

Cultural Repertoire as a Network of Translated Texts: The New Literature after the
Tanzimat Period (1830-1870)

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by

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis aims to draw the general framework of a broader project about the period between 1830 and 1870 with particular reference of the cross-cultural encounter of Ottomans with the French. This encounter ended up in the emergence of a new cultural repertoire in 1870 which provided a new set of options for the members of the Ottoman society. This study aims to focus on the description of the elements of the new repertoire, whereas the detailed project should deal with the content analysis in order to find out dynamics of the construction process of the new cultural repertoire. For the framework, dictionaries and translated literature in forms of new genres are primarily analyzed. This framework emerges after the conscious planning activity by the Ottoman reformers, which may be defined as a successful attempt because of the newly emerged literature, which was not seen fifty years ago. However, the appearance of this new repertoire does not take place suddenly, but on the contrary, it is the result of a long-term negotiation process between the traditional elements of the old repertoire and the unknown elements of the new repertoire. Thus, the earlier understanding of the Ottoman translation was also taken into consideration.

The first samples of philosophical dialogues, theatre plays, novels, and poetry are of particular interests for us. Also the role of the earlier developments upon this period is taken into consideration with particular reference to 18th century beginning with Tulip Era.

ÖZET

Haşim Koç

Tercüme Metinlerin Ağı Olarak Kültür Repertuarı:

Tanzimat'tan Sonraki Yeni Edebiyat (1830-1870)

Bu tez, de Osmanlıların 1830 ile 1870 yılları arasında Fransız kültürü ile olan karşılaşmalarını çok daha detaylı ele alacak bir projenin ana çerçevesini çizmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu karşılaşma sonucunda 1870 yılından itibaren Osmanlılara yeni bir seçim kümesi sağlayan bir repertuar meydana gelmiştir. Bu araştırma yeni repertuarın unsurlarını tanımlarken, bu unsurların içerik analizlerini sonraki çalışmaya bırakmaktadır. Unsurlar olarak sözlükler ve dönemin yeni türdeki ilk örnekleri olan tercümelemler incelenmiştir. Bu unsurlar Osmanlı reformcularının bilinçli bir çabası olarak ortaya çıkmıştır ve bu çaba elli yıl önce görülmeyen türlerin ve edebiyat ürünlerinin ortaya çıkmasıyla sonuçlandığından başarılı sayılabilir. Aslında, bu repertuarın oluşumunun aniden olmadığı, tam aksine eski repertuarın geleneksel öğeleriyle yeni repertuarın bilinmeyen öğeleri arasında uzun dönemli bir iletişimin sonucunda meydana geldiği de gözükmektedir. Bu nedenle, Osmanlıların önceki dönemlerde tercümeleme bakışları da dikkate alınmıştır.

Felsefi diyaloglar, tiyatro oyunları, romanlar ve şiirdeki ilk örnekler bizim üzerinde ısrarla durduğumuz kaynaklardı. Önceki dönemlerdeki gelişmelerin bu döneme etkisi, Lale Devri sonrası 18. yüzyıl esas alınarak incelenmiştir.

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List of Abbreviations

CH	Ceride-i Havâdis
DİA	TDV İslam Ansiklopedisi
EI ²	Encyclopedia of Islam (new edition)
IJMES	International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
OTAM	A.Ü. Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırmaları Merkezi Dergisi
TE	Tasvir-i Efkâr
WI	Die Welt des Islams
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YYOA	Yaşamları ve Yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar Ansiklopedisi

I. Introduction

It is clear that the Ottoman Empire faced several changes during the course of the 19th century. These changes took place as a result of the project by the architects of the Tanzimat who wanted to generate a reform program related to political, administrative, economic institutions so that the Ottoman Empire would survive in a better position in the general world order. One of the reference points of this program was the 'Golden Age' of Ottomans and the desire to return to that state in the past was one of the underlying wishes by Ottomans. We can follow the implications of this desire during centuries in the reform proposals by Ottoman members of the governing strata. The second aspect of the reform program stemmed from the necessities Ottomans came across with after the second half of the 18th century when the Empire fell in a difficult position due to the continuous wars ending up in serious defeats. Thus, the rulers realized that the European rival powers were stronger than Ottoman Empire in military and the initiating reforms were carried out within the military structure that pioneered reforms in other fields of the Ottoman Empire.

The reform project came out of the losses and defeats of the Empire, but then it continued to spread over other domains. For instance, during the reign of the Selim III at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century, Ottoman style of diplomacy changed from the centuries long *ad hoc* and unilateral diplomacy to the permanent diplomacy managed by the reciprocity principle. The establishment of the embassies in the capitals of European powers, asking ambassadors to report their observations in these cities and along the route they follow were steps signifying the change not only in diplomacy but in the minds of the Ottomans. There aroused a certain interest for the developments outside of the borders of the Empire due to the long-term difficulties they survived with. Apart from

diplomacy, we can see the traces of this change in the administration and politics by the proclamation of *Tanzimat Fermanı* in 1839 and *Islahat Fermanı* in 1856.

The desire to bring the state to its past glorious position among other states not only affected the administrative issues. Ottoman reformers who were mostly politicians, litterateurs, and journalists began to produce a new style of composition influenced by the modern style of writing in Europe. As a result of interdependent relationship between causes and effects of this process, it took place a change first of all in the vocabulary of the Ottomans, i.e., they would like to find equivalents for the new words and concepts they borrowed from the Western institutions, or from their literature. We can follow this trace on the increasing number of publications of bilingual dictionaries and conversation guides after 1830s. Secondly the change in the composition style also showed its impact upon the Ottoman prose and poetry in which the classical and traditional styles were gradually left aside and a new style through the penetration of new discourses out of which new genres emerged appeared. The contact of the reformers made them compose/translate works in new genres such as dialogues, novels, new poems and theater plays which were not seen before this reform project in which a dense cultural encounter between the architects of the Ottoman reforms and the European culture took place.

While this new style of writing led to the emergence of a new literary repertoire, I argue that this process was not unidirectional. Rather, as I hope to show at the end of this study, the interaction, integration, appropriation and domestication process of this new repertoire happened in a complex manner and had various dimensions. Therefore, this study is an attempt to study the change in the literary taste from the perspective that the early translations of Western literature and composition of dictionaries, together with the general

willingness of Ottoman “culture” to accept them caused a replacement of the existed cultural repertoire with a new repertoire, gradually.

I mean with the longer and more comprehensive study that the constituents of the repertoire and four layers of this new literary repertoire need to be studied more in detail with a four dimensional perspective of different layers. To carry out this detailed project, one of the requirements seems to be drawing the general framework, or the ‘skeleton’ of the project for the further study. The present thesis just aims to draw borderlines for the further study. The interactions between the vocabulary, discourse, trope and genres of this new repertoire/literature should be studied in terms of their independent places within this repertoire, their effect upon each other, and their interrelationship within the repertoire. The vocabulary level refers to the word-level of the new repertoire, which was an aggregate set of the options for the target society, whereas the discourse level belongs to the aggregate of phrases and paragraphs, and speech acts. The definition of discourse analysis as to study the syntactic or semantic structures of texts longer than one sentence and considering their linguistic and socio-cultural dimensions is an indication of our statements.¹ The trope means in Greek to turn that signifies in the literary studies a rhetorical figure in which words are used in a way different from their standard or literal usage. Thus, any new repertoire with the capacity of shaping the options in literature may bring new tropes within the genres, upon which particular or some definite allegories, synonyms, metaphors are loaded. Genre means literary types with particular common characteristics such as novel emerging in the 18th century. Genre as encompassing three of the previous concepts is an important constituent of the study of the elements of the repertoire for the Ottoman context,

due to the fact that new style of the composition ended up in the appearance of new genres after 1860s first in form of the translations, and then as original products. Theater plays, philosophical dialogues, poetry and novels are the genres that became visible in the Ottoman literature, respectively.

In order to understand the underlying basis for this gradual shift from an older tradition to a new style of writing sufficiently, I took the developments in the 18th century as the background of the conscious attempts of the cultural planners, idea-makers, or options-devisers of the Tanzimat period. The Tulip Era during which the first systematic translation movement by the support of the government took place and the developments of the late 18th century when the Ottomans have eventually recognized that they were now in a weaker situation than their European rivals have some place in the first chapter in order to realize the developments in the early century and their share in this new situation. After the serious defeats in the late 18th century, Ottomans gave up their traditional way of diplomacy and accepted for the first time the reciprocity principle in international relations. The parts that manage the affairs of the foreign ministry, i.e., diplomacy and Translation Chamber considered together and their share in the recognition of the West and improvement of a relatively capable staff to realize what was happening in Europe was another part for the early developments, in the first chapter.

Second chapter deals with the idea of the cultural planning and its elaboration. At the beginning, Mustafa Reşid Paşa, as the pioneer of the Ottoman cultural planners is taken into consideration. Then, the theoretical conceptualization of Itamar Even-Zohar is implemented in order to understand the underlying mechanisms of the cultural-planners,

¹ *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. General editor and compiler

whom he also called idea-makers, cultural entrepreneurs, and options-devisers. He argued that without the efficient conduct of the cultural planners, the emergence of new repertoires, or the acceptance of the newly emerging things in the old repertoire could not happen. Therefore, if somebody engages in the planning activity, and he is also successful in the implementation of his ideas in the social-realistic sphere, that person is assumed to be successful and called by him as an options-deviser, or a cultural entrepreneur.

After this theoretical insight, in which Zohar sees the literature as a network whose parts altogether constitute the literary activity of society rather than aggregate of the texts produced within a culture, the study goes on the parts of this network. I classified at the beginning without going to the genre level as in the next chapter, dictionaries which enable us to see on the one hand, the rise of the awareness and presence of the French language and on the other hand, to see the rising need for the acquisition of the French language which was *lingua franca* of that time. After dictionaries, I looked at the press in order to find other parts of the network, the advertisements informing to the addressees and the producers of literatures for the new developments in the publications, for instance. Educational institutions consist of the third element of the second chapter in which the French language was instructed for the students, which seems to be a requirement for the increase of the knowledge by the members of the literate society.

Third chapter draws our attention into the elements of repertoire, or points of network of literature in the level of genre. It is completely devoted to the study of the translations and the role they play in the constitution of a new repertoire with particular attention upon the place in the early formation period of this new set of options in the

literature/ or society. The fact that most of the men of letters were also served in the government made the issue of the cultural planners more interesting. In order to determine the place of the translated texts as constituting elements of the new repertoire, or as nodes with many ties to other elements of the network, I firstly analyzed the development of translation studies, which gave the inspiration for the present study. Then, I emphasized the process of the development of a new literary style, mostly visible in composition, through the eyes of some prominent literary people such as Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ahmed Midhat. The fact that this newly emerging style was the main reason of the constitution of a new repertoire remains continuously between the lines of this study. But how the elaboration of this new style in four levels took place is significant for the project I would like to further in future. Then, I searched for the impact of this new style in particular genres, i.e., theater plays, philosophical dialogues, poetry and the novel. I studied the first translation in each of the genre, but for the theatre and novel I also made a historical survey of the early translations in both genres in order to understand their role and share in this emerging set of options accurately. *Tercüme-i Telemak* received special attention due to its fame both all over the world, and the attention it received from the Ottoman reading public after its translation by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa. The fact that most of the literary texts were either translated, or rewritten, or adapted by the conscious and deliberate, reform-minded people shows us how Ottomans struggled with their weak position against the Europe and what kind of the solutions they offered against these problems via the mediation of literature as a public forum for opinions. I also gave a special part to the emergence of the novel as a particular genre in the world literature, when the first realist novel appeared as a reflection of the newly emerging society in the 18th century.

This study tries to bring bits and pieces for a through study in future which were the elements of a four dimensional analysis of vocabulary-discourse-trope-and genre for the new repertoire which should be taken into consideration in a more detailed study. But in this one, I would like to draw our attention to the possibility of such a project which needs to be carried out within the borders of a Ph.D. study which is not now the case. However, I would like to present the general lines of this project and to describe some historical data from the perspective of how they altogether established a repertoire, or a new kind of literature whose constitution and establishment process is worth to study further.

One of the main concerns of this study is to try to show different elements of the broader repertoire that established a solid basis for further developments in the socio-cultural setting of the Ottoman Empire. Parts of literary pieces reflecting tendencies and developments in the socio-cultural setting are taken into consideration. If an Ottoman writer represents one of the characters in his novel going to the opera, or reading a translated novel, this means that these practices were present in the social scene of his time and therefore the author has reflected this existence in the text. Thus, literary texts were taken into consideration as the spaces into which the desires, concerns, and social practices of the cultural setting were projected. The emergence of certain kind of social practices is dependent on a repertoire that shows itself at the literature of society, which may be considered as a mirror-image of the fears, desire, motivations and future orientation of the members of that literary culture.

II . Chapter One: Historical Sketch of the Issue of Translation in the Ottoman Empire

I may call this chapter as a part of the background information for the project I would like to draw the general lines for a further study in detail. To undertake this detail study of the emergence of a new cultural repertoire, I feel a necessity to consider the early tradition of translation upon which we can base our arguments of change by knowing the basics of the subject of translation by Ottomans in early times. I will separate the scientific and literary tradition of translation from the political-administrative applications of the interpreters and would like to summarize them in brief for a better understanding of the translation issue within the history of the Ottoman Empire in which this project will be a step to understand different phases during the constitution of a new repertoire mostly inspired by the West and replaced the old one through the course of the history. Between these two parts, I will shift to the Tulip Era (1718-1730) in which the first systematic translation movement in the Ottoman Empire took place by the support of Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Dâmad İbrahim Paşa.

Ottoman culture is a merging of various cultures that had been present for a very long time in Anatolian territories. The Ottomans inherited a state tradition from their predecessors, the Seldjuk dynasty and then transformed this tradition according to the new situations they came across during their conquest and period of government, in both Anatolian and Balkan territories. The most definite and clear characteristic of this new state was its composition of people belonging to diverse tribes, cultures and traditions. Thus, the Empire had to embrace various languages within its boundaries, extending from Europe to the Middle East, from the Crimea to North Africa in the second half of the 16th century

when it reached the peak of its power.² The Ottoman men of letters mostly carried out two kinds of translation activities: one was either the translating or imitating, namely rewriting of earlier Arabic-Persian texts for the Ottoman context in literary and scientific domains. The second one is an official activity: the post of official translator for the sake of the diplomatic and commercial activities.

a. Scientific and Literary Translations and their Place within the Ottoman

Literary Culture

“I prepared this translation in the Turkish language
Since this language rules all over the world today”³

As we can see from the excerpt, for many centuries, thinkers have written books in Turkish, as well as they translated books from other languages into Turkish. For this reason, I think it is useful to make a brief survey of the traditional understanding of the translation issue so which will enable us to identify the changes with the penetration of a new repertoire, which was at the beginning period reinforced by translations made from the Western languages. Therefore I think a brief survey of the types of translations, and a

² Saliha Paker, “Turkish Tradition”, in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Ed. by Mona Baker, as. by Kirsten Malmkjaer, pp. 571-583.

³ This phrase comes from Tunuslu Ahmed who wrote a Turkish treatise around 1590. His reasoning for the composition of the treatise in Turkish was very simple, but meaningful and shows us how power mechanisms influence the production of texts: That the Turks rules the world, their language rules then also which is for him a sufficient reason to compose a book in Turkish. “*Bu tercüme yi Türk dilinde hazırladım. Zira ki bu dil bugün Dünya’da hükmeder.*” Bahaeddin Yediyıldız, “Sunuş Yerine: Bir ‘Dil, Kültür ve Çağdaşlaşma’ Modeli” in *Dil, Kültür ve Çağdaşlaşma*, ed. Bahaeddin Yediyıldız. Ankara : Hacettepe Üniversitesi Atatürk

shorter outlook for the conceptualization of translation among the early Ottoman thinkers may be very useful for this study.

If we consider the literary history of Ottoman Empire, we see that the first texts appeared during the thirteenth century. In the next century, the number of literary texts started to increase and voluminous texts were translated from Arabic and Persian into the Turkish language.⁴ This translation activity carried out a vital function for the development of the Turkish language. Those texts were mostly religious ones and they were chosen on a utilitarian basis with regard to their instructive and heuristic value.⁵ In the case of literary translation from other Islamic cultures, the common tendency was to treat the translated texts as original texts. Another tendency might be called rewriting, which was a common practice in Medieval Era in Europe and the East. Another characteristic of the period was that if a genre became popular with the Ottoman audience, then this genre was translated more and more. A good example of this statement might be 'The Mirror for Princes' from which lots of texts were translated into Ottoman Turkish from the fourteenth century onward.⁶ The source languages for those kinds of texts were either Persian or Arabic and all these kinds of texts made the Turkish language richer than before. By the end of the sixteenth century, this had become Ottoman "interculture", using the definition of Saliha Paker for the space in which translators, who were at the same time poets, operated: the intersection of Turkish, Persian and Arabic cultures, which might be defined as a "literary-cultural" system because it had already acquired an autonomy after complex

İlkeleri ve İnkılap Tarihi Enstitüsü, 2003. (Dil, Kültür ve Çağdaşlaşma Sempozyumu, 7-8 Kasım 2002, Ankara), p. I.

⁴ Mustafa İsen, "Türkçe'nin Yazı Dilinin Oluşumunda Çevirinin Rolü" in *Dil, Kültür, Çağdaşlaşma...*, pp. 147-152. For instance, *Kul Mesud*, *Kelile* and *Dimne* were all books on the politics and ethics. Refer also the part below in which themes concerning imitation and translation are discussed.

⁵ Paker, "Turkish Tradition", p. 573.

translation/rewriting activities during the preceding centuries. This autonomy was gained as a consequence of a thorough practice of *terceme* (translation activity from the thirteenth century onwards) and *nazire* (*imitatio* meaning parallel and response poetry) writing, which became a dominant practice from the fifteenth century onwards.⁷ Even though these kinds of rewritings, translations and adaptations occupied a certain place in the Ottoman cultural history, there are not many attempts to study the interactions, transmissions and transfers through those texts. The constituting elements of this interculture might be taken into consideration as a unit of analysis so that the role of each particular textual element might be unfolded clearly.

A. Adamova mentions about the imitation as follows:

“In medieval literary theory imitation was a prestigious literary art. There were many kinds of literary copying such as *taqlid* (imitation), *payravi* (follow), *tatabbu* (pursuit), *javâb* (answer), *nazira* (variation), *istiqbal* (reception). Perhaps the relationship between poetry and painting was even closer than has hitherto been thought, and perhaps the same set of ideas existed in medieval Iranian culture. Philologists already noticed that to

⁶ Ibid., p. 574.

⁷ This terminology has already been coined by Prof. Saliha Paker in one of her recent articles about the preliminary attempt to establish a conceptual framework for the studies on Ottoman Translation History. See Saliha Paker, “Translation as *Terceme* and *Nazire* Culture-bound Concepts and their Implications for a Conceptual Framework on Ottoman Translation History”, in *Crosscultural Transgressions : Research Models in Translation Studies II : Historical and Ideological Issues*, ed. by Theo Hermans, Manchester: S. Jerome Publ., 2002, pp. 120-121. She tries to overcome the barriers which prevent the researchers from thinking or studying the translations done before the contact with Europe and from other Islamic languages and suggest therefore a conceptual framework which consists of *Terceme*, *Nazire* and Ottoman interculture. The last one is an imaginative, hypothetical ground for the poets who have dealt with the texts that were outputs of either Arabic, or Persian traditions and who deliberately tried to present them to the Ottoman cultural scene.

“recognize” a favorite image in a new and unexpected form was seen as the highest pleasure readers could have. In painting we meet the same phenomenon.”⁸

The term *nazire* has a root denoting similarity, especially formal similarity, adopting the rhyme, rhythm, and vocabulary of the source text. Then, the imitator attempts to write a new poem based upon this foundation in more striking and meaningful imagery.⁹ Changes in the realm of epistemology occur with the establishment of a new set of words and sentences that allows recognition of the new things for the changing structure. For instance, in order to borrow words from other languages, the existence of a context in which these borrowed words become intelligible and reasonable is absolutely needed. Otherwise, borrowing is a useless and meaningless act. For this sake, the concretization of the metaphors used for new meanings and usages took place. The concrete metaphors then establish the new language that mostly deviates from the old literary language, and is a product of a multi-lingual elite fed up with lots of “translations”.¹⁰

Hatam discusses the same issue for Persian texts. Her question is why those texts were translated or re-written in Turkish although most people could read and understand those texts and although they were part of the same “interculture”, as Paker defined it. Were those texts true translations or should we call them inter-lingual rewritings? She argues that the lack of staff capable in Persian and Arabic might be the first reason. The movement began in the 14th century and almost every important text was translated into

⁸ A. Adamova, “Repetition of Compositions in Manuscripts: The *Khamsa* of Nizâmi in Leningrad” in *Timurid Art and Culture: Iran and the Central Asia in the fifteenth Century*, edited by Lisa Golombek and Maria Subtelny. Leiden et al.: Brill, 1992, pp. 67-75, p. 74.

⁹ Walter G. Andrews, “Starting Over Again: Some Suggestions for Thinking Ottoman Divan Poetry in the Context of Translation and Transmission” in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, Edited by Saliha Paker. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002, pp. 15-40, here p. 19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27.

Ottoman Turkish.¹¹ What we see here is that Turkish poets/translators who were fluent in Persian and/or Arabic did not translate the texts faithfully according to the original lexicography. Rather, they think of the function of the source text in the source culture and try to “dress” the target text with the same function in the target language. Thus, Hatam concludes that most of the translations from Persian to Turkish must be defined as inter-lingual rewritings rather than translations.¹² Zehra Toska questions the same issue and comes to the conclusion that translators aimed to transfer the knowledge of the Arabic or Persian world to Turkish society. Simultaneously, they produced the first products of Turkish literature. The more functional, but unintended, consequence of this attempt was the development of literary taste.¹³ She also mentions the type of translation styles Levend mentions in his work: a) word for word, b) as in the original but not word for word, c) transmission of the subject, d) translating with some contributions, mostly literary ones. In the last kind, Levend mentions that the important parts of a work were enlarged.¹⁴

This problem of imitation and the degree to which they contain clues of originality was discussed not only in the literary realm, but also in the realm of illustration, and the history of Ottoman miniatures. Serpil Bağcı discusses this issue in the context of the image-translation which enriches our understanding of the Ottoman re-writing and acculturation/appropriation process. The concept of originality might be defined in the frame of any single contribution to the existing tradition. If novelty and individuality is

¹¹ Anja Pistor-Hatam, “The Art of Translation. Rewriting Persian Texts from the Seljuks to the Ottomans” in *Essays on Ottoman Civilization: Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the Comité International d’Etudes Pré-Ottomanes et Ottomanes, Praha 1996*, Praha: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, 1998, pp.305-316, here pp. 307-308.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 316.

¹³ Zehra Toska, “İleriye Yönelik Araştırmalarla İlgili Olarak Eski Türk Edebiyatı Sahasında Yazılmış Olan Tercüme Metinleri Değerlendirmelerde İzlenecek Yöntem/ler Ne Olmalıdır?” in *TUBA* (2000) vol. 24/1: *Agâh Sırrı Levend Hatıra Sayısı*, pp. 291-306, here p. 294.

present in the poet's style, this is sufficient to label that work as original: Good rewriting means: "disrobing the beloved of Persian attire, he dressed her/him at once in Rûmi style, removing from her/his shoulder the shabby cloth, he replaced it with the satin cloak of Rûm."¹⁵

Imitation was the main method not only for the training of a poet or artist, but also for the improvement of his style. If they repeated continuously, after a while they became able to produce their own style. This is similar for the calligraphers who at the beginning made simple copies of the works of their masters and finally ended up with their own style. As this is the case in script, we see that Islamic painting has also the same structure. The translation of images from one visual setting/language into another was practiced from the beginning on. Bağcı analyzed two copies of Şerif's translation and the interpretation of two Ottoman painters in order to compare scenes depicting the same subject. She wanted to find out how the Ottoman painters translated these canonical images into their own visual language. What she found is very interesting as the transmission from one visual language into another took place with alterations of details. Most of the manifestations in the new language might be found in changes of dress style, which was domesticated by Ottoman painters. In addition to the dress, she argues that landscape and architecture were depicted according to Ottoman art.¹⁶

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 295-296, quoting from Ağah Sırmı Levend, *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1984, pp. 80-81.

¹⁵ Serpil Bağcı, "From Translated Works to Translated Image: The Illustrated *Şehnâme-i Türki* Copies", in *Muqarnas*, vol. XVII (2000), Leiden: Brill, pp. 162-176. According to Bağcı the debate about the concepts of imitation, reproduction, and originality continues over time. In the Arabic literature, questions about plagiarism, acceptable forms of reproduction and differences between imitation and reproduction were debated from the 10th century onward, p. 162.

¹⁶ Ibid., pp. 167-169.

Bağcı concludes her work by saying that Ottoman artists loaded their styles and iconographic interpretations with images, and did not produce mere copies of *Shahnâmâ* illustrations to which they gave a distinct and original local color. The artists have deliberately Ottomanized the paintings as is the case in the texts. This means that the translation process not only took place literally, but also syntactically and expressively. The elements were reproduced to match Ottoman cultural norms, and the scenes were depicted for the audience again, making them to fit the geographical, architectural and cultural settings. The painters who were different than their Persian colleagues visualized the world according to the Ottoman style. We see a parallel in the translation of the word and image. As in the literary translation, models that were totally alien and foreign to the new cultural setting were eliminated and new ones were interpolated. This shows how imitation in the literary and imaginary world took place with somewhat parallel mechanisms.¹⁷

If we shift to the scientific domain, we see that in the classification of sciences, linguistics, or the science of language (*İlm-i Lisân*), is defined as an instrumental science (*İlm-i Âlât*) meaning that language was a tool, an instrument, to link scholars to the bulk of knowledge. The study of language was carried out through its relationship to an existence that expresses itself in physical, mental, linguistic and textual spheres, picturing the reality, the image, the name and the picture of the name of the object, respectively. This presence

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 173. I would like to refer to the conclusion of Adamova for the Timurid manuscripts that "... in all of them there were always one or two, and sometimes more, miniatures showing new subjects. It is clear from this that copying was not just a way of working. In the artistic output of these miniatures we see an aesthetic program with clear rules and conventions regarding the treatment of earlier models as well as the creation of new compositions". A. Adamova, "Repetition of Compositions in Manuscripts: ...", pp. 73-74.

of the existence in writing and language was a contractual agreement by the members of that linguistic or scriptural community.¹⁸

The basic principle of the relationship between Reality (*Hakikat*) and language is based on the way in which the addressee understands this relationship. Namely, in order to access the knowledge, the language which codifies knowledge in a particular manner should be grasped by the customers of that knowledge which is possible only by learning that foreign language or by translating texts into the local one, i.e., Turkish. Thus, the position of the addressee, receiver or collocutor of the information gains a key position in the transmission of each type of text from any language, either from Arabic or Persian, Latin or French either via imitation, or translation or compilation. The basic element necessary for the transmission was the language skill of the receivers, which also serves to clarify which language is most suitable for the representation of Reality that was completely built on the language skills of the addressees. If they speak Turkish, then the obstacles to understanding the subject should be overcome by translating texts into Turkish in order to represent Reality in an understandable way for the addressee. Fazlıoğlu makes a classification framed around the addressee.

He mentions eight categories in which he differentiates the direction of the motives for translation, namely the different features of the addressees in the translation activity. The first one is for the beginners of the study who only know Turkish. The second one is for the Sultan and rulers who can only speak Turkish. The following one is directed to the bureaucrats from the lower ranks. The fourth one is addressed to the Turkish population who live in a district, which can appropriate the texts for the general use. The fifth one is

¹⁸ İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "Osmanlı Döneminde Fen Bilimlerindeki Türkçe Telif ve Tercüme Eserlerin Dil Bilincinin

the language spoken by the subjects of the political power to whom the book is dedicated. The sixth one might be defined as a pragmatic one, i.e., the content, and the usage and language of the students are taken into consideration in the translation. The seventh one is to provide a large number of readers, and to keep a broader sphere for the usage and influence of those translated books. Last, but not least, is that texts be translated with a basis of awareness of the Turkish language.

This classification is deduced mostly from the part of ‘the motives for translating this book’ (*der sebeb-i tercüme-i kitap*).¹⁹ In this part, the aims of the translator were often stated, and the advantages, usefulness, and need for translation were also added to the aims. The translator may also mention in this part the significance he attributed to the work and its acceptance by the audience. Ali Shir Nevai’s contribution to the Jami’s famous biographical work during his translation of that work from Chaghatai Turkish into Persian is a good example for this. Another feature of these parts is that they may contain some hints for the strategy and method of the translation. For instance, they might mention that they are not pure translations and insist on the originality of their translations into the Turkish idiom, which is a continuous emphasis by Turkish authors. Serpil Bağcı states in her article that Mustafa Âli of Gelibolu argues that the new style created by Ottoman calligraphers in Anatolian provinces was ‘more attractive with its use of easily readable lines and forms’ than the Iranian style (*üslûb-ı ‘Acem*) and entirely altered it.²⁰

I would like to conclude the issue with a quotation about the early approach by the Ottomans to the issue of translation. Nergisi mentions two approaches were present for the

Oluşmasındaki Yeri ve Önemi” in *Dil, Kültür ve Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 153-164, here pp. 153-154.

¹⁹ For the examples pertaining to each category refer to the article of Fazlıoğlu in which he gives many examples from the manuscripts he analyzed.

study of translation. The first one is word-for-word translation whereas the second one focuses on the meaning side of the original text. The members of this second style tries to create the same meaning as in the source text within the target text and therefore they recognized themselves as eligible to contribute some phrases and idioms the equivalent beauty of the original in the translated text.²¹

At this point, I would like to shift to the Tulip Era when the first systematic translation movement in the Ottoman Empire emerged. I think that this part would be a fair contribution to the tradition of the Ottoman translations and then by citing the works and the significance of this period for the cultural and intellectual history of the Ottoman Empire.

b. Translation Activities during the Tulip Era (1718-1730)

Ottoman begins to recognize the superior position of the Western culture at the beginning of the 18th century due to the fact that the Empire began to lose wars and wars endured longer than those in previous times. A huge amount of territory had been lost for the first time with the Karlowitz Treaty and this made the Ottomans care about the happenings in Europe and in the world in general. Therefore, the first ambassadors were sent to France in order to get some reports on new occurrences in Europe. But these first attempts did not seem to be a systematic undertaking. Rather, they depended on the personality of Sultans and Viziers and the ambassadors were more likely to emphasize

²⁰ Refer to Serpil Bağcı's article on *Muğarnas*, pp. 163-164.

²¹ Mertol Tulum, "Osmanlı Türkçesi" in *Osmanlı Cilt 9: Kültür ve Sanat*, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999, pp. 421-429, here p. 428. see appendix for the Ottoman text.

physical and outward appearances rather than go deep into the new developments occurring in philosophy and thought of France. Thus, earlier encounters with France in intellectual and cultural scenes did not result in a transmission of the ideas present there. These attempts were more based on the understanding of what was going on at that time in Europe, and as a reaction to the new situation the Ottoman Empire found itself in for the first time after its foundation.

During the Tulip Era, we see that committees or groups of translators were founded in order to translate some important books into the Ottoman language. These were mostly from Arabic during the Tulip Era and were mainly non-literary pieces. This task was undertaken under the patronage of Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrahim Paşa who inaugurated this task and supported it wholeheartedly with all his power.²² Thus, lots of books were either translated or composed during his government as a consequence of his support and reinforcement of scholars and men of knowledge. The distinctive feature of this period for us might be that, for the first time, committees and groups of scholars were established by official authority in order to translate some books from other languages, be it Arabic, Latin or Greek.²³

Many of the books translated during this time were either history books or books which were relevant to history, such as travel accounts. Translations were made from

²² There are some works concerning the scholarly activities during the Tulip Era. Most of them focus on the personality of Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa and his role he played during this period both in political and cultural spheres. Salim Aydüz has approached the issue analytically in his article, "Lâle Devri'nde Yapılan İlmî Faaliyetler", in *Dîvân: İlmî Araştırmalar*, (2) 1997, n.3, pp. 170. On the role of translations, see idem, "The Role of Translations in the Eighteenth Century in Transferring Modern European Science and Technology to the Ottoman State" in *Akademik Araştırmalar Dergisi [Journal of Academic Studies]*, vol. 2 (2000) no. 4-5: Ottoman Special Issue, pp. 499-511. See also Suat Karantay, "Tercüme Bürosu: Normlar ve İşlevler" in *Metis Çeviri* sayı 16 (1991) pp. 96-101.

Arabic, Persian and Greek. As an instance of a group of translators, we can state Ayni's *İkdü'l-cümân fi tarîhi ehli'z-zaman*, in which a group of 30 people came together and translated this book from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish.²⁴ Retired judges were appointed for the books in Arabic whereas poets or Sufi sheiks were preferred for the books in Persian. An interesting book among these was the *Physica* of Aristotle. It was the only book belonging to the scientific realm. Yanyalı Esad Efendi heading a group of translators translated this book from Greek into Arabic under the rubric of *el-Ta'lim el-Sâlis*.²⁵ An interesting aspect of this translation was that, even though other translations were made into Turkish, this was translated into Arabic. This might stem from the fact that Arabic was the language of science at that time, and the terminology and genre might fit more to a translation into Arabic than into Ottoman Turkish. Another interesting point of this translation was the scientific relationship between Ancient Greek thought and the Ottoman civilization.

Two different groups of translation appeared in this period. The first one was composed of those translated by a group (*heyet*), whereas the second group consisted of the books translated by individual translators. Aydüz talks about four translations completed by

²³ Mehmet İpşirli, "Lale Devrinde Teşkil Edilen Tercüme Heyetine Dair Bazı Gözlemler", in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri* (1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu 3-5 Nisan 1987), haz., Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, İstanbul: IRCICA, 1987, p. 33.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 35. Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri*, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1998, p. 40.

²⁵ Kayaoğlu, ibid., p. 33. Aykut Kazancıgil, *Osmanlılarda Bilim ve Teknoloji*, İstanbul: Gazeteciler ve Yazarlar Vakfı, 1999, pp. 199-200. Aydüz informs us that this book has been translated via a committee. This information did not exist in other references. Also, the full name of the book was given by Aydüz as "Kitâbü's-semâniye fî sımai't-tabîf". Salim Aydüz, "Lâle Devri'nde.." p. 151. Dimitri Gutas who focused on the Graeco-Arabic translation movement in Baghdad mentions that Esad Efendi, dissatisfied with the early Abbasid translation of Aristotle, learned Greek from certain Greek functionaries and made new translations into Arabic. Nikolar Kritias from Bursa translated a work on logic by a famous Aristotelian, Theophilus Korydaleus, into Arabic, or Turkish. This Graeco-Arabic (Turkish) translation movement in the Ottoman Empire went parallel to the contemporary flourishing Aristotelianism by the Greek scholars. See Dimitri Gutas, *Greek Thought, Arabic Culture: The Graeco-Arabic Translation Movement in Baghdad and Early Abbasid Society (2nd-4th (8th-10th) Centuries)*, London: Routledge, 1998, p. 175.

the committee. Three of those four were books on history the other one is the *Physica* of Aristotle.²⁶

Individuals were assigned in order to translate short pieces and mostly these individuals were scholars or poets. Again, Aydüz mentions 13 separate works, which were translated from Arabic, Persian or Latin into Ottoman Turkish. İbrahim Müteferrika was the person who had enormous knowledge on the works composed in Europe and he translated two books from Latin. Bekir Karlığa and one of his graduate students recently found out a new translation made during the reign of Ahmed III. According to them, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmed Efendi carried out the translation of one part of the book *eş-Şeceretü'l-İlâhiyye fi Ulûmi'l-Hakâiki'r-Rabbaniye* by Şehrezuri, who was one of the earlier Ottoman scholars, under the rubric of *Semeretü's-Şecere* (The fruit of the tree) in the period of either 1706-1710 or 1713-1716. This was the fourth part of Şehrezuri's book and was related to natural philosophy.²⁷

The first systematic translation activity was not continued by the successors of Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa. Nevertheless, we can interpret these first attempts as initiators of a contemporary recognition of the Empire's new state of affairs. It is the first time maybe among Ottomans that a certain anxiety and curiosity about the happenings in their surroundings emerged. Not only did translation activities stop after the Tulip era, but there was also a certain freeze in the publication activities arising with İbrahim Müteferrika's

²⁶ Salim Aydüz, "Lâle Devri'nde.." pp. 148-149. This distinction has been made by the author and the renaming of the committee as "heyet" is also Aydüz' designation. He also very carefully examines of whom the committees consisted, the strategies of separating the books to different people, how they were paid etc. Because those facts are beyond the scope of this study, I have left them aside. See also for the general cultural atmosphere of the era, Wilhelm Heinz, "Die Kultur der Tulpenzeit des Osmanischen Reiches", in *WZKM*, 61 (1967) pp. 62-116.

²⁷ Bekir Karlığa, "Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi'nin Yeni Bulunan Bir Fizik Kitabı Tercümesi ve On Sekizinci Yüzyılın Başında Osmanlı Düşüncesi", in *Bilim Felsefe Tarih*, I (1991), pp. 277-327.

first press which was continued up until the end of the 18th century when the defeats against the Russian and Austria aroused a certain dynamism among the Ottoman governors in order to correct and regulate the bad situation of the Empire. Thus, the initiating changes may be followed in the realm of diplomacy whose efficiency could be interpreted as an administrative-political function of the translation and translators who were the mediocres during the discussion and conversation process of the state-men. Therefore, the following part will deal with the history of this function in the Ottoman territories. This history may show that Ottomans became much more aware than before of the developments in the West due to the unexpected defeats in wars at the end of the 18th century. Therefore they decided on a serious consideration of the Western world and adopting their way of diplomacy in order to be recognized in the international politics. This change in diplomacy ended up in the establishment of the Translation Chamber indirectly. I will give a historical sketch of the *dragomanen*, their privileges, their cheating activities, the rise of diplomacy and the replacement of minority elements in the diplomatic translation by the native Turkish ones in the following part in brief.

c. Political-Administrative Function of Interpreters

During the flow of history, it is to be noticed that every state appointed some translators, in Ottoman terms *dragomans*, for official tasks when the subjects or officials had to communicate through another medium than the native language of the communicating sides. In this case, translators knowing the language of both sides played the role of mediators within the communication process. In the Ottoman Empire, the first

official dragoman was Lutfi Bey, who was sent to Venice in 1479 to arrange a treaty. Even if it is a little unclear, it is assumed that Mehmed II established the first office for dragomans (1430-1481, reign 1444-1445 and 1451-1481) after his conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Then this was institutionalized in the sixteenth century when the demand for professional translators and interpreters increased due to the growing activities of the Empire in commerce and diplomacy. This duty became more important as the diplomacy and commerce of the Empire became more complex and the translators/interpreters received a key position in the service of the Empire. According to Taceddin Kayaoğlu, it was institutionalized and composed of four divisions. He mentions that there were *dragomans* for the Imperial Palace, for the administration of provinces, for military and educational institutions in the 18th century, and last but not least, translators for the service of foreign embassies and consulates.²⁸

In the first group, mostly converts to Islam were employed throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and they received *timars* as salary. In the third group, Greek Phanariots were appointed as Naval Dragoman, which was the first important post for the Christian subjects of the Ottoman Empire. The chief of this post was promoted to be Chief Dragoman to the Sublime Porte from the beginning of the 18th century until almost the end of the first half of the 19th century.

In the eighteenth century, Ottoman governors felt that dragomans had abused the trust they had in them and therefore changed some of them. The holding of this post by

²⁸ Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri*, p. 22. The author lists in his book the translation chambers and communities that were established firstly in the first half of the nineteenth century and were going on throughout the century with intermittently. It might be labeled as the first descriptive attempt to cover up the Ottoman institutions established by the state in order to systematize the translation activity. See also Parker's article.

Greek Phanariots continued until the Greek revolution due to the absence of persons capable of fulfilling this duty. In 1821/1236-37, the collaboration of the Chief Dragoman with Greek revolutionaries led to his execution and the appointment of Yahya Efendi to this post, a convert to Islam who had been taught at the Military School. After this step, Ottomans recognized the need to train Muslim subjects for this occupation and established a Translation Chamber (*Tercüme Odası*, which turned afterwards to the *Bâb-ı Âli Tercüme Odası*) at the Porte on the 20th of Receb in 1236 (23th of April in 1821).²⁹ This first chamber was very small and the initial attempts carried out here were not successful enough until 1833 when it started to actively educate Muslims for service to the state as translators and interpreters.

Towards the end of the 18th century, as the Ottoman Empire's position in the European order became more difficult, the governors and men of politics sought to find ways out of the difficulties that the Empire had been experiencing for a long time. Therefore, those men firstly intended to bring a new education style to the military, so that the problems of the state would be overcome by regulating the military. The impact of the first attempts of new methods in education might be seen in the foundation of a modern engineering school, and naval schools. If we consider the curriculum of each of these schools, we notice that foreign language education in French became a part of the standard education.³⁰ This might be seen as the level of general awareness of the Ottoman governors and men of letters about the needs of students in order to be good officers and soldiers after their education. This awareness was shaped on the one hand according to the directions of

²⁹ Kayaoğlu, *Tercüme Müesseseleri*, p. 25.

³⁰ Yahya Akyüz, *Türk Eğitim Tarihi: Başlangıçtan 1982'ye*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Bilimleri Fakültesi Yay., 1982, pp., 97-98.

the outer world, but on the other hand, the situation of the Ottoman Empire led the Sultan and the governors to think about their problems and undesirable conditions and to find out some ways and solutions in order to return the Ottoman Empire to the “Golden Age” of past. One of the solutions was to send ambassadors to Western countries and ask them for reports on what they observed in these countries. Ebubekir Ratip Efendi (1747-1799) who was sent to the capital of the Habsburg Empire, Vienna, gave an interesting answer when on a visit to the library Austrian people asked him about the existence of books by famous French intellectuals as Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and Reinhold among Ottomans. He answered them:

“Yes, these histories are about the art of government and especially foreign affairs, and the Ottomans were aware of those books. Then they were surprised and tried to convince me that they were aware of the famous poets of the Eastern world as such as Şirâzî and Şeyh Sâdî.”³¹

In the 19th century, after Selim III, the preliminary attempts to reform led the governors and the “elite” to think of institutional reforms. Apart from ambassadors who were sent to serve in the permanent embassies established in the major cities of Europe at the end of the 18th and in the early 19th century for the first time in the history of Empire many students were sent to Europe to become educated. These people brought new ideas when they returned to Empire. The intellectuals of the Empire became familiar with progress and developments in the Western world and began to appreciate those via the writings, memoirs and conversations of these people. A new “world” comes to their attention to be admired seriously for the first time. At this point I would like to mention the

rise of the diplomacy as a medium of transmission of the preliminary awareness on the Western world. This diplomatic 'revival' or reform ended up with a greater attention towards Europe and its international order inevitably leading to establishment of some institutions. I would like to pinpoint the rise of a new type of diplomacy and the establishment of the early Translation Chamber simultaneously due to their inspirations from the developments in the foreign affairs.³²

d. The Rise of Diplomacy and Translation Chamber (*Bâb-ı Âli Tercüme Odası*)

If we look at the diplomatic conduct of the Ottoman Empire prior to the 18th century we can see a unilateral and one-directional style was in play towards European powers. At that time, Ottomans assumed themselves as superior to the European states in terms of the political power and therefore did not feel any need for a two-directional, reciprocal diplomatic relationship in which both sides try to keep the balance in motion through a reciprocal way. As Ottoman Empire was politically superior to other states, it did not have any permanent embassies in the important capitals of European Empires in contrary to the European states all of which had their permanent ambassadors in Constantinople from the earlier times on. But this kind of Ottoman perception began to change after the Tulip Era in which first traces for the interest of other states and cultures may be followed. Then, nearly half a century after the Tulip Era, we are able to see concrete signs of this change in the field of diplomacy and international relations for the Empire. After the defeats in wars

³¹ Ebubekir Râtib Efendi, *Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*, yayıma hazırlayan: Abdullah Uçman, İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999, pp. 41-42.

³² According to most of the historians of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century, this chamber was the core institution, in other words, the meeting and education center of the reform-minded people in the forthcoming

against Russia and Austrian Empire, Ottoman governors tried to learn about the developments in European states and therefore they decided on sending ambassadors to the European capitals where the officials should prepare reports on things and regulations they observed during their visits into these cities.

In number of works, historians dealing with the diplomatic history of the Ottoman Empire mention that the end of the 18th century was a turning point for the Ottoman diplomacy.³³ According to these works, Ottoman statesmen realized the difficulty they encountered and therefore used diplomacy as a medium of solution, rather than continuous wars with more powerful empires of Europe.

At the end of the 18th century, Ottomans faced a very significant change in their diplomatic visions because of the defeats against the Russian and Austria. The function of the *Âmedci* who was before simply the chief secretary of the *Reisülküttâb* was transformed into a much influential position for the foreign affairs and this bureau became a place in which the diplomatic affairs was conducted under the direction of the *Reisülküttâb*. This office of *Âmedi* has been formed around 1777 and the officials assisted *Reis* in the preparation of the documents for vizier and had an important function in diplomacy as

time-span of Ottoman Empire in the 19th and 20th century due to their accessibility to foreign ideas through the language tools they acquired.

³³ Virginia Aksan, *An Ottoman Statesman in War & Peace: Ahmed Resmi Efendi 1700-1783*, Leiden, New York, Köln: E. J. Brill, 1995. Mehmed Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, "Türk Diplomasinin Modernleşmesinde Reisülküttâb Mehmed Raşid Efendi'nin Rolü" in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları XXI* (2001) pp. 109-134. Idem., "Osmanlı Devleti'nin Yeniden Yapılanması Çalışmalarında İlk İkamet Elçisinin Rolü" in *Toplumsal Tarih* vol. 6 (1996) no. 32, pp. 45-53. Idem., "Mahmud Raif Efendi as the Chief Secretary of Yusuf Agah Efendi, the First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Ambassador to London (1793-1797)" in *OTAM* (1994) 5, pp. 385-434. Cezmi Karasu, "Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Diplomasisine Genel Bir Bakış" in *OTAM* (1993) 4, pp. 205-221. J. C. Hurewitz, "The Europeanization of Ottoman Diplomacy: The Conversion from Unilateralism to Reciprocity in the Nineteenth Century" in *Belleterin XXV* (1961) no 97-100, pp. 455-466. Stanford J. Shaw, *Between Old and New: The Ottoman Empire under Selim III: 1789-1807*, Cambridge & Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971. Refer especially to pages between 369 and 371. *Çağdaş Türk Diplomasisi: 200 Yıllık Süreç*. Ankara, TTK, 15-17 Ekim 1997. Yay. Haz. İsmail Soysal. Ankara: TTK, 1999.

attending meetings with the foreign representatives, and preparing correspondence for *Reis*.³⁴ This office became a place for recruitment for the higher posts in the hierarchy.

The representatives of the foreign states considered *Reis Efendi* as a foreign minister. It is also remarkable that the 18th century comprises a transition from the *adab* tradition to the civil bureaucracy. We can see the change not only in bureaucratic structures, but the way this bureaucracy conduct in foreign affairs has changed seriously.

We can summarize the new diplomacy under three subtitles. First of all, Ottomans decided on the establishment of permanent embassies in the capitals of European powers, rather than sending to these cities *ad hoc* ambassadors, a deed that survived for centuries. This transformation was a good deed by the Ottoman Chief Scribe Mehmed Raşid who firstly sent Yusuf Agâh Efendi as the first permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire to London in 1793. These ambassadors were appointed for three years, and should bring by themselves a number of young officials in order to train them for the future diplomatic missions. Secondly, the Ottomans realized the necessity of the reciprocal conduct of diplomacy which was a step forward to be accepted in the international order with the same rights of the Christian European powers. Thus, the diplomacy of correspondence began to rule. Thirdly, for the first time in the Ottoman international relations, the governing strata considered the balance of powers in European order and decided on the improvement of the relationships with the North-European Protestant countries. Thus, this first attempts to enter the already established international order in a reciprocal manner was important. This was completely realized by the treaty of Paris in 1856 in which the clear expression states that

³⁴ Aksan, pp. 19-23. Carter V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire. The Sublime Porte 1789-1922*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980, pp. 78-79.

Ottoman Empire was one of the members of the European order of nations.³⁵ As Shaw clearly argues that military instruction, diplomatic missions and social contact with the rise of the Ottoman press were the channels through which the Western knowledge penetrates into the East.³⁶ Şerif Mardin mentions that Translation Bureau in 1840's has taken over slowly the function filled by *Âmedi* office in earlier days. Thus, the new institution for the education of young officials for the Foreign Ministry and diplomacy became Translation Chamber after 1820s from which the influential reformers of the later generation of 1850s and 60s grown up.³⁷

Mona Baker analyzes the recurring patterns in the history of translation. One of her findings is that court interpreters mostly come from minority groups all over the world. The Turkish case, where the converts were appointed during the 15th and 16th centuries, and the Egyptian case, where the best-known literary translators were Christians are two instances mentioned by Baker.³⁸ She discusses the issue from a general point-of-view and argues that across time and space, the existence of minorities in translation affairs is undeniable. Furthermore, she raises the point that there is a certain kind of distinction in the profiles of the literary translators and the court interpreters. Our point here is to look at the interpreters, or let say, dragomans of the Ottoman Empire, who until 1820's always came from the minorities. After their disloyal attitudes towards the state at that time, the state decided on training its own dragomans in a special institution called Translation Chamber.

³⁵ Refer to Yalçınkaya's articles. Hurewitz also mentions that the inclusion of the Ottoman Empire into Europe made the European system a world system in which the Christian and non-Christian lands came together.

³⁶ Shaw, *Between Old and New*, pp. 181-199.

³⁷ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Political Thought*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962, p. 207.

³⁸ Mona Baker, "The History of Translation: Recurring Patterns & Research Issues" in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, edited by Saliha Paker. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002, pp. 5-14.

The need to set up a bureau for the dragomans (official translators) is a consequence of new developments in the Ottoman Empire. Until the establishment of this bureau, Greek families were in this service and they fulfilled these duties for the state. But the Greek Phanariot families, (a reference to the district of Phanar (Fener) on the Golden Horn) were disloyal and whispered the secrets of the state to other powers. Due to the new diplomacy and the circumstances of the Empire, there was an enormous need for reliable official translators. Bulgarzâde Yahya Efendi and his son, Ruhiddin Efendi, were appointed to this office. But due to the abundance of affairs, two persons could not carry the burden, and Stavraki Aristarchi who was not from the Phanariot Greeks and was the last Greek appointed to this office was also appointed as an assistant to both of them.³⁹

This chamber was like a channel for the Empire to transmit new ideas across the Ottoman borders. It made this issue either directly or indirectly. I mean that the education of further reform-minded literati and men of government in the Translation Chamber implies the indirect effect of the bureau upon reforms. At the beginning, the size of the chamber was not large and it only fulfilled the same function as that of the Dragomans in previous centuries. But with the appointment of İshak Efendi (?1774-1836), who was a very capable man of science and knew lots of language, including classical Latin and Greek, the Translation Chamber became more functional and its size expanded. He was one of the pioneers in the Ottoman modernization of the natural sciences and was called “*Başhoca*” (chief professor).⁴⁰

³⁹ Cahit Bilim, “Tercüme Odası”, in *OTAM*, (1990) 1 pp. 34-35.

⁴⁰ For a more detailed account of İshak Efendi, see Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Başhoca İshak Efendi*, Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı Yay., 1989.

İshak Hoca organized the chamber into two branches: "Translation chamber" and "language chamber". The former was the place to translate diplomatic documents, whereas the latter served as a school for foreign languages for young officials from different bureaus of the Sublime Porte.⁴¹ This bureau had a very significant role in shaping the cadres that would be very effective in the future development and affairs of the Empire. It was like a node in a network and the members were almost secure in having future places in the governmental sector. On the other hand, the young members of the bureau, such as Münif Efendi (then Paşa) (1830-1910), Ahmed Vefik Paşa (1813-1891), were the prominent translators and thinkers of the Empire in the 1860s and 70s.⁴² Findley emphasized the role of this bureau in his study of the transformation of Ottoman officials during the 19th century from the *kalemiye* to *mülkiye*, (the former means just scribes and clerks whereas the latter term implies a structural and central bureaucracy serving for the better government of the Empire).⁴³ Young and talented people were employed in this office in order to train them for offices in diplomatic affairs and embassies. Even the Sultan realized the importance of officials with foreign language skills. An indication may be seen in the appointment by Mahmud II of Akif Paşa (1787-1845) in 1836/1251-1252 to be Foreign Minister. He ordered the Paşa to educate officials for foreign affairs in the knowledge of foreign languages. All of those facts contributed to the value of the Translation Chamber and

⁴¹ Cahit Bilim "Tercüme Odası", p. 37.

⁴² Many scholars working on this period pinpoint this function of the Translation Chamber. For a survey, Ejder Okumuş, *Türkiye'nin Laikleşme Serüveninde Tanzimat*, İstanbul: İnsan Yayınları, 1999. Osman Kafadar, *Türkiye'de Kültürel Dönüşümler ve Felsefe Eğitimi*, İstanbul: İz Yayıncılık, 2000. Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*. İlber Ortaylı, *İmparatorluğun En Uzun Yüzyılı*, 12. Baskı, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2002, p. 127, 239. Carter V. Findley, *Ottoman Civil Officialdom: A Social History*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989. Among others, Findley especially argues that this bureau was the first institutional setting, which had an agenda of creating a new type of cadre. He puts this chamber beside other schools at the core to raise a new reform-minded bureaucratic cadre. See also relevant parts of Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*.

⁴³ See also Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*.

enlarged its size, even in the *Tanzimat* period.⁴⁴ It was the most important office of the Sublime Porte and became the only gate of education for a position in the bureaucracy.⁴⁵

As an indication of its larger size, it had 30 people working there in 1841/1256-57. The most important language course was French, and besides that Arabic and Persian; General History and Mathematics were in curriculum, too. In this period, it became the point of origin for the supreme governors. Almost all of the viziers and ministers went through the offices of this Chamber and undertook an upward mobilization via their posts that they acquired due to their education and jobs in this bureau. To make a brief list might clarify the issue: Âli Paşa, Fuad Paşa, Safvet Paşa, Namık Kemal, Ahmed Vefik, M. Namık, M. Sadık Rıfat Paşa, Haydar Efendi, Ağâh Efendi, Ziya Paşa, Sadullah Paşa, Münif Efendi (Paşa), etc are some of them.⁴⁶ A brief look at these figures will explain the significance of these men for the Empire in the future period. They are either ministers or viziers, or reformers and were called *Tanzimat* intellectuals (*Tanzimat aydını*). This type was an end product of the agenda and activities of the Translation Chamber.⁴⁷ These figures mostly applied to reason and idea of liberty, and regarded the concepts as folk, wisdom of ordinary people in the first instance.⁴⁸ This is mostly the generation after Mustafa Reşid Paşa who got his first education in *Amedi office* whereas the next generation with reformist ideas came out of the Translation Chamber. Reşid Paşa was a very influential figure in the reformation history of the Ottoman Empire who prepared and announced the Gülhane Edict

⁴⁴ Cahit Bilim, "Tercüme Odası", p. 39.

⁴⁵ İlber Ortaylı, *En Uzun Yüzyıl*, pp., 239-240. Ortaylı mentions that the frequency of such documents in the Ottoman archives has been reached its peak point during between 1840s and 1850s.

⁴⁶ Bilim, pp. 40-41.

⁴⁷ Ortaylı, *En Uzun Yüzyıl*, p. 240. Ortaylı argues that the prior strategy was to educate Muslim-Turkish officials in this Chamber, due to the fact that this element of society was the segment of society closest to the influence of Western culture and language.

⁴⁸ Mehmet Kaplan, "Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Yeni Aydın Tipi" in *Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Dönemi Semineri Bildiriler: Ankara, 13-14 Mart 1985*. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1987, pp. 113-120.

in 1839 and had a certain impact upon the next generation of the reformers after him. In the second chapter, I would like to emphasize how a new style of the correspondence appeared as a result of all these developments, and Reşid Paşa will be at the center of this new style of composition due to his conscious attempts to create it.

III. Chapter Two: The Reformation and Its Elements

This part of the study will be devoted to the period after 1830s when the first traces of changes in language and literature might be seen in the works of the Ottoman men of letters. To follow these traces, firstly Mustafa Reşid Paşa and his enormous contribution to the reformation of the Empire will be analyzed. Alongside with Mustafa Reşid Paşa who was at the starting phase of the change of the repertoire, I would like to focus on what I mean with the concept of repertoire, coined by Itamar Even-Zohar, a prominent scholar in the cultural and translation studies, and what kind of novel insights can we get from this concept by applying it for the studies of Ottoman cultural-intellectual history. Then, I would like to go on step by step by analyzing bilingual dictionaries, grammar books and conversation guides which are clear indicators of the change in vocabulary and the need to learn the language of this vocabulary. The news in the Ottoman press enables us to see what kind of bits and pieces of this newly emerging repertoire were visible in the Ottoman press. The realm of the education is also important due to its formative role of the minds of Ottomans who appropriated and domesticated that new kind of repertoire in the Ottoman lands.

a. Mustafa Reşid Paşa (1800-1858) as a Reformer

If we speak of the *Tanzimat*, it is highly possible that we directly remind Mustafa Reşid Paşa who was the architect of the *Tanzimat* and the introducer of these ideas into Turkey. Born in 1800, he worked as an Ottoman official from his young age in different posts. He entered the war between the Ottoman Empire and Russia in 1828 and wrote

summaries to the Porte. In his return, he was appointed as deputy of the *Amedi* Office. He was a member of the committee in the peace conversations in Edirne in 1829 as a clerk. He also went to Egypt with Pertev Efendi in 1830 in order to convince Mehmed Ali Paşa. In his return, he became the Chief Secretary (*Âmedî*) that was his most important post in Ottoman bureaucracy up to that time.⁴⁹

His appointment to this office was a clear point for his rapid rise in the Ottoman bureaucracy up to the top level. He was appointed several times as extraordinary ambassador to Paris, or London where he had to engage in diplomatic conversations by the foreign ministers of many countries in order to get their support for the Ottoman Empire in international affairs such as Egypt. This experience enabled him to learn French and he became also Foreign Minister in 1837 as he was in London. After the death of Mahmud II, he became one of the most influential statesmen in the Ottoman Empire. In 1839, in order to gain the favor of the European powers, he designed the Gülhane Edict and announced it in the garden of Palace. It was useful and the European powers recognized it very positively to the degree that due to their intervention into the Egyptian affair, this question was solved for the benefit of the Ottoman Empire with the London Treaty in 1840.⁵⁰

Gülhâne Edict assumed to be the first step in the transformation period from the Monarchy to the Constitutionalism. This edict guarantees the life, goods and honour security of all people living under the Ottoman rule. After this Edict, Reşid Paşa was appointed several times Grand Vizier and Foreign Minister interchangeably, but for two

⁴⁹ Recep Yılmaz, "Mustafa Reşid Paşa (Büyük)" in *YYOA* vol. II, pp. 318-322. Ercümen Kuran, "Reşid Paşa" in *İslam Ansiklopedisi* vol. 9, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1964, pp. 701-705.

⁵⁰ Bayram Kodaman – Ahmet Turan Alkan, "Tanzimat'ın Öncüsü Mustafa Reşid Paşa" in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, yay. Haz. Hakkı Dursun Yıldız. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1992, pp. 1-10. This edict serves for the access of Turkey into the balance of states.

decades, until his death in 1857, he was the most important figure of the Ottoman Empire. He was not only successful in diplomatic conduct but also he was insistent on the reforms within the Ottoman Empire. He established new institutions for the rise of the education in the Ottoman Empire, and he promoted the establishment of the first Academy in 1851.⁵¹ He was the supporter of the young officials such as Fuad and Âli who will play very prominent roles in the next decade of the Empire. At this point, I would like to focus on his contribution of the creation of a new literary style in the Ottoman Empire constituting the very basic structure of a new repertoire coming out of the contact between the reform-minded Ottomans and Europe. The way he opened up for the Ottomans was followed by the next generation such as Namık Kemal, Şinasi, Münif Paşa who mostly came out of the Translation Chamber, and the Ottoman literary style has given up the older tradition and tried to find out a new style which was much more compatible with the reformers' ideologies.

The debates around the style of Mustafa Reşid Paşa focused on his simple style that can be understood very easily. This new way of expression seems to be inspired by the European literary style close to the spoken language, simple and basically targets the influence of the words upon the addressee. Thus, expression in textual forms was considered as an impressive medium of the message transmission process and thus it was transformed into a simple and understandable package unlike the traditional way of expression with rhymes and lots of literary arts. Mehmet Kaplan quotes a part from Cevdet Paşa's *Tezâkir* where the author states about Reşid Paşa that he took a new, clear and simple profession of composition so that the influence of the text and utterance remains.

⁵¹ Yusuf Halaçoğlu, "Ma'rûzât ve Tezâkir'de Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Tanzimat Erkânı" in *Mustafa Reşid Paşa*

But, in the traditional composition style the impression of the expression diminishes due to the rhymes and literary arts. Most of clerks have imitated Reşid Paşa and apart from Âli and Fuad Paşa, Ahmet Cevdet has also followed his style, regarded his schools as a moral school as a point of reference and learned many things about the political affairs and a new language, i.e. French language.⁵²

In the Ottoman literature, we are able to see the first appearance of this tendency towards a new style in form of new vocabulary. I would like to focus now upon the first instances of a new vocabulary and to leave the discussion of the new style to the next chapter where the translation of new genres will be discussed. Tuncer Baykara states that the appearance of the term 'civilization' in the Ottoman vocabulary goes back to the 1830s.⁵³ Ottomans firstly did not translate this concept but used it as in French form 'sivilizasyon' at the beginning. Mustafa Reşid Paşa used this term for the first time in 1834 together with phrases as human education and execution of the rules. After that some new words as *hazariyet*, *temeddün* and *medeniyet* were used. Ottomans invented the last term from the Arabic roots m-d-n for the equivalent of the civilization, and Sadık Rıfat Paşa was

ve *Dönemi Semineri* pp. 25-29. See for a detailed study about Reşid Paşa, Reşat Kaynar, *Mustafa Reşit Paşa ve Tanzimat*, 2. Baskı. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1985.

⁵² Mehmet Kaplan "Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Tanzimat Devri Üslubu" in *Türk Kültürü*, 20 (1982), no. 229, pp. 401-405 (5-9). "*Münşeatımız tarz-ı İrâniyân-ı taklid yolunda olup, sebki-i inşâmız muhâverâtımıza asla uymaz. Yazdığımız, söyledüğimize ve söylediğimiz yazdığımızı hiç benzemez. Ekseriye seci ve cinâs-ı lafzî uğrunda sözün kuvveti fedâ edilir. Bu tarz üzere mesâlih-i devlete dâir uzunca bir lâyiha, tahrîr kaleme alınsa tımturâk-ı elfâz arasında maksad-ı aslî gaaib ve sözün tesiri zâyî olur. Reşid Paşa ise kitâbetçe sâde ve beligâne bir meslek-i cedîd ittihaz etti. Vâdi-i inşâda bir yeni çığır açtı. Küttâbın çoğu onu taklîd eyledi. Hariciye nazırı Ali Efendi ile Dîvân-ı Hümâyün tercümanlığından âmedi olan Fuad Efendi-ki ikisi dahi sonra vezir ve sadrazam olan meşhur âli ve Fuad Paşalardır- anlar dahi bu yolda Reşid Paşa'nın isrine iktifâ ile akran ve emsallerine fâik olmuşlardır. Ben de bu yolu beğendim ve bu tarz üzere inşâ-yı kelâma heves ettim ve onların encümen-i ülfe ve müshâbetlerini kendime mekteb-i edeb ittihaz eyledim. Sanki yeniden mektebe başladım ve bu vesile ile mesâil-i siyasiyyeye dair haylice malumat aldım ve ol esnâda Fransızca'yı ta'allüm ile dahi meşgul oldum". (401-402)*

⁵³ Baykara devotes three articles for the penetration of the concept of civilization in Ottoman texts. "Civilisation" ve Osmanlı Devleti", pp. 1-14; "Bir Kelime İstilah Olarak "Medeniyet" in Türkiye'ye Girişi", pp. 15-32; and "Mustafa Reşid Paşa'nın Medeniyet Anlayışı", pp. 33-37. These articles are compiled in

firstly used it in 1838 in order to describe the Ottomanized sivilizasyon as the way of being kind and civilized (*usûl-i menûsiyet ve medeniyet*).⁵⁴ Baykara analyzed the survey of this concept within the Ottoman lexicography and found out that at the beginning it was designed as the equivalent of being kind, becoming educated and kind, and also it was related to the morality and ethics. Until 1850s, this word signified a more ethical conduct whereas after 1850s it transformed into the equivalent of civilization as we use today, 'medeniyet'.⁵⁵

Baykara also looks for two different sources. The first one is the travel accounts of the foreign travelers and their attachment of some Turkish manners to the criteria of being civilized or uncivilized. These were the novel habits as dancing, theatres, alcohol, fashion, dressing, reading clubs, post-cars, newspapers etc. The second source he considers was the first official Ottoman newspapers, *Takvim-i Vekâyi*, in which he focuses on different equivalents and descriptions of the term civilization in this official organ. He finds out that good orders, beneficial regulations, good style, favorable styles were used in the newspaper and in the official documents Mustafa Reşid Paşa composed between 1834 and 1836.⁵⁶

We see also some other terms and concepts stemming from the activities of the Translation Chamber. For instance, words as *mesail-i politikiye* (political affairs), new concepts such as nation, liberty etc. were borrowed and the chamber used a new style of

Osmanlılar'da Medeniyet Kavramı ve Ondokuzuncu Yüzyıla Dair Araştırmalar, İzmir: Akademi Kitabevi, 1992.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 31.

⁵⁵ Ibid., pp. 20-23. The author looked for 15 dictionaries on entries as civilisation, civiliser, civilisé etc. and then concluded in this manner.

⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 24-28. The Ottoman terms were *nizâm-ı müstahsene*, *usûl-i hasene ve mergûbe*, *nizâmat-ı cedide*.

writing, which was simpler and more direct than previous Ottoman styles.⁵⁷ This new style and using of new terms can be followed in the History of Cevdet Paşa also. I would like to conclude this section by referring to Zeki Arıkan's careful analysis of the foreign concepts of the sources in the *Târih-i Cevdet*, which was a product of the first academy-like institution of *Encümen-i Dâniş*, founded in 1851/1267.

The main reason behind the establishment of *Encümen* seemed to be twofold: Firstly, it would allow the bringing together of the separate realms of education within the Ottoman territories as a supreme body.⁵⁸ Secondly, it would serve as a preparatory institution for the *Darülfünun* (House of Science), whose establishment had been a dream for a long time. The function of *Encümen* as a higher education school would be to compose textbooks for the courses offered by *Darülfünun*. Ahmed Cevdet (1823-1895) composed his *Târih-i Cevdet* as a continuation of Hammer's famous history from the date that ended, i.e., from 1188 (1774) until 1241 (1825-26).⁵⁹

Cevdet composed his work very fast and its content was also very detailed and accurate. Hammer complimented the first two volumes on their quality and accuracy. Rather than classical Ottoman histories, this work was composed analytically and it also tried to underline the reasons for and implications of historical affairs. This is a very

⁵⁷ Ortaylı, *En Uzun Yüzyıl*, pp. 42-43. Nejat Göyünç, "Tanzimat'a Yöneltilen Eleştiriler" in *Mustafa Reşid Paşa ve Dönemi Semineri*, pp. 105-111. Second article quotes that the aim of Reşid Paşa and his friends was to regulate the state according to the European style through the spread of education.

⁵⁸ Tanpınar mentions the members of committee in detail. Apart from the leading politicians of that time, these were young people such as Ahmed Cevdet and Ahmed Vefik, scholars from *ilmiye*, and non-Muslim officials from the Translation Chamber, and foreign scholars dealing with Orient and Ottoman Empire, such as Hammer, Redhouse and Bianchi. See Tanpınar, *19. Asır*, pp., 144-146.

⁵⁹ Cevdet Paşa stated the time span his work covers in *Tezâkir* as mentioned above. He stated in the same place, that he was concerned to compose it in a simple style for the audience of the general public. *Tezâkir*, vol. IV, p. 58, quoted by Zeki Arıkan, "Cevdet Paşa'nın Tarihinde Kullandığı Yabancı Kaynaklar ve Terimler", in *Ahmed Cevdet Paşa Semineri 27-28 Mayıs 1985. Bildiriler*, İstanbul: 1986, p. 174, f.n. 3. A detailed list of the works composed by the members of the Academy may be found in Taceddin Kayaoğlu's *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri*, pp., 77-90.

unusual approach to history writing. Tanpınar mentions that there was a conscious concern among the members of the academy for the discipline of history. This concern led to the translation of history books from Western languages, which were mostly about the affairs of the “New Ages”.

According to Arıkan, we can see lots of terms stemming from Western sources in the history of Cevdet. He found out that Cevdet was very aware of these sources and tried to use them. The author tried to determine these sources Ahmed Cevdet used and explored the terminology of politics borrowed from Western histories. For instance, he mentioned that references to the European accounts of the history seemed to be obligatory due to the increasing political relationships between Europe and Empire since Napoleon Bonaparte. He gave some vague references such as ‘deriving from the histories in European languages’ etc. At the terminology level, it is possible to see concepts such as ‘ministroca’, ‘parlamento’, ‘konvansiyon’, ‘ofiçyal’, ‘feodalite’, ‘droit de gens’ as *hukuk-ı milel* etc.⁶⁰ We can see that the men of letters in the next generation after Reşid Paşa were attracted by Reşid Paşa and they continued his attempts of the simplification and civilization project in the level of vocabulary and style which were the predecessors of the new repertoire which emerged out of the modernization projects of the architects of Tanzimat in a complex and multi-dimensional manner. At this point I would like to elaborate the concept of repertoire and what I mean by this concept for the present project.

⁶⁰ Arıkan has devoted the second part of his article to analyzing these terms. See especially Arıkan, *ibid.*, pp. 191-197.

b. The Concept of Cultural Repertoire and Elements of the New Repertoire

In this part, I will consider the concept of repertoire as elaborated by Itamar Even-Zohar. This scholar of cultural studies invented this concept for a better understanding of set of aggregate options for any cultural, political entities and investigated the different aspects of his hypothesis to find out a fair interpretation for his problematic.

He began his search for the possibility of the cultural planning in the formation of a cultural repertoire that was inspired by other, “foreign” repertoires. He defines cultural repertoire as ‘the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people, by the individual members of group, for the organization of life’. He proposed that in order to shape it, a deliberate plan should be enacted.⁶¹ To put any translation movement into this planning activity is not a difficult task. We know from the Turkish case that in the 1930’s and 40’s a new Translation Bureau was founded with the certain plan of translating the classics of Western literature into the modern Turkish language, a very successful event in Turkish literary history conducted by Hasan Âli Yücel.⁶²

Mostly the agents of change constituted a small minority that functioned as the managers of the repertoire. They may be either power-holders or free agents. Their attempts to crystallize a repertoire will introduce a certain change in the current state of affairs. Their ability to mobilize resources for the cultural repertoire will provide effective models and justification to the distinctive existence of any entity that stays as target of the newly

⁶¹ For the definition of cultural repertoire, see Itamar Even-Zohar, “The Making of a Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer” in *Translations: (Re) shaping of Literature and Culture*, ed. by Saliha Paker. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002, pp. 166-174.

⁶² This Translation Bureau published a periodical *Tercüme Dergisi* [Journal of Translation] which continued for many years. Hasan Anamur, “Önsöz” in *Ekinler ve Zamanlar Kavşağı Çeviri / Traduction Carrefour des Cultures et des Temps : Hommage à Hasan-Âli Yücel*. Sous la direction de Hasan Anamur. İstanbul: Yıldız Teknik Üniversitesi Yay., 1997, pp. I-VII.

existing repertoire. If they collaborate with the power-holders, then to establish the new repertoire may be simpler than in case of free agents.⁶³

He argues that any activity for cultural planning may have some different objectives. In the first instance, it can make partly the making of new socio-political units possible, as in case of the unification process of Germany in the 19th century, or in the Turkish Republic. The second objective may be to transform the units, or reconstruct them. In this dimension of the cultural planning, planners seeks to affiliate people to the made entity via the establishment of a new subset upon which the new ties of cohesion were based. During the planning, a certain amount of cultural labor as a source for the energy in this motion was invested. This energy improves the possibility of the access of the members to the options within the new repertoire. Even-Zohar argues that cultural planning comes out of being in a lower state than comparable entities. This lowerness led the idea-makers of the entity to find solutions who sought to bring a new repertoire for the better access of the resources from which they have been deprived of. This idea fits very well to the situation of the Ottoman Empire that was in a very weak position after serious defeats against its rivals and therefore the governors and men of letters tried to open some gates in order to get out of this difficult and weak position. What they proposed as measurements are considered by Zohar as a proposition of a new repertoire through conscious planning, which may bring lots of benefits in the long run. For the present study, some constituting elements within the domain of literature will be taken into consideration, whereas the relationship between the vocabulary, discourse, trope and genre will be left aside for a further study in detail.

⁶³ Itamar Even-Zohar, "Culture Planning and Cultural Resistance in the Making and Maintaining of Entities"

Zohar made a classification in the function of culture as culture-as-goods and culture-as-tools. The former represents cultural things as evaluable goods in terms of prestige, status, material prosperity etc. If a society, or any other entity does not possess any evaluable cultural elements, than it means that this entity does not have 'any culture'. The latter takes the culture as a set of operating tools for the organization of life.⁶⁴ This dimension has also active and passive parts. In the passive one, the significant aspect is to be able to make sense of reality whereas the active side concerns with the actions for any new situations encountered by the members of any entity.⁶⁵

Ann Swidler's argument about the culture that culture puts an influence over action by forming a repertoire or "tool kit" of habits, skills, and styles that enable people to establish a "strategy of action" seems to be relevant at this point.⁶⁶ Rather than the older definition of culture as the entire way of life of a society in order to become of a functioning member of society, Swidler takes a new definition, which describes it as the publicly available symbolic forms through which people experience and express meaning. According to this understanding, the broader term "culture" consists of "symbolic vehicles of meaning, including beliefs, ritual practices, art forms and ceremonies, as well as informal cultural practices such as language, gossip stories, and rituals of daily life."⁶⁷ They enable the existence of the social process in which the members of a group or community

in *Sun Yat-Sen Journal of Humanities* 14 (April 2002) pp. 45-52, here p. 45.

⁶⁴ Idem., "Culture Repertoire and the Wealth of Collective Entities" in *Under Construction: Link for the Site of Literary Theory – Essays in Honour of Hendrik van Gorp*. Dirk de Geest et al. (eds.). Leuven: Leuven Univ. Press, 2000, pp. 389-403, here pp. 389-392.

⁶⁵ Ibid., pp. 392-393. He quotes from Russian semioticians Lotman and Uspenskij how culture comes into the center of life: "...culture as generator of structuredness, social sphere around which life becomes possible".

⁶⁶ Ann Swidler, "Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies" in *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51 (April 1986) no. 2, pp. 273-286, here p. 286.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 273.

share modes of behavior and outlook. Thus, the active tools stem from these processes which were at the basics of any repertoire.

The crucial factor on repertoire is its acceptance by the target group and granting of this new repertoire among them. For the making of repertoire, Even-Zohar argues that two basic procedures independent of the circumstances are 'import' and 'invention'.⁶⁸ These are two basic factors for the making of a repertoire. Additionally, if the imported things were integrated within the existing repertoire, the process could be called as 'transfer'. Only then, the imported goods began to generate some consequences by this integration.⁶⁹ This generation could only be done after the domestication and emergence of a need for the transferred goods. During translation of texts interculturally, only those who may be able to create the semiotic models of the translations integral parts of the home repertoire were assumed to be successful.

In order to achieve the success in the formation of new repertoires, dedicated groups of individuals are necessary. They have to be able to produce ideas convertible to alternative or new options for the repertoire of culture around which social life is shaped and organized. Even-Zohar coins the term of idea-makers for such kind of dedicated persons.⁷⁰ Zohar argues that the success of the cultural planning should be considered in forms of the ability to select a desirable course of life among many options.

This ability may also indicate itself in the changing circumstances in forms of the production of new options in order to cope with the changes. If a cultural or social entity is

⁶⁸ Refer to Gideon Toury, "Translation as a Means of Planning and the Planning of Translation: A Theoretical Framework and an Exemplary Case" in *Translations: ...*, pp. 148-165, here pp. 150-151.

⁶⁹ Even-Zohar, "The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer" in *Translations: ...*, pp. 166-174, here pp. 169-170.

in contact with other cultural or social entities, then we saw a major process in the human history as the transfer of repertoire from one group to another as means of proliferating the repertoire of the domestic options, which was also experienced by the Ottomans during their extreme socio-political contact with the Western world. At the beginning of this proliferation, men of the governments such as Reşid Paşa and his followers played the major role, whereas the litterateurs appeared after 1860s and played the most significant role in the establishment of the new repertoire. If we consider the size of these people, they were not so crowded, a small group, but strongly dedicated themselves for the penetration of new ideas into the Ottoman Empire so that the Empire would have been in a better position than the contemporary difficult and weak position. The significant feature of the idea-makers for Zohar is whether is he able to convert his ideas to the real, graspable options for the benefits of the entire population.⁷¹

At this point he puts another division between the idea-makers who are producing and preaching their thoughts and those who are in addition to both of these activities implementing their ideas to be a socio-cultural reality in the active repertoire of the domestic group. The latter he calls as cultural entrepreneurs who are also produces of new options through images, metaphors, depicting of alternative, different or new models of life. But this activity might clash with the contemporarily accepted options. The existed models of life may not always be hospitable to the images showing that there might be some other possibilities. These images have been mostly produced by the activity what is called

⁷⁰ Itamar Even-Zohar, "Idea-Makers, Culture Entrepreneurs, Makers of Life Images, and the Prospects of Success" in *Papers in Culture Research* published in 2004, pp. 206-226.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 213-217. He called them idea-makers-as-options-devisers.

literature, which is assumed to consist of 'images of life' that was studied by the Russian semioticians as literature contributing to the "potential models of life".⁷²

Zohar investigates the approach of this school for the emergence of a repertoire in which literary activity might serve as a major industry capable of providing tools for the understanding and operating in actual life. The literary products provide sometimes plans for action. We can see this fact also in the most vital national movements of the 19th and 20th centuries, which started with poetry as the only alternative for the expression of new preferences or new options. In the Ottoman Empire, what we see also that literary activity went hand in hand with the political and social reformers as the reflectors of ideas of option-devisers for society, but also as an efficient tool for the proliferation of the new options in form of the narratives the reform-minded authors produced. Zohar claims that the aggregate of activities engaged by idea-makers, cultural entrepreneurs and literateurs may be called as the industry of ideas or cultural industry for the proliferation and the domestication of the new options stemming from their activities.

This feature of the literature was elaborated in another work by Even-Zohar in which he proposed to take the history of literature as a major factor in the social organization of life.⁷³ In his proposal, what is most useful for the present study is that he treats literature as a network, a complex of activities, rather than as a collection of texts, mostly canonical texts. In this framework, a valuable literary product, i.e. literary goods, is the one incorporated into the group of canonical texts. The group of canonical texts possessed by any ruler means something similar to the possession of the prosperity for the same ruler. It serves as if the consolidatory element of the identity of large collectivities, for

⁷² Ibid., pp. 221-223.

instance, national languages and literatures are tools for the self-identification and self-construction of the members of that nation. These tools serve for the explanation of the world and for the action in world. The literary texts often provide plans or scripts for action. It is highly possible to read a literary text and then to extract from it practical instructions for everyday life. In this respect, it is like a mirror for the organization of life. The efficiency of the network and mediation of agents will turn literature to a powerful social organization. Zohar concludes that literature, if studied academically, seems to be an effective instrument to reflect some important aspects of our comprehension of society in which the men of letters produce their literary outputs.⁷⁴

The constituents of the effective network of literature should be taken into consideration one-by-one. This network consists of not only literary works as fiction, drama, poetry, but also it includes the dictionaries, the news in the press, the educational institutions as generator of the producers of the literature, the theater pieces as plots of the instructive literature, and their producers by broadening the meaning of literature as Zohar did in his article. Let me elaborate for these constituting elements of the repertoire beginning from the level of vocabulary and language acquisition, i.e., the dictionaries and grammar books of French language, which provided the whole alternative set of options for the Ottoman domestic culture.

⁷³ Idem., "Literature as Goods, Literature as Tools" in *Neohelicon* XXIX (2002) 1, pp. 75-83.

c. Dictionaries and Grammar Books

At this point, we may refer to the dictionaries and grammar books mostly composed for the non-Ottoman audience in order to lead them towards learning the Turkish language. The fact that the existence of a stream of learners of the Turkish language for state affairs or for some other reasons had been there for a long time may be seen in Ratip Efendi's report.⁷⁵ In one of the recent studies on the borrowing of some words from French into Turkish, the author mentions two lexicographers who composed their dictionaries in the 1830's: Bianchi and Artin Hindoğlu.⁷⁶ The former states in his foreword that he composed his dictionary in order to serve the need of the Europeans in the Orient and also to fulfill the inclination of the Turks to learn French, whereas the latter states that he thought that Turks were beginning to incline towards Western culture and that the Turkish language occupied a very significant position within world history.⁷⁷

Bianchi was a dragoman and a commercial attaché in the French embassy at the beginning of the 19th century. He was known for his famous French-Turkish vocabulary.

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 79-83.

⁷⁵ Ebubekir Ratip Efendi talks about an academy in Wien in which students essentially learnt the three languages and therefore had been called as *Akadimya Asiya*. The reason for the establishment of this Asian academy was to learn the languages of the state with which the Habsburg Empire had some relationships. The head of this academy was one of the graduates of the school of the *Dil oğlanları* (Les Enfants de Langue) in Constantinople and his duty was to translate documents on the Ottoman Empire. Every two years, they sent two boys to Constantinople to practice their language skills there. Joseph von Hammer was also enrolled at this institution. Ratip Efendi mentions that the students sit in front of him and read some lines in Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Furthermore, they also composed some texts dedicated to his visit to the academy. Ratip Efendi copied it in order to show their accuracy. In return, he composed a poem and hung it to the wall of the academy. See for this, Ebubekir Ratip Efendi, *Ebubekir Râtip Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi*, yayıma Hazırlayan: Abdullah Uçman. İstanbul: Kitabevi, 1999, pp. 91-93. See Appendix 1 for the Ottoman Turkish version of this part of the ambassador's report.

⁷⁶ Ali Çiçek, "Türkiye'ye Giren Fransızca Kökenli Bazı Kelimeler Üzerine Bir İnceleme" in *Atatürk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Enstitüsü Dergisi*, 11 (2004) n. 24, p. 2. Çiçek also states that one of the methods of finding equivalent words for the newly emerging concepts was to borrow the foreign words after transforming them according to Turkish phonology and morphology.

⁷⁷ Çiçek, p. 3. See also *Hazine-i Lugat ou Dictionnaire abrégé Turc-Français par Artin Hindoğlu : Ancien professeur de la langue Turque et Arménienne, actuellement Interprète I.R. du tribunal des Nobles de la*

The foreword he wrote for this dictionary was an important document reflecting his ideas and practical personality. He stated his wonder about the report which the departments of history and ancient literature at the institute presented to the Emperor Napoleon in 1806, and why it did not express the need for a French-Turkish dictionary beside the French-Arabic one. According to Bianchi, the Ottoman-Turkish language was more widespread than Arabic in the classical world. The fact that the governing strata of countries such as Egypt and Syria and the educated people there were speaking Ottoman Turkish made it very useful for Europeans to learn it. Also the peace and trade agreements were drawn up in this language, which was one of the proofs to Bianchi of the usefulness of the Turkish language for Europeans.⁷⁸ A special situation arising from the situation of students sent by the Egyptian Khedive to France made people feel the need more seriously. Those students were sent by Mehmed Ali Paşa in order to obtain a Western education. For this task, French-Turkish and French-Arabic dictionaries for the students were required, but unfortunately there were not any satisfactory ones. Due to this lack of satisfactory dictionaries, the chief of the Egyptian mission in Paris, Mr. Jomard, asked Bianchi to compose a dictionary covering the most important words and phrases in Ottoman-Turkish. Bianchi also stated that the sympathy of the Turks towards the French people was established during the era of François I.

His use of some Turkish phrases which had never before been phrased in French aimed at making the lexicon more friendly for the young Ottomans who were trying to learn

Basse Autriche a Vienne, et membre de l'académie Arménienne à Venise. Vienne: Imprimé chez Antoine noble de Schmid, Imprimeur J.R. des Langues Orientales, 1838.

⁷⁸ For a Turkish translation of the foreword, see Aykut Kazancıgil, *XIX. Yüzyılda Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Anatomi: Şanizade-Bianchi*, İstanbul: Özel Yayınlar, 1991, pp. 3-5, where Kazancıgil quotes the translation of H. Hatemi from "Fransızca-Türkçe İlk Sözlükler (Rhasis, Hındoğlu, Bianchi Sözlükleri)" in *Tarih ve Toplum*, 2 (1984) 12, pp. 430-431.

the language at that time. Since 1784, French works on mathematics, geography, marine and military art had been translated into the Ottoman language but the main reason for the acquisition of the Turkish language was the recent inclination of Ottomans towards Western civilization. This might provide French with an important and dominant situation among the other languages. The penetration and infusion of the French taste and language into the Orient might cause a French impact on Ottoman society. Another important point lastly mentioned by him was that French literature would strengthen the ties with the Ottoman Empire. I think his way of argumentation seems to be very practically oriented. Bianchi is an extraordinarily important figure in the reformation period of the Empire with his pioneering publications of a list of books printed in Istanbul and at the Bulaq press in Egypt: a) *Notice sur le premier ouvrage d'Anatomie et de Médecine Imprimé en turc à Constantinople en 1820. Suivie de Catalogue des livres turcs arabes et persans imprimés à Constantinople depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie en 1726-27 jusqu'en 1820*, Paris 1821. b) *Catalogue générale et détaillé des livres Arabes, Persans et Turc Imprimé à Bulaç, Paris, 1847.*⁷⁹

Another early lexicographer, Hindoğlu, states in his foreword that the Occidental people had not known the Orient only through military encounters, but the accounts of friendly travelers and the science of the Orient was also mediator for the presentation of the Orient to the eyes of the Occidental people. The effort to facilitate the study of the Turkish language for European students who wanted to learn this language was sought in a number of studies with these authors he did not want to contest.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 30, f.n.11 and 13. Bianchi listed 68 titles published from 1728 until 1820 in Istanbul in his catalogue which was ended with the book of Şanizâde, *Mirât el-'abd fi Teşrih-i 'Asl-ı İnsânî*.

Considering forewords of seven books devoted to the facilitation of learning French in the Ottoman Empire, we can see some interesting points. These grammar books and dictionaries mostly composed by the members of the Translation Chamber. Some of them came also from the minority groups of the Ottoman Empire. In addition to this fact, some of them were also actively involved in the foreign language instruction in terms of being teacher in schools. An exceptional case was a terminology manual which was produced by the former translator of the Austrian Empire in Constantinople which emphasized the new vocabulary in administrative, judiciary and political issues coming out of the contact between the Ottoman Empire and the West but was not found the equivalences in the Ottoman language. Due to the laguna within these areas, he carried out the composition of his manual.

Yorgaki Razi mentioned that learning of any foreign language addressed for the sake of the increase of the information circulation within a particular setting. Thus, learning French language served also for this function and due to the long-term relationship between the French and Ottoman Empires, the desire to learn French language by Ottomans increased which also aimed to fulfill the need of a much greater bulk of information for the new things emerged after the through encounter with Europe. Exactly for this reason, French language was the most appropriate choice because the old knowledge and information encoded in other languages were re-coded in French and they also dealt with the difficulties of this translation process. All of these points made the study of French language a worth and right step for the acquisition of the contemporary knowledge. Razi composed his grammar book just to facilitate this task for the beginners and students. And lastly, he mentioned that his deed was just one of the thanksgivings to the Pasha who

provided him with the learning of Arabic and Persian language in Constantinople four years ago.⁸⁰

Another dictionary was composed by N. Mallouf in 1849/1265 and published in Smyrna. In the introductory part of this work where he praised the Turkish language for its mastery in literature, he addressed the great Reşit Paşa who was the great propagandist of public instruction and tried to bring an Enlightened vision to all classes of population. Thus, the author tried to facilitate the study of this language for young intellectuals within this harmonious language.⁸¹

Another one, composed by a Greek working in the Translation Chamber, was *Rehnumâ-yı Lisân-ı Fransevî*. The acquisition of the French language was tried everywhere and you were able to find many booklets on the French language. But due to the abundance of the words and phrases in them, beginners could not learn from them easily. In this respect, a short booklet containing the principles and phrases of the language seemed to be necessary.⁸² He would like to correspond this necessity.

Again, a member of the Translation Chamber, Krikor Margosyan, composed a book on the Morphology and Syntax of the French Language [*Sarf u Nahv-i Fransevî*] in 1858/1274.⁸³ The compiler of this grammar book wrote an introduction [*Dibâce*] in which

⁸⁰ Yorgaki Razi, *Gramer Fransez yani Sarf-ı Fransevî*, Constantinople: Lithography de Cayol, 1845, pp. 3-7. See Appendix for the full-text of the introduction in Ottoman Turkish and English. This is my translation, as all of the other forewords and parts of books from Ottoman Turkish into English.

⁸¹ N. Mallouf, *Dictionnaire de poche Français-Turc, or Trésor de la conversation, a l'usage des personnes qui se livrent a l'étude de ces deux langues*; auteur de plusieurs ouvrages élémentaires et professeur de langues orientales au collège de la propagande, dirigé par M M. Les Lazaristes a Smyrne, 1849, Imprimerie d'A. Damiano.

⁸² Yorgaki Petropulos, *Rehnumâ-yı Lisân-ı Fransevî*, [n.p.]: [n.d.], pp. 2-4. Refer to appendix for the Ottoman Turkish and English texts of Petropulos' foreword.

⁸³ Krikor Markosyan, *Sarf u Nahv-i Fransevî: Cild-i Evvel*, Bâb-ı 'Âli Tercüme Odası Me'murlarından Bâb-ı Ser-askerî Ecnebiye Kalemi Mütercimi Krikor Efendi Te'lif İtdi. Der-Âsitâne-i 'Âliyye, 1275/1859.

he mentioned that from ancient times on, French state had supported its philosophers and scholars and established lots of educational institutions, and attempted to spread the level of civilization and education to other parts of the world. This book contains significant issues for the compilation of such an auxiliary for the teaching and learning of French language. First of all, the conscious attempt of the French people in order to bring their language in the regulatory state. The author mentioned that since 200 years they tried to unify their language and bring their pronunciation into one type. Secondly, French people have translated famous works in other languages into their language, which made a person familiar with other languages by knowing that language which became the lingua franca of that period. Also the fact that the instruction of the sciences in French language in Military School and Medicine School seemed to be another factor contributing to the importance of this language for the Ottomans. But, in spite of its importance, it is difficult to find grammar books that explain the language in accordance with the Turkish language which would certainly facilitate its learning by Turkish students. As the author was an instructor of French grammar in the Medical School, he was aware of this fact due to his experience as instructor there. For this reason, he felt himself responsible of the facilitation of French language acquisition and produced this grammar book in which he adopted French morphology and syntax in accordance with the rules of Turkish grammar. After a serious consideration of the books on French grammar, he compiled the agreed issues in his work by supporting his arguments by many examples. At the end, he mentioned that this book was not only worth for the Turkish citizens, but also those who wanted to learn Turkish language may use it for their benefits. Again, Margosyan mentioned that this book was a symptom of his loyalty to the Sultan.⁸⁴

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 3-5.

Another book compiled for the easy acquisition of the French language beginners and students written by Ollendorf was translated under the rubric of *Mükâleme-i Sıbyân* in 1866/1282-83 by İsmail Hakkı who was the director of the Imperial Lyceé. The second edition was printed in 1873/1289-90 in Ceridehâne press. In his foreword, İsmail Hakkı stated his incentive for this translation. According to his statement, Ollendorf's book was more preferred to other books on French language due to its methodology. The author was also related to the education, as an official on General Military Schools, and translated the book in conversation style into Ottoman Turkish. The uniqueness of this work lies on its characteristics that in each part the way of writing and pronunciation in French was explained which enabled the students to check the correctness of their knowledge. Thus, this book is a reliable and accurate book for the language and addressed to the beginners in the language and the student of the schools.⁸⁵ We can also see an advertisement for the publication of the first volume of this book in *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*.⁸⁶

Ambroise Calfa, who had composed a conversation guide previously, wrote a pocket dictionary in 1863/1280 the fourth edition of which was published in 1869 in Paris. The author composed many other works about general history, ancient history, arithmetic, geography, Armenian calligraphy, as well as journals, and conversation guides in French-Turc and also French-Armenian and English-Armenian, dictionaries in Turkish-Armenian, Armenian-French and French-Armenian. Other than these books, which were mostly relevant to language learning, or to college study, he also translated some novels from

⁸⁵ Ollendorf, *Mükâleme-i Sıbyân*, mütercimi İsmail Hakkı, İstanbul: Ceridehâne'de ikinci def'a olarak tab' olunmuşdur, 1290, pp. 3-4. See appendix for the English and Ottoman Turkish version.

⁸⁶ *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, n. 469, p.4, 18 Zilkâde 1283 / 27-III-1867, This ad and others taken from *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* have been cited from Necdet Hayta, *Tarih Araştırmalarına Kaynak Olarak Tasvîr-i Efkâr Gazetesi* (1278/1862 – 1286/1869), Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 2002, p. 243. See Appendix for the Ottoman text and my translation into English.

French into Armenian. On the cover pages of this dictionary, two novels, *Paul et Virginie* and *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, were mentioned, both of them were reprinted with a French text also. Another book he translated from French into Armenian was again by Fénelon, *L'Education des Filles de Fénelon*.⁸⁷ His reason for the composition of such a dictionary seemed to be similar to reasons of others. He was proud of having a fourth edition published within a few some years, a rare thing for a book in Oriental libraries.

One of the extraordinarily interesting accounts on the encounter of the French and Ottoman languages may be found in a bilingual glossary of terminology composed in 1870/1286-87 in Vienna by a former court interpreter of the Austrian Empire in Constantinople. This glossary has two titles, one in French, the other in Ottoman Turkish. Let me cite them: *Manuel Terminologique Français-Ottoman contenant les Principales Expressions et Locutions Techniques usitées dans les Pièces diplomatiques, administratives et Judiciaires ainsi que différents néologismes inconnus aux vocabulaires Français-Turcs en Usage = Mecmu'a-i Istilâhât-ı Resmiye ya'ni Umûr-ı politikıyye ve mülkiyye ile Muhâkemât-ı Hukûkiyye ve Cezâ'ıyye ve de'âvi-i ticârete müte'allik muharrerât u senedât-da cârî ve müsta'mel olan Fransevî ve Türkî ta'birât-ı mahsûsa-i resmiyyeyi ve sâ'ir nev-zuhûr ba'zı ıstılâhâtı hâvî luğat-ı müntahabedir*.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Ambroise Calfa, *Dictionnaire de Poche Français-Turc* par A. Calfa. Ancien Directeur de Collège national arménien de Paris, Membre de la Société asiatique, de l'Institut historique, de la Société orientale de France, etc. Quatrième Edition. Paris: L. Hachette & Cie Libraries and Garnier Frères Libraries, 1869, I-VI. For the detailed information of the novel and Fénelon in the Ottoman Empire, see to the third chapter, the part on the novel translations.

⁸⁸ Bn. O. De Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Manuel Terminologique Français-Ottoman contenant les Principales Expressions et Locutions Techniques usitées dans les Pièces diplomatiques, administratives et Judiciaires ainsi que différents néologismes inconnus aux vocabulaires Français-Turcs en Usage = Mecmu'a-i Istilâhât-ı Resmiye*, Vienna : Imprimerie Impériale, 1870. This manual has two cover pages and two forewords, one in French one in Ottoman Turkish. In the Ottoman version, the author has been identified as the former chief interpreter of the embassy of the Austrian Empire in Constantinople.

As the title of this manual very clearly indicates, it is a collection of the terms, and concepts related to judicial, administrative, and diplomatic issues. Those concepts were deduced from the official correspondence of the state. The author mentions that there were some difficulties in finding these words in the current dictionaries and therefore the former embassy official wanted to overcome this difficulty by compiling a 'technical, special' manual. According to the author, the increase in the relationship of the Ottoman Empire with other states, the correspondence and every type of documents were circulating among those states. Even though translation of these texts into the Ottoman language became a necessity, the Turkish equivalents of the official terminology and concepts used in French texts can not be found in the contemporary Ottoman dictionaries. This fact made the translation much more difficult. During the reign of Mehmed Emin Paşa, who was a scholar-friendly governor, many books for the sake of civilization were produced. One of them was this humble contribution for the use of the translators in which the mostly used concepts, terms and phrases were translated into Turkish and some new phrases were added.⁸⁹

In the French version of the introduction, we see some alterations to the Ottoman one. In that, the author mentions, beside the things he mentioned in the Ottoman version, that there was a lack for translators for the new political, administrative and judicial organization of the Empire by the Sublime Porte during the last twenty years. As an official interpreter of the Austrian Empire, he met also with the same difficulties leading him to burden himself with the responsibility of compiling this work. He felt himself then as being completely authoritative in the composition of a manual for terminology, but at the same

⁸⁹ Ibid., Ottoman foreword. See Appendix for the text.

time he wished to be compatible with the preceding works, the dictionaries of Bianchi and Hançeri, the contents of both of which were familiar to all of the Orientalists dealing with translation from French into Turkish. At the end he acknowledged that the Cabinet supported and guaranteed the prompt realization of his project.⁹⁰

We can see also dictionaries with different objectives in this era. For instance, there was a dictionary of Greek, Turkish, Arabic and Persian phrases. The author tells us that the instruction of the Ottoman language was a compulsory act within the Ottoman lands. In order to facilitate this for the citizens, and also to increase and reinforce the good relationships between the Greek and Ottoman peoples, the author assumed himself to be responsible for the composition of such a dictionary.⁹¹

We can observe from the forewords that the Ottoman literary class, whether as state officials, or as men of letters, sought for ease in obtaining the valuable tool for beginners. As one of the composers states that being skillful in French means being skillful in many languages due to the translations into French from every language of the world. Due to this characteristic of the French language, which would be a window or a key to the unknown world of other cultural domains, people who knew it tried to write works which facilitated the acquisition of the language for beginners and put them in touch quickly with the literature written or translated in French. This rapid touch would enable them to be acquainted with the French repertoire and domesticate pieces which were relevant to the needs of the Ottomans, or compatible with their past experience in terms of a new

⁹⁰ Ibid., pp. V-VII.

⁹¹ *Lisân-ı Yunânî ile mübeyyen 'Arabî, Fârisî ve Türkî elfâzını hâvî Mecmau'l-Lugat*, Eser-i Abraham Malyakas, İstanbul, 1292, Matbaa-i Tologos. See Appendix for the Ottoman text.

repertoire. Thus, those who were skillful in French could utilize a new aggregate of options that provides a basic structure for the organization of their life.⁹²

Additionally, Eram Güzel-Oglou has written a conversation guide for French and Turkish in 1852/1268-69. It consists of a very interesting dialogue in which the attributes of a French man as being intelligent, who was not only skillful in French but also in many other European languages, as well as in history and geography were mentioned by one of the sides of the dialogue. His ability to play a classical Turkish musical instrument was also a contribution to his courtesy and hospitality.⁹³

We can see some parallels with Turkish in speaking of the second person. For instance, we see the equivalent of the second person pronoun ‘vous’ in French in bilingual texts as ‘zât-ı âliniz’. The introduction to a conversation among the members of educated people might be generalized as: “*Sabahınız hayr olsun efendim: Bonjour, Monsieur.*” [Good morning, sir] and “*Mizâc-ı âliniz hayırdır inşallah: J’espère que vous etes en bonne santé*” [I hope you are well]. To address Europeans, the Italian word ‘signor’ was replaced by “Monsieur”, and for women “Madame” was used. Both of these had equivalents in Ottoman Turkish going from the formal to the intimate. Also ethnicity, age and religion may be considered among the factors determining the word-choice.⁹⁴

⁹² Paul Connerton argues that every type of new experience that seemed to be meaningful for us should be supported by the context composed of the past experience. To grasp anything or any action that influences our mind, it should cover some place in our horizon of expectations. Paul Connerton, *Toplumlar Nasıl Anımsar?*, çev. Alâeddin Şenel. İstanbul: Ayrıntı Yay., 1999, pp. 15-16. I used the of aggregate of options from Even-Zohar, “The Making of Culture Repertoire and the Role of Transfer” in *Translations: (Re)shaping of...*, p. 166. this article was originally published in *Target*, vol. 9 (2) 1997, pp. 373-381.

⁹³ Strauss, “Konusma” in *Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda Yaşamak: Toplumsallık Biçimleri ve Cemaatlararası İlişkiler (18.-20. Yüzyıllar)*, çeviren Maide Selen. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 2000, p. 322, quoting from Eram Guzel-Oglou, *Nouveaux dialogues français-turcs* [Türkçesi : Mecmua-i Fevâid-i Musâhabe], Constantinople, 1852, pp. 297-298. See appendix for the full text of the conversation.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 345-347.

French gained the status of being a medium of communication among the educated classes of various ethnic groups in the Empire. This situation also affects deeply the style of conversation alongside with translations or originals of plays or novels. For instance, earlier translations consisted of old philosophical dialogues. In the second half of the 19th century, we see that bilingual and trilingual conversation guides became very popular, like the dictionaries or language instruction books. The roots of the authors of these bi-lingual texts stem from various ethnic groups. The most important part consisted of non-Muslims, i.e. Europeans residing in Istanbul (especially ambassadors), Levantines, Armenians, Greeks and Jews. The pioneers of this trend were Armenians who were aware of these two languages. On the other hand, a few Greeks among the Ottoman Greeks who were specialists continued their struggle to make the beauties of the Ottoman language known to their people. For instance, in 1869, Aleksandros Konstantinidi compiled a tri-lingual dialogue book: *Dialogues franco-turc-grecs [Mükâlemât-ı türkiyye ve franseviyye ve rûmiyye]*.⁹⁵ Ahmet Midhat's life story also proves the predominance of French as the first foreign language among young students and officers. Until 1861 he was in Istanbul and took French lessons from a foreigner in Galata. In Niş, Midhat Paşa forced him to increase his skill in French. He saw it as an instrument to open the door to the sciences. He stated that he did not see national publications were sufficient for the information he was looking for. Therefore, he learned a foreign language and fulfilled his need for knowledge with the information given in this language. After his training in French, he could only read texts about whatever subject it might be. He could not write or speak in French.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Ibid., pp. 366-371.

⁹⁶ Orhan Okay, *Batı Medeniyeti Karşısında Ahmet Midhat Efendi*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı Yayınları, 1991, p. 3.

What we see from the accounts we have covered until now might be explained as one of the processes in which the French language became the medium among Ottoman statesmen and litterateurs. It became an important tool of the repertoire, which had many functions among the Ottomans. First it served for the better understanding of a new world, which might end up in either new inventions, or in new importations from this new world as Even-Zohar shows us in his essay on the culture repertoire.⁹⁷ These two procedures reinforce each other, and, as in Ahmet Midhat's case, these two saw the necessity for a wider set of knowledge and therefore decided on the acquisition of the tools for a better access to that wider set. At that time, this tool was the French language and therefore they tried to learn it.

If we consider the level of awareness of the penetration of French culture among the state officials and the state mechanisms, we can account for the favourable reception of French culture. A responsive formula for the presence of this cultural flow might be found in one of the yearbooks of the Ottoman Empire published in 1262/1846. In the yearbook, there is one sub-section entitled *Fâide* (Benefit) telling about the decision of the *Encümen-i Dâniş* (the first Academy in the Empire) for the differentiation of the vowels within the proper nouns of any foreign language through the help of some additional signs:

“There are eight vowels in the Turkish language whereas their diacritic signs are three.

Thus, one faces lots of difficulties in reading foreign names adequately. To overcome this problem, based on the decision of the *Encümen-i Dâniş*, the vowels will be

⁹⁷ Itamar Even-Zohar, “Culture Repertoire and the Wealth of Collective Entities” in *Under Construction: Links for the Site of Literary Theory. Essays in Honour of Hendrik Van Gorp*. De Geest, Dirk et al., (eds.). Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2000, pp. 389-403. Reprinted in idem., “Culture Repertoire and the Access to resources” in *Papers in Culture Research*, 2004, pp. 186-194. I reached the book from the URL: <http://www.tau.ac.il/~itamarez/works/books/ez-cr2004.pdf>.

differentiated from each other by using some signs. Although, details may be found in the booklet of Introduction to the Rules (*Medhal-i Kavâid*), in the yearbook for this year, the signs pertaining to each vowel for the foreign nouns shall be mentioned here for the general use: The prolongation sign (*med*) will be put on the vowel sign for “a” and “e” so that it will be differentiated from the short “a” and “e”: as in *Al* (take) and in *âl* (red). The vowel sign for the sounds of o, ö, u and ü shall be differentiated by putting the sign for the digits 7 (٧) and 8 (٨) above the vowel sign (و). (و٧) means *Öç* (Revenge) as the digit sign is above, (و٨) means *Üç* (Three) as the digit of is above. (اورماق) means *sormak* (ask) as the digit seven below the vowel sign, whereas (اورماق٧) means *urmak* (hit) again with a digit below.”⁹⁸

Another example indicating the difficulty of the equivalence of Arabic script with French sounds may be found at the beginning of one of the dictionaries we considered above. The key sound was the ‘g’ in French, for which the Ottoman language has ambiguous equivalents. To prevent possible ambiguities, the author has invented a new ‘kaf’ (ق) with three points above and assigned it to the sound ‘g’ in French as in ‘Grammaire’. In addition to this invented letter, some signs to clarify the sound were also implemented.⁹⁹

I guess that this paragraph might be seen as one of the signifiers of the degree of difficulty Ottomans came across with regard to foreign languages. To prevent misreading and misunderstanding of texts with lots of foreign words, they implemented such a measure. In successive texts we can see the traces of this statement that the words with misleading tendencies were written in the manner the paragraph above mentioned.

⁹⁸ *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Âliyye-i Osmâniyye*, Sene 1271, Def’a 9, p. 108. Refer to appendix for the original text.

⁹⁹ Yorgaki Razi, *Gramer Fransez yani Sarf-ı Fransevî*, p.7. See Appendix for the text in Ottoman-Turkish.

Yusuf Halis Tahir Ömerzâde discussed the same issue of lack of signs to differentiate between similar sounds was discussed also in the foreword of *Miftâh-ı Lisân* [The Key to Language] in 1849-50/1266.¹⁰⁰ That foreword also talked about the difficulties in writing French words in Arabic script. At the beginning, the author differentiated between pronunciation and writing. According to him, the Turkish language has sounds equal to those in French language in pronunciation but French indicates every sound in writing unlike the Ottoman language in which to differentiate between the words written in the same manner with distinct pronunciation is only possible according to the context. But for French words and foreign names, context is not a sufficient tool, because those words were completely foreign to Turkish readers. Thus, the differentiation between such kinds of words is only made through the auxiliary signs that were called ‘differentiation signs’ (*alâmet-i farîka*). This was very suitable and valid for those who were not able to read French. With the help of these signs, they might read French written in Turkish script correctly. This is the aim of all of this discussion: To facilitate the learning of the language, to make it more appropriate and clearer for the students. I would like to present the table for the signs of differentiation drawn by Yusuf Tâhir at the end of his foreword.¹⁰¹

¹⁰⁰ Yusuf Hâlis Tâhir Ömerzâde, *Miftah-ı Lisan*, İstanbul: Cerîde-i Havâdis, 1266. pp. 1-3. Refer to appendix for the original text in Ottoman-Turkish

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 4. Raşit Çavaş has studied this work in the light of the tradition of poetical dictionaries that was pioneered by Reşideddin Vatvat (d. 1077). Raşit Çavaş, “Manzum Sözlük Geleneği ve Fransızca-Osmanlıca Manzum bir Sözlük” in *Metis Çeviri* 6 (1989) pp.41-47.

<i>Sâlifü 'z-zikr Mukaddimenin hülasâ-i misâli olan yedi aded alâmetlerin cedvelidir. [It is the table of the seven signs which is the summary example of the before-mentioned introduction.]</i>		
<i>Fransızca hareketler ve kalın kafın asl-ı harfî [The original letters of French sounds and dark kaf]</i>	<i>'Alâmât-ı muhtar'a [Differentiation signs]</i>	<i>İmlâsı bir telaffuzu müşâbehtlû Türkçe kelimeler ile diğêr 'alâmât [Turkish words with similar pronunciation and same writing and other signs]</i>
O	٧	Aded [number] (عدد) - (او٧ن) on [ten]
ou	٢	Dakîk [meal] (دقيق) - (او٢ن) un [flour]
u	٨	Şöhret [fame] (شهرت) - (او٨ن) ün [fame]
eu	٦	İlerü [front] (ايلرو) - (او٦ن) ön [front]
a	-	Almakdan olan elif'in fetha alameti [The indicator of the vocal a for [take] al (آل)]
ga	^(üç nokta)	Kalın kaf (قالن قاف) - (ق^)
	--	İki ve yahud üç harfin bir hareke veyâhûd bir cezimle telaffuzu alâmetinin çizgisi

The interesting point of both of the statements about the auxiliary tools for the non-existing signs of the pronunciation is that they are not the same as the signs present in the yearbook of the Ottoman state. Some of them are identical but, for instance, the latter did not talk about the use of Arabic digits 2 and 6 for different sounds. Secondly the attempt to clarify the French sound 'ga' was not mentioned in the yearbook as a sound which needed a differentiation sign for the non-problematic pronunciation of French vocabulary written in Arabic alphabet.

Miftâh-ı Lisân was composed in rhyme in order to make the words easy for readers to remember. Its format was like an inter-linear translation in which first the Turkish

version appeared in poetical format, and, for the French words whose pronunciations were written in Arabic letters, the equivalents in Latin script were given below the Turkish line. At the beginning, Yusuf Halis composed a poem in which he mentioned many significant sentences for the dominance of languages, their usage and reception by the Ottomans. Briefly, he mentioned that the most virtuous and highest language was Arabic, and then comes Persian and Turkish, but the French language had become famous recently, because of scientific education, everybody needs that language. As the general scholarship encountered new innovations in French, the usage of its phrases and vocabulary increased. In each domain of science, it had different sets of concepts. And the author composed that book in order to memorize the most common words and phrases, by putting those together. The poem ended up with the intention and prayer of the poet that God may lead this to be an instrument for good things and for service to the religion and the state.¹⁰²

An unfamous man, Hidâyet, published a dictionary of foreign phrases *Lugat-i Ecnebiyye* (Foreign Phrases) in 1290/1873. It was comprised of borrowed words from foreign languages. In the introduction, the author mentioned that the improvement of any language happened due to the new needs of the nation, which depended on space and time. For instance, during the conquest of Anatolia and Thrace, the needs were fulfilled through borrowed words from Arabic and Persian. In recent times, rather than space, time enforces us to enhance our language according to the new necessities in all human interactions such as commerce, agriculture and art taking place in a belletristic manner. For each of these, new sciences were invented and since we had some relationships with the Europeans, the acceptance and application of these sciences seemed to be necessary. We had to import new

¹⁰² Ibid., pp. 4-5. Appendix for the original text.

words and phrases in order to serve this need. This led to an increase in the words borrowed from French and other languages. The author also mentioned that some of those became like scientific terminology and the origin of those borrowed words would be forgotten. The author saw as a real problem the fact that the current dictionaries were assuming these words as foreign words and therefore did not include those entries in their dictionaries. Thus, everybody used them by learning them through auditing from others without knowing their meaning and scope. The author also added that the small book contained the most famous of these borrowed words. In the case of, its becoming popular, it could be improved.¹⁰³

A similar list of synonyms may be found in one of the earlier conversation guides composed by a professor at the Armenian college in Paris. In that list, words like *banka*, *bazar*, *imparatoriçe* etc. were given. This author again expressed the idea that new relations brought new needs with them. His aim was the simplification and facilitation of Turkish for French students and for travelers and those who had to understand the residents in the Orient and for this he participated in the army expeditions to the Orient. Another objective was to avoid big mistakes emerging from the insufficient knowledge of both of the languages. Thus, the author spent his time in order to complete a correct, sufficiently complete book that could be considered as usage learned through the experience.¹⁰⁴

The significance of these dictionaries and statements by the composers of the dictionaries for the present project lies in the fact that they give us a general picture of the

¹⁰³ Hidâyet, *Lugât-ı Ecnebiyye*, İstanbul, 1290, pp. 2-3. If we look at the two first pages of the dictionary, we see words as *abluka*, *abone*, *apolet*, *ateşe*, *acente*, *arş*, *arma*, *inspektör*, *estime*, *istasyon*, *istatistik*, *estimetör*, *iskonto* and their meanings in Ottoman Turkish. The original text of the introduction may be seen in Appendix.

way the foreigners understood Ottoman culture and the way the necessity Ottomans felt for an education in the French language. We can see not only in their ideas about foreign language education, but also how the need for the accurate pronunciation of the borrowed words from the French language led them to re-organize their writing system, by adding some diacritics or some digits for an accurate pronunciation. This was interesting because at this point, rather than in order to re-shape their writing of the imported repertoire of the words, the traces of which we can see in the terminology manuals, the Ottomans made an invention by adding some small signs to their writing styles. This enriched their options in the emerging repertoire in an accurate way; this enabled proper appropriation of importation through a new innovation; this was also based on the existing tradition of the diacriticals and digits, and the way they put this was also similar to the Arabic diacritics in the Holy Qur'an. I think that Connerton's argument about the acceptance of novelties by a society is only possible if these new things could find a place for them in the tradition seems to be in coherence with the way Ottomans appropriated a foreign and new repertoire in accordance with their tradition. Additionally, the fact that these dictionaries and grammar books which served as instruments during the acquisition process of the French language, which was a very significant promoter of the new literature. Dictionaries and other tools served as a node in the network of this literature, which provided the vocabulary, lexicography and grammatical basis of the emergence of this new repertoire, out of which new literature with new genres appeared to present readers instructive proposals for their daily lives.

¹⁰⁴ Ambroise Calfa, *Guide de la Conversation a d'usage de l'armée expéditionnaire et des voyageurs en*

d. The Press

The yearbook for 1262/1846 also informs us about the newspapers published in the Ottoman territories. Accordingly, 30 newspapers from every language spoken within the Empire were being published: 11 in Constantinople, 4 in Smyrna, 3 in Egypt, 8 in Serbia, and 4 in Transylvania.¹⁰⁵ In the histories of the Ottoman-Turkish press, the variety of languages of the periodicals may be realized very clearly. Although it is early, for instance, Nuri İnuğur informs us that in one of the numbers dated 1850, *Annuaire des Deux Mondes* informs us of the places and languages of newspapers that were being published in the Ottoman Empire: In Constantinople 5 French, 4 Italian, 1 Greek, 1 Armenian; in Smyrna 2 French, 1 Greek, 1 Armenian and 1 in Jewish language.¹⁰⁶ In 1795/1209-10, the first newspaper in French, *Bulletin des Nouvelles*, was published within the Ottoman domains. Unfortunately, we do not have a single issue of this publication. The fact that, after this first attempt, up until 1831/1246 we see six other French newspapers published proves the existence of French activities in the territories.¹⁰⁷ The first Turkish newspaper, *Takvim-i Vekâyi*, was published by support of the state. The Ottomans tried to follow all kind of

Orient suivi d'un Dictionnaire Français Turc par A. Calfa : Professeur au collège Arménien-Moorat, à Paris. Paris: Garnier Frères & Libraire, 1854, V-VII, for the list see pp. 1-7 of the guide.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 115-116. *Dersaadet'de ve Memâlik-i Mahrûse'nin bazı taraflarında tab olunan gazetenin defteridir.*

¹⁰⁶ Nuri İnuğur, *Basın ve Yayın Tarihi*, İstanbul: Der Yayınları, 1983, p. 165. For the foundation of journalism during the reign of Sultan Mahmud II, see A. Djivéléguian, *La Régime de la Presse en Turquie, comparaison avec le Régime Français*, Paris: Émile Larose, Libraire-Éditeur, 1912, pp. 16-17.

¹⁰⁷ In the catalogue compiled by Gerard Groc and İbrahim Çağlar, *La Presse Française de Turquie de 1795 à nos Jours: Histoire et Catalogue*, İstanbul: ISIS, 1985, a list of all of the titles of periodicals in French has been given. According to this catalogue, from the date of 1795 until the end of 1870, forty two periodicals were published in the domain of the Empire, whereas 37 Turkish, Turkish-Armenian, Turkish-Greek, Arabic or Turkish-Arabic periodicals were published within the same time period. Gerard Groc also published many articles citing the existence of the French press in Turkey or the Ottoman Empire. See among others, "Türkiye'de Fransızca Basın" in *Türkiye'de Yabancı Dilde Basın=La Presse de Lange Etrangère en Turquie* (16-17-18 Mayıs 1984), İstanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1985, pp. 47-71. A compilation of three colloquiums on the issue of the Turkish press, press on Turks, was published in 1992: *Presse Turque et Presse de Turquie: Actes des trois colloques organisés par l'Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes et l'Ecole Supérieure de la Presse de l'Université de Marmara*. Ouvrage édité par Nathalie Clayer, Alexandre Popovic et Thierry Zarcone. İstanbul-Paris: Editions ISIS, 1992.

publications; for instance, in the public lecture room of the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmâni*) not only newspapers in Ottoman Turkish (*Takvim-i Vekâyi*, *Ceride-i Askeriye*, *Ceride-i Havâdis*, *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, *Mecmua-i fûnûn*, *Mecmua-i İber-i İntibah*) were to be found. Four Armenian journals (*Medjmouai Havâdis*, Armenian-Turkish founded in 1852/1267-68, *Varakai Havâdis* founded in 1868/1284-85, *Jamanak* in 1863/1279-80, *Avedaper* in 1855/1271-72), three Greek journals (*Bizantis*, 1854/1270-71 well circulated, *Anatolikos Astir*, *Syllogos* in 1864/1280-81) were to be found in the library of the public lecture room. There were also some titles in foreign languages published in the Ottoman capital. Apart from the periodicals published in Constantinople in English or French like *Journal de Constantinople*, *Levant Herald*, *Le Courrier d'Orient*, there are also seven daily Paris newspapers; *Le Pays*, *Le Monde*, *La Patrie*, *La Nation*, *Le Sémaphore*, *Le Nord*, *La Gazete du Midi*, a Belgian, *L'Indépendance Belge*, and also three London newspapers; *Morning Post*, *Dial*, *Athenaeum*; and *Galiniani's Messenger* published in Paris. Also, the society tried to subscribe to lots of other periodicals, such as the Egyptian *Waqayi' Misriyya* and the official newspaper of Teheran.¹⁰⁸ Even in a later period, İnüçür mentions that the Translation Office in the Yıldız Palace received continuously during 1891/1308-1309 154 newspapers and periodicals from which important news were summarized each day for the Sultan Abdülhamid II.¹⁰⁹

At this part, I aim to use press as a place of reflection and articulation of the presence of the elements of new repertoire. Therefore, I looked at some journals in an unsystematic way in order to find out the appearances of the cultural tools that seemed to come from

¹⁰⁸ Johann Strauss, "Romanlar, Ah! O Romanlar! Les Débuts de la Lecture Moderne dans l'Empire Ottoman (1850-1900)" in *Turcica: Revue d'Etudes Turques peuples, langues, cultures, Etats*. Tome XXVI (1994) pp. 125-163, here p. 142, f. n. 58-63.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 272-273.

another set of options than the domestic one. I can mention that the beginning of the management of a language course to teach French, the appearance of the piano, the favor given to the piano within the Harem where pieces by Donizetti and Verdi were played might be listed as elements representing the change in the habits of the Ottomans. The residents of Pera read *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, *Les Trois Mosquetaires* and *Télémaque*; they also knew A. Dumas and Fénelon very well.¹¹⁰

In the first private newspaper, *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, we can see many advertisements indicating that the publication house was a center for teachers and students of foreign language teaching. For instance, Seyyid Ali Efendi, skillful in Italian, French and English, is ready to teach students privately.¹¹¹

I would like to mention here three of them, two from 1263/1846-47, and one from 1267/1850-51, due to their tendency to give us some clues about the management of foreign language education in the private sphere and for ways of conduct between teachers and students. An advertisement for the private language school in Pera was the first one.¹¹² Four years later, in 1267, we can read among the lines of *Cerîde* a similar advertisement talking about a French teacher who is also able to overnight in student's residences.¹¹³ The third one is about a translator capable of speaking five languages.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ The first two statements were the ads from *Ceride-i Havâdis*, n. 348 and 306, respectively. Others are referring to Ubicini's work, p. 451.

¹¹¹ *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, 29 Muharrem 1263/ no: 316, p. 4. See for the Ottoman text and my English translation Appendix. The Ottoman-Turkish and if applicable English texts with my translation of all the following advertisements might be found in the relevant parts of the Appendices at the end of this study.

¹¹² *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, 18 Ramazan 1263 / 31 August 1847. no: 348, p. 4.

¹¹³ *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, 10 Safer 1267 / 15 December 1850. no: 510. p. 4.

¹¹⁴ *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, 21 Safer 1263 / 07 February 1847. no: 319, p.4.

In addition to those, we can see similar ones later in *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. Advertisement about Salih Efendi states that he was able to reside with students if applicable.¹¹⁵ The next remark concerning the awareness of French culture may be seen in the picture of the Sultan Selim III and its sales.¹¹⁶

Another group of ads in *Tasvir-i Efkâr (TE)* is about the books and new publications. They may be classified under the headings of ‘French teaching’ and ‘newly translated novels’. For the former, let me list the news I found in *TE* chronologically.

The earliest one dated the 7th of Rebiülâhir 1280 / 9-IX-1864 and was about a conversation book, ‘*Mecmua-i Musâhabet*’ [Collection of Conversation], which was written by a former member of the Translation Chamber. The sale-places of the book were also mentioned.¹¹⁷ The next one is dated 23rd Muharrem of 1283 / 7-VI-1866. The author of this language book, ‘*Hüccetü’l-lisân-ı Fransevî*’ [The proof of the French language], was the same as before. Again, the places for sale were mentioned.¹¹⁸ The third ad relevant to our research is dated on the 21st of Zilkade, 1283 / 27-III-1867, which was about a supplementary book for the French language, ‘*Usûl-i Kiraât-i Franseviye*’ [The methods of reading in French].¹¹⁹ The fourth one is dated 25th of Muharrem, 1285 / 18-V-1868. This ad was about the French teaching book of *Methode d’Ahen* published in fascicules.¹²⁰

The second group of advertisements related to translation issues, either the books newly translated from foreign languages or the announcement of the committees newly established in order to provide more translations to fulfill the need for books. Also, readers

¹¹⁵ *Tasvir-i Efkâr(TE)*, n. 125, p. 4, 23 Rebiülevvel 1280 / 7-IX-1863. Hayta, p. 227.

¹¹⁶ *TE*, n. 13, p.4, 14 Rebiülâhir 1280 / 28-IX-1863. Hayta, p. 231.

¹¹⁷ *TE*, n. 228, p. 4, Hayta, p. 235.

¹¹⁸ *TE*, n. 394, p. 3, Hayta, p. 239.

can find news and ads about reprints of some translations, the serials, and other things throughout the pages of the newspaper.

The first of our ads is about the completion of the printing of *Sergüzeşt-i Telemak* in the Publishing House of *Tasvir-i Efkâr*. There are also some other ads on *Telemak*, but I would like to set them aside here and refer to them in the third chapter below in detail. The second ad informs us of the beginning of a serial translation of a French work by Vatteck who discusses in his book the method of natural law concerning acts, situations, manners and deeds of the rulers and Sultans from all over the world.¹²¹ The third ad informs us of the issue of the intermediary translation. The book '*El-menhat fi-Siyâseti Hıfzıssıha*' which had been translated from French into Arabic before being translated from Arabic into Ottoman by the old inspector of the Çelebi Pazarı town in the Bosnian province. The title of the latter is '*Fevâid-i Menhat fi-Kavâid-i Sıhha*' [The Benefits in the Rules of the Health].¹²²

The next advertisement in this group informs us of a compilation on mathematics by a student of 9th class at the Medical School. Bekir Sıtkı Efendi collected books in French and Turkish and compiled extracts in his booklet '*Tuhfetu'l-Muhâsebeyn*' which was printed in the press of the same school and was sold for 8 guruş at the school, and in shops of Uncu Ahmed Efendi in old-book bazaar, of Kağıdcı Mustafa Efendi in Bayezid, of Yazıcı Osman Efendi in Üsküdar, and of Crimean attar in Kasımpaşa.¹²³

¹¹⁹ *TE*, n. 470, p. 4, *Hayta*, p. 243.

¹²⁰ *TE*, n. 586, p. 4, *Hayta*, pp. 245-246.

¹²¹ *TE*, n. 10, p. 4, 4th of Safer 1279 / 1-VII-1862, *Hayta*, p. 263.

¹²² *TE*, n. 146, p. 1, 7 Cemâziyelâhir 1280 / 19-XI-1863.

¹²³ *TE*, n. 238, p. 4, 12 Cemâziyelevvel 1281 / 13 X 1864, *Hayta*, p. 236.

The ad about the re-organization of the *Mecmua-i Tesâvir-i Osmâni* [The Collection of Ottoman Pictures] dated 1864 mentioned that the collection of pictures was bound in three versions, one French, one in Turkish and the last one in a bilingual format. It was written by the governor of Silistre in 12 volumes and the first of them had been published in the previous year by *Tasvir-i Efkâr* Publication House. A copy was sent to Paris in order to publish the French version of the book.¹²⁴

The next news on the translated books was about the translation '*Sergüzeşt-i Sâib Nihâd-ı Hindî*' by Faik Bey, an earlier member of the Translation Chamber at the Sublime Porte, which was sold for 22 guruş whereas the early book '*Kühelü'n-nâfi Zevlül ebsâr*' by the same author was sold for 30 guruş.¹²⁵

Last but not least, I would like to cite two ads with four years time-span. They mentioned the constitution of a translation committee in order to translate some books from foreign languages into Turkish. The first one was dated 1865 whereas the second one was 1869. The first one expressed the reason for the establishment of a new committee as being to translate some books and to identify the price for the translated books by different translators. Then, it also gave the names of the members and scribes. The latter one mentioned that an official document coming from the Ministry of Education printed in *Takvim-i Vekâyi* talked about the developments in the mathematical and philosophical sciences on which lots of books had been printed in foreign languages. As well as these two sciences, lots of Arabic books about the literary sciences existed and in order to translate

¹²⁴ *TE*, n. 174, p.1, 19th of Ramazan 1280 / 27-II-1864. Hayta, p. 261.

¹²⁵ It is interesting to find this information on the translation of *Télémaque* according to the Indian style (*Sebk-i Hindî*). I will state the issue in more detail below in the third chapter where I will discuss *Télémaque* as an independent part. But to find that it has been re-translated only after four year of its first printing might

selected ones, a “Translation Society” has been founded in the Office of Education which would translate useful books from French, English, German and other European languages. Then, it gave information for people about this service.¹²⁶

As to the newspaper of *Ulûm* published by the famous Ali Suavi in Paris, three articles on the political issues appear to be relevant for our survey on the traces of awareness of the cultural and ideological elements of the French Empire within the period we are trying to analyze. The first article discussed some concepts on politics and the equivalents between the French language and the Ottoman language. The author analyzed the Latin roots of the term of sovereignty of people with the Islamic terminology as *Hakim bi-nefsihi, Âmir-i mutlak*. He mentioned that the absolute power is only referred to the God, and the political society was the source of the political legitimacy, rather than the ordinary people.¹²⁷

Ali Suavi expressed himself again on a political concept in a second article we came across in his periodical. This time he discussed the concept of despotism. He described it as the type of government in which autocracy rather than principles and rules were in power. For him, the constitutional government was one based on the rule that contains a type of government and the law of people. In the last article, he was talking about a feature of the Ottoman language in which the subject, object and the adjective resembling the subject were derived according to the known rules. The adjective confusion of the French language

explain how famous and well-accepted this novel was. For ad, *TE*, n. 399, p. 4, 11th of Safer 1283 / 25-VII-1866. Hayta, p. 239.

¹²⁶ The first is to be found, in *TE*, n. 318, p.1, 3rd of Rebiyülevvel 1282 / 27-VII-1865, Hayta, p. 237. The second ad is in *TE*, n. 737, p. 1, 13th of Cemâziyelevvel 1286 / 21-VIII-1869, Hayta, p. 249.

¹²⁷ *Ulûm*, cild-i evvel, numero 1, 1286, pp. 18, 28-29.

was not present in Turkish grammar. Last but not least, he stated about the fact that more than 100 words were borrowed from the French language in Ottoman Turkish.¹²⁸

At the end of this section, I think it is a good idea to cite the short, useful articles [*Fikarât-ı Müfide-i Muhtasara*] which contained lots of news about the Western world, their culture and authors. All of these were present at the one page in the 11th number of *Ruznâme-i Cerîde-i Havâdis* in Receb, 1277 / 23 January 1861. It informs the reader about the different directions of scripture in the world, Leipzig, the taxes paid by English citizens and citizens of Switzerland. The cleanest and dirtiest countries of Europe, the most difficult language of the world, the European's borrowing of the Arabic digits from the Arabs, the most productive Spanish author, Alexandre Dumas Pere were among the subjects this one piece of paper explained about.¹²⁹

All of the ads and short articles I used in this section of this study might be seen as the usage of the press for the public sphere. Mardin gives the title to his chapter on Şinasi as 'the Birth of Public Opinion', the press functioned in Ottoman Empire as a forum for the discussion of new ideas in the Empire.¹³⁰ I think that the parts I mentioned as bits and pieces as the pages of newspapers were some small indications of the new repertoire emerged as a result of the meeting with the Western culture. The news of translations, of foreign language books in newspapers might be considered as the particulars of the broad repertoire that were of special attention of the members of the forum around newspaper.

¹²⁸ These articles were to be found in *Ulûm*, numero 2, pp. 81-82; *ibid.*, p. 88, respectively. In the next issue he was talking about the language issue: Numero 3, p. 118. see appendix for the full text of these citations.

¹²⁹ *Cerîde-i Havâdis*, no. 11, Receb 1277.

e. Educational Institutions

Another example for showing the penetration of the French language into the realms of the Ottoman Empire was the curricula of the Lyceé Imperial during the 1860's. The following conversation gives as us the possibility to see what was instructed in the famous *Mekteb-i Sultâni* (the ancestor of the contemporary Galatasaray Lisesi) at that time and how influential French education was in that institution:

- Which school do you attend?
- Lyceé Imperial.
- For how many years?
- Three.
- Which class?
- Fifth in Turkish, third in French.
- Why are you backward in the French courses?
- Turkish is our native language, and I have been training for a long time. Therefore, as I had been attending the school, I was enrolled directly to the third class in Turkish.
- Which courses do you attend in your high school?

¹³⁰ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Political Thought*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962, pp. 252-255.

- Alphabet, ethics/morality, introduction to the grammatical rules, rules, rules for Ottoman language, History of Ottomans, translation of *Télémaque* and composition.¹³¹

This conversation is also a hint for us how the instruction of the foreign language, French was taught to Ottoman students for the particular epoch. Lots of historians of Turkish education referred to this fact. In an earlier period in the Engineering School (*Mühendishâne*), we see also instruction in the French and Arabic languages and the way Başhoca İshak Efendi gave lectures. Thus, students read some parts from the book of mathematics by Besault in French and then this part was written on the blackboard by teams in turn. Thus, the writing skills of the students in French improved. Afterwards, French and Arabic grammar were studied which was followed by translations from both languages into Turkish.¹³² A brief look at the composition of the library of the Engineering School might enable us to see how the instructors and students used foreign language and foreign texts.

In 1794, one year before the education began, 14 bibliographical entries in 20 volumes were collected with the intention of preserving them sufficiently. These books

¹³¹ Klaus Kreiser, "Das Türkische Schulbuch vom 19. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart" in *Turquie Livres d'hier, livres d'aujourd'hui*. Textes réunis par Paul Dumont. Strasbourg-Istanbul: Les Editions ISIS, 1992, p. 38, quoting from Avraam Malika's *Elifbâ-i 'Osmâni*, p. 34. The Turkish version seems to be as such: "Kangı mektebe devam ediyorsun? Mekteb-i Sultaniye. Gideli çok oldu mu? Üç sene. Kangı sınıfdasınız? Türkçeden beşincide, Fransızcadan üçüncüdeyim. Fransızca derslerinde niçün aşağıda kaldın? Türkçe lisanı zaten kendi lisanımız olub mektebe girdiğim vakit epeyce okumuş olduğumdan birden sınıf-ı sâlise kayd olundum. Mektebinizde ne dersler okunuyor? Elifbâ, ahlâk, medhal-i kavâid, kava'id, kavâ'id-i Osmaniye, Târih-i Osmâni, Telemak tercümesi, inşâ". It is interesting to notice here that the translation of *Télémaque* was a part of the curriculum at that time, which might be interpreted as the degree of the fame and familiarity of this translation among the Ottoman literates. See for a detailed discussion, chapter three, part on the novel *Télémaque*.

¹³² Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne: Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphanesi (1776-1826)*, İstanbul: Eren Yay., 1995, p. 64. For a general catalogue of the books published in the Engineering School press, refer to Turgut Kut (haz.), *Yazmadan Basmaya: Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar*, İstanbul: Yapı ve Kredi Bankası, 1996. Beydilli composed a book in order to show the mistakes in

were related to the natural and engineering sciences. The number of books did not increase until books from the inheritance of famous Ebubekir Râtip Efendi in 1801/1215-16 were bought. There were original and translated pieces in the catalogue. The biggest addition to the catalogue of the books in this library took place in February of 1804/1218-19 when some books were sent from the Treasury of the Palace School and delivered to Engineering School. Indeed, many of them were books in foreign languages, especially French, and in total, they were 29 bibliographical entries in 84 volumes with four tools and one clock. The famous French *Encyclopédie* by Diderot and d'Alembert in 35 volumes was also included among those books of which 26 were in French, one in Latin, one in English and one entry was about old books out of use in different languages.¹³³

We can hear another voice about foreign language instruction by Kethüdazâde Mehmed Arif Efendi as that there is no need to teach children Christian customs and rituals during their foreign language education.¹³⁴

Süleyman Hüsni Paşa (1838-1892) who was an instructor of the course of composition at the School of Military Sciences composed in 1871-72 a two volume edition of *Mebâni'l-İnşâ*. The interesting aspect of this book was the source of inspiration of its writer. Süleyman Paşa mentions in his introduction which sources he used in his book from other languages such as Arabic, Persian and French. He used Meselü's-sâir and İz^hü'l-

the book of this exhibition. Kemal Beydilli, *Mühendishâne ve Üsküdar Matbaalarında Basılan Kitapların Listesi ve Bir Katalog*, İstanbul: Eren Yay., 1997.

¹³³ Kemal Beydilli, *Mühendishâne*, pp. 277-280.

¹³⁴ Hüsrev Hatemi & Yeşim Işıl, *Bir Bilim Dili Mücadelesi ve Tanzimat*, İstanbul: İşaret Yay., 1989, p. 23, f.n. 27, quoting from *Menakıb-ı Kethüdazâde Mehmed Arif Efendi*, tertip eden Emin Efendi, 2. baskı, İstanbul 1305, p. 281.

Meâni from Arabic, Menâzirü'l-İnşâ from Persian, and Littérature by Lefranc in French with some other books in other languages.¹³⁵

Actually in the first volume he used Lefranc's book of *Traité Théorique et Pratique de Littérature* comprehensively. The organization and the order of terminology is similar to the French version in the first volume but we see that Süleyman Paşa cuts his ties in the section about the literary arts. The uniqueness of this piece is that for the first time an Ottoman scholar profited from European rhetoric in the subjects of style, composition and eloquence. Kâzım Yetiş analyzes the conceptual binaries in French and Ottoman languages invented by the author for the literary theory, the original ones and the translated versions in Ottoman Turkish.¹³⁶

In one of the accounts about the regulations of translation and composition in the 1870's we see that there was a need for the course books in the public schools, and in order to fulfill this need, the translation or composition of the textbooks were ordered.¹³⁷

I would like to end this part by referring to Vambéry who observed an alteration or a novel instrument in the everyday life of Ottomans based on the influence of French civilization. According to him, the round table which was a new instrument in Ottoman

¹³⁵ Süleyman Paşa, *Mebâni-l İnşâ*, İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fünûn-ı Harbiye Matbaası, 1871, pp. 1-2. See for the general analysis of this book Kâzım Yetiş, "Edebiyat Nazariyesi Sahasında Batıya Açılan İlk Kitap", in *Mehmet Kaplan'a Armağan*, İstanbul: Dergâh Yay., 1984, pp. 306-316.

¹³⁶ Yetiş, *ibid.*, p. 314.

¹³⁷ İsmail Kara, *Bir Felsefe Dili Kurmak : Modern Felsefe ve Bilim Terimlerinin Türkiye'ye Gelişi*, İstanbul: Dergâh Yay., 2001, p. 24, f.n.9, in which Zühtü Paşa talks about the regulations of translation and composition in 1870, quoted from Ağâh Sırrı Levend, *Türk Dilinde Sadeleşme Evreleri*, Ankara: Türk Dil Kurumu, 1972, p. 146.

house stayed below the traditional round tray on which some bread slices and spoons were to be found.¹³⁸

¹³⁸ Strauss, "Konuşma", p. 319, f. n. 43, quoting from Vambéry, *Sittenbilder aus dem Morgenlande*, Berlin,

IV. Chapter Three: Translations and their Share in the New Repertoire

“A good translator is of the same worth as a great author.”

“İyi bir mütercim, büyük bir müellif kıymetindedir.”

This chapter will concentrate on specific types of cultural product which mostly come from any type of confrontation among at least two different cultural entities. This part will be on translations, not every type of them, but specific ones that are called literary translations. Here, I mean translations of novel, poetry, theater pieces, which are aesthetical outcomes belonging to particular socio-cultural settings. This chapter will deal with the penetration of new genres into the Ottoman repertoire at the beginning, in translation, and then in forms of the original workd. A certain awareness for a new style of expression resulted at the simplification of the language, at a tendency towards the usage of new vocabulary and allegories in prose fiction and poetry. But the appearances of this tendency was firstly concretized or configured in forms of the translation that will be at the center of investigation in this part.

To caricutarize the procedure briefly, the idea-makers of Tanzimat have read some texts in foreign languages, mostly in French, which they found very interesting and useful for their own society. Thus, those readers-translators aimed to present the ideas embedded in texts they read in the foreign language to the literary public of their own society, in this case to the Ottoman reading public. Therefore, the cultural entrepreneurs who desired to be successful in their attempts to shape the Ottoman cultural agenda towards the modern, forward ‘civilization’ began to translate texts. This activity consequently ended up in

spreading the thoughts of those pieces among their addresses. These activities aimed to diffuse new ideas among Ottomans.

Those thinkers with the implementation of translated texts would like to bring the containers of some new ideas into the attention of the Ottoman reading public. Some questions come into mind if someone studies translated texts in complete new forms that claim to consist of totally new ideas. What kind of importance the entrepreneurs attached to them, what kind of strategies did they apply by their text-choices, to what degree does this translation activity conform to the framework of conscious cultural planners and to what degree is it coincidental, and what kind of influences, or reactions appeared as a consequence of the introduction of new ideas via these texts are some questions that come into my mind at the first glance.

Thus, I have to introduce first of all the texts I want to deal with and, secondly, the way I intend to implement these while dealing with the pieces in order to deepen our knowledge on and about the translation process and its aftermath. The first bulk of historical texts were the ones that were translated as the first text of each “new” genre for the Ottoman literary circles: theater plays, novels, poetry and philosophy. The last genre was added to the category of literary translations in order to understand the general context of that time much better. Secondly, I will try to show in the different versions of translations of the first translated novel, the differences in the translation strategies, and secondly to see the aura these translations aroused among intellectuals. A horizontal analysis of the first novel translation may enable me to see the effects of the first translations both on the further translation movements and on the introduction of new ideas and concepts to the target culture. Thus, the forewords of translated novels were taken into

consideration. These forewords gave us clues to the motivation of the translators, what they sought for, and which kind of agenda was active during their translation activities.

a. The Emergence of Translation Studies

It is necessary for us to ask the initial question of what is meant by the term “translation study”. This term appeared after the development of studies about translation as a separate subject matter. The establishment of distinct departments at the universities and the indigenous research issues made this subject more mature and transformed it into a separate research area, beginning with the 70s. Before this, research on translation was not a separate and specific one; theoretical approaches to the issue did not emerge. Therefore, the separation and development of the research area was a very “progressive step” in the studies on translation issues.¹³⁹

Some of the translation scholars have put enormous efforts that brought the field to the present position. It has become more solid in comparison to the 70s or 80s, but new developments in cultural studies should be taken into consideration for better analyses in translation scholarship. Before the first steps in the formation of the independent school of translation studies, the most traditional aim of translators focused on “how to translate well”. James S. Holmes was among the pioneers in coining the term ‘translation studies’.

According to André Lefevere, translation studies has a very wide multi-disciplinary perspective in its essence and has brought together research in the fields of linguistics,

¹³⁹ José Lambert, “Models for Descriptive Research 1976-1996” in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, edited by Saliha Paker. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002, pp. 196-217. The author

literary study, history, anthropology, psychology and economics.¹⁴⁰ This fact moved translation from being a static linguistic phenomenon to an act of intercultural communication. Exactly at this point, the significance of the translation studies as a separate discipline comes out, due to the fact that there was a need for a conceptual framework in the analysis of this intercultural communication, which was filled in by the studies of the translation scholars.¹⁴¹ Lefevere describes the translation activity as dealing with anthologies, interpretations, historiography, criticism and editing, re-writing of an original text reflecting a certain ideology and a poetics that ends up in the manipulation of the literature in each society. This type of activity might serve for the evolution of a “novel” literature and society. Thus, the history of translation might be seen as the history of literary innovation, and of the effects of one culture upon another. This may not always be on the positive side. It might also represent a repression or a distortion for a culture. Therefore, studying the history of translation enables us to be aware of the world we live in.¹⁴² The cultural turn included some extra venues for the translation studies such as changing standards in translation over time, the power of the publishing industry on behalf of specific ideologies, feminist writing and translation, translation as ‘appropriation’, translation and colonization.¹⁴³

Translators do not write literature, they just re-write it. Of course, this process was undertaken by the intervention of the re-writers to a certain degree. The presence of the

discusses in this piece how the field has been developed as an independent research area in 1970s and its aftermath.

¹⁴⁰ André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame*, London & New York: Routledge, 1992, p. VII.

¹⁴¹ Jeremy Munday, *Introducing Translation Studies: Theories and Applications*, London & New York: Routledge, 2001, p. 87.

¹⁴² Lefevere, *Translation, ...*, p. VII.

¹⁴³ Munday, *Introducing*, p. 127.

middle-men as re-writers is ever-present, from the Ancient Greece up to the contemporary period. Mostly, they fulfill some function such as “creation of the images of a writer, a work, an epoch, a genre, and sometimes even of a whole literature.”¹⁴⁴ According to Lefevre, translators should take two factors into attention by a text-transmission from a source culture to a target one:

“Two factors basically determine the image of a work of literature as projected by a translation: the ideology of translator (whether s/he willingly embraces it, or whether it is imposed on him/her as a constraint by some form of patronage) and the poetics dominant in the receiving literature at the time the translation is made. The ideology dictates the basic strategy the translator is going to use and therefore also dictates solutions to problems concerned with both the ‘universe of discourse’ expressed in the original (objects, concepts, customs belonging to the world that was familiar to the writer of the original) and the language the original itself is expressed in.”¹⁴⁵

In this phrase, the author discusses carefully how a text might be transferred or translated to another cultural setting. How the ideology and the poetics of particular settings, whether temporal or regional, merged into each other and affected translation activity.

Kostas Gavruoğlu who coins the term of “appropriation” for a more careful approach to the transmission of the ideas and sciences from the “central” to the “peripheral” settings. He states that rather than seeing the receiving periphery as the passive, imitative,

¹⁴⁴ In this part, Lefevre discusses the issue from the general framework including the anthologists, interpreters, translators as a whole, p. 5. This statement is also true for the Ottoman translators, who deliberately have chosen texts from the French literature pertaining to the ideas of Enlightenment, thus leading the Ottoman reader public to imagine the French literature as completely ‘humanistic’ and containing ‘moral’ essences. Translation chamber founded towards the end of 1930’s served this function very well.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 41.

copying agents of the central Western world, the metaphor of “appropriation” enables us to analyze the issue of the transmission from multiple points of view.¹⁴⁶ According to him, rather than the concept of “transfer”, “appropriation” might be a more coherent and fruitful analytical tool in terms of the strategies that blur in the appropriating culture to re-shape the ideas within the local traditions. Those are local intellectual, political and ideological limits or borders. I think that this issue is a very interesting phenomena for the dissemination of the new literary genres, because the parts that seem to be irrelevant, or contesting with local traditions, were often omitted by the translators. Şinasi gave this as a reason for his composition of a play in his native language in contrast to the translated pieces whose themes were very alien and counter to the local traditions.

In addition to the power of local traditions to shape newly penetrating ideas, the notion of “appropriation” enables the students to see what kind of particularities the appropriating culture articulated at the discursive level which was developed and adopted in it. The main issue is to determine through what kinds of stages the new ideas flowed, and secondly how the local scholars incorporated them into the existing tradition. Because there were many alternatives through which to introduce new ideas, scholars have chosen among those in order to develop an appropriate discourse. At this point, a convincing study was carried out by Kayahan Özgül who argues that the Ottoman literati who were producing novels just for the sake of their ability to convey and deliver some messages pertaining to moral values, were beneficial. This might seem that the novel was dependent on the Masnawi for the Ottoman public, which might be seen as local attempts for the

¹⁴⁶ Kostas Gavruoğlu, “Appropriating ideas and practices: Some specific questions”. “Talk prepared for the workshop *The Idea of Nature in the Culture of the Tanzimat*, organized by Sabancı University, Istanbul, 13-14 March 2003). “How the ideas prevalent in one cultural and social setting are introduced into another. The

incorporation of the “newcomer” with the existing tradition.¹⁴⁷ We can define this situation from the point of view of the domesticating nature of every type of translation as Abdelmajid Hannoum defined it in his analysis of the translation of Ibn Khaldun into colonial imaginary by French scholar.¹⁴⁸

Also, for the establishment of the influences of the new ideas, the creation of the legitimizing spaces for them is significant. Without having any spheres to make the new ideas legitimate, it is impossible for new ideas to become effective in the long term in any receptor culture. On the other hand, the type of expressions of the resistance against these new ideas might remind us how the negotiation process took place within the process of “appropriation”. The new ideas as they were appropriated by the receptor culture affect also the cognitive, mental structure of the appropriating collectivity. It serves as an educational process. As Gavruoğlu properly puts it, ‘personal agendas, professional strategies, institutional flexibilities and social demands form different settings for the formation of the multifarious spaces of appropriation—or equivalently, the multiplicity of appropriating spaces.’¹⁴⁹

Additionally, the notion of appropriation helps us to see the scientific activity as a social and cultural enterprise, rather than totally a closed-circle activity on the level of abstraction among high-level scholars, or scientists. This aspect burdened the scholars at the periphery with an active agency in the reception of new ideas: “we should look at the

notion of appropriation in contrast to the notion of transfer or reception or transmission, provides a useful framework to discuss these problems.”

¹⁴⁷ M. Kayahan Özgül, “Romanın Hikâyesi” in *Hece Dergisi: Türk Romanı Özel Sayısı*, Year: 6, no: 65-67, May-July 2002, pp. 7-15, p. 13.

¹⁴⁸ Abdelmajid Hannoum, “Translation and the colonial imaginary: Ibn Khaldun Orientalist” in *History and Theory* vol. 42 (February 2003) pp. 61-81. The author analyzes how Ibn Khaldun was discovered by the French Orientalists and how they brought him into their own colonial imaginary through translation techniques.

scholars of the periphery not as passive agents whose only function was to distribute locally the well-packaged goods delivered to them from the centers of Europe, but rather as active subjects who received many goods with no particularly clear directions on how to dispose of them locally.” As an example, Gavruoğlu mentions the French Enlightenment as a paradigmatic case that has reduced the scholars in the periphery to totally passive carriers of the ‘perfect’ program of Enlightenment.¹⁵⁰

Lefevere focuses on the examination of ‘concrete factors’ that govern the reception, acceptance or rejection of literary texts: ‘power, ideology, institution and manipulation’. The rewriters occupy these positions and manage the consumption of the re-written literature by the public. This rewriting activity might consist of two motivations such as the ideological and poetical: The former might conform to or rebel against the dominant ideology, the latter rebel against or conform to poetics.¹⁵¹

House suggested another way in terms of overt and covert translations. The former means that the target text should not be the same as the original. The most fitting example to this model was literary translation, in which the translated text might have different functions in the target culture and source culture due to the differences of the discursive worlds in which those texts had been operating. Covert translation means that the translated texts have the same status in both of source and target culture, e.g., tourist information

¹⁴⁹ Gavruoğlu, *ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ This is also valid for the Ottoman case in the long run. But, nowadays, some young scholars argue about the active agency of the Ottoman men of letters at that time. Also in the mentality, what we see is that in the realm of science, people began to disseminate the scientific ideas of the West in earlier times. Then, the literateur began to appropriate the ideas on the artistic level, whereas they tried to make some link with the indigenous tradition of the Ottoman Empire. M. Kayahan Özgül tries to do this in the literary field, whereas in scientific domain, I can refer to Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu and İhsan Fazlıoğlu among others.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

booklets, or a letter from a company chairman to shareholders or an article in UNESCO courier, which address their receivers directly.¹⁵²

As I mentioned above, Holmes coined the term ‘Translation Studies’ and initiated programs on the ‘name and nature of translation studies’. Explanation-oriented research seems to stay on the opposite side of descriptive research which assumes that any kind of translation in every cultural environment deserves to become the object of study. Although this is problematic from the perspective of the translator and of his reader, it deserves to be studied.¹⁵³ The inclusion of various partners involved in the translation process into the object of the study took place at the beginning of 70’s. After that, translation was accepted as a story between the languages in which translator functions as the ‘author’. That translators live among translators, that any original text is circumscribed by other translations, that the intended/real readers are part of a larger community, that translations look like other translations and they will be seen by readers as translations are the assumptions which lie behind this perspective.¹⁵⁴ The addition of the equivalence analysis to translation was not lost unless particular cultures and genres were integrated into the picture to a sufficient degree.

The system theoretical approach analyzed the issue through a four dimensional matrix. The first issue is that it is a social category surrounded by expectations. The second is that it is a ‘system’ because it consists not only of the production and circulation of translated texts but also of the interaction between translations on both sides. The third one

¹⁵² Ibid., p. 94. Discourse analysis look at the way language communicate meaning and social and power relations, p. 89.

¹⁵³ José Lambert, “Models for Descriptive Research: 1976-1996” in *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture*, edited by Saliha Paker. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002, pp. 195-217, p. 197.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 202.

is that the expectations shape the ‘domain’, or the ‘field’, i.e., the system of translation. The fourth one is that concepts such as ‘communication’, ‘system’ enable us to set up a methodology more useful than existing approaches to study the translation issue as a social and historical problem.¹⁵⁵

It is certain that any translation activity denotes a communicative action, a cooperative interaction between those who participate in it. The participants recognize these as being mostly legitimate in a system that produces and reproduces itself and contains continuously consistent elements. This gradual reproduction produces communicative acts through which meaning is constructed. This is also valid for the attribution of meaning to translations. The selection procedure of any foreign-language text from among many potential candidates is also involved in the meaning attribution of that communicative act, i.e., translation. Last but not least, any translation is an insertion into the existing discursive forms and practices in the appropriating culture, and re-shapes these forms as a cultural repertoire.¹⁵⁶

After this long introduction of various aspects of the field of translation studies, I would like to summarize some ideas from the period we are focusing on about the translation issue. Mehmed Ziya mentions that the primary aim of the translation activity which was a transformation of the meaning from one envelope to another one seems to embrace and keep the original meaning properly in the translated text.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Theo Hermans, “The Production and Reproduction of Translation: System Theory and Historical Context” in *Translations...*, pp. 175-194, here pp. 178-179.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 182-186.

¹⁵⁷ Mehmed Ziya, *Rehber-iUsûl-i Tercüme*, Dersaâdet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1325. For the general overview of the debates around translation issues in the Ottoman Empire which begins around 1870’s and reached its zenith at the beginning of the 20th century, refer to the dissertation thesis of Cemal Demircioğlu. A very useful summary of this thesis may be found in the article of the same-author in “19. Yüzyıl Sonu Türk Edebiyatında

Ziya Paşa expressed his view on translation in the introduction of *Emile* which he translated after the close of *Hürriyet* in 1870 and finished in 1871. Secondly, we will hear Manastirli Rifat's voice (1851-1907) on translation, because he was also among the successful translators of the late Ottoman Empire, who primarily translated numerous theatre plays that were the most successful ones of that era. Thirdly, we will consider the book *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhir* which was composed by İsmail Hakkı and İbrahim Fehim in 1308.

Ziya Paşa dealt with the works of Jean-Jacques Rousseau as he was in Switzerland. As he wanted to translate a didactic work into Ottoman Turkish, he decided on to translate *Emile* by Rousseau, because of the significance of the education for Ottomans. With his choice, he made a deliberate contribution to the discourse of the education in the Ottoman Empire, and his choice of this book as worthy to be translated into the Ottoman Turkish was also a position of the translator as the active cultural planner of the repertoire. He states that we should focus on the general education in order to get rid of the ignorance.¹⁵⁸

He went on expressing his views on the early education of the children and its significance for children by stating examples from his own life. Even though, lots of works for the education of children were present in Europe, Ziya Paşa argued that there were not any pieces composed by us and therefore he begins to translate this book into Ottoman Turkish.¹⁵⁹ Ziya Paşa mentions that he did not conform the traditional style while translating this book. He was completely source-oriented which means that he tried his best

Tercüme Kavramı”, in *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları [TUBA]: Kafdağı'nın Ötesine Varmak, Günay Kut Armağanı*, 27-II (2003), pp. 13-31. Demircioğlu considers different renderings of the concept of the translation within that era, and concludes that there is a variety of usage even in conceptual manners which should be seriously taken into consideration.

¹⁵⁸ İhsan Sungu, “Ziya Paşa'nın 'Emile' Tercümesi” in *Tercüme Dergisi* vol. 1 (1940) no. 1, pp. 62-78.

in order to conform to the original meaning as far as possible. He also intervened to the text in order to avoid the ambiguity. He used Turkish words, if possible, and made the text as simple as possible.¹⁶⁰

Rifat, with his colleague and friend, Hasan Bedrettin, made lots of play translations between the years 1873/1289-90 and 1883/1300-01. In one of his late translations, he explored his ideas about translation. He summarized the ideas of Salahaddin-i Safdi and reached the conclusion that the translator should have a thorough knowledge on the subject he wants to translate. This is the first prerequisite of a good translation. Then, he should study that issue in the other language very carefully and understand it sufficiently. After that, the translator should re-write it in the language according to the style of composition of the target language.¹⁶¹ In this statement, the idea and the actual statement of re-writing (*yeniden yazım*) is a very important which made the translations of Manastırlı Rifat very successful in his age.

Last but not least, I would like to give the definition and functions of translation described in *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhir* by İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı in 1307. They stated that translation was the idea of transfer and change of any thoughts in order to express it in another language.¹⁶²

The first attempt to draw a list of the translated works during the *Tanzimat* period was performed by Otto Hachtmann in 1918 under the rubric of *Europäische*

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p. 66. See appendices for the Ottoman Turkish version.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 66-68.

¹⁶¹ Türker Acaroğlu, "Manastırlı Rifat'ın Tercüme Üzerine Düşünceleri" in *Tercüme Dergisi* no 48 (1948), pp. 479-481. Rifat stated these ideas in his *Cevâhir-i çiharyâr ve emsâl-i kibâr*, Halep: Matbaa-i Uhuvvet 'Maruni', 1327 [1908].

Kultureinflüsse in der Türkei, as a separate print of *Die Welt des Islams*. Hachtmann found out that there were 141 translated books and/or articles in Ottoman Empire. Şerif Hulusi added to this list 111 entries he found out from the literatures of French, English, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Finnish, and Greek.¹⁶³

b. The New Style of Expression during Tanzimat

The effects of the new regulations of *Tanzimat* can also be seen in the fields of literature and composition of the Ottoman Empire. Beginning with Mustafa Reşid Paşa, the tendency to write in a simpler and more understandable manner became the dominant way of the written expression by the cultural planners, or better cultural entrepreneurs of the Ottoman Empire. As they engaged actively in the transformation process of the society, they used their pen as active tool for the spread of the new ideas propagated by them for the sake of the society. Thus, İbrahim Şinasi would like to transform the written language into a medium of for the ordinary people to 'phrase their problems'. Also, he was the pioneer in the construction of a public opinion via the press. Namık Kemal's contribution to the literary understanding of the Ottomans was very significant. He has established the idea that every literary production should serve for the social needs, which was mostly in parallel with Even-Zohar's proposal of literature as the network from which the modes of lives of societies may be extracted. Also, the people's reaction after Namık Kemal's famous play *Vatan yahud Silistre* gives us some clues about the tendency of people to

¹⁶² İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı, *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhir*: Tercüme Hakkında Bir Mütalaa ile Âsâr-ı kalemiyeleri Ziver-i müdevvenât-ı Osmâniye olan zevât-ı kirâmın Âsâr-ı mergûbe-i Mütercemelerini Fransızca Asılları ile Beraber Hâvidir, İstanbul: Artin Asaduryan: 1307.

¹⁶³ Şerif Hulusî, "Tanzimattan Sonraki Tercüme Faaliyeti" in *Tercüme Dergisi* 1 (1940) no. 3, pp. 286-296.

extract from literary pieces some practical instruction for their everyday life.¹⁶⁴ Kemal considers the impact of novel to be in the long run, but due to the greater number of its readers, its affect may be greater than theater plays in the long run.

The backgrounds of the change in the compository style can be seen in an earlier collection of the stories composed by Aziz Efendi from Creta, *Muhayyelât-ı Aziz Efendi*. He began with the translation of some stories from 1001 Nights and at the end he created his own style, which was called by some historians of literature as the first modern story of the Turkish literature. The fact that it has been composed more than 50 years before the first fiction translation was an important factor for this statement. Tietze found out in his serious analysis of this piece that Aziz Efendi was consciously creating literature by loading upon the old stories some new themes.¹⁶⁵ His renaming of the characters in the traditional stories of 1001 Nights, his exclusion of the unmoral parts of the stories, his emphasis on the moral parts were some parallels between the contemporary prose fiction in Europe and Aziz Efendi's piece.

Aziz Efendi composed his work in a process and he survived through three different phases during this process. In the first phase of the style, he was like a translator or storyteller without contributing or changing the original one. It is the oldest phase of Aziz Efendi. In the second phase, the reader might feel a change in his style with some realistic inclinations. His product resembles to the novelle, in which the local colours and realistic dialogs took place. Secondly, the scene and the conditions of the original parts were changed by Aziz Efendi. We can also see dramatical and sentimental themes that brought

¹⁶⁴ Kenan Akyüz, *Batı Tesirinde Türk Şiiri Antolojisi*, 2. Baskı. Ankara: Doğu Matbaası, 1958, pp. 43-45.

¹⁶⁵ Andreas Tietze, "Aziz Efendi's Muhayyelât" in *Oriens* vol. 1 (1948) pp. 248-329.

Aziz Efendi closest to the Western literature. The third phase was full of the mystical inclinations in which the Sheikh stays at centrum.¹⁶⁶

The importance of the stories remains that even the author began as a translator, after a certain time, he left translation and created his own style through which he touched some political issues and tried to show his moral ideas to the readers. To do this, he left the background of fairy-tales, and storied his *Lebenswelt* in much more realistical way.

What we see after the Tanzimat period is that literature and literary activity became a medium for the spread and propaganda of the new ideas. Apart from this, the consciousness for the Turkish language and its simplification was also another major point. As the language became the medium of the spread over the new ideas, they strongly dealt with the language issue in order to simplify it and bring to an easily understandable level. Figures such as Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ziya Paşa struggled with the old style and tried to establish a simpler style of prose and poetry in order to deliver their social and moral messages that targeted to the entire population more easily than before. As a result of their activities, Ahmet Midhat wrote in his article about the Improvement of the Ottoman language in his journal *Dağarcık*. He mentioned that he wrote his paragraph in the simpler style that was simplified after Şinasi step-by-step up to this level. He is proud that this would understand easier than texts in old style, but he argued that the language has the capacity of the more simplification that was an immediate need for his contemporary thought. He argues that if the Arabic grammatical rules would not be penetrated into the

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., pp. 314-315.

Ottoman languages, if the people used the Turkish words instead of Arabic and Persian if applicable, than the simple style of Turkish language would increase more and more.¹⁶⁷

This new understanding brought some new literary concepts together. Yetiş analyzed how the word “*üslûb*” became an equivalent concept for the style in the Tanzimat period. It went through a survey in the way that Namık Kemal, for instance, has used *beyan* to correspond style in Ottoman Turkish. Süleyman Paşa in his *Mebâni'l-İnşâ* used *kelam* and *inşâ* for the same concept. Münif Paşa used in his *İlm-i Belâğat-La Rhétorique* “*beyân*” whereas Recaizade coined the term *üslûb-ı beyân* or *üslûb-ı ifâde* in his *Talîm-i Edebiyat* for style which was used until today as the equivalent of the style in Turkish language. At the end of his article, the author gave a table for the literary concepts and their different equivalents in the rhétorique and literary books by Ottomans.¹⁶⁸

I would like to shift to the particular genres that are developed after this change in the conception of literature by Ottomans. The underlying social and advisory agenda of literature was in play at the time. I would like to focus on the emergence and appearance of the theater, philosophical dialogues, poetry and novels one by one. Novel will cover the biggest place due to the function assigned to it by the producers.

¹⁶⁷ Hamza Zülfikar, “Tanzimat’ın Getirdiği Yeniliklerin Türk Dilinde Yankıları” in *Tanzimat’ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, Ankara: 31 Ekim-3 Kasım 1989. Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1994, pp. 569-580.

¹⁶⁸ Kâzım Yetiş, “Tanzimat Sonrasında Kullanılan Bazı Yeni Edebî İstilahlar” in *Türk Dünyası Araştırmaları* sayı 52 (1988) pp. 197-202.

c. The Spread of Theatre as a new Way of Entertainment

I aim to undertake plays as the beginning point due to the fact that the meeting of Ottomans with this 'new' type of entertainment went back to a much earlier period than the other three genres. Thus, the attempt to explain the reasons and motivations for the spread, translation, and appropriation of texts that do not fit into the pre-existing categories of Ottoman authorship will be continued through the theatre, dialogues, poetry and the novel, respectively.

As Susan Basnett argues, in a period when little native theater production takes place, the number of translations tends to increase. This undertaking causes another problem in forms of the acceptance of the audience.¹⁶⁹ The difficulty in studies on the translations of the theatre plays stems from the fact that such studies have to take the performance dimension into account, due to the fact that the play is not just a literary text, written to be read, but a text which reaches the audience via the medium of the actors. Another set of problems arises from the terminology of the identification of the re-written text. This means that using an adaptation or re-written version might lead the reader to differentiate this from the source text (original) rather than using the term "translation" which presumably seems to be closer to the source text. This attempt to offer the text to an audience in a form closer to the original one brings with itself the distinction between the translation and adaptation: "In the translation, you try to transport an audience into the play, whereas in the adaptation the attempt was to fit the play to the receiving audience".¹⁷⁰ Thus, the acculturation of the play-text is undergone via adaptation whereas the translation is

¹⁶⁹ Susan Basnett, "Theatre and Opera" in *The Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, ed. by Peter France. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, p. 101.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

assumed to lead the people to explore the source text in its own context. The existence of this bilateral distinction is also valid for the early phase of the theatres in the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning, foreign groups came and performed their plays. Then, the indigenous people began to undertake the issue, either by making translations, or mostly by adapting the theater plays for the Ottoman audience. But the authors put some tacit rules for their selection of which texts should be translated and which should be adapted. For them, texts referring to universal issues should be translated, whereas plays auditing local affairs in France or Italy should be adapted for the Ottoman context. Of course, these are not independent of the concerns of the theatre managers, funding bodies, actors, directors etc. They mostly preferred to expand the repertoire and the easiest way to achieve a bigger repertoire was by making adequate translations or adaptations from foreign languages of those countries having older theatre traditions than the tradition of the target culture; this was completely valid in the Ottoman case.

Theatre activities reached their peak in the second half of the 19th century, especially after the 1870s.¹⁷¹ The huge number of either adaptations or translations from Western languages, or original theatre plays after that time proves this statement. There were more than 400 theatre plays during the last 30 years of 19th century. The settlement of this genre within the Ottoman territories took place after the 1870s due to the establishment of theatre groups and companies, the desire of the public, or the likelihood of the men of the letters to use this genre as one of the efficient mediums to convey instructive messages for the sake of the better education of people. Because of the nature of the spread of theatre plays, they were at the beginning mostly either played by the foreign theater groups in a

¹⁷¹ Niyazi Akı, *XIX. Yüzyıl Türk Tiyatrosu Tarihi*, Erzurum: Atatürk Üniv. Yay., 1963, p. 25.

foreign language, either French or Italian, or were adaptations/translations from Italian or French, so focusing on the first traces of the news on theater may enable us to fill in the picture of our general map through the impact of the interaction between French culture and Ottoman. Hence, each one of the elements that were constituents of the particular culture is important to us. As a genre in-between the literature and performing arts theatre would be an interesting subject to show the level, depth and direction of the interrelation among Westerners and Ottomans.

The first direct encounter with opera took place in 1840/1255-56 through Bosko's enterprise.¹⁷² Bosko's enterprise was the first performance of opera, but further research in the manuscripts ended up in the discovery of a manuscript around 1800s which has been accepted as the first theater piece composed in the Turkish language: It is a comedy called *Kesfger Ahmed* and had three sections. Even though the author could not be identified from the text precisely, an analysis of the text of the manuscript gives the idea that he had known the Western theatre very well. The text was translated into German, Italian and French.¹⁷³

Although the first text was produced very early, this new genre had to wait until the reign of Abdülmecit, when lots of plays were performed and the development of the genre happened very fast because the Sultan wished that this 'progressive' step should also be

¹⁷² Âli Bey, *Letafet : Üç Fasıllık Opera-Komik*. Tertip Eden Baha Dürder. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961, p. 26. The first direct enterprise meant here that the first enterprise for public performances began at this date. Otherwise, the accounts of the Ottoman ambassadors had numbers of pages to explain what the theatre is, how opera has been performed. For Bosko, see also Akı, *ibid.*, p. 27. Metin And, *A History of Theatre and Popular Entertainment in Turkey*, Ankara: Forum Yay., 1963-64, p. 70. And mentions that Bosco obtained a licence from the Sultan to direct a theatre for the plays in 1840 and then built a theatre named after him which had enough place for 500 people to see the play.

¹⁷³ Akı, *ibid.*, p. 25-26. For the transcribed and simplified texts of the theater pieces produced in Turkish either by Turks, Armenians or foreigners see Metin And, *Şair Evlenmesi'nden Önceki İlk Türkçe Oyunlar*, İstanbul: İnkılâp ve Aka Yayınları, 1983, pp. 5-26. And gives in detail who produced what, when and where, which motivations were in due, and what kind of audience was targeted. He named five titles, *Nasreddin Hoca'nın Mansıbı*, *Vakayi-i Acibe ve Havadis-i Garibe-i Kesfger Ahmed*, *Şeyh Hacı Bektaş*, *Hikâye-i İbrahim Paşa be İbrahim-i Gülşenî* and *Zor(ı)la Hekim*.

disseminated among ordinary people. At the same time, rich Armenian people invited theater groups to their residences and allowed them to give performances there. Also, Armenian schools provided these groups with necessary platform for their plays. Apart from these, foreign embassies were supporters and promoters of foreign theatre groups. Embassies invited groups to perform their plays in buildings basically constructed for them. Moreover, rich Levantine families also provided an area for professional and amateur players. Turks belonged also to the group of invitees of these plays so that the acquaintance of Turks with this genre should be increased.¹⁷⁴

These attempts created a very dynamic life for theatre groups from both Italy and France in the reign of Abdülmecit. Public performances by the foreign theatre groups mostly in Italian or French began in the year of 1839. Giustiniani built the first playhouse called the French theatre (*Fransız Tiyatrosu*)¹⁷⁵ to welcome drama and operetta companies, and in 1840/1255-56 Bosco, whom we mentioned before, obtained a license for his shows from the Sultan. He built a theatre which had enough space for 500 people. This theatre was refurbished by a Syrian, Mihail Naum, in 1844/1260 and continued very active to host performances until 1870/1287. The significance of this theatre stemmed from the fact that the first public Turkish play on record was acted here in 1858/1274-75. This was called ‘the Hypocrite and the Reckless-One’ and was translated by Hekimoğlu Sirap.¹⁷⁶ The influence and the existence of Armenian theatre players in the first phase of the development of a local Ottoman theatre should be taken into consideration separately. At first glance, their occupation and involvement with this process may be easily grasped due to the excessive

¹⁷⁴ And, *A History...*, p. 66.

¹⁷⁵ This was the first theatre building in Constantinople. The architect was the Venetian Justinus. See, M. Nihat Özön ve Baha Dürder, “Fransız Tiyatrosu” in *Türk Tiyatrosu Ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1967, p., 185.

number of translations, performances and activities during the beginning period of the Ottoman theatre. Their activities affected the course of the theatre very dynamically.¹⁷⁷

This dynamism in theatre activities showed its impact upon the students of the Medicine school where a student of medicine composed an operetta entitled *Hikâye-i İbrahim Paşa be İbrahim Gülşeni* in 1844/1260. This piece was composed by Hayrullah Efendi (1818-1866) who would become a very famous man of medicine and make important contributions to the modernization of medicine within the Ottoman Empire. His father, Mustafa Behçet Efendi (1774-1834) was also one of the most important Ottoman reformers in the scientific field. Hayrullah Efendi's operetta was not composed with the intention of being performed; it was just for reading. But the importance of this piece lay in the fact that opera and other arts of the theatre became very widespread among Ottomans, i.e. they became a very natural part of the daily entertainment of the Ottoman literate groups.¹⁷⁸ Some advertisements in newspapers were available to serve as explanatory elements for our argumen. The first one is on the 84th issue of *Ceride-i Havâdis* and states that the Turkish translation of an Italian play was present in Pera. This was the play that

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 70.

¹⁷⁷ Making a brief survey in the encyclopedia of the Turkish Theatre may give us some clues for the dominance of the Armenian artists, producers, translators for the newly spreading genre of theatre. For instance, the play of Aristodème by Vinzemzo Moni was translated into Armenian by Haçaduryan and performed by Hasköy youth in the theatre of Naum in 1860. See M. Nihat Özön ve Baha Dürder, "Aristodème" in *Türk Tiyatrosu Ansiklopedisi*, p. 41. Prominent names such as Beşiktaşlıyan, Fasulyacıyan, Karakaşyan indicate some persons who were very active in that period. Also the number of plays performed in Armenian in the Şark Tiyatrosu between the years of 1859-1863 might enrich our recognition of the Armenian predominance in those years: there were 11 Armenian plays whereas only two plays in Turkish were performed in 1864 in the same theatre. See, "Şark Tiyatrosu", *ibid.*, pp. 386-387.

¹⁷⁸ Akı, *XIX. Yüzyıl*, p.31. Akı also mentions that Hayrullah Efendi composed also a comedy as he was in Paris under the rubric of *Rothomago* that he saw in the famous theatre of Chatelet.

took place around 580 A.D. between the King of the Constantinople and his Vizier Belisar.¹⁷⁹

The performance and the existence of this translation was also recorded by Ubicini who mentioned that the best things he saw in Pera were a summary of an annual belonging to the Empire and a translation of the drama of *Belisaire* which was performed in 1842. Unfortunately, the name of the author was absent in the translation.¹⁸⁰ Ubicini mentioned that this was the first attempt at drama by Turks. Furthermore, lots of pieces from Molière were translated at the command of the Sultan. Among those, *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* and *Malade Imaginaire* were played in 1847 in front of the Sultan.¹⁸¹

Before making a survey on the plays of the period, I would like to turn briefly to look at the advertisement of the third play performed in Turkish in public as an indicator of the place of the theatre and its exact place among the entertainment options for Turks. The fact that performances were in foreign languages limited the mass of the observers and in order to overcome this undesirable and profit-losing factor, the directors and actors had to calculate on obtaining a much more widespread audience which could only be attained by the implementation of the Turkish language for the performances. Thus, Hekimoğlu Sırap translated two Italian comedies of Hypocrite and Reckless-one into Turkish by as *Müseyyip* and *Riyakâr*, respectively.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁹ Two things appear significant: first the use of the Italian language as the medium of transmission of the theatre into the Ottoman theatre and secondly, the relatively early time of the publication of this ad. *Ceride-i Havâdis*, no 84. See appendix for the Ottoman text and English translation by me.

¹⁸⁰ Ubicini, p. 147.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

¹⁸² See for the whole text of the ad the 887th issue of the *Ceride* on the 11th of Şevval 1274 / 11th May of 1858. The terms of *ibretnüma* and *acibe-i nebahat* that are mentioned in the ad were significant terms due to the indication of the general atmosphere of that time. The usage and application of literary pieces in the performing arts carried the same inclination of guiding the people, educating them, showing them the so-called "right-path".

To go on with the settlement of Turkish plays for the audience of Istanbul people, we see another advertisement dated on the 24th of February in 1864 / 16th of Ramazan 1280 in the newspaper of *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*. This piece informs about the popularity of comedies by the Turkish audience that were performed in Turkish language. It might be interpreted that Turkish theater pieces became fashionable and the public demand for those plays during that time was excessive, leading the directors to announce in public newspapers the repetition of the plays for the new season.¹⁸³

If we turn at this point to our first performances, it clearly shows that after *Belisaire*, the operas of well-known authors such as Scribe, Hugo, Shakespeare, Beaumarchais, Alexandre Dumas Fils were performed. During the period from 1844 to 1857, some operas were adapted to the theater and were performed. For instance, we see that *La Juive* and *Un Ballo in Maschera* of Scribe came to Ottomans' attention in the form of opera and then were adapted for the theater and performed as plays.¹⁸⁴

As for comedies, we see a parallel line with opera performances. Ubicini mentions in his book that the first plays performed either in Bucharest in the residence of Fuat Paşa or in Istanbul by the travelling companies were always comedies. Those were mostly translated from French: In one of the programs, he named *Horas* as a tragedy by Scribe and then *The Room with two Beds (İki Yataklı Oda)* as an entirely comic play.¹⁸⁵

¹⁸³ The original title of the second play is *Spada di Lengo* by Goldoni. Unfortunately, the Turkish translations were lost. See Akı, p. 35.

¹⁸⁴ Akı, *XIX. Yüzyıl*, p. 32. The name of operas were respectively *Lucreçe Borgia*, *Sevil Berberi*, *Parisina*, *Hırsız Saksâğan*, *Mathilde Chabran*, *Şeytan Robert*, *Atilla*, *Cezalde*, *Portani*, *Poliuto*, *La Traviata*. Also, the opera of *Sonnambula* has been played as a melodrama in three sections.

¹⁸⁵ Ubicini, p. 180. For the play acted in Bucuresti, he stated Musset's comedy of "Il faut qu'une porte soit ouverte ou fermée".

Two names are important in the history of the translation of comedies into Turkish: Molière and Goldoni. Almost 25 pieces of these authors were translated, adapted and performed.¹⁸⁶ The earliest traces of Molière may be found in 1843. Firstly, his works were performed in the court in 1843/1258-59, and a public performance took place in 1865/1281-82. For Ottoman awareness of Molière, we have an interesting account in two articles of “Molière en Turquie” by Adolphe Thalasso published in the journal of *Moliériste* again in 1843. The author gives an interesting answer to the question of the fame of Molière among Turks. In his view, the higher strata of the Levantines and the lower strata of the Turks knew Molière very well. Levantines knew his plays through the reading of his texts in their college education, as well as attending his plays performed by Greek groups. However, the Turks knew Molière via the traditional art of Karagöz in which the person performing Karagöz let people translate some passages from Molière and then used those passages in traditional plays. The author recognized this by hearing some passages very similar to the first part of Molière’s *Avare* from the Turkish children.¹⁸⁷

The most famous Molièrist in the Ottoman territories was Ahmet Vefik Paşa, to whom we will devote some place in the discussion of his *Telemak Tercümesi* in following pages. What he and, later, Direktör Âli Bey (1844-1899) did might be seen as a complete introduction and importation of Molière’s works into the Ottoman lands either through translation, or adaptation, or in the case of later adaptations, rewriting the already adapted

¹⁸⁶ Akı, p. 36. Between 1864-83, there were 8 pieces translated from Goldoni: *Don Grigorio*, *Odun Kılıç*, *Venedik Apakuryası* (*Una Delle Ultime Sere di Carnevale*), *Rosamunda*, *Belâlar Mübareki* (*Îl Burbero Benefico*), *Yarabbi Şükür Sofra Kurtuldu* (*Î Rusteghi*), *Hürmüz Bey’in Boşboğazlığı* (*Sior Todero Brontolon*) and *Karnaval Âşıkları* (*La Vedova Scaltra*). The last two of these pieces were adaptations by Âli Bey.

¹⁸⁷ This information was quoted by Niyazi Akı and other historians of the genre of theatre in the Ottoman Empire as an indication of the early acquaintance of Turks with Western theatre. See Akı, p. 37.

texts etc.¹⁸⁸ Those attempts were concluded by 1872/1288-89 when all of the pieces except one or two were already translated or adapted by Ahmet Vefik Paşa.¹⁸⁹ We can also see an advertisement for the Persian word-for-word translation of the play ‘Misanthrope’ (*İnsancık* in Turkish) entitled *Güzârûş-i Merdüngiriz*. It was sold in the shop of Duhâni Mustafa Ağa in Hamidiye for 10 guruş.¹⁹⁰

All of these developments led the Ottomans to compose some original works in this new genre of theatre. The prime-mover of the sub-genres was comedy, in which the famous journalist İbrahim Şinasi composed the first play by an Ottoman in Turkish language in 1858/1274-75. This activity in the native language remains a unique attempt until Âli Bey’s advertisements in the periodical of *Hayal* for the plays *Misafir-i İstiskâl* and *Kokona Yatıyor* in 1871/1287-88 more than 10 years later. But we should not forget the two

¹⁸⁸ An interesting article which attempts to underline the first appearance of the pieces of Moliere in Persian literature was written by Maryam b. Sanjabi, “*Mardum-guriz: An Early Persian Translation of Moliere’s Le Misanthrope*” in *IJMES* 30 (1998) 2, pp. 251-270. This article gives some significant insight for those who want to study the interaction between the West and East, but also the interaction between the important centers of Islamic world to transmit the ideas, and genres from one place to another. In this instance, the Persian translation of the French piece by Mirza Hanin was published in Istanbul in 1869 by the publishing house of İbrahim Şinasi. The study carries also some delights in itself by comparing the stylistic choices of the translator by comparing the texts.

¹⁸⁹ For Âli Bey’s attempt we can briefly mention that he has newly adapted Vefik Paşa’s translation of *Dekbazlık* in 1872 under the name of *Ayyar Hamza* in 1873. *Yorgaki Dandini* becomes *Tosun Ağa* and was performed in 1869. Other works translated from those two authors were, from French *Dolandırıcının Sonu (Mâitre Pathelin)*, *Karı İntikamı*, *Kurtlar Paskalyası*, *Mösyö Prosper*, *Edgar ile Beslemesi*, *Arlequin Roi*, *İki Bebek*, from German, *Binbaşığı Davet*, *Bir Küçük Sehv*, *Dayı ile Yeğen*, from English, *Birinci Kat*, from Greek *Efendiden İntikâm Alan Hizmetkâr*, and, apart from those, some other pieces whose original language was not known: *Gavo Minar ve Şürekâsı*, *Karnaval Kokozları*, *Karnaval Çapkınları*. Akı, p. 40. In the encyclopedia of the Turkish Theatre by Mustafa Nihat Özön and Baha Dürder, we might quote the article about adaptation which gives the definition of being a translation of some works of Molière in conformance with Turkish traditions and customs. It assumes that this act resembles the Molière’s writing activity in which he took the subject from Latin plays and wrote it in French. According to this article, the pieces which were specifically for the French society have been translated literally whereas the pieces with universal subjects have been transmitted through adapting them to the elements of Ottoman society. For this article, see Özön ve Dürder, “Adapte” in *Türk Tiyatrosu Ansiklopedisi*, pp., 5-6. For the beginning of the Turkish theater and the activities of Ahmet Vefik, see Lütfi Ay, “Les Débuts du Théâtre Turc et Ahmet Vefik Pacha” in *Tercüme Dergisi* vol. 9 (May 1951) no. 52, pp. 256-267.

¹⁹⁰ *TE*, n. 738, p. 4, 18 Cemaziyelevvel 1286 / 26-VIII-1869, Hayta, p. 249. See also Sanjabi’s article in f.n. 147. “*Meşhur Moliere’in Fransızca komedyalarının güzidesi ‘Misanthrope’ yani ‘İnsancık’ oyununun, beyti beytine Farsça beyitlerle tercümesinin ‘Güzârûş-i Merdüngiriz’ adıyla basılıp Hamidiye’de Duhâni Mustafa Ağa dükkamında 10 kuruşa satılmaktadır.*”

tragedies composed in verse by Âli Haydar Bey in 1866/1282-83: *Sergüzeşt-i Perviz* and *Sasaniyan Hükümdarlarından İkinci Ersas'ın Sergüzeşti*.¹⁹¹ These two were the first two verse plays in Ottoman Turkish. We might give some reasons for Şinasi's enterprise of composing the first theatre piece in Turkish language: The interest of Ottomans for the performance arts, i.e., theatre, the fact that the pieces performed were originally in a foreign language, the style of the translations was not very strong, and last but not least, the subjects of the foreign pieces were not of much interest to the local people. What we see in the further Turkish plays is that the story and the theme carried some similarities to the *Wedding of the Poet*.¹⁹²

When considering ideas about the theatre, we first came across some texts emphasizing the value and the worth of the theatre plays. We might find lots of different definitions, functions and identifications. For example, it was conceived as the biggest part of literature, the wisest type of entertainment, as very fashionable and was called the

¹⁹¹ Ali Haydar Bey was an interesting person. He was appointed to the Translation Chamber when he was 18, and then went to Paris in 1857 and returned to Istanbul in 1860-61. In 1862-63 he founded *Cemiyet-i Kitâbet* (Society of Scripture) and published the periodical *Mecmua-i İber-i İntibâh*. In the introduction to his first piece, he mentioned that he was not capable enough but what he did was to invent a way of writing tragedy in our poetical tradition. The development and refinement of this way should be made by the successors. He wished them to be successful in that way. He was also very proud of the criticisms he faced due to his tragedies as he mentioned at the end of his second tragedy: "Let the child throw stones at us, since we were naked mad men" [Baş açık divaneyiz koy taşlasın sıbyan bizi]. See Âli Bey, *Ayyar Hamza: Üç Fasıllık Oyun*. Tertip Eden Mustafa Nihat Özön, 3. Baskı. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1968, pp. 11-13. For the development of verse plays in Ottoman Turkish and their gradual spread through the Turkish speaking world, see also Petra de Bruijn, *The Two Worlds of Eşber: Western Oriented Verse Drama and Ottoman Turkish Poetry by 'Abdülhak Hamid Tarhan*, Leiden: Research School CNWS, 1997, pp. 12-15. This is a dissertation by de Bruijn; and for a more focused article see idem., "Turkish Verse Drama: The impact of verse on Turkish drama" in *Gesellschaftlicher Umbruch und Historie im Zeitgenössischen Drama der Islamischen Welt*. Herausgegeben von Johann Christoph Bürgel und Stephan Guth. Stuttgart: Steiner, 1995, pp. 23-37. She gives in this article a list of the plays in verse not only for the Ottoman period, but also for the Republican era. Interestingly, the rhyme and metre applied by Ali Haydar was the same as *mesnevi* which had been known by the Ottomans for centuries.

¹⁹² I think that I can refer here to Âli Bey's *Letâfet* for similar trends and strategies in the development of the theme and turning points, also some ethical concerns are embedded in this piece. Fiction faced a sudden alteration, happy end and unexpected interventions, which are characteristics of both Şinasi's and Âli Bey's plays. See Âli Bey, *Letâfet: Üç Fasıllık Opera Komik*. Tertip Eden Baha Dürder. İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1961.

'school of ethics', being loaded with moral values. Furthermore, the parts that were not in accordance with our national tradition should be translated in order to enlighten our thinking. In addition to this, the theater was described as a living example of history. All of these functions were centered around the meta-function that it should be based on the principle of the "Correcting the Morality", which was valid not only for the theatre but for all types of literary activities.¹⁹³

This underlying principle of the pragmatic basis of literary activity was given its place in later discussions of the genre of theatre as well as the novel. In discussions by authors such as Namık Kemal, Mizancı Murat, Şemsettin Sami, Mehmet Rıfat, Ahmet Rıfat we see a general tendency to admire theatre pieces as the most efficient, the most useful and most joyful type of literary activity, which served for the benefit of the society. It was much more vivid than any other literary genre, which contributed to its favor among the Ottoman literati. The role of the translation activity could not be underestimated in the development and maturation of the theatre as a literary genre and in the performing arts within the Ottoman territories, which reached its zenith after 1870 as we mentioned above. At the end of this section, I aim to look at plays as an indication of a new entertainment habit among Ottomans which was matured since around 30 years.

¹⁹³ The bulk of what I mentioned may be found in different places. See for general reference, Akı pp. 127-128. The last remark is a quotation from the notes on the first page of the *Kurtlar Paskalyası* translated by Ali Rıza. "... bir tiyatro, yahut bir roman gerek bir suret-i facia ve yahut mudhikede olsun hep şu esasa mürtenittir: tashih-i ahlâk". This characteristic of the time span is underlined also by Xénia Celnarova, who mentions that the writers were on the side of the morals of Ottoman traditional culture, and what they wanted to do was to achieve a synthesis of the Western civilization with the values of Islamic world. Xénia Celnarova, "Einige Aspekte des intellektuellen Lebens in der spaeten Osmanischen Gesellschaft" in *Essays on Ottoman Civilization: Proceedings of the XIIth Congress of the Comité International d'Etudes Pré-Ottomans et Ottomanes, Praha 1996*, Praha: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Oriental Institute, 1998, pp. 77-83.

Gedikpaşa Tiyatrosu and *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu* were two buildings which occupied an undeniable place in the history of the Turkish theatre. We may deduce from the sources that in 1866/1282-83 Aradil and his partners have bought it. In the opening ceremony, they promised that “they will bring very prominent artists from Europe and will put an end to the troubles the residents of Istanbul faced during their trips to watch the plays in Pera.”¹⁹⁴ At the beginning of January 1867/1283-84, it was announced that a company would perform some pieces in Turkish on the 5th of January.

As for the *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu*, we observed there a very important name Güllü Agop who was the first person to bring Turkish plays into a regular sequence. After getting permission, he then focused on Turkish performances which continued, with some breaks, for five or six years. After being translated by Karabet Efendi *Cezar Brocya* was performed in this theatre during the holy month of Ramazan of 1280. An Asian company performed it. Another Turkish play called “*Efsâne-i Fuzûli berâ-yi Leyla ve Mecnun*” was performed and repeated ads for this play denoted that the audience liked it. In this season, other plays were also performed and the number of theatre advertisements in the newspapers rose which is an indicator of the rising interest of Ottomans in the performances.

In the subsequent year, the director, Güllü Agop, was much more ready for the theatre season. He gave information before the season started that on every evening except Saturday there would be a performance, 75 plays would be played during the whole season and for those who bought a full-season ticket, charges would be reduced by 30%. The 75 plays were made up of 12 comedies and 9 tragedies and dramas. To list in brief, the comedies were *Zor Nikah*, *Tosun Ağa*, *Edgar ile Beslemesi*, *Divanelerin Hekimi*,

¹⁹⁴ “İstanbul halkını eğlence için Beyoğlu’na gitmek zahmetinden kurtaracağını, Avrupa’dan müteaddit usta

Puncinella, *Zoraki Tabip*, *Don Gregoryo*, *Pursonyak*, *Kocaya Tuzak*, *Rişliyo'nun Sergüzeşti*, *Mürâi ve Laubali* whereas the tragedies were *Telemak*¹⁹⁵, *Feyzi Paşa*, *Sezar Borciya*, *Kumarbaz*, *Bekâr Feylescf*, *Ersas*, *Leyla ile Mecnun*, *Tahir ile Zühre*, *Sergüzeşt-i Perviz*.

During the following year, we see that almost the same list of plays, with some additions, was performed in the Theatre of the Ottomans. In the course of 1870-71 the list of the plays was very long; among these Turkish translations of pieces performed by the foreign theatre companies and the translations, adaptations or rewritten pieces of Molière's comedies were most numerous.¹⁹⁶

Edmondo de Amicis, who visited Istanbul in 1874/1290-91 and then wrote a book about Istanbul. He mentioned that, as he was going through the Grand Rue de Pera, he heard phrases such as 'I love you Adèle, more than my own life!'. He was surprised and after a short inspection he realized that the actors were rehearsing their plays.¹⁹⁷ In another place he remarked that the theater was one of the options for evening entertainment. They were to be found everywhere and lots of Italian comedies and actors were due in Pera. But the preference of the Turks was different. They preferred to go to the theaters in which the

oyuncular, rakkaseler getirmeceğini" Özön ve Dürder, *Türk Tiyatrosu Ansiklopedisi*, p. 187.

¹⁹⁵ *Telemak* was performed as opera and drama which also shows its favor among the Ottoman audience. After its translations by Yusuf Kâmil, and adaptation by Faik Efendi from the Translation Chamber, we face the Ottoman *Telemak* in a performing art form which is a very significant phenomenon for our sake in the following part. We can also identify the actress who played the role of *Telemak* in the opera. Her name was Yeranuhi Karakaşyan and one of the very famous actress in the *Tiyatro-yi Osmani*. She was playing every role, also the young boy roles in which she was as successful as she was playing a women role. See Özön and Dürder, p. 246.

¹⁹⁶ Information of the period may be gained from the Özön and Dürder, *Türk Tiyatrosu*, pp. 317-318 and also from the introductory part of *Ayyar Hamza*, 1968, pp., 14-15. The plays in the 1870-71 might be listed as following: *Don Gregoryo*, *Mpnsieur de Pourcaugnac*, *Kıskanç Kart*, *Rozamont*, *Tabib-i Mecâzip (Deliler Hekimi)*, *Leylâ ile Mecnun*, *Nikotemos'un Kızı*, *Gürûh-i Nisvân Nâküstür Her ân*, *Yarabbi Şükür Sofra Kuruldu*, *Hürmüş Bey*, *Sezar Borjiya*, *Richelieu'nün Sergüzeşti*, *Titizmeşrep ve Keremkâr*, *Bernard yahut Bohemya Haydutları*, *Tabib-i Aşk*, *Zor Nikahı*, *Devir (opera)*, *Demirci (opera)*, *Memiş Ağa*, *Feth-i Ceneviz*, *Telemak (opera)*, *Pol ve Virjini*..

naughty, shameless, made-up women were playing to the accompaniment of bar orchestras. One of those theatres was called Elhamra and situated in Pera.¹⁹⁸

The famous journalist and publisher of the reform era, Ahmet Midhat, also talked about the theatres: "I went to Pera. I went to the theatre which was called before Elhamra, then Varyete and lastly Eldorado. I will go this night also, because I liked that place very much."¹⁹⁹ Last but not least, Said N. Duhani mentioned that the Naum Theatre was one of the most important institutions hosting not only important foreign visitors such as the Prince of Wales, but also all of politicians, diplomats and members of high-society were regular visitors. Even Sultans such as Abdülmecid and Abdülaziz came there to see some operas.²⁰⁰

I would like to end this passage by listening to some voices of the composers of theatre plays by giving the introduction they wrote at the beginning of their pieces. The first one of two plays was called as *Tedbîrde kusur (Hâ'ile)* and published in 1290/1873 in Istanbul. It consisted of eight parts and an introduction, and was written by Şemsi.²⁰¹ In the introductory part, its author mentioned about his ideas on theatre, and tragedy. He mentioned that theater was a school for knowledge in the service of the morality and customs of people. Italy and France were the countries from which this school has been originated. Plays were worth to wake up the human beings, and to increase the

¹⁹⁷ Edmondo de Amicis, *İstanbul: 1874*, Çeviren: Beynun Akyavaş, Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1993, p. 61.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 137.

¹⁹⁹ Okay, *Ahmet Midhat*, p. 6.

²⁰⁰ Johann Strauss, "Konuşma", p. 356, f.n. 169, from Said N. Duhani, *Vieilles gens, vieilles demeures*, pp. 84-85.

²⁰¹ *Tedbîrde Kusur. Hâile*. (Sekiz fasıl bir mukaddimeyi hâvidir.) Müellifi Şemsi. Her hakkı müellifine 'âid olub tiyatroda oynanılması için dahi müellifine mürâca'at edilmelidir. Birinci def'a olarak Zârtaryan fabrikasında tab' olundu. İstanbul: 1290.

impressiveness of ideas. In the performances, things became tangible and therefore they are much more influential than books. Ultimately, it serves for the morality.²⁰²

This introduction is a clear indication of the role assigned to theater by the Ottomans. From the beginning on, it was accepted as having teleological and didactic purposes. Thus, the production of theater plays is nothing but an attempt to correct the moral situation of the audience, and to educate them with the help of relatively easy understandable medium of theater.

The second voice we want to listen to belonged to the translator of Victor Hugo. His famous play, *Anjelik*, was adapted as *Habibe yahud Semâhat-i Âşk* in 1291, one year after Semsî's play. In three parts, the translator mentioned that it was an application of *Anjelik* by Victor Hugo. Secondly, this play did not claim any historical truth and therefore cannot be accused due to the fallacies for the event it tells. He also expressed that even the Muslim could become oppressors and preferred the arbitrary government instead of just government. Lastly, he gave very short information about Hasan Sabbah.²⁰³

The third of our pieces belongs to Mahmud Ekrem, his *Vuslat*. This theatre was also published in the same year as *Habibe*. In this piece, Mahmud Ekrem mentioned about the critics literary people raised against the drama of *Atala of American Savages* (*Atala yahud Amerika Vahşîleri*) which he translated in last year. The critics were either on the subject or on the style of the expression and phrasing. From this play, lots of people talked about the need of a national theater due to the fact that the essence of it was taken from French. But Ekrem confessed that even he was also in a state of mind to compose a Turkish play, but

²⁰² Ibid., pp. 1-2.

unfortunately, he never had time and an appropriate situation of his mind. At one evening, he suddenly wanted to read a book. A part of the play has attracted him and stimulated him to compose a play in Ottoman Turkish. He worked five or six hours every day and finished his play in four days.²⁰⁴

d. Three Pioneer Texts, Three Figures, *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye*, *Tercüme-i Manzume* and *Tercüme-i Telemak*

Up to this point, I have aimed to give a clear picture about developments and trends especially after the turn of the eighteenth century, due to the fact that familiarity and encounter with the Western world began with the Tulip Era in terms of cultural and intellectual issues. The survey now reaches one of the turning-points in the cultural and intellectual history of Ottoman Empire, because conditions and atmosphere among high, well-educated people were mature enough to transfer some literary pieces other than technical, scientific, historical texts, translations of which had been made for a long time. Towards the end of the 1850s, in 1859/1275-76, Ottoman men of knowledge introduced three pieces from three different genres of the Western literature. Those three were *Manzume-i Tercüme*, *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* and *Tercüme-i Telemak*, respectively translations of parts of poems by different poets by Şinasi, of philosophical dialogues by Fénelon, Fontainelle and Voltaire by Münif Paşa, and of the ethical novel of *Télémaque* by Fénelon made by Yusuf Kamil Paşa.

²⁰³ *Habîbe yâhûd Semâhat-ı Âşk: Fâci'a*. Üç Fasil Dört Perde. İlk defa olarak Ma'ârif Nezâreti celîlesinin ruhsatıyla Hayâl matbaasında tab' olunmuştur. Her hakkı mazbutdur. Sene 1291, pp. 3-4.

²⁰⁴ *Vuslat yahûd Süreksiz Sevinç*, üç fasıl üç perde tiyatro oyunu. Mahmud Ekrem, kitab tab'ı hakkında nizamnâme hükmünce her hakkı müellifin olduğu gibi tiyatrodaki oynatılması dahi müellifin muvafakatına

The fact that those were books printed in the Ottoman Empire and belonged to the culture of printing books in the Ottoman Empire should be kept in mind. I think that some general information about Ottoman book publication might clarify the issue. Book production in Istanbul reached its highest point in the time of Abdülhamid II who was anxious to collect books for his palace-library. This period was like the height of the flood of book publication in the second half of the 19th century. We can see that books, newspapers and periodicals from every language of the Orient or Occident were publishing in Constantinople. The very long presence of twenty Armenian publishers, the ability of publishers to produce books in different alphabets such as Arabic, Greek, Armenian, Hebrew and Latin, the establishment of the *Takvimhâne-i Âmire* in 1831/1246-47 and then *Ceridehâne* to publish periodicals, the publication of course-books for the newly established schools, the introduction of lithography in 1846/1262 by Cayol were all particular elements contributing to the culture of book production among Ottomans in Constantinople.²⁰⁵ Turkish books published in the West, nevertheless, were not very popular among Turks due to their different Arabic typography. The printing activity became attractive even for the financial reasons during the last years of the rule of Sultan Abdülaziz. The need for textbooks for the new schools was a prominent factor. The building of printing houses was also promoted and subsidized by the state for private founders.

The establishment of the Engineering School (1792) and its press was an important step in the diffusion in the Ottoman Empire of ideas originating from France. Kemal

menûtdır. Maârif Nezâret-i Celîlesinin ruhsat-ı ‘aliyesiyle Beyoğlu’nda Haçupulu Çarşusunda ilk def’a olarak tab’ olunmuşdur. İstanbul: 1291. pp. 2-4.

²⁰⁵ Johann Strauss, “Zum Istanbul Buchwesen in der zweiten Haelfte des 19. Jahrhunderts” in *Osmanlı Araştırmaları*, 12 (1992) pp. 307-338, here pp. 308-311.

Beydilli studied the significance of this school in the modernization of the military in the Ottoman Empire. In the same study, he focused on the library of this school for the first time in Ottoman historiography in which he gives the list of the books present on the shelves or obtained through donation or through rotation from other public libraries in order to serve the coursebook needs of the students during their education. In these lists, the presence of either books in the original language, mostly French, or translated books, which were mostly published by the press of this school, indicates the particular place of French culture in technical affairs as the place towards which the Ottoman Empire turned as a point of reference.²⁰⁶ If we consider lists for the acquisition of books and other technical materials, we see that lots of books were French. It is possible to see English books, which was rare, on the shelves of the library of the Engineering School. The lists gave also information about the language of the books, whether it was a translation or not, and the source and target language were also mentioned. From these records, we are able to see that books in Arabic, English, French, Greek and Turkish that were related to the teaching of the school were kept on the library shelves. The majority consisted of French books and of translations from technical works. One of the most frequently mentioned bibliographical records was a translation of Vauban's books on the military arts, such as defence, soldiers-management, etc.²⁰⁷ This library consisted of technical and scientific works translated into Ottoman Turkish and French books written by Ottomans and published at the press of the Engineering School which were the initial signs of the constitution of a repertoire containing items of French culture and its equivalents in Ottoman 'interculture'. As a

²⁰⁶ Kemal Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne*, pp. 278-306.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 297-301.

matter of fact, the novels which existed especially after the mid-century were one of the most important constituent elements of that cultural repertoire.

The publication of novels in serial form in periodicals was also a factor in the creation of a reading public in the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish literary pieces seemed to be expensive and therefore the serials played an important role in the spread of the reading of novels, and other aesthetic texts. For instance, Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1912) formed a whole series of publications which came out as serials in the newspaper *Tercümân-ı Hakikat: Tercüman-ı Hakikat tefrikalarından mütehassıl kütüphane* [Library constituted of the serials in *Tercümân-ı Hakikat*.] The circulation of books from publisher to readers was carried out in different places. Persons, other than booksellers, were involved in the service of book supply. Apart from them, the distributors who sold every art of publications, i.e., newspapers, periodicals, books, were places to find the published books. Some of these such as *Tönbekici* Celil Ağa, or Hasan Ağa in Bahçekapu were very famous.²⁰⁸ The reading salons and bookshops appeared and competed against them. The library of the Ottoman Scientific Society, which also published the first encyclopedic journal of *Mecmuâ-i Fünûn*, served those people who wanted to read books, newspapers of different languages. In addition to this, the rooms of the library were used as classrooms for lectures given by the members of the society to the public.

In a special catalogue of 1893/1310-11, the books published between the years of 1876 and 1893 were listed. According to this catalogue, 2 929 Turkish, 415 Arabic, 55 Persian, 1 Indian, 1 Albanian with Arabic script, 738 Greek, 710 Armenian, 50 Armenian-

²⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 314-316. Strauss cites from Ahmed Rasim, "Bu iki müvezzi-i sâbit meşâhir-i asrın âsâr-ı matbuasını satarlardı. Bunlarda bulunmayan başka kitâbcılarda bulunmazdı." p. 316, f. n. 33, from Ahmed Râsim, *Muharrir, Şâir, Edib*, Istanbul: Kanaat Kütübhane ve Matbaası, 1342 (1924), pp. 54-55.

Turkish, 23 Karamanid, 51 French, 2 English, 1 Bulgarian, 1 Albanian in Greek script, 156 bilingual (lexicon etc.) and 17 books (poly-lingual) had been published.²⁰⁹ If we consider distributing these books into some categories, we find that 11% (558 books) of the total number go into the category of religion, divided into those for Muslims and those for non-Muslims. Only three percent was related to justice and regulation, whereas for the category of science and technology it rose to 30%. In this category we have six French books. Another category is books on linguistics. Approximately 20% of the books in the catalogue belonged to this category including the majority of the bi-lingual books. The rest belongs to literature, which amounts to 1873 books, the biggest category in that catalogue.

Another interesting catalogue for the same year was the one published for the auction sale of the library of the famous bibliophile and translator of Molière, Ahmed Vefik Paşa. The focus of this part will be on his library and its catalogue. Other dimensions of his life will be given in the part where he, as another translator of *Telemak*, will be drawn to our attention.

After his death in 1891 in his residence at Rumelihisarı, his inheritors got people to prepare a very detailed catalogue of his library in order to sell it. The catalogue was prepared in a bilingual format, French-Ottoman, and then distributed to relevant places. The fact that Ahmed Vefik had excellent skill in Western and Eastern languages – he knew 16 languages- and his enormous love of books provided him with the best private library of his

²⁰⁹ Johann Strauss, “Les livres et l’Imprimerie à Istanbul (1800-1908) in *Turquie Livres d’hier, livres d’aujourd’hui*. Textes réunis par Paul Dumont. Strasbourg-Istanbul: Les Editions ISIS, 1992, p. 7, f.n. 8. idem., “Istanbuler Buchwesen”, f. n. 98, The title of the catalogue: *Cülûs-i meyâmin me’nûs-ı Cenâb-ı Padişâhîden bin üç yüz sekiz sene-i mâliyesi Şubatı nihayetine kadar Encümen-i Teftiş tarafından ba’de’l-muayene verilen ruhsat üzerine tab’u neşr olunmuş olan âsâr-ı mütenevvianın ve müellif ve mütercimlerinin esâmisini mübeyyin cedvel-i mahsûsdur.*

age.²¹⁰ The number of the books amounted more than 6000 of which the largest part constituted books in foreign languages: 200 Arabic, 196 Persian, 74 Chagatai and 814 Turkish books were present in the catalogue.²¹¹ The major part was dedicated to French books of which there were more than 1645 entries. The number of English books exceeded 670, and more than 160 books were in Latin, Greek, Italian, Spanish, Russian or Polish. Interestingly, there were also some books in Indian, Chinese, Japanese, Indo-Chinese and Brunei. The English books that were translated from Arabic, Persian, Chagatai and Turkish were catalogued between the entry numbers of 1280 and 1328, whereas the translated Latin ones were between 1329 and 1357 followed by the Greek, Italian and German translations between 1358-1366.²¹²

A brief comparison of the number of the books collected by Ahmet Vefik Paşa shows us the significance of this catalogue for book culture among the Ottomans. For instance, even the number of books published in the Ottoman Empire over 17 years could not exceed the number of books collected by this one individual. I can also add the fact that in 1908, the number of books contained on the shelves of 40 official libraries was counted. According to this, the biggest library contained on its shelves not more than 1004 books and many of these were, in fact, manuscripts.²¹³ Also, among the educated Ottomans private libraries with lots of French books on their shelves were not a fault. Semseddin Sami (1850-1904) possessed a private library of approximately 20.000 volumes. Strauss

²¹⁰ A. Süheyl Ünver, "Ahmet Vefik Paşa Kütüphanesi'nin İç Resmî" in *Önasya* 39 (1968).

²¹¹ Orhan F. Köprülü, "Ahmed Vefik Paşa Kütüphanesinin Kataloğu Hakkında" in *Türk Yurdu*, yıl IX, number 100, pp. 306-310.

²¹² Süheyl Ünver, "Ahmed Vefik Paşa Kütüphanesi" in *Türkiye Kütüphaneciler Derneği Bülteni*, vol. 16 (1967) no 1, pp. 26-35, here pp. 32-33. Orhan Köprülü states that some books were of extraordinarily interest. In number 2894, *Histoire de la Guerre de Navarin* (Paris, 1856), and Emil Tarin's *Sultan Abdul Méjid* (Paris, 1857), among English books, *A Complete History of Turks* (London, 1620, 4 vols.) and J. Mitchell's *The History of the Maritime Wars of the Turks* (London, 1835). The author mentions that he never saw these entries in other catalogues.

also cites Ahmed Midhat and Osman Hamdi Bey (1842-1910) as commenting in their memoirs on the ease of obtaining books published in Paris.²¹⁴ In each of these three catalogues, we observe a certain number of French books that were either published in Western countries and then imported into the Ottoman Empire, or published in the Ottoman territories, written by Ottoman subjects, or by foreigners. Strauss argues that the increase in the publication of French books including official publications, legislative, language, historical and medical works happened in the second half of the 19th century. Purely literary works were rare. Nevertheless, many of them could not survive for long, except for a few, such as Mustafa Celâleddin's book *Les Turcs anciens et modernes* (1869).²¹⁵

Even though there are no statistics, it seems that there were lots of indications of the very widespread presence of literature in Western languages, especially in French.²¹⁶ Now, I would like to turn to a reflection of this statement and focus on the first translations from French into the Ottoman language in philosophy, poetry, and the novel.

e. Münif Efendi (1830-1910) and his *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye*

To take a look at the figures who were very active in the first philosophical and literary translations will give us a much better understanding of the motivations behind these translations. To begin with, let us look at Münif Paşa, who might be counted as the

²¹³ This information was contained in the article by Strauss, "Istanbuler Buchwesen", p. 314.

²¹⁴ Strauss, "Romanlar!..." pp. 140-141.

²¹⁵ Johann Strauss, "Le livre français d'Istanbul (1730-1908)" in *Revue des mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée n: 87-88: Livres et lectures dans le monde Ottoman*, Thème sous la responsabilité de Frédéric Hitzel. Aix-en-Provence: Edisud, pp. 277-301. Strauss stated that the publication of French books began with the first activity by Müteferrika in 1729 when Müteferrika published Jean-Baptiste Holdermann's *La Grammaire Turque* in his press, p. 279.

²¹⁶ Strauss, "Istanbuler Buchwesen", p. 313.

main actor of the introductory process of the ideas of Western world to the Ottoman Empire via *Cemiyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniye* (Ottoman Scientific Society) and its periodical *Mecmua-i Fünun* (Journal of Sciences). This society was a very influential one after the Academy of Sciences (*Encümen-i Dâniş*), having contrasting objectives with the academy. It tried to make Western science accessible to Ottomans either via translations, or by public lectures, and most concretely and visibly, via translations published in the journal of the society.²¹⁷ After the closure of the Academy (*Encümen-i Dâniş*), this society served as a new foundation in order to civilize Ottoman society.

Münif's life story makes him a representative of the members of an emerging new cadre. He came from an *ulema* family in Antep and received a traditional *medrese* education in his homeland, and furthered his education in Cairo and Damascus. In the latter city, he began to work as an official in the Empire. Then, he came to Istanbul and entered the Translation Chamber in 1852/1268, when he was 22 years old. There he learned French. In 1855/1271 he went to Berlin as the representative clerk in the Berlin embassy, where he also learned German and went on with his university education. After he returned to Istanbul, he began to work in the Translation Chamber again, while learning English. In 1860, he started to write for *Ceride-i Havâdis* and to edit its supplement *Ruznâme-i Ceride-i Havâdis*. He founded the Ottoman Scientific Society two years later in 1861.²¹⁸ After long years of service in the Ottoman bureaucracy in several posts and positions, he retired in

²¹⁷ See Bernard Lewis, "Djem'iyyet-i İlmiyye-i 'Othmaniyye", *EI²* vol. II, p. 532. Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, "Cem'iyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmaniyye", *DİA*, vol. VII, pp. 333-334. On the life of Münif Paşa, *TBEA*, vol. II, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 2001, pp. 576-577. Abdullah Uçman, "Münif Paşa", *YYOA*, vol. II, İstanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999, p. 330. Andrew Mango, "Münif Pasha", *EI²*, vol. VII, pp. 123-124. On the *Mecmua-i Fünun*, please look at Dündar Akünal, "İlk Türk Dergisi: Mecmua-i Fünun", *TCTA*, vol. 1, İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, pp. 117-118. Ragıp Özdem, *Tanzimat'tan Beri Yazı Dilimiz: Tanzimat'ın 100. Yıldönümü Münasebetiyle Neşredilen Kitaptan Alınmış Ayrı Baskı*, İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940, pp. 25-28.

1898 and died in 1910. His career fits very well into Findley's argument that the Translation Chamber was the unit which shaped the new official of the Empire.

Among others Münif Paşa made two significant contributions to the Ottoman Empire's cultural history. His translation of *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye* (Philosophical Dialogues) was the first piece with philosophical content translated from a Western language. It consists of ten dialogues, of which seven belong to Voltaire, two belong to Fénelon and one to Fontenelle. This was the first translation in the Ottoman territories which brought the philosophical thought of the Enlightenment to the attention of Ottoman men of letters.²¹⁹ His second important deed for the scientific and cultural history of Ottoman Empire was the establishment of the first scientific periodical, *Mecmua-i Fünûn*, and the Society based around it.

Scholars dealing with 19th century Ottoman Empire reforms emphasized this journal in terms of its function which was similar to that of the Encyclopedists in 18th century France. Coming together around Münif Paşa who sought to introduce Western scientific thought into Ottoman territories, members of the society began to write very interesting articles which mainly aimed to expand education through translated or original pieces according to the regulations of the society in the first issue.²²⁰ We notice that requirements for the membership had a very elite tendency which shows how decided the members of this society were at that time. Each member should know, apart from three Eastern languages, one of the Western languages, either English, French, German, Italian or Greek.

²¹⁸ Necdet Hayta, "Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye ve Mecmua-i Fünûn" in *Türk Kültürü* 36 (1998) no 428, pp. 728-742 (24-38), here p. 729 (25).

²¹⁹ İsmail Habib Sevük, *ibid.*, p., 57. See also Saliha Paker's "Turkish Tradition", p. 577. Paker also states general trends of translation activities in her article "Turkey", in *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle*

Each member had particular responsibilities for the society, such as translation, giving public lectures or writing articles for the journal.²²¹ This high requirement level for membership led to fruitful outcomes and articles in the journal which was published for two years continuously at the beginning and then, after some breaks, it reached 48 issues, a number which was very rare and unusual for the time period. Those were published in the form of serials and covered history, cosmography, geography, geology, economics, political economy, philosophy, and logic. Along with the emphasis on these new subjects, public lectures given in the center of the Society sought to civilize the people of the Empire and to increase their level of knowledge, which for the members of the Society was the primary prerequisite in order to achieve the same level as Western societies. The content of this journal was full of themes that were new for the Ottoman audience. Translations, made mostly by the members of Translation Chamber who were also members of the Society, may also be seen. Münif Paşa was the author who produced a great number of articles for the journal. Münif Paşa wrote on the History of the Greek Philosophers (*Tarih-i Hükemâ-i Yunan*) in 16 continuous issues of the journal in serial form.²²²

To come to the book, *Muhâverât-ı Hikemiye* (Philosophical Dialogues), we see that in the introductory part of the book Münif Paşa tries to give a definition of dialogue. Because it was a novel thing for the Ottoman reading public to receive such kind of collections of dialogue, he began with the definition of dialogue as a part of Western literature. Münif Paşa was aware of the fact that this style was originated in the Ancient

East, 1850-1970, ed. by Robin Ostle, London and New York: Routledge, 1991, pp. 17-32. See for the first literary translations during Tanzimat, pp. 18-25.

²²⁰ Tanpınar, *ibid.*, pp. 180-182.

²²¹ Akünal, *ibid.*, p. 117.

Greek. He explained that there are two great benefits of this style, in which the opposing ideas were discussed until the issue clearer and it makes the subject always enjoyable and desirable. It was also used in the study of science. Münif Paşa concluded his introduction by reasoning of his translation as the infame of this style within the Ottoman Empire.²²³

In this introductory part, we can detect a reflection of two basic ideas of Münif Paşa on scientific thought. The first one is the ability or necessity to criticize your own ideas on the scientific activity, whereas the second one is about the popularization of high science so that people could get in touch with innovations in the scientific domain. These two ideas were present throughout his life in the form of his lectures, and in his texts in periodicals and his translations.

The two dialogues of Fenelon were the first printed encounters of the Ottoman reading public with Fenelon which we will consider below in the part devoted to Fénelon. The translation of this work was in keeping with the general objectives of the regulation of Ottoman scientific society. This regulation emphasized the goals of the society including composing and translating books, giving public lectures and performing all other possible activities to spread science and education in the Ottoman state.

²²² Hayta, "Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmani"... , p. 740. The author gives all of the content with brief information on the authors. We can see many members of the Translation Chamber as the authors or translations *Mecmuâ-i Fünûn*.

f. İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) and *Tercüme-i Manzume*

The publication of *Muhaverât-ı Hikemiyye* was followed by Şinasi's translations of verses again from French poets under the rubric of *Tercüme-i Manzume* (Translation of Poems) in the same year. The content of these collected verses indicates the search for a new prose style in terms of the French classical poets and poems, and of the style of Western poetry. This book is composed of verses from Racine, Lafontaine, Gilbert, Lamartine and Fénelon. Verses from the first two among these represented the poetical theatre and dialogues, whereas the last three were much more relevant to the didactic and political style of poetry.²²⁴ Şinasi translated Fénelon's prose into poetry and also composed an additional four versed-poem. Nevertheless, Perin argues that the diffusion of French culture was prevented by very stable castle-like barriers. It could only penetrate through small holes.²²⁵ The fact that the next poem translation was made in 1870 also proved this statement. This second translation was the national hymne of the France, i.e., Marseillaise, by Ayetullah Bey. In the last months of the same year, Edhem Pertev Paşa translated Victor Hugo's *Tıfl-i Nâim* in *Hakayik-ul Vekayi*.²²⁶

Şinasi was one of the most influential and outstanding figures of the era. In addition to this first translation, his composition of the first theatre play *Şair Evlenmesi* [The Wedding of a Poet] made him famous as the founder of the modern Turkish literature.

²²³ *Muhâverât-ı Hikemiyye: Fransa hükemâsından Volter ve Fenelon ve Fontenel'in te'lifâtından*. Mütercimi: Münif Efendi, ez-hulefâ-yı Oda-i Tercüme-i Bâb-ı 'Âli. Dersa'âdette Ceridehâne Matbaasında Tab' Olunmuşdur. 1276, pp. 2-3.

²²⁴ M. Kayahan Özgül, "Dîvan Yolu'ndan Pera'ya Selâmetle...", in *Hece : Türk Şiiri Özel Sayısı* 53-55 (2001), p. 32.

²²⁵ Cevdet Perin, *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Franz Tesiri*, İstanbul: Pulhan Matbaası, 1946, pp. 72-73. The poetical Ottoman-French dictionary *Miftah-ı Lisan* was composed by Tahir Ömerzade Yusuf Halis in 1850. Persians composed lots of poetical dictionaries, this is a traditional act for Persian scholars. Mustafa Nihat Özön, "Batı Dillerinden Şiir Tercümeleri", in *Tercüme Dergisi*, c. 6 (1946) no. 34-36, p. 451.

²²⁶ Özön, *ibid.*, p. 452.

Paker argues that he deliberately tried to use a translation strategy in order to make translation “acceptable” to home culture by using Aruz verse translation. Secondly, he also cared for the “adequacy” in the content of his translation by caring for simple terminology and style.²²⁷

Apart from his conscious effect upon the formation of the “new Turkish literature”, he was also a very influential figure of that reform era. After primary school, he entered Tophane as an officer and learned Eastern sciences from İbrahim Efendi and the French language from a Muslim convert.²²⁸ He had some aspirations and as he heard that some of the students would be sent to France for their education, he looked for a patron and, through the mediation of his French teacher, Reşad, he met with Fethi Paşa, the field marshal of the artillery school, who became his patron when he was studying in Paris.²²⁹ Şinasi maintained contact with his patron through correspondence and his fine style influenced his patron and Reşid Paşa in Constantinople so much that they sent Şinasi a letter of congratulations.

Şinasi’s deep knowledge of Eastern languages enabled him to meet in Paris with the famous Orientalist Sacy, and he also joined the circle around Lamartine. Ebüzziya implies that through this he grasped via these confrontations every stylistic affinity of Western

²²⁷ Paker, “Turkey”, pp. 20-21. Paker used here one of the translation theories coined by Even-Zohar in 1970s under “polysystems” theory.

²²⁸ Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Nümûne-’i Edebiyât-ı ‘Osmâniyye*, Temsil-i Sâdis, Kostantiniyye: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1329, pp., 226-227. Ebuzziya Tevfik has used following definitions “...’ulûm-i şarkıyyede ne tahsil itdiyse andan itdi....ecnebi zabitalardan muahharan Müslüman olan Chateneuf Reşad beyden Fransızca okumağa başlar, ma’ârif-i garbiyyeden lezzet alır..”

²²⁹ Hamiyet Sezer reports in his paper that the first students sent to Europe were Hüseyin, Ahmet, Abdüllatif and Edhem Efendis. In the period between 1830 and 39, 36 students were sent for their education. They mostly went to Paris, London or Vienna. At the beginning military, then non-military students were also sent to Europe including non-Muslims. After they came back, they began to work in the state service as instructors in the Military schools, or working in the Translation Chamber etc. See Hamiyet Sezer, “Tanzimat Dönemi’nde Avrupa Şehirlerine Gönderilen Öğrenciler” in *Osmanlı Dünyasında Bilim ve Eğitimi Milletlerarası Kongresi Tebliğleri, İstanbul 12-15 Nisan 1999*. Derleyen Hidayet Yavuz Nuhoğlu. İstanbul: İslam Tarih, Sanat ve Kültür Araştırma Merkezi, 2001, pp. 687-711.

authors and poets, a fact which also made him very mature in future periods after he returned to Istanbul and began his journalistic activities.²³⁰

When he came back to Istanbul, Reşid Paşa, who had become the new patron of Şinasi in Istanbul, offered him several posts. He accepted membership of *Meclis-i Maarif* in 1855. Rather than the posts he occupied in the bureaucracy, his significance lies in his publishing activities and literary attempts. In 1861, he began to publish *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl* with Agâh Efendi and nine months later, he published *Tasvir-i Efkâr* by himself. The latter played an enormous role in the development of a new style of writing because lots of translations on literature, social and economic topics were serialized in its columns and thus, the literary public became aware of these new topics. For Şinasi, journalism was the way to establish a new style of writing in the form of simple prose and he seems to have been successful in this performance. As in the case of Münif Paşa's *Mecmua-i Fünûn*, at that time, journals and newspapers were the main channels between the public and intellectuals. Writers mostly used this channel in order to communicate with readers in a more efficient manner. Şinasi was among the reformers who used journalism most efficiently and, through this activity, passed on new concepts opening the route for later generations using journalism as the primary mover of the reform movements. The huge number of publications or periodicals consisting of expressions of the desire for a constitutionalist system may be interpreted as the emergence of a new place for articulating discourse, different than the former ways of articulation of discourse.

The last genre of literary transmission from French to Ottoman culture was the novel. We will consider here the first novel, *Télémaque*, or *Telemak* in Ottoman Turkish, in

²³⁰ Ibid., pp. 228-229.

detail due to its fame not only in France, but all over the world. It is so famous that there was a movement called Telemachomania in the 18th century in Europe which came to the Arabic world and Ottoman Empire later in the middle of the 19th century. I would like to begin with the emergence of novel, and Fénelon's novel, then go on to the Ottoman territories to understand how this novel was received in at least two important centers of the Islamic world, i.e., Istanbul and Cairo. I will explain the Ottomanized *Telemak* and its impact upon the constitution of a cultural repertoire as a consequence of the translation of many novels from Western literature.

g. The Emergence of the novel and Travels of *Télémaque* through Europe

I think taking a brief outlook to the emergence of the novel in Europe might broaden the scope while discussing the literature and novel as option-devising tools. Mario Klarer states that with the obliteration of a unified Weltanschauung in the early modern times, the epic declined and instead, the novel as a mouthpiece of relativism occupied the place of epic. The forerunner of the novel was the romance which orients the main plot of the narrative toward a particular goal.²³¹ What we see in romances different than in epics was that the characters are depicted in more detail in the former genre. Klarer mentions at this point the differences between romance and epic, and the emergence of the novel out of romances:

“The individualization of the protagonist, the deliberately perspectival point of view, and above all the linear plot structure, oriented toward a specific climax which no longer centers around national or cosmic problems, are among the crucial features that distinguish romance from epic poetry. Novel emerged in Spain during the 17th century

and in England during the 18th century, employs these elements in a very deliberate manner, although the early novels remain deeply rooted in the older genre of epic. They replaced the epic and thus became one of the most productive genres of modern literature. Realism and individualism, summarizing some of the basic innovations of this new medium. The modern novel distinguishes itself through grounding the plot in a distinct historical and geographical reality. Epic hero metamorphoses into the protagonist of the novel, with individual and realistic character traits. It mirrors the modern disregard for the collective spirit of the Middle Ages that heavily relied on allegory and symbolism. The rise of an educated middle class, the spread of printing press and a modified economic basis which allowed authors to pursue writing as an independent profession underlie these major shifts in 18th-century literary production.”²³²

Ian Watt, in his study of *The Rise of the Novel*, emphasizes how the realist novel has been emerged and what kind of relationships had this emergence with the contemporary social circumstances. It was linked to the idea of society, which was different than early Medieval times, and the harbinger of the emergence of this new society was realism as a distinctive characteristics of the 18th century novelists from the earlier prose fiction.²³³ The emergence of the novel was strongly linked to the emergence of this new kind of society.

The novelists discuss to what extent the realist novel reflect a sufficiently complex and comprehensive image of society. The mostly used model was that the novel is a mirror of the society, whereas the next generations deviated from this idea and preferred novel as a

²³¹ Mario Klarer, *An Introduction to Literary Studies*, London and New York: Routledge, 1999 [2002], p. 3.

²³² *Ibid.*, pp. 10-15.

²³³ Ian Watt, *The Rise of the Novel*, 2nd ed. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001, p. 10. *idem.*, “Realism and the novel form” in *Approaching Literature: The Realist Novel*, ed. by Dennis Walder. New York: The Open University, 1995, pp. 214-223.

fiction of fleeting sensations and impressions, a preference for psychological intensity rather than social comprehensiveness. The influential theories of Lukacs rested on a deep conviction upon the realist novel that can provide a vivid and immediate image of the totality of a society. Raymond William coined an interesting theory of the relationship between society and the novel in which he conceptualized the relationship as the novel in society, i.e., it is an active constituent of the society shaping ideas and values of that society.²³⁴

The realism of the novel that was attached by the many literary historians as the condition for the emergence of this genre led it to portray all the varieties of human experience. It also reflects the individualist and innovating reorientations in contrast to the past orientation of the epic. The main and primary criterion of the novel was truth to individual experience that is always unique and therefore new. Therefore, it is the literary vehicle of the culture, which was extremely in favor of the originality, of the novel.²³⁵ Now, I would like to further with *Télémaque* as one of the most popular novels in the 18th century in Europe, and the 19th century Ottoman territories.

In 1699, a book was published without the permission of its author, Fénelon. This was a book about the adventures of a prince and his wise tutor. The author called his prince *Télémaque* and his tutor *Mentor* and led them through various places of the ancient Greek world, showing the inconsistencies and irregularities of governments in those places to the young prince who would probably be king of France in the future. The whole title of this book was *Les Aventures de Télémaque suivies des Aventures d'Aristonous* (The Adventures of Telemachus followed by the Adventures of Aristonous). It was a continuation of the

²³⁴ Stephen Regan, "The Tradition of realist novel" in *Approaching....*, pp. 98-101.

fourth chapter of the well-known Greek legend *Odyssey*. At that time, Fénelon was not aware of the future implications of his book of advice. I mean that it became almost the first novel to introduce French literature to other parts of the world. These other parts were all of the rest of Europe, but from our point of view, at least Russia, Ottoman Empire, Egypt and Iran were of particular interest. *Télémaque* was either the first novel, as in the case of Russia, the Ottoman Empire and Egypt, or one of the first novels translated from a Western language, as in Iran.²³⁶ This indicates that there is something hidden in this book that attract people and led them to find this book worthy to be translated into their own languages at different periods of time. What are the features attracting most of the people to translate this book into their own languages? Were there any specifics that fit very well the conditions of each particular territory, or did the translator in each of these territories choose this book to translate before any other book published simultaneously with *Télémaque* in France just by random selection? Before going on with similar questions in this manner, let me introduce Fénelon and *Télémaque* further.

To begin with, the author was born in 1651 and died in 1715.²³⁷ His life was full of interesting events, but the most interesting and ground-breaking among these was that he was appointed as tutor to the nephew of Louis XIV. This was an important event in his life, because for the sake of educating this young man, he wrote his most famous novel *Télémaque* and then his fame spread all over the world. If we consider his life, we realize that Fénelon was educated religiously and became a wise priest. He also learned Latin and Greek and acknowledged the good features of both of these civilizations. Then, he became

²³⁵ Watt, "Realism and novel form", pp. 216-217.

²³⁶ Fénelon, *Telemakhos'un Başından Geçenler : I*, Tercüme Ziya İshan. İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Basımevi, 1946, p. II.

the head of a college for girls (*La Maison des nouvelles catholiques*) who had been converted from Protestantism to Catholicism. In this college, he composed his first book, *Traité de l'éducation des filles*, on the raising of girls in 1687, which became a very famous one at that time.²³⁸ He remained in this position longer than ten years. After that, in 1689, he was assigned to the tutorship of the duc de Bourgogne, who was the son of the dauphin.²³⁹ This assignment was important for him because his concern to educate this naughty and quick-tempered youth and to be successful in this duty led him to compose some of his important works among which the fables (*Les Fables*), the dialogues of the dead (*les Dialogues des Morts*) and *Télémaque* are to be found. The last book has a heuristic function and this feature is reflected also in other civilizations/territories, too. After Fénelon was relatively successful in the education of his pupil, he gained in reputation and received a place in the French Academy in 1693. In addition to this, he was appointed archbishop in Cambrai in 1695.²⁴⁰ Then, we can see that some undesirable things happened and in later life he was not so promoted among the ruling milieus. There were two reasons for his degradation. The first one is his quarrel with Bossuet who was also a very influential figure in the religious thought of 17th century France. The quarrel was on a spiritual issue, and with the help of a friend close to Pope in Rome, Bossuet won this quarrel and Fénelon confessed his fault in this debate. Fénelon took the side of the quietists, a newly developed order, and mainly argued that there is no need for a mediator between a believer and God. Since Bossuet is against this view, he argued the issue and made Fénelon

²³⁷ İsmail Habip Sevik, *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz, cilt 2: Garpten Tercümelere*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1941, pp.28-29.

²³⁸ C. H. Conrad Wright, *A History of French Literature*, New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1912, p. 403.

²³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 400. There is also a small chapter on Fénelon in İsmail Habip's book, which summarizes Fénelon's life and works in a very short and organized way.

lost and disgraced in the later period. Secondly, *Télémaque* caused him some unexpected costs. In 1699, some copies of this book were published without the permission of the author. Indeed, the book had been dedicated to the Duc of Bourgogne and it was written just for use during the education process of the young pupil. But the publication of this book made Louis XIV angry because it was assumed that the book contained satirical and critical parts about the rule of the king. Thus, Fénelon lost his credit with Louis XIV and he was sent into semi-exile in the last seventeen years of his life from 1697 to 1715. From this time on, the life became more difficult for him. He hope that his pupil would become king in the future and the problems and difficulties he confronted with would finish was not realized through the sudden death of his pupil in 1711. But the king's reaction against *Télémaque* made this work popular in England and Holland because those countries were the enemies of Louis XIV and they wanted to see these criticisms upheld against their enemies.

Télémaque was produced for the sake of educating the prince, the duc de Bourgogne. The aim was to show to him the steps and principles of becoming a good, wise and just ruler because this pupil was to be the future king. What does this novel tell first to the prince and then to all people, and why did it become so popular, first in France, then in Europe, and lastly in the territories of Ottoman Empire?

The story is a continuum of the fourth part of Odyssey, in which the young prince Télémaque began to look for his father, Odysseus, and traveled into different cities/states together with his teacher Mentor/Minerva to find his father. As the book contained pedagogic concerns, the subject of the book was chosen deliberately from Antiquity. Thus,

²⁴⁰ A. Chassang, "Notice sur Fénelon et le Télémaque", in Fenelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque suivies des*

Fénelon could reach two aims together. Firstly, he gave advice to his student via the content he narrated; secondly he taught the themes of Antiquity while narrating the story. The political culture should correspond with the literary one, and therefore the young prince should be aware of the subjects, authors, books, all of which constituted the fundamentals of knowledge about the Classical Greek culture. The main idea was to give a moral lesson to his pupil, who would become the future king of France, on the ideal rule and government in each phase of the journey. This is a general feature of the genre *Bildungsroman*, which literally means “educational novel” and was written for the sake of educating.²⁴¹

This book consists of 18 different parts, or books, and it may also be seen as an example of the adventure novels of Late Antiquity. The themes were similar to the themes in novels of Late Antiquity such as wars, travels, ship disasters and love affairs. At the beginning of the book, he met with *Calypso* on her island due to the fact that a disaster took place as they were at sea and their ships were destroyed. The waves threw them out of the sea on to the island of *Calypso*. After they had introduced themselves to *Calypso*, she asked for an account of the experiences they had survived and *Télémaque* started to tell her the events occurring from the beginning of their journey up to that time. He told her of his search and experiences in Egypt (second book), in Phoenicia (third book), in Cyprus (fourth book), and in Crete (fifth book). His Mentor did not leave him and also gave advice for each particular occasion they found themselves in. While he was telling the story, *Calypso*

Aventures d'Aristonous, Nouvelle Edition, Paris: Libraire Hachette, 1899, p. VII.

²⁴¹ “François de Salignac de la mothe Fénelon” in *Kindlers Neues Literatur-Lexikon*, hrsg. von Walter Jens, Bd. 5, München: Kinder Verlag, 1989, p. 468. According to Voltaire, it is not only a poetical novel, but also a moral novel, *roman moral*, an educational novel. It also touches on politics and religion. And in this case, these three objects are inseparable from each other. The art of ruling is important and it cannot be fulfilled without taking care of these three issues. For more details on Fénelon and *Télémaque* see the book, Paul Janet, *Fénelon*, Paris, Librairie Hachette, 1903, 206 p. For the information on *Télémaque*, look at the particular chapter on this novel, and for specific information about the expression of Voltaire, see p. 128.

fell in love with him. Simultaneously, he fell in love with one of the nymphs of Calypso and when Mentor recognized the situation, he suddenly asked for permission to leave the island on another journey while reminding him of the duties and responsibilities which were waiting for him in his homeland.

They left the island and reached the land of Idomeneus where they were welcomed. Télémaque interfered here with the political affairs as in Egypt and Crete. Mentor counseled Idomeneus also about good rules and necessary reforms in the land (Tenth book). In this part, Télémaque participated in a war against the Dauniers and his first wartime achievement took place in this land. A journey to the lower regions to find his father remained unsuccessful (fourteenth book). After some other wars in the following books, he felt in love with Antiope, the daughter of Idomeneus, who would be his future wife (seventeenth book). After his return to Ithaca, he ultimately found his father there.²⁴² Considering the fact that this novel was written for pedagogical purposes, it is possible to interpret the book as the education process taking place between Fénelon and the duc de Bourgogne. We can easily compare the duc to Télémaque, and Mentor to Fénelon. At the time when this novel was published, this comparison was noted and by extension, a contrast was deduced between the happy lands our hero visited and France itself. This led to the further disgrace of Fénelon and made him a completely isolated figure in the intellectual milieu at the end.

Télémaque was received with great excitement both in France and in Europe. After its publication without the authorization of Fénelon, it was published several times in French and in other languages. I want to summarize this issue, citing the German reception

of the book and the components of this kind of reception. First of all, its speaking about better government, being a mirror for princes, and showing ways to prevent the wars in the form of novel was extremely favored by the readers of this novel. The style was educative, which originated probably from the characteristic of Fénelon as a brilliant teacher. He had a regard for the expression and style tendencies of his time and made a very easily readable composition on a subject with figures from Antiquity, speaking in dialogues. This style should be taken into consideration to understand the fame and reputation of this political-philosophical novel. Secondly, the emphasis is on a sensitive explanation of issues relating to the soul and mind. The third factor was the significance of the emphasis on progressive ideas that contributed to the favor of the book in the first instance.²⁴³ Even though the author was an archbishop and a religiously well-educated person, the ideas hidden between the lines of the novel were progressive for the period: the expectancy in politics of freedom, the desire that the prince should think of the welfare of the population, and the wish to limit absolute power are some indications of the imminent shift in opinions. The aim of the novel to show the future prince the good and bad sides of different forms of states gave Fénelon the opportunity to criticize the bad ruler, which for him are monarchs, or absolutist rulers, so that he could build up an *Idealtyp* of ruler for the prince: pious, loyal, peace-preferring, thrifty, the protector of poor and disabled people.²⁴⁴

German was one of the languages into which this novel was translated many times after its publication in the original language. A. Bohse translated it in 1700 in Breslau just

²⁴² C. H. Conrad Wright, *A History of French Literature*, New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1912, pp. 404-405.

²⁴³ *Kindlers Neues Literaturlexikon*, p. 468.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 469. For the concept of *Idealtyp*, see Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft: Grundriss der verstehenden Soziologie*, fünfte, revidierte Auflage, besorgt von Johannes Winckelmann. Tübingen: Mohr, 1980, pp. 3-4.

one year after its publication in French. A second translation was made in 1727 and another one in 1733. Just a century after those translations, in 1827, a new translation was published in Aachen.²⁴⁵ In addition to the German versions, Trediakovsky translated it into Russian which is an indicator of the fame of the book throughout Europe.²⁴⁶ This also signifies what kind of impacts the French culture had upon other cultures in the 18th century. French culture was the dominant culture in the 18th century establishing the foundations of modernity in the epoch of Enlightenment. The interpretations of this time focused on the fact that French civilization reached its peak in the period of Enlightenment, and were most influential in that epoch over other European nations, societies and civilizations.²⁴⁷

h. *Télémaque* in Ottoman Territories

Sa'y kıl öğren Fransızca o da lâzım bize

*Boş oturma vaktin oldukça dahi roman oku*²⁴⁸

There were some parallels between the reform process of Egypt and Ottoman Empire. The military and administrative reforms undertaken in the Ottoman Empire during

²⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 469. The list was taken from the *Literaturlerikon* which gives somehow a list of the works of Fénelon and translations of his work into German language.

²⁴⁶ Hilmi Ziya Ülken, *Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü*, İstanbul: Vakıf Matbaası, 1935, p. 336.

²⁴⁷ Robert Bell Michel and Robert Foster Bradley (eds.), *French Literature before 1800*, New York: F. S. Crofts, 1942. "The book, *Télémaque*, owed its tremendous success not to its literary value, which is unquestionable, but to its veiled allusions to contemporary political conditions. Fénelon, writing for the instruction of the heir to throne, insinuates into his novel certain ideals of government dear to him, based upon the "great and holy maxim that kings exist for the good of their subject and not subjects for the sake of the kings... Fénelon was highly intelligent and up to a certain point original, and some of his liberal ideas, especially on political questions, anticipate those of the 18th century, so much so that a sort of legend became attached to his name, making of this essentially 17th century-prelate an ancestor of the Philosophes, whose audacities he certainly would have repudiated." pp. 267-268.

²⁴⁸ İbnülhamdi Tıff, *Reyeân*, quoted by M. Kayahan Özgül, "Romanın Hikâyesi" in *Hece...*, p. 15.

the eighteenth century broadened their scope and Egyptian people felt the need for reform also. However, the expedition of Bonaparte in 1798 reinforced this need not only by his having a technologically advanced army, but also by the fact that the missionaries and technicians came together with the army that aroused a certain desire for technology and novelties in Egypt.²⁴⁹ The students sent to Europe transferred new ideas into their homelands. Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, who became a very influential personality in the whole reform movements in the reign of Mehmed Ali (1769-1849) and Mehmed Ali's son, after return to Egypt, were sent to Paris with their friends in order to learn French and to be educated according to the new types of education in Europe. Mehmed Ali was the mover of this process in pinpointing the technological needs for his army. In order to enhance the conditions of his army, he reprinted twenty of the technical translations made in Turkey after 1780. In addition to this translating activity, he employed in his service one Christian translator, Father Zakhur Rahib from Syria, who had previously worked in France.²⁵⁰ Apart from the translation of lessons and lectures by foreign teachers, Mehmed Ali also asked for translations of the texts used by the students he already sent abroad. In 1835, he founded a school of languages (*Dâru 'l-elsân*), which provided for the education of students in foreign languages.

Tahtawi was appointed as the chair of this school; he was also responsible for the education policy of Egypt under the rule of Mehmed Ali. He, with his colleagues, translated lots of works from European languages into Arabic, but Mehmed Ali asked them to translate these also into the Ottoman language, which was the official language of the government.

²⁴⁹ Pierre Cachia, "The Arab world", in *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East*, ed. By Robin Ostle,

Translations into Ottoman Turkish were either from the original or from Arabic translations. Arabic and Ottoman translations were the bulk of the books that were printed in the famous *Bulaq* Press. Tahtawi even translated *Télémaque* into Arabic under the rubric of *Mawâqî al-Aflâk fi waqâi Tilmâk*, which was the first novel translated from a Western language into Arabic in the Ottoman Turkish constellation.²⁵¹ He translated it in Sudan in 1851-52/1267-68 and the novel was published in 1867/1283 in Beirut. He was exiled to Sudan with the post of headmastership in a primary school there. It might be that Tahtawi made this translation in order to overcome his boredom and to diminish his yearning since he lived in a very silent and small place for a long time.²⁵²

Rather than through the prompting of state or foreign missionaries, individuals targeting a new readership began either to translate or to adopt literary texts from Western languages. Apart from Zakhur Rahib's translation of *Fables* from La Fontaine in France

London and Newyork: Routledge, 1991, pp., 33-44.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

²⁵¹ For the general translation and printing activities in Egypt in 19th century, see Johann Strauss, "Turkish Translations from Mehmed Ali's Egypt: A Pioneering Effort and its Results" in *Translations: (Re) shaping of Literature and Culture*, ed. by Saliha Paker. İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002, pp. 108-147. J. Heyworth-Dunne, "Printing and Translation under Muhammed 'Ali of Egypt: the Foundation of Modern Arabic", in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1940), pp. 325-349. Richard N. Verdery, "The Publications of the Bulaq Press under Muhammed 'Ali of Egypt", in *Journal of American Oriental Society* 91 (1971), pp. 129-132. For literary translations see Pierre Cachia, "the Arab world", pp. 36-37. For a very brief look at the development of the novel genre in Arabic literature, see Ahmet Kâzım Ürün, "Modern Arap Romanına Panoramik Bakış", *İslâmî Edebiyat* 38 (2003) pp. 130-133. Ürün states that the transfer of the Western world into their countries by these students was a turning point for the Arab world. The translations they published constituted the basis for the modern Arabic novel.

²⁵² This comment took place in the German translation of Tahtawi's memoirs on his Paris life *Taklis al-ibriz fi talkis al-Bâriz* or *al-Diwan al-Nâfis bi-îvân Bârîs* composed in 1834. Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, *Ein Muslim entdeckt Europa: die Reise eines Agypters im 19. Jahrhundert nach Paris*, hrsg. [aus dem Arabischen übersetzt und kommentiert] von Karl Stowasser. Leipzig & Weimar: Gustav Kiepenheuer, 1988, p. 321. This book was translated into Ottoman Turkish in 1839 due to Mehmed Ali's lack of Arabic knowledge in Bulaq press. Berkes stated that this was very influential among the men of knowledge and men of government in İstanbul and was mostly read by them. It was known as *Seyahatnâme* or *Rufa'â Bey Risâlesi*, and, with this book, the Ottoman reading public received the idea of a constitution according to Berkes who also found Tahtawi's observations on European civilizations more careful and of more quality than that of Ottoman observers. Niyazi Berkes, *Türkiye'de Çağdaşlaşma*, pp. 209, fn. 23. Sasson Somekh gives the date of Tahtawi's translation as starting in 1850 and ending in 1851. *Genre and Language in Modern Arabic Literature*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991, p. 23 and 76. This book is a compilation of the author's numerous

and an anonymous translation of *Robinson Crusoe* in Malta, Tahtawi's attempt was the most serious one. These preliminary attempts matured after a very short period and around seventy novels from French were translated between 1870 and 1914.²⁵³ Moliere's plays were also adopted at this time. The interesting point in the role of literary translation in Middle Eastern societies is that this seems to be more precise in similarities at the translation strategies and text choices. A short consideration of the early translation performance in Iran shows very similar patterns and initially even the same texts were translated. Even so, in Iran the flow began a little bit later and the bulk consisted of Alexandre Dumas pere, Lesage's *Gil Blas*, *Télémaque*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Gulliver's Travels*.²⁵⁴

Tahtawi's translation was a full translation of the original text in contrast to Ottoman versions. It was published in 1867 in Beirut and consisted in total of 792 pages in print format with 20 lines to each page. It has a 29-page-long introduction, a poem and a foreword in order to introduce the subject to Arabs by giving information on Greek history in general and on the war in Troy in particular. As Somekh argued in detail, Tahtawi deliberately attempted to be loyal to the norms of classical Arabic writing which caused him lots of problems in his translation. As instance, he transformed dialogues from the original text either to indirect or free speech in his translation. Also he peppered his text with rhyme and parallelism that was not present in the original text. Despite adding such

articles on modern Arabic literature published in journals as *Poetics Today*, *Journal of Arabic Literature*, *Edebiyât* and *Princeton Near East Papers*.

²⁵³ Pierre Cachia, *ibid.*, p. 37.

²⁵⁴ Julie Meisami, "Iran", *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East*, pp. 45-62. For the period under consideration, see pp. 46-48. This kind of equivalence reminds me of the reasons these men of letters chose the same texts. I wonder whether there was a well-textured network between those, which influenced authors from those separate territories interactively.

things to his translation, he confessed in the introduction he wrote ten years after his finish that in its style his translation was not sufficiently “Arabic”.²⁵⁵

At one place in the introduction to his translation, Tahtawi mentioned that this book was never translated into either Arabic or Turkish (*luğat-it-Türkiyye*) but he had heard that the very intelligent Kamil Paşa was translating this novel into Turkish by conforming to the parts of the original piece. This sentence underlines the fact that Tahtawi was aware of the publications in the Ottoman Empire and he already got information about the Turkish translation of *Télémaque* by Yusuf Kamil Paşa (1808-1876).²⁵⁶

Tahtawi’s awareness of Turkish translation of *Télémaque* is not a surprising case, because this translation was not only the first novel to be translated into the Ottoman Turkish from a Western language, particularly from French, but unusually, it also gained such fame that it was published several times in a very short period. Even the manuscript version of the first Ottoman-Turkish translation of *Télémaque* was read in literary circles before it was printed and this fame and the way it was received led us to notice the book and its reception in the Ottoman Empire and to make a survey of the impact of this book among Ottoman literary circles. Our second concern will be the different versions of this text in the form of translations by different writers, imitations, or re-writing.

At this point, it seems to me very convenient to give some place to the characteristic of the novel in the beginning period which might be very useful to understand the context for the development of this particular genre. The long-term existence of story-telling in

²⁵⁵ Somekh, *ibid.*, p. 23. Tahtawi means that the translated texts did not conform to the rules of medieval Arabic writing.

²⁵⁶ Fénelon, *Mawâqî al-Aflâk fî waqâi Tilmâk*, Tarjamahu min el-Franseviyyeti el-‘Allâmetü’l-fâzil ve’l-edîb ül-Bâri’ Rifâ’a Bek Bedevî Râfî’i [at-Tahtawi], Bairut: Matba’atü’s-Suriye, 1867, p. 6. The following lines

forms of Mesnevi might be seen to provide a basis for the development of the novel. These early Masnawi formed stories were transformed into prose so that they became eligible to be told people. These were also published on the 19th century, which shows us a transformation from stories to be heard into stories to be read. This kind of story is called “bookish, prose, realistic, Istanbul folk stories” that served as *Unterhaltungsroman* for people. The existence of some stories (*Sergüzeşt-i Kalyopi* by T. Abdi, *Letâif-i Kemâli* by İbrahim Kemâli, *Gülzâr-ı Hayâl* by Yusuf Neyyir) published in 1870s and 80s without any identification of the writer whether as translator or as author fits into this category. The pragmatics of the first novels, either in translation or in the original, may be seen very clearly as ‘embracing lots of advice and lessons about moral practices’.²⁵⁷ This feature is the aspect of novel which links it closer to romance in the West, and to the old tradition of Mesnevî in the Ottoman Empire. The choice of novels to be translated was influenced by this fact very clearly. Either functionally as in *Tercüme-i Telemak*, *Sefiller...*, or thematically as in *Monte Kristo*, *Greziella* early translated novels reminded readers about wisdom. The traditional feature of story-telling, drawing a moral from a story, continued under the surface during the formation period of the novel as a particular ‘genre’.²⁵⁸ The authors mostly felt to be the guardians of a civilization and tried to articulate the novel for heuristic reasons as was seen in a later period by Ahmet Midhat and Namık Kemal (1840-

mention that Tahtawi was the minister in the translation office and one of the members of the education committee in Egypt. See the cover-page of the referred books.

²⁵⁷ This is my translation of ‘*Ahlâka dair pek çok iber ü nesâyihî şâmil*’ which was at the beginning of Yusuf Kâmil’s translation of *Telemak*. Kayahan Özgül, “Romanın Hikâyesi”, p. 13.

²⁵⁸ This feature influenced not only the choices of the translated novels, but it continues for the original pieces. In the special issue of *Hece Dergisi*, there were some articles considering the themes about the Turkish novel. See beside Özgül’s article, Ahmet Cüneyt İssı, “Türk Edebiyatının Romanla Tanışması”, pp. 16-20; Nurullah Çetin, “Tanzimat Dönemi’nde Türk Romanı (1860-1878)”, pp. 21-33; idem., “II. Abdülhamid Dönemi Türk Romanı”, pp. 34-52; Yunus Balcı, “Türk Romanında Aydın Sorunu”, pp. 281-293; Şahmurat Arık, “Cumhuriyet Öncesi Türk Romanında Değerler Çatışması”, pp 294-302.

1888). For them, the novel should aim to educate people, give social and moral lessons, and increase the knowledge of the readers.²⁵⁹

In her study on the Turkish novel during the *Tanzimat* period, Jale Parla argues that the main motive behind the composition of novels was to be able to carry their messages on the concepts of “human nature”, “human morality”, “features of the society” to the population. It means that it had some teleological and ethical reasons, and rather than aesthetic concerns, a social concern was present in their endeavors.²⁶⁰

Yusuf Kâmil Paşa was the man of letters who carried out this performance and translated initially a novel very famous in the world, an example of the *genre*, into Ottoman Turkish in 1859/1275-6.

Traces of the recognition of this novel among the Ottoman men of knowledge might be found much earlier. The first resident Ottoman ambassador, Moralı es-Seyyit Ali Efendi (1757-1809), went to Paris in 1792 at the end of the 18th century. According to some secondary sources, he translated *Télémaque* there in order to improve his skill in the French language.²⁶¹ But neither sufficient proof of this statement nor some bits and pieces of this

²⁵⁹ This feature was shared by the former Turkish novel composed in Armenian script *Akabi Hikâyesi*. It had the same objectives as stated by these authors, Vartan Paşa also saw the genre as an instrument to transmit some message to public. See Laurent Mignon, “Tanzimat Dönemi Romanına Bir Önsöz: Vartan Paşa’nın *Akabi Hikâyesi*”, *Hece*, pp. 538-543.

²⁶⁰ Jale Parla, *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri*, 3. Baskı. İstanbul: İletişim Yay., 2002, p. 52.

²⁶¹ Maurice Herbetette composed a book on the time of the ambassadorship of Moralı Es-Seyyit Ali Efendi in France relying on the French sources in 1902. In two places among numerous pages of his work, Herbetette states the novel *Télémaque* and its significance for the first residential ambassador of the Ottoman Empire. In the first statement, before Moralı went to France for his duty, he made several conversations with French representatives in Constantinople and got some information about the diplomatic tradition of France and type of manners to be conducted there. Aubert du Bayet was the ambassador of the French Empire in Constantinople at that times and he had given the first advices how to act and behave in France as he went there. See, Maurice Herbetette, *Fransa’da İlk Daimî Türk Elçisi: “Moralı Esseyit Ali Efendi” [1797-1802]*, Çev. Erol Üyepazarıcı. İstanbul: Pera Yayın, 1997. According to Bayet, he was very hard-working and translated the novel *Télémaque* into Turkish, pp. 10-11. In the second reference, the author tells that in a big

initial translation have been found up to now and therefore this argument has remained an unsolved mystery of Ottoman literary history.²⁶²

I would like to give a quotation from Davison underlining the epoch of the translation of this novel. I think it is important because, in a very short phrase, Davison summarized how through this text of Fénelon with other texts some ideas novel to Ottoman territories transmitted:

“Concurrently with the movements toward a purer vocabulary, a simpler style, better spelling, and a broader range of subjects came a growing stream of translations from Western languages, principally from the French. Now, to the translations of textbooks and scientific works were added an increasing number of histories, novels, poems and plays. What a vogue some of the translated works might have is shown by the history of Fénelon’s *Télémaque*. This was among the French novels best known to Levantine society in Pera. (Ubcini, *Turquie actuelle*, 456) Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, one of the outstanding statesmen of the Empire, translated it into Turkish in 1859-the first novel put into Turkish. After three years of circulating from hand to hand, it was published twice, the second time in 1863, Şinasi Efendi’s *Tasvir-i Efkâr* press, during the period when Yusuf Kâmil was grand Vezir. This rendition was into Turkish of the old bombastic style. (*Augsburger Allgemeine Zeitung*, 6 July 1876 Beilage.) *Télémaque* seems to have had a considerable popularity translation. Münif Paşa praised it in an

library, in which lots of manuscripts and Arabic books took place, Ali Efendi interested on the manuscripts rather than *Télémaque* which was shown to him due to his translation in progress, pp. 48-49. Also another reference might be faced in Ahmed Refik’s *Tarihi Similar: Paris’de Osmanlı Sefirleri*, Kütübhane-i Askeri, 1331, p. 63, where Ahmed Refik states that translation is the starting point for the acquisition of French by Ali Efendi.

²⁶² Cemal Demircioğlu cites in his article on translation discourses among Ottomans towards the end of the nineteenth century, the work of Hasan Kavruk who also informs us about the Morali’s translation of *Télémaque*. See Cemal Demircioğlu, “19. Yüzyıl Sonu Türk Edebiyatında Tercüme Kavramı”, in *Türklük Bilgisi Araştırmaları [TUBA]: Kafdağı’nın Ötesine Varmak, Günay Kut Armağanı*, 27-II (2003), pp., 13-31.

early number of his *Mecmua-i Fünun*. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, immensely irritated at Yusuf Kâmil's ornate prose, later out *Télémaque* into a simpler Turkish. Ziya Paşa also translated it.²⁶³

As Davison argued very correctly, the appropriation of the occidental literature and novel in particular took place in a significant manner. This significance might also be followed in the variations of the texts produced after the reception of *Télémaque* among Ottomans. Those texts also had as a point of reference this famous novel. For instance, Ziya Paşa's (1829-1880) translation has not been found anywhere up to now; we only know the existence of his translation from secondary sources, unfortunately. For example, Ebüzziya Tevfik (1849-1913) mentioned it in his famous *Nümûne-i Edebiyât-ı Osmâniyye*.²⁶⁴ I guess that Ziya Paşa, like Moralı, might have translated this book in order to increase his language skill in French and therefore it was not circulated after translation. Interestingly, we can find the parallel motivation of using translation as the main way to learn a foreign language not only among Ottomans, but the famous Rumanian author,

For the citation, consider fn., 2 in p. 13 in which Hasan Kavruk's *Eski Türk Edebiyatında Mensûr Hikâyeler*, İstanbul: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1998 was referred to.

²⁶³ Roderic H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman Empire, 1856-1876*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963, pp. 181-182. Alessio Bombaci held the first translation as a free translation, in the fleur of Oriental prose. Alessio Bombaci, *Histoire de la Littérature Turque*, tr. par. I. Melikoff, pref. De Louis Bazin, Paris : Libraire C. Lincksieck, 1968, p. 351.

²⁶⁴ “..Yedi buçuk seneye karib olan hidmet-i kitâbetinde müellifât-ı garbiyyeden pek çok şey mütalaa itmiş ve bir hayli eser tercüme eylemiştir. Fakat o zamanlar heves-i neşriyat heniz doğmamış olduğundan bu eserleri meydana koymak nasib olmamıştır. Hatta Molyer'in Tartufi ve sâlifü'z-zikr Veyardo'nun Engizisyon tarihi bile o zamân-ı işigâlin semeratından iken vefatına kadar kimsenin eline geçmemiştir. Beyin bir de Telemak tercümesiyle La Fonten'in kussalarını nazmen tercümesi vardır ki ikisinin de ne olduğu hangi kıymet bilmezsin veya hangi bahîl-i bî mürüvvetin yed-i ketmanında muhtebes bulunduğu ma'lûm olamamıştır.” Ebüzziya Tevfik, *Nümûne-i Edebiyât-ı 'Osmâniyye: Dokuzuncu Asr-ı Hicriden zamanımıza kadar en meşhur edibbamızın asârını câmi'* ve her biri hakkında mülâhâzât-ı edebiyeyi şâmilidir, Kostantiniyye: Matbaa'-i Ebuzziya, 1329, Temsil-i Sâdis, p. 261. See also, İhsan Sungu, “Ziya Paşa'nın Emile” Tercümesi”, *Tercüme* vol.1, (1940) 1, p. 64.

Panait Istrati, also translated the same novel into Rumanian language for some minutes or hours every day.²⁶⁵

In the catalogue of Seyfettin Özege we can find several editions of this translation:

Tercüme-i Telemak. Fénelon'dan Yusuf Kâmil Paşa [Yusuf Kâmil Paşa from Fénelon]. Istanbul: Tabhâne-i Âmire. 1279 (1862), 2+276 p.

2. Baskı [Edition]: Istanbul: Tasvir-i Efkâr. 1279 (1863) 16 + 318 p.

3. Baskı [Edition]: Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire. 1283 (1867) 16 + 318 p.

4. Baskı [Edition]: Istanbul: Tasvir-i Efkâr. 1286 (1869).

5. Baskı [Edition]: Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanayi 1287 (1870) 276 p.

3. Baskı [Edition]: Istanbul: Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matbaası. 1294 (1877) 16+318 p.²⁶⁶

Another book in the same catalogue is the translation by the governor of Bursa, Ahmet Vefik Paşa:

Telemak Tercümesi. Ahmet Vefik Paşa. Bursa: Matbaa-i Hüdâvendigâr, 1297 (1880) 179 p.

3. Baskı [Edition]. Istanbul: Civelekyan, 1302 (1885) 181 + 2 p.²⁶⁷

This variety and number of reprints of the translation proved that the novel attracted Ottoman readers so much that it was published many times after the first publication. This

²⁶⁵ Panait Istrati, *Nerrantsula : Sokak Kızı*, Fransızca'dan Çeviren: Faruk Ersöz, İstanbul: Cumhuriyet Kitapları, 2001, pp 20-21.

²⁶⁶ This record is under number of 20 687 in M. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski Harflerle Basılmış Türkçe Eserler Kataloğu: R-T*, vol. 4, [n.p.], 1977.

was a rare case for the Ottoman history of reading if we compare it with other times and also to other books published in the same era.

I have been able to find some ads talking about the translation and various re-printings of this novel. The ads are in the newspaper of *Tasvir-i Efkâr* which was founded by Şinasi. The second edition of this book was printed by the press of his periodical, *Tasvir-i Efkâr Matbaası*. These advertisements mention either the reprints of Yusuf Kâmil Paşa's translation, or the price and sale-place for it, or the reduced prices of it. Last but not least, we can see the advertisement of the fourth edition of this translation in 1869.²⁶⁸

Yusuf Kâmil was a statesman who was involved in literary issues along the lines of state affairs. He was born in Arapkir in 1808. His involvement in official issues led the state to send him as an official to Egypt where he gained the trust of the Egyptian Khedive. The Egyptian governor married him to his daughter, Zeynep Hanım. Yusuf Kâmil was very influential in government issues and served the Ottoman Empire for a long time in the highest offices. His trustworthy character led him always to have a good reputation among the governing strata of the Ottoman Empire at that time and therefore in times of crisis he obtained very risky duties few others could fulfill with the same efficiency. Mardin talks of him as a continuous member of the conversation hall in the Ottoman Empire which began with the influx of the Western ideas.²⁶⁹ He accepted the post of Prime Ministry in 1863. He took several times very important posts which he had dealt with the most effective solution.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., number 20 335.

²⁶⁸ The ads were seen in the following order, respectively. *TE*, n. 68, p. 1, 2nd of Ramazan 1279 / 21-II-1863, *Hayta*, p. 230; *TE*, n. 70, p. 4, 8th of Ramazan 1279 / 27-II-1863, *Hayta*, p. 230; *TE*, n. 169, pp. 3-4, 1st of Ramazan 1280 / 9-II-1864, *Hayta*, p. 232; *TE*, n. 740, p. 4, 7th of Cemaziyelahir 1286 / 14-IX- 1869, *Hayta*, p. 249. See appendices for the English and Ottoman-Turkish texts.

²⁶⁹ Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought*, p. 233.

He translated in 1859 *Télémaque* as *Tercüme-i Telemak* published for many times in Ottoman Empire.²⁷⁰

İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal has compiled a biographical entry from the notes and manuscripts of Yusuf Kâmil. Accordingly, he was educated in religious and natural sciences and was a wise man. His skill in French language was fair enough to translate *Telemak* which circulated among the masters of composition.²⁷¹

Telemak's advent into Ottoman territories is not limited only to the above-mentioned phrases, references and citations. Lots of surprising and wonderful things took place with *Telemak* and the atmosphere it produced among the Ottomans. Other than these two versions of translations, the continuation of the adventures of *Télémaque* in the original text were the adventures of Aristonous which was not translated by either Yusuf Kâmil or Ahmet Vefik. Thus, a later translator Fâik Reşad (1851-1914) filled in this gap and translated it under the rubric *Hikâye-i Aristonous* in 1302. Reşad stated in his introduction that this book was also by the author of the famous story of Telemak, Fénelon. This translation pictures the practical wisdom and virtues of morality in a summarized form. There is not any strange event in this book. Also, it is very useful to extract moral benefits from the reading of this story. It has particular motivations and goals.²⁷²

Aristonous did not have any further translations, but parts implying wisdom, ethical behaviour and types of government in Yusuf Kamil Paşa's *Tercüme-i Telemak* were published in *Mecmua-i Fünûn* as serials whose title was *Mevâdd-i Hikemiye-i Telemak*

²⁷⁰ Süleyman Beyoğlu, "Kamil Paşa, Yusuf" in *DİA* vol. 26, pp. 283-284.

²⁷¹ İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, *Eser-i Kâmil*, pp. 22-23.

²⁷² *Hikâye-i Aristonous*. Müellifi: Fénelon. Mütercimi Reşad. İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1302, pp. 2-3. In *Risâle-i mütenevvi'a* number 4, volume 8.

(moral articles from *Télémaque*). This activity lasted for 5 issues in 1279/1862, the same year as the publication of the translated book. Münif Paşa wrote an introduction to the publication of the parts pertaining to the ethical-philosophical side of the novel. In that text, Münif Efendi explained why they had made such a selection from the text of the novel. It is not difficult to notice traces of the general agenda of Münif Paşa and his surrounding during their publication of this journal from this introductory text. He argues that books without any benefit for the illumination of human being were useless and therefore the discussion of such books were loss of time. Elites who sought for truth in the same activity were looking for traces of wisdom in the reading. For Münif Paşa, Telemak was a rare book of politeness and perfection. Therefore, the inspiratory parts of him were separated and published in *Mecmuâ-i Fünûn*. He sought from this that facilitating of reading and memorizing this book may increase the number of its readers.²⁷³

In 1889, a similar publication was carried out later by the famous publisher Ebuzziya under the title of *Cümel-i Hikemiye-i Telemak* in which he collected together the political-didactical parts of *Telemak* which were admired by the Ottoman reading public to such a degree that after three years this book was reprinted. The political-didactic parts of the former and latter collections had very slight differences which we may disregard or define as two collections of the didactical parts which had the same motivation to teach people those parts in simpler ways.²⁷⁴

²⁷³ Münif Efendi, "Mevadd-i Hikemiye-i Telemak" in *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*, 1. sene (1279) no. 4, p. 161. The serials were published in the issues of this scientific periodical, 4th issue, pp. 161-171, 5th issue pp. 197-205, 7th issue pp. 285-289, 10th issue pp. 413-418, and 12th issue pp. 488-495.

²⁷⁴ Ebuzziya Tevfik, *Cümel-i Hikemiye-i Telemak*, İstanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1307, 64 p. The second print was in 1310 in the same publication house.

The later reprints of this novel indicate the degree of its popularity among Ottomans, but in 1860's we meet with two imitations and adaptations which took *Telemak* as the point of reference for their publication. The first one is a book called *Sergüzeşt-i Sâib Nihâd-ı Hindî* published in November 1865, whereas the second one is a manuscript composed by Sarıyerli Hoca Sâdık Efendi and called *Tanzîr-i Telemak* written in 1869.

M. Kayahan Özgül has done a very detailed study on the reception of *Télémaque* among Ottoman literary class after its first translation by Yusuf Kâmil. Apart from the parts we mentioned above, the author explores the pieces in which readers could meet the hero Telemachus or novel *Télémaque*. In the periodical of *Dolab*, there was a portrait of Telemachus drawn by Berberyan.²⁷⁵ Özgül thinks that the novel translation of *İntak* by Hüseyin Avni Bey from Greek was an adaptation of Telemak. This piece was not published and to be found in manuscript form. Another interesting of his article was that he gives a list of the places where parts from *Tercüme-i Telemak* of Yusuf Kâmil Paşa and parts from Fénelon were referred to or given in the body of texts.²⁷⁶

The son of Namık Kemal, Ali Ekrem, read with his French teacher Bogos Pabuççıyan *Télémaque* until his father came a day and asked them to give up this book and began with Thiers' book of *Histoire de la revolution Française*. Also, Recaizâde used

²⁷⁵ Metin Kayahan Özgül, "Yusuf Kamil Paşa'nın Tercüme-i Telemak'ı" in *Erdem* vol. 14 (January 2002) no. 40, pp. 193-241, here p. 195, f. n. 4.

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 202, f. n. 22 and 23. In these two notes, the author stated 14 pieces which were taken either by Telemak or Fénelon. The interesting point here was that they were mostly belonging to the period after 1300/1883-84 which might be considered as the period needed for the establishment of a "repertoire of *Telemak*" among Ottoman literati.

Fénelon in order to criticize descriptions that were not fit to the reality. He asked there whether his style was originated from Fénelon's will or not.²⁷⁷

Özgül found out some interesting points in his study. He claimed that this translation was a witness for those who wanted to penetrate of the Western mentality into the Ottoman Empire. This acceptance of this work had some important consequences. First of all, some concepts as democracy, the capability of the Sultan, the skillfulness of the governors emerged for the discussion among the literati. The widespread familiarity of this book made the ideas of the Western philosophers also accessible for ordinary people. Thirdly, a certain interest against the Ancient Greek civilization appeared due to the subject of Fénelon and thus, many works about this subject were published. This trend projected its heritage on the "Neo-Hellenism" after many years.²⁷⁸

If we look to two imitations I mentioned above we can explore some interesting points in terms of the reception of this novel among Ottomans. The first piece was entitled as *Sergüzeşt-i Sâib Nihâd-ı Hindî* which was an adaptation of *Telemak* into the Indian sub-continent. Its composition was much older and heavier than from Yusuf Kâmil's piece.²⁷⁹ This book was composed according to the *Sebk-i Hindî* tradition in the Ottoman literature, in which the names of the heros were altered and domesticated and lots of Persian and Arabic phrases were intrinsic in this story. The adventure took place in India, the characters were adopted into Indian types in which Télémaque became Sâib-nihâd, Mentor Dâniş-şinas, Odysseus Zafer-küşâ and Calypso Sünbül-tıraz. In the lithography print of this book,

²⁷⁷ "Tesâvîr-i kalemiye içinde bu kadar ulvî manzaraya tesâdüf ittiğimi tahattur edemiyorum. Kullandığın kalem (Fénelon)un hâk-i idrâkînde mi tenebbüt etmiş?" Ibid., p. 205, f.n. 37, quotation from Abdülhak Hâmid, *Mektublar*, vol. 1, pp. 151-153.

we can see the glossary of the Arabic and Persian phrases at the edge of the page with the Ottoman Turkish meanings.²⁸⁰

Another interesting point of this book was at the beginning, the author has written a one page text for the punctuation marks he added to the text. He described which one mean of them means what and therefore the table he presented us was interesting. The marks had different functions as question, surprize, eulogy, sadness, reprimand, exclamation, comma, and points. This feature is also an indication of the new development within the Ottoman literature because in the traditional style, there was not any marks. The author mentioned about the special taste in every phrases if they may be read in the right manner. But, the marks which are auxiliaries for the better pronounciation were not printed due to the authors and publishers who found it inconvenient. But Faik, as imitating the world, tried to put the marks in the appropriate places.²⁸¹

If we turn on the page and begin with the first page of this adaptation, we first come across with the praising of the Prophet and the of the Caliph, Sultan Abdülaziz. Among the lines, he wrote some verses in Persian and at the edge the author always gave the translation of the verses. He gave a one and half page length place for the explanations of his translation/adaptation of this book. He began to this part with a poet which talked about the telling of a secret in language. And in coherence with this statement, which was the

²⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 220, Özgül states Konstandios' *Hey'et-i Sabıka-i Kostantiniyye* (1277, 1289), A. Konstantinidi's *Târih-i Yunanistan-ı Kadîm* (1286), Şemseddin Sami's *Esâtir* (1296), Ahmed Rasim's *Eski Romalılar* (1304) and Nâbizâde's *Esâtir* (1309) as works produced out of this interest.

²⁷⁹ For the advertisement about this book in *Tasvir-i Efkar* refer to p. 78 above.

²⁸⁰ Faik, *Sergüzeşt-i Sâib Nihâd-ı Hindî*, [cild-i evvel, (hızl. Mustafa Reşid Efendi), Erzurum Receb 1282, Dördüncü Ordu-yı Hümâyun Litaografya Tezgâhı, 212 p.]. At the beginning of the glossary we can find following Ottoman Turkish phrase instead of title: "*metn-i kitabda lügât-i gayri meşhûre-i Arabiyye ve Fârisiyyenin ğadem-i isti'mâli iltizâm kılınmış ise de, hasebü'z-zurur lügât-i mevrûde menâfi'-i 'umûmiyyeyi şâmil bulunmak ve yalnız kırâati öğrenen çocuklar dahi faide-mend olması için kenâr-ı sahâife iki sütün ve tertible sütün-ı evvel lügât-i 'arabiyye ve farisiyye ve sânisî zebân-ı türki üzere me'ânîsidir.*" P. 1.

most interesting part the author talked about his translation/adaptation process. He mentioned that he learned the book during his education as a beneficial and advantageous book. This is the reason for his translation and by adding some verses and issues the rewriter has adorned it.²⁸²

As to come to the second imitation *Tanzir-i Telemak*, a manuscript written by a member of a Naqshbandi-Khalidi order, Sarıyerli Hoca Sadık Efendi between 1286 / 1869 and 1288 / 1871 while he was in Acre in exile, we can see that this manuscript had only two copies in manuscript libraries of Istanbul.²⁸³ He knew except Arabic and Persian also French and Greek languages. This manuscript seems to be an imitation to *Telemak* but the content of it seems to be on the opposite side due to the religious characteristic of its author, Sarıyerli Hoca Sadık Efendi. It was based on the idea that the religion, especially Islam and Islamic scholars would escape the humanity from the bad conditions.

He mentioned about the contemporary situation of the Ottoman Empire as it did not have any traces of the old Ottomanness but became one of the independent states among European states. The oppression, hypocrisy, fornication, usurpation was increased enormously since forty years. It was too hard to find any reliable person in the art of

²⁸¹ The presentation page of Fâik's book. See appendix for the text.

²⁸² Ibid., pp. 5-6.

²⁸³ These two copies were studied by Mehmet Kaplan. He firstly found out the incomplete version among the manuscripts in the library of Istanbul University. He published an article about this manuscript "Tanzir-i Telemak" in *İstanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, vol. 3 (1948) no. 1-2, pp. 1-20. Several years later, his professor Ali Nihat Tarlan showed him the complete version he had in his library. Kaplan has updated his old article according to this complete version and published in the compilation of his articles: "Tanzir-i Telemak" in *Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Araştırmalar 1*, 5. Baskı. İstanbul: Dergâh Yayınları, [1979], 1999, pp 275-286. At the cover page we find the following information about the author of this manuscript: "Eser-i Mehmed Sâdık : Merhûm-ı müşârûn ileyh hazretleri işbu kitâbı bin iki yüz seksen altı senesi menfâsı olan olan (Akkâ) Kal'asında te'lif edip ba'dehu İstanbul'da bin iki yüz seksen dokuz senesi Martınun sekizinci pencişenbe günü seher vakti irtihâl-i dâr-ı beka etmişdir (Radiyallâhu anha) Bed'-i te'lif seksen altı itmâm-ı te'lif seksen sekizdir."

theology. Nobody remembered fearing from God, and the group called as intellectuals were not those who classified but those who distorted meanings.²⁸⁴

The style of this manuscript in the dialogue form between two heros, Bûm and Ukab, resembled to the old stories and book of wisdom as *Hümâyün-nâme*, *Mantiku't-Tayr* etc. Ukab was a peasant whereas Bûm was a religious philosopher. This manuscript was a very interesting one in order to understand the situation of the religious people and *ulema* against the Ottoman reforms during the *Tanzimat* period. I would like to mention the introductory page of this manuscript in which Sadık Efendi explains the reason for his compilation of this book. In that part, he argued that this book was a treaty of the survey of the characteristics of rise and fall of the religious nations. However, the outward image of the didactic book *Telemak* was to describe the political affairs and moral situations of the governments. The usage of the exact proofs of the human intellect would prove and transform it into the desire for the high virtue. The auspicious natural power will be saved the humanity from the bad desires of the self and that book shows the way to maintain in the happy situation.²⁸⁵ This manuscript was a hard critic of the reforms and Westernized manners in the Ottoman Empire and the fact that Hoca Sâdık Efendi was sent to exile due to his criticism in his sermons about the oppression. He was also assumed to be one of the Young Ottomans even though his clear stance against the reform movements.²⁸⁶ He also proposed an ideal Islamic Republic in which he mentioned that there would be no difference between the rulers and ruled in this ideal situation. The governors should be the

²⁸⁴ These parts were excerpts from manuscript transcribed by Mehmed Kaplan in his previous article in in 1948, pp. 17-18.

²⁸⁵ Mehmed Sâdık Efendi, *Tanzir-i Telemak*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ali Nihat Tarlan no. 96, II.

²⁸⁶ Özgül, "Yusuf Kâmil Paşa'nın...", pp. 232-237. For the information on Hoca Sâdık Efendi, f.n. 74, 77. Şerif Mardin mentions also on Sâdık Efendi in his *Genesis*, pp. 130, 222, 224-225.

conveyers of the religion and also were like the samples in the religious deeds and performance.²⁸⁷

At this point, I would like to shift to Ahmet Vefik Paşa's *Telemak Tercümesi* which was published in 1879 in Bursa. Vefik Paşa claimed the complex, adorned and full of alliterated style of the former translation. Reform-minded authors of the next generation did not favor this style. This translation was reprinted three times within 6 years which was another indicator of the fame of this novel among Ottomans. In comparison to the former translation, this was also widely read and the interesting thing was that the first two prints were carried out in Bursa. As we discussed book culture in the Ottoman Empire, we devoted some place to the private library of Ahmet Vefik Paşa due to its uniqueness. He was a bibliophil and in his library he had five reprints in French published between 1662-1829 and one English translation published in 1800 in London.²⁸⁸ In foreword, Vefik Paşa explained the favor the genre story received in Europe. According to him, apart from 500 and 600 new works, every year 1500 pieces were reprinted. They led their readers to the ideological improvement because of the information they contained about the morality, customs, far away and unknown places, new innovations and therefore the children mostly read those types of stories and novels. The book of *Telemak* contained the information for the improvements and performance in political science and the influential advices on the adornment of the ethics and therefore it was one of the well-known samples of this type of stories. Its correct translation would be carried out word-for-word, in a very clear and

²⁸⁷ Kaplan, "Tanzir-i Telemak" 1948, p. 7, "Millet ile ricâl-i hükümet beyninde fark kalmayıp ancak hükümet ricalinin hırkalarında yama ve delik daha ziyade olup hânelerinde havâyic-i zahîre birkaç adedden nakıs olacaktır ve daha ziyade sade kıyafet bulunacaktır. Zira hükümet ricâl-i milletin hem mübelliğ-i dinleri ve hem amel ve icrada nümûne-i âyinleri olmağla ..." p. 7, from varak 43 A-B in manuscript.

decorated manner in the way the taste of its diction would be understood and then would be printed. For those who could read and understand it would learn a new type of composition and understood the richness of Turkish language. Then, Ahmet Vefik mentioned the translations of some novels into Ottoman language, which added new tastes onto it. These novels he mentioned were *Gil Blas* by Le Sage, *Candide* by Voltaire, *Paul et Virginie* by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *Heloise* by Rousseau, *Corinne* by Madame de Stael, *Mauprat* by George Sand, *Robinson* by Daniel Defoe, *Tom Jones* by Fielding, *Tritram Shandy* by Sterne, *Gulliver* by Swift, *Roderich Random* by Smollet, *Guy Mannering* by Walter Scott, *Le Dernier des Mohichans* by Cooper, *Werther* by Goethe, *Don Kişot* by Cervantes and *Decameron* by Boccaccio.²⁸⁹ We can interpret this statement as his value attachment to the translation activities from the Western world as a new kind of entertainment for readers. He did the same thing during his translation and adaptation activities from Moliere that the Ottoman public should get in touch with Moliere and with theatre. The same agenda as enriching the taste of Ottoman language and therefore of Ottoman society might be seen as present in his foreword. The bulk of this novel is also a good point for the repertoire present at that time which has affected Vefik Paşa' and others' composition style as to keep a new way as defined by Vefik Paşa himself.

The first translation was also received and accepted by Ottoman men of letters as containing wisdom for the experts. But on the surface, it was a story. Yusuf Kamil described it as a book from the foreign moral books containing parts of wisdom.²⁹⁰ Şinasi defined it as outwardly a love-story but in reality it was a law of wisdom that wanted to

²⁸⁸ Fevziye Abdullah Tansel, "Ahmed Vefik Paşa'nın Eserleri" in *Belleten* vol. 28 (1964) no. 110, pp. 249-283, here p. 280, f. n. 46, the entry numbers in catalogue of his library was 2261-65 for French versions, and 3451 for the English version.

²⁸⁹ Ahmet Vefik, *Telemak Tercümesi*, Bursa: Hüdâvendigâr Matbaası, 1297, p. 3.

make people happy with just government. The impact and the reception of the ideas containing in *Télémaque* took place in various ways. I tried to make a projection of this world-wide famous literary piece, either philosophical or completely literary, in order to see what kind of place it covered among the general movements of translation and among the new themes and works that will end up in the constitution of a new repertoire.

All of these citations give us some clues as to the means and degree of the appropriation of occidental literature in the Ottoman Empire, especially of the genre of the novel. If we focus on the other early novel translations and the way translators considered their activity, we can observe some interesting points. I would like to give some place to the early translations of novels after the first translation by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa and to draw our attention to the forewords of these novels in order to realize what kind of a cultural repertoire emerged as a result of the first translations and how the translators presented their activities for the reading public in the forewords they wrote for their translations.

i. First Examples of Novel Translation

The variety in the form of the reception of novels, either as original pieces, or translated or adapted versions did not make the process slower or faster. For instance, during the Abdülhamid II era, a systematic translation of novels was carried out by Theodor Kasap which had an undeniable impact upon the transmission process of Western literature into the Ottoman Empire.²⁹¹ Another interesting element in the history of translation of events seems to be the advanced position of the minority press in the translation of novels.

²⁹⁰ *Kitâb-ı hikmet-nisâb kütüb-i ahlâkıyye-i ecnebiyye...* 2nd edition of *Tercüme-i Telemak*.

The Bulgarian periodical *Tsarigradskii Vestnik* published by an Armenian, Thadeos Divitjiyan, began in 1859/1275-6 with excerpts from novels like *Robinson Crusoe* and *Paul et Virginie*, which became very popular among the Ottoman reading public.²⁹² The creation of a series or collections by some publishers contributed also to the expansion of the novel and its addressees. Hoca Tahsin and Mahmut Nedim published the primary series for children, *Kütübhâne-i etfâl*, in 1870s. Mahmut Nedim was the translator of *Gulliver's Travels* into Ottoman from French under the title of *Guliver nam müellifin (!) seyahatnâmesi* in 1872/1289-90.²⁹³ Up to the end of the 19th century, one is likely to see catalogues of libraries and publishers that had two categories: the first one is translations and the second one is original texts. For instance, in Kasbar's catalogue of 1893, only four of the 38 books were original, the rest consisted of translations. The majority were translations stemmed from the fact that some translators, such as Ahmet İhsan or Ahmed Midhat put their impressive energy into this activity. Ahmed İhsan translated 22 pieces from French in 5 years, 1886-1891. Ahmed Midhat obeyed the order of Şakir Paşa which became the *leitmotiv* of his future career: "Compose and translate!"²⁹⁴

For the frequency and awareness in Ottoman society of French novels, we can quote here the conversation between the figures in the novel of *Akabi Hikâyesi* by Vartan Paşa which was the first novel written in Ottoman Turkish in Armenian letters:

- which novel do you read now?
- *Atala*.

²⁹¹ Strauss, "Romanlar", pp. 126-127.

²⁹² Ibid., p. 132.

²⁹³ Ibid., p. 135, f.n. 37. See also for the development of the genre novel in the Turkish speaking territories, Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçe'de Roman*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1936. Özön devoted a full chapter to the early translations in which he compared the original and translation, also in the case that it was re-translated as with *Telemak*, he undertook the comparison between these two versions also.

- This is a book that I, too, like very much and the story is very good.
- That's it. I am very happy and content that I have read it.
- You feel compassion for the hero.²⁹⁵

20 years after this conversation, one Ottoman author claimed that many books published in the Ottoman Empire were translations. This claim was stated in the introductory part of the *Sergüzeşt-i Kalyopi* composed in fascicules in 1873/1289-90 by T. Abdi which was completed in 11 weeks. This was a written version of the stories to be read in public. But in the introductory part, the author states that majority of the books with topics of wisdom were translations, which made him regretful on the issue. These foreign stories could not receive the favor they deserved due to their alien character to the society. To overcome this barrier T. Abdi has written the traditional story of Kalyopi, which was known by Ottoman for a long time, but never composed before in the text format.²⁹⁶

Stemming from these two statements, I would like to focus on the first translated novels in Ottoman Turkish. After *Tercüme-i Telemak* by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa, an unknown translator translated Victor Hugo's famous novel *Les Misérables* under the rubric of *Mağdurin Hikâyesi* into Ottoman Turkish in 1862/1279 in serialized form in the newspaper *Ruznâme-i Cerîde-i Havâdis*. One of the researchers on the issue found out that the translator of this work was Münif Paşa.²⁹⁷ Şemseddin Sami translated the same novel in 1880/1297 as *Sefiller*. The famous historian, Ahmed Lütfi Efendi (1817-1907), translated

²⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 143-144, 151.

²⁹⁵ This dialogue occurred between two friends, Hagop Aga and Agapi, who are the main characters of the first Turkish novel in Armenian scripture *Akabi Hikayesi* composed by Vartan Paşa in 1851. It is important as it seems to be one of the first reference in literature for the reception of a French novel by the Ottoman reading public. See Strauss, "Romanlar, Ah! O Romanlar!", p. 125.

²⁹⁶ T. Abdi, *Sergüzeşt-i Kalyopi*, İstanbul, 1290, pp. 2-4. For the content of this novel, see Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçe'de Roman*, 2. Baskı. Yayına Hazırlayan: Alpay Kabacalı. İstanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985, pp. 100-102. Özön describes the story as one of the stories transmitted among people orally.

²⁹⁷ Dündar Akünel, "İlk 'Sefiller' Çevirisi Üzerine" in *Milliyet Sanat Dergisi*, yeni dizi no. 8, 1980.

from the Arabic *Robinson Crusoe* by Daniel Defoe as *Tercüme-i Robenson* in 1864/1280-81 which was re-published several times. Translators other than Lütfi Efendi carried out the same activity for Robinson Crusoe in later periods. Şemseddin Sami also translated this book for the second time in 1884/1301-02 when he called it *Robinson. Atala* by Chateaubriand was translated by Recâizâde (1847-1914) in 1869/1285-86 as serials in the periodical, *Hadâyıku'l-Vekâyi*, and published it in 1872/1288-89 as a book. Another novel, *Paul et Virginie* by Bernardin de Saint-Pierre was translated by Sıddık in 1870/1286-87 as a serial in the first children's periodical *Mümeyyiz*, before which the work of the Italian author Silvio Pellico, *Mes Prisons* was translated in *Terakki* in 1869 by Reçâizâde. In 1871, in the first satirical periodical of the Ottoman Empire, *Diyojen*, a serial translation of Voltaire's *Mikromega* appeared. The novel *The Count of Monte Cristo* by Alexandre Dumas pere was translated by Teodor Kasap (1835-1905) firstly in *Diyojen*, between 1872 and 1873 and then as fascicules of a book. Mahmut Nedim (1818-1883) translated *Gulliver's Travels* into Ottoman Turkish in 1872, whereas a translator called Kadri translated at the same year the novel of Lesage into Ottoman Turkish as *Topal Şeytan*.²⁹⁸

At this point, I would like to begin with the forewords of some of these novels which enable us to deduce the reason and the motivation behind the choice of the translator for that particular text. Additionally, some of these forewords enable us to find answers for the questions of what were the strategies and how well the translated novel was received by

²⁹⁸ Cevdet Kudret, *Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman I : Tanzimat'tan Meşrutiyete Kadar (1859-1910)*, 5. Baskı, İstanbul: İnkılâp Kitabevi, 1987, pp. 12-15. For the comparison of the different translated versions of the novels with the original text, see Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçe'de Roman Hakkında Bir Deneme*, İstanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, [t.y.], pp. 145-186. Meropi Anastassiadou studied the inheritance records at the end of the 19th century Thessalonica. We can read from the records that Kudret Bey (d. 1901) possessed *Monte Kristo*, but the language of this book was not identifiable from the record. Meropi Anastassiadou, "Livres et "bibliothèques dans les inventaires après décès de Salonique au XIXe siècle" in *Revue des Mondes Musulmans et de la Méditerranée Série Histoire : Livres et lecture dans le monde ottoman* 87-88, pp. 111-141, here p. 131.

the reading public of the Empire. For instance, Lütfi Efendi expressed himself in his foreword to the translation of *Robinson* with the lines of the author's verses in which he mentioned that the composition activity was a demand for the service to humanity, but for the men of reason, such specific things were not necessary, hence they could extract lessons from everything. Then, he continued that the lack of the translation of this novel in Turkish language was a strange thing and in order to overcome this strange situation and to serve the Ottoman people, he, a chronicler, translated this story into the beautiful Ottoman language in forms of the spoken language. He also mentioned that this translation activity was not free of benefit for the domestic culture.²⁹⁹

Şemseddin Sami who translated this novel 20 years later than Ahmed Lütfi Efendi expressed himself in his foreword to *Robinson* in the following manner. I would also like to draw our attention to the phrase after the title on the cover page of this later translation: Translated from French word-for-word. (*Harfiyen tercüme olunmuştur.*)

He was firstly speaking of his translation methodology that took the source text as reference and tried to conform to the original text. Although there were some critics for this method as corrupting the native language, Şemseddin Sami argued the opposite. He claimed that this kind of translation would only improve our native language. The interesting point Sami referred to focused on differences between the European languages and Ottoman. The first one was related to utterance, the second one to the issue of meaning. He argued that the first one could be overcome by translational strategies as making the sentences conforming to the Turkish grammar. For the style of expression, he suggested

²⁹⁹ *Tercüme-i Robenson*, Vak'anüvis sa'âdetlü Lütfi Efendi Hazretlerinin eser-i hâmesidir. Tab' u neşri hukukî kendisine 'â'iddir. p. 3. In the title page of this work, we can also see the advertisements of the selling

short sentences and spoken language which would diminish the differences in expression in all kinds of translations. For the ideological differences between the authors, he seemed to play the role of the idea-makers and cultural entrepreneurs by suggesting to change the old style of composition which was not suitable for the expression of the new ideas even though there would be some reactions at the beginning and after a while the style would be accepted. Thus, he claimed that translation should serve for the improvement and progress in a culture. For the present text, he paid special attention for the simple style in order to make it easy for the children.³⁰⁰ Şemseddin Sami also drew our attention in his footnote on the different versions of *Robinson* in the Ottoman language was not compatible with the original piece that was taught in schools teaching in French.³⁰¹

Another novel translated earlier was *Mes Prisons*, by Silvio Pellice, again published in serial-form in the journal *Terakki* in 1286/1869. Mahmud Ekrem translated it in 1286 and its book version was published in the press of *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* in Constantinople in 1291/1874. To look briefly at the introduction seems to bring us new insights into the early translation debates on literary translations from French into Ottoman. Mahmud Ekrem began to his translation just for the sake of improvement his skills by the advice of his teacher and published it in serial form until the 19th part of the novel. He confessed that translations of some concepts were very difficult and if he were in a situation to recognize this difficulty, he wouldn't have begun with the translation. These concepts were related to the high sciences such as wisdom-morality-religion and theology and brought with them some refined issues and detailed

places for the book of History of the Ottoman Empire composed by Ahmed Lütüfi. See appendices for the full texts of the introduction and the advertisement of the History of Ottoman Empire.

³⁰⁰ Daniel Defoe, *Robenson: Fransızcadan harfiyen tercüme olunmuşdur*. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1302, pp. 3-4

discussions. Due to the popularity of this translation, he was asked to finish it. He also emphasized the significance of the content of the work. The interesting point of this introduction is that it emphasizes another aspect of the literary translation as being coincidental. Namely, the author had not any idea about the content and its significance of the novel, but due to the advice of his teacher, he carried out translation and then realized the significance of the book, and therefore completed its translation and published it in a book form.³⁰²

As Mahmud Ekrem mentioned his translation in serial form was published in *Terakki*, we saw other translations of novels in serials in *Diyojen*, the first satirical journal in Ottoman Turkish. Firstly, *Hikâye-i Hikemiyye-i Mikromega* was translated and then it the story of *Monte Kristo* began to be published in serials, simultaneously. But after some issues, Voltaire's piece ended and only Alexandre Dumas Fils' novel continued.³⁰³ In the presentation text, the translator firstly talked about Voltaire as being one of the leaders of the Melâmi philosophers and his characteristics and then gave the reason he translated his text into Ottoman Turkish. Voltaire was presented as being against the bigotry and tyranny. His usage of comedy and mockery to ridicule people strongly was also mentioned.³⁰⁴

In this passage, it is very interesting to see that translator has some ideas upon Voltaire and in order to show the correctness of those ideas for the readers and followers of

³⁰¹ Ibid., p. 4, f. n.

³⁰² *Mes Prison* par Silvio Pellico. *Meprizon Tercümesi*: Mahmud Ekrem, Ruhsat-ı resmîyyeyi haiz, tekrar tab'ı mütercimine 'âiddir. Cild-i evvel, ilk basılış. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Tasvîr-i Efkar, 1291. M. Ekrem.

³⁰³ *Diyojen: Gölge Etma Başka İhsân İstemem*. Numero: 62, 15 Teşrin-i evvel 1287. In this issue, we saw Voltaire's piece whereas four issues later we saw *Monte Kristo* with the following remind: "as we before reminded several times, I assume this reminder a duty for me. From today on, the story of *Monte Kristo* was to be found in our journal. We remind you sincerely not to lose the parts." numero: 66, 30 Teşrin-i evvel 1287. "Tefrika: bundan evveleri dahi tekrar bi-tekrâr ihtâr olundığı vechile bu kere dahi tekrar itmeği vazifeden 'add iderim işte bu günden itibâren Monte Kristo hikâyesi gazetemize derc olunmuşdur, zinhâr nüshalarının zâyi' idilmemesi hâlisâne ihtâr olunur."

Voltaire, he translated one of his works which were the least harmful among others. Thus, readers could understand what kind of harm did Voltaire's pieces cause for the human being and could give up to follow him. This teleological approach to translation also made the translation possible after a certain strategy of translation in which the translator made the pieces that were far away for the Ottoman Turkish culture visible. It has also another commonality with the former translations as advice books that it contained also something pertaining to wisdom in forms of the opposite side. The translator tried to say readers that they should not perform the same things as the author and the characters in this novel did.

At the end of our session on the early novel translations and their consequence of a new cultural repertoire, I would like to refer to three pieces and then to finish this session. The first entry was translated by Ahmed Midhat and Ebuzziya Tevfik in 1294/1876-77, *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı* by Paul de Kock. The first thing the translators mentioned was that this book was a completely new book for the readers due to the unknown of its style and the author's infame among Ottoman readers. Paul de Kock was described as one of the French authors whose absence would be regarded as a big loss in Europe. He was famous because of the special style of his writings in which he simultaneously made people cry and laugh. Then the translators told us the style of translations. Due to the intrinsic difficulty and impossibility of word-for-word translation, they did not a complete word-for-word translation. They also did not make a meaning transfer due to the difficulty for those who were living outside of Paris to understand the beauty and the meaning of his work correctly. But they tried to rephrase or rewrite the meaning and wisdom of the story in Turkish.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴ Diyojen, numero: 62.

³⁰⁵ Paul de Kock, *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı*, Mütercimleri Ahmed Midhat, Ebuzziya Tevfik. Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1294, pp. 5-6.

The serial translation of *Les Miserables* was the second novel translation published in *Ceride-i Havâdis* in 1279-80 / 1862. Approximately 20 years later, in 1298, the same novel was translated by Şemseddin Sami Fraşeri which was entitled as *Sefiller*. He had some interesting remarks about Victor Hugo, his philosophy and work. At the beginning, he talked about the fame of the author and therefore he did not see any benefit to phrase Hugo again. This work of him, 'Mizerabel', i.e., 'Sefiller' was his best work and made his fame to be known everywhere. On the surface, it seems to consist of a story, but the author has inserted many wisdom and truth into this story that it was departed from the genre of story-book and turned into the biggest code of the law of the civilization and humanity. As we can see here that the same underlying mechanism of understanding story-telling or composition of story was always present in the definitions of the translated works from the famous authors. They were regarded as those who had some links within their works to the general wisdom and their endeavour was just to verify their tendency and direction to tell readers the wise things, the true things about the world, politics, and morality.

If we go on with the foreword of Şemseddin Sami we can see his statement that this work was translated to every language of Europe and re-printed several times. The absence of this work in the repertoire of the Ottoman literary culture can not be permitted and therefore he carried out the translation even though it was very difficult to translate it into Turkish due to the complex meanings every word attached to in original and due to the ambiguous usage of the words in our language. But his desire of the service overcame his insufficiency and he carried out this translation.

Şemseddin Sami interestingly mentioned also the motivation of Victor Hugo by packing his ideas in form of a story and then conveying them in this form. This was in

order to reach a wider audience. Even though the discussion of the philosophical ideas was consciously not carried out, the beauty of the story would provide every reader for the exploration of a profit or an entertainment from this book according to the interest of every reader.³⁰⁶

We meet with another account of the reception of French novels in the Ottoman Empire. Edmondo de Amicis saw lots of novels in one of the bookstores in Pera. He stated that as he turned his head to the shop-window he saw novels such as *La Dame aux Camélias*, *Madame Bovary*, *Mademoiselle Giraud ma femme*.³⁰⁷

As we try to analyze the spread of the novel within the Ottoman territories, and to show some of the re-translations during the early phase of novel translations, the latter may also be found in the later period, even for such a famous work as *Telemak*. This new translation of *Telemak* indicates the abundance of novels in general and the fame of *Telemak* in particular. A new translation of *Telemak* was published in the periodical *Mahfel*. The title of the three fascicules may be found as New Translation of Telemak and Fénelon [*Yeni Telemak Tercümesi ve Fénelon*]. At the beginning, it was mentioned that this book was translated into every language, as well as transferred (*nakl*) into Ottoman by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa and Ahmet Vefik Paşa. This piece was just re-translated by a person with reliance on the original as soon as possible and preserving the current pronunciation. Because the director of the periodical liked the translated pieces, he published the first part up to the end while noticing that if the rest were translated and sent to them, they would try to publish it also. Then, this person gave information from *Kâmusu'l-Âlâm* about the

³⁰⁶ Viktor Hügo, *Sefiller*, Mütercimi Şemseddin Sami. Sâhibi Mihran. Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1297. The title page also covered this entry in French. *Les Misérables* par Victor Hugo. Traduit en langue Turque par Ch. Samy-Bey Frachary. Constantinople: Imprimerie de Mihran.

novel. I considered three issues in detail and found out that the language was more simple and fluent than the preceding ones.³⁰⁸ It is extraordinarily interesting that someone tried to translate the novel into the Ottoman language again approximately 60 years after its first translation by Yusuf Kâmil Paşa in 1859/1276. I would like to know the motivation of the translator for this re-translation.

Mihalaki Bey who was the translator of Eugene Sue's novel *Kebâir-i Seb'a Şikempverî (Oburluk)* into Ottoman Turkish discusses the account of *Traité de l'origin des Romans* by Hoillet who was defined novel as 'the fictive and imaginary stories devoted to the love adventures. They were written in prose for the sake of the benefit of the readers.'³⁰⁹ Mihalaki did not agree with this definition of the novel and began to discuss it in following lines. According to him, this definition was related to the Greek stories and therefore was not an accurate definition. He claimed that the essential aim of the novels published by Europeans was not to tell love stories. They were only as part of the main stories. His second objection against this definition focused on the statement that they have been produced for the sake of profit for readers. For Mihalaki, the aim was the opposite because all of the old and new novels were written for the improvement of the good manner and the origin of the good morality. Thus, it served for the loss, rather than for profit.³¹⁰

As we can understand from all of the accounts I tried to refer, there were different strategies in the translation activities, changing from personal matters as language learning to the service for the human being, bringing into account the wise part of a novel which

³⁰⁷ Amicis, *İstanbul*, pp. 59-61.

³⁰⁸ *Mahfel Mecmuası*, n. 19-21, 1338 [1920], 1340 Cümadelulasına mahsus, pp. 123-124, 147-148, 163-164 respectively.

³⁰⁹ *Kebâir-i sebâ Şikempverî (Oburluk)*, müellifi Fransa üdebâsından Öjen Su. Mütercimi Yenişehir müdde'i-yi 'umûmî mu'âvini sâbık Mihâlâki. Kostantiniyye: Matba'a-i Ebuzziyâ, 1299.

were translated into other languages than Ottoman. These new translations with the pioneering texts in different genres, former translations and composition of theatre plays were altogether constituted a repertoire which began to substitute the older style of literature after the 1870's gradually.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

V. In Lieu of Conclusion

My attempt to draw the general structure of a more detailed study for the developments of the 'new' repertoire achieves its end, now. I would like to summarize my propositions for the further study in order to show the compatibility of my suggestion for a further detailed study on the same topic.

The serious attempts of cultural entrepreneurs for the formation of a new 'tool kit of habits' end up in the frequency of the reflections of these new habits in the texts pertaining to the invented genres in the new repertoire. To carry out such a project, they instrumentalized foreign languages, especially French, in order to make the importation and the transfer of a new literature possible. These cultural planners constitute a network together with literary texts they produced and the options they devised for the society with a new style diffused into the attention of Ottomans with the mediation of French language. A reflection of the level of this mediation might be extracted from one of the books compiled by two authors in order to make comparison between different versions of the translated literature from the Western languages into Ottoman Turkish. As some of the producers of the dictionaries, or translators/domesticators of theatre plays, or novels mentioned above, they regarded French language as an instrument for the transfer of knowledge and progressive things into the East. Thus, the term Western language brings into the mind the French language. This meaning attribution spreads also over the term of translation that for the Ottoman men of letters means translations from Western language.

Namely, the translation is an equivalent used for the texts translated from the French language.³¹¹

This phrase is a clear indicator of the frequency and existence of the French language as a medium of transmitter of the Western knowledge among the Ottoman literati in 1307/the end of 1880's. As it is phrased above, French was the language for most of the Ottomans after the *Tanzimat* that was primarily worth to be learned among others, that was assumed to contain the most widespread knowledge within due to the translations into it from other languages. That was the medium of wisdom and morality for those who learn it as a foreign language. This position of the French language as a promoter of the transmission of knowledge leads me to look for the texts which were produced by the ideamakers of the *Tanzimat* as spaces to articulate the targeted ways of scientific understanding, way-of-life, entertainment, expression, reading habits and elements of social culture which emerged not only out of the encounter with the French culture, but also as a result of the conscious attempts of the *Tanzimat* reformers. I studied the parts of the network so that we will be able to see what the ingredients of this new repertoire are. But, in order to analyze the processes and the relationship between the different layers of this repertoire, the content analyses of the parts of the products should be carried out. This will enable the researcher to see how new sets of vocabulary entered to the mental sphere of the Ottoman literary public, how they were introduced, and in which manner they were uttered in the written documents, either administrative, or literary.

The investigation of the expression and utterances of them would give the opportunity to see their ability to formulate a discourse together. After the discourse,

³¹¹ İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı, *Müntehebât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhir*, p. 4. for the Ottoman and English text

discovering new tropes within each particular genre, and their places in the new genres will enrich our understanding of the issue of the relationship between the different layers of the elements of the repertoire, and we will be able to grasp the process of the constitution of this new repertoire with this content analysis.

In this part of this long project, I focused on the agency of the cultural planners, their attempt to create new options for the society. To carry out this, I looked at the dictionaries, some news in periodicals, conversation guides, curricula of the educational institutions, theatre plays, translated literature as dialogues, poems, and novels. Thus, I would like to see what kind of unusual, unfamiliar developments took place during the transitory period between 1830 and 1870 in the literary sphere of the Ottoman Empire. My observation is that the things that newly appeared in the Ottoman cultural milieu, in forms of the new genres, discussions about them, the legitimization attempts of the introduction of the unknown and unexpected things in front of the public altogether created a repertoire serving as a package of options that were replacing the old package of options gradually.

We can see some elements of this replacement of the old options with the new options in the literary outputs which might be seen as mirrors to reflect what was happening in the social and cultural life of the society these texts were produced in. In one of the stories at the beginning of 1880s, the main character mentioned that he went to theatre in which an opera has been performed. This opera was very impressive upon him with the extraordinary performance of the musicians. This character mentioned also the time in the new style, according to the Western style.³¹² Second literary text was another story by

see Appendix.

³¹² *Defter-i a'mâlim: kısm-ı âşıkânesinden bir fasıl*, Muharriri Mustafa Reşid, Kostantiniyye: İstapan Matbaası, 1308, pp. 1-3.

Mehmed Celal produced at the end of the 1880s. This one mentions the main character as a young man reading many novels and theatre plays in the new style such as translations of works by Octave Feuillet, *La Dame aux Camelia*, and mostly liked *Graziella* by Lamartine. Apart from his reading, he also went to theatre which he liked more than novels due to the performances of vital and concrete scenes by actors. He liked to go to the extraordinary drama of *Hakiki Nedâmet*, written by Feuillet. As the other literary products by Feuillet, this one also should be useful, impressive and emotional for the society.³¹³

The presence of these two quotations from the later products which may be defined as the elements of the “new repertoire” reflects how the new way of reading and entertainment habits were settled by the member of the Ottoman society. As the literature was a mirror-like entity to reflect the particularities of the culture it was produced, we can argue that the new elements of the repertoire have been accepted by the Ottoman society. The fact that more than 400 theatre plays were composed between 1870 and 1880 might be seen as an indicator of this settlement, or acceptance of that repertoire.³¹⁴

The very long process of the cultural encounter ended up in the formation and maturation of new genres none of which were to be seen 50 years ago in the Ottoman literature. Thus, the emergence of the Turkish novel after translations may be seen as the end result of this replacement. I count from the work of Ali İhsan Kolcu that there were around thirty novel translations between 1870 and 1880.³¹⁵ During this time, we can also see the novels written in Turkish after the first attempt of Şemseddin Sami’s *Taaşşuk-ı*

³¹³ *Oyun*: Muharriri Mehmed Celâl, Dersâdet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1309, Maarif Gazetesinde derc edildikten sonra risâle şeklinde tab’ olunmuştur. p. 3, 5.

³¹⁴ İsmail Parlatır, “Tanzimat ve Tanzimat Ruhunun Edebiyata Kazandırdığı Değerler” in *Tanzimat’ın 150. Yıldönümü Uluslararası Sempozyumu*, pp. 553-567.

Talat ve Fitnat in 1872. These numbers allow us that the idea-makers of the Tanzimat transferred the new options from the Western world sufficiently. It is successful not only because of the fact that these elements have been accepted by Ottomans, but also they brought with them a sensible change in the already existing repertoire in terms of their tastes for the literary production. But the details of this success shall be taken into consideration in the future four-dimensional analysis of the contents of the elements of this particular repertoire.

These men who devised new options reflected their ideas on the change, development, progress among the lines of their product which served as instructions for readers. Thus, the functional use of literature to create a certain kind of society was generated by the Tanzimat reformers successfully. At the end, I would like also to mention that this success, or replacement of the old repertoire did not happen with a total break-off or disappearance of older styles and genres. We are also able to see the old ideas in a new form as in the form of the dialogic character of the philosophical manuscript of *Tanzir-i Telemak* which was essentially based on the traditional repertoire of imitation, but actually a new way of writing originating from the new repertoire is a good sign for the continuity between the old and new repertoires. Also, *Sergüzeşt-i Sâib Nihâd-ı Hindî* is another good example, in which an adaptation of the translated novel was carried out according to the Indian style which was mostly produced in poetry in Ottoman classical Divan literature.

. I can also mention here two pieces which we analyzed in text. The versed dictionary of *Miftâh-ı Lisân* is a good example of the amalgamation of the old repertoire of verse dictionaries with the newly penetrating repertoire in forms of foreign language

³¹⁵ Ali İhsan Kolcu, *Tanzimat Edebiyatı II: Hikaye ve Roman*, Erzurum: Bakanlar Matbaacılık, 1999.

dictionaries. For practical reasons the Ottomans were merged this two type into each other and arrived at a satisfactory synthesis. My second example is *Tercüme-i Telemak* which was translated due to the wisdom it contained within. This translation was carried out completely according to the old style of composition to the degree that it was accepted as a masterpiece of this old style. But the aura stemming from *Telemak* brought many new texts and a new part of the repertoire that after ten or fifteen years of its translation, novels in local language began to appear.

I think that to penetrate into the contents of the texts which are signifiers of the replacement of the old literature with a new one is worth to study because of the fact that this activity will enable us to see the procedure in a dynamic way. To look upon the terminology during this formation period, to find out the distinct strategies of idea-makers, to focus upon the discursive level, to see the new tropes to find out the share of these new things within the new genre was only some possibilities which may come out after a thorough study of the material I would like to present here. It should be reminded that this material is a product of the cultural entrepreneurs of Tanzimat, who with their products altogether transferred the ideas and texts of a foreign repertoire within the Ottoman domains. Thus, they became domesticated in forms of new genres, new literary works, which together with their producers established a network that is the basis of this new literature. The numbers of the plays and novels written in line with this basis seem to be indicators of the successful attempt of the Ottoman reformers.

Appendix 1: Chapter One

a. Scientific and Literary Translations and their Place within the Ottoman Literary Culture

Suhan-fehmân-ı ma'nâ-âşiyâna vâzih u hüveydâdır ki mutlaka tercüme iki kısım olup bir kısmı elfâz-ı mütercemeyi bi-aynihi terkibi ile ta'birdir. Ammâ bu tarz üzere tercüme kalîlü'l-müfâd olduğundan gayr-ı şâhid-i şirin-cemâl şive-i letâfet ve hat u hâl-i fesâhat ü belâgatten bî-nasib olur. Ve kısm-ı sâni me'âl-i kelâmı ahz edip mazmûn-ı suhan-ı musannifu'l-aslı kâlebi hüsn-i edâya ifrâğ için münâsib-i makam ba'zı elfâz u ibârat ve terâkib ü istiârât ile perdâht u zînet verip murâd-ı musannifi sûret-i hûb ve tarz-ı mergûbda tahkîk u tasvîrdir. Hâlâ ihtiyâr-kerde-i râkımı'l-hurûf kısm-ı sâni olup iktizâ-yı mahalle mülâyim nefes-dırâzî-i münşiyâne ile bezm-gâh-ı belâgatte suhan-perdâzî-i ma'rifet ve nükte-sencî-i berâ't yüzünden yârâna hizmettir.

Mertol Tulum, "Osmanlı Türkçesi" in *Osmanlı Cilt 9: Kültür ve Sanat*, Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 1999, p. 428. Quote from Nergisi.

c. Political-Administrative Function of Interpreters

İşbu tarihler tedâbir-i mülkiyye ve umûr-ı hâriciyye ile memlû olmakla Osmanlı bu tarihlerden haberdâr!" deyü ... Nemçe Devleti tarafından mihmândâr ile beraber ta'yin olunan tercümân içinden birisini alıp güyâ ben dahi Türkçe ve Farisçe ve Arabîce bilirim şeklinde kıraat ederken, kitab-ı mezbûr Hâfiz-ı Şirâzî ve Şeyh Sâdî hazretlerinin...

Ebubekir Râtib Efendi'nin Nemçe Sefâretnâmesi.
Yayıma hazırlayan: Abdullah Uçman

Yes, these histories are about the art of government and especially foreign affairs, and the Ottomans were aware of those books. Then they were surprised and tried to convince me that they were aware of the famous poets of the Eastern world as such as Şirâzî and Şeyh Sâdî.

- Eyyâm-ı gam ve hengâm-ı mâtem iken resmden hâriç olarak on, on beş gün mürûrunde ibtidâ imperyo umûruna Başvekîl Preñç Koloredo ve üç dört gün sonra umûr-ı hâriciyye Başvekîli Preñç Kavinc mahsûs da'vet ve ziyâfet ve ma'lûm-ı Rabbü'l-izzettir ki, çok tevkîr ve ikrâm ve izzet eylemişlerdir.

Anda bir akadimya olup ancak Türkî ve Arabî ve Fârisî lisanlarını ta'lîme mahsus olmakla, eğerçi içinde sâir elsine ve fûnûn dahî tahsîl olunur, lâkin asl-ı vaz'ı elsine-i selâseye olduğundan, ismi Akadimya Asiya ile mevsûmdur. Asiya Anadolu ikliminden ibâret olmakla, her devlet muhâbere ve mükâtebe ve musâlaha ve muhârebese olduğu düvel ü milelin lisânlarına vâkîf ve tercümesinde ârif olmak lâzım ve emr-i mühimdir deyü mezbûr akadimyayı binâ ve tertîb etmişler. Ehl-i İslâm'a müteallik elsine olduğundan, nâzırı dahi aslından Âsitane'de dil oğlanı ve maslahat-güzâr ve hâlâ Preñç Kavinc kaleminde müsteşar ve Devlet-i Âliyye'nin tahrîratını hulâsa ve tercüme me'mûriyetle sâhib-i i'tibâr olmakla, bizi mezbûr akadimyaya da'vet ve ziyâfet ve fizika dedikleri fûnûndan yirmi beş nev'-i acâib ve garâib izhâr ve irâet ettiler. İki senede bir kerre anda olan etfâlden iki neferi Dersâadet'e irsâl ve dil oğlanlığı hizmetinde istihdâm ve sonra baş tercüman olur. Hâlâ bunda olan Nemçe tercümanı mezbûr akadimyada taallüm ediğ Âsitâne'de tekmîl-i lisân etmiştir. Elçi dahi ol akadimyaya duhûl ettiğini haber verirler.

Mezhûr akadimyaya varıldıkta onda olan etfâl bir bir önümüze oturup Türki ve Arabî ve Fârisî kitaplardan birkaç satır kırât ve birer kâğıda hakkımızda medh ü senâyı mutazammın inşâ suretinde birkaç satır dahi yazıp bu vech ile fenn-i hatta meşk ü idmân ve inşâ tarafında cevhlânların arz ve irâet etmeleriyle, mezbûrların bu hususlarda ne mertebe ihtimâm ve dikkatleri olduğu ma'lum olmak için anda olan etfâlden tarafımıza arz olunan kâğıttan birisi aynı ile be-müstara bu mahalle nakl olundu:

“Şevketlû, azametlû âl-i Osmân pâdişâhı Sultan Selîm Han Hazretleri'nin elçileri, bahr-ı zehhâr-ı ulûm u hünermendî, saâdetlû, inâyetlû Râtib Efendi cenâblarının bu medrese-i elsine-i selâseye teşrif-i saâdet-redîfleri bu bendegân-ı nâtüvanlarını ne mertebe mübahî ve şâdân buyurdıkları hâric-i havsala-i i'lân ü beyân olup, öyle bir mihmân-ı zevi'l-ihritâma ikrâm-ı tâm birle be-kâm olmamız da, eğerçi er-rîşte-i ikdâm ve ihtimâm-pezirâ-yı za'f u inkisâm olmadadır. Velâkin âfitâb-ı âlem-tâb-ı ulûm u maârifleri şeb-i deycûr-ı nâdânî ve kusûrumuzu izâle ve imhâ ve ifâza-i envâr-ı kerem-medârları zalâm-ı noksân-ı bî-pâyânımızı imâle ve ifnâ buyurup zerre-i hurşîd a'dâdında olan taksîrât-ı bî-gayâtımızı yelpaze-i avf ile tard u nâ-peydâ buyurmaları gayet tazarrû ve ricâ ve nihâyet niyâz u istid'a olunur!”

Çünkü anda olan etfâl tarafımıza bu güne mehd ü senâ ve i'tizâr etmeleriyle çâkerleri dahi birkaç beyt inşâ ve hatt-i tevkî'î ile bir kâğıda imlâ ve bir tahtaya yapıştırılıp tezyîn ve ol akadimyaya irsâl ve isrâ eyledik:

Şehinşâh-ı cihân Sultân Selim'in adb-i memlûku
Denir Râtib Efendi kavmi içre ona şöhretle
Der-i vâlâ-yı şâhînden akîb-i sulh u safvette
Bec'e bin iki yüz altıda geldik sefâretle
Gezip kâşâne vü mekteblerin ol şehri ra'nânın
Temâşâ eylemişti çok acâib çeşm-i ibretle
Fizika fennine dâir acâib itmeğe izhâr
İdip bu mektebe da'vet onu ikrâm u izzetle
Temâşâ cyledi ba'zı garâib anda geldikte
Pesendîde idip işbu debîristânı gayetle
Lisân-ı Türk ü Tâzî vü Acem tahsîlini hakka
Ne hoş bünyâd olunmuştur bu mekteb dest-i himmetle
Lisân-ı Âsiyâyı bunda etfâle idip ta'lim
Kırlarlar terbiye işbu debistânda suhûletle
Önünde her bir etfâl-i nev-âmûzu okutmuştur
Beğenmiş fehm ü isti'dâdın onların nihâyetle
İdip bu mektebin tertîbini, etfâlini tahsîn
Teberrük olmağa yaptı bu çend ebyâtı midhatle
Bu mektebde ola nâmı onun da hayr ile mezkûr
Okudukça bu eş'arı onun bunda selâsetle

Bu makule şeyler onları firifte etmekle muhabbet ve senâyı bâdî ve i'tibâr ve iştihâra sebeb-i âdî olur. Bunlarda başvekîl dahi olursa da'vet olundukda, sâir elçiler bir nefer âdemiyle gider, ziyâde götürülmez. Fakat bizi beş altı nefer etbâ'ımız ile da'vet etmişlerdir, zirâ onlarda etbâ için taâm yoktur, kendi mâhiyyesinden ekl ü şürb eder.

Ebubekir Ratib Efendi Seyahatnâmesi.

Appendix 2: Chapter Two

c. Dictionaries and Grammar Books

Sipâs u senâ ve sitâyîş-i mehemmedat-ârâ merfû-1 dergâh-1 Cenâb-1 Kibriyâ kılındığı eserinde tahrîk-i hâme-i beyân u enbâye şu vechile ibtidâ olunur ki talîme ve taallümler nev-i beni Ademi ale'l-ıtlak medh ü sitâyîşe şâyân ve bi-tahsîs-i milel-i 'adîde ve ümem-i müteaddidenin yekdiğerle tekellüm itdikleri elsine-i muhtelifenin tahsîl ü tekmîli tevsi'i daire-i malûmata bir vesile-i cemîle olduđu zâhir u ayan olub kurûn-1 kesîreden beri Avrupa'nın kıt'a-i cesîmesinde icrâ-yı hükümet ve ulûm u fûnûnda kemâl-i mümâresetle kesb-i nâm-1 şöret ederek devletaliyye-i Âliye-i Osmaniye ve millet-i beyzâ-i İslâmiyye ile mu'âmelât-ı ticâreti min-el-kadîm payidâr u üstuvâr olan Fransa milletinin lisanına ehl-i İslâmdan tâlib ve ragıblar yevmen feyven tekessür bulduđu der-gâr ve Fransa milletinin hüner-mendân-1 dâniş-verânı kendi muhterâtları olarak cemî' fûnûnda tertîb eyledikleri müellefât-ı kesîre-i nâfi'adan başka gerek mütekaddîminin ve gerek müteahhirinin ilâ yevminâ hazâ elsine-i muhtelifede inşâ eyledikleri tasnîfâtın mecmû'ını kendi lisanlarına nakl ve müşkilatlarını hall ile gereği gibi îzâh ve tedkîk ve bi'l-cümle ulûmun tahsîlini teshîl ile irâe-i tarîk idegeldikleri âşikâr ve lisân-ı mezkûrun millet-i fahime-i Osmâniye beyninde tedâvül ü intişârı mücerred kavâid-i aslıyye ve zavâbit-i merfıyesini taallüme medâr olan sarfının lisân-ı Rüşen-beyân-ı Türkî üzere tercüme ve tanzîmine mütevakkıf olduđu vâreste-i kayd-ı eş'âr olduđuna ve 'ale'l-husûs ... (Sultan'a övgü kısmı)... mevhibe-i mahsûsa-i ilâhiye olarak tertîb ü tanzîmine muvaffak buyurulmuş oldukları sunuf-ı asâkir-i muntazamalarının umûr-ı hayriyye ve mehâm-ı vacibü'l-ihtimâm-ı mülkiyelerine dair bunca nizâmât-ı hasene ve gerek ulûm u fûnûna mütedâir nice nice malûmat-ı müstahsenenin memâlik-i mahrusetü'l-mesâlik-i hümayunlarında tertîb ü istikmâli emrine taraf-ı eşref-i hümayun-ı şâhânelerinden mebzûl buyurulan himmet ül-inhemet zill ü Yezdânîleri vechile bender-gâh-ı ulûm u ma'ârifde dahi herkese ruhsat dâd ü sened itâ buyurulmuş idüğüne binaen zikr olunan Fransa lisanının dahi tahsîline medâr-ı suhûlet ve asâniyyet olmak ve vürzeş taallüm eden râğib ve hâşeşkârâne bu bâbda dahi himmet-i kimyâ-yı menkıbet rahîmâne-i hazret-i padişâhâneleri meşmûl bulunmak üzere lisân-ı mezkûr usûl u kavâidince zebân-ı azebü'l-beyân Türkî vechile bir kıta sarfın keşîde-i silk-i imla ve tertîb olunması merkezlerinde irâde-i inâyet mu'tâde-i hümayunları bulunduđu şeref-yâb-ı hizmet-i müstevecebü'l-müfehheret ser-asker-i âsâkir-i mansûre sâbık Mehmed Hüsrev çâ-kerlerinin mukaddema hizmet-i seniyye-i mezkûrede bulunduđu hem-gâmda teferrüs-kerdeleri olarak ol babda müşârün ileyh hazretlerinin iş bu Pileveri-gâr-gâh hüner-sâzı Yorgâki eş-şehir bi-Razi kullarına tenbîh ve işâretleri sânih olub bu kulları dahi bundan çend sene mukaddem Âsitâne-i şevketi

- ...it is very clear that the learning of the languages of different nations is a reason for the increase of the circulating information. Since earlier time, France's being in Europe and having become very famous in arts and science, and having long political and commercial relationships with both the Ottoman Empire and the nations of the Islamic world, had made lots of students from the Islamic world want to study and learn the language of the French Empire. French people possessed not only their own information, but also transmitted the whole knowledge of preceding scholars until this day into their own language and they dealt with their difficulties and overcame them. But for the Ottomans to learn language, there is a need for rules ... due to the fact that everybody is given permission to study, and the order from the Sultan for perfection of lots of sciences in the Ottoman Empire, Mehmed Hüsrev advised me, Yorgaki, from the city of Razi, to compose a booklet to facilitate of the learning of the rules of the French language for students and for those who wish to learn it. As I tried to learn Arabic and Persian four years ago in Constantinople, I would like to show thanks for my training and to obey the order of the Pasha, so I tried to compose a booklet comprising the rules of the French language, which I have tried to learn from my childhood on. This booklet consists of an introduction and two chapters and is called *Grammaire Française*, i. e., *Sarf-ı Fransevî* by the author. Even though it is helpful for language education, its publication was postponed until now. But in accordance with the principle that 'deeds take place at the appropriate time' its publication took place with the help of God at this time.

âşiyânede mezru' 'inâyet ve efdalden hûşe-çîn birr ü nevâl olarak Ârabî ve Fârisî lisanlarından bir nebze tahsiline sarf u sa' ve mecâl u kisb-i bizâe-i mezcâte istihâl etmiş olduğundan ... ifâ-i merâsim-i teşekkürü ve müşârün ileyh hazretlerinin imtisâl-i tavsiye ve ifâdesi emniyesiyle sugar-ı sinn ü sâlden beri tahsiline sa'y ü ikdâm eylediği Fransa lisanının kavaidini şâmil bir risâle-i mücemmele tedvîn ve risâle-i mezkûrenin bir mukaddime ve iki bâb üzere inkisâmıyla tezyînine mübâşeret ve Gramer Fransez yani Sarf-ı Fransevî ismiyle tesmiyesine mübâderet idüb ... mübarek hâk-pâ-yi felek fersâ-yı hümâyûna bir destâviz-i nâ-çiz olmak ziraatiyle küstahâne takdîmine cür'et olunmuş idi. Risale-i mezkûre lisân-ı mezbûrun teshîl-i tahsilî hususunda müfid ü nâfi' olmak üzere şâyân-ı hüsn-i nazar ve pesend-i kimya eser-i 'ali buyurulmuş ise de tab u intişârı şimdiye kadar pes-mande-i terâhî ve te'hîr olmuş idi ancak bundan böyle mütevâre-i serâdik-ı nisyan olması tecvîz olunmayıp el-umûr merhûnetün bi-evkâtiha mislince vakt-i merhûnuna vâbeste ve müteallik bulunduğundan nâşî bu def'a bi-tevfikihi teala tab ve temsiline dahi müsaberet olundu.

▪ Yorgaki Razi, *Gramer Fransez yani Sarf-ı Fransevî*, Constantinople: Lithography de Cayol, 1845, pp. 3-7.

Fransa lisanının resâil-i müteaddidesi var ise de ba'zı ta'birât u elfâz-ı zâ'ideyi şâmil olmasıyla mübtedîler evvel-emirde me'l ü müzayasını hakkıyla anlamakda su'ûbet çekdiklerinden kat'-ı nazar bu misillü risaleler sibyanı mahsus bulunduğundan bu fen içün dahi kavâid ü usûlünü ve terkîbini hâvî bir risâle-i muhtasara-i sehletü'l-istifâdenin bulunması mertebe-i vücûbda olmağla bu 'abd-i za'îf ve hafra-yı sıddikâ-yı bende-gân-ı Devlet-i Âliye'den Rûm milleti sabık Ligofti müteveffa Alekozâde Yorgaki Petropolos kulları min gayri hadd Bâb-ı vâlâ-yı hazreti ser-askerî Tercüme odası mütercimlerinden bulunduğuma teşekküren ve eser-i sıdk u ubudiyetimi isbaten ... cenâb-ı şehnişâhîde mukaddeman tercümesine teşmîr-i sâk ikdâm itmiş olduğum Hey'et-i sâbika-i Kostantiniyye ve küre-i semâ nâm risâleler gibi bu def'a dahi geceler ve bazı tatillerde mübtedilere ta'lîm ve tadrîs olunacak Fransa lisanının mebdeini mutazammın diğer bir risale-i muhtasara tertîb ü tahrîr ve telaffuza müteallik olan kavâ'id-i aslıyye ile istisnâları bir usûl-i merğube üzere sebt ü testîr ve Rehnümâ-yı Lisân-ı Fransevî ismiyle tesmiye ve ta'bîr eyledim. Hemen ashâb-ı lütf ü kerem hulûs-i niyet-i 'âcizâneme merhameten bu bâbda ser-zidde-i sâhhe-i vukû olan kusur ve hüfüvvât-ı hakîrâneme nigâh-ı afv u 'âtfet ile çâker gemînelerini ihyâ ve mesrûr buyuralar.

▪ Yorgaki Petropulos, *Rehnümâ-yı Lisân-ı Fransevî*, [n.p.]: [n.d.], pp. 2-4.

this poor slave who is the loyal subject of the Greek nation of Devlet-i 'Âliyye Alekozade Yorgaki Petropolos, in gratitude for being one of the translators in the Translation Chamber at the Sublime Porte and as a proof of my loyalty and devotion composed and compiled a booklet on the beginning stage of the French language while working at nights and on holidays as in my previous translations of *Hey'et-i sâbika-i Kostantiniyye* and *Küre-i Semâ*. This booklet for beginners comprises the basic rules for pronunciation and its exceptions, and is called *Rehnümâ-yı Lisân-ı Fransevî*. Please forgive my faults and give thanks for my good intention.

Fransa devlet-i fehîmesi min-el-kadîm hükemâ-yı mevcûde ve ulemâ-yı meşhûdesini teşvîk ve tatbîb ve mecâlis-i müteaddide-i maârif teşkîl ü tertîb iderek ve ma'îl ü esbâb-ı ta'lîm ü terbiyeyi teshîl ü teksîr ve envâr-ı medeniyeti teşmîl ü tenşîre sarf-ı mesâi itdikleri sırada zebân-ı zâtfîlerini müceb yesr u suhûlet olmak için bir iki yüz seneden berû kâide-i mazbûta tahtına alarak bir şîve-i nâzike-i ceyyide üzerine bina ve hesabsız telifât u münşiyât-ı mahsûsa-i aslıyyelerine elsine-i sâirede ser-nümâ-yı zuhûr olan kütüb-ü mütenevvia-ı müştehirenin lisân-ı mezkûra vâkîf olmak adeta Avrupa lisanlarının ekserisine aşına bulunmak gibi sayılarak tahsiline bi'l-cümle heveskâran taraflarından zihn ü efkâr ve bezl ü sa'y u iktidar olunub lisân-ı mezbûr ekser milel-i muazzama beyninde muhâberât u müzakerâta bir âlet-i mahsûsa hükümünde olduğu ashâb-ı dikkat ü basîret 'inde rûtbe-i bedâhetde bulunmuşdur. Taraf-ı 'Âli saltanat-ı seniyyeden dahi mekâtib-i müteaddide inşâ ve neşr-i enva-ı maârife sa'y u i'tinâ buyurulmakda idüğü müselleminâm olup hususen mekâtib-i harbiye ve tıbbiye-i şahânedede tahsîl olunmakda olan fûnûn u ulûmun ekseri Fransız lisanınca tedrîs itdirildiği cihetle lisan-ı mezkurun bizim için başkaca lüzûm-ı hakikisi der-gâr olmasıyla ta'lîmine hâceler ta'yîn buyurulmuş ise de kavâ'id-i sarfiyye ve usûl-i nahviyyesinin zebân-ı azeb-ül-beyân-ı türkiyye tatbiken tercümesi bulunmadığından Fransızların kendi lisanlarınca telif ve tertib itmiş oldukları gramerler gerek Mekâtib-i şahânedede gerek hâricde vâsita-i ta'lîm ittihaz olunmuşdur ancak işbu gramerler kendileri için yapılmış şeyler olarak onlardan suhûletle istifâde olunamamasından dolayı vatandaşlarımızın derece-i nihâyede 'usret u ta'b ü meşakkati bi'l-ihytiâr sarf-ı nukûd ü ömr ü iktidârıyla beraber ser-menziel maksûda vâsıl olamaksızın yarı yolda kalmalarını müeddi olmakda idüğü dahi meşhûd-u 'âlemdir eğerçi kavaid-i mezkûrenin asl-ı Fransız lisanı üzere öğrenilmesi dahi bazı mertebe-i faideden hali değil ise de bu husus Fransa ahâlisi hakkında âsân u sehîl olub bizlerce ve ba-husûs mübtedil için pek müşkil ve menfaati suubetine nisbetle gayet kalîl olmasıyla beraber tahsîli uzun vakte muhtâc olduğu der-gâr ve lisanımız üzere öğrenilen kavaid-i ecnebiye ise hem az vakitte layıkıyla anlaşılacağı hem de kolay hıfz u zabtî âsân olacağı aşikâr olarak bu keyfiyeti mekteb-i Tıbbiye-i şahânedede min gayr-i liyaka-i uhde-i acizâneme muhavvel olan nahv-i Fransevi muallimliği münasebetiyle dahi bi't-tecrûbe ma'lûm-ı bendegânem olmuşdur. Binaenaleyh bunun teshîl-i esbâbının tehiyye ve ihzârı nefsi-çâkerâneme hitâb u ifâde olundukda sâye-i ... cenâb-ı cihan-bânide on seneyi müteceviz saltanat-ı seniyyenin hudemâtı mütenevviyası ve 'ale'l-husûs mes'ele-i zailenin ibtidâsından ile'l-ân Bâb-ı vâlâ-yı Ser-askeri-yi ecnebiye kalemi mütercimliği hizmet-i mâbe'l-mufahharetiyle müşerref ve muğtenim olduğum cihetle ... el-Gâzi Abdülmecîd Hân Efendimiz hazretlerinin ... bir eser-i cedîde muvafakatiyle dua-yı devâm-ı eyyâm-ı saltanat ve tezâyüd-i şevket ü azimet-i şahânelerine havas u 'avâm ve belki kâfe-i inâmı mecbûr-ı muvazebet iderek

They have tried for 200 years to improve their language and therefore they brought it under the registered rules. So they gave it one kind of pronunciation. In addition to this, they have also translated famous works written in other languages into their language. This makes a person familiar with most of the languages of Europe if s/he knows French. For this reason, many people have tried to learn it. For careful people, it is well-known that the French language was the language of communication and information used by lots of states in the world. In the Ottoman Empire, most of the sciences taught in the Military School and the Medicine School were instructed in the French language and therefore it had a special importance for us. Even if there were instructors, there were no grammar books of the French language which explained the subjects in accordance coherence with the Turkish language in order to facilitate education in French. Only books written for the native French were used in these schools and outside them. But as they were addressed to native speakers, our citizens could not benefit efficiently from them and had to give up their attempts in the middle. There were some benefits of this method, but it took very long time and the cost was more than the benefit. If we could learn the principles of the foreign language in comparison with those of our native language, then it would be perfectly understood in a shorter time, and it would also be easier to memorize than other method. I have experienced this during my instruction of the French grammar in the Medical School. Thus, praying for the continuation of the Sultanate of Sultan Abdülmecid Han whom I have been serving as the director of the translator in the Foreign Office, I feel it my duty to facilitate the teaching of French language for students as I have felt four years. I regard it as an indication of my loyalty and I have composed a grammar book in which I shall adopt the morphological and grammatical rules of

şu sûretle dahi ifâ-yı vecîbe-i ubudiyet olacağı istifade olunmaktan nâşî mârûl-beyân-ı lisân-ı Fransevi kavâid-i sarfiyye ve usûl-i nahviyyesini lisanımıza tatbiken cem u terkîb itmek arzusu dâire-i efkâr-ı sadakat-karar-ı 'abidânemde tedevvür etmekle çend seneden beru buna bida' olunub ancak noksan-ı bizaat-i gem-terâneme 'adem-i itimadla bu ana değın temîm ve ta'mîmine mübaderet olunamamış ise de sâye-i maarif-vaye-i hazret-i mülûkânede bu misillu hudemât-ı acizane ... sahiheleri hesabıyla takdîr buyurulmayub arz u ibrâzına asl-ı sebep olan hulûs u sıhhat-ı niyet dirhemleriyle mutad vezn buyurulur ümidiyle iki cild üzerine telif ü tertib olunarak usûl-i nahviyyeyi hâvi olacak cild-i sâni vakt-i âhere bi't-taalluk şimdilik kavaid-i sarfiyyeyi muhtevi olan cild-i evvelin takdîmine mücâseret olunmuşdur. Risâle-i hâzıra ... yapılmış bir şey olmayub Fransa sarfiyyûn ve nahviyyûniyle musannıflarından en meşhurlarının müellefâtı dikkatle tettebbu olunarak kabûl u ittihâzında cümlesinin re'y-i munazzam ve müttefik bulunan kavaid-i mevzua ve usûl-i müessesenin cem u tercümesinden ibaret bulunduğu ve kavâid-i mezkûre yalnız Türkçe tarif olunarak her bir kaideye adetinden ziyade çok ve müntehab misaller tercümeleriyle beraber îrâd olduğu ve ıstılahat-ı tabîrât-ı sarfiyyenin Fransızcası dahi alındığı ve bazı yerlerde lisâneyn beyninde vâki' olan mutabakat u muhalefet-i terkibiye ara sıra işaret kılındığı cihetlerle menfaat ü faidesi Fransızca öğrenmeğe heveskârân olan vatandaşlarıma münhasır olmayub lisân-ı osmaninin tahsiline çalışan ecnebler dahi az çok müstefid olacakları me'mûl idüğünün min gayr-i hadd arz-ı beyanıyla mütalaasına rağbet buyuran zevât-ı fetânet-simatdan el-insân mürekkebtin min es-sehvi ve'n-nisyân masdakınca vuku bulan sehv ü nisyânını nazar u afv u safh ile görmelerini bu gem-terân-i bendegân Krikor Margosyan kulları rica ve niyâz ider.

▪ Krikor Markosyan, *Sarf u Nahv-i Fransevî: Cild-i Evvel*, Bâb-ı 'Âli Tercüme Odası Me'murlarından Bâb-ı Ser-askerî Ecnebiye Kalemi Mütercimi Krikor Efendi Te'lif İtdi. Der-Âsitâne-i 'Âliyye, 1275/1859.

... cevahir ü zavâhiri 'adil olarak cümleden beri lisân-ı Fransevîde (Ollendorf) tesmiye olunan te'lif-i latîf ki lisân-ı mezkûr heveskârânına kavâ'id-i sarfiyye ve ef'âl-i kıyasiyye ve ğayri kıyasiyye ve mutasarrıfe ve gayr-i mutasarrıfeyi taallüm ve az vakitte tekellüm için medâr-ı azam olan bu yolda tertîb olunan kütüb ü resâ'ilin cümlesine ercah ve akdemdir Şakirdânın Fransızca tahsillerini teshîl zımında böyle bir tarîk açılması elzem bulunduğundan bevcen gereğine erkân-ı Harbiye miralaylarından 'umûm-ı mekâtib-i âskeriye daire-yi idadiyesi ders nezâretiyle mebâhî İsmail Hakkın kitâb-ı fevâid-nisâb mezkûrun lisân-ı azebül-beyân-ı Osmâniye nakl ü tercümesi hususuna sarf-ı mecmu' u iktidar eyledim. Kitâb-ı mezbûr mükâleme sûretiyle seksen altı derse taksîm olunmuş... kâffesi iki yüz elli altı talîme resîde olmuşdur bunların her kangisi lisân-ı Fransevîye tercüme ve nakl olundukda hatâ ve kusurdan

French language into Turkish. As I felt myself not sufficiently capable of finishing this duty, and I thought that nobody had done this adaptation until now, therefore I composed my work in two volumes, the last of which is on grammar and will be published later. Only, the first volume comprising of the morphological rules is presented. This work was a product of serious consideration and discussion by famous authors on the grammar and morphology of the French language, and mostly the issues on which all of them agreed were arranged in this work. The rules were described in Turkish and for each rule many examples were given with their translations. The grammatical concepts were given with their original in French and beside that in some places, the conforming and the non-conforming ways of phrases were discussed. Thus, its benefit was not only for my citizens who desired to learn French, but also it is a useful guide for the foreigners to learn Turkish. Thus, I ask for your patience, tolerance and forgiveness for all of the faults present in this booklet due to the forgetful nature of human beings.

for a long time, a good work in French language by Ollendorf which teaches the rules of syntax and grammar, the verb conjugations, inflected and non-inflected verbs, and how to speak in a very short time is much preferred to other books similar to it. It is necessary to open such a way in order to facilitate the learning of French for students and therefore I, İsmail Hakkı, who was a colonel in the Ministry of War with a post in the Office of the General Military Schools, began with the translation and transfer of this useful book into the Ottoman language. That book was composed in the style of conversation and was divided into six chapters. ... There were 256 lessons in

sâlim olup olmadığı bilinmek için miftah namında olan ikinci cildine müracaat lazım gelüb şu vechile ki her terkîb birer rakam ile gösterilmiş ve her biri edâ ve inşâ-yı Fransevî üzere nasıl telaffuz ve tahrîr olunması iktizâ edeceği yazılmış olmasıyla ledü't-tatbîk hod-be-hod terkib olunan ibarenin sıhhat ü sakametini tahkik müyesser olacağından Fransızca edâ-yı merâm u inşâ-yı kelâm için bir ala vasita olmuş ve vech-i münasebeti mütalasıyla dahi Mükâleme-i Sıbyan tesmiye kılınmıştır... İsâl olunmakta olan âsâr-ı bedî'aya göre işbu eser-i naçizin kıymeti olamaz ise de lisân-ı mezkûrun heveskârânına ve bâ-husus mekteb şâkirdânına fâ'idesi mülâhazasınca ... kabul olması me'mûl bulunuşdur.

■ Ollendorf, *Mükâleme-i Sıbyân*, mütercimi İsmail Hakkı, İstanbul: Ceridehâne'de ikinci def'a olarak tab' olunmuşdur, 1290, pp. 3-4.

Erkan-ı harp kaymakamlarından İsmail Bey'in Fransızca 'Ollendorf' isimli kitabı Türkçeye çevirdiği, 3 cilt üzerinden çevrilen bu eserin 1. cildini almak için 3 cilt bedeli olan 30 kuruşun birden ödeneceği...

■ Tasvir-i Efkâr, no. 469, 18 Zilkâde 1283 / 27-III-1867.

ahd-i hikmet ve fed Hazreti Sultan Abdülaziz Hânîde Devlet-i 'Aliyye-i Osmaniye ile düvel-i sâire mâbeynlerinde câri olan münasebet-i politikiyye ve hukukiye ve ticariye günden güne kisb-i terakki ve vüs'at itmekde ve bu cihetle zikr olunan politika ve hukuk ve ticaret maddelerine dâir Fransızca kaleme alınmış enva'-ı evrak ve senedât u muharrerâtın lisân-ı mezburdan zebân-ı azebü'l-beyân-ı Osmânîye nakl ü tercümesi lüzûmu 'adetâ havâyc-i ruz-ı merre hükmüne geçmiş olduğu halde muharrerât-ı franseviye-i mezburede hasebü'l-îcâb istimâl olunagelen ta'birât u ıstılâhât-ı mahsûse-i resmîyenin Türkçe tabirleri el-hâleti-hazihî mevcûd ve mütedâvil olan lûgat kitaplarında ekseriya nâ-yâb ve mefkûd ve bu sebeble muharrerat-ı mâret-üz zikrin Türkçeye tercümesi emrinde su'ûbet çekildiği melhûz ve meşhûd olmakda olduğuna binâen ... Padişah ma'ârif-penâh müşârûn ileyh hazretlerinin Mehmed Emin Ali Paşa hazretlerinin zîra idâre-i muhassenât-ı 'âddeyi fînûnperverlerinde ibtihâc-ı bahşâ-yı el-bâb-ı ahbâb-ı terakki ve medeniyet olacak derecede revnâk-efzâ-yı fezâ-yı zuhûr olan bunca âsâr-ı celîle-i islahiyye ve tensikât-ı cezîle-i tadrîciyyeye ... ve teberrûken bir eser-i 'âciz-i naçizin dahi zımm u ilâvesi ve bir de zümre-i mütercimîne bir hidmet-i cüz'iyenin ibraz u irâesi emniyye-i hayr hâhânesiyle zikr olunan ibarât u ıstılâhât-ı Franseviye-i resmîyenin en ziyade müstamel olanlarının ilh. getirilen mehazlardan bilistihrac tercümesiyle beraber zabt u ezbâr ve nev-zuhûr kabilinden sâ'ir bazı tabirât-ı müfidenin dahi derciyle işbu lûgat-ı muhtasarada cem' ü tedvînine ibtidâr kılndı

all, and in order to know which one of them did not have any fault after being translated into French, one should look at the second volume called *Miftah*. Each part was shown by a number, and how to write and pronounce it in French was explained. Thus, whether it was correct or not might be checked. This made the book a highly accurate book for French pronunciation and composition and due to this feature it was entitled *Mükâleme-i Sıbyan*. The composition of this book aims at being of benefit for the beginners of the French and thus for the students of this school.

İsmail Bey, who was one of the officers of the Ministry of War, translated a book by 'Ollendorf' in French into the Turkish language in three volumes, and in order to buy the first volume, the price for the complete set, 30 gurus, has to be paid

as the political, judicial and commercial relationship between the Ottoman Empire and other states was increasing gradually, the transfer and translation of every type of the documents and texts on the political, judicial and commercial issues written in French into the Ottoman language became necessary. Although this became a necessity, the Turkish equivalents of the official terminology and concepts used in the French texts could not be found in the current dictionaries and therefore lots of difficulties came out during the translation of the French documents into Ottoman Turkish. During the scholar-friendly reign of Mehmed Emin Paşa, lots of books were composed serving to the development of civilization, to which this humble one would be a contribution of beneficial service to translators. Thus, the most used phrases, concepts and terminology in French were translated into Turkish by deducing from their origins. In addition, some new useful phrases were added to them.

ashâb-ı insâf u mürüvvetden mültemesdir ki haseb-ül-beşer ve killelü'l-istita'a vaki olan sehevîyyat ve hefvatdan sarf-ı 'ayn-ı mülâtefetle dâmen-i 'afv ü igfâr ile ihfâ ve istârına himmet buyurula.

▪ Bn. O. De Schlechta-Wssehrd, *Manuel Terminologique Français-Ottoman contenant les Principales Expressions et Locutions Techniques usitées dans les Pièces diplomatiques, administratives et Judiciaires ainsi que différents néologismes inconnus aux vocabulaires Français-Turcs en Usage = Mecmu'a-i Istilâhât-ı Resmîye*, Vienna : Imprimerie Impériale, 1870.

Memâlik-i mahrûse-i şahanede lisân-ı malahat-beyân-ı Osmaninin tahsili taht-ı mecburiyette olmasıyla bunu millet ve vatandaşlarımıza teshil itmek ve bu suretle Millet-i Osmaniye ile Rûm milleti beyninde haseb-ül istitaat-ıl beşeriyete münasebât-ı haseneyi tezyid ve takviyyete bir kat daha sebebiyet vermek cümle-i vezâif-i zatiyyeden add iderek işbu eser-i nâçiz-i âcizânemin cem ü tertibine ibtidâr eyledim.

▪ Lisân-ı Yunânî ile mübeyyen 'Arabî, Fârisi ve Türkî elfâzını hâvî Mecmau'l-Lugat, Eser-i Abraham Malyakas, İstanbul, 1292, Matbaa-i Tologos.

Fâide : Lisân-ı Türkî'de sekiz nev' hareke olduğu halde âlameti üçe münhasır olduğundan pek çok kelimâtın ve hususiyle esâmi-i ecnebiyenin okunmasında zahmet çekildiğine mebnî Encümen-i Dâniş kararı üzere bir takım işaret ile harekât-ı mezkûre yekdiğerden temyîz olunub tafsîlatı Medhâl-i Kavâid nam risalede muharrer ise de bu senenin salnâmesinde Ecnebi isimleri ol işaret-ı mahsûsa ile tahrîr olduğundan burada ... dahi bir ifade-i icmâliyyeye ibtidâr olunur şöyle ki fetha (he) üzerine med işareti vaz' olunarak fetha-i hafifeden temyîz olunur. Al ve âl gibi. Zammenin dört kısmı dahi yedi ve sekiz rakamlarıyla fark olunur. İntikam manasına Öç (yedi ile rakam yukarda) aded manasına üç (sekiz yine yukarıda), ve sormak (yedi bu sefer aşağıda) ve urmak gibi (sekiz aşağıda) gibi.

▪ *Salnâme-i Devlet-i Âliyye-i Osmâniyye*, Sene 1271, Def'a 9, p. 108.

Mukaddime=Introduction... ve kelimâtın terkîb eylediği hurûf-ı mukatâat yirmi beş olub ancak lisân-ı Fransevî'de mutlak olarak telaffuzu semaâ mevkuûf olan bazı esvât olmağla onun dahi mümkün mertebe tarifi ve Arabî harfle tatbiki için zikr-i âti harflere bi'l-kıyas mahsus işbu üç noktalı kaf harfi icâd ve ibdâ ve hareke ile olan bazı işaretler ihtira olunmuşdur.

▪ Yorgaki Razi, *Gramer Fransez yani Sarf-ı Fransevî*, p.7.

Mukaddime : Lisân-ı Türkînin Fransa lisanı kadar harekeleri telaffuzda mevcut ise de ancak lisân-ı mezkûr misillü cümle harekâtını bil fiil yani yazı ile ifâde ider.

'alâmât-ı mahsûsa vaz' olunmamıştır. Mesela dakîk manasında olan on ve şöhret manasında olan ün ve ta'âma konulan tuz ve tobrak manasında olan toz ve vücûd-ı insanda olan el ve elmek kelimesinde olan el misillü elfâzın yek diğerinden fark u temyîz idecek harekât-ı zâhiresi olmadığından manâları siyâk u sibâkdan anlaşılmalıdır. Lakin Fransızca imlâsıyla yazıldıkları takdirce beheri bir güne hareke-i muharrere mahsûs ile fark u temyîz olunur. Zîra lisân-ı mezkûrun türkî lisânında yazılan hareketlerden zâ'id çend harekât-ı muharreresi mevcûd bulunduğundan ve bu hareketler ise dâima hurûfâtın önüne konulduğundan kelimât-ı mezkûre gibi imlâsı bir ve telaffuz ve sadâları birbirine uymaz müşâbehetli kelimât bulunamaz. Benâberîn Fransa lisânının kendi mehâric ve hareketleriyle Türkçe yazılması mümkün olamayacağından ve Türkçe hurûfâtıyla nazm u tahrîr olunan iş bu Fransızca lügatinin mehâric-i hurûfâtı üzere kıraat olunmak mücerred Türkçe imlâsından mefkûd ve lisân-ı mezbûrda mevcûd bulunan harekât-ı zâhireyi aynıyle ifade ider 'alâmat-ı mahsûsa ihtirâî lâzım gelmiştir faraza aded manasına gelen on kelimesinde bulunan elif vav harflerinin hey'et ü mahrecinde telaffuz olunacak Fransızca kelimelerin hareketini ifâde eder...

Cümlesi hâl-i derûni söyler, Tercümân-ı dil bunu takrîr eyler / Ârız u zâhir u bâtın-ı ahvâl, Bunda efrâd-ı beşer hep hem-hâl / Cümleden efdal ve a'lâ Arabî, Fârisî Türkî lisân-ı müntehabı / Sonradan buldu Fransızca revâc, Fenn-i ta'lîm ona oldu muhtâc / Çoğalub onda nev-îcâd-ı fûnûn, Nice bir muarefet 'acibe nümûn / Onda oldukça maârif îcâd, Oldu elfâz u lügâtî müzdâd / Oldu her fen de bir başka lügat, Istilâhâtı için bir âlet / Bu lügatın okunub zabtı için, Sebk olub kalıp evzâna butûn / Nazm idüb bu lügat-ı muhtasarı, Kala ezîr ile hâtırda yeri / Cem' idüb kullanılan elfâzı, Hıfzı pek lâzım olan elfâzı / Yazdığım müntehab u hıfza sezâ, Müsterek bazı merran def-i ma'na / Türkçeden çün harekâtı ekser, Bazının lafz-ı sedâsı diger / Türkçe harfıyla okunsun deyu ta, Heft-i 'alâmet ona kıldım inşâ / Anı da neşr ile ütdim tefrîk, Olamaz şî'r ile çünkim terdîf / Benzemez birbirine lafz ile hatt, İktiza eyledi imlâsını zabt / Türkçenin altına oldu testîr, Heb Fransızcası bir bir tahrîr / Zabıt olub böylece lafz u imlâ, Kalmadı şübhe mahalli asla / Hemân Allah ide hayra âlet, Devlet ü dinimize bir hîdmet."

▪ Yusuf Hâlis Tâhir Ömerzâde, *Miftah-ı Lisan*, İstanbul: Cerîde-i Havâdis, 1266, pp. 1-5.

Bir millet lisanını ihtiyacına göre tevsi' etmek tabi'dir. Bu ihtiyâcın husûlüne ise mevki' ve zamanın pek te'sîri olur ki millet-i muazzama-i Osmaniye Anadolu ve Rumili kıtalarında ittihâz-ı mevki' eylediği hengâmda hâsıl olan ihtiyâcât-ı cedîdesini Arabî ve Fârisî lisanlarından aldığı lügatlerle ifâde eylemiştir. İşte mevki'miz bizi tevsi'-i lisâna nasıl mecbur itmiş ise şimdi de zamanımız bizi yine o mecbûriyetde bulunduruyor. Çünkü vaktimizde ticaret ve ziraat ve san'at ve sâire misillü mu'âmelât-ı beşeriye usûl-ü

<p>müstahsenede ceryân itmeğe ve bunlar için ayru ayru fennler icâd olunmağa başladığından ve Avrupalularla olan ihtilâtımız münâsebetiyle bunların cümlesini kabûl ve icrâya dahi bizce ihtiyâc görüldüğünden bu ihtiyâcı lisanımıza yeniden yeniy elügatler idhâliyle istifaya mecbur olduk. Bunun içündür ki Fransa ve sâir lisanlardan me'hûz lügatler günden güne çoğalıyor. Hele bu lügatlerin bazıları vardır ki 'âdeta ta'birât-ı fenniye hükmüne girüb nereden alındığı unudulmak derecesine varmıştır. Fakat ellerimizde bulunan lugat kitabları bu lügatlere henüz ecnebî nazarıyla bakarak dâhiline kabul etmediğinden herkes bu lügatleri manalarının derece-i şümûl u kuvvetini öğrenemediği halde ağızdan ağıza işitmek sûretiyle isti'mâl ediyor. İşte bu mecelle-i sağfıra o gibi lügatlerin en meşhurlarını câmi'dir. Eğer rağbet-i umumiyeye mazhar olur ise daha tevsî' edilebilir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Hidâyet, <i>Lugât-ı Ecnebiyye</i>, İstanbul, 1290, pp. 2-3. 	
<p>d. The Press</p>	
<p>İtalyan ve Fransız ve İngiliz lisanlarında mahareti kâmileleri bulunan Seyyid Ali Efendi nâm kimesne tahsilini tâlib olanlara mu'ayyen mâhiye ile ta'lim edeceği ve mahallini havâdishânemizden sual eylemeleri üçüncü defa dahi bildirilmiştir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Cerîde-i Havâdis</i>, no: 316. 	<p>For the third time, we announce that Seyyid Ali Efendi who was skillful in Italian, French and English languages can teach those who want to take private lessons for a reasonable monthly salary. The students may ask for his address at our publication house</p>
<p>Beyoğlu'nda Fransızın birisi bir mekteb açıp 200 guruş mâhiye ile mekteb-i mezkûrda Fransa lisanını ta'lim edeceği olmağla talib olanlara mekteb-i merkûmun nerede ve kimin hânesinde idüğü havâdishânemizden tarif olunur.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Cerîde-i Havâdis</i>, no: 348 	<p>A French person has opened a school in Pera where students may learn the French language for a monthly fee of 200 gurus. For those who want to take lessons from this school, our publication house will give necessary information about the manager and the location of this school</p>
<p>Erbâb-ı hüner ü ma'ârifden bir Fransız hocalık etmek üzere bu def'a Der-âliyyeye gelmiş olmağla Fransızca lisanının tahsiline talib bulunanların ta'lim-i lisan eyleyeceğini ve istenildiği halde dahi daima yanlarında kalacağını beyân ve ilân eylemiş olmasıyla talibi bulunduğu halde Ceridehânededen sual eylemeleri...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Cerîde-i Havâdis</i>, no: 510 	<p>A proficient and well-informed French man came to Constantinople in order to teach French language. We announced that he would teach those who wanted to learn the French language. If students want him to stay with them even at nights, he is able to stay with them. We can give the necessary information about him</p>
<p>Rumca ve İngilizce ve Fransızca ve İtalyanca ve Türkçe bilir ahbabımızdan birisi bulunup elsine-i mezkûreden hangisi üzere bir şey tercüme ettirmek murad eden bulunur ise merkûmun mahalli kezâlik havâdishânemizden sula eyleye...</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Cerîde-i Havâdis</i>, no: 319 	<p>One of our friends has sufficient knowledge of Greek, English, French, Italian and Turkish languages. Those who want to translate something in the above-mentioned languages should come to our office and ask for his address.</p>
<p>Özel Fransızca Dersleri: Salih Efendi isminde bir kişinin, isteyenlere daimi suretde evlerinde ikamet veya geçici olarak nezdlerinde giderek Fransızca ders vereceğinden, isteklilerin TEM'e müracaat etmeleri.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 125 	<p>Salih Efendi is able to give French lessons either by residing with the students or by visiting them sometimes. Those who want to take lesson should apply to the Printing House of <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i></p>

<p>Sultan III. Selim'in hayattayken yapılan ve Fransa'da Versay sarayında bulunan tasvirinin aynısının Litoğrafya ile alındığı ve Çuhacı Hanında Paris kütüphanesi denilen 82 numaralı odada, Çin kağıdı üzerine olanı 60 kuruş ve adi kâğıt üzerine olanının da 40 kuruşa satılmaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 13 	<p>The portrait painted when Sultan Selim III was alive which is now in the Palace of Versailles in France has been reproduced through lithography and sold now in the 82nd room in the Library of Paris in Çuhacı Han. The one on Chinese paper costs 60 gurus whereas the ones on simple paper cost 40 gurus</p>
<p>Fransızca öğretmek amacıyla yazılan bir kitabın satışı : Bâb-ı Seraskerî Tercüme Odası hulefâsından Aram Efendi'nin Fransızca öğrenmeye yardımcı olmak amacıyla yazdığı 'Mecmua-i Musâhabet' isimli kitabın, bazı ilavelerle 2. defa olarak basıldığı ve Tercümân-ı Ahvâl matbaasıyla sahâf çarşısında Hacı Said Efendi'nin ve Bayezid'de Serikî Mustafa Efendi'nin ve Mercan'da Hoca Bağdasar'ın dükkanlarında ve Beyoğlu ile Galata'da 20şer kuruşa satılmaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 228 	<p>The sale of a book written for the sake of teaching French language: The book of 'Mecmua-i Musâhabet' [Collection of Conversation] written by the former member of the Translation Chamber, Aram Efendi, in order to provide some help in the learning of French was re-printed with some additions. It may be found for 20 gurus by the Printing House of Tercümân-ı Ahvâl, at the shop of Hacı Said Efendi in the old-book market, of Serikî Mustafa Efendi in Bayezid and of Hoca Bağdasar in Mercan, and also in Pera and Galata.</p>
<p>Fransızca'yı kısa sürede öğrenmek isteyenler için Bâb-ı Seraskeri Tercüme Odası Memurlarından Aram Efendi'nin Türk harfleriyle yazdığı 'Hüccetü'l-lisan-ı Fransevi' isimli risalenin sahaf çarşısında Bıyık Esad Efendi'nin dükkanında, Bahçekapısında Hamidiye Türbesi civarında, Seraskeri kapısı caddesinde ve Mahmud Paşa'daki kitapçılarda 5 kuruşa satılmaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 394 	<p>For those who want to learn French in a short period, Aram Efendi, who was one of the officials in the Translation Chamber, has written in Turkish script a booklet 'Hüccetü'l-lisân-ı Fransevi' [The proof of the French language] which is for sale by the booksellers in Mahmut Paşa, in the street of Seraskeri gate, around the Hamidiye Tomb in Bahçekapısı and in the shop of Bıyık Esad Efendi in old-book bazaar for the price of 5 gurus.</p>
<p>Fransızca'nın öğrenilmesine yardımcı olacak bir kitap hakkında Bâb-ı Seraskerî Tahrirat-ı Ecnebiyye Kalemi müdürü Krikor Efendi'nin yazdığı ve Fransızca'nın öğrenilmesine yardım amacıyla, isteklilere kolaylık sağlayacak şekilde düzenlenmiş olan "Usul-i Kiraât-i Franseviye" isimli risalenin basılarak, Divan Yolu'ndaki kiraathanede ve Hamidiye Türbesi civarında 6 no'lu dükkanında satılmaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 470 	<p>On a supplementary book for the learning of French: The director of the office for Foreign Correspondence in the Sublime Porte, Krikor Efendi, has written a supplementary book for the training of the French language, which has been prepared to provide some facilities for those who want to learn it: 'Usûl-i Kiraât-i Franseviye' [The methods of reading in French] is published and sold in the reading house in Divanyolu and in shop number 6 around the Hamidiye Tomb</p>
<p>Fransızca'nın öğrenilmesi için; Alman Ahen isimli meşhur yazarın yazdığı "Metod d'Ahen" isimli kitabın çevrilerek on günde bir cüz olarak yayımlandığı, her nüshası 20 kuruş olmak üzere abone olmak isteyenlerin Divan Yolu'ndaki kiraathaneye, Bâb-ı Âli karşısındaki 15 nolu mağazaya ve Beyoğlu'nda mösyö Cristiyarat isimli kitapçıya müracaat etmeleri gerekmektedir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 586 	<p>In order to learn French, the book composed by the famous German writer, Achen, Methode d'Ahen was translated and published one fascicule every ten days. Each fascicule costs 20 gurus and those who want to subscribe should apply either to the reading house in Divanyolu, or to shop number 15 across the Sublime Porte, or to the booksellers called Cristiyarat in Pera.</p>
<p>'Hukuk-ı Nâs veya Milet ve ammenin mülük ve hükümdârânın etvar ve ef'aline ve umûr ve ahvaline tevfiik olunan kânûn-ı tabii usûlünü" içeren ve Vatte</p>	

<p>isimli bir kişi tarafından Avrupa’da bastırılan Fransızca eserin yayımına başlanıyor.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 10. 	
<p>Fransızca’dan Arapça’ya çevrilen ‘El-menhat fi-Siyâset-i Hıfzıssıha’ isimli eserin, Bosna Eyâletindeki Çelebi Pazarı kazasının eski müfettişi Hacı Mehmed Reşid Efendi tarafından Arapça’dan Türkçe’ye ‘Fevâid-i Menhat fi-Kavâid-i Sihha’ ismiyle çevrilmiştir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 146 	
<p>Mekteb-i Tibbiye 9. sınıf öğrencilerinden Bekir Sıdkı Efendi’nin İlm-i Hesâba dair Fransızca ve Türkçe kitaplardan toplayıp yazdığı « Tuhfet’l-Muhasebeyn » isimli risalesinin bu okulun matbaasında basılarak 8 kuruşa, bu okulda ve sahaflarda uncu Ahmed Efendi’nin Bayezid’de kağıdıcı Mustafa Efendi’nin, Üsküdar’da Yazıcı Osman Efendi’nin ve Kasımpaşa’da Kırımlı attarın dükkanlarında satılmaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no : 238 	
<p>Mecmûa-i Tesâvir-i Osmâni’nin yeniden düzenlenmesi. Silistre Valisi Arif Paşa’nın 12 cild olmak üzere yazdığı, 1. cildi geçen sene TEM’de basılan ve sonradan Fransızca tercümesinin dahi basılması için Paris’e gönderilen MTO adlı eserin 80’den fazla eksiksiz tasvirleri toplanarak bir takımı Fransızca ve diğeri ise karışık olmak üzere 3 sınıf üzere düzenlenip ciltlenmiştir.</p> <p><i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 174</p> <p>Bâb-ı Âlî Tercüme Odası hulefasından Faik Bey’in tercüme ettiği ‘Sergüzeşt-i Sâib-nihâd-ı Hindî’ isimli eserin 22 kuruşa, yine bu kişinin daha önce basılan ‘Kühelü’n-nâfi Zevlül ebsar’ isimli tercümesinin 30 kuruşa satılmaktadır.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 399 	
<p>Türkçe’ye çevrilmesi gereken bazı kitapları çevirmek ve başkaları tarafından çevrilen kitaplar için tahsis edilecek para ödülünün miktarını belirlemek için Maârif Nezâreti idaresi altında bir ‘Cemiyet-i Mütercim’in kurulduğu belirtilecek bu cemiyete seçilen 12 üye ve kâtibin isimleri veriliyor.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 318 	
<p>Bazı kitapların çevirisi için Tercüme Cemiyetinin kuruluşu. Maârif Nezâreti’nden gelen ve Takvim-i Vekâyi’de yayımlanan varakada, İlm-i Riyaziye ve Hikemiye’nin pek çok ilerlediği ve bu ilimlere dair yabancı dilde birçok kitaplar yazıldığı gibi edebi ilimlere ve saireye dair Arapça yazılmış birçok kitabın da bulunduğu belirtilerek; bunlardan seçilenlerin tercümesi için Dâire-i Maârif’te bir “Tercüme Cemiyeti” kurulduğu ve bu cemiyetle çeşitli ilimlere dair Fransız, İngiliz, Alman ve diğeri Avrupa dilleriyle yazılan faydalı kitaplardan seçileceklerin çevirisinin yapılacağı bildirilerek, bu iş için seçilecek üyelerle ilgili bilgi veriyor.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 737 	

Şimdi şöhret bulmuş bir tabir var Hakimiyet-i Halk diyorlar, bu kaziye Fransızca'dan tercümedir aslı Suverinete du popilişdi biz şu Fransızca kelimenin manasını taharri edelim. Suverinete ne demektir bu kelime fil aslı Latince Suverinus lafzından mehuzdur ki manası dilediğini yapar Hakim bi nefsihi, Âmir-i mutlak, Fail-i muhtar dımekdir. Peki kendiliğinden hükmeden ve bi'l-cümle eşya üzerine kudret-i kâbilesini vaz' iden kimdir. Cenab-ı Allah'tan gayrı bu sıfatla muttasıf yoktur. (18) İşbu ... hakimiyet-i halktan yani menba-i hükümet cemaatde olmasından neş'et itmeyüp ancak hadîs-i mevkûfta ... ve eserde elsinetü'l-Hakk aklâmu'l-Hakk ve Latince'de Vox populi, Vox Dei, Fransızca'da La Voix de peuple est la voix de Dieu ve her akl ü lisanada mevcut hikmet-i ma'lûmeye mebnidir. ... kaldı ki cemaatden muradımız cemaat-i siyasiyedir ki Avrupalılar'ın, Sosyete politik dedikleridir. ... Roen mektebi hocası Pasele işbu 1869 senesi ıstılahatı-ı siyasiyeyi şu ifadeyi yazmıştır: 'Bir hükümetin fil aslı-ı cevazı sosyete politik zımnı ya da sarihi ihtiyarıyladır yoksa ihtiyâr-ı pupil dinmek meşru değildir'

- *Ulûm*, cild-i evvel, numero 1.

There is a famous term recently called "sovereignty of population" (Hâkimiyet-i Halk) translated from French which was originally Souverinete du peuple. Let me analyze the root of this French phrase. The root of the Souverinete was in Latin and means one who is able to do everything he wishes (Hâkim bi nefsihi, Âmir-i mutlak (the Absolute Commander)) Who is able to dominate by himself and put all of his absolute power over everything? Nothing but Allah is attributed with this capacity. In this respect, this does not stem from the fact that the place of origin of the sovereignty was the people, but it is based on the principle formulated in the Latin "Vox populi, Vox Dei", in French "La Voix de pueple est la Voix de Dieu" [The voice of the people is the voice of God]. We mean by "the community", the community of politics, which was phrased by Europeans as societ e politique. Pasele, teacher of the Roen school, has written in his political terminology in this year of 1869 that the legitimacy of a government is laid down implicitly or explicitly on the choice of the societ e politique, not on the wish of the people.

keza fi tercemeti hukuki umumiye bu hükümetin hudemâtı ya usul ü kavâid üzerinedir yahud usul ü kavaiden mücerreddir. Eğer mücerred ise, ona tasallut ve istibdat derler ki Despotizm denilen işte budur."

- *Ulûm*, numero 2

konstitüsyonel yani hükümet-i mahlûtanın hakikati şudur ki onda şekl-i hükümet ve hukuk-ı ahaliyi cami olan kavaid-i esasiyyeyi bozmağa" ibid., p. 88.

İsm-i fail, ism-i meful ve sıfat-ı müşebbehe hep kaide üzeredir. Fransız lisanındaki acektif karışıklığı bizde yoktur. ... yakın zamana kadar Fransızca'dan karışan lügatler hemen yüze mütecevizdir.

- *Ulûm*, numero 3

a) memâlik-i şarkıyye ahâlisi yazularını sağdan sola Avrupalılar soldan sağa doğru ufki olarak ve Çinlüler aşağı 'amûdî olarak yazarlar.

b) Dünyada fînûn-ı mütenevvi'a ve elsine-i muhtelifे üzere ziyâde kitab tab' u fûruht olunan şehir Almanya'da Laypsik olub mahall-i mezkûr küçük bir şehir iken derûnında derûnunda yalnız dört yüz altmış sahaf mağazası vardır ve her sene orada bir cesîm kitâb panayırı küşâd olunur.

c) milel-i Avrupa beyninde en ziyâde virgü viren İngiliz olub en az viren İsviçrelüdür.

d) Avrupada en ziyade emr-i nezâfete i'tinâ olunan mahal Felemenk memleketi olub sokakda giderken yere tükürmek bile tecvîz olunamaz ve bunun aksi Lehistandır.

e) en ziyade taallümü müşkil ve telaffuzu güç Çerkes

a) Different directions of writing among the Western, Eastern and Chinese people. b) Leipzig in Germany was the city in which the biggest number of books were published and sold. In this small city, there were 460 bookshops and every year a big book fair was happening. c) English people paid the biggest amount of tax among Europeans whereas citizens of Switzerland paid the minimum tax. d) The cleanest country in Europe was the Netherlands whereas the dirtiest one was Poland. e) The most difficult language to learn and to pronounce was Circassian. f) Europeans in the earlier period had written digits with letters which was very difficult for them. Due to the

<p>lisânıdır.</p> <p>f) Avrupalular mukaddemleri hurûf ile rakam yazub bu dahi müşkil bir usûl olduğundan şimdiki kullandıkları erkâmı ‘Arablardan almışlardır ve ‘arablar dahi Hindûlardan ahz eylemişler.</p> <p>g) şimdiye kadar gelen şa’ir ü münşilerin içinde en çok âsâr terkine muvaffak olan İspanyalı Luis Duveyger nâm zât olub mûmi ileyh müddet-i ‘ömründe sekiz yüz cild olarak yirmi bir milyon beyt ü satır nazm u tahrîr eylemişlerdir.</p> <p>h) fi zamanına hazâ Parisde Aleksandır Duma isminde meşhûr bir müellif nâmına olarak hikâyât u tevârih ü terâcim-i ahvâl ü sâireye dair şimdiye kadar tab’ u neşr olunan kitabların mîkdârı otuz bine bâliğ olmuştur. Bir adam bu kadar kitabı te’lif etmek şöyle dursun müddet-i ‘ömründe gece gündüz yazsa bu kadar şeyi yazması dâ’ire-’i imkânda olamayacağından yalnız gidü mevzû’ bahs olacak mevâdı eli altında olan birçok münşilere virtüb yazdırmakda veyâhüd erbâb-ı ihtiyâcdan bazı müellifler kendi tasnîfkerdelerini mûmi ileyhe terk iderek mukâbilinde bir şey almaktadırlar. Paris’in Şârivari nâm letâ’if gazetesi müellif mûmi ileyhin bu kadar sür’at-hâmesi hakkında dâima birer sûretle ... ta’n ü ta’rîz olarak bir kere yirmi beş bârgîr kuvvetinde bir vapur âletiyle idâre olunur birkaç yüz kalemden ‘ibâret yazı dest-gâhı resmini yaparak mûmi ileyhin dahi bu aklâmın hepsine birden temliye ve nezâret eylediğini göstermişdir ve bir kere de bu kadar şey yalnız bir elle yazılamayacağına işâretle mü’ellif iki eline ve ayağına ve ağz u burun ve gözlerine ve kulaklarına ve a’zâ-yı sâ’iresinin her birine bir kalem virerek ‘ale’-d-devâm yazmağa meşğûl olduğunu resm eylemişdir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Cerîde-i Havâdis, no. 11. 	<p>difficulty, they borrowed the digits they were using now from Arabs, which the Arabs had borrowed from Indians before. g) the most productive poet and author until now was a Spanish one called Luis de Vayger, who had written in 800 volumes 21 million lines during his life. h) Until this time, books on history, literature and biography published by a Parisian called Alexander Dumas reached the number of 30.000. It is impossible for a man to publish this number of books by himself. Two possibilities appeared in mind then: He might let the compositor to write the parts of the subjects he wanted to compose, or some authors due to their needs gave their works to Dumas in return of some money from him. One of the satirical Parisian journals, Charivarie, published a picture in which a writing-desk on which some hundreds of pen managed by a 25 HP engine was inspected by Dumas. In another time, the same journal painted the author with having pen in his two hands and foots, with his mouth and ears and with all of his other organs signifying that it was impossible to write so much only with one hand.</p>
<p>e. Educational Institutions</p>	
<p>Bizim muradımız evlâd ve ahfadımıza sanayî kabilinden olarak elsineyi ecnebiyeyi öğretmektir. Yoksa âyin-i nasraniyeyi öğretmek değildir. Zira lüzumu yoktur. Hurufat ve kavaid ve terkiibini beyan eden kitaplar okutturmalı, zira hiçbir millet yoktur ki kendi ilmihalini okumadan elsine-i ecnebiyeyi okusun.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Menakıb-ı Kethüdazâde Mehmed Arif Efendi</i>, tertip eden Emin Efendi, 2. baskı, İstanbul 1305, p. 281. 	<p>We aim to teach our children foreign languages just for teleological reasons, not to teach them the Christian customs and rituals. There is no need for this. They should read books on alphabets, grammar and syntax.</p>
<p>Kütüb-i edebiye-i Arabî’den Meselü’s-sair ve İzâhü’l-Meâni, ve Farisî’den Menâzirü’l-İnşâ nâm kitapları ve lisan-ı Fransevîden Emile Lefranc’ın Littérature’ünü mehaz ittihaz iderek vesâir müellefat-ı edebiyeden de bazı mebâhis ahz ve derc eyleyerek Mebâni’l-İnşâ nam risâle-i âcizânemi bittertib-</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Süleyman Paşa, <i>Mebâni-l İnşâ</i>, İstanbul: Mekteb-i Fünûn-ı Harbiye Matbaası, 1871, pp. 1-2. “ 	<p>I composed my book Mebâni’l-İnşâ while I was using and referring to some books of Arabic literature such as Meselü’s-sâir and İzâhü’l-Meâni, in Persian Menâzirü’l-İnşâ, to a book from the language of French, Littérature by Emile Lefranc, and also some literary texts from other languages.</p>
<p>mekاتب-i umumiyeye muktezî kütüb ve resail ile lisân-ı Türkîde fünûn-ı mütenevviyaya dair lazım gelen kitapları vaktile ve sırasıyla telif ve tercüme etmek ve ettirmek</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ İsmail Kara, from Zühtü Paşa. 	<p>translating or writing books necessary for general schools, and books which are needed in Turkish language for all of sciences, or arranging the translation and composition of these books on time.</p>

Appendix 3: Chapter Three

a. The Emergence of Translation Studies	
<p>her hangi lisanında olursa olsun, Usûl-ü tercümeden maksad, bir ma'nâyı bir zarfdan diğer zarfa koymaktır. Ancak vazifesi ve birinci maksadı mazrûfî vikâye ve lâyıkiyla ihâta itmekdir.</p> <p>▪ Mehmed Ziya, <i>Rehber-i Usûl-i Tercüme</i>, Dersâdet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1325.</p>	<p>The principle of translation is to put the meaning from one envelope into another envelope, whatever language it is. But the duty and the primary aim of this activity is to embrace and save the original properly.</p>
<p>Meselâ cehalet, irtikâp gibi birçok esbabı izafiye görüp, halin ıslahını onların izalesinde sanıyoruz. Daima bu nokta-i nazardan bet ile çalışıyoruz. Yine umduğumuz tesirat-ı haseneyi göremiyoruz. Belki onun aksini görüp şaşırıyoruz. Ve meyus ve mütehayyir kalıyoruz. Acaba niçin bir kere de bu esbabın mebâdisine ve anlardan üssü esan olan terbiye-i umumîye cihetine atf-ı nazarı im'an etmiyoruz?</p> <p>Avrupa'da bu fenne dair yazılan kitapların en sonra ve en cami ve müfit ve en makbul olanı hükemayı müteahhirinden Rousseau'nun Emile namında bir tıfı mevhumun terbiyesine dair yaptığı kitaptır ki, çocuğun hengâmi velâdetinden yirmi beş yaşına kadar muhtaç olduğu terbiye ve talimatı havidir; bu kitap Avrupa'da her lisanı tercüme olunup bayağı onun zuhuruna kadar cari olan usulü terbiyeyi büsbütün tebdil etmiş ve mincihetin seksen, yüz seneden beri Avrupa'nın terakkiyatına bâis olmuş olduğu halde henüş lisan-ı Osmanîye nakledilmemiş olduğundan min gayri hat tercümesine kıyam olundu.</p>	<p>for instance, we saw relative reasons for ignorance, and tried to correct this continuously. But we could not get the expected good results. Maybe, we attained the opposite and became surprised. Then, we were upset and amazed. But why did we not take the origin of these reasons into consideration and focus on the general education which was primary than ignorance.</p> <p>the last and the most comprehensive, the most useful and accepted book about this subject was Emile written by Rousseau. It contained the information about the education of an imaginary child, Emile, from his birth up to his 25 years old. This book was translated to every languages of Europe and has changed the education method completely since 80 or 100 years, but it was not translated into Ottoman and therefore I tried it which was beyond my limit."</p>
<p>Evvela bizde usulü kitabet denilen tarzı mahut icabınca asıl lisanımızın birçok esmâ ve ef'ali sıfat vesair edevatı kullanılmayıp onların yerine farişi ve arabî konulmak ve sureti ifadece dahi ne türlü şey yazılırsa yazılınsı mutlaka şu mütearif olan şive dairesinden harice çıkılmamak bir nevi zarafet ve âdet olduğundan, herbiri bir bahri âzim olam üç lisanı mürekkep olduğu halde lisani osmani öyle darlaştırılıştır ki şivei marufa sığmayan her türlü maani, bizzarure terk ve feda olunmak ve artık maani ihtirandan vaz geçip kudemanın mallarını garetle geçinmek lazım gelmiştir. Ben bu tercümede o zarâfet ve âdete riayet etmedim. Saniyen esnayı tercümede mümkün olduğu, yani lisanımızın şivesi tahammül ettiği kadar asıl nüshanın şivei ibaratını ve medlül ve mefhumunu sadikane nakle ihtimam ettim. Lakin bazı ibaratı müteselsile var ki hükmü şivei lisan olarak Fransızca pek güzel olduğu halde eğer aynile yani her kelimesine mukabil lisanımızda bir kelime bulmak veçhile tercüme edilse, bize pek çirkin ve vahşi görüneceğinden maada, manayı is'ap ve iğlak edeceğinden, böyle ibareleri icabında göre iki ve üç ibareye taksim ve münasebeti mahalliyeye göre bazı edevatı raptiye ilavesiyle yine manayı aslinin bozulmaksızın nakline çalıştım. Salisen Rousseau Fransa fusahasının serefrazlarından olarak, ibaratı gayet selis olduğu halde ifade de icaza ve az kelime ile çol mana beyanına mail olmakla bunlardan pek müphem olanları tavzıhta kusur etmedim. Ve birtakımı ki müphem suretinde ise de az tefekkürle istinbat</p>	<p>This translation was carried out according to a special method. First of all, according to our composition method, many nouns and verbs, adjectives of our original language are not used. Instead, the Arabic and Persian ones are substituted and the traditional style accepts only the known accent without any consideration of subject and its expression. This made Ottoman language very narrow even the three languages from which it was constituted were very rich. Every meaning which was not included by the old style is got rid of and new meanings were not accepted. Only the older ones suffice then. I did not conform to that style.</p> <p>Secondly, I paid special attention to conform to the original way of expression and to transfer it accordingly. For some long phrases, I divided the lonf sentence into two or three pieces, and in some places I add small things and thus I tried to transfer it without changing the original meaning.</p> <p>Thirdly, Rousseau was one of the leading French writers who gave with few words many meanings. I clarify the ambiguous ones and for</p>

olunabilir; onları halleri üzere bıraktım. Rabian ibareleri imkân müsait olduğu kadar Türkçe kelimat ile terkibe ve sureti imlâları vücuhü mütearife üzere zapt u tahfîre sâyettim. Ve bu tariki tercüme için gayet eshel buldum. Görülecektir ki lisanı bir derece dahi tevsi eyledim. Hususa lisanı Osmanîde adap ve hikemiyata dair elfâz ve tabirat yoktur ve elsinei muntazamadan bu misillü fûnûna dair bir kitabn tercümesi mümkün değildir zaminde bulunan yeni çıkma üdebaya bununla bir mümune gösterdim. İmdi bu tercümeyle ihale nazarı râğbet edenlerden rica ederim ki esnayı ibarede muğlak gibi gördükleri terkiplerin her kelimesine ve raptına gereği gibi sarfı zihin ve dikkat etmek zahmetini ihtiyar etmezden evvel mütercimim kusuruna hükmetmesinler. Ve çünkü mütercim, sefiri memur gibi bittabi mazur olacağından efkâr ve medlûlce bir sehiv ve hataya vâkıf olur ise müellife suç bulsunlar... ben yalnız söz söyleyiyorum. Haşvıyatla evrak doldurmuyorum. Mana tefhim ediyorum. Yalnız elbisei zahireyi göstermekle kani olmuyorum. Maksut bizatihi her türlü tezyinat ve tecemmülâtan âri olarak olduğu gibi göstermek istiyorum. Hüner satmak daiyesinde değilim ki celbi tahsin arzusunda bulunayım. Ben insanım ve insaniyet meftûnıyım. Bu emeği insane olan ebneyi cinsime hizmet için sarfettim. İmdi insanlardan bir ehli insaf namımı bir kere hayır ile yadederse bin kere aferin demekten bence müreccahtır. Ve din ve milletime bu kadarcık bir yadigâr bırakmağa muvaffak olduğumdan dolayı nefsimde duyduğum lezzet, bana her türlü tahsin ve mükâfattan elez ve ahlâdır.

- İhsan Sungu, "Ziya Paşa'nın 'Emile' Tercümesi" in *Tercüme Dergisi* vol. 1 (1940) no. 1, pp. 62-78.

those who were less ambigious I left them.

Fourthly, I tried as far as possible to write the phrases with Turkish words. And the pronunciation and the grammatical issues, I composed them according to the known style. I found this way the easiest way for translation. Reader will see that I broadened the limits of the language. Especially, there are not any expressions and phrases relevant to the morality and philosophy and therefore book translations about these sciences from ordinary languages seem to be impossible. I showed an example for the newcomers into the arena.

...I did not only express some words. I was grasping meaning. It does not suffice to me to show the outer dress. My goal was to show everything as they are without any ornamentation...

Bir lisân ile yazılmış bir fikri, aher bir lisân üzere ifâde için nakl ü tebdîl eylemeğe 'tercüme' ve nakl ü tebdîl olunan âsâra dahi âsâr-ı müterceme denir. Vehle-i evvelide tercüme mevcûd bir eserin 'adetâ lisân beyânını tebdîl eylemekden ibâret görüldüğü için te'lîfe nazaran nihâyetsiz derecede âsân zannolunur. Halbuki tercümenin mükemmeliyeti, aslına tamam-ı mutabakatı hakiki bir ehliyet-i edebiye ile ma'lûmat-ı vası'aya lisân-şinâlıktan ve isâbet-i fikirden münba'is bir nazara muhtac olduğundan te'lîfe nazaran sehl-i 'add olunmaktan ise dahâ ziyade su'ûbetli görülse revâdır. İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı, *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhir*, Medhal.

The transfer and change of idea in a language in order to express it in another language was translation, and the works that were transferred and changed were called as translated works. In the first instance, translation assumed to be simpler than original composition due to its change of the expression. But the perfection of the translation was based on its total conformity to the original, to a real literary competence and broad knowledge, to a special attention emerged from an appropriate idea and skillfulness in language. Therefore, to see it more difficult than original writing seems to be suitable

c. The Spread of Theatre as a new Way of Entertainment

Mukaddime: Tiyatro denilen şey: Halkın âdâb u ahlâkına hizmet için icâd olunmuş bir mekteb-i 'irfandır. Bu mekteb evvelleri İtalya ve Fransa ve sâ'ir mahallerde küşâd olunub : ahâlîsi tenze (?) maksadıyla hayli istifâdelerde bulunub: sonraları vatanımız bulunan dârü'l-hilâfede dahi küşâd olunarak az bir vakit zarfında çok ilerülemiş : ve ahâlimiz Avrupa ahalisi gibi istifâdeye alışmışlardır. Çünkü tiyatro insanın vicdânını açar fikrin hissiyatını tezyîd ider ahlâk-ı hamîde ile ahlâk-ı zemînenin mâhiyetini meydana kor bir eser

Introduction: Theater is an invented school of knowledge in order to serve for the morality and good customs of the people. This school was firstly seen in Italy and France and in other places. Their people profit really from them and then it is also seen in our homeland, place of Khilafa, and has been improved a lot in a short time. Our people got used to as European people. Hence, theater pieces are works that are opening the conscience of human being, increasing emotions of the ideas, and

<p>oldığı inkâr olunamayacağından şu iddi'amızı isbâta : Avrupa milel-i mütemeddinesinin en fâzıl en edîb olan ashâb-ı kalemi bedâyi'-i fikriyelerinin en müntehablarını tiyatro yazmağa sarf ettikleri delîl-i 'alenîdir kütüb-i edebiyeyi insan yalnız gözû ile görür tiyatrodâ ise bir şey-i meydanda görünen vücûda teecessüm itdiğini gösterir. Benâberin tiyatro gâh ağlatarak gâh güldürek insanı hem eğlendirir hem müstefîd ider. Bundan anlaşıldı ki edebe ahlaka her şeyden ziyâde tiyatro hizmet idermiş. İşte bizde de erbâb-ı kalemden bazı zevâtın şimdiye kadar birkaç tiyatro yazdıklarını göreyek ben de böyle bir eser meydana getirmeğe heves itdim. Her ne kadar iktidârım olduğımı bilir isem de (bazı ahvâlde heves iktidârdan ziyâde işe yarıyor) dinildiği gibi işte ben de ilcâ-yı hevesle şu eser-i nâçizâneyi vüsûda getirdim. Fakat bu eser 'umûmun mütalaâsına 'arz idecek kadar değerli bir şey değilse de : insan şu dünyada ebnâ-yı cinsinin istifâdesine hizmet ider velev ne kadar değersiz olursa olsun bir yâdigâr bırakmağı arzu ider olduğu vazîfe bilenlerin ma'lûmudur. İşte bu i'tikâda ve trajedinin ma'nâsı (hâ'ile) ile tercüme olduğına binâ'en o nâm ile ben de şu nâçiz eserin tab'-ı neşrine ictisâr iyledim. Ümîdvârım ki nekâyısı mu'âf tutulur. Şemsi"</p> <p>▪ <i>Tedbirde Kusur. Hâile.</i> (Sekiz fasıl bir mukaddimeyi hâvîdir.) Müellifi Şemsi. Birinci def'a olarak Zârtaryan fabrikasında tab' olundu. İstanbul: 1290.</p>	<p>explains the nature of the praised morality and ... morality. This fact can not be denied. As an obvious proof of this claim, I can refer to the fact that the men of letters in the civilized nations of Europe are using their best ideas for the composition of theaters. In the books, you can only see with your eyes, whereas theaters show the things that become tangible. However, while making people cry and laugh interchangeably, it both enjoys and serves for their sake. As it can be realized from this fact that theater serves for the morality and customs at most. Thus, I want to compose a similar piece by seeing the masters as composing theater plays. This desire leads me to write this humble piece. Even this was not so valuable to put it into the public consideration it is known that human being serves in this world for his own species. So they want to leave a remembrance behind him. Therefore, I encouraged myself to publish this humble tragedy.</p>
<p>İzâhât-ı Mü'ellif: 1- Habîbe'nin mevzû'ı Viktor Hugo'nun (Anjelik) nâmındaki fâci'asına tatbîk olunmuşdur. Vakânın sıhhati ise Selçukîlerle Eyyubîlerin vakâyini câmi' olan târihler tasdik ideceğinden bu bâbda ashâb-ı iğrâz tarafından vârid olacak inticâl-i efkârî bi't-tabî' merdûddir. 2- Tatbîk-i vakâ münâsebetiyle şunu da söylemek isterim ki vaktiyle İtalya'da zuhûr iden veyâhud bir şâirin sırf eser-i hayâlî olan bir fâci'aya Türkistanda misâl aramak değildir. Yalnız şu hakikati göstermek içündür ki hükûmet-i keyfiyyeyi 'adl u hakka tercîh iden erbâb-ı istibdâd velev Müslüman olsun fecâyî'a cür'etden ve o yolda ve sâ'il-i İblîs-i pesendâne isti'mâlinden bir vakitte ictinâb itmez. 3- Hüsn-i sabâh-ı hicretin kurun-ı sâdisî hen-gâmında zuhûr iden bir fırka-i hafiyeye reisidir ki zamanında tavâ'if-i mülûkdan mezâlîme cür'et idenlerin gerha-i tarîk-i 'adle idhâl ile mazlûmların dâdını alırdı.</p> <p>▪ <i>Habîbe yâhûd Semâhat-ı Âşk: Fâci'a.</i> Üç Fasıl Dört Perde. pp. 3-4.</p>	<p>The explanation of the author: 1- the subject of the Habibe was applied to the tragedy of Anjelik by Victor Hugo. The accuracy of the case should be proven by the history books containing the relations between the Seljukids and Ayyubids. Therefore, the objections were not valid. 2- I would like to tell about the application of the case that it was not to look for a sample in Turkistan for a tragedy appeared in Italy before or a tragedy just as a fictive product of a poet. It is just to show the reality that the oppressors even Muslim ones, preferring their arbitrary government to justice and right do not hesitate from the usage of the Satanic ways. 3-Hasan Sabbah was the head of a secret group emerged in the first centuries of the Hijra. He was taken the revenge of the suppressed people by turning the governors into justice back when they have the audacity to injustice.</p>
<p>e. Münif Efendi (1830-1910) and His Muhaverât-ı Hikemiye</p> <p>Mukaddime: Edebiyât-ı garbiyye aksâmından 'Diyâlog' ya'ni muhâvere ta'bîr olunur bir usûl vardır ki bir madde iki veyahûd daha ziyâde eşhâs beyninde mükâleme sûretinde tahrîr kılınur bu tarîk kudemâ-yı Yunanun dahi meslûk-ı kadem kalemi olub hatta Felâtun'un bu vâdide hayli âsârı mevcûd ve meşhûrdur ve hukemâ-yı</p> <p>There is a method called dialogue, i.e. conversation, as a part of Western literature in which an issue or a subject is written in the form of a conversation by two or more persons. This way was also the style of the ancient Greeks. There were lots of famous works by Plato in this style.</p>	

<p>müteahhirîn hikmet ü ulûm-ı sâireye dâ'ir bazı müellefâtlarını tarz-ı mezkûr üzere yazmışlardır bu usulün iki büyük fâidesi olup birisi beyân olunan madde hakkında vârid olan i'tirâzâtı dahi def' eylediğinden vuzûh-ı tâm ile istifâde-i merâm olunması ve diğeri mevzû'-ı bahs her ne kadar mesâil-i 'amîkadan olsa yine müceb gelâl olmayub şevk ü râğbetle mütalââ kılınmasıdır imdi Muhâverât-ı Hikemiye erbâb-ı mütalâaya eğlence olduktan başka tahsîl-i 'ilm ü ma'rifete dahi medâr oldığı cihetle hem mağdâ ve hem de lezîz olan bir meyve-i hoşgivâre müşâbihdir işbu usûl-i mehâsin-şümûl bizce mechûl olduğundan bu bâbda ebnâ-yı vatana bir 'ilm icmâli virmek üzere Avrupa hükemâsından Volter ve Fenelon ve Fontenelin bazı muhâverât-ı hikemiyelerini Türkçeye nakl ü terceme eyledim.</p> <p>▪ <i>Muhâverât-ı Hikemiye: Fransa hükemâsından Volter ve Fenelon ve Fontenel'in te'lîfâtından.</i> Mütercimi: Münîf Efendi, ez-hulefâ-yı Oda-i Tercüme-i Bâb-ı 'Âli. Dersa'âdette Cerîdehâne Matbaasında Tab' Olunmuştur. 1276, pp. 2-3.</p>	<p>The later philosophers composed some of their works pertaining to wisdom and other sciences in this manner. This style has two great benefits. The first one is its refutation of the oppositions to the issue which makes the subject very clear and completely useful. The second one is that it always makes the study of the subject enjoyable and desirable even it is a difficult one. Yet, this book of philosophical dialogues has become not only a source of entertainment for scholars, but it has led also to the study of science and knowledge. Therefore, it resembles a delicious and fresh fruit. And because this beautiful style was unknown for us, to contribute this science to the people of this country, I translated and transferred some philosophical dialogues of European philosophers, such as Voltaire, Fénelon and Fontenelle into Turkish.</p>
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h. Télémaque in the Ottoman Territories

<p>Fenelon isimli Fransızın 'Sergüzeşt-i Telemak' isimli eserinin daha önce Osmanlıcaya çevrilerek basılmıştır ve bu eserin ikinci defa olarak TEM'nda basımı bitmiştir.</p> <p>▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 68</p>	<p>'Sergüzeşt-i Telemak' by the French Fenelon has been translated into Ottoman before. And the printing of the second edition was completed in the publishing house of Tasvir-i Efkâr</p>
<p>Telemak tercümesinin ciltli 30 ve ciltsiz 25 kuruşa TEM'de ve Bayezid'de ciltçi Ali Efendi'nin ve Sahhaf Said Efendi'nin dükkânlarında satılmaktadır.</p> <p>▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 70</p>	<p>The book Telemak tercümesi (hard-cover) costs 30 gurus and paperback 25 gurus and is sold in the Tasvir-i Efkâr press and secondhand bookseller Said Efendi.</p>
<p>'Telemak' tercümesinin ikinci defa olarak daha önce TEM'de basılan nüshalarının sahhaf Esad efendi'nin dükkanında ucuz fiyatla satılmaktadır.</p> <p>▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 169</p>	<p>The copies of the Telemak tercümesi that are reprinted in the press of Tasvir-i Efkâr before are sold at a cheaper price in the shop of secondhand bookseller Esad Efendi.</p>
<p>'Telemak' tercümesi dördüncü defa olarak basılmış ve belirtilen yerlerde 18'er kuruşa satılmaktadır.</p> <p>▪ <i>Tasvir-i Efkâr</i>, no: 740</p>	
<p>Müşârun ileyh 'ulûm-i 'âliyi ve ilâhîyi ve fûnûn-i sâireyi layıkıyla ve etrafiyla tahsil eyledikleri ve bu cihetle hakikaten bir hakîm-i fâzil ve ... ber-kâmil buldukları gibi eyyâm-ı haliyelerini 'ale'd-devâm mütalâa-yı kütüb-i tefsîr ve edebiyata hasr ile izaâ-i evkat eylemedikleri misillü Fransız lisanına dahi vâkıf olarak hatta iyâde-i erbâb-ı inşâda tedâvül itmekde bulunan (Telemak) nam kitabı tercüme eyleyerek gerek iş bu eser-güzîn ve gerek de elde bulunan müsveddât-ı ber-güzîdesi fenn-i kitâbet ve inşâda olan mahâret-i fevkaladelerini isbata delil-i kâfidir.</p> <p>▪ İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal, <i>Eser-i Kâmil</i>, pp. 22-23.</p>	<p>He was rigorously educated in the religious sciences and other natural sciences. Thus, he was really a wise man and each day he continuously studied books on the interpretation and literature of the Qur'an. He was also very skilled in the French language and he translated the book Telemak which was circulated among the masters of the composition. This translation and his other manuscripts were sufficient proofs for his mastery of the science of composition.</p>
<p>Mukaddime: bu kitab meşhur "Telemak" hikâyesinin müellifi edîb-i hakîm 'Fenelon'un yine Telemak</p>	<p>This book was a book by the author of the famous story of 'Telemak', the philosopher and author,</p>

<p>vâdisinde hikmet-i ‘ameliye ve fezâ’-il-i ahlâkıyyeyi musavver ve fakat muhtasar olarak yazdığı bir eserin mülâhhas tercümesidir. İnsan bu eserde hikâye kitaplarındaki gibi öyle bir takım garâib vukû’âta tesâdüf itmez. Fakat eğer hikâye kitapları mütâlaasından ahlâken bir fâide veya mücerred bir intibâh husûlî lâzım ise bu anı ma’ ziyâdeten tazammun ider. Fransız erbâbı fikr ü kaleminden bir zâtın buna dâ’ir yazdığı bir mâkâle-‘i intikâdiyede didiği gibi: “Şu küçücük fâciâ tab-ı âfitâb altında cereyân iden parlak bir cuybâra benzer: Sûret-i cereyânı sakinâne olmakla beraber her halde kendinde bir hareket-i devriye olduğu gibi bunda da bir gâye-i maksad vardır.</p> <p>▪ <i>Hikâye-i Aristonous</i>. Müellifi: Fénelon. Mütercimi Reşad. İstanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1302, pp. 2-3. In Risâle-i mütenevvi’ a number 4, volume 8.</p>	<p>Fenelon. It was an epitomized translation of a work which the author wrote in the same manner as Telemak, picturing the practical wisdom and virtues of morality in a summarized form. You can not meet in this work, as in some story-books, with strange events. However, if it is necessary from the reading of stories to get some moral benefits or a simple awakening, this translation covers that very well. As one of the French intellectuals wrote in an article about this story: ‘This small tragedy resembles a brilliant stream under the heaven: Even if its flow seems to be slow, it contains a movement in itself, thus this story has some motivations and goals.</p>
<p>Mahfûz-ı gencine-i sūdûr u sutur olan enva’-i tevârîh ü hikâyâtdan maksad-ı aslî ebnâ-yı beşere meş’ale-i rahsa’âdet olan mevâ’iz u guber ifâdesinden ‘ibâret olub şu fâ’ideden hâli bulunanları kaşşere bî leb ü lafz bi ma’ nâ gibi mâlâyâ’ nî kabîlinden olduğundan mütâla’a ve istimâ’ı abesle iştiğâl dimek olacağı müsellem-i erbâb-ı elbâbdır. Zâhir peristân-ı ‘avâm bu vâdîde kitab mütala’asında sûret-i maddeye kesb ü ittîlâ’ ile iktifâ ve hakken yak-cûyân havâss ise ictinâen semerât-ı hikmet ile istihsâl-i fevâ’idü’l-ittihâsâ iderler devletlü Yusuf Kâmil Paşa hazretlerinin muahheran tercümesine himmet buyurmuş oldukları Sergüzeşt-i Telemak o makûle netâyic-i mühimme ile mâ-lâ-mâl bir nüsha-i nâdire edeb ü kemâl olarak işbu cevâhir ü zevâhir-i nesâyih ü hikem-mengüş gûş-i cân olmağa şâyân olmağla hüsn ü adâb u fezâil-i ahlâka dâir mutazammın olduğu mevâdd-i hikem-âmiz tefrîk ya’ ni hisse kıssasından tecrîd ü temyîz olunarak mecmû’ a-i ‘âcizânemize derc ve tahrîrine mübâderet kılını işbu hülâsanın kırâ’at u hıfzında der-gâr olan suhûlet mütâla’asına bâdi-‘i rağbet olacağı mecrûmdır. (İrtibât ideli cevâhirle ‘araz / Kıssadan hissedir el-kıssa ğarez).</p> <p>▪ Münif Efendi, “Mevadd-i Hikemiye-i Telemak” in <i>Mecmû’a-i Fünûn</i></p>	<p>From the various histories and stories kept in different places, the essential purpose was the expression of sermons which serve as illuminating candles for a human being. Books that were free of this benefit belonged to the class of useless things and thus the men of knowledge knew that discussion and audience of such kind of books were completely useless. Actually, ordinary men sought for the physical side in book reading. But elites who sought for truth in the same activity demanded traces of wisdom and benefits from the same activity. The translation of Sergüzeşt-i Telemak made by prosperous Yusuf Kâmil Paşa previously was a rare book having important consequences in the ways mentioned above, a book of politeness and perfection. This book had the characteristic of containing wise advice. The inspiring articles about good manners and the virtues of moral behaviour were separated, which means the lessons were taken away from the stories and were published in our periodical. Facility in reading and memorizing of this summary would increase the desire for its consideration. (Since the substance and symptoms came closer, the main issue was to take lessons from the stories.)</p>
<p>metn-i kitabda lügât-i gayri meşhûre-i Arabiyye ve Fârisiyyenin ğadem-i isti’ mâli iltizâm kılınmış ise de, hasebû’ z-zurur lügât-i mevrûde menâfi’-i ‘umûmiyyeyi şâmil bulunmak ve yalnız kırâati öğrenen çocuklar dahi fâide-mend olması için kenâr-ı sahâife iki sütun ve tertible sütun-ı evvel lügât-i ‘arabiyye ve farisiyye ve sânisî zebân-ı türki üzere me’ânîsidir.</p>	
<p>Dâniş-şinâsân olan fehûle nâ-pusîde ve gayri nihân bulunduğu üzere her bir müretteb ve mastûr bulunan ‘ibâratın hîn-i kiraatinde müteehhit ma’âni ve bedi’-i beyânını kemâ hiye hakkuhâ bir nısk-ı üslûba ve hilkat-ı tabiyyesiyle ahsen savt u mergûbeyle îmâ ve efhâmında lezzet-i rûhâni ve insânî istihsâlî âdâb-ı kiraatden bulunduğu der-gâr ve lisân-ı türki de matbû’ ve gayri matbû’ kitapların ekserilerinde üslûb-ı mu’tenâ-yı mergûbenin işârât-ı vakfiyye ve sâiresini tab’ında</p>	<p>As it was very clear that there was a special taste in the reading of every phrases if they could be read according to the style they deserved. If they were read so, then the pronunciation would become better. In most of the printed and non-printed book of Turkish language, in the printing of the punctuation marks, the publishers and authors found it very inconvenient and therefore the marks were not printed. But, the world which is famous</p>

<p>mürettib ve istinsâhında muharrir külfet ‘add iderek vaz’ olunmamış, ma’ hazâ fesâhat u belâğat ile müstehir dünya ya’nî ahâli-i arabû’l-urbâ esnâ-yı tekellüm ü kıraatda min kabliir-Rahman mâlik oldukları lisânın fesâhât ü belâğını semerâtıyla muzammir-i meâni-yi mezkûreyi tavr-ı tarz-ı bedf’-i hasene üzere işrâb u imâ ve edâ idegeldikleri müselleme ve hüveydâ, ve bu usûl-i memdûheyi taklîd iden elsine-i sâireden Latîn ve İtalyan ve Fransa ve İngiliz ve sâir başlıca lisanların ‘umûman kavâ’id-i nahviyyelerine derc ile mer’iyü’l-icrâ ve kitâb-ı nâçizâneme evvel emirde zîrde muarref ve muharrer ve ma’tûf olan işârât-ı mezkûre-i merğûbeyi ‘ibârât u kelâm aralarına vaz’ u imlâ ve salifü’z-zikr müşvâr-ı makbulenin husûli âdâb-ı kıraate vusûli her halde şâyân-ı iltizam bulduğundan mahallince dercine sarf-ı i’tinâ kılındı.</p>	<p>with the eloquence and clarity of their language, i.e., people of Arab world, expressed the clarity and eloquence of their language with the signs. Languages such as Latin, Italian, French and English etc. were following the same way of the praised language and they added the marks into their general rules of the language. I tried to use these marks in the appropriate places.</p>
<p>... dilârâsı üzere bu fakîr pür-taksîr ya’nî Fâ’ik-i hakîr dahi esnâ-yı tahsilde fevâ’id-i ‘adîde, ve menâfi’-i vefre-i nâ-şenîdeyi müstemil, düvel-i Avrupa’nın bâ’is-i hayât u kuvvet ve müceb-i refâh u servet, ve siyâsât-ı mehâmm-ı umûr-ı dünyevîde çeşm-i a’mûş beynerine nev-basîret îrâs iden kitâbı min gayr-i hadd ve liyakat, zebân-ı sehlü’n-nitâk Fransevîden lisân-ı ‘azebü’l-müzâk-ı ‘Osmâniye bi’t-terceme bazı muvafik olan mahalle elsine-i mezkûreden ve kütüb-i merğûbeden mabâhis-i münâsebe-i elîk ilhâkıyla ‘akd ü revnak ve iş’âr-ı hûşenîde-i zarîf ve ebyât-ı ber-güzîde latîf zımmıyla pür-dahte ve tezyîn ve makâm-ı bâziçe-i bâzîde el-hak mütalaası müfid ve rengîn târih-i müstağrebü’l-garâ’ib bir sergüzeşt-i âcâyüb olub bazı ebyât-ı safâbahşa müstevceb-i intibâh olacağı zâhir ve hüveydâdır.</p> <p>▪ Fâik, <i>Sergüzeşt-i Sâib Nihâd-ı Hindî</i>, [cild-i evvel, (hzl. Mustafa Reşid Efendi), Erzurum Receb 1282, Dördüncü Ordu-yı Hümâyun Litağrafya Tezgâhı, 212 p.]</p>	<p>... as this humble Faik during his education learned on the book as having lots of benefits, including many unheard advantages. It also talked about the power and life of the European states, the necessity of welfare and prosperity, in the important political worldly affairs, I tried to translate it from the easy speaking French into the beautiful expressive language of Ottomans without being capable of it. I added some verses and issues from the favorite books in order to adorn it. Its reading and discussion would bring lots of benefits for us it was a weird adventure, and its clear that some new delightful verses will appear from them.</p>
<p>Eser-i Mehmed Sâdık : Merhûm-ı müşârûn ileyh hazretleri işbu kitâbı bin iki yüz seksen altı senesi menfâsı olan olan (Akkâ) Kal’asında te’lif edip ba’dehu İstanbul’da bin iki yüz seksen dokuz senesi Martın sekizinci pencişenbe günü seher vakti irtihâl-i dâr-ı beka etmişdir (Radiyallâhu anha) Bed’-i te’lif seksen altı itmâm-ı te’lif seksen sekizdir.</p>	
<p>Terceme-hâl-i Kitâb : işbu muhtasar-hikmet-i hüner ve siyâset-cevher halife-i diyânet istihdâmıyla zuhûr ve isti’lâ be-tedric memâlik-i milel-i tabî’iyyeye ubûr ve istilâ eyledikten sonra inkırâz ve inkıyâza teveccüh ve inkilâb ile tekrâr hâl-i tabî’iye avdet ve rüc’at eden diyânetler milletlerinin keyfiyet-i devr-i tulû’ ve gurûblarının mesleğini tasvîr ve tanzîr eden bir mir’ât-ı gayret-nümâdır nitekim Telemâk nâm kitâb-ı ma’rifet-nisâbın dahi sîret-i zâhiri hükümetlerin a’mâl-i siyâsiye ve ahvâl-i edebiyesini resm-i tasvîr ve me’âl-i hakikati akl-ı beşeri berâhîn-i yakiniyye isti’mâliyle metâlib-i ulvîye-i fazîleti isbât ve takrîr ederek kuvâ-yı tabî’iyye-i mübârekle beşeriyeyi avâil-i müfside-i nefsanıyyeden âzâd ve tahlîs ve sa’adet-i hâl ile telhîs ve tensîs</p>	

etmekliğin tarîkini tahrîr ve tanzîr eder bu dahi bir diğerk tasvîrde olarak diyânetle zuhûr ve teşekkül iden şerâyi'-i semâviye kavimlerinin mebdè'-i neş'etlerinden hâtime-i inkırâz ve hezîmetlerine değîn etvâr-ı tulû' ve gurûblarını tahkiye ve mutanazzırdan sonra zehârif-i tabî'iyeye ve me'ârif-i ruhâniyyenin hakikat-i hâllerini ta'rif ve tahkik ve umûm milêl ve düveli zerâif-i ruhâniyyenin ülfet ve muhabbetine sevk ve teşvîk eder bir sanî'a-i nâfidedir sebab-i tasnîği şudur ki asr-ı hâlde hükemâ-yı düvel ve ukalâ-yı milêl her diyârda her nev' efkâr-ı muhtelifenin esfâr ve ezbârı ahbârını umûmen mutâla'aya heveskâr olub ta'assub takayyüdden irhâ-yı âsitâr eylediklerinden bu misillü bir âsâr-ı hârik-i âdât-ı a'sâr dahi i'mâr içinde bir def'a görölüp işitilmek ile tenvîr-i efkâr ve ta'tîr-i üserâ olunsun hârik-âde-i ulûmlar dahi ârî me'âriflerle beraber bakılsın görölsün muhassenât-ı asr-ı nev-âsâr her aktârda ba'dezâ hüveydâ ve bedîdâr olsun emeli ile ihtiyâr olunmuşdur şöyle hûsn-i zan edilmiştir ki ukalâ-yı asr mutâla'asıyla nevâhî-i hürriyetleri ekdâr-ı ta'assub ile tekrâr lekedâr olmayıp belki terakki-i medeniyet-i ruhâniyyede dahi cenûd-ı mukaddese-i rabbâniyyede ve medâr-ı hikmet süvâr ve hudûd-ı mü'essese-i insâniyyeye bir nokta-i ustuvâr-ı sa'adet-şî'âr ve südde-i ber-karar necât-ı medâr olur ki Âmin.

- Mehmed Sâdık Efendi, *Tanzir-i Telemak*, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi Ali Nihat Tarlan no. 96, II.

Millet ile ricâl-i hükümet beyninde fark kalmayıp ancak hükümet ricalinin hırkalarında yama ve delik daha ziyade olup hânelerinde havâyic-i zahîre birkaç adedden nakis olacaktır ve daha ziyade sade kıyafet bulunacaktır. Zira hükümet ricâl-i milletin hem mübellîğ-i dinleri ve hem amel ve icrada nümüne-i âyinleri olmağla ...

- *Tanzir-i Telemak*

... herkes eğlence makamında münhasıran hikâye mütalaasına mecbur ve mübtelâ olmuşdur. Mesela Fransa ve İngiltere'de beher sene beş-altı yüz cedîd telifat yalnız hikâyâta mahsûsan neşr ve eskilerinden bin beş yüz kadarı tekrar tab olunmağa başlamışdır.... bir takım ma'lûmatı havi olmak üzere çıkarılan asâr-ı mütenevviyanın her biri bir yüzden terakki'i meârife hizmet etmiş ve hatta Avrupa'da mebâdi-yi fûnûn küçücük çocuklara hikaye arasında okudulup ... tuffüliyetde zihinleri fûnûna sardırılarak bu yüzden pek çok asâr-ı garîbe zuhûr eylemiş olmasıyla hikâyâtın mebnî olduğu esasa hizmeti ve kârilerine menfaati dergârdır Tasarrufât u terakkiyât-ı mülkiye ve tehzîb-i ahlaka dair nesâyih-i müessereyi havi olub Cümlelerin musaddıkı bulunan Telemak Kitabı dahi bir nev'-i hikâyât-ı edebiyenin numûne-i müştehiresi olmağla 'ibaresinin lezzeti anlaşılacak derecede kelime kelime gayet açık ve müzeyyen sûretde yapılmış bir sahih tercümesinin tab' u neşrine ibtidâr olunacaktır.

- Ahmet Vefik, *Telemak Tercümesi*, Bursa: Hüdâvendigâr Matbaası, 1297.

i. First Examples of Novel Translation

...günden güne ulûm u funûn terakkî tekaddüm eylemekte olduğundan gerçi nice ashâb-ı vukûf u hünervârân taraflarından kaleme alınmış pek çok risâle-i latîfe ve kütüb-i nefîse tab' u neşr ve erbâb-ı merakın mütalaasına şâyân olunmakta ise de teessüfümüzi müceb olan gûşesi yalnız şudur ki onların bazıları ve belki ekserîsi lisân-ı ecnebîden tercüme olunub ve husûsan kendü vatanımızda vukû' bulmamış birtakım hikâyeden 'ibâret bulunduğundan vakı'an her ne kadar fikri tenvîr ve zihni tecdîd iderler ise de asl-ı madde kendü mülkümüzde vukû' bulmuş bir keyfiyyet olmadığından ve teferru'âtını bile abâ ve ecdâdımızdan işitmemiş idüğümüzden bir veche lâyıık-ı lezzet ü çeşniyâb olunamadığından 'indimizde ol kadar makbûl ve mu'teber olamazlar... işte bu kabûlden olarak çâkerleri 'âcizâne Kalyopi'nin sergüzeşti târihi kaleme alarak evlâd-ı vatana bir yâdigâr bırakmak emelinde bulunup der-gâr u gayrı inkâr olan noksânının dâmen-i 'afv ile setr buyurulmasını mütalaasına râğbet buyuran zevât-ı hamiyetkerândan niyâz u temennî iderim. İşbu hikâye-i latîfe memâlik-i mahrûse-i mülûkânede vukû' bulmuş nâdirü'l-emsâl bir menkıbe-i 'acîbe ise de hâlâ bu ana kadar bazı kimselerin gûşe-i hatırında pinhân kalıp hiç kimesne tarafından kaleme alınmamış...

▪ T. Abdi, Sergüzeşt-i Kalyopi, İstanbul, 1290.

In the Ottoman Empire, the arts and sciences were improved and developed gradually. Thus, lots of wise booklets and wonderful books were written and published by the men of knowledge and presented to the inquiry of the people. But the point which made us regretful on this endeavour was that many of those, maybe the majority, consisted of translated stories from foreign languages, especially stories which did not take place in our country. Although they were illuminating in ideas and renewed the mind, because they did not contain feature of adventures in our homeland, and we did not listen to details about our ancestors, we could not enjoy them as they deserved and therefore they were not esteemed or widely accepted by us. ... from this perspective these humble men composed the history of the adventures of Kalyopi and wanted to leave a remembrance for the citizens of the country, and asked for forgiveness for the mistakes present in this work. This was a very rare and strange story that took place in Ottoman territories and was never composed by other authors before. Therefore I, this humble man, tried to do this.

Dibâce-i Hikâye-i Robenson. Li-muharririhi: 'Arz-ı hidmettir merâmım yazmadan bu kıssayı / yohsa erbâb-ı nazar her şeyden alur hisseyi me'lince ashâb-ı rüşd ü basîret işbu hikâyeden müstağnî ise de mütala'âsıyla telezüz olunur hikâyât-ı garîbeden olduğu cihetle Türkçeden mâ'adâ sâ'ir lisânlara tercüme olunarak bütün dünyaya neşr olunmuş olduğu halde böyle bir hikâye-i meşhûrenin letâfet ü hüsn ü eda ve ifâdesi müsellemler-i 'âlem olan lisân-ı Osmânîde bulunmaması tecvîz olunamayacağına ve 'ulûm u ma'ârifin revâc-gâhı olan şu âsr-ı hümâyûn-ı hazret-i padişâhîde her dürlü esbâb-ı hüner ü maârifin ilerlediği sırada bu misillü şeylerin dahi lisânımıza nakl ü tercümesi fâ'ideden hâli olmayacağına mebnî nüsha-i zibende-i lütf ü şevket ... efendimiz hazretlerinin sâye-i ihsânâyve-i penâdişâhilerinde vakânüvîs Ahmed Lütî hikâyet-i meezkûrenin nüsha-i müterceme-i garîbesini hûş-ı âyinde ta'birât u tekellüm edâsı üzere açık ifâdât u 'ibârât ile lisân-ı letâfet-resân-ı Osmânîye nakl ü tercemeye vaz'-ı hâme-i mukadderat ile haddim olmaya ebnâ-yı millete nâçizâne bir hizmet 'arz eyledim.

Müşârûn ileyhın yazmakda olduğu Devlet-i 'Âliyye Tarihinin birinci ve ikinci cildleri dahi Bağçe kapusunda ve Köprü başı ve Sahaf çarşısında Mısırlı Mustafa Efendinin 46 numaralı mağazasında satılmaktadır. Sahaf çarşısında Mısırlı sahaf el-Hac Mustafa Efendinin 46 numaralı mağazasında ve kitab satılan yerlerde ve kıraathânelerde işbu Robenson bulunur.

▪ *Tercüme-i Robenson, Vak'anüvîs sa'âdetlü Lütî Efendî Hazretlerinin eser-i hâmesidir. Tab' u neşri hukukî kendisine 'â'idir.*

The foreword of the story of Robinson: from the author
The aim of writing this story was a demand for the service.

However, the men of reason learned from everything the lesson,

According to these lines from the author, the men of reason were exempted from the lessons of this story but they can enjoy reading it. It is one of the Western adventurous stories which were translated into other languages than Turkish and published in them. But the fact that such a famous story, whose beauty of expression and pleasing style in composition was given respect by all the world, did not exist in the Ottoman language could not be permitted. Our time is the marketplace of all sciences and education in which every type of skill and ability was developing. Therefore, the transmission and translation of such kinds of knowledge into the Ottoman language is not free of benefit. For this reason, during the era of our Sultan, the chronicler of that period, Ahmed Lütî, translated and transmitted the above-mentioned story in the form of daily spoken language, with very clear phrases and expressions into the beautiful Ottoman language which was beyond his limits. Therefore, I tried to be in the service of the people of this country.

İfade-i mütercim: tenezzülen eserlerimi okuyanların ma'lûmudur ki: Yazarken birinci dikkat ettiğim şey sâde yazmak, ve tercüme iderken en ziyâde özendiğim şey aslından ayrılmamaktır. Bu ikinci şıkdan lisânımızın şivesine hâle gelir korkusuyla ihtirâz veya ta'rîz idenlere makâm-ı redd-i te'minde derim ki: bu şive tegayyüründen lisânımıza islâh u terakkîden başka bir şey terettüb idemez. Avrupa lisanlarıyla lisânımız arasında – tercüme-yi müşkülleşdiren – fark, lafzî ve ma'nevî olarak iki cihete münkasımdır. Lafzî ciheti kelâmî terkîb iden cümlelerin ve cümleyi teşkil iden kelimâtın takdîm ü te'hîrinden 'ibâret olub, buna ri'âyet itmemek mümkün değil ise de, mümkün mertebe kelâmî giriftlikten kurtarub cümleleri kısa kesmekle, ve sûret-i ifâdeyi şive-yi kâtibânenen kurtarub şive-i tekellüme kalb u takrîb ile bu kalbin kısmi küllisi izâle edilmiş bununla beraber lisanımız dahi sâdeleşmekle beraber güzelleşmiş olur. Ma'nevî ciheti ise Avrupa muharrirleriyle bizim kâtib ve şâ'irlerin arasında düşünmece olan farkdır, efkâr-ı cedîde ve terakkiyât-ı hâzırâyı köhne tarz-ı münşiyâne ile ifâde itmek müstahyeldir. Bu tebeddül belki ibtidâ garib görünür nice şeyler vardır ki göz kulak alışmağla me'nûs u müceb olur. Islâh u terakkiyi müntec olan bu tebeddüle en ziyâde hizmet edecek şey bu sûretle idilecek tercümelerdir. Çocukların kâbiliyet-i zihniyelerine göre düşünülmüş olan bu hikâye-i 'ibret-âmizin çocukların anlayacağı bir lisanla tercümesi zaruri olduğu gibi, Fransızcasını tederrüs idenlere dahi bir medâr-ı suhûlet olmak üzere kâ'ide-i müttehizeme bunda daha ziyâde ri'âyet iderek mümkün mertebede aslından ayrılmamağa çalıştım.

▪ Daniel Defoe, *Robenson*: Fransızcadan harfiyen tercüme olunmuştur. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1302.

The note of the translator: my readers were aware of this: the first thing I attended to was to write in a simple manner, I mostly took care to conform to the original text during translation. Some people opposed this second option because of their fear of the possibility of corruption in our accent (language). I convinced them that this change in accent would bring nothing but development and improvement in our language. The difference between the European languages and our language which made translation more difficult is classified into two parts: those related to utterance and those related to meaning. The expressive side consisted of changing the places of the sentences and words. To get rid of this seems to be impossible, but in order to make the structure and expression simple, sentences should be shortened, and the style of expression should be transformed from the book style into the spoken style which would decrease the differences. So, our language would become simpler, and thus more beautiful. The second difference was the ideological differences between the European authors and our poets and authors. The present progress and new ideas could not be expressed in the old composition styles. This change might be seen at the beginning as strange but it would be accepted after a certain time. Translations would serve for this change which would result in improvement and progress. It is necessary to translate this story which contains full lessons according to the mental capacities of children, in an understandable style for them. Also, I tried not to deviate from the original, especially in this work, by attending to my principle in translation, more in this than other works, for it to be easy for those who studied the French version of this novel.

Lisânımızda 'Hikâye-i Robinson mâmiyla bir diğer kitâb daha mevcûd ise de bu hikâye Avrupa lisanlarında muhtelif suretlere ifrâğ olunarak müteâddid envâ'ı bulunmağla mevcûd olan tercüme – el-eyvın Fransa mekâtib-i ibtidâiyyesi broğramına dahil olub bizde dahi lisân-ı Franseviyenin tahsîli için okutdurulmakda olan mösyö (Ambroise Rando)nun eserine mutâbık olmayub, diğer bir te'lîfin tercümesi olduğu anlaşıldığından eser-i mezkûrun Fransızcasını okuyan şâkirdâna medâr-ı suhûlet olmak üzere mekâtib-i mütte'addidede Fransızca mu'allimi bulunan e'azz-i ehîbbâmdan mösyö (De Varez)in ibrâm u teşvîkiyle tercümesine mecbûr oldum.

▪ Daniel Defoe, *Robenson*: Fransızcadan harfiyen tercüme olunmuştur. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1302.

There was another book called 'Hikâye-i Robinson' in our language due to the existence of various versions of this novel in European languages. That translation was not compatible with the original piece by Ambroise Rando which was taught in our French language schools and also included in the curriculums of the French primary schools. I was forced to translate this book by one of my friends who worked in these schools as a French teacher, Monsieur de Varez, to help students who were reading the original version in their French language courses.

Mukaddime Şu 'Meprizon' tercümesine Fransızcaya yeni heves ittiğim zaman ki bundan beş sene akdem tecrübe-i kalem yolunda başlayub on dokuzuncu mebhâsa kadarını ol vakit dahi çıkmakta olan 'Terakki' gazetesiyle tefrika sûretinde neşr itdirmişdim ki buna dair gönderdiğim mektûb ile tercümenin birinci mebhâsı gazetenin 6 Cumâde'l-ûla 1286 (!) tarihli nüshasıyla

Introduction: I began the translation of this Mes Prizons as I was a beginner in French, learning for the sake of writing experience five years ago. I translated until the 19th part and published it in the periodical 'Progress' (Terakki) in serialized form. I sent a letter

çıkılmış idi. Bunu söylemekden maksadım tercümenin yeni bir şey olmadığını anlatmaktır. Tecrübe-i kalem içinse sehlü'l-ibâre bir şey arayub bulmak iktizâ iderken 'Meprizon'ı tercümeyle başlamaklığım lisan hâcesinin tavsiye-i müşkül-pesendânesine ferifte olmakdan ileri gelmiştir. Yoksa bunun ahlâk-hikmet-edyân-kelâm gibi 'ulûm-ı 'âliyyeye müteallık olarak tazammun itdiği bir takım mesâil-i dakîka ve mütala'ât-ı amîkanın kuvvet ve ma'nâ-yı 'asfisi izâle veya tağyîr olunmaksızın Türkçeye nakl ü tercümesindeki su'ûbet ü müşkilâtı ibtidâdan takdîr itmiş olaydım ihtimâl ki hiç başlamazdım. Halbuki bunun gazete nüshaları üzerinde münteşir olan tercümeleri her neden ise me'mûldan çok ziyâde olarak nezd-i erbâb-ı ma'ârifde karîn-i (→) nazar-ı rağbet olmak şerefine nâ'il olmuş ve hatta tercümenin inkîât'-ı neşrinden sonra buna devam u itmâm olunması bir hayli zevât tarafından ihtâr u tavsiye buyurulmuştur.

Terceme hadd-i zatında bir şey değil ise de mâdem ki Fransayı tahsîle heveskârlığının ilk eseridir ve mâdem ki vaktiyle buna hayli emek ve vakt sarf olunmuştur evrâk-ı perişân üzerinde kalmakla sahife-i 'alemnden bütün bütün nâ-bûd ve bî-nişân olmak ...gâhında bulunmasına gönlüm kâ'il olamadı. Binaenaleyh şu sûretle risâle sûretinde dahi tab' u temsiline sevk u cesâretim hasıl oldu.

Asıl kitabın mündericâtı câb-câ ehemmiyetinden hâlî olmamak ve tercümesinin kısım-ı a'zamı cemî' zamanda aczini mu'terif olan müterciminin o lisânda pek mübtedî bulunduğî zamane tesâdüf itmek gibi (↺) bir takım sebeplerden dolayı şübhe yokdur ki şu tercümede enzâr-ı mütâlâ'aya pek çok hatâ ve kusur manzûr olsun.

Ma'mâfih ummam ki emsâl-i sâ'iresi hakkında bî-deriğ tutulan mu'âmele-i 'afvin ağmazdan bu eser kusurının i'tirafıyla beraber mecrûmu mehçûr olsun. (→)

▪ *Mes Prison* par Silvio Pellico. *Meprizon Tercümesi*: Mahmud Ekrem, Ruhsat-ı resmîyyeyi haiz, tekrar tab'ı mütercimine 'âiddir. Cild-i evvel, ilk basılış. İstanbul: Matbaa-i Tasvîr-i Efkâr, 1291.

concerning this issue which was published with the first part of the translation in the issue of the journal dated, 6th of Cumâde'l-ûlâ 1286. I am saying this in order to clarify that this translation was not a new one.

The reason for my translation of this novel stemmed from the advice of my foreign language teacher who advised me to translate it as I was looking for a simple book to translate just for writing experience. Nevertheless, if I were in a situation to recognize the difficulty of the transfer and translation of some of its concepts into Ottoman Turkish without changing the strength of their meanings and without covering their essences I would not have begun with the translation of this novel. These concepts were related to the high sciences such as wisdom-morality-religion and theology and brought with them some refined issues and detailed discussions. But, the translated parts published in serial form in periodicals received much more attention and were regarded among the men of knowledge more than they deserved and even, after the publication of the translation, many people asked me and advised me about the continuation and end of the translation. Normally, translation is not an important issue, but as it was my first attempt to learn French and as I put lots of labor and time for the translation, I could not accept that it would rest among the pages of periodicals and stay out of circulation. Thus, I was encouraged to publish it in booklet form.

Ultimately, the content of the book was an important one, but as the translator confessed his low level of French ability while translating this novel, lots of mistakes in translation may found within the text. But I hope that these mistakes will not disguise the significance of this novel.

Tefrika: bundan evvelleri dahi tekrar bi-tekrâr ihtâr olundığı vechile bu kere dahi tekrar itmeğî vazifeden 'add iderim işte bu günden itibâren Monte Kristo hikâyesi gazetemize derc olunmuştur, zinhâr nüshalarının zâyi' idilmemesi hâlisâne ihtâr olunur.

▪ *Diyojen*

Tefrika: Ser-levhâ-i hükemâ-yı Melâmiye olan meşhûr Volter ... aşağı takım içinden türeyerek mübâlağa-i cevelân zihninden nâşî cümle 'ulûma ve fûnûna el atmış ve her müşkil matlebe baş vurdukda memleketinin ol zamanki kanun-ı iktizasınca geçizâde olmadığı için bir tarîfde feyz bulamayacağını ve münevîv-i zamiri olan temeyyüz ü tahayyüzü ihrâz idemeyeceğini derk itmiş ve öyle canı tek durmaz cin fikirlü kişi milletinin esâs vazımı zîr ü zîr itmek ye yeni çığır açmak üzere memleketinin rûkn ü bekâ-yı intizâmı olan kâ'ide-yi tav'ı takvâyı taassub ve tegallüb deyu yıkmağa vakîân birtakım çirkin mesleklerinde ipucu bulmuş idi. Hezî ü

Voltaire who was one of the leaders of the Melâmi philosophers came from the lower classes of the society and then dealt with all of arts and sciences due to his dynamic intelligence. And when he asked for difficulties he came across, since he was not from the aristocrats according to the laws of his country at that time, he understood that he could not find any way to get knowledge. In order to be differentiated from others, he found clues in some bad professions in order to break down the established order by talking a lot and by defining the rules as bigotry and tyranny in order to open a

tezyîf-i gürz ü sinân ittihâz iderek her şeyi ve herkesi hande-i serd istihzâsına hedef idünüb nice zamanlar mard-ı mâned gibi gâh nice canlar yakarak gâhî dil çıkararak ve memleket hâricinde bile tacdârân kavî iktidârı türküderek hatta Almanya'nın muhyisi dinilen Frederik sâniyi ve çarîçe-i Rus Katerine'yi hirâc-ı tebasbusa keserek memleket dâhilinde başa çıkamayacaklarını midâhane ve hünerine ilîşemeyeceklerini bühtân ü müşâteme ve re'yine râm idemeyeceği üdebâ ve zurefâyı iftirâ ve ittiham ile susdurub ortalığı kesmiş almış idi Artık Bektaşî canlar misâli gözlerin göremediği nesneyi bütün çevirderek ve sözüne uymayan kimesneyi yufka sevindirerek zehrini 'aleme dökmüş idi. Bu ifâdâtın müstenid bulunduğu şevâhid ü haccac cümle-i külliyyatında mûnderic ve Fransa'nın gayri yerlerde bâzâr-ı maarif-kesad olan bazı gûşelerde halan mukallidler ellerinde müterceh bulunmağın uzun şerhle itnâba hacet yokdur. Ancak onun her yolda kuvve-i kalemiyesi ve cerbezesi ve her zemînde hüsn ü salîka ve karîhası tahrîran mâzî derecesine yaklaşmış ve mücer cevdet zekâsı nice şerâreler saçmış olduğundan sevâdnin mütalaasıyla gönül karalayanlar hâr-ı müteâb taallümden vâreste olarak kolayca ondan üç beş celflü söz belleyüb insan izlâline çıkmaları imkânı âkl-ı kasîre ve cehl-i kesîre kıssacık nakarad yolu tahiyye itdiğinden anın Fransadan başka yerlerde karanlık bucaklarda hâlâ sözü geçmez değildir Ol dahiye-'i 'acûbenin tarz u tavırlarına numûne olan resâ'ilinden Seyâhat-i Mikromeğa dediği hicviye-i sâ'ir çirkin âsârına nisbetle tab'a biraz yakın olduğundan 'ibret li's-sâirin onun tercümesine ihtiyâr olunmuşdur ve lafz bi-lafz taklîle Türkçe'nin tavr u edâsına ba'fd olan mişvârları gösderilmişdir Bilmezden bahsini süren kafadarları bâri meslek-i hikmet-i riyâkârânesini görüb kesb-i hayret itsünler Şenîden ki bûd mânend dîden mazmûnını mülâhaza buyursunlar. Zîra şu güzerân iden zaman-ı cahiliyetde ne hevesler terbiyesizlerin cesâreti hadden aşdı. Hikâye-i Hikemiyye-i Mikromeğa.

▪ *Diyojen*

new path. He took the comedy and mockery as a powerful tool and ridiculed everybody and everything strongly. For a long time, either he harmed many people, or he ridiculed them, and even out of his country, he startled strong powers as Frederick II of Germany, so called live giver of Germany, and the Czarina Catherina of Russia by flattering them. He silenced all of those who were skillful, philosophers or elite people who would not agree with him through different methods, as claiming, slandering etc. The witnesses and proofs for these phrases were based on his completed works and on other places of France by the hands of imitating people, therefore there was no need to explain this in long pieces. Nevertheless, his composition power and quick-wittedness, sparks of his intelligence provided for those who were not educated enough the skills when they memorized a few words from him and then went our for the misleading of people enabled him to be in favor in some dark places out of France. One of the exemplary booklets for his weird manners and behaviors, Travels of Mikromeğa, which was a satire and closer to publication than his other bad pieces, in order to be a good advice for others, an attempt for its translation began. It was done phrase to phrase and those who were away from the Turkish expression were shown to others. At least his followers without knowing his ideas could see his hypocritical profession and could be amazed for his efforts. In our time, many rude people went too far and overcame their limit.

Kâri'ine: Nazar-ı ittilâ'ımıza 'arz eyledigimiz (Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı) 'unvanlı şu hikâye şimdiye kadar matbû'âtı cedîde mütâla'asını merâk idenlerin ülfet idegeldikleri tarzda tasvîr ü tahrîr olunmamışdır. Çünkü gerek bu tarzda tasvîr ü tahrîr ve gerek musavvir ü muharriri olan Pol dö Kok henüz bazımızın meçhûlidir. Biz evvelemerde hikâyenin musavvirini size tanıtmak ister isek şu kadar deriz ki bu zât – yalnız mensûb olduğu millet 'inde de değil zamanımızca fikdânı bütün Avrupa halkınca zâyi'ât-ı 'azîmeden m'adûd olabilecek – bir Fransız münşisidir. Hatta yazdığı şeylerde insanı ağladarak güldürmek ve güldürerek ağlatmak ile meşhûrdur. Ve hatta kendisinin fâci'a yazmakla kalemi daha kuvvetli olduğu cihetle o yolda yazı yazmağı tavsiye eden dostlarına "insanı ağlatmak güldürmekden kolaydır fakat hüner kalemi insanı güldirebilecek sûrete isti'mâlidir." Deddiği dahi mukayyedir. Muharrir ü musavviri size şu yolda takdîm itdikden sonra tasavvurının mahiyetini ta'rife gelince: bu hikâye mü'ellifin bu isimdeki hikâyesinin harfiyyen tercümesi değildir. Çünkü lisân

âşinâ olanlar bunun muhal derecesinde müşkül olduğunu teslim ile beraber harfiyyen idilen tercümede – bâ-husus bir lisanâ mahsûs her dürlü şiveyi başka bir lisâna nakilde eskisindeki gibi – letâfet olamayacağını dahi i'tirâfa mecbûr olmaları tabî'dir. Me'âlen dahi tercüme itmedik çünkü Pol dö Kokun eserinde olan letâfeti, rumûzı, nikâtı Parisde yaşamış olanların mâ'adâsı bi-hakkın temyîz idemez. Binâen'aleyh biz hikâyenin hükmünü Türkçe yeniden kaleme aldık. 'Aczimizi i'tiraf ederiz.

▪ Paul de Kock, *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı*, Mütercimleri Ahmed Midhat, Ebuzziya Tevfik. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1294, pp. 5-6.

Bir iki Söz: Tercümesine mbâşeret itdiğimiz bu kitabın muharriri Viktor Hugo o kadar meşhûr bir zâtdır ki hakkında bir söz bile söylemek 'abesdir... Viktor Hugonun her bir eseri ayrıca bir ehemmiyet ü kader ü kıymeti hâ'iz ise de âsârının cümlesine fâ'ik olub kendisinin nâmını o derecede a'lâ iden "Mizerabel" yani "Sefiller" ünvanlı eseridir. Bu eser sûretâ bir hikâyeden 'ibâret ise de o hikâyenin içine muharrir o kadar hikmetler o kadar hakikatler derc itmiştir ki bu kitab hikâye kitabları sırasından çıkub 'adetâ 'asr-ı hâzırın bir kânun-ı medeniyetî ve insâniyetin bir düstûr-ı a'zamı hükmüne geçmiş, ve 'umûm tarafından o sûretle kabûl olunarak, Avrupanın kâfe-i elsinesine tercüme ve her birinde defa'atle tab' u neşr idilmiştir. Böyle bir eserin lisânımızda bulunmaması ve vatandaşlarımızın böyle bir istifâde-i 'azîmeden mahrûm kalması tecvîz olunamayacağından her ne kadar ki bu kitab fevkal'ade bir belâgatle yazılıb, her bir kelimesine binlerce nikât-ı hikmet-âmiz bulunduğundan – 'ale'l-husûs lisânımızın elân ta'yîn itmeyüb mübhem bir sûretde kullanılmakda olan kelimât u ta'bîrâtıyla tercümesinin pek müşkül ve iktidârının pek kâsır u nâkıs olduğunu biliyorsam da, arzu-yı hizmet 'adem- iktidârıma galebe itmekle tercümesine ictisâr itdim. Her ne kadar ki ... bu kitaba pek de hikâye kitabı nazarıyla bakılmak iktizâ itmezse de Viktor Hugo efkârını 'umûma tebliğ için herkesi mütâla'asına mecbûr itmek üzere, bunı hikâye tarzında yazmış olmağla efkâr-ı mütâlaât-ı hikemiyeden sarf-ı nazar olındığı hâlde dahi nakl olunan hikâye gâyet latîf ve güzel olduğundan herkes merakına göre, bu kitabda bir istifâde veya bir eğlence bulacaktır.

▪ Viktor Hügo, *Sefiller*, Mütercimi Şemseddin Sami. Sâhibi Mihran. İstanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1297 = *Les Misérables* par Victor Hugo. Traduit en langue Turque par Ch. Samy-Bey Frachary. Constantinople: Imprimerie de Mihran.

Yeni Telemak Tercümesi ve Fenelon: Fransa'nın on yedinci asr-ı miladisi üdebâsından bulunan Fenelon'un on dördüncü Lui'nin oğluna okutmak üzere yazdığı *Les Aventures des Télémaque* unvanlı eseri, her lisana tercüme edilmiş olduğu gibi Yusuf Kamil ve Ahmet Vefik Paşalar tarafından Türkçe'ye de nakl olunmuştu. Arike-i pedere geçecek bir prense teb'ayı sevdirmek ve hükümdarlık merasim ve lavâzımını bidâyeten öğretmek emeliyle tertib edilen bu masal, aslından mümkün

mertebe ayrılmamak ve şive-i hâzır muhafaza kılınmak şartıyla ahiren bir zat tarafından yeniden tercümeye başlanılmış. İdarehaneye gelen mütercem parçanın tarz-ı ifadesi hoşumuza gittiği için Mahfel'in son sahifesini buna tahsis ettik. Gönderilen kısmın – ki birinci bâbın tercümesinden ibarettir – hitâmına kadar mecmuaya derc eyleyeceğiz. Mütercim, mütebâki aksamı da Türkçeleştirmeye devam ederse, biz de neşrine çalışırız. Eserin muharriri hakkında karilerimize bir fikr icmali vermiş olmak için 'Kâmusu'l-'Âlâm'daki muhtasar terceme-i halini aynen yazıyoruz. 'Sergüzeşt-i Telemak'ı merhum Yusuf Kamil Paşa tarafından tekellüflü suretde ve Ahmet Vefik Paşa tarafından dahi sade bir tarz-ı ifade ile tercüme olunduğu gibi Arabî ve Avrupa lisanlarının kafesine de tercüme olunmuştur. Fenelon'un tarz-ı inşâ ve ifâdesi pek makbul ve müstahsendir.' (Kamus'tan)

▪ *Mahfel Mecmuası*

Appendix 4 : Conclusion

Conclusion	
<p>Fransız lisânı garbden şarka nakl-i miyâh-ı maârif ü terakki için bir mîzâb hükmünde olduğundan lisân-ı ecnebî denilince Fransız lisânı mütebâdir-i hâtır olduğu gibi ‘mutlak zikr olunan şey kemâline masrûf olmak’ kâ’idesince ‘tercüme’ dinildiği halde Fransızcadan Türkçeye tercüme ma’nâsı tahattur kılınmak tabî’idir.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı, <i>Muntehebât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhir</i>, p. 4. 	<p>The French language was like a tool for the transfer of knowledge and progress from the West into the East. Therefore, if we talk about the Western language we automatically recall to our mind the French language. According to the principle of ‘the ultimate expression of a thing is used for the perfection’, if we talk about ‘translation’ then it is very natural that we remind the translations from French into Ottoman Turkish.</p>
<p>1 Mart sene 1300. Bu gece Tepebaşı bağçesindeki tiyatroya gittim. “Ayda” operası icrâ olunuyordu. Bu opera bana o kadar tesir eder ki ne vakit işitsem gûşi olmak derecesine gelirim. Bu gice fazla olarak muzikacılarda mükemmel ve pek mâhir idi. Operanın bir-âhenk dillenîşi esnâsında birinci kattaki localardan biri açıldı. Gice yarısından iki saat sonra hâneme geldim. Şimdi “Alafrança” saat üç.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Defter-i a’ mâlim: kısm-ı ‘âşikânesinden bir fasıl</i>, Muharriri Mustafa Reşid, Kostantiniyye: İstepan Matbaası, 1308, pp. 1-3. 	<p>1st March, year 1300. I went to theatre in Tepebaşı this night. The ‘Ayda’ opera was performing. This opera was so impressive on me when I heard it I was tending to faint. This night, the musicians were playing extraordinarily. One of the lodge in the first floor was opened during the opera...I came back to my home after two hours at midnight. Now, the French type time (Alafranga) was three o’clock.</p>
<p>... on altı yaşında olduğu halde tarz-ı cedîd-i edebin gençlerimizin âğuş-ı itlâna aktığı romanları, tiyatroları okumağa başlamış bunlarda tasvîr olunan eşhâsa ‘âdetâ zihninde vücûd vermişti. Octave Foye’nin lisanımıza tercüme olunan âsârını okumuş Dumazâde’nin la dam o Kamelyasını, tekrar itmiş, lamartin’in graziella’sını pek sevmişti. Ferta ihtisasatı dimağını şiddetle müteesir iden bu nâdire-i zekâ müddeti ömründe beş on defa tiyatroya gitmiş, tiyatrodâ okuduğu vekayiin daha canlı daha metin suretde tasvîr olunduğunu görerek müteesir olmuşdu. ... ramazan’da minakyan’ın tiyatrosuna gitmek arzusuna...arkadaşlarından altı perdeden ibaret olan “hakikî nedâmet” namındaki dramın pek fevkalade bir şey olduğunu işidmiş şu oyunu çokdan beri görmek arzusunda bulunmuş idi. Bu akşam arzusuna nail oluyordu. Tiyatro “hakikî nedâmet”i oynayacak, ... bir kere de bu oyunun Oktav foye’nin mahsul-i kalemi olduğunu işitmişdi. Elbette hey’et-i ictimâiyyece müfid, müessir, hissî bir oyun olacaktı.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ <i>Oyun</i>: Muharriri Mehmed Celâl, Dersââdet: Kasbar Matbaası, 1309, Maarif Gazetesinde derc edildikten sonra risâle şeklinde tab’ olunmuşdur. p. 3, 5. 	<p>Even though he was sixteen, he began to read the novels and theatres of new literary style flown for the consideration of our youth. He produced characters of thee plays and novels in his mind. He has already red the translated works of Octave Feuillet, repeated La Dame aux Camelia by Alexandre Dumas Fils and liked very much Graziella of Lamartine. This sharp intelligence which is very rare to find was impressed by his readings. He went five or ten times to theatre and was impressed from them due to the more vital and concrete scenes of plays than his readings. He also wished to go to the theatre of Minakyan during Ramadan... he heard about the singularity of the drama ‘Hakikî Nedâmet’ from his friends and, therefore, he wanted to see it. This evening, he would see that play. Another time, he heard that this play was written by Octave Feuillet. For this reason, it would be a useful, impressive and emotional play in terms of its social implications.</p>

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