts on the British economy and morals" (ibid.). Liu claims that in his deserted island Crusoe mimics the experiments of the European potters who tried to produce white porcelain and that Defoe implies that porcelain is only "a type of earthenware" which may well be invented by a British man without any help whatsoever (Liu, 1999: 738). Liu believes that in *Robinson Crusoe* Defoe avoided the word "porcelain" on purpose, and used the word "earthenware" instead to "evoke porcelain by metonymic association" (Liu, 1999:

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<sup>36</sup> The original title of this philosophical treatise is *Émile, ou de l'éducation* [Emile: or, On Education], and it was published in 1762.  
(<http://www.litencyc.com/php/sworks.php?rec=true&UID=5382>)

732). She says that Defoe names his fired and glazed vessel an “earthen pot” and behaves “as if the firing process made no qualitative difference whatsoever”. On the other hand, Defoe’s similes “burnt as hard as a Stone, and red as a Tile” (Liu, 1999: 741) indicate the production of porcelain (ibid.). Liu says the “substitution of earthenware for porcelain” (Liu, 1999: 748) might be regarded as a “metaphorical endeavor”. She says

*Defoe’s substitution of earthenware for porcelain seems to contradict the metonymic impulse of the similes, which unwittingly evoke that which is being disavowed. The conflicting coexistence of the metaphorical and the metonymic in the figuring of the earthenware pot is what enables the simultaneous disavowal and evocation of porcelain in Robinson Crusoe. (748)*

Therefore, Liu thinks that Defoe ignores the word “porcelain” because of “colonial disavowal” (ibid.). That is to say, she claims that Defoe simultaneously (and deliberately) implies the importance of porcelain production, and disavows the success of the Chinese in this production (Liu, 1999: 747).

Liu also says that it is easy to miss these “traces of science fiction” (Liu, 1999: 738) since Defoe “maneuvers the figural rivalry of earthenware and porcelain of his time so skillfully” (ibid.). She further argues that “such maneuvering anticipated and contributed to a historical process in which the elements of science fiction seem to have fallen out of the picture altogether so that a realist or spiritual reading would come to dominate the interpretation of the novel, often conceived sans volumes 2 and 3” (ibid.; Liu, 1999: 739). This argument certainly brings new dimension to Defoe study, since it might explain the reason why the second volume is usually neglected. Liu’s analysis is further important since she uses the first Chinese translation of *Robinson Crusoe*<sup>37</sup>. She contends that this translation “offers itself up as a belated *metonymic reminder* of the traces of porcelain making in the original novel by renaming the object as such” (Liu, 1999: 741). She declares that the Chinese translators “correct” the terminology of the novel, and use the Chinese

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<sup>37</sup> The first two volumes were translated and published by Lin Shu in classical Chinese in 1905-06. Shu also had an “English-language informant”, Zeng Zonggong, who helped him in the process. (Liu, 1999: 741, 743)

equivalent for “porcelain” or “chinaware” to denote Crusoe’s fired earthenware vessels (Liu, 1999: 743). She says “The Chinese translators’ decision to *improve* the original text opens up an interesting interpretive space in which the historicity of the original stands exposed and is held accountable to the translated text” (ibid.). She also says that “the translators are retranslating something back to what has always already been translated as ‘porcelain’ and ‘chinaware’ by Europeans in the past but what has been overshadowed by Defoe’s celebration of a British man’s ingenuity in the novel” (Liu, 1999: 745), and that their “work effectively interrogates the *literality* of Defoe’s similes and turns them inside out in the Chinese text” (ibid.). Therefore, Liu’s case is an important example, which shows that a translated text might also be used as an evidence of a new interpretation of an original text.

Another Defoe critic, Watt, claims that *Robinson Crusoe* is rather considered as a myth rather than a novel (Watt, 1994: 288). He says “Defoe’s first full-length work of fiction seems to fall more naturally into place with *Faust*, *Don Juan*, and *Don Quixote*, the great myths of our civilization” (ibid.). According to Watt, although Crusoe does not resemble the heroes of these myths<sup>38</sup> since he loses the world “for gain,” and not “for an idea,” the fact that “his author’s name has been forgotten” (ibid.) and that Crusoe “acquired a kind of semi historical status like the traditional heroes of myth” (ibid.; Watt, 1994: 289) makes it possible to regard him as the hero of a myth (ibid.). Watt does not consider the second and third books as parts of the myth, and says they are hardly known, and “the stark facts of the hero’s island existence occupy almost all our attention, and the rest is largely forgotten” (ibid.). According to Watt; “the mystique of the dignity of labor helped to ensure the later success of *Robinson Crusoe* as a myth” (Watt, 1994: 296). He also argues that “Myth always tends in transmission to be whittled down to a single, significant situation” (Watt, 1994: 289). Therefore, he excludes the early and the final episodes of the first book from the Crusoe myth and says they are “hardly part of the myth” (ibid.). Watt believes that the myth of Crusoe has nothing to do with Crusoe’s being an irreligious person or his “filial disobedience in leaving home” (ibid.). According

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<sup>38</sup> Watt quotes from Malinowski the following “description of primitive myths”: “It is not of the nature of fiction, such as we read today in a novel, but it is a living reality, believed to have once happened in primeval times, and continuing ever since to influence the world and human destinies (Watt, 1994: 289).

to Watt; “Crusoe lives in the imagination mainly as a triumph of human achievement and enterprise, and as a favorite example of the elementary processes of political economy” (ibid.). He says that it might not be the intention of the author to make Crusoe represent ideas such as ““Back to Nature”, “The Dignity of Labor”, and “Economic Man” (ibid.), but Watt believes that “It is not an author but a society that metamorphoses a story into a myth, by retaining only what its unconscious needs dictate and forgetting everything else” (Watt, 1994: 290). Watt claims that “One of the reasons for the canonization of *Robinson Crusoe* is certainly its consonance with the modern view that labor is both the most valuable form of human activity in itself, and at the same time the only reliable way of developing one’s spiritual biceps” (Watt, 1994: 296). This is probably the reason why Watt believes that “Defoe, of course, would have been surprised at this canonization of his story” (Watt, 1994: 291).

Watt also cites Rousseau’s approval of *Robinson Crusoe*<sup>39</sup>, and says that “it is interesting to see that Rousseau [...] was the first to see in it something which far transcended the status of a mere adventure story” (Watt, 1994: 290). He further argues that “Progressive education and the arts and crafts movement both owe a good deal to Rousseau’s pages on *Robinson Crusoe* in *Emile*” (Watt, 1994: 293). Another evidence for the effects of Rousseau’s arguments regarding *Robinson Crusoe* is claimed by Watt to be Joachim Heinrich Campe’s *Nouveau Robinson* (Watt, 1994: 298). Watt says Campe “acted on Rousseau’s suggestion that only the island episode was improving, and produced a *Nouveau Robinson* which superseded Defoe’s original version both in France and Germany” (ibid.).

Dennis Butts also makes an interesting claim, saying, “the true history of the modern adventure story did not really begin until 1719 when Daniel Defoe published *The Life and Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe... Written by Himself*” (Butts, 2002: 445). Butts acknowledges that the novel was “not originally told for children” (ibid.), and defines it as “a serious adult chronicle about physical and moral

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<sup>39</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau declares *Robinson Crusoe* as a book which “affords a complete treatise on natural education” (Rousseau, 1994: 262), and can constitute the “whole library” of children aged twelve to fifteen. (ibid.)



survival” (Butts, 2002: 454). He describes the “key elements” in the novel as “the account of a shipwreck, the description of the island [...], Crusoe’s solitude and his ingenious survival techniques [...], and [...] Crusoe’s spiritual development (Butts, 2002: 445)”. Butts believes that Rousseau’s criticism which disregards the “social and spiritual development” (Butts, 2002: 446) of the hero is to an extent responsible for the popularity of the abridgements of *Robinson Crusoe* (ibid.). He says that “there were approximately 150 abridgements published for children between 1719 and 1819 alone, with chapbook publishers involved right across the country” (ibid.). According to Butts, Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver’s Travels* published in 1726 “also helped contribute to the interest in “Desert Island” stories,” (Butts, 2002: 445; ibid.) however it was *Robinson Crusoe* that served as the model for “Robinsonades”<sup>40</sup>, namely the “tales, mainly concentrating on the shipwrecked victim’s attempts to survive on an island” (Butts, 2002: 446). He gives the account of the following robinsonades: Peter Longueville’s *The English Hermit; Or, The Unparalleled Sufferings and Surprizing Adventures of Mr. Philip Quarll* (1727), Robert Paltock’s *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins* (1751), Joachim Heinrich Campe’s *Robinson der Jüngere*<sup>41</sup> (1779), J.D. Wyss’s *Der Schweizerische Robinson*<sup>42</sup>(1812), Barbara Hofland’s *The Young Crusoe* (1829). Butts indicates a change in “the character and development of the adventure story” (Butts, 2002: 447) and says “Defoe’s adult hero was beginning to be replaced by a young boy” (ibid.). According to Butts, “by the 1840s, the adventure story for adults was well established through the works of Defoe, Scott and Cooper” (Butts, 2002: 449) and he describes “three different models of adventure stories” (Butts, 2002: 448): (a) “stories of shipwreck and desert islands (inspired by Defoe)”, (b) “tales set in the historical past (by Scott)”, and (c) “tales set on the exotic frontier (by Cooper)” (ibid.). He also says that the “expansion of the British Empire” affected “the development of the adventure

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<sup>40</sup> The German novelist Johann Gottfried Schnabel coined the name robinsonade in 1731 in his *Die Insel Felsenburg* [The Island Felsenburg] (O’Malley, 2007).

<sup>41</sup> “A German version of Defoe’s story especially aimed at young people (Butts, 2002: 446)”. “The story, [...] omits much of Defoe’s moralizing as well as making his hero a youth of eighteen (ibid.)” and the hero eventually “returns home to his aged father (ibid.)”. Campe translated it into English in 1781 under the title *Robinson the Younger* (ibid.).

<sup>42</sup> The book’s first English translation entitled *The Family Robinson Crusoe* was made in 1814 by William Godwin (Butts, 2002: 447). According to Butts, “*The Swiss Family Robinson* seems to have been even more popular than Defoe’s original (ibid.)” in America, and more than “three hundred different editions” of the book were “published in England and America since the 1840s (ibid.)”.

story” (ibid.) and that there was “a cultural climate in which young people wanted to read adventure stories in which the heroes and (less often) the heroines were young people like themselves” (Butts, 2002: 449). According to Butts, there was an increase in adventure stories written for children in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and “although they cannot be said to have invented the genre, established it firmly with such books as R. M. Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island*<sup>43</sup>(1858), R. L. Stevenson’s *Treasure Island* (1881), and H. Rider Haggard’s *King Solomon’s Mines* in 1885” (Butts, 2002: 449). Butts holds Captain Frederick Marryat responsible for the “establishment of the adventure story for children as a dominant literary form” (Butts, 2002: 450), because of the adventure novels *Masterman Ready; or, The Wreck of the Pacific* (1841)<sup>44</sup>, *The Settlers in Canada*<sup>45</sup>(1844), and *The Children of the New Forest*<sup>46</sup>(1847) he wrote for children. Butts also declares another change in juvenile literature, and points the decrease of “amount of pious evangelical teaching” (Butts, 2002: 452) in these novels. Butts’ other interesting finding is the “gender emphasis in British children’s books” (Butts, 2002: 453) and he gives examples of separate publications for boys and girls (ibid.). He says that “by the end of the nineteenth century the boy’s story had become a dominant genre” (Butts, 2002: 454) and claims that Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* supplied the inspiration for this “literary form for providing emotional and literary excitement for adolescent boys” (ibid.).

Defoe and *Robinson Crusoe* have also been studied in relatively new research areas such as gender studies. For example, in his *Rum, Sodomy and the Lash: Piracy, Sexuality, & Masculine Identity* (1999), Hans Turley says that most of Defoe’s novels (including *Robinson Crusoe*) have piratical elements, and he argues that “[t]he neglect of piracy in criticism of Defoe’s canon is baffling because scholars have recently examined other traditionally popular literary genres such as crime

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<sup>43</sup> Butts says that “*The Coral Island* is clearly a Robinsonnade, narrating the adventures of three boys [...] shipwrecked on a desert island in the tropics (Butts, 2002: 453)”.

<sup>44</sup> According to Butts, Marryat extended in this novel “the tradition of the Robinsonnades for young people” (Butts, 2002: 450).

<sup>45</sup> Butts says Marryat shows the influence of James Fenimore Cooper in this story, because it is a tale of the “frontiers of civilization (Butts, 2002: 451)”. Butts claims that “the account of homemaking in adverse circumstances also owes something to the tradition of the Robinsonnades” (ibid.).

<sup>46</sup> Butts says Marryat shows the influence of Walter Scott in this novel. Although it tells the story of four orphaned children, Butts believes that the children’s trying to survive in a forest “depends upon the appeal of the Robinsonnades (Butts, 2002: 452)”.

literature to contextualize and offer new readings of Defoe's major texts and novels" (Turley, 1999: 74). In his book, Turley aims to rectify the lack of studies about the element of piracy, because he thinks it is important for "Defoe studies and, more broadly, gay and lesbian studies and queer theory" (Turley, 1999: 75). Turley says that he sees "the homoerotic connotations in Crusoe and Friday's relationship" (Turley, 1999: 144), since Crusoe dismisses his marriage and his wife's death in one sentence and on the other hand gives much more importance to describing his relationship with Friday (ibid.). Turley argues that "[t]his connection is fascinating to read in the context of both Crusoe's marriage and the marriages of pirates to their native wives" (ibid.).

Another gender-related reading of *Robinson Crusoe* is offered by Wiegman in her article entitled "Economies of the Body: Gendered Sites in *Robinson Crusoe* and *Roxana*" (1993). In this article, Wiegman prefers to discuss "the tensions inherent in a narrative structure that originates –as do all of Defoe's novels –in sexual difference" (Wiegman, 1993: 207). Despite the lack of sexuality and women on Crusoe's island, Wiegman argues that gender is an important issue in *Robinson Crusoe* (Wiegman, 1993: 222). She contends that masculine subjectivity is privileged in this novel (Wiegman, 1993: 207). According to Wiegman, Crusoe represents the "white masculine" (Wiegman, 1993: 208) while Friday is the "feminized other" (Wiegman, 1993: 210). Wiegman not only emphasizes the lack of women in *Robinson Crusoe*, but also discusses the importance of racial difference between Crusoe and Friday, and also the relationship of the hero with the island from the viewpoint of gender studies:

*In his very ability to order, name and own the resources of the island, including its inhabitants, Crusoe exhibits the mythic dimensions of white masculinity, forging the creation of hierarchies in the face of racial Others and untamed land. By using the male as the original social body from which linguistic and economic systems draw their symbolic meaning – and revealing this social body as racially encoded – Robinson Crusoe reiterates the primary status of the white male body in cultural production. (Wiegman, 1993: 209)*

According to Wiegman, there is a “narrative gap created by Defoe’s overt silence of the sexual,” (Wiegman, 1993: 222) but this gap is filled by the roles of Crusoe and Friday, and by the hero’s relationship with nature as well (ibid.).

It can be suggested that Defoe’s women in the novel have occasionally been part of the discussions. While Dickens simply finds them dull, Wiegman and Turley use this silence of the women as evidences to their gender-related readings of the novel. Gender-related readings are relatively new readings and it was shown in this section that most of the criticisms are either about the religious conversion of Crusoe or the relation of the novel with the political events of the period. For example, Seidel regards Defoe’s political past as an important criterion which should be used while analyzing *Robinson Crusoe*. The most important factor which causes such readings seems to be Defoe’s own life, which comprises successes and failures that are closely related to the political events of the period. It was demonstrated in this section that some criticisms are related to the public image of Defoe and that they include some details of the life and personality of the author. For example, Sutherland uses his knowledge of Defoe’s life to comment on the novel, while Gildon uses it to insult Defoe. Nevertheless, some other critics such as Woolf refuse to use the details of the author’s life while reading the novel. She also associates the novel with realism, but some others (e.g. Hentzi) prefer to relate it to romanticism. It was also displayed in this section that another debatable issue about *Robinson Crusoe* is its source of inspiration. For instance, Sutherland insists that Selkirk’s accounts are important in the writing of this novel and Hunter denies this claim and insists that Selkirk’s life could not have been the only source used by Defoe. It might be said that all of these criticisms do not seem to be answering the question of Crusoe; however, they do add new dimensions to the discussions about the novel. These different readings make it impossible to reach a unique meaning of the story. Yet readers might well obtain their own opinion about this novel either by means of reading the novel itself or these critical analyses. In conclusion, there are various readings of *Robinson Crusoe* due to its unclear inspiration, varying themes, and wide audience. It might be said that there have always been debates among various

scholars regarding Defoe and Crusoe. It appears that the novel has attracted great attention of scholars and critics for centuries and it is still open for new readings.

#### 1.4. The reception of the book in Turkey

In this research, it was found that there are a few studies about *Robinson Crusoe* in Turkey and most of them were made in recent years. Akşit Göktürk's *Edebiyatta Ada – İngiliz Edebiyatında Ada Kavramı Üzerine Bir İnceleme* [Island in Literature – A Research on the Concept of Island in English Literature] (1973)<sup>47</sup> is a comprehensive work about Robinsonades and *Robinson Crusoe*. The book's 2004 edition<sup>48</sup> will be used in this research. Graduate studies about this novel will also be briefly reviewed in this section. In Leyli Jamali's doctoral dissertation<sup>49</sup>, for instance, a psychoanalytic feminist reading of Defoe's novels including *Robinson Crusoe* is offered. There is also Abdurrahman Kara's master's thesis<sup>50</sup> which contains a corpus-based research of the novel. There have also been two other pieces of research conducted about the translations of this novel in Turkey. It was previously noted that Karadağ's doctoral dissertation (2003) contains an analysis of two Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe*. In her thesis, Karadağ analyzes the effects of the religious ideology of the translator on the translation of the novel and on the Turkish culture repertoire. The relation of *Robinson Crusoe* translations with ideology was also analyzed in Hümeyra Altuntaş's master's thesis<sup>51</sup>. Additionally in this section, some other critics' arguments about the book will be discussed. One example is

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<sup>47</sup> According to the catalogue of the National Library in Ankara, Sinan Publishing House published this book in İstanbul.

<sup>48</sup> This edition published by Yapı Kredi Publishing House is entitled *Ada –İngiliz Yazınında Ada Kavramı* [Island –The Concept of Island in English Literature] (2004).

<sup>49</sup> Jamali's thesis is entitled *A Psychoanalytic Feminist Reading of Daniel Defoe's Novels under the Light of Lacanian and Kristevan Insights* (2006); unpublished doctoral dissertation, Ankara University, Ankara.

<sup>50</sup> Kara's master's thesis is entitled *A Corpus-based Approach to the Analysis of the Literary Style of Robinson Crusoe* (2007); unpublished master's thesis, Erciyes University, Kayseri.

<sup>51</sup> Altuntaş's thesis is entitled *Translation and Ideology: A Comparative Analysis of the Translations of Daniel Defoe's Robinson Crusoe* (2007); unpublished master's thesis, Hacettepe University, Ankara. In the similar vein with Karadağ's comprehensive work, Altuntaş pursued a research on the selected abridged Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* published for children by different publishing houses. In her research she problematized the religious references added in Turkish translations. This research can be accepted as complementary to Karadağ's study.

Necdet Neydim's opinions regarding the novel. The opinions of İbrahim Hilmi Çığıraçan, who is the publisher of the first unabridged Turkish translation of the novel, will also be examined. Additionally, the arguments of Veysel Atayman, another unabridged translation editor, will finally be analyzed.

In his *Ada* [Island] (2004), Göktürk<sup>52</sup> discusses the different applications of the concept of island in English literature. He claims that the distinct interpretations of this concept produced by the authors of different ages results not only from the author's perception, but also from the age's social structure (Göktürk, 2004: 13). According to Göktürk, whether this concept is used in literature depends on the living circumstances of a period (ibid.). If the people living in a certain age do not feel themselves secure, and if there is chaos in the society, "the dichotomy between the island and the world emerges in creative minds" [... yaratıcı kafalarda ada-dünya karşıtlığı belirir]<sup>53</sup> (ibid.). He says this concept has separate meanings in three different genres, namely the utopian novel, robinsonades, and the novel (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 14). Göktürk declares the main objective of his study is to analyze the treatment of this concept in the English prose in the period from the middle age to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The book excludes the genres of poetry and drama. The research also ignores the "hundreds of ordinary island adventures which lack artistic creativity" [Yüzlerce örneği olan, sanat yaratıcılığında yoksun, sıradan ada serüvenleri konumuz dışındadır] (ibid.). Göktürk describes the aim of his study as follows:

*(a) to analyze the sources and the evolution of the different genres resulting from the different images of the concept of the island;*

*(b) to demonstrate how authors of each of these genres use the properties of the island medium in terms of the aim and organization of their works;*

*(c) to search for some common principles other than the superficial similarities between the applications of different authors, and to reveal whether an intra-literary tradition exists.*

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<sup>52</sup> Göktürk was a literary critic, writer and linguist, and he was also one of the translators of *Robinson Crusoe* in Turkey (Göktürk, 2004: 1).

<sup>53</sup> The translations from Turkish are mine unless otherwise stated.

[a. *Ada kavramının insan bilincinde kazandığı değişik anlamlardan doğan ayrı türlerin geçmiş kaynaklarını, gelişmesini incelemek;*

b. *Bu türlerin her birinde, yazarın ada ortamının özelliklerinden, yapıtının amacıyla kuruluşu açısından nasıl yararlandığını göstermek;*

c. *Değişik yazarların ada konusunu ele alışlarında yüzeydeki gelişigüzel benzerlikler dışında ortak ilkeler arayarak, bu alanda yazın için bir gelenek bulunup bulunmadığını göstermek.] (ibid.)*

Göktürk devotes a thirty-page chapter to *Robinson Crusoe* in his book, because he thinks “it is reminiscent of all the experiences of the concept of island in various genres of prose of the preceding ages, besides it is the core and the major example of the applications of this concept in the modern novel” [Bunun nedeni, Defoe’nun romanının ada kavramının daha önceki çağlarda değişik düzyazı türlerinde geçirdiği bütün deneyleri yankılandırması, aynı zamanda ada konusunda modern romandaki uygulamaların da bir ana örneği, çekirdeği olmasıdır.] (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 15).

Before analyzing *Robinson Crusoe*, Göktürk discusses the concept of island within the framework of robinsonades. He considers travel literature to be the main factor causing the emergence of island utopias and a new narrative genre later to be called robinsonades (Göktürk, 2004: 59). He says that Hermann Ullrich’s bibliographical work<sup>54</sup> is the first comprehensive study regarding robinsonades (ibid.). Göktürk also cites the definition of the robinsonade from Ullrich’s *Defoes Robinson Crusoe, Die Geschichte eines Weltbuches*<sup>55</sup> and he deduces from the definition that the hero’s living alone on an island is not the distinctive feature of the robinsonade, but rather his being isolated from the society and his struggle to survive is the definitive characteristic of the genre (Göktürk, 2004: 60). Göktürk declares Fritz Brüggemann to be the researcher who successfully demonstrated that the robinsonade island is a place of exile for the inhabitants, and that this feature distinguishes it from other islands such as utopian islands which mean security and shelter for the residents (ibid.). Göktürk says that the robinsonade island is an

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<sup>54</sup> *Robinson und Robinsonaden, Bibliographie, Geschichte, Kritik*, published in 1898 in Weimar. (Göktürk, 2004: 79).

<sup>55</sup> It was published in Leipzig in 1924 (Göktürk, 2004: 80).

untamed place in which wild beasts, fierce pirates and all sorts of savages exist, unlike utopian islands of happiness and freedom from anxiety and fear (ibid.). Göktürk claims that “in medieval literature the concept of island and the Christian doctrine of heaven were usually side by side” [Ortaçağ yazınında ada kavramı genellikle Hıristiyanlığın cennet öğretisiyle yanyanaydı] (ibid.), while “the island utopias of the early modern period aimed to demonstrate the ideal society’s laws, its functioning and the living in there” [Yeniçağ başlarındaki ada utopyalarının amacı, örnek-toplumun yasalarını, işleyişini, kuşbakışı yaşayışını göstermektir] (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 61). He says, “social utopia indirectly uncovers the defects in the author’s own society by means of describing a happy social order with established ideal laws” [Toplumsal utopya, örnek yasalarla kurulmuş mutlu bir toplum düzenini çizerken, dolaylı bir yoldan, yazarın kendi toplumundaki aksaklıkları da gözönüne serer] (ibid.). In *Robinsonades*, on the other hand, the person’s longing to return to his own society is emphasized and the author describes the survival struggle in the uninhabited island (ibid.).

Göktürk acknowledges that *Robinson Crusoe* is not the first robinsonade (Göktürk, 2004: 62). He also declares that there are various similar works even in ancient literary history and that *Robinson Crusoe* cannot be described simply as a robinsonade for many reasons (ibid.). Göktürk gives Ibn Tufeyl’s *Hay Ibn Yakzan*<sup>56</sup> as a literary work which comes closest to the properties of the genre (ibid.). Göktürk declares that this book obviously has a great impact on the robinsonades of the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> centuries (Göktürk, 2004: 64). He also says that it was proposed to be one of the main sources of *Robinson Crusoe* and that this claim could not be proved (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 65). Göktürk criticizes the previous comparisons between the two novels which only contend that both stories take place in deserted islands (ibid.). According to Göktürk, there is another similarity between the two stories—the religious message (ibid.). The heroes in both stories mature by age and experience, and find God (ibid.). Göktürk also mentions the Middle High German epic *Kudrun* as a deserted island adventure, but to him such ancient examples do not have the

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<sup>56</sup> Ebu Cafer Ibn Tufeyl was a philosopher of Al-Andalus, who died in 1186 (Göktürk, 2004: 62). The Latin version of his book was published in England in 1671, and the English version was published in 1708 (ibid.).



attribute of realistic expression that is crucial for the genre of the robinsonade (ibid.). Göktürk says that in the travel literature of the early modern period, there were many real life stories of seamen trapped in deserted islands (Göktürk, 2004: 68). Therefore Göktürk finds it natural that the knowledge of these stories caused the emergence of a new literary genre, in which the robinsonade author describes these adventures in an imaginary island (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 69). According to Göktürk, Henry Neville's *The Isle of Pines*, published in 1668 in London, is the first English robinsonade before Defoe (ibid.). Although he acknowledges that this novel is often interpreted as either a "utopia of sexual freedom" [bir cinsel özgürlük utopyası] or "a parody of the Genesis" [Tevrat'taki yaradılış bölümünün bir parodisi], he claims that the novel is more like a robinsonade than a utopia because the life of the individual is emphasized in the novel (Göktürk, 2004: 72). Göktürk says that some critics claim that *The Isle of Pines* has an impact on *Robinson Crusoe*, but he thinks that the similarities might be a consequence of the genre (Göktürk, 2004: 73). According to Göktürk, the effects of *The Isle of Pines* can be seen on novels of literatures other than the English literature (ibid.). For instance, the Dutch novel *Krinke Kermes* which begins as a robinsonade and turns into a utopia bears a resemblance to *The Isle of Pines* (Göktürk, 2004: 74). Göktürk says that *Krinke Kermes* is once regarded to be the source of *Robinson Crusoe* since Defoe uses the Dutch phrase "den wild zee" (ibid.), however the similarities between the two novels are not found adequate and it is understood that Defoe did not know Dutch (Göktürk, 2004: 74, 75).

Göktürk analyzes many other robinsonades in his book. One he mentions is Alexander Selkirk's account, saying that Richard Steele's *An Account of Alexander Selkirk* is "the plainest main-model of robinsonades" [Böylece Selkirk'in öyküsü, bütün robinsonadların en yalın ana-örneği özelliğine ulaşır] (Göktürk, 2004: 76, 81). Göktürk also discusses robinsonades written after *Robinson Crusoe*. He says that Edward Dorrington's *The Hermit*<sup>57</sup> and Robert Paltock's *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins*<sup>58</sup> are sometimes regarded as robinsonades bearing resemblances to *Robinson Crusoe*. He says neither of these works is fascinating like *Robinson Crusoe*

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<sup>57</sup> Göktürk says that Dorrington is a pseudonym, and the full title of the novel is *The Hermit: Or the Unparalleled Sufferings and Surprising adventures of Mr. Philip Quarl, an Englishman*, and the book was published in 1727 (Göktürk, 2004: 77).

<sup>58</sup> It was published in 1751 (Göktürk, 2004: 77).

and that there are even whole sentences from *Robinson Crusoe* in *The Hermit* (Göktürk, 2004: 77). He also claims that Paltock's novel is more like a utopia and that it cannot be considered to be a robinsonade since the island in the novel is not uninhabited (Göktürk, 2004: 78).

Göktürk describes *Robinson Crusoe* as the most famous literary example of the concept of island and claims that it paves the way to a new narrative style in the early modern period (Göktürk, 2004: 83). He says that *Robinson Crusoe* is reminiscent of utopian novels and robinsonades and also claims that Defoe utilizes both travel literature and the picaresque tradition in this novel (ibid.). According to Göktürk, Defoe's mastery results from his combining various literary traditions, and also from his vast amount of knowledge due to his political journalism (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 84). Göktürk says Defoe's success in analyzing his own society might only be compared to that of Charles Dickens (ibid.). According to Göktürk, the most important element in *Robinson Crusoe* is the successful observation of facts and a mastery of narration which introduces fabrication as if it were factual (ibid.). He says *Robinson Crusoe* goes beyond the limits of the robinsonade due to its narrative persuasiveness (Göktürk, 2004: 83).

Göktürk seems to be convinced that Defoe was indebted to travel literature and the accounts of Selkirk (Göktürk, 2004: 84). He considers it to be a great success of creative writing that Defoe fuses these various sources into a masterpiece, so that it is difficult to distinguish them (Göktürk, 2004: 85). Göktürk argues that although *Robinson Crusoe* is associated with the contemporaneous travel literature, it is more closely related to robinsonades, since the voyages in the novel are fictional (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 86). Göktürk also claims that the most important factor relating *Robinson Crusoe* to the tradition of robinsonades is the importance given to the personality of the hero (ibid.). Göktürk believes that Defoe's novel also related to the picaresque tradition, for the adventures of a single hero are narrated throughout the novel (ibid.). He nevertheless admits that Crusoe is not a picaresque hero, and that *Robinson Crusoe* cannot be described as a picaresque novel since the personality of the hero is placed in the center of every activity in the novel (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 87). Göktürk

claims that *Robinson Crusoe* is not an ordinary adventure novel, since the observation of the human personality and the human being's desire to gain experience are analyzed in the novel (ibid.). He believes that it is these properties of this novel that made it a novel rather than a robinsonade (ibid.). He concludes that Defoe uses the concept of island as an impressive method of describing the human life (ibid.).

Just like many Defoe critics, Göktürk finds Defoe's opinions important in the discussion of *Robinson Crusoe* (ibid.). He admits that *Robinson Crusoe* seems to be affected by the contemporary Puritan outlook (ibid.). He also says the middleclass living, the commerce, and the socio-political currents all have an effect upon both Defoe and his novel. Göktürk says this is the reason *Robinson Crusoe* is criticized from various perspectives (Göktürk, 2004: 88). He seems to be displeased with the subjective judgments, for he repeats the following passage from Hans W. Häusermann's *Aspects of Life and Thought in Robinson Crusoe* in which the modern critics of *Robinson Crusoe* are criticized: "The modern critics who analyze different aspects of *Robinson Crusoe* emphasize their own views rather than making an objective analysis of the novel" [*Robinson Crusoe'nun* şu ya da bu belli yönünü inceleyen modern eleştirmenler, romanın doğru, nesnel bir değerlendirmesini yapacakları yerde, çoğunlukla kendi öznel görüşlerine ağırlık tanımışlardır] (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 111). Göktürk also criticizes the ones who analyze *Robinson Crusoe* from the perspective of political economy and consequently disregard Defoe's creativity and artistry (Göktürk, 2004: 88). He agrees with the critics who claim that *Robinson Crusoe* is a myth, but objects to the analyses that declare that the novel is "the myth of the successful bourgeoisie and the materialistic Puritan businessman" [Başarılı burjuvanın, materyalist Püritan işadamının ülkülerini dile getiren bir mitos] (ibid.). Göktürk regards *Robinson Crusoe* as "the human being's myth of survival in a cruel universe; the myth of a person who struggles with difficult situations and searches the limits of his own power" [...acımak bilmez bir evrende sağ kalmaya çalışan, çıkmaz durumlarla pençelesen, kendi gücünün bütün olanaklarını araştıran insanın mitosudur] (ibid.).

Göktürk says Crusoe certainly cannot be compared simply to Defoe and claimed to be a merchant like him, since Crusoe does not use others' labor (Göktürk, 2004: 89). According to Göktürk, Crusoe alters his environment and that environment alters him—making the island a structural element of the novel (ibid.). Therefore, Crusoe and the island complement each other (ibid.). According to Göktürk, Crusoe undergoes a transformation on the island, and as a result he becomes a person who finds happiness in working hard (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 90). Göktürk regards *Robinson Crusoe* as the experience of the single man who explores his own creativity and tries to become more humane in a society busy with money, commerce, and industry (ibid.). Göktürk says from this perspective the uneasiness of Crusoe and his desire to leave everything behind and go away can be interpreted differently. He says Crusoe matures with every obstacle he overcomes. Although Göktürk acknowledges that “the Puritan doctrine which advises the person to know the limits of his own personality, the Protestantism concept of the free individual, and the conceptions of the new middle class are the factors forming the basis of Robinson's energy” [Puritan öğretinin insana benliğinin sınırlarını tanımasını öğütleyen ilkesi, Protestanlığın özgür birey kavramı, yeni orta sınıfın insan anlayışı, elbette Robinson'un enerjisinin temelinde yatan etkenlerdir] (ibid.), he nevertheless claims that Crusoe “goes beyond all of these factors” [ama sonunda o, bu etkenlerin ötesine varır] (ibid.).

Göktürk observes two opposites in Crusoe's personality: utopia and reality (Göktürk, 2004: 91). He says that Crusoe

*lives his greatest adventure in a utopian situation: he behaves according to his constant uneasiness and the desire of travel, the origins of which he does not know, and he is consequently separated from his society and order. Since he is estranged from [...] his environment, he wants to leave everything behind, to make voyages in far seas, and to establish something new, [...] and as a consequence of this continuous activity [...] he finds himself in an untouched natural medium, in a nameless island (ibid.).*

*[Robinson en büyük serüvenini utopik bir durumda yaşar: Duyduğu sürekli tedirginliğe, köklerinin nerde olduğunu seçiklikle kavrayamadığı bir yolculuk tutkusuna uyarak, içinde yaşadığı toplumdan, kurulu düzenden kopmuştur. Çevresindeki yaşama biçimine duyduğu*

*yabancılaşmadan dolayı başını alıp gitmek, sonsuz denizlere açılmak, yeni birşeyler kurmak, kendisindeki güce olanaklar aramak istemiş, bu sürekli eylem sonucu, bir an, [...] el değmemiş bir doğal ortamda, adsız bir adada bulmuştur kendini.]*

According to Göktürk, this is a utopian situation and Defoe expresses it by means of concrete experiments rather than abstractions (ibid.). He says, “The dream of utopia is presented within the limits of the reality of the personal experience. On that ground, utopia, which is an old tradition of the concept of island, and the careful objective realism of the modern novel are here side by side.” [Utopya düşü, kişisel deney gerçeğinin ölçüleri içinde sunulur. Böylece, ada kavramının eski bir geleneği olan utopya ile modern roman türünün titiz nesnel gerçekçiliği burada yan yana gelir] (ibid.). Göktürk considers the realistic side of Crusoe’s personality to be the factor that maintains the continuance of his inclination to utopia (ibid.). According to Göktürk, “The observation of every detail of the reality concretizes both the personality of [the hero] and his objective surroundings.” [Gerçeğin bütün ayrıntılarını önemli önemsiz demeden yakalayan bir gözlemcilik, hem nesnel çevreye, hem de bu kişiliğe kesin çizgiler kazandırır] (ibid.). Göktürk says that a perfect harmony is maintained between Crusoe and the objects which surround him and that these objects are no longer creatures which are independent of him; they are rather tools which realize Crusoe’s creativity (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 92). Therefore, all of his tools and the environment of the island become parts of his personality (ibid.). Göktürk claims that the successful observation of objects is not coincidental. He says it originates from the encounter of the human being with nature. He says there is a longing for utopia in Crusoe’s nature, which contradicts the principles of his society. Therefore, Crusoe experiences a tension between the standard of judgment of the rich bourgeoisie and utopian realism (ibid.). According to Göktürk, Crusoe opposes to the division of labor in the eighteenth century European societies since it limits the creativity of the human mind, and “enjoys the freedom of working” (Göktürk, 2004: 93) by engaging himself in bakery, basketry, carpentry, pottery, and etc. (Göktürk, 2004: 92). Göktürk says this might only happen in a utopian island, and he also declares that this inclination to utopia is expressed with objective phenomena (Göktürk, 2004: 93). Therefore Göktürk regards Crusoe’s wealth in his island as something which cannot be measured with a cold, abstract value such as

money and considers this wealth as a concrete part of his personality (ibid.). Göktürk contends that Crusoe deems only humane values worthy, yet he still carries the traces of bourgeoisie, the principles of which he finds repugnant (Göktürk, 2004: 94). Göktürk says that Crusoe suffers from a constant conflict of the happiness in his island and his longing for the world (Göktürk, 2004: 96). According to Göktürk, this conflict and the inner tension within Crusoe's ego help the reader understand his psychology (Göktürk, 2004: 97). Göktürk argues that Crusoe also analyzes his own religious progress, and this analysis is a consequence of the Puritan tradition (ibid.). Yet, Crusoe's "religious thoughts [...] are narrated realistically by means of concrete measures" [dinle ilgili bütün düşünceleri [...] gerçekçi bir yoldan, somut ölçüler aracılığıyla dile getirilir] (ibid.), and "the Puritan mind becomes the search for the objective reality" [Puritan bilinç de nesnel gerçeğin bir aramışı olur] (ibid.). Göktürk believes that Crusoe's religious beliefs do not take him apart from the world of objects, and Crusoe can associate abstract ethical concepts such as the good and the evil with the real life, and "this is the basic principle of his personality" [Kişiliğinin temel ilkesi budur] (Göktürk, 2004: 98). On the other hand, Göktürk says regarding *Robinson Crusoe* only as "a Puritan epic" is an inadequate approach just like seeing merely the economic dimension<sup>59</sup> (ibid.). He says that the novel's success can only be understood if these various dimensions are analyzed, and "An objective analysis should be like that" [Yan tutmayan bir eleştiride de böyle görülmesi gerekir] (Göktürk, 2004: 98, 99).

According to Göktürk, "Defoe's Puritanism does not only supply profundity to Crusoe's psyche, but also commits Defoe to be devoted to the fact. According to the practices of Puritanism, fabricated things, including a great portion of the fine arts are deemed unworthy" [Defoe'nun Püritancılığı Robinson'un ruhsal karakterine derinlik kazandırmakla kalmaz, Defoe'ya gerçeğe bağlı kalma görevini de yükler. Püritan yaşama ilkelerine göre, uydurma olan herşey, bu arada güzel sanatların büyük bir kesimi değersiz sayılır.] (Göktürk, 2004: 99). Thus Göktürk contends that this might be the reason why Defoe pretends to be the publisher of his novels in the prefaces of *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* (ibid.). He says, "In this manner,

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<sup>59</sup> For example, Karl Marx regards *Robinson Crusoe* as "a meretricious model of economic independence" (Shinagel, 1994: vii).

although the stories of Robinson and Moll are fabricated, they are presented as if they were told by real people, and this impression is reinforced by the first person narration” [Böylece Robinson ile Moll’un öyküleri kurmaca da olsa, gerçek birer kişinin ağzından aktarılıyormuş gibi verilmekte, bu izlenim ‘ben-anlatımı’ ile pekiştirilmektedir] (ibid.).

Göktürk says that Defoe is a man of the age of Enlightenment and he shares the rationalism of philosophers like Bacon, Hobbes, and Locke (ibid.). Therefore, sentimentality is not employed and an objective utopia is preferred (Göktürk, 2004: 100). Similar to Woolf’s argument, Göktürk says that the detailed description of objects in *Robinson Crusoe* gives the impression that nothing is forgotten and this makes the novel more persuasive (Göktürk, 2004: 101). He says Defoe’s realism does not present the hero as a person incapable of error and, therefore, utopia is presented rationally (Göktürk, 2004: 102). Göktürk contends “this is Defoe’s greatest artistic achievement” (ibid.).

An interesting claim made by Göktürk is that there are two narrators in *Robinson Crusoe* (Göktürk, 2004: 103). One is Crusoe and the other is the writer-narrator who is behind Crusoe, who also organizes what Crusoe narrates and who produces a greater scheme in accordance with the realities of the period and an ethical purpose (ibid.). According to Göktürk, “While the hero experiences his individualism in the island, the writer looks at the island from outside, from the distant world” [Kahraman ada ortamında kendi bireyliğini yaşarken, yazar adaya dışardan, uzaktaki dünyadan bakar] (ibid.). Göktürk says the novel is structured with the help of the equilibrium between the complementary duties of these two narrators and that *Robinson Crusoe* is the first example in which the properties of the island medium are used to place the adventures of a single person in a larger perspective (ibid.; Göktürk, 2004: 104). He claims that in none of the previous genres is the individual as important as in this genre (ibid.). Even in the picaresque novel, where the individual gains importance for the first time, the hero lives his or her adventures in a random manner (ibid.). Defoe’s hero, on the other hand, not only includes a utopian dimension, but also has middle class standards of judgment and is guided by

his Puritan moral values (ibid.). Göktürk says these attributes can also be found in *Captain Singleton* and *Colonel Jacque*, and Defoe's heroes are never careless about social and ethical rules as in the case of picaroons (ibid.). Unlike the picaroon who adopts his environment like a "chameleon", all of Defoe's heroes have an aim and they act accordingly (ibid.). They might change themselves, but they also change their environments and struggle (ibid.). Göktürk says that these struggles give psychological depth to the traditional adventurer type and the result is a story with social, humane, and psychological connotations (Göktürk, 2004: 105).

Göktürk says that the concept of island is a limited environment for the activities of a hero, and this is an obstacle of both travel stories and robinsonades (Göktürk, 2004: 106). It eventually causes an interruption in the adventures of the hero (ibid.). Göktürk says Defoe beats this difficulty with his mastery, and turns the deserted-island loneliness of the hero into a personal experience of maturation and becoming civilized (ibid.). He contends that in the travel literature and robinsonades, the island is a place where the hero is desperate, while Defoe uses it as a factor that forms the personality of the hero (ibid.). This personal experience of the hero is what makes *Crusoe* a round character, while also helping the structure of the novel (ibid.).

Göktürk not only analyzes the concept of island from the viewpoint of *Robinson Crusoe*, but also discusses the various approaches of critics and he also comments on their readings. For instance, he says that Gustav "Hübener regards *Crusoe* as a hero who calculates everything and who represents the early capitalist social order, even when there is neither money nor commerce" [Hübener, *Crusoe*'yu, herşeyi hesaba vurarak yaşayan, paranın ticaretin sözkonusu olmadığı durumlarda bile erken kapitalist toplum düzeninin hesapçı insan tipini temsil eden bir kahraman olarak görüyor] (Göktürk, 2004: 111, 112). Göktürk also cites Ullrich's answer to Hübener's claim (Göktürk, 2004: 112). Ullrich contends that *Crusoe* has nothing to do with money or trade and that he is just seeking adventure (ibid.). Göktürk is in disagreement with both interpretations, deeming them unreasonable (ibid.). Göktürk also discusses Secord's viewpoints regarding *Robinson Crusoe* and agrees with him—especially on the "unreasonableness" of Watt's criticism of the novel. He



argues that Watt makes a historical error by declaring Crusoe the prototype of the concepts “bourgeoisie” and “liberal individualism” which gradually gained negative connotations in the centuries after Defoe (ibid.). He says this approach contradicts the continuing success of *Robinson Crusoe*, since it leaves today’s reader little room for the discussion of the positive attributes of Crusoe (ibid.).

Göktürk argues that the first-person narration is not a new application and it is also seen in the picaresque narrative; but Defoe’s being a writer-narrator is the main factor which distinguishes *Robinson Crusoe* from both the Puritan life stories and picaresque narratives (Göktürk, 2004: 106). He claims that Defoe gives the traditional first person narration a profundity required by the novel genre and that he also uses this method in accordance with his own purposes (Göktürk, 2004: 110). Göktürk says that *Robinson Crusoe* has all the excellence of a masterpiece and is therefore distinguished from the predecessors of the island literature, and it is one of the sources which inspired the 20<sup>th</sup> century novel (Göktürk, 2004: 110, 111).

Göktürk’s work is important because it offers a summary of the criticisms received by this novel in the West. Yet, there are some recent studies made about this novel in Turkey. For example, Kara made a corpus-based analysis of the novel in 2007. In his master’s thesis, Kara argues that “socio-cultural environment plays an important role in decision making” (Kara, 2007: iii) and thus analyzes *Robinson Crusoe* which he regards as “one of the best representatives of its age” (ibid.). In order to see “to what extent the public voice [...] and history as reflected by the dominant social, cultural, economic and religious ideology of the 18<sup>th</sup> century England was reflected” (Kara, 2007: 80) in *Robinson Crusoe*, Kara uses a corpus-based approach and with the help of a software program he obtains a 70000-word corpus from the text of the novel (Kara, 2007: iii). He then groups these words into 93 semantic domains to perform the analysis, and finally comes to the conclusion that “certain domains pertaining to individualism, colonialism and mercantilism take a significant position in the entire corpus, which is primarily because the protagonist was endowed with the particular characteristics of the 18<sup>th</sup> century” (ibid.). Kara contends that Defoe’s discourse represents “the core beliefs and traditions of his age”

(Kara, 2007: 81), and that Crusoe is “an 18<sup>th</sup> century prototype of the highly individualized and profit-seeking England” (Kara, 2007: iii).

He argues “the register Daniel Defoe employs in his novel, *Robinson Crusoe*, is on the whole a one-to-one reflection of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain with its materialistic world view,” (Kara, 2007: 90). Furthermore, Kara believes that there are “correlations between the life-long experience of Daniel Defoe as an unlucky tradesmen and his distinguished hero Robinson Crusoe as a devoted colonialist” (ibid.). His third argument is that the absence of females in the novel is “attributable to the strictly patriarchal characteristic of the age” (Kara, 2007: iii). Kara says,

*[T]he remarkable silence of certain domains like concepts related to women (0.1 %), kinship terms (0.2 %), association (0.2 %), help-care for (0.4 %), agriculture (0.2 %), household activities (0.04 %), leisurely time (0.05 %) and religious activities (0.5 %) actually say a lot on the nature of the 18<sup>th</sup> century individualist, colonialist and materialist British society. As a corollary of possessive individualism and capitalism, certain forces such as women, the idea of leisurely time, family and familial ties, relationships based on kinship had steadily been reduced to a comic insignificance in the British society.”* (Kara, 2007: 81)

Kara also argues that the absence of women in the novel is related to Defoe’s religious upbringing (Kara, 2007: 86). He says that in Defoe’s time “the male oriented work ethic of the age dictated people not to distract their energies and not to be caught by sexual excitement” (ibid.). Since “women were subordinated by law and by tradition”, Kara believes that the social hierarchy which placed women below men is the reason why Defoe ignores women in his novel (ibid.).

It can also be said that Kara’s study denies some other readings of the novel that emphasize Crusoe’s religious conversion. Since the semantic domain about religious activities makes up only the 0.5 % of Kara’s corpus, he concludes that “[t]he main forces behind the religious indifference and doubts about Christianity in *Robinson Crusoe* can be linked to materialism and trade” (Kara, 2007: 84, 85). He says “[w]hat is striking about Crusoe’s overall approach to religion is that he only deducts from natural phenomena only in cases of existential danger” (Kara, 2007:

85). Kara even regards the religious conversion of the savages to Christianity as “part of the colonization process” (Kara, 2007: 87). These criticisms of Kara seem to be highly linked to his assumption that Defoe’s discourse reflects the materialistic worldview of his period (Kara, 2007: 90). Kara interprets the rarity of some elements—such as references to women and religious activities—under the influence of his assumptions regarding the ideology of the 18<sup>th</sup> century England and, therefore, seems to ignore the Puritan readings of the novel<sup>60</sup>. On the other hand, as was discussed in the previous section, Crusoe’s living as an irreligious person and then becoming a devoted Christian on the island has enabled critics like Hunter to relate the novel to the Puritan emblematic tradition, which was prevalent in Defoe’s time (Hunter, 1994: 246, 247). Thus, it may be suggested that making a different assumption in the beginning of a corpus-based research could have caused different results and a colonial and materialistic reading may not have emerged.

Similar to Kara, Jamali also comments on the silence of women in *Robinson Crusoe* in her doctoral dissertation<sup>61</sup> (2006). According to Jamali; “In *Robinson Crusoe* Defoe’s public voice, as the Lacanian subject of the Symbolic Order, is echoed through the glaring absence of female characters as prominent figures” (Jamali 2006: 35). Furthermore, she does not find it sufficient to explain this absence simply with Defoe’s presenting “the general misogynistic ideologies of the eighteenth century” (ibid.). She says,

*[G]eneral interpretations of this kind do not provide comprehensive explanations, and they do injustice to the text itself as the immediate source of the reevaluation of the ideological construction of gender. Indeed, the application of alternative theories, like that of Lacan’s, seems to be a more responding choice because these theories address the text itself as a space of the multiple voices of the writing subject* (Jamali, 2006: 36)

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<sup>60</sup> Paradoxically, Kara does not deny that Defoe had a Puritan upbringing, but he does not seem to believe that the novel totally belongs to the Puritan emblematic tradition (Kara, 2007: 12). He argues that “[t]he interest in the physical and material world became central themes in *Robinson Crusoe* and other imaginative works of the period” (Kara, 2007: 13).

<sup>61</sup> In her thesis, Jamali uses Jacques Lacan’s and Julia Kristeva’s theories in order to analyze Defoe’s novels including *Robinson Crusoe* (Jamali, 2006: 1). For the analysis of *Robinson Crusoe*, she uses Lacan’s theory and also Anne McClintock’s postcolonial feminist theory “in order to decode the gendered sights in *Robinson Crusoe* more effectively” (Jamali, 2006: 43).

In Jamali's study, *Robinson Crusoe*, which is described as "not simply a novel of discovery or survival" (Jamali 2006: 34) but also as "a novel of exploration rich with insights into human nature," (ibid.) is used to analyze "Defoe's subjectivity as a writing subject"<sup>62</sup> (ibid.) and the novel is read from the "psychoanalytic feminist perspective" (ibid.). Jamali says that from the Lacanian perspective "a subject has a public voice" (Jamali, 2006: 35) and thus argues that Defoe, as a writing subject, has a public voice. She argues that this voice, which echoes the patriarchal ideologies, is "heard clearly through Defoe's four early novels, including *Robinson Crusoe*" (ibid.). The Lacanian reading of the novel enables Jamali's argument which states, "female figures are not entirely absent from the novel, although their appearances are fleeting and their narrative functions are severely restricted" (Jamali, 2006: 36). She says, "women are there tucked away unassertively and submissively in the margins of the text, while their brief presences allude to the Symbolic intentions of the author" (ibid.).

A discussion on *Robinson Crusoe* is also included in Neydim's doctoral dissertation entitled *80 Sonrası Paradigma Değişimi Açısından Çeviri Çocuk Edebiyatı* [Translated Children's Literature from the Viewpoint of Change of Paradigm after the 80s] (2003). In his work, Neydim acknowledges that *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver* are not intended to be children's novels (Neydim, 2003: 42). Yet he says, "these books are accepted as the first products of the children's literature and juvenile literature in the Age of Enlightenment" [... bu kitaplar Aydınlanma Döneminde çocuk ve gençlik edebiyatının ilk ürünleri olarak kabul edilmiştir] (ibid.). Neydim also declares that these books are the first works translated for children in the Tanzimat and he contends that these translation activities should be regarded as attempts to bring the Age of Enlightenment by means of translation (ibid.). He says that the first works of children's literature in the Age of Enlightenment are didactic, moralist, and imperative, and they aim to create an "ideal child" (Neydim, 2003: 43). Neydim argues that this attitude was predominant in the Tanzimat, and it continued in the republican Turkey as well (ibid.). This argument seems to explain the presence

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<sup>62</sup> Jamali says that the author is regarded as a "writing subject" within the "poststructuralist framework of psychoanalysis and feminism" (Jamali, 2006: 34). That is, the author has a "conscious intention" but the "unconscious desires also speak through the words" (Jamali, 2006: 34, 35).

of the “list of morals”, in which the publisher Çığıracan explains how the youth should behave, in his preface to the Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* published in 1950 (Defoe, 1950a: vii, viii). According to Neydim, Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe* is a work which “emphasizes the belief in humanity, and shows that with courage and technical command the world can be conquered” [... cesaretle ve tekniğe hükmederek dünyaya egemen olunabileceğini ve insana duyulan inancı vurgulayan Daniel Defoe’nin ‘Robinson Crusoe’ romanı ...] (Neydim, 2003: 44). Neydim contends that the publication of translations of *Robinson Crusoe* and the other novels<sup>63</sup> are indicative of the growing interest in the European culture, industrialism, and the Age of Enlightenment and that these publishing activities aim to create a new culture (Neydim, 2003: 45).

In his editorial preface to the Turkish translation<sup>64</sup> of *Robinson Crusoe*, Çığıracan gives information about the author, names some other works written by Defoe, and comments on both the novel and its Turkish translations (Defoe, 1950: v, vi). Çığıracan expresses, with certainty, that this novel is inspired from the real-life story of a Scottish sailor who lived alone in Juan-Fernandez Island for four years and claims that Defoe’s success comes from narrating fabricated events as if they were real (ibid.). Interestingly, Çığıracan employs the same quotation as Göktürk<sup>65</sup>, and translates the following phrase from the eighteenth century critic Dr. Samuel Johnson: “Was there ever yet any thing written by mere man that was wished longer by its readers, excepting *Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and *Pilgrim’s Progress*?” (Defoe, 1950: vii; Johnson, 1994: 264) Çığıracan also claims that this novel had been a model for naturalist novels in the past (Defoe, 1950: vi). He defines *Robinson Crusoe* as a fictional work that is very realistic (ibid.). He also says that Defoe wrote other novels<sup>66</sup> after this one and that he has more than 250 works on politics, economics, and society (ibid.). Çığıracan describes *Robinson Crusoe* as the only

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<sup>63</sup> Neydim lists the Turkish translations of Jonathan Swift’s *Gulliver*, five of Jules Verne’s novels, and La Fontaine’s fables that were published in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Neydim, 2003: 45).

<sup>64</sup> The book was published by Hilmi Publishing House in Istanbul in 1950.

<sup>65</sup> In his translator’s preface to the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* published by Kök Publishing House in Istanbul in 1968, Göktürk also uses Samuel Johnson’s words praising *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 1968: 11).

<sup>66</sup> Çığıracan names *Colonel Jack*, *Moll Flanders*, and *Memoirs of a Cavalier* (Defoe, 1950: vi).

work of Defoe that is still remembered and translated into all European languages and other languages as well (ibid.).

In his editorial preface to the Turkish translation<sup>67</sup> of *Robinson Crusoe*, Atayman discusses *Robinson Crusoe*, but he discusses Defoe as well. He describes Defoe as a politician, a philosopher, and a writer (Defoe, 2005, 11). He finds it important that Defoe was not only a writer, but also an insurgent who was actively engaged in the political events and the religious matters of his time (Defoe, 2005: 10, 11). He says this background should have affected his authorship (Defoe, 2005: 11). Similar to Göktürk, Atayman analyzes the association between the utopia and the robinsonade, and says that the robinsonade includes some of the works of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, although it takes its name from Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 2005: 7). More interestingly, Atayman says that it is easy to describe a connection between science-fiction literature and the genre of the robinsonade (Defoe, 2005: 8). He does not further explain what kind of connection exists, but it is an interesting claim, which reminds Liu's arguments discussed in the previous chapter of this thesis (ibid.). According to Atayman, *Robinson Crusoe* is a novel that cannot be claimed to have been written with the inspiration from a single source and it is a text that might have various readings (ibid.). Atayman includes some of these readings in his preface and discusses Göktürk's *Ada*. He uses Göktürk's criticism to explain the relationship of this novel with the Puritan tradition and to analyze how this novel can be related to the genre of utopia (Defoe, 2005: 13, 16, 17). Atayman claims that Crusoe's island-life is not a metaphor which reflects Defoe's time but it is rather a medium of objection to what was going on and a medium of search for what was being lost<sup>68</sup> in England and in Europe in those times (Defoe, 2005: 17). According to Atayman, Crusoe's island is not only "the utopia of the lost" but it also becomes "the stage of human conversion" where farming, carpentry, bakery, and etc. are exercised (Defoe, 2005: 18). Atayman argues that Defoe, in the beginning of capitalism, wants to communicate to the reader that being in crowds does not necessarily bring happiness (ibid.). Atayman is concerned that the Turkish youth is about to become people who

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<sup>67</sup> Bordo Siyah Publishing House in Istanbul published it in 2005.

<sup>68</sup> Atayman says that Defoe was aware of the fact that the beginning of industrialism and the processes of capital accumulation in Defoe's time would eventually devalue the work and creativity of a single person (Defoe, 2005: 17, 18).

do not believe in either utopias or tomorrow (Defoe, 2005: 19). He says that this might be the reason why in today's science fiction works "the island" is imagined in a far distant planet outside the solar system and only wars and destruction are imagined there (ibid.). He argues that all of these factors might explain the current popularity of *Robinson Crusoe* (ibid.). Atayman declares that Defoe is not included into Mina Urgan's *İngiliz Edebiyatı Tarihi* [The History of English Literature] (Defoe, 2005: 12). The book consists of four volumes and according to Atayman, is the most comprehensive Turkish work on the subject that can be read pleurably like a novel (ibid.). According to Atayman, there is a "thought-provoking" contradiction between Urgan's programmatic choice of ignoring Defoe (and consequently *Robinson Crusoe*) and the arguments of Doreen Roberts<sup>69</sup>, who explains the success of *Robinson Crusoe* by declaring that it is not only translated into major European languages but also into languages such as Coptic, Maltese, Arabic, Turkish, and Bengali (ibid.). Atayman probably believes that *Robinson Crusoe* should have been included into Urgan's work.

This study displays that there are only a few works written about *Robinson Crusoe* and its translations in the Turkish literary repertoire. It might be concluded that the arguments of Göktürk, Çığıracan and Atayman seem to be affected by the arguments of western scholars, since they include evaluations of foreign readings. Göktürk's work contains a detailed review of the reception of the book in the West and it should be regarded as an important study, because it emphasizes the wide variety of the possible readings of this novel. The recent graduate studies are also important because they contain some alternative readings of this novel. For example, Jamali's work offers a psychoanalytic feminist reading of *Robinson Crusoe* and it is definitely an interesting reading that will probably affect the book's reception in Turkey. Kara's work may not offer a new reading, but it successfully demonstrates an alternative method, i.e. a corpus-based study, to criticize the novel. It could be argued that the effects of this novel on the Turkish culture repertoire have been overlooked. Therefore, in the next section, such probable effects will be analyzed.

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<sup>69</sup> Roberts from University of Kent at Canterbury wrote an introduction to the Wordsworth Classics edition of *Robinson Crusoe* that was published in 1995 (Defoe, 2005:12, 19).

## 1.5. *Robinson Crusoe* translations creating new options in the Turkish culture repertoire

Although there are not many studies on this novel in Turkey, this study proves that *Robinson Crusoe* had certain effects on the Turkish culture repertoire. The indigenous writings which might have been inspired from this novel and the translated works which might have been, at least to some extent, affected from the *Robinson Crusoe* translations are going to be examined in this section.

As discussed in section 1.1, Butts' study is an interesting case on the effects of *Robinson Crusoe* on British juvenile publishing. Butts holds this novel responsible for the emergence of what he calls "the boy's story" (Butts, 2002: 454), namely "a literary form for providing emotional and literary excitement for adolescent boys" (ibid.). A similar argument could rightfully be raised for the Turkish culture repertoire, since my research revealed that various "deserted-island stories"<sup>70</sup> have been written for children especially in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century in Turkey – the period when the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* were present in abundant numbers. The titles of some of these translations have the phrase "ıssız adada" [in deserted island] (See Appendix 1). For example, the third edition of Yaşar Nabi Nayır's translation, which was published by Varlık Publishing House in 1959, is entitled *Robinson Crusoe İssız Adada* [Robinson Crusoe in Deserted Island]. Kanaat Publishing House published another version by the same translator in 1965

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<sup>70</sup> The deserted-island stories can be listed as follows:

- *İssız Ada* [Deserted Island], written by Necat Akdemir, published by Işıl Publishing House in 1961, Series Information: Faydalı ucuz masal ve hikayeler [Beneficial, cheap fables and stories] (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F>).
- *İssız Ada* [Deserted Island], written by Muhiddin Nalbantoğlu, published by Veli Publishing House in 1981, Series Information: Küçük Romanlar [Little Novels] (ibid.).
- *İssız Ada* [Deserted Island], no writer information, published by Arkin Publishing House in 1977, and in 1981, Series Information: Renkli Çocuk Kitapları [Colored Children's Books] (ibid.).
- *İssız Adada Çocuklar* [Children in Deserted Island], written by Fehmi Erdoğan, published in İzmir in 1973, Series Information: Çocuk Romanı [Children's Novel] (ibid.).
- *İssız Ada* [Deserted Island], no writer information, published by Yedigün Publishing House in 1943, Series Information: Çocuk Hikayeleri [Children's Stories] (ibid.).
- *İssız Ada: Beş Genç Kızın Maceraları* [Deserted Island: The Adventures of Five Young Girls], no writer information, published by İstanbul Maarif Kütüphanesi in 1943 (ibid.).



with the title *Issız Adada 28 Yıl: Robinson Crusoe* [Twenty Eight Years in Deserted Island: Robinson Crusoe]. It could be suggested that the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* might have been among the factors that initiated the publication of “deserted-island stories”. Interestingly, one of these stories contains an emphasis on gender. *Issız Ada: Beş Genç Kızın Maceraları* [Deserted Island: The Adventures of Five Young Girls] (1943) might have been written to appeal to female readers rather than males<sup>71</sup>. Nevertheless, there seems to be a genre of “deserted-island stories”, and the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* might to an extent be responsible for the emergence of these stories. Still, it should be noted that there are other children’s novels about deserted islands, which have been translated into Turkish. For example, according to the catalogue of National Library in Ankara, Granstroem’s novel<sup>72</sup> was translated into Turkish and published several times under the title *Issız Adada Bir Yıl* [A year in Deserted Island] (1950). Robert Michael Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island*<sup>73</sup> (1858) had also been translated into Turkish and published several times<sup>74</sup> under the title *Mercan Adası* (1939) in Turkey. It might be argued that these other translations also contributed to the interest in deserted-island stories in Turkey. On the other hand, the decision to translate these novels in the first place might be a consequence of *Robinson Crusoe* translations, which have previously helped the formation of the group of readers who were interested in such stories. Therefore, *Robinson Crusoe* might well be a factor that caused the emergence of both indigenous texts and further translations of novels written on this subject. Besides, children’s literature does not seem to be the only group of literature affected by the concept of deserted island. According to the catalogue of Ankara National Library, the romance entitled *The*

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<sup>71</sup> A similar tendency, for instance, was present in British children’s literature in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and there were different publications for boys and girls (Butts, 2002: 453). Whether such tendencies were present in Turkish culture repertoire is far beyond the scope of this thesis, but it might definitely be an interesting case for future researchers.

<sup>72</sup> The first name of the writer is given in abbreviated form as “E.” and the original title is not given. The book was translated by Nihal Yalaza Taluy, and published by Doğan Kardeş Publishing House several times beginning from 1950 to 1964. There are also other publishers that printed this novel, namely Deniz Publishing House in 1974 and 1976, and Yuva Publishing House in 2004. (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F>).

<sup>73</sup> The adventures of three English boys shipwrecked in a deserted island are narrated in this story. (<http://www.kirjasto.sci.fi/ballant.htm>)

<sup>74</sup> Kanaat Publishing House published the first translation in 1939, and then 22 different publishing houses published retranslations entitled *Mercan Adası* and these different versions were published mostly in 1970s, 1980s, and 2000s (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F>).

*Greek Tycoon's Mistress*<sup>75</sup> was translated into Turkish and published by Ekip Publishing House under the title *Issız Ada* [Deserted Island] in 2004 as well.

As a further example on the effects of the *Robinson Crusoe* translations on the Turkish culture repertoire, the indigenous series of comic books entitled *Robinson Crusoe & Cuma*<sup>76</sup> [Robinson Crusoe and Friday] (1997) might be given. The Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* have obviously supplied the inspiration for these comic strips, but the adventures of Yurt's characters are also believed to be closely related to the practices of Turkish daily life. Another example would be the Turkish translation of Scott O'Dell's famous novel *The Island of the Blue Dolphins*<sup>77</sup> (1960). This translation was published under the title *Kız Robenson*<sup>78</sup> [Girl Robinson] (1971) (See Appendix 5). Rather than using the heroine's name "Karana", the publisher probably found it more useful to use the name Robinson in the title to inform readers in advance that the novel is a survival story just like Robinson Crusoe's life story, which the reader was already familiar with. A similar case is found in some of the Turkish translations of Ballantyne's *The Coral Island*. While most of the translations were published under the title *Mercan Adası*, three publishing houses<sup>79</sup> preferred to publish them under the title *Üç Küçük Robinson* [Three Little Robinsons] (2000). Another interesting finding of this study is a translation entitled *Robenson Buzlar Diyarında*<sup>80</sup> [Robinson in the Land of Ice] (1959) made by Necmettin Arıkan. The novel is claimed to be written by P. S. John. What makes this translation interesting is the fact that Arıkan also translated

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<sup>75</sup> This novel was originally written by Julia James and published by Harlequin Mills & Boon in 2003. (<http://www.amazon.com/Greek-Tycoons-Mistress-Romance/dp/0263176819>)

<sup>76</sup> Gürçan Yurt began writing and drawing these series in the L-Manyak Magazine in 1997 (<http://www.robivecuma.com/index.html>). There are yet five books in this series, which are numbered from 1 to 5 (ibid.). The fifth book was published in 2007 in Istanbul by LM Publishing House (<http://www.tulumba.com.tr/storeItem.asp?ic=zBK329355IF506>).

<sup>77</sup> This novel was first published in 1960 (<http://www.sparknotes.com/lit/dolphins/facts.html>). This novel is about the story of a twelve-year-old American Indian girl named Karana, who survived eighteen years alone in an island. The author won the Newbery Medal for this novel in 1961. (<http://www.amazon.com/Island-Blue-Dolphins-Scott-ODell/dp/0440439884>)

<sup>78</sup> Milliyet Yayınları published it in 1971. (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F/>)

<sup>79</sup> The title *Üç Küçük Robinson* was used by: Remzi Publishing House in 2000 and 2004; Gonca Publishing House in 2001; and Tomurcuk Publishing House in 2005 (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F/>).

<sup>80</sup> Rafet Zaimler Publishing House in Istanbul published it in 1959. The title of the original novel is unknown. This novel may in fact be a pseudo-translation with no corresponding source text and there may not be an author called P. S. John, but coming to that conclusion requires an extensive analysis, which is also beyond the scope of this thesis. (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F/>)

*Robinson Crusoe*, and the same company, Rafet Zaimler Publishing House, published both translations. The translations of *Robinson Crusoe* were published under the title *Robinson Krüzoe'nin Maceraları* [The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe] in 1952 and re-editions were made in 1955 and 1965 (See Appendix 1). The hero of *Robinson Buzlar Diyarında* is neither Robinson Crusoe nor Friday, but their names are mentioned in the translated text (John, 1959: 10). The story bears resemblances to Defoe's novel, and the hero has to survive in a deserted island. The seventh chapter of this translation is entitled "Issız Ada" [Deserted Island], and interestingly, the translation of Defoe's novel is advertised in a footnote in this chapter: "This beautiful book is published by our publishing house under the title *Robinson Krüzoe'nin Maceraları* [The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe]" [Bu güzel kitap: <<ROBİNSON KRÜZOE'NİN MACERALARI>> adıyla yayınevimiz tarafından çıkarılmıştır] (John, 1959: 67, 68). Genette states that paratextual messages might well contain "[m]ention of other works published by the same house" (Genette, 1997: 25) and they are indeed present in the back cover and in the inside back covers of this translation, but inserting them in the form of a note in order to advertise might be regarded as a rare and surprising application.<sup>81</sup>

It seems that *Robinson Crusoe* translations have had an important role in the Turkish culture repertoire. These retranslations have caused the emergence of children's books in which similar adventures are narrated. Furthermore, similar novels have been translated into Turkish. Therefore, various texts were produced as new "options" (Even-Zohar, 2005c: 69) within the Turkish culture repertoire. It could be argued that *Robinson Crusoe* translations, which have been presented as options to Turkish readers, paved a way for new options both as indigenous writings and as translated texts. It might be said that the name Robinson has been used as a synonym of "castaway" in the titles of the translations of other novels. It could also be suggested that the use of the names "Robinson" and "Robenson" in the titles of further writings and translations might as well be an indication of to what extent this

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<sup>81</sup> As a final example of the effects of the translations of this novel in the Turkish culture repertoire, the bookstore named "Robinson Crusoe", which was established in 1994 in İstanbul, might be given (<http://sozluk.sourtimes.org/show.asp?t=robinson+crusoe+389>). This effect is rather on the retail market, but it probably shows that the name "Robinson Crusoe" is used synonymously with the word "castaway" in the Turkish culture as well.

foreign name became a reference for the source text and a commercial tool used by the publishers to attract Turkish readers. The discussion of such probable functions of translations might be helpful in understanding to some extent the role of the translated works in the Turkish culture repertoire. It also might be argued that *Robinson Crusoe* translations helped the emergence of a new genre, i.e. desert-island stories for children.

## 1.6. Conclusions

In this section, the novel and its author were briefly introduced. Then, the reception of the book was analyzed. It was demonstrated that a wide variety of readings were made in the West. For instance, it has been associated with different literary traditions such as realism (e.g. Woolf) and romanticism (e.g. Hentzi). It seems that most of the scholars (e.g. Hunter, Greif and Damrosch, Jr.) admit the religious intent of the author and emphasize the importance of the Christian repentance theme in the novel. Others deny this claim and offer alternative readings. One example is that while Schonhorn regards it as a “political fable” (Schonhorn, 1991:141), Joyce prefers to read it as “the true symbol of the British conquest” (Joyce, 1994: 323), and Watt describes it as a “myth” rather than a novel (Watt, 1994: 288). There are even some recent gender-related readings of the novel. Turley (1999) and Wiegman (1993) analyze the silence of the women in the novel, and argue that gender is an important issue, despite the absence of sexuality in the novel.

The reception of the book in Turkey was also analyzed in this chapter. Göktürk’s *Ada* (2004) and some recent graduate studies were reviewed. It was argued that there are not so many works written in Turkey about *Robinson Crusoe* and its translations. It is also interesting that most of the present studies were made in recent years; therefore, it can be suggested that there is a growing interest in this novel and its translations. Furthermore, the translations of this novel seem to have been effective in the Turkish literary repertoire. It was suggested in this chapter that the translations might be responsible for the emergence of a new genre called

“desert-island” stories within the Turkish literary repertoire. Similar desert-island novels were also translated into Turkish, which could also have been a consequence of *Robinson Crusoe* translations. It was further argued that the word “Robinson” was used as the synonym of “castaway” in Turkish. Therefore, new options were produced in the Turkish culture repertoire because of the retranslations of this novel.

In the next chapter of this study, bibliographies and paratextual features of *Robinson Crusoe* will be used as tertiary and secondary sources in order to observe the diachronic and synchronic distribution of the book between 1864 and 2006 in Turkey.

## CHAPTER 2 – EVERYBODY’S DESERTED ISLAND

In his preface to *Robinson Crusoe 1*, Çığıracan argues that “*Robinson Crusoe* is certainly among the books about which everybody should have an opinion” [*Robinson Crusoe* o kitaplardandır ki herkesin onlar hakkında bir fikri bulunmak lâzımgeldiği şüphesiz sayılır.] (Defoe, 1950a: v). It seems that there have been other publishers who served (intentionally or unintentionally) Çığıracan’s aim of familiarizing people with this novel because the text of *Robinson Crusoe* has been translated and published in Turkey in abundant numbers, both for children and adults, and in abridged and unabridged forms (See Appendix 1). As previously said, these retranslations maintain an “ambivalent status” (Shavit, 1980: 76) in the Turkish literary polysystem. It might be argued that especially the presence of the abridged versions which were produced separately for adults and children, in addition to the unabridged translations produced as works of canonized literature, facilitated the process of making people aware of this novel. The publishing houses which published these retranslations probably contributed to the aim of causing everybody to have an opinion about this novel, although their aim might have been very different from that of Çığıracan. As will be discussed in this chapter, the retranslations might have been produced with ideological motives or economic concerns. They might have been produced as tools of culture-planning activities as well. Still, it is highly probable that some of these retranslations were simply produced to challenge the validity of the previous translations which were not accepted as suitable for the needs of contemporary readers.

This chapter comprises several discussions about the translations of *Robinson Crusoe*. First the position of *Robinson Crusoe* translations within the Turkish literary polysystem will be discussed. It will be argued that there are various reasons for the position of this novel as a children’s classic in Turkey, such as Rousseau’s *Émile* and its Turkish translations and the preferences of young readers. The probable consequences of the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations will also be examined in this chapter. Second, the reasons for the increase in the number of translations produced in certain periods are going to be examined. The unfortunate

cases of plagiarism concerning the novel will also be included in this chapter since they are related with the process of analyzing retranslations. Then the probable reasons of the *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations, such as culture-planning activities and ideological motives, are going to be discussed. Some of the changes in the paratextual elements of the retranslations, such as the “erosion” (Genette, 1997: 70) of the title and the reason of the different spellings of the name “Robinson Crusoe,” are also going to be investigated. The seemingly rare translations of the second volume of the novel will be analyzed in this chapter as well.

### **2.1. The position of *Robinson Crusoe* translations within the Turkish literary polysystem**

As previously said, the retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* maintain an ambivalent status in the Turkish literary polysystem. In this section, this status will be problematized by examining the translations published in Turkey between 1864 and 2006. This section is based on tertiary sources, i.e. the data acquired from catalogues, which was used to prepare the list of *Robinson Crusoe* translations in Appendix 1.

The analysis of the paratextual information on either the name of the series or the genre indication of the translations (such as “En Güzel Çocuk Kitapları Dizisi” [The Most Beautiful Children’s Books Series] and “Çocuk Romanları” [children’s novels]) has revealed that approximately 38 % of the Turkish translations of this novel bear phrases which indicate that they are prepared for children or youth (See Appendices 1 and 2). These translations of juvenile literature are not necessarily abridged versions. For example, one of the unabridged translations is published by Yapı Kredi Publishing House in 1997 under the title *Robinson Crusoe* and in the series “Doğan Kardeş Kitaplığı, İlkgençlik<sup>82</sup>” [The Doğan Kardeş Library, Juvenile].

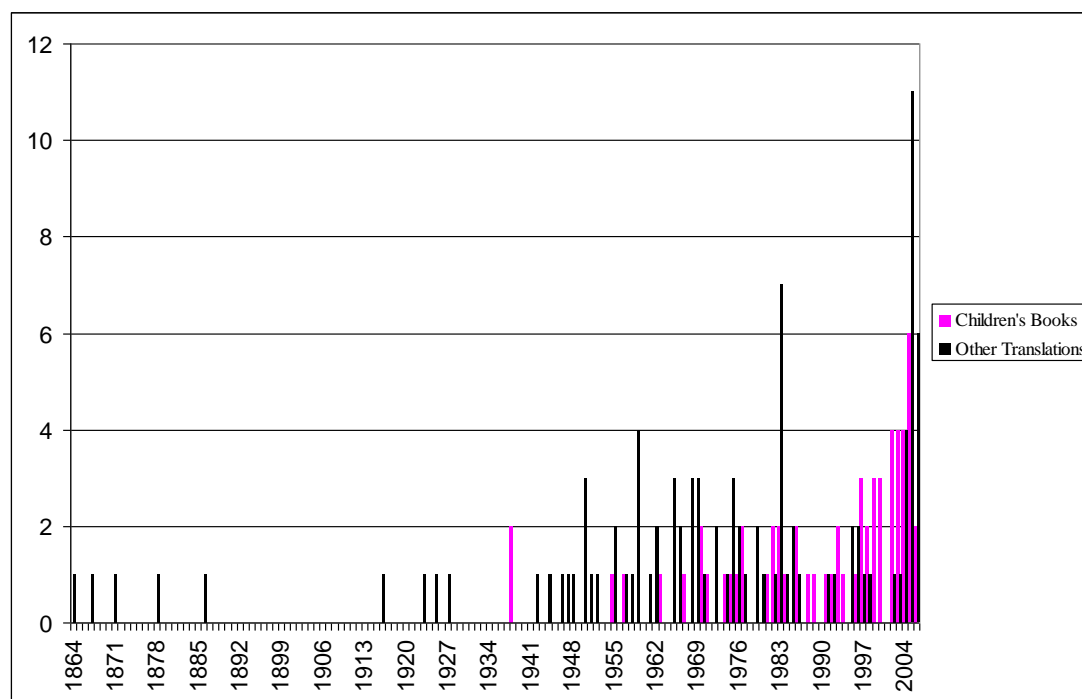
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<sup>82</sup> “This series, which was launched in 1992 and bears the name of Turkey’s oldest children’s magazine *Doğan Kardeş*, contains subheadings such as school age, juvenile, and reference library; and it consists of the most outstanding works of children’s literature in the form of beautifully printed books. [Türkiye’nin en eski çocuk dergisi *Doğan Kardeş*’in adını taşıyan ve 1992’den beri çocukların kitaplıklarına konuk olan bu dizi, okul çağı, ilköğretim ve başvuru kitaplığı gibi alt başlıklarda, çocuk yazınının en seçkin kitaplarını albenili baskılarıyla çocuklara ulaştırıyor] (<http://www.ykykultur.com.tr/?site=yayin>).

This book contains the translations of the first and the second volumes and consists of 537 pages (See Appendix 1). Nevertheless, it should be noted that the majority of the translations produced for children are seriously abridged. This finding justifies the arguments of Shavit, who claims that “[t]he translator of children’s literature can permit himself great liberties regarding the text because of the peripheral position children’s literature occupies in the polysystem” (Shavit, 1981: 171). On the other hand, some of the abridged versions of *Robinson Crusoe* are not designed for children. This is not surprising because “today [...] translated texts of the non-canonized system of adult literature contain many deletions and do not preserve the fullness of the original text” (Shavit, 1981: 174).

The following figure<sup>83</sup> displays the distribution of children’s books and the other (abridged and unabridged) translations which were published for adults<sup>84</sup>.

Figure 1. The comparison of children’s books and the other translations.



<sup>83</sup> All figures and tables belong to the thesis author.

<sup>84</sup> It should, however, be considered that some of the abridged works which lack such series names might also be intended for children. Therefore an exact calculation of the percentage of children’s translations of this novel requires additional information.



It can be seen from Figure 1 that the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations is not confined to certain periods, and the translations maintain the ambivalent status both synchronically and diachronically. The first ten translations of this novel were published in Arabic letters, and most of them were abridged translations, but they do not contain series names which state that they are prepared for children (Cunbur, 1994: 36, 37). Therefore it might be argued that the ambivalent status emerged as early as 1938, when the translations which include series names such as “Çocuk Hikayeleri” [Children’s Stories] “Çocuklara Yardımcı Kitaplar” [Supplementary Books for Children] emerged. Since then, both abridged and unabridged books which contain such series names were published.

The series format seems to be especially important because it enabled to analyze the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations. Interestingly, Tahir-Gürçağlar gives more importance to the functions of the series format. She argues that “[c]ontrary to Genette [...] who suggests that the paratext is always subordinate to its text, we may conclude that in certain cases paratextual elements, such as the series format, may be established before the texts themselves, and guide not only their reception but also their translation/writing” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 211). It seems that this argument is also valid for *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations produced for children, because if the translation is going to be published within a series for children, the translator has to consider these two principles: “(a) Adjusting the text in order to make it appropriate and useful to the child, in accordance with what society thinks is ‘good for the child’; (b) Adjusting the plot, characterization and language to the child’s level of comprehension and his reading abilities” (Shavit, 1981: 172). Therefore the series format not only enables the decision of the ambivalent status, but is also, at least to some extent, responsible for the emergence of various abridged translations produced within different series intended for different groups of readers.

Although *Robinson Crusoe* had certainly not been written to appeal to children, it has been published in Turkey as a children’s book since 1938. Why should this book have a reputation as a children’s novel? According to Zeynep Bilgin, there are two views regarding children’s books: “One view is that children’s

books are written especially for children, the other view is that they become children's books if their readers are children" (Bilgin, 1985: 10). Since it is the adults who decide to publish these books for children, it might be argued that the adults who favor the second view and who regard the books written for children as incompetent might have decided to convert this novel to a children's book. The first person to announce such an idea was probably Rousseau, who states in his *Émile, ou de l'éducation* [Emile: or, On Education] (1762) that *Robinson Crusoe* "affords a complete treatise on natural education" (Rousseau, 1994: 262). Rousseau seems very sure that this book is good for children:

*This book shall be the first Emilius<sup>85</sup> shall read: In this, indeed, will, for a long time, consist his whole library, and it will always hold a distinguished place among others. It will afford us the text, to which all our conversations on the objects of natural science, will serve only as a comment. It will serve as our guide during our progress to a state of reason; and will even afterwards give us constant pleasure unless our taste be totally vitiated. [...] Robinson Crusoe, cast ashore on a desolate island, destitute of human assistance, and of mechanical implements, providing, nevertheless, for his subsistence, for self-preservation, and even procuring for himself a kind of competency. In these circumstances, I say, there cannot be an object more interesting to persons of every age; and there are a thousand ways to render it agreeable to children. Such a situation, I confess, is very different from that of man in a state of society. Very probably it will never be that of Emilius; but it is from such a state he ought to learn to estimate others. The most certain method for him to raise himself above vulgar prejudices and to form his judgment on the actual relations of things, is to take on himself the character of such a solitary adventurer, and to judge of every thing about him, as a man in such circumstances would, by its real utility. This romance beginning with his shipwreck on the island, and ending with the arrival of the vessel that brought him away, would, if cleared of its rubbish, afford Emilius, during the period we are now treating of, at once both instruction and amusement. I would have him indeed personate the hero of the tale, and be entirely taken up with his castle, his goats and his plantations; he should make himself minutely acquainted, not from books but circumstances, with everything requisite for a man in such a situation. He should affect even his dress, wear a coat of skins, a great hat, a large hanger, in short, he should be entirely equipt in his grotesque manner,*

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<sup>85</sup> Emilius is an imaginary pupil in Rousseau's book, and he represents children aged twelve to fifteen (Rousseau, 1994:262).

*even with his umbrella, though he would have no occasion for it.*  
(Rousseau, 1994: 262, 263)<sup>86</sup>

Thus Rousseau regards this book as a guide which shall teach children how to survive in a deserted island. Furthermore Rousseau proposes to use this as a tool of education in order to increase the pupil's creativity. He argues that "[t]he practice of manual arts, to the exercise of which the abilities of the individual are equal, leads to the invention of the arts of industry, the exercise of which requires the concurrence of many" (Rousseau, 1994: 263). It might be said that Rousseau regards this method (hence this book) as a requisite of social development.

The criticism of *Robinson Crusoe* made by Rousseau might have been an important factor in this novel's becoming a children's book. For example, Campe's German translation of *Robinson Crusoe* was made to adapt Defoe's novel "to Rousseau's pedagogical system" (Shavit, 1981: 177). In fact, Shavit argues that "Campe's adaptation was the main reason for *Robinson Crusoe*'s becoming a classic for children" (Shavit, 1986: 127). Similar to Shavit, Butts holds Rousseau's criticism partially responsible for the abridgements of this novel (Butts, 2002: 446). Furthermore, according to the catalogue of Ankara National Library, Rousseau's *Émile* (1762) was translated into Turkish as early as 1931 and published several times<sup>87</sup> in Turkey. The translations of *Émile* might well have affected the Turkish publishers and encouraged them to publish abridged translations of *Robinson Crusoe* for children.

Still, there could be other factors in Turkey which might be responsible for the translations intended for children. For example, the expectations of Turkish

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<sup>86</sup> This excerpt belongs to the first English translation of *Émile* (1762), which was entitled *Emilius and Sophia: or, A New System of Education* (London, 1762). (Rousseau, 1994: 262)

<sup>87</sup> Two Turkish translations of *Émile* were published in 1931: The first one was published under the title *Emile, yahut terbiye* [Emile or education] in İzmir, and another version entitled *Terbiye felsefesi* [The philosophy of education] was published by Kanaat Publishing House in İstanbul. In addition, another translation entitled *Emil yahut terbiyeye dair* [Emile or on education] was published in 1943 in İstanbul by Türkiye Publishing House (and re-editions were published in 1945, 1956, 1961, and 1966). There are some recent translations of *Émile* as well. In 2003, two translations were published: The first book entitled *Emile, ya da çocuk eğitimi üzerine* [Emile or on child education] was published by Babil Publishing House in Erzurum; and the second one entitled *Emile, bir çocuk büyüyor* [Emile, a child is growing up] was published by Selis Publishing House in İstanbul. (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F>)

children probably play a role in this process. A survey made by Bilgin among third grade children, for instance, shows that 60.2 % would like to feel “excitement and adventure” by reading a good novel, while 8.4 % expect to feel “fear” (Bilgin, 1985: 80). These feelings children anticipate might well be satisfied by the adventures of *Robinson Crusoe*, which entail both excitement and fear. Bilgin’s study also shows that children indeed prefer translated books for this reason: “Related to the translations of books children stated that they prefer books of foreign authors because of their exciting and thrilling, adventurous narration” (Bilgin, 1985: 85).

In view of these arguments, the reasons for *Robinson Crusoe*’s becoming a children’s classic seem plausible. Some scholars, on the other hand, argue that this might have negative consequences. For instance, Mustafa Ruhi Şirin argues that children’s classics are dominant in the children’s books publishing in Turkey (Şirin, 2007: 70). He claims that there are two hundred children’s classics published in Turkey, and that the translations, adaptations, and abridgements of these books usually lack the literary merit of their originals (ibid.). Furthermore, he contends that these classics which have a great share in the children’s book market have negative effects on our children’s and juvenile literature (Şirin, 2007: 76). He says there are not enough studies about the effects of these classics on our literature, and that the present arguments are only about the foreignizing effects of these books (ibid.). Şirin believes that using these books as reading material in formal education limits the usage of the contemporary Turkish works of children’s and juvenile literature in language classes and in literary education (ibid.). He further argues that translation of classics affects the translated literary polysystem negatively, and says that “translated children’s literature to an extent inhibits the translation of anti authoritarian literary works in which the child view and the child reality are favored, and it also continues to suppress indigenous works of children’s literature” [Çeviri çocuk edebiyatı, bir yandan çocuk bakışına ve çocuk gerçekliğine dayalı anti otoriter edebiyat örneklerinin çevrilmesine engelleyici etki yaparken, öte yandan, yerli çocuk edebiyatı geleneği üzerindeki baskısını da sürdürüyor] (Şirin, 2007: 79). In view of Şirin’s arguments, it might be claimed that the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations probably had negative effects on the Turkish culture repertoire since it

contributed to increase the share of children's classics in the book market, which might inhibit the translation of contemporary works (ibid.). It should also be noted that the amendment of the copyright law<sup>88</sup> made the publication of classics an advantageous business, and it is highly probable that this change was partially responsible for the decrease of the translation of contemporary works of children's literature as well.

It might be argued that there is not enough research on the effects of the translations of these classics on young readers. The novel might have been preferred by both adults and children, yet it is uncertain whether children know that *Robinson Crusoe* was not actually written to appeal to them. There is, however, a way of telling children that the original novel was rather long and complicated for young readers. While writing the translator's name, it might be mentioned that the book is a simplified version. As can be seen from Appendix 1, most of the abridged children's books indeed include the name of the translator. However, too few translations contain the phrase "Abridged by" [Kısaltan] or [Kısaltarak Çeviren]. In most of these retranslations, the names of the translators are given as "Translated by" [Çeviren]. Some of them on the other hand include the phrase "Edited by" [Düzenleyen] or "Prepared by" [Hazırlayan] or "Adapted by" [Uyarlayan]. Therefore it was rarely stated that these books are abridged versions. A possible explanation might be that the publishers did not want to disappoint children by declaring that what they read is not actually a children's novel.

In conclusion, the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* maintain an ambivalent status in the Turkish literary polysystem. This status results mostly from the abridged versions which were published in series intended for children. The reason why this novel was accepted to be a children's novel seems to be related to the "Rousseau interpretation" of this novel. However, there are probably some other factors affecting the position of this novel, such as the presence of children who find this novel exciting. Regarding *Robinson Crusoe* as an ideal book for children, however, might have negative effects on the culture repertoire, such as giving less importance

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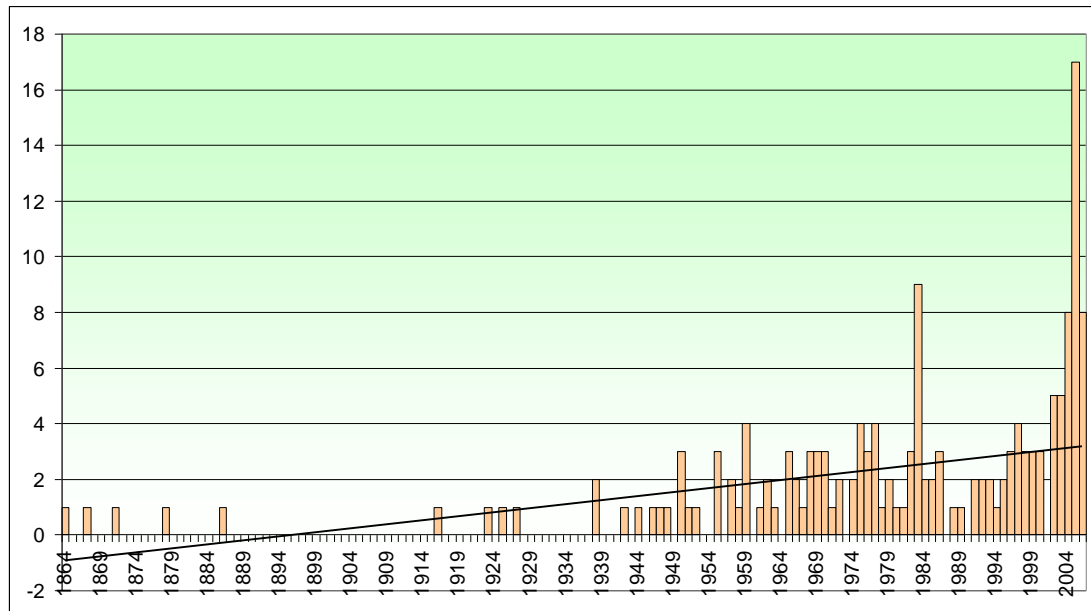
<sup>88</sup> This amendment will be discussed in the next section.

to contemporary children's books. It seems that there are publishers and translators who want to make this novel known as a literary classic which was written for adults only. In this section it was also seen that the analysis of paratextual elements (such as the series format and the genre indication) facilitates bibliographical researches and enables the decision of the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations. In the next section, the distribution of the total number of the translations of this novel will be analyzed.

## 2.2. The diachronic distribution of the *Robinson Crusoe* translations

In this section, it is going to be explained why more books had been published in certain periods. A graph which displays the diachronic distribution of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* published between 1864 and 2006 will be used to carry out this analysis. As will be seen in the following figure, the total production of *Robinson Crusoe* translations peaked in 1950, 1955, 1959, the second half of the 1960s, 1975, 1977, 1983, 1997, and 2005<sup>89</sup>.

Figure 2. The distribution of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe*.



<sup>89</sup> The re-editions are also included in this calculation because it is believed that they reflect the total demand for *Robinson Crusoe* translations in Turkey (See Appendix 2).

As can be seen in Figure 2, the first significant increase happened in the 1950s, and it was probably a consequence of the official announcement of *Robinson Crusoe* in 1947 as one of the English classics that needs to be translated and published in the next ten years<sup>90</sup> (*Tercüme*, 1947: 435, 436, 466). In fact, it was also announced that a translator had already been commissioned to the task of translating *Robinson Crusoe* and that it had not been published by the Ministry of Education yet; there is, however, no information on the name of the translator (*Tercüme*, 1947: 436, 466). Nevertheless, this announcement seems to have been enough to attract the attention of private publishers to this novel because the number of translations increased after the official announcement. In addition, the private publishers had the chance of getting more state aid by means of publishing the books in the list announced by the Ministry of Education (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 168). The Ministry of Education would buy more books from the publishers who had their translations checked and approved by the Translation Bureau<sup>91</sup> (*ibid.*). Furthermore, when the translations published in the 1950s are analyzed, it can be seen that most of them are abridged versions (See Appendix 1). This might be a consequence of the resistance shown by private publishers to the norm of fullness defended by the Translation Bureau. It was already said that “in early republican Turkey there was official culture planning in language, publishing, and translation, and that a significant number of private publishers and translators resisted the norms offered by the dominant discourse of the planners” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 31). Therefore, the increase in the 1950s might be related to the involvement of the state officials with the activities of translation, not only because of the state support given to some translations, but also because of the resistance shown by some private publishers to the official norms of translation.

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<sup>90</sup> In the March 1947 issue of *Tercüme*, Defoe’s three novels, namely *Robinson Crusoe*, *Captain Singleton*, and *Moll Flanders*, were officially announced as three of the English classics that should be translated and published by The Ministry of Education (*Tercüme*: 1947: 466). The list of English classics comprises 303 books, and Defoe’s novels rank 90<sup>th</sup>, 91<sup>st</sup> and 92<sup>nd</sup> respectively (*Tercüme*: 1947: 466, 473).

<sup>91</sup> It was announced that the Ministry would buy 250 copies more than the usual amount, on condition that the book was chosen from the list of the Ministry and edited by the Bureau (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 115). In addition, the publishers would be given the permission to write in their books that the book is recommended by the Ministry of Education and that the translation is approved by the Translation Bureau (*ibid.*).

The increase in the second half of the 1960s might be an aftermath of the increasing translations of Rousseau's *Émile* because its 6<sup>th</sup> re-edition was published in 1966 by Türkiye Publishing House<sup>92</sup>. As discussed in the previous section, this literary work in which *Robinson Crusoe* is claimed to be a suitable book for children might well have affected the decisions of publishers. Another reason which probably promoted the production of *Robinson Crusoe* translations was the award given by The Turkish Language Association to Göktürk for his unabridged *Robinson Crusoe* translation in 1969.

The reason for the increase in 1975 might be a consequence of the increased literary activities in the area of children's literature in Turkey in those years. Erdal Öz says that the number of publishing companies which publish children's books increased in 1975, and also the quality of translations improved (Bilgin, 1985: 13). According to Öz, children's books began to be advertised in magazines and newspapers, and a seminar on children's books was organized (ibid.). The above chart shows that the increase in the number of *Robinson Crusoe* translations continues until 1978. In 1978, only one translation was published. The reason seems to be purely economic because the price of paper went up that year, and the "[w]aiting time for the ordered paper increased to 6-8 months" (Bilgin, 1985: 13). Öz argues that the quality of the books decreased because the publishers had to use low quality paper (ibid.). In addition, they preferred to publish thinner books (ibid.). This seems to be the reason why only abridged versions were published until 1983 (See Appendix 1).

Despite the economic difficulties, the chart displays an increase in the beginning of the 1980s. Öz argues that there had been an increase in the number of children's books published in 1979, since that year was announced by UN-UNICEF as The International Year for Children<sup>93</sup> (Bilgin, 1985: 14). Besides, many prizes

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<sup>92</sup> This translation was made by Hilmi Ziya Ülken, Ali Rıza Ülgener and Selâhattin Güzey (<http://mksun.mkutup.gov.tr/F>).

<sup>93</sup> In fact, 1979 was proclaimed International Year of the Child by UNESCO ([http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL\\_ID=32399&URL\\_DO=DO\\_TOPIC&URL\\_SECTION=201.html](http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=32399&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html)).



were awarded for children's literature in 1979 (ibid.). All of these factors might have been influential in the increase in *Robinson Crusoe* translations in those years.

The increase in recent years also seems noteworthy. It might be argued that the peak in 1997 was a result of the legislative developments. Sabri Gürses regards the increase in the publications of classics as a consequence of the amendment of the copyright law in Turkey in 1993 (Gürses, 2007: 14). Since the term of protection was expanded to 70 years, the publishers increased their activities of publishing the classics to decrease the costs (ibid.). In order to decrease the costs, the publishers might well have preferred to publish the retranslations or re-editions of *Robinson Crusoe*.

The booming in the 2000s might well be a consequence of the copyright law amendment because economic concerns remained in existence<sup>94</sup>, and the publishers still had to decrease costs. The efforts to reduce costs caused some unfortunate cases as well; i.e. the cases of plagiarism regarding *Robinson Crusoe* translations. Ideally, the discussion about translations should not include such outcomes. However, the abundance of the retranslations of this novel necessitates the discussion on the notion of retranslations, and unfortunately, among the various retranslations there are cases of plagiarism in which the translator uses another translator's translation, partially or even completely. The claims about the recent cases of plagiarism are rather evident, and they were even published in the *Varlık* magazine. In the March 2007 issue of *Varlık* magazine, Özge Çelik analyzes six unabridged Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe*, and implicitly says that three of them<sup>95</sup> are cases of plagiarism (Çelik, 2007: 20). According to Çelik, the plagiarists usually do not prefer to be called the "translator" of the work, and their names are rather given with the phrase

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<sup>94</sup> The importance of economic factors on publication activities can also be seen from Figure 2. The year 2001 is marked by economic crisis, and there are not any *Robinson Crusoe* translations published in that year.

<sup>95</sup> The first book is Celâl Öner's translation published by Oda Publishing House in 2005; the second book is Mustafa Bahar's translation published by İskele Publishing House in 2005; and the third book is a translation "prepared by" Elif Sude and published by Akvaryum Publishing House in 2005 (Çelik, 2007: 20).

“prepared by,” but she also admits that there are cases in which the plagiarist announces himself/herself to be the translator of the book<sup>96</sup> (ibid.).

Çelik analyzes two different editions of Göktürk’s translation<sup>97</sup> and says that even the same translator’s work published by different publishing houses might be different (ibid.). She also analyzes Pinar Güncan’s translation published by Bordo Siyah Publishing House in 2004. She says that the translation which is “prepared by” Elif Sude and published by Akvaryum Publishing House in 2005 is identical to Güncan’s translation. Therefore she implies that Sude’s book is another case of plagiarism. She also states that none of these three cases of plagiarism contains translator’s (or editor’s) prefaces (Çelik, 2007: 21). She says the preface is a place where the translator accounts for the translation (ibid.). She says: “[...] the absence of the preface cannot be regarded as the only criterion of plagiarism. Its presence, however, might be regarded as an important sign which shows that the text is not a plagiarism” [...] sunuş yazısının olmaması tek başına bir intihal ölçütü sayılamaz. Bununla birlikte, sunuş yazısı metnin intihal olmadığına dair önemli bir gösterge sayılabilir] (ibid.).

Çelik was not the only person who analyzed such cases about *Robinson Crusoe*. Gürses also argues that the translations of this novel have been used by plagiarists<sup>98</sup>. Similar to Çelik, Gürses regards paratextual elements as important factors in the analysis of plagiarism. He argues that “The publishing house which is going to publish the retranslation of a work should give a clear reason for this publication” [Yayınevi, birçok kez çevrilmiş olan bir eseri yeniden çevirtip yayınlarken, gerekçesini açık kılmak durumundadır] (Gürses, December 2006). He therefore assigns a task to the publisher and wants him to use paratextual elements as

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<sup>96</sup> For example, in the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* published by İskele Publishing House in 2005, the “translator” is declared to be Mustafa Bahar (ibid.).

<sup>97</sup> The first one was published by Kök Publishing House in 1968, and the second book was published by Yapı Kredi Publishing House in 2004 (Çelik, 2007: 20).

<sup>98</sup> Gürses announces Öner’s translation as a case of plagiarism on the internet site [ceviribilim.com](http://ceviribilim.com). In the same internet article, Gürses states that Melike Kır’s translation published by Şûle Publishing House in 2002 is a case of plagiarism as well, and that it is “better” than Öner’s work since it is more fluent and abridged (Gürses, May 2006).

a means of justification for the publication. Gürses also makes the following distinction between translations of classic works and children's books:

*“For instance, some of the publishing houses abroad publish their new translations of classics with a remark such as “with a new translation by” and with a detailed preface or introduction; and some other publications, the ones prepared for children for instance, include the phrase “retold by”.”*

*[Örneğin, yurtdışındaki bazı yayınevleri, yeni klasik çevirilerini “with a new translation by” (X’in yeni bir çevirisiyle) diye belirterek ve ayrıntılı bir önsöz ya da giriş yazısıyla, ya da metni farklı kullanım alanları için hazırladıklarını belli ederek [örneğin çocuklar için, “retold by” (X tarafından yeniden anlatılmış)] yayınlamaktadır.] (ibid.).*

Therefore, both Çelik and Gürses regard paratextual elements as a medium of justification of making a retranslation. A similar demand was made explicit in 1947 by state officials (*Tercüme*, 1947: 437). In the 41-42<sup>nd</sup> issue of *Tercüme*, it was announced that the Ministry of Education and the Translation Bureau would continue to collaborate in the task of publishing classics of various foreign literature (*Tercüme*, 1947: 435). The Bureau was going to have the world classics translated, and the translators were supposed to write prefaces to their translations and describe the work and the author (*Tercüme*, 1947: 435, 437). Therefore it might be argued that paratexts of translated texts have always been deemed important in determining the quality of translations.

It seems, however, that there is another factor in the great increase in the number of *Robinson Crusoe* translations published in 2005. In 2004, The Turkish Ministry of Education announced a list which contains “100 Basic Works” of literature<sup>99</sup>. Since *Robinson Crusoe* was included in the list and recommended for the children in secondary education, this might have been the reason why the number of translations boomed in 2005. This increase probably shows that state support is very effective on the book market. It might be argued that the announcement of this list

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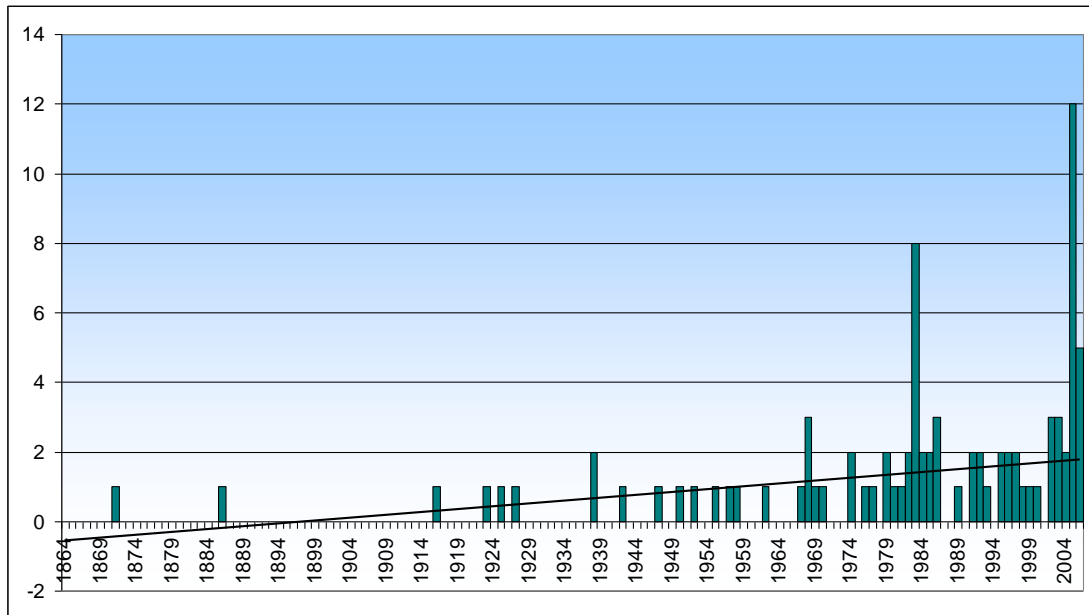
<sup>99</sup> The list which was prepared for children in secondary education was announced on August 19, 2004 (<http://iogm.meb.gov.tr/files/mevzuat/45.pdf>).

Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was written as *Robenson Cruzoe* and it ranks 82<sup>nd</sup> in the list (<http://www.meb.gov.tr/duyurular/duyurular/100TemelEser/100TemelEser.htm>).

enabled the publishers, in other words the “free, self-nominated agents” (Even-Zohar, 2000: 401) who were “engaged in cultural labor” (ibid.), to “create a conjuncture with prevailing power holders” (ibid.), and therefore the results of their work of producing components for the culture repertoire could be implemented (ibid.). The announcement of “100 Basic Works”, however, might have negative consequences as well. For example, according to Şirin, this announcement led to an increase in the pressure applied by children’s classics on indigenous works of children’s literature (Şirin, 2007: 70).

There have been 89 publishing houses which were engaged in publishing *Robinson Crusoe* translations in Turkey. The following figure shows the distribution of these publishing houses<sup>100</sup>.

Figure 3. The number of publishing houses which published *Robinson Crusoe* translations.



It can be seen from Figure 3 that there are two obvious peaks. There have been increases in the number of publishers in the beginning of the 1980s and in the

<sup>100</sup> In other words, Figure 3 shows the publishers which began publishing *Robinson Crusoe* translations each year. Therefore this figure shows the distribution of the first editions of *Robinson Crusoe* translations, most of which were made by different translators.

2000s. According to Öz, in the beginning of the 1980s many publishing companies began publishing children's books and the reason is mostly economic (Bilgin, 1985: 14). Since children's books are usually thin and their prices are relatively low, they can be regularly sold (ibid.). Indeed, most of the publishing houses which published *Robinson Crusoe* translations in the 1980s preferred abridged versions, and some of these versions were produced within series intended for children (See Appendix 1). The increase in the 2000s, however, not only results from the economic problems, but also seems to be a consequence of the copyright law amendment, which resulted in the exploitation of the former translations<sup>101</sup>, as discussed above in this section.

In this section, it was found that there are various cultural, literary, economic and legal reasons for the increases in *Robinson Crusoe* translations in certain years. Some of these increases resulted from state support to private publishing activities, while others were the probable consequences of the developments in the area of children's literature. It was also seen that the amendment of the copyright law was an important factor which increased the number of classics published in Turkey and that this change resulted in the increase of the number of publishing houses which publish literary classics, and these developments unfortunately increased the cases of plagiarism as well. Since the plagiarists sometimes call themselves translators, it should also be argued that the increase in the number of retranslations is partially related to this issue. However, the reasons of producing authentic retranslations might be very different than economic concerns. Such reasons will be analyzed in the next section.

### **2.3. The probable reasons of the retranslations**

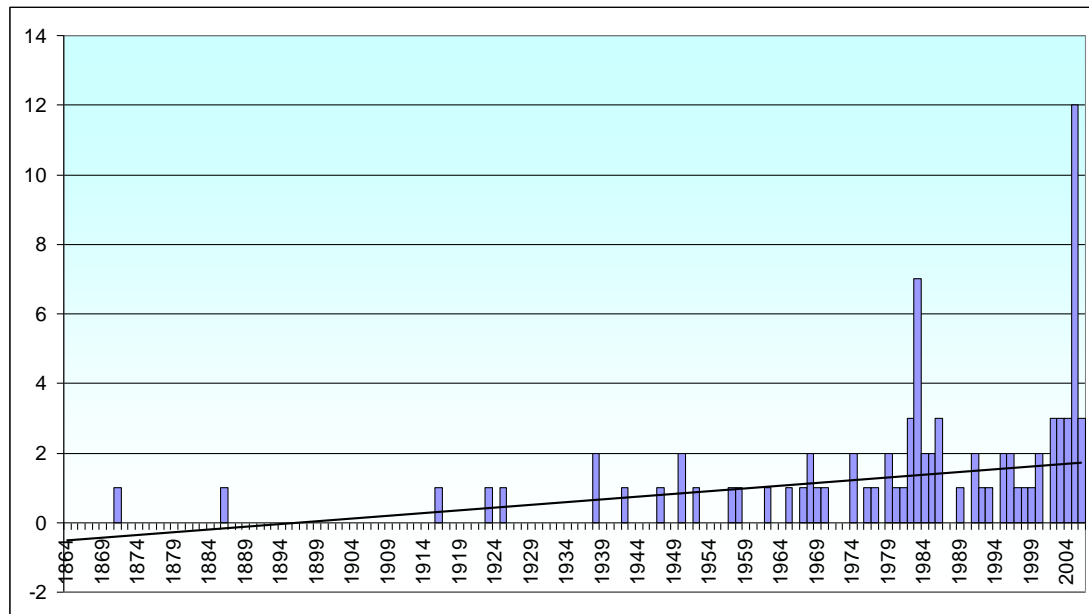
When the translation of a source text already exists in a culture repertoire, it might be expected that there would be no need for another translation. However, this is not the

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<sup>101</sup> Nowadays, paying nothing for the process of translation and not paying the copyright fee of the present translation either seems to be an option to increase profits for some publishers. According to Gürses, "plagiarism of the translation of the classics is nowadays the means of capital accumulation and also ideological adaptation" [Dolayısıyla klasik eser çevirilerinin intihali, günümüzde hem sermaye birikimi ve hem de ideolojik uyarlanma yolu haline gelmiştir] (Gürses, 2007: 15).

case as far as *Robinson Crusoe* translations are concerned. The following chart displays the distribution of 85 retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*. It is interesting that the graph contains peaks, which mean that some of the retranslations were made in the same year.

Figure 4. The distribution of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations.



Since the retranslations published in the Latin alphabet share “virtually the same cultural location or generation,” (Pym, 1998: 82) they are “active retranslations” (ibid.). The question is, “Why are there so many ‘active’ retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*?” The answer to this question will be sought in this section. In the previous section, the idea that the translation of a classic might be published due to economic reasons was discussed. Pym, on the other hand, argues that a retranslation might be produced to challenge the validity of the former translations (Pym, 1998: 83). However, the findings of this study seem to complement the arguments of Susam-Sarajeva who argues that not every retranslation is produced because of the aging of the previous translation which are no longer suitable for the needs of the contemporary readers (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006:

135, 136). In this thesis it was found that there might be other reasons to make and/or publish a retranslation of *Robinson Crusoe*. The results of the analysis show that not every retranslation was produced with an aim of challenging the validity of the previous retractions which were literarily incompetent. Therefore in this section, reasons other than the aging of previous translations, such as the relation of retractions with culture-planning activities and the ideological motives behind retractions, will be discussed. It is also going to be argued that some personal reasons might exist, such as the translator's being in exile and choosing the activity of translation as a means of forgetting his distressful situation. Furthermore, Kaya's case shows that a retranslation might be made by the translator for a different reason other than that of the publisher. In the following subsection, it is going to be discussed that Çığıracan, who was the publisher of Kaya's translation, had the aim of volunteering in the official culture planning activities by means of publishing Kaya's retranslation which was made 31 years ago.

### **2.3.1. Retranslations as means of culture-planning**

In this section, the relation of retractions and the culture planning activities in early republican Turkey will be problematized. It is going to be argued that a retranslation might be published as a tool of culture-planning activities. As an example the Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, which was published in two volumes in 1950 by Hilmi Publishing House, will be given.

In early republican Turkey, there were culture-planning activities, and translation was used as a tool within these efforts (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001: 575). The Ministry of Education was engaged in translating and publishing the world classics, and it collaborated with the Translation Bureau to carry out these activities (*Tercüme*, 1947: 435, 436). Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that "The involvement of the Ministry of Education in publishing and translation is an indication of the fact that education and publishing activity as well as literature were seen as integral and indispensable components of the process of nation-building and of placing Turkey on a westward

path” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 68). She also links “the emergence of the Translation Bureau with the general importance attached to language, literature and reading as instruments of nation-building” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001: 575), and argues that “[t]ranslation appeared as part and parcel of the republican education project, which aimed to transform the socio-cultural dispositions of the people” (ibid). Since *Robinson Crusoe* was announced by the Ministry of Education as an English classic that needs to be translated, it might be argued that the translation of this novel was regarded as one of the tools of culture planning as well (*Tercüme*, 1947: 435, 436, 466). According to the catalogue of Ankara National Library, however, the task of translating *Robinson Crusoe* could not have been accomplished by the Translation Bureau, and it was never published by the Ministry of Education, although the Bureau had already commissioned the task of translating this English classic to a translator (*Tercüme*, 1947: 436, 466). What inhibited the completion of the process of translation is uncertain, but the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* were indeed published by private publishers, and at least one of these private publishers was of the same opinion as the state officials who found this novel important. Çığıracan, the owner of Hilmi Publishing House, found it necessary to publish this novel and assigns this translation the duty to educate the young Turkish nation (Defoe, 1950a: viii). It might well be argued that Çığıracan sees this translation as a means of creating a youth which is obedient to the parents (Defoe, 1950a: vii). He says that reading this novel should make young readers understand the importance of respecting their parents and commitment to family (ibid.). He claims that there are not many young people in Europe and in America who have not read this novel, and that the European and the American people owe their success to the story of Crusoe (Defoe, 1950a: viii). Çığıracan’s argument might seem rather bold, but such arguments are also made in the West. For example, Hentzi claims that Crusoe’s “attitude takes on an imperial character that is highly suggestive in the context of the early eighteenth century,” (Hentzi, 1993: 429) and that “although it was not yet a widely held belief that England was destined to rule over large parts of the non-European world, attitudes like Crusoe’s nevertheless played an important role in furthering that project” (ibid.). Similarly, Çığıracan says that the Anglo-Saxons and especially the British were inspired by this novel, made travels around the world,



ruled continents, and made great fortunes in two centuries (Defoe, 1950a: viii). He argues that the young Turkish people should take lessons from Crusoe's life and be hardworking and patient (Defoe, 1950a: vii). Çığıracan describes this novel as an "adventure novel" but it seems that he regards it as a tool of education (Defoe, 1950a: viii). He recommends the young Turkish people who are either idle or going to embark upon a new work to use Crusoe's experiences in order to be successful (ibid.).

Çığıracan published both unabridged and abridged translations of this novel in the same year because he thinks that everyone should have an opinion regarding *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 1950a: v). He published an unabridged translation which might belong to the adult canonized literature and "an abridged and illustrated version which is intended for the purpose of entertaining young children"<sup>102</sup> [Minimini çocukları eğlendirmek için, yine Daniel Defoe'nin büyük eserinden kısaltılmış ve küçük yaşta bulunan çocuklar için gayet sade yazılmış ve resimlerle süslenmiş bir nüshadır] (Defoe 1950b: 581). It might be claimed that he was a "free agent" who resisted and at the same time contributed to the culture planning process during the early republican Turkey because he resisted the norm of fullness defended by the Bureau by means of publishing an abridged work, and this might have affected the image of this novel as a work of canonized adult literature. As discussed in her research, Tahir-Gürçağlar claims that some private publishers showed "active resistance" since "they not only ignored the options offered by the planners but also developed and maintained an alternative repertoire of translated literature" (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 41). It might not be said that Çığıracan totally resisted the norm of fullness defended by the Translation Bureau because he published an unabridged version and he agrees that the usefulness of abridged versions is limited (Defoe, 1950a: vii). However, Çığıracan still contributed to the formation of an alternative repertoire which was composed of abridged versions that shall entertain children. Paradoxically, Çığıracan did not always comply with the norms of the Translation Bureau, but it seems that he regarded it as a duty to contribute to the process of

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<sup>102</sup> It might well be argued that Çığıracan was not displeased with the ambivalent status of the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* and he even contributed to that status by means of publishing in the same year an abridged version for the purpose of entertaining young children (Defoe 1950b: 581).

nation-building and to create a new Turkish identity by means of encouraging young people in their efforts and guiding them with translated works such as *Robinson Crusoe*.

### 2.3.2. Retranslation: promoting and condemning an ideology

As said in the introduction, Karadağ's thesis shows the relation of ideology and translation in terms of *Robinson Crusoe* translations<sup>103</sup>. The paratextual elements of *Robinson Kruzo* published by Timaş Publishing House also provide information on the reason of ignoring the second book (Karadağ, 2003; 67, 69). The translator Ali Çankırılı declares in his preface that "The second volume contains nothing else except the wars of the colonialist European whites with the natives; therefore we ask the reader's forgiveness for not finding it useful to translate these pages full of massacres" [İkinci ciltte sömürgeci Avrupalı beyazlarla yerlilerin savaşlarından başka birşey olmadığından, katliamlarla dolu bu sayfaları, okuyucunun anlayışına sığınarak tercüme etmekte bir fayda görmedik.] (Karadağ, 2003: 133). Her research displays that ideological motives not only cause the emergence of retranslations, but also prevents the emergence of retranslations as well.

It will be shown in this section that the case of Timaş Publishing House is not an exception, and that there are other similar cases as well. It may be argued that even when the reason for making a retranslation is not totally ideological, there may be ideological manipulations in the translated text. For example, the Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (2006) published in Ankara by Kitap Zamanı Publishing House<sup>104</sup> also contains ideological manipulations, in which slavery is criticized. The translation which was prepared by Mustafa Didim contains additions which were obviously made to make Crusoe seem like a person who disapproves

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<sup>103</sup> The translations analyzed by Karadağ are: *Robinson Kruzo* published by Timaş Publishing House in 2001 and *Robinson Crusoe* published by Yapı Kredi Publishing House in 2002 (Karadağ, 2003: 61).

<sup>104</sup> This translation is an abridged version but it is not intended to be a children's novel because the series information simply reads, "World Classics," [Dünya Klasikleri] and this publishing house publishes classics only (<http://www.kibo.com.tr/katalog/?otr=&is=204&ist=&un=3034&taze> ).

slavery. In Didim’s translation, Xury is not sold to the Captain, but only given to him; and the captain shall raise him as his own child:

Target Text: “Sonra Zury’i de yanına almayı istediğini açıkladı. **Onu kendi çocuğu gibi büyütecekti.** Zury’e düşüncesini sordum. Kabul edince onu kaptana teslim ettim.” (Defoe, 2006: 16)<sup>105</sup>

Target text in back-translation: “Then he explained that he wanted to take Xury with him as well. **He was going to raise him as if he were his own child.** I asked Xury his opinion. Since he agreed, I gave him to the captain.”

In the original text, however, Crusoe agrees to sell Xury to the Captain who saved them, on the condition that the boy would be set free in ten years. Yet, the Captain’s promise is also conditional, and the boy had to change his religion in order to be free ten years later. The following excerpt shows that Crusoe is not so hesitant to sell Xury at all.

Source Text:

*[...] he offer’d me also 60 Pieces of Eight more for my Boy Xury, which I was loath to take, not that I was not willing to let the Captain have him, but I was very loath to sell the poor Boy’s Liberty, who had assisted me so faithfully in procuring my own. However when I let him know my Reason, he own’d it to be just, and offered me this Medium, that he would give the Boy an Obligation to set him free in ten Years, if he turn’d Christian; upon this, and Xury saying he was willing to go with him, I let the Captain have him. (Defoe, 1994: 26)*

It seems that the translator deliberately avoids the mention of money (“60 pieces of Eight”) in this transaction. Omitting the parts about money makes Crusoe seem to be a man entrusting a child to another man, a behavior which is obviously more humane than selling that child. Therefore it can be said that Didim wants to show Defoe’s hero more innocent than he actually is. This is not the only example of

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<sup>105</sup> The emphases in chapters 2 and 3 are the thesis author’s; the phrases shown in bold characters are used to direct attention to the manipulated sections.

ideological manipulation in Didim's work. The following paragraph contains an addition in the form of an excuse to the trading of black slaves:

Target Text:

*Tüccarlar her sözümü büyük dikkatle dinlediler. Özellikle zenci esir satın almak onları ilgilendiriyordu. **O zamanlar böyle insanları alıp satmak çok önemli bir ticaret sayılıyordu ve normal karşılanıyordu.** Fakat bunu yapabilmek için de İspanya ve Portekiz Krallarından özel izin almak gerekiyordu. Bu nedenle satılan zencilerin fiyatı yüksek oluyordu. (Defoe, 2006: 21)*

Target Text in back-translation:

*The merchants listened to me very carefully. They were especially interested in buying Negro slaves. **Buying and selling people were then regarded as normal, and it was considered to be a very important trade.** However the special permission of the kings of Spain and Portugal were needed. Therefore the slaves were sold expensively.*

There is, however, no such excuse in the original text, and Crusoe even says that the slaves were expensive since the trade was not a common practice.

Source Text:

*They listened always very attentively to my discourses on these Heads, but especially to that Part which related to the **buying Negroes, which was a Trade at that time not only not far entred into, but as far as it was, had been carried on by the Assiento's, or Permission of the Kings of Spain and Portugal, and engross'd in the Publick, so that few Negroes were brought, and those excessive dear.** (Defoe, 1994: 30)*

The following paragraph is another striking example of how a retranslation can include an ideological manipulation made by the translator. This time the addition in the translation contains an obvious criticism about slavery:

Target Text:

*Ben bunu düşünecek yerde daha çok kazanma hırsımın kurbanı olup o iyi işimi, çiftliğimi bırakarak başkalarına uyup zenci esir almak için Afrika'ya gitmeye kalkmıştım. **Hem orada zencileri yakalayıp***

*getirecektim. O zavallı insanları eşya gibi satıp zengin olmanın ne âdice bir iş olduğunu bile düşünmemiştim. Halbuki çiftliğimde çalışmakla iyi para kazanabilir ve o zaman gerektiği kadar da insanı yanımda çalıştırabilirdim. Böyle para kazanmak için kendimi bu büyük tehlikeye atmıştım işte. (Defoe, 2006: 137)*

Target Text in back-translation:

*Instead of considering this, I became a victim of my desire of earning more money, conformed to the others' wishes, and decided to go to Africa to buy Negro slaves. **I was going to catch the Negroes there, and fetch them. I had not even thought that it was a despicable task to sell those people like goods, in order to become rich. I could have earned good money by working on my farm and then hire enough workers. I had, however, put myself in this great danger to earn money.***

Source Text:

*[...] and what Business had I to leave a settled Fortune, a well stock'd plantation, improving and encreasing, to turn Supra-Cargo to Guinea, to **fetch Negroes; when Patience and Time would have so encreas'd our Stock at Home, that we could have bought them at our own Door, from those whose Business it was to fetch them;** and though it had cost us something more, yet the Difference of that Price was by no means worth saving, at so great a Hazard. (Defoe, 1994: 141)*

It seems certain that the additions in the target text are deliberately made to criticize Crusoe's behavior. The translator even proposes an alternative solution to Crusoe's problem of finding more workers. He thinks that Crusoe should rather become rich first, and then employ more people. According to Didim, Crusoe should not bring slaves and become rich by means of them since this is a "despicable" behavior. Crusoe should not buy the slaves which are sold in Brazil either because it is better to "hire" workers than to buy them.

Another translation which includes ideological manipulations is the translation of Bilgi Publishing House (2004). This book was intended for young readers because the series information reads "Bilgi Yaynevi Çocuk Klasikleri" [Bilgi Publishing House Children's Classics] (Defoe, 2004: 2). In the original text, Crusoe gives the name "Friday" to the native man he saved from cannibals and wants Friday to call him "Master" (Defoe, 1994: 149). In addition, Crusoe describes Friday

as the most faithful, loving and sincere servant that man can ever have (Defoe, 1994: 151). However, in the translation of Bilgi Publishing House, Crusoe treats Friday as a friend and a helper, and allows Friday to call him “Robinson”:

Target Text (Defoe, 2004: 101, 102):

*Gülümsedim. Elimle kendimi göstererek murıldandım:  
‘Ro-bin-son... Ro-bin-son...’  
Cuma buna çok sevindi. Kahkahalarla güliyordu. Eliyle beni göstererek ‘Robinson’ diye bağıırıp sonra kendini göstererek ‘Cuma... Cuma...’ diye söyleniyordu.  
Eh, işte dostluğun ilk adımları atılmıştı. İkimiz de birbirimize küçük ismimizle sesleniyorduk.*

Target text in back-translation:

*I smiled. I pointed myself with my hand and murmured:  
‘Ro-bin-son... Ro-bin-son...’  
Friday was very pleased with that. He was laughing. He was pointing me with his hand and shouting the name ‘Robinson’; and then he was pointing himself and saying ‘Friday... Friday...’  
These were the first steps of friendship. We used to call each other with our first names.*

The relation of Crusoe and Friday is no more a master-slave relationship in this translation, and it is emphasized that they are close friends. It is probable that the translator did not want to present children a hero who uses a black servant, even though he does not treat him badly.

This translation also includes episodes from the second volume, although the name of the book is simply *Robinson Crusoe*. It also contains a chapter from the second volume in which the death of Friday is narrated (Defoe, 2004: 193-199). In this episode, Crusoe and Friday are on a ship, and Friday is killed by the savages who come near the ship in canoes (ibid.). Interestingly, this episode was criticized by Dickens, who says that “there is not in literature a more surprising instance of an utter want of tenderness and sentiment, than the death of Friday” (Dickens, 1994:

274). The translator seems to be in agreement with Dickens because the translation of this episode is considerably altered, and the additions were probably made to make Crusoe seem more emotional. The following excerpts show the degree of manipulation:

Target Text (Defoe, 2004: 193-199):

### **Cuma'nın Ölümü**

[...]

*Kayıklar geminin çevresinde dolanıyorlardı. Görünüşlerine göre bizimle karşılaşmaktan dolayı çok şaşırılmışlardı. Çekingen ve kaygılıydılar.*

*'Bize saldırmaya niyetleri yok galiba' dedim. 'İsterseniz içlerinden birkaçını gemiye alıp konuşalım. Belki birşeyler istiyorlardır. Belki de sandığımız gibi yamyam değildirler.'*

*Kaptan benim bu önerimi uygun buldu. Gemicilere içlerinden isteyenleri yukarıya almalarını emretti. Ancak hiç kimse savaş durumunu bozmayacak, her an saldırıya hazır durumda bekleyecektik.*

*Cuma'yı yanıma çağırdım.*

*'Şunlara dikkatle bak Cuma' dedim. 'Herhalde senin dilinden anlayacaklardır. Kaptan birkaçının gemiye alınması için emir verdi. Bunun hazırlığı yapılıyor. Küpeşteye çık, durumu kendilerine bildir. Ne istediklerini sor.'*

*Kayıklar hemen hemen gemiye yanaşmışlardı. Onları yakından görüyorduk. Her birinde ok, yay, mızrak ve kılıç gibi silahlar vardı.*

*Gemiyi ve bizleri korku ile izliyorlardı.*

*Cuma küpeşteye çıktı:*

*'Hey, bana bakın' diye seslendi. 'Kimsiniz siz? Ne istiyorsanız söyleyin. İsteklerinizi kaptana iletteceğim.'*

*Kayıktaki yerliler arasında bir dalgalanma oldu. Anladıkları bir dille konuşulmasından çok etkilenmişe benziyorlardı.*

*Kısa bir sessizlik oldu. Ardından büyük bir gürültü duyuldu. Ne olduğunu anlayamadan iki, üç ok havada uçtu. **İkisi Cuma'nın göğsüne saplandı. Zavallı Cuma korkunç bir çığlıkla güverteye düştü.***

*Her şey öylesine çabuk olup bitmişti ki, neye uğradığımızı şaşırtdık.*

***Cuma'yı yerde, kanlar içinde ölü yatarken görünce kendimi kaybettim. Onlara karşı nasıl olur da dost davranabilirdik? İşte en yakın arkadaşımı, can yoldaşımı öldürmüşlerdi.***

*Öfkeyle haykırdım:*

*'Ateş, ateş edin... Ateş edin...'*

*Gemideki tüm tüfekler birden patladı. Yakındaki sandallarda bulunanlar denize döküldü. Patlayan toplar da daha uzaktaki sandalların üzerine ölüm yağdırdı.*

*Ben Cuma'nın yanına koşup onu kucakladım. Zorlukla nefes alıyordu. Her yanı kana bulanmıştı. Akan kan, bulunduğu yerde bir göl oluşturmuştu.*

*Başını göğsüme bastırdım, 'Cuma, Cuma beni duyuyor musun?' diye seslendim. Ama Cuma beni duymuyordu artık. Bu mert, bu candan, bu iyi yürekli, soylu çocuk başka bir dünyaya göç etmişti.*

*Gemiciler durmadan ateş ediyorlardı. Yerliler ise ilk patlayan tüfeklerle birlikte selameti kaçmakta bulmuşlar hızla uzaklaşmaya çalışıyorlardı. Ama tüfeklerin kustuğu kurşun ve saçmalar kayıklardan daha hızlı gidiyor, her birini yarı yolda yere deviriyordu. Top mermileri ise her atışta bir kayığı parça parça edip batırıyordu.*

*Denizin üstü kayık parçaları, cesetler ve insan parçalarıyla dolmuştu. İğrenç bir görüntüydü bu. Denizin dalgaları kimi yerde kan rengindeydi. Bu iğrenç görüntüye daha fazla bakamazdım. İçim bulanıyor, başım dönüyordu. Hızla uzaklaşıp kamarama girdim. Yüzükoyun yatağa uzandım. Bunca yıllık candan arkadaşım için gözyaşı döktüm.*

*Cuma'nın ölümüyle o denli çok şey kaybetmiştim ki, şu anda benim için yaşamın bir anlamı kalmamıştı. Onsuz bir yaşam düşünemiyordum.*

*Cuma, yaşantımın öyle bir döneminde yoluma çıkmıştı ki, ne o günü, ne de Cuma'yı bir türlü unutamiyordum. Her fırsatta bunu düşünüyorum, onunla mutlu oluyordum. Cuma benim için yalnız günlerimin tek avuntusuydu. O benim yeryüzündeki tek arkadaşım.*

*Şimdi ben, vücudunun en önemli bir bölümünü yitirmiş bir insan gibiydim. Cuma olmadan yaşamın nasıl olacağını düşünmek bile istemiyordum.*

*Ne kadar zaman geçti bilemiyorum. Ağlamaktan gözlerim kızarmıştı. Kendimi çok zayıf ve güçsüz hissediyordum.*

*Yukarıdaki gürültüler, silah sesleri giderek azaldı. Ardından derin bir sessizlik yayıldı. Demek ki, savaş bitmişti. Yerliler yenik düşmüşlerdi.*

*Kaptan yanıma gelerek başsağlığı diledi. Beni teselli etti. Cuma'yı hemen denize bırakmamız gerektiğini söyledi.*

*Kendimi toparladım. Kaptan koluma girdi. Güverteye çıktık. Bütün gemiciler tören için toplanmışlardı. Cuma'yı beyaz bir patiskaya sarmışlardı.*

*Ben başucuna geldim. Kaptan birkaç söz söylememi istedi. Bir elimi Cuma'yı kucaklamak ister gibi uzattım, titrek bir sesle birkaç söz söyledim. Cuma'yı nasıl bulduğumu, onun ne kadar iyi bir insan olduğunu anlatmaya çalıştım.*

*Kaptan emir verdi.*

*Dört gemici beyaz kefenin içindeki Cuma'yı denize doğru uzatılmış bir tahta içinde aşağıya doğru kaydurdular.*

*Cuma, kısa bir süre içinde dalgalar arasında kayboldu.*

*Aynı anda, tören kıtasının silahları hep birden patladı.*

*Bu, gemidekilerin sevgili Cuma'ya son saygı seslenişleriydi.*

*Bense elimle gözümdeki yaşları silerken;*



*‘Güle güle Cuma’ diye seslendim. ‘Nasıl olsa kısa süre sonra gene beraber olacağız. Bir daha hiç ayrılmayacağız, hiç...’*

*BİTTİ*

Target text in back-translation:

### *Death of Friday*

*[...]*

*The canoes were rowing around the ship. They seemed to be very surprised to have met us. They were reluctant and anxious.*

*I said: “They do not intend to attack us, I guess. If you want, let us take a few of them on board and talk. Maybe they want something. They might not be cannibals as we suppose.”*

*The captain accepted my proposal. He ordered the sailors to take the ones which were willing to come on board. But no one was going to change his position, and we were going to wait ready for an attack.*

*I called Friday.*

*I said to him: “Look at these carefully Friday. They shall probably understand your language. The captain ordered that a few of them should be taken on board. The preparations are being made. Go to the gunwale, and tell them the situation. Ask what they want.”*

*The canoes were almost near the ship. We could watch them closely. Each of them carried arms such as arrows, bows, lances and swords.*

*They watched the ship and us with horror.*

*Cuma went to the gunwale.*

*He called: “Look here. Who are you? Tell what you want. I will say it to the captain.”*

*There was an undulation among the natives. They seemed very impressed that someone talked their language.*

*There was a short silence. Then a loud noise was heard. Before we could understand, two or three arrows flew in the air. Two of them struck Friday in the chest. **Poor Friday screamed terribly and fell onto the deck.***

*It had all happened so suddenly that we were astounded.*

***I lost myself when I saw Friday lying dead on the floor in a pool of blood. How could we ever be friendly to them? Here they had killed my closest friend, my congenial companion.***

*I shouted with rage:*

*“Fire, shoot... shoot...”*

*All of the guns in the ship were fired. The savages who were in the canoes near the ship fell into the sea. The cannons killed the ones who were in the farther canoes.*

***I ran to Friday and hugged him. He was breathing with difficulty. There was blood all over him. There was a pool of blood on the floor.***

*I pressed his head into my chest, and said: "Friday, Friday do you hear me?" but Friday did not hear me anymore. This brave, sincere, kind and noble boy had passed away.*

*The sailors were shooting ceaselessly. The natives were escaping rapidly in order to be safe from the guns. But the bullets and pellets were going faster than the canoes, and killed them before they could escape. Each shot of the cannonballs was breaking up the canoes.*

*The sea was full of pieces of canoes, dead bodies, and pieces of corpses. It was a disgusting view. Some of the waves of the sea were red. I could not look at this scene anymore. I was sick, and my head was dizzy. I moved fast and went to my cabin quickly. I lay down on my bed. I cried for my sincere, old friend.*

*I had lost so many things with the death of Friday that life was now meaningless to me. I could not imagine a life without him.*

*I had met Friday in such a time of my life that I could neither forget that day nor him. I often thought about this and tried to be happy with these thoughts. Friday was the only consolation of my lonely days. He was my only friend in the world.*

*Now I was like a person who had lost a very important part of his body. I did not want to think how life was going to be without Friday.*

*I do not know how much time I spent like that. My eyes were red because of crying. I was feeling myself so weak and powerless.*

*The noises and gun sounds upstairs decreased. Then a deep silence came. That is, the war was over. The natives were defeated.*

*The captain came and gave his condolences. He consoled me. He said we had to leave Friday immediately in the sea.*

*I got myself together. The captain held my arm. We went to the deck. All the sailors were gathered there for the ceremony. They had wrapped Friday in a white cloth.*

*I stood near his head. The captain asked me to say a few words. I held out my hand as if wanting to embrace Friday, and said a few things with a trembling voice. I tried to tell how I had found him, and how good a person he had been.*

*The captain ordered.*

*Four sailors slid Friday wrapped in a shroud on a timber slide-way.*

*He was lost in the waves after a short while.*

*The guns were all shot at that moment.*

*This was the last call of respect made by the people on the ship.*

*I, however, wiped the tears in my eyes with my hand, and called:*

*"Goodbye Friday. We shall soon be together again. Then we shall never part again, never..."*

THE END

Source Text (Defoe, 1999: 146-149):

### *Death of Friday*

*About half an hour afterward, the savages all came up in a body astern of us and so near that we could easily discern what they were, though we could not tell their design; and I easily found they were some of my old friends, the same sort of savages that had been used to engage with. In a short time more, they rowed a little farther out to sea, till they came directly broadside with us and then rowed down straight upon us, till they came so near that they could hear us speak. Upon this I ordered all my men to keep close, lest they should shoot any more arrows, and we made all our guns ready. But being so near as to be within hearing, I made Friday go out upon the deck and call out aloud to them in his language, to know what they meant; which accordingly he did. Whether they understood him or not, I knew not, but as soon as he had called to them, six of them who were in the foremost and nighest boat to us turned their canoes from us and, stooping down, showed us their naked backs. Whether this was a defiance or challenge, or whether it was done in mere contempt or as a signal to the rest, we knew not; **but immediately Friday cried out they were going to shoot, and unhappily for him, poor fellow, they let fly about three hundred of their arrows and, to my expressible grief, killed poor Friday, no other man being in their sight. The poor fellow was shot with no less than three arrows, and about three more fell very near him; such unlucky for us marksmen they were!***

*I was so enraged at the loss of my trusty old servant and companion that I immediately ordered five guns to be loaded with small shot, and four with great, and gave them such a broadside they had never heard in their lives before, to be sure. They were not above half a cable's length off when we fired, and our gunners took their aim so well that three or four of their canoes were upset, as we had reason to believe, by one shot only.*

*The ill manners of turning their bare backs to us gave us no great offense; neither did I know for certain whether that which would pass for the greatest contempt among us might be understood so by them or not. Therefore, in return, I had only resolved to have fired four or five guns at them with powder only, which I knew would frighten them sufficiently. But when they shot at us directly with all the fury they were capable of, **and especially as they had killed my poor Friday, whom I so deeply loved and valued and who, indeed, so well deserved my esteem, I thought myself not only justified before God and man, but would have been very glad if I could have upset every canoe there and drowned every last one of them.***

*I can neither tell how many we killed nor how many we wounded at this broadside, but surely such a fright and hurry never were seen among such a multitude; there were thirteen or fourteen of their canoes split and upset in all, and the men all set a-swimming. The rest, frightened out of their wits, scoured away as fast as they could, taking but little care to save those whose boats were split or spoiled with our shot, so I suppose that many of them were lost. And our men took up one poor fellow swimming for his life, about an hour after they were all gone.*

*The small shot from our cannon must needs have killed and wounded a great many; but, in short, we never knew how it went with them, for they fled so fast that, in three hours or thereabouts, we could not see more than three or four straggling canoes. Nor did we ever see the rest anymore, for a breeze of wind springing up the same evening, we weighed anchor and set sail for the Brazils.*

### ***Under Sail Again***

*We had a prisoner, indeed, [...]*

*We were now under sail again, but I was the most disconsolate creature alive for want of my man Friday and would have been very glad to have gone back to the island, to have taken one of the rest from thence for my occasion, but it could not be: so we went on. We had one prisoner, as I have said, and it was a long time before we could make him understand anything; but, in time, our men taught him some English, and he began to be a little tractable. [...] He told us, however, some time after, when we had taught him to speak a little English, that they had been going with their kings to fight a great battle. When he said "kings," we asked him how many kings. He said that they were five nation (we could not make him understand the plural s) and that they all joined to go against two nation. We asked him what made them come up to us. He said, "To makee te great wonder look." **Here it is to be observed that all those natives, as also those of Africa, when they learn English, always add two e's at the end of the words where we use one; and they place the accent upon them, as mak-e, tak-e, and the like; nay, I could hardly make Friday leave it off, though at last he did.***

*And now, I come back to that unfortunate fellow Friday one more time—and I must take my last leave of him. Poor, honest Friday! We buried him with all the decency and solemnity possible, by putting him into a coffin and dropping him into the sea; and I caused them to fire eleven guns for him. So ended the life of the most grateful, faithful, honest, and most affectionate servant that ever a man had.*

One can do nothing but give Dickens his due because of his criticism about this episode's lack of sentimentality, especially because of Crusoe's desire to return to the island to acquire another servant after Friday's death. Although he says that he had lost a companion, and thus wanted revenge, Friday is still a servant who needs to be, and might easily be, replaced. Crusoe seems to be sorry for his loss, but he even discusses Friday's English language skills right before he describes Friday's funeral. The translator was probably of the same opinion as Dickens and noticed the insensitivity in this episode. This is probably why his or her Crusoe is much more emotional than Defoe's hero.

This episode from the second volume might have been included in the translation as it contributes to the plot of the adventure story which was intended for children; however the additions also seem to have been made to add extra emotion. Since Crusoe regards Friday not only as a slave but also as a friend, the translator probably thought that friends should feel more in the event of losing a loved one. The sentences which emphasize Crusoe's grief might have been added to make children regard Crusoe as a real hero who is indeed an ideal friend and who knows how to grieve. Therefore the translator's Crusoe is not the master of a black servant anymore.

Furthermore, the second volume is not mentioned in the translation, although it was partially included in the translated text. Maybe the translator or the publisher did not want to make it clear that the translation is an abridged one, or they might have aimed to avoid the bad reputation of the second volume. It is also interesting that in the translated text Friday is not buried into the sea inside a coffin, but is rather wrapped in a shroud. This assimilation/domestication strategy is another finding which shows that retranslations are not necessarily made to emphasize the otherness of the source text. There are also other manipulations in the episodes taken from the second volume. For example, Crusoe's marriage and children are not included in the translation because in the original text Crusoe leaves his children and makes voyages after his wife's death (Defoe, 2004: 174; Defoe, 1999: 8). The translator probably did not want to present such a hero to young readers. A father who abandons his

orphaned children for the sake of adventure is certainly not the ideal hero of a children's novel. This finding complements one of the theories discussed in Susam-Sarajeva's work; namely the claim that "retranslations are much closer to being *adaptations* of the source text, succeeding the initial *literal* translations" (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 137).

In conclusion, the reason for the emergence of retranslations might well be ideological motives of translators and publishers. Furthermore, not only the first volume, but also the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe* had been subjected to ideological manipulation during the process of retranslation into Turkish. It was either completely ignored because of ideological reasons or partially used in the retranslations and has been subjected to ideological manipulations. Therefore, it might be argued that the reason for the production of some of the Turkish retranslations of this novel is partially (or sometimes totally) to make alterations based on ideology, either to inculcate religious ideology or to oppose slavery. In addition, the translations intended for children might contain manipulations which were made to add emotional depth to the plot<sup>106</sup>.

### **2.3.3. Other reasons regarding the emergence of retranslations**

As explained in the previous sections, retranslations might be made in order to produce texts which are suitable for the needs of contemporary readers or they might be used as tools of ideological manipulation or culture-planning activities. However, there might be other reasons to produce a retranslation, and the translator's reason might be very different from that of the publisher.

Kaya's retranslation, for instance, was 31 years old when it was published by Hilmi Publishing House in 1950 (Defoe, 1950a: iv). As discussed in Section 2.3.1, Çığıracan's one aim was to contribute to the official activities of culture-planning in the early republican Turkey. However, Kaya's aim was very different, and he was

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<sup>106</sup> It is highly probable that further analyses might reveal other kinds of ideological alterations.

only trying to forget the anguish of captivity by means of making translations (Defoe, 1950a: iv).

Göktürk's retranslation, which will be analyzed as the second case in Chapter 3, is another interesting case because what the translator aims to do with his translation was already achieved 18 years prior. Göktürk's motive for making a retranslation was indeed to challenge the validity of the previous translations; however the actual reason for the emergence of his retranslation seems to be the lack of bibliographical knowledge. Göktürk says that he has translated this novel because he believes that there were not any unabridged translations of *Robinson Crusoe* made from the English source text in the Turkish literary polysystem (Defoe, 1968: 11). He says:

*I translated this book, because I believe in the necessity of loving this book as a whole, and it is usually known in Turkey with seriously abridged versions; and except for an old translation made from French, this book never had the chance to be longer than a children's book.*

*[Türkçe'de genellikle, tam tersine, kısaltıla kısaltıla kuşa dönmüş basımlarıyla tanınan, yıllar önce Fransızca'dan yapılmış eski bir çevirisi bir yana, hiçbir zaman çocuk kitabı boyutlarının dışına taşamamış olan Robinson Crusoe'yu, bu kitabı bütünüyle sevmenin gerekliliğine inandığım için çevirdim] (ibid).*

Therefore Göktürk was either unaware of Kaya's translation<sup>107</sup>, which was published in two volumes in 1950 by Hilmi Publishing House, or he did not know that Kaya's translation had been made from the original English source text (Defoe, 1950a: iii). The paratextual analysis of Kaya's translation showed that the publisher Çığıracan was also displeased with the lack of an unabridged translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 1950a: vii). He says: "The ones that had been published before were abridged versions intended for children, and thus had limited usefulness" [Bu tercümelelerden evvel neşrolunanları ancak çocukların okuyabilecekleri derecede küçültülmüş nüshalardır ki tabiiyatıyla faydaları da pek mahdud kalıyordu] (ibid.).

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<sup>107</sup> Kaya translated *Robinson Crusoe* in 1919, and it was first published in 1923 in Arabic letters (Defoe, 1950: iv; Cunbur, 1994: 37).

In this section it was argued that further analyses should be made in order to find and discuss the reasons for making and publishing retranslations since different and interesting results might be obtained, and these results can contribute to the theories about retranslations as well.

#### **2.4. The “erosion” of the title**

When the paratextual elements of *Robinson Crusoe* translations were analyzed diachronically, it was found that some of them contain subtitles (such as “İssız Adada” [On a Deserted Island] and “Yaşamı ve Maceraları” [His Life and Adventures]) in addition to the title (See Appendix 1). Interestingly, those which contain subtitles were the relatively older ones. In this section, the probable reason of this “erosion” (Genette, 1997: 70) of the titles will be discussed.

According to Genette; “the title raises problems of definition and requires careful analysis” (Genette, 1997: 55). He says the title is “a rather complex whole” (ibid.) and that “the complexity is not exactly due to length” (ibid.). He argues that *Robinson Crusoe*’s original title is “relatively simple in status” (ibid.) and claims that shorter titles might even be more complex (ibid.). According to Genette, the title, subtitle, and the genre indication are the three terms which require analysis (Genette, 1997: 56). He says that “the genre indication is somewhat incongruous” (Genette, 1997: 57, 58) because it is defined functionally, unlike the title and the subtitle which are defined formally (Genette, 1997: 58). Paradoxically, Genette does not find it easy to analyze the original title of *Robinson Crusoe* (Genette, 1997: 71). The analysis of the extremely long original title is beyond the scope of this thesis because, as Genette also says, it is “inevitable” to abbreviate such titles (ibid.). Yet, it is still deemed necessary to discuss what Genette calls the “reduction” or the “erosion” of the title since the reduction of the titles of *Robinson Crusoe* translations is rather obvious (Genette, 1997: 70; See Appendix 1). Until the 1970s, the subtitles “İssız Adada” [On a Deserted Island] and “Hayatı ve Maceraları” [His Life and Adventures] were common in the translations of *Robinson Crusoe* (See Appendix 1). The last



translation to contain such a subtitle was published 1982 by Dilek Publishing House (ibid.). What might have caused the erosion of the titles of these translations? For example, Genette argues that “a thematic title like *War and Peace* does not describe its text in exactly the same way a formal title like *Epistles* or *Sonnets* does” (Genette, 1997: 12). A similar argument might well be made for the titles of the translations of *Robinson Crusoe*. For instance, the title *Robinson Crusoe* might not function as the titles *Robinson Crusoe: Issız Adada 28 Yıl* [Robinson Crusoe: 28 Years on a Deserted Island] or *Robinson Crusoe'nin Yaşamı ve Maceraları* [The Life and Adventures of Robinson Crusoe]. It might be argued that the subtitle was regarded as unnecessary since the target readership was already aware of the contents of the book through previous translations. Another reason might be that the publishers did not want to make the book seem like an ordinary adventure story and thus gave up using subtitles such as “Hayatı ve Maceraları” [His Life and Adventures]. For instance, Tahir-Gürçağlar says that during the period when the Translation Bureau was active, detective and adventure genres were “denounced by the centre of the literary polysystem” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2001: 580). It might therefore be suggested that the publishers who avoided subtitles did not want their translations of *Robinson Crusoe* to seem like a work of popular literature.

## **2.5. The different spellings of the name “Robinson Crusoe”**

As can be seen from the list in Appendix 1, the name Robinson Crusoe was spelled differently (such as “Robenson Krüzoe”, “Robinson Kruzoe” and “Robenson Kruzoe”) in the older translations instead of using the original English spelling. It seems that the phonetic transcription of this proper name was usually preferred. In this section, this translation strategy will be discussed.

After the adoption of the Latin alphabet, using the phonetic transcriptions of proper names was a common practice among translators (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 136). However, the Translation Bureau did not approve this application and “adopted the opposite strategy of printing foreign names according to their original spelling”

(Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 204). According to Tahir-Gürçağlar, “there was no agreement on how translations had to be carried out in the 1930-1950s” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 136). She argues that this norm of the Translation Bureau did not affect the way proper names were spelled in the translations of popular literature, and phonetic spelling continued to be used in 1940s and 1950s (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 204). The *Crusoe* case displays that some publishing houses might well have used this strategy in the translated works which do not belong to the area of popular literature. It might be said that Tahir-Gürçağlar’s findings explain the reason of the phonetic transcriptions used in the *Robinson Crusoe* translations made in the 1940s and 1950s.

This study displays that in most of the older translations the English name “Robinson” was spelled as “Robenson” as if it was a French name. It might be argued that such translations were mediated translations from French. For instance, Şemseddin Sami’s translation was entitled *Robenson* (1886), and it was indeed translated from French (Cunbur, 1994: 36). However, the translations which were made from English also contain traces of French orthography. For example, the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* which was published by Hilmi Publishing House in 1950 was entitled *Robinson Crusoe*, however it also contains the name “Robenson Krusoe” at the top of each page of the translation. Instead of spelling Robinson as “Rabınsın,” it was spelled as “Robenson” in accordance with French phonetics. In the translated text, both “Robinson” and “Robenson” were used, and there is an obvious inconsistency (Defoe, 1950a: 3, 22). Could this be the result of a careless editing process? Or might there be other factors? As was discussed in section 2.3.1, the publisher Çığıracan did not always comply with the norms of the Translation Bureau. However, he acted in accordance with some of the norms of the Bureau such as inserting translator’s and editor’s prefaces into the translated text (Defoe, 1950a: iv-viii). He might have acted according to his own view, and he might have wanted to help readers by means of writing the phonetic spelling of foreign names. Since readers were already familiar with the name “Robenson” (through the previous translations), it is possible that Çığıracan did not want to complicate the issue and thus did not introduce the name “Rabınsın”. Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that

*[b]y dictating to the reader the “correct” way of pronouncing the foreign name, such a translator may appear to position the reader at a lower educational level. On the other hand, retaining the original spelling in the translated text may be perceived as a translational strategy that treats the reader as an intellectual peer. (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 204, 205)*

Therefore Çığraçan might have regarded using both names as a solution to address both types of readers, i.e. the readers who know foreign language and the readers who do not.

In most of the recent translations of *Robinson Crusoe*, the English spelling of the name “Robinson Crusoe” was retained. According to Tahir-Gürçağlar; “[t]he adoption of a foreign spelling is a strictly ‘foreignizing’ strategy, interfering with the text’s fluency, alienating the reader from the translation or inviting the reader to ponder it as a mediated work, i.e. a translation” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 204). Therefore the publishers and the translators of these recent retranslations might well have wanted to emphasize the ‘otherness’ of the source text, and to make it known as a canonized work of English literature (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006: 136).

It can be seen from Appendix 1 that the usage of phonetic transcription decreased in recent years, but it did not disappear altogether. There are still some publishing houses which prefer the name “Kruzo” in recent years. For example, Altın Kitaplar Publishing House still prefers the title *Robinson Krusoe* (2006), and Timaş Publishing House prefers *Robinson Kruzo* (2005) (See Appendix 1). They obviously did not find it necessary to make an amendment in their strategies. Since this application might have been made “to position the reader at a lower educational level” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 205), this might be the reason why the phonetic transcription was preferred in these translations which were intended for children. It is highly probable that the translator considered the educational level of children to be lower than educated adults. Furthermore “the use of phonetic transcriptions can be considered an attempt to cover up, or reduce an awareness of the text as a translation (versus an “original”) in order to facilitate reader’s identification with the narrative

and its fictive characters” (ibid.). Therefore it seems that phonetic transcription is preferred to make the process of reading easier especially for young readers.

Thus phonetic transcription is no longer a dominant strategy as far as *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations are concerned, but it is still preferred by some translators and publishers. However, the dominance of the French orthography seems to have ceased to exist, and English orthography seems to be preferred in the phonetic spellings of proper names (e.g. “Kruzo” is used instead of “Krüzoe”).

## **2.6. The sequel: Has it really been ignored?**

As will be seen in the list in Appendix 1, the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe*, namely *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe*, is not retranslated as much as the first book. When the number of pages in each translation was analyzed, it was found that the unabridged editions (including the ones accused of plagiarism) usually contain only the first book. What could have caused this difference? Could it be possible that the publishers were not aware of the second book? This seems highly unlikely because the second volume was published separately in 1950 (by Hilmi Publishing House) and in 1969 (by Kök Publishing House). Therefore, there must be another reason of omitting the sequel.

As said in the introduction, the second volume is “a rather unvarnished, sometimes brutal story” (Wheeler, 1999: xii), and it contains “prejudice against other cultures and acts of violence against helpless victims” (ibid.). This might be the reason for omitting this book, and this was indeed stated as a reason by the translator of Timaş Publishing House (Karadağ, 2003: 133). As discussed in section 2.3.2, the translator Çankırlılı says in his preface that the publishing house ignored the second volume on purpose because it contained the wars of the colonialist European whites with the natives and massacres as well (ibid.).

The translations which do not at first sight seem to include the second volume, however, might well include both volumes. The titles of some of the translations contain neither subtitles nor numbers denoting the volume (See Appendix 1). Yet the lengths of these books might give clues about the inclusion of the second volume. For example, the translation entitled *Robinson Crusoe* published by Can Publishing House in 1983 indeed comprises the second volume, and it consists of 670 pages, but this cannot be understood from the title (See Appendix 1). However, it should not be thought that the translations with fewer pages contain only the first volume. For instance, a 199 page translation published by Bilgi Publishing House (2004)<sup>108</sup> contains episodes from the second volume in which Crusoe and Friday go back to their island (Defoe, 2004: 174-193). In the final chapter of the book, Friday's death is narrated (Defoe, 2004: 193-199). This translation also includes an addition in the form of two opening paragraphs which are reminiscent of Defoe's original preface to the third volume<sup>109</sup> of *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 2004: 5). It can easily be seen that the content of the following two opening paragraphs of the translation of Bilgi Publishing House (2004) seems to be obtained from Defoe's original preface to the third volume.

Target Text (Defoe, 2004: 5):

### ***BEN, ROBINSON CRUSOE***

*Adım Robinson Crusoe. Size yaşamöykümü anlatacağım. Bunları okuyunca benim yaşamımı, daha çok bir serüvene benzeteceksiniz. Öyle bir serüven ki, inanması zordur. Ama ben tüm bu olayları yaşadım, tüm bu zorluklarla savaştım. Sonunda başardım. Bu yönüyle benim öyküm, bir düşünceye, bir fikre inanmanın, bir amaca ulaşmak için canla başla savaşmanın, sonuna dek direnmenin insanı kesinlikle başarıya götüreceğinin kesin bir kanıtıdır.*

*Benden yıllarca sonra da öykümü okuyan her ulustan çocuklar bu inancı daha bilinçli olarak duyacaklar ve yaşam boyu çalışmanın,*

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<sup>108</sup> This translation was briefly analyzed in section 2.3.2.

<sup>109</sup> In fact, the original authorial preface to the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe* was not included in this translation, probably because Defoe acts as if he were the editor of the novel and explains the religious purposes of the story in that preface (Defoe, 1994: 3; Defoe, 2004: 5). Also, this finding concerning this translation is interesting because according to the catalogue of Ankara National Library the third volume was not translated into Turkish.

*hedefine ulaşmak için durmadan savaş vermenin gerekliliğine inanacaklardır.*

Target Text in back-translation:

### ***I, ROBINSON CRUSOE***

*My name is Robinson Crusoe. I am going to tell you my life story. When you read this, you shall see that it is more like an adventure. It is such an adventure that it is hard to believe. But I lived all of these events, and fought with all of these difficulties. In the end I succeeded. Therefore my story certainly indicates that having an opinion, believing in a thought, struggling to achieve a goal, and holding out till the end makes the person certainly succeed.*

*Years later, children from every nation who read my story will have this belief more consciously, and believe in the necessity of lifelong working and struggling continually to reach one's goal.*

In the following preface to *The Serious Reflections of Robinson Crusoe*, Defoe introduces himself as Robinson Crusoe and claims that the story alludes to a real life story. He discusses the importance of patience and working hard in order to achieve success in life. He also argues that his arguments will be better understood and welcomed in the future.

Source Text (Defoe, 1994: 240-243):

*[...] I Robinson Crusoe being at this Time in perfect and sound Mind ad Memory, Thanks to be God therefore; [...] do affirm, that the Story, though Allegorical, is also Historical; and that is the beautiful Representation of a Life of unexampled Misfortunes, and of a Variety not to be met with in the World, sincerely adapted to, and intended for the common Good of Mankind, and designed at first, as it is now farther apply'd, to the most serious Uses possible.*

*Farther, that there is a Man alive, and well known too, the Actions of whose life are the just Subject of these volumes, and to whom all or most Part of the Story most directly alludes, this may be depended upon for Truth, and to this I set my Name.*

*[...] in a Word, the Adventures of Robinson Crusoe, are one whole Scheme of a real Life of eight and twenty years, spent in the most wandering desolate and afflicting Circumstances that ever Man went through, and in which I have liv'd so long in a Life of Wonders in*

*continu'd Storms, fought with the worse kind of Savages and Maneaters, by unaccountable supprising Incidents; [...]*

*[...] In a Word there's not a Circumstance in the imaginary Story, but has its Allusion to a real Story, and chimes Part for Part, and Step for Step with the inimitable life of Robinson Crusoe. [...]*

*Besides all this, here is the just and only good End of all Parable or Allegorick History brought to pass, viz. for moral and religious Improvement. **Here is invincible Patience recommended under the worst of Misery; indefatigable Application and undaunted Resolution under the greatest and most discouraging Circumstances; I say, these are recommended, as the only Way to work through those Miseries, and their Success appears sufficient to support the most dead-hearted Creature in the World.***

*Had the common Way of Writing a Mans private History been taken, and I had given you the Conduct of Life of a Man you knew, and whose Misfortunes and Infirmities, perhaps you had sometimes unjustly triumph'd over; all I could have said would have yielded no Diversion, and perhaps scarce have obtained a Reading, or at best no Attention; [...]. Facts that are form'd to touch the Mind, must be done a great Way off, and by somebody never heard of: [...].*

*There even yet remains a question, whether the instruction of these things will take place, when you are supposing the scene, which is placed so far off, had its original so near home.*

***But I am far from being anxious about that, feeling I am well assur'd, that if the Obstinacy of our Age should shut their Ears against the just Reflections made in this Volume, upon the Transactions taken Notice of in the former, there will come an Age, when the Minds of Men shall be more flexible, when the Prejudices of their Fathers shall have no Place, and when the rules of Vertue and Religion justly recommended, shall be more gratefully accepted than they may be now, that our Children may rise up in Judgment against their fathers, and one Generation be edified by the same Teaching, which another Generation had despised.***

*ROB. CRUSOE.*

Therefore, it can be suggested that the translator, similar to Defoe, emphasizes the importance of patience and seems to be hopeful regarding the future generations. It is rather interesting that a seriously abridged retranslation which was intended for children not only includes episodes from the first and the second volumes but also contains an addition of introductory paragraphs taken from the third

volume which is a moral work unlike the first two volumes. Therefore it might be argued that the original authorial preface acquired a different function in the translated text. That is to say a paratextual element of an original work, namely a preface, supplied the inspiration for an “internal title” (Genette, 1997: 294) and the opening paragraphs of a retranslation. Thus it might be argued that the analysis of retranslations can give information on the changes that paratextual elements undergo as a result of the process of translation as well.

In this section it was argued that it is not possible to say that the second volume has been totally overlooked. Even the third volume might have been partially used in the translations. It seems that a more comprehensive analysis is required to decide how often *The Farther Adventure of Robinson Crusoe* was employed in the translations of *Robinson Crusoe*.

## **2.7. Conclusions**

In this chapter, the position of the *Robinson Crusoe* translations has been discussed, and it was argued that this novel has an ambivalent status within the Turkish literary polysystem. That is to say, the translations of this novel exist in three forms: children’s books, abridged works produced for non-canonized adult literature, and unabridged works intended for the canonized adult literature. There are various reasons for this situation, such as Rousseau’s criticism of *Robinson Crusoe* in his *Émile* and the Turkish translations of this philosophical treatise. However, the preferences of children might have played an important role in this process as well. The probable consequences of the ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations were also discussed in this chapter, and it was argued that there might be negative consequences of publishing this novel as a children’s classic, such as giving less importance to the writing and translating of the contemporary children’s books.

Second in this chapter the diachronic and synchronic distribution of the total number of the translations of this novel was analyzed. The reasons for the increase in



the number of translations produced in certain periods were discussed, and it was concluded that there are various reasons (such as economic problems or developments, state involvement and support, and the amendment of the copyright law) for the increases in *Robinson Crusoe* translations in certain years. The cases of plagiarism regarding *Robinson Crusoe* translations were also examined in this chapter.

Additionally in this chapter the reasons of producing retranslations of this novel were discussed. It was argued that factors such as culture-planning activities and ideological motives were involved in the process. It was found that ideological motives might be various, such as religious beliefs or condemning slavery. Even adding emotional depth to a translation made for children can be regarded as an ideological manipulation. It was also discussed that a certain ideology might not only cause the emergence of retranslations and manipulations to be made in them, but also might prevent the emergence of retranslations. It was also shown that personal reasons (such as the translator's choosing to retranslate a novel as a means of forgetting his own sad situation) might exist.

Moreover, it was argued that the erosion of the title (i.e., not using the subtitle in the translations anymore) might be a consequence of the recognition of the book in the target culture. There might, however, be another reason: the publishers probably did not want to make the book seem like an ordinary adventure story which belongs to the area of popular literature.

The reason of the different spellings of the name Robinson Crusoe was also discussed in this chapter. It was concluded that phonetic transcription was not usually preferred and is rarely used in recent translations.

The seemingly rare translations of the second book were finally analyzed in this chapter, and it was argued that it should not be thought that the second volume was ignored completely. Further analysis seems to be required in order to decide how

often *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* was attached to the translations of the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe*.

In the next chapter, three unabridged *Robinson Crusoe* translations will be analyzed, and it is going to be argued that each of these retranslations have a different shaping role in the Turkish culture repertoire.

## CHAPTER 3 – CASE STUDY

### THREE RETRANSLATIONS, THREE DIFFERENT ROLES IN THE TURKISH CULTURE REPERTOIRE

In this chapter, three unabridged retranslations<sup>110</sup> of *Robinson Crusoe* are going to be analyzed. In each of the three case studies, general information on the translators and the publishing houses will be given first. Then paratextual elements such as covers, illustrations, prefaces, and notes will be examined. The matricial norms of the translations are also going to be analyzed. The treatment of the units of measurement and currencies will be discussed in the section on notes. Furthermore, the translations of proper names and metaphors will be examined. The translations of the compass points are going to be analyzed, because they are regarded as Christian metaphors, and this research revealed that the translators use different approaches while translating these metaphors. It will be argued that the differences in the translations of such metaphorical elements might be a consequence of the different readings of this novel, which were analyzed in the first chapter of this study. It is going to be argued that the translations of these elements depend on the way the translators read this novel.

In the section of paratextual analysis, Defoe's original preface will also be discussed. The presence or absence of this preface is deemed especially important because it is thought to be related to the criticisms of the novel as well. This study displayed that the presence of a translator's, an editor's, or a publisher's preface might be the reason for some of the changes in the translated text. For example, the omission of the original authorial preface<sup>111</sup> in the translated texts is probably because Defoe openly says in his preface that the novel is written with a religious

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<sup>110</sup> (1) Defoe, D. (1950). *Robinson Crusoe – Hayatı ve Maceraları*. Translated by Şükrü Kaya. İstanbul: Hilmi Publishing House.

(2) Defoe, D. (1968). *Robinson Crusoe I*. Translated by Akşit Göktürk. İstanbul: Kök Publishing House.

(3) Defoe, D. (2005). *Robinson Crusoe*. Translated by Pınar Günçan. İstanbul: Bordo Siyah Klasik Publishing House.

<sup>111</sup> Interestingly, it was found that only Günçan's translation contains the Turkish translation of Defoe's original preface (Defoe, 2005: 23). The other two translations made by Göktürk and Kaya do not contain Defoe's original preface.

intent (Defoe, 1994: 3). Then the analyses of the translator's and editor's prefaces are going to be made in order to explain why Defoe's preface was absent in some of the translations. It will be argued that the original preface might have been ignored, since it is in contradiction with either the translator's reading of the novel or the publisher's publishing policy. It will finally be argued that each of these retranslations play different shaping roles in the Turkish culture repertoire.

### **3.1. CASE I – KAYA'S *ROBINSON CRUSOE* – *HAYATI VE MACERALARI* [HIS LIFE AND ADVENTURES] (1950)**

#### **3.1.1. Hilmi Publishing House and Şükrü Kaya**

Kaya's translation<sup>112</sup> was published by Hilmi Publishing House, which was established by İbrahim Hilmi Çığırçan<sup>113</sup> in 1896 (Ocak Gez, 1999: 301). The publishing activities of this company continued until the publisher's death in 1963 (ibid.). Çığırçan published military works for 15 years, and even published a military journal entitled *Ordu ve Donanma* [Army and Navy] (Ocak Gez, 1999: 301, 302). During the Second Constitutional Period, he concentrated on publishing scientific, historical, philosophical, social and cultural works, aiming to enlighten the public (ibid.). In this period, he also began publishing school books, including his own works (ibid.). Çığırçan was the writer of six books which were published in the series entitled "Kitabhâne-i İntibah" [Library of Realization] (Ocak Gez, 1999: 303). In these works, he criticizes Ottoman people due to various political, military, economic, social, and cultural reasons, and proposes Europeanization as a solution to these problems (ibid.). Çığırçan criticizes the Second Constitutional Period, because he believes that the revolution lacked social and cultural dimensions (ibid.). His primary complaints concern the corruption of moral values and the dismissal of

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<sup>112</sup> The translation was published in 1950 in two volumes, and only the first volume is going to be analyzed in this chapter.

<sup>113</sup> The life and works of Çığırçan were studied by Başak Ocak Gez in her doctoral dissertation entitled *Tüccarzade İbrahim Hilmi Çığırçan. Osmanlı matbuatından cumhuriyet yayıncılığına altmış yılı aşkın katkılarıyla bir yayıncının portresi* (1999).

women from social life (ibid.). He regards education as a solution and defends in his works that education is not only necessary for the enlightenment of the urban people, but it is also important for the development of the rural people (Ocak Gez, 1999: 304). Furthermore he is displeased with the way children are educated, and criticizes the Ministry of Education (ibid.). Additionally, it is his opinion that a national economy should be established (ibid.). During the 1930s Çığıracan began publishing novels and the translations of literary classics as well (Ocak Gez, 1999: 302).

Kaya was born in İstanköy in 1883 and he died in İstanbul in 1959 (Ana Britannica, 1989: Vol. 13: 95). He was an Ottoman civil servant who worked in several administrative positions until 1919 (ibid.). Due to his participation in the Turkish National Movement he was arrested in 1919 and imprisoned in İstanbul, after which he was sent into exile<sup>114</sup> on Malta. He managed to escape in 1921, and returned to Anatolia to take part in the Turkish War of Independence. He also served as a civil servant in the Republic of Turkey, and worked as the Mayor of İzmir, the Deputy of Muğla, the Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the Minister of Internal Affairs. His political career ended in 1939. The collection of his speeches and articles were published under the title *Şükri Kaya, Sözleri, Yazıları 1927-37* (1938) (ibid.).

### **3.1.2. Paratextual analysis of *Robinson Crusoe – Hayatı ve Maceraları* (1950)**

#### **3.1.2.1. Covers and illustrations**

The front cover of this translation contains both the translator's and the author's names at the top; and the letters of these names are the same size. Therefore it might be said that the publisher deems the work of the translator equally important with that of the author. On the front cover there is an illustration of Crusoe, his parrot, dog

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<sup>114</sup> As Kaya says in his preface to *Robinson Crusoe* (1950), he made translations in order to forget the pain of captivity, while he was living in exile in Malta (Defoe, 1950a: iv). Among his translations are Henri Berau's *Şişko* (1924), Charles Rist's and Charles Gide's *Günümüze Kadar İktisadi Mezhepler Tarihi* (1927), Bukley's *Eski Yunan Masalları* and Mathiez's *Fransız İhtilali* (1950) (<http://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=2849>).

and umbrella. Crusoe is standing on a hill and looking at the sea, and he carries a basket, a hatchet, and a rifle. The title of the work “Robinson Crusoe” is written on the illustration, but the name “Robinson” is written with larger characters. This finding is not surprising, because, as said in the second chapter, this word has become synonymous with castaway in Turkish. The name of the publishing company is also given on the front cover. The back cover contains an illustration of Crusoe and a native man in a forest along with an advertisement for the second volume at the bottom. The top of the back cover also contains the price information. The inner covers contain the subtitle of the book, which is “Hayatı ve Maceraları” [The Life and the Adventures] (Defoe, 1950a: i, iii). Another inner cover page contains the phrase “Aslı bulunan İngilizceden tam tercümedir” [This unabridged translation is made from the original English source text] (ibid.). Also provided on the third page are the names of the translator and publisher, the name and address of the publishing house, the date of publishing, and the name of the printing house.

There are a total of 58 illustrations in the book. Two of these drawings do not bear page numbers, and they rather seem to be separate pictures inserted in the book. The majority of the other illustrations are half-page drawings, and most of them have explanations at the bottom. However, these explanation sentences are rather simple as if they are added for child readers. For example, under the drawing which shows Crusoe making a wooden table, it writes “Robenson masa ve sandalye yapıyor” [Robinson makes a table and a chair] (Defoe, 1950a: 72). Under another drawing which shows Crusoe while fishing, it writes “Robenson balığı tuttu” [Robinson caught the fish] (Defoe: 1950a: 89). It is uncertain whether these relatively simple sentences were added to make the novel easily understood. Nevertheless, it might be argued that the presence of so many drawings in an unabridged translation shows the publisher’s aim to attract the attention of young readers rather than educated adults. Interestingly, Çığıracan praises these drawings in his preface: “Today, the unabridged Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe* is presented to the Turkish nation, and this translation is made from the original English text by Şükrü Kaya, who is one of the most powerful writers and intellectuals of our country, and it is published in two volumes and embellished with drawings by my publishing house”

[Bugün iki cilt üzerine basılmış olan Robinson Crusoe memleketimizin en muktedir kalem ve fikir sahiplerinden Şükrü Kaya tarafından İngilizce aslından ayrılmayarak tas tamam Türkçe bir tercümesini meydana koymuş ve kitaphanem tarafından resimlerle süslenerek Türk milletine sunulmuştur] (Defoe, 1950a: vii). As can easily be seen from Çığıracan's preface, he rather aims to help young people to learn lessons from Crusoe's story, than to entertain adults with an adventure novel (Defoe, 1950a: vii). Indeed, as shall be seen in the next section, the entertainment function of this translation ranks 14<sup>th</sup> in Çığıracan's list of lessons to be taken from this novel (Defoe, 1950a: viii).

### 3.1.2.2. Prefaces

In this section, the absence of Defoe's original preface will be analyzed comparatively with the translator's and the publisher's prefaces. Since this translation excludes Defoe's "original assumptive authorial preface" (Genette, 1997: 197) to the first volume of *Robinson Crusoe*, the function and the content of the original preface will be examined first. Then the reasons of ignoring it will be discussed.

Genette says that the function of the "original assumptive authorial preface" (which he calls shortly "the original preface") is "to ensure that the text is read properly" (ibid.). He says there are two actions involved, namely "to get the book read" and "to get the book read properly" (ibid.). Therefore, it might be said that the original preface guides the reader for reading the novel. Genette also explains how prefaces might "put a high value on the text without (seemingly) doing the same for its author" (Genette, 1997: 198). He says that the importance of the subject and "the usefulness<sup>115</sup> of examining it" can be written in the preface (Genette, 1997: 199). This is exactly what Defoe makes in his preface to *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 1994: 3). He writes:

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<sup>115</sup> Genette says this usefulness might be moral usefulness, religious usefulness or social and political usefulness (Genette, 1997: 199, 200).

*If ever the Story of any private Man's Adventures in the World were worth making Publick, and were acceptable when Publish'd, the Editor of this Account thinks this will be so.*

*The Wonders of this Man's Life exceed all that (he thinks) is to be found extant; the Life of one Man being scarce capable of a greater Variety.*

*The Story is told with Modesty, with Seriousness, and with a religious Application of Events to the Uses to which wise Men always apply them (viz.) to the Instruction of others by this Example, and to justify and honour the Wisdom of Providence in all the Variety of our Circumstances, let them happen how they will.*

*The Editor believes the thing to be a just History of fact; neither is there any Appearance of Fiction in it: And whoever thinks, because all such things are dispatch'd<sup>116</sup>, that the Improvement of it, as well to the Diversion, as to the Instruction of the Reader, will be the same; and as such, he thinks, without farther Compliment to the World, he does them a great Service in the Publication.*

Probably because Defoe wants to avoid praising himself, he pretends to be the editor of the novel in his original authorial preface (ibid.). Indeed Genette suggests that prefaces do not normally contain phrases like “Admire my style” (Genette, 1997: 198) and “Admire my craftsmanship” (ibid.) by means of which the author lauds his own talent. Göktürk proposes another reason for this, and claims that Defoe tries to make his stories seem factual by means of pretending to be the publisher in his prefaces to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Moll Flanders* (Göktürk, 2004: 99).

According to Genette, the author is “the main, and strictly speaking, the only person interested in having the book read properly” (Genette, 1997: 197). However, it might well be argued that the publisher and the translator of a literary work can also be interested in having the book read properly. It will be demonstrated in this chapter that their intent might even contradict with that of the author. As said before, a similar argument about paratexts was raised in Bozkurt's thesis, in which translator's prefaces are analyzed (Bozkurt, 2007: iii). Bozkurt says that “translators using spaces allotted to them in prefaces can bring together the translated text and the

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<sup>116</sup> There are six different editions of this novel; and Michael Shinagel says that “The first and the second editions read ‘dispatch’d’; subsequent editions read ‘disputed’. The meaning is that such works are read cursorily, and therefore, it matters little to the entertainment or instruction of the reader if the story be truth or fiction.” (Defoe, 1994: 3)



socio-cultural context” (Bozkurt, 2007: iv) and argues that “[w]hen translator’s prefaces are considered, it can be said that the prefaces can be very powerful tools in the hands of translators in terms of guiding the reception of translations” (Bozkurt, 2007: 6). Furthermore, Bozkurt says that “publishers and editors were also important actors in shaping readers’ expectations from and understanding of translated text” (ibid.). Two questions asked by Bozkurt as regards prefaces to translated texts are: “How far do prefaces guide the reading process?” (Bozkurt, 2007: 5) and “Are readers prompted to read the book in certain ways due to clues surrounding the translated text?” (ibid.). Regarding the former question, Bozkurt says the following:

*This actually brings us to the answer of the following question this thesis asks: How far do prefaces guide the reading process? Translators inscribe their own ideological tendencies into their prefaces in which the translators’ subject-position are highly discernible. So before starting to read the text they form a certain idea about the text they will read and also its socio-cultural and ideological references. (Bozkurt, 2007: 147)*

Therefore, it might well be argued that a preface (whether it is written by the translator or the publisher or the editor) might be written to tell the reader how to read the translated text. Since Defoe’s original preface also contains a brief criticism of his novel, it might be argued that the preface was ignored in the 1950 edition as it contradicts the publisher’s preface, in which Çığıracan explains his own reading of the novel.

Kaya’s translation also includes a translator’s preface, which is entitled “Birkaç söz” [A few words] (Defoe, 1950a: iv). In this preface written in 1919, Kaya gives his reasons for translating this work, and explains that he translated this work from the original English text (ibid.). He says that the activity of translation helped him partially forget his anguish due to being in exile in Malta. He thus says: “Bu itibarla eser, bence vazifesini bitirmiştir. Eğer bir gün olur da yurtdaşlarımın boş vakitlerini hoşça geçirmeye vesile olursa bu, benim bugün hiç beklemediğim ve ümid etmediğim bir hizmet olur” [In this regard, I think that this work has fulfilled its function. If one day it helps my fellow countrymen to spend good time in their leisure time, this would be a service which I neither expect nor hope today] (ibid.).

Therefore, Kaya knows that his translation might be read as a leisure activity, but this is not the reason why he makes translations. He nevertheless regards this book as a work which might entertain people. It might be said that his aim was rather different from that of the publisher of this translation, because, as was discussed in the second chapter, Çığıracan regards this work as an educative one, which might be useful in the nation building process.

The aim of Çığıracan was briefly discussed in the previous chapter of this study. Çığıracan presents his arguments in the editor's preface to the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 1950a: v-viii). In this second preface to the translation, the author's life and the novel are briefly introduced. Çığıracan praises Defoe's talent in literature, and he also says that *Robinson Crusoe* is one of the three books Samuel Johnson wished longer (Defoe, 1950a: vii). Çığıracan also explains why he considers the previous translations to be incompetent, and states his reasons for publishing Kaya's translation (ibid.). He says that the previous abridged translations are not satisfactory, since they are rather children's books which cannot teach the lessons that should be taken from the Crusoe story (ibid.). However, Çığıracan is not satisfied with simply publishing this unabridged version, and he wants to guarantee that these lessons are learned. Therefore, he gives a list composed of fourteen lessons that should be taken from this novel (Defoe, 1950a: vii-viii):

*Bu eseri dikkatle okuyacak herhangi bir genç evvelâ:*

1. *Ana ve baba sözlerine hörmət etmenin, nasihatlerini dinlemenin ve aile muhabbetine merbut kalmanın ehemmiyetini takdir edecektir.*  
*Saniyen:*
2. *Yalnız başına çıkacağı uzun seyahatlerde uğraması muhtemel bütün müşkilâtı yenebilecek tedbirleri önceden göze alması.*
3. *Teşebbüs edeceği herhangi bir işde kendi nefisine hâkim olarak inisiyativle hareket edecek.*
4. *İş iştir, iyisi de olur kötüsü de olur. Çalışmak, sabır ve sebat göstermek sayesinde her kötü iş iyilikle neticelenir.*
5. *Robinson birçok yoklukları, eksiklikleri devamlı çalışma ve sebatı sayesinde varlığa çevirdi.*
6. *Herhangi bir teşebbüste uğrayacağınız zorluklara göğüs gererek müşkilâtı yenmeğe çalışacaksınız.*
7. *Her işe iman kuvvetiyle atılacaksınız ve Allah'tan asla ümidinizi kesmiyerek yardımını dileyacaksınız.*

8. *Muvaffak olamadığınız işden ye'se düşmeyeceksiniz. Sabır ve sebatla işinize devam edeceksiniz. Muvaffak olduğunuz zaman da gurura kapılmıyacaksınız. Ulu Tanrının emir ve iradesi her işde mutlaktır.*
9. *Avrupa milletlerinin gençleri Robinson Crusoe hikâyesini okumakla hayatta çok büyük muvaffakiyetler kazanmışlardır. Bunun için Avrupa ve Amerika'da Robinson'u okumamış çocuk ve genç pek azdır.*
10. *Anglosakson'lar, bilhassa İngilizler gençlikte Robinson hikayesinin tesiri altında büyük büyük seyahatler yapmışlar, muhtelif iklim ve memleketlere dağılmışlar, ticaret evleri kurmuşlardır.*
11. *İki asır içinde koca koca kıtalara hâkim olarak müstamereler kurmuşlar, azîm servetler yapmışlardır.*
12. *Türk gençlerinden işsiz kalanlar veya bir işe teşebbüs etmek niyetinde olanlar Robinsonun hayatından istifade ederek atılacakları herhangi bir işde muvaffak olacaklarına hiç şüphe yoktur.*
13. *Bir işe başlamadan evvel iyi düşünüp kararınıza sadık kalınız. Endişe etmiyerek sebat ve metanetle devam ediniz.*
14. *Genç ve yaşlı her okuyucu bu fevkalâde sergüzeşt romanının heyecanlı sahifelerini okumakla çok zevk duyacaklarını arzeder ve Allah'tan hepimize refah ve saadet dilerim.*

*[Any young person who is going to read this work would first:*

1. *Appreciate the importance of showing respect to the remarks of his/her mother and father, following their advices, and be dedicated to love of family.*

*Second:*

2. *S/he should take all the precautions necessary to beat the difficulties that can be met while making long journeys alone.*
3. *S/he should overcome her/his fleshly cravings and act on her/his own initiative.*
4. *Work is work; it might be good or bad. By means of working hard and being patient and persevering, every bad work would bring good results.*
5. *Despite the scarcities and the shortages, Robinson worked hard and persevered, and he thus obtained wealth.*
6. *You should confront the difficulties that may arise in any undertaking and try to overcome them.*
7. *You should start every work with the power of faith, and never abandon hope and ask for help from Allah.*
8. *You should not be disheartened if you fail. You should continue working with patience and persevere. And when you succeed, you should not be proud. The command and will of God is absolute.*
9. *The youth of the European nations gained great successes by means of reading the story of Robinson Crusoe. Therefore in Europe and America, there are very few children and young people who have not read Robinson.*
10. *With the inspiration they took from the story of Robinson, the Anglo-Saxons, and especially the British made great voyages when they were young, scattered in various regions and countries, and set up commercial establishments there.*
11. *Within two centuries they conquered huge continents and established there commercial factories and made great fortunes.*

12. *The unemployed young Turkish people or the people who intend to begin working would certainly succeed in everything, as far as they take inspiration from Robinson's life.*
13. *Before beginning a work, think well and be loyal to your decision. Do not worry and continue with perseverance and fortitude.*
14. *I say that young and old every reader shall take a lot of pleasure in reading the exciting pages of this adventure novel, and I ask for prosperity and happiness for all of us from Allah.]*

It seems that entertaining the adult readers was not Çığıracan's ultimate aim. What he deems important is the effects of this novel in the young Turkish readers' future success. It appears that Çığıracan assigns an educative role to Kaya's retranslation in the Turkish culture repertoire to contribute to the official culture-planning activities of his period<sup>117</sup>.

### 3.1.2.3. Notes

In this section, the footnotes and the parenthetical explanations used in the translated text are going to be analyzed. The note is a paratextual element which is defined by Genette as "a statement of variable length (one word is enough) connected to a more or less definite segment of text and either placed opposite or keyed to this segment" (Genette, 1997: 319). The notes written by editors or translators are called "authentic allographic notes" (Genette, 1997: 322). The analysis of notes is deemed important in this study, because, as Genette says, "in many cases, the discourse of the preface and that of the apparatus of notes are in a very close relation of continuity and homogeneity" (Genette, 1997: 320). Since the preface is an element which is used in this thesis to understand the reason for making a retranslation and the function of that retranslation in the culture repertoire, it is believed that the analysis of notes will be supplementary for the discussion on retranslations.

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<sup>117</sup> The official-culture planning activities have previously been discussed in Chapter 2.

Surprisingly, there are only three footnotes inserted by the translator. The first one is used to describe the word “Moresko”<sup>118</sup> (Defoe, 1950a: 23), the second one gives the original name of the “Fustun” tree<sup>119</sup> (Defoe, 1950a: 231), and the third one explains where “Ali Kant” (Defoe, 1950a: 252) is located<sup>120</sup>. It is interesting that a translation which is rather intended for the younger generation has so few notes. However, Kaya employs some parentheses in his translation, and they seem to be added in order to make explanations. For example, the units of measurement are explained in parentheses:

Target text: “Bir kelimeyle anlatmak lâzımgelirse bu seyahat beni aynı zamanda hem bir gemici ve hem de bir tüccar yaptı. Avdette neticei ticaret olarak **beş pavons dokuz vons [iki buçuk kilogram kadar]** altın tozu getirdim. Bu da Londra’da üç yüz sterlin lirası kadar bir para tuttu.” (Defoe, 1950a: 19, 20)

Target text in back-translation: “In a word, this voyage made me both a sailor and a merchant. At the return I brought as a result of the trade **five pounds nine ounces (about two and a half kilograms)** of gold dust. This yielded me in London almost three hundred sterling liras.”

Source text: “[...] and, in a word, this Voyage made me both a Sailor and a Merchant: for I brought home **L. 5. 9 Ounces** of Gold Dust for my adventure, which yielded me in London at my Return, almost 300 l. [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 14)

Using these explanations in the text rather than giving them in footnotes might have been made to ensure that they are read properly. Furthermore, the

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<sup>118</sup> Kaya says that “Moresco is the name given by the Spanish to the Arabs who stayed in Al-Andalus after the invasion of the city by the Spanish and converted to Christianity, and then were banished from Spain” [Moresko, Endülüsün İspanyollar tarafından zaptı üzerine orada kalarak hristiyan olmuş ve bundan sonra yine İspanyadan tardedilmiş Araplara İspanyollar tarafından verilen isimdir] (Defoe, 1950a: 23). The term in the source text is “Maresco” (Defoe, 1994: 16), and Shinagel thinks that it is a misprint for “Moresco, which is the Spanish word for “Moor” (ibid.).

<sup>119</sup> Kaya says in the note that “It is called ‘Pustic’ in England” [İngilterede (Pustic) denir] (Defoe, 1950a: 231), however, the source text reads “Fustic” (Defoe, 1994: 164), and Shinagel says that it is a tropical American tree (ibid.).

<sup>120</sup> In the note Kaya says that “Alicante is a city famous for its wine in Spain” [Ali Kant İspanyada şarabile meşhur bir şehir] (Defoe, 1950a: 252).

phonetic spellings of the words “pound” and “ounce” are used<sup>121</sup>. Since the basic aim of publishing this translation is to educate the youth, Çığıracan probably sees this method useful in teaching readers that there are other systems of measurement in the world. More interestingly, these explanations are repeated throughout the translated text.

Target text: “Bunların herbirisi bir nihayet iki pavun (bir pavun 453 küsur gramdır) alacak kadardır” (Defoe, 1950a: 77).

Target text in back-translation: “Each of them might hold one pound or two pounds (one pound is about 453 grams) at most”.

Source text: “[...] Chests or Boxes which might hold a Pound or two Pound, at most [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 54).

Target text: “[...] ve iki üçyüz pavun (bir pavun 453 küsur gramdır) kadar demir [...]” (Defoe, 1950a: 90).

Target text in back-translation: “and two to three hundred pounds (one pound is about 453 grams) of iron”

Source text: “[...] and 2 or 300 Weight of Iron” (Defoe, 1994: 63).

Target text: “[...] kalınlığı üç ince – yedi buçuk santimetre – [...]” (Defoe, 1950a: 120).

Target text in back-translation: “three inches –seven and a half centimeters – thick”

Source text: “[...] about three Inches thick [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 84).

Target text: “[...] derinliği de dokuz ince – yirmi beş santimetre – kadar [...]” (Defoe, 1950a: 128).

Target text in back-translation: “about nine inches –twenty five centimeters – deep”

Source text: “[...] and not above nine Inches deep [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 90).

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<sup>121</sup> It is rather interesting that the Turkish equivalent of “pound” (i.e. “libre”) is not used.

Target text: “[...] beş altı pavun –iki buçuk üç kiloya yakın – top barutu [...]” (Defoe, 1950a: 174).

Target text in back-translation: “five to six pounds –about two and a half to three kilograms – of gunpowder”

Source text: “[...] five or six Pound of Gun-Powder [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 122).

Similarly, some of the translations of currencies are supplemented with parentheses:

Target text: “Hattâ İngiltere’de **altı peni – üç kuruş – değeri** olan bir avuç havuç, turp tohumu bezelye ve bakla veyahut bir şişe mürekkep için bu paranın hepsini verirdim” (Defoe, 1950a: 134).

Target text in back-translation: “Furthermore, I would have given all this money for a handful of carrot and turnip seeds, peas and beans or a bottle of ink, which are **worth six pennies –three kuruş** – in England”.

Source text: “I would have given it all for **Sixpenny-worth** of Turnip and Carrot Seed out of England, or for a Handful of Pease and Beans, and a Bottle of Ink” (Defoe, 1994: 94).

There is also another interesting finding about the usage of notes. One of the footnotes contains information which is taken from the source text, and the relevant section of the translated text contains an addition which might otherwise be given in a footnote. Therefore, the information in the footnote and the translated text are used interchangeably. In the episode where Crusoe and Friday try to find the right tree to make a boat, Friday finally finds a tree; but Crusoe is not sure what type of tree it is, and thinks that it is a Fustic tree:

Target text: “Yalnız Amerikada çıkan ve Fustun denilen ağaca benziyor. [\*]  
[\*] İngilterede (Pustic) denir.” (Defoe, 1950a: 230, 231)

Target text in back-translation: “It resembles a tree called Fustun which is found only in America. [\*]

[\*] It is called ‘Pustic’ in England.”

Source text: “[...] it was very like the Tree we call Fustic\*, [...]

\* A common tropical American tree that yields a light yellow dye” (Defoe, 1994: 164)

It can be seen that the source text does not contain information on the tree’s origin, and this information is written in a footnote by the editor (ibid.). Besides, the “England” in the footnote of the translated text is used to replace the “we” in the source text, and the tree’s American origin is added to the translated text. This situation might well be explained with Genette’s words: “With notes we doubtless reach one – indeed, several – of the borders, or absences of borders, that surround the eminently transitional field of the paratext” (Genette, 1997: 319). Since the borders are not concrete, the notes might also diffuse in the translated text. Genette describes this as follows: “if the paratext is an often indefinite fringe between text and off-text, the note – which, depending on type, belongs to one or the other or lies between the two – perfectly illustrates this indefiniteness and this slipperiness” (Genette, 1997: 343). Another example to this situation is as follows:

Target text: “Dağ kadar yüksek kudurmuş bir dalga geldi, arkamızdan bindirdi. Ve bize **Kodogras**’in **son darbenin** geldiğini bildirdi” (Defoe, 1950a: 47).

Target text in back-translation: “A raging, mountain-like wave came, hit us from the back, and informed us that Kodogras, the final blow came.”

Source text: “[...] a raging Wave, Mountain-like, came rowling a-stern of us, and plainly bad us expect the **Coup de Grace**.\*

\* The **final fatal blow**” (Defoe, 1994: 34)



Therefore, it can be said that Kaya also regards the note as a paratextual element which illustrates the “indefiniteness” and the “slipperiness” (Genette, 1997: 343) of the notion of paratext, and he feels free to use additions or parentheses rather than footnotes. This strategy, which ensures the reading of these explanations, seems to be useful for Çığıracan’s aim of education as well. Correspondingly, the editor preserves these elements, which might have been overlooked if given in footnotes.

### **3.1.3. Matricial analysis**

In this section, the degree of the fullness of the translation and the textual segmentation of the translated text will be analyzed.

There are no obvious omissions in Kaya’s translation. The only important omission seems to be a paratextual element, namely Defoe’s original preface. As discussed in the previous section, the publisher seems so busy writing his own preface that he disregards the authorial preface.

Unlike the source text, the translated text is divided into sections numbered from one to twenty three (Defoe, 1950a: 3, 290). However, the sections do not bear expanded intertitles as is the case in popular literature (Genette, 1997: 305, 308). They are rather simple titles such as “Birinci Kısım” [First Section], and the like (Defoe, 1950a: 3). Genette says that in works of serious fiction, only numbers are used to divide the text into parts and chapters (Genette, 1997: 305). Therefore it might be suggested that the publisher viewed this novel as a work of serious fiction. Yet he finds these sections necessary, probably to hold the attention of the younger readers who might easily be bored while reading a long novel.

In the translated text, the long sentences of the original novel are divided, and some of the paragraphs are altered as well. The following excerpts demonstrate this situation:

Target text (Defoe, 1950a: 44):

*Hülâsa ziraatı ve serveti muhafaza için icrası mümkün bütün tertibatı aldım. Eğer hakiki menfaatime ait meselelerde bunun yarısı kadar basiret gösterseydim ve yapmak lâzımgelen şeylerle yapılmaması iktiza eden şeyleri muhakeme etseydim böyle ileri gitmiş bir işi ve para kazanması pek muhtemel olan fırsatları bırakarak şahsın mâruz kalacağı hususî felâketlerden sarfinazar her şeyi tesadüfe, talihe bağlı böyle deniz seyahatine çıkmazdım. Ne yapayım, kapıldım ve akıldan ziyade kör körüne zevkime uydum. Gemi yükünü almış ve sefere hazırlanmıştı. Sefere ait her şey, şeriklerle mutabık kaldığımız gibi yapılmıştı.*

*Bundan sekiz sene evvel babamın anamın rızasına isyan ve kendi menfaatime karşı da budalalık ederek <<Hull>> de yaptığım gibi 1659 senesi eylülünün birinci günü uğursuz bir saatte gemiye bindim. Gemimiz tahminen yirmi tonlukdu. İçinde altı top, on dört gemici, kaptan, kaptanın kamarotu, bir de ben vardım. Gemide çok eşya yoktu. Yalnız zencilerle ticaretimize yarayacak boncuk gerdanlık, cam parçaları, sedef, ufak tefek, bilhassa ayna, çakı, bıçak, makas, balta ve buna benzer şeyler vardı.*

Target text in back-translation:

*In short, I took all possible caution to preserve the process of farming and my fortune. If I had used half as much prudence to have looked into my actual interest, and have made a judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an undertaking, leaving all the probable chances of earning money, and gone upon a voyage, which might cause personal disasters and also in which everything depended on coincidences and chance. But I was carried away, and I obeyed blindly the dictates of my fancy rather than my reason. The ship was loaded and made ready for the journey. Everything about the voyage was done according to the agreement with my partners.*

*Just like I rebelled eight years ago at Hull against my father's and mother's will and also acted like a fool and disregarded my own interest, I went on board on the first of September, 1659, in an evil hour. Our ship was about twenty tons. There were six cannons, fourteen sailors, the master, his boy, and my self in her. There were not many goods on board. There were only the things which were fit for our trade with the Negroes, such as bead necklaces, bits of glass, shells, and odd trifles, especially mirrors, pocketknives, scissors, hatchets, and the like.*

However, the relevant source text is composed of only three sentences in the following three paragraphs (Defoe, 1994: 31):

*In short, I took all possible Caution to preserve my Effects, and keep up my Plantation; had I used half as much Prudence to have look'd into my own Intrest, and have made a Judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an Undertaking, leaving all the probable Views of a thriving Circumstance, and gone upon a Voyage to Sea, attended with all its common Hazards; to say nothing of the Reasons I had to expect particular Misfortunes to my self.*

*But I was hurried on, and obey'd blindly the Dictates of my Fancy rather than my Reason; and accordingly the Ship being fitted out, and the Cargo furnished, and all things done as by Agreement, by my Partners in the Voyage, I went on Board in an evil Hour, the first of September, 1659, being the same Day eight Year that I went from my Father and Mother at Hull, in order to act the Rebel to their Authority, and the Fool to my own Interest.*

*Our Ship was about 120 Tun Burthen, carried 6 Guns, and 14 Men, besides the Master, his Boy, and my self; we had on board no large Cargo of Goods, except of such Toys as were fit for our Trade with the Negroes, such as Beads, bits of Glass, Shells, and odd Trifles, especially little Looking-Glasses, Knives, Scissars, Hatchets, and the like.*

This is not a surprising finding, because, as Shinagel says, “punctuation is a considerable problem with Defoe’s writings because he rarely put any breaks in his notoriously long sentences” (Shinagel, 1994: 223). It would probably have been especially difficult for the young readers to take pleasure from this novel if the translator tried to preserve “the rhythms and singularities of Defoe’s prose –notably his long sentences, irregular punctuation, variant orthography, curious capitalizations, and casually conversational style” (Shinagel, 1994: 222). Since Çığıracan had the special aim of effecting young people with the Crusoe story, it is plausible that he prefers a translation with shorter and more comprehensible sentences.

### 3.1.4. The treatment of proper names

The analysis of the proper names showed that there is an inconsistency in the treatment of the proper names in the translated text. The original spelling is rarely preserved by Kaya. Unless there is an equivalent word in Turkish<sup>122</sup> phonetic transcription is preferred. However, English and French orthography are both used even for the repetitions of the same word. Such careless treatment of the proper names is not surprising, because it is known that such practices were common in those years. Indeed, Tahir Gürçağlar says that in the 1940s and 1950s some of the private publishers still remained indifferent to the norms propagated by the Translation Bureau, such as the norm of “the preservation of proper names in their original spelling” (Tahir Gürçağlar, 2008: 301). Besides, as was discussed in the second chapter, Çığıracan does not feel sorry about the ambivalent status of this novel in the literary polysystem, and even contributes to that position by means of publishing an abridged version as well. Since he does not use this translation to make the novel acquire the position of a canonical work in the literary repertoire, it seems that he employed norms similar to the other private publishing houses of the period.

What is striking about this translation is not the habit of using the phonetic transcriptions of proper names, but it is the inconsistent strategy applied in the translation<sup>123</sup>. While some of the proper names are not translated at all, others are translated or the phonetic transcriptions are used. It is surprising that different methods are used for the translations of the same proper name in different pages. The following examples show the degree of inconsistency:

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<sup>122</sup> For example, the Turkish equivalents “Londra” (Defoe, 1950a: 8) and “Fransa” (Defoe, 1950a: 293) are used while translating the proper names “London” (Defoe, 1994: 7) and “France” (Defoe, 1994: 208). Similarly, the Turkish equivalents are used while translating the names of prophets. For example, the name of the prophet “Solomon” (Defoe, 1994: 92) is translated as “Hazreti Süleyman” (Defoe, 1950a: 132) and “Elijah” (Defoe, 1994: 96) is translated as “İlyas” (Defoe, 1950a: 137).

<sup>123</sup> There are some occasional errors in the spellings as well. For example, the commander’s name “Lockhart” (Defoe, 1994: 4) is spelled as “Lochart” in the translation (Defoe, 1950a: 3). But these might be regarded as typographical errors. These errors might well have emerged while transliterating Kaya’s translation into Latin letters.

Target text (Defoe: 1950: 293):

*Ya karadan **Gravyon**'a gitmemi ve oradan **Bicaye körfezini** geçerek **Rochell**'e gitmemi ve oradan da karadan **Paris**'e gitmenin kolay olduğunu ve bu suretle **Calais** ve **Douvres**<sup>124</sup> yolunu yapmamı veyahut **Madrid**'e giderek bütün **Fransa**'yı karadan geçmemi önerdi. Hülâsa **Kale**'den **Dover**'e kadar müstesna olmak üzere deniz yolculuğu yapmamağa o kadar evvelden hazırdım ki bütün yolculuğu karadan yapmağa karar verdim.*

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 208):

*[...] either to go by Land to the **Groyne**,<sup>125</sup> and cross over the **Bay of Biscay** to **Rochell**, from whence it was but an easy and safe journey by land to **Paris**, and so to **Calais** and **Dover**; or to go up to **Madrid**, and so all the way by Land thro' **France**.*

*In a word, I was so prepossess'd against my going by Sea at all, except from **Calais** to **Dover**, that I resolv'd to travel all the Way by Land; [...].*

Target text: (Defoe, 1950: 294)

*Ekim ayının ortalarına doğru **Madrid**'den çıktık. **Navar**'ın kenarına geldiğimiz vakit yolda birçok şehirlere, **Fransa** taraflarına pek çok karlar yağdığına ve birçok yolcuların her ne olursa olsun yola devam etmelerine rağmen **Pamplon**'a<sup>126</sup> avdet etmeğe mecbur olduklarına dair dehşetli haberler aldık. Vaki **Pamplon**'a geldiğimiz vakit bu haberlerin doğru olduğunu gördük. Ben daima sıcak bir iklimde yaşadığım ve hakikaten oralarda üzerimize tek bir elbiseyi güçlükle giydiğimiz için soğuğa tahammül edemiyordum. Hatta on gün evelsi **Eski Kastil**'i terketmiş olmak da bizim için acı olduğu kadar garipti, çünkü orada hava yalnız sıcak değil pek çok sıcaktı. Şimdi birdenbire **Pirene dağlarının** keskin ve gayet soğuk rüzgârları hem çekilmez bir şeydi, [...].*

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 208, 209):

*[...] and set out from **Madrid** about the middle of October: But when we came to the Edge of **Navarre**, we were alarm'd at several Towns on the Way, with an Account, that so much Snow was fallen on the **French Side***

<sup>124</sup> It is interesting that the name of an English town is spelled like a French name in a translation made from the original English text (<http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Douvres> ).

<sup>125</sup> Shinagel says that this is the corrupt form of "Corunna", which is a port in Spain (Defoe, 1994: 208).

<sup>126</sup> Since the correct name is Pamplona, it is probable that Kaya decided to make a correction while translating.

*of the Mountains, that several Travellers were obliged to come back to **Pampeluna**,<sup>127</sup> after having attempted, at an extream Hazard, to pass on.*

*When we came to **Pampeluna** it self, we found it so indeed; and to me that had been always used to a hot Climate, and indeed to Countries where we could scarce bear any Cloaths on, the Cold was insufferable; nor indeed was it more painful than it was surprising, to come but ten Days before out of the **Old Castile** where the Weather was not only warm but very hot, and immediately to feel a Wind from the **Pyrenean Mountains**, so very keen, so severely cold, as to be intolerable [...]*

Another example is as follows:

Target text (Defoe, 1950a: 306, 308): “Ertesi sabah kılavuzumuz çok hastalandı. Gidecek bir halde olmadığı için oradan yeni bir kılavuz olarak **Toulous**’a gittik. [...] **Tuluz**’dan **Paris**’e gittim ve hiç bir yerde kalmayarak **Kale**’ye ve oradan da [...] selâmetle **Dover**’e çıktım.”

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 217, 218): “The next Morning our Guide was so ill, [...] that he could go no farther; so we were oblig’d to take a new Guide there, and go to **Thoulouse**, [...]. [...]. I travell’d from **Thoulouse** to **Paris**, and without any considerable Stay, came to **Callais**, and landed safe at **Dover**, [...]”

It is probable that this inconsistent approach was a strategy applied rather than a careless attitude, because using the different spellings of the same word on the same page might have been regarded as a means of education, which might teach the pronunciation of that word to young people who could not speak foreign languages. This might have been a strategy to encourage people to learn a foreign language. It is highly probable that it was Çığıracan who decided to preserve these inconsistencies in the treatment of proper names in Kaya’s translation, because this possibly facilitated the process of reading for the people who lacked knowledge of foreign language, and this would have served Çığıracan’s ultimate aim of educating the youth.

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<sup>127</sup> Shinagel says that the name is actually “Pamplona”, and it is the capital city of the province of Navarre in Spain (Defoe, 1994: 209).

### 3.1.5. The treatment of the metaphors

Defoe's text contains some Christian metaphors with which readers of Defoe's time were familiar. In this section, the translator's attitude toward these metaphors will be discussed, since this study has revealed that there are some differences in the translations of the metaphors in the three retranslations analyzed.

As was discussed in the first chapter of this study, some of the critics of this novel (e.g. Greif and Hunter) regard it as a Christian repentance story in which Crusoe's conversion is narrated. Greif also argues that there are various metaphors in the novel. For instance, the points of the compass, the storm, and even the ship are metaphors according to him (Greif, 1966: 555). He argues that the novel reflects "Defoe's own intimate knowledge of Puritan Christian doctrine" (Greif, 1966: 552). According to Greif, Defoe does not use the conversion of Crusoe merely to appeal to pious readers (ibid.). He even claims that "the physical struggle for Crusoe's survival in pristine nature is secondary to, and reinforced by, the spiritual struggle toward repentance and conversion" (Greif, 1966: 553). Various elements of Crusoe's story are Christian metaphors according to Greif:

*Robinson Crusoe's final sea voyage, the ship he boards, the providential storm which oversets the prodigal's boat, the great fury of the shipwreck, the very sea itself, are Christian metaphors pervasively present in homiletic literature expounding the idea of repentance, symbols which appear repeatedly in both religious and secular works of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. [...] To English Scripture-reading Christians in a period of exploratory navigation, sea trade, and colonization, life itself was readily envisioned as a pilgrimage across a troubled sea, a spiritual passage from worldly sin to heavenly glory. [...] Given the notion of life as a voyage, [...], the eighteenth-century reader of Robinson Crusoe would have recognized that the final, ill-fated voyage of the prodigal, a journey which follows a series of unheeded spiritual warnings, lends itself readily to Christian allegorization. (Greif, 1966: 555)*

Greif argues that the sea was then considered to be a symbol of regeneration and salvation (Greif, 1966: 556). He also believes that Crusoe's ship is "an emblem of salvation" (Greif, 1966: 557). From this point of view, he regards the compass

points as symbolic elements as well. He quotes from John Durant's *The Christian's Compass, or the Mariner's Companion* (1658), in which Durant claims that the four general compass points have spiritual meanings<sup>128</sup> (ibid.). According to Greif, Crusoe is a prodigal who does not give importance to the spiritual meaning of directions (ibid.). At the beginning of the voyage they sail northward; later, however, they change their direction and held their course northeast by north (Defoe, 1994: 31). It is seen in the following paragraph that Greif regards this change as a symbol of the mistakes Crusoe makes:

*Upon sailing northward, Robinson Crusoe failed to observe the message implied by the direction in The Christian's Compass: "Never stir or steer any course, but by light of God." Holding his course northeast by north once land was lost sight of, the prodigal ignored the spiritual meaning of the new direction: "Never enterprize not-warrantable courses to procure any of the most prized or conceited advantages." Robinson Crusoe's final voyage, we recall, is in quest of human cargo for the growing slave trade, a journey of sinful "projects and undertakings." It comes as no surprise, therefore, that after unheeded spiritual warnings the prodigal's boat is overset with great fury in a sudden storm which reflects both the anger and displeasure of God [...].(Greif, 1966: 557)*

The terrible storm is also regarded by Greif as a Christian metaphor (Greif, 1966: 558). He says that "storms represent the wrath of God against the sinful" (ibid.), and that in Defoe's *The Storm* (1704) it might be seen that "Defoe quite definitely viewed storms as providential" (ibid.) and "recognized storms as spiritual emblems of divine mercy and power and that he believed such natural phenomena could lead an unconverted man to a consideration of God" (ibid.). The hurricane that wrecked Crusoe's ship is therefore a Christian metaphor and so are the directions from which the wind blows. Greif claims that the wind's blowing from the South-East, and then from North-West, and finally from North-East implies "significantly the mercy of God and the need for spiritual repentance through Jesus Christ" (Greif, 1966: 559). Greif also contends that the efforts of the seamen to find relief from the storm also have spiritual connotations (ibid.). He claims that while Crusoe and the sailors change their course and steer away northwest by west to reach English islands, they seek only physical safety and fail to observe the spiritual warnings

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<sup>128</sup> According to Durant, north symbolizes God, east symbolizes Christ, south symbolizes holiness, and west symbolizes death (Greif, 1966: 557).



(ibid.). He claims that Crusoe is “unable to discern the spiritual meaning of “relief” implied in sailing northwest by west: “Never wink at, but watch against small sins, nor neglect little duties”” (ibid.). According to Greif, this is the reason why a second storm carries them “westward to death for the crew, westward to a life of consideration of the mystery of divine providence by Robinson Crusoe, westward to the fulfillment of the command implied by the compass point: “Whatsoever thy condition be in this world, eye God as the disposer of it, and therein be contented”” (ibid.).

In view of these arguments, the translations of these metaphors seem to be worth examining. In Kaya’s translation these compass points are translated as the names of winds, and some of them are even mistranslated:

Target text: “Rüzgâr arzumun aksine olarak **yıldızdan** esiyordu. Eğer **batıdan** esseydi İspanya sahillerini tutabileceğim veyahut hiç olmazsa Kadiks körfezine girebileceğim muhakkaktı.” (Defoe, 1950a: 25)

Target text in back-translation: “Contrary to my desire, the **north wind** was blowing. If it had blown from the **west**, I could have certainly reached the Coast of Spain or at least entered the Bay of Cadiz”

Source text: “The Wind blew from the **N.NE.** which was contrary to my Desire; for had it blown **southerly** I had been sure to have made the Coast of Spain, and at least reacht to the Bay of Cadiz; [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 18)

It can be said that the mistranslation causes a change of the metaphor, since “west” symbolizes “death,” while “south” is Crusoe’s hope of rescue, since he could have been saved if the wind had blown from south. In the following examples, the points of the compass are replaced with the names of winds blowing from those directions:

Target text (Defoe, 1950a: 44, 45):

*Burundan itibaren denize doğru açıldık ve karayı gözden kaybettik ve <<Fernan de Noronh'al>> adasına gidecekmış gibi dümeni kullandık. Sonra bu adaları şarkta bırakarak **poyraza** doğru yol aldık. Bu yolla on iki gün zarfında Ekvator'u geçtik ve son yaptığımız hesaba göre 7,22 derece arzı-şimalîde bulunuyorduk. Bu sırada çıkan dehşetli bir kasırga yahut bir fırtına yolumuzu şaşırtdı. Fırtına evvelâ **keşişleme** idi, sonra **karayel** esti, daha sonra da **poyraza** çevirdi.*

Target text in back-translation:

*From the cape we put to sea further and lost sight of land and steered as if we would go to Fernan de Noronh'al Island. Then we sailed toward the **northeast wind**, leaving these islands on the east. In this course we passed the equator in twelve days and we were in 7.22 degrees northern latitude according to the last calculation we made. Then a terrible tornado or hurricane broke and made us lose our course. At first the hurricane was the **southeast wind**, then it was the **northwest wind**, and then it became the **northeast wind**.*

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 31, 32):

*[...] we came the Height of Cape St. Augustino, from whence keeping farther off at Sea we lost Sight of Land, and steer'd as if we was bound for the Isle Fernand de Noronba holding our Course **N.E. by N.** and leaving those Isles on the East; in this Course we past the Line in about 12 Days time, and were by our last Observation in 7 Degrees 22 Min. Northern Latitude, when a violent Tournado or Hurricane took us quite out of our Knowledge; it began from the **South-East**, came about to the **North-West**, and then settled into the **North-East**, [...].*

The same strategy is applied on other pages of the translation as well:

Target text: “Bu karar üzerine yolumuzu değiştirdik. Bize yardım edileceğini ümit ettiğim İngiliz adalarından birine gitmek için **karayele** doğru dümeni kırdık” (Defoe, 1950a: 45).

Target text in back-translation: “In accordance with this decision we changed our course. We sailed toward the **northwest wind** in order to go to one of the English islands where I hoped we will be helped.”

Source text: “With this Design we chang’d our Course and steer’d away **N.W. by W.** in order to reach some of our English Islands, where I hoped for Relief [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 32)

Target text: “**Gün doğrusiyle**<sup>129</sup> oldukça kuvvetli bir rüzgâr estiği için iki gün orada kaldım.” (Defoe, 1950: 144)

Target text in back-translation: “Since a very strong **east wind** was blowing I had to stay there for two days.”

Source text: “I lay here, however, two Days; because the Wind blowing pretty fresh at **E. S. E.** [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 101)

There is another mistranslation in the following example. In the episode where Crusoe and Friday talk about the place where the cannibals eat their victims, Friday points to the direction which the cannibals perform their rituals in the island:

Target text: “Evet, burada idim. (Adanın **kuzey doğu** tarafını eliyle gösterdi. Anlaşılan onların tarafı imiş.)” (Defoe, 1950a: 218)

Target text in back-translation: “Yes, I had been here. (He pointed with his hand to the **northeast** side of the island. It seems that it was their side.)”

Source text: “Yes, I been here; [points to the **N.W.** Side of the Island, which it seems was their Side.]” (Defoe, 1994: 155)

Since “west” symbolizes death, it can be said that writing “east” instead eliminates the metaphorical effect. Just like “Crusoe the repenting prodigal”, the translator seems to have failed to understand the spiritual meaning of these elements. It might be argued that using the names of the winds rather than the points of the compass reduces the metaphorical effects of the episode. The names of the winds are

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<sup>129</sup> This is probably a typographical error, since the correct name of the wind blowing from the east is “gün doğusu”.

reminiscent of what Liu calls “the worn motif of maritime adventure” (Liu, 1999: 737) rather than the Puritan reading of this novel. Since neither the translator nor the publisher acknowledges the Christian repentance theme of the novel in their prefaces, they might not be displeased with the loss of such elements. Furthermore, the omission of Defoe’s preface, in which the author’s purpose is explained, shows that this attitude might not simply be coincidental. Indeed, it can be understood from the publisher’s preface that he favors criticisms such as Joyce’s reading, in which the novel is regarded as “the true symbol of the British conquest” (Joyce, 1994: 323). It is probable that such criticisms, in which Crusoe is regarded as a typical British colonist, play a role in the decision of omitting or changing the elements which emphasize Crusoe’s conversion (ibid.).

There are other episodes in the novel that are related with Christianity. However, some of these elements cannot easily be understood by the target readership. For example, the biblical reference regarding the “potter” in the following episode might have been given in a footnote, but it is not:

Target text: “Saniyen biz de adeta bir çömlekçinin elindeki çamura benzeriz. Hiçbir çömlek ona beni niçin böyle yaptın diyemez.” (Defoe, 1950a: 214)

Target text in back-translation: “Second, we all resemble the clay in the hand of **a potter**. No earthen pot can say to him “why did you make me like this?””

Source text: “[...] And (2d.) that still as we are all the Clay in the Hand of **the Potter\***, no Vessel could say to him, Why hast thou form’d me thus?”

\* Jeremiah 18:6; Isaiah 45:9” (Defoe, 1994: 152)

Furthermore, the phrase “a potter” does not convey the meaning given by the phrase “the potter”. This change in the translated text is only an example for the loss of metaphors. Additionally, there are no biblical references given in footnotes in the

translated text<sup>130</sup>. As previously noted, Çığıracan's reason for publishing this retranslation seems to be his aim of educating people and making a contribution to the official culture planning activities of his period. Thus, the reduced effect of the metaphors in the novel seems to be a result of both the aim of the publisher and the different readings of the novel<sup>131</sup> which might have influenced both the translator and the publisher.

### 3.2. CASE II – GÖKTÜRK'S *ROBINSON CRUSOE 1* (1968)

#### 3.2.1. Kök Publishing House and Akşit Göktürk

Göktürk's translation was published by Kök Yayınlar [Kök Publications] in 1968, and the second volume was published in 1969 in İstanbul. According to the catalogues of the National Library in Ankara, this publishing house was active between 1967 and 1969 in İstanbul. Among the books published by this company in those years are world classics such as Lewis Carroll's *Alice Harikalar Ülkesinde* [Alice in Wonderland] (1969), İvan Gonçarov's *Oblomov* (1967), David Herbert Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley'in Sevgilisi* [Lady Chatterley's Lover] (1968), and Jack London's *Vahşetin Çağrısı* [The Call of the Wild] (1968). From 1988 onwards, Kök Yayınları or Kök Yayıncılık [Kök Publications] was active in Ankara, and most of its publications were either books intended for children or books written about children<sup>132</sup>.

As briefly introduced in the first chapter, Göktürk was a literary critic, writer, linguist, and translator (Göktürk, 2004: 1). He was born in 1934 in Van and he died in 1988 in Ankara. According to the catalogue of the National Library in Ankara, he

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<sup>130</sup> Case 3 will demonstrate an unabridged retranslation with a careful treatment of metaphors and biblical references.

<sup>131</sup> It can be said that the colonial readings might have influenced Çığıracan. For instance, it was previously discussed in Chapter 1 that Joyce regards this novel as a symbol of the British conquest.

<sup>132</sup> It is, however, uncertain whether the company was moved from İstanbul to Ankara. It might well be another company which was founded in 1988 in Ankara.

wrote *Edebiyatta Ada – İngiliz Edebiyatında Ada Kavramı Üzerine Bir İnceleme* (1973) and *Çeviri: Dillerin Dili* (1986); and some of his translations are John Connell's *Define Adasına Dönüş* [Return to Treasure Island]<sup>133</sup> (1972), Francis Bacon's *Denemeler* [Essays] (1986), Samuel Beckett's play *Mutlu Günler* [Happy Days]<sup>134</sup> (1965), and Friedrich Forster's children's novel *Robinson Ölmemeli* [Robinson Should Not Die]<sup>135</sup> (1981).

### 3.2.2. Paratextual analysis of *Robinson Crusoe* (1968)

#### 3.2.2.1. Covers and illustrations

The front cover of this translation contains the author's and the translator's names, with both being written in small letters of the same size. However, the author's name is written on the upper right section of the cover, while the translator's name is on the lower right section. The illustrations of this translation are made by Grandville<sup>136</sup>. The front cover contains a lonely but confident Crusoe on the shore and none of the other living creatures are drawn. It seems that this drawing, which includes Crusoe's rifle, sword, hatchet and two pistols, is especially preferred for the cover because it not only emphasizes the solitude of Crusoe on the island, but also shows how strong and successful he is there. The title of the work "Robinson Crusoe" is written on the upper right corner of the cover, but in capital letters. The name of the publishing company is also given on the front cover, in small letters and printed on the lower right corner.

The back cover contains an illustration of Crusoe in the woods, and he carries his rifle, hatchet, umbrella, and a basket filled with prey. On the upper section of the

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<sup>133</sup> According to the integrated catalogue of the British Library, this novel is entitled *The Return of Long John Silver*. The name John Connell is the pseudonym of John Henry Robertson. The book is a sequel to Robert Louis Stevenson's *Treasure Island*. (<http://catalogue.bl.uk/>)

<sup>134</sup> Beckett wrote the play in the early 1960s (<http://www.sparknotes.com/drama/happydays/facts.html>).

<sup>135</sup> The original title of the book in German is *Robinson Soll Nicht Sterben* (1932) ([http://www.4-wall.com/authors/authors\\_f/forster\\_friedrich.htm](http://www.4-wall.com/authors/authors_f/forster_friedrich.htm)).

<sup>136</sup> Grandville, or Jean Gérard was born in Nancy in 1803 and died in Vannes in 1847 (Defoe, 1968: 8).

back cover, there are three quotations from Rousseau, Taine, and Malraux, respectively:

“ROBINSON bir çocuğa verilebilecek en güzel kitaptır. ROUSSEAU”  
[ROBINSON is the best book that can be given to a child. ROUSSEAU]

“ROBINSON’u sadece çocuk kitabı saymak büyük yanlıştır. TAINÉ” [It is a big mistake to regard ROBINSON only as a children’s book. TAINÉ]

“ROBINSON CRUSOE en sevdiğim üç romandan birincisidir. MALRAUX”.  
[ROBINSON CRUSOE is the first novel among the three novels I like most.  
MALRAUX]

These quotations were probably chosen by the translator because, as will be seen in the next section, his preface contains similar arguments, i.e. the novel is not a children’s book. It seems that the back cover is regarded by both the editor and the translator as a suitable site for proving the literary value of this book. The arguments of eminent figures of literature (i.e. Rousseau, Taine, and Malraux) seem to have been used to make this novel acquire the status of a canonized work rather than a children’s novel. Finally, the price information is printed on the lower right corner of the back cover.

The third inner cover includes the name of the author, the novel, the translator, the illustrator, the publishing house, and the date and place of publication (Defoe, 1968: 5). The fourth inner cover contains information on the author’s life and his other novels (Defoe, 1968: 7, 8).

Similar to the translation analyzed in the previous section, there are many drawings in this unabridged translation as well. There are 56 illustrations in the book, and seven of them are full-page illustrations. These are rather old drawings, though not as old as the original text. None of them have explanations at the bottom. Since it is written in one of the inner covers that this translation is published in the series

“Resimli Klâsikler” [Illustrated Classics] (Defoe, 1968: 4), it is not surprising to see these drawings, but it is interesting to find half-page information on the illustrator’s life<sup>137</sup> (Defoe, 1968: 8). It is probable that the editor wanted to benefit from Grandville’s fame as well.

Therefore, it can be argued that the covers of this retranslation are used as supplementary elements which might exalt this novel, help change its reception in the literary repertoire, and make it recognized as a canonized work of English literature, rather than an ordinary adventure novel.

### 3.2.2.2. Preface

In this section the absence of Defoe’s original preface will be discussed, and Göktürk’s preface will be analyzed as well. Since this translation does not contain Defoe’s original preface, the function<sup>138</sup> of Göktürk’s preface will be examined in order to show why the original preface might have been omitted.

As discussed in the first chapter of this study, Göktürk acknowledges the effects of Puritanism on this novel, and he argues in his *Ada* (2004) that Defoe pretends to be the publisher in his preface to *Robinson Crusoe* in order to make the novel seem factual, because fabricated things were then deemed unworthy according to the practices of Puritanism (Göktürk, 2004: 98, 99). Of course, Göktürk knows that the story is fabricated, and he says in his translator’s preface that “it is a known thing that *Robinson Crusoe* is a story made up by Defoe from beginning to end” [*Robinson Crusoe*’nun baştan sona Defoe’nun uydurduğu bir öykü olduğu bilinen bir şeydir] (Defoe, 1968: 10). According to Göktürk, Defoe is successful because he can concretize such fabricated accounts of adventures by means of using detailed descriptions of objects (Defoe, 1968: 10, 11). It seems that Göktürk omits Defoe’s

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<sup>137</sup> Besides, the other literary works which were illustrated by Grandville (e.g., *Gulliver’s Travels*, *Don Quichotte*, and La Fontaine’s *Fables*) are mentioned in this section (Defoe, 1968: 8).

<sup>138</sup> Bozkurt’s argument regarding the function of translators’ prefaces was already discussed in this chapter. Bozkurt contends that translator’s prefaces might be used to guide the reception of translations (Bozkurt, 2007: 6).



preface, because he probably thinks that it is no longer necessary to persuade today's reader of the factuality of the narrative, since it is already known that it is not a real life story. Furthermore, Defoe says in the preface that he has a religious intent, but Göktürk does not regard this novel simply as a Puritan epic and says that such an interpretation would be an inefficient reading (Defoe, 1994: 3; Göktürk, 2004: 98). Therefore, this might well be the second reason of omitting the original preface in translation.

As previously noted, there is also a separate paratextual element containing information on the author's and illustrator's lives. These pages which are placed right before Göktürk's preface seem to be an editor's preface, because they also contain a criticism about the lack of an unabridged translation of this novel. It states:

*Among these, Robinson Crusoe was translated into almost every language on earth. It was usually translated into Turkish from French, and the abridged translations were published under titles such as "Robenson Hikâyesi" [The Robinson Story] (1864), "Hikâye-i Robenson" [The Story of Robinson] (1870), "Robenson" (1886), "Robenson" (1923), "Issız Adada 28 Yıl" [28 Years in Deserted Island] (1938), "Robenson Krüzo" (1955). This translation is the first unabridged, authorized translation of this book and is made from the original English text.*

*[Bunlardan Robinson Crusoe hemen hemen bütün dünya dillerine çevrilmiştir. Türkçe'ye de çoğunlukla Fransızca'dan aktarılmış, kısaltılmış çevirileri, <<Robenson Hikâyesi>> (1864), <<Hikâye-i Robenson>> (1870), <<Robenson>> (1886), <<Robenson>> (1923), <<Issız Adada 28 Yıl>> (1938), <<Robenson Krüzo>> (1955) gibi başlıklarla yayımlanmıştır. Elinizdeki çeviri, bu kitabın İngilizce aslından Türkçe'ye yapılan ilk kısaltılmamış, yetkili çevirisidir.] (Defoe, 1968: 8)*

This paragraph probably shows that the editor was unaware of the unabridged 1950 edition of *Robinson Crusoe* published by Hilmi Publishing House. As previously discussed in the second chapter, it seems that Göktürk does not know about that version either. In his translator's preface, he says that he made this translation, because he thinks that this novel was never translated from English into Turkish, and he is sad that people usually know only the abridged versions (Defoe, 1968: 11). It can be understood from his preface that he is very displeased with the

position of this novel in the Turkish culture repertoire, and it might be argued that he produced his retranslation to challenge the validity of the previous retranslations, and to make this novel known as a work of canonized literature.

In his preface, Göktürk also supplies a brief criticism of the novel. He says that the continuing success of this novel comes neither from its being a thrilling adventure novel, nor from its showing the importance of obeying parents (Defoe, 1968: 9). He also argues that the success of this novel is not because everyone can read it since it does not contain any love scenes and therefore be recommended to a young girl without being ashamed (Defoe, 1968: 9, 10). He believes that the heroic struggle of the human being against natural disasters and extraordinary difficulties is praised in this novel (ibid.). He says that the 18<sup>th</sup> century mind which viewed the human being as the center of the universe and the correct measure of everything is also present in *Robinson Crusoe* (ibid.). Göktürk finally says in his preface that he translated the book as he believes in the necessity of loving this book as a whole (Defoe, 1968: 11).

Probably to exalt the status of this novel in the literary repertoire, Göktürk mentions Johnson, Locke, and Coleridge in his preface; and discusses their arguments about *Robinson Crusoe*. Yet, there is no information on the Puritan reading of the novel. Correspondingly, Göktürk's preface contains no mention of the Christian metaphors, and, as shall be seen in the next section on notes, his retranslation does not contain elements which explain biblical references, either.

### **3.2.2.3. Notes**

This translation contains only one footnote, and there are no parenthetical explanations in the translated text. The footnote gives the description of the term "Moresko". Since the meaning of this word cannot be understood from the context, it

seems that the translator finds it necessary to give a description<sup>139</sup>. It can be seen that educating the people is not the reason why Göktürk makes this translation. Therefore, he does not employ any other notes in his translation. It might be argued that he simply wants to produce an unabridged translation which might raise the status of the novel in the Turkish culture repertoire.

### 3.2.3. Matricial analysis

As previously stated, Göktürk believes in the necessity of loving this book as a whole. Therefore, he does not separate the text into sections, and even retains the paragraphs. He divides the long sentences only when it is necessary. The following excerpt demonstrates this strategy:

Target text (Defoe, 1968: 60, 61):

*Kısacası, çiftliğimi ayakta tutmak, mallarımı korumak için önceden gereken herşeyi yaptım. Gerçek çıkarlarım konusunda da bu sağduyunun yarısını göstermiş olsaydım; yapmam gereken şeylerle yapmamam gereken şeyleri ayırdedebilseydim; böyle güzel bir işi, çok kazançlı olabilecek kurulu düzenimi bırakarak deniz yolculuğuna çıkmaz, kendi başıma gelecek sıkıntılar bir yana, denizin bin türlü sakıncasını göze almazdım.*

*Ama kendimi kaptırmıştım artık, mantığa sırt çevirmiş, düşgücümün buyruklarına körükörüne uymuştum. Gemi hazırlanmış, yükleme bitmiş, yolculukla ilgili herşey, anlaşmamız gereği ortaklarımca sağlanmıştı. 1659 yılı eylülünün birinci günü uğursuz bir saatte, sekiz yıl önce babamla annemin isteklerine başkaldırıp kendi çıkarım yönünden de büyük bir budalalık işleyerek Hull'dan denize açılışımın tam yıldönümünde gemiye bindim.*

*Gemimiz aşağı yukarı yüz yirmi tonluktu, içinde altı top, on dört gemici, kaptan, kaptanın kamarotu bir de ben vardım. Gemide çok eşya yoktu. Yalnız zencilerle alışverişimizde işe yarayacak boncuk, cam parçaları,*

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<sup>139</sup> “Moresco: The name given by the Spanish to the Arabs who stayed in Al-Andalus after the invasion of the city by the Spanish and converted to Christianity, and then were banished from Spain” [Moresko: Endülüsün Araplardan İspanyol yönetimine geçmesi üzerine orda kalarak Hıristiyan olmuş, sonra da İspanya'dan kovulmuş Araplara İspanyollarca verilen ad] (Defoe, 1968: 35).

*sedef, ufak tefek, özellikle küçük aynalar, bıçaklar, makaslar, el baltaları, buna benzer şeyler vardı.*

Target text in back-translation:

*In short, I did everything necessary to keep up my plantation and preserve my effects. If I had used half as much prudence about my own interest; and could have distinguished between what I ought to have done and not to have done; I would not have left such a prosperous undertaking and my order which would have probably flourished, and I would not have gone upon a voyage and had faced a thousand dangers of the sea and the personal problems as well.*

*But I was carried away, and had turned my back on reason, obeyed blindly the dictates of my imagination. The ship was prepared, the loading was finished, and everything about the voyage was supplied by my partners according to our agreement. On the first of September, 1659, I went on board in an evil hour, exactly on the eighth anniversary of my acting the rebel to the wills of my father and mother, being a fool as far as my own interest is concerned, and putting to sea at Hull.*

*Our ship was about a hundred and twenty tons, there were six cannons, and fourteen sailors, the master, his boy, and my self in her. There were not many goods in the ship. There were only the things which were fit for our trade with the Negroes, such as beads, bits of glass, shells, and trifles, especially little mirrors, knives, scissors, hatchets, and the like.*

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 31):

*In short, I took all possible Caution to preserve my Effects, and keep up my Plantation; had I used half as much Prudence to have look'd into my own Intrest, and have made a Judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an Undertaking, leaving all the probable Views of a thriving Circumstance, and gone upon a Voyage to Sea, attended with all its common Hazards; to say nothing of the Reasons I had to expect particular Misfortunes to my self.*

*But I was hurried on, and obey'd blindly the Dictates of my Fancy rather than my Reason; and accordingly the Ship being fitted out, and the Cargo furnished, and all things done as by Agreement, by my Partners in the Voyage, I went on Board in an evil Hour, the first of September, 1659, being the same Day eight Year that I went from my Father and*

*Mother at Hull, in order to act the Rebel to their Authority, and the Fool to my own Interest.*

*Our Ship was about 120 Tun Burthen, carried 6 Guns, and 14 Men, besides the Master, his Boy, and my self; we had on board no large Cargo of Goods, except of such Toys as were fit for our Trade with the Negroes, such as Beads, bits of Glass, Shells, and odd Trifles, especially little Looking-Glasses, Knives, Scissars, Hatchets, and the like.*

Since punctuation is rather problematic in *Robinson Crusoe*, it would have been difficult for the translator to preserve the entire punctuation of the novel in Turkish (Shinagel, 1994: 223). However, he does not change the paragraphs, probably because he does not want to change the author's "casually conversational style" (Shinagel, 1994: 222). He seems to believe that, as Shinagel also argues, "once the reader gets into the text and becomes familiar with Defoe's style, the power of the story will take over and the reader will share something akin to what the first readers and subsequent generations of readers experienced from this classic work of English fiction" (Shinagel, 1994: 224).

#### **3.2.4. The treatment of proper names**

Göktürk's attitude of preserving the foreign elements is easily seen when the proper names are analyzed. He uses the original spelling unless the word has a Turkish equivalent. Thus, the names of the prophets and some countries and places are translated, and the original spellings of the other proper names are retained. For example, the names of the prophets "Jesus" and "David" (Defoe, 1994: 71) are written as "İsa" and "Davud" (Defoe, 1968: 128). There are other examples as well:

Target text: "Bir sedir ağacı devirdim: **Süleyman**'ın **Kudüs**'teki tapınağını yaptırırken bile böylesine kocaman bir ağaç bulabildiğini sanmıyorum." (Defoe, 1968: 166)

Target text in back-translation: “I felled a cedar tree. I do not suppose Süleyman was able to find such a big tree while having the temple at Kudüs built.”

Source text: “[...] I fell’d a Cedar Tree: I question much whether **Solomon** ever had such a One for the Building of the Temple at **Jerusalem**” (Defoe 1994: 92)

Target text: “Bu kıyılara daha önce de bir yolculuk yapmış olduğum için **Kanarya Adaları ile Yeşilburun Adalarının** kıyıdan çok uzak olmadığını biliyordum” (Defoe, 1968: 43)

Target text in back-translation: “As I made a journey to these coasts before, I knew that the Kanarya Islands and Yeşilburun Islands were not so far from the coast.”

Source text: “As I had been one Voyage to this Coast before, I knew very well that the **Islands of the Canaries**, and the **Cape de Verd Islands** also, lay not far off from the Coast” (Defoe, 1994: 21).

As far as the other proper names are concerned, their original spellings are retained. For example, “Robinson Kreutznaer,” “Crusoe” (Defoe, 1968: 15), “Winterton Ness,” “Cromer” (Defoe, 1968: 28), “Yarmouth” (Defoe, 1968: 29) “Gambia” (Defoe, 1968: 47), “Leeward” (Defoe, 1968: 328), “Tom Smith” (Defoe, 1968: 336) “Will Frye,” “Will Atkins” (Defoe, 1968: 337) “Torbay,” “Start,” “Groyne,” “Calais,” “Dover” (Defoe, 1968: 362) “Old Castile,” “Pampeluna,” “Languedoc,” (Defoe, 1968: 364) are all preserved. An exception seems to be the name of “Xury” (Defoe, 1994: 19), which is given in the translation as “Ksuri” (Defoe, 1968: 40). This might have been made since the letter “x” does not exist in the Turkish alphabet.

It appears that there is a consistent strategy Göktürk employs throughout his translation as far as proper names are concerned. His keeping the source spellings complies with the norms of the Translation Bureau. Tahir-Gürçağlar argues that the

norm of “the preservation of proper names in their original spelling” (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2008: 301) was proposed by the Translation Bureau in the early 1940s, and “the 1940s and 1950s constitute a transitional period” (ibid.) for the establishment of this norm and the other norms. It can be seen that the norms of Göktürk as the translator of a private publishing house comply with the norms adopted by the Translation Bureau.

### 3.2.5. The treatment of metaphors

As for the metaphors related to Christianity, it will be shown in this section that Göktürk rather ignores these metaphors, just like he disregards Defoe’s religious intent and omits the original preface. Additionally, he does not supply any biblical references regarding the metaphors.

As stated previously, in the episodes where Crusoe experiences problems in the sea, the wind blows from directions which in fact symbolize some elements of Christianity. Yet, Göktürk makes a change while translating the names of these directions, and translates them as names of winds blowing from those directions, and as a result, he reduces the metaphorical effect of the episode.

Target text: “Rüzgâr, amacıma aykırı olarak **yıldızdan** esiyordu; [...]” (Defoe, 1968: 38)

Target text in back-translation: “Contrary to my desire, the north wind was blowing;”

Source text: “The Wind blew from the **N.NE.** which was contrary to my Desire; [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 18)

Target text:

*Burundan sonra denize daha çok açılarak kıyıyı gözden yitirdik, Fernando de Noronha adasına gidecekmış gibi bir yol tuttuk, sonra bu adaları doğumuzda bırakarak **poyraza** yöneldik. Bu yolla, on iki gün içinde Ekvator’u geçtik, son gözlemlerimize göre 7 derece 22 dakika*

*kuzey enleminde yol aldığımız bir sırada korkunç bir kasırga ya da fırtınayla neye uğradığımızı şaşırдық. Fırtına ilkin **keşişlemeden** başladı, sonra **karayele**, daha sonra da **poyraza** çevirdi. (Defoe, 1968: 61)*

Target text in back-translation:

*After the cape we put to sea further and lost sight of land, and held a course as if we would go to Fernando de Noronha Island, then leaving these islands on our east we sailed toward the **northeast wind**. In this course we passed the Equator in twelve days, and while we were sailing in 7 degrees 22 minutes northern latitude according our last observations, we were shocked by a terrible tornado or hurricane. At first the hurricane was the **southeast wind**, later it became the **northwest wind**, and **northeast wind** respectively.*

Source text:

*[...] we came the Height of Cape St. Augustino, from whence keeping farther off at Sea we lost Sight of Land, and steer'd as if we was bound for the Isle Fernand de Noronba holding our Course **N.E. by N.** and leaving those Isles on the East; in this Course we past the Line in about 12 Days time, and were by our last Observation in 7 Degrees 22 Min. Northern Latitude, when a violent Tournado or Hurricane took us quite out of our Knowledge; it began from the **South-East**, came about to the **North-West**, and then settled into the **North-East**, [...]. (Defoe, 1994: 31, 32)*

Target text: “Bu düşünceyle yolumuzu değiştirdik, bize yardım edeceklerini umduğumuz İngiliz adalarından birine gitmek için dümeni **karayele** doğru kırdık; [...]” (Defoe, 1968: 62).

Target text in back-translation: “With this thought we changed our course, and in order to go to one of the English islands where I hoped they would help us, we sailed toward the **northwest wind**.”

Source text: “With this Design we chang'd our Course and steer'd away **N.W. by W.** in order to reach some of our English Islands, where I hoped for Relief [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 32)



Target text: “Bununla birlikte, **gündoğusundan** oldukça sert esmekte olan [...] rüzgâr yüzünden burada iki gün demirlemek zorunda kaldım [...]” (Defoe, 1968: 180)

Target text in back-translation: “But because of the pretty strong **east wind** I had to anchor here for two days”

Source text: “I lay here, however, two days; because the Wind blowing pretty fresh at **E. S. E.** and that being just contrary to the said Current [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 101).

It might be said that writing the names of the winds in the translation rather than the points of the compass decreases the metaphorical effect of these elements. In another episode of the translation, the name of the direction is even mistranslated:

Target text: “Evet geldim burda. (Eliyle adanın **kuzeydoğusunu** gösterdi; anlaşılan orası onların yeriydi.)” (Defoe, 1968: 272)

Target text in back-translation: “Yes I came here. (He pointed with his hand to the **northeast** side of the island; it is understood that it was their place.)”

Source text: “Yes, I been here; [points to the **N.W.** Side of the Island, which it seems was their Side.]” (Defoe, 1994: 155)

“West” symbolizes death, and mistranslating this word totally changes the metaphorical effect. Yet, such findings are not surprising, because Göktürk also ignores the religious content of the novel in his preface. There are other metaphors which are disregarded in Göktürk’s translation:

Target text: “İkincisi, biz hepimiz bir çömlekçinin elindeki çamuru andırırız; hiç bir çömlek de çömlekçiye, <<Beni niçin böyle yağurdun?>> diyemez.” (Defoe, 1968: 266)

Target text in back-translation: “Second, we all resemble the clay in the hand of **a potter**; no earthen pot can say to him, “Why did you knead me like this?””

Source text: “[...] And (2d.) that still as we are all the Clay in the Hand of **the Potter**\*, no Vessel could say to him, Why hast thou form’d me thus?

\* Jeremiah 18:6; Isaiah 45:9” (Defoe, 1994: 152)

Göktürk’s failure to notice this metaphor also results in a change in the translated text, and “the Potter” becomes “a potter”. However, Göktürk does not seem to care about the loss of metaphors, since he does not use any footnotes to give biblical references<sup>140</sup> either. Thus, it might be argued that Göktürk’s intention, which is partially different from that of the author, affects his retranslation. Since he openly says that he translated this book in order to exalt the status of this novel in the Turkish culture repertoire, the loss or change of metaphors does not seem to be a concern to him.

### 3.3. CASE III – GÜNCAN’S *ROBINSON CRUSOE* (2005)

#### 3.3.1. Bordo Siyah Klasik Publishing House and Pınar Güncan

This publishing house founded in İstanbul publishes classics of world literature and the Turkish literature as well. While the book covers of Turkish classics are “bordo” [claret red] colored, the world classics are published in “siyah” [black] covers. Probably because of the amendment of the copyright law which caused an increase in the classics’ publishing, this publishing house prefers to publish classics, and sells them at significantly lower prices.

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<sup>140</sup> In Case 3, a retranslation with a considerable amount of footnotes containing biblical references, and a careful treatment of metaphorical elements will be analyzed.

Güncan is one of the translators who make translations for Bordo Siyah Publishing House<sup>141</sup>. According to the catalogues of the National Library in Ankara, her translations include Lewis Carroll's *Alice Harikalar Diyarında* [Alice in Wonderland] (2006), Dickens' *Büyük Umutlar* [Great Expectations] (2005) and *Oliver Twist* (2006), Bram Stoker's *Drakula* [Dracula] (2005), Jonathan Swift's *Gulliver'in Gezileri* [Gulliver's Travels] (2006), Lyman Frank Baum's *Oz Büyücüsü* [The Wizard of Oz] (2006), James Matthew Barry's *Peter Pan* (2006), Howard Pyle's *Robin Hood* (2006), Mary Wollstonecraft Shelley's *Frankenstein; ya da modern prometheus* [Frankenstein; or the Modern Prometheus] (2004), Eleanor Porter's *Pollyanna* (2006) and Mark Twain's *Tom Sawyer* (2007). It should also be noted that some of these translations are intended for children; for example *Gulliver'in Gezileri* (2006), *Peter Pan* (2006), and *Alice Harikalar Diyarında* (2006).

### **3.3.2. Paratextual analysis of *Robinson Crusoe* (2005)**

#### **3.3.2.1. Covers and illustrations**

The front cover of this translation includes both the author's and the translator's names, however Defoe's name is written in larger characters and is placed at the top of the title while Güncan's name is written under the title. The series information is also printed on the front cover: "Dünya Klasikleri – Roman" [World Classics - Novel]. The third inner cover contains a two-page biography of the author. The back cover contains a brief introduction of the novel. It is stated in this section that *Robinson Crusoe* not only affected the "island" literature, but also caused the emergence of the genre of the Robinsonades. It is also stated that dozens of imitations of this novel were made, and its hero was criticized differently in every

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<sup>141</sup> According to the catalogues of the National Library in Ankara, there are two other publishing houses which published Güncan's translations. For example, her translation of Daphne Gottlieb's *Homewrecker: An Adultery Anthology* (2005) was published under the title *Yuva Yıkanlar: aldatma antolojisi* [Home Wreckers: Adultery Anthology] by İstiklâl Publishing House in 2006. Her translation of Charles Willeford's *Miami Blues* (1984) was published by Çitlembik Publishing House in 2006.

period. It is also written that the novel supplied inspiration for plays, operas, comic books, movies, and computer games. Rousseau's and Marx's criticisms of *Robinson Crusoe* are also mentioned. Additionally, the back cover contains the following separate sentence<sup>142</sup>: "Robinson Crusoe: Doğayı değiştirirken kendini de değiştirmek" [Robinson Crusoe: Changing oneself while changing the nature]. It might be argued that this sentence summarizes the reason for making this retranslation. It seems that Güncan retranslated this book in order to emphasize Crusoe's religious conversion, while at the same time narrating his life struggle on the island.

The only illustration in this book is the one on the front cover. In this picture, which seems to summarize his life on the island, Crusoe is standing on a hill and looking at the sea. He carries his umbrella, basket, rifle, sword and hatchet, and wears the clothes sewn by him. He is accompanied by his parrot and one of the goats. This translation does not contain any other drawings. It can be suggested that since Bordo Siyah Publishing House sells books at relatively low prices, eliminating the fee of an artist might be important for reducing the price.

### 3.3.2.2. Prefaces

This retranslation contains an editor's preface, which is thirteen pages long, as well as Defoe's authorial preface. The world classics' editor Atayman's preface was previously discussed in the first chapter of this study. In his preface, he supplies a brief review of the novel, and also discusses its sources of inspiration (Defoe, 2005: 7-19). He discusses the relation between the Robinsonades and the genre of utopia and science fiction literature (Defoe, 2005: 8). Atayman's preface is divided into sections<sup>143</sup>, and the section entitled "Her Dönemin Metni" [The Text of Every

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<sup>142</sup> The font color of this sentence is yellow, unlike the white sentences of the other paragraph on the back cover.

<sup>143</sup> The sections are entitled "Robinson Crusoe," "Yazar mı Düşünür mü?" [Is he a writer or a philosopher?], "Her Dönemin Metni" [The Text of Every Period], "Orta Sınıfın Püritan Hayat Duygusu" [The Puritan Life Style of the Middle Class], "Yitirilenin Ütopyası" [The Utopia of the Loss], respectively (Defoe, 2005: 7-19).

Period] is about how this novel had been viewed differently in different periods (Defoe, 2005: 12). According to Atayman, the concept of island is capable of carrying different metaphorical meanings, and this explains the continuing success of this novel throughout different periods (Defoe, 2005: 13). There is also a separate section on the discussion of the effects of the Puritan tradition on *Robinson Crusoe* (Defoe, 2005: 15). In this section Atayman also uses the arguments of Doreen Roberts and Göktürk to discuss the relation of *Robinson Crusoe* with this tradition (Defoe, 2005: 15, 16). He also relates this novel to the genre of utopia in the last section of his preface; however, he nevertheless emphasizes the Puritan reading of the novel by means of employing a separate section to the discussion. It seems that the translator also gives importance to the spiritual reading, because, as shall be seen in the following section, the analysis of notes will show that many biblical references are employed in Güncan's translation. Furthermore, this translation includes the translation of Defoe's preface, in which the religious aim of the writer is made explicit (Defoe, 2005: 23).

### 3.3.2.3. Notes

This translation contains fifty two footnotes<sup>144</sup> which are placed on forty different pages of the book. It is striking that twenty seven of these notes explain religious elements of the novel. For example:

Target text: "Artık ürünüm de gittikçe arttığı için gerçekten ambarlarımı büyütme\* istiyordum. [...]"

\* Luka 12: 16-21'den alıntı" (Defoe, 2005: 195)

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<sup>144</sup> There are many footnotes in this retranslation, but the units of measurement are not explained in these notes or in parentheses. They are rather converted to the metric system. Units such as pound, mile, foot, yard, and inch (Defoe, 1994: 14, 27, 39, 44) are converted to kilogram, kilometer, centimeter, meter and centimeter, respectively (Defoe, 2005: 47, 72, 95, 105). Giving the metric equivalents instead is an interesting translation decision. It is probable that Güncan thinks that these foreign units would be confusing, and as there are already a lot of notes, she simply converts them.

Target text in back-translation: “Since my crop was increasing continuously I really wanted to enlarge my barns.\*

\*Excerpt from Luke 12: 16-21.”

Source text: “And now indeed my Stock of Corn increasing, I really wanted to build my Barns bigger.” (Defoe, 1994: 90)

Interestingly, six of the footnotes do not only supply religious references, but also the phrases of the source text are cited. It seems that the translator does not want to decrease the metaphorical effects of any of these elements. Günçan even puts the source text in the footnote, adds an explanation about that metaphor, and guarantees the reader’s perception of that element. For instance:

Target text: “Ne ten tutkusu duyuyor, ne gördüğümü kıskanıyor, ne de hayatımla kibirleniyordum. \*\*

\*\* Orj.: The pride of life; Yuhanna’nın İlk Risalesi 2:16’dan alıntı.” (Defoe, 2005: 201)

Target text in back-translation: “I neither had bodily desires nor was jealous of what I see, nor behaved arrogantly because of my life. \*\*

\*\* Original: The pride of life; excerpt from 1 John 2:16.”

Source text: “I had neither the Lust of the Flesh, the Lust of the Eye, or the Pride of Life.\*

\* 1 John 2.16” (Defoe, 1994: 94)

In the following example, the translator is again sure that the writer is indicating something else<sup>145</sup>:

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<sup>145</sup> Yet, it is also possible that these footnotes are obtained from an annotated copy of the source text. (In fact, one of the sources of the editor’s preface to this translation is the Wordsworth Classics edition of *Robinson Crusoe* (1995) which contains an introduction by Doreen Roberts.) It is, nevertheless, the translator’s (or the editor’s) decision to translate the notes of the source text as well.

Target text (Defoe, 2005: 202, 203):

*[...] Daha önceden de söylediğim gibi hem altın hem gümüş olmak üzere otuz altı sterlin kadar da param vardı. [...] Durduğu yerde o paranın bana en ufak bir faydası yoktu; bir çekmecede duruyor ve yağmur mevsiminde, mağaranın neminden küfleniyordu.\**

*\*Altın ve gümüş aslında küflenmez; ama Defoe burada Matta 6:19-20'ye gönderme yapıyor olmalı.*

Target text in back-translation:

*As I said before, I had both gold and silver money, about thirty six pounds sterling. [...] In the place where it stayed, it is not at all beneficial to me; it stayed in a drawer and in the rainy season, it grew moldy.\**

*\* Gold and silver do not in fact grow moldy; but Defoe must be indicating Matthew 6:19-20 here.*

Source text: “[...] I had, as I hinted before, a Parcel of Money, as well Gold as Silver, about thirty six Pounds Sterling: [...] As it was, I had not the least Advantage by it, or Benefit from it; but there it lay in a Drawer, and grew mouldy with the Damp of the Cave, in the wet Season; [...]” (Defoe, 1994: 94, 95)

It seems that Günçan tries to enable Turkish readers to understand foreign cultural references, such as biblical metaphors. Thus intelligibility appears to be the translator's main concern in her translation.

Other than the biblical explanations, there are twenty five footnotes in the translated text. These notes contain the descriptions of foreign cultural elements, and the locations of cities and places. For example, on the first page of the novel there are three footnotes; the first one explains where “Bremen” is located, the second one explains the origin of the word “Kreutznaer,” and the third one describes who Sir William Lockhart is and then gives a long historical account of the war of Dunkirk (Defoe, 2005: 25).

Since more than half of the notes are employed to explain phrases about Christianity and their relevant places in the Bible, it might well be argued that this retranslation is made to emphasize the Puritan reading of the novel, and therefore exalt its status in the Turkish literary repertoire. In the following sections, it will be demonstrated that the translator tries to preserve other foreign elements of the translation as well.

### 3.3.3. Matricial analysis

The analysis of the matricial norms showed that there are not any omissions in this retranslation. The translator also tries to preserve the arrangement of the paragraphs of the source text. Furthermore, the long sentences and the punctuation are retained as much as possible. The following example shows this strategy:

Target text (Defoe, 2005: 79, 80):

*Uzun sözün kısası, mallarımı korumak ve çiftliğimi ayakta tutmak için olası bütün önlemleri aldım. Kendi çıkarlarımı korumak için bu sağduyunun yarısını göstermiş olsaydım ve ne yapıp ne yapmamam gerektiği konusunda doğru dürüst düşünseydim, büyümeye açık, bu kadar kazançlı bir işi bırakıp her türlü tehlikeyi barındıran bir deniz yolculuğuna asla çıkmazdım. Bu tehlikelerin yanısıra, benim her türlü uğursuzluğa karşı savunmasız bir insan olduğumu söylemeye gerek bile yok.*

*Ama acele etmiş ve mantığı bir kenara bırakıp körü körüne, hayallerimin buyruklarına boyun eğmiştim. Aynı şekilde, gemi hazırlandığı, mallar yüklendiği ve yolculuktaki her şey anlaşma gereği ortaklarım tarafından ayarlandığı için 1659 yılı Eylül ayının ilk günü uğursuz bir saatte gemiye bindim; sekiz yıl önce annemle babamın otoritesine başkaldırarak ve kendi çıkarlarım açısından da büyük bir aptallık ederek Hull'da onlardan ayrıldığım günle aynı gündü bu.*

*Gemimiz yaklaşık yüz yirmi ton ağırlığındaydı, altı top; kaptan, uşağı ve ben hariç on dört adam taşıyordu. Gemide, zencilerle alışveriş yapmaya elverişli boncuk, cam parçaları, sedef, ufak tefek şeyler, özellikle de küçük aynalar, bıçaklar, makaslar, baltalar ve bunun gibi şeyler dışında pek büyük bir yük yoktu.*



Target text in back-translation:

*In a few words, I took every possible precaution in order to preserve my effects and to keep up my plantation. If I had used half as much prudence to protect my own interest and thought properly about what I ought to have done and not to have done, I would not have left such a flourishing and profitable undertaking and gone upon a voyage which contained all kinds of dangers. In addition to these dangers, it is needless to say that I am a person unprotected against every kind of bad luck.*

*But I had hurried and set reason aside and obeyed blindly the dictates of my imagination. Similarly, as the ship was prepared, the goods were loaded and everything about the voyage was supplied by my partners according to the agreement, I went on board in an evil hour, on the first of September, 1659; this was the same day that I rebelled to the authority of my mother and my father, behaved like a fool regarding my own interest, and left them at Hull eight years ago.*

*Our ship weighed about a hundred and twenty tons; she carried six cannons, and fourteen men excluding the master, his male servant and me. There was not a big load in the ship except for the things which were fit for the trade with the Negroes, such as beads, bits of glass, shells, and trifles, especially little mirrors, knives, scissors, axes, and the like.*

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 31):

*In short, I took all possible Caution to preserve my Effects, and keep up my Plantation; had I used half as much Prudence to have look'd into my own Intrest, and have made a Judgment of what I ought to have done, and not to have done, I had certainly never gone away from so prosperous an Undertaking, leaving all the probable Views of a thriving Circumstance, and gone upon a Voyage to Sea, attended with all its common Hazards; to say nothing of the Reasons I had to expect particular Misfortunes to my self.*

*But I was hurried on, and obey'd blindly the Dictates of my Fancy rather than my Reason; and accordingly the Ship being fitted out, and the Cargo furnished, and all things done as by Agreement, by my Partners in the Voyage, I went on Board in an evil Hour, the first of September, 1659, being the same Day eight Year that I went from my Father and Mother at Hull, in order to act the Rebel to their Authority, and the Fool to my own Interest.*

*Our Ship was about 120 Tun Burthen, carried 6 Guns, and 14 Men, besides the Master, his Boy, and my self; we had on board no large Cargo of Goods, except of such Toys as were fit for our Trade with the*

*Negroes, such as Beads, bits of Glass, Shells, and odd Trifles, especially little Looking-Glasses, Knives, Scissars, Hatchets, and the like.*

### 3.3.4. The treatment of proper names

Günčan's retranslation is very similar to Göktürk's retranslation, as far as the translation of the proper names is concerned. The ones which have a Turkish equivalent are translated, and the original spellings of the other proper names are retained. For example, the names of prophets<sup>146</sup> and some places<sup>147</sup> are translated, while most of the names of foreign places and people are preserved<sup>148</sup>. It can be suggested that Günčan has a consistent strategy of preserving the foreign spelling of proper names<sup>149</sup>.

### 3.3.5. The treatment of metaphors

Günčan opts for keeping the metaphors and she adds explanations for readers as well. Especially the biblical metaphors are provided in detail. For instance, in the episode where Crusoe sees a nightmare, Günčan is very careful in order not to ignore a metaphor:

Target text: "Adam, ayağını toprağa bastığında yerin deprem oluyormuş gibi sarsıldığını ve şimşeklerin\* gökyüzünü kapladığını sandım.

\* Orj.: Flashes of fire, Eski Ahit'teki krallar kitabı 19:9ff'den alıntı." (Defoe, 2005: 144)

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<sup>146</sup> For example, the names of the prophets "Jesus" and "David" (Defoe, 1994: 71) are translated as "İsa" and "Davud" (Defoe, 2005: 157); "Abraham" (Defoe 1994: 94) is translated as "İbrahim" (Defoe, 2005: 201), and "Solomon" (Defoe 1994: 92) is translated as "Süleyman" (Defoe, 2005: 199).

<sup>147</sup> For example, the "Islands of the Canaries" and the "Cape de Verd Islands" (Defoe, 1994: 21) are translated as "Kanarya Adaları" and "Yeşilburun Adaları" (Defoe, 2005: 60); and "Jerusalem" (Defoe 1994: 92) is translated as "Kudüs" (Defoe, 2005: 199).

<sup>148</sup> For example, the original spellings of the following proper names are preserved: "Robinson Kreutznaer," "Crusoe" (Defoe, 2005: 25); "Winterton," "Cromer" (Defoe, 2005: 41); "Yarmouth" (Defoe, 2005: 35); "Tom Smith," "Will Frye," "Will Atkins" (Defoe, 2005: 389); "Torbay," "Start," "Rochelle," "Calais," "Dover" (Defoe, 2005: 417); "Pampeluna," "Navarre" (Defoe, 2005: 418).

<sup>149</sup> There are, however, some exceptions. For example, the name "Xury" (Defoe, 1994: 19) is written as "Ksuri" (Defoe, 2005: 55).

Target text in back-translation: “When the man stepped his foot on the ground I thought that the earth shook as if there was an earthquake and that flashes of lightning\* covered the sky.

\* Original: Flashes of fire, excerpt from the book of Kings 19:9ff in the Old Testament.”

Source text: “[...]; when he stepp’d upon the Ground with his Feet, I thought the Earth trembl’d, just as it had done before in the Earthquake, and all the Air look’d, to my Apprehension, as if it had been fill’d with Flashes of Fire” (Defoe, 1994: 64, 65)

It seems that Günçan is not sure whether the word “şimşekler” [the flashes of lightning] conveys the same meaning, and therefore gives the original phrase in the footnote to prevent the loss of metaphor, and she gives the biblical reference as well. There are many biblical references provided in this translation, and most of them are similar to the example above, i.e. they contain the original phrase as well:

Target text: “[...] ve yaptıklarına pişman olan gerçek bir hayırsız evlat\* gibi eve, babamın yanına dönmeyi planlıyordum

\* Orj.: Repenting prodigal, Luka 15:11ff”den alıntı.” (Defoe, 2005: 33)

Target text in back-translation: “[...] and just like an evil child who repents of what he had done, I was planning to return home, back to my father.

\* Original: Repenting prodigal, excerpt from Luke 15:11ff.”

Source text: “[...] and resolv’d that I would, like a true repenting Prodigal,\* go home to my Father.

\* Luke 15:11ff.” (Defoe, 1994: 8)

It seems that this is a certain strategy used by Günçan in order to preserve the religious metaphors, because the foreign phrases are written in six of the footnotes in which biblical references are given.

As discussed in Case 1, there are other religious metaphors in the novel, such as the points of the compass. Unlike the other retranslations, the analysis of Günçan's translation showed that most of these metaphors are retained. For example:

Target text: “Rüzgâr, benim istediğimin aksine **kuzey-kuzeydoğu**'dan esiyordu; [...]" (Defoe, 2005: 54)

Target text in back-translation: “The wind, contrary to my desire, was blowing from **north-northeast**"

Source text: “The Wind blew from the **N.NE.** which was contrary to my Desire; [...]" (Defoe, 1994: 18)

Target text (Defoe, 2005: 80):

*[...] St. Augustino Burnu'ndan denize açılıp artık karayı gözden yitirince, sanki Fernando de Noronha Adası'na gidecekmış gibi doğudaki bütün o adaları arkada bırakarak dümeni, **kuzeydoğu-kuzey yönüne** çevirdik. Bu yol üzerinde, aşağı yukarı on iki gün içinde ekvatoru geçtik ve son hesaplarımıza göre tam 7 derece 22 dakika kuzey enlemine vardığımızda şiddetli bir fırtına ya da kasırga aklımızı başımızdan aldı. Fırtına keşişlemeden başladı, karayele çevirdi ve sonra da poyrazda kaldı; [...]*

Target text in back-translation:

*After we put to sea further from St. Augustino Cape and lost sight of land, we steered **northeast by north** leaving all of these islands on the east behind as if we would go to Fernando de Noronha Island. In this course we passed the equator in about twelve days and according to our last calculation when we reached exactly the 7 degrees 22 minutes northern latitude a violent tornado or hurricane shocked us. At first the hurricane was the southeast wind, then it became the northwest wind, and then the northeast wind remained.*

Source text (Defoe, 1994: 31, 32):

*[...] we came the Height of Cape St. Augustino, from whence keeping farther off at Sea we lost Sight of Land, and steer'd as if we was bound for the Isle Fernand de Noronba holding our Course **N.E. by N.** and leaving those Isles on the East; in this Course we past the Line in about 12 Days time, and were by our last Observation in 7 Degrees 22 Min. Northern Latitude, when a violent Tornado or Hurricane took us quite out of our Knowledge; it began from the South-East, came about to the North-West, and then settled into the North-East, [...].*

Target text: “Bu planlarla yolumuzu deđiřtirdik ve yardım bulacađımızı umduđum İngiliz adalarından birine ulařabilmek için d¼meni **kuzeybatı-batı yönüne** çevirdik; [...]” (Defoe, 2005: 81, 82)

Target text in back-translation: “In accordance with these plans we changed our course and steered **northwest by west** in order to be able to reach one of the English islands where I hoped we would find help.”

Source text: “With this Design we chang'd our Course and steer'd away **N.W. by W.** in order to reach some of our English Islands, where I hoped for Relief [...].” (Defoe, 1994: 32)

Target text: “Bununla birlikte, **güneydođudan** oldukça sert esen rüzgâr yüzünden iki gün burada durmak zorunda kaldım.” (Defoe, 2005: 215)

Target text in back-translation: “Yet I had to stay here for two days, because of the pretty strong wind blowing from **southeast.**”

Source text: “I lay here, however, two days; because the Wind blowing pretty fresh at **E. S. E.** and that being just contrary to the said Current [...] (Defoe, 1994: 101).

Target text: “Evet, geldim. (Eliyle adanın **kuzeybatısını** gösterdi, anlaşılan orası onların yeri idi)” (Defoe, 2005: 317)

Target text in back-translation: “Yes, I came. (He pointed with his hand to the **northwest** of the island, it seemed that it was their place.)”

Source text: “Yes, I been here; [points to the **N.W.** Side of the Island, which it seems was their Side.]” (Defoe, 1994: 155)

Therefore, Günçan’s retranslation is an example of a careful treatment of metaphors. This strategy probably reflects the editor’s choice as well, which was to admit the relation of the novel with the Puritan emblematic tradition.

### **3. 4. Conclusions**

In this chapter, three Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* were analyzed. Information on the publishing houses and the translators were first provided. Then the paratextual elements, namely the covers and illustrations, the prefaces, and the notes of the translations were examined. The matricial norms were also analyzed. The treatment of the proper names and the metaphors related to Christianity were finally analyzed.

In Case I, it was shown that the different readings of a novel play a role in the process of translation and publishing. It was also found that a paratextual element can be omitted if it is in contradiction with the publisher’s aim. Similarly, the Christian metaphors, which are very important for the Puritan reading of this novel, might be overlooked if the translator and/or the publisher do not favor that reading of the novel. Therefore, it might be argued that the intent of the translator or the publisher not only affects the paratextual messages of the translation, but also interferes with the process of translation itself. Although this is an unabridged retranslation which contains the episodes about Crusoe’s conversion as well, it certainly does not emphasize the spiritual reading of the novel. The analysis of this retranslation also showed that, unlike Berman’s argument, a retranslation does not necessarily emphasize the “otherness” of the source text (Susam-Sarajeva, 2006:

136). On the contrary, some elements such as metaphors might be assimilated while making a retranslation, although the aim of the translator is certainly not to produce an adaptation.

It was found in Case II that the translator's reason of making a retranslation and his arguments about the meaning of the novel affects both the translated text and the paratextual elements surrounding it. Since Göktürk aims to exalt the status of this novel in the Turkish literary repertoire, his translation is a careful work. However, he does not give importance to the Puritan reading of the novel, and thus causes the elimination of some of the Christian metaphors. Nevertheless, the prize Göktürk won for his translation shows that he was not alone in his struggle to make this novel know as a canonized work of literature.

The third retranslation seems to be challenging the validity of Göktürk's retranslation, because it contains a more detailed preface and extensive use of notes, especially about religion. However, it can be argued that it contributes to Göktürk's aim at the same time, because it is an unabridged work and it includes information on the very different reading of this novel, which emphasizes that it is a classic of English literature and not simply a children's novel. Thus, it can be said that this retranslation might also affect the status of this novel in the Turkish culture repertoire and exalt its status by means of emphasizing the Puritan reading of the novel.

In conclusion, although these retranslations were produced for different reasons, they all have a shaping role in the Turkish culture repertoire.

## CONCLUSION

The aim of this thesis was to analyze the shaping role of the Turkish retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* (1719) in the Turkish culture repertoire. In order to accomplish this aim, Chapter 1 employed a literature review offering a critical examination of the scholarly studies focused on *Robinson Crusoe*. The first two sections of Chapter 1 provided brief information on the life and the works of Daniel Defoe and the plot of *Robinson Crusoe*. In the third section of Chapter 1, the reception of the book in the West was analyzed and the ideas of twenty-two scholars belonging to different centuries were discussed. Negative and positive criticisms were presented in order to display the wide variety of the criticisms of *Robinson Crusoe*, which has a seemingly simple plot.

The negative criticisms (e.g. Gildon's and Howes' arguments) which deny the novel's success seem to be harsh arguments. For instance, Gildon not only criticizes the book, but he also wrote a satirical work in order to ridicule Defoe and *Robinson Crusoe*. Other negative criticisms generally focus on the literary value of the work and describe *Robinson Crusoe* as "a book for boys" (Stephen, 1994) or as an "accidental" masterpiece (Howes, 1927). Therefore, it might be suggested that the critics who do not regard this novel as successful usually do not offer new readings, yet criticize the author instead.

The positive criticisms, on the other hand, offer very different readings of the novel. It might be said that these various readings resulted partially from the long period of time that passed since this novel was written. It was shown in this study that the meaning of the novel has always been a debatable issue among the critics. For example, some scholars (e.g. Hunter and Greif) suggest a Puritan reading of the novel, while others (e.g. Marx) refuse the importance of Crusoe's religious conversion and describe the novel as "a political fable" (Schonhorn) or "the true symbol of the British conquest" (Joyce). It was also demonstrated that some criticisms (e.g. Sutherland's) are related to the public image of Defoe and include some details of the life and personality of the author. The recent gender-related



readings (e.g. by Turley and Wiegman) were also discussed in Chapter 1. Interestingly, the lack of women in the novel has caused the emergence of some alternative readings such as Wiegman's reading, in which Friday is described as the "feminized other" (Wiegman, 1993) while "Crusoe exhibits the mythic dimensions of white masculinity" (ibid.).

The fourth section of Chapter 1 was devoted to the analysis of the reception of the book in Turkey. It was shown in this study that there are only a few studies about this novel and its Turkish translations compared to the numerous criticisms written on *Robinson Crusoe* in the western world. A comprehensive work on *Robinson Crusoe* is Göktürk's *Edebiyatta Ada* [Island in Literature] (1973) and a review of the 2004 edition book was included in Chapter 1. Göktürk's work contains a separate section on *Robinson Crusoe* and comprises several criticisms of the novel made in the West. Another study on this novel is Kara's master's thesis (2007), in which a corpus-based approach was used to analyze *Robinson Crusoe*. In his study, Kara does not offer a new reading of the novel and argues that Defoe's discourse in the novel is a reflection of the materialistic world view of 18<sup>th</sup> century Britain. Another work about this novel is Jamali's doctoral dissertation (2006), in which the novel is read from the psychoanalytic feminist perspective. It was demonstrated that Jamali offers a Lacanian reading and argues that Defoe's public voice emphasizes patriarchal ideologies. She argues that the silence of women in the novel alludes to the Symbolic intentions of the author. Furthermore, some of the Turkish translations of this novel were examined in two recent graduate studies made by Karadağ (2003) and by Altuntaş (2007), which concentrated on the ideological manipulations made in the translations.

The arguments of other critics (i.e. Neydim, Çığıracan and Atayman) were also discussed in the fourth section of Chapter 1. Although Neydim acknowledges that *Robinson Crusoe* is not a children's novel, he comments on the early Turkish translations of this novel intended for children and argues that they were made in the Tanzimat to bring the Age of Enlightenment from the West by means of translation (Neydim, 2003). He further claims that these works aimed to create an ideal child

and they also indicated the growing interest in the European culture. Çığıracan, on the other hand, describes *Robinson Crusoe* as fictional work which is very realistic and thinks that Defoe's success results from narrating the fabricated account of Crusoe as if it was real (Defoe, 1950a). In the editor's preface to Günca's retranslation of *Robinson Crusoe* (2005), Atayman employs various readings of the novel and associates it with different genres such as the utopia and the Puritan emblematic tradition.

In short, it was demonstrated in this thesis that there are not so many studies made about this novel in Turkey, although it was translated into Turkish in abundant numbers since 1864. It was also argued that the arguments of the Turkish critics about the novel seem to have been affected by the criticisms made in the West. Nonetheless, there is a recent increase in the scholarly studies about this novel in Turkey. As previously said, the Ministry of Education announced lists containing "100 Basic Works" recommended for children in secondary education in 2004 and in primary education in 2005. It is probable that these lists not only caused an increase in the number of classics published, but also attracted the attention of scholars to the studying of classics and their translations. Needless to say, coming to that conclusion requires further research, and it can be suggested that analyzing the effects of state involvement on scholarly studies might be an interesting case for future researchers.

In view of the critical analyses presented in Chapter 1, it can be suggested that *Robinson Crusoe* has been thoroughly analyzed by the scholars in the West, but there are not so many studies on this novel in the Turkish culture repertoire. The novel does not have a unique meaning, and new readings of *Robinson Crusoe* might still emerge in different cultures. It seems necessary to analyze these different readings before analyzing the translations, because, as was displayed in this thesis, the different readings of a novel might affect the process of retranslation and the paratextual elements that surround the translated text.

Finally in the fifth section of Chapter 1, the effects of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* in the Turkish culture repertoire were examined. It was argued

that *Robinson Crusoe* translations have had an important role, and caused the emergence of new options such as the indigenous children's books in which desert island stories are narrated. Another option was found to be a comic book series about the adventures of Crusoe and Friday, which was launched in 1997. Furthermore, other desert island stories were translated into Turkish as a consequence of the *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations. It was also argued that the name "Robinson" has become a synonym of "castaway" in Turkish. For example, the titles of some translations contain the name "Robinson," although the source text has nothing to do with Crusoe. In short, new options were made available in the Turkish culture repertoire as a consequence of the retranslations of this novel, although causing the emergence of such options was probably not the intention of the free agents who produced and published *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations.

In Chapter 2, the diachronic analysis of the Turkish translations of *Robinson Crusoe* made between 1864 and 2006 (inclusive) was carried out. The ambivalent status of *Robinson Crusoe* translations within the Turkish literary polysystem was first discussed. The diachronic distribution of the translations intended for children and adults was displayed. It was displayed that *Robinson Crusoe* was retranslated and reprinted in large numbers (See Appendix 2). It was argued that the recognition of this novel as a children's classic in Turkey has various reasons, including Rousseau's arguments in *Émile* (1762), which was also translated into Turkish. It was also contended that the book might have been preferred by children since it satisfied their expectations for a good adventure story. The publication of this novel as a children's book, however, might have some negative consequences. As Şirin argues, the publication of classics might result in giving less importance to the writing and the translating of contemporary children's books. That is to say, *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations which were offered as new options in the Turkish culture repertoire might have prevented the emergence of other options, although they have actually caused the emergence of many other options, as discussed in Chapter 1.

In addition, the increase in the number of translations produced in certain periods was examined in Chapter 2. Different probable reasons were demonstrated, including the state support to private publishing houses in the early republican era, and the developments in the area of children's literature in the second half of the 1970s and in the beginning of the 1980s. It was also shown that the amendment of the copyright law had an effect in increasing the number of classics published in Turkey, which unfortunately increased the cases of plagiarism in recent years. The recent involvement of the Ministry of Education, i.e. its recommending literary classics for children in primary and secondary education, also seems to have been effective in increasing the publication of classics. Thus, it can be suggested that state support is a powerful means of changing the culture repertoire, as far as retranslations are concerned.

Additionally in Chapter 2, the reasons of making *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations were discussed. Various reasons were demonstrated, including the aim of contributing to the official culture-planning activities, making ideological manipulations in the retranslation, trying to exalt the status of the novel in the culture repertoire, and challenging the validity of the former translations. As for the ideological manipulations, two abridged retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* were analyzed. It was found that an abridged retranslation intended for adults contains manipulations which were made to condemn slavery; and the other abridged retranslation intended for children contains some additions that were made to add emotional depth to the plot. It was also demonstrated that some personal reasons might exist as regards to the emergence of retranslations. For example, Kaya made a retranslation while in exile because he wanted to forget his own pain by means of translating the story of another man in a similarly distressful situation.

Some of the paratextual changes in the retranslations, such as the erosion of the title and the different spellings of the name "Robinson Crusoe" were also discussed in Chapter 2. It was argued that the publishers usually prefer shorter titles probably because they do not want to make the book seem like a simple adventure story. It was also suggested that they ignored the subtitle since the book is well

known in the target culture. Additionally in Chapter 2, the reason for the different spellings of the name “Robinson Crusoe” was discussed. It was contended that phonetic transcription was not preferred in most of the recent translations.

The seemingly rare translations of the second volume of *Robinson Crusoe* were briefly discussed in Chapter 2. It was demonstrated that the second volume was ideologically manipulated in one of the abridged retranslations. Therefore, further analyses of the abridged versions may reveal other manipulations made in the translations of the second volume of the novel.

In Chapter 3, three cases were analyzed comparatively, and three unabridged retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* in Turkish were chosen for the analyses<sup>150</sup>. The cases contained paratextual analyses, matricial analyses, and the analyses of some elements of the translations such as the proper names and the religious metaphors. It was demonstrated that each of these retranslations have a different shaping role in the Turkish culture repertoire.

In Case I it was argued that Kaya’s retranslation (1950) was published by Çığıracı in order to educate and guide the Turkish youth. Çığıracı believes that *Robinson Crusoe* was an important factor in the success of the European and American nations and that reading Crusoe’s story has encouraged people to make voyages around the world and to establish colonies. He recommends that Turkish youth take lessons from Crusoe’s adventures in order to succeed in life. As there were official culture planning activities in the early republican era, with translation being used as one of the tools, it was argued in this thesis that Çığıracı’s aim of guiding the youth with this retranslation was also a contribution to the culture-planning efforts of the officials who participated in the nation building process. In

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<sup>150</sup> (1) Defoe, D. (1950). *Robinson Crusoe – Hayatı ve Maceraları*. Translated by Şükrü Kaya. İstanbul: Hilmi Publishing House. This retranslation is the first unabridged Turkish translation of the novel.

(2) Defoe, D. (1968). *Robinson Crusoe I*. Translated by Akşit Göktürk. İstanbul: Kök Publishing House. This retranslation was awarded the “Translation Award of the Turkish Language Association” in 1969.

(3) Defoe, D. (2005). *Robinson Crusoe*. Translated by Pınar Güncan. İstanbul: Bordo Siyah Klasik Publishing House. This is a recent retranslation that is not a plagiarism suspect.

addition, Kaya's retranslation which, in 1919, was a means of forgetting pain in exile became a tool of culture-planning in 1950. That is to say, Case I also displayed that a retranslation might be produced and published for distinct reasons, depending on time and place.

In Case II, Göktürk's retranslation (1968) was analyzed and it was displayed that Göktürk made the retranslation in order to challenge the validity of the previous retranslations because he was displeased with the ambivalent status of the novel in Turkey. He did not want this English classic to be known as a children's novel or an adventure story and thus aimed to change the reception of the book in the Turkish culture repertoire and make it acquire the status of a canonized work of English literature. The only omission in this retranslation is Defoe's original authorial preface. It is probable that Göktürk disregarded it because Defoe said in it that he had a religious intent, and this might have contradicted with Göktürk's preface, which contains no mention of the religious readings of the novel.

In Case III, it was argued that Günçan's retranslation (2005) was made to emphasize the religious readings of the novel. Similar to Göktürk, Günçan aims to change the reception of the book in the Turkish culture repertoire, but unlike Göktürk she emphasizes Crusoe's religious conversion. She adds footnotes in the retranslation to give biblical references, and her retranslation shows a careful treatment of the Christian metaphors in the novel. Furthermore, the editor, i.e. Atayman seems to have wanted the different readings of this novel to gain recognition in Turkey, and thus included a thirteen-page preface to the translation. In addition, this retranslation contains Defoe's original authorial preface in which Defoe openly states his religious intent in writing this novel.

The case study in Chapter 3 also demonstrated the erosion of the title in Turkish translations. Kaya's translation contains the subtitle "Hayatı ve Maceraları" [His Life and Adventures] (1950), Göktürk's retranslation is entitled *Robinson Crusoe 1* (1968), and Günçan's translation is simply published under the title *Robinson Crusoe* (2005). As was displayed in this thesis, these retranslations were

made and published for different reasons, and therefore the reason of abridging the original title is different in each case. As regards Kaya's retranslation, it was demonstrated that ıgıraan published this work to educate and guide the youth with Crusoe's adventures. Kaya's retranslation, which was first published by Tanin Printing House under the title *Robenson Kruzoe* (1923) (see Appendix 1), was published by Hilmi Publishing House under the title *Robinson Crusoe – Hayatı ve Maceraları* [His Life and Adventures] (1950) and the subtitle was included in accordance with the publisher's intention in publishing this retranslation. In other words, ıgıraan decided to publish this work under a more informative title, which would give information on the content of the novel and attract the attention of the young readers.

Göktürk's retranslation entitled *Robinson Crusoe I* (1968) does not contain a subtitle and it seems that this brief title was preferred to announce to the readers the publication of the second volume of the novel, which was going to be published in 1969. Göktürk did not use a subtitle which contains information on the content of the book because he wanted to raise the status of the novel in the literary repertoire. A subtitle containing, for instance, the phrase "the adventures of" would probably have caused the readers to associate the novel with the adventure genre, and this would have disturbed Göktürk, who was quite displeased with the ambivalent status of the novel in the literary polysystem.

Güncean's retranslation entitled *Robinson Crusoe* (2005), on the other hand, was made to emphasize the religious readings of the novel and to change the reception of the book in the Turkish culture repertoire. A longer title might have contradicted with Güncean's aim and also with the content of the retranslation, in which religious metaphors are carefully treated and explained in footnotes. Thus, it can be said that Güncean's reason of abridging the title is similar to that of Göktürk, because she also avoids causing an association between the novel and the adventure genre, which was once "denounced by the centre of the literary polysystem" (Tahir-Gürağlar, 2001: 580).

Moreover, in this thesis it was demonstrated that the paratextual elements of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations give information regarding the reason for producing the retranslations of the novel. For example, Göktürk openly declares in the translator's preface to *Robinson Crusoe I* (1968) that he has translated this work as he believes in the necessity of loving a book as a whole. It was further shown that the publisher, the translator and the editor of the translations might use paratextual elements as supplements to accomplish their aims. For instance, Çığıracan includes in the publisher's preface to *Robinson Crusoe – Hayatı ve Maceraları* (1950) a list of morals that the Turkish youth should take from this novel, and therefore acts in accordance with his aim of educating the youth with this retranslation. It was additionally contended in this study that the different readings of the novel affect the process of retranslation and also the paratextual elements surrounding the retranslation, such as prefaces and notes. For example, Günçan's retranslation, which aims to change the reception of the novel in Turkey, comprises various paratextual elements which emphasize the religious readings of the novel.

This thesis was made to demonstrate the shaping role of *Robinson Crusoe* retranslations in the Turkish culture repertoire. Two main arguments were made. First it was argued that the retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe* have had a shaping role in the culture repertoire, and caused the emergence of new options such as indigenous books and the translations of similar stories. That is to say, the retranslations of this novel, which were produced as options themselves, caused the emergence of new options in the Turkish culture repertoire. Second, it was contended that some of the unabridged retranslations of this novel were made to affect the Turkish culture repertoire in certain ways, i.e. to play a shaping role in the culture repertoire. Although they had different reasons for making a retranslation, Göktürk and Günçan have made their retranslations in order to change the reception of this book in Turkey and to raise its status in the Turkish culture repertoire. On the other hand, Çığıracan has published Kaya's retranslation to inspire the youth and acted as a volunteer who contributed to the official culture planning activities.



In short, these three unabridged retranslations were produced and published as different options to shape the culture repertoire in certain ways. Therefore, it can be suggested that “active retranslations” (Pym, 1998: 82) are not made simply because of the aging of former translations. While some of them are indeed made to challenge the validity of the previous ones, others might be produced to change other elements in the culture repertoire, and, as a consequence, retranslations might cause the emergence of other options in the culture repertoire.

Some questions arose within the course of this research, which could not be answered in this thesis. For example, an analysis can be made on all the abridged retranslations of *Robinson Crusoe*, in order to question not only the concept of “retranslation” in Turkey, but also to study translators’ norms as far as retranslation is considered. Such an analysis might not only demonstrate further reasons regarding the emergence of retranslations, but also might show what kind of strategies are used by translators while abridging this literary classic which has so many different readings. A comprehensive analysis of the abridged versions would also make it possible to comment on the diachronic distribution of the translations of the second volume of the novel, and it would be easily displayed whether integrating *The Farther Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* into the abridgements of the first volume of is a common publication strategy.

Retranslating is not a rare activity in the Turkish culture repertoire, both in the translations of canonized and popular literature. Hopefully this thesis, as one of the first examples of its kind, will supplement future studies on the notion of “retranslation” and will inspire future researchers who shall work in the area of Translation Studies.

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# APPENDICES

**APPENDIX 1. The list of *Robinson Crusoe* translations published between 1864 and 2006. (The first ten translations were published in Arabic letters.)**

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1864	Hikaye-i Robenson (Robinson Crusoe)	1+113	Takvim-hane-i Amire	Mütercim: Ahmed Lutfi				İstanbul
1867	Terceme-i Hikaye-i Robenson	1+108	Matbaa-i Amire	Mütercim: Ahmed Lütfi				İstanbul
1871	Hikaye-i Robenson	172		Mütercim: Ahmed Lutfi				İstanbul
1878	Hikaye-i Robenson (Robinson Crusoe)	171		Mütercim: Ahmed Lutfi				İstanbul
1886	Robenson	136		Mütercim: Şemseddin Sami (Fransızca dan kısaltılarak)				İstanbul
1916	Robinson Kruzoe Hâli Adada	16	Necm-i İstikbal Matbaası	Özetleyen Mütercim: Halil Hamid				İstanbul
1923	Robenson Kruzoe	439	Tanin Matbaası	Mütercim: Şükrü Kaya (İngilizce aslından)	Ölmez Eserler Külliyyatı. Not: Tanin gazetesi ilavesi.			İstanbul
1925	Robinson	92	İleri Matbaa ve Kütüphanesi	Mütercim: Osman Nuri				Varna



Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1927	Robenson Kruzoe	59+4	Türk Limited Şirketi, Resimliay Matbaası	Mütercim: Şükrü Kaya (Kısaltılarak Yapılmış Tercüme)	Resimliay Neşriyatı Numara:19			İstanbul
	Robinson İssız Adada	142	Sühulet Kitabhanesi	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Mehmed Ali			Yes.	İstanbul
1938	Robenson	30	Sebat Basimevi	Kısaltan: Hüsamettin Bozok	Çocuk Hikayeleri		Yes.	İstanbul
1938	Robenson Kruzoe		İstanbul: Okul ve Öğretmen Neşriyatı (Ülkü Basimevi)	Dilimize çeviren: Necdet Rüştü	Çocuklara yardımcı Kitaplar			İstanbul
1942	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robenson Krüzoe	150	Kanaat Kitabevi (Ahmet Sait Matbaası)	Tercüme eden: Yaşar Nabi		2		
1944	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robenson Krüzoe	150		Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır		3		
1946	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robinson Crusoe	146		Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır		4	Yes.	
1947	Robenson Kruzeo: (Robinson Crusoe)	29	Yeni Adam (Berksoy Basimevi)	Kısaltan: Michael West, Türkçesi: Nazım Berksoy			Yes.	İstanbul
1948	Robinson Crusoe: İssız Adada 28 Yıl	146	Kanaat Kitabevi	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır	Ankara Kütüphanesi		Yes.	

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1950	Robenson Kruzeo: (Robinson Crusoe)		Yeni Adam			2		
1950	Robinson Crusoe: (Robinson Crusoe)	67	Hilmi Kitabevi (Şirketi Mürettebiye Basımevi)	İngilizce-den Çeviren: M. R. Ş.				İstanbul
1950	Robinson Crusoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	2 cilt	Hilmi Kitabevi (Şirketi Mürettebiye Basımevi)	Tercüme: Şükrü Kaya			Yes.	İstanbul
1951	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robinson Crusoe	144	Kanaat Kitabevi	Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır	Ankara Kütüphanesi	6	Yes.	İstanbul
1952	Robinson Krüzoe'nin maceraları	224	Rafet Zaimler yayınevi (Tan Matbaası)	Çeviren: Necmettin Arıkan				İstanbul
1955	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robinson Crusoe	144	Kanaat Kitabevi	Daniel Defoe'den Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır	Ankara Kütüphanesi	7	Yes.	İstanbul
1955	Robinson Crusoe İssız Adada	128	Varlık Yayınevi	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi	Çocuk klasikleri			
1955	Robinson Krüzoe'nin maceraları	224	Rafet Zaimler yayınevi (Işıl Matbaası)	Çeviren: Necmettin Arıkan		2		İstanbul
1957	Robinson Crusoe İssız Adada	104	Varlık Yayınevi	Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi		2		İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1957	Robinson Cruzoe	104	Köy ve Eğitim Yayınları	Çeviren: Arif Gelen	Çocuk ve Gençlik Klasikleri			Ankara
1958	Robenson Krüzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	135	İyigünYay				Yes.	
1959	Robenson Crusee	32	Yonca Yayınevi	Türkçeye Kısaltan: Turhan Kılga			Yes.	İstanbul
1959	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robinson Crusoe	144	Kanaat Kitabevi	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır		8		
1959	Robinson Crusoe İssız Adada		Varlık Yayınevi	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi		3		İstanbul
1959	Robenson Krüzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	110	İyigünYay	Tercüme eden: M. Doğan Özbay				İstanbul
1961	Robenson Krüzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	109	İyigünYay	Tercüme eden: M. Doğan Özbay			Yes.	İstanbul
1962	Robinson Crozoe	47	Y. Y.				Yes.	
1962	Robenson Krüzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	151	İyigünYay	M. Doğan Özbay			Yes.	İstanbul
1963	Robinson Crusoe İssız Adada	119	Varlık Yayınları	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi	Büyük Çocuk Kitapları	4		İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1965	İssız Adada 28 Yıl: Robinson Crusoe	125	Kanaat Yayınları	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi Nayır	Yeni Ankara Serisi		Yes.	İstanbul
1965	Robinson Kruzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	128	İyigünYay	Tercüme eden: M. Doğan Özbay			Yes.	İstanbul
1965	Robinson Krüzoe'nin Maceraları	176	Rafet Zaimler Kitap Yayınevi	Çeviren: Necmettin Arıkan			Yes.	İstanbul
1966	Robinson Crusoe İssız Adada	120	Varlık Yayınları	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi		5		
1966	Robinson Kruzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	128	İyigünYay	Tercüme eden: M. Doğan Özbay			Yes.	İstanbul
1967	Robinson Crusoe	96	Zuhal Yayınları	Tercüme: Adnan Yaltı	İlk ve ortaokul klasikleri serisi		Yes.	İstanbul
1968	Robinson Crusoe	143	Ahmet Helvacı-oğlu (Özaydın Matbaası)	Tercüme: Adnan Yaltı				İstanbul
1968	Robinson Crusoe 1	384	Kök Yayınları	Çeviren: Akşit Göktürk			Resimleyen: Grandville	İstanbul
1968	Robinson Crusoe	64	Renk	Azmi Nihad Erman				
1969	Robinson Crusoe	310	Sanat Neşriyat	Çeviren: Öz Dokuman			Yes.	

Date of Publ .	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher -Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1969	Robinson Crusoe	64	Renk	Azmi Nihad Erman			Yes.	
1969	Robinson Crusoe 2	366	Kök Yayınları	Çeviren: Akşit Göktürk			Resimleyen: Grandville	İstanbul
1970	Robinson Crusoe Issız Adada	95	Varlık Yayınları	Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi	Büyük Çocuk Kitapları 4	6		İstanbul
1970	Robinson Crusoe	96	İnkılap ve Aka	Çeviren: Ömer M. Karacık	Yaşayan Ünlü Masallar Serisi		Yes.	
1970	Robinson Kruzoe: Hayatı ve Maceraları	112	İyigünYay	Tercüme: M. Doğan Özbay			Yes.	İstanbul
1971	Robinson Crusoe	244	Sanat Neşriyat	Çeviren: Öz Dokuman	Armağan Çocuk Klasikleri	2		İstanbul
1972	Robinson Crusoe	96	Zuhal Yayınları	Tercüme: Adnan Yaltı				İstanbul
1972	Robinson Adası	155	Renk Yayınevi	Dilimize çeviren: Şahap Ayhan				İstanbul
1974	Robinson Crusoe	94	Işıl yayınevi	Çeviren: Hilmi Bilginer		2		İstanbul
1974	Robinson Kruzoe	94	Deniz Yay.	Türkçeye Çeviren: Metin Ener	Çocuk kitapları: 144			İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1975	Robinson Crusoe	96	İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri	Çeviren: Ömer M. Karacık	Yaşayan Ünlü Masallar		Yes.	
1975	Robinson Crusoe	310	Neşriyat Anonim Şirketi	Çeviren: Öz Dokuman	Armağan Çocuk Klasikleri		Yes.	İstanbul
1975	Robinson Crusoe	104	Zuhal Yayınları	Tercüme: Adnan Yaltı				İstanbul
1975	Robinson Crusoe	95	Renk Yayınevi	Dilimize uygulayan: H. Dilibal			Yes.	İstanbul
1976	Robinson Crusoe	95	Renk					İstanbul
1976	Robinson Crusoe	96	İnkılap ve Aka	Çeviren: Ömer M. Karacık	Yaşayan Ünlü Masallar	2	Yes.	İstanbul
1976	Robinson Kruzoe	32	Isparta: Türk Köyü Yayınları (Sim Ofset Matbaacılık)	Düzenleyen: Mustafa Koç	Dünya Çocuk Edebiyatından Seçme Yapıtlar Dizisi			İstanbul
1977	Robinson Crusoe	127	Varlık Yayınları	Kısaltarak Çeviren: Yaşar Nabi	Büyük Çocuk Kitapları	15	Yes.	
1977	Robinson Crusoe	96	İnkılap ve Aka	Çeviren: Ömer M. Karacık	Yaşayan Ünlü Masallar	3	Yes.	
1977	Robinson Crusoe	96	Şenyıldız Yayınevi	Çeviren: Gülçin Tanrının-kulu	Çocuk kitapları dizisi			İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1977	Robinson Kruzoe	239	Altın Kitaplar	Çeviren: Gülten Suveren				İstanbul
1978	Robinson Kruzoe	239	Altın Kitaplar	Dilimize Çeviren: Gülten Suveren				İstanbul
1979	Robinson Crusoe (Yaşamı ve Maceraları)	182	Arda Yayınları	Dilimize Çeviren: M. İhsan Bulur	Arda Yayınları: 4	1		İstanbul
1979	Robinson Kruseo	66	Başak Kitabevi	Çeviri: Erdem Katırcıoğlu				İstanbul
1980	Robinson Crusoe	22	Kurtuluş	Çeviren: Zerrin Kartay	Güzel Kitaplar		Yes.	Ankara
1981	Robinson Kruse	219	Altın Çocuk Kitapları					İstanbul
1982	Robenson Crusoe	237	İnkılap ve Aka Kitabevleri	Çeviren: Ela Güntekin			Yes.	
1982	Robinson Kruzoe	189	Bilgi Yay.		Çocuk Klasikleri		Yes.	
1982	Robinson Crusoe'nın Yaşam ve Maceraları	179	Dilek Yay.		Öğretici Kitaplar Dizisi, Macera Romanları			İstanbul
1983	Robinson Crusoe	158	Öğün yay.	Türkçesi: A. Tuncer Alp				Ankara

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1983	Robinson Kruzoe	201	Altın Kitaplar	Çeviren: Gülten Suveren	Altınçocuk kitapları			İstanbul
1983	Robinson Crusoe	167	Örgün Yay.	Türkçesi: Babil Çeçen, Ayhan Ergün				İstanbul
1983	Robinson Kruzoe	46	Başak Çocuk klasikleri					
1983	Robinson Crusoe	67	Kurtuluş Yayınları		Ünlü Klasik Kitapları			Ankara
1983	Robenson Crusoe	96	Burcu Yay.					
1983	Robenson Crusoe	71	Fonogram	Editor: Ferdi Yücedağ	Fonogram dizi			İstanbul
1983	Robinson Cruse	191	Esin Yayınları		Altın Çağ Dizisi			İstanbul
1983	Robinson Crusoe	670	Can Yayınları	Türkçesi: Akşit Göktürk	Büyük Klasikler Dizisi		İç Resimler: Grandville	
1984	Robinson Crusoe	88	Ergun Yayınları	Hazırlayan: Melih Ergün	En Güzel Çocuk Kitapları Dizisi		Resimleyen: Neşe Özkök	Ankara
1984	Robenson Crusoe	48	Engin Yay.				Yes.	



Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1985	Robenson Crusoe	80	Ünlü Kitabevi					
1985	Robinson Crusoe	62	ABC Kitabevi			1		İstanbul
1986	Robenson Crusoe	80	Ünlü Kitabevi		Ünlü Çocuk Klasikleri Dizisi			
1986	Robinson Crusoe	127	Öğretmen Yay.	Çeviren: Naciye Öncül	Çocuk Romanları	1		Ankara
1986	Robinson Crusoe	94	Güneş Gazetesi					
1988	Robinson Crusoe	189	Bilgi Yayınevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	2		
1989	Robenson Crusoe I II	2 kitap	Meram Yayınları		Çocuk Klasikleri Serisi			İstanbul
1991	Robenson Crusoe	64	Ünlü Yay.					
1991	Robinson Crusoe	144	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuk Klasikleri			İstanbul
1992	Robinson Crusoe	2 cilt bir-arada	Görsel Yayınları	Akşit Göktürk			No.	İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1992	Robinson Kruzo	79	Erdem	Çeviren: Mesut Güvenli	Çocuk Kit., Dünya Çocuk Klasikleri	2	Yes.	İstanbul
1993	Robinson Crusoe	144	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	2	Yes.	
1993	Robinson Crusoe	57	Yılmaz Yay.	Düzenleyen: Erdoğan Tokmakçıoğlu	Çocuk-Gençlik Dizisi	1		
1994	Robinson Crusoe	213	Bilgi Yayınevi (Cantekin Matbaacılık)		Çocuk Klasikleri			Ankara
1995	Robinson Crusoe	142	Nehir Yayınları (Umut Matbaacılık)	Hazırlayan: Hüseyin Yorulmaz	Batı Klasikleri Dizisi		Yes.	İstanbul
1995	Robinson Crusoe	80	Nurdan Yayınları	Hazırlayan: Zafer Yurt	Klasik Kitaplar Dizisi		Yes.	İstanbul
1996	Robinson Crusoe	144	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	3		
1996	Robinson Crusoe	96	Gendaş					İstanbul
1996	Robinson Crusoe	45	İnkılap (Tekno-grafik A.Ş.)	Çeviri: Aslı Şenel				İstanbul
1997	Robinson Crusoe	144	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	4		

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
1997	Robinson Crusoe	213	Bilgi Yayınevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	4		
1997	Robinson Crusoe	537	Yapı Kredi Yayınları	Çeviren: Akşit Göktürk	Doğan Kardeş Kitaplığı, İlkgençlik	1		İstanbul
1997	Robinson Crusoe	70	Ünsal Yayınları		Unutulmayan Romanlar Dizisi			Ankara
1998	Robinson Crusoe	144	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	5		İstanbul
1998	Robinson Crusoe	88	Erdem Yayınları (Trip Matbaası)	Çeviren: Mesut Güvenli	Erdem Çocuk kitapları, Dünya Çocuk Klasikleri		Yes.	İstanbul
1998	Robinson Crusoe	251	Şule Yayınları	Türkçesi: Melike Kır	Edebiyat-Dünya Klasikleri			İstanbul
1999	Robinson Crusoe	143	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	6		İstanbul
1999	Robinson Crusoe	95	Boyut Yayıncılık	Çeviren: Melisa Cagnino	Boyut Kitapları-Çocuk Klasikleri	1		İstanbul
1999	Robinson Crusoe	88	Ergun Yayınları	Hazırlayan: Melih Ergün, Resimleyen: Neşe Özkök	En Güzel Çocuk Kitapları Dizisi	8		Ankara
2000	Robinson Crusoe	213	Bilgi Yayınevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	5		

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
2000	Robinson Crusoe	62	Ecem Yayıncılık	Uyarlayanlar: Ramazan Veliçeoğlu, Muazzez Ünalın, D. Özlem Veliçeoğlu	Çocuk kitapları dizisi; Dünya Klasikleri dizisi		Yes. (Colored.) Resimleyen: Serap Yasa.	Ankara
2000	Robinson Crusoe	123	İnkılap (Anka Basım)	Düzenleyen: Öner Kemal	Gençler için Dünya Klasikleri			İstanbul
2002	Robinson Crusoe	212	Şule Yayınları			2		
2002	Robinson Crouse	144	Bahar Yayınevi		Bahar Çocuk Klasikleri		Yes.	İstanbul
2002	Robinson Crusoe	64	Ünlü Yayınları		Ünlü Türk ve Dünya Klasikleri; Çocuk Klasikleri			İstanbul
2002	Robinson Crusoe	192	Mercek Yayınları	Yalınlaştıran ve Yayına Hazırlayan: Celal Eren	Mercek Yayınları Çocuk Klasikleri			İstanbul
2002	Robinson Crusoe	142	Nehir Yayınları	Hazırlayan: Hüseyin Yorulmaz	Batı Klasikleri Dizisi; Çocuk Klasikleri			İstanbul
2003	Robinson Crusoe	128	Nehir Yayınları			8	Yes.	İstanbul
2003	Robinson Crusoe	80	Erdem Yayınları		Erdem Çocuk kitapları, Dünya Çocuk Klasikleri			İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
2003	Robinson Crusoe	118	Derpaş Kültür Yayınları	Düzenleyen: Yüksel Ocaklı; Resimleyen: Ragıp Derin	Çocuk Klasikleri	1		İstanbul
2003	Robinson Crouse	96	ATP Yayıncılık		Klasik dizi			İstanbul
2003	Robinson Kruzo	110	Timaş Yayınları	Türkçesi: Şengül Gülbahçe	Dünya Klasikleri-Gençlik Dizisi			İstanbul
2004	Robinson Crusoe	213	Bilgi Yayınevi		Çocuk Klasikleri	6		
2004	Robinson Crusoe	212	Şule Yayınları			3		
2004	Robinson Crusoe	123	İnkılap	Düzenleyen: Öner Kemal				
2004	Robinson Kruzo	110	Timaş Yayınları			4		İstanbul
2004	Robinson Kruoe	503	Altın Kitaplar	Türkçesi: Gülten Suveren	Gökkuşığı dizisi	3		İstanbul
2004	Robinson Crusoe	440	Bordo Siyah Klasik Yayınlar	Türkçesi: Pınar Günçan	Dünya klasikleri			İstanbul
2004	Robinson Crusoe	208	Papatya Yayınları	Hazırlayan: Can Alpgüvenç				İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
2004	Robinson Crusoe	503	Yapı Kredi Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık	Çeviren: Akşit Göktürk	Doğan Kardeş; Çocuk Klasikleri			
2005	Robinson Crusoe	123	İnkılap	Düzenleyen: Öner Kemal				
2005	Robinson Crusoe	71	Gonca Yayınları	Yayına Hazırlayan: Tahir Taner	Dünya klasikleri; Çocuk klasikleri			İstanbul
2005	Robinson Kruzo	110	Timaş Yayınları			5		İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	440	Bordo Siyah Klasik Yayınlar	Türkçesi: Pınar Günçan	Dünya klasikleri			İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	192	Papatya Yayınları	Hazırlayan: Can Alpgüvenç			Yes.	İstanbul
2005	Robenson Cruzoe	96	MS Çocuk	Yayına Hazırlayan: Zeynep Pınar Salan				İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	543	Cümle Yayıncılık	Çeviren: İkbal Menderesoğlu				İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	288	Yuva Yayınları		Dünya Çocuk Klasikleri			İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	560	Kum Saati Yayınları	Türkçesi: Mustafa Bahar	Dünya Klasikleri Dizisi			İstanbul

Date of Publ.	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
2005	Robinson Crusoe	512	Oda Yayınları	Çeviren: Celal Öner				İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	96	Arkadaş Yayınevi	Uyarlama: Ali Aydoğan			Yes.	Ankara
2005	Robinson Crusoe	144	Mevsim Yayın Pazarlama	Hazırlayanlar: Ayşe Akman, Havva Kaptı	Mevsim Gençlik Dizisi			İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	153	Elips Kitap			1		Ankara
2005	Robinson Crusoe	144	Remzi Kitabevi		Çocuklar İçin Klasikler	1	Resimleyen: Oğan Kandemiroğlu	İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	77	Tomurcuk Yayınları	Yayına Hazırlayan: Tahir Taner	Dünya Klasikleri			İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	43	Doğan Egmont Yayıncılık	Çeviri: Özlem Yenmez; Çizimler: İsidre Mones	Dünya Çocuk Klasikleri		Yes.(colored)	İstanbul
2005	Robinson Crusoe	175	Altın Kitaplar	Türkçesi: Gülten Suveren	Gökkuşluğu Dizisi	4		İstanbul
2006	Robinson Crusoe	64	Meram Yayıncılık	Hazırlayan: Yasemin Meyva				İstanbul

Date of Publ .	Title	Number of Pages	Publisher-Printing House	Translator	Series	Edition	Is it illustrated ?	Place of Publ.
2006	Robinson Crusoe	206	Antik Dünya Klasikleri	Türkçesi: Zeynep Erkut	Antik Dünya Klasikleri; Daniel Defoe Kitaplığı			İstanbul
2006	Robinson Crusoe	319	Alkım Yayınları	Çeviren: Celal Öner				İstanbul
2006	Robinson Crusoe	214	Metropol Yayınları	Türkçesi: Melike Kır	Edebiyat; Gençlik ve Macera			İstanbul
2006	Robinson Crouse	503	Amfora Yayınları	Türkçesi: Fatma Kaya	Dünya Klasikleri			İstanbul
2006	Robinson Crusoe	112	Polat Kitapçılık	Editör: Ahmet Polat	Klasikler Serisi			İstanbul
2006	Robinson Kruoe	175	Altın Kitaplar	Türkçesi: Gülten Suveren	Gökkuşığı Dizisi	5		İstanbul
2006	Robinson Crusoe	250	Kitap Zamanı	Hazırlayan: Mustafa Didim; Kapak Tasarım: Salih Koca	Dünya Klasikleri; Batı Klasikleri			Ankara



**APPENDIX 2. The distribution of *Robinson Crusoe* translations between 1864 and 2006.**

<b>Year</b>	<b>The Number of Translations</b>	<b>The number of retranslations (The re-editions are excluded)</b>	<b>The number of children's books. (Including the re-editions)</b>
1864	1	0	0
1865	0	0	0
1866	0	0	0
1867	1	0	0
1868	0	0	0
1869	0	0	0
1870	0	0	0
1871	1	1	0
1872	0	0	0
1873	0	0	0
1874	0	0	0
1875	0	0	0
1876	0	0	0
1877	0	0	0
1878	1	0	0
1879	0	0	0
1880	0	0	0
1881	0	0	0
1882	0	0	0
1883	0	0	0
1884	0	0	0
1885	0	0	0
1886	1	1	0
1887	0	0	0
1888	0	0	0
1889	0	0	0
1890	0	0	0
1891	0	0	0
1892	0	0	0
1893	0	0	0
1894	0	0	0
1895	0	0	0
1896	0	0	0
1897	0	0	0
1898	0	0	0
1899	0	0	0
1900	0	0	0
1901	0	0	0
1902	0	0	0
1903	0	0	0
1904	0	0	0
1905	0	0	0

<b>Year</b>	<b>The Number of Translations</b>	<b>The number of retranslations (The re-editions are excluded)</b>	<b>The number of children's books. (Including the re-editions)</b>
1906	0	0	0
1907	0	0	0
1908	0	0	0
1909	0	0	0
1910	0	0	0
1911	0	0	0
1912	0	0	0
1913	0	0	0
1914	0	0	0
1915	0	0	0
1916	1	1	0
1917	0	0	0
1918	0	0	0
1919	0	0	0
1920	0	0	0
1921	0	0	0
1922	0	0	0
1923	1	1	0
1924	0	0	0
1925	1	1	0
1926	0	0	0
1927	1	1	0
1928	0	0	0
1929	0	0	0
1930	0	0	0
1931	0	0	0
1932	0	0	0
1933	0	0	0
1934	0	0	0
1935	0	0	0
1936	0	0	0
1937	0	0	0
1938	2	2	2
1939	0	0	0
1940	0	0	0
1941	0	0	0
1942	1	1	0
1943	0	0	0
1944	1	0	0
1945	0	0	0
1946	1	0	0
1947	1	1	0
1948	1	0	0
1949	0	0	0
1950	3	2	0
1951	1	0	0
1952	1	1	0
1953	0	0	0

<b>Year</b>	<b>The Number of Translations</b>	<b>The number of retranslations (The re-editions are excluded)</b>	<b>The number of children's books. (Including the re-editions)</b>
1954	0	0	0
1955	3	1	1
1956	0	0	0
1957	2	1	1
1958	1	1	0
1959	4	0	0
1960	0	0	0
1961	1	0	0
1962	2	1	0
1963	1	0	1
1964	0	0	0
1965	3	1	0
1966	2	0	0
1967	1	1	1
1968	3	3	0
1969	3	2	0
1970	3	1	2
1971	1	0	1
1972	2	0	0
1973	0	0	0
1974	2	2	1
1975	4	1	1
1976	3	1	1
1977	4	1	2
1978	1	0	0
1979	2	2	0
1980	1	1	0
1981	1	1	1
1982	3	3	2
1983	9	8	2
1984	2	2	1
1985	2	2	0
1986	3	3	2
1987	0	0	0
1988	1	0	1
1989	1	1	1
1990	0	0	0
1991	2	2	1
1992	2	1	1
1993	2	1	2
1994	1	0	1
1995	2	2	0
1996	3	2	1
1997	4	2	3
1998	3	1	2
1999	3	1	3
2000	3	2	3
2001	0	0	0

<b>Year</b>	<b>The Number of Translations</b>	<b>The number of retranslations (The re-editions are excluded)</b>	<b>The number of children's books. (Including the re-editions)</b>
2002	5	3	4
2003	5	3	4
2004	8	3	4
2005	17	13	6
2006	8	5	2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>161</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>61</b>

APPENDIX 3. The title pages of the original *Robinson Crusoe* texts.



THE FARTHER  
A DVENTURES  
OF  
ROBINSON CRUSOE,  
Being the Second and Last Part  
OF HIS  
L I F E,  
And STRANGE SURPRIZING  
ACCOUNTS of his TRAVELS  
Round three Parts of the Globe.

*Written by Himself.*

The Second Edition.

To which is added a Map of the World, in which is  
Delineated the Voyages of ROBINSON CRUSOE.



L O N D O N: Printed for W. TAYLOR at the  
Ship in Pater-Noster-Row. MDCCLXIX.

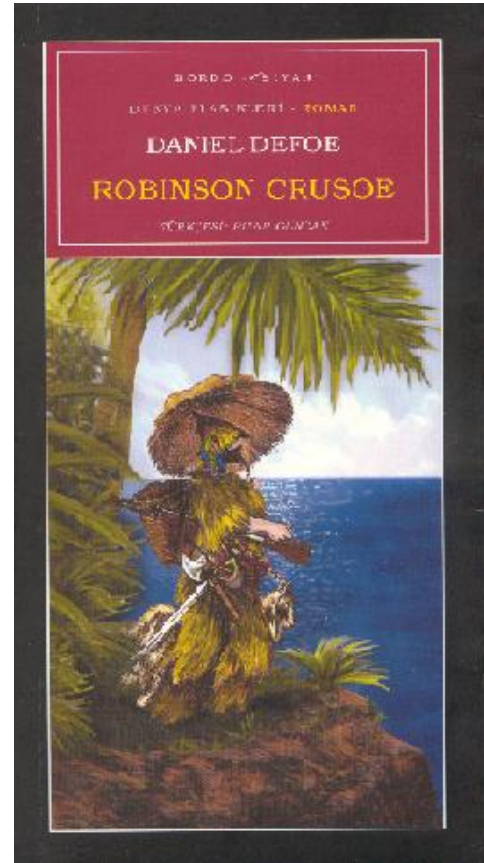
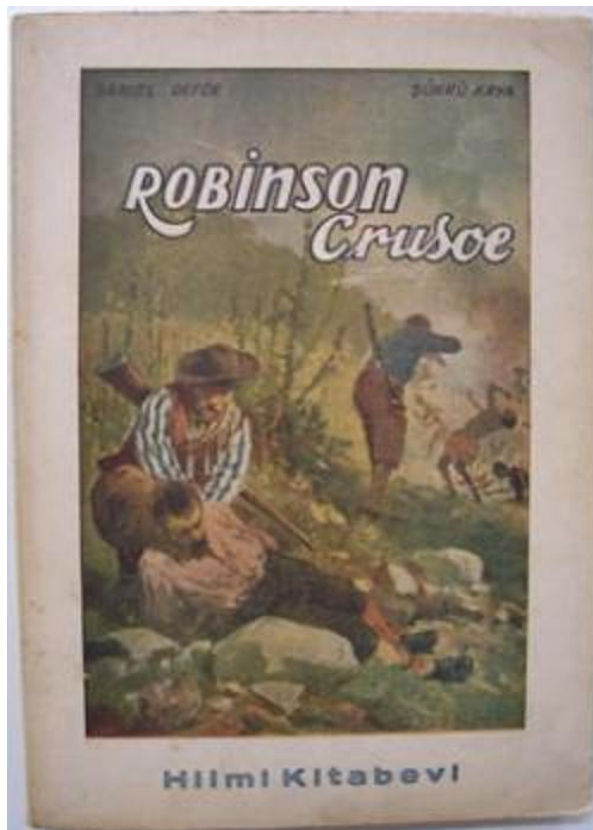
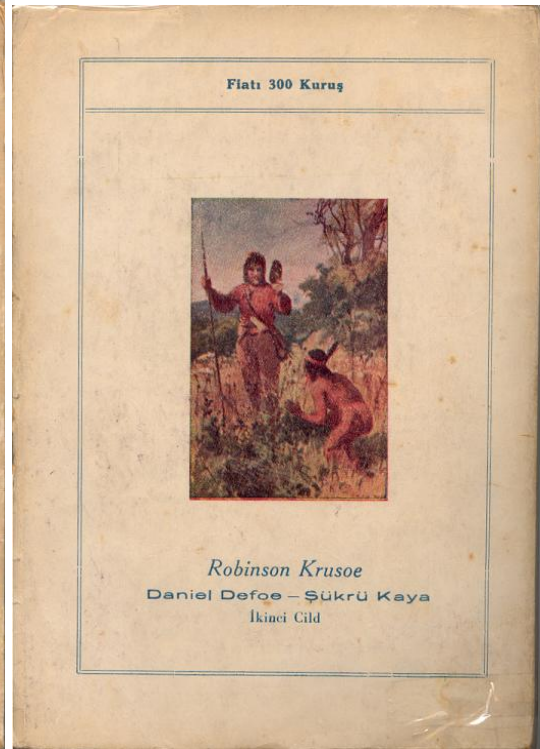
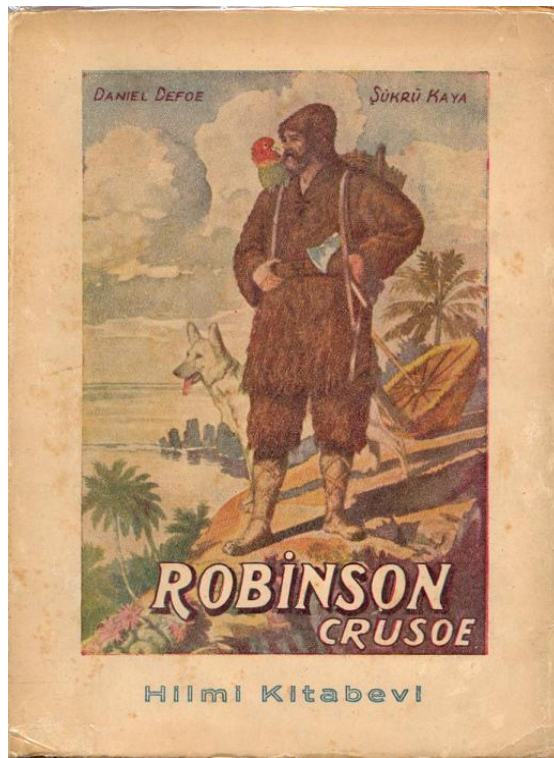
Serious Reflections  
DURING THE  
**L I F E**  
*And Surprising Passages.*  
ADVENTURES  
*and Discoveries* OF 1720  
ROBINSON CRUSOE:  
WITH HIS  
**V I S I O N**  
OF THE  
*Angelick* **W O R L D.**

*Written by Himself.*



LONDON: Printed for W. TAYLOR, at the Ship  
and Black-Swan in Peter-Norfolk-Row. 1720.

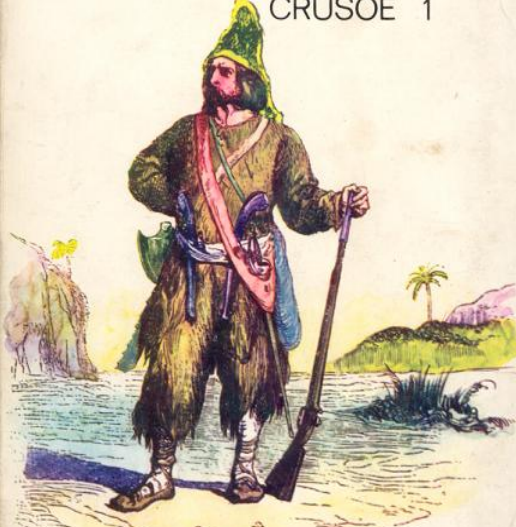
APPENDIX 4. The covers of unabridged *Robinson Crusoe* translations.





daniel defoe

ROBINSON  
CRUSOE 1



çeviren :  
akşit göktürk

kök yayınlar

ROBINSON bir çocuğa verilebilecek en güzel kitaptır. ROUSSEAU  
ROBINSON'u sadece çocuk kitabı saymak büyük yanlıştır. TAINIE  
ROBINSON CRUSOE en sevdiğim üç romandan birincisidir. MALRAUX



15 lira

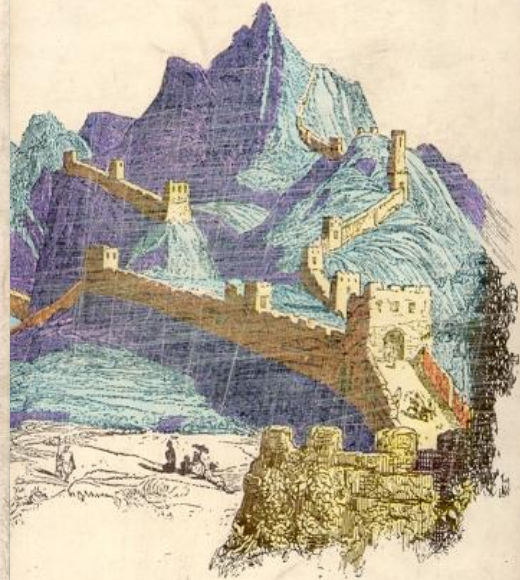
daniel defoe

ROBINSON  
CRUSOE 2



çeviren :  
akşit göktürk

kök yayınlar



15 Lira

APPENDIX 5. The covers of *Kız Robenson* (1971) and *Robenson Buzlar Diyarında* (1959).

