

THE STATE THEATER IN TURKISH NATION BUILDING: POSITIONING THE SELF IN THE HISTORY THROUGH TRANSLATION SCREENPLAYS

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ABSTRACT

The proclamation of the Republic in Turkey accelerated the modernization process including a cultural mobilization. Turkey took Europe as the role model for its modernization and nation building process. One of the prominent institutions that'd been used as the nation's global showcase during the convergence to the West block after World War Two, was the State Theater. The State Theater was founded in 1949 during the transition to the democracy with a shift to a multi-party regime. The repertory of the institution reflects the projects of identity and nation building in cultural aspects through the dramaturgists' preferences of translation screenplays until the first military intervention in 1960. The research aims at revealing the role of the State Theater in Turkish identity building process, addressing the perception of "West" through translations that were put onto the stage between 1949-1960. The main object of this study is to unravel the perception of "Western history" and self positioning of the Turkish identity in it. The study argues that the self positioning of modern Turkish identity relies against "Western" and "European" as "the other" identity historically and it is traceable through the State Theater's translation repertory under the history theme. The study uses discourse analysis mapping the translation screenplays of the State Theater to ascertain the self-positioning of Turkish identity.

NATIONAL IDENTITY BUILDING AND MAKING THE HISTORY

Making the past for constructing a modern national identity is a self positioning initiation. It creates a world at present, referring to the past, which is full of meanings. Modern identities start up constituting their national identities by making a historical narrative. This way, history becomes a tool for creating a common ground of symbols for the members of the nation. Therefore, making the history is making the identity according to Friedman (1992); so the past becomes a reflection on "now" and future. A history that's re-written is a result of representations without having a concrete basis. They are invented and induced by education as Hobsbawm (1983) suggests and ends up with becoming imagined collectivities as Anderson argues (1991). These chains of representations are imagined consolidated by time leading the national identity building. In modern identity building, there is one single historical truth. The making of the history for the modern identity choses a starting point and an ending point arbitrarily. All other historical schemes or interpretations regarding past are ideological (Friedman, 1992). "Self" is not only constructed one sidedly, but is a mutual construction with "the historical others" of the identity. Identity construction is a sum of complicated interaction between multiple identity constructions. Translation screenplays of the State Theater in Turkey repertory between 1949-1960, are eligible enough to mirror the selfhoods and otherhoods of modern West- modern Turkish identity.

In this study, the historical screenplays are analysed through religion, state as well as narrative and national identity perceptions which give us clues on an overall identity construction in the State Theater. While doing the reading, the history theme distinguishes itself for having reflected a certain time period from the history. History theme becomes important for picturing the perception of the history of the nation, as well as what is left behind as the history by cutting the bonds between "now" and "the memory". Ernest Renan defines it as "culmination of a long past of sacrifice and devotion" yet he signifies an oblivion and remembrance referring a certain historical narrative (Zuelow, 2010). Arts, particularly literature and theater, have an important role to reinforce this remembrance. The dialogues and the cues within the pieces work for this feeling of samehood among the members of the nation who share the same past.

Thereby, modern identity founds itself using the language of history. The screenplays of the State Theater brings about the construction of Turkish modern national identity via its repertory regarding history. Positioning the self

and constructing the past of a modern national identity (Friedman, 1992) needs an “otherness” which is “West” in Turkish case. The main object of this study is to reveal the perception of “Western history” and self positioning of the Turkish identity in it. The study argues that the self positioning of modern Turkish identity relies on feeling “the other” identity against “Western” and “European” identity historically and the State Theater’s translation repertory under the history theme provides a good source to trace it.

The study covers the repertory of the State Theater’s translations repertory from 1949, the foundation of the institution until 1960, up to the first military intervention in the Republic’s history, as this period overlaps with the national identity construction in Turkey. The analysis focuses on the self positioning of modern Turkish national identity by dispersing the texts according to the components: religion, state and national and narrative identity. The study contributes to the comprehension of the modern Turkish national identity building process regarding history perception of the Turkish Republic and its artistic performances under the history theme.

THE NATIONAL IDENTITY BUILDING IN TURKEY AND THE STATE THEATER

Nations are to be understood as mental constructs of the transformed minds of the modern nation, as “imagined political communities” (Anderson, 1991). National identities conceived as specific forms of social identities that are discursively, by means of language and other semiotic systems, produced, reproduced, transformed and destructed by politicians, intellectuals, systems of education, schooling, media people, mass communication, militarization and sports (Althusser, 2008). The designers of national identities and national cultures aim at “linking membership within the political nation state and identification with the national culture” (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999, p. 155). Gellner (2013) argues that this learned membership link leads to a nationwide educational process, which conveys the members of the nation having equipped by the necessary high culture to the market system. This high culture distributes some ethnic values and cultural norms to unite some its members. To speak on the nation state and its members, the citizens of a nation state are the ones who constitutes the nation, with a certain common language, a defined lifestyle, clarified identity features, as Çınar (2005) defines.

Correspondingly, Republic of Turkey used language (Bingöl, 2009; Yılmaz, 2011), architecture (Bozdoğan, 1998; Bozdoğan, 2012), education system and official history (Ersanlı, 1996) as well as arts (Başbuğ, 2013) with different tools in different dimensions to serve as the state’s ideological apparatus. These studies focus on the ideology of Turkish nation state. To take it further, the nation state intervened the necessary field directly by its institutions or regulated the public sphere and civil society instruments directly or indirectly in order to indocrinate its national identity building project. The sovereign power prefers encouraging the emergence of a national theater by founding a State Theater in Turkey and institutionalize the national identity, by using one of the politically strongest communicative arts: theater.

The State Theater was linked to the National Educational Ministry when it's first been found as a part of *Tatbikat Sahnesi* (State Conservatory Implementation Stage). It was designed as an educational institution on the first step. The conservatory's chair was Carl Ebert who was invited by the Turkish government after his flee from the Nazi regime, who served in Turkey between 1936-1947. He determined the schedule of the theater department also because the founder of the Implementation Stage. Muhsin Ertuğrul has become the second administer of the stage after leaving of Carl Ebert. Following the opening of the *Küçük Tiyatro* and *Büyük Tiyatro* stages in Ankara, the law on the Establishment of the State Theater and Opera was inured in June 1949. The State Theater was opened with the performance of Cevat Fehmi Başkut’s *Küçük Şehir* (The Small City) at *Küçük Tiyatro*, and the *Faust* by Goethe at *Büyük Tiyatro*, in October. The opening plays are remarkable since one draws a vision for reaching a national theater tradition while the other points out the effect of German tradition of theater on Turkish State Theater. Dramaturgy strategies at the State Theater is executed by a literary board according to the directive on The Law on the Establishment of the State Theater with the number of 5441 (Daloğlu, 2013). The institution then linked to Tourism and Cultural Ministry with 1970 amendment. We couldn’t manage to get an official list of dramaturgs or how the board works in process from the State Theater. *Tatbikat Sahnesi* has become a thing in the past, let the other performative arts such as ballet and opera take place under the new administrative structure.

METHODS

We draw a sample frame in translation repertory of 1949-1960 seasons according to the plays’ ability to connect with the audience. The study uses the criteria of being written by popularly selected authors by the dramaturgists as well as the density of the codings. Narrative identity and national identity are observable throughout the texts as we follow Genette's (1980) narrative discourse theory and Wodak and Meyer’s (2009) point of view on discursive

construction of national identities. This study uses an interdisciplinary approach which intermingles historical and socio-political approaches, and linguistics in a critical perspective. By doing this, the study explores the discursive construction of national identity by focusing on the imagined other and the construction of sameness (de Cillia, Reisigl and Wodak, 1999) while adding Genette's (1980) literary textual approach. In this study, this merge will allow us to deconstruct the image of "the other" and "the sameness" in texts under the history theme. We also unravel the scene, space, the preface and the notes throughout the piece, the stage instructions as well as narration styles of the author when it is available.

In order to make a scan in the repertory of the State Theater between 1949-1950 and 1959-1960 seasons, we delved into the institution's archives. We found out that the total number of the screenplays that were produced between 1949-1950 and 1959-1960 seasons was 156. We categorized the screenplays according to themes as historical screenplays, body and space theme. We eliminated some screenplays automatically when we couldn't reach out their original copies that were typed or published by the State Theater, or if they were not performed ever, or had low number of interpretive data. Since the foreign authors' pieces are important signifiers of the perception of Turkish identity and "the other" of Turkish identity, these playwrights and the screenplays were deemed by the State Theater's literary committee, for certain features such as their popularity in Western artistic culture. Besides being a classical for the playwright's country for different reasons, they were also the indicators of the facets of the nation building process in Turkey, which is tried to be institutionalized by the State Theater. Yet, the literary committee would not let any of those pieces to contradict with its identity projects. On the other hand, they are also important to visualize the mobilization of the intellect through arts and the artists. The foreign representative signifiers of the national identity building process, provide the historical perception of the identity, the embodiment of the fiction and the geography of the nation.

The State Theater claims to create a more qualified, academic repertoire while helping the birth of a modern national theater. When the State Theater's approach was compared to the İstanbul City Theater, they wanted to introduce a new and modern theatrical tradition. The translation screenplays hold 68,6 % of the repertory. The screenplays are divided into three, under history theme, body theme and space theme by the help of Çınar's pattern (2005). This study only focuses on the history theme to unravel the history perception via theater during national identity construction process while illuminating the self positioning of Turkish modern national identity construction in West's history perception.

The screenplays are literally examined by classifying data according to how the characters feel about their identity, how their or the others are shown, how religion and state constitutes their identity and reaches a narrative and national identity narration. The data regarding religion is significant because Mitchell C. (2006) states that religion has always been a non-negligible component of an identity whether it is modern times or not. The state constitutes another significant part of a national identity and its knowledge points out how the state builds the national identity and how it is perceived by the intellectuals as Safran (1991) demonstrates it within French case. Discourses on national identity, might be puzzling despite of one constructed "history" perception. The actors of the applied identities reconcile their past with future via how they feel about their identities (Parekh, 1994). The identities have always included a religious self definition, and be a part of modern nation building within the perception of history.

HISTORICAL SCREENPLAYS

The history theme indicates the perception of history of the State Theater repertory. The imagination of the history of nations is one of the constitutive elements of a sameness in a national identity and often used for making the nation's past. The history theme does not only demonstrate the sameness but it also gives clues about the "other" which helps to construct the self positioning in the past. The starting point of the history, the space of the history draws a picture of the imagination of the history. Since modernization ideas of the nation building relies on creating memories and inventing traditions, history is an important way to start up this project in the name of universal civilization.

The literary board of the State Theater usually shows a will of choosing the screenplays that are originated in Europe, especially under the German theater impulse in the context of history. However, by the years, there is a slight change in the interest in diversity of translations including Anglosaxon literature in favor of American culture, remaining its bond with European literature.

When the screenplays are classified under history theme, three subthemes show up: Ancient Greek, Collapse of the Feudality and World War Two subthemes. Although there are some European classical theater screenplays that are

written by very important playwrights such as William Shakespeare, and are able to be examined under history theme since they witness a certain historical period, the codings and the indicators in the context of identity are not clear and observable. The screenplays under historical theme in the translations repertory, which are examined in this study, are *Elektra* (Sophokles, nd), *Ölü Kraliçe - The Dead Queen* (Montherlant, nd) , *Don Carlos* (Schiller, 1983), *Maria Stuart* (Schiller, 1983), *Cadı Kazanı - The Crucible* (Miller, nd.), *Anne Frank'ın Hatıra Defteri – Anne Frank* (Hackett and Goodrich, nd) and *The Robbers* (Schiller, nd). As the timeline requires we interpret the data of Ancient Greek subtheme in the next section.

ANCIENT GREEK SUBTHEME

The memory of the nation has often be based upon a collective past, which would undeniably include the perception of religion and the place of the religion in the society's history. In this section the study is interested in examining the perception of religion in Ancient Greek theme under historical screenplays, in order to demonstrate the relationship between the religion, as one of the most important component of an identity, in Ancient Greek time. The Ancient Greek subtheme gives clues about the perception of the historical starting point of the Western Civilization through the eyes of the State Theater literary committee. This subtheme reveals the historical starting point of the geographical common points with the West. "The West" is Europe which starts its modern history from Ancient Greek for its having contributions for the common uniting features of "Europe" (Friedman, 1992).

Sophokles' *Elektra* is one of the most popular Greek tragedies about Trojan War. The Elektra legend is inspired by Iliada and Odyssea legend of Homeros and tells the story of the Trojan War. It was put onto the stage in 1952-1953 season with Afif Obay's translation. The screenplay in the archives include a brief information on Greek mythology and tragedies. In this preamble, the author mentions the Greek civilization as the others' civilization while distinguishing "their" culture from "ours".

The preamble gives basic information about the perception of Greek civilization's history. A part of this information speaks on the way of living the religion. This religion that "is totally different from ours" is polytheistic with an afterlife belief. There are oracles to reach out the gods if there is a demand from the city dwellers (Sophokles, nd., pp.1-8).

By examining the relationship between the state and the citizens as well as the perception of the state through the eyes of the playwrights under history theme. Thereby the study will connect the clues on the institutionalization of the national identity building process by analysing the conceptualization of "the state" in translation screenplays, where these conceptualizations might be borrowed, hybridized, embraced or criticised. Examinations under history theme reflects this relationship historically. The study evaluates the relationship between the representation of the state under Ancient Greek time as a part of the history.

The perception and the role of the state defines the relationship between the citizen and the state and also contributes into the current place of "the state" perception for the citizens, historically. These mutual definitions both become a part of collective identities. The cues of the playwrights put the feelings and ideas regarding the state into prominence directly, by helping the characters to voice out. This imagination of the state is nevertheless dependent on the indoctrination of the Republic's views, because of the institutional ties between the state and the State Theater.

The philosophical base of the Western civilization is tried to be conveyed to the audience within the "polis" envision. The imagination of the state of "the universal", "the civilized", "the modern" model, reaches out the audience every time the cues are voiced out by the characters. However, the imagination of the state in Ancient Greek is not very sharp. However there are some interpretive clues.

Narrative discourse to define "us" and "other" may have patriotic values, historically before the embracement of the modern definition of a nation, and national homeland. In modern nation conceptualization, often asked where the nation is (to draw the borders), who the members of the nation (to figure out who citizens are), how old this nation is (referring history). However, the individuals and the peoples do not have to embrace only modern nationalistic emotions to get together. They may have patriotic emotions towards where they live or in which society they live. Therefore, these emotions can not be a direct signifier of a national conscious, or a national narrative but helps figuring out how the people define themselves through arts. The study analyzes the patriotic feelings and check whether the playwrights use these patriotic emphasises with modern terms to refer nationalistic feelings under Ancient Greek theme.

Afif Obay tries to be objective culturally while making *Elektra* Turkish, however the language of the preamble reflects the translator's sameness feeling, by distinguishing his identity from the Greek's culture. Although he puts

the narrative identity across the Greek civilization, this preamble is important to observe the starting point of the history perception. The history starts in Greek civilization, which took place in Troy. Troy is in the borders of the Turkish Republic and transformed into a museum. Although this screenplay is a translation, the preamble demonstrates that the State Theater dissimilates Turkish identity from Western identity while putting Ancient Greek culture and religion as oppose to the samehood of Turkishness, evident by the play's preamble.

When examined, the narrative and national identity analysis indicates that the historical start of the Western civilization reflects the very beginning of the constructive other of the Turkish identity. However, this perception does not remain as the only constructive feature of the other. It is also "the other" that is to be reached out to be the part of "the modern" right away. That is to say, it also demonstrates that the Ancient Greek past of Ionia is a shared past with Turkish identity geographically at the end of the day, although it perceives it as the beginning of a narrative identity as "the other." Turkish identity positions itself in the general narrative of Europe in history making as the non-excludable "other".

RENAISSANCE EUROPE SUBTHEME

Europe's second milestone in history is Renaissance (Friedman, 1992). The screenplays that were borrowed by the State Theater from Western literature, subjected sectarian conflicts, rebirth of Europe and the decay of feudality. The subtheme about the European Renaissance includes *Dead Queen (Ölü Kraliçe)* (Montherlant, nd.) , *Don Carlos* (Schiller, 1983.), *Maria Stuart* (Schiller, nd.a), *The Crucible (Cadı Kazanı)* (Miller, nd.) screenplays. In general, the authors were picked from Europe. But exceptionally we run into Arthur Miller's piece from United States. The latter preference signifies the institution's changing projection of the modern from continental Europe to America. So the latest "modern project" to hold up as an example becomes America with its modernization patterns and cultural preferences, even if the *Crucible* is a critical screenplay.

Henry de Montherlant's *Ölü Kraliçe* (Dead Queen) tells the historical story of the love between the Prince Don Pedro and Ines de Castro, whose throne was resigned to only after her death. The King Ferrante, condemns his son's relationship with Ines de Castro; claims that there are more important issues to deal with such as the kingdom losing its strength and the necessity to sustain of the Christianity. The play was performed in 1952 by the State Theater.

Don Carlos, written by Frederick von Schiller, who is one of the most important figures of German theater literature, tells the impossible love of Don Carlos for the Queen Elizabeth, while witnessing the reform period in 16th. century. It sets light to the social, psychological and political irony of the period and the role of the inquisitor. The play was staged in 1954-1955 season by the State Theater.

Maria Stuart is again Frederick von Schiller's theater screenplay on the Scottish Queen Maria Stuart who was sentenced to death for killing her husband. Mary lived in 1542-1587 and ruled Scotland between 1558-1560, and also became French Queen by her marriage to François II until her death for treason in 1587, blamed by the Queen Elisabeth I. The space of the screenplay is the Westminster Palace. Although the screenplay is a historical one and has many parallel points with the historical realities, Schiller created some characters and events that eroded some truths. As a literary theatrical piece, the play was staged in 19th century. The play was written in Weimar Germany in 1800. The State Theater acted Maria Stuart in both 1953-1954 and 1954-1955 seasons.

Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*, translated as *Cadı Kazanı* (Miller, nd.), which means "a witch's cauldron" mentions the sectarian tensions in the new World and the witch hunt that begins with the rumour. It is to be told that the screenplay implied the witch hunt which was applied on the communists in the States, when Miller wrote the screenplay (Miller, 1996). The State Theater performed *the Crucible* in 1958-1959 season, just a few after the Press Law inured in 1956 by Democrat Party initiations as a part of a tool for oppression (Kubilay, 2014). This law was seen as an instrument to apply the government's pressure over the press, by the artists and the press members in Turkey.

Following this preamble, the study continues with the examination of these screenplays according to the religion, state, narrative and national identity representations. Thereby, the study pursues the place of religion, state in an identity within historical theme to reveal the representation of the most important components of a national identity construction.

In *Dead Queen* the translation uses Turkish and Islamic daily phrases when the characters express their Christian affiliation such as "Allah" or "for the consent of Allah" (*Allah rızası için*). The Christian affiliation goes hand in hand with "homeland", "the king" and "the state" and "the nation". Although the historical period overlaps with the era of kingdoms, the usage of these concepts reveals the perspective of either the author or the translator Mübeccel

Bayramveli towards religious identities. The narrative other regarding religion is the Arabs who lived in Spanish peninsula, embraced Islam as religion. The “other” of the text is not given sharply but shed in a dialogue between Ines and Dino del Moro: “They call my dad Fernando del Moro because he stabbed his butler, who was formerly an Arab, by his own hands after figuring out that even if he looked like a Christian he adhered to Islam.” (Montherlant, nd., 63). The King, condemns his son Pedro’s relationship with Ines; thinks that Pedro should deal with the state related works and the sustain of the Christianity. By having a suitable life with the religion, he would be able to disseminate the power led by the God.

Don Carlos' (Schiller, 1983) translation uses Turkish and Islamic daily phrases such as "for the consent of *Allah*" (*Allah rızası için*) or "*Allah*" alone. The God also is translated as "*Tanrı*" which is a Turkish and secular word for *Allah*. The narrative other of the religious identity is the atheists, who were actually the rioter protestants identified as non believers. Alba says, "This sword made the foreign nations accept the Spanish law, shone against the divinity, who was crucified, like a lightning. God was ruling in the sky, me, on the earth." (Schiller, 1983, p.26). The play is important for its cues regarding inquisition courts and the relationship between the king and the cardinal. Cardinal mentions his dissatisfaction by; "We are not content with you... Shall I teach the very first knowledge of the reign to my gray-haired student. Our order's rigid chains were boring you; you wished to stay free and alone. (*Stops, the king stops speaking*) Your revenge has been taken... You shall be thankful for the church which is satisfied by punishing you just like a mother." (Schiller, 1983, p.91). The place of the Cardinal and the Pope would have been assumed as over the King. The patriarchy is embodied first in the body of the church and then it passes to the King. During the renaissance and reform, the Church’s political stance had questioned, as well as the power of the feudal structure. The period that Schiller tells about in Maria Stuart, overlaps with the time of rebellion against the Church in Saxonia and Prussia, so it well gives clues on the disunity of Christianity in Europe as well as the strengthening of the kingdoms. Besides there are some codings that also provide information about the identity of the translator of the screenplay. The guilt of Maria in the screenplay is drawn over the religion, as to nurse a grudge for the sake of England, and to make England catholic again. By the words of the character Paulet: “She has come to this country as she was withdrawn from her throne with a wretched movement and set fire by her nation (people, *millet*) with the murderer title. By nursing a grudge for the sake of England, to realize the Spanish Maria’s period again, to Catholicize England and make it? (*unable to read*) to the French” (Schiller, nd. a, p.4). the translator uses word “*millet*”. “*Millet*” in Turkish has two meanings. One is used referring to the Ottoman Empire’s *millet* system, the other one is used to mean “nation” in modern terms. Although the translator is not clear on which she had a preference, but presumably she refers to its latter meaning, even though modern national identities emerge later on.

Although the translation includes word “*Allah*”, the text clearly sets the samehood on Christianity, which is disunited. The cues on Papa, Pastors inconsistently include both *Allah* and *Tanrı* translations for the name of God, the creator: (Schiller, nd. a, p. 86).

MELVIL – In the name of Father, Son and Holy Spirit! Queen Maria! Have you probed your heart well? Do you promise by swearing to confess before *Tanrı*, the source of the truth?

MARIA – My heart lays entirely open in front of both him and you.

MELVIL – So tell me, from the moment that you have repented, which sin is your inner conscious burdens on you?

MARIA – My heart was full of hatred that came from grudge, the feelings for revenge were romping inside of my bosom, so to speak. I hoped that *Tanrı* would forgive me, however I couldn’t forgive my foe.

The characters in Maria Stuart witness the sectarian conflicts over the tension between the Puritans and the Catholics. The audience gets that the characters are representatives of either Puritans or Catholics, although the screenplay uses *Allah* or *Tanrı* words often. A part sees Papa as the embodiment of the trinity which is far from being earthly, also a part leaves his country and homeland for the suppression of the Puritans: “I have left my homeland (*vatan*) with the oppressive exhortations...” (Schiller, nd. a, p.11); “...After that, the moment I witnessed Papa administering that mighty ritual with all of his solemnity and his sanctifying the nations (*millet*) by my own eyes, how I felt excited. Ah, how much would the all jewels and the gold that the kings use to get beautified cost? All godly things are around him. His home is a real sky country; yet, those shapes do not belong to this world.” (Schiller, nd. a, p.12) And the characters also use and perceive the Bible as the holy, mighty book to heal detrimental thoughts and actions, just like Paulet mentions: “They left the Bible to her, to chast her heart.” (Schiller, nd. a, p.3).

Another important point in amongst the religion codings in *Maria Stuart* is the unity of religion and the homeland. Maria has seen as one of those who makes some sacrifices for her religion and homeland, by leaving her own homeland: "...She bears for the torment for our creed; at that the place she suffers is your homeland (*vatan*)" (Schiller, nd. a, 13). The translator prefers using word *vatan* to define country, homeland, hometown with a modern perception, although 16th century is too early for defining homeland in modern terms. *Vatan* in Turkish is a word to define the territory of a nation with modern and nationalistic feelings preferred by rightists in Turkey. The unity of the religion and the homeland in terms of patriotism is obvious by these codings.

The *Crucible's* translation again uses daily Islamic phrases and words such as "*Allah*" and "for the consent of Allah" (*Allah rızası için*) throughout the screenplay, while the characters express feelings or thoughts regarding their one and only religion: Christianity. The screenplay starts with an emphasis of the religion in Salem's, daily life of the dwellers of this town in the New World in late 18. century. America meant hard working and religious practices for the people of Salem. The story tells about the witch hunt, predominantly among women of the town, in the new world, for those who linger around the church or home or on the farmland opposing to the religious rules. According to the people of Salem, the others of their religious identity were the non believer Indians who made forays to get their lands back. Salem is famous for its blind Christian followers who fail to convert those *wilds* (by Arthur Miller's emphasis, sarcastically) Christians. Protestants were oppressed by the British on the continent and they were determined to avoid that, to occur again on the new continent. The struggles between the non official states caused the union of the religion and the administration for these conservative Protestants. The town tries to eliminate the demon worshippers by the witch hunt and the screenplay demonstrates how the ordinary people and the priest behave unrighteously by listening to the slanders during trials well. The samehood of the characters is built upon Christianity through the body of Jesus. The character Hale mentions the samehood by:

"Mrs. Proctor, I have wandered in the desserts like our Jesus. I have been searching for what to do as a Christian. Because the sin of a priest, who makes the people lie, is twice big." (Miller, nd., p.153).

Religion indicators demonstrate that Christian affiliation is the affiliation of the other of the Turkish identity. Although Christian identity is the common point in the screenplays, the other common feature of the translations is the usage of Islamic phrases in order to express emotions regarding daily dialogues. "*Tanrı*" as the secular and Turkish word for the God is used time to time, but this usage remains inconsistent. In a general context, the religion codes are on the declination of the Church, keeping Christianity alive and sectarian conflicts between Catholics and Protestants. While making the language Turkish of the translation screenplays, the translators preferred remaining their Muslim identity as the counter identity of the Christian identity. In view of the fact that the historical subtheme draws borders of the period with premodern space but defines it with a modern concept: homeland. Translators use the Turkish word: "*Vatan*" as the homeland is something more defined upon religion rather than a certain kinship or a nation. It is to deduce from the sectarian conflicts throughout the translations that these historical, bloody circumstances prepared the background for secularism in Europe.

Patriarchy and sovereignty are two concepts visible through the state subcodings in *Dead Queen*. The power of the king and the kingdom comes from the God and it sets a hierarchy between the kings and the Pope. There are seldom cues for the state in *Don Carlos*. The Queen says, "The knight has his right. The state still exists; however there are no knights left." to protect the land of the reign (Schiller, 1983, p.88). Also, there is an emphasis on the decaying state because of its enemies: "Do not speak of him, of his illustrious highness. An enemy is hid in the state, is more dangerous than him" (Schiller, 1983, p.88).

The representations of state in *the Crucible* do not come into prominence however, give hint about the relationship between the weak state administration regarding corrupted law and the witch hunt which found its moral base in religion: "...The keys of the state are captured by a few girls; they are playing on us. Rumour has spread: the slander is the new law..." (Miller, nd., p.91) However we should keep in mind that these indicators were side indicators, yet the screenplay is all about the injustice of the period, touching the gender bias in the town at the same time.

In *Maria Stuart*, the state's almighty position is striking. Although the families are still important in 16th century in which the story takes place; the strength of the state and its supremacy over its subjects becomes prominent as the character Leicester emphasizes the supremacy of the state by "When he commits a crime against the state..." (p.62). Besides the supremacy of the state the tie between the state and the religion is uttered; "May *Allah* protect him and grant him a happy reign!" (Schiller, nd. a, p.89).

For the historical subtheme "Renaissance of Europe", the data demonstrate that the state, king, kingdom comes from God; therefore these concepts are used with their Godly, or sanctified features. The state in Europe are divine, almighty and inseparable from the land and the institutional religion. Throughout the text the audience

neither get the idea of certain territory nor modern national borders driven by the playwrights or the translators. The state has traitors, and when the state has a weak administration it would congruently have weak law or legal system where they are all based on religion.

The narrative samehood of the *Dead Queen* is seen through the speech of the King Ferrante. He talks about his people as his nation, his land as hometown: "He is the King of Portugal, the Victor of the Africans, the conqueror of the India, Ferrante the great whom the nobles tremble in the face of, the poor sinner..." (Montherland, nd., 62).

The translation of *Don Carlos* includes cues regarding victimhood and different samehoods in the context of narrative and national identity. He uses "oppressed nations" to mention Spain. Homeland, freedom, big and powerful nation and the oppressed nation are the phrases that Schiller use to romanticise the related emotions. The other of the text is the British, who claim that the sun never goes down over their country. Sidonya feels oppressed under the British artillery fire (Schiller, 1983, p.44).

The cues of *Maria Stuart* include modern terms such as homeland as *vatan* in Turkish, nation as *millet* in Turkish. *Vatan* is a Turkish word usually used by rightest stance in Turkish political life in order to define homeland. Turkish word: *millet* defines nation in modern terms and may also refer to the *millet* system in Ottoman administrative system. However, the given meaning by the translator is tend to be closer to the meaning of "nation" rather than Ottoman millet system. Assuming that the translator gives an objective look in terms of translating the words "nation" and "homeland", the text gives the audience of a feeling that, nationalistic and patriotic feelings in Europe are not new but have roots in the history of ancient Europe.

Language is an important symbol for unbundling of the "nations". Each nation is gathered up under the specific language that they speak. While Kennedy says "These are French scripts", Paulet responds "So (*ya*) it's worse! The enemies of England speak this language." (Schiller, nd. a, p.3). The others of English identity are the speakers of a different language, more specifically French in this case. The good and virtuous features are attributed to the English, that is to say: "He came from Paris and Reims and he again brought his heart that keeps his old English loyalty as it was." (Schiller, nd. a, p.8) And the main character Maria talks on behalf of the belief of uniting the two "nations" for peace: "Why shall I deny this? Yes, I was growing the hope for uniting these two noble nations as free and happy, under the shadows of olive clovers. I was not assuming that I could be the sacrificiation of their national hatred;..." (Schiller, nd. a, p.19). Elisabeth, the Queen of England calls her people "My nation" in Turkish "*Benim milletim*" where her counselor calls them "people". On the other hand Maria calls the people "subjects" which is more suitable to define the status of the people of England by that time.

Europe is introvert during the Birth of new Europe. Although "the other" of the European Christian identity is based upon Muslimhood, the playwrights are more interested in sectarian and the inner conflicts between the feudals. Though still, heroism and patriotism remains as old values for Europe. So it caused the birth of modernity and nationalism. The language indicates that a nation when they call their people. A general romanticisation of the oppressed nations and their victimhood is visible. While romanticising the identity translations call the nations "*millet*" and homeland "*vatan*" and these indicate the preferences of the translators.

Collaterally, the Turkish modernists who are also humanists (İnalçık, 2011), and human life and human dignity are the core matters for them; those are Western values, that embodied in Renaissance Europe throughout the translation screenplays. This might be the reason of having high number of screenplays under the Renaissance Europe subtheme indicates that the perception of the European civilization's turning point is Renaissance and the sectarian conflicts. This turning point is the one that leads to secularism and the starting point of civilized modern Europe. This Europe is the one that Turkish national identity tries to catch up with in terms of secularism and civilization.

WORLD WAR II SUB-THEME

Traces of World War II were still palpable for both Europe and Turkey in 1950s, not only in politics but also in arts. Block politics became tangible and Turkey tried to find a position for itself within the democratic block while trying to pursue a balanced international relations policy that has started during World War Two (Tekeli & İlkin, 2014). As a matter of course, the State Theater in Turkey performs several plays related to this social trauma of Europe, borrowing screenplays from European authors.

In this section, the study elaborates two representative screenplays: *The Robbers (Haydutlar)* by Friedrich von Schiller, and *Anne Frank (Anne Frank'ın Hatıra Defteri)* by A. Hackett and F. Goodrich with Bedia Akkoyunlu's translations. Those were translated to be performed by the State Theater during 1957-1958 season. I will pursue the identity construction of each text, the samehood and otherhood of the plays, repeatedly by the subthemes of

religion, state as well as narrative and national identity. *Anne Frank* is a screenplay which was adapted based upon famous tragic diary of Anne Frank. Anne Frank as a screenplay aims at giving how bad the idea of discrimination for the affiliation of a race or religion can be.

The Robbers by Friedrich Schiller (nd.b) was one of his most popular screenplays that put onto the stage by the State Theater. Unfortunately, there is no evidence for the translator's identity on the screenplay. The list of the screenplays that was given by the State Theater attests that the screenplay was put onto the stage in 1954-1955 and 1955-1956 seasons, directed by Cüneyt Gökçer and Walter Thomas. We acknowledged from the list that Walter Thomas preferred using Seniha Bedri Göknil's translation. As Schiller has been one of the most important representatives of the German Theater, the vogue of his screenplays amid his colleagues is significant for the literary committee of the State Theater. Schiller wrote *the Robbers* in 1781 and published the play without naming it. The play is accepted as one of the most important tragedies in German Theater as it ushers in the approaching French Revolution. It includes Weimar German classicism and mentioned with Goethe, subjected to many scientific and literary studies because of its components regarding romanticism, enlightenment, classicism and the effects of French revolution as well as xenophobic quotes in it (Mortensen, 2002). Although Schiller was embraced by many countries even including France by giving Schiller a honorary citizenship. Young nationalists of the Third Reich stake a claim on Schiller's works as well, especially on *the Robbers* as an inspiration for their organization culture (Anderson, 2012). The piece speaks on the dispute between the freedom lover Karl and Franz Moor brothers and the plot is about the conflict between the legality and the freedom in Germany, where the dispute takes two years. While doing this, the play leaves the audience alone with the questions about the virtue of law and the borders of the freedom. Although its time and space is before the establishment of the Prussian unification, the reason why this study examines Schiller's *the Robbers* under World War Two is, its inspiration for the modern German youth during Third Reich administration. As the State Theater performs *the Robbers* and conveys the audience intense emotions, including pride for having a modern institution to perform such a good play. As Yazgan (2012) mentions, just like at Mannheim theater in which the Robbers were first performed, the audience at the State Theater was also bewildered, thought that *that was the Republic's Theater*; such an amazing art after "creating the State Theater out of nothing but improvisational theater and light comedies" (Yazgan, 2012; 84).

Schiller's lifetime does not fit into the establishment of the modern Germany and the year that *the Robbers* was published almost a century ago, however, it inspires the youth for an ideal of unification of the German states around the pride of being Prussian. It reflects a transition in terms of identity, and is elaborated in the World War Two subtheme for being an inspiration for the Nazi youth organisations in Germany during Weimar Republic. The narrative identity is hard to be classified as a national identity throughout the text, yet the characters are not still Germans in modern terms, nonetheless their pride and patriotism for being Prussian is an important clue.

The samehood of the screenplay *Anne Frank*, relies on the beliefs and the races at the same time. The screenplay makes the audience feel that, although the religion as an institution that is perceived differently by each community, taking shelter under the God's shadow is an important and common need for all. Moreover, the religion gives strength to the people in order to hold onto life in the wartime. As it is based upon Anne Frank's original wartime diary, the play performs a life section of a Jewish family during World War Two. They are devoted to their religion and traditions as they celebrate Hannukah together and pray to the God for peace, keeping their hopes alive during wartime (Hackett and Goodrich, nd, 37-38). The translation uses "Allah" and "Yarabbi" for the name of the God throughout the text, given the example: "If Allah wants us to..." (Hackett and Goodrich, nd, 34), "May Allah forbid!" (Hackett and Goodrich, nd, 20), "Allah understands the famine and forgives" (Hackett and Goodrich, nd, 39), "Shut up please, for the consent of Allah" (*Allah rızası için...*) (Hackett and Goodrich, nd,29), "Yarabbi, thank you for protecting your subjects that take shelter under your mercy and blessing!" (Hackett and Goodrich, nd, 42).

Seniha Bedri Göknil's translation of Schiller's *the Robbers* made the text Turkish by using daily Islamic phrases such as "Allah's wrath!", "Oh Yarabbi...", "Allah damn him!" and the name "Allah", just like many translators did. The translator also uses "Tanrı" in some cues, a Turkish word for the God. Still though, the references to the Bible are remained; "Then, the ones around me looked back; the city was ruined just like Sodom and Comorre, the whole horizon was only about the fire and the fume." (Schiller, nd.b, 34).

The translations use Islamic daily phrases to introduce these screenplays into Turkish and make them hit the audience with familiar quotes while the characters are expressing their emotions in their cues. Religious Islamic phrases are often used, however, inconsistently the secular and Turkish word for "Tanrı" is also used. World War

Two subtheme includes both the sublimation of the “nation” and critic of the nationalism when it is taken too far. Religion is an institution that is perceived differently by each community, but humanity needs a shelter under the same God, to avoid discrimination.

In *Anne Frank*, narrative and national identity discourse is traceable through victimhood that overlaps with the samehood. The “us” in the screenplay is the Jews, who are victimized by their “others”: the Nazis and the men of the gestapo (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich, nd, 24, 39): “We don’t like the Nazis, that’s all.” (24). The identity which is fully negated lets the Jews to pass until a certain border in a city: “...we would go to Oasis to grab some ice cream. That was the only place that the Jews were allowed to get in...” (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich, nd., 55). The victimization turns out to be a deep acceptance in Anne’s words: “We are not the only ones who suffer, ha. Sometimes it becomes the faith of some nations... Sometimes a race’s, sometimes an others”, talking to Peter. The samehood of the play is the Allied Powers during the World War Two, secondarily. The positive manners that were attributed to those who take place in this alliance, such as the British, the American, the French, the Dutch, the Norweigan, are the object for the hope. The character Miep talks to Mr. Frank about “the great news... The Allied Powers have landed. They are moving forward.” (A. Hackett and F. Goodrich, nd., 61-62). Turkey had been home to many German citizens and Jewish elites who fled under the oppression of Nazi Germany and stayed in Turkey until the end of World War Two, had been affected by them intellectually. Carl Ebert had been a guest in Turkey and contributed into the establishment and context of the State Conservatory and the State Theater. The play was staged on during 1957-1958 season which more than a decade makes the war to be discussed; however, can be a weak discomfort for what happened to the non-Muslims in 6-7 September events in 1955.

To speak on *the Robbers*, although Prussia has established its unitary identity relatively late, Schiller’s literary style contains cues with national identity traces. There are patriotic expressions regarding Prussian identity, and translated as German national identity: “If you still have German blood in your veins... March on!” (Schiller, nd.b, 12). These expressions also help contributing the romanticism and legendary narration while giving clues about the genealogical perception of nation. Franz says; “I know this very well. You would always say, the openheartedness, the compassion and the mercy... that manly daring... that childish passion... the invincible ambition and patience... the beautiful and bright traits that bushes out in the body of the father’s son... that makes him utterly sensitive for the charm of the great and the beautiful things would make him a fiery friend for his friends, a perfect citizen, a hero, a great great man... Yes, you would say these! Here, see my dear father... That fiery soul has improved, spreaded, produced marvelous fruits.” While keeping on speaking of how him and the youth are not devoted for the common good enough but are more into earthly desires (Schiller, nd. 4).

Also there are points that emphasize French Revolutionary ideas such as freedom in many cues: “It seems as if the curtains before my eyes fall down! How mad I was!.. My soul had a thirst for an act, my breath had a thirst for the freedom! The murderers, the robbers!... By these words, the law sprawls under my feet...” (Schiller, nd.b, 15). These cues are also to mesmerize the audience by the romantic feeling of enlightenment and freedom. The characters speak on the love of homeland and the symbolic virtue of the Prussian flag among the Prussian youth. For instance when the father of a virtuos young boy searches for a news from his son through Hermann’s memories, Hermann says: “They gave him a flag. He pursued the flight of the Prussia towards the victory.” and with a romanticism in it, “He always talked about his father and his hopes that flew off. Our eyes would tear up.” The yearning and the sublimation of the homeland is very clear; “...We are headed to the place where I was born, my homeland.”, “Greetings, the land of my homeland! (*kisses the land*). The skies of my homeland! The sun of my homeland!.. The meadows, the hills, the creeks and the woods! Greetings from me to you all! How sweet the wind that blows from the mountains from my homeland is! What a delightful air enwraps this miserable exile! Paradise! A World of poems!” (Schiller, nd.b, 51).

The samehood is generally based upon the collective victimhood in World War Two Europe. Youth, pride, modern patriotism that leads to the pride of a nation becomes observable. Genealogical nationalist feelings are also visible through the texts in a prideful way, however, the way that both the playwrights and the translators convey their perception regarding national identity is controversial. The audience gets critical messages about the nationalism when it is taken too far and ends up with discrimination based on either religion or kinship; on the other hand the screenplays also give prideful and firing cues about nationalistic feelings. These feelings do not only refer to the German geist but also French Revolutionary ideas for being virtuos. These indications, might be evaluated as having more than one national and narrative identity perceptions in the State Theater regarding the translation screenplays.

CONCLUSION

Historical timeline of the national identity building of modern Turkish identity begins congruent with the Western classical historical perception. The starting point of Western civilization reflects the beginning of the otherness of Turkish identity. This common share makes Turkish identity makes it a part of the history of “the modern” automatically. Ancient Greek past of Ionia is taken as the roots of the European cultural unity, having a geographical aliasing with Turkish identity. That is to say, modern Turkish identity positions itself as the non-excludable “other” of European identity in history making.

Renaissance Europe subtheme points out the turning point of European civilization and makes it a breaking point for a break up between the religious institutions and state. Secterian conflicts and the bloody experiences in European history lead to secularism, so becomes the milestone of a civilized modern Europe. This Europe is the one that Turkish national identity tries to catch up with in terms of secularism and civilization.

Trust in the young generations for the future of the country, pride of being a member of a certain nation and modern patriotism becomes observable through World War Two subtheme. Nationalist feelings emerge in the screenplays in a pridefully and romantically however, the attitude of the State Theater towards nationalism remains controversial under this subtheme. The perception regarding nationalism is critical as it is taken too far and ends up with discrimination. However, other than messages of getting together under the same sky or the different Gods, Turkish identity continues to be prudent about feeling prideful for its own identity. The self positioning of Turkish identity chooses to demonstrate the evil of radicalism of nationalism but does not leave nationalist feelings behind especially embracing French Revolutionary ideas.

Making of history and the perception of “self” in the “other”’s historical timeline is a necessary first step for building up a nation. The State Theater uses translation screenplays in order to define modern Turkish identity on the contrary of its “other”: Europe during the national identity construction period. As a result, modern Turkish identity positions itself on the contrary of Western-European identity, while taking the classical European history making and its historical milestones, evident by the subthemes in State Theater’s translation screenplays.

The perception of the other of Turkish identity “Western”, the translators barely leave their own religious and national identities behind. Although demonstrating the “the other” cultural and civilization based on history and differences is the prominent aim with borrowing the screenplays from “West”, therefore the institution and Turkish identity building project keeps its Muslim and Turkish background.

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