From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking “Translation” (Terçeme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition

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2005
From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking “Translation” (Terçeme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition

Dissertation submitted to the Institute of Social Sciences in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy in Translation Studies

by
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2005
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June 2005
To the memory of
İlhan Demircioğlu, Aynur and Zeki Kurt
and Serpil Hotaman
Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my advisor Prof. Dr. Saliha Paker, first of all for her invaluable support and for her encouraging me to become engaged in translation studies and to pursue research on Ottoman translation history in particular. I am deeply grateful to Professor Paker for her invaluable supervision and comments on revising and editing the dissertation. I owe this thesis to her enthusiasm, vision, energy, kindly assistance and friendship as well as to her questioning perspectives in her publications on Ottoman translation history that opened new perspectives for me throughout my research. I would like to thank Prof. Dr. İşın Bengi who carried out the first doctoral study on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translations for her invaluable comments that developed my vision during my research. I also wish to express my thanks to the members in my doctoral dissertation committee for their invaluable comments and suggestions.

I am also deeply grateful to two other scholars at Boğaziçi University for their invaluable support and assistance throughout my studies. I thank Prof. Dr. Günay Kut for her friendly assistance in solving several problems during my research into a number of primary sources in Ottoman Turkish in my corpus. I also thank Doç. Dr. Zehra Toska, both for her kindly inviting me to the first interdisciplinary translation project in Turkey which was initiated and coordinated by Prof. Dr. Saliha Paker in 1997, and for answering my never-ending questions on classical Ottoman literature. I am also grateful to the late Prof. Dr. Şinasi Tekin of Harvard University for his invaluable comments and suggestions on translation activity in Turkish, particularly in East Turkic, in the early stages of my research.

I also thank The American Research Institute in Turkey (ARIT) for a grant to support my doctoral research project in 1993. I would like to express my gratitude too to Melek Gençboyacı, the administrator of the Millet Library, and to library staffs of both the Taksim Atatürk Kitaplığı and the Center for Islamic Research (ISAM) in Istanbul for doing their best to help me work on a number of Ottoman Turkish materials.
Finally, many thanks go to my wife and colleague Dr. Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu for her academic and technical help, for her invaluable enthusiasm and energy and for sharing with me all the trials of conducting doctoral research. Many thanks also to our *petite fille* Ezgi, a five year old side-product of the thesis, for letting me finish my research though I stole much time from her, and for her patience, smiles and love. I am also grateful to the Gençtürk Family for their kind support in household matters and to my late mother and my father for their love and support.
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Publications


Abstract

The aim of the present thesis is to explore and analyze on various levels concepts of translation in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. Cemal Demircioğlu’s *From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking “Translation” (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition* investigates on one level the implications of various discourses on the literary translation activity carried out in this period from the historical-descriptive and systemic perspective in Translation Studies. It also examines the ways in which translation/s contributed to the making of Ottoman literary repertoires in connection with European culture and literature. On another level, it examines culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices, with a special focus on terms and concepts, and suggests rethinking *terceme* as a culture-bound and time-bound notion of Ottoman translation tradition.

As an exemplary corpus for rethinking “translation” in terms of diverse writing practices, a number of works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi, a significant *Tanzimat* novelist, translator and journalist, are analyzed with an eye demonstrating diversity, culture-bound and time-bound notions in his translation discourses and practice. The present thesis also offers a comparative analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation, *Sid’ın Hulâsast*, of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* as a case study. The summary translation was chosen because it combines in a single work both paratextual and translation discourse that lend themselves to the analysis of a particular kind of Ottoman text production *via* translation.

The present thesis is also the first extensive academic research on the history of Ottoman/Turkish (a) translational terms and concepts, and (b) translational practices. It proposes a genealogy and lexicon of translational terms which is intended for the use of researchers. Most importantly, the thesis emphasizes the importance of the distinctions between time-bound and culture-bound practices of translation as *terceme* in the study of Ottoman translation history. As a result, the present thesis suggests rethinking “translation” in Ottoman culture not in terms of the modern concept of *çeviri* but of *terceme* and related practices, without overlooking historical continuity.
Özet

Bu tezin amacı, 19. yüzyıl sonu Osmanlı kültürlünde “terceme” kavramını çeşitli yönlerden incelemek ve çözümlemektir. Cemal Demircioğlu’nun “From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking “Translation” (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition” başlıklı araştırması hem edebi çeviri etkinliği üzerine çok çeşitli söylemleri tarihsel-betimlemeli ve dizgeci bir bakış açısı ile incelemekte hem de çevirilerin Avrupa kültür ve edebiyatıyla ilişkili olarak Osmanlı edebiyatı “repertuvarları”nın oluşumuna ne şekilde katkı sağladığına araştırmaktadır. Öte yandan, terim ve kavramlarla odaklanarak, Osmanlı kültürlünde terceme uygulamalarındaki kültüre-bağlı yönleri de ele almaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez, “terceme”yi Osmanlı çeviri geleneğinin kültüre-bağlı ve zamana-bağlı bir kavram olarak yeniden düşünmek istediğini önermektedir.


From Discourse to Practice:
Rethinking “Translation” (Terceme) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition

Introduction ........................................................................................................................................... 1

Chapter 1: Theoretical Framework and Methodology ................................................................. 23

1.1. Representation of Late Ottoman Translation Activity in the Literary Histories
between 1888-1889 and 1969 ........................................................................................................... 23
  1.1.1. The Late Ottoman Context of Translation ........................................................................... 24
    1.1.1.1. A Period of Innovation (Teceddüd) ........................................................................... 25
    1.1.1.2. Translation (Terceme) and Progress ....................................................................... 28
    1.1.1.3. Importing (İdhal) and Taking (Ahz) Material from the West ............................ 30
    1.1.1.4. A Period of Imitation (Taklid), Borrowing (İktibas), Translation
            (Terceme), Modelling (İmtisal) and Emulation (Tanzir) ........................................... 33
  1.1.2. The Republican Representation of the Late Ottoman Context of Translation........... 36
    1.1.2.1. Innovation as “Our” Starting Point ....................................................................... 38
    1.1.2.2. Western Acculturation and Innovation .................................................................. 42
    1.1.2.3. Shifting Civilization; Europeanization and Humanism ...................................... 46
    1.1.2.4. A Period of Translation (Çeviri), Imitation (Taklid)
            and Emulation (Tanzir) ............................................................................................... 51
    1.1.2.5. Objections to the Origins of Innovation .............................................................. 53
    1.1.2.6. Imitation and Negative Attitudes towards Western Influence ........................... 55
  1.1.3. Republican Discourse on Ottoman Translation Strategies and Fidelity ............... 58
  1.1.4. Scholarly Studies on Ottoman Translation Activity .................................................. 65
  1.1.5. Questioning Perspectives ............................................................................................... 73
  1.1.6. Consequences ................................................................................................................ 79

1.2. Theoretical Framework .......................................................................................................... 83
  1.2.1. Toury’s Notion of “Assumed Translation” ...................................................................... 87
  1.2.2. Even-Zohar’s Theory of “Culture Repertoire”, “Invention”,
        “Import” and “Transfer” ............................................................................................... 92
  1.2.3. “Culture/Literature Planning” and “Idea-Makers” ...................................................... 95
  1.2.4. Lefevere’s Concept of “Rewriting” .............................................................................. 97
1.2.5. Venuti’s Distinction between “Domesticating” and “Foreignizing” Translations .................................................. 100

1.2.6. “Ottoman Interculture” and Translation ............................................. 101

1.3. Methodology .............................................................................................. 102

1.4. Summary ..................................................................................................... 105

Chapter 2: A Historical Overview: Turkish Terms/Concepts for “Translation” from the Pre-Ottoman to Ottoman Periods ............... 108

2.1. Identifying Translation in East Turkic: Uyghur Turkish ................................ 109

2.1.1. Translation as Evirmek, Yaratmak, Aktarmak, Çevürmek, Döndermek .... 110

2.2. Identifying “Translation” in West Turkic: Old Anatolian Turkish and What Followed ................................................................. 113

2.2.1. Translation as Döndermek (14th, 15th and 16th Centuries) ................. 116

2.2.2. Translation as Nakl, Terceme/Tercüme (14th and 15th Centuries) ....... 117

2.2.3. Translation as Tasnif (Re-arrangement/Compilation or Rewriting)
(14th and 15th Centuries) ................................................................................. 119

2.2.4. Translation as Turkifying in Verse Narratives ...................................... 125

2.2.4.1. Translation as Nazm nakl eylemek (To convey in verse),
Be-tazmin getürmek (To take/appropriate from),
Mütercem itmek (To translate) (14th and 15th Centuries) ......................... 125

2.2.4.2. Translation as Türki suretinde söylemek
(To tell in Turkish) (14th Century) ............................................................... 127

2.2.4.3. Translation as Türkiye dönmek (To turn into Turkish),
Türkiye getürmek (To bring into Turkish),
Türkçe şerh eylemek (To comment in Turkish) (14th Century) .......... 129

2.2.4.4. Translation as Türkçe nazm inşa eylemek (To construct verse in Turkish),
Türkçe kılmak (To make/render Turkish) (16th Century) ...................... 130

2.2.4.5. Translation as Türkçe dibac giyürmek (To dress in a garment of Turkish),
Dibâ-yi Rûmî giyürmek (To dress in a western (Anatolian) garment)
(16th and 18th Centuries) .............................................................................. 131

2.3. Identifying Translation in Lexicons in the Late Nineteenth Century .......... 132

2.3.1. Two Orthographic Variants: Terceme and Tercüme ........................... 133
2.3.2. *Terceme* in Dictionaries Translated from Arabic .......................... 134
   2.3.2.1. Translation as *Tefsir* (Exegesis) and *Beyan* (Stating/Expressing) ..... 134
2.3.3. *Terceme* in Ottoman Turkish Dictionaries ..................................... 137
   2.3.3.1. Translation Defined as *Tefsir* (Exegesis) and *Beyan* (Stating/Expressing) .................................................. 137
   2.3.3.2. *Nakl* (Conveying) Defined as *Terceme* (Translation) ................. 140
2.3.4. Translation Defined as *Çevirme* .................................................. 143
2.4. Summary .......................................................................................... 148

Chapter 3: Aspects of Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Turkish Discourse on Literary Translation ................................................................. 149

3.1. Concepts and Definitions of Translation (*Terceme*) .............................. 151
   3.1.1. *Terceme* as Metaphor ................................................................. 151
   3.1.2. Ahmed Midhat Efendi and the “Classics Debate” of 1897: translation as *Terceme* and *Taklid* (Imitation) ...................... 153
   3.1.3. Translation as *Nazire* (Emulation) in Prose .................................. 159
3.2. *Terceme* Strategies in Translating Poetry ........................................ 160
   3.2.1. Translation as *İktibasen Terceme* (Translation by Means of Borrowing) ..... 161
   3.2.2. Translation as *Aynen Terceme* (Translation as the Same) ............. 163
   3.2.3. Translation as *Nazire/Tanzir* (Emulation) in Poetry ..................... 166
3.3. Functions Attributed to Translations (*Terceme*) in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Discourse ............................................................. 170
   3.3.1. A Need for Translating from the West: Translation and Progress .......... 171
   3.3.2. Norms in Selecting Source Texts: Suitability to Moral Values .......... 179
3.4. Strategies of Translation in Late Ottoman Discourse ............................ 184
   3.4.1. Two-Term Taxonomy in the Discourse on Translation:
         *Aynen* (as the Same) and *Serbest* (Free) ..................................... 185
   3.4.2. Three-Term Taxonomy in the Discourse on Translation:
         *Aynen* (as the Same), *Mealen* (Sense-for-sense) and *Tevsien* (Expanded) .... 188
   3.4.3. Four-Term Taxonomy in the Discourse on Translation:
         Fidelity to *Sanayi-i Lafziyye* (Figures of Speech) and
         *Maneviyye* (Figures of Thoughts),
         *Mealen* (Sense-for-sense) and *Taklid* (Imitation) ......................... 190
3.4.4. *Tahvil* (Conversion) and *Akd ü Hall* as Translation in the Late Ottoman Discourse ........................................................... 194

3.4.5. *Hulâsa* (Summary Translation) as a Strategy in the Discourse on Translation ................................................................. 197

3.5. The Problem of Translatability ................................................................................................................................. 197

3.6. The Problem of Terminological Correspondences in the Discourse on Translation .... 202

3.7. The Quality of Translators: Competence in Target and Source Languages ........ 206

3.8. Summary ............................................................................................................................................................................ 211

Chapter 4: Analyzing Culture-Specific Aspects of Translation in the Works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi ............................................................. 213

4.1. An Analysis of Two Bibliographies ................................................................................................................................ 214

4.2. Rethinking Turkish Notions of Translation in Space and Time:
   Translation as “Çeviri” or “Terceme” .......................................................................................................................... 224

4.3. Culture-bound and Time-bound Terms and/or
   Notions of Translation (*Terceme*) in Paratexts ........................................................................................................ 237

4.3.1. Translation as İktibas (Borrowing) ......................................................................................................................... 244

4.3.1.1. Diplomali Kız .................................................................................................................................................. 244

4.3.1.2. İki Hüd’akâr ............................................................................................................................................... 245

4.3.1.3. Ana Kız ...................................................................................................................................................... 247

4.3.1.4. Aleksandr Stradella ......................................................................................................................................... 249

4.3.1.5. Şeytankaya Tilsımı ......................................................................................................................................... 250

4.3.1.6. Nedamet mi? Heyhat! ....................................................................................................................................... 251

4.3.1.7. Kismetinde Olmanın Kaşığında Çıkar .............................................................................................................. 254

4.3.1.8. Çifte İntikam ................................................................................................................................................ 255

4.3.2. Translation as *Terceme* (Translation) ................................................................................................................ 256

4.3.2.1. Amiral Bing ............................................................................................................................................... 256

4.3.2.2. Bilgiç Kız .................................................................................................................................................. 259

4.3.2.3. Üç Yüzlü Bir Kari ........................................................................................................................................ 261

4.3.2.4. Hüsrevnâme ............................................................................................................................................. 264

4.3.3. Translation as Muhavere (Conversation/Dialogue) ................................................................................................. 268

4.3.3.1. *Niza-i İlm ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm* ............................................................................................................... 268

4.3.4. Translation as *Nakl* (Conveying) ........................................................................................................................ 273
Chapter 5: Translating in Dialogue with the West: Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Summary Translation of Pierre Corneille’s Le Cid... 288

5.1. Looking at Paratextual Elements ................................................................. 290
   5.1.1. The Preface: “İfade” (Statement) .............................................................. 290
   5.1.2. The Supplement: “Sid’in İntikadi” (The Critique of Le Cid) ....................298
      5.1.2.1. Analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Critique of Le Cid ............... 300
         5.1.2.1.1 On the Foundations of Corneille’s Le Cid ......................... 305
5.2. Analyzing the Matricial Features of the Summary Translation of Le Cid ..........309
   5.2.1. Comparative Analysis of the Structural Distribution in TT and ST .......... 309
   5.2.2. Comparative Analysis of the Matricial Features of the TT and
   the ST with regard to the Narrative Makeup of the TT ............................. 311
      5.2.2.1. Introductory Explanations to Individual Scenes .......................... 311
      5.2.2.2. Paraphrases of Individual Scenes, Dialogues and Long Utterances ... 312
      5.2.2.3. Translations in one-to-one Correspondence with ST Utterances ...... 315
      5.2.2.4. One-to-one Correspondence in the Translation of Verse Speeches
      and Dialogues ......................................................................................... 317
   5.2.3. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Narrative Technique
   in his Summary Translation ........................................................................ 320
   5.2.4. Treatment of Proper Names in TT ....................................................... 322
5.3. Summary ..................................................................................................... 324

Conclusion ........................................................................................................ 326

References ........................................................................................................ 338
Appendices

Appendix 1: The Title Page of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Summary Translation *Sid’in Hulâsasi* and of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* ................................................................. 363

Appendix 2: Title Pages of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Works Examined in the Thesis ................................................................. 365

Appendix 3: Chart indicating non-linear, beyond-binary translational relationships among terms and/or concepts in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Discourse ..380

Appendix 4: A Selected Corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Translational Works .. 381

Appendix 5: Turkish Transcription of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Summary Translation (*Sid’in Hulâsasi*) of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* ................................................................. 384
Notes

- English translations of quotations from Ottoman Turkish (written in Arabic script) as well as from modern Turkish (written in Roman letters) are mine, unless otherwise stated.

- In converting dates in the hegira calendar to the Christian calendar, Faik Reşit Unat’s *Hicrî Tarihleri Milâdî Tarihe Çevirme Kılavuzu* (1988) has been used. In the thesis, publication dates of the works in the hegira calendar are given after a slash [/], preceded by their correspondences in the Christian calendar.

- *Türk Dil Kurumu İmlâ Kılavuzu* (1995) (The Guide for Turkish Orthography, published by the Turkish Language Association) has been used in the Turkish transcription of textual materials in Ottoman Turkish.

- The principles below have been followed in the Turkish transliteration of Ottoman texts:

  1. Arabic letters indicating long vowels (e.g., â, î, û) have not been shown except in cases that may lead to semantic confusion such as *âsar* and *åsar*, or *âlem* or *ålem*.

  2. Long vowels followed by Arabic letters ك and ل have been shown, e.g. *läkin*, *inkâr* or *malûm*.

  3. The feminine gender of the possessive case [î] has been transliterated with double [y], as in *edebîyye* and *fikriyye*.

- A Turkish transcription of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation (*Sid’in Hulâsasi*) of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* is presented in Appendix 5.
Introduction

This thesis attempts to explore and analyze concepts of translation in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century: primarily terceme and related practices such as nakl (conveying), iktibas (borrowing), taklid (imitation), tanzir (emulation), tahvil (conversion), hulâsa (summary) and muhavere (dialogue). Through the examination of Ottoman Turkish discourses on literary translation, and of the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1884-1912), I will set out to analyze “culture-specific aspects of translation” glossed over (Paker 2002a: 120) by researchers who have previously studied translation activity in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. With the term “culture-specific” or “culture-bound”, I refer to any aspect of “translation” which is “construed” by the members of a particular culture in a certain manner (Hermans 1995: 221; Paker 2002a: 120-127). The term denotes that a particular culture may “construe” and “label” their own concepts and practices of translation in a different way which may not be compatible with those in other cultures (Hermans 1995: 221). That is why one needs to pay attention to the culture-specificity of terceme and examine it as an “Ottoman concept of translation” (Paker 2002a: 120, 127; 2005a: 1-2; my italics) in the various ways it was practised and in the ways it related to cultural and literary issues. I will also use another term “time-bound” to indicate that culture-bound aspects of “translation” are time-dependent (Hermans 1995: 221; Paker 2002a: 127). It is obvious that practices and conceptions of translation may change in accordance with temporal lines of a particular culture. Thus, the term denotes possible shifts in the concepts and practices of translation in a
given culture, especially in the context of historical continuity/discontinuity. Time-bound aspects of translation seem to be important for cultures such as the late Ottoman Empire and modern Turkey, which undergo great socio-political, ideological transformations, particularly at the intra-cultural level (Paker 2002a: 127; 2005a: 1-3; 2005b: 1-2). That is why one needs to regard the culture-specificity of translation as a time-dependent matter when conducting a historical, descriptive and interpretative study of translation in both Ottoman and republican Turkey (Paker 2002a: 120). For the same reason, I intend to keep Ottoman terms for translational practices such as nakl, iktibas, taklid, tanzir, tahvil, hulāsa and muhavere as they were named and identified by the Ottomans themselves. This is also intended to avoid the problem of overlooking and thus erasing cultural, literary and linguistic indications of “translation” while writing a history of the Ottoman translation tradition such as the present thesis. My doctoral research indicates that we are constantly faced with the problem of translating “the otherness of other cultures” when writing in “English as lingua franca” (Hermans 1995: 221; Paker 2002a: 121). In a similar vein, the same problem exists in writing in modern Turkish today. In conveying Ottoman terms, concepts and practices of translation to modern Turkish in terms of “çeviri”, we unavoidably perform both an intra-cultural and intra-lingual translation, in other words, a translation of “the other’s cultural otherness” i.e. of Ottoman culture (Paker 2002a: 127). This may indicate actually the problem of what kind of cultural translation we are performing when we are “interpreting” certain concepts of translation between cultures (Hermans 1995: 222).

The present thesis has a number of interrelated aims. The first is to identify and present a descriptive analysis of culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices with a special focus on terms and concepts, hence to suggest rethinking
“translation” (*terceme*) and its related practices in which some forms of translational behaviour conform to the modern Turkish concept of translation (*çeviri*) today, while others do not (Paker 2002a: 124-127). The second is to analyze from a translational point of view a corpus of the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi who was a significant *Tanzimat* novelist, translator, publisher, journalist and the owner of the newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. It is Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s writings that provide an exemplary framework for rethinking translation in terms of multiple related practices. The third aim is to foreground discourses on nineteenth century literary translation activity, including Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s, so as to understand and explain in what ways translation/s contributed to the making of Ottoman cultural and literary “repertoires” by means of “invention”, “import” and “transfer” from European culture and literature (Even-Zohar 2002: 166; 2004b: 223; 2004e: 253-254).

The first extensive research in translation studies on Ahmed Midhat Efendi was carried out by İşın Bengi (1990) in her doctoral thesis where she focused on paratextual data in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s texts and his translation of *La Dame aux camélias*. Özlem Berk (1999) surveyed the late nineteenth century translation activity from the perspective of westernization. Other than these studies and articles by Paker (1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1991, 1998, 2004, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b), no research has been done on nineteenth century translation activity within the modern paradigm of historical, descriptive, explanatory and interpretative translation studies. The present thesis is therefore the first to survey nineteenth-century Ottoman terms, concepts and practices of translation on a broad scale, to include those that are interrelated but have not been foregrounded before, to contextualize those terms, concepts and practices using various literary-historical discourses from the nineteenth and
twentieth centuries, to describe and analyze them, and to relate them to nineteenth-century literary-cultural activity. In order to indicate connections with the nineteenth-century terms and concepts, the present research is also the first to offer a *genealogy* and a *lexicon* of translational terms and concepts of earlier Ottoman, pre-Ottoman and East Turkic ones, based largely on various lexicographical sources.

Seen as a significant “cultural entrepreneur” in the late Ottoman literary tradition (Paker 2004b), Ahmed Midhat Efendi deserves particularly close attention among the writers and translators of the *Tanzimat* period. He has been described as not only “a famous person who wrote European-like novels in our literature of the previous century” (Özön 1942: 82), but also as a “writing machine of 40 horse power who met the cultural needs of the Turkish generations of his time and wrote 150 works including novels, short stories and plays as well as works in history, philosophy, psychology and education” – a “novelist, short story writer, philosopher, scholar, historian, educator, researcher, bibliophile, printer and businessman” (Rado 1955: 9; 1986: 3). According to Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar, he was “a huge apparatus for consumption”, “a giant who ate with no concern for digestion” but also a writer who “opened the gates to the short story and the novel through invention [“*icat*”] or adaptation [“*adaptasyon*”]” (Tanpınar 1988: 462-463). Fevziye Abdullah Tansel describes him as the one who “wrote the first indigenous examples of [the story and the novel]” and “drew much attention to this genre with his translations [“*tercüme*”] and borrowings [“*iktibas*”] from French literature” (Tansel 1955: 109). In İşin Bengi’s words, he was “a giant figure” and “the eloquent mediator” who struggled in a revolutionary fashion “to introduce and establish what was missing in the home literary polysystem” (Bengi 1988: 288). According to Saliha Paker, he was also in translation “the leading advocate for an extreme form of ‘acceptability’”, and “in a
sense, institutionalized it” (Paker 1991: 23). Not only these views but also my preliminary investigations indicate that Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s text production displays considerable diversity and provides us with a wide scope for studying the various “options” (Even-Zohar 1997: 356; 2002: 167) in translating from European literatures and in enlarging the literary repertoires of his time by means of these options. His translated works, as well as his discourse on translation, help expose the “culture-bound and time-bound” (Hermans 1995: 221; Paker 2002a: 120-127) aspects of translation in the late Ottoman literary tradition. My analysis of Koz (2002) and Esen (1999), which provide comprehensive bibliographical information on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works, will also help examine the Turkish concepts of translation in connection with terceme and çeviri, both of which represent two principal notions of translation in the continuity of Turkish culture (Paker 2002a: 127). In this manner, the thesis will entail rethinking Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works retrospectively without glossing over culture-specific aspects of his general translation practices. It will also help adopt questioning perspectives in the classification of literary texts translated from foreign languages into Ottoman Turkish in the late nineteenth century.

My involvement in historical research has its roots in the first major interdisciplinary translation research project in Turkey in which I participated as a graduate student. The project, Translations and their functions in the continuity of Ottoman culture: fourteenth – nineteenth centuries, was coordinated by Saliha Paker and initiated in 1997 with the participation of members and graduate students from the Departments of Translation and Interpreting, and of Turkish Language and Literature at Boğaziçi University (Paker 2002a: 123; 2002b: viii-x). In reviewing the range of Ottoman translations from several centuries with respect to their functions,
Paker formulated a fundamental problem related to the “criteria for ‘assuming’ certain texts as translations in Ottoman culture” (Paker 2002a: 123). In other words, her observations indicated “the problem of defining Ottoman notions of what we call ‘translation’ in English, and çeviri [translation] in Turkish today” (ibid.). The project and its historical-descriptive framework detailed by Paker have helped me develop a critical attitude towards intricate practices of the Ottoman translation tradition, and provided me with the background for the present thesis. Thus, my originating question in this study arises in connection with Paker’s formulations that call for similar questions on Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century: why is it necessary to consider translation (terceme) and its practices on a broad scale without excluding heterogeneity and culture-specific aspects? In a similar vein, why do we need a wide-ranging perspective and a ‘beyond-binary’ approach to translation/s (terceme) in identifying the works of an Ottoman “writer-translator” such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi? With the term ‘beyond-binary’, I am referring to attitudes which are not binarist and thus avoid making a priori and mutual distinctions and oppositions between translational concepts and practices in a particular culture.

In the present thesis, I will examine “translation” (terceme) and related practices of text production in the late Ottoman literary tradition, starting with “discourse” and then moving on to “practice”s. The term “discourse” has been used with increasing frequency and with new kinds of meaning across the boundaries of various disciplines (Fowler 1987: 62). Thus it has acquired much wider implications (Cuddon 1998: 228). Through ‘discourse analysis’ since the 1950s, discourse has been very much concerned with “the study of language beyond the level of the sentence” (Hatim 1998: 67) or with “the study of any aspect of language use” (Fasold 1990: 65). In linguistics, discourse denotes a stretch of language larger than a
sentence, in other words, “language above the sentence or above the clause” (Stubbs 1983: 1). For some researchers, the analysis of discourse is “necessarily the analysis of language in use… [which] cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs” (Brown and Yule 1983: 1). For others, it is “another universe, that of language as an instrument of communication, whose expression is discourse” (Benveniste 1971: 110). It is “more than just language use: it is language use, whether speech or writing, seen as a type of social practice” (Fairclough 1992: 28). According to Hatim and Mason, discourse stands for “modes of speaking and writing which involve participants in adopting a particular attitude towards areas of socio-cultural activity” (Hatim and Mason 1990: 240; see also Hatim 2001: 229). It is “both institutional and individual and gives expression to users’ attitudes towards any particular state of affairs”, thus it is “closely bound up with ideology” (Mason 1992: 25). According to Michel Foucault, discourse is sometimes “the general domain of all statements”, at other times “an individualizable group of statements”, or “a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements” (Foucault 1972: 80).

These definitions of discourse are illustrative of the considerable range of conceptions of discourse, some of which emphasize ‘language in use’, while others stress what discourse indicates beyond ‘language in use’. Regardless of differences of emphasis, discourse appears as a significant concept for understanding society and human responses to it, as well as for understanding language itself (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 3). It includes any modes of utterance as a part of social practice. Discourse has an object and is directed to or at an object. Since modes of utterances can be differentiated by intention, discourse may manifest itself as any number of
things, for instance “a poem, a philosophical essay, a political tract, a biblical commentary… a polemic, a dialogue” (Cuddon 1998: 228) or a translation, a “rewriting” (Lefevere 1985: 233; 1992: 8), thus any utterance related to translation. Whatever discourse is, and however concretely or theoretically the term is defined and used, there seems to be an agreement that it has mainly to do with language, meaning and context (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: xi).

In this thesis, I will regard discourse as certain statements, whether speech or writing, which help us explore translation and related practices of text production as a part of socio-cultural activity and intercultural communication. I will use the term not only in Gideon Toury’s sense of “extratextual” sources (Toury 1965: 65) and Gérard Genette’s sense of “paratext” (Genette 1997: 1) but also mindful of André Lefevere’s reference to it as “rewriting” (Lefevere 1985: 233). Defining “extratextual” material as a means of studying translational norms in a given culture, Gideon Toury draws attention to “…statements made by translators, editors, publishers, and other persons involved in or connected with the activity, critical appraisals of individual translations, or the activity of a translator or ‘school’ of translators, and so forth” (Toury 1995: 65). Gideon Toury points out that translation throughout different historical periods can be studied not only by looking at translations themselves, but also by studying “statements” on translation (ibid.). Without excluding “statements” as “extra” texts on translation/s in his methodology, Toury relates translation/s to the socio-cultural context in a given culture. I will also use “paratext” (Genette 1997:1) as another form of extratextual discourse which covers “presentational materials accompanying translated texts and text-specific meta-discourses formed directly around them” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 44). In this manner, “titles, subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces,
iertitles, notes, epilogues and afterwords” (Macksey 1997: xviii) are subjected to
the study of translation in a given culture. André Lefevere’s concept of “rewriting”
also draws our attention to the relationships between discourse and “various forms of
text processing” (Hermans 1999: 164) as “rewritings”, including interpretation,
criticism, historiography, anthologies and translation (Lefèvere 1985: 233).
According to Lefevere, certain agents such as translators, critics, and historians are
“rewriters” (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990: 10) whose productions construct the image
of a writer or a work of literature as “the locus where ideology, poetics, universe of
discourse and language come together, mingle and clash” (Lefevere 1985: 233). Thus
the concept of rewriting offers us the possibility not only of regarding translations,
anthologies, and literary histories as rewritings but also of examining those works as
modes of discourse.

In this framework, the study of discourse on translation appears as an
indispensable step towards the understanding of translation phenomenon (Korpel
Discourse not only provides background information in examining certain
translations but also helps us acquire the contextual and socio-cultural framework
relating to translation. That is why the study of discourse on translation serves as one
of the essential points of departure in the historical-descriptive study of translation in
a given culture. Discourses on translation will reflect the views, opinions,
experiences and perceptions of the Ottoman writers, translators or “writer-
translators” who participated in the production of both translated and indigenous
literature at that time. That is why in the present thesis I consider discourses on
translation, such as that of Ahmed Midhat Efendi and of the “classics debate” of
1897, as well as of the post-Tanzimat and republican literary historians, of modern researchers/scholars, of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s bibliographers, and of lexicographers to be invaluable sources which will illuminate certain aspects of the Ottoman conception of translation in the late nineteenth century. Thus it needs to be borne in mind that the views and opinions of the Ottoman writers, translators or “writer-translators” will represent the discourse on translation rather than the actual state of translation.

In the present thesis, I will focus on translation activity in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century, particularly in a period from the 1880s onwards up to the turn of the twentieth century. In other words, I will concentrate on the post-Tanzimat period during which Ottoman contact with European culture continued to contribute to the modernization of the military, administrative and educational fields. Initial attempts at modernization had started in the eighteenth century and continued during the Tanzimat period (Karal 1940: 13-30; Tanpınar 1988: 52-73; Lewis 1968: 45). The period which extended from the proclamation of Gülhane Hatt-ı Şerifi (Noble Rescript of Gülhane) in 1839 to the proclamation of the first Ottoman constitution and the establishment of a parliamentary regime in 1876 is known in Turkish history as the Tanzimat (re-organization) period. Since Ottoman society was subjected to a number of important administrative, legal and educational reforms in this period, the Tanzimat marks the intensive beginnings of the Europeanization movement in Ottoman society, together with counter-forces opposing the reforms in the context of their resistance to a shift in civilization (Lewis 1968: 74-128; Berkes 15-39; Tanpınar 1988: 52-73; Mardin 1994: 9-17; Zurcher 1998: 78-115).
From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, and particularly during and after the Tanzimat period, the spread of western ideas and a familiarization with western social and political materials were strongly motivated by the rise of a new literature which started to differ both in form and content from Ottoman traditional literature (Evin 1983: 9-21; Tanpinar 1988: 249-300; Akyüz 1994: 23-41; Paker 1991: 18-25; Bengi 1990: 70-84; Berk 1999: 11-18). In the Tanzimat period, French literature began to replace “the classics of Iran as the source of inspiration and the model for imitation” in the formation of a new literature (Lewis 1968: 136). Not only the emergence of new literary models and genres adopted in time by Ottoman writers and translators but also interest in various fields such as western thinking discovered by Ottoman readers was the result of the first translations from the West, mainly from French literature.¹ The emergence of translations was naturally a part of major cultural, literary, and institutional transformations and reforms in Ottoman society, and the year 1859 was an important moment since the first three translations from French were published or circulated in that year: Terceme-i Manzume (Translations of Verse) by İbrahim Şinasi, Muhaverat-i Hikemiyye (Philosophical Dialogues) by Münif Paşa, and Terceme-i Telemak² (The Translation of Telemak) by Yusuf Kamil Paşa. These translations introduced western poetry, philosophy as well as the novel to Ottoman readers, each of which actually representing a new literary genre (Tanpinar 1988: 150; Paker 1991: 19; Evin 1983: 41-46). Hence they are regarded in

¹ At this point, one needs to remember that there was also a rich tradition of translations from Arabic and Persian into Turkish, which went back to the pre-Ottoman period in Asia Minor in the thirteenth century and continued in the Ottoman period up to the decline of the Ottoman Empire in the early twentieth century. For translations in the pre-Ottoman period, see Levend 1988; Ülken 1997; Kut 1998; Paker and Toska 1997.

² Yusuf Kamil Paşa’s Terceme-i Telemak is conventionally regarded as the first novel translated into Turkish. But Kavruk (1998) indicates that Fénelon’s novel Les Aventures de Télémaque (1699) was first translated in 1792 by Seyyid Ali Efendi, a diplomat who was sent to France and translated it in order to improve his French (Kavruk 1998: 9).
modern scholarly discourse on Ottoman translation history as indicating the beginning of the literary Tanzimat in Ottoman culture.3

From the beginning of the literary Tanzimat on, there was another medium which fulfilled an essential role in shaping public opinion in relation to political, cultural and literary progress: the press (Özön 1934: 141-143; Sevük 1944: 562-566; Lewis 1968: 146-150; Tanpinar 1988: 249-252; Evin 1983: 46-48). In this period, newspapers, literary journals and magazines functioned as important means of communication, and also started to give much space to translations particularly from French literature. They often serialized translations in their pages, some of which also circulated in the market after being printed in book form. Especially after the first parliamentary regime in Ottoman society was established in 1876 with Sultan Abdülhamid II on the throne, there was a considerable increase in the number of newspapers, journals and literary magazines (Öksüz 1995; Kolcu 1999a). But the reign of Abdülhamit II (1876-1908) was also the period of increasing repression and censorship (see Kudret 1997: 631-676; İskit 2000: 68-90).

The significant development in this period was the increase in translated fiction and poetry from French, especially from the 1880s onwards.4 Ali İhsan Kolcu indicates that approximately 988 poems were translated from western languages into

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3 In her doctoral thesis Özlem Berk (1999) examines the role and functions that translations played in Turkish history, especially within the framework of its Westernization movement from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth centuries. Berk focuses on the first literary translations from Western languages into Turkish after 1859 and analyzes those on the basis of the data she compiled not from primary but secondary sources such as literary histories.

4 For the increase in the number of literary translations from the Tanzimat period onwards, see in particular [Sevük] 1941; Alpay 1976; Kolcu 1999a, 1999b; Akbayar 1985. Among these works, Kolcu’s offers a comprehensive bibliographical list of translated poetry from the West between 1859 and 1901. Although Kolcu provides a lot of data, his list seems to have some problems. In his presentation of the translated works, he unfortunately overlooks culture-specific terms and/or concepts in the paratexts of the works, all of which could have provided us with significant data for the historical-descriptive study of translations in Ottoman culture.
Ottoman Turkish between 1859 and 1901 (Kolcu 1999a: 715-717). Taking *Terceme-i Manzume* by Şinasi (1859) as the starting point, Kolcu mentions that 22 poems were translated from French between 1859 and 1880. Kolcu’s study shows that there was a sharp increase in translations between 1880 and the decline of the *Edebiyat-i Cedide* (New Literature) movement in 1901 with poems translated from other European languages as well (ibid).

Parallel to an increase in the number of translations from European literatures, the post-*Tanzimat* period was also significant because of the emergence of Ottoman Turkish discourses on translation. Not only in newspapers and magazines but also in the prefaces and introductions of books, we encounter numerous statements, evaluations as well as disputes on translation and the ways it was practiced. This indicates that translation was still an important factor in that period in the making of domestic literary repertoires based on western models.

When I began to examine translated literature in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century, I became intrigued by certain literary figures and their statements on translating from the West: translations were expected to contribute greatly to Ottoman cultural and literary progress (*terakki*). I was also intrigued by the views related to translation practices that indicated, for instance, in what ways the Ottoman literati needed to “translate” the cultural, linguistic or textual properties of foreign texts into their own system, what their conception of translation (*terceme*) was, or what translation/s was/were expected to serve in Ottoman culture.

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5 Unfortunately, we have no research which may illuminate the number of translated novels from the West since the beginning of the literary *Tanzimat*. 
My initial exploration of the field through a survey of works covering literary histories, anthologies, statements by writers and translators of the late nineteenth century and views expressed in the “classics debate” of 1897, as well as prefaces, newspapers, magazines and translated texts published at that time, revealed that there were several concepts of translation (terceme) in circulation. My preliminary research, especially through primary sources in Arabic script, indicated that there was no a uniform or single definition of translation (terceme); rather, there was diversity in the ways translation was practiced, and the concepts and intended functions of translation seemed to vary. My preliminary study also revealed that writers and/or translators dwelled upon certain problems of translating from European culture and literature. They were sometimes troubled by the inadequacy of the target language as well as by the problem of finding equivalents for French terms and concepts. These were the issues expressed in partial or fragmented ways in discourse on translation.

It is also obvious that important views on literary translation in the late nineteenth century came together in the “classics debate” of 1897 (Kaplan 1998; Paker 2005a), on translating European classical works into Ottoman Turkish. Sparked off by an article by Ahmed Midhat Efendi in August 1897, the debate drew my attention to the cultural, linguistic and literary interest in translating from European culture as well as its significance for Ottoman society. It is important that Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*, which was published in 1890-91/1308, was also subjected to a discussion in the debate. In

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6 With a number of articles, the following writers participated in the “classics debate” of 1897: Ahmed Cevdet (1861-1935), Cenab Şahabeddin (1870-1934), Necib Asım (1861-1935), Kemal Paşazade Sâid (1848-1921), Ismail Avni (?), Hüseyin Danış (1870-1942), Ahmed Rasim (1864-1932), Hüseyin Sabri (?) (Kaplan 1988: 12).
his preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi proposed his summary strategy as a useful procedure to catch up with European literary progress and tried to justify his work as a product comparable with translation (terceme). This is why I have decided to examine this text as my case study. In the views of the participants in the “classics debate” we find certain clues regarding ways of translating and culture-specific practices discussed in connection with the Ottoman translation tradition, e.g. taklid (imitation) and tanzir ( emulation). It was debated whether Ottomans needed to translate (terceme, nakl) or imitate (taklid, tanzir) European works of literature in order to achieve cultural and literary progress. Several statements in the debate also indicated diversity in both the concept and intended functions of translation in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century.

My preliminary research findings gave rise to various questions regarding the thematic range and theoretical and methodological framework of the study. The first group of questions to be addressed in this thesis pertains to the modern Turkish representation of Ottoman translation activity in the late nineteenth century: how did literary historians in the republican period “rewrite” (Lefevere 1985: 233; 1992: 7) the Ottoman translation activity of the late nineteenth century? Can these histories be productive for an understanding of the Ottoman translation activity in that period? Can their definitions of translation be fruitful for understanding the Ottoman conception of translation (terceme) and its practices?

The second group of questions is related to the concepts, functions and strategies of translation (terceme): what terms and/or concepts represent the act of translation from the pre-Ottoman period onwards? Do we observe uniformity or diversity in translation? What kind of culture-specific concepts appear as a result of
Ottoman translation (terceme) practices? Are there connections between translation (terceme) and commentary (şerh), exegesis (tefsir) and statement (beyan) in Ottoman culture? What kinds of discourse were related to translation (terceme) in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century? Were “foreign” works taken as models for producing Ottoman texts by means of imitation (taklid) and emulation (tanzir)? Do imitation and emulation emerge in connection with translation? Is there a connection between translation (terceme) and borrowing (iktibas)? What would be the functions of translations in Ottoman culture in that period? What kind of translation strategies were used at that time? Can we speak of various types of Ottoman translation practices, hence “beyond-binary” divisions extending from fidelity to freedom?

The third group of questions addresses Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translations in particular, as identified by two scholars, Koz (2002) and Esen (1999). What are the terms and/or concepts that Koz (2002) and Esen (1999) use in identifying the translations in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus? What kind of culture-bound terms and/or notions of translation (terceme) are there in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s discourse on translation which may indicate various options in his writing and translating practices? Can his discourse on translation help us understand the variety in terceme in the ways it was practiced in the second half of the nineteenth century? In this manner, can we consider both terceme and çeviri to be “culture-bound and time-bound” (Paker 2002a: 120-127) notions, one pertaining to the

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Ottoman, the other to the Turkish? Can we use *terceme* as a “supra-lingual” (Hermans 1995: 221; Paker 2002a: 127) concept of translation in Ottoman culture? These questions have guided me through a number of arguments and investigations in which I engaged in the following chapters. They have also helped me set up the structure and the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis, and formulate the main hypotheses, which will be offered in Chapter 1. Before setting out to explore the questions mentioned above, I will offer a review and critique of the approaches in the discourses of literary historians regarding translation activity from the *Tanzimat* period onwards. This I take as my point of departure in Chapter 1 in establishing a theoretical basis for the thesis.

A review of literary histories in Turkey which I examine in two periods, from 1888/89 up to 1920 and from 1920 up to 1969, reveals both converging and diverging aspects of Ottoman translation activity in the late nineteenth century. Literary historians who wrote in the first period, e.g. Abdülhalim Memduh, Şahabeddin Süleyman, Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad, Faik Reşad, İbrahim Necmi [Dilmen], were engaged in periodizing Ottoman literature, generally following the ‘great moments’ of Ottoman socio-cultural history. Changes which took place in the making of Ottoman literature since the mid-nineteenth century were interpreted on the basis of innovation and progress, both of which appear as primary notions. For the literary historians in the first period, translations from the West were referred to as a means for Ottoman modernization and progress, for making European material developments known to Ottomans. Their statements also indicated diversity, dwelling on different forms of cultural and literary import from the West.
A review of literary histories from the 1920s to the 1960s provides us with the modern Turkish representation of literary and translation activity in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. Literary histories published in the republican period have been crucially important on at least two points. Firstly, they provide historical narratives on literature and translation in the recent past. Secondly, some of them offer us exhaustive lists which were not provided by the literary historians in the former period. Such lists shed light on the amount of translated European literature since the beginning of the Tanzimat period. Translations from the West were generally accepted by the literary historians in the republican period as being important means for initiating the cultural, linguistic and literary modernization of the “Turkish” people (rather than of the “Ottomans”). This indicates that the Tanzimat period crystallized as the starting point of “Turkish” modernization in the discourse of many literary historians in the republican period.

Another point of divergence between the literary-historical discourses of two periods is a tendency in the latter to approach the interpretation of Ottoman cultural and literary contact with the West in the context of “western influence”. This emerges as a central notion especially from the first decade of the twentieth century onwards. Examining the Ottoman-Turkish history of culture and literature on the basis of “influence” was essentially introduced as a “paradigm” by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü, (eminent Turcologist, historian, lecturer, parliamentarian, and founder of modern Turkish historical studies) in his article which initially appeared in Bilgi.

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Mecmuası in 1913 (see Paker 2005b)⁹. The interpretation of Ottoman cultural and literary contact with the West in terms of “influence” crystallized after the 1920s and was accepted as part of the “historical research paradigm” (Paker 2005b: 1-2) by literary historians and scholars in the republican period.¹⁰ Interestingly, from the late 1930s onwards, Ottoman literature undergoing ‘modernization’ from the Tanzimat period onwards was also viewed as imitative by some literary historians because of the presence of unconscious western influence which limited the development of a domestic literature.¹¹

In the discourse of the literary historians in the republican period, the way of looking at Ottoman translation practices tends to be “binarist”.¹² Ottoman practices of translation were perceived on the basis of a dichotomy such as free (mealen) versus faithful (sadık). Thus translations tended to be evaluated in terms of their fidelity to the original text.¹³ This way of looking at Ottoman translation practices seemed to overlook diversity which included certain culture-specific aspects of the Ottoman translation tradition. In the present thesis, I claim that (i) literary historians and scholars in the republican period placed emphasis generally on “fidelity” in

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⁹ Saliha Paker’s forthcoming article (2005b) examines Mehmed Fuad Körprüli’s general perspective on translation, imitation and influence in the light of his ideology, and also questions the validity for present-day research of Körprüli’s hierarchical positioning of the three concepts as “influence, imitation and translation” in his theory of Turkish literature. Paker emphasizes that “influence” as Körprüli’s all-inclusive concept covers imitation and translation. Paker also criticizes the fact that the historical research paradigm set by Körprüli was followed unquestioningly by later generations of scholars (Paker 2005b: 1-2). See also Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar’s study (1997) that analyzes the approach to translation of a literary history written by Hüfiz Tevfik Gönensay and Nihat Sami Banarlı in 1944 as a high school textbook. Referring to this article Paker states that Gönensay and Banarlı followed Körprüli’s approach to translation, also his periodization and classification of literary works (Paker 2005b: 10). There is also a study by Ebru Diriker (1997) in which Körprüli’s views on translation and translated literature were first examined in terms of the perspective of modern Turkish translation studies. (For a critical review of Diriker (1997) see also Paker 2005b: 11-13).

¹⁰ See footnote 8.

¹¹ For instance, see Kocatürk 1936; Perin 1946.

¹² I use the term “binarist” to point out attitudes which make a priori and mutual distinctions and oppositions between translational concepts and practices in a particular culture.

translation, and (ii) glossed over imitation (taklid), emulation (tanzir), borrowing (iktibas), conversion (tahvil), summary (hulása) and dialogue (muhavere) as translation-related practices in Ottoman text production or as sites of practice that went into the making of the Ottoman literary-cultural “repertoires” (Even-Zohar 2002: 166; 2004b: 223; 2004c: 253-254) in the late nineteenth century. Text-types generated as a result of translation-related practices did not conform to the current concept of translation (more in line with “çeviri” than “terceme”); thus, they remained marginal and tended to be excluded by binarist approaches to translation. This is why binarist (hence restrictive) approaches need to be problematized in any historical study of translation/s in Ottoman culture.

Before proceeding with Chapter 1, I would like to provide an overview of the thesis.

(i) Chapter 1 offers a critical review of the discourse of major literary histories and anthological works from 1888/1889 up to 1969 and of studies on Ottoman translation activity carried out in different research paradigms, including those in historical, descriptive and interpretative translation studies. This chapter also explains the theoretical and methodological framework of the thesis on the basis of a critique of the current literature.

(ii) Chapter 2 surveys terms and/or concepts of translation from the pre-Ottoman to Ottoman periods. Focusing on identifying translation from East to West Turkic in a diachronic way, this chapter provides a small-scale genealogy that highlights diversity in the act of translation, hence offering the first research on the genealogy and lexicon of translational terms and concepts in Turkish. It also surveys
the late nineteenth century definitions of translation (*terceme*) through Ottoman Turkish lexicons of the time, which have not been previously examined.

**(iii)** Chapter 3 offers an examination of particular aspects of discourse on literary translation in the late Ottoman period. It concentrates for the first time on the concepts and definitions of translation (*terceme*) through various primary sources in Arabic script, which include articles, prefaces and also several translations, and explores various culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices. This chapter also uncovers the functions of translation, and the norms in selecting source texts from European culture. It explores strategies of translation as well as a number of issues such as translatability, the problem of correspondences, and the quality of translators.

**(iv)** Chapter 4 focuses particularly on Ahmed Midhat Efendi, and analyzes culture-specific terms and/or concepts in a number of his works. It offers two descriptive analyses, one of which is carried out on two bibliographical works, Koz (2002) and Esen (1999). It examines the bibliographers’ identification of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works in terms of what is regarded as translation (*çeviri*) and what is not. The divergent aspects in their identification also give rise to another descriptive analysis. In section 4.3, the prefaces and the title pages i.e. paratexts of certain works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi are examined so as to explore ‘non-linear’, ‘beyond-binary’ translational relationships among his diverse writing practices through his discourse.

**(v)** Chapter 5 presents a case study on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation *Sid’in Hulāsasi* (1890-1891/1308) of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* (1637), a
neo-classical French tragedy of the seventeenth century. This chapter examines the preface and the supplement in which Ahmed Midhat Efendi offers a critique of Corneille’s *Le Cid*. This chapter also explores the operational norms which seem to have directed the decisions made during the act of translation and which govern the matrix of the target text, and analyzes the summary translation in terms of structural distribution, treatment of proper names, narrative makeup and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s prose renderings of verse.
Chapter 1
Theoretical Framework and Methodology

In the first part of this chapter, I will offer a critical review of major historical studies on Ottoman translation activity from the *Tanzimat* onwards, and discuss some of their conclusions. In the second part, I will present my theoretical framework and methodology.

1.1. Representation of Late Ottoman Translation Activity in the Literary Histories between 1888-1889 and 1969

This thesis takes as its point of departure a critical review based on sources which identify themselves in their titles as “literary histories” and anthological works. It will also review research specifically in historical-descriptive translation studies concerning the Ottoman period and other studies carried out on Ottoman translation activity in a different research paradigm. A critical review of literary histories will reveal discourses on translation/s by literary historians and help us explore major points in their representation of Ottoman literary activity in connection with translation (*terceme*) in the late nineteenth century.

The major historical studies to be critically reviewed in this chapter extend from the Ottoman post-*Tanzimat* to the Turkish republican periods. These studies examine more or less the same historical data. However, their emphases on translation and its practices vary; thus, they represent a variety of viewpoints. In this chapter, I will dwell upon historical studies in two main periods. First, I will review
those which extend from 1888-1889 to 1920. They signify initial attempts in “rewriting” (Lefevere 1985; Lefevere and Bassnett 1990; Lefevere 1992) both the Ottoman literary and translation history from the beginnings of the literary Tanzimat (re-organization) period. Each of these works identifies itself in its title as a “history of Ottoman literature”. Secondly, I will examine literary histories since the 1920s. In contrast to those before the 1920s, these works start to identify themselves as histories of “Turkish literature” and provide us with modern Turkish representations of late Ottoman literary translation activity. That is why I have grouped literary histories under two main headings: “the late Ottoman context of translation” and “republican representations of the late Ottoman context of translation”. The sub-headings of the two parts will also indicate the main emphases historians place on translation activity.

1.1.1. The Late Ottoman Context of Translation

The first literary history, titled Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye (History of Ottoman Literature), appeared in 1888-1889/1306. The period of about 30-35 years since Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye was published is significant because we observe the first attempts towards writing Ottoman literary histories and also compiling translation anthologies. In this period, the periodization of Ottoman literature seems to be a prominent issue. What is important in these works is that historians generally tend to examine Ottoman literature in a chronological way rather than provide biographies of the Ottoman poets and writers in an alphabetical order as in the earlier tradition of criticism. Such a methodology indicates a shift from tezkire writing, which was a conventional form of writing critical literary biographies of the Ottoman poets and writers. The writers of these literary histories seem to follow a line that
establishes the great moments of Ottoman social-cultural history by examining literary events in the past as well as in their own time. Thus, it would not be wrong to say that they tend to offer their literary and translation histories within the context of cultural and literary innovation since the Tanzimat period. At this juncture, the notion of teceddüd (innovation) appears as the most significant notion. It indicates the context within which translation (terceme) appears as a socio-cultural practice in Ottoman culture from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

1.1.1.1. A Period of Innovation (Teceddüd)

Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye (History of Ottoman Literature) by Abdülhalim Memduh, published in 1888-1889/1306, was the first book which identified itself as a “literary history”. Abdülhalim Memduh classified the history of Ottoman literature into three periods and examined the literary and translation (terceme) activities of his own time under “devr-i teceddüd” (a period of innovation). According to Abdülhalim Memduh, it was the third period of Ottoman literature which truly signified novelty in culture and literature. His work is important since, for the first time, he attempted to focus on ‘literature’ rather than the ‘biographies of the Ottoman literati’. In his preface, he notes:

In this work, I aimed to understand especially the position of literature but not to write the biographies of poets and writers. Thus, their biographies have neither been written nor even been considered necessary for us. In addition, writers in the past were not included either, except those who tend to be innovative today, and many followers of the latter were not mentioned also. My aim is not to give information about everything but to uncover lines of [literary] evolution (Abdülhalim Memduh 1888-1889/1306: 7).

[Bunda şuara ve üdebanın değil edebiyatın terceme-i hâli mümkün mertebe anlaşılmak matlab olduğundan müşarûnîleyhimin sergûşeçleri malûm
In *Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye*, Abdülhalim Memduh mentions that innovation was introduced by the writers who joined the chain of innovation (“silk-i teceddüde mail olan üdeba”) (ibid). He states that his aim is to set out an Ottoman literary history which would explore changes caused by innovative movements. His views also draw attention to the close relationship between translation (*terceme*) and the notion of innovation. He points out -though mentioning it between the lines- that translations (*terceme*) from the West played a role in the production of new literary styles in *devr-i teceddüd* (innovation period). For instance, he identifies “Tıfl-ı Naim” (Sleeping Child), a famous verse by Victor Hugo translated by Pertev Paşa as a certain arrangement (*tanzim*) done in the western style (*garb siyaki*):

However, [Pertev Paşa]'s verse translation of “Tıfl-ı Naim” by Victor Hugo and his translations of several letters by Jean Jacques Rousseau were arranged in a new and elegant style. Pertev Paşa arranged his translation of “Tıfl-ı Naim” in the western style (Abdülhalim Memduh 1888-1889/1306: 78).

According to Abdülhalim Memduh, some of the *Tanzimat* poets gave rise to the production of works written in the western-style so as to make the new style known by the Orient (*şark*). In this manner, he mentions Abdülhak Hamid as a...
significant *Tanzimat* poet who introduced western style to the Ottoman tradition of poetry:

As far as Hamid Bey introduced western style to the East, he acquired an interest and Kemal Bey then started to write something like “Vaveyla” after him (Abdülhalim Memduh 1888-1889/1306: 78).

[Hamid Bey garb usulünün şarkta gösterir göstermez bir inhimak ve meyelan-ı umumiye mazhar olmuş ve hatta Kemal Bey bile ancak Hamid Beyden sonra “Vaveyla” gibi şeyler yazmaya başlamıştır (Abdülhalim Memduh 1888-1889/1306: 78).]

Similar to Abdülhalim Memduh, Şahabeddin Süleyman, another literary historian, also divided Ottoman literature into three periods: “birinci devir” (first period); “ikinci devir” (second period) and “üçüncü devir” (third period) (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 14-17). In his *Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye*1 (History of Ottoman Literature), published in 1910/1328, he tried to explain the position of Ottoman literature in connection with socio-political developments in Ottoman society. He argued that literary periods were shaped as a result of social change in a given society (*millet*):

The formation of a literature is similar to the formation of a society... The history of a nation includes various types of formation, of transformation and of society. Furthermore, in every society there are several literary periods that emerge in relation to the formation of that society. That is why one can encounter various periods of literature, each of which could be identified as a literary period in the history of every nation (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 15).

[...Bir edebiyatın teşekkürü eşkâl-i cemiyyetin teşekkürülatına benzer (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1328/1910: 14) (...) Bir milletin tarihi, muhtelif teşekkürülatı, muhtelif tebeddülatı, muhtelif eşkal-i cemiyyeti hâvidir. Maamafih cemiyyetin şeklinin tebeddülatı nisbetinde muhtelif edvar-ı]

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1 On the title page, it is noted that this work was prepared for the education of the sixth and seventh class students in secondary schools (“İdadi”) and arranged in conformity with the last programme approved by the Sublime Ministry of Education (“Maarif Nezaret-i Celîle”).
In his classification of Ottoman literature, Şahabeddin Süleyman regarded the second and third periods as encompassing the literature of his own time. In the second period, he examined the Tanzimat poets and writers such as Akif Paşa, Reşid Paşa, Fuad Paşa, Pertev Paşa, Şinasi, Ziya Paşa, Sadullah Paşa, Namık Kemal, Abdülhak Hamid and Recaizade Ekrem (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 275-346). The third period, which is also referred to as the last period (“son devir”) (p.356), is identified as the period of “edebiyat-ı cedide” (new literature) starting with Halid Ziya (pp. 359-378). Şahabeddin Süleyman also identified a transition period between the second and the third period which he names “zaman-ı fetret” (time of weakness). According to Şahabeddin Süleyman, zaman-ı fetret was a period in which innovation in Ottoman literature was obstructed by Muallim Naci, a Tanzimat poet and translator (see the section “fetret-i edebiyye” (literary weakness) in Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 346-356).

1.1.1.2. Translation (Terceme) and Progress

In 1889-1890/1307, İbrahim Fehim and Ismail Hakkı compiled a number of translations in their Müntehabat-i Teracim-i Meşahir (Collection of Famous Translations). This work was not a literary history but a translation anthology, which included particular translations from French into Ottoman Turkish and also from Ottoman Turkish into French. It offered Ottoman readers not only political but also literary translations.
In this anthology, KemalPaşazadeSaïd, a very significant cultural and literary figure also known as Lastik (“elastic”) Saïd, drew attention to the importance of such anthologies (müntehabat, mecma-i terceme) which had started recently to emerge in Ottoman culture ([KemalPaşazade]Saïd1889-1890/1307: 3 in İbrahimFehim and İsmailHakkı1889-1890/1307). In the preface titled “Mütalâaname” (Evaluation), KemalPaşazadeSaïdemphasizes the benefits of such anthologies which would help translators distinguish beautiful translations (“güzel tercemeler”) from those produced by unqualified translators (ibid.). In the preface, Saïd also offers certain definitions of translation (terceme), thus expressing his views on translation activity:

It is translation (terceme) that conveys to us the progress of the West in its various fields… It is translation that makes for improvement in education and serves the progress of our civilization from day to day (p.3)… When one refers to a foreign language, the French language comes to mind because it has been considered a source which has provided progress and conveyed knowledge from the West to the East. According to the following principle “it needs to make the working subject realized”, if one refers to translation, it is naturally understood that one is talking about translation from French into Turkish (p.4) ([KemalPaşazade]Saïd’s “Mütalâaname” (Evaluation) in İbrahimFehim and İsmailHakkı1889-1890/1307).

What is significant in Saïd’s definitions of terceme is that French culture is perceived as the source for Ottomans, and thus translating from French provides a

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2 KemalPaşazadeSaïd’s definitions of translation (terceme) will be taken up in Chapter 3.
prominent channel to cultural progress (terakki) in Ottoman society. Kemal Paşazade Sài'd also pointed out the position of French language. In the preface he wrote to Nezaret Hilmi’s *Osmanlıcadan Fransızçaya Cep Lugati* (A Pocket Dictionary from Ottoman Turkish to French) which was published in 1886-1887/1234, Sai'd identified French as a universal language or lingua franca at that time. In a similar vein, he also described French as the language of diplomacy (“diplomasi lisani”) between civilized nations (“düvel-i mütemeddine”) in the preface to his dictionary *Kamus-ı Sai’d* he published in 1918/1334 ([Kemal Paşazade] Sai’d 1918/1334: 1).

### 1.1.1.3. Importing (İdhal) and Taking (Ahz) Material from the West

In Şahabeddin Süleyman’s *Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniyye*, the notion of innovation (teceddiüd) was also the central idea by which the current position of Ottoman literature in the late nineteenth century was separated from the literature of the preceding periods. He concludes:

> As language was changed and innovated in this period, both the novel and the drama regarded as the fine arts in the West were also introduced. In brief, one of the features that distinguishes this period from the former ones was the emergence of the new literary genres which had never existed in our literature until that time but which were *imported from the West* ([Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 278-279] (my italics)).


What seems important is that Şahabeddin Süleyman connected the notion of teceddüd with literary import (idhal) from the West (garb). In his discourse on
literary innovation, western import by way of translations (terceme) played an important role in the shaping of Ottoman traditional literature which lacked western literary forms. For instance, he called attention to Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem as a writer who introduced new genres to Ottoman literature via translating (nakl ve terceme) Atala (1871-1872/1288) by François-René de Chateaubriand, and Mes prisons (1874-1875/1291) by Silvio Pellico: “He was one of the people who imported the short story genre into home. He conveyed and translated Atala and Mes prisons into Turkish” (“Küçük hikaye tarzını ibtida memlekete idhal edenlerden biri de kendileridir. Türkçe ‘Atala’yı, ‘Mes Pirison’u ‘mes prisons’ nakl ve terceme etmiştir”) (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 345-46).

In a similar vein, in Yeni Osmanlı Tarih-i Edebiyatı³ (New History of Ottoman Literature), published in 1913-1914/1332, Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman classified Ottoman literature in terms of modelling. Collaborating in writing an Ottoman literary history, they examined literature in two broad periods with a special emphasis on its origins:

We… will first divide… the history of Ottoman literature into two broad periods. The first takes its nourishment from Persian and Arabic literatures, in other words, from the East. This period extends from Aşık Paşa to the time of Akif Paşa and Şinasi. The other, which is still continuing, starts with Akif Paşa and takes its nourishment from the West (Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman 1913-1914/1332: 39).


³ On the title page, it is noted that this work covers the literary history coming up to the time of Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa (“Menseferden Nevşehirli İbrahim Paşa sadaretine kadar”). It is also noted that it was in conformity with the last programme practiced in imperial colleges (“Sultani”).
The content (“fihrist”) of this work indicates that Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman essentially surveyed Ottoman classical literature. However, in the introduction, they state that their main focus was on issues related to historiography. Thus, they concentrate on several subjects such as the concept of “literary history”, the relationship between art and literature, literary criticism, and the notion of “influence”. While examining Ottoman literary activities, they paid much attention to the social-political-historical dynamics of Ottoman culture. In this sense, their analysis of literature appears as a multifaceted historiography of Ottoman literature. They tried to formulate certain moments of Ottoman literature in the late nineteenth century by using such conceptual definitions as the period of unstability, or of establishment, or of weakness, or of development:

The second broad line starts with Akif Paşa and includes the following periods: a period of unstability that covers Pertev Paşa, Reşid Paşa, Ziya Paşa and Şinasi; a period of establishment that starts with Hamid, Ekrem and Kemal; a period of weakness that is characterized by Naci; and a period of development that starts with the New Literature movement (Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman 1913-1914/1332: 41).

In *Yeni Osmanlı Tarih-i Edebiyatı*, it seems obvious that Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman are concerned with the formation of a new

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4 The approach to the analysis of literary history in this work seems to have its roots in Köprülü’s article “Türk Edebiyatı Tarihinde Usul” (“Method in Turkish Literary History”). In this article, which appeared in 1913 in *Bilgi Mecmuası*, Köprülü proposes an exhaustive framework for Ottoman literary historians. Referring to Gustave Lanson’s views on methodology, he puts emphasis on examining a literary work within its social, cultural and literary environment (Köprülü [1966]1999: 33). In this sense, since he suggests a new way of writing literary history based on European models, he signifies a turning point in looking at the history of culture and literature in Turkey.
literature as a result of cultural and literary contact with the West since the Tanzimat period. They consider the new literary period to be western-oriented as it takes its subject matter from the West.

1.1.1.4. A Period of Imitation (Taklid), Borrowing (İktibas), Translation (Terceme), Modelling (İmtisal) and Emulation (Tanzir)

In Tarih-i Edebiyat-ı Osmaniye (History of Ottoman Literature), published in 1911-1914/1327-1330, Faik Reşad divided Ottoman literature into three periods. He examined late nineteenth century Ottoman literature in a period that he named devre-i salise (third period). What is interesting is that he identified devre-i salise as a period starting with taklid (imitation) and ıkibas (borrowing). His explanations were based on Ahmet Hikmet’s review of Ottoman literature, which was quoted in the preface to his work. Faik Reşad’s conception of Ottoman contact with Western culture and literature indicates in a clear way the culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices in the late nineteenth century:

The third period starts with imitation and borrowing, both of which are applied to other nations much more developed than that nation. There is no border in such a period; for instance, we and Russians benefited from French people or every nation benefited from each other. The third period is an important moment which serves the development of modern and literary life in a nation; hence, it deserves utmost attention. We are, of course, in the third period now (Faik Reşad 1911-1914/1327-1330: 17) (my italics).

[Devre-i salise ise taklid ve ıkibasun mümkün mertebe kendisinden müterakki milletlere teşmiliyle bed eder ki bu devrin hududu, nihayeti

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5 This is an undated publication, but it is dated 1327-1330 Hegira /1911-1914 A.D as the publication date in Eski Harflü Türkçe Basma Eserler Bibliyografiyası (Bibliography of Printed Works in Turkish with Arabic Script), offered as a compact disc in 2001 by the Turkish National Library. Also, Mustafa Nihat [Özön] gives 1911 in his Metinlerle Muasır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi ([1930]1934: 148), and 1910 in Son Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi (1941: 348). In the thesis, I take as the publication year of this work the date given by the National Library.

6 For Ahmed Hikmet’s views on language and literature, see Adnan Akgün (2003). Akgün examines Ahmed Hikmet’s views in terms of his membership of both the Servet-i Fünun and nationalist movements.
yoktur. İşte bizim ve Rusların Fransızlardan ve bütün milletlerin yekâdârından istifadesi bu noktadadır. Bu üçüncü devre bir kavmın hayat-ı edebiyeye ve medeniyettesince tekmâlîne hadim bir hatve-i mühimmédî ki en ziyade dikkat ve itinaya çespandır. Bittabî biz bu üçüncü devre dahilinde bulunuyoruz (Faik Reşad 1911-1914/1327-1330: 17).]

In his *Tarih-i Edebiyat Dersleri* (Lectures on History of Literature), published in 1338/1919-1920, İbrahim Necmi [Dilmen], an instructor of literary history at Galatasaray Mekteb-i Sultani, also made certain references to translation as *iktibas* (borrowing). He spoke of a crisis of *iktibas* (borrowing) in Ottoman literature which had emerged since the mid-nineteenth century. This was the underlying idea that he followed in explaining the dynamics of such a crisis in the domestic literature. What is important in his discourse is that he perceived Ottoman poets and writers as imitators hence their works as imitative. In other words, he called attention to Ottoman traditional behaviour in its contact with oriental literatures [i.e. Arabic and Persian]. In this manner, we see that *taklid* (imitation) appears in his discourse as a culture-specific practice of Ottoman translation tradition. He comments:

Ottoman poets who did not find any literary work [today] to borrow from the East considered that producing works similar to those of [Persian] poets was a source of power and hence wished to imitate them as a traditional habit. Then for people who desired to generate new works, it was necessary to find a new source of inspiration. Here, Şinasi discovered such a source of inspiration among rich works in the West, the center of civilization, and presented [the West as a source] to the Ottomans ([Dilmen] 1919-1920/1338: 114).

İbrahim Necmi also referred to *iktibas* (borrowing) as representing the main act of Ottoman literature in borrowing texts from the West. His concept of *iktibas* here covers not only *terceme* (translation) but also such notions he identified as *adaptasyon* (adaptation), *iktibas* (borrowing), *tanzir* (emulation), or *imtisal* (modelling).

Borrowing was being performed in two ways: the first is translation that served to make intellectual and literary progress known to Ottoman readers by way of conveying [European] works directly to our language. In his work *Terceme-i Manzume*, Şinasi followed this path. Ziya Paşa and Ahmed Vefik Paşa in particular, and almost many writers, started to translate several French works. The second method is borrowing, modelling or emulation, all of which were named “adaptation”. This includes conveying the subject matter of a foreign work by way of adapting it to our environment and customs and making some changes if necessary. Such a work is thus presented our readers to be an indigenous work rewritten in conformity with the arrangement of the original. For instance, Ahmed Vefik Paşa conveyed several comedies by Molière in this way and institutionalized the basis for translating in such a way ([Dilmen] 1919-1920/1338: 115) (my italics).


İbrahim Necmi’s views indicate that the main purpose of translating (*terceme* and *nakl*) from the West is to make western literary and intellectual progress known to Ottoman readers. It is also seen that there are other ways of conveying foreign
texts into the home system, especially from French, which result in domestic “rewritings” (Lefevere 1992) by means of imitative practices.

So far, I have critically reviewed several literary histories which identified themselves as “histories of Ottoman literature” and were published between 1888-1889 and 1920. Not only their titles but also their contents indicate that the first histories of Ottoman literature appear in the post-Tanzimat period and tend to be different from traditional writing on Ottoman literature e.g. tezkire. In that period, the periodization of literature seems to be an important topic, similar to the notion of progress in which translations from the West appear as parts of socio-cultural activity and as a means of innovating Ottoman culture and literature. In the following section, I will review historical studies since the 1920s which offer republican representations of the late Ottoman context.

1.1.2. The Republican Representation of the Late Ottoman Context of Translation

The 1920s, with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923, as well as the 1930s mark significant years in the introduction and establishment of republican political and cultural reforms. During the 1920s, the very titles of literary histories display a gradual shift in the republican cultural and literary system. We observe that titles change from “tarih-i edebiyat-ı Osmaniye” (history of Ottoman literature) to “Türk edebiyatı tarihi” (history of Turkish literature). Such change in paratexts indicates the emergence of national literary histories in the process of transformation from the empire to the nation-state.
Historical studies concentrating on Ottoman literary activities from the Tanzimat period onwards, especially those published in the 1930s and the 1940s, are also concerned with translation in the recent Ottoman past. These works are, of course, the first studies in republican Turkey tackling Ottoman literary and translation history. Some of them offer not only translation histories but also lists that cover translated corpora, especially from the West. They also comment on a number of translations, hence they present certain representations of Ottoman translation activity in retrospect. We see that some of these works, for instance Mustafa Nihat [Özön]’s Metinlerle Muasır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi (History of Contemporary Turkish Literature with Textual Examples) ([1930] 1934), Ağâh Sîrrî [Levend]’s Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri Tanzimat Edebiyatı (Lectures on Literary History: Tanzimat Literature) (1934) and Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri Servet-i Fünun Edebiyatı (Lectures on Literary History: Servet-i Fünun Literature) (1938); İsmail Habib [Sevük]’s Edebi Yeniliğimiz II (Our Literary Innovation) (1932), were also published as guidebooks for the education of students in secondary schools. These works offer to the young republican generations a comprehensive survey in Roman alphabets of literary and translation history. On the one hand, they rewrite the ‘history of Turkish literature’ with a special emphasis on translation activity from the West since the mid-nineteenth century. On the other hand, they draw attention to the role of translations from the West in the making of a new “Turkish” culture, language and literature. At this juncture, it can be concluded that literary histories in the 1930s and 1940s served to provide the young republican generations with a Turkish cultural and literary background. That is why they are very much concerned with the Ottoman context of progress and innovation, and emphasize it generally as the initial phase of the “Turkish” cultural and literary modernization continued in the republican period.
That is also why we encounter such continuity in discourse, which can be formulated as follows: modern Turkish culture and literature originated from western literature, and was established primarily by means of translations from the western languages from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

1.1.2.1. Innovation as “Our” Starting Point

Mustafa Nihat Özön, literary historian, lexicographer, teacher and translator, took the Tanzimat (re-organization) period as the starting point of “our literature today” or “contemporary Turkish literature” ([Özön] [1930]1934: 1). In his Metinlerle Muasır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi (History of Contemporary Turkish Literature with Textual Examples), published in 1930, he emphasized connections between the notion of contemporaneity and the Tanzimat period, and pointed out that translation was innovative in that period. He was also the first literary historian in the republican period to draw attention to novels translated from the western languages and their functions in the formation of the novel as a domestic genre in “our” literary system:

We repeated many times that translation has been significant in our intellectual life in the last hundred years. It played an important role in conveying western genres to our literature, especially in the novel. Our first great novelists witnessed the important impact of western novels [on our literature], then started to produce similar works in our language. The works and translations they produced directly from [European languages] continued this tradition in earnest ([Özön] [1930]1934: 331).

[Son yüz yıllık fikir hayatımızda tercümenin büyük ve ehemmiyetli bir yer tuttuğunu birçok defalar tekrarladık. Bu hal,гарップ şekillerinin edebiyatımıza naklinde, bilhassa hikaye sahasında, çok büyük bir rol oynar. İlk büyük romancılarımızın bu yoldaki eserlerinin mühim tesirlerini görmek bizim dilimizde ona benzerlerini vücuda getirmeye çalıĢmakla işe başladilar. Bunların eserleri, ve doğrudan doğruya yapılan tercümler bu yolu bir hayli genişletti ([Özön] [1930]1934: 331).]
In his second book *Türkçede Roman Hakkinda Bir Deneme* (An Essay on The Novel in Turkish) (1936), he also pointed out that translation served to improve intellectual life. Focusing on the first translated novels in particular, he argued that they played important roles not only in changing intellectual life but also in educating intellectuals ([Özön] 1936: 182). His argument indicates that translated European literature had an obvious function and an innovative impact on “our” socio-cultural life. Özön also drew attention to the functions of translations that were fulfilling a need for the development of intellectual life in his own time. On this point, he notes:

The presence of translations did not prevent us from expressing the necessity of translation to shape our intellectual life every time and even today ([Özön] 1936: 181).

His views denote that he considers translation (*tercüme*) to be associated with the idea of innovation. In particular, his emphasis on changing intellectual life by means of translation points to the manipulative force of translations in the shaping of the target culture. It also gives clues about the cultural context in the first decades of the republican period.

In a similar vein, Ali Kemali [Aksüt], a translator and governor, also considered translation innovative in the formation of literature, especially with respect to the cultural setting of the target language. In his *Tercüme Hakkinda Düşünceler ve Tatbikata Ait Bazi Numuneler* (Thoughts on Translation and Some Examples in Practice), published in 1933, he reflected on translation (*tercüme*).
also stated that his aim was to demonstrate the development of the Turkish language from the empire to the republic. That is why he published such a work, which could be regarded as both a translation anthology and a guide for those who were engaged in learning French. According to Aksüt, there had been a marked lack of journals on language, and of guides on translating between French and Turkish since the beginning of the twentieth century ([Aksüt] 1933: 3-5). Although his work differs in terms of its goals from other literary histories of the republican period, it also resembles them in terms of interpreting translators and/or translations in the *Tanzimat* period. Kemali, for instance, describes Ethem Pertev Paşa, a significant *Tanzimat* bureaucrat and translator, as follows:

Ethem Pertev Paşa, one of the most significant writers in the innovation period, *brought European novelties to our literature by means of translating* works by Victor Hugo and Jean Jacques Rousseau. *His translations proved that our language was sufficient and powerful for translation* ([Aksüt] 1933: 10) (my italics).

[Teceddüd devrinin en mühim simalarından olan Ethem Pertev Paşa, (Victor Hugo)dan, (Jan Jak Ruso)dan parçalar tercüme ederek edebiyatımızda (Avrupa)nın yeniliklerini getirmiş, tercümelerile dili mizin kudret ve kabiliyetini ispat etmiştir ([Aksüt] 1933: 10) (my italics).]

In this sense, we see that Aksüt thinks of translation (*tercüme*) as having an innovative impact on the target language and opening a way of bringing European values into the home culture.

In *Tanzimattan Zamanımıza Kadar Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of Turkish Literature from the *Tanzimat* up to the Present Time) (1944), Hfzı Tevfik Gönensay focused mainly on literary agents, their views and works. In this work, the *Tanzimat* literature is identified as a period of innovation (“yenileşme devri”), which had two
stages: the formation stage (“kuruluş safhası”) and the extension stage (“yayılış safhası”) (Gönensay 1944: 25). Gönensay argues that literary innovation since the Tanzimat period had occurred as a result of the necessity to open up new paths to high literature in order to connect with the western world: [“edebi yenileşme de münevver zümre edebiyatına Garp âlemine giden yeni bir yol açmak zaruretinden ileri gelmiştir”] (Gönensay 1944: 11). His statements point to a stagnation in ‘high literature’, i.e. Ottoman classical literature or Divan (Court) literature. That is why he thinks of translation activity since the Tanzimat period in connection with the notion of innovation that represents a turning point in terms of “our” intellectual life. He writes:

...The emergence of certain activities in translating works on various topics from western languages or in producing works similar to those in the West really indicates a significant turning point in our intellectual life (Gönensay 1944: 18).

[...garp lisanlarından türlü türlü bilgilere dair tercümeler yapmak veya garp eserlerine benzer eserler vücute getirmek suretile kendini gösteren bu hareketler fikir hayatımızda esaslı bir dönüm noktası teşkil eder (Gönensay 1944: 18).]

His views, too, draw attention to the fact that translation (tercüme) activity was seen as playing a major role not only in introducing western material development, i.e. science (ibid), but also in improving Ottoman intellectual life. Thus, his conception denotes that the period since the mid-nineteenth century was the turning point in “our” cultural life.
1.1.2.2. Western Acculturation and Innovation

Aproximately six or seven years after Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabettin Süleyman’s *Yeni Osmanlı Tarihi Edebiyatı* was published in 1913-1914/1332, Köprülüzade Mehmed offered three broad divisions in classifying “Turkish” literary history in his *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of Turkish Literature) published in 1920. In this work, he classified the Tanzimat literature as constituting the second period and identified it as “Turkish literature under the influence of European civilization” (“Avrupa medeniyeti tesiri altında Türk edebiyatı”), which he had formerly identified as a period taking its subject matter from the West (Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad 1920: 7). The shift in the classification points to the fact that, during the 1920s, Köprülü tended to formulate the emergence of modern Turkish literature on the basis of the *influence paradigm* (Paker 2005b).

İsmail Habib [Sevük], a literary historian and secondary school teacher in the early republican period, also foregrounded the literary teceddüd in his *Türk Teceddüd Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of Modern Turkish Literature), which was published in 1340/1921-1922 and approved by the “Telif ve Tercüme Heyeti” (Commission for Original and Translated Works). In this work, he separated the new literature (teceddüd edebiyatı) into three periods, which he classified as “Tanzimat” (re-organization), “Servet-i Fünun” (i.e. new literature), and “Milli Cereyan” (national movement). The significance of this work in terms of rewriting a history of literature in connection with translation lies in its content. In this work, Sevük also took a look at the history of French literature as part of his survey of modern Turkish literature ([Sevük] 1340/1921-1922: 69-81). He argued that the literary modernization of “our
modern literature” (“bizim teceddüd edebiyatımız”) started as a result of French influence. He summarizes:

Our new literature starts with western influence. After the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods of literature, *Turkish literature entered a civilization period through western influence.* We came into contact with the West through French culture. Western influence came to us by way of France. Approximately ninety percent of the materials that we obtained from the West were taken from French culture ([Sevük] 1921-1922/1340: 69) (my italics).


Sevük obviously regarded the “Turkish” literature from the *Tanzimat* onwards as the literature of the period of civilization. He identified literature before the *Tanzimat* as non-civilized (cf. *kavmi*), and distinguished the former from the latter. He assumed that it was French influence that made the “Turkish” literature civilized, hence cultured. Interestingly, similar to Köprülüzade Mehmed, he referred to the French impact on “Turkish” literature with a covert reference to translations. This work seems to have had an introductory character compared to his other literary histories that would be published during the 1930s and the 1940s. In those works, he would survey translated European literature from the *Tanzimat* period onwards, providing a thorough examination in the process.

In *Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri Tanzimat Edebiyatı* (Lectures on Literary History: *Tanzimat* Literature) (1934), Agâh Sirri [Levend] also presented a survey of Turkish literature since the *Tanzimat*. He identified this period as part of “the beginning of
innovation under the influence of Western civilization and literature” (“Garb medeniyet ve edebiyatının tesiri altında yeniliğin başlaması”) ([Levend] 1934: 6). He states that his purpose was not only to demonstrate the main periods of Turkish literary and intellectual life but also to examine the progress of the literary genres in verse and prose. In this work, Levend did not particularly concentrate on translations, but referred to them between the lines. Approaching translation in its connection with the influence paradigm, his main focus was on the western influence on “Turkish” literature. That is why he tried to examine Turkish literary history at the same time as surveying the French literature of the nineteenth century. He also reviewed translation activity in the late nineteenth century in terms of its effects on the development of plain Turkish as well as on the emergence of new literary genres.

In the following volume of Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri, published in 1938, Levend surveyed the literature in the Servet-i Fünun and Fecr-i Atı period, interestingly together with a survey of Azerbaijan and French literature. This indicates that he attempted to examine “Turkish” literary history in connection with foreign literatures. In this work, he referred briefly for the first time to the significant literary dispute on translating European classical works into Turkish, known as the “classics debate” of 1897, which is generally missing in the literary histories I examined. Levend regarded the “classics debate” as one of the problems in the Edebiyat-ı Cedide (new literature) period. He notes that “One of the issues which writers were concerned with in this period was the problem of conveying (nakl) the classics into our language” ([Levend] 1938: 255) (“Bunlardan başka bu

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7 Kaplan (1998), which offers a detailed survey on the “classics debate” of 1897, does not mention Levend (1938) among his references. He states that Levend takes up the debate in his Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri. But the debate was first mentioned in his Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri.

8 I will deal with the data from the “classics debate” in Chapter 3.
Levend also referred to the “classics debate” in his *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleştirme Evreleri* (Stages in the Progress and Purification in Turkish Language), which was published in 1949. In a section titled “Edebiyat-ı Cedide Devrinde Çeşitli Sorunlar” (Various Problems in the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* Period) (Levend [1949]1972: 254-263), he reviews the debate in the context of Ottoman linguistic and cultural life at that time. He also provides some examples from the articles which appeared in the debate and interprets certain views of the participants. However, he evaluates the debate without paying attention to the culture-specific aspects of the Ottoman translation tradition. He also glosses over the interaction between what was “foreign” and what was “not-foreign”.

In *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (Illustrated History of Turkish Literature), a two-volume work published in 1948, Nihad Sami Banarlı provided a comprehensive survey of Turkish literature. In this work, literary history was examined with respect to a variety of perspectives including history, geography, sociology, psychology and aesthetics. Banarlı stated that he followed Fuad Köprülü’s approach in historiography, which entailed applying a comparative methodology (Banarlı [1948]1987: ii). In *Resimli Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, Banarlı examined the literature of the late nineteenth century under the title *Avrupaî Türk Edebiyatı* (European Turkish literature), which he divided into two periods: *Tanzimat Edebiyatı* and *Servet-i Fünun*. He drew attention to the significance of verse translation in a section in which he focused on general aspects of *Tanzimat* literature. According to Banarlı,
Poems translated [from European languages] have an important influence on the development of Tanzimat poetry. In addition to Şinasi’s [translations] in his Tercüme-i Manzume, poems translated by Edhem Pertev Paşa, Sâdullah Râmi Paşa, Recâizâde and Muallim Nâcî are certainly indications of new taste and attitude in Turkish poetry (Banarlî [1948]1987: 996).


The quotation reveals that Banarlî was concerned with translation (tercüme) on the basis of its impact on the development of “Turkish” poetry and fiction. He states that translations from the West introduced not only new forms but also new themes. He places emphasis on the first translated novels, which gave rise to new approaches as opposed to the traditional forms of story-telling in Ottoman culture, to which he refers as the “old oriental-Turkish novel” (“eski şark-Türk romanı”):

The innovation and change in the Turkish novel in the Tanzimat period occurred thanks to a new style and idea in the novel which conformed to European developments. The modern novel developed besides the old oriental Turkish novel which included imaginary elements from the fairy tales. This innovation and change was first initiated by translated novels (Banarlî [1948]1987: 999).


1.1.2.3. Shifting Civilization; Europeanization and Humanism

In Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü (The Role of Translation in Periods of Awakening) (1935), Hilmi Ziya Ülken offered a translation history from a different perspective, in which the republican era was identified as a period of awakening
(uyanış), in other words, a process of enlightenment. Thus, he made a significant connection between translation (tercüme) and the notion of enlightenment which, he argues, are linked together in the republican context. Ülken maintains that extensive and systematic activity in translation is necessary to underpin the European awakening achieved in the republican period (Ülken [1935]1997: 6). Examining “the roles of translation in the previous periods of awakening” in history, he emphasizes the issue of republicanism (Ülken [1935]1997: 17). At this point, he argues that it was translation which had initiated remarkable rebirths in the intellectual life of civilizations. He comments:

The great “awakenings” which seem to open doors to different civilizations are actually connected with ongoing reflection that becomes over more extensive. It is indeed translation that provides such ongoing thinking (Ülken [1935]1997: 5).


In Ülken’s discourse, translation (tercüme) appears clearly as a central notion connecting civilizations with the idea of awakening. Thus, he relates translation to the history of ideas and philosophy. This gives clues to understanding Ülken’s perception of Ottoman translation activity in the late nineteenth century. According to Ülken, the Tanzimat period represents a moment of shifting civilization. He considers that translations from the West played significant roles in shifting Turkish civilization from the East to the West. This reveals that he thinks of translation on the basis of innovation. On the other hand, he states that translation activity from the Tanzimat onwards was fragmented and unplanned, and that texts for translation were chosen arbitrarily (Ülken [1935]1997: 327). In this sense, Ülken relates translation to
the notion of “culture planning” (Even-Zohar 2004a) and points to the significance of planned translation activity in the republican period in achieving such a change in civilization.

İsmail Habib [Sevük], a literary historian and teacher, aimed to demonstrate the nature of intellectual and cultural enlightenment in his second volume of Edebi Yeniliğimiz (Our Literary Innovation) (1932) ([Sevük] 1932: 513). He thought of translations from the West as innovative, and focused mainly on literary figures who served the causes of literary innovation and intellectual progress. Sevük’s most important work on translation history was Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garpten Tercümeler I-II (European Literature and Us, Translations from the West) ([Sevük] 1940 and 1941). In this work, he engaged with translation history on a broad scale, extending from Greek and Latin to Ottoman and the republican era. He attempted to write a history of translation in connection with western cultural and literary movements. This work is also significant since Sevük placed emphasis on translation in terms of “being fully European” (tam Avrupali olmak). In his preface to the first volume, he asserts:

The utmost significance of the sections devoted to “Translations from the West” in this book is as follows: European civilization today was based on humanism which had its roots in the Greek and Latin civilizations. Europe had reached its own great renaissance in that way. Today’s civilization does not belong to any nation of Europe. It belongs to all of Europe that follows the Greek and Latin civilizations… [Europe] is entirely a front of enlightenment. If any nation can manage to convey every aspect of this front of enlightenment in its own language, it can become “fully European”. “Being a European nation” does not mean “a nation which is located in European geography”. Being a European nation means being one which conveys into its own language first all of the whole of “antiquité”, in other words, all of the Greek and Latin works, and then, the great works of other European nations ([Sevük] 1940: v-vi). (my italics).
Similar to Ülken (1935), Sevük considers Europe a source for humanistic enlightenment, especially for republican Turkey. That is why he emphasizes the transfer (nağl) of great works from European cultures and literatures into Turkish so as to “be fully European”. Thus, in his mind, the amount of translation represents the degree of Europeanization and becomes the very sign of cultural change. At this point, he examines the quantity of translations from the West in order to establish the degree of western influence on Turkish literature:

We can chart this activity by looking at all of the “translations from the West”. The great idea is to make the Turkish young “fully European”. Here, I have written the section on translations in order to present the picture of that idea. This picture will be presented in the twelfth section, at the end of the second volume titled “Turkish literature and western influences since the Tanzimat” ([Sevük] 1940: vi).
Turkish literature in the nineteenth century. He considered Turkish literature in the nineteenth century to be in a period of crisis which emerged as a result of new horizons and values emerging in Ottoman culture (Tanpınar [1956]1988: iv; 1998: 101). That is why he attempted to place Turkish literature in the nineteenth century within the context of transition, based on certain efforts in shifting civilization from the East to the West. In his preface to the second edition, he expressed his aim as being to write a “literary history of a period including transition and struggle for civilization” (“bir geçiş ve medeniyet mücadelesi devrinin edebiyat tarihi”) (Tanpınar [1956]1988: xi). Additionally, Tanpınar’s idea of modern Turkish literature was based on the idea of duality between the old and the new (Tanpınar [1956]1988: 136).

Tanpınar’s notion of transition arguably provides a ground for his observation of translation activity since the literary Tanzimat period. In a part in which he examines certain literary genres such as fiction, Tanpınar draws attention to the first translations and indigenous works that appeared since the 1860s. He tends to consider translation in terms of its role in introducing western genres, themes and ideas into Ottoman culture and literature. Tanpınar maintains “The short story genre then begins, and again this is through translation” (“Hikâye nevinin başlaması daha sonra ve yine tercüme yolu iledir.”) (Tanpınar [1956]1988: 285). Similar to Ülken, Tanpınar also believes that translation activity from the mid- to the late nineteenth century was arbitrary, and mentions that the first translations had an effect on the formation of indigenous literature. This indicates that his conception of translation from the West is related to the concept of innovation. He also considers that translations not only introduced new ideas to Ottoman intellectual life and motifs and
themes to Ottoman poetry and fiction, but also served the development of Turkish language.

1.1.2.4. A Period of Translation (Çeviri), Imitation (Taklid) and Emulation (Tanzir)

The identifications of text types proposed by several historians denote that they were generally aware of certain text-types in Ottoman culture such as “tercüme” (translation), “nakl” (conveying), “taklid” (imitation) and “nazire” (emulation). In his Metinlerle Muasır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, for instance, Mustafa Nihat [Özön] wrote:

It can be said that innovation in our poetry was initiated by translations. Translations and works produced by way of imitating western poems helped understand the issues unknown in our literature until that time. The first translations were followed by the works similar to them in Turkish. Conventions which were followed and paid much attention in old works lost their place gradually to the rules and methods adopted from the West ([Özön] [1930]1934: 19) (my italics).

Pointing to a gradual change in the domestic literary system, Özön states that it was translation that had initiated innovations. He emphasizes that a number of texts which resembled translations (tercüme) also appeared since the beginnings of the literary Tanzimat. His assessments of Ottoman literary activity in connection with translation reveal that by means of translations from the West, central norms and rules in the traditional literature began to change; in other words, the literary system became stratified (Even-Zohar 1990c). In his Türkçede Roman Hakkında Bir
Deneme, Özön again underlined the relationship between translation (tercüme) and the making of indigenous literature:

When we look at the bibliography of the novel, we see that actual novels started to be produced after translated novels... In the novel, developed first by translation and then by imitation and emulation, the time of producing indigenous novels had come. In the New Literature period, we encounter certain novels and stories advanced in terms of technique ([Özön] 1936: 139-140) (Özön’s italics).

It is clear that Özön identified three text types generated in the Ottoman literary system in the late nineteenth century: (i) tercüme (translation), (ii) taklid and tanzir (imitation and emulation), and (iii) telif (indigenous). What is significant is his reference to a transition phase which includes neither “translations” nor “indigenous works”.

In a similar vein, Cevdet Kudret, a poet, writer, teacher and literary historian, focused on fiction in Turkish literature in his Türk Edebiyatında Hikâye ve Roman (Short Story and Novel in Turkish Literature), which was a two-volume work published between 1965 and 1967. In the first volume (1965), Kudret paid special attention to literature translated from the western languages and reviewed briefly the first examples. He recounts:

‘The story and the novel’ as [new] genres, with the meaning they possess in Europe, came to Turkey throughout the ‘Tanzimat literature’. These genres were introduced first by way of translation, then ‘imitation’ and ‘emulation’,
and came to the present day and found their own characteristics as a result of gradual improvements (Kudret [1965]1987: 11).

Kudret pointed to certain concepts such as taklid and tanzir, both of which, according to him, give rise to the production of the first domestic works (yerli ürünler). However, Kudret does not problematize imitation and emulation as translation related practices in hosting foreign texts in Ottoman culture. He refers to translations from western languages in terms of their quality of Turkish and criteria followed in the selection of original texts for translation.

1.1.2.5. Objections to the Origins of Innovation

In Yeni Türk Edebiyatı (Modern Turkish Literature) (1936), Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk considered the Tanzimat a period that included only the first initiators or pioneers of modern Turkish literature. He regarded the literature which appeared from the beginnings of the literary Tanzimat period as old in essence. Thus, he thought of Ottoman literature in the late nineteenth century as an unconscious imitation of the West:

Similar to social life in that period, there was an imitation of the West which was unconscious and not digested entirely in literature but less important with respect to the vast field of old literature (Kocatürk 1936: 7).

[Bu zamanda, içtimai hayatda olduğu gibi edebiyatta da şuursuz ve tamamiyle hazmedilmemiş bir Garp taklidi vardır ki eskiyi yaşatan geniş edebiyat sahasına nisbetle pek küçük kalır (Kocatürk 1936: 7).]
Kocatürk argued that several writers and poets in the *Tanzimat* period need to be regarded as producing old literature. In other words, in his discourse Ottoman literature in the *Tanzimat* represents a literary past (Kocatürk 1936: 7). According to Kocatürk, the Turkish republican period marks only the turning point at which Turkish literature under western influence emerges. In this sense, he criticizes Fuad Köprülü and his periodization of Turkish literary history, claiming 

[Köprülü] names the third period as the Turkish literature under the influence of European civilization, starting it with the *Tanzimat*... However, the second period in Turkish literature covers the fall of the Ottoman Empire, and the third period starts with the establishment of the Turkish Republic (Kocatürk 1936: 5-7).

[[Köprülü] üçüncü devreye ise Avrupa Medeniyeti Tesiri Altında Türk Edebiyatı adını vererek onu da Tanzimattan başlatıyor.... Binaenaleyh, Türk edebiyatında ikinci devir Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun yıkılmasına kadar uzar ve üçüncü devir yeni Türkiye Cumhuriyetinin kuruluşu ile başlar (Kocatürk 1936: 5-7).]

In this work, Kocatürk’s focus was mainly on the new Turkish literature, which he claimed as starting only with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey. That is why he refers to the late Ottoman literature as the “other” or the *old* literature. Thus, with nationalistic inclination, he makes a clear-cut distinction between the Ottoman period and the republic. Pointing to the emergence of Turkish cultural and literary innovation, Kocatürk also refers to translations from western languages into Turkish in the late nineteenth century. But he thinks of those translations in terms of their service in breaking ties from the *old* i.e. Ottoman traditional literature. In this sense, his conception of Ottoman literature and of the starting moment for modern Turkish literature, which evolved under western influence, seem to reflect an obvious ideological interpretation of the past.
In *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of Turkish Literature), first published in 1966, Ahmet Kabaklı, a scholar and literary historian, also considered the *Tanzimat* and *Serveti Fünun* literatures to have developed under western influence (Kabaklı [1966]1967-I: viii). In a similar vein, Kabaklı regarded the *Tanzimat* and *Servet-i Fünun* as parts of old literature. According to Kabaklı, the new literature starts with the 1940s. He mentions that his aim is to provide a guidebook for the history of Turkish literature which he addresses to new generations in republican Turkey. Kabaklı also refers briefly to translation activities since the *Tanzimat* period in connection with the evolution of the novel and the short story (Kabaklı [1966]1967-I: 495). He points out the role of the first translations of verse in introducing a number of literary innovations (Kabaklı [1966]1967-II: 530). In Kabaklı’s *Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi*, the evaluation of literature and translation seems to be plagued by value judgements which reflect a nationalistic as well as conservative inclination and which thus may mislead readers.

1.1.2.6. Imitation and Negative Attitudes towards Western Influence

In *Tanzimat Edebiyatında Fransız Tesiri* (French Influence in *Tanzimat* Literature) (1946), Cevdet Perin, a scholar of French literature at İstanbul University, examined French influence on Ottoman culture, language and literature since the *Tanzimat* period. He stated that his aim was to demonstrate aspects of Ottoman translation activity in the nineteenth century, and offered a bibliographical list of translations from French literature since 1859. Following Ömer Seyfettin’s view of *Tanzimat*...

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*See Besen (1997), in which Kabaklı’s views on translation and translated literature were first examined in terms of the perspective of modern Turkish translation studies.*
literature, he argued that there were two essential periods in the history of Turkish
literature:

If you really have to identify periods, let us say that there are only two, this
being hardly diverse or abundant: 1. Towards the East, Iran; 2. Towards the
West, France (Perin 1946: 5).

[“Mutlaka bir devre istiyorsanız, söyleyelim –bu öyle muhtelif ve müteaddit
değil- ancak iki devre vardır: 1. Şarka doğru: İran’a; 2. Garba doğru:
Fransa’ya” (Perin 1946: 5).]

In this work, Perin considered the literature since the Tanzimat period to have
developed completely under French influence. His perception of influence seems to
have two aspects. First of all, he maintains that French influence on Ottoman
literature restricted the development of a domestic literature (yerli edebiyat) in “our”
culture. In this sense, he found Ottoman literature in that period to be imitative, with
a negative connotation.

The development of our cultural life under French influence made us much
closer to the West. But it should not be forgotten that this literature which
survived for a century and unfortunately became sometimes the real imitator
[of the West] is still hovering in the same way. This is, of course, hardly a
cheering situation for us. Remaining under such great influence from French
literature obstructed the emergence of an original or actually of an
indigenous literature which would emerge from the body of our people
(Perin 1946: 6).

[Kültür hayatımızın Fransız tesiri altında inkışaf etmesi vâkıa bizi Batı’ya
daha çok yaklaştırmıştır. Fakat şürasımda unutmamalırdır ki, bir asra yakın
bir zamandan beri devam eden ve bâzân mAalesef hakikî bir taklîcidîk
derecesine düşen bu edebiyatın, halâ aynı yolda bocalamasu, herhalde
memnuniyet verici bir hal değildir. Zira, Fransız edebiyatının bu derece
tesiri altında kalmak, bizde orijinal, daha doğru milletimizin bünyesinden
çıklacak yerli bir edebiyatın doğmasına engel olmuştur (Perin 1946: 6).]

It seems interesting, however, that Perin affirmed imitation (taklid) if it would
serve for producing original works in the making of domestic literature.
However, let us say immediately that if a writer takes the subject matter of a work written by another writer and evaluates it a great deal, and even elevating it to the degree of a masterpiece, this imitation is then considered definitely to be an original work (Perin 1946: 7).

[Yalnız şurâsımı da derhal ilâve edelim ki, bir muharrir vaktile diğer bir muharrir tarafından yazılmış bir mevzuu ele alır ve onu daha çok değerlendirir, hattâ bir şaheser derecesine çıkarırsa, bu takdirde taklid şüphesiz orijinal bir eser sayılır (Perin 1946: 7).]

Secondly, Perin concentrated on French influence on Tanzimat literature in terms of innovation. He tried to examine innovation under certain titles relating to language, poetry, novel and drama. In the connections he drew between influence and innovation, he emphasized translation as the agent, which played important roles in changing Ottoman cultural, linguistic and literary structure. Unlike Köprülü and his followers like Levend, Perin thought of influence as being linked to translation. For instance, in the first part of his work, he focused on how French terms were introduced into Ottoman Turkish through translation with some excerpts he compiled from several newspapers. According to Perin, Tanzimat poetry was also developed by means of French influence, which introduced new poetic forms. He also mentioned that translation benefited the modernization of Tanzimat prose, as well as the target language. He wrote:

Kemal, Hamid and Ekrem after Şinasi also innovated language as a result of the influence of French language and literature... Innovations which emerged in the Tanzimat prose and language came into being through the influence of translations and newspapers (Perin 1946: 71)

[Şinasi’den sonra Kemal, Hâmid ve Ekrem de dil sahasında Fransız edebiyatının ve dilinin tesiriyle yenilikler getirdiler... Tanzimat nesri’nde ve dilinde husulé gelen bu yenilik Fransız edebiyatının, tercümelerin ve gazetelerin tesiriyle olmuştur (Perin 1946: 71).]
In a similar vein, Nihad Sami Banarlı was also critical of western influence in terms of examining the language of Servet-i Fünun (new literature) (Banarlı [1948]1987: 1017). Banarlı claimed that the language of Servet-i Fünun literature was problematic since the members of the new literature group invented many Persian-oriented equivalents for French words. He regarded those as “translational inventions” (“tercüme buluşlar”) which came out as a result of [negative] western influence on Ottoman culture and literature (Banarlı [1948]1987: 1017). Generally speaking, Banarlı’s views on the language of Servet-i Fünun reflect a certain ideological projection. He accuses Servet-i Fünun writers and poets of disregarding an idea of “national language” in finding pure Turkish equivalents to their colorful expressions (ibid.) (“Servet-i Fünuncular, bu renkli söleyişlerin hâlis Türkçe karşılığını arayacak bir millî dil anlayışı havasında değildir”).

1.1.3. Republican Discourse on Ottoman Translation Strategies and Fidelity

In this section, I will take up the views of the following literary historians in the republican period concerning the interpretation of translation and translation strategies in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century: [Sevük] (1941); [Aksüt] (1933); Ülken (1997); [Özön] (1936; 1937); Tanpinar (1988). A brief examination of these views exposes certain points that need to be questioned with regard to several aspects of Ottoman translation (terceme) practices. Literary historians who offer their views on the subject of translation strategies in Ottoman culture put much emphasis on fidelity, which is their point of departure in examining translations. Their ways of looking at Ottoman translation practices indicate that they tend to review

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10 See also Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) for her examination of fidelity as a multifaceted concept in translated literature in Turkey between 1923 and 1960.
translation in Ottoman culture in relation to pre-determined norms which are also “culture-bound and time-bound” (Paker 2002a).

Ali Kemali [Aksüt], bureaucrat and literary historian, drew attention to the significance of translation as intercultural communication in his *Tercüme Hakkında Düşünceler ve Tatbikata Ait Bazı Numuneler* [Aksüt] 1933: 6). He defined translation (*tercüme*) as “conveying, bringing [the original to the reader]” (“Tercüme; nakletmek, teslim etmek demektir”), quoting the view of Enrique Diez, a Spanish thinker and critic ([Aksüt] 1933: 25). According to Aksüt, the purpose of translation was to bring the idea of the original writer into the view of a reader in another culture and language. Aksüt also emphasized the need for fidelity in translation, but evaluated fidelity in terms of minimizing the “strangeness” of foreign texts by keeping the target language values (cf. “domesticating” in Venuti 1995). Thus, he advocated fluency as a domesticating strategy in Turkish. He maintains:

An important point, even the most important point which needs to be taken into consideration in every kind of translation is fluency and fidelity to language. Translations which are not fluent and faithful to our language are, of course, not acceptable… We should know that we need to make our translations much closer to the nature and color of the [target] language and to pay great attention so as not to make them alien to the tone of our language ([Aksüt] 1933: 30).

Aksüt also expresses his views on translation strategies which involves him making a tri-partite division: “aynen veya harfiyen tercüme” (translating as the same
or word-for-word translation); “mealen veya serbest tercüme” (sense-for-sense or free translation); and “tatbik suretiyle yapılan tercüme” (translation by means of adaptation) ([Aksüt] 1933: 26). What is interesting is that Aksüt mentions “adaptation” (tatbik) in connection with translation (tercüme). This indicates that in his mind “adaptation” emerges as part of Ottoman translation practices.

Another definition of translation was undertaken by Hilmi Ziya Ülken, an eminent scholar of philosophy and sociology, in his Uyanış Devirlerinde Tercümenin Rolü. Ülken identified translation as a significant channel in conveying (nakl) certain cultural values between civilizations. According to Ülken, translation (tercüme) was “to convey (nakl) a whole civilization” (“tercüme bütün bir medeniyeti nakletmektir”) (Ülken [1935]1997: 348). He also pointed out the lack of quality of Turkish in translations generated in the Tanzimat period. He stated that it was the literal translation strategy applied in them which negatively affected the quality of Turkish, hence leading to incomprehensible translations. He also related the problem of Turkish to the lack of systematic policies on translation in Ottoman society.

In his Türkçede Roman Hakkında Bir Deneme, Mustafa Nihat [Özön] was also critical, not only of the quality of Turkish but also of translators’ attitudes in translating from western languages ([Özön] 1936: 182). According to Özön, translators of the Tanzimat period generally did not pay attention to the style of the original writer, as this led him to place emphasis on fidelity to the original style. In his preface to his translation of La Dame aux camélia/La Dam o Kamelya (1937), Özön also referred to the notion of fidelity, and uncovered Şemseddin Sami’s approach to translation in which Sami advocated fidelity to textual integrity of the
Giving credit to Sami’s view, Özön suggested not only being faithful to the original but also breaking up long and ornate sentences when translating into Turkish. ([Özön] 1937: iii-viii; Bengi-Öner 1999a: 65).

İsmail Habib [Sevük], literary historian and secondary school teacher, referred to “good translating” (iyi tercümecilik) in his Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garpten Tercümelere II ([Sevük] 1941: 608; Bengi-Öner 1999a; Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 214). He claimed:

The essential criterion of good translating is fidelity to the original, in other words, accuracy in translation. Should it be made closer to our language by sense-for-sense translation, or should it be faithful to the original even if it gives a foreign sense and acrid taste? … Ahmed Midhat was the flagbearer for sense-for-sense translation and Şemseddin Sami was the flagbearer for translating as the same. But today there is no need for such a debate on this matter. Şemseddin Sami’s approach has won the battle. The whole world also knows that translation is like this ([Sevük] 1941: 608).

Sevük’s initial statement reveals that fidelity (sadakat) to the original was a key element of his “good translating”, and needed to be followed in translation. He deemed fidelity as a norm in evaluating translations (tercüme) as well as translators from the Tanzimat period onwards. He regarded Ahmed Midhat Efendi as an advocate of “sense-for-sense translation” (mealen) as opposed to Şemseddin Sami, who supported translation as the same (aynen). In other words, Sevük was critical of

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11 For Şemseddin Sami’s views on fidelity, see the preface he wrote to his famous translation of Robenson [Robinson] by Daniel Defoe (1302/1884-1885). His preface will also be taken up in Chapter 3.
Ahmed Midhat Efendi because of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s “domesticating” strategy (Venuti 1995) performed on foreign texts. This indicates that Sevük had in mind a polarized dichotomy between free (*mealen*) and faithful (*sadık*) translation in evaluating translators and their practices in Ottoman culture. Thus he seems to have excluded “unfaithful translations” (e.g. *mealen*) from his notion of “good translating”, and tended to identify those not as translation (*tercüme*). On the other hand, Sevük supported translating a foreign text faithfully at the expense of breaking target language conventions and/or of resulting in some kind of foreignness in the target language (Venuti 1995). His criticism of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s *Sid’in Hulâsası*, a summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*, which will be taken up as a case study in chapter 5, demonstrates his conception of fidelity to content and form in a clear way. He criticizes Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation as one of the outdated Ottoman practices of translation (*terceme*):

Half a century ago, Ahmed Midhat’s making Corneille’s first significant masterpiece known to Turkish readers was of utmost importance in terms of “our history of translated literature” and of “our conception of translation”… The most exciting passages of this work were conveyed as if they were something like a tale spoken in a third person singular and had long sentences and repeated conjunctions, all with a tasteless and untidy flavor. If [Ahmed Midhat Efendi] met short dialogues, as one would suppose, he conveyed those parts literally. But please look at the quality of his literal conveyance… A classical masterpiece was conveyed into our language in this way half a century ago… We will look again, with examples, at İsmail Hami Danişmed’s translation of Corneille’s “Cinna” and thank God so we have come from Ahmed Midhat to Hami Danişmed in a half-century (Sevük 1941: 36-38).

[Yarım asır evvel Ahmed Midhat’ın kalemile Korney’in bu ilk mühim şaaheserinden Türk okuyucularının haberdar edilmesi “Tercüme edebiyatı tarihımız” ve “Tercümayi telakkı edilmiş” noktalarından çok mühimdir... İşte böyle yavan ve yayvan bir eda ile, cümleler uzatırlar, ve rabitler tekrar edilerek eserin en heyecanlı yerleri gaip siyasile bir masal naklediliyormuş gibi bir hale düşürüiliyor. Kısa mükâlemeli yerler gelirse o zaman güya metinleri aynen nakleder, fakat bu aynen nakil dahi bakınız ne kırrattadır... Yarım asır evvel bir klâsik şaaheser dilimize İşte böyle naklediliyordu...
İsmail Hami Danişmend’ın yine Corneille’den yaptığı “Sinna” tercümesini nümunesile göreceğiz ve şiirdeceği ki yarım asırda Ahmed Midhattan Hami Danişmend’e gelebilmiştiz ([Sevük] 1941: 36-38).]

It is obvious that Sevük was much more critical of Ahmed Midhat Efendi within the context of “our understanding of translating” from the West in the late nineteenth century. He criticized Ahmed Midhat Efendi for not producing a ‘proper translation’ in other words, for not following accuracy in translation. He also considered that Ahmed Midhat Efendi did not produce even a summary (hulâsa), hence Sevük identified Sid’in Hulâsası as an explicatory version (tavzih) of its original. According to Sevük, Ahmed Midhat Efendi expanded the material belonging to the mise en scène in the original. Sevük claimed that the summary came to be much more detailed and lengthy than the original and contrasted to what the title of the text was indicating (ibid.). According to Sevük, Ahmed Midhat Efendi also performed literal renderings of some short passages (“aynen nakleder” (he faithfully conveys) (ibid.)), but Sevük regarded those parts as a strange conveying (nakl) of the original. At this point, I think that Sevük does injustice to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, and tends to gloss over the different ways of translating foreign texts that belonged to Ottoman practices of translation in a moment of cultural and literary contact with the West.

In a similar vein, in 19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar also criticized Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s approach to translation. He stated that Ahmed Midhat Efendi did not restrict himself to making changes in his translations of European novelists which were necessary for the mental progress of his readers (Tanpınar 1988: 456, see also footnote 17; Bengi 1988; 1999b). This assessment appears as a significant point of departure in Tanpınar’s review of

Tanpınar also criticized Ahmed Midhat Efendi for his random selection of translations, which he perceived as an unconscious and unreasonable attitude (Bengi 1988; 1999b). Tanpınar mentioned that, for Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Cervantes would be the same as Octave Feuillet, and similarly Victor Hugo as Xavier de Montepin and Eugène Sue, and even Emile Zola could easily be sacrificed for Paul de Kock (Tanpınar 1988: 471). Even though Tanpınar was critical of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s competence in writing fiction, as well as of his selections and policy in translation, he acknowledged that Ahmed Midhat Efendi opened several basic doors in improving the novel and story by way of invention (icat) as well as adaptation (adaptasyon) (Tanpınar 1988: 463). In this manner, though Tanpınar does not approach Ahmed Midhat Efendi uncritically, his assessments of Ahmed Midhat
Efendi’s approach to translation draw attention to his diverse practice of text production and his ways of translation, whereby some works are identified by Tanpınar as “adaptations” or written in the manner of western works.

1.1.4. Scholarly Studies on Ottoman Translation Activity

There are, of course, small-scale studies by some scholars who have contributed to translation history with regard to Ottoman culture. These studies do not attempt to write macro-histories of translation. Instead, they focus on limited corpora of writers/translators or propose “archaeological” studies related to Ottoman translation activity. I use the term “archaeology” in the sense that “it simply denotes a fascinating field that often involves complex detective work, great self-sacrifice and very real service to other areas of translation history” (Pym 1998: 5).

Among these studies, Fevziye Abdullah [Tansel] takes a look at Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s translations from western languages and literatures. She examines Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translation without excluding culture-specific concepts of Ottoman translation (terceme) practices ([Tansel] 1955: 109). Drawing attention to his translational behaviour, Tansel identifies some of Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s works as taklid (imitation), nazire (emulation) and iktibas (borrowing), that is, as forms regarded as non-translation by some modern scholars.12 In my opinion, Tansel’s article brings into question the identification and classification of Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s works based on a polarized dichotomy, for instance “translation” (terceme) versus “indigenous” (telif). Tansel’s identification of certain text types

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12 See Chapter 4, which proposes a descriptive analysis of two works that supply the most comprehensive bibliographical information on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works.
indicates an obvious variety, in other words, she refers to a number of texts which Ahmet Midhat Efendi acquired from a foreign source by means of imitation, emulation, borrowing and translation. On the other hand, Tansel does not problematize taklid (imitation), nazire (emulation) and iktibas (borrowing) in terms of Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s translation related practices of text production, each of which appears as part of the Ottoman terceme tradition.

İnci Enginün (1979) examines translations from Shakespeare into Turkish by a number of Tanzimat translators in her Tanzimat Devrinde Shakespeare Tercümeleri ve Tesirleri (Shakespeare Translations and Their Influence in the Tanzimat Period). This is also the first comprehensive study on translations from the West in the Tanzimat period, carried out in 1968 as a piece of doctoral research with a comparative perspective (Kerman 1978: iii; see also Kolcu 1999a: 13). Enginün not only offers an exhaustive list of translations from Shakespeare, including those from the mediating language (i.e. French), but also examines translations in terms of their influence on Turkish literature (Enginün 1979: 2). She also makes textual comparisons between translations and their originals, performed within a prescriptive research paradigm. Enginün examines translations in terms of their fidelity to source texts and favors this as an essential criterion for explaining shifts, omissions and/or additions in translations. Enginün also speaks of the concept of taklid (imitation) but refers to it with respect to the notion of ‘influence’ (see Paker 2005b).

13 In Chapter 4, I will also analyze culture-specific aspects of terms and/or concepts in various works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi.

14 For instance, see the following evaluations: “Ashî ile mukayesesinde fâhiş hataların görünmediği, asînî oldukça iyi aksettirmiş olan bu tercümede” (Enginün 1979: 86); “Nâdir’in tercümeleri, asîna uygunluk, daha az terkipli olması, lüzûmsuz kelimeler ihtiva etmemesi, cümle yapısının vâzîh oluşu bakımından Nâci’nin tercümeinden daha üstün ve daha canlidir” (Enginün 1979: 110); and “Rahat ve temiz bir dille, çok sâdikane yapılmış olan bu tercüme başarılı” (Enginün 1979: 112). For Mehmed Nâdir translation of Shakespeare, see also Enginün’s “Mehmed Nadır’ın Shakespeare Çevirileri” in (Enginün 1992a).
In this manner, she seems to disregard imitation as a culture-specific practice of translation in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century.

Enginün also uses ‘influence’ as a working paradigm in examining translations from the West in the Tanzimat period in her article titled “Tanzimat Sonrası Çeviriler” (“Translations after the Tanzimat”) (Enginün 1992b). In this article, Enginün adopts Hilmi Ziya Ülken’s perspective, as he claimed that it had been translation (tercüme) that had initiated remarkable rebirths in civilizations (Enginün 1992b: 68). Enginün surveys the first translations from French into Turkish and examines those in terms of their innovative impacts on the domestic literature. Enginün’s studies make invaluable contributions to the history of translation in the Tanzimat period in terms of providing researchers with comprehensive data for translation archaeology. She works on primary texts in Ottoman script, a task which requires great effort, but she examines those without problematizing translation (terceme) and related practices of text production. Hence Enginün’s perspective offers a limited framework for the conceptual study of translation/s in Ottoman culture.

In a similar vein, Zeynep Kerman (1978) examines translations from Victor Hugo into Ottoman Turkish from the mid-nineteenth century onwards in her 1862-1910 Yılları Arasında Victor Hugo’dan Türkçe'ye Yapılan Tercüme Üzerinde Bir Araştırma (An Examination on Translations from Victor Hugo into Turkish between 1862-1910) (Kerman 1978). Like Enginün (1979), Kerman’s study was also carried out as a doctoral study, and translations from Hugo are examined on the basis of the influence paradigm with a comparative perspective (Kerman 1978: iii-iv). In her study, Kerman first compiles translations from Hugo published in several
newspapers and literary magazines, then compares those with their originals so as to examine how western forms and contents were introduced into Turkish. Similar to Enginün (1979), Kerman also analyzes those translations in terms of their fidelity to originals. It is observed that Kerman makes clear-cut divisions in identifying the texts in her corpus as translation (tercüme) or non-translation. For instance, her assessment of Ahmed Rasim, a Tanzimat writer and translator, demonstrates Kerman’s conception of culture-specific practices of Ottoman translation tradition in a clear way:

There is ‘borrowing’ but not ‘translation’ here or in fact ‘producing a new work based on inspiration’ (Kerman 1978: 331)... In this work by Ahmed Rasim, there is ‘influence’ although it was named translation (Kerman 1978: 332).

[Burada, bir ‘tercüme’ değil, bir ‘iktibas’, daha doğrusu ‘ilham alarak yeni bir eser vücuda getirme’ bahis konusudur (Kerman 1978: 331)... Tercüme adını taşımakla beraber, Ahmed Rasim’in bu yazısında söz konusu olan ‘tesir’dir (Kerman 1978: 332).]

This indicates that Kerman departs from a limited definition of translation in identifying translations generated since the Tanzimat period. It is obvious that she identifies Ahmed Rasim’s translation not as translation (terceme) although it was labeled as such. Thus Kerman disregards translation as iktibas (borrowing), and explains Rasim’s manipulations in his translation (terceme) on the basis of influence. This reveals that Kerman pays scant attention to culture-specific practices of the Ottoman translation tradition. Kerman’s evaluations also appear to contradict each other in certain cases. For instance, although she mentions that Sami Paşazade Sezâi, a Tanzimat novelist and translator, omitted various lines in his prose translation of Les châtiments by Victor Hugo (whose original text was in verse), she identifies the translation (tercüme) as a faithful translation (Kerman 1978: 332). This reveals that
Kerman paid insufficient attention to formal equivalence as well as matricial norms, which shape or govern the matrix of the translated text, such as the degree of fullness of translation, the form of actual distribution, and the textual segmentation (Toury 1995: 58). Consequently, although Kerman offers us a comprehensive archaeology for translations from Victor Hugo, her conceptual framework and terminology used in examining translations seem problematic. That's why Kerman’s analyses on translated texts may mislead readers.

Ramazan Kaplan (1998) focuses on the famous literary dispute known as the “classics debate” of 1897 in his Klâsikler Tartışması-Başlangıç Dönemi (The Classics Debate-Initial Phase). He presents as a supplement eight articles from the debate in Turkish transcription using the Latin alphabet, and publishes his work with an annotated introduction which appeared formerly as an article in Türkoloji Dergisi in 1993. He makes use of other articles from the debate, which appeared in several newspapers in 1897 but which are not included in this book. He adds the fifteenth and sixteenth notebooks (defter) of Galatat-ı Terceme (Errors in Translation) by Kemal Paşazade Saïd, who participated in the debate as the opponent of Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Kaplan (1998) views the debate as a prominent dispute in Turkish literary and cultural history in the near past (Kaplan 1998: 7). He focuses on a number of issues such as the definition of classic, imitation (taklid) and problems in translation within several chapters.

Of course, the “classics debate” of 1897 indicates a “problem” (Levend 1938) of translating from a foreign culture and literature at the same time as producing new domestic literary works. In this context, the “problem of translating western classics” marks a certain interaction between what was “foreign” and what was “not foreign”.
Thus, Kaplan’s examination of the debate seems to be flawed because he, unlike Levend, reviews it without referring to the cultural and literary context of the period. He also takes up the concept of imitation (taklid), which appears as a key concept, in connection with translation. But he fails to problematize imitation in terms of the needs of the receiving culture, and of generating domestic works in the process of shaping a new literature by means of translation.

In a similar vein, Ali İhsan Kolcu (1999a) refers to the “classics debate” in his Türkçe ’de Batı Şiiri (Western Poetry in Turkish) (Kolcu 1999a: 99), a published doctoral dissertation. Following Kaplan (1998), he too focuses on several views of the participants so as to demonstrate problems of translation as well as strategies in translating western poetry. But he offers those views without any critical discussion. Thus, his perception of the debate seems to lack critical analysis. He also does not problematize why there emerged certain discourses on translating classical works from the West. All the same, he does offer a comprehensive list of poetry translations from western literatures between 1859 and 1901 (Kolcu 1999a: 31; see also Kolcu 1999b). But his bibliographical list also seems to be problematic because of his weak attention to terms, labels and concepts which may have appeared paratextually around translations and become significant for the study of translation in Ottoman culture. He also follows the research paradigm of influence in exploring literary innovations as well as changes which had come about by means of western translations (Kolcu 1999a: 639). What is interesting is that he thinks of the notion of influence as uni-directional. He assumes a flow only from the source pole i.e. influencing, to the target pole i.e. influenced. Thus he observes Ottoman culture as a static receiver of western influence. That is why he fails to observe the dynamics of
Ottoman culture, which imported western cultural and literary values and products in an attempt to satisfy its own needs.

In his *Türkiye’de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (Translation Institutions in Turkey), Taceddin Kayaoğlu (1998) examines translation activity since the Tanzimat period from a different perspective. In a period extending from Ottoman to republican Turkey, he offers an extensive review of translation institutions, their members as well as translations they published. In his first chapter, he starts by examining Ottoman translation activity since the Lale Devri (tulip period) i.e. the late-eighteenth century. According to him, the first “systematic” efforts in translation (tercüme) appear in this period (Kayaoğlu 1998: 38). Thus, he considers the Lale Devri a period in which the first institutional activity on translation in Ottoman culture also started. His second and third chapters are reserved to Ottoman translation activity and official institutions in the nineteenth century. There, he puts emphasis on Encümen-i Dâniş (The Academy) as a significant institution, which was “established by the government in 1851 to organize the selection, translation and production of teaching materials in science, history and literature for a prospective university (Darülfünûn)” (Paker 1991: 19; see also Tanpınar [1956]1988: 144). Focusing on its activity, he provides a list of its members, information on its mission, goals and publications as well as its regulations. He also argues that Encümen-i Dâniş insisted on understandability for the sake of public readers, particularly in writing and translating scientific texts, and that it was established to improve “lisân-ı Türkî” (Turkish language) (Kayaoğlu 1998: 63-64). His explanations on Encümen-i Dâniş draw attention to certain norms proposed by the official institutions in their production of both indigenous works and translations since the mid-nineteenth
century. Considering Encümen-i Dânîş an academy rather than a scientific society, he states that it played important roles in transferring western science into Ottoman society, and in educating the public through promoting indigenous works and/or translations (Kayaoğlu 1998: 97). Additionally, in his third chapter he dwells up on other official translation institutions, established during the reign of Abdülhamid II. He indicates that official translation institutions were all connected to the Ministry of Education in that period. His explanations indicate that these institutions tried to regulate in particular indigenous works and translations on science -but not on literature- as a state-sponsored activity. These points remind us that literary translation since the beginnings of the literary Tanzimat period seem to have been produced by private spheres, which may include individual writer-translators, private journals and publishing houses rather than official institutions. Consequently, his work offers a comprehensive documentary history of translation institutions which extends from the Ottoman to the republican period. Working on archival primary data, he provides the materials “for those who do not have access to Ottoman script” (Paker 2002: 121). On the other hand, he does not examine translated texts themselves with an eye to establish translational norms proposed by the institutions. He also gives no information about translation strategies practiced by translators whose translations were commissioned by those institutions. His list of translations also seems problematic since he fails to provide a proper description of translations, and since he pays scant attention to the use of paratextual data around those texts.
1.1.5. Questioning Perspectives

Saliha Paker (1986a and 1991) takes up translated European literature in the late Ottoman literary polysystem. She pursues prominent tendencies and essential norms of literary translation, and also examines the relationship between translational norms and their functions in the Ottoman literary polysystem (Paker 1986a: 70). She considers translations from European literatures—especially from French literature—within the socio-cultural context of the Tanzimat period and applies Even-Zohar’s polysystem theory (Even-Zohar 1990b) to the Ottoman case in the late nineteenth century. This article (1986a) is the first attempt to examine the translated European literature in terms of systemic concepts such as “high vs. low literature”, “central vs. periphery” and “adequacy vs. acceptability” (see also Paker 1987). She comes to the conclusion that “the Tanzimat was indeed a historical turning point not only in the literary polysystem but in the broader socio-cultural polysystem in which ‘established models’ were considered outdated and rejected by the young writers who looked to the West, especially to France, for innovations of all kinds” (Paker 1986a: 78). She also demonstrates that there was a lack of non-canonized written literature for the literate urban population. According to her, it was translations which appeared in newspapers and magazines that served to fill such deficiency. She also points out that there was a need for new literary models in a new language and observes that it was fulfilled since the 1870s that covers the intensive translational activity as indicating the degree and extent of such a need (Paker 1986a: 79). She also draws attention to translated European literature that fulfilled a twofold central function in which
translations of works of canonized status in the source system... functioned as a modeling force on a higher stratum in the polysystem, non-canonized or popular translated literature was active on a lower stratum, or rather, was functioning in lieu of the as yet developing non-canonized system, and by entering into dynamic relations with the canonized section contributed to such linguistic and literary innovations as the simplification of the prose style and the introduction of the novel and the short story as new genres (ibid.)

In this article, she also ascribes for the first time a particular status to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s literary translations in analyzing certain struggles between “acceptable” and “adequate” (Toury 1995: 56-57) translations within the system of translated literature in that period. She considers that he was “the leading advocate for an extreme form of ‘acceptability’ and who, in a sense, institutionalized it” (Paker 1986a: 74). What is significant is that she puts emphasis on this policy which “blurs the distinction between translation and native products” (Paker 1986a: 77). Paker’s significant contribution to Ottoman translation history has been her assessments of Ottoman translations and translation-related practices, a contribution which has initiated a number of studies on Ottoman translation history.

İşin Bengi-Öner (1988) examines certain aspects of the translational norms of the Tanzimat period “as produced, constructed and also as internalized by Ahmed Midhat” (Bengi 1988: 388). Identifying him as the “eloquent mediator” (ibid) and “revolutionary” figure (Bengi 1999b), she concentrates on his prefaces, epilogues, and the title pages of his translations so as to determine some of the relationships between him and the author, the source text, his own readers and his target texts. This is the first attempt to examine Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translations through paratextual information (Bengi 1990; Bengi-Öner 1999b). Departing from a versatile corpus, she takes up the views of several literary historians, and questions why Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translations is referred to as cases of extreme non-
adequacy (Bengi 1988: 391). Then, based on the paratextual data, she observes that his translation policy shifts within a spectrum between the poles of adequacy and acceptability (ibid).

In her doctoral thesis of 1990, Bengi examines the literary translations of Ahmed Midhat Efendi and his approach to translation within the perspectives of linguistics and translation studies. She focuses especially on the re-evaluation of the concept of equivalence in those works, then carries out a case study on Midhat’s translation of Alexandre Dumas fils’ novel *La Dame aux camélias*. In her study, Bengi works on two groups of texts, particularly title pages and prefaces. In the first group of texts, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the translator (*mütercim*); however, in the other, she observes that certain texts are referred to as translations by some of Midhat Efendi’s critics, though Ahmed Midhat Efendi has referred to himself as the writer (*muharrir*). Thus Bengi is the first scholar examining works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi on the basis of a relationship between translator (*mütercim*) and writer (*muharrir*). Re-evaluating the concept of equivalence and the problems in the presentation and reception of the texts, Bengi concentrates on determining Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translation strategies and norms, and analyzes them particularly through the extratextual data as well as her case study. Bengi also examines preliminary and matricial norms in three translations of *La Dame aux camélias* in Turkish and questions İsmail Habib Sevük’s assessment of these translations (Bengi-Öner 1999a). She points to contradictory aspects between the discourse of the literary historian and translational norms that she reconstructs through the actual comparison of textual and paratextual data. Thus, she puts into question the reliability of the early republican historical discourse on translations
covering translated literature since the *Tanzimat* period. Therefore, she emphasizes that literary historians are bound to the common literary and poetic norms of their own time and may look at past events from the perspective of a certain definition of translation. In another article, Bengi also examines Turkish translation historiography on the basis of Even-Zohar’s “systems theory” notion, and takes a closer look at three literary historians of the republican period: Özön, Sevük and Tanpinar (Bengi 1991). She concentrates on their views on literary and translation history, questioning their approach to translation as “monosystemic” or “polysystemic”. She states that these historians tend to review literary translations in a broad socio-cultural context and considers that they have a “polysystemic” perspective. But she also considers that they look retrospectively at translations through the definition of translation in their own time, which she sees as source-oriented.

The systemic perspective has certainly provided scholars in Turkey since the 1980s with effective tools for examining translated literature in the *Tanzimat* period. On the other hand, there are also a number of studies carried out from a historical-descriptive perspective, those which focus particularly on Ottoman translation activity before the *Tanzimat* period. These studies, which were initiated first by Paker since 1995 in Turkey, turn our attention to translation (*terceme*) in Ottoman culture as a wide range practice including *imitatio*. What is significant is that they shed light on culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices and enable us to make fruitful connections between the pre-*Tanzimat* and the post-*Tanzimat* periods. In other words, they lead to an understanding of the Ottoman concept of translation (*terceme*) and its practices in historical continuity and/or discontinuity that cover, of course, the post-*Tanzimat* period. Importantly, they also heighten
awareness on the terms and/or concepts of Ottoman translation practices which display an obvious range and diversity. Among those, Paker (2002a) questions the concept of translation as *terceme* and *nazire* in Ottoman culture. Beginning by critically reviewing certain works of Ottomanists, she proposes “a conceptual framework for the historical-descriptive and interpretative study of Ottoman literary translation practices” ranging from the thirteenth to the twentieth century (Paker 2002: 120). Not only does she point out *terceme* to be a wide range practice, but she also argues that *terceme* and *nazire* are “culture-bound concepts of translation” in Ottoman culture (ibid). Her conceptual framework reminds us that translation (*terceme*) in Ottoman culture was rooted in socio-cultural contexts and needs to be considered a cultural practice. Her framework is very productive in questioning more than just discourses by literary historians, writers and translators. It also helps examine translation-bound terms and/or concepts which appear in their statements in the late nineteenth century. Thus, it puts emphasis on the importance of rethinking translation (*terceme*) and its practices carried out by Ottoman writers/translators, practices named and identified as *terceme* as well as *taklid*, *tanzir*, *iktibas*, each of which indicate culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices.

Zehra Toska (2000; 2002) also attempts to propose a methodological framework for the study of translations (*terceme*) in Ottoman culture. She questions the concept and practice of *nazire* (emulation) in its connection with Ottoman translation practices and the problem of “indigenous works and translation”. She points out various discrepancies in the scholarly presentation of such texts as “indigenous” or “translated”. Pinpointing certain difficulties in distinguishing indigenous texts from translations in Ottoman classical literature, she offers possible
explanations. She reviews critically discourses in a number of tezkires, critical-literary biographies, and works of certain Ottoman poets. She concentrates on the terminology they used to name and identify those texts as well as practices. Examining various examples of nazines which appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth century, she draws attention to translational relationships between emulations and their source texts. She also highlights certain connections between “imitation”, “appropriation” and “plagiarism” in the Ottoman tradition of nazine (Toska 2002: 73). On the basis of discourses by Ottoman poets and tezkire writers, she refers to diversity in translation practices, in which nazine may appear as a translation-bound concept. She also argues that “annotations and commentaries are also a kind of translational activity.” (Toska 2002: 63). According to her, in such works, the commentator’s way of rendering difficult passages meaningful is the same as that of certain translators (ibid). Her assessments draw attention to the need to rethink nazine and taklid as culture-specific concepts of Ottoman translation (terceme) practices (Paker 2002a).

In a similar vein, Walter Andrews also takes up the practice of nazine, and examines a number of gazels (lyric poem) by several Ottoman poets in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. He proposes rethinking Ottoman Divan (court) poetry in the context of translation and transmission. His assessments also serve to question the nature of Ottoman translation practices in terms of poetic transmission. Thus, in his framework, Ottoman gazels appear as part of “creative” (cf. “rewriting” Lefevere 1985; 1992) and “substitutive” writing in terms of poetic transmission.
1.1.6. Consequences

So far I have analyzed discourses of literary historians and their representation of Ottoman translation activity in the late nineteenth century. I have also examined a number of scholarly studies as micro-histories of Ottoman translation activity. I would like to discuss certain points in these sources, starting first with those that provide the republican representation of the late Ottoman translation activity.

In the discourse of the literary historians in the republican period, there was an emphasis on the innovative aspects of translation which conform to the discourse on translation since the Tanzimat period. In other words, literary historians in the republican period perceived translations from Europe as means that served the cause of “Turkish” cultural/literary modernization and progress. They bear in mind that the Tanzimat period was an initial phase or starting moment of “Turkish” modernization. This led me to infer that the discourse on the Ottoman context of translation, examined above, continued in the discourse of literary historians in the republican period. However, the interpretation of renewal/innovation emerges particularly in connection with the ideological, political and cultural climate of the nation-building process.

In the Ottoman context, literary historians identified the process of innovation with regard to cultural and literary import from the West. The underlying idea was concerned with translations and their innovative functions in filling gaps in the target literature. The discourse of the literary historians in the late nineteenth century points to diversity in Ottoman translation (terceme) practices. Let me demonstrate this by
looking at terms/concepts or collocational verbs in historians’ discourse in the post-
*Tanzimat* period as follows:

**Terms/concepts/verbs/statements in historian’s discourse in the post-*Tanzimat* period**
- üslub-i müceddidane ile tanzim olunmuş [Abdülhakim Memduh]
- garb usulunun şarkta göstermek [Abdülhakim Memduh]
- lisana teceddüd gelmek [Şahabeddin Süleyman]
- garbdan ithaf olunmak [Şahabeddin Süleyman]
- mayesi garbdan ahz etmek [Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad and Şahabeddin Süleyman]
- şarktan iktibas etmek [Faik Reşad, İbrahim Necmi Dîlmen]
- Osmanlı şairlerinin ananevi taklid hevesleri [İbrahim Necmi Dîlmen]
- garbın merakız-i medeniyesinde memba-i ilham keşf etmek [İbrahim Necmi Dîlmen]
- ecnebi lisanda yazılmış bir eserin mevzuunu... tatbik etmek... [İbrahim Necmi Dîlmen]
- tagyir icra eyleyerek nakl etmek [İbrahim Necmi Dîlmen]
- yeniden telif edercesine vaz eylemek [İbrahim Necmi Dîlmen]

However, it is seen that a shift during the process of nation-building appears in the interpretation of “taking cultural and literary materials from the West” since the 1920s. We observe that the discourse on “importing and taking materials from the West” tends to be interpreted on the basis of “western acculturation”, in other words, the notion of influence that was proposed as a “historical research paradigm” by Mehmed Fuad Köprülü since 1913 and followed by later generations of literary historians and scholars (Paker 2005b: 1). We also see that the discourse of “our” appears in association with historians’ representation of the near past in the republican period:

**Terms/concepts/verbs/statements in historian’s discourse in the republican period**
- garb şekillerinin edebiyatumuzda nakli [Özön]
- garbdan gelen kaide ve usuller [Özön]
- bizim dilimizde [Özön]
- fikir hayatumuzda [Özön]
- edebiyatumuz Avrupa’nın yeniliklerini getirmek [Aksüt]
- dilimizin kudret ve kabiliyetini isbat etmek [Aksüt]
- teceddûd edebiyatumuz [Sevük]
- garbdan aldığımız şeyler [Sevük]
- nazımımızda yenilik [Özön]

- teceddûd edebiyatumuz garb tesiratıyla başlıyor [Sevük]
- garbın tesiratının Fransızlar vasıtasıyla gelmesi [Sevük]
- garb medeniyet ve edebiyatının tesiri altında yeniliğini başlaması [Levend]
- şuursuz ve tamamıyla hasmedilmemiş garb taklidi [Kocatürk]
- Fransız edebiyatının tesiri altında kalmak [Perin]
- yerli edebiyatın gelişmesine engel olmak [Perin]
- Tanzimat şiirinin gelişmesinde tercihe şiirin müphem tesiri [Banarlı]
A brief comparison of collocations and/or statements in historians’ discourses indicates that Ottoman literature since the *Tanzimat* period tends to be identified as *imitative* and hence criticized on the basis of the emergence of Turkish literature. At this point, my first criticism is concerned with certain assessments of imitation, which is regarded as a negative notion that limits the evolution of a domestic national literature. This point of view tends to restrict looking at imitation as a site of Ottoman translation practices that may function in the making of new cultural and literary “repertoire” and in providing new “options” for the Ottoman target system in the process of re-organization, which is not yet ‘national’ (Even-Zohar 2002a).

My second criticism relates to the historians’ binarist approach to translated texts in Ottoman culture on the basis of fidelity or faithfulness. The republican conception of translation indicates that faithfulness but without distorting norms of the target language, i.e. Turkish, is expected.¹⁵ In this sense, unfaithful translations tend to be regarded as a deviation from fidelity even though they are assumed to be “acceptable” (Toury 1995) with regard to target language norms, which were not yet crystallized in the Ottoman case (see Levend 1972). This mode of reasoning also gives rise to a failure to observe possible diversity in strategies of translation in Ottoman culture. At this juncture, I would argue that the historians’ polarized dichotomy between faithfulness and free translation, or their binarist approach, hinders them from seeing a number of practices e.g. imitation, emulation and

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¹⁵ By examining the First National Publishing Congress regarding the relationships between cultural import and translation, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar draws our attention to such “an interesting duality”. She mentions that translation was expected to be faithful without distorting Turkish, which represents the modern Turkish discourse on translation during the 1930s (see Tahir-Gürçağlar 1998).
borrowing as part of the Ottoman translation (*terceme*) tradition in the late nineteenth century.

My third criticism rests on methodology. Some of the historians (e.g. Özön 1936; Sevük 1941; Perin 1946; Kolcu 1999a) also offer several excerpts from translations and evaluate those in comparison with their originals. However, their assessments seem generally to lack textual analysis. In many cases, they tend to gloss over how they arrive at a particular conclusion both regarding the translator and her/his translation. Another aspect I find questionable in relation to my third criticism is about the use of paratextual data (Genette 1997; Tahir-Gürcağlar 2001 and 2002). It can be observed that literary historians tend to be engaged mostly with paratexts. That is why their assessments and value judgments on translators and/or actual translations also need to be questioned. This is clearly one of the points Bengi (1988 and 1990) starts off from examining historians’ assessments of Ahmed Midhat Efendi as a translator as well as his translations. At this point, I would like to ask the following question: can the literary histories that appeared in the republican period be productive for understanding the concept of translation (*terceme*) and its practices in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century? One of my answers would be *yes*, since they offer us not only lists but also assessments that serve as the point of departure for the historical-descriptive study of Ottoman translators and their practices. My other answer, however, would be *no*, since their theoretical and/or sub-theoretical framework and methodology seems to be problematic in terms of their interpretation of the concept of translation (*terceme*) and its practices in Ottoman culture.
In a similar vein, my survey of the scholarly studies on Ottoman translation activity also indicates that the common tendency of the researchers in reviewing Ottoman translations is also to enquire as to fidelity or faithfulness, and is therefore binarist. Additionally, they do not problematize culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices and tend to overlook paratextual data when examining the Ottoman translation tradition. They also tend to follow the notion of influence as an established paradigm in exploring translation/s in a period of cultural contact with Europe since the mid-nineteenth century. This paradigm in scholarly discourse serves the elevation of Turkish national literature or a literature of their own, and offers a ground for the interpretation of Ottoman translation activity in connection with nationalistic inclinations.

Thus, my main argument is that there is diversity in the terms and concepts of translation (terceme) as well as in translation (terceme) practices in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century; hence, there is a need to rethink translation (terceme) within a broad scale without excluding heterogeneity and culture-specific aspects in practices in Ottoman culture. I would also argue that in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translation practices there is a beyond-binary translational relationship among terms and/or concepts, as well as a diversity that serves the making of new options.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

In the remainder of this chapter, I will offer a theoretical framework and methodology for my historical-descriptive and systemic study of discourses on translation in Ottoman culture in the late-nineteenth century and of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s Le Cid. The theoretical
foundation of this thesis has various components which draw on the “systems”
theory and related theory of culture (Even-Zohar 1990; 2004), the notion of
“assumed translation” (Toury 1995) in conjunction with the conceptual framework
proposed by Paker for the study of Ottoman translations (Paker 2002a), the adapted
version of Even-Zohar’s “systems” theory with its focus on “rewriting” (Lefevere
and the concepts of “interculture” (Pym 1998; 2000) and “Ottoman interculture”
(Paker 2002a).

The systemic and historical-descriptive approach has been adopted on
numerous occasions since 1985 for the empirical study of Ottoman and modern
Turkish translations.16 Itamar Even-Zohar’s “polysystem/systems theory” (Even-
Zohar 1990a; 1990b; Hermans 1999; Paker 1987; 1991) proposes a theoretical
apparatus for the contextualization of translations in a given culture. “As a theory
about the way literatures behave and develop, [the polysystem] made room for
translation, explicitly so, at a time when literary studies generally ignored the subject.
It seemed flexible and promising as an explanatory frame; it legitimized research into
translation as part of literary studies” (Hermans 1999: 103). Of course, it also bars
the way to prescriptive methods which examine translations in terms of what they
should be, judging the quality of translators, and/or translations instead of what they
actually are in a given culture.

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1997; Diriker 1997. See also Tahir-Gürçağlar (2003) which surveys studies that adopted Even-Zohar’s
polysystem theory in the study of translations in Turkey since the mid-1980s.
Toury’s descriptive and explanatory methodology is based on Even-Zohar’s systems theory. In this methodology, translations are considered “facts of target cultures; on occasion facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub)systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event (Toury 1995: 29). Toury’s reformulation is important since it has provided researchers with a ground for examining translations as entities in the social and historical context of the receiving culture. I find this formulation quite significant since it prevents us from approaching translation/s in a prescriptive manner and leads us to examine translations by focusing on “what translation is”, hence on a definition of translation in a given culture whose “nature is not given or fixed” (Toury 1995: 32). Thus, in this thesis, I approach “terceme” not in terms of what it should have been, (normatively as in [Aksüt] 1933; [Özön] 1937; [Sevük] 1941; Perin 1946; Tanpinar 1956] 1988; Levend [1973] 1988; Kerman 1978; Enginün 1979) but as a textual operation interpreted and defined by the Ottoman culture which produced it.

My attempt first to describe then explain “what terceme is” in Ottoman culture has highlighted the importance of the notion of “assumed translation” in Toury’s historical-descriptive approach to translation. According to Toury, “assumed translations… [are] all utterances which are presented or regarded as such [i.e. translation] within the target culture, on no matter what grounds. Under such observation, there is no pretence that the nature of translation is given, or fixed in any way. What is addressed, even in the longest run, is not even what translation is in general, but what it proves to be in reality, and hence what it may be expected to be under various specifiable conditions” (Toury 1995: 32) (my italics).
The notion of “assumed translation” offers a promising vista for examining translational relationships such as terceme, nakl, iktibas, taklid, tanzir, tahvil, hulâsa, the like of which according to Toury are reconstructed hypothetically between the target and its source within the socio-cultural and behavioural context of the receiving culture, which in my case is Ottoman culture. Again, according to Toury, any attempt to question “what translation is” and explain the concept of “translation” in context is said to be never ahistorical and acultural. In this manner, terceme or what is presented and regarded as “terceme” (and/or translational practices such as those mentioned above) by and within the Ottoman target culture appears as a historical and cultural phenomenon.

My research so far has shown that one of the essential problems in the study of Ottoman translation history has revolved around the matter of criteria for assuming a text to be a translation or a non-translation. For instance, while Esen (1999) classifies Ahmed Midhad’s Sid’in Hulâsasi as a translation (“çeviri”), Koz (2002) classifies it as a non-translation. Of course, such assumptions can be related to explicit or implicit definitions of translation, which in fact indicate the culture-bound and time-bound conceptions of translations. At this point, I consider that Toury’s notion of “assumed translation” and its related postulates can lead the way to an examination of what translation was in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. I also think that Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works can help in an empirical investigation of the culture-bound and time-bound aspects of translation.
1.2.1. Toury’s Notion of “Assumed Translation”

Toury’s notion of “assumed translation”, which offers an understanding of the concept of translation without glossing over its “real-life situations” (1995: 33), is a challenge against the study of translations based on reductionist and restricted definitions. It allows a more catholic definition of translation without excluding possible heterogeneity in definitions. It also helps us reconstruct the context of translation/s through certain postulates -“source-text”, “transfer” and “relationship”- which will be discussed below (Toury 1995: 33).

In constituting a method for descriptive and explanatory studies of translations, Toury states that there might be cultures or “historical periods, where translations exist as concealed facts” (Toury 1995: 70). In such cultures or historical periods, the difference between “translations and non-translations is not culturally functional and is hence blurred” (ibid). At this point, referring to medieval cultures, Toury suggests that it may become useful “to hold all texts as suspect of having come into being through translation” (footnote 2 in Toury 1995: 71). He states that such “heuristics” helped him in his study of Hebrew writing at the beginning of the Enlightenment period (ibid.).

At this juncture, for the study of translation/s and its related practices based on western models in Ottoman culture since the beginning of the literary Tanzimat period, Toury’s heuristics offer us the ground for rethinking such practices as imitation (taklid), borrowing (iktibas), emulation (tanzir), conversion (tahvil), summary (hulâsa) and dialogue (muhavere) as part of Ottoman translation tradition. From this perspective, these practices also manifest themselves as text-types (eg.
terceme, hulāsa, nazire, muhavere). According to Toury’s postulates to be discussed below, such texts would have to be placed directly in our field of inquiry. Following Toury, I claim that the notion of “assumed translation” is a productive point of departure that offers a rationale for viewing translations without overlooking their Ottoman culture-specific aspects.

In view of Toury’s notion of “assumed translation”, it might be useful to apply the following questions in the present the study of the culture-specificity of Ottoman translations in the late nineteenth century: is it possible to think of “imitation” (taklid), “emulation” (tanzir), “borrowing” (iktibas), “conversion” (tahvil) and “summary” (hulāsa) as “non-translation”? According to what criteria would a text be assumed as “terceme” or not? At this point, we have to look at Toury’s three postulates.

According to Toury’s first postulate, which concerns the source-text, a text that is regarded as a translation has to be examined on the assumption that “there is another text, in another culture/language, which has both chronological and logical priority over it” (Toury 1995: 33, 34). In the light of this postulate, taklid, tanzir, iktibas, tahvil and hulāsa indicate the existence of a (source) text in another language and culture to which the target text is related or on which it is based or from which it is derived. It is interesting to note that in the cases where Ahmed Midhat Efendi identified his texts as iktibas (borrowing) as well as hulāsa (summary) and tanzir (emulation), he made his sources clear (Diplomali Kız, İki Hûd’akâr, Ana Kız, Aleksandr Stradella, Şeytankaya Tilsim, Nedamet mi? Heyhat!, Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar, Çifte İntikam, Hulāsa-i Humayunname, Sidd’in Hulāsası, Hasan Mellah, Haydut Montari).
Toury’s second postulate, the transfer postulate, “involve[s] the transference from the assumed source text of certain features that the two [target and source] texts now share” (Toury 1995: 34). Toury’s third postulate posits that “a translation also implies that there are accountable relationships which tie it to its assumed original”. For instance, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s strategies in his summary translation (hulâsa) of *Le Cid* illuminate not only Toury’s first but also his second and third postulates: Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated the action and the story line of the play by *paraphrasing* in order to summarize them in a prose narrative while rendering dialogues both *word-for-word* and *sense-for-sense*, also in prose, not in verse. His procedures can thus be interpreted in terms of Toury’s transfer postulate. At the same time, the translated action, story line and dialogues appear as the principal relationships which bind Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation (hulâsa) to Corneille’s source text *Le Cid*.

Taking Toury’s three postulates together, “an assumed translation would be regarded as any target culture text for which there are reasons to tentatively posit the existence of another text, in another culture and language, from which it was presumably derived by transfer operations and to which it is now tied by certain relationships, some of which may be regarded -within that culture- as necessary and/or sufficient (Toury 1995: 35). In this sense, Toury’s three postulates of assumed translation serve to question and problematize not only conceptions of translation but also, more importantly, textual relationships between cultures or in a particular culture. His postulates thus give rise in fact to “questions to be addressed by anyone wishing to study translation in context” (Toury 1995: 33). They also provoke a number of questions about translated texts which have possibly been concealed or
texts assumed to be translations or non-translations. Any attempt to answer those questions will, indeed, bring about a considerable extension in identifying and describing such texts as part of Ottoman translation tradition. This must be why Paker and Toska (1997) have called for analyses of “concealed” translations in Ottoman culture “in the context of translational, literary, social, ideological expectations, constraints or norms” (Paker and Toska 1997: 79), and have emphasized first the need for the historical-descriptive study of the Ottoman tradition of rewrites in the early periods of Ottoman literature. Their concluding arguments are significant in underlining the importance and necessity of descriptive-analytical research on Ottoman translation practices. These arguments also serve the understanding of the concept of translation (terceme) in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century:

Our concluding arguments will therefore emphasize how and why descriptive translation studies can help us to see if we are dealing with a history of “concealed” (Toury 1995: 70f) translation in Ottoman-Turkish literature, and can thus contribute to the understanding not only of translation but of literary history in the early period and in the classical, leading up to the 19th century (Paker and Toska 1997: 80).

I consider that Toury’s notion of assumed translation, especially the transfer postulate, brings to the fore the importance of using extratextual data in examining “translation in context” (Toury 1995: 33). I therefore consider that discourses on

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17 In her article “Concealed Facts, Translation, and the Turkish Literary Past” Victoria R. Holbrook concentrates on the “concealment of the context for cultural transfer” with special reference to Mevlevi literature, in the case of Şahidi, a Mevlevi poet (Holbrook 2002: 77, 78). Not only for understanding but also researching the Turkish literary past in relation to Ottoman translations and cultural transfer between Persian, Arabic and Turkish, Holbrook refers to Even-Zohar’s concept of “cultural transfer”, Lefevere’s concept of “rewriting” and Toury’s notion of “assumed translations”. She considers “assumed translation” to be “a category accounting for works which are interpretations whereby material, whether overtly or covertly, is transferred from one culture to another, or serves as an interface between them” (ibid.). However, Saliha Paker states that “Holbrook’s concept of “concealed translation” acquires broader connotations than the use of the concept as an analytical category in Descriptive Translation Studies” (Paker 2002b: xii).
translation appear as the field of inquiry which may help the hypothetical construction of the three postulates.

As I indicated above, in his *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (1995), Toury makes a point of stating that the notion of assumed translation “can be accounted as a cluster of (at least three) postulates” (Toury 1995: 33, my italics) which have been discussed above. In view of the research in the present thesis, it seems necessary and useful to add to these postulates a *fourth* one: that which is related to the receiving culture’s discourse on translation. In order to assume a text to be a translation, there must also be ties/connections between that text and what was said/written on that text in the extratextual discourse of a particular culture in a given period. Even though Ahmed Midhat Efendi identified his summary translation of *Le Cid* simply as the *summary* of *Le Cid* (*Sid’in Hulâsası*) and referred to himself not as translator but as writer (“*muharrir*”) on the title page (as a result of which this work was not classified as translation [“*çeviri*”] in Koz 2002), in the discourse of the “classics debate” of 1897 there were many references to Ahmed Midhat’s summary in connection with *terceme*, such as Kemal Paşazade Saïd’s pronouncement that it was “an *emulation* by way of *translation* of a published heroic work” (“*tercemeten neşr buyurulan hamzanameyi tanzir…””). The fact that I discovered such references to Ahmed Midhat’s text in the discourse of the “classics debate” provided one more reason to assume that this was regarded as the product of a translational practice. This proposal of a fourth postulate seems to be implicit in Toury’s division between the textual and extratextual materials for the study of translation as a norm-governed activity in the target culture (Toury 1995: 65). His three postulates appear to be formulated in view of textual relationships between target and source but not of
relationships between target text and extratextual sources, which serve to show “their correspondence to the “culture’s attitudes” (Toury 1995: 35) through discourse.

In the present thesis, while exploring the translational relationships between cultures I will also use Even-Zohar’s theory of culture in which he puts forward significant hypotheses that will serve to understand Ottoman “culture repertoire” by way of “invention”, “import” and “transfer” from European culture and literature, terms that I will discuss below.

1.2.2. Even-Zohar’s Theory of “Culture Repertoire”, “Invention”, “Import” and “Transfer”

Suggesting a set of hypotheses for handling the procedures and products of transfer in which translations are included, Itamar Even-Zohar draws attention to the relations between “the making of culture repertoire”, “import” and “transfer” (Even-Zohar 1997: 355; 2002: 166). According to Even-Zohar, a culture repertoire is “the aggregate of options utilized by a group of people and by the individual members of the group, for the organization of life” (Even-Zohar 1997: 355). He emphasizes that a group of people, which he identifies as “society”, always needs “specific culture repertoires for the organization of their life” since “they are by definition cultural entities” (Even-Zohar 1997: 356). He states that a culture repertoire is not biologically given but “made”, “learned” and “adopted” by members of the group (Even-Zohar 1997: 357). According to Even-Zohar, culture repertoire can be constructed not only “inadvertently” by unknown contributors but also “deliberately” by known members who are obviously engaged in the making of this repertoire (ibid).
Even-Zohar perceives of repertoire as a “tool” that is made by human elements who continue the organization of social life in varying degrees (ibid.). This indicates that human elements may “deliberately” or “inadvertently” propose different choices or alternatives i.e. “options” (Even-Zohar 1997: 356). What is important in his formulation is that all options appear and serve for the organization of life. In other words, one can think of “options” as ways that help a given society transform its somehow chaotic or disordered position into an organized one (ibid.). Even-Zohar’s notion of “option” also points to agents who are involved in active decision-making. This can be seen in the creation of options for a variety of writing practices on the part of various Tanzimat writers and translators who were engaged in translating from European languages and literatures in order to meet the needs of the Ottoman target culture. In this context, it can be said that Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s options derived from his translational practices, which I take up in Chapter 4, are good examples of a contribution to the making of Ottoman literary repertoires.

Even-Zohar identifies culture as “goods” or as “tools” in terms of “material or semiotic” import (Even-Zohar 1997: 358; 2004b: 8). “Culture-as-goods” indicates a culture that has “a set and stock of evaluable goods, the possession of which signifies wealth, high status, and prestige” (Even-Zohar 2004b: 6). European culture, especially French, was regarded as a source for establishing Ottoman cultural and literary models in the late nineteenth century; hence we may consider it as “culture-as-goods”. The concept of “culture-as-goods” points to “values” that can be “tangible” and/or “intangible”, for instance “a car, a computer, a set of texts…” “poets”, “writers”…” (Even-Zohar 2004b: 8). As for Even-Zohar’s conception of “culture-as-tools”, this indicates a culture that constructs “a set of operating tools for
the organization of life” (Even-Zohar 2004b: 10). What is important here is that Even-Zohar draws attention to “active tools”, that is, human agents capable of making decisions (Even-Zohar 2004b: 11). Referring to Ann Swidler, Even-Zohar defines culture as having “a repertoire or ‘toolkit’ of habits, skills, any styles from which people construct ‘strategies of action’” (ibid.).

Even-Zohar’s conception of “culture-as-goods” and “culture-as-tools” helps us develop a wider vision in seeing cultures in terms of “semiotic” and “tangible” items in which innovative ideas, books, literary genres, styles, textual models serve as “valuable items”18 for the organization of life, and hence can be taken for the making of a culture’s repertoire. In recognizing translated literature as a part of cultural repertoires, we become more aware of the importance of “semiotic” items in terms of cultural exchange and of the shaping of repertoires by way of translation and related practices. This provides another channel for exploring “translation in context” (Toury 1995: 33).

Even-Zohar speaks of several procedures which are necessary in the making of culture repertoire, such as “invention” and “import”, the latter of which plays a vital role that may result in invention (1997: 358; 2004d: 223). He states that “invention” and “import” are not “opposed procedures, because inventing may be carried out via import, but may relate to the labor involved in the making, within the confines of the home system without any link to some other system” (Even-Zohar 1997: 358). According to Even-Zohar, it is “import” that “may necessitate organization skills and marketing” (ibid.). This can help us explore in the context of

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18 Even-Zohar refers to “objects, ideas, activities, and artifacts” as “valuable items” in formulating his concept of “culture-as-goods” (Even-Zohar 2004b: 7).
the Tanzimat and post-Tanzimat new options brought about by translating from European “culture-as-goods”. What is illuminating here is that Even-Zohar’s concept of “import” helps us explore how new options were “imported” to the Ottoman home repertoire. Even-Zohar states that if imported goods are successful on the home market, they may have an opportunity to be integrated into the home repertoire; Even-Zohar identifies this integration as “transfer” (1997: 359). Looking at translated Ottoman literature in the late nineteenth century from this perspective, one can consider such operations as terceme, nakl, taklid, tanzir, iktibas, tahvil, hulâsa and muhaver as sites of import which, as in the case of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s writing practices, lead to both invention and transfer.

1.2.3. “Culture/Literature Planning” and “Idea-Makers”

The notion of planning seems to be another productive concept which can serve to explain the intervention of agents who were engaged in the making of the Ottoman repertoire of culture and literature in the late-nineteenth century. Even-Zohar defines “culture planning” as a “deliberate act of intervention, either by power holders or by ‘free agents’ into an extant or a crystallizing repertoire” (Even-Zohar 2002b: 45; 1994: 8). His conception of “culture planning” may help us explain certain attempts by people (whom he identifies as “free agents”, ibid.) but also by institutions, all of whom were engaged in planning by means of translation. His notion thus draws our attention to change that may appear in the target culture through planning initiatives (see also Toury 2002: 151). In relation to “deliberate culture planning and the creation of new socio-political entities”, Even-Zohar also speaks of certain individuals, “mostly intellectuals or cultural entrepreneurs, or even makers of life images through poetry and fiction” as “idea-makers” (Even-Zohar 2004c: 248-249).
He refers to those individuals or a group of individuals in terms of “producing ideas—or at least images—that can be converted to alternative or new options for the repertoire of culture by which the life of societies is shaped and organized” (ibid.).

Similar to Even-Zohar, Gideon Toury examines translation in relation to the notion of “planning”. In his view, translation may serve as a means of literature and culture planning while “planning translation itself serves as a carrier of change” (Toury 2002: 150; see also Paker 2002b: xiv). According to Toury, planning consists in “any act of (more or less) intervention in a current state of affairs within a social group” (Toury 2002: 151).19 He considers planning to be associated with “making decisions for others to follow, whether the impetus for intervening originates within the group itself or outside of it” (ibid.). Drawing attention to agents as institutions or individuals that are active in planning, Toury points out that they may prefer occasionally to “generate texts by translation —and then present them as non-translated entities (or sometimes the other way around)” (Toury 2002: 159).

The notion of planning, in connection with the notion of agency, opens up a wider vision of translations in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. First of all, it helps us rethink Ottoman culture and literature since the Tanzimat period as the subject of struggles between different agents. From this perspective, agents may appear to have adopted innovative or conservative attitudes towards translating from a ‘foreign’ culture and literature. Secondly, the notion of planning allows us to consider Ottoman writers as agents with certain policies in generating a new literature in which translation would introduce new options for renewing Ottoman

19 See also Toury in press at http://spinoza.tau.ac.il/~toury/works.
repertoires. It can also help us explore the relationships between translations and “the shaping of culture” (cf. Paker 2002: vii). Moreover, seen in terms of planning, discourses on cultural and literary import from Europe also reflect overt and covert planning acts. For instance, the discourse of the “classics debate” of 1897, which will be taken up in Chapter 3, can also be read in terms of planning efforts in translating European neo-classical works. The debate makes it clear that certain ‘writer-translators’ (“free agents”, in Even-Zohar’s words, 2002b: 45), such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi, offered several options for translating European texts for Ottoman readers. The “classics debate” of 1897 can thus be regarded as an unofficial site of literature planning in the late nineteenth century.

1.2.4. Lefevere’s Concept of “Rewriting”

As already seen in this chapter, my discussion of the treatment of translation and translational practices in literary histories from the Tanzimat period onwards reveals the significance of André Lefevere’s concept of “rewriting”. By this concept, Lefevere refers to such practices as “interpretation, criticism, historiography, the putting together of anthologies” as well as “translation”, each of which is produced under certain constraints in a given society (Lefevere 1985: 233). Translation in terms of “rewriting” can be said to change or “manipulate” (Lefevere 1992: 8) or reinterpret an original text which he defines as “the locus where ideology, poetics, universe of discourse and language come together, mingle and clash” (Lefevere 1985: 233). Thus, Lefevere regards translation as representing just one of the forms

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20 A good example of the rewriting of French history for Ottoman readers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may be found in Zafer Toprak’s article (Toprak 2000) “Osmanlı’nın Dört Jeanne D’Arc’ı: ‘Karılarn Sahibkırım Jan Dark’” which also includes Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s contribution.
in which literary works are rewritten, each of which serves the “survival” of original texts in some way (Bassnett and Lefevere 1990: 10). However, the findings in the present research indicate that although Lefevere’s concept of rewriting may be useful for us in considering the multiple translational practices in the Ottoman literary tradition (cf. Paker and Toska 1997), the concept does not lend itself to precision in the study of culture- and time-bound aspects of translation such as terceme, nazire, taklid, tahvil.

Nevertheless, the following points made by Lefevere shed light on other aspects of literary rewriting other than translation. According to Lefevere, “translators, critics, historians, professors [and] journalists” are all regarded as “rewriters” whose productions “make or break” the original writer or her/his works (ibid.). It seems clear that rewriting and all its kinds such as “translations, histories, critical articles, commentaries [and] anthologies” also indicate “anything that contributes to constructing the ‘image’ of a writer and/or a work of literature” (ibid). From this perspective, literary historians in the Ottoman and republican periods, as well as scholars whose discourses were examined in the present thesis, appear as rewriters since their discourse creates an image of a writer (e.g. Sevük’s and Tanpınar’s views on Ahmed Midhat Efendi and his translational practice), or an image of a period, for instance the literary and translational activity in Ottoman culture from the mid-nineteenth century onwards.

Lefevere thinks of “image” as referring to the projection of a writer and/or her/his original work that has an effect on readers that can be different from the original. He writes:
...for readers who cannot check the translation against the original, the translation, quite simply, is the original. Rewriters and rewritings project images of the original work, author, literature, or culture that often impact many more readers than the original does. Rewriting… shapes the image and reception of a work, author, literature, society in a culture different from its culture of origin (Lefevere 1992: 110).

Here Lefevere draws attention to “non-professional”, ordinary readers who do not read literature as written by its writers, but as rewritten by its rewriters (Lefevere 1992: 7). He claims that such readers are exposed to rewritings since rewriters create “images of a writer, a work, a period, a genre, sometimes even a whole literature” (Lefevere 1992: 5). In this sense, Ahmed Midhat Efendi appears as a “rewriter” who largely shaped the reception of Corneille’s *Le Cid* that was heavily criticized by French moralists, leading to polemics between Corneille himself and members of L’Académie Française in the late 1630s. Ahmed Midhat Efendi rewrote *Le Cid* for Ottoman readers with an annotated criticism i.e. “*Şid’in İntikadı*” (The Critique of *Le Cid*) which was added to his summary translation (*hulâsa*). In his critique of *Le Cid*, particularly of the French Academy (which will be taken up in Chapter 5) Ahmed Midhat Efendi focused on the debate known as “la querelle du Cid” and set a literary, historical and cultural context of *Le Cid* for the Ottoman readers of his own time by defending Corneille. Thus, in revitalizing the so-called debate in the target context, i.e. the Ottoman literary system of the late nineteenth century, his *intikad* (critique) represents a return to the French past and can well be identified as a rewrite which manipulated the reception and the image of Corneille and his *Le Cid*.

Starting from Lefevere’s concept, we as researchers can more easily grasp how and in what ways translations may introduce new perspectives as well as new devices and new genre to a culture by way of “rewriting” works of other cultures and
literatures. In this sense, rewriting may be taken to correspond to Even-Zohar’s idea of “option”, since it also offers new options for the making of culture repertoires.

1.2.5. Venuti’s Distinction between “Domesticating” and “Foreignizing” Translations

In his *The Translator’s Invisibility: a History of Translation* (1995), Lawrence Venuti speaks of a strategy of domesticating translations by which the translator produces an “illusion of transparency” i.e. a “fluent translation”, minimizing the otherness of the foreign texts (Venuti 1995: 21). This strategy and its binary opposite, foreignizing, have their roots in German philosopher and theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher’s formulation in which “either the translator leaves the author in peace, as much as possible, and moves the reader towards him; or he leaves the reader in peace, as much as possible, and moves the author towards him” (Venuti 1995: 19; 1998: 242). Departing from Schleiermacher’s arguments, Venuti identifies “domesticating” as a strategy or policy seen in dominant cultures. He states that determining whether a translation is “domesticating” or “foreignizing” depends mostly on “the changing hierarchy of values in the target language culture” (Venuti 1998: 243). In Chapter 3, the Ottoman discourse on the selection of European texts for translation shows that there was a tendency to domesticate in terms of preserving the moral values of Ottoman society. As will be seen in Chapter 5, an overview of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s strategies also indicates a tendency towards domestication by reducing the otherness of French cultural/literary characteristics all for the benefit of the Ottoman readership.
1.2.6. “Ottoman Interculture” and Translation

In his *Method in Translation History* (1998), Anthony Pym offers “interculture” as a hypothetical term, but not a definition, referring to “beliefs and practices found in intersections or overlaps of cultures, where people combine something of two or more cultures at once” (Pym 1998: 177; 2000: 2-5). He focuses on “interculturality” as a significant notion that translation theorists and historians have overlooked in thinking of translation from the perspective of human translators. Pym argues that translators do not belong to “one culture only, the target culture” (Pym 1998: 178), and offers a straightforward hypothesis: “translators are intersections” (Pym 1998: 182). According to Pym, “interculture” is a different concept from “interculturality” as well as “multiculturality”. By this notion, he foregrounds translators as the core human agents in translation history affecting social and cultural change within the overlaps of various cultures.

Based on Pym’s concept of “interculture”, Saliha Paker designates a new concept i.e. “Ottoman interculture” for questioning translation as *terceme* and *nazire* in Ottoman culture (Paker 2002a). She suggests “Ottoman interculture” as a useful concept for studying translation practices of the Ottoman “poet-translators” (Paker 2002a) from the thirteenth to the twentieth century. She identifies Ottoman poets as “the primary agents of Ottoman literary translation and transmission” (Paker 2002a: 120). Her conception of “Ottoman interculture” represents “a hypothetical site where poet-translators operated in the overlap of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic cultures, an overlap that should be distinguished from the generally held notion of a ‘common Islamic culture’” (ibid). She argues that “Ottoman interculture” seems to be an autonomous literary and cultural system that developed as a result of linguistic and
cultural hybridization by the sixteenth century. That is why she also attempts to conceptualize “Ottoman interculture” “as trilingual, tricultural site of operation of Ottoman poet-translators” (Paker 2002: 137). Departing from her conceptual framework, we can think of “Ottoman interculture” in the late nineteenth century as a tetralingual, tetracultural site of operation of Ottoman writer-translators, depending on translational contact mostly with French culture and literature since the beginnings of the literary Tanzimat period. Seen in the context of the late nineteenth century, Paker’s notion of Ottoman interculture can serve as a productive concept for understanding the culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation (terceme) practices in the late nineteenth century. With reference to the “classics debate” of 1897, participants who were also “professionals” (Pym 2000: 3, 75) as writers, translators, publishers and journalists can be regarded as agents operating in the tetracultural space of Ottoman interculture which involved Turkish, Arabic, Persian and French.

1.3. Methodology

This thesis focuses on the concept of translation (terceme) through an examination of Ottoman Turkish discourses on literary translation in the late nineteenth century. It also concentrates on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation of Corneille’s Le Cid. Hence, my examination will have a special emphasis on terms, concepts, definitions and strategies, as well as on culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices, including those of Ahmed Midhat Efendi. The present study consists of a study of discourses and translated texts without glossing over the Ottoman socio-cultural context and its culture-specific aspects. I basically use the term ‘discourse’ throughout for translated texts, also including “assumed translations” (Toury 1995), and for secondary texts on translation or statements
related to translation. Thus I accept that such texts are forms of discourse (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 68).

Studying discourse is also important in terms of contextualization and conceptualization of translation (terceme) in Ottoman culture. It signifies a kind of “historicizing” (Hermans 1999: 44) of translation and its “culture-bound and time-bound” concepts (Paker 2002a). Hence, discourse helps me observe target-cultural values and beliefs and a certain culture’s way of thinking about translation. It helps us understand the interaction as well as power relations between cultures. Thus, studying discourse from a critical perspective enables us to perceive translation as a social and historical practice.

Discourses to be examined in this thesis include the materials provided by translated texts, i.e. “textual” materials, and statements on translation, i.e. “extratextual” materials (Toury 1995: 65). Toury defines extratextual materials as “semi-theoretical or critical formulations, such as prescriptive ‘theories’ of translation, statements made by translators, editors, publishers and other persons involved in or connected with the activity, critical appraisals of individual translations, or the activity of a translator or ‘school’ of translators, and so forth” (ibid.). In addition to his notion of “textual” and “extratextual”, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar offers a third type of material that can be used in historical translation research: “paratext” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 44; Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001). She borrows the concept of “paratext” from Gérard Genette, and makes use of it in order to examine the Turkish system of translated literature between 1923 and 1960. In his work, Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation (1997), Genette had defined “paratext” as “what enables a text to become a book and to be offered as such to its readers and,
more generally, to the public” (Genette 1997: 1). It contains “liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate it for the reader: titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords” (Macksey 1997: xviii). Tahir-Gürçağlar examines Genette’s concept of paratext in a critical way, and argues that thinking translation as paratext in the sense of Genette uses restricts the scope of current translation studies, and that it may impose prescriptive perspectives (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 46). According to her, Genette’s conception of translation as paratext contradicts “a perspective that regards translation as initiated in the target culture and intended to satisfy a need there” (ibid). Nevertheless, her analysis reveals that the concept of paratext provides us with valuable insights in understanding the production, presentation and reception of translated texts. A critical study of paratextual elements can help in “bringing to light the divergent concepts and definitions of translation in a specific period within a culture” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 44). I will indeed pay attention to paratextual elements surrounding translations in the way proposed by Tahir-Gürçağlar. In my conceptual framework, I use paratext as another form of extratextual discourse which covers “presentational materials accompanying translated texts and the text-specific meta-discourses formed directly around them” (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 44). Paratexts may supply us with certain frameworks that can be assistance in elaborating not only the terms and/or concepts of translation (terceme) but also its perception in Ottoman culture. In this sense, they give us clues about target-cultural values, norms and attitudes by providing an image of its own text and elucidating “the sociocultural world in which the texts were produced” (Hermans 2002: 3). Hence paratexts will be subjected to the same examination as discourses on translation in a given culture. Such a framework
will help us see certain connections between discourses, translated texts, their paratextual features, and their textual reception in Ottoman culture.

The textual material covers translated texts as well as assumed translations, which means texts originating from either an actual or a hypothetical source. In my case study, I will offer an analysis based on descriptive examination, which will involve a comparison of a target text with its actual or hypothetical source. I will attempt to reconstruct the norms observed through textual and extratextual material. In Chapter 5, I will analyze a summary translation (hulâsa) in comparison with its postulated source text. Through the analysis of a summary translation, we will have certain insights not only into culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices but also into the Ottoman conception of translation in the late nineteenth century.

1.4. Summary

In Chapter 1, I have offered a critical review of the major historical studies on Ottoman translation activity since the Tanzimat period. I examined a number of sources including literary histories and anthological works which appeared in a period ranging from 1889 to 1969, as well as some modern scholarly research on Ottoman translation activity. Though the literary historians worked generally on the same historical data, I looked at their works within two main periods because their emphases on translation phenomena vary in certain ways. In the first period, including the years between 1889 and 1920, literary historians dealt with both Ottoman literary and translation history and associated fundamentally in the problem of periodizing Ottoman literature. Translation in their discourse was concerned with innovation, hence appeared as a significant socio-cultural phenomenon in Ottoman
culture in the late nineteenth century. I also examined other works in the second period extending from the 1920s up to the 1960s that provide data for the modern Turkish representation of late Ottoman translation activity. These works emphasized the role of translations, especially from French culture and literature, in the making of modern Turkish culture, literature and language. They constituted more or less histories of translation as well as lists and catalogues. Historical studies in this period generally reviewed translation/s within a polarized dichotomy and studied Ottoman translation activity in relation to a restricted definition of translation. Hence they paid little attention to translation and translation-bound concepts in Ottoman culture.

Chapter 1 has also outlined the theoretical framework as well as the essential hypothesis of the thesis. It examined the discourses of the literary historians and pinpointed late nineteenth century aspects of translation with respect to the context, concept and definitions of translation. It highlighted the usefulness of Gideon Toury’s notion of assumed translation in the study of translation/s and translation-bound concepts in Ottoman culture. This notion provides a conceptual framework for the investigation of texts which have been identified as translations as well as texts which have been assumed to be translations. Thus, not only translation but also concepts related to it are included within the field of inquiry. In this way it helps to challenge restrictive views that may arise from prescriptive approaches to translation and to reconstruct translation without overlooking certain concepts and definitions formed around translation. In this chapter, the salience to the subject under consideration has also been shown of Itamar Even-Zohar’s concept of culture repertoire, import and transfer in that they help us to explore how new options are imported into the home repertoire in a process of Ottoman cultural and literary
Tanzimat (re-organization). In a similar vein, Itamar Even-Zohar’s concepts of planning and idea makers, as well as Gideon Toury’s views on culture planning can help us analyze overt or covert initiatives of the agents, which may be observed in the official and private spheres in Ottoman culture. Additionally, André Lefevere’s concept of rewriting has been to open up a wider vision, whereby translation and its culture-specific practices can be conceived in terms of manipulating original texts and text production. Lawrence Venuti’s concept of domestication also serves the exploration of certain translation procedures. Saliha Paker’s concept of Ottoman interculture has also been mentioned since it allows us to examine the activities of the human elements operating in the overlap of a tetralingual and tetracultural site in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 2 will focus on terms and/or concepts of translation through a survey from the pre-Ottoman to Ottoman periods. It will also examine the late nineteenth century definition of translation (terceme) in Ottoman Turkish lexicons.
Chapter 2

A Historical Overview: Turkish Terms/Concepts for “Translation” from the Pre-Ottoman to Ottoman Periods

This chapter offers a brief historical overview of the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods in order to explore and provide a lexicon of Turkish terms/concepts for translation. This will serve as a small-scale genealogy as well as a background for observing multiple translational practices in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. My argument in this chapter is that Turkish terms/concepts of translation are various and that translation in Ottoman culture should be considered within a broad scale without excluding its heterogeneity and culture-specific aspects and practices. This argument will entail, in retrospect, a wide-ranging perspective in identifying a variety of terceme practices.

The materials used in this chapter come from several sources. I will use primary materials such as literary and non-literary works in both Old Anatolian and Ottoman Turkish which I access through their scholarly editions. I will also have recourse to secondary sources such as articles and books, which provide invaluable research on pre-Ottoman and Ottoman texts. As will be seen below, I will examine the paratextual data in several romance narratives, i.e. mesnevi, focusing particularly on their parts titled sebeb-i telif (purpose in writing), sebeb-i tasnif (purpose in re-arranging/compiling), sebeb-i terceme (purpose in translating), dibace (introduction) and hatime (conclusion). I will also refer to several Ottoman Turkish dictionaries as
well as glossaries translated from Arabic such as Mehmed Vani Efendi’s *Vankulu Lügati* (Vankulu’s Dictionary) of the late-sixteenth century, which was translated from Cevheri’s *El-Sihah* and first published by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1728, and Mütercim Asım’s *El-Okyanûs* (1817-1818) which was translated from Firuzabadi’s *Kâmûs el-muhît* of the early fifteenth century. I will also review the data in *Mecmuá-i Lisan* (Language Magazine) which was a magazine published in 46 issues between 1896 and 1898.

In this chapter, I first focus on translational terms/concepts in east Turkic or Old Turkic, particularly on Uyghur Turkish, which was recorded in runiform script and documented in manuscripts of frequently religious character produced in central Asia. Then I will examine those in west Turkic (Oghuz Turkish), i.e. Old Anatolian Turkish, which evolved later into Ottoman Turkish in Asia Minor. Finally, I will analyze the late nineteenth century definitions of translation in Ottoman Turkish lexicons. Examining lexicons will give us certain clues in understanding the Ottoman conception of translation (*terceme*).

2.1. Identifying Translation in East Turkic: Uyghur Turkish

The genealogy of the terms and/or concepts relating to translation in Turkish has been traced back to the Old Turkic literature produced in central Asia, especially to classical Uyghur literature, which appeared between the eighth and the thirteenth centuries. This is not to say that Turkish literature in central Asia starts with the Uyghurs. Formerly, there were the Köktürks who ruled in the sixth to eighth centuries in central Mongolia. They produced some of the earliest written examples
of Turkic language, such as the Orkhon inscriptions erected in honor of several rulers and dignitaries of the Köktürk state.

The Uyghurs, who defeated the Köktürk dynasty in the Orkhon region in 744, migrated to Tarim and Turfan (eastern Turkistan, Beşbâlq and Koço) in 850 in response to Kirghiz pressure, and they ruled there up to the early-thirteenth century (Banarlı [1948]1987-I: 75; Caferoğlu 1993: iii; Ölmez 1997: 240). The Tarim and Turfan region, which was multicultural and multilingual, also hosted various religions such as Buddhism, Manichaeism and Christianity. Hence the Uyghurs gradually produced their own literature via translations especially from Buddhist and Manichaean texts which appeared in Sanskrit, Tohar, Sogud, Chinese and Tibetan. This shows that classical Uyghur literature was fundamentally shaped by translation (Tekin 1995: 2-5; Ölmez 1997: 240).

2.1.1. Translation as Evirmek, Yaratmak, Aktarmak, Çevürmek, Döndermek

In his paper “Eski Türklerde Tercüme Faaliyetleri” (Translation Activity in Ancient Turkish Society”) Şinasi Tekin identifies Maytrisimit Körünç Nom Bitig (A Book for Spectacles Named Maytrisimit) as the first translation into Uyghur Turkish (Tekin 1995: 5). It was translated by Pratnarakşı Açarı from Tohar, the mediating language into which the original Sanskrit text was rendered, probably during the first centuries of the Christian era (ibid). As noted, Maytrisimit was a çatik i.e. a literary genre in Buddhist Uyghur prose which included religious stories on Buddha’s life (cf. Jataka in Sanskrit in Caferoğlu 1993: 40). What is significant about Tekin’s paper (1995) is

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1 Inaugural paper presented in the Ph.D. seminars arranged by Salıha Paker in 1995 on “History of Translation in Ottoman/Turkish Society”, Department of Translation and Interpreting, Boğaziçi University (unpublished).
that he draws our attention to a brief note in the ‘ketebe record’ in which one can find certain clues related to the terms and/or concepts associated with the act of translation:

Aryaçintri Bodhisattva Kṣi Aṣāri created it in Tohri from the Indian language, and Pratnarakṣiṭi Aṣāri translated it into Turkish from Tohri language (Tekin 1995).

[Aryaçintri Bodhisattva Kṣi Aṣāri, Enetkek tilingin Tohri tili yaratmış, Pratnarakṣiṭi Aṣāri Tohri tilingin Türk tili evirmiş (Tekin 1995).]

This paratextual datum based on the discourse of the ketebe record reveals that there were at least two verbs representing the act of translation in Uyghur Turkish: yaratmak (to create; to adapt) and evirmek (to translate). In his An Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish, Sir Gerard Clauson defines yaratmak as “to make or find suitable, convenient..., to adapt or to approve, agree with something” in Old Turkish (Clauson 1972: 959). Thus it seems that the ketebe record tended to perceive Kṣi Aṣāri’s version to be something like an ‘adaptation’ in the Tohri language. Similarly, Clauson identifies evirmek as representing the act of translation by giving the following textual example:

“enetkek tilingin tavğac tilmca evirmiş” (“s/he translated from Sanskrit into Chinese”) (Clauson 1972: 14).

Clauson states that evirmek was “basically to turn... to overturn ... and in the early period, to translate (something from one language into another)” (ibid). Clauson also points to the use of evirmek as a synonym for ağtarmak/axtarmak as

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2 Ketebe records may provide information about the writer, the translator and the scribe of an original as well as a translated work. They may also give information about when, where and under which conditions and whose patronage a work was written or copied.
well as for çevirmek and tevürmek in Uyghur Turkish (ibid). In the light of the following example, he indicates that the extended meaning of ağtarmak/axtarmak corresponds to “to translate (a book etc.) from (one language) into another”:

“tavğac tılıntı ikileyu türk tılınça axtarmış” (“in the second place translated it from Chinese into Turkish”) (Clauson 1972: 81).

In Clauson’s etymological dictionary, we find yet another verb corresponding to “translation” in pre-thirteenth-century Turkish: tönder-[mek] (donder-mek), which means “to turn (something) over, to invert and the like” (Clauson 1972: 518). It should be noted that from the thirteenth century onwards we also frequently meet the verb dönder-mek in west Turkic in Asia Minor i.e. in Old Anatolian Turkish.

In his Eski Uygur Türkçesi Sözlüğü (Old Uyghur Turkish Dictionary), Ahmet Caferoğlu identifies 7500 items used in old Uyghur Turkish. Among these, Caferoğlu (1993: vi) defines aktarmak as “dönmek, çevrilmek, aktarmak, çevirmek, tercüme etmek”, unfortunately without providing any textual examples (Caferoğlu 1993: 6). However, parallel to Clauson (1972), he defines avirmäk as “évirmek, çevirmek, tercüme etmek, bir dilden başka dile geçirmek” (Caferoğlu 1993: 52).

Consequently, the data above show that in Old Turkic i.e. in Uyghur Turkish, verbs such as evirmek, yaratmak, çevirmek, aktarmak and döndermek were used to denote the act of translation.
2.2. Identifying “Translation” in West Turkic: Old Anatolian Turkish and What Followed

In the eleventh century, the Turkish language was introduced into Asia Minor (Anatolia or diyar-i Rum) by the Turks, especially the Oğuz Turks who had formerly embraced Islam and learned its essence orally from the educated Muslim missionaries who were active in the Turkistan and Horasan region. In great numbers, Turks gradually moved to Asia Minor through Iran away from the Mongol invasion in central Asia. By the end of the eleventh century they had established the Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia in Konya, the capital city (Tekin 2000: 151).

Surveying west Turkic culture, language and literature, the Seljuk sultanate adapted Iranian literary models and used Persian not only as the official language but also as the language of education (Levend [1949]1972: 7; Paker 1998: 571). However, it was Oğuzca, the western dialect of the Turkic languages, which remained spoken in the public sphere by administrators for the purpose of daily communication. Adopting Annie Brisset’s general definition of “vernacular”, we may regard Oğuzca as the “vernacular language, which is local, spoken spontaneously … and the only language that can be considered to be the native language” (Brisset 2000: 345). On the other hand, Arabic was used commonly in the production of religious texts. It should also be borne in mind that the Muslim Turks in Anatolia had already started to use the Arabic script in their writing system.3

3 The Turks of Asia Minor adopted a spelling system based fundamentally on Qur’anic orthography whereas in Karakhanid Turkish Arabic was adapted to Uyghur orthography (Tekin 2000: 166). In Turkish cultural, linguistic and literary history, Karakhanid Turkish is important because, when it developed in the eleventh century in central Asia, it was the first Islamic Turkish literary language to be written in Arabic script.
As is well known, after the Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia was vanquished by the Mongol invasion which continued throughout the thirteenth century, there emerged various Anatolian principalities (Anadolu Beylikleri) that were offshoots of the Seljuk sultanate. But in the time of these principalities, known in scholarly discourse as the pre-Ottoman period, Turkish gained importance as a literary language (Köprülü [1966] 1999: 274-275). There were certain principalities such as the Germiyanoğlu and the Aydinoğlu promoting translations into Turkish from Persian and Arabic which had “already established their respective canons of written literature” (Paker and Toska 1997: 80) (Tekin 2002: 497; Kut 1998: 21-22; 1994: 127-131; Korkmaz 1973: 57-66). It is significant that many of the translations produced in the pre-Ottoman period were on Islamic history, mythology and mysticism, as well as the first interlinear translation of the Qur’an.\(^4\) In this period, we observe that Turkish renderings helped to form a vernacular literature and thus served public education (Kut 1998: 21-22; Tekin 2000: 152; Toska 2002: 58; Tekin 2002: 497-498), as well as aiding the Turkish ruling families who did not know Persian and Arabic. Further detailed studies on this particular period could reveal that a “young” (Even-Zohar: 1990c: 47) literary system was in the process of formation.

In the literature, it is generally accepted that Old Anatolian Turkish had two essential periods with respect to its historical-linguistic aspects: the first period covered Turkish from the eleventh to the late-thirteenth century, in other words, Turkish in the Seljuk sultanate of Anatolia. The latter period, which extended from the late-thirteenth to the mid-fifteenth century, included Turkish practiced during the

\(^4\) For Qur’an translations into old Anatolian Turkish, see Esra Karabacak (1994): *Old Turkish and Persian Inter-linear Qur’an Translations II: An Inter-linear Translation of the Qur’an into Old Anatolian Turkish*, published at Harvard University, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, 1994.
time of the Anatolian principalities (Korkmaz 1973: 57-66). Anatolian Turkish in the first period had eastern aspects, which derived not only from Khwarezm Turkish (i.e. a transitional dialect between Karakhanid and Chaghatay), but also from Karakhanid Turkish, in which the first literary examples of Turco-Islamic culture appeared from the eleventh century on (Köprülü [1966] 1999: 179-203). But the eastern aspects in Old Anatolian Turkish would gradually be lost in the first decades of the fourteenth century (Korkmaz 1973: 57-66). Moreover, modern literary historians generally agree that the second period signifies the beginnings of literary writing in west Turkic, i.e. Oğuzca (Köprülü [1966] 1999: 349-353; Tekin 2000: 152; Tekin 2002: 497-506).

At this point, I would like to draw attention to certain facts which seem to be significant in terms of translation phenomena. First, in the pre-Ottoman formative period, it becomes possible to observe not only inter-lingual translations from Persian and Arabic but also intra-vernacular translations from other Turkic languages into west Turkic (Tekin 2000: 153). This subject will be discussed in section 2.2.3 in connection with the concept of tasnif (re-arrangement). Secondly, there appear translational terms and/or concepts not only of Turkish origin but also of Arabic origin. In the following section, I will focus on the conceptual aspects of translation that we observe in intra- and inter-lingual translations produced in the pre-Ottoman and Ottoman periods in Anatolia. Then I will explore terms/concepts of Turkish and Arabic origin that represent the act of translation. This will help us see the evolution of Turkish terms and/or concepts in Anatolia.

In the following section, I will propose a lexicon of terms/concepts of Turkish and Arabic origin that represent the act of translation.
2.2.1. Translation as Döndermek (14th, 15th and 16th Centuries)

Tanıklaryla Taraşma Sözlüğü (Concordance with Examples) sheds light on certain words of Turkish origin that are associated with translation from the thirteenth century onwards.\(^5\) Tanıklaryla Taraşma Sözlüğü provides items with examples compiled from various historical-literary texts produced in Old Anatolian Turkish. Examples of the use of döndermek include:

Its translation from Arabic into Turkish was done in the sign of the prophet. [“...Arabîden Türkiye döndermeklik (دوندرمکلک) Resûl Aleyhisselâmın işaretîyle olundu”] from Cevahirü’l-Ahbar (15th-16th century) in (1965, vol. 2, pp.1238).

Let me translate the book from Arabic into Turkish. [“...kitâbın Tâzi dilinden Türk diline döndürem (دندرم)”] from Kıssas-ı Enbiya (14th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).

Let me translate the book from Arabic into Turkish. [“...bu kitabı Arap dilinden Türk diline döndürem (دوندروم)”] from Miflahü’l-Cenne (15th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).

After I translated Kıssas-il-Enbiya from Arabic into Turkish, it was suggested that I, a humble man, translate Tezkiret-ül-Evliya from Persian into Turkish. [“Kıssas-il-Enbiya kitabının Arap dilinden Türki diline döndürdüğümden (دوندروموردن) sonra ben zaife işaret olundu kim Tezkiret-ül-Evliya kitabının dahi Farisi dilinden Türkiye döndürdüm (دوندروم)”] from Tezkiretü’l-Evliya Tercümesi (14th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).

I changed its appearance. [“...annin suretini döndürdüm (دندروم)” from Müzekki’n-Nüfus (15th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).]

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\(^5\) This dictionary has several editions which were published as extended versions of the former dictionary proposed in 1943-1957 by the Turkish Language Association.
In the above data, which were taken from the paratexts of religious and mystical prose-translations, we observe the Turkish verb *döndermek/döndürmek* as signifying the *act* of translation in particular. In the excerpt from *Cevahirü’l-Ahbar*, we also find such a term as *döndermeklik* (translating or translation) as representing a noun derivation of the verb *döndermek* (to translate).

**2.2.2. Translation as Nakl, Tercesme/Tercüme (14th and 15th Centuries)**

In Turkish literary texts, there are also terms and/or concepts of Arabic origin associated with translation. In this section, I will present two examples. Let me first examine one of the fourteenth century translations, known as *Marzubân-nâme Tercümesi* (Translation of *Marzubân-nâme*). This was a book of advice/mirror for princes (*nasihatnâme*) translated by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa from Persian into Old Anatolian Turkish in the principality of *Germiyanoğlu* (Korkmaz 1973: 69). The Turkish version was translated from a Persian source which itself was an abridged translation of an assumed source text which appeared in Old Persian in the eleventh century (Korkmaz 1973: 67). The following is an excerpt from the translator’s “purpose in writing”:

I have never seen a better book than this one in Persian, which was prepared for princes. *Kelile* is forever a famous and ancient work, but there is much benefit in this book. Its meaning is deep, and therefore of less use for ordinary people. This humble man did not find it suitable to deprive princes of such great benefits. Although it was difficult, I conveyed it into the Turkish language so as to make all of its benefits accessible to princes (quoted from Korkmaz 1973: 71; this is from the paratext of another manuscript burned during the World War II, pp. 75).

[Parsi kitâblardan ki pâdişâhlar içün idüb-dururlar ve bu kitâbdan yig kitâb görmedüm. Her çend *Kelîle* meşhûr ve mukaddemdür, likin himmet ve fâ’ide bunda artukdîr; ammâ ibâret derin, degme kişi andan fâ’ide dutmaz, pes bu za’îf revâ görmedûm kim bu nâzânî (?) fâ’ideleorden bu zemâne]
The above quotation reveals that some Persian sources had served as ‘mirror for princes’ in the Turkish cultural system and hence they were chosen for translating into Turkish. As mentioned in the paratext, we see that when Marzubân-nâme was translated in the fourteenth century, there were already in circulation terms of Arabic origin which were attached to Turkish verbs, for instance “nakl eylemek” (to convey).

Let me also take a look at a translation by Muhammed b. Mahmûd-ı Şirvânî, a famous physician and translator of the early-fifteenth century. His prose translation from the Arabic, known as Tarih-i İbn-i Kesîr Tercümesi (Translation of İbn-i Kesîr’s History) from the İbn-i Kesîr’s El-Bidâye ve’n-Nihâye fi’t-Târih (14th century), illuminates one of the terms and/or concepts of translation circulated in fifteenth-century Turkish prose. The following is an excerpt from the translator’s introduction:

With all his [Sultan Mahmud II] mercy and compassion, he commanded [me] to translate it into the Turkish language… Obeying his honoured order, I translated it with expressions as clearly and comprehensibly as possible (quoted from Yelten 1998: 125) (my italics).


The quotation makes it explicit that Sultan Murad II was obviously offering “patronage” (Lefevere 1992: 15) and had actually commissioned Şirvânî, the translator, to produce a clear and accessible translation in Turkish (see Yelten 1998:...
12). Here it is also implied that there was a need for such a translation from an historical source. In this early fifteenth century text, we find the verb of Arabic origin “tercüme olunmak” to denote the act of translation.

2.2.3. Translation as Tasnif (Re-arrangement/Compilation or Rewriting) (14th and 15th Centuries)

To examine translation as tasnif (re-arrangement/compilation), I take as my point of departure the first intra-vernacular translation i.e. Kitab-ı Güzide (The Distinguished Book) also known as Güzide, Güzide Kitabı or Akaid-i İslâm. This was translated in the fourteenth century by Mehemmed bin Bali into Old Anatolian Turkish from Ebu Nasr bin Tahir bin Muhammed Serahsi’s book titled Güzide in Khwarezm Turkish and served as a significant book of Islamic catechism (Tekin 2000: 168). The following is an excerpt from the translator’s introduction:

I translated it from faulty expressions into clear, fluent and bright Turkish…
I hope that the person who arranged this work and changed its expressions is not forgotten, and that people who read it find the right way (quoted from Tekin 2000: 167).

[Sakim ibaretlerden sarîh ve fasîh ve rûşen türkiceye dönderdüm… ümûddür kim tasnif ideni ve bu ibareti tagyîr ideni unutmayalar kim mutâlaaasından hidâyet ve kerâmêt bulalar (quoted from Tekin 2000: 167).]

The quotation above implies first that there was a need to translate (döndermek) from a vernacular: from the eastern into the western dialect of Turkish. In addition to the historical-philological significance of this work for Turkish Studies, we find an important statement by the translator, which draws our attention to the connection he made between translating (döndermek) and re-arranging (tasnif itmek).
It is obvious that Mehemmed bin Bali not only used the verb “to translate” (döndermek) but also identified himself as a person who arranged (tasnif iden) and changed (tagyir iden) the text. On the basis of these data, we may conclude that in pre-Ottoman literature one could combine three operations in rendering a source text: translating (döndürmek) the source text as well as arranging (tasnif itmek) the version and changing (tagyir itmek) the words of the original.

According to the findings of Yavuz (1991) and Özkan (1993), the verb “tasnif itmek” (to arrange) represented the act of writing an “original book” in Turkish in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. But on the basis of the above excerpt, I would claim that “tasnif itmek” is also a term associated with re-arrangement and/or re-writing of a source text through translating. Therefore I consider tasnif to be a culture-specific concept of translation (döndermek) in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

To support my argument, I would like to examine interlingual translations as well. Let me review one of the early-fifteenth century translations known as Gülistan Tercümesi (Translation of Gülistan), which was regarded as the first known Gülistan translation in Turkish in Anatolia (Özkan 1993: 3). It was translated by Mahmûd bin Kâdı-i Manyâs in 1433 from the Gülistan (The Rose Garden) of Sa’dî, the famous thirteenth century Persian poet (Çelebioğlu 1999: 150). The script of the target text was vocalized and bore the orthographical features of Arabic and Persian as well as Uyghur Turkish (Özkan 1993: viii). But what is significant in Manyâs’s version, which was described as “muhtasar tercüme” (abridged translation) by Özkan (1993: viii, 3, 11-16) and as “muhtasar çeviri” (abridged translation) by Büyükkarç- Yılizar
(2001: 15), is that we observe clear-cut references to the relationship between arranging (tasnif) and translating (terceme).

The paratextual information in Manyâs’s text reveals that he aimed at arranging (tasnif) a book. But his usage of the word “gülistan” seems to point not only to the source text, i.e. Sa´dî’s Gülistan, but also to gülistan, i.e. a rose garden which Manyâs wished to arrange. Manyâs stated that he made use of Gülistan by Sa´dî, his master, and translated eight chapters from Sa´dî’s cannonical work into prose. The following is an excerpt from the translator’s “purpose in writing”:

Let me arrange a Gülistan [a rose garden] in which the autumn wind does not scatter leaves of the roses and time does not change its spring festivity (see 4a-7 in Özkan 1993)... I thought of translating as they were the couplets [of the original], all of which were constructed on the basis of each story [in the book] by the master Sadi. But I saw that the Turkish language was crude and inappropriate for translating the Persian couplets. Then I found it suitable to translate them as prose (see 5b-8 in Özkan 1993) (my italics).

The above data indicates first that Manyâs perceived the Turkish of his time as inadequate for translating (tercüme itmek) from Persian into Turkish. That seems to be the reason why he preferred to produce a prose (nesr) translation. Secondly, Manyâs seems to consider tasnif and terceme related acts: (“Let me arrange a book, i.e. Gülistan”) (“Bir Gülistan tasnif idem ki”) (ibid). At this point, it becomes fairly clear that translation (tercüme) appeared to be a practice associated with arranging (tasnif) or, in reverse, arranging (tasnif) seems to be associated with translation
(tercüme). It is also significant that in this quotation we find such verbs as “tercüme itmek” or “tercüme kılmak” (to translate) used in early fifteenth century Turkish.

Let me examine another example, namely one of the late-fourteenth century books of political advice (siyâsetnâme) known as Kenzü'l-Küberâ ve Mehekkü'l-Ulemâ (A Treasury of the Greatest and the Measure of Learnedness) by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa, poet and translator. The following is an excerpt from the translator’s “purpose in writing”:

People who read this book should know that it was written in Turkish and arranged in a strange way. People who love knowledge… should never look at this work with any sense of repulsion (Yavuz 1991: 150) (my italics).


In the statement of purpose, Şeyhoğlu identifies his text as an indigenous (telif) and a strange arrangement/compilation (tasnif) in Turkish. We observe that, in this case, tasnif emerges as representing writing or arranging or compiling an indigenous book. However it is important that some scholars draw attention to the translational relationship between Şeyhoğlu’s text and a Persian source. Mustafa Çetin Varlık (1979) identifies this work as a translation (tercüme) from the Necmeddin-i Razi’s Persian original Mirsâdü’l-İbâd (1230-1231) (Varlık 1979: 547). Similarly, Orhan Şaik Gökyay (1979) emphasizes that there was a translational relationship between Şeyhoğlu’s Kenzü’l-Küberâ… and Mirsâdü’l-İbâd (Gökyay 1979: 37-51). Yavuz also states that Şeyhoğlu made use of Razi’s work as a model but suggests that Şeyhoğlu’s work needs to be considered indigenous (Yavuz 1991:}
11). In the paratextual discourse, it is interesting to find some clues to a possible source text (“assumed translation”, Toury 1995: 35); for instance, Şeyhoğlu identifies his text as “dressed” in Turkish, which implies a text in another language that might have served as a source for his Turkish version (“Ebyâttan ve eş’ârdan ma’nî takâzâsînca yîrlû yîrine yitirdüm ve ebyâttan şol ki bu za’îf inşâsînandur sâde yazdum; ol ki ayruk âstâzarundur adî-y-îla zîkr iîdûm… Garaz hûbun cemâlidür kemâli / Gerek Türkî tonansun ger Mogâlî”) (Yavuz 1991: 39) (my italics).

One of the early-fifteenth century works by Muhammed b. Mahmûd-ı Şîrvânî, known as Cevher-name (The Book of Jewels), also draws our attention to translational behaviour in Turkish at that time. Even though it was presented as an original work (see Argunşah 1999), Cevher-name appears to be a translation. In the introduction, Şîrvânî expresses his purpose. Timurtaşoğlu Umur Bey had commissioned him to translate (döndürmek) into Turkish an Arabic book on valuable jewels, i.e. Ezhârü’l-efkâr by Yusuf b. Ahmed-i Tîfâşî (d. 1253), a thirteenth century Arabic thinker and critic. The following is an excerpt from Şîrvânî’s introduction:

I have an Arabic book on jewels. I wish you to translate this book into Turkish for us (quoted from Argunşah 1999: 13).

[Bende bir ‘arabî cevher-nâmê-i kitâb vardur, dilerüz sizden ol kitâbî bizîm-içîn türkiye döndürmesiz” (quoted in Argunşah 1999: 13).]

Here we see again “türkiye döndürmek” as representing “to translate into Turkish”. However, when the paratextual data are examined, we encounter some problematic issues. Şîrvânî states that he intended to write (yazmak) a book. But he also mentions that he omitted some parts -implying the existence of a source text-
and added some elements to his version which he took from other books he found useful:

I attempted many times to write a book like this one but stopped. I omitted certain repetitions and useless stories, all of which existed in the original. Instead, I added various fine and useful stories that I took from canonical works (quoted in Argunşah 1999: 13-14).

[Bir kaç kerre bunun bigi kitâb yazmaga ikdâm itdüm, yine ‘avârız mâni’ oldu. Lîkin ol tatvîlât ve tekrârlar ve fâyidesüz hikâyetler kim asîlda var-ıdu, cemi’sin tarh idüp giderdüm, yirine mu’teber kitâblardan ve bu kitâbümüza envâ’-ı fevâyide ve letâyif derc itdüm (quoted in Argunşah 1999: 13-14).]

This indicates that Şirvâni’s work has certain translational relationships with his implied sources. For conclusive results, of course, a comparative analysis would need to be made between target and source at the textual level. However, what is significant in Şirvâni’s discourse is that he notes that he aimed at writing a book similar to those in Arabic and made use of those works in producing his version (“I attempted several times to write a book like this” (“Bir kaç kerre bunun bigi kitâb yazmaga ikdâm itdüm”)). At this point, the following questions can be asked: How do we categorize Şirvâni’s version? Do we consider it to be an indigenous or translated work? Şirvâni’s interventions in his source texts for the purpose of writing, re-arranging or compiling his version, such as omissions or additions, indicate that tasnif appears as a translation-related form of text production. Thus, tasnif needs to be considered as a practice of structural change in rendering the source text and multiplicity in thematic import. In view not only of Güzide but also of the other excerpts presented above, I would claim that re-arrangement/compilation (tasnif) was conceptually related to translation (döndermek, tercüme/terceme itmek) and thus constituted as a culture-specific concept of translation practice in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.
2.2.4. Translation as Turkifying in Verse Narratives

As discussed in section 2.2.1, *Tamklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü* offers us the verb “döndermek” as representing “to translate” in the pre-Ottoman period. However, we can also find certain terms and concepts, as well as definitions of translation, which are unavailable in such lexicons. That is why in the following section I would like to examine the paratextual material of some verse romance narratives, i.e. *mesnevi*.

*Mesnevi*, of Arabic origin, represents either a form or a genre of romance narrative written in rhymed couplets (*beyit*) (see Ateş 1993: 127-133; Ünver 1986: 430-563). It appeared in Anatolia from the beginning of literary writing there in the late-thirteenth century. As a convention, the *mesnevi* also consists of several paratextual sections titled *sebeb-i telīf* (purpose in writing) or *sebeb-i tasnīf* (purpose in re-arranging/compiling) or *sebeb-i terceme* (purpose in translation), and *dībar* (introduction) and *hatime* (conclusion). In these sections, “poet-translators” (Paker 2002a) express their purpose in writing or translating and also provide information about their ways of story-telling or translating. Thus, the paratexual sections of *mesnevis* supply us with important data regarding the cultural functions and poetic aspects of the text. They also inform us about the biographies of “poet-translators” as well as the patrons and cultural/literary/religious communities with which they were associated.

2.2.4.1. Translation as *Nazım nakl eylemek* (To convey in verse), *Be-tazmin getürmek* (To take/appropriate from), *Mütercem itmek* (To translate) (14th and 15th Centuries)

Now I will first briefly examine three *mesnevis*: *Hurşid-name* by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa (1387), *Cemşid ü Hurşid* by Ahmedî (1403) and *Cemşid ü Hurşid* by Cem Sultan
The paratextual information presented below indicates that “poet-translators” referred as their sources to a fourteenth-century Persian poet, Selmân Sâvecî and his *mesnevi* of *Cemşid ü Hurşid* written in 1369 (Emini: 1998: 77). The tables below show the Turkish verbs on translation extracted from the paratexts of the poet-translators, in particular from the poet-translators’ “purpose in writing” and “conclusion” sections:

### Hurşid-name by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa (ŞM), 14th century (in Ayan 1979)

| Example I: from “Der Sıfat-ı Nazm-ı Kitab ve Ahval-i Nazm” (Aspects in versifying the book) |
| Ki Türkî nazm idem bir hoş hikâyet [couplet no. 347] |
| Verb: Türkî nazm etmek (to versify in Turkish) |

| Example II: from “Der Sıfat-ı Nazm-ı Kitab ve Ahval-i Nazm” (Aspects in versifying the book) |
| Hak adıyle bu nazım eyledüm nakîl [couplet no. 369] |
| Verb: nazım nakîl eylemek (to convey the verse) |

### Cemşid ü Hurşid by Ahmedî (A), 15th century (in Akalın 1975)

| Example I: from “Der Sebeb-i Telif ve Nazm-ı Kitab-ı Cemşid ü Hurşid” (Purpose in writing and versifying Cemşid ü Hurşid) |
| Bu dîlce eyidesin (anî) Cemşid [couplet no. 391] |
| Verb: [Türkîce] eyitmek (to tell in Turkish) |

| Example II: from “Hâtime-i Kitab” (Conclusion of the book) |
| Getürdüm anî burada be-tazmîn [couplet no. 4761] |
| Verb: be-tazâm getürmek (to take/appropriate from) |

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6 My examination goes back to Zehra Toska’s M.A. course I attended in 2001 at Boğaziçi University Department of Turkish Language and Literature. This course was arranged as part of a research project she coordinated under the title *Early Ottoman Translations and Their Functions in the Formation of Ottoman Literary Models* and was supported by the Boğaziçi University Research Fund between 1999 and 2001.

7 In Paker (2002a), “poet-translators” are examined as agents in “Ottoman interculture”, which is defined by Paker as a “hypothetical site where poet-translators operated in the overlap of Turkish, Persian, and Arabic cultures, an overlap that should be distinguished from the generally held notion of a ‘common Islamic culture’” (Paker 2002a: 120). It is significant that Paker interprets the concept of “interculture” in terms of a systemic entity.
Verbs in couplets indicate that the poet-translators versified the story of Cemşid and Hurşid, the two protagonists, in Turkish by making use of a certain source text. It is Şeyhoğlu who complains of the difficulties in conveying (nazmi nakl eylemek) the original verse from Persian into Turkish, of “saying a Persian verse in Turkish”. He also seems to imply that trying to retain what we would describe as the “formal equivalence” brings about a difficulty in conveying (nakl) the subject matter of the original. This reveals that Şeyhoğlu found expressing himself in Turkish a problem. Furthermore, Cem Sultan also mentions that he translated Sâvecî’s text by dressing it in a western (Anatolian) garment (Rûmî libâs) in the process of accomplishing the translation (mütercem).

2.2.4.2. Translation as Türkî suretinde söylemek (To tell in Turkish) (14th Century)

The following is an excerpt from the conclusion section “Der Hâtim-e Kitab-i Mantiku’r-Tayr” of Gülşehri’s translation of Ferideddin Attar’s Mantiku’r-Tayr (Conference of Birds):
Gülşehirî, a fourteenth century poet-translator, translated *Mantiku’ı-Tayr* by the thirteenth century Persian poet Ferideddin Attar. In his conclusion section, Gülşehirî uses the verb “Türkî suretinde söylemek” to describe his act of translation. In her critical review of Köprülü’s discourse on Gülşehirî, Paker states that “Köprülü accepted Gülşehirî’s self-assessment but ranked him not specifically as a translator but as a poet who made an important contribution to Turkish poetry, especially by his inventive use of additional poetic sources” (Paker 2002a: 130). In evaluating Gülşehirî’s translation of Attar’s Persian *Mantiku’ı-Tayr*, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü concludes that Gülşehirî “seems to have produced not a casual translation (*gelişigüzel bir terceme*) but a work of his own”, and draws attention to Gülşehirî’s statements in which “[Gülşehirî] said that his work was not less worthy than the Persian *Mantiku’ı-Tayr* and that no one before him had produced as fine a work in Turkish” (Paker 2002a: 130; Paker’s translation of Köprülü).
2.2.4.3. Translation as *Türkiye dönmek* (To turn into Turkish), *Türkiye getürmek* (To bring into Turkish), *Türkice şerh eylemek* (To comment in Turkish) (14th Century)

The following is an excerpt from various sections of Hoca Mesud’s translation *Süheyl ü Nev-bahâr*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Süheyl ü Nev-bahâr by Hoca Mesud, 14th century, (quoted from Dilçin 1991)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example I:</strong> from “Agaz-ı Dastan” (Beginning of the story)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Döne Türki’ye okiya hâs u ‘âm</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘İnayet kilursa Hak ola tamâm (couplet no.376)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Let it turn into Turkish so that learned and illiterate people read it. By the help of God, it will be completed)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb:</strong> <em>Türkiye dönmek</em> (to turn into Turkish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example II:</strong> from “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Terceman-ı in-Kitab” (Purpose of the interpreter in versifying this book)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bir arada işün yogiken otur</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Dürüşgör ü Türki’ye hoş getür</em> (couplet no.337)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(When you have spare time, try to bring it into Turkish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb:</strong> <em>Türkiye getürmek</em> (to bring into Turkish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example III:</strong> from “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Terceman-ı in-Kitab” (Purpose of the interpreter in versifying this book)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Şunun bigi şerh eyleyem Türkice</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Ki Tat u Mogal ide sâbâs u ça</em> (couplet no.365)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Let me comment on it in Turkish like this so that non-Turks and Mongols may appreciate it)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Verb:</strong> <em>Türkice şerh eylemek</em> (to comment on something in Turkish)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *Süheyl ü Nev-bahâr* (Süheyl and Nev-bahâr), the first romance narrative in Anatolia (Dilçin 1991: 3), we find certain verbs associated with translation. This work by Hoca Mesud, one of the greatest of the fourteenth century poets and Şeyhoğlu Mustafa’s master is assumed to be a translation although the source text has not been discovered (Dilçin 1991: 53-54). Hoca Mesud refers to himself as the translator (*terceman*), which is evidence for identifying his version as a translation or interpretation (cf. *şerh*). However, he gives neither the name of the source text nor that of the original poet. In the section titled “Sebeb-i nazm-ı terceman-ı in-kitâb” (The purpose of the interpreter in versifying this book), we find the verbs “Türki’ye
“dönmek” (to turn into Turkish), “Türkî’ye getürmek” (to bring into Turkish), both of refer to acts of translation (see also Paker 2002a: 133).

It is interesting that, in this section, the term “terceman” (translator/interpreter), the act of “versifying a book” and “Türkice şerh eylemek” (to comment on in Turkish) should all be linked. All the verbs show that translating (Türki’ye dönme, Türkî’ye getürmek) and doing a commentary (Türkice şerh eylemek) are interconnected practices, pointing once more to the culture-specific concepts of translation in the fourteenth century.

2.2.4.4. Translation as Türkçe nazm inşa eylemek (To construct verse in Turkish), Türkçe kılmak (To make/render Turkish) (16th Century)

The following is an excerpt from the section “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Kitab” (Purpose in versifying the book) of Sevdâ’î’s translation Leylî and Mecnûn:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Leylî and Mecnûn by Sevdâ’î, 16th century, (quoted from Kavruk 2003: 79)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example I:</strong> from “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Kitab” (Purpose in versifying the book) Senden kilaruz bünü temennâ Türkçe bu nazmı eyle inşa (We wish you to construct this verse in Turkish) <strong>Verbs:</strong> Türkçe nazm inşa eylemek (to construct verse in Turkish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Example II:</strong> from “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Kitab” (Purpose in versifying the book) Kıl Türkçe ahlub yâ’nî Tâ kim bileler okımsa ma’nî (Make/render it in Turkish so beautifully that one can understand its meaning when it is read) <strong>Verbs:</strong> Türkçe kılmak (to make/render Turkish)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the section “purpose in versifying” Leylî and Mecnûn, Sevdâ’î uses the phrases “to construct verse in Turkish” and “to make/render Turkish” which seem to indicate the act of translation. In the section “purpose in versifying”, we see that he was requested by his friends to render Persian Leylâ vû Mecnûn into Turkish verse.
2.2.4.5. Translation as Türkçe dîbâc giyürmek (To dress in a garment of Turkish), Dîbâ-yi Rûmî giyürmek (To dress in a western (Anatolian) garment) (16th, 18th Century)

The following is an excerpt from the section “Sebeb-i telif-i in-Menakıb-i Seniyye” (Purpose in writing) of Şemseddin Sivasî’s translation Menâkıb-i İmâm-ı A’zam:

**Menâkıb-i İmâm-ı A’zam** by Şemseddin Sivasî, 16th century, (quoted from Kavruk 2003: 103)

**Example I:** from “Sebeb-i telif-i in-Menakıb-i Seniyye” (Purpose in writing)
Arab dilinden itdüm anı ihrâc Giyürem pes ana Türkçe dîbâc (I extracted it from the Arabic language so as to dress it in a garment of Turkish)

**Verbs:**
Arap dilinden ihrâc etmek (to extract from Arabic); Türkçe dîbâc giyürmek (to dress in a garment of Turkish)

In some cases, verbs related to translation provide us with certain metaphors or images attributed to that activity. In his Menâkıb-i İmâm-ı A’zam (Stories on The Great Imam), Şemseddin Sivasî, a Halveti sheikh and poet who lived in Sivas in the sixteenth century, states that he extracted his version from Arabic and dressed it in a garment of Turkish.

The following is an excerpt from the section “Der sebeb-i telif” (Purpose in writing) of Sâbir Pârsâ’s translation Gül Ü Nevrûz:

**Gül Ü Nevrûz** by Sâbir Pârsâ, 18th century, (quoted from İnce 1998: 119)

**Example I:** from “Der sebeb-i telif” (The Purpose in Writing)
Ol mahbûba giyîr dîbâ-yi Rûmî
Ki ziynet-yâb idüp bu merzûbûm (Making this homeland adorned, dressing it in a western (Anatolian) garment to that beloved)

**Example II:** from “Der sebeb-i telif” (The Purpose in Writing)
Velî çok san’at icrâ itdi hämem
Hemân asl-ı hikâyetdûr mûtercem (After my pen performed a lot of skill, the original story was translated)

**Verb:** Dîbâ-yi Rûmî giyürmek (to dress an Anatolian garment)
There appears another garment metaphor in Gül ü Nevrûz (The Rose and Nevrûz), a mesnevi by Sâbir Pârsâ, the eighteenth century mystic thinker and poet. In the part ‘Der sebeb-i telif’ (The Purpose of Writing), he states that he translated (mütercem) a story about Gül and Nevrûz, both of whom were formerly dressed in a Persian garment.

So far we have observed in various sources the diversity of translational terms and/or concepts from the pre-Ottoman period onwards. In Uyghur Turkish, i.e. East Turkic, such verbs as evirmek, yaratmak, aktarmak, çevürmek and döndermek denote translation. In Anatolia from the fourteenth century onwards, we encounter such verbs as döndermek, nakl eylemek, terceme/tercüme olmak, terceme kılmak, terceme itmek, tasnif itmek, tagyir itmek and these verbs in noun forms, i.e. döndermeklik, terceme/tercüme, mütercem, nakl, tazmin. The diversity which has been documented above adds up to 11 variants in the form of collocational verbs from the fourteenth to eighteenth centuries that refer to the act of translation: nazm nakl eylemek, be-tazmin getürmek, mütercem itmek, Türki suretinde söylemek, Türkiye dönmek, Türkiye getürmek, Türkîçe şerh eylemek, Türkçe nazm inşa eylemek, Türkçe kılmak, Türkîce dîbâ-yı Rûmî giyürmek.

2.3. Identifying Translation in Lexicons in the Late Nineteenth Century

I will now turn to survey definitions of terceme/tercüme (translation) in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. But first, let me explain the connection between terceme and tercüme observed in the previous sections.
2.3.1. Two Orthographic Variants: 

In Ottoman Turkish, terceme (ترجمه) signifies a loan word derived from Arabic and made up of “t-r-c-m” letters in the fa’lale or dehrece meter. Even though terceme seems at first glance to be an Arabic word, it has an Aramaic origin. In his Die Aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen (The Aramaic Loan Words in Arabic) Siegmund Fraenkel points out that terceman in Arabic [as well as terceme] was genealogically an Aramaic word which entered not only Arabic (Fraenkel 1962: 280) but also Hebrew (Orhonlu 1993: 175; Okiç 1966: 29).

In his Studien über die Arabischen Lehnwörter im Osmanisch-Türkischen (An Investigation into Arabic Loanwords in Ottoman Turkish), Stanislaw Stachowski, a Polish Turcologist, states that terceme, trecime and trecüm had all been identified as variants in Ottoman Turkish since the sixteenth century (Stachowski 1981: 140). In the same vein, in his Thesaurus Linguarum Orientalium Turcicae-Arabicae-Persicae (Thesaurus of Oriental Languages: Turkish, Arabic, Persian) published in 1680, Franciscus à Mesgnien Meninski identified particular variants of translation in the words terceme, trecüme and trecime (Meninski [1680]2000: 1144 in vol. 1). This was another significant dictionary in three volumes in which Meninski offered seventeenth-century Ottoman Turkish with Latin, German, Italian, French and Polish equivalents on a comparative basis. In the dictionary, terceme is defined as “interpretatio, verfio, translatio, traductio” (ibid).

The above findings demonstrate that trecüme as well as variants of terceme were in circulation and survived as the orthographic variants in the Ottoman/Turkish languages. The fact is that trecüme does not represent the modern orthographic
variant of terceme but an erroneous usage, i.e. a galat, denoting a term introduced into Turkish from other languages (especially from Arabic and Persian) with its original meaning and/or orthography changed (Kaçalin: 1996: 300). In his Defter-i Galâtât (Notebook of Erroneous Usages) (1906-1907/1322), lexicographer Ali Seydi argues that tercüme as well as tercime were erroneous forms of “translation” surviving in Ottoman Turkish. He states

_Terceme_ is pronounced in three ways as stated in good dictionaries. But since it is an infinitive that was composed in _dehrecê_ meter, its correct pronunciation is _terceme_ (Ali Seydi 1906-1907/1322).

[Terceme [vocalized as it was] lügat-i enfisede beyan olunduğu üzere bunun _da üç suretle yani: (terceme, terrçime, tercüme) tarafinda telaffuzu haiz olduğunu beyan edenler varsa da dehrecê babından masdar oldugu için kelime-i mezkürenin sahihi tercemedir. (Ali Seydi 1906-1907/1322).]

2.3.2. _Terceme_ in Dictionaries Translated from Arabic

2.3.2.1. Translation as _Tefsir_ (Exegesis) and _Beyan_ (Stating/Expressing)

In this section, I will first scrutinize the definition of _terceme_ in the well-known dictionary of the late-sixteenth century known as _Vankulu Lügati_ (Vankulu’s Dictionary). This was a translated dictionary first published by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1728, which served as a guide for the Ottoman literati (Furat 1988: 202-203). The author Mehmed Vani Efendi, who was an Islamic jurisconsult (fakih) and lexicographer, rendered his version from Cevheri’s early-eleventh century Arabic into Arabic dictionary known as _el-Sihah_. In _Vankulu Lügati_, _terceme_ (vocalized as _terceme_) was defined as
in *derceme* meter, it is to *interpret* one speech in another language (Mehmed Vani (trans.) 1755-1756/1169: 408) (my italics).

[alâ-vezn el-*derceme* bir kelâmî lisan-î âherle *tefsir etmek* (Mehmed Vani (trans.) 1755-1756/1169: 408) (my italics).]

In the dictionary, *terceman* (translator) was also defined as “a person who *interprets* one’s word into another language” (“ta’nîn ve cim’in fethiyle za’feran vezni üzre bir kelâmî lisan-î aherle tefsir eden kimesne”) (ibid). In the definitions above, *terceme* appears on the surface as an interlingual notion. However, the definition also draws our attention to the close relationship between translation (*terceme*), commentary (*şerh*) and exegesis (*tefsir*) in Arabic culture and literature.

At this point, it is also illuminating to review a translated dictionary of the early-nineteenth century known as *El-Okyanûs el-basît fi tercemeti’l-kâmûs el-muhît* (El-Okyanûs, The Simplified Translation of Kâmûs el-Muhît) by Mütercim Asım. In this dictionary, *terceme* (vocalized as *terceme*) was defined in a similar way:

in *derceme* meter, it is to *interpret* and *to state* one speech in another language (Mütercim Asım (trans.) 1817-1818/1233) (my italics).

[dehrece vezninde bir lisanî âheriyle tefsir ve beyan eylemek manasındadır (Mütercim Asım (trans.) 1817-1818/1233) (my italics).]

*El-Okyanûs*... was a bilingual version of the Arabic dictionary of the early-fifteenth century by Ebu Tahir Muhammed b. Yakub Firuzabadi (see Aksoy 1962: 21; Paker 1998: 581). It was translated in the early-nineteenth century by Mütercim Asım, a lexicographer, historian, poet and translator who was prominent in terms of Turkish translation history. The translated version of *El-Okyanûs*... was published between 1814 and 1817 and presented to Sultan Mahmud II. It also contained critical
annotations that provided Turkish equivalents to some Arabic and Persian words. In *El-Okyanûs*, we observe that *terceme* was defined in connection with *tefsir* (interpretation/exegesis) and *beyan* (explanation, statement). It seems important that, according to this definition, a translator was expected to *interpret*, *to explain* and *to state* the original in the target language. Thus possible *additions*, *expansions* or *omissions* were also expected or demanded by the target culture. Therefore, with regard to *Vankulu Lügati* and *El-Okyanûs*, we discover *terceme* to be a notion associated with interpretation, explanation and statement. Both dictionaries also provide us with certain bases for understanding the origins of Ottoman conceptions of *terceme* which were imported from Arabic lexicographical discourse into Ottoman culture *via translation*.

We can now move on to examine one of the significant Persian lexicons in order to check any connections between *terceme* (translation) in Persian and *tefsir* (interpretation/exegesis). In *Lügatnâme*, an early twentieth century Persian dictionary by Dihhüda, an eminent Persian lexicographer, it is not surprising to find such a connection. Providing items with examples compiled from various literary and non-literary historical works, *Lügatnâme* is regarded as an important source dictionary in Turkish Studies:

**Translation (terceme):** to *interpret* one language in another, to state one’s words in another language. To translate (*terceme yapmak*): to turn/translate a word or writing in another language, to state one speech or an expression in another language (Dihhüda 1337/1919, vol. 12: 560).

As seen above, *terceme* (vocalized as *tercüme*) in Persian too was associated with *tefsir* (interpretation) and *beyan* (explanation). This indicates that the definition of *terceme/tercüme* in lexicons have similar orientations both in Arabic and Persian cultures, each of which is part of the “Ottoman interculture” (Paker 2002a).

In the rest of this section, I will examine definitions of *terceme* and offer a chronological survey of those in several Ottoman Turkish dictionaries which appeared in the late-nineteenth century. Traces of the Arabic and Persian definitions of *terceme* which we have examined in the dictionaries above will then become even more evident.

### 2.3.3. *Terceme* in Ottoman Turkish Dictionaries

#### 2.3.3.1. Translation Defined as *Tefsir* (Exegesis) and *Beyan* (Stating/Expressing)

In his *İlaveli Müntehabat-ı Lügat-ı Osmaniyye* (The Supplemented Collection of Ottoman Words) published in 1880-1881/1298, Hüseyin Hüsnü identifies *terceme* as

Expressing the sense of a word in another language [“kelimenin mealini diğer lisan üzerine ifade etmek” (Hüseyin Hüsnü 1880-1881/1298: 121).]

In his *Lügat-i Ebüzziya* (The Ebüzziya’s Dictionary) published in 1888-1889/1306, Ebüzziya Tevfik offers a definition of *terceme* which is similar to those
seen above. He defined translation in terms of interpretation, stating/expressing and conveying:

To *interpret* and to *state/express* one language in another; words and meaning which were *conveyed* from one language to another (Ebüzziya Tevfik 1888-1889/1306: 319) (my italics).

[Bir lisanı âheriyle *tefşir* ve *beyan* etmek; bir lisandan âher lisana *nakl* olunan makal ve meal. (Ebüzziya Tevfik 1888-1889/1306: 319) (my italics).]

In his two-volume dictionary *Kamus-ı Osmanî* (Ottoman Turkish Dictionary) published in 1895-1896/1313, Mehm ed Salahi proposed Arabic and Persian as well as French borrowings in Turkish. He defined *terceme* (vocalized as *terçeme*) in terms of stating/expressing and conveying:

To *state/express* one language in another; *conveying* words and speech of a language to another (Mehmed Salahi 1895-1896/1313: 66 in vol. II) (my italics).

[Bir lisanı diğer lisan ile *beyan* etmek; bir lisana ait kelâm ve makalı âher lisana *nakl* (Mehmed Salahi 1895-1896/1313: 66 in vol. II) (my italics).]

It is also interesting that Salahi should define *terceme* as the interlingual transfer of the words (*kelam*) and speech (*makal*) of the original.

In his *Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati* (The Perfect Ottoman Dictionary) [undated], Reşad Faik also offers a similar definition “to express and state a language in another language” (“bir lisanı diğer lisan ile beyan eylemek”) (Reşad Faik (undated): 208).
In the same vein, in his Lügat-ı Naci (Naci’s Dictionary) published in 1899-1900/1317, Muallim Naci defines terceme as “explaining and stating a language in another one” (“Bir lisanı diğer lisan ile beyan”) (Muallim Naci 1899-1900/1317: 228).


The findings we obtained from the dictionaries cited above show that terceme in Ottoman lexicons was commonly associated with exegesis, interpretation, expressing/stating and conveying. Let me offer the table below for quick reference, which demonstrates translation-bound terms in the lexical definition of terceme:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examined Dictionaries</th>
<th>Translational terms (verbs, conjugations, nouns etc.) appearing around definitions of terceme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vankulu Lügati</td>
<td>tefsir etmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Okyanûs</td>
<td>tefsir ve beyan eylemek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lügat-ı Ebüzziya</td>
<td>tefsir ve beyan etmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamus-ı Osmanlı (by Mehmed Selâhi)</td>
<td>beyan etmek, nakl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati</td>
<td>beyan eylemek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lügat-ı Naci</td>
<td>beyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamus-ı Osmanlı (by Ali Seydi)</td>
<td>tefsir ve beyan eylemek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehçe-i Osmani</td>
<td>nakl, beyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İlaveli Müntehabat-ı Lügat-ı Osmaniyye</td>
<td>ifade etmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamus-ı Türkçe</td>
<td>çevirmesi, nakl, diğer tabiratla ifade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mecmu-a-i Lisan</td>
<td>nakl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is noteworthy in this table is that definitions indicate a regularity which connects terceme in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish lexicons. The way of defining terceme also point out two aspects of translation in the nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries: First it represents an *interlingual transfer*. Secondly it
points to a function of translation expected to interpret, to express and to state the original in the Ottoman intercultural system. I call the latter aspect intercultural definition of translation (terceme). I think that these aspects need to be taken into consideration not only in studying the terms and/or concepts of translation but also in examining translations (terceme) in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century.

2.3.3.2. Nakl (Conveying) Defined as Terceme (Translation)

It is obvious that nakl (conveying) of Arabic origin was also another term corresponding to terceme/tercüme in Ottoman lexicons. In Vankulu Lügati, it was defined as “to convey an object from one place to another” (“nun’un fethi ve kaf’ıın sükunuya bir nesneyi bir mevziden bir mevzie iletmek”) (Mehmed Vani (trans.) 1755-1756/1169: 360). Similarly, in El-Okyanüs it was defined as “to convey an object to another place” (“nun’un fetha ve kaf’ıın sükunuya bir nesneyi aber yere geçirmek manasındadır”) (Mütercim Asım (trans.) 1817-1818/1233). As seen above, we observe nakl defined as conveying, passing or moving something to another place.

However, in the lexicons in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, nakl was defined in connection with terceme but this did not apply to Vankulu Lügati and El-Okyanüs. In Hüseyin Hüsnü’s İlaveli Müntehabat-ı Lügat-ı Osmaniyye (The Supplemented Collection of Ottoman Words), we see that nakl corresponds directly to terceme:

To transport/transfer from one place to another, to pass from one situation to another, to tell, to recount, to translate and to turn into another language, to make a copy of, to migrate (Hüseyin Hüsnü (undated): 493) (my italics).
In this explanation, *nakl* was also related to *writing a copy* of a text, i.e. either an original or translated text. We also observe the same aspect of *nakl* in Şemseddin Sami’s definition of *nakl* in his Kamus-ı Türkî:

To take from one place to another, to carry to another place, to transport; change place, to move, to migrate; to make a copy of a text or a picture, to copy a story, account, rumour, to transfer from one language to another, to translate (Şemseddin Sami 1899-1900/1317: 1469) (my italics).

Here, *nakl* is defined as synonymous with *terceme*. Similarly, in Ali Seydi’s Kamus-ı Osmanî, *nakl* is defined:

To transport something to another place… to report a rumour, to recount… to make a copy of something, to turn/translate one language into another (Ali Seydi 1911-1912/1330: 1062).

In his famous dictionary Lehçe-i Osmanî (The Ottoman Dialect) Ahmed Vefik Pasha, diplomat, translator and lexicographer, also explains *terciğe* (non-vocalized) as a “conveying/transferring from another language” (“başka dilden nakl”) (Ahmed Vefik 1888-1889/1306: 1008).
Let me also present two definitions which appeared in *Mecmua-i Lisan* (Language Magazine), a popular magazine which was published in 46 issues between 1896 and 1898, and which organized several translation competitions. In the magazine, we find two definitions of *terceme* to explain the French terms *version* and *traduction*. What is interesting in these definitions is that *traduction* signifies free translation (*mealen terceme*) while *version* indicates literal translation (*harfiyyen terceme*):

Version, traduction: both signify conveying a syntactical unit, an article, a work from one language to another. Traduction is a sense-for-sense translation, paying attention to the sense of the original, making it closer to the rules and style of the receiving language. Version is a word-for-word translation, paying attention directly to the word order. Examples of translation that include short conversations from French into Turkish or from Turkish into French in schools are of the second group. As seen above both have the same meaning, but of course there are great differences between them (*Mecmua-i Lisan*, no. 10, pp.76).


To sum up I would like to offer the table below, which demonstrates the definitions of *nakl* in the dictionaries I examined above:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Examined Dictionaries</th>
<th>Definitions of nakl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vankulu Lügati</td>
<td>bir mevzie iletmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El-Okyanûs</td>
<td>ahır yere geçirmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lügat-i Ebüzziya</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamus-i Osmani (by Meomed Selâhi)</td>
<td>diğer bire yere götürmek, geçirmek, rivayet, takrir, hikâye, tebdil etmek, göç etmek, taşınmak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati</td>
<td>diğer yere götürme, geçirmeye, suretini çıkarp alma, tebdil etme, taşınma, göç etme, <strong>terceme, başka lisana çevirme</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lügat-ı Naci</td>
<td>başka bir yere götürmek, hikâye etmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamus-ı Osmanî (by Ali Seydi)</td>
<td>başka yere götürmek, hikâye etmek, suretini çıkarma, <strong>tercüme etme, diğer lisana çevirme</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lehece-i Osmanî</td>
<td>getirme, geçirme, geçme, rivayet, tercüme, diğer yere alma, suretini çıkarma, tebdil etme, taşınma, nakl-i mekan eylemek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilavelli Müntehabat-ı Lügat-ı Osmaniyye</td>
<td>mahal-i ahire iletemek, hal-i ahire geçirmek, zikr ve hikâye etmek, <strong>terceme etmek, başka lisana çevirme</strong>, suretini yazmak, göç etmek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamus-i Türkî</td>
<td>başka bir yere götürmek, hikâye etmek, suretini çıkarma, <strong>terceme etme, diğer lisana çevirme</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3.4. Translation Defined as Çevirme

In the lexicons of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we find basic terms which correspond to “translation”, such as **terceme** or **tercüme** and **nakl** of Arabic origin. What is highly interesting is that çevirme or a noun derivative çevirmek, should also be used as a synonym of “to translate”. As pointed out earlier in the discussion in this chapter, the genealogy of çevirmek(k) can be traced back to Uighur Turkish. However, the term çevirmek(k) does not emerge again until the late nineteenth century and reappears in modern Turkish discourse both as çevirmek (verb) (to translate) and çeviri (translation).

In his well-known dictionary **Kamus-ı Türkî** (Turkish Dictionary) (1317/1899-1900), Şemseddin Sami mentions çevirme in defining terceme (vocalized as terceme):
To turn/translate one language into another, conveying. Word-for-word translation: to translate without excluding any words. Sense-for-sense translation: to express in other words by taking only the sense (Şemseddin Sami 1899-1900/1317: 395) (my italics).


As seen above, Sami identifies two kinds of strategies, namely harfiyyen (literal) and mealen (sense for sense), but noticeably without mentioning any other translation strategies.\(^8\)

Similar to Sami’s Kamus-ı Türki, in Reşad Faik’s Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati (The Perfect Ottoman Dictionary), the author also uses çevirmek to define nakl:

Taking from one place to another, carrying, conveying, story, recounting, copying out a writing or a picture, changing a place, transporting, moving, translation, turning/translator one language into another (Reşad Faik [undated]: 944) (my italics).

[Bir yerden kaldırdııp diğer yere götürme, geçirme, rivayet, takrir, hikâye, yazının veya resmin suretini çıkarıp alma, hane tebdi etme, taşınma, göç etme, terceme, başka lisana çevirmek (Reşad Faik [undated]: 944) (my italics).]

It is significant that çevirmek did not exist as a lexical item generally representing the act of turning over/ translating; as a dictionary item it signified “lamb meat turned on a spit” (see Sami 1317/1899-1900: 525; Redhouse 1890: 741). As for the verb çevirmek as a separate lexical item, it signified “to turn over” but without any reference to translate (terceme/tercüme etmek) or to convey (nakl etmek).

\(^8\) Strategies of translation will be taken up in Chapter 3.
For instance, in *A Turkish and English Lexicon* (1890), J. W. Redhouse defines the verb *çevirmek* as

to turn, to turn round, to change one thing into another, to construct so as to surround a thing or place, to surround and enclose, to manage, to withdraw one’s favor from a person, to turn into ridicule (Redhouse 1890: 741).

In view of the above data, it becomes clear that *çevirme* implies only “the act of turning over/translated”. It does not appear a unique lexical item corresponding to *terceme/tercüme* or *nakl*, but emerges as an explanatory item in the lexical discourse of the late nineteenth century. As mentioned, *çevir* in modern Turkish discourse seems to be a neologism derived from *çevirmek* and intended to correspond to “translation”. Paker (2002a: 122-123) and Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001: 154-167) indicate that *çeviri* gained importance after the Turkish language reform movement for purism in the 1930s as a result of an ideological attitude towards Ottoman culture and literature (Paker 2002a: 123; Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 206-208).

An examination of *Türkçeden Osmanlıca Cep Kılavuzu* (A Pocket Guide from Turkish to Ottoman Turkish) which was published by the Turkish Language Association in 1935 also shows that *çevir* did not appear as an item in Turkish lexicons even in the 1935s. This pocket guide which proposed modern Turkish equivalents for a number of words of Arabic and Persian origin was a supplement to the former publication, known as *Osmanlıadan Türkçeye Sözlük Karşılıkları Tarama Dergisi* (Review Journal of Equivalents in Turkish for Ottoman to Turkish).9

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9 The review journal was published in 1934 in two-volumes, of which the second provides an index of the Turkish words listed for quick reference for those who wished to write with ‘pure Turkish’.
The pocket guide and the review journal draw attention to certain attempts in purifying Turkish since the late nineteenth century. The emergence of such publications indicates that there was a gradual process of intra-lingual and intra-cultural translation of Ottoman terms and concepts. We observe that these publications carried the results of language questionnaires circulated in 1933, and of attempts in compiling “Turkish” words since the 1930s. What is significant in this period is that words of Arabic and Persian origin in Turkish were regarded as linguistically and culturally foreign. Arabic and Persian lexical items were gradually excluded from Turkish as a result of certain official and institutional interventions since the 1930s. In 1935, we also see that Ülkü Mecmuası published another guide under the title Osmanlıdan Türkçeye Karşılıklar Kılavuzu (A Guide to Equivalents to Turkish from Ottoman Turkish).

Even though these guides have offered terms of Turkish origin instead of those of Arabic and Persian origin, we observe that in Türkçeden Osmanlıcaya Cep Kılavuzu and Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Karşılıklar Kılavuzu, for instance some French equivalents were added to the definitions of the Turkish items. In the publication printed by Ülkü Mecmuası, we find French equivalents added in the definitions of the new Turkish terms. Let me present a table below which shows items of Turkish origin offered during the 1930s as equivalents of Arabic and Persian words in Ottoman Turkish:
The above data demonstrate that çevirmek was offered as an item that corresponded to terceme etmek in the early republican period. In other words, it was intended to replace tercüme etmek. Another table below, obtained from the publication by Ülkü Mecmuası, it indicates clearly the replaced items of Arabic origin with their replacing equivalents of Turkish origin.

On the basis of the above data, we should bear in mind the following point: it seems possible that the intra-lingual and intra-cultural transition process in the republican period resulted in narrowing down definition of terceme.
2.4. Summary

In Chapter 2, I examined “translation” as terms and concepts through a historical survey from the pre-Ottoman to the early Turkish Republican period. This serves as a genealogy of terms transmitted from East Turkic sources in central Asia and a lexicon of terms used in the paratextual sections of translations and later lexicographical discourse, all of which help us in re-thinking the late Ottoman concepts of terceme against a historical background. This chapter also examined the late nineteenth century definitions of translation (terceme) through Ottoman Turkish lexicons that appeared in the late nineteenth century. Definitions in the lexicons reveal that translation (terceme) was generally associated with exegesis/interpretation, commentary, stating/expressing and conveying; it also shows that terms and concepts of translation were various, and that translational practices in Ottoman culture need to be considered without overlooking their time- and culture-bound characteristics.

Chapter 3 will concentrate on the particular aspects of Ottoman Turkish discourse on literary translation in the late nineteenth century. It will investigate the concepts and definitions of translation (terceme) through various materials. This chapter will also discuss certain functions attributed to translation (terceme) by the Ottoman writers or translators. It will also examine translation strategies practiced by translators. Chapter 3 will focus additionally on several related topics such as the notion of translatability, the problem of correspondence, and the quality of translators in the Ottoman Post-Tanzimat period.
Chapter 3

Aspects of Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Turkish Discourse on Literary Translation

In this chapter, I will examine Ottoman Turkish discourses on literary translation in the late nineteenth century. I will concentrate for the first time on the concepts and definitions of translation (terceme) by scrutinizing various primary sources in Arabic script and I will further explore various culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices.

My main textual, extra-textual and/or paratextual sources will be articles published in a number of newspapers and magazines such as Tercüman-ı Hakikat, İkdam, İrtika, the literary supplement of Malûmat and Mecmua-i Lisan, all of which carried translations from western literatures. I will also use materials coming from varied sources, such as the bibliographers and anthologists İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı (1889-1890/1307); the writer, philologist, teacher and parliamentarian Necib Asım (1893-1894/1311); the playwright and translator Manastırkı Mehmed Rifat (1911-1912/1327); the poet, translator, teacher and editor of Mecmua-i Muallim Muallim Naci (1884-1885/1302); the translator Mehmed Ata (1911/1329); and the eminent translator, teacher and the member of the Supreme Council, Kemal Paşazade Saïd’s series of Galatat-ı Terceme (Errors in Translation).
I will also make use of several articles by Ahmed Midhat Efendi which appeared in the “classics debate” of 1897 as well as some of his works. Thus in the present chapter, his discourse will not be excluded from the examination of others on literary translation. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translations will be analyzed in Chapter 4, while his summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* will be taken up as a case study in Chapter 5.

In the present chapter, I will focus particularly on the period extending from the 1880s up to the end of the 1800s, in other words, on a period that covers the final quarter of the nineteenth century. First of all, in this period a gradual increase is observed in the number of translations from the West, especially from French literature.\(^1\) Secondly, the 1880s and the following decade also provide us with many data for reviewing discourses that emerged on literary translation. One meets a number of statements, evaluations as well as discussions on Ottoman translation practices not only in newspapers and magazines but also in the prefaces and introductions of translated books. Of course, all of these indications need to be considered in relation to the changing society that witnessed major cultural, literary and institutional transformations and reforms that had been undertaken since the *Tanzimat* period.

On the basis of the materials used in this chapter, I will examine discourses under various headings: concepts and definitions of translation, functions of

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\(^1\) For the gradual increase in the number of literary translations (*şerçeme*) from the *Tanzimat* period onwards, see especially [Sevük] 1941; Alpay 1976; Kolcu 1999a; 1999b; Akbayar 1985. Among these works, Kolcu (1999a; 1999b) offers a comprehensive bibliographical list of translated poetry from the West in a period that covers both the *Tanzimat* and *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*. However, in spite of its informativeness, his list seems to have some problems. In his presentation of the works, Kolcu unfortunately tends to pay little attention to the culture-specific terms and/or concepts that emerge in
translation, strategies of translation, the problem of translatability and the quality of translators.

3.1. Concepts and Definitions of Translation

3.1.1. Terceme as a Metaphor

Kemal Paşazade Saïd draws attention to an interesting definition of translation (terceme) in his well-known but hardly studied work Galatat-i Terceme (Errors in Translation), which consists of eighteen notebooks serialized between 1888/1306 and 1906/1324. In his second notebook, he offers a metaphor expressed in Persian. He wrote:

Translation (terceme) is to convey the sense of the words of one language into the enveloping words of another language whereby the sense is regarded as water according to the statement ‘the word is an envelope and sense is like water’. Acceptable ornaments are like chemicals added to this water so as to preserve it from new words that can damage the sense ([Kemal Paşazade] Saïd 1888-1889/1306, 2nd Notebook).

In this metaphor, which indicates a certain analogy between zarf (envelope) and mazruf (enveloped), terceme is defined as conveying (nakl) the sense of the paratexts of the works, all of which could have provided us with significant data for the historical-descriptive study of translations (terceme) in Ottoman culture.

In the title, terceme was vocalized as terceme.

Kemal Paşazade Saïd also cites this metaphor in the preface to his Musavver Kamus-i Said (Saïd’s Illustrated Dictionary) which was published in 1918/1334 by Matbaa-i Âmire but not completed. Only 22 fascicles up to the letter “n” were printed.
original by *replacing words between languages*. Saïd placed a strong emphasis on preserving the meaning (*mana*) in *terceme*. He deployed water to represent the meaning which would never lose its essential properties even when it was poured into a new cup (*zarf*). Thus he presumed that meaning was ideally an invariant element that remained unchanged even though words of the original were changed in the process of translation (*terceme* and *nakl*). This demonstrates that *terceme* in his mind represented only a kind of *interlingual rewording*. However, in defining *terceme* in such terms, Saïd seems to have ignored the possibility of syntactic and semantic changes or “obligatory shifts” (Popović 1970: 79-85; see also Bakker et al. 1998: 226-231) that would affect the construction of meaning in the target language. Nevertheless, on the basis of Saïd’s definition, one may assume *terceme* a text which has been conveyed (*nakl*) by preserving the meaning of its original.4

Nabizade Nazım, a *Tanzimat* writer, poet and translator, suggested a “garment” metaphor for translation which appeared in the magazine *Afak* in 1882-1883/1300. In the paratext of his translation from the English poet, translator and literary critic Matthew Arnold, Nabizade Nazım identified his translation as a European beauty dressed in an oriental garment. He wrote:

I believe that it is impossible not to be attracted to the beauty of this verse which resembles a French woman dressed up in an oriental garment even if it is a shapeless/unsuitable one (quoted from Kolcu 1999a: 94).

[Şark kıyafetine sokulmuş bir Frenk dilberi demek olan şu manzumenin letafet-i dil-firibine –kıyafetin biçimsizliği hâlinde bile- gönülle müncezib olmamak mümkün değildir itikadindayım (quoted from Kolcu 1999a: 94).]
Nabizade Nazım’s metaphor, which echoes a similar metaphor from the fifteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, indicates that a translation of verse may exist in an oriental garment in terms of its appearance but at the same time it may contain a western essence in terms of its internal nature. It is also significant that he compares his translation (*terceme*) to an attractive and desirable woman.

3.1.2. Ahmed Midhat Efendi and the “Classics Debate” of 1897: translation as *Terceme* and *Taklid* (Imitation)

A number of illuminating discourses on translation (*terceme*) in the final quarter of the nineteenth century may be found out particularly in the so called “classics debate” (“Klâsikler Tartışması”) of 1897. With important views aired by prominent Ottoman writers and/or ‘writer-translators’, this debate offers a fruitful point of departure for the understanding of the cultural, linguistic and literary interest in translating from the West as well as its significance for Ottoman society (Levend 1972: 254). The debate prompts certain awareness for observing how the Ottoman literati perceived translation in that period. In other words, it yields certain sources through which we can make connections between discourses and Ottoman practices of translation. In so doing, it sheds light on various aspects of translation related to its definitions, terms and concepts as well as strategies.

At this point, I would like to propose my own interpretation of the “classics debate” (Klâsikler Tartışması) which has been used in order to refer to the important literary dispute of 1897 on translating European classics into Turkish (Dizdaroğlu 1950; [Tansel] 1953; Levend 1972; Kerman 1982; Günyol (undated); Kaplan 1998; Paker 2005a). The term “classics debate” is, of course, a designation attributed by modern scholarship. However, I find this naming problematic. Firstly, although it
was a literary dispute, the paratextual data such as the titles as well as the contents of the articles by the participants indicate that the issue of translating European classics was really perceived and hence discussed as a problem (mesele). That is why Ahmed Midhat Efendi wrote six articles titled “Klásikler Meselesi Temhidat” (“The Classics Problem, Amendments”), or why Cenab Şahabeddin’s contribution was titled “Klásikler Meselesi” (“The Classics Problem”) (Kaplan 1998: 1-60). Eminent literary historian Agah Sirri Levend too states that the debate was about “the problem of translating classics into our language” (Levend 1972: 254) (my italic). Therefore the term “classics debate” seems to conceal the conception of the issue as a “problem” in the readers’ mind; it denotes the form but not the content. All the same, the term “classics problem” does offer us a chance to perceive one of the cultural and literary signs of the Ottoman society in a moment of encounter or confrontation with Europe towards the turn of the twentieth century. However, although I find the designation “classics debate” problematic, in the present thesis I will use the term for the sake of scholarly consistency.

The “classics debate”, which continued approximately six months, was sparked off by Ahmed Midhat Efendi with his initial article titled “Müsabaka-i Kalemiyye Ikram-ı Aklâm” (Writing Competition, Writers’ Gifts) that was published in *Tercüman-i Hakikat* on 24 August 1897/1313 (Kaplan 1998: 8). According to Kaplan (1998), 33 articles were published in this period in the newspapers *Tercüman-i Hakikat* and *İkdam* as well as the magazines *İrtika* and the literary supplement of *Malumat* (Kaplan 1998: 193-195). When Kemal Paşazade Saïd became involved, possibly in October 1897/1313 (ibid), he published two lengthy articles in opposition to Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Saïd’s articles appeared in his
fifteenth and sixteenth notebooks (defter) of Galatat-ı Terceme (Errors in Translation), the latter of which was probably published in November or December 1897/1313. Apart from Said, a number of Ottoman ‘pens’ participated in the debate, thus responding to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s invitation: Ahmed Cevdet (1861-1935), Cenab Şahabeddin (1870-1934), Necib Asım (1861-1935), İsmail Avni (?), Hüseyin Daniş (1870-1942), Ahmed Rasim (1864-1932), Hüseyin Sabri (?). Kemal Paşaçade Sa'id's (1848-1921) intervention turned the debate into a polemic against Ahmed Midhat Efendi (see Kaplan 1998: 8-12).

As the title of his initial article indicates, Ahmed Midhat Efendi called on the ‘talented pens’ of his time to make European classical works known to Ottoman readers. His attempt to arouse interest in translating European classics goes back to the idea he had launched in his preface to Sîd’in Hulâsası (1890-91/1308) i.e. his summary translation of Corneille’s Le Cid. In the preface, which will be examined in Chapter 5, Ahmed Midhat Efendi placed a strong emphasis on the need for translating European classical works for Ottoman readers; he also offered his “hulâsa” (summary) as a product comparable with translation (terceme). A few years later, in the course of the “classics debate”, he again called attention to the same issue and claimed that translations of such classical works -by European neo-classical, but not Greek classical writers- would serve the progress (terakki) of Ottoman readers. But what is interesting in his discourse is that, though he accepted translating from neo-classical and romantic writers (i.e. Corneille, Goethe, Racine and Shakespeare), he rejected translating the works of realist French writers such as Zola, Richepin and Bourget. The reason behind this was his perception of realist

6 Ahmed Midhat Efendi uses the following terms to indicate ‘talented pens’ of his time: “aklâm-i Osmaniyeye, üdebâ and şuarâ” (Ottoman pens, writers and poets); see Ahmed Midhat 1897a/1313.
writers as harmful in relation to Ottoman moral values at that time. Another important point in his discourse is his conception of imitation (taklid), which he discussed in relation to translating European classical works. It can be observed that Ahmed Midhat Efendi approved the imitation (taklid) of French literary works if they would serve as literary models (“bizce Frenk mukallidlığı matlubdur”, Kaplan 1998: 47). But at the same time, he emphasized the significance of translation (terceme) which, according to him, would very much serve Ottoman literary progress (Ahmed Midhat 1897a/1313).

In the debate, Ahmed Cevdet, chief editor of the newspaper İkdam, was the first writer who not only responded to Ahmed Midhat Efendi but also drew attention to the difference between nakl (conveying) and taklid (imitation). Participating in the debate with one article only, Ahmed Cevdet argued that taklid (imitation) was different from conveying a text into another language and that it should be considered separately from translation (terceme) (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313). Responding to Ahmed Cevdet’s distinction between nakl and taklid, Ahmed Midhat defined nakl as follows:

We will say that ‘imitating a classical work is different from conveying it into another language’. Furthermore, the ways of conveying it into another language come only two types. Conveying word-for-word is different from conveying sense-for-sense (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).

[Diyiceğiz ki ‘bir klâsik eserin taklid edilmesi başka diğer bir lisana nakl olunması yine başkadır’. Hatta diğer bir lisana naklindeki başkalık dahi iki türlüdür. Harfî harfine nakletmek başka mealen nakletmek dahi başkadır) (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).]

Regarding the connection between terceme and taklid as two related concepts and practices in Ottoman culture, Cenab Şahabeddin, the poet of the Edebiyat-i Cedide movement (New literature) who participated in the debate with two articles
(see Kaplan 1998: 194), objected to imitating classical works of European literature (‘Zannümca bu taklid bilakis muzıdr’ Cenab Şahabeddin 1897/1313). Criticizing Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s perception of what a “classic” was, he emphasized that the works of Greek poets such as Euripides, Sophokles and Aristophanes should be regarded as “the classics”, not those of European neo-classical writers. He thought of imitating (taklid) the classics as harmful but supported the idea of translating (terceme) them by way of examination (mütalaa). Here, his main emphasis was on understanding the moral values and mental progress of mankind (Cenab Şahabeddin 1897/1313). That is why he emphasized the connection between translating and imitating European classical works in terms of their benefits or harmful results for Ottoman literary progress.

In a similar vein, Necib Asım, a philologist, considered that imitating (taklid) the works of ancient writers (âsar-ı eslâf) was harmful, whereas translating (terceme) and examining (mütalaa) their works were beneficial and necessary (Necib Asım 1897/1313). Proposing a classification of four possible strategies (tarık) of translating into Turkish, he identified imitation (taklid) as a strategy practiced in relation to the Ottoman terceme tradition (ibid.).

Statements in the debate on the connections between terceme and taklid reveal that participants seemed generally to agree that European classics could or should be translated (terceme) but not imitated (taklid). This idea, of course, points to a principal difference in identifying translation (terceme) by considering it separate from the practice of imitation (taklid). However, what is important is that imitation (taklid) was overtly discussed in relation to conveying (nakl) and translating (terceme) European classical works. In other words, imitation (taklid) came up in
connection with translation (*terceme*) in the discourse of the debate. It appeared as part of Ottoman translation (*terceme*) practices used in conveying from the source to the target language.

It may therefore be concluded that *terceme*, *nakl* and *taklid* represented primary notions indicating particular ways of Ottoman translation practices in the late nineteenth century. Necib Asım’s disapproval of imitation (Necib Asım 1897/1313) seems to indicate that in Ottoman culture there had been a tradition of imitation (*taklid*) and that many Ottoman writers/poets had formerly imitated various Arabic and Persian works which served as models. Muallim Naci’s attempt to create Ottoman tragedy as a new genre by imitating western classics is a good example that shows ways of translating from a foreign culture and literature. For instance, in his article titled “Müsabaka-i Kalemiyye İkram-ı Aklâm”, Ahmed Midhat Efendi reports presumably Naci’s own words on such an attempt. He writes:

Sir! I wrote those works but could not make them similar to the classics. It is possible to imitate Voltaire’s *Henriade* because it was a kind of mirror for princes. But it will not be possible to imitate the tragedies of Racine and Corneille (Ahmed Midhat 1897a/1313).

[Hazret! Bunları yazdım ama yine klâşiklere benzetemedim. Volter’ın *Henriyat’ı* taklid mümkündür. Çünkü bir nevi şehnamedir. Fakat Rasin’ın Korneyl’in trajedilerini taklid mümkün olamayacak (Ahmed Midhat 1897a/1313).]

This statement indicates that French works were taken as models for producing Ottoman texts via certain practices including *imitation*. What is significant is that *taklid* existed as a “translation-bound concept” or, an Ottoman “culture-specific concept of translation” (Paker 2002a: 120-127). Hence, the notion of imitation reminds us that Ottoman literary modernization cannot be grasped without paying special attention to “culture-bound concepts of translation”.

3.1.3. Translation as Nazire (Emulation) in Prose

In the light of Toury’s translation postulates (Toury 1995: 33), one can safely consider that the transfer relationship between a target text and its ‘assumed’ source may also involve a “cross-textual” relationship. In other words, on the basis of the transfer postulate, it may be inferred that one can make use of structural and/or narrative elements of the original in the translational relationship with the source. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s comments on the plot of his two novels Haydut Montari (1887-1888/1305) and Hasan Mellah (1874-1875/1291), both of which have been identified as indigenous works (see Koz 2002; Esen 1999) reveal that Ahmed Midhat Efendi tended to forge cross-textual relationships with his French originals:

The plot of Hasan Mellah was not as extensive as the plot of Le Comte de Monte-Cristo. Neither is the plot of this novel, Haydut Montari, as extensive as the plot of the novel Simon et Marie which we have emulated (Ahmed Midhat 1887-1888/1305: 3) (my italics).

[İftihâz-i naziresi ittihâz eyledigimiz (Simon ve Mari) romanının planı kadar vâsi degildir (Ahmed Midhat 1887-1888/1305: 3) (my italics).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s explanation indicates another translation-bound concept: nazire (emulation). Of course, in terms of Ottoman poetry, nazire conventionally meant producing a parallel, responsive or competitive verse composed in the same meter and rhyme as its source (Dilçin 1992: 269; Köksal 2003: 216-221). It also signifies a poetic genre which became prominent from the fifteenth century on (Paker 2002a: 120; Toska 2000: 298-299; Andrews 2002: 17-19). However, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s above explanation denotes that emulation

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7 For a comprehensive study on the concept of nazire (emulation) and its tradition within classical Turkish literature, see M. Fatih Köksal (2003).
(nazire or tanzir etmek) was also practiced in generating prose narratives in the late nineteenth century. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s explanations in his preface to Haydut Montari reveal that he not only translated but also emulated French writers and their works. He said:

We have followed many great European writers, for instance, Alexandre Dumas and his son, Octave Feuillet, Gaboriaux and even Paul de Kock. We have not only translated but also emulated their works, and won the appreciation of our respected readers with our industriousness in the art of the novel (Ahmed Midhat 1887-1888/1305: 4) (my italics).

[Biz ki gâh Aleksandır Düma’ya gâh oğłuna gâh Oktav Föyye’ye gâh Rişburg gâh Gaboryö hatta Pol dö Kok’a varıncaya kadar birçok Avrupalı eazma peyrev ola ola ve eserlerini gâh terceme ve gâh tanzir ede ede romancılık sanatındaki çalıșkanlıgiumızı karilerimiz efendilerimize epeyce beğendirmișiz (Ahmed Midhat 1887-1888/1305: 4) (my italics).]

Thus, there existed certain texts in the domain of fiction and drama as well as in poetry identified as nazire (emulation), which possessed intertextual relationships with their French sources. Abdülhak Hamid [Tarhan]’s play in verse will be discussed in section 3.2.3.

3.2. Terceme Strategies in Translating Poetry

In this section, I will examine several verse translations from French poetry. I have taken these translations from İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı’s Müntehabat-i Teracim-i Meşahir (1889-1890/1307), from Mecmua-i Lisan, a magazine published in 46 issues between 1896 and 1898 and from Mehmed Ata’s Terceme Mecmuası (1911/1329). I will present the translations in comparison with their originals through a descriptive analysis. My main focus will be on terms and concepts of translation (terceme) if available in the paratext. On the basis of the data in my analysis, I claim
that *terceme* (translation) and *iktabas* (borrowing) are related concepts and *terceme* (translation) may also be practiced by means of *iktabas* (borrowing).

### 3.2.1. Translation as İktibasen Terceme (Translation by Means of Borrowing)

I would first like to examine two translations published in *Mecmua-i Lisan* (Language Magazine) in which many translations of proverbs and maxims of French writers/thinkers were published in a series titled “Cümel-i hikemiyye, durûb-ı emsâl” (Philosophical Sentences and Proverbs). The translations that I will examine were presented in this magazine under a heading that indicated the translator’s strategy, one of which was identified as “iktibasen terceme” (translation by means of borrowing) and the other as “aynen terceme” (translation as “the same”). Both were rendered from Boileau’s *Art Poetique* by Ispartalı Mustafa Hakkı, known as a translator of poetry.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: Mecmua-i Lisan, no.42, pp. 206</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target Text (TT)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle: “İktibasen tercemesi”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] Kendini satmak üzere her ebleh,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It can be seen that Ispartalı Mustafa Hakkı translated from the French verse by means of borrowing (*iktabas*), but explicitly identified his text as a translation (*terceme*). Thus the concept of *iktabas* (borrowing) is translation-bound, hence emerges as a *terceme* practice.
As a strategy of translation, *iktibas* (borrowing) was used by Ispartalı Mustafa Hakkı to explain the sense of the original poem in which fawning and flattery were criticized. It is noteworthy that the TT appears as an expanded version which includes six lines in comparison with its source that has only one. We can see that the translator intended to give additional information in lines 3-6 by *commenting* and *expanding* the sense of the original. When analyzed in terms of one-to-one linguistic equivalence, it is obvious that lines 1 and 2 have an actual correspondence to the ST material:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic elements in TT (line 1-2)</th>
<th>Linguistic elements in ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>her ebleh</td>
<td>un sot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulur</td>
<td>trouve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>her dem</td>
<td>toujours</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>daha bir eblehan</td>
<td>un plus sot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kendini satmak üzere</td>
<td>qui l’admire</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, Mustafa Hakkı’s additions of lines 3-6 have zero correspondence with the original. This reveals, on the one hand, that in *iktibas* (borrowing) there may also exist some non-translational or irrelevant matrix in the TT in terms of linguistic equivalence (Toury 1980: 63-70; 1995: 61, 85, 93). On the other hand, in such a matrix, e.g. in lines 3-6, there evidently appears a *contextual correspondence* in which the ST information is explicated within another matrix in the TT. Consequently, this reveals that a borrowing (*iktibas*) may share certain features with its source text in terms of cross-contextual transfer that can be conceptualized as *thematic import* as well as cross-linguistic transfer.
3.2.2. Translation as Aynen Terceme (Translation as the Same)

Now, I would like to present another verse translation by Mustafa Hakki which provides clues for understanding the notion of *aynen terceme* (translating as the same).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reference: Mecmua-i Lisan, no.42, pp. 206</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target Text (TT)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title: “Cümel-i hikemiyye, durûb-i emsâl”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subtitle: “Aynen tercemesi”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[1] Namus, uçurum-ı cezîredir bir,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[2] Sarp öyle sevâhili kayalîk,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[3] Bir kere çikan o yerden artıq,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Source Text (ST)</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[1] L’honneur est comme une île escarpée et sans bords,</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The translation (*terceme*) was identified by Mustafa Hakki in the subtitle as the literal translation (*aynen terceme*) of its source. However, it is obvious that the translation has four lines in comparison with its original that has only two. Mustafa Hakki translated the first and second lines of the original by adding a clause to each, thus producing four lines in his translation, which rhymed *abba*. The word “*kayalîk*” (rocky place) in line 2 in his translation has zero-correspondence to the ST. The word “*namus*” (honour), i.e. the subject of the first line of the translation, is identified as “a cliff of an island” (“uçurum-ı cezîre”), whereas in the original it is identified as “an island with cliffs and no borders” (une île escarpée et sans bords). Obviously, certain “*shifts*” (Popovič 1970: 79-85) that have taken place indicate that the translator deviated from correspondence in terms of form (cf. “textual equivalence” in Catford 1965: 27) and that translating as the same (*aynen terceme*) was violated at a hypothetical level. So why was this text identified by Mustafa Hakki as ‘translation as the same’ (*aynen terceme*)? One possible explanation can be that, in contrast to the translation examined in the previous section, in the TT there is no explanatory or
additional matrix which results in non-translation or irrelevant segments in terms of linguistic correspondence.

I will now examine an even more interesting case that sheds light on the concept of translation as the same (aynen terceme): Muallim Naci’s pair of translations of Sully Prudhomme’s “Les Yeux”, both of which are titled “Gözler” (Eyes). Muallim Naci produced two texts from one ST, identifying one as literal (aynen terceme) and the other as versified [translation] (nazmen). “Gözler” first appeared in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* in 1883 (Kolcu 1999b: 17) and later it was also published in *Atespare* by Muallim Naci, in *Müntehabat-ı Teracim-i Meşahir* by İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı, in *Mecmua-i Lisan* and in *Terceme Mecmuası* by Mehmed Ata.

In *Terceme Mecmuası*, Naci’s two translations of Prudhomme’s “Les Yeux” were published together (Mehmed Ata 1911/1329: 40-43). The version that was identified as aynen terceme (translation as the same) was only published in *Terceme Mecmuası*, implies that it was the versified translation (nazmen) that circulated more frequently and was known as the more popular version of “Les Yeux”. The original poem consists of 5 stanzas, in which the rhyme scheme is *abab, cdcd, efef*. Below, I will present the first stanza of the original and Muallim Naci’s two different translations marked as TT1 and TT2.
In his two translations, Muallim Naci translated all five stanzas of the original. In TT1, identified as aynen terceme (translation as the same), Muallim Naci preserves the number of the stanzas in the original but in the last stanza he provides two options presented in parentheses. As seen above, the literal version was translated in free meter and has nearly one-to-one correspondence to the ST elements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements in TT1</th>
<th>Their correspondence in ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mâî yahûd siyâh [blue or black]</td>
<td>bleus ou noirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hepsi sevilmiş [all loved]</td>
<td>tous aimé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hepsi güzel [all beautiful]</td>
<td>tous beaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-hisâb gözler [uncountable eyes]</td>
<td>des yeux sans nombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>şafâki görmüşlerdir [have seen daybreak]</td>
<td>ont vu l’aurore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umuk-i mekâbirde [in the tomb]</td>
<td>au fond des tombeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>onlar uyumaktadırlar [they are sleeping]</td>
<td>Ils dormant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>güneş ise [and the sun]</td>
<td>et le soleil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hâlâ doğmaktadırr [still rising]</td>
<td>se lève encore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, as the second version Naci proposed a versified translation in aruz meter “mefûlü-fâilâtü-mefâîlü-fâilün” (--- / --- / --- / ---) i.e. a traditional Arabic meter commonly used in classical Turkish poetry. What is significant in the TT2 here is that Muallim Naci did not intend to follow a one-to-one correspondence to the
original. Instead, he seems to have focused on *rewording* the theme as well as the images of stanzas in the original and made some optional shifts. Thus his versified translation appears to be an *intra-lingual “rewriting”* of his literal translation (Lefevere 1985: 233), in other words, a translation that fits the conventions of Ottoman *Divan* (court) poetry. That must have been the reason why this versified translation had a greater circulation on the literary market.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements in TT2</th>
<th>Their references in ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mâî, siyâh [blue, black]</td>
<td>bleus ou noirs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>tous aimé tous beaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bir nice sevdâ-fezâ uyûn [many eyes making love increased]</td>
<td>des yeux sans nombre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etniş şaфak safâsımı şevk-äver-i derûn [daybreak made its pleasure as bringing deep enthusiasm]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>ont vu l’aurore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toprak içinde şimdi [now under the soil]</td>
<td>au fond des tombeaux</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o çeşmân-i dil-fûrûz [eyes making heart shine]</td>
<td>Ils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>dormant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hurşûd [the sun]</td>
<td>et le soleil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>zîver-i ufuk olmaktadır henûz [yet becoming as adorning the horizon]</td>
<td>se lève encore</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above table also reveals that Muallim Naci produced new expressions with respect to the original while he was producing his versified translation. In this sense, he tended to show his own artistic talents as a poet by generating a much more “domesticated” (Venuti 1995: 19; 1998: 242) version that corresponded to the traditional poetic conventions. However, his additions or omissions seem to have zero-correspondence to the ST in terms of linguistic equivalence.

### 3.2.3. Translation as Nazire/Tanzir (Emulation) in Poetry

In this section, I will first examine Abdülhak Hamid’s *Nesteren*, an emulation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*, then Recaizede Mahmud Ekrem’s emulation (i.e. “Yad Et”) of Alfred de Musset’s poem “Rappele-toi” as well as Nigar Binti Osman’s translation (i.e. “Tahattur Et”) of the same original.
Abdülhak Hamid [Tarhan], prominent post-Tanzimat poet and diplomat, identified his *Nesteren* (1878) as *nazire* ( emulation) i.e. an emulation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*. In the preface “Bir İhtar” (A Notice), he identified his work as a “pure-Turkish-rhymed tragedy” (*facia*) which was not only associated with western and Arabic meter but also “written” on the basis of western poetic forms. He wrote:

*Nesteren* was written in Paris. Its story is about the struggle with one’s self and conscience. At the same time, it is an emulation of the verse tragedy which is well-known in Europe as *Le Cid* by Corneille, the great French poet. In other words, *Nesteren* may be an emulation of *Le Cid* but the latter is not the same as *Nesteren*. The whole difference between them can be understood by those people who read both.

Namık Kemal’s review of *Nesteren* shows that Hamid did, in fact, make use of the textual-narrative elements of Corneille’s *Le Cid*. In other words, Kemal’s assessments point out how Hamid in his work established a translational relationship with the original. Namık Kemal, who was given a copy of *Nesteren* to review, criticized Hamid on the grounds that he depicted a duel that resulted from a slap on the face as a valid (“*cari göstermek*”) and acceptable eastern custom, whereas it was in fact a western one (see Enginün 1994: 406). In his memoirs, Abdülhak Hamid again speaks of his process of writing *Nesteren*:

...this work was a reflection/echo of the play *Le Cid* by Corneille, a famous French poet. But it is neither the same reflection nor the inverse reflection of
it, but a distant shadow. It is not Le Cid's Turkish version. It is somewhat closer to Le Cid in terms of the story, but distant from it in terms of descriptions (Enginün 1994: 405-406).


It is interesting that Hamid tends to define nazire as a mode of producing a reflected text (in’ikâs) without referring to translation as nazire (emulation) even though his text was obviously based on a French source. What is noteworthy in Hamid's discourse is that he clearly regards nazire/tanzir (emulation) as translational because he perceives this mode as a transfer strategy. This also indicates that, in his view, the receiving culture may adopt many cultural, linguistic or textual properties from the original source and use them in its own environment for the purpose of nazire. Therefore I claim that nazire signifies a “culture-specific concept” of Ottoman translation practice not only in earlier Ottoman literature (cf. Paker 2002a: 123-128) but also in the late nineteenth century. Whether or not the receiving culture names or identifies such an appropriation as nazire/tanzir (emulation), it is obvious that there exists a translational relationship between the emulation and its original.

“Yad Et” (Remember) by Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem, who emulated Alfred de Musset’s “Rappele-toi”, needs to be examined in connection with a translation (terceme) of the same original, known as “Tahattur Et” (Remember), which was translated by Nigâr Binti Osman, a woman poet and translator. In Müntehabat-i Teracim-i Meşahir (Selections from Famous Translations), one finds the original, the

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8 The translation (terceme) in the form of a prose poem first appeared in Efsüs in 1886-1887/1304, a collection of the works of Nigâr Binti Osman.
translation (terceme) and the emulation (tanzir), all of which were published together (İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı [1889-1890]/1307: 88-90).

The compilers (“muharrir ve mürettibleri”) of this work provided a note about the translation and emulation in the section titled “Nigâr Hanım”. Here, they also presented Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem’s emulation under the title “Ekrem Beyefendi Hazretlerinin Tanzirleri” (The emulation by Ekrem Beyefendi) (ibid.). They write:

The poem titled “Remember” (Rappelle-toi) by Alfred de Musset, famous for his fine and simple style among French poets, was emulated by Ekrem Beyefendi, the great master, who reveals the literary value of this original poem. It was also translated by Nigâr Hanım in a beautiful style that would fill even the best translators with envy (İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı [1889-1890]/1307: 88-90).


The original poem was consisted of three sections. Although Nigâr Hanım preserved the number of sections in her translation, there were six sections in Recaizade’s emulation. The above quotation shows that, first of all, Alfred de Musset’s “Rappele-toi” was not only translated but also emulated, which indicates two related practices of translation (terceme). This suggests, interestingly, that French poetry, similar to that in Arabic and Persian, was emulated in the Ottoman literary system in the late nineteenth century. In his emulation, Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem focused on “remembering”, which is the essential theme of the original poem, as its title indicates. His poem is twice as long as the original and Nigâr Hanım’s
translation. For instance, Recaizade expanded his emulation to include 6 segments contrary to the original and its translation by Nigâr Binti Osman, both of which have 3 segments. It can also be seen that he took certain images from the original and placed them in a new context which is also related to the theme of “remembering”. Therefore, his emulation seems to be another poem which he generated on the basis of a French source. The table below shows elements similar to both the translation and emulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem’s <em>Nazire</em></th>
<th>Nigâr Binti Osman’s (<em>terceme</em>) Prose Translation</th>
<th>Elements in ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leyl-i sükûn-nüma</td>
<td>leyl-i mütefekkir [pensive night]</td>
<td>la nuit pensive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>olur gazelhân</td>
<td>zemzeme-hân olacaktr [murmuring voice]</td>
<td>murmurer une voix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yad et beni o zamanda</td>
<td>tahattur et o demde ki [remember when]</td>
<td>rappelle-toi quand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalb-i refik-i nâtüvânla</td>
<td>bu kalb-i nevmid [despairing heart]</td>
<td>ce cœur désespéré</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These points indicate that emulation (*nazire*) could contain within it certain translational relationships to the source text. It could contain *imported* themes, figures and/or motifs, all of which would serve to introduce images from a foreign source. What is important in this case is that *nazire* emerges in connection with translation (*terceme*) and was practiced as part of the Ottoman *terceme* tradition. Thus, it too appears as a “culture-bound concept” of translation (*terceme*) in the late nineteenth century (cf. Paker 2002a: 123-128).

### 3.3. Functions Attributed to Translations (*Terceme*) in the Late Nineteenth Century Ottoman Discourse

In the late nineteenth century, discourses on literary translation were engaged mainly with the question of what had to be expected in translating from Europe. Various overt and covert statements on translation indicate that the cultural functions of translation seemed to be the central issue. Generally speaking, literary figures tended
to think that translation (*terceme*) contributed much to the progress of Ottoman culture and literature where it could fulfil a number of useful functions. In this period, translation was assumed to be a means of introducing new genres and shaping new literary products. Furthermore, translation was attributed a function by which it would not only improve Ottoman culture but also develop the target language which had not yet been standardized.

### 3.3.1. A Need for Translating from the West: Translation and Progress

During the late nineteenth century, it can be observed that translation was indeed a distinct subject in the Ottoman interculture. The “classics debate” indicates that Ottoman literary as well as non-literary agents who expressed their views on translation focused essentially on the significance of translating European literary works into Ottoman Turkish. They held both explicitly and implicitly that translation was an instrument for Ottoman cultural and literary development (*terakki*) from the Tanzimat period onwards. The most noticeable idea on translation in this period seems to be the need for translating from the West and its decidedly formative roles on Ottoman cultural and literary life.

Kemal Paşazade Saïd’s perception of translation (*terceme*) is particularly illuminating. Saïd was a teacher of translation, of constitutional law as well as rhetoric at the *Mekteb-i Sultani* and *Mekteb-i Mülkiye* (School of Political Science). He also wrote for the newspaper *Vakit*. As a well-known and authoritative translator of the time, Kemal Paşazade Saïd defined translation (*terceme*) in its relation to the cultural context in the preface he wrote to *Müntehabat-ı Teracim-i Meşahir* (Selections from Famous Translations) by İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakki. In the
preface, he offered a very noteworthy definition of translation (*terceme*), foregrounding its innovative role in Ottoman socio-cultural progress from the *Tanzimat* period onwards:

It is translation that conveys to us the progress of the West in its various aspects. It is translation that provides military knowledge for our brave soldiers who terrified the world with their swords. It is translation that makes for improvement in education and serves the progress of our civilization from day to day. It is translation that informs our people about the innovations which appear every day through telegraphs conveyed into our language. It is translation that reorganizes the conditions in Ottoman lands as well as in several bodies of the state by disseminating scientific methods. Ninety percent of the news and information in the newspapers is provided by translations, thus it is translation that makes our people interested in political, scientific and technical issues (([Kemal Paşazade] Saïd's preface in İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı 1889-1890/1307: 3)).

Saïd’s definition sheds light on the context of how translation (*terceme*) contributed to Ottoman society and served as a tool for Ottoman institutional and cultural modernization. His explanations indicate that Ottoman society met its needs through the import of both western progress and new ideas. His statements draw attention particularly to those newspapers and journals which promoted translation. According to Kemal Paşazade Saïd, such publications played pivotal roles not only in providing Ottomans with reading materials but also in making western science and culture known to Ottoman readers. Hence, in his discourse, from the *Tanzimat* period
onwards translation (*terceme*) was attributed certain roles which were closely associated with the notion of *terakki* (progress). His views also indicate that the position of translations from the West was “primary” (Even-Zohar 1990b: 21) in a period of about thirty or forty years after the first translational contact with European cultures and literatures in the *Tanzimat* Period.

Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s discourse is also a good example illuminating how translation was related to the notion of *terakki* in literature. He called attention to the translation of classical works from the West as a means of acquiring European literary development. In his preface to *Sid’in Hulâsasi* (Summary Translation of *Le Cid*), he wrote:

People who are not aware of these classical works cannot reach the great progress of Europe (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 6).


In the preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s focus was on transferring European classics and accepting them as models (*meşk*) to produce Ottoman texts comparable to those of Europe. This notion also seems to be significant in terms of his understanding of the translational contact with western literatures. Ahmed Midhat Efendi tended to reiterate the view that European texts could also be appropriated. His notion of *meşk* (model) indicates that he had a particular approach to translating (*terceme*) from European literatures by means of a number of strategies. But what is significant is his perception of Europe as a source for importing new literary products into the Ottoman interculture. He even suggested that the great works of Europe
needed to be accepted and loved as literary models for Ottoman progress in literature. He wrote:

European classics! Europe, which has reached the highest stage of progress by experimenting with everything for three or four centuries, is a model for us at all levels of material beauty. Literary classics are also the works of great success that Europe is extremely proud of, and that need to be loved and taken as model by us. Is it right that these works should be unknown to us? (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 4-5).


Generally speaking, the idea of taking European works as models reminds us that there might have emerged an a priori discourse on the need for translating foreign works for the benefit of target readers. Views in the “classics debate” point out that agents participating in the debate obviously shared the need for translating the great European works. It is noteworthy that they also focused on the pragmatic benefits to be gained from translating such works. Cenab Şahabeddin, for instance, stated that translating European texts would be beneficial in developing the moral values of Ottoman readers. In his article “Klâsikler Meselesi” (The Classics Problem) he wrote:

The translation and study of classical works are, in fact, extremely beneficial. These works show us the moral progress and spiritual struggle of mankind and hence they educate us (Cenab Şahabeddin 1897/1313: 1004).

[Vakıa klâsik eserlerin terceme ve mütalâası pek müfSad olur, zira onlar bize heyet-i beşeriyyenin terakkiyat-ı ahlâkiyyesini, mücadelat-ı kalbiyyesini ibraz ve talim eder (Cenab Şahabeddin 1897/1313: 1004).]
According to Cenab Şahabeddin, the ideas of western writers as well as the intellectual experience in European culture would only be grasped through translations. This is why he supported translating western classical works and strongly rejected imitating them. On the one hand, Cenab Şahabeddin seems to have opposed Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s notion of meşk and the strategy he offered in translating works from western literature. On the other hand, he agreed with Ahmed Midhat Efendi in expecting that translations from the West would serve Ottoman cultural and literary progress.

It is also important to note that there were certain views which foregrounded translating rather than producing indigenous (telif) works. Yusuf Neyyir, translator of Graziella by Lamartine, emphasized in the late 1870s the very necessity of translating rather than generating indigenous works. In the preface (“Mukaddeme”) to his translation, he stated that Ottomans had to translate until they reached an adequate level so as to benefit from the European scientific and cultural heritage (“servet-i muktesebe-i ilmiyye):

We need to concentrate on producing translations rather than indigenous works until we compensate for the lack of education and improve our knowledge to such an adequate level (Yusuf Neyyir (trans.) 1878-1879/1296: 10).

[...nakâyıs-ı esbâb-ı tahsili ikmâl ve bu suretle vukuf ve malûmatımızı bir nokta-i kifaye eye isal edincey kadar, teliften ziyade terceme cihetine sarf-ı efkâr ve ıktidar etmek lâzım gelir (Yusuf Neyyir (trans.) 1878-1879/1296: 10).]

It is evident that Yusuf Neyyir appreciated Europe as a civilized community whose development in the sciences and arts had materialized (“maarif ve medeniyyeti bir suret-i muntazamada istikrar ve mûkemelen irae-i âsâr etmiş bir heyet-i medeniyyye” (Yusuf Neyyir (trans.) 1878-1879/1296: 10). He considered that
Ottoman society could satisfy its own essential needs as well as improve its sciences and arts through translating from the West.

Necib Asım, philologist and writer, also pointed out the importance of translation (terceme) in his Kitap (The Book) which was published in 1893-1894/1311. He wrote:

Conveying a book in one language to another is a beneficial and even a necessary service (Necib Asım 1893-1894/1311: 171).

[Bir lisanda bulunan bir kitabı diğerine nakletmek, faydalı ve hatta elzem bir hizmettir (Necib Asım 1893-1894/1311: 171).]

He drew attention to translation, devoting an entire chapter to it, titled “Terceme” (Translation), in his Kitap. A few years later, he re-emphasized the benefits of translating from other languages in his contribution to the “classics debate” entitled “Klâsikler” (The Classics):

It is quite harmful to imitate old works but extremely beneficial and necessary to study and translate them... Trying to translate closer to the originals has introduced virgin images to the language. Thus the language has been expanded (Necib Asım 1897/1313: 979).

[Âsâr-ı eslâfı taklid ne kadar muzır ise tedkik ve terceme de fevkalâde müfîd ve elzemdir... Hatta bu tercemelerin asla takribine çalışmak suretiyle lisana bikr-i mazmunlar girmiş, vüs’at gelmiştir (Necib Asım 1897/1313: 979).]

Even though Necib Asım objected to imitating, he established a certain connection between translation (terceme) and the notion of progress. He also emphasized the functions of translations (terceme) and argued that translations had played important roles not only in the development of the target language but also in the enrichment of the “Ottoman library”. In his second article in the debate titled “Bizde Klâsik Yok mu?” (Don’t We Have Any Classics?), he wrote:
These issues, which will undoubtedly affect the improvement of our language and increase the number of Ottoman works, make all literati happy (Asım 1897b/1313: 977).

[Bahusus lisanımızın tevessüüne, kütüphane-i Osmanlıyemizin genişlemesine pek büyük tesiirat olacağından ıstîbah edilmemeck lâzım gelen şu bahisler, cümle muhibban-i maarifeti mesrûr ve mübtehic eder (Asım 1897b/1313: 977).]

Necib Asım had a favourable view of translation and appreciated its benefits, emphasizing that translation would serve in developing Turkish. He encouraged translators to use intelligible Turkish. In fact, Asım had called attention to the problem of intelligibility in translation since 1893-1894 i.e. the year Kitap was published. He argued that “translation should be clear and useful” (“Tercemenin vazîh, sehlü’l-istifade edilir olması şarttır”) (Necib Asım 1893-1894/1311: 172). Of course, his attitude towards the linguistic quality of translations seems to have stemmed from the movements for plain Turkish which had begun by that time.9

In a similar vein, Şemseddin Sami, novelist, journalist, translator and lexicographer, argued that word-for-word translation (harfiyên terceme) would lead to the purification of Turkish rather than its distortion. In the preface titled “İfade-i Mütercim” (Translator’s Statement) to his famous translation in 1884-1885 of Robinson Crusoe10 by Daniel Defoe, he claimed that Turkish would not only be made plain but also more beautiful by translating (terceme) from European languages. He wrote:

A great difference would be achieved by using clear expressions and short sentences, and by making statements closer to spoken language, thus deviating from the elaborate style of writing. In this way, our language would become more simple and beautiful (Şemseddin Sami 1884-1885/1302: 3).

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9 For a detailed examination of the movements for plain Turkish from the Tanzimat period onwards, see Leven ([1949] 1972) and Öksüz (1995).
10 On the title page, below the title Roberson [in Turkish transcription], it was noted that the novel was translated word-for-word from French (“Fransızcadan harfiyên terceme olunmuştur”).
Regarding Asım’s and Sami’s discourses on the use of Turkish in translation, it would not be wrong to say that translation (*terceme*) was an important issue discussed in connection with the target language. In other words, it was an issue that involved political, cultural, linguistic and literary trends of the Ottoman society in the late nineteenth century.

Şemseddin Sami also questioned lacks and gaps in Ottoman literature with respect to European literature in his article titled “ Şiir ve Edebiyattaki Teceddûd-i Ahîrimiz” (Our Recent Innovations in Poetry and Literature) (Şemseddin Sami 1898/1314). Sami’s article was written in 1898, following a very significant literary dispute known as the “debate on Decadents” in 1897.\(^{11}\) He not only compared the current position of Ottoman classical literature with its European counterparts, but also looked critically at Ottoman cultural and literary progress, including the question of imitation that the “New Literature” group was accused of. He stated that Europeans were much more developed than Ottomans in technical, cultural and literary matters and complained about the lack of “works in our language, comparable to western works in terms of style and content, which could be read with pleasure by the people with taste” (...lisânımızda garb âsârına mümasil ve zevk-i

\(^{11}\) The year 1897 witnessed two literary debates: the first on “the Decadents”, the second on “the Classics”. Sami’s article was a response to those who attacked the New Literature i.e. *edebiyat-ı cedide* group. Opponents had accused the New Literature front of imitating French literature and had argued that the *edebiyat-ı cedide* was foreign to the Ottoman literary tradition. They criticized not only the foreign content and forms adapted from French literature but also the unusual style they derived from breaking conventional rules of the current language. For the “debate on Decadents”, see Emil (1959) and Paker (2005a).
Selim ve hüsn-i tabiât ashâbı tarafından kemâl-i telezzüzle okunur âsâr...) (ibid.).

Sami appreciated the efforts of the New Literature group since they took European literary works as models but avoided imitating them ("Avrupa âsâr-ı ebediyesine tebaiyet ve intisal etmekte beraber, taklidten inhiraz").

What is significant in Sami’s article is his rationale, based on a belief in European literary progress. He argued that western cultures had achieved progress through translating (nakl ve terceme) the great works of the East into their languages. Sami suggested filling in the gaps by benefiting from (müstefid olmak) western knowledge and literature. In summary, the examples of discourse presented above reveal that the functions attributed to translation for the enrichment of Ottoman culture, language and literature were still important issues at the turn of the twentieth century.

3.3.2. Norms in Selecting Source Texts: Suitability to Moral Values

Ahmed Münif, translator of the first detective novel in Ottoman Turkish (Üyepazarcı 1997: 71), expressed interesting views concerning his expectation from Paris Facialar, his translation in 1880-1881/1298 of Ponson du Terrail’s Les Drames de Paris. In the preface titled “İfade-i Mahsusa” (Special Statement), he emphasized that he translated a novel that would not only sharpen moral values but also instruct the readers:

It was a humane motivation that forced me to translate this novel, the first part of which I succeeded in publishing. It contains many fine subjects and philosophical considerations that will instruct humankind and elevate morals (Ahmed Münif (trans.) 1880-1881/1298).
Like Ahmed Münif, Yusuf Neyyir too had emphasized the significance of moral values in translating from the West, just a few years before Münif’s translation of *Les Drames de Paris* appeared. In his preface to his translation of Lamartine’s *Graziella*, Neyyir underlined the importance of suitability to the socio-cultural values of the target culture and proposed certain norms that needed to be followed in the selection of a European text for translation. He wrote:

One or perhaps the most important of the requirements in the selection of books for translation is their appropriateness in terms of intellectual and wisdom and, in particular, our morals and customs. Otherwise, translating a book which does not meet such conditions would bring about harm not benefit. Thus utmost attention must be paid to the selection of books [for translation] (Yusuf Neyyir (trans.) 1878-1879/1296): 11-12) (my italics).

Not only Ahmed Münif’s but also Yusuf Neyyir’s views indicate that for some writers and/or translators morality was an important issue that was regarded as a “preliminary norm” in translation (Toury 1995: 58-60). It seems interesting that they assumed ethics -even if imported from the West via translations- to be a means to serve Ottoman cultural and literary progress. In this sense, Yusuf Neyyir argued that one of the major tasks of literature was clearly to elevate Ottoman morals:

If it is unity that preserves the civilization of a nation, it is certainly morals that provide its people with happiness. If it is the idea of unity that keeps the people surviving as a nation, it is morals again that support this idea of unity... If one of the essential tasks of literature is to provide moral
instruction, it deserves a great deal of attention... It is obvious that this is necessary for every society (Yusuf Neyyir (trans.) 1878-1879/1296): 2-4).

[Bir kavmin daye-i medeniyyeti ittifak ise sermaye-i saadeti de ahlâktır. Bir kavmin kavmiyyetini muhafaza eden fikr-i asabiyyet ise asabiyyet-i fıkri veren de ahlâktır... Ulûm-ı edebiyyenin vazife-i esasiyesinden biri de ahlâk dersi vermek olmasına göre bu ilme ne kadar uluvviyet isnad olunsa yerı var ve bunun lüzum ve vücubsu... her cemiyet-i beşertyyeye için bedîhi ve derkârdır (Yusuf Neyyir (trans.) 1878-1879/1296): 2-4).

Neyyir’s arguments point to some essential cultural norms that he expected to be adopted in the process of translation. One of the articles published in the newspaper Hayal in 1874 clearly illustrates such a cultural expectation. In the article titled “Kitap Modası” (The Book Trend), one can find important views on translating European novels into Turkish. Here, it is emphasized that the case of scientific and literary progress in the Ottoman Empire calls for extensive translation from the West. It is also recommended that certain norms be adopted when selecting source books for translation for the benefit of Ottoman readers:

We should not translate European novels about love and relationships. But this does not mean that we do not need translations. It is clear that we need translations of both scientific and technical works and also of novels. However, the novels that we need to have translated are not the ones we have today, but those about history, science and morality... Those are what we have a need for. There is no necessity for [the translations] of the works we have mentioned in the first group. If we translate such novels, we make a mistake. French morals are different from those of Muslims. Two thirds of the moral values accepted in French culture would perhaps be regarded as harmful in our culture. Thus it is wrong to translate such works. Before this trend started, our stories were entirely of Persian style, but they stirred up worse feelings than current translations. Unfortunately, their harm is now being replaced by French morals [today] (Hayal, January 24, 1874 in [Özön] [1930] 1934: 334-335).

[Avrupalıların aşk ve alâka üzerine yazdıkları hikâyeleri terceme etmemeliyiz. Maamâfih tercemeyle ihtiyacımız yoktur demek istediğimiz anlaşılması. Ulûm ve fûnûn için ihtiyacımız gün gibi aşkâr olup ondan sarf-1 nazara hikâyeye tercemesine de muhtacız. Fakat tercemesine muhtac olduğumuz hikâyeler şimdiki halde terceme olunanlar gibi olmayıp tarih ve ilme ve alâka dair olanlardır... Biz tarih ve ilme ve alâka ait olan hikâyelerle muhtacız. Yoksa birinci kısmından olanlara muhtac olmadıkta başka tercemesinde hata etmiş oluruz. Fransız alâka başka, müslüman alâkî...]

başka. Onlarda muhassenattan madut olan ahlâkın belki de üçte ikisi bizde muzurdu. Bu halde böylelerini bizim terceme etmemiz abestir. Şu modadan evvel olan hikâyatımızın kâffesi Acemane şeyler olduğundan şimdiki tercemelerden daha fena hisler bırakmakta idi... Fakat teessüf olunur ki onların iras ettikleri fenalıkların mahalline Fransız ahlâkını yerleşmeye kесb-i istidat eyledi (Hayal, January 24, 1874 in [Özön] [1930] 1934: 334-335)\(^\text{12}\)

The significance of this articles lies in the fact that it points to a cultural hence epistemological distance between Christian and Muslim moral values and, even more importantly, customs and that during the 1870s there was a considerable emphasis on keeping the moral values of the Ottoman society free of European influence not only in the production of domestic literature but also of translated literature. Thus, it can be said that on the one hand, intercultural agents tried to modernize Ottoman culture and literature through translations from the West but, on the other hand, they attempted to preserve the ethical values of the receiving culture by drawing attention to certain norms.\(^\text{13}\)

In his significant work *Hikâye* (The Novel), which was serialized in *Hizmet* newspaper in 1887-1888 then published in book form in 1891-1892/1307,\(^\text{14}\) Halid Ziya [Uşaklıgil], an important *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* novelist and translator, approached translation from a different angle and considered what kind of novels needed to be translated for Ottoman readers. In his introduction “Mukaddime”, he wrote:

In this article, after providing a brief history of the novel, we will give information about the status, types and functions of the novel, and then we

\(^\text{12}\) For another version of this article in Latin transcription, see also Akbayar 1985: 450.

\(^\text{13}\) This point corresponds to fits the epistemological bases of the *Tanzimat* novel. In her illuminating work *Babalar ve Oğullar: Tanzimat Romanının Epistemolojik Temelleri* (Fathers and Sons: the Epistemological Bases of the Tanzimat Novel), Jale Parla examines the *Tanzimat* novel in terms of its cultural and epistemological aspects. She identifies the culture and literature of the *Tanzimat* period as *mülemma* which represents a problematic engagement with the West. She argues that what is problematic in Ottoman culture is not only a wish to modernize but also a wish to define certain boundaries to modernization. See Parla (1993): 9-21.

\(^\text{14}\) For the Latin transcription and parallel intralingual translation of *Hikâye* by Nur Gürani Arslan, see Uşaklıgil 1998.
will explain what kind of novels should be translated or written (Uşakılıgil 1998: 28-30).

After Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Halid Ziya was the second major contributor to the development of the Turkish novel and short story. As an advocate of the realistic approach in the novel (Evin 1983: 98), he was also a significant translator who rendered a number of stories from Finnish, Hebrew, Swedish, Russian and Sanskrit, (presumably from their French versions) which were published in *Hizmet, Mekteb* and *Servet-i Fünun*. In *Hikâye* (The Novel), Halid Ziya not only surveyed the novel as a genre in Ottoman literature but also reviewed western novels translated into Turkish since the beginnings of the literary *Tanzimat*. In his essay on translation, he evaluated the literature translated from the West with regard to a comparison he made between romanticism (*hayaliyyun*) and realism (*hakikiyyun*). He criticized romantic novels translated into Turkish in the late nineteenth century in terms of their lack of literary value and intellectual quality. He stated that his intention was to provide his readers with real life incidents rather than offer a fantastic and romantic representation of life. This idea underlies his suggestion that realist novels of the West should be translated into Turkish. His views show that romanticism and realism were among the significant topics of discussion on translation in the literature of the late nineteenth century. Thus, it can be perceived that debates on literary theories of

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15 For detailed information, see Halid Ziya’s six-volume memoir, *Kirk Yıl*, which was published between 1916 and 1969. He also collected several of his translated short stories in *Nâkil*, which was a four-volume anthology that contains 28 stories including some of his own. In *Nâkil*, he intended to reproduce accurately and faithfully the content and the characteristics of the original writers “to test and prove the flexibility and resourcefulness of Turkish as a literary medium” (Paker 1991: 29).
the time also had a concrete impact on the production of translated literature in
Ottoman culture at the time.

3.4. Strategies of Translation in Late Ottoman Discourse

In his article in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, Lawrence Venuti
defines translation strategy as “basic tasks of choosing the foreign text to be
translated and developing a method to translate it” (Venuti 1998: 240). “Developing
a method” seems to be meaningful in the case of the Ottoman practice of translation
(*terceme*) in the late nineteenth century. On the basis of Venuti’s definition, each
translation strategy seems to point to a translation method in the Ottoman case. Thus,
it would not be wrong to consider translation strategies as methods, each of which
indicates a particular text-type of translation (*terceme*). It is interesting that writers
and/or translators spoke of various types of Ottoman translation practices, ranging
from *harfiyyen* (literal), *aynen* (as the same) to *mealen* (sense-for-sense) and *tevsien*
(expanded). Other methods were also practiced, such as *hulâsa* (summary), *taklid*
imitation), *tanzir* (emulation) and *tahvil* (conversion). Hence, I claim that translation
strategies in Ottoman culture in that period were multiple and need to be considered
‘beyond binary’ terms in a range extending from fidelity to freedom.

In the following sections, the various strategies will be examined as they
manifest themselves in the discourse on translation. For the sake of clarity I will
present them in terms of *taxonomies*. 
3.4.1. Two-Term Taxonomy in the Discourse on Translation: *Aynen* (as the Same) and *Serbest* (Free)

In his work *Kitap* (*The Book*), Necib Asım pointed out that there should be two main ways of translating (*terceme*): as the same (*aynen*) and free (*serbest*). He stated that free translation (*serbest*) should be practiced mostly in translating scientific and technical works in order to grasp scientific knowledge and produce an intelligible text for the target readers. He wrote:

Translation is done in two ways. The first one is to translate freely, by which a translator conveys the meaning of a book the way s/he pleases. Translating scientific works in this way not only makes them intelligible but also takes a very short time. That is why many translators prefer this way. But literary works should be translated as the same i.e. identically. Therefore, those who want to translate literary works should be extremely proficient in both languages (Asım 1893/1311: 171-174).

It is evident that Necib Asım emphasized intelligibility, in other words a pragmatic purpose, as the primary goal in free translation. He indicated that, in the domain of science and technology, communication demanded free translations in Ottoman culture. In the literary domain, however, he emphasized a literal strategy (*aynen*) for translation. What is remarkable in his discourse on translating literature is his proposal of literalness as a norm to be adopted. Necib Asım criticized the fact that many translators conveyed (*nakl*) the writer’s ideas but not the figures of speech and thought. He writes:

At all times, translated works have been regarded as the other side of their originals. Translators have so far focused on conveying the ideas of the
original writer, disregarding the rhetorical figures of original literary works. As a result, translation appears to be almost derivation (Necib Asım 1893-1894/1311: 169).

[Öteden beri âsâr-ı mütercemeyle asıllarının ters yüzü nazaryla bakılarak, tercemedede aslin sanayi-i edebiyesinden sarf-ı nazara fıkır-i müellifin nakline riayet olunagelmıştır. Terceme şu suretle âdeta ihtira suretine girmiș olur (Necib Asım 1893-1894/1311: 169).]

Necib Asım seems to have discredited non-literal translation strategies which, for him, resulted in simple derivation (ihtira) in translation. In other words, he advocated fidelity as opposed to free translation in rendering literary works.

Şemseddin Sami was also an advocate of fidelity in translating literary texts. In his preface to his translation of Robenson, titled “İfade-i Mütercim” (Translator’s Statement), he explained what Toury would term the “initial norm” (Toury 1995: 56-57) that he followed in translating Daniel Defoe’s Robinson Crusoe:

My readers know that when I write I take care to write in plain language, and that when I translate I do my best not to deviate from the the original (Şemseddin Sami 1884-1885/1302: 3).

[Tenezzülen eserlerimi okuyanlarım malumudur ki yazarken birinci dikkat ettiği şey sade yazmak ve terceme ederen en ziyade öndëgişim şey aslından ayrılmamaktır (Şemseddin Sami 1884-1885/1302: 3).]

Like Şemseddin Sami, İsmail Hakkı, the post-Tanzimat translator, mentioned above, followed a literal strategy (aynen ve harfiyyen) in his translation of Raphael by Lamartine in 1896-1897/1314. Rather surprisingly, he apologized to his readers for his long and complex sentences in his translation. In the introduction, he wrote:

Some of my expressions have become rather complicated and long because it is necessary in translation to convey words and sentences of the original literally, as the same. For this reason if the reader does not read them carefully, s/he might conclude that they are meaningless (quoted from [Sevük] 1941: 230).
When it came to translating texts as literal (aynen, harfiyyen) or free (serbest), there also emerged certain historical connections between Ottoman and Arabic translators. The discourse of Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat, a military officer and significant Tanzimat playwright and translator, is a case in point. In his preface to Cevâhir-i çihâryâr ve emsâl-i kibâr (Jewels of the Four Caliphs and Great Proverbs), which includes his translations from Arabic and which was published in 1911-1912/1327 in a series of “Hazine-i Hikemiyyat” (Philosophical Treasure), Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat drew attention to two strategies of translation practiced by several Arabic translators. He stated that he had made use of the sense-for-sense (mealen) strategy which was described by Salahaddin-i Safdî, an Arabic savant and translator in the fourteenth century, in his commentary on Lamiyyetü'l-Âcem (printed in Cairo 1888/1305). As seen in Mehmed Rifat’s preface, Arabic translators had followed two kinds of strategy in translating (nakl ve terceme) Ancient Greek works into Arabic. Referring to Salahaddin-i Safdî’s statements, Mehmed Rifat comments:

There are two ways to convey and translate. The first is the way followed by Patrikzade Yohanna and Ibn Naimet al-Hamsi, in which synonyms of the Greek words and their correspondences in Arabic were found and written one by one. Thus sentences were conveyed word-for-word. The second is the way followed by Huneyn bin Ishak and Cevherî and by some others, in which they ignored similarities or differences between the words, studied sentence by sentence what they wanted to translate, then conveyed the sense, which they had grasped from the subject matter, into Arabic (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 8).
It is evident that Arabic translators performed both word-for-word and sense-for-sense translation (*nakl ve terceme*). Mehmed Rifat also stated that figures of thought and metaphors could not be transferred to the target language using a literal strategy. That is why he preferred sense-for-sense translation (*mealen*) and informed his readers that he did not translate word-for-word (*harfiyyen terceme ve aynen hall*) in his work:

As Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat, the humble officer, I hereby state that I wrote the texts in this collection by making use of the methods I mentioned in this summary [of Salahaddin-i Safdi’s views]. I also state that I refrained from performing a literal translation and from converting literally from verse to prose. I offer this explanation so that some of the translations will not be criticized because they are literal (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 12).

Mehmed Rifat’s discourse demonstrates that Arabic translators might have served as a guide not only for this particular translator but also for other Ottoman translators.

3.4.2. Three-Term Taxonomy in the Discourse on Translation: *Aynen* (as the Same), *Mealen* (Sense-for-sense) and *Tevsien* (Expanded)

In his work titled *Şöyle Boyle* (Somehow), which was published in 1884-1885/1302 and included translations mostly from French poetry, Muallim Naci referred to certain strategies, which he identified not only as the same (*aynen*) and sense-for-sense (*mealen*) but also as translating by way of expansion (*tevsien*). It seems quite

16 “Conversion” will be discussed in Section 3.4.4.
clear that Naci perceived each strategy as belonging to Ottoman translation (terceme) practices and drew attention to ‘expanded translation’ (tevsien) as a particular form. He wrote:

There are three types of translation, i.e. as the same, sense-for-sense, and expanded. Our artful translation belongs to the third type... If some expressions, which will not violate but adorn and explain the main intention [of the original], are added to translation of the second type, the method of translating leads to the third type (Nacı 1884-1885/1302: 98).  

Naci’s explanations for ‘expanded translation’ (tevsien) clearly indicates that he considered it to be a form of free translation in which the translator added expressions that would serve to explain and adorn the sense of the original. A noteworthy aspect of his classification of translation is his description of expanded renderings as terceme and his identification of such a strategy as part of the Ottoman practice of literary translation. In view of the above explanation, it is vital when examining translated texts from the Ottoman period to follow a broad conception of terceme as translation.

Like Muallim Naci, Saffet Nezihi, a post-Tanzimat translator, classified translation strategies in his article “Tercemelerimiz” (Our Translations) which appeared in the newspaper Malumat in 1902/1318. He identified three types of translation (terceme): ‘full conformity with the original’ (aslınatatamenmu tabık),

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17 Agâh Sırrı Levend also refers to “expanded translations” in his classification of four forms of terceme in Ottoman culture in his Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi. Starting off Levend’s classification and his discourse on translation, Paker offers an illuminating analysis of Levend’s conception of terceme and his distinction between Ottoman terceme and modern Turkish sense of çeviri. See Paker (2002a: 124-128).
‘sense-for-sense translation without being distant from the original’ (aslından tebaüd edilmeksizin mealen) and ‘sense-for-sense with expansions’ (mealen ve tafsilen). Recommending translators to follow one of these strategies, he also stated that each could have certain pitfalls in conveying (nakl) literary texts from western languages.

He wrote:

Our translators must accept one of these ways in order to convey any book into our language. However, there are faults and weaknesses of all three of them. Translating subtle points of meaning in a foreign language in the original style is an extremely difficult matter, almost impossible to perform successfully. You may be sure that it is very difficult to find an example which was entirely faithful to its original and in which the same beauty and clarity of its original was preserved. I can even say that, if they are examined, none of the examples to be found will be satisfactory (Saffet Nezihî 1902/1318).

3.4.3. Four-Term Taxonomy in the Discourse on Translation: Fidelity to Sanayi-i Lafziyye (Figures of Speech) and Maneviyye (Figures of Thoughts), Mealen (Sense-for-sense) and Taklid (Imitation)

In this section, I will discuss the four-term taxonomy in the discourse on translation, based on Necib Asım’s important article “Klässikler” (The Classics) which appeared in the course of the “classics debate” of 1897. A few years after he published Kitap (The Book) in 1893-1894/1311, Necip Asım identified four strategies or paths (tarik) in Turkish in his article which provides us with important data in understanding the Ottoman practice of translation. Drawing our attention to the strategies of Ottoman
translated-text production, this article also offers Asım’s perspectives on what should be “assumed” as translation (terceme) in the late nineteenth century. He wrote:

There are four paths in [translating into] Turkish. [1] The first is to keep both the figures of speech and figures of thoughts of the original as the same in translation... [2] The second is to keep the figures of thoughts of the original... [3] The third is the path, which is followed by some journalists and novelists today who read a page or an article and convey what they grasped as the sense. We can no longer identify this practice as translation. [4] The fourth path is that of imitation such as the classical Ottoman romance narratives, hamse [i.e. five mesnevis] and the first translation of Les Aventures de Télémaque. Some of these works might be considered classics in themselves but can not be taken into consideration here because they were not translations of the originals (Necib Asım 1897/1313).

As for the first path in translation, Asım drew attention to the strategies followed in the production of “Turkish” translations, particularly from Arabic and Persian. He referred to the translation of Makamat by Hariri, a twelve-century Arabic writer and linguist, as a typical example of aynen terceme (translating as the same) in which both the figures of speech and figures of thought of the original were entirely preserved in translating in Ottoman interculture. He writes:

In the past, Hariri’s Makamat was translated into Turkish but it was indeed easier to read the original rather than spend time to understand such a strange translation. Arabic words were entirely preserved in its translation, and only one or two Turkish words were injected among Arabic ones. Even though such a translation could be regarded as suitable and satisfactory by those who sell us Arabic and Persian as [valuable] goods, it would not have been possible to translate in this way from languages other than Arabic and Persian. Therefore this way of translation is rejected (Necib Asım 1897/1313).
With respect to the second path, Necib Asım referred to several translations of Sadi’s *Gülistan* into “Turkish” as another example of literal translation in which only the figures of thought of the original were preserved in translating from Arabic and Persian. Asım significantly recommended translators to follow the second strategy too when rendering European classical works into Turkish.

As for the third path, Necib Asım drew attention to conveying (nakl) the sense (mana) of the original, which appears as problematic in terms of his conception of translation. Necib Asım claimed that some Ottoman writers/translators did not produce “translations” (terceme) but just conveyed (nakl) ‘the subject matter’ in the way they understood the original. Interestingly, he considered conveying (nakl) the subject matter of the original as a translating strategy but did not identify texts that were generated in this way as translations (terceme). Similarly, in his third category of translating, he referred to both hamse (i.e. five mesnevis) and Yusuf Kamil Paşa’s ‘translation’ of *Terceme-i Telemak* (of Fénelon’s *Les Adventures de Télémaque*) as examples of imitation (taklid). Even though he referred to such works in terms of translation (terceme) -for instance he called *Terceme-i Telemak* a ‘translation’ (terceme)- he identified these works not as translations (terceme) but as imitations (taklid) of the originals. This indicates that Asım tended to exclude the practice of imitation from his definition of translation (terceme). In particular, his negative views on translations promoted by newspapers and journals reveal that he favored
translations which were close to their originals, in other words, texts in which the
textual and linguistic integrity of the original was preserved. In this context,
according to Paker, Asım “must be regarded as a precursor of the modern school of
‘translation as çeviri’ in Turkish translation history” (Paker 2005a: 17; see also Paker

On the basis of his classification of translation strategies, which was
obviously formulated on the basis of textual transfer, one can conclude that “paths”
[1] and [2] in his classification correspond to his conception of what translation
really was (terceme) while group [3] and [4] do not. Even though he intended to
exclude paths [3] and [4] from his notion of terceme, the strategies he explained in
each category represent the culture-bound practice of Ottoman text production
through translation (terceme).

It is also interesting that Asım was critical of the practice of literal translation
in Ottoman interculture because of the very presence of Arabic and Persian
vocabulary in the translations. According to Asım, who was a philologist and
advocate of writing in plain Turkish, literalness in Category [1] resulted in a kind of
non-translation in Turkish (Paker 2005a: 15-19). It is a fact that, from the mid-
nineteenth century on, some Ottoman writers/translators gradually supported plain
Turkish usage and rejected the very presence of Arabic and Persian in Turkish
writing (Levend [1949]1972: 113-148; Öksüz 1995: 13-34). This seems to be the
main reason why Asım suggested the second “path” as suitable for translating
European classical works in which only the figures of thought and not the figures of
speech of the original should be preserved. In conclusion, Necib Asım informed his
readers about certain strategies of translation practiced in Turkish and proposed the kind of texts that in his view could be assumed to be translation (terceme).

3.4.4. Tahvil (Conversion) and Akd ü Hall as Translation in the Late Ottoman Discourse

In this section, I will focus on tahvil and akd ü hall as translation strategies. Tahvil will be discussed in relation (i) to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s discourse in his preface to Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe and Amiral Bing, and (ii) to Şemseddin Sami’s definition of the term in his Kamus-i Türkî. As for akd ü hall, this term will be examined within the context of Manastırı Mehmed Rifat’s discourse in his preface to Cevâhir-i çihâryâr ve emsâl-i kibâr.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s preface to his Konak..., a translation of Adolf Mützelburg’s historical novel Der Held von Garika: Roman aus den Laendern des Kaukasus, which will be examined in Chapter 4, indicates that tahvil corresponded to “converting into Ottoman Turkish” (“Osmanlıcaya tahvil etmek”). In his preface to Amiral Bing, a novel possibly translated from Paul Foucher and Antoine Nicholas Joseph Bovy’s play L’admiral de l’escadre bleue drame historique en cinq actes et dix tableaux (which will also be examined in Chapter 4), Ahmed Midhat Efendi used the term in the sense of conversion: “roman suretine tahvil etmek” (“converting [a play] to a novel”).

In his Kamus-i Türkî, Şemseddin Sami defined tahvil as “bir halden bir hale koyma, değiştirme, tebdil” (“converting something from one state to another, changing”) and gave the following sentence as an example: “nesri nazma tahvil etti” (“s/he converted prose to verse”) (Şemseddin Sami 1899-1900/1317: 387).
In the preface to *Cevâhir-i çihâryâr ve emsâl-i kibâr* (Jewels from the Four Caliphs and Great Proverbs) by Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat, which was discussed above, we also find certain terms “*akd*” and “*hall*” related to translating from verse to prose and vice versa. In this work, in which Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat included translations from Arabic into Turkish of proverbs attributed to the four Muslim Caliphs, he stated that he translated many works from Arabic, Persian and French by following several strategies, one of which he identified as “*akd*” and “*hall*”, both signify converting or changing a text from one state to another. Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat referred to *akd* as converting prose into verse and *hall* as converting verse into prose and considered both as part of the Ottoman practice of translation (*terceme*).

He wrote:

> At the time I was involved in literary matters. I not only translated several useful works from Arabic, Persian and French but also wrote some by way of conversion. I kept them all, and when I looked through them again I couldn’t tear up any, thinking that someone might find them useful. Then I published them in a collection under the title ‘Philosophical Treasure’. Since they included both my translations and conversions, I considered it necessary to explain in a preface the method of translation and the method of conversion that the masters had used. In this way readers would see the method by which I translated through conversion (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 6).

In his preface, Rifat identified his “method of translation” (*usul-i terceme*) as well as his “method of conversion” (*usul-i hall ü akd*). As his translation method (*usul-i terceme*), he suggested an assimilationist approach which indicates a kind of
free translation or form of rewriting (*tatbikan yeniden bir şey yazar gibi yazmak*). He wrote:

In this method of translation, the translator should have scientific and technical knowledge on the necessary command of the subject of what s/he will translate. After studying and fully understanding the subject in the other language, the translator should rewrite it by adapting it to the register of the receiving language (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 11).

[Usul-i tercemede mütercim, terceme edecığı şeyin müteallik olduğu ilim ve fenni gereği gibi bilmek şartıyla lisan-ı âherde olan ol maddeyi arızu amık mütalâa ettikten ve güzelce anladıktan sonra hangi lisanana nakledecekse o lisanın şivesine tatbiken yeniden bir şey yazar gibi yazmaktan ibarettir (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 11).]

Like Necib Asım, here Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat seems to have in mind scientific and technical translation, which he perceives as rewriting. He also explains his way of conversion (*usul-i hall ü akd*), which had been practiced frequently in the art of eloquence in Ottoman interculture. *Tahvil* (conversion) is a method closely related to translating from one literary medium into another. In this sense, *akd* and *hall* represent two kinds of translation practice. Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat explained that he made use of *hall* as a translation method to convert Arabic verse into Turkish prose, and identified three types of *hall*. In the first, identified as *edna* (inferior), the original verse was converted to prose by keeping the same words of the original, without resulting in any semantic loss. However, this strategy was considered to be inferior since it gave rise to a kind of non-translation (cf. Necib Asım’s classification of the first way of translating). In the second type, identified as *tarz-i mutavassut* (intermediary), the translator could change some of the words of the original, paying attention not to violate its meaning. In the third type, which was not given a name, the translator was in command of the sense of the original and tried to reshape it. In other words, the translator was expected to produce a successful “rewrite” of the original verse (Lefevere 1985: 233; 1992: 8, 10). Mehmed Rifat’s views show us that
usul-i hali functioned as a rewrite strategy in the intracultural and intercultural space of Ottoman literature. Thus, tahvil (conversion) appears as one of the culture-specific practices of Ottoman terceme tradition.

3.4.5. Hulâsa (Summary Translation) as a Strategy in the Discourse on Translation

In the intralingual or interlingual space of Ottoman interculture, there existed some works generated as hulâsa (summary) of other works. I will discuss hulâsa as a strategy in Chapter 5, in which I will examine and analyze the summary translation of Corneille’s Le Cid as my case study. However, I will discuss hulâsa as a strategy not only in relation to Le Cid but also to his Hulâsa-i Humayunname and to Sir James W Redhouse’s definition of the term hulâsa in his A Turkish and English Lexicon as well as Şemseddin Sami’s definition in his Kamus-i Türki.

3.5. The Problem of Translatability

The concept of translatability, unavoidably coupled with untranslatability, seems to be one of the key issues in translation (terceme) in the late nineteenth century. However it can be observed that translatability in Ottoman translation discourse was generally discussed in relation to translating verse. Preserving the elegance (letafet), impact (tesir) and merit (meziyet) of verse was considered to be a difficult, or even an impossible task in translation (terceme).

In the “classics debate”, Ahmet Cevdet was the first writer who drew attention to the notion of untranslatability in terms of impact, elegance and merit in
translating verse. He argued that it was quite impossible to convey (nakl) the European classical works, keeping the features mentioned above. He wrote:

The first question to be asked in this matter is the question whether the classics could be translated at all. In taking classical works as models, conveying them to another language without losing the subtle points and rhetorical features of the original with all its elegance and impact is almost impossible (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313).

Ahmed Cevdet formulated his conception of un/translatability with respect to conveying (nakl) the poetic features of the verse original. He argued that such issues as what was poetical, feelings, the power of language, meanings of words, grammatical features and eloquence of speech and the rhetoric of the original were all untranslatable in poetry translation. Thus his criteria for un/translatability are associated with the problem of conveying (nakl) the poetical and rhetorical features of the original. He also claimed that translatability would only be possible if the aim of translation was simply to make the existence of literary works of European cultures known to Ottomans:

If the purpose is to inform about European literature or to take their works as models, it is obvious that translation cannot entirely fulfill both purposes. If the purpose is to provide information about the works in a foreign language, then whatever you want can be translated. Even in this case, many parts of these works could be rendered by way of changing or emending, such as the late Naci’s translations of several couplets from the classics (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313) (my italics).

O milletin edebiyatı hakkında bir fikir vermek veya onların meşk-ittihaz etmek ise terceme ile bu iki maksadın ikisinin de tamamı-i husulü kabil olmadığı muhakkaktır. Eğer maksad o lisandaki mahsulat-ı kalemiyye hakkında bir malumat vermek ise o halde istediğiniz terceme olunabilir. **Hatta bu halde birçok yerlerini mahv ü isbat suretiyle geçmek de kabil olur.**
Nacî merhumun bazı klâsik ebyatı tercemesi gibi (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313) (my italics)]

It is rather interesting that Ahmed Cevdet tended to perceive translatability through attributing a double function to translation (*terceme*): (i) *translating for adopting a model* and (ii) *translating for information*. According to Ahmed Cevdet, translatability could not be achieved if foreign works were taken as models (*meşk-ittihaṣ*) by intercultural agents. He thought translatability possible only in the case of translating for information. Thus he would allow translators to make certain manipulations or changes (*mahv ü isbat*) to the original so as to inform their readers.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi considered translatability in terms of connections between verse and prose and strategies of translation. He argued that translatability could not be achieved in the literal translation (*aynen terceme*) of verse or prose. In his response to Ahmed Cevdet, he wrote:

Our friend prefers translating verse as verse because he does not accept translating verse as prose. Is it possible to translate verse literally if it is almost impossible to translate even a prose work in the same way? In no way can we consider translating a verse classic into verse in any language possible (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).

[Arkadaṣımız bir eser-i manzumun nesren tercemesini kabul etmediğine göre nazmen tercemesini arzu etmiş oluyorsa da nesren bile terceme-i ayniyye kabil olamadığı halde nazmen terceme-i ayniyye kabil olabilir mı? Biz hiçbir lisandaki manzum klâsiklerin hiçbir lisana nazmen tercemesi imkânını hârtudan bile geçiremeyiz (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).]

It is obvious that Ahmed Midhat Efendi thought of literal translation (*aynen terceme*) as violating the intelligibility of the target text, thus giving rise to unacceptable translations (*terceme*).
In a similar vein, Necib Asım claimed that translating verse as verse was difficult. According to Necib Asım, because it required making additions and/or omissions, he considered that translating verse as verse was almost impossible while translating verse as prose was quite possible. He proposed translating prose classics from ancient Greek literature with annotations (havaşi) if the goal was to inform the readers. He advocated retaining the ‘virgin images’ of the original, thus bringing source and target closer to each other. In his article “Klâsikler” (The Classics), he wrote:

Prose classics are also of two kinds. The first covers works like Xenophon’s Cyropaedia and Anabasis, and Herodotos’s Histories. These works in prose could easily be translated by adding some annotations in order to make them intelligible for today’s readers… The most difficult thing in translating classical works is rendering imaginative works originally in verse or prose. In translating those works, it would be necessary to preserve the elegance of the virgin images of the original and to keep both [the source and target] languages as close to each other as possible (Necib Asım 1897/1313).

Hüseyin Dânış, a poet and translator who participated in the “classics debate”, also claimed that it was quite impossible to translate (terceme, nakt, tanzir) an original into another language while keeping the stylistic elegance, feelings, figures of thought and expressions of the original. In his article titled “İkram-ı Aklâm”, which first appeared in İkdam and was then reprinted in Malumat in 1897, he stated:

Those who are familiar with this matter know that able writers who translate, convey or emulate cannot preserve either the elegance of the original tone or the feelings of conscience (which make the work valuable) and terms particular to the nation who produced the original. In translating classical works, the guise is renewed but the antiquity of the original is lost. But if
talented writers translate those works for the purpose of enriching Ottoman writing and expanding it with new works, they naturally deserve our deepest gratitude (Hüseyin Dâniş 1897/1313: 1168) (my italics).


Here, it is important that Hüseyin Dânîş regarded terceme (translation), nakl (conveying) and tanzir (emulation) as related practices in terms of translation. Within his conception of translation, all of these notions were part of the Ottoman terceme tradition.

Responding to Ahmed Midhat Efendi in the “classics debate”, Kemal Paşazade Saîd too emphasized that it was sufficient to translate verse by keeping the verbal and figurative aspects of the original, and that if this was achieved it would be greatly appreciated. He wrote:

> Everyone’s applause for poets who succeed in expressing so elegantly the words and sense of an original couplet in translating verse as verse might be enough to show the actual difficulties in translating poetically ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1897-1898/1315, **Galatat-ı Terceme**, 15th Notebook).

> [Hele manzum âsarın terceme-i nazmiyyesinde bir beytin mantuk ve mehumunu hüsn-i ifadeye muktedir olan şurânnın muvaffakiyetlerine her taraftan edilegen alcîşlar hakikaten şairane tercemedeki müşkilatı... isbata kâfi olmalıdır ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1897-1898/1315, **Galatat-ı Terceme**, 15th Notebook).]

In the light of the discourses presented and discussed above, it is evident that poetry translation in Turkish at that time was considered to be a difficult or even an
impossible task which required adherence to the elegance, impact and rhetorical merits of the original.

3.6. The Problem of Terminological Correspondences in the Discourse on Translation

Generally speaking, the problem of terminology (ıstilahat) became a major topic discussed at the end of the nineteenth century when a movement for plain Turkish gained considerable momentum. Parallel to the movement for writing in plain Turkish, some Ottoman writers began to emphasize the importance of using Turkish terminology instead of loanwords from Arabic and Persian.\(^{18}\)

In this cultural context, the problem of correspondences also appeared as a significant subject of discussion on translation activity in the late nineteenth century. Some Ottoman writers and/or translators were involved in finding correspondences to certain French terms and concepts. Kemal Paşazade Saïd appears as the first person to focus particularly on the problem of terminology in translation (terceme). In his preface to Nezaret Hilmi’s dictionary Osmanlıdan Fransızcaya Cep Lügati (Ottoman-French Pocket Dictionary) (1886-1887/1304), he drew attention to erroneous usages in Turkish and the need for producing Turkish terminology and. In a section in that work titled “İstilahat Maddesi” (On Terminology), he wrote:

It is obvious that one of the most important matters abused in [our society] is that of terminology. A number of scientific, technical and political terms have been used erroneously. As known by those who are engaged in translation, the most difficult translations are those which necessitate using special terms (Saïd’s preface in Nezaret Hilmi 1886-1887/1304).

[Bizde en ziyade su-i istimal olunmuş şeylerden biri de ıstilahat Maddesi olunduğu malûmdur. Pek çok ıstilahat-ı ilmiyye ve fenniyye ve siyasiyye

\(^{18}\) For a survey concerning the problem of terminology in the late nineteenth century, see Agah Sırrı Levend’s Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri, pp. 194-243.
nabemecel ve yanlış olarak ittihaz ve istimal olunmuştur. Terceme ile iştigal edenlere haфи olmadığı üzere en ziyade zahmeti mucib tercemeler, istilahat-ı mahsusa istimaline ihtiyaç gösteren tercemelerdir (Said’s preface in Nezaret Hilmi 1886-1887/1304).

From this point of view, Saïd’s series of Galatat-ı Terceme (Translation Errors) is also significant. Galatat-ı Terceme, which was published in 18 notebooks between 1888-1889/1306 and 1908-1909/1324, is a good example that points to efforts in finding Turkish equivalents, especially for French terms. In the title page of the third notebook, Saïd introduced his work to Ottoman readers as an explanatory work which not only corrected erroneous usages (galatat), especially in translating (nakl ve terceme) from French into Ottoman Turkish, but also proposed a number of equivalents (mukabil):

This is a work which corrects erroneous usages in conveying and translating several French words and expressions into Ottoman language, which demonstrates their accurate correspondences and usages in Turkish, and which defines and explains many other details of the French language ([Kemal Paşazade] Saïd 1888-1889/1306, Galatat-ı Terceme, 3rd Notebook).


In the preface to the first notebook titled “Kaffe-i Mütercimin” (To All Translators), Saïd mentioned that he had been studying foreign vocabulary (liügat) for about 25 years prior to the publication of his first notebook in 1888-1889/1306 to

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19 Akbayar 1988, Kolcu 1999a and Kaplan 1998 indicate that Galatat-ı Terceme consists of 17 notebooks. But during my research I discovered that there also exists an 18th notebook which was published in 1908-1909/1324 by Hilal Matbaası in Istanbul.

20 From the fifth to the eighteenth notebook in the series of Galatat-ı Terceme, the expression of “lisan-ı Osmani” was replaced with the expression of “Türkçeye” in the title pages: “Fransızca birtakım elfaz ve tabiratin Türkçeye tercemesinde vuku bulan galatati tashih ve elfaz ve tabirat-ı mezkûrenin Türkçe asıl mukabillerini irae ve makam-ı istimallerini tayin ve lisan-ı mezkûrun daha birçok gavamız ve dekâyıkımı tarif ve izah eder bir eserdir”.

be able to propose Turkish equivalents to foreign words and their usages in translation. This indicates that from the beginning of the cultural, linguistic and literary contact with Europe, there were at least some intercultural Ottoman agents who engaged in translation practice and who were involved in the problem of seeking proper equivalents and their usages in translation. However, Saîd’s explanations in Galatat-ı Terceme reveal that no agreement had crystallized on the use of Turkish terminology in the linguistic and literary circles of the time. It is worth noting that he called on Ottoman contemporary writers of his time to review his suggested equivalents in Turkish. In the series of Galatat-ı Terceme, Saîd proposed Turkish equivalents as well as (partial) translations from the works of famous French writers, some of which were presented to exemplify his suggestions. In the preface to his second notebook titled “İfade-i Mahsusa” (Special Statement), Saîd called on translators to pay special attention to his phrases, sentences as well as vocabulary and advised them to use those in translation. He wrote:

I advise translators to read carefully the sentences and compounds I wrote, and to study with much attention every word I used in each translation (preface in [Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1888-1889/1306 Galatat-ı Terceme, 2nd Notebook).

[Yazılan terkibat ve ibarata gayetle dikkat olunmasını ve her tercemede istimal ettiği elfaza atf-i nazar-i mülahaza edilmesini mütercimlere tavsiye ve nasihat ederim (preface in [Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1888-1889/1306 Galatat-ı Terceme, 2nd Notebook)]

The first five notebooks of Galatat-ı Terceme appeared in 1888-1889/1306. The year 1888-1889/1306 was also important because two responses to Saîd’s work were published in the same year: Tedkik-i Galatat-ı Terceme (Review of Galatat-ı Terceme) by Mehmed Halid, a language instructor at Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şahane, and Hatiyat-ı Terceme (Translation Errors) by Mustafa Fatin İhsan, a member of the
editorial board of the *Istanbul* newspaper. In his preface titled “İfade-i Mahsusa” (Special statement), Mehmed Halid claimed that some of the equivalents which were offered by Saîd needed to be questioned in terms of whether they provided improper equivalents. He argued that some of Saîd’s terms were inappropriate in Turkish. In a similar vein, Mustafa Fatin İhsan asked translators not to consider some of Said’s suggestions as proper equivalents in translating from French. In the title page of his *Hatiyat-ı Terceme*, Mustafa Fatin İhsan stated that he had devoted his book entirely to the errors in Saîd’s *Galatat-ı Terceme*: “[“Bu cüzü saadetlü Saîd Bey Efendi hastalarının *Galatat-ı Terceme* namıyle tanzim ve telif buyurduları eserde vâki olan hatiyâta hasr olmuştur”]

*Galatat-ı Terceme* was also regarded as a guide which would serve translators in producing literal translations (*terceme-i ayniyye*). For instance, Ahmed Midhat Efendi, who was criticized by Kemal Paşazade Saîd in the “classics debate” of 1897, stated that *Galatat-ı Terceme* provided grounds for the literal rendering of French. In his article titled “Yine İkram-ı Aklâm”, Ahmed Midhat Efendi wrote:

If our dear brother Said’s *Galatat-ı Terceme* is read carefully, only one thing can be understood, that the matter on which he has been working is a way of translating literally. If he pleases to explain his illuminating statements on this matter, this fact will be completely clarified (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).

[Biraderimiz saadetlü Said Beyefendi Hazretlerinin ‘*Galatat-ı Terceme*’leri im’an ile okunur ise görürlü ki ustad-ı müşararunileyhin çalışıkları şey bilâhare şu terceme-i ayniyeye vasıf olacak yolu tehieden ibaretir. Bu mesele hakkındaki nazariyyat-ı muallimanelerini lütfen şerh ü izah buyursalar bu hakikat tamamiyle meydana çıkar (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).]

22 For instance, see the debate between Kemal Paşazade Saîd and Mehmed Halid on translating the French term, *accablé* (in Akbayar 1988). Akbayar provides some excerpts from the debate in Latin transcription.
The phrase that appears on the title page of the third notebook of *Galatat-ı Terceme* supports the idea that Kemal Pașazade Sayd’s real aim was to offer the “proper Turkish equivalents for the French vocabulary and terms” (cf. “elfâz ve tabîrât-ı mezkûrenin Türkçe asıl mukabillerini”). Therefore, it would not be wrong to consider *Galatat-ı Terceme* a guide for professional translators of the time. The content, structure and composition of Sayd’s work indicate that, criticizing the erroneous usages of French terms in Turkish, he proposed many Turkish terms for those who were engaged in translating (terceme) texts, especially on law.

3.7. The Quality of Translators: Competence in Target and Source Languages

In the sixteenth notebook of *Galatat-ı Terceme*, Kemal Pașazade Sayd complained of the erroneous usages of some official translators who worked especially in the administrative domain. According to Sayd, competence was extremely important not only in the source language (SL) but also in the target language (TL). He maintained that a number of the benefits of translating European works into Ottoman culture could only be provided by means of qualified translators. He wrote:

As is well known, the light of truth is obtained through the collision of thoughts. It is therefore especially necessary to speak of and to review methods of translation. To speak of this matter is to wish an important service for the instruction of the country, since translations done by many translators are still full of numerous mistakes. Some of these translations are actually meaningless for people who do not know French. If remedies are not found for correcting these translations, it is obvious that we will not have the opportunity to benefit from western works through translation in the future. Besides the mistakes seen especially in the official translation done by translators who are incompetent in both languages, there is also a great deal of strangeness in their way of expression [Kemal Pașazade] Sayd 1890-1891/1308: 77-78).

[Cümleye malum olduğu vechile nur-ı hakikat mûsademe-i efkâr ile hasil olup alelhusus usul-ı terceme gibi alakaya ve tarz-ı takdire şiddet-i taalluku olan ve belki sîrf onlarla kaim bulunan bir maddede müdavele-i ebhas

We note that Saîd was critical of translators since 1886-1887/1304, the year he wrote the preface to Nezaret Hilmi’s Ottoman-French pocket dictionary, where he complained about translators who added long explanations and hence translated with improper equivalents. Saîd’s statements above indicate that the lack in necessary terminology was experienced by translators not only in the literary field but also in other fields in Ottoman society such as philosophy, theology, politics, economics, medicine and the military field.

Several discourses regarding translators also show that writers were sensitive about the quality of translators, who were expected to be competent and knowledgeable about translation. Ahmed Cevdet, for instance, drew attention to the need for qualified translators. On conveying (nakl) European classics, he argued that literary translators needed to be proficient in both source and target languages. He wrote:

If the aim is to convey classical works to our language in all their elegance, a translator should be competent in both languages in order to have the right to start translating. For this purpose, there is a need for translators whose Turkish is as good as the late Naci’s, and whose French is as good as I don’t know whose. I hope that such translators will appear and carry out this work (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313).

[Klässiklerin kaffe-i mezayasıyla lisânımıza naklı matlûb olmasıyla bile yine her iki lisanda małûmat sahibi olmalıdır ki tercemeeye suçra hak kazananmış olsun. Bunun için Türkeyi merhum Naçî Efendi kadar bilir ve Fransızcayı da artık bilmem kimin kadar bilir mütercimlere ihtiyaçımız vardır. İhtimal ki
Ahmed Cevdet’s comment reveals that the translator’s proficiency in Turkish was also regarded as an important matter. He criticized translators working for newspapers and magazines who were generally incapable of using Turkish as their native language. He wrote:

Although translating for newspapers is the most popular form of translation in our society, we would like to ask how many people can perform this work at an adequate level. Many people who apply to us as translators make intolerable mistakes in Turkish or French. What is worst is that they do not even know Turkish (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313).

Mehmed Celal, a poet, translator and critic, focused on errors made by translators in a series of ten articles which appeared in İrtika in 1900-1901/1316. In his first article, titled “Kelimeler Aynen” (Words as they are), Mehmed Celal started by examining Atamyan’s translation of Médecin des folles by Xavier de Montépin under the title Mecnuneler Tabibi. What he criticized in Atamyan’s translation (terceme) was the lack of proficiency in Turkish, but the problem he identified was also clearly related to the problem of finding proper and acceptable solutions in the target language. It is known that at that time Turkish had not yet been standardized and transformed into a plain language usable in public and official writing (Levend 1972: 113-148, 194-240; Öksüz 1995: ix-xv, 13-15). Mehmed Celal wrote:

The most important problem concerning our literature today is translation. If only such inexperienced translators, who are completely incompetent in Turkish, would try to learn how to express themselves accurately before they began to perform their skills! It is ridiculous to attempt translating without
knowing Turkish, but also damaging to the fame of the original writer (Mehmed Celal 1900-1901/1316: 166).

[Bugün edebiyatımızı iştilgal eden en mühim mesele terceme meselesidir. Türkçe lisana bihakki vaktif olaman bu gibi acemi mütaremler biraz düzgünnesine söylemeyi öğrendeler, ondan sonra eser-i maharetlerini gösterseler! Türkçe bilmeden eser tercemesine kalkışmak gülünç olduğu kadar müellifin şöhretine nakısa irad etmek mazarratının da tevlid eder (Mehmed Celal 1900-1901/1316: 166).]

In his article titled “Tercüme Hakkında Tarihe Müstenid Bir Mütalaa” (A Historical Comment on Translation), which also appeared in İrtika in 1899-1900/1315, Bolulu H. Talat, a translator, also dwelt on the problem of language. He claimed that only competent translators should translate (*nakl ve terceme*) texts from Arabic or European languages. He also underlined the necessity for a translator to be familiar with the subject being translated. He wrote:

...European languages too have to be translated, but by experienced translators. If a person who does not know algebra goes and translates a book on that subject, there will be a huge difference between that translation and one done by someone who knows the subject. Therefore, any book on science or technology must be conveyed and translated by a person who is familiar with that subject (H. Talat 1899-1900/1315: 10).

[...Avrupa lisanından da terceme olunmalı fakat erbabı terceme etmeli. Bugün hiç cebir okumamış bir kimse Fransızca'dan bir cebir kitabı terceme etse o ilme aşına biri de aynı kitabı terceme etse bu iki terceme arasında dağlar kadar fark görülür. Binaanelyeh herbir ilme, herbir fenne dair bir eseri o ilmin, o fennin ehli nakl ve terceme eylemeli (H. Talat 1899-1900/1315: 10).]

As was seen in a previous section of this chapter, Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat likewise, emphasized the importance of the translator’s familiarity with the subject of the original. In the preface to his *Cevâhir-i çihâryâr ve emsâl-i kibâr*, he claimed that translators needed to be knowledgeable about what they were conveying (*nakl*) into the target language.
According to the method of translation, the translator should have the necessary scientific and technical knowledge about the subject to be translated. After studying and understanding the subject in another language, the translator should rewrite it by adapting it to the tone of the receiving language (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 11).

In Bolulu H. Talat’s statements, it is interesting to find some clues to the ways Europeans domesticated some Arabic works in translation. He pointed out that some Arabic works were translated by Europeans in conformity with their own way of living and thinking. He wrote:

There are some books in Europe today which were once translated from Arabic. But these books were not translated and conveyed in the form of their originals in Arabic culture. Europeans arranged and translated these works according to their own way of life, feelings and customs (H. Talat 1899-1900/1315: 10).

In some discourses we also find definitions of the profession and the task of a translator. For instance, Ali Kemal, a literary figure and critic of the time, reflected on what a translator should follow in the process of translating and compared ‘translating a text’ with ‘writing an indigenous text’. According to Ali Kemal, translating was an act as difficult as writing an indigenous text. It seems noteworthy that he advised a translator not merely to convey (nakl) but to perform like the author of an original text. He wrote:

In my humble opinion, being a translator is as difficult as being a writer. If translators merely convey, then their translations are cold and lacking. On the
other hand, if they consider themselves writers or perform as writers, then their translations become colorful and elegant (quoted from Kolcu 1999b: 113).

[Fikr-i âcizaneme göre mütercimlik müelliflik kadar müşkildir. Bir mütercim sade nakilden başka bir iş görmezse o tercüme soğuk olur, nâkis olur. Fakat mütercim âdeta müellif gibi düşünür, öyle kalem yürütürse, öyle yorulursa eser-i mütercem de o derece revnak, letafet bulur (quoted from Kolcu 1999b: 113).]

3.8. Summary

In Chapter 3, I have examined and analyzed Ottoman Turkish discourses on literary translation in the late nineteenth century. I dealt with the concepts and definitions of translation (terceme), focusing on metaphors, the concept of imitation (taklid) and emulation (nazire) in various discourses. Findings in this part of the chapter indicate that there was no uniform and homogenous definition of translation in terms of the conception of Ottoman translation (terceme) practices. I this chapter, I also discussed functions attributed to translation by Ottoman writers/translators at the time. The expected functions and norms in selecting source texts have been highlighted too. Scrutinising the strategies followed by translators, I drew attention to various ways of translating from other cultures and literatures such as harfiyyen, aynen, mealen, mealen ve tafsilen, serbest, tevsien, nakl, iktibas, taklid, tanzir, tahvil and hulâsa/telhis. In addition, I touched on several aspects of translation such as the notion of translatability, the problem of terminological correspondences and the quality of translators.

Chapter 4 will focus on the culture-specific aspects of terms and/or concepts of translation in the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi. I will offer a descriptive analysis of two bibliographical works which supply data on his works in general. In
this part, there will be a special emphasis on the identification of his works by the two bibliographers. I will concentrate on rethinking the Turkish notions of translation in space and time, based on certain connections between “çeviri” (translation) and “terceme” (translation). The analysis will also shed light on various aspects of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s discourse on translation (terceme). Through the examination of the paratextual material in his works, Chapter 4 will also reveal how he identified, described and named his translations. It will also pinpoint the terms he used –both verbs, nouns and collocations- based on a review of his paratextual discourse.
Chapter 4

Analyzing Culture-Specific Aspects of Translation in the Works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi

This chapter presents findings on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translations excluding those related to *Sid’ın Hulâsası* (Summary Translation of *Le Cid*) which will be the subject of my case study in Chapter 5.

In this chapter, I will propose a descriptive analysis of two works which provide the most comprehensive bibliographical information on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works: Koz (2002) and Esen (1999). My main intention is to establish what has been regarded as translation (“çeviri”) and what has not, using as a case study the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi. I will also offer another descriptive analysis of the paratextual data of certain works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi so as to identify and investigate culture-bound term/s and/or notion/s of translation (“terceme”). My main argument is that “çeviri” (translation), a modern Turkish concept of translation, i.e. a time-bound and culture-specific notion, does not entirely cover “terceme” (translation), the Ottoman concept of translation, i.e. another time-bound and culture-specific notion (Hermans 1995; Paker 2002a). Thus, I claim that neither of them

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represents *entirely* the same concept and practices as the other, and both need to be regarded without overlooking their “culture-bound and time-bound” aspects in the historical study of translations into Turkish (Paker 2002a: 127).

4.1. An Analysis of Two Bibliographies

In his article titled “Ahmet Mithat Efendi’nin Eserleri” (The Works of Ahmet Mithat Efendi), which was published in *Kitaplık*, a monthly literary magazine, Sabri Koz (2002) offers a comprehensive and detailed bibliography.² He lists 228 works by Ahmet Midhat Efendi, citing various volumes and/or different reprints of the same work as separate items. However, if we count only the names of the works, ignoring different volumes and reprints of the same work, we get 172 items which can be regarded as constituting the entire corpus. Among these 172 items, Koz identifies 26 works as having a translational relationship with a foreign source, and presents those works with several descriptions. Below I present a table showing Koz’s list of translational works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi as well as his descriptions for them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the work³</th>
<th>Identified as “çeviri” (translation)</th>
<th>Bibliographer’s description⁴</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alayın Kraliçesi</td>
<td>“Fransızdan çeviri” (p.162) [“Translation from French”]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiral Bing</td>
<td>“Çeviri” (p.162) [“Translation”]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonin</td>
<td>“Alexandre Dumas Fils’ten çeviri” (p.162) [“Translation from Alexandre Dumas Fils”]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilgiç Kız</td>
<td>“Hector Malot’tan” (p.163) [“From Hector Malot”]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

² Koz lists the works of Ahmet Mithat Efendi in alphabetical order and supplies the bibliographical information generally in the following way: the title of the work, the name of the publishing house, the place of publication, the publication date and the total number of pages. He gives the publication date first in hegira, together with the date in the Christian calendar in brackets. In some cases, he also gives additional information and explanations (see Koz 2002: 160).
³ For the title of the ST and the English translation of the title of the TT, see Appendix.
⁴ Words in bold are mine.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kitap</th>
<th>Yazar(lar)</th>
<th>Yayıncılık Bilgisi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bir Fakir Delikanının Hikâyesi</td>
<td>Octave Feuillet</td>
<td>“Translation from Octave Feuillet”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir Kadının Hikâyesi</td>
<td>Alexandre Dumas Fils</td>
<td>“Translation from Alexandre Dumas Fils”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriel’ın Günühü</td>
<td>Charles Mérouvel</td>
<td>“Translation from Charles Mérouvel”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkabaz Kitabı</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Translation from Octave Feuillet”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir Kadının Hikâyesi</td>
<td>Octave Feuillet</td>
<td>“Translation from Octave Feuillet”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konak yahut Şeyh Şamil’in Kağısya Muharebâtında Bir Hikaye-i Garibe</td>
<td>Aleksandr Dumas Fils</td>
<td>“Translation from Aleksandr Dumas Fils”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hüsrevnâme</td>
<td>Xenéphon</td>
<td>“From Xenéphon, translation from Dacier’s French translation”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamere Âşık</td>
<td>Paul de Kock</td>
<td>“Translation from Paul de Kock”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lü’lüh-i Asfer</td>
<td>Georges Pradel</td>
<td>“Translation from Georges Pradel”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merdûd Kız</td>
<td>Emile Richebourg</td>
<td>“Translation from Emile Richebourg”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niza-i İlim ve Din (J.V. Draper’den çevirisi)-İslam ve Ulûm (Ahmet Mithat Efendi)</td>
<td>J.V. Draper Ahmed Mithat Efendi</td>
<td>“The translation of J.V. Draper’s book and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s response were published together in a consecutive format”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orsival Cinayeti</td>
<td>Emile Gaboriau</td>
<td>“Translation from Emile Gaboriau”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papasdaki Esrâr</td>
<td>Léon de Tinseau</td>
<td>“Translation from Léon de Tinseau”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peçeli Kadın</td>
<td>Emile Richebourg</td>
<td>“Translation from Emile Richebourg”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>San’atkâr Nâmîsu</td>
<td>Octave Feuillet</td>
<td>“Translation from Octave Feuillet”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Udolf Hisârî</td>
<td>Marie Anne Radcliff</td>
<td>“Translation from Anne Radcliff”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Similarly, Nüket Esen (1999) offers another comprehensive bibliography in *Ahmed Midhat Kari Koca Masali ve Ahmet Mithat Bibliyografyası.* In her bibliography, she lists 202 works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi, including different volumes of the same work. If we do as we did with Koz and count only the names of the works whilst ignoring the different volumes of the same work, we arrive at approximately 158 works which can be regarded as the entire corpus. In her list,

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3 *Letaif-i Rivayat* [Finest Stories] is a collection of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s short stories, which was published as 25 series (cüz) between 1870 and 1895. It consists of 29 short stories and 1 play, totally 30 pieces. Some of the short stories are identified as translations (“çeviri”) (cf. also Esen 1999: 191-196).

4 Words in bold are mine.

5 Esen gives the bibliographical information in the following way: she classifies the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi first according to their fields, then sorts the items in each group into a chronological order. She gives the publication date first in hegira, and then using the Christian calendar, separating the two with a slash. Then she offers the total page number and the size of the work. In her list, however, she does not give the name of the publishing house because in the preface she mentions that all were published by *Kırkambur* and *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. She also occasionally provides brief pieces of information about the contents of the works (Esen 1999: 8). Unlike Koz, Esen categorizes Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works under several titles as follows: “Hikaye” (Story), “Roman” (Novel), “Tiyatro” (Drama), “Ani” (Memoirs), “Seyahatname” (Travel Writings), “Mektup” (Letter), “Monografî” (Monography), “Tarih” (History), “Felsefe” (Philosophy), “Sosyoloji, Psikoloji, Pedagoji, Ekonomi, Askeriye” (Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogy, Economics, Military), and “Ders Kitaplarî” (Textbooks). At the end of her bibliography, she classifies several works under the title “Çeviri” (translation) using three subtitles, namely “Roman” (Novel), “Tiyatro” (Drama) and “Yazarı Bilinmeyenler” (Writers Unknown). In the part titled ‘writers unknown’, she lists 4 translations (çeviri) whose [original] writers were unknown and could not be identified clearly by her (see p.215).
Esen identifies 39 works out of 158 as being derived and translated entirely from a foreign source. The table below demonstrates her itemisation as well as the descriptions she proposed for these works:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the work identified under the title of “çeviri” (translation)</th>
<th>Bibliographer’s description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Friedrich von Flotow, Aleksandr Stradella</td>
<td>Çeviri, Roman: “Friedrich von Flotow tarafından alınan Alman bestecinin Stradella başlıklı opera librettosunun hikayesi halı…” (p.215) [“Translation, Novel: A version of the libretto of the opera titled Stradella by Friedrich von Flotow, German composer”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altın Aşkları</td>
<td>Çeviri, Yazarı bilinmeyenler: “Avrupa’da geçen bir olay anlatıyor.” (p.215) [“Translation, Writers unknown: It is about an event which takes places in Europe”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiral Bing</td>
<td>Çeviri (p.214) [“Translation”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Kız [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Çeviri, Hikaye: “Avrupa’da geçiyor…” (p.196) [“Translation, Story: It takes place in Europe”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandre Dumas pere, Antonin</td>
<td>Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hector Malot, Bilgiç Kız</td>
<td>Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Octave Feuillet, Bir Fakir Delikanlı’nın Hikâyesi</td>
<td>Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir Kadının Hikayesi</td>
<td>Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinli Han [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Çeviri, Hikaye: “Fransa’da geçen bu hikâyede…” (p.194) [“Translation: In the story set in France…”]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victor Hugo, Derebeyleri</td>
<td>Çeviri, Tiyatro (p.215) [“Translation, Drama”]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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8 Words in bold are mine.
9 This work is identified as a non-translation in Koz’s bibliography of Ahmed Midhat Efendi.
10 This work is completely absent from Koz’s bibliography of Ahmed Midhat Efendi.
**Diplomalı Kız [in Letaif-i Rivayat]**

Çeviri, Hikâye: “Kadınların eğitilmesinin gerekliği ile ilgili bir hikâye…” (p.196) [“Translation, Story: about the need for women to be educated…”]

**Charles Merouvel, Gabriel’ın Günü**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Gönül [in Letaif-i Rivayat]**

Çeviri, Hikâye: “Avrupa’da geçen sınıf farkları hakkında bir hikâye” (p.192) [“Translation, Story: about class differences in Europe”]

**Beydeba, Hulasa-i Humayunname**

Çeviri, Roman: “Kelile ve Dimne’nin hasiyeli tercümesi” (p.214) [“Translation, Novel: An annotated translation of Kelile and Dimne”]

**Ksenophon, Hüsrevname**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**İki Hudakâr [in Letaif-i Rivayat]**

Çeviri, Hikâye: “Avrupa’da geçen ve batı ahlâkı ile adetlerini eleştiren bir hikâye” (p.196) [“Translation, Story: set in Europe, critical of western customs and morals”]

**Jenovefa**

Çeviri, Yazarı bilinmeyenler: “‘Rumca’dan tercüme olunmuştur’ deniliyor” (p.215) [“Translation, Writer unknown: ‘It is noted that the translation was from Greek’”]

**Alexandre Dumas fils, Kamelyali Kadın**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Paul de Kock, Kamere Aşk**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar [in Letaif-i Rivayat]**

Çeviri, Hikâye: “Arsene Houssay’ın bir kitabından alınma” Avrupa’da geçen bir hikâye” (p.195) [“Translation, Story: set in Europe, taken from one of Arsene Houssay’s books”]

**Adolf Muçelburg, Konak**

Çeviri, Roman: “Almanca’dan çeviri Vizental ile birlikte. ‘Şeyh Şamil’in Kafkasya muharebatında bir hikâye-i garibe’ deniyor” (p.213) [“Translation, Novel: A translation from German in collaboration with Vizental. It is noted that the story is a strange one about Şeyh Şamil’s war in the Caucasus’”]

**Georges Pradel, Lüli-i Asfer**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Merdu Kız**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Emile Aufler, Nedamet mi? Heyhat!**

Çeviri, Roman (p.215) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Anne Radcliffe, Odolf Hisari**

Çeviri, Roman (p.215) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Emile Gobariau, Orsival Cinayeti**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Leon de Tinsau, Papastaki Esrar**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

**Emile Richeborg, Peçeli Kadın**

Çeviri, Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

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11 This work is completely absent from Koz’s bibliography of Ahmed Midhat Efendi.

12 This work is completely absent from Koz’s bibliography of Ahmed Midhat Efendi.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Octave Feuillet</td>
<td>Sanatkâr Namusu (Çeviri)</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>(“Translation, Novel”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şeytankaya Tılsımı</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pierre Corneille</td>
<td>Sid’in Hülasası (Çeviri)</td>
<td>Tiyatro</td>
<td>(“Translation, Drama: Summary translation of Le Cid tragedy in the form of a scene-by-scene prose story”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su-i Zan</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hikâye</td>
<td>(“Translation, Story: A comic one about a man realizing he was wrong about a married woman setting up a date with a man”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hasan Ata b. Mehmed</td>
<td>Terbiyeli Bala (Çeviri)</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>(“Translation, Novel”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paul de Kock</td>
<td>Üç Yüzlü Karı (Çeviri)</td>
<td>Roman</td>
<td>(“Translation, Novel: with Ebüzziya Tevfik”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasib</td>
<td></td>
<td>Hikâye</td>
<td>(“Story whose subject matter was taken from a French book”)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niza-ı İlm ü Din</td>
<td></td>
<td>Felsefe</td>
<td>(“Philosophy: A combination of translated and indigenous work. It includes Niza-ı İlm ü Din, which is the translation of William John Draper’s Conflict Between Religion and Science, critical of Catholics, and Ahmet Mithat’s own responses in the form of long interventions. The title of the book including Ahmet Mithat’s responses is İslam ve Ulum [Islam and Science]. In other words, this work has two titles. There are two books, one placed inside the other…”)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 In Koz’s bibliography of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, this work appears obviously as an indigenous work by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Koz mentions that it was published in 1303/1886 under the title Terbiyeli Çocuk Mübtedîler İçin Kiraat Kitabı, and translated by Hasan Ata b. Molla Medmed Kazanî into the Tatar dialect [of Turkic language] in 1889.

14 Words in bold are mine.
Here I would like to compare the above data, which are provided by the two bibliographies, and present the following results:

(i) 21 works which were identified as “çeviri” (translation) in Koz (2002) overlap with the ones identified as “çeviri” (translation) in Esen (1999):


(ii) 4 works which were not identified as “çeviri” (translation) in Koz (2002) are regarded as “çeviri” (translation) in Esen (1999):

Aleksandr Stradella, İki Hüd’akâr [in Letaif-i Rivayat], Sid’in Hulasası, Şeytankaya Tilşımı

(iii) Esen (1999) describes Niza-ı İlim ve Din as a work that is both “tercümé” (translated) and “telif” (indigenous) and has two titles. But she gives only one title [cf. Niza-ı İlim ve Din-İslâm ve Ulûm]. She excludes this work from her list of translated (“çeviri”) works. On the other hand, Koz (2002) identifies Niza-ı İlim ve Din as “çeviri” (translated) and gives both titles of this: “Niza-ı İlim ve Din (J.V. Draper’den çeviri)-İslâm ve Ulûm (Ahmet Mithat Efendi)”.

(iv) Koz (2002) cites only 2 stories in Letaif-i Rivayat, one of which is identified as “çeviri-uyarlama” (translation-adaptation) and the other not identified as “çeviri” (translation):

Kismetinde Oluan Kaşığna Çıkar [identified as “çeviri-uyarlama” (translation-adaptation)]
İki Hüd’akâr [not identified as “çeviri” (translation)]

(v) Esen (1999) cites 10 stories in Letaif-i Rivayat, nine of which are identified as “çeviri” (translation) including those identified as such by Koz (2002), and one of which is not identified as “çeviri” (translation):

Ana Kız, Cankurtaanlar, Çifte İntikam, Cinli Han, Diplomali Kız, Gönül, İki Hudakâr, Kismetinde Oluan Kaşığında Çıkar, Su-i Zan

Nasib [not identified as “çeviri” (translation)]

(vi) 13 works which were identified as “çeviri” (translation) in Esen (1999) are missing in Koz (2002):
The following work, which is an intralingual translation, in other words a re-translation of another Turkish translation, is absent from Koz (2002) and not identified as “çeviri” (translation):

Hulasa-i Humayunname

The following work, which was identified as “çeviri” (translation) in Koz (2002), is absent from Esen (1999):

Hokkabaz Kitabı

The title of the following work is identified in a different way:

Kamelyalı Kadın in Esen (1999); La Dam O Kamelya in Koz (2002)

According to Koz’s list, we see that he identifies 21 works out of 26 as “çeviri” (translation) and 1 work out of 26 as “çeviri-uyarlama” (translation-adaptation). However, he excludes 4 works out of 26 from the category of “çeviri” (translation) and uses the following descriptions for those works (cf. Koz’s list):

(i) “iktibas” (borrowing)
(ii) “konusu …’dan alınmıştır” (taken its subject matter from…)
(iii) “…’den düzüzyazı özet” (a prose summary from…)
(iv) “…’den esinlenerek yazılmıştır” (written as a result of being inspired by…)

In a similar vein, we see that Esen classifies 37 works out of 39 under the heading “Çeviri” (Translation). This demonstrates that she identifies 37 works as “çeviri” (translation). It is also apparent that, contrary to Koz, her conception of “çeviri” includes the texts which have the following descriptions (cf. Esen’s list):

(i) “haşiyeli tercüme” (annotated translation),
(ii) “[yabancı bir] kitaptan alınma” (taken from [a foreign] book),
(iii) “özet çeviri” (summary translation)
(iv) “değiştirerek yeniden yazma” (changing and rewriting)
Moreover, she excludes 2 works out of 39 from the list of “çeviri” (translation). She identifies *Nasib*, a story in *Letaif-i Rivayat*, not as “çeviri” (translation) but describes it as a story whose subject matter is taken from a French book (“konusu Fransızca bir kitaptan alınan masal”, Esen 1999: 194). Similarly, she does not include *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din* in the list of “çeviri” (translation), although she identifies it as “tercümê” (translation) (“Tercümê ve telif karşılık bir eser”, Esen 1999: 209; “William John Draper’ın *Conflict Between Religion and Science* adlı katalokleri tenkid eden kitabının tercümesi *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din*, ibid.).

Consequently, in both bibliographies, not only the identification of the texts but also the use of certain terms and/or concepts deserves critical examination. We see that Koz and Esen use the term “çeviri” (translation). In other words, they label retrospectively the range of translational works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi as “çeviri” (translation), but their identification of “çeviri” (translation) differs from and/or agrees with each other, depending on the texts which they offer us. This indicates different criteria for “çeviri” (translation), which are not clearly expressed by Koz and Esen when identifying certain texts by Ahmed Midhat Efendi (see Paker 2002a; Hermans 1995).

In a similar vein, we encounter some terms and/or concepts apart from “çeviri” (translation) which are used in descriptions and which seem to indicate some varieties of the translational behaviour of Ahmed Midhat Efendi. For instance, Esen describes several texts as “iktibas” (borrowing), “hasiyeli tercümê” (annotated translation), and “hülasa” (summary), and regards these texts as “çeviri” (translation). Similarly, Koz makes the same references to these texts with the terms
“iktibas” (borrowing), “özet” (summary), and “esinlenmek” (inspiration). But unlike Esen, he does not identify such texts as “çeviri” (translation).

To sum up, we observe that some of the works obviously overlap under the term “çeviri” (translation) according to both researchers but some others do not. That is the reason why we can speak of an obvious difference in the way Koz and Esen interpret the term “çeviri” (translation), a problem which needs to be formulated. Therefore, the following questions gain importance: why do we encounter such a difference between the two lists? Is this problem related to researchers’ criteria for ‘assuming’ certain texts to be “çeviri” (translation) or not to be “çeviri” (‘assumed translation’ in Toury 1995: 31-35; Paker 2002a: 123).15 If so, what were the criteria that led one researcher to assume that a text was a “çeviri” while the other assumed it was not? Are we in fact considering the problem of defining the notion of “çeviri” (translation) with respect to other notion/s of “translation” which we can observe in the continuity/discontinuity of ‘Turkish culture’ from the empire to the republic? Can we speak of diverging conceptions in the way researchers look at Ottoman translation practices? Are these diverging conceptions based on any culture- and time-bound notions within the Ottoman translation tradition? (Paker 2002a).

To establish a basis for answering these questions, I will first take Saliha Paker’s article (2002a), titled “Translation as Terceme and Nazire: Culture-bound Concepts and their Implications for a Conceptual Framework for Research on Ottoman Translation History” as my point of departure. Following that, I will discuss Hermans (1995), which Paker (2002a) refers to, and then Hermans (2002).

15 In neither list was any information given about the criteria a text was assumed to be “çeviri” (translation) or not.
4.2. Rethinking Turkish Notions of Translation in Space and Time: Translation as “Çeviri” or “Terceme”

In her article, Paker proposes “a conceptual framework for research to break through restrictive approaches that arise from ideological concerns or modern concepts of translation” (Paker 2002a: 120). In other words, her article offers us a framework for understanding the culture-specific aspects of the terms and concepts, and hence the difference between “çeviri” and “terceme” in “the historical-descriptive and interpretative study of Ottoman literary translation practices” (ibid). Suggesting a field of research on Ottoman translation practices, Paker calls for research “to engage in in-depth investigation into the activity of poet-translators and their texts which have been identified as translations or which researchers can assume to be translations, depending on the evidence in tradition or in modern scholarship” (ibid.) (my italics). In this framework, she problematizes Ottoman literary translation practices in terms of “terceme” (translation) and “nazire” (parallel and competitive poetry). In addition, she also questions “the ‘de-problematization’, in scholarly discourse, of terceme as a culture-specific concept covering a wide range of Ottoman translation practices from the 13th to the 20th century” (ibid) (my italics). Based on the quotations, I would like to underline the following points:

(i) According to the evidence in tradition or in modern scholarship, there are certain texts by Ottoman literary translators, some of which have been identified as translations and some which modern researchers may assume to be translations.

(ii) Terceme (translation) as a culture-specific concept covering a wide range of Ottoman translation practices from the 13th to the 20th century can be overlooked by scholarly discourse.
Moving on, I would like to concentrate on the second section of the article titled “Translation as terceme and nazire”. In this section, Paker draws attention to her observations of two kinds of texts in Ottoman translation practices. In reviewing the range of Ottoman translations of romance narratives (*mesnevi*) in the 14th and 15th centuries, she homes in on the aspects of the literary texts which lead her to ‘problematize’ the concept of terceme (translation) in Ottoman culture. She says

The need to problematize terceme was prompted by thoughts and discussions arising from two interconnected sources: from the research seminars in the History of Translation in Ottoman/Turkish Society in the Department of Translation and Interpreting at Boğaziçi University, which materialized thanks to the contributions of specialists in Ottoman Turkish literature, and from the joint interdisciplinary projects initiated by the same department and that of Turkish Language and Literature. In order to view the range of Ottoman translations for observations of their functions, we began by computerizing a catalogue of texts from all centuries, which was followed by a subsidiary project to form a corpus of translations of romance narratives in the *mesnevi* genre of poetry from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. While some of the works were paratextually designated as translations (in terms of terceme and of related verbs of Arabic, Persian and Turkish origins), and some others could only be distinguished as having some intertextual relation with Persian/Arabic sources… (Paker 2002a: 123).

What is significant in Paker’s statements above is her concluding formulation. Looking at the literary texts in our Ottoman past (here in the fourteenth and fifteenth century), she raises the question:

What would our criteria be for ‘assuming’ certain texts as translations in Ottoman culture?

and gives the following explanation:

In other words, we were faced with the problem of defining Ottoman notions of what we call ‘translation’ in English, and çeviri in Turkish today? (ibid).

Keeping her concluding remarks in our mind, I would like to draw attention to the following point. First of all, the difference that we observe in Koz and Esen, who identify the works of Ahmet Midhat Efendi in terms of “çeviri” (translation),
seems to call for the asking and answering of similar questions. Needless to say, Paker’s questions also apply to the historical-descriptive study of literary translations in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. When we turn to look at the activity of Ottoman ‘writer-translators’ such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi and their texts which have been identified as translation (çeviri) or which can be assumed to be such, the issue of “what we call ‘translation’ in English, and ‘çeviri’ (translation) in Turkish today” (ibid.) becomes all the more salient. Paker’s recognition of terms and/or concepts of translation as “culture- and time-bound” (Paker 2002a: 127), which is based on her conceptual framework for research into Ottoman translation history, can prove fruitful in this regard.

Now I would like to dwell on my second point, which is about Paker’s critical assessment of Agah Sirri Levend’s statement on “terceme” (translation), which is presented in the 3rd section under the subtitle “The problem of definition: problematizing terceme”. Her analysis of Levend seems to be important in terms of delineating contradictory aspects in scholarly discourse, namely the disunity which is between the conception of Ottoman “terceme” and the notion of ‘translation proper’ suggested by the term “çeviri” (translation) (Paker 2002a: 126). Paker starts by taking issue with the following statement by Levend -“In our old [i.e. pre-Ottoman & Ottoman] literature, terceme signifies more than what we mean by çeviri today” (quoted from Paker’s translation of Levend in Paker 2002a: 124)\(^\text{16}\), after which she examines Levend’s classification of four forms of terceme.

Analyzing his discourse, she mentions first that Levend hints at a distinction between “Ottoman terceme and the modern Turkish sense of çeviri” with his initial

\(^{16}\text{For Levend’s statement in Turkish, see Levend 1988: 80.}\)
statement (ibid.). Focusing on his explanation of “expanded translations” (ibid.; cf. ‘genişletilerek yapılan çeviriler’ in Levend 1988: 80), she mentions that he tends “to define terceme as an Ottoman practice of translation in opposition to çeviri which, in his mind, seems to stand for something like ‘translation proper’” (ibid). Indicating terminological imprecision in his explanation, she draws attention to one of his statements so as to observe his “indiscriminate reference to çeviri” (ibid). Then she demonstrates how such references to “terceme” and “çeviri” represent two different notions of translation practice in his mind. Analyzing his review of several works by some Ottoman ‘poet-translators’ (Paker 2002a: 120), Paker shows the difference between Levend’s identification of these texts as “terceme” and “çeviri”. She mentions that Levend regards the works which he cites not as “translation proper” [by saying ‘tam bir çeviri değildir’] (Paker 2002a: 124; see also Levend 1988: 81). In this manner, according to Paker, he makes an indiscriminate reference to “çeviri” and hence considers those works which he identifies as not being ‘translation proper’ as existing in opposition to “çeviri” in his mind (ibid.). In particular, referring to Levend’s review of Ali Şir Nevayi’s Lisanü’t-Tayr (Language of the Birds), which is a Chagatai version of Feridüddin Attar’s Mantıku’ü’t-Tayr (Conference of the Birds) in Persian, she comes to the conclusion that Levend is talking about a particular form of “terceme” practice in Ottoman culture which does not fit his modern sense of “çeviri” (translation) (‘çeviri bile sayılmaz’ ibid.; see also Levend 1988: 81). Hence, in her analysis, she arrives at the following findings:

Levend’s explanation of this particular form of terceme practice is indeed formulated in opposition to the notion of çeviri as ‘translation proper’. We can conclude that groups (a) and (b) in his classification conform with his notion of ‘translation proper’, the modern Turkish concept of translation, but group (d) does not. In other words, according to Levend, in groups (a) and (b) terceme and çeviri are understood to overlap as concepts and terms, but this
not the case in group (d), where terceme is described as Ottoman culture-bound (Paker 2002a: 124-125).

In line with this, Paker concludes that “Levend identifies some forms of Ottoman translational behaviour as conforming to the modern Turkish concept of çeviri, others as not” (Paker 2002a: 127).

One of the significant outcomes of her analysis could be said to be her uncovering of the fact that translation (terceme and çeviri) appears as a culture specific concept within scholarly discourse in retrospect. If we remember the changes that occurred thanks to the dynamics of the cultural turn from the empire to the republic, this outcome gains considerable importance for research on Ottoman translation history, - especially when we are both concerned with, and confused by, terms and/or concepts of Ottoman and Turkish origin, which we find within utterances. At this juncture, Paker reminds us of the archaic term “terceme” (translation), which tells the changing context in rethinking the “rupture with Ottoman past and subsequent alienation” (Paker 2002a: 122). She says

In modern literary-historical discourse on Turkish literature they [terceme/tercüme and çeviri] can be used interchangeably. Tercüme, gradually lost its place to çeviri, a modern Turkish neologism, which denotes (like tercüme) the concept, process, and product of translation and derives from the verb çevirmek, to turn (transitive). Such neologism began to gain ground with the Turkish language reform movement for purism in the 1930s. Çeviri has displaced tercüme in modern discourse on translation, but tercüme is still in use e.g. with reference to commercial translation, and to indicate a traditionalist stance, which sometimes, not always, implies also a certain ideological antagonism towards republican reforms. In Levend’s literary history (1984: 80-90) the section on translation combines all three, the archaic, the modern and the traditional: it is headed “Tercüme”, and discusses translation in terms of both terceme and çeviri (Paker 2002a: 122-123).

Here, I would like to mention another significant outcome of Paker’s analysis which relates to her emphasis on the consensus of “çeviri” (translation) as the
modern Turkish notion of translation. Citing Şehnaz Tahir-Gürcağlar’s research (2001), she underlines that the “modern Turkish notion of translation was construed over at least four decades of debate and discussion on the functions, definitions and strategies of translation, using both the old terms terceme or tercüme and the modern verb çevirmek and its various derivatives” (Paker 2002a: 127) [cf. ‘çevirmek’ (translation) as an old Turkic verb in the Uighur period]. In this manner, Paker draws our attention to two principal notions of translation in the continuity of Turkish culture. Emphasizing a difference in one point, she understands the relationship between “terceme” (translation) and “çeviri” (translation) as representing the similar one between traductio (i.e. terceme) and translatio (i.e. çeviri) (ibid.). However, according to her, the relationship between “terceme” and “çeviri” needs to be taken not only as culture-bound but also as time-bound. The idea behind her Turkish distinction is related to her emphasis on the Turkish context in turn. Thus, she reminds us that in the Turkish case, there was the process of modern nation-building and the ideological republican revolution, the basic principle of which was a political and cultural break with the Ottoman past (ibid.).

So far, I have raised certain questions, especially based on Koz’s and Esen’s identification of the texts by Ahmed Midhat Efendi as “çeviri” or not “çeviri”

17 Şehnaz Tahir Gürcağlar’s doctoral research examines the politics and poetics of translation in Turkey in the period between 1923 and 1960. In the 3rd chapter, she focuses on the Turkish discourse on translation. Using the extratextual materials that she obtains from oral statements, commentaries and critiques on translation, she also demonstrates diverging definitions and conceptions of translation expressed with various terms and/or concepts of Ottoman and Turkish origin.

18 In her analogy, Paker makes reference to André Lefevere, a distinguished scholar in Translation Studies, who died in 1996, and one of his articles, titled “Translation: Its Genealogy in the West” (1990). He says that the old Latin word for translating is translatare which is an exchange of signifieds without overmuch regard for the connotations carried by the actual signifiers (p.17). He mentions that translatio can be seen as characterizing the ideal of faithful translation for those who are intent on providing the right image of the source text in a different language (p.17-18). But he points out that translatio is impossible. Also mentioning its polar opposite which can be designated by a Latin word that never existed, traductio, he says that traductio represents not translated but rather transported (p.18).
(translation). I have tried to find answers to several questions. Then I referred to Paker (2002a), which problematizes literary translation practices in Ottoman culture in terms of “terceme” and “nazire”, and I outlined Paker’s analysis of Agah Sırrı Levend’s discourse on translation, focusing on certain points. Needless to say, Paker (2002a) is valuable since it constitutes a major contribution to research on Ottoman translation history. First of all, it diverts our attention to terms and/or concepts as culture-bound and time-bound notions of translation, and sets a ground for understanding the changing paradigms in translation in Turkey.

To sum up, I would like to underline certain points provided by this article:

(i) “Terçeme”, “tercüme” and “çeviri” in Turkish and “translation” in English are all culture-bound and time-bound notions, like many others that we can encounter evidently in tradition and in scholarly discourse.

(ii) In Ottoman culture, there can be some texts which are paratextually designated as translations (in terms of terceme, tercüme, and of related verbs of Arabic, Persian and Turkish origins)

(iii) In Ottoman culture, there can be some other texts which can only be distinguished as having some kind of intertextual relationship with certain sources

(iv) We are faced with the problem of defining Ottoman notions of translation

(v) Some forms of Ottoman translational behaviour can conform to the modern Turkish concept of “çeviri” while some forms cannot.

(vi) Recognizing the rupture between the Ottoman past and the republic today enables us to appreciate that there are two principal notions of translation: “terceme” and “çeviri”

Returning to my questions, I would like to pose another question, based on Hermans 1995, which Paker (2002a) refers to: does the modern Turkish concept of translation (çeviri) really translate the Ottoman concept of translation (terceme) in every circumstance? It is obvious that this question puts an emphasis on the cultural
specificity of terms and concepts. At this juncture, Paker reminds us of Theo Hermans’s significant question below which he asked in revisiting Gideon Toury’s ‘classic’ *In Search of a Theory of Translation* (1980) (Hermans 1995: 215):

If we are trying to gauge Amharic *tirgum* [which incidentally is identical in etymology with *terceme*, SP], do we take translation [i.e. the culture-bound “concept of translation as it exists in modern English usage”] or translation\textsubscript{2} [as an assumed universal, supra-lingual concept] as a basis? (quoted from Paker (2002a: 127))

Hermans arrives at that question as a result of examining the definition of translation in Gideon Toury’s empirical, target-oriented approach (Hermans 1995: 220). In connection with Toury (1995), he proposes a reassessment of Toury’s ‘classic’ i.e., *In Search*, based on three topics which “were regarded by reviewers and fellow researchers as presenting problems for one reason or another” (Hermans 1995: 218). He focuses first on Toury’s famous reformulation that ‘translations as facts of the target culture’ (see Toury 1995: 29), then discusses Toury’s concept of the Adequate Translation (AT), which he regards as ‘a most unfortunate invention’ (Hermans 1995: 219). Thirdly he deals with Toury’s definition of translation, which he regards as remaining insoluble even in Toury (1995). Now, in an attempt to deal with the above question, I would like to concentrate particularly on Hermans’s final point related to the definition of translation.

Hermans mentions that Toury comes up with an assumption by which translation is defined to be “a form of interlingual, more particularly inter-textual transfer, resulting in a certain relation between the source and the target text” (Hermans 1995: 220). He points out, however, that Toury does not elaborate on translation as a form of transfer, but instead he places an emphasis on the empirical side of translation as a product, in other words, as an observable fact (ibid).
According to Hermans, this leads Toury to define translation “as being any text which is regarded as a translation by and within the target culture” (ibid). Although he considers this definition to be ‘bold and liberating’ for practical research purposes (ibid.), he finds Toury’s definition problematic on the basis of the following issue. He writes:

On the one hand there was the issue of certain operations being called translation by certain groups of people in whose midst these operations were being performed. On the other, the question of the researcher identifying certain forms of human behaviour which he or she labelled translation. This latter concept, which we might term translation2, would have to refer to a kind of universal human activity, the common denominator extrapolated from all occurrences of translational action through space and time (ibid.)

This explanation indicates that Hermans has two denotations of translation in mind, both of which are related to the target culture. One refers to certain practices called translation by certain people who are engaged in such practices, and the other refers to the perspective of the researcher who identifies certain forms, labelling them as translation. What seems significant here is that he sees an obvious difference between (i) translation and (ii) translation2, to which he refers as a ‘universal, supra-lingual concept’ (ibid.; Paker 2002a: 127). Thus, according to him, the words which one can encounter in individual cultures such as English translation, French traduction, German Übersetzung, Spanish traducción, [let us add Turkish çeviri and terceme] are all culture-bound manifestations of translation2. Additionally, he indicates that culture-bound manifestations of translation2 can sometimes conform to those of other individual cultures and sometimes cannot. That is the point, why he needs to pose the following question: “how do we know that English translation translates the French traduction?” (Hermans 1995: 221).
In answering this question, he looks at the relationship between English translation and French traduction. According to Hermans, English translation translates French traduction if the English-language cultural community agrees that translation [in English] constitutes a legitimate translation of traduction [in French]. In other words, he says that one can only translate traduction as translation on the basis of the modern English concept referred to in English as translation (ibid.). He also draws our attention to the reverse situation of the case when the English-language cultural community does not agree with the legitimacy of this translation, or if one is not translating according to a concept compatible with the English concept of translation. At this point, he raises the prospect that it can be called translation, commenting

when an Ethiopian gives us the Amharic tirgum for our word translation, we have no way of knowing if he is translating according to a concept compatible with our English concept of translation; and if he is not, what is he doing, and can we call it translation? (Hermans 1995: 221).

On this matter, Hermans suggests that his concept of translation needs to be taken into consideration together with three assumptions which Toury proposed in explaining his notion of ‘assumed translation’ (see Toury 1995: 31-35). The basis for his suggestion is a problem which he sees in translating ‘culture-bound concepts of translation, traduction’ [let us say, terceme and çeviri] (Hermans 1995: 221). That is why he asks which term, translation or translation, can be taken as a basis to “gauge” Amharic tirgum (Hermans 1995: 221). That is also why Hermans suggests that we understand terms as parts of specific cultures which “construe” the concept of translation in a certain manner (ibid.). At this juncture, he notes the understanding of the “otherness of other cultures” which, according to him, may lead translation scholars dealing with cultural otherness to “renewed questioning of exactly what
kind of cultural translation they are performing when they are interpreting…different concepts of translation” (Hermans 1995: 222).

This point is also related to Paker’s suggestion that we bear in mind that “the cultural specificity of terms and concepts needs problematizing rather than glossing over” in historical translation studies carried out in English and in Turkish (Paker 2002a: 128). But it should be noted that Paker also applies Hermans’s framework to the Turkish intracultural context. She tries to formulate the relationship between terceme (translation) and çeviri (translation) in the context of the modern nation-building process and ideological revolution in Turkey in the early twentieth century (Paker 2002a: 127). That is why, departing from the conventional Turkish scholarly discourse, she emphasizes that terceme (translation) and çeviri (translation) signify culture-bound and time-bound notions and that each indicates “the other’s cultural otherness” (ibid.). In looking at ‘culture-bound manifestations of translation,’ (Hermans 1995) from Ottoman to modern Turkish culture, Paker argues that there are two principal notions of translation: terceme and çeviri (Paker 2002a: 127). Therefore, from her point of view, it is crucial when considering terms and concepts of translation in Turkish-oriented historical studies today not to overlook the differences between the modern and Ottoman cultural domains. In this way, in her preface to Translations: (re)shaping of Literature and Culture (Paker 2002b), Paker also draws attention to a major shortcoming in the historical study of Turkish translations. She writes:

…the modern concept of translation in terms of tercüme and çeviri has interfered with or even blocked the recognition of the Ottoman culture-specific concept of translation practice called terceme, which as both a concept and a term had currency from its beginnings in the thirteenth century up to the mid-twentieth century. (Paker 2002b: xvii) (my underline)
Taking up this point, Paker cites Hermans who refers to the problematic issue of “translating according to our contemporary, culture-bound concept of translation” (Hermans 2002: 192). In this article, Hermans examines a two-version Dutch translation of Boethius’s Latin *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (Consolation of Philosophy) produced in 1653 by a Flemish Catholic priest Adrianus de Buck (Hermans 2002: 187; Paker 2002b: xvi). He reviews de Buck’s translation based on the system theory of German sociologist Niklas Luhmann. What is significant in Hermans’s examination is that he considers de Buck’s translation to be “the discourse about translation [which] translates the practice of translation”. He claims that “we translate according to our contemporary, culture-bound concept of translation, and into our concept of translation” (Hermans 2002: 192).

At this point, let me return to my question: does the modern Turkish concept of translation (çeviri) really “translate” (cf. Hermans 1995: 221; 2002: 192) the Ottoman concept of translation (terceme) in every circumstance? To answer this question, I suggest following Paker’s way of thinking while examining the *intracultural relationship* between çeviri (translation) and terceme (translation). At this point, Paker’s analysis of Levend’s discourse on translation (çeviri and terceme) helps us understand the relationship in a clear way:

![Diagram showing the overlap between terceme and çeviri (translation)]
We see that “çeviri” (translation) and “terceme” overlap in terms of translation proper, but the two do not signify exactly the same concept and practices. Thus I think that a question still exists: what would be our universal concept in Turkish today while we are discussing “translation” that may cover both “çeviri” (translation) and “terceme” (translation) as concept and practice? I suggest that “çeviri” (translation) may only translate “terceme” (translation) if we use the term “çeviri” (translation) to be a Turkish universal concept of translation today (translation). On the other hand, if we use “çeviri” (translation) as a ‘culture- and time-bound concept’ (Paker 2002a), it will obviously signify a different notion and practice from what “terceme” (translation) signifies. Hence, if we refer to culture-bound notions and practices, “çeviri” (translation) can no longer be said to “translate” (cf. Hermans 1995: 221; 2002: 192) “terceme” (translation). In this case, we have to bear in mind what we are addressing: a “culture-bound manifestation”, or a “supra-lingual, universal concept”? (Hermans 1995).

With regards to Koz and Esen, I believe that the essential difference between their interpretations of the term “çeviri” (translation) seems to be related to the definition of “çeviri” (translation) when applied in retrospect, that is, whether it is a universal concept or a culture- and time-bound notion. I consider that Koz tends to use “çeviri” as standing for something like ‘translation proper’, i.e. a modern Turkish concept of translation. On the other hand, Esen intends to see “çeviri” as encapsulating a wide range of practices including not only proper translations (çeviri) but also other forms of Ottoman translation practice (terceme).

In the next section, I would like to concentrate particularly on the ‘paratexts’ (Genette 1997; Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001; 2002; Bengi 1990) of certain works by Ahmed
Midhat Efendi which Koz and Esen identify either as “çeviri” (translation) or not as “çeviri” (translation). My specifying question will be as follows: what kind of culture-bound term/s and notion/s of translation (terceme) are there in the paratexts which may indicate various options in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translational practice?

4.3. Culture-bound and Time-bound Terms and/or Notions of Translation (Terceme) in Paratexts

Before my analysis, it is opportune to mention two studies that use paratextual data in their analyses of translated texts in Turkey: Bengi (1990) and Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001).

In her doctoral thesis, Işın Bengi (1990) re-evaluates the concept of translation equivalence in the literary translations of Ahmed Midhat Efendi (Bengi 1990: 2). She proposes a corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translations that covers not only texts in which he refers to himself as the translator (“mütercim”) but also some others which are assumed by some literary historians to be translations (Bengi 1990: viii). Examining Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translations, Bengi aims to identify the appropriate status of these works within the framework of Translation Studies. She also intends to make explicit Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s “self-interrogation” as a translator and to reveal different approaches of literary historians to his translations (Bengi 1990: viii). She also carries out a case study with a comparative textual analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translation of Alexandre Dumas Fils’s novel La Dame aux camélias with respect to both definitions of translation and translation equivalence. What is particularly important in her study is
that she makes use of paratextual data in an attempt to reconstruct Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translational norms.

In her study, Bengi points out that there is no consensus among scholars on what one can consider Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s literary translations and what should not be considered as such (Bengi 1990: 86). In this sense, she refrains from working with prescriptive definitions of translation, and instead she takes “all of the texts in which he claims to have taken partially or in full from a foreign source as the corpus of his translated literature” (Bengi 1990: 87). Thus she identifies 32 works as the corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translated literature (see Bengi 1990: 95-157). In 17 works out of this 32 (cf. Koz and Esen), Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the translator (“mütercim”), and in the other 15 works he refers to himself as the writer (“muharrir”)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alayın Kraliçesi</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aleksandır Stradella</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amiral Bing</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana Kız</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonin</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bilgiç Kız</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir Fahir Delikan’ın Hikâyesi</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bir Kadının Hikâyesi</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can Kurtaranlar</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Çıfte İntikam</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cinli Han</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diplomali Kız</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gabriyelin Günüahl</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Günül</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henryyet</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iki Hid‘akar</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kamere Aşık</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar</td>
<td>“çeviri-uyarlama” (translation-adaptation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Dam O Kamelya</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lulu-i Esfer</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madaran Marifeti</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merdud Kız</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19 In this sense, Bengi (1990) was the first researcher in Translation Studies to examine translations of Ahmed Midhat Efendi in terms of the notions of “mütercim” (translator) and “muharrir” (writer).
The following works are those not included in the corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translated literature in Bengi (1990) whereas they are in Koz (2002) or Esen (1999):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Altın Aşkları</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derebeyleri</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokkabaz Kitabı</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hılasa-i Humayunname</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hüsrevname</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenovefa</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konak yahut Şeyh Şamil’in Kafkasya</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhârebâtında Bir Hikaye-i Garibe</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasib</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niza-i İbm ü Din</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In her analysis on the corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translations, Bengi concentrates particularly on translational norms. Especially to understand his preliminary norms, she scrutinises title pages, prefaces and epilogues (if available) of the texts. She raises and answers several questions related to Midhat Efendi’s choice of a specific text for translation as well as his general choice of genre, author and source literature. She also questions his choice of translating from a specific primary or an intermediate language (Bengi 1990: 92-94). In order to reconstruct his preliminary and initial norms, she proposes a chart which demonstrates paratextual data, thus giving essential clues about Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translation strategies.
and his definitions of translation and translator. What is important is that she thinks of paratextual data as definitely reflecting the cultural/literary constraints which are necessary for the understanding of the target literary system at that time (ibid.). In order to reconstruct Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s operational norms, she performs a comparative analysis on La Dame aux camélias and its translation so as to determine matricial norms which are active during the process of translation. Therefore, it should be noted that Bengi reconstructs Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s preliminary and initial norms through the paratextual analysis of 32 works, and his operational norms through the comparative textual analysis of La Dame aux camélias and the TT.

Of course, Bengi’s findings and concluding remarks are very important since she was the first scholar to examine Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translated literature within the framework of linguistics and translation studies. On the basis of her paratextual analysis and of a case study, she reaches certain conclusions which are presented from certain perspectives: (i) from the point of view of Ahmed Midhat Efendi, and (ii) from the point of view of scholars on Ahmed Midhat Efendi, and (iii) from the point of view of translation theory (Bengi 1990: 226-230). Let me look, in particular, at that part of the conclusion which is presented from Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s point of view:

i) Translation is that which draws from a foreign source and which aims at transferring to the TT the majority of the linguistic, structural aspects of the ST. In other words, if Midhat names a text as a translation, then it is a full translation.

ii) If transference is not done in full because the translator wants to make intentional shifts at various levels which he thinks would serve a definite function, then that transference cannot be named a translation. Actually in the texts in which Midhat employs such shifts, he refers to himself as the writer of the text, not as the translator of the text although he makes reference to either the title of the ST or to its writer, or both.
iii) As a direct consequence of this attitude to translation we understand that the type of equivalence relation that Midhat seeks in those texts of his in which he refers to himself as a translator (and of course to the text as a translation) is that of adequacy. (Bengi 1990: 226-227)

At this point, I would like to interpret those conclusions in terms of the framework of Paker (2002a) and Hermans (1995) which I outlined in the preceding section. It seems clear in Bengi’s study that there are basically two kinds of texts resulting from Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translation practice. Some of these are paratextually designated as translations (*terceme*) (based on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s reference to himself as a translator “mütercim”). In connection with Bengi’s conclusion (iii), those texts could be well identified as “translation proper” (Hermans 1995) since they have been assumed to meet the requirements of “full”ness and of “adequacy”. This type of texts forms a zone which fits our modern Turkish concept of translation i.e., “çeviri”. In other words, “terceme” (translation) and “çeviri” (translation) overlap as concept and practice in this case (Hermans 1995; Paker 2002a).

However, based on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s reference to either the title of the ST or to its writer, or both, it should also be noted that there are some other texts which cannot be regarded as full translations by Ahmed Midhat Efendi and which can only be distinguished as having an intertextual relationship with foreign sources. These texts have intentional shifts at various levels and therefore could not be termed translation (*terceme*) by Ahmed Midhat Efendi since in his view they were not full translations. It is obvious that this forms another zone of texts which does not fit the modern Turkish concept of translation i.e., “çeviri”. But in this case, it is important that Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s text production appears as an Ottoman culture-bound practice. In other words, his translation practices, inevitably point to a culture- and
time-bound concept. Thus we come to the point at which two kinds of texts and practices need to be regarded as part of the Ottoman terceme (translation) tradition.

With regards to the use of paratextual information in the study of Turkish translations, Tahir-Gürçağlar (2001) is also significant. In her doctoral research, she aims to reveal the politics and poetics that shaped the field of literary translation activity in Turkey between 1923 and 1960 and to explore how translation contributed to cultural processes in early republican Turkey. She borrows from Gérard Genette (1997) the concept of ‘paratext’, which is defined as “liminal devices and conventions, both within the book (peritext) and outside it (epitext), that mediate the book to the reader: titles, subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes epilogues, and afterwords” (ibid.; see also Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 44).

Thus similar to Bengi (1990), she makes use of the paratext to be another form of discourse in addition to others i.e. ‘textual’ and ‘extratextual’ defined by Toury (1995) (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 70). But in her research, the titles, subtitles, forewords, prefaces, notes, reviews etc. are all subjected to examination, especially with an eye to tracing the translator’s visibility, so as to cover specific ways in which texts place themselves and relate to their readers (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 326). According to her, paratexts provides important clues in understanding a culture’s definition of translation, and have a strong influence on how a text will be received (2001, pp.326). She emphasizes that the first impressions of what distinguishes a translation from a non-translation are shaped by the way in which that text is

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20 Tahir-Gürçağlar is also critical of Genette’s conception of translation as ‘paratext’. She claims that his conception is in contradicrion with a perspective which regards translation as initiating in the target culture and intending to satisfy a need at that pole. See Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 46.
packaged and presented. In other words, she mentions that the reception of a translation or a non-translation starts before the process of reading the actual texts begins (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2002a: 45). That is why she suggests that paratextual materials need to be included in any study entailing the analysis of translations (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 326).

As I mentioned, I will offer below a descriptive analysis of the paratextual data of certain works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. From among this corpus, I take especially the works which could demonstrate well various aspects of his discourse on translation (terceme). My special focus will be on identifying and investigating culture-bound terms and notions of translation (terceme) in this discourse. Thus, in my analysis, how texts are identified, described and/or named by Ahmed Midhat Efendi will gain much importance. In addition, terms connected with translation (terceme) in the form of verbs, nouns and/or collocations will also be underscored, depending on the discourse in paratexts. Such terms will help us to recognize the variety of ways in which terceme was practised. In the particular sense, they will provide us with a wide scope in observing the various options in enlarging the literary repertoire of his time by means of these options. Thus we will gain insights into different forms of terceme practices, which may prevent us from equating çeviri (translation) with terceme (translation) in terms of concept and practice.
4.3.1. Translation as İktibas (Borrowing)

4.3.1.1. Diplomalı Kız [Girl with a Diploma]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diplomalı Kız [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Diplomalı Kız was published as the 19th in the series titled Letaif-i Rivayat (Finest Stories) (cf. “Ondokuzuncu cüzü ‘Diplomalı Kız’ ismiyle bir hikâyeyi havıdır”). On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is a preface titled “İfade” (Statement).

In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi calls his text a “roman” (novel) and informs readers about his source:

What makes me write this novel is an anecdote written by a writer by the name of “Dik May” which I read in the newspaper Levant Herald published on the seventh day of the January according to the Gregorian calendar (p.2).

[Bu romanı bana ihtar eden şey “Dik May” namında bir muharririn yazmış olduğu bir fikradr ki kanun-i sani-i efrencinin yedinci günü neşr olunan Levant Herald gazetesinde okumuşumdur (p.2).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi also gives information about his translational relationship with his source from which we learn how he made use of the ST:

Do not consider that I am translating this anecdote as the same or pouring it into the mould of the novel by means of expanding and spreading out. If I had never let on that I wrote this novel based on the idea of the original, nobody would be able to figure out whether it was borrowed or stolen. Even if they figured this out, nobody could make such a claim. Even though I did not make use of the anecdote written by “Dik May” [in Turkish transcription] to a

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21 It is noted that this “novel” was first serialized in Tercüman-ı Hakikat, then published separately in the form of “risale” (pamphlet) in Istanbul in 1307/1889-1890 by Kırk Anbar Matbaası with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
proportion of even 1 out of 10, I expanded this proportion 500 times. Do you see? There is nothing remained from “Dik May” (p.2).


The data related to TT and ST on the title page and the preface indicate that

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi does not perform a literal translation (aynen terceme) in this text
(ii) he does not pour the ST into a mould (ifrağ) by expanding (bast) and spreading it out (temhid)
(iii) he identifies his text as a borrowing (muktebes) or stolen text (müsterak)
(iv) he writes this text by taking the idea from the ST

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

Verbs

“aynen terceme etmek” (to translate as the same)
“bast ve temdih ile roman haline ifrağ eylemek” (to pour into the mould of the novel by means of expanding and spreading out)
“fikir üzerine roman yazmak” (to write a novel based on an idea [of the original])

Nouns

“muktebes” (to be borrowed from)
“müsterak” (to be stolen from)

4.3.1.2. İki Hüd’akâr [Two Cheats]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>İki Hüd’akâr [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

İki Hüd’akâr was published as the 21st in the series of Letaif-i Rivayat (Finest Stories) (cf. “Yirmibirinci cüz ‘İki Hüd’akâr’ ünvanıyla bir hikâye-i latifeyi
On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is a preface titled “Mukaddime” (Introduction).

In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi describes this text as a “roman” (novel) and gives readers information about his source on which he has based his own text:

The subject matter of this novel titled “İki Hüd’akâr” was based on an anecdote which I read in a French newspaper 7 or 8 months ago (p.2)… The work from which I borrowed was not signed. But there were only two letters as initials which indicate the name or nickname of the original writer. I have also forgotten those letters (p.4).

[Şu “İki Hüd’akâr” serlevhalı romançığın zemini 7, 8 mah mukaddem bir Fransız gazetesinde okumuş bulunduğum fikractik teşkil etmektedim (p.2)… Muktebes-i anhamıza imza konulmamış. Yalnız iki harf yazılık dur buharl dahi müellifin isim ve mahlasının ilk harfleri oldukları dərkâ ise de hangi harfleri oldukları da hatırlımdan çıkmıştır (p.4).]

He also explains his translation strategy that he has performed on texts from the West:

For many years, my readers have been familiar with my approach, by which I perform many adjustments on the novels I appropriate from Europe by translation, and then recommend for the sake of Ottoman morals… I make the idea of changing more advanced, especially with respect to the issue of borrowing. I have never been like a prisoner within the borders of the works I have borrowed. Taking only the idea [of the original], I rewrite a new work based on that idea. Not only the novel I imported to Letaif-i Rivayat under the title “Diplomali Kız” but also many others were created by means of borrowing. Similarly, the novel “İki Hüd’akâr” was also created in this way (pp.2-3).

[Fakat bunca yıldır… karilerim, mutad-ı âcizanemi bilirler ki “terceme” suretiyle bile Avrupa’dan aldığım romanlar üzerebnde daima birçok tadilat icra ederim de badehu onları ahlak-i umumiyeye-i Osmanlıyeyimize tavsiye ederim… Hele iktibas hususunda bu fikr-i tadili daha ileriye götürürüm. Muktebes-i anhamın hududu dahilinde hiç mahbus kalmam. Onlardan yalnız bir fikri alıp badehu o fikir üzerine yeniden bir eser kaleme alırım. “Diplomali Kız” namiyle işbu Letaif-i Rivayat meyanında ithal etmiş olduğum roman ile sair birçokları hef öyle iktibas suretiyle meydana geldikleri gibi, bu “İki Hüd’akâr” dahi o surette vücut buldu (pp.2-3).]

22 It is noted that this “novel” was first published in Istanbul in 1311/1893-1894 by Matbaa-i Âmire with the official permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
The data pertaining to TT and ST on the title page and preface indicate that

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi takes many novels by translation (terceme) [as well as in other ways] from Europe
(ii) he always performs many adjustments on the texts [even on those he identifies as translation (terceme)]
(iii) he has the idea of making adjustments in his borrowings (iktibas)
(iv) he identifies ‘borrowing’ (iktibas) as taking the idea from the ST and rewriting it on the basis of that idea
(v) he identifies Diplomalı Kız and İki Hüd’akâr as borrowings (iktibas) which were imported (ithal) into [the target system]

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

**Verbs**
- “terceme suretiyle Avrupa’dan roman almak” (to appropriate the novel from Europe by translation)
- “tadilat icra etmek” (to perform adjustments)
- “[aslı] fikrini almak” (to take the idea from the original)
- “o fikir üzerinde yeniden bir eser kaleme almak” (to rewrite a new work based on the idea of the original)
- “iktibas suretiyle meydana gelmek” (to create by means of borrowing)
- “ithal etmek” (to import)

**Nouns**
- “terceme” (translation)
- “muktebes” ([the text] to be borrowed from)
- “fikr-i tadil” (the idea of changing or amendment)

### 4.3.1.3. Ana Kız [Mother and Daughter]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ana Kız [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ana Kız was published as the 25th in the series of Letaif-i Rivayat (Finest Stories) (cf. “Yirmibeşinci cüz ‘Ana Kız’ ismiyle bir hikâye-i latifiyeyi havıdır”).³³ On the title

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³³ It is noted that this “story” was first serialized in Tercüman-i Hakikat, then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1312/1894-1895 with the official permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is also a preface entitled “İfade” (Statement).

In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi calls his text a “hikâye” (story) and gives some clues revealing his translational relationship with the texts he read in European journals:

My readers are familiar with the fact that I take many ideas by way of stories and novels from European newspapers and then I expand and spread out those ideas by myself (p.2).

[Avrupa gazetelerinden hikâye ve roman yollu pekçok fikirler aldığımı ve bunları bilâhäre kendi tarafımndan ne surette bast ve temhid eyledğimi karilerim bilmez değildir (p.2).]

He also states that the incidents in this story were based on an anecdote he read in a European newspaper:

Some of the incidents which provided the basis for this story were borrowed from a particular anecdote I read in European newspapers. It includes only a proportion of 1 out of 5 with respect to the [original] story. The rest is my creation (p.2).

[Bu hikâyenin zeminini teşkil eyleyen vak‘anın yalnız bir kısmı Avrupa gazetelerinde okuduğum bir fikra-i mahsusadan iktibas edilmiştir ki o da hikâyenin tamamına nisbetle ancak 5’te 1 kısmını teşkil eder. Bakiyyesi kendi mahsul-i karihamdır (p.2).]

The data related to TT and ST on the title page and preface indicate that

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi takes many ideas from the stories and novels in European journals
(ii) he expands (bast) and spreads (temhid) the ideas of his source texts
(iii) his translation strategy is well know by his readers
(iv) he identifies this text as a borrowing (iktibas)

We find only the following translational terms in his statement, which appear in the form of verbs and collocations:
4.3.1.4. Aleksandr Stradella [Alessandro Stradella]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aleksandr Stradella [in Turkish transcription]</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Aleksandr Stradella [in Turkish transcription] is given as the title. On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is also a short preface entitled “İfade-i Mahsusa” (Special Statement).

In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi terms his text a “hikâye” (story) and gives clues about his source as well as his translational relationship with the ST:

We write this story by means of borrowing from Stradella, a famous opera composed by the master Flotow. Incidents of the story stem from the sixteenth century, i.e. three centuries before our time (p.2).

[Bu hikâyeyi Flotov nam üstadın Stradella serlevhasıyla tertib etmiş olduğu meşhur operasından biliktibas yazıyoruz ki havi olduğu vakayı, on altıncı asr-ı miladiye yani bundan üç asır mukaddeme ait vakayidendir (p.2).]

The data about TT and ST on the title page and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s preface point out that

(i) he borrows his story from an opera
(ii) and he modifies the discourse of the ST into a narrative discourse, i.e. a story

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24 It is noted that this “story” was first serialized in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1307/1889-1890 with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
We find only the following translational term in his statement, namely a verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>“bi’l-iktibas yazmak” (to write by means of borrowing from)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

4.3.1.5. Şeytankaya Tilsımı [Devil-rock Talisman]^{25}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Şeytankaya Tilsımı</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Şeytankaya Tilsımı is given as the title.^{26} On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is also a short preface titled “İfade-i Mahsusa” (Special Statement).

In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi labels his text a “roman” (novel) and gives clues about his source as well as his translation strategy:

We arranged and wrote this beautiful novel using a French anecdote, which we expanded and spread out (p.2).

[Şu güzel romanı Fransızca yazılmış bir fikrayı bast ve temhid suretiyle tertib ve tahrir eyledik (p.2).]

The data related to TT and ST on the title page and his short preface point out that

(i) he borrows his story from an anecdote (fikra) in French
(ii) he arranges (tertib) and writes (tahrir) the ST by expanding (bast) and spreading (temhîd) it out

^{25} In his preface to his emulated novel (“nazîre” p.3) Haydut Montari (1305/1887-1888), Ahmed Midhat Efendi identifies Şeytankaya Tilsımı as a borrowing (“iktibas”); see Ahmed Midhat (1305/1887-1888). In his preface to Haydut Montari, he also identifies another of his novels, Hasan Mellah (1291/1874-1875), as an emulated novel (“nazîre” ibid.) of Alexandre Dumas’s novel Le Comte de Monte-Cristo (1844).

^{26} It is noted that this “novel” was first serialized in Tercüman-i Hakikat then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1307/1889-1890 with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
In his statement, we find only the following translational term, a verb:

**Verbs**

“bast ve temhid suretiyle tertib ve tahrir eylemek” (to arrange and write by expanding and spreading)

### 4.3.1.6. Nedamet mi? Heyhat! [Remorse? Alas!]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nedamet mi? Heyhat!</td>
<td>- (completely missing from the list)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Nedamet mi? Heyhat!* is given as the title. Under the title it is noted that it was a “roman” (novel) and acquired (*iktibas*) from Emil Öjye [Emile Augier] (in Turkish transcription) (cf. “Emil Öjye’den muktebes”, “Roman”). On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is also a long preface titled “Mukaddime Makamında Bir Hasbihal” (A Friendly Talk in an Introduction) in the text.

In the long preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi firstly gives information about the history of the novel in France. Then he also reviews the novel as a new developing genre in Ottoman literature and illuminates how ‘Ottoman pens’ (“erbab-ı terceme ve telif” p.3) had intertextual relations with European [mostly French] sources. He says

What is important for us, and deserves much attention, is that, for instance, developments in the novel which took place over 50 to 60 years in Europe have appeared in their entirety in a period of only 15 to 20 years in our society. Our pens producing translations and indigenous works either translated or imitated not only [European] novels of 60 years ago but also those more recently written. That is why our knowledge of the novel of the

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27 It is noted that this novel was first serialized in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1306/1888-1889 with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
present is a third of our knowledge of the European novel of 60 years ago (p.3).

[Hâlâ bizim için en ziyade dikkat olunacak şey meselâ 50, 60 sene zarfında Avrupaca romançılık hususunda görülen ahvalin бизde yalnız 15, 20 sene zarfında hemen kâmilent görülmüş olması kaziyyesidir. Çünkü erab-i terceme ve telêftên olanlarımız bir yandan 60 senelik romanları ya terceme veya taklid eyledikleri gibi bir yandan dahi daha dünkü add olunacak kadar yeni olanlarını da terceme veya taklid etmiş bulunduklarından bizde roman denilen şeye dair mevued olan fikir Avrupaca 60 senelik bir zamanın 3’te 1 nisbetinde tenkis sorteinde peyda olmuştur (p.3).]

He gives information on the structure and literary aspects of the ST as follows:

This work by Emile Augier was not a novel but actually a play. But not a mundane play that will be forgotten after it has been performed a few times! First of all, it is a play in verse not one in prose… And it is such poetry with the quality of the beautiful poetry to be seen in the verse plays of the classical French masters such as Corneille and Racine. This verse is a most fine one, each line of which requires expanding and spreading out with annotations for several pages even for French readers (pp.9-10).

[Meğer Emil Öjye [in Turkish transcription] cenâblarının bu eseri bir roman değil bir tiyatro oyunu imiş. Ama öyle birkaç defa oynandıktan sonra kuše-i nisyana atıliverilecek derme çatma oyunlardan değil! Evvela nesir değil bir eser-i manzumdur… Korney, Rasîn [in Turkish transcriptions] gibi Fransa’nın “klâsîk” addolanan esatizesinin manzum tiyatrolarındaki lêtafet-i şiirîyye derecesinde mühîm metn-i üstadane-i tahrirane bir şiir ki ehl-i lisan olan Fransızlar için bile her bir misrâmî birkaç sahifîk şiir ve haşîye ile bast ve temhide şayan bir eser-i nefis! (pp.9-10).]

Furthermore, Ahmed Midhat Efendi acquaints his readers with his translation strategy, indicating that he is not for literal translation (“terceme-i aynîyye”):

We are not in favour of translation as the same. We read a sentence, a statement, or even a page written in French and rewrite it independently in Ottoman. That is why our translations appear as if they were originally written in Ottoman. Let us translate Emile Augier’s Serseri in that way. But this work was not written with such an ordinary prose… We actually considered a great deal how we could translate such a work written so meticulously. Then suddenly we remembered the novel Amiral Bing, which we had written previously by way of translation (p.9).
Ahmed Midhat Efendi states that he has transformed the ST, i.e. a verse play, into a novel, a strategy which he identifies as “tahvil” (conversion).

Based on our studies, we wrote Amiral Bing, converting it to novel... We found it necessary to follow the same procedure for Emile Augier’s Serseri as well. We even found it necessary to make a complete change to the title Serseri. Do you ask “why”? Actually, for such an elegant, philosophical and fine work, we found the name Serseri undeserving... We entitled the novel Nedamet mi? Heyhat! (p.10).

The data connected with TT and ST on the title page and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s preface the reader that:

(i) there are a group of people (“erbab-ı terceme and telif”) who either translate from or imitate European novels in the Ottoman target culture

(ii) Ahmed Midhat Efendi is not in favour of literal translation (“terceme-i ayniyye”)

(iii) he rewrites directly in Ottoman Turkish what he understands from a sentence, a statement or a page.

(iv) he had written Amiral Bing by means of translation (“terceme yollu yazmak”) and transformed (“tahvil”) it into a novel

(v) he identifies Nedamet mi? Heyhat! as a borrowing (“muktebes”)

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s statements:
Verbs

“[Avrupa romanlarını] terceme veya taklid eylemek” (to translate from or imitate [European novels])

“yeniden Osmanlıca yazmak” (to rewrite in Ottoman Turkish)
“terceme yollu yazmak” (to write by way of translation)
“ne yolda terceme [yazmak]” (how to translate)
“romana tahvil ederek yazmak” (to write by converting to novel)
“ismini külliyen tebdil [etmek]” (to change totally the name [of the original])

Nouns

“terceme” (translation)
“muktebes” ([the text] to be borrowed from)

4.3.1.7. Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar [Whatever is your lot will turn up on your spoon]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar</td>
<td>“çeviri-uyarlama”</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>(translation-adaptation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar was published as the 18th in the series of Letaif-i Rivayat (Finest Stories) (cf. “Onsekizinci çüz ‘Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar’ ismiyle bir hikâyeyi havidir”). On the title page, that Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is not a preface but a short note that precedes the story.

In this short note, Ahmed Midhat Efendi calls this text a “hikâye” (story) and gives readers information about the source which constituted the basis for the text he had written:

We based our story on an anecdote that we read in a novel titled “Paris’in Büyük Madamları” or “Le Grandes dames de Paris” (p.2).

[Şu hikâyemizi “Le Grand Dam de Pari” [in Turkish transcription] yani “Paris’in Büyük Madamları” serlevhalı bir romanda gördüğümüz fikra üzerine bina eyledik (p.2).]

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28 It is noted that this “story” was first serialized in Tercüman-ı Hakikat then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1304/1886-1887 by Kirk Anbar Matbaası.
The data pertaining to TT and ST on the title page and his short note reveal that

(i) he constructed his text on the basis of an anecdote (fikra) which he read in a French novel
(ii) he gives the name of the source text and its literal translation in Turkish

We find only the following translational term, a verb or collocation, in his statement:

| Verb | “fikra üzerine bina eylemek” (to base on an anecdote) |

### 4.3.1.8. Çifte İntikam [Double Revenge]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Çifte İntikam [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>not “çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Çifte İntikam was published as the 16th in the series of Letaif-i Rivayat (Finest Stories) (cf. “Onaltıncı câz ‘Çifte İntikam’ ismiyle bir hikâyeyi havidir”).

On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer). There is not a preface but a short note that precedes the story.

In this short note, Ahmed Midhat Efendi labels this text a “hikâye” (story) and gives readers information about the source he had used when writing his text:

The basis of our story was set up partially on an anecdote that we read in the newspaper Moniteur Oriental (p.2).

[Şu hikâyemizin zeminini kısmen “Monitör Oriyantal” [in Turkish transcription] nam gazetede okumuş bulunduğumuz bir fikra teşkil eyleyorum (p.2).]

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29 It is noted that this story was first serialized in Tercüman-i Hakikat, then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1304/1886-1887 by Kırk Anbar Matbaası.
The data about the TT and ST on the title page and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s short note show us that

(i) he bases his text on an anecdote (fikra) which he read in a French journal

We find only the following translational term, a verb, in his statement:

**Verb**

“zemini fikra teşkil eylemek” (to set up an anecdote as a base)

### 4.3.2. Translation as Terceme (Translation)

#### 4.3.2.1. Amiral Bing [L’admiral de l’escadre bleue drame historique en cinq actes et dix tableaux]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amiral Bing [in Turkish transcription]</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The title of this text is *Amiral Bing* [in Turkish transcription]. On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “mütercim” (translator). But he gives neither the name of the ST writer nor the title of the ST. There is also a preface titled “Mukaddime” (Introduction).

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30 It is noted that this novel was serialized first in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, then published in the form of “risale” (pamphlet) in Istanbul in 1298/1880-1881.

31 In his preface to *Nedamet mi? Heyhat!*, Ahmed Midhat Efendi describes *Amiral Bing* as a play which he had transformed into a novel. He underlines that *Amiral Bing* had a great interest in that time (p.10). He also states that the original play was performed by some of the theater companies in Turkey (ibid.). Departing from this finding, our investigations show that Mardiros Mnakyán’s “Osmanlı Dram Kumpanyası” (Ottoman Drama Company) had performed a play titled “Alicenap Amiral Bing yahut Portsmouth Vakası yahut Amiral Bing” (Magnanimous Admiral Bing or the Portsmouth Case or Admiral Bing), [possibly since the 1870s] (And 1972: 444). Not only the finding in And (1972) but also Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s statement to the effect that he made some changes to the title of the ST [probably due to a long title] indicate that the ST of his translation is likely to have been a French play titled *L’admiral de l’escadre bleue drame historique en cinq actes et dix tableaux* which was written by Paul Foucher and Antoine Nicholas Joseph Bovy and published by Michel Lévy Frères in 1858 (?) (see WorldCat, OCLC Online Computer Library Center, Inc, 2001-2004, available at [http://www.worldcatlibraries.org/wcpa/ow/16a91408b9c9097ba19afeb4da09e526.html](http://www.worldcatlibraries.org/wcpa/ow/16a91408b9c9097ba19afeb4da09e526.html), visited on December 27, 2004).
In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to his text a “roman” (novel) and states that he acquired (“iktibas”) it from a play:

This novel which I present to our readers was borrowed from a drama that was arranged to be staged (p.2).

[Karilerimizin nazar-ı rağbetlerine arz etmeğ bu roman, tiyatroda oynamak için tanzim olunmuş bir faciadan iktibas edilmiştir (p.2).]

He also gives information about why he chose the ST for translation:

The reason why I chose [this work for translation] is not just related to the arrangement of its incidents in a good way… The perfection of this work derives from its use of an historical event. The incident takes place at a time in which France becomes involved at one stage in the great battle between England and America. Thus the play was not only set up on a strong base, rarely to encounter. And many significant heroes of this great historical event were also included in the story as dramatis personae (p.2).

[İntihabımın sebebi yalnız vak‘anın pek güzel tertib edilmiş olmasından ibaret değildir… İşte bu eserin mükemmeliyeti dahi mahza tarihin yardımından neşet eylemiş tir. Zira vak‘a bir zamanda vukua geliyor ki İngiltere ile Amerika arasında zuhur eden muharebe-i azime Fransa dahil mubahale ederek birçok aşırlarda bir düşmeyecek surette âlâ bir zemin tehiye eylemiş olduktan başka, o vakayı-i azime-i tarihiyenin birçok eazım-ı eşhası dahi bu hikâyenin aza-yı vak‘ası meyanına dahil oluyor (p.2).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi provides us with certain explanations which illuminate his translational norms and the strategy he performed in changing the ST, a historical play, into a novel:

Then I remembered that it was necessary to translate the work as a play again in order not to remove it from its original form. But in this case, in order to get pleasure from the staging, one would have to be very familiar with this historical period. This is not something that could be said of everyone. So I preferred to convert [the play] into the form of a novel.

I have not changed the essential arrangements and divisions of the original. Could I ever do such a thing? This work is the outcome of the imagination and contemplation of five people who will not accept us as their apprentice. Thus, if I have been successful in converting [the play] into the form of a novel without changing its basic divisions, I can consider myself successful and happy (p.2).
The data connected with TT and ST on the title page and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s preface reveal that

(i) he identifies his action as borrowing (“iktibas”) and states that his text was acquired from a play.

(ii) Item (i) indicates that a text which is identified as a translation (“terceme”) in his discourse can also be identified as a borrowing (“iktibas”).

(iii) he changes a play into a novel, and identifies such a change as “tahvil” (conversion).

(iv) Based on item (ii) and (iii), translation (“terceme”) can appear as “iktibas” (borrowing) and “tahvil” (conversion).

(v) he concurs that to be faithful to the original, a play needs to be translated (“terceme eylemek”) as a play not as a novel.

(vi) To provide his readers with necessary explanations, which help supply background historical information, he prefers to transform the ST into the form of a novel (“roman suretine tahvil etmek”).

(vii) Item (v) and (vi) indicate that in Amiral Bing there are necessary explanations, which involve additions and/or omissions to the textual body of the TT.

(viii) he does not change the essential arrangements and divisions (“tertibat ve taksimat-i esasiye”) of the original play in the TT.

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

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32 Here, Ahmed Midhat Efendi mentions five people as the writers of the original play. But if we take Paul Foucher and Antoine Nicholas Joseph Bovy as the original writers, then we must conclude that he was mistaken in counting their names.
Verbs
“iktibas etmek” (to borrow from)
“eseri aslından çıkarmamak” (to breach [the original] work)
“terceme etmek” (to translate)
“roman suretine tahvil etmek” (to convert into the form of a novel)
“tertibat ve taksimat-ı esasiyesini tagyir etmek” ([not] to change essential arrangements and divisions [of the original])

Nouns
“iktibas” (borrowing)
“terceme” (translation)
“tahvil” (conversion)
“tagyir” (change)

4.3.2.2. *Bilgiç Kız* [Educated Girl]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Bilgiç Kız</em></td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The title of this text is *Bilgiç Kız*. There is also a subtitle “Bir Hikâye-i Askeriyye” (A Military Story). Ahmed Midhat Efendi gives the name of the ST writer “Hector Malo” [Hector Malot] and on the title page, he refers to himself as the “mütercin” (translator). There is also a preface titled “İfade-i Muharrir” (Statement of the Writer), whereby it is striking that Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as “muharrir” (writer) in the title of the preface in contrast to his self-description as a “mütercin” elsewhere.

In this preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to his text as both a “hikâye” (story) and a “roman” (novel). He gives information about his source text and mentions that the title of the ST was “Mülazım Bone” [Le Lieutenant bonnet] which was serialized in the newspaper *Le Figaro*. He says that, contrary to a fashion of

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33 It is noted that this was first serialized in *Tercüman-i Hakikat*, then published in the form of “kitap” (book) in Istanbul in 1305/1887-1888.
writing criminal and scientific novels in French culture at that time, “Mülazım Bone” was about “highest feelings of love” (“hissiyat-ı safıye-i aşkâne”) and thus attracted great interest among French readers, particularly those in the military circle. He also states that for this reason it was published eight to ten times in book form after being serialized. All these features of the ST give an indication of why he chose this text for translation.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi also states that a person who read this novel in Le Figaro requested him to translate “Mülazım Bone”. He remarks:

Last year, a person who cut the story out of the pages of Figaro requested me to translate it. But the lengthy novel which I was translating by Paul de Kock under the title “Kamere Âşık” did not allow me to do that. Then “Amerika Doktorları” also intervened. At last, I have now started translating the story with amendment (p.3).

We see that Ahmed Midhat Efendi names his translation not “Mülazım Bone”, which would be a literal translation of the original title. Instead he prefers to title it “Bilgiç Kız” (Educated Girl) and explains why he changed the title. According to him, “Bilgiç Kız” represents the content of the original novel better than Malot’s preference of “Mülazım Bone” [Le Lieutenant bonnet]. He explains:

The reason why I changed the title [of the original] is that I thought a girl who was proud of her pedantry had a more important place than lieutenant Bonnet, who was taken by the original writer as the most important of the four characters in the novel (p.3).

[İşminin tebdilinden maksat hikâye içindeki dört mühim zattan en ehemmi, romanın mürettibi tarafından Mülazım Bone olacağı tahayyül edilmiş iken}
The data pertaining to TT and ST on the title page and the preface show that

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi identifies his text as a translation (”terceme”)
(ii) he performs a translation with amendments (”tadilen terceme”)
(iii) he does not translate the title of the ST literally

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

**Verbs**
- “terceme etmek” (to translate)
- “tadilen terceme [etmek]” (to translate by amending)
- “[ismini] tebdil etmek” (to change the name of [the original])

**Nouns**
- “terceme” (translation)
- “tadilen terceme” (amended translation)

4.3.2.3. Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı [La Femme aux troix jupons]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The title of this work is Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı. Under the title there is also a subtitle naming the ST writer (”muharrir”), Pol dö Kok [in Turkish transcription]. Two names are given as the translators (”mütercimleri”): Ahmed Midhat and Ebüzziya Tevfik. There is also a preface titled “Kâriîne” (to Readers).

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34 It is noted at the bottom of the title page that this was published in Istanbul in 1294/1877 by Mihran Matbaası, located at no.28 in Bab-ı Ali Caddesi, with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education
In the preface, the translators designate their text a “hikâye” (story) and give readers information about their source writer and text:

This story titled Üç Yüzlü Bir Kari, which is presented here for your consideration, was written or described in a style known to those who have been interested in new published books up to now. The style of description and writing, as well as the author Paul de Kock, may still be unfamiliar to some of you… The author is a French prose writer whose absence would have been regarded as a lack not only by French people but also by people all over Europe (p.2).

It is evident that Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Ebüzziya Tevfik translated Paul de Kock’s novel La Femme aux troix jupons and with regard to the ST title they rendered the title of their Turkish translation literally. They also draw attention not only to the style but also to the original writer since both are unknown to the target readership. Thus they introduce Paul de Kock to Ottoman readers as a French prose-writer (“Fransiz münşisi”), well known in France as well as in other European countries, who writes tragic works (“facia”) in particular.

Then they also give information about the translation strategy they follow in translating La Femme aux troix jupons. They mention that they did not perform a word-for-word translation (“harfiyyen terceme”) because they considered that it was nearly impossible to make a literal translation. They also emphasize that it would have been difficult to convey (“nakl”) each property in the SL to the TL through literal rendering. But they state too that they did not perform a free translation since they believed that those who have not lived in Paris could not understand the beauty
("iletfet"), the signs ("rumuz") and the wits ("nikat") inherent in Paul de Kock’s novel. At this point, they explain their choice of translation strategy as follows:

Therefore, we rewrote the sense of the original story in Turkish... Our success is due to never distorting the style and story-line of the original, and to demonstrating both the structure of the story and the various manifestations of humankind in the same way Paul de Kock did.

[Binaenaleyh biz hikâyenin hükmünü Türkçe yeniden kaleme aldık... kail olduğumuz maharet, aza-yı vak’anın tavır ve mişvarlarını asla bozmayıp ebna-yi beşerde renk renk cilveger olan tecelliyat-ı fitrati bu hikâyenin dairesini... Pol dö Kok’un göstermek istedi yolda gösterebilişimizden ibaretirdir (ibid).]

The statements of the translators draw our attention to the relationship between translation ("terceme") and rewriting ("yeniden kaleme almak"). We see that they followed a certain translation strategy they defined as “rewriting the sense of the original” in the target language. It is also extremely significant that they announce to their readers that they would follow the same strategy in translating other stories written in this new style, as well as those by Paul de Kock. They write

We are not content with just presenting to you this story by Paul de Kock. We shall also continue to translate in the same way the sense of his 80 or so stories, among which are both various examples of the style that you will see in this story and other types of stories, we shall do this either through translation and writing or examining and purchasing (p.3).

[Biz Pol dö Kok’un size yalınız şu hikâyesini arz ile iktifa etmeyeceğiz. Bu hikâyede numunesini göreceğiniz tarzın daima enva-ı adıdesini musavver olan, miktarı seksen parça varan sair hikâyelerini dahi gerek terceme ve tahrir ve gerek mütalaa ve esta cihtelerince bir ehveniyyet olmak için yine bu yolda hükmünü tercemede devam edeceğiz (p.3).]

The data related to TT and ST on the title page and the preface demonstrate that

(i) translators identify their text as a translation ("terceme").
(ii) they speak of a new style and a new French writer unknown to Ottoman readers
they say that they performed neither a literal nor a free translation in rendering Üç Yüzlü Bir Kart

they state that the strategy they followed consisted of “rewriting the sense of the ST” in the target language.

they say that they never distorted the structure and action-line or plot of the ST

Their rewriting strategy seems to be related to both translation (“terceme”) and writing (“tahrir”) as well as examining (“miyatala’”) and purchasing (“ıstıra’”)

thus, judging from items (iv) and (vi), rewriting can appear as translation (“terceme”)

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in the translators’
paratextual comments:

Verbs
“terceme etmek” (to translate)
“Türkçede hükmünü yeniden kaleme almak” (to rewrite the sense of the original in Turkish)
“hükmünü terceme etmek” (to translate the sense [of the original])
“aza-yı vakănın tavr ve mişvarlarını asla bozmamak” (never to distort the structure and story-line [of the original])

Nouns
“harfiyyen terceme” (word-for-word translation)
“mealen terceme” (free translation)
“terceme ve tahrir cihetince” (from the point of view of translation and writing)
“mütalaa ve ıstıra cihetince” (from the point of view of examining and purchasing)

4.3.2.4. Hüsrevname [Cyropaedia]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hüsrevname</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The title of this text is Hüsrevname. There is also a subtitle indicating that “this was an old work written 2000 years ago by Xenophon who was among the famous old Greek writers” (“Meşahir-i kudema-yı Yunaniyeden Ksenofon’un 2000 sene evvel

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35 It is noted at the bottom of the title page that it was published in the form of a book (“kitab”) after being serialized in Tercüman-ı Hakikat in 1302/1884-1885 with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
yazdığı bir eser-i kadimedir”). Thus Ahmed Midhat Efendi gives the name of the original writer, “Ksenofon” [in Turkish transcription], and points to one of his great works, Cyropaedia. On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “mütercim” (translator). There are also two prefaces in the text, one of which is titled “Ahmed Midhat Mukaddimesi” (Ahmed Midhat’s Introduction). The other is titled “Mütercim Dasye’nin Mukaddimesi” (Introduction by the translator “Dasye” [in Turkish transcription]). The presence of this second introduction indicates that Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated Hüsrevname from a mediating language: French. Indeed, he mentions that Hüsrevname was translated into many ‘European languages’ at several times. Pointing to four translations of Xenophon’s Cyropaedia in French, he notes that he takes “Dasye’s” [in Turkish transcription] translation as his source text but, unfortunately, he does not mention the title of this translation:

This book has been translated into nearly all European languages several times. There are at least four translations in French. For the purpose of our translation, we took the version by Dacier, a member of the French Academy, whose work was published 108 years ago (p.2).

36 The Cyropaedia, in eight books, is a kind of political romance, the basis of which is the history of the Elder Cyrus, the founder of the Persian monarchy (see “Xenophon” in The Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy at http://www.iep.utm.edu/x/xenophon.htm, visited on January 25, 2005). It is a political and philosophical romance which, although describing the boyhood and training of Cyrus, hardly lives up to its name and constitutes instead for the most part an account of the beginnings of the Persian empire and of the victorious career of Cyrus its founder. The Cyropaedia in fact contains the author’s own ideas regarding training and education, as derived conjointly from the teachings of Socrates and his favorite Spartan institutions. It was said to have been written in opposition to the Republic of Plato (see “Xenophon” in Encyclopedia Britannica, vol 28, 11th ed., pp. 885-887 at http://www.xenophongi.org/milhist/greece/xenolife.htm, visited on January 25, 2005).

37 The translator might be Bon-Joseph Dacier (1742-1833), a philologist and member of the French Academy who translated Cyropaedia into French in 1777 (see http://www.kereso.hu/yrk/Erinv/38698, visited on February 3, 2005).
In the preface titled “Ahmed Midhat Mukaddimesi” (Ahmed Midhat’s Introduction), the translator asserts that he is not writing a private history of a brave man who lived in Iran approximately 2000 years ago although the title implies such a history. Then he states that he will provide Xenophon’s feelings and remarks on “Hüsrev” [Cyrus] by means of a “literal translation” (“aynen terceme” ibid.) of his book that was written 2000 years ago. He writes:

Readers who have seen the title Hüsrevname should not think that we are writing today a private history of a brave man who lived in Iran two thousand years ago… In this book, we will not serve as a historiographer for our readers. Instead, we will translate for you as the same a book which was written two thousand years ago. In this way, we will show how a brave man like Hüsrev was imagined two thousand years ago and what was written about him by a person whose corpse might lie anywhere the sun (p.2).

[“Hüsrevnâme” serlevhasını gören karilerimiz iki bin bu kadar sene evvel İran’da zuhur etmiş bir cihangirin bugün tarih-i hususisini yazıyoruz zann etmemelidirler… biz bu kitapta karilerimize bir tarih-nüvis gibi hizmet etmeyeceğiz. Belki bundan iki bin sene evvel yazılmış bir kitabı kendilerine aynen terceme ederek Hüsrev gibi bir cihangir hakkında iki bin sene mukaddem düşünmekte olan ve şimdi toprağı bile kimbir arzin hangi tabakatında kaldıği tayin olunamayan bir kafanın ne gibi hissiyat ile ne yolda muhakematta bulunduğu gostereceğiz (p.2).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi places an emphasis on his purpose of presenting such a book to Ottoman readers. According to him, Hüsrevname is a book which includes sublime philosophical thoughts in comparison with those of his own time in Ottoman culture. He believes that it still keeps its importance even though it was written many years ago. Describing it as an “ancient book on religion and philosophy” (“antika-i diniyye ve hikemiyye”, p.2), he believes that Hüsrevname would truly adorn the Ottoman library (ibid). In this sense, it is important that he compares Xenéphon’s Cyropaedia [Hüsrevname] with Fénélon’s novel Les Aventures de Télémaque, which was first translated into Turkish using ornate prose style (inşa) in 1859 by Yusuf
Kâmil Paşa, Grand Vizier, and later circulated in manuscript form (see Paker 1991: 21). Ahmed Midhat Efendi claims that Hüsrevname is much greater than Télémaque in terms of providing Ottoman readers with considerable experience on wisdom and moral admonition. What is also important in his statements is that he invokes Hüsrevname as the Turkish equivalent of Xenophon’s Cyropaedia:

*Hüsrevname* is the work of Xenophon who was one of the most talented of the great Greek writers. With respect to both the philosophical experience and examples which it provides for its readers, Fénelon’s *Télémaque* seems like an ordinary work in comparison (p.2).

[Hüsrevname Yunan kadim-ı ricali meyanında behre-i kalemiyyeyi, meziyyat-ı seyfiyyeye zamn etmiş olan “Ksenofon”un eseridir. Okuyanlara vereceği ders-i hikmet ve gösterceği numune-i ibret yanında Fenelon’un [in Turkish transcription] Telemak’ı âdeta bayağılaşır (p.2).]

Then, Ahmed Midhat Efendi presents “Mütercim Dasye’nin Mukaddimesi” (Introduction of the translator Dacier). In this part, it is unclear whether or not he performs a ‘proper translation’, but it is obvious that he does not provide a full translation. He states in a sub-section titled “Tenbih” (Advice) that he omits some parts in which Dacier gives information about other three French translations of the ST.

In the lines below, the translator, Dacier, gives information about three translations that had been done prior to him, he names the translators and points out the sense in which he finds these translations faulty (p.9).

[Mütercim Dasye [in Turkish transcription] bundan aşağı satırlarında kendisinden evvel edilen üç tercemenin kimler tarafındandığını ve ne cihetlerce noksani bulunduğunu izah eyliyor ki.bizce luzumu olmadığından tayy olundu (p.9).]

In his introduction, Dacier mentions three historiographers, i.e. Herodotus, Xenophon and Ctesias of Cinidus, who all wrote different histories of Hüsrev [Cyrus]. But he concentrates particularly on Herodotus and Xenophon, and tends to
compare only the historical information contained in these two works. In this sense he seems to question which work can be taken as a source that provides accurate historical information on Cyrus. He claims that since Cyropaedia was written as a model to serve as a ‘mirror for princes’, Xenophon remains faithful to historical reality and manages to give several lectures on moral excellence and justice (p.8). He also considers Cyropaedia to be a philosophical novel, even one of the greatest works in the literary heritage to survive from ancient times down to the present.

The data pertaining to TT and ST on the title page and the preface point out that

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi identifies his text as a translation (“terceme”).
(ii) he refers to himself as a translator (“mütercim”)
(iii) he states that he performs a literal translation (“aynen terceme”).
(iv) the purpose in choosing this text for translation points to a need for texts on wisdom, morality and ‘mirror for princes’

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verbs</th>
<th>Nouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“aynen terceme etmek”</td>
<td>“terceme”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to translate literally)</td>
<td>(translation)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“terceme olunmak”</td>
<td>“mütercim”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to be translated)</td>
<td>(translator)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“terceme eylemek”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(to translate)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3. Translation as Muhavere (Conversation/Dialogue)

4.3.3.1. Niza-i ʿIlm ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm [Conflict Between Religion and Science – Islam and Science]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nizâ-i ʿIlm ü Din-İslâm ve Ulûm</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>listed outside the category</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are two titles and two writers on the title page of this work. One of the titles is *Nizâ-i İmârât*, and J. V. Draper [in Turkish transcription] is designated the “muharrir” (writer) of this work and introduced as a professor at the New York School of Science (“Nev York Darü’l-ma‘arrif muallimlerinden J. P. Draper”). The other title given below is *İslâm ve Ulûm*. Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “muharrir” (writer) of *İslâm ve Ulûm*. There are also several prefaces in this work titled as follows: “İhtar” (Warning), “Bizim Mukaddimemiz” (Our Introduction), and “Draper’in Mukaddimesi ve Mütaalatımız” (Draper’s Introduction and our Examinations). The paratextual information on the title page implies that there are two works packaged together in one volume.

In the preface titled “İhtar” (Warning), we see that Ahmed Midhat Efendi is conscious of such a presentation. He says that he offers two titles, therefore presenting two works in one volume. He mentions that the first title is the literal translation (“terceme-i ayniyey”) of Draper’s book *Les Conflits de la science et la religion*. He also states that the second title represents his work, which consists of his response to Draper’s work including his commentary and critique:

We put two titles above, one of which is below the other. The first is the translation as the same of the title of Draper’s book *Les Conflits de la science et la religion*. The other is the title for my statements, which were written in the form of commenting and partially criticizing. For that reason, the book consists of two books packaged in one volume (pp.2-3).

[Yukarıya birbirinin altına iki surname koyduk. Bunun birisi Draper’in *Les Conflits de la science et la religion* diye kendi kitabına koyduğu surnamenin terceme-i ayniyesidir. Diğeri da hı o kitabı dahi kısmen şeh ve kısmen intikad yollu taraf-i âcizanemizden yazılan sözler mahsus bir surname bir sernamedir. Bu halde şu kitap bir cild içinde iki kitap hükümünü almıştır (pp.2-3).]

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38 It is noted at the bottom of the title page that it was published in 1313/1895-1896 in Dersaadet in the form of a book (“kitab”) after being serialized in *Tercüman-i Hakikat* with the permission of “Maarif Nezaret-i Celile” (The Sublime Ministry of Education).
What is interesting about this work is its overall arrangement. Ahmed Midhat Efendi draws attention to the fact that it is an intermixed (“mütedahil”) work, and this is why he arranged it in a fragmentary fashion. We see that he first presents certain parts from Draper’s work in translation (“terceme”) printed in a small font. Then he offers his responses printed in relatively big fonts. He suggests that if one wishes to obtain the translation of Draper’s work, or his own response in their entirety, one should gather together the parts printed with either small or big fonts:

Specifically, this work consists of two books whose topics are intermixed. But one of them, i.e. the translation of Draper’s text, was printed in a small font, and if those parts with small fonts are read continuously, one is able to read Draper’s book in its entirety. Since our examination was printed in a big font, if the various parts of it are read continuously, one can also have access to our examination of the related matter in full (p.3).

[Şu kadar ki mebahisi yekdiğine mütedahil iki kitap ama birisi yani Draper’in tercemesi küçük huruf ile dizilmiş olduğundan yalnız o huruf ile mürettep olan bendler müteselsilen okunurlar ise Draper’in kitabı müteselsilen görülmüş olur. Bizim mütalâatı âcizanemiz dahi büyük huruf ile dizildiğinden o huruf ile müretteb olan aksam müteselsilen okunmuş olur ise ait oldukları mesail hakkındaki mütalâatı âcizanemiz dahi yekpare olarak görülmüş olur (p.3).]

In the second preface, titled “Bizim Mukaddimemiz” (Our Introduction), Ahmed Midhat gives information about the source writer and the content of his work. He also explains the reasons why he is responding to Draper’s main claim, which is based on the notion that there is a conflict between religion and science. He introduces Draper to Ottoman readers as an important writer who won fame particularly with his book on the history of European philosophical progress that had also been translated into French, German, Italian, Russian and Serbian (p.5-6). We see that the essential reason for his choosing to translate *Les Conflits de la science et la religion* is related to the content. He considers that Draper’s work was written
deliberately against the institution of religion. Thus we see that Midhat Efendi takes a defensive attitude in responding to this work, and tries to prove that there is no such conflict but rather harmony between religion and science in the case of Islam which is lacking in the case of Christianity.  

Alternatively, if we discuss the position of Islam in relation to science, it will be seen that there is no conflict but harmony between Islam and science as opposed to the relationship between Christianity and science. That is why we hope that the opinion of the advanced and civilized nations of Europe and America with regard to Islam will change (pp. 11-12).

In this preface we also understand that Ahmed Midhat Efendi aims to arrange this work in the form of a conversation (“muhavere suretine koymak” p.12). In this sense, he states that he does not offer a full translation of Draper’s work:

After translating the statements from Draper’s book as much as is necessary, we will present our account as a response to Draper’s. We hope that a discussion carried out in such a way will not make our readers feel tired (p.13) (my italics).

He mentions that he translates necessary words [or sentences, parts etc.] uttered by Draper. Importantly, in the cases when Draper repeats himself, Ahmed Midhat Efendi states that he omits such repetitive and useless parts, and follows the
strategy of “abridgement” (“tarik-i ihtisar” p. 13). But he underscores that he still
does not shift any way from Draper’s main idea.

There are many repetitions in Draper’s statements. According to me, some of
them also defeat his purpose. It has been regarded as necessary to shorten
those ineffective elements rather than translating them. However, Draper’s
main aim and opinions have never been changed. There has never been any
deviation from the faithfulness that is necessary for interpreting (pp.13-14).

What is of utmost significance here is that he calls attention to the essential
task of an interpreter (“terceman” p.13) which he defines as interpreting faithfully
the original utterance of a person. This reminds us that Ahmed Midhat Efendi tends
to regard himself as an interpreter in his conversation with Draper.

The data related to the TT and ST on the title page and in the preface can be
summarised thus:

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi identifies his text as an intermixed work
("mütedahil") in the form of conversation ("muhâvere")

(ii) thus he states that his text includes not only some translated parts from
a foreign work ("terceme") but also his response ("cevap") to that
work which constitutes indigenous writing.

(iii) he does not perform a full translation and in some cases he carries out
certain abridgements to the ST material

(iv) item (iii) indicates that, although he does not make a full translation,
he may identify his act of translation and hence his product as
terceme.

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:
4.3.4. Translation as Nakl (Conveying)

4.3.4.1. *Konak yahud Şeyh Şamil’in Kafkasya Muharebatında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe* [Der Held von Garika: Roman aus den Laendern des Kaukasus]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Konak yâhut Şeyh Şamil’in Kafkasya Muharebatında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe</em></td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The title of this text is *Konak yâhut Şeyh Şamil’in Kafkasya Muharebatında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe*. There is also a note indicating that it was transferred (nakl) from German into Ottoman Turkish (“Almancadan Osmanlıca nakl olunmuştur”). We also see two names on the title page: Ahmed Midhat Efendi and “Vizental” [in Turkish transcription], both of them refer to themselves as the “nâkil” (one who transfers). There is also a preface titled “Mukaddime” (Introduction).

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40 It is noted at the top of the title page that this work was part of the “Yeni Kütüphane” (the New Library) which includes the serials of *Tercüman-i Hakikat*. It was also noted at the bottom that it was published by Kirk Anbar Matbaası in Istanbul in 1296/1878-1879.
The nâkîls mention that they serialize by translating (“bitterceme”) a historical novel by Adolf Mützelburg [“Adolf Muçelburg” in Turkish transcription] who is introduced to Ottoman readers as a famous German writer, and who is reported as having written a story about Şeyh Şamil’s war in the Caucasus under the title “Konak”41 (Mansion):

In today’s issue, we have started serializing the novel titled “Konak”, which was based on a historical anecdote about Şeyh Şamil’s war in the Caucasus and written by Adolf Muçelburg [in Turkish transcription], one of the most famous and talented German pens, and which has been translated into Ottoman (p.2).

[Almanya meşahir-i erbab-ı kaleminden Adolf Muçelburg [in Turkish transcription] “Konak” serlevhasıyla Şeyh Şamil’iın Kafkasya muharebatından bir fîkra-i tarihîye üzerine mebni olarak kaleme aldığı bir romani Osmanlı lisannına bitterceme bugünkü nüshamızdan bed ile tefrikamıza derc etmeye başladık (p.2).]

They also explain why they chose this novel for translation. We see that they present it as a beautiful novel which provides the reader with striking and judicious information on Caucasian history and geography. They also admire the original writer because of his success in depicting Şeyh Şamil, his commanders and their glories, while remaining faithful to real historical events.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi and “Vizental” state that they aim to collaborate (“say-i müşterek”) in translating “Konak”:

One of the things we actually wish to present our readers herein is to show an example of what Europeans call “collaboration”, i.e. “working together” (p.4).

41 The original of this translation is Adolf Mützelburg’s (1831-1882) historical novel Der Held von Garika: Roman aus den Laendern des Kaukasus that was published in Leipzig in 1866. I am grateful to Dr. Astrid Menz Beygül for her help in finding the original writer and his novel. For more information about the original writer, see also http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib/lexika/adb/images/adb023/@ebt-link?target=idmatch(entityref,adb0230119), visited on May 5, 2005.
Therefore, they draw attention to the benefits and significance of collaboration in translating foreign works into Ottoman Turkish. They say:

We say the following things to our readers in order to explain clearly the importance and necessity of this method of collaboration. Even though we are two different men, one of us does not know German and the other does not know Ottoman to an adequate level. Therefore, if this form of collaboration did not unite us, we would not be able to convert such a German work into Ottoman. Because this way of collaboration united us to such a great extent, it led to the formation out of the two of us of such an able translator who knows German as well as a German and Ottoman as well as an Ottoman (pp.4-5).

What is significant is that they call for Ottoman writers to follow collaboration in translation, especially for those who wish to fulfill the need for indigenous works in the target pole:

We herein present another method which provides assistance to sons of the nation, who will serve the need for indigenous works for our people. We hope that the respectful people amongst us will consider this way to be a way that should be followed (pp.5-6).

The data pertaining to TT and ST on the title page and in the preface point out that...
Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Vizental refer to themselves on the title page as “nâkîf” but not “mütercim”.

(ii) they also refer to themselves in the preface as “mütercim” (translator) and identify their text as a translation (“terceme”).

(iii) they also identify the act of translation as “tahvil” (conversion).

(iv) they call for collaborative translation

(v) they point to a need for indigenous works in the target culture

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

Verbs
“Osmanlı lisanına biterceme” (through translating into Ottoman Turkish)
“Osmanlıçaya tahvil etmek” (to convert to Ottoman Turkish)

Nouns
“terceme” (translation)
“mütercim” (translator)
“say-i müşterek usulü” (collaboration method)

4.3.5. Translation as Hulâsa (Summary)

4.3.5.1. Hulâsa-i Humayunname [Summary of Humayunname]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Target Text (TT)</th>
<th>in Koz’s list</th>
<th>in Esen’s list</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hulâsa-i Humayunname</td>
<td>[a non-translation]</td>
<td>“çeviri” (translation)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The title of this text is Hulâsa-i Humayunname. On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “mülahhis” (one who summarizes). There is also a long preface of 11 pages titled “İfade-i Mahsusa” (Special Statement).

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42 It is noted on the title page that it was published in Istanbul in 1886-1887/1304 by Matbaa-i Âmire with the supreme permission of the Majesty, the Caliphate (“Ba-irade-i seniyye-i Hazret-i Hilafet-penahî Matbaa-i Âmire’de tab olunmuştur”).

43 For the Turkish intralingual translation of Hulâsa-i Humayunname with Latin script, see M. Ata Çatakkaş’s (1999) edition, which was published by the Turkish Ministry of Culture under the title Ahmed Midhat’ın Kelile ve Dimme Tercümesi (Hulâsa-i Humayunname). In his edition, Çatakkaş identifies this work as “tercume” (translation) and also provides information on other works written as Humayunname in Turkish literature.
From the preface, we understand that Ahmed Midhat Efendi is offering an intralingual summary translation (hulâsa) of Ali Çelebi’s Humayunname, which was a sixteenth century Turkish version of Kelile ve Dimne (Toska 2004). He notes that Ali Çelebi’s translation (“terceme”, see p.2 and 6) was an old version in Ottoman Turkish (“Osmanlıca” ibid.). He also points out that Kelile ve Dimne in Sanskrit, the original text, had managed to survive for many years through translations in several languages:

Among the older works of Ottoman library there is a work known as Hümayunname. It relates many things about wisdom through many excellent stories attributed to both humankind and animals. Thus it entertains readers a great deal and, on top of that, also provides them with lots of benefits. For us, the Ottoman version of this work can be seen as an old work, and its original is very much older than that. Known as Kelile ve Dimne, the original was written in Sanskrit, of an ancient Indian language, and then it reached the Ottoman language through translation after translation (p.2).

Based on explanations in the preface Ali Çelebi wrote for Humayunname, Ahmed Midhat Efendi gives important information on the history of translations of Kelile ve Dimne into Persian (also into Pahlavi, i.e. old Persian), Arabic and Turkish (p. 6). He gives the following information.

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44 I thank Zehra Toska for answering my questions and sharing with me her opinions on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s ideas in Hulâsa-i Humayunname. She presented a paper [forthcoming] on that matter in the Symposium on Ahmed Midhat, organized by Boğaziçi University’s Department of Turkish Language and Literature in 2004.
The original text was written ("telif eylemek", p.3) by “Bidpay” [in Turkish transcription], a Brahman who presented his text to the king “Debşelim” [in Turkish transcription]. Then it was translated ("bitterceme” p.4) by “Buzurcumühr” from Sanskrit into Pahlavi and presented to the ruler, “Nuşirrevan”. He states that it was also translated (“terceme ettirmek”, ibid.) from Pahlavi into Arabic by “Abdullah bin Mukaffa” who was commissioned to propose an understandable version in Arabic by “Ebu Cafer Mansur”, the second Abbasid caliphate. Ahmed Midhat mentions that, after the invasion of Iran by Muslim Sasanians, the Pahlavi version of *Kelile ve Dimne* was translated (“terceme ettirmek”, p.4-5) into Persian at the request of “Ebu’l-Hûsn Emir bin Nasîr bin Ahmed”, a Sasanian ruler, since it was not understandable any more due to the linguistic gap between Pahlavi and Persian. For this reason, it was conveyed from prose to verse by a Persian poet “Rudeği” ("nesirden nazma nakl edilmek” p.5). Because Rudeği’s translation ("terceme-i mezkure” p.5) was considered to be distant from its source as the prose source had been conveyed into verse, “Ebu’l-Muzaffer Behramşah”, a Gaznevî ruler, commissioned “Nasrullah bin Mehmed bin Abdülhamid” to make another translation (“tercemesini” p.5) and to take as a base “Abdullah bin Mukaffa”’s version in Arabic ("nüsha-i Arabiyesi” p.5). But Ahmed Midhat Efendi points out that this translation (“terceme” p.5) was also regarded as unclear and incomprehensible (ibid.). He mentions too that Emir Süheylî, a commander surveying under Sultan Hüseyin Baykara then commissioned Mevlana Hüseyin bin Ali El-Vaiz to write another comprehensible version in Persian (“…bu kitabın anlaşılr bir lisanla tekrar yazılmasna…”, p.6).
Ahmed Midhat Efendi goes on to inform the reader that Mevlana Hüseyin bin Ali El-Vaiz (also known as Kâşifî) titled his fifteenth century version of *Kelile ve Dimne* in Persian *Envâr-ı Süheylî* (Lights from Süheylî) (Doğrul 1960: viii-ix). He writes:

Kâşifî wrote his work in a beautiful manner, as well as using a very clear and understandable language. That is why it has acquired much more fame than the previous translations, even more than its Indian original. The title *Envâr-ı Süheylî* he created has also acquired great fame to the extent that the title of it has made *Kitab-ı Kelile ve Dimne* forgotten.

[[Kâşifî] onu gayet selis ve vazih bir lisanla o kadar güzel yazmış ki mukaddema edilen tercemeçilerden ve belki nüsha-i Hindiyyesinden daha ziyade meşhur olarak “Envâr-ı Süheylî” diye tesmiye eyledigi nam dahi “Kitab-ı Kelile ve Dimne” namını bastırmak derecesinde şöhretgir-i afak olmuştur (p.6).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi mentions that it was *Envâr-ı Süheylî* which was taken for translation by Ali Çelebi, who named his translation (“terceme” p.6) *Humayunname*. He also states that *Humayunname* was presented to Süleyman the Magnificent. Of special importance is the fact that Midhat Efendi thinks of *Humayunname* as being incomprehensible for the readers of the late nineteenth century because of its ornate and long sentences. That is why he emphasizes that its ornate style and unclear language led to it being neglected by Ottoman reading circles over a period of approximately 300 years (p.8). And that is why he was commissioned by Sultan Abdülhamid II to produce a simplified and explicatory summary (“telhis” p.9), which would help renew *Kelile ve Dimne* and make its benefits spread out within Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. He says

Our emperor Sultan Abdülhamid the second ordered Ahmed Midhat, his slave, to summarize this work with a fluent style of our time in order to renew the name of this great work and to disseminate its benefits (p.9).

[…Abdülhamid Han-ı sâni Efendimiz Hazretleri bu kitab-ı celîlin namını teçid ve fevaidini tamam için asr-ı şahanelerinîn tarz-ı selis ifadeleriyle
It is also important that Ahmed Midhat Efendi was equipped with a norm to write ("yazmak" p.10) in clear and understandable Turkish. Furthermore, he was also given license, where necessary, to comment ("şerh" ibid.) and explain ("izah" ibid.) certain points in the source story:

The Sultan said “Let Ahmed Midhat take this copy and make his summary from that. Let him not generate unclear statements. Let him write this work in as simple, beautiful and understandable way as the other books he wrote. If he considers it necessary, let him comment and explain the wisdom to be acquired from the stories in his concluding remarks.” (p. 10).

[“…Ahmed Midhat işbu nüşhayı esas tutsun da yapacağı hulâsayı ona göre yapın. İstilah-perdazlık külfetine girişmesin. Sair yazdığı kitaplar gibi bunu da sade, güzelleşfelm bir yolda yazsın. Hikâyelerin netayicinde istintac olunacak hikmetlerden şayan gördüklerini şerh ve izah dahi eylesin” diye ferman buyurmuştur (p. 10).]

The data about TT and ST on the title page and the preface indicate that

(i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi identifies his text as a summary (hulâsa) and refers to himself as “mülahhis” (one who summarizes)
(ii) he identifies his source text as a translation (terceme) whose language was regarded as incomprehensible in the late nineteenth century
(iii) he also identifies renderings from Pahlavi to Persian, i.e. intralingual translations, as terceme (translation)
(iv) he identifies, for instance, Rudegî’s versified version in Persian as terceme (translation), although he considers it to be distant from its source
(v) item (iii) and (iv) reveal that he can identify a target text as terceme (translation) even though it can be distant from its source.
(vi) in the discourse of the commissioner, we see that the act of summarizing (telhis) is related to the act of writing (yazmak)
(vii) additionally, we also see that ‘to comment’ (şerh) and ‘to explain’ (tavzih) are regarded as acceptable acts during the process of summarizing (hulâsa) a source text

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:
4.4. Conclusions

So far I have analyzed the paratextual data of certain works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi, in some of which he refers to himself as the translator (“mütercim”) in others of which he refers to himself as the writer (“muharrir”) (cf. Bengi 1990) as well as the conveyor (“nâkil”) and the one who summarizes (“mülahhis”). My essential focus was on identifying and investigating culture-bound term/s and notion/s of translation (terceme) in his discourse. The findings based on the descriptive analysis of the selected corpus carried out in this chapter indicate the following conclusion.

First of all, we see an obvious variety in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s identification of text types, as follows:

“terceme” (translation) e.g., Amiral Bing, Bilgiç Kız, Üç Yüzü Bir Kari, Hüseynname, Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’ın Kağkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe

“nakl” (conveying) e.g., Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’ın Kağkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe
“iktibas or muktebes” (borrowing or borrowed from) e.g., Diplomali Kız, İki Hüd’akâr, Ana Kız, Aleksandr Stradella, Şeytankaya Tilsim, Nedamet mi? Heyhat!, Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar, Çifte İntikam

“müsterak” (stolen) e.g., Diplomali Kız

“muhavere” (dialogue and the translator’s response “cevap” as part of dialogue) e.g., Niza-ı İlm ü Din-Islam ve Ulûm

“hulâsa” (summary) e.g., Hulâsa-i Humayunname, Sid’in Hulasası

“tahvil” (conversion) e.g., Amiral Bing, Sid’in Hulâsası [to be examined in Chapter 5]

“tanzir” (emulation) e.g., Haydut Montari, Hasan Mellah (see footnote 23 in this chapter)

Secondly, when we look at his discourse on translation with special attention to the verbs, which provide solid indications of his conception of translation, we also encounter variety. I think that such variety in verbs provides us with important clues in making the necessary connections with variety in his translation practice. It also helps us observe culture-bound and time-bound notions of Ottoman concept of translation (terceme) with respect to “çeviri”, a modern Turkish concept of translation. Ahmed Midhat Efendi uses the following collocational verbs to identify his translational relationships with his source texts:

colloclions centering on “terceme” (translation):

“terceme suretiyle Avrupa’dan roman almak” (to appropriate the novel from Europe by translation), “terceme yollu yazmak” (to write by means of translation), “[Avrupa romanlarının terceme veya taklid eylemek” (to translate or to imitate [European novels]), “terceme ve tahir [etmek]” (to translate and to write), “hükmünü terceme etmek” (to translate the sense of the original), “tadilen terceme etmek” (to translate by amending), “aynen terceme etmek” (to translate as the same), “harfiyeyen terceme [etmek]” (to translate word-for-word), “mealen terceme [etmek]” (to translate the sense), “Osmanlı lisannına terceme etmek” (to translate into Ottoman Turkish),
collocations centering on “iktibas” (borrowing):

“iktibas suretiyle meydana gelmek” (to create by means of borrowing), “bi’l-iktibas yazmak” (to write by means of borrowing), “iktibas etmek” (to borrow), “vakay fıkradan iktibas etmek” (to borrow incidents from an anecdote),

colloctions centering on “almak” (to appropriate, to take):

“hikâye ve roman yollu fikir almak” (to take an idea by way of story and novel), “[aslın] fikrini almak” (to take the idea from the original), “müatalaa ve ışıra [etmek]” (to examine and to purchase), “fıkra üzerine bina eylemek” (to base on an anecdote), “zemini fıkra teşkil eylemek” (to set up an anecdote as a base),

colloctions centering on “yazmak” (to write) and/or “yeniden yazmak” (to rewrite):

“fıkir üzerine roman yazmak” (to write a novel based on the idea [of the original]), “o fıkir üzerinde yeniden bir eser kaleme almak” (to rewrite a new work based on the idea of the original), “yeniden Osmanlıca yazmak” (to rewrite in Ottoman Turkish), “Türkçede hükümü yeniden kaleme almak” (to rewrite the sense of the original in Turkish), “kısmen şerh ve kısmen intikad yollu yazmak” (to write by way of partially commenting and criticizing), “selis ve vazıh bir lisanla yazmak” (to write in a clear and comprehensible language), “anlaşırlır bir lisanla tekrar yazmak” (to rewrite in an understandable language), “romana tahvil ederek yazmak” (to write by converting into a novel),

colloctions centering on “şerh eylemek” (to comment) and “bast eylemek” (to expand):

“şerh ve izah eylemek” (to comment and to explain), “bast ve temhid ile roman haline ifrağ eylemek” (to pour into the mould of a novel by means of expanding and spreading out), “bast ve temhid suretiyle tertib ve tahrir eylemek” (to arrange and write by expanding and spreading out), “bast ve temhid eylemek” (to expand and to spread out),

colloctions centering on “tahvil etmek” (to convert) and “nakl etmek” (to convey):

“Osmanlícaya tahvil etmek” (to convert into Ottoman Turkish) “romana tahvil ederek yazmak” (to write by converting into a novel), “roman suretine tahvil etmek” (to convert into the form of a novel), “nesirinden nazma nakl etmek” (to convey from prose to verse),
collocations centering on “tebdil etmek” (to change), “tagyir etmek” (to change), “tadil etmek” (to adjust):

“fisminiz tebdil etmek” (to change the name [of the original]), “fisminiz kâlîlyeinen tebdil etmek” (to change totally the name [of the original]), “tadilat icra etmek” (to perform adjustments), “tertibat ve taksimat-ı esasiyesini tagyir etmek” ([not] to change essential arrangements and divisions [of the original], “asıl fikri tebdil etmek” (not to change the main idea [of the original]), “aza-ı vakannın tavur ve miyvarlarını asla bozmamak” (never to distort the structure and story-line [of the original]), “reng-i aslisinden çık[ar]mak” (to violate the color of the original),

colloctions centering on “muhavere” (dialogue):

“muhavere suretine koymak” (to put into the form of dialogue),

colloctions centering on “hulâsa” (summary):

“hulâsa yapmak” (to summarize)

colloctions centering on “ithal” (import):

“ithal etmek” (to import)

Thirdly, there is also variety in his reference to himself. In one way or another, his reference words indicate a certain translational relationship with a foreign and/or indigenous text, all of which points to culture-bound and time-bound aspects of translation in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century. In this sense, Ahmed Midhat Efendi uses the following terms to refer to himself with respect to his relationship with his sources:


Finally, if we recognize especially his discourse on his translation (terceme) of Amiral Bing, we see that Ahmed Midhat Efendi makes a significant connection between the practice of “terceme” (translation) and “iktibas” (borrowing). Thus it needs to be born in mind that “iktibas” (borrowing) was also identified as “terceme”.

Chart indicating non-linear, beyond-binary translational relationships among terms and/or concepts in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Discourse

Dashed lines point to particular connections Ahmed Midhat Efendi makes in his discourse
Bold dashed lines also point to the connections Ahmed Midhat Efendi uses in contrastive relationship
4.5. Summary

This chapter has presented two descriptive analyses. One was carried out on the two bibliographical works which provide the most comprehensive information on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works. The main focus in this section was on the bibliographers’ identification of his works. Their lists were analyzed in terms of what was assumed/regarded to be “translation” and what was not. The descriptive analyses of the bibliographies raised a series of questions about the controversial use of the term “çeviri” (translation) and the bibliographers’ review of the range of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s translational works. The divergent aspects in their identification of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works led to another descriptive analysis, which was performed on the paratextual data of some of his works through a selected corpus that reflected well the various aspects of his discourse on translation (terceme). In Section 4.3.1, the works were analyzed with special attention to terms, collocations and on the basis of how texts were identified, described and/or named by Ahmed Midhat Efendi himself. This analysis indicates that there was an obvious variety in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s practice of translation and points to different forms of terceme practices, some of which do not conform to our modern notion of translation, i.e. “çeviri”. The detailed chart indicating non-linear, beyond-binary translational relationships between terms and concepts in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s discourse displays the wide range of options that was generated via translation in the writing practices which made up the Ottoman literary repertoire in the late nineteenth century.

Chapter 5 will offer a case study of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s Le Cid. The findings of the case study illuminate the
nature of such texts, identified as “hulâsa” (summary) by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Hence the case study will draw attention to “hulâsa”, as one of the culture-specific ways in which terceme was practiced. The case study will also encourage us to rethink diverging perspectives as well as different definitions related to “terceme” (translation) in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century and “çeviri” (translation) today.
Chapter 5

Case Study:
Translating in Dialogue with Europe:
Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Summary Translation\(^1\)
of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*

The present chapter is a case study of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation, *Sid’in\(^2\) Hulâsası*, of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* (1637), a French neo-classical verse tragedy of the seventeenth century. I have chosen this particular work to concentrate on as my case study because *Sid’in Hulâsası* combines in a single work both paratextual and translation discourse that lend themselves to the analysis of a particular kind of Ottoman text production *via* translation. My main intention in this chapter is to try to analyze the *Hulâsa* on the basis of the following question: what kind of translational practice was the summary translation the result of?

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\(^1\) For the transcription of the full text of *Sid’in Hulâsası*, which I prepared for this thesis, see Appendix 5.

\(^2\) As is well known, in Ottoman script not all of the vowels are written; hence it is possible to transcribe the letters “s ï d” (سید) in the title of *Sid’in Hulâsası* (پیامد خلاصه‌ای سید) in two ways: “Sid” and “Seyyid”. The Ottoman Turkish dictionaries of the time reveal that “Seyyid” was actually a unique lexical item whereas “Sid” was not. This indicates that “Sid” is a proper translation of the French term “Le Cid”, whose pronunciation was kept accurately in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation in Turkish. Thus in my study I prefer to use “Sid” instead of “Seyyid”, because in his summary translation Ahmed Midhat Efendi tends to keep French pronunciations of the proper names. There are also other Turkish translations of *Le Cid*. One of the translations was in prose, done by Ismail Hâmi Danişmend and published under the title *Seyyid* by Sühulet Kitabevi in 1938 (see Danişmend 1938). Another was a verse translation by Nedim Mazhar Yüzak, published in 1974 (2\(^{nd}\) ed.) under the title *Le Cid* (with a subtitle *Lö Sid Beş Perdelik Manzum Trajedi*) by T.C. İstanbul İktisadi ve Ticari İlimler Akademisi Nihad Sayar Yayın ve Yardımcı Vakfı Yayınları.
As I mentioned in my comments on the methodological framework in Chapter 1, my analysis in the present chapter will be based mainly on the concepts and methodology developed in Descriptive Translation Studies. During my examination I will focus mainly on translational features/norms as they emerge not only from the paratextual elements, but also from the textual material (see Toury 1995: 65). What is defined by “extratextual” by Gideon Toury does indeed include the “paratexts” referred to by Gérard Genette. First, I will consider the paratextual elements surrounding *Sid’in Hulâsasi*.

As defined by Gérard Genette, paratexts consists of elements such as titles and subtitles, pseudonyms, forewords, dedications, epigraphs, prefaces, intertitles, notes, epilogues, and afterwords (Genette 1997: 1; Macksey 1997: xviii). As Tahir-Gürçağlar indicates, the concept of paratext offers us valuable insights in understanding the production, presentation and reception of translated texts (Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 70; 2002: 44). It will help us examine changing concepts and definitions of translation in a specific period within a culture, for paratexts also provide valuable clues in understanding a culture’s definitions of translation. As *Sid’in Hulâsasi* contains two paratextual parts, namely “İfade” (Statement/Preface) and “Sid’in İntikadi” (Critique of *Le Cid*), I will first examine those to set the context for Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s preliminary norms in his summary. Then I will concentrate on the text of the tragedy itself in order to analyze the operational norms defined by Toury as follows in his *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond*:

Operational norms, in turn, may be conceived of as directing the decisions made during the act of translation itself. They affect the matrix of the text – i.e., the modes of distributing linguistic material in it – as well as the textual makeup and verbal formulation as such. They thus govern -directly or indirectly- the relationships as well as that would obtain between the target
and source texts; i.e., what is more likely to remain invariant under transformation and what will change (Toury 1995: 58).

In my analysis of the tragedy, I will try to reconstruct Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s operational norms through the matricial features that shape or govern the matrix of the text such as the fullness, distribution and segmentation of the target text (henceforth referred to as TT). The textual and/or linguistic manipulations in the TT will not only help us explore how Ahmed Midhat Efendi -who identified himself as the “muharrir” (writer) on the title page- worked on his text and language, but will also provide us with clues for the understanding of his cultural and literary aims. In analyzing the matricial features/norms, I will compare the TT with the source text (henceforth referred to as ST) in order to observe the structural and textual distribution and shifts.

5.1. Looking at Paratextual Elements

5.1.1. The Preface: “İfade” (Statement) (Appendix 5, pp.384-386)

Ahmed Midhat Efendi published *Sid’in Hulâsasi* in 1890-91/1308 with a preface and an annotated critique (*intikad*) he added to the end. Though the ST \(^3\) was of about 75 pages, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation added up to a total of 222 pages; *Sid’in Hulâsasi* included the summary itself (of about 131 pages) and two important paratextual sections, titled “İfade” (Statement) (of about 14 pages) and “Sid’in İntikadi” (Critique of *Le Cid*) (of about 76 pages). Ahmed Midhat Efendi identified

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\(^3\) For my case study, I have used the Librairie Hachette edition of 1922 (17th edition) *Le Cid*, edited with notes and analysis by L. Petit Julleville.
his version paradoxically as a summary (hulâsa) comparable with a translation (terceme).

In *A Turkish and English Lexicon*, “hulâsa” (summary) is defined as “the purified substance left after the removal of mixture or alloy, an extract, a summary” (Redhouse 1890: 858). The definition, in *Kamus-ı Türki*, is very much the same: “bir şeyin en ruhlu ve kuvvetli kısmını, posası, ve fazla şeylerı çıkarılduktan sonra kalan güzidesi (Şemseddin Sami 1899-1900/1317: 585). Şemseddin Sami also adds the following: “uzun bir bahis ve makalenin az söze olunan mefhumu, netice” (“the concise sense of a long work or article”).

In the *Kâmûs-ı Fransevî Dictionnaire Français-Turc*, Şemseddin Sami defines “hulâsa” as the equivalent of the French “extrait” whose explanation is given in Ottoman Turkish as “...bir kitap vesaireden çıkarılmış bend veya makale, hulâsa-i meal, mufassal bir yazının muhtasarı” (“a passage or article extracted from a book, summary of the sense, of an abridged form of an extensive work”) (Şemseddin Sami 1901: 1020).

In the intralingual or interlingual space of Ottoman interculture, there existed various works generated as hulâsa (summary) of other works. Within this genre, Ahmed Midhat Efendi emerges as an important literary figure who followed

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4 See *Eski Harflî Türkçe Basma Eserler Bibliyografyası* (Bibliography of Printed Works in Turkish with Arabic Script) in CD form brought out by the Turkish National Library in 2001. This bibliography gives the following items under the keyword “hulâsa” (summary): “Don Kişot dö la manj (Cervantes’ten hulâsa) (undated); Hulâsa-i Cebir, Mehmed Arif, İstanbul 1874/1291 (bazı Türkçe ve Fransızca cebir risalelerinden hulâsadır); Hulâsa-i Humâyûnnâme, Beydebâ, (Çeviren Alaaddin Ali Çelebi, özetleyen Ahmed Midhat), İstanbul 1887/1304, Matbaa-i Amire; Hulâsa-i Mantîk, (Çeviren Ahmed Muhtar), İstanbul 1895/1312, Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaası; Hulâsatü’l-Vefai Şerhi’s-Şifa. Şifa-i Şerif Tercümesi. Kadi İvaz Ebu el-Fazl Muşâ bin Yâhûsibî (Çeviren ve şerh eden İbrahim Hanîfî), İstanbul 1897/1314, Cemal Efendi Matbaası.”
“hulâsa” as a translation strategy in the late nineteenth century.\(^5\) In the preface to his summary translation of *Le Cid*, Ahmed Midhat Efendi opens a dialogue with an imaginary reader. What is interesting in this dialogue is that the respected reader questions the reasons for Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s selection of *Le Cid* and his translation strategy. The imaginary person in the dialogue functions as an implied reader who expresses a demand for the translation of European classics. Addressing the Ottoman writers of his time in his preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi tries to give his reasons for pursuing the *hulâsa* strategy:

You know well that there are two essential features of a classic. The first is the imaginative content and the other is rhetorical eloquence. If, in terms of both features, a literary work is not superior to others then it will not be considered a classic. Whether its translation is the same or free, there is no way that the rhetorical eloquence of the original can conveyed… If our purpose is to know the great European works as much as is necessary for us, then shouldn’t my summary of *Le Cid* be considered adequate? (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 7-9).

According to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, it was important to make such European works known to Ottoman readers. Here it seems that Ahmed Midhat Efendi followed particularly the *hulâsa* (summary-translation) strategy which, he thought, would best serve his informative and pragmatic purposes.

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\(^5\) Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated two works into Turkish in the form of summary. The first in which he referred to himself as “mülahhis” (one who summarizes) is his *intralingual* summary translation of Ali Çelebi’s *Humâyunnâme*, which was examined in Chapter 4. The other is his summary translation of Corneille’s *Le Cid* in which he referred to himself as “muharrir” (*writer*). For an examination of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s *Hulâsa-i Humâyunnâme*, see Toska (2004) [forthcoming].
A few years after he wrote his preface to *Sid’ın Hulasasi*, Ahmed Midhat Efendi reiterated the importance of the summary translation strategy in the “classics debate” of 1897. In his article titled “Yine İkram-ı Aklâm”, he explained this strategy and suggested that it needed to be taken as a solution for the difficulties of literal translation (*harfiyyen nakl ve terceme*). He even referred to *şerh* (commentary) and *tahşiye* (annotation) as other methods of translation (*terceme*) practiced in French literature in translating (*nakl ve terceme*) Ancient Greek works. He wrote:

…both commentary and annotation have also been used for lessening the difficulties in translating and conveying as the same. The Greek words of several famous writers for instance Plato, Socrates and Xenophon are written on the upper side of the left page. The right page is divided vertically into two columns. In the first column, the Greek is written word-for-word and sentence-for-sentence. Their French translations are written in the right column point-by-point, just opposite the words and sentences on the left. Because these translations are far from being beautiful, let alone intelligible, their summary translations too are produced in plain French and placed below on the page on the right. Literal translation is done to demonstrate the subtle points and elegance of the original language, and the difficulties are solved in this way (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).

Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s explanations reveal that he was aware of certain methods and/or strategies practiced in French literature, which he seems to have adopted as models. It is also significant that translation strategies such as literal (*harfiyyen*), free (*serbest, mealen*) or summary (*hulâsa*) appear to be closely connected to the notion of intelligibility. In this context, it makes sense why Ahmed
Midhat Efendi referred to the importance of the summary strategy for producing comprehensible versions. As a writer and publisher of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, his rationale for the summary strategy may have been connected to his identity and activity as a journalist who valued a communicative language and immediate intelligibility.

*Sid'in Hulâsasi* was published in a series of “Enafis-i Âsâr Hulâsaları” (Summaries of the Great Works) by Ahmed Midhat Efendi himself. It seems that this series was initiated by Ahmed Midhat Efendi and this paratextual information is an important clue to the then current need for publishing summaries of works of great literary merit.

In the preface, Ahmed Midhat Efendi first focuses on the question of translating European classics by following various lines of argument about (i) the need for translation to make great European classical works known to Ottoman readers, (ii) the method of translation, (iii) the function and purpose of generating *hulâsa*.
It is obvious that Ahmed Midhat Efendi thought of European civilization as the one that had reached its highest stage of progress through “extensive experimentation with everything for several centuries”. The core of his argument centers on accepting European great works as models (meşk) that genuinely deserve to be appreciated by Ottomans. Ahmed Midhat Efendi argues that if the aim is to know the great European works, *Sid’in Hulâsası* would have to be taken as an adequate version of *Le Cid*. If not, it would be a great loss for the Ottomans to be unaware of the European classics. He wrote:

Since we are also European and interested in European literature, it is a great shortcoming if we are unfamiliar with the classics (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 14).

[Zira biz dahi Avrupalı olduğumuz ve Avrupa edebiyatıyla müştagil bulunduğumuz halde klâsikleri tanımamak bizim için büyük bir nakîsâtır (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 14).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi claims that in summarizing *Le Cid* he has not produced a version which could be identified as the literal rendering of *Le Cid* (harfiyyen/aynen terceme) because the original was a tragedy in verse. Ahmed Midhat Efendi expected to find two essential features in classical works: the rhetorical eloquence (*belâgat*) and imaginative content (*hayal*). He emphasizes that it is almost impossible to convey the rhetorical eloquence of verse by literal translation. According to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, there remains the imaginative content to be transferred, which he considered comparatively possible to translate. Ahmed Midhat Efendi also claims that he prefers not to render *Le Cid* as a free translation (*serbest terceme*) and underlines that free translation would result in a version of inordinate length and would not provide the serious benefits expected from rendering such European classical works into Turkish. He offers his summary (*hulâsa*) as an
adequate version of *Le Cid* which would avoid the problems of rendering verse as verse. He pleads:

Please, be gracious! Could you expect any serious advantage from translating those works in great length as by way of free translation since there exists only their subject matter [to be conveyed]? If the purpose is for us to know the great European works as much as is necessary, then shouldn’t my summary of *Le Cid* be considered adequate? (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 9).

[İnayet buyurunuz! İş yalnız mevzuardan ibaret kaldığına göre velev ki serbest terceme suretinde olsun âsar-ı mezkûreyi uzun uzadiya tercemeden de bir faide-i ciddiye bekleyebilir misiniz? Eğer maksat Avrupa enafis-i âsarı bizim için lüzum ve vücutu dairesinde tanımak ise işte Cid için yaptığım hulâsa kâfi görülemez mi? (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 9).]

Ahmed Midhat Efendi was a novelist not a poet; hence, it seems reasonable that it would be a difficult task for him to render *Le Cid* literally as verse. This seems to be the essential reason why Ahmed Midhat Efendi followed other strategies (e.g. *hulâsa*) in translating verse into Turkish. The discourse in the preface reveals that Ahmed Midhat Efendi foregrounded three points related to the strategy he followed in conveying *Le Cid* into Turkish. This can be outlined as follows (Appendix 5: pp.384-386)

1. He did not translate *Le Cid* but summarized
2. He did not give a literal rendering of the verse
3. He did not favour free rendering of the verse

Ahmed Midhat Efendi also pointed out the function and purpose of his summary. In terms of his transference strategy, he mentions that his prose version would serve to make Corneille’s *Le Cid* clear and intelligible to the target readers who had not watched such plays. In line with Ahmed Midhat Efendi, his imaginary reader also justifies the advantage of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s version in
understanding the textual composition as well as the cultural background of the original:

Fine! Fine! Here is the summary of Le Cid which meets all the conditions. By reading this summary, an Ottoman will have a perfect knowledge of Le Cid, in fact as much as is necessary. Your service to an Ottoman who knows French is even more beneficial. After becoming familiar with Le Cid in your summary, you will understand the French original completely. Now, we have no other request except that you apply the service you have offered by Le Cid to other classical works (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 12-13).


Presuming that Le Cid is culturally unfamiliar to the target reader, Ahmed Midhat Efendi offers not only to summarize the original but to explain it. He states:

On the one hand, it should be summarized as necessary as without changing its original, on the other hand, it should be written as a commentary and explanation to make it intelligible. Such benefits for the people can never be denied (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 13-14) (my italics).

[...bir yandan aslını değiştiriksizin derece-i kâfiyede hülâsa etmekle beraber diğer taraftan tefehhümüne medar olmak için şerh ve tavzih ederek yazmalı. Bununla beraber asla inkâr edilemez ki halk için faidesi pek büyük olacaktır (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 13-14) (my italics).]

The above quotation shows that Ahmed Midhat Efendi intended to remain close to the original play in his summary. At the same time, he declares another strategy: writing in the form of commentary and explanation (şerh and tavzih).

Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s rationale in explaining his purpose and the functions of his text seem to have been based on the assumption that French culture was distant from Ottoman culture. That is why he starts off by pointing out the lack of a literary genre, such as tragedy in verse, that was foreign to the receiving system.
5.1.2. The Supplement: “Sid’in İntikadi” (The Critique of Le Cid) (Appendix 5, pp.416-429)

“Sid’in İntikadi” (Critique of Le Cid) is the paratextual section in which Ahmed Midhat Efendi offers a critical commentary on Le Cid. His criticism was voiced as a response to the debate on Le Cid which involved some of the members of L’Académie Française, who were Corneille’s contemporaries. Generally speaking, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s attempt in publishing his summary with a critical commentary appears as a deliberate action. His attitude in this section indicates that he actually intended to set a literary, historical and cultural context of Le Cid for the Ottoman readers of his own time. He confides:

Before making certain criticisms known to our readers, we will give some information about the origins of this work (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 148).

[Biz burada intikadat-ı vak’adan karilerimizi haberdar etmeye başlamazdan evvel bu eserin zemini hakkında bazı malûmat vereceğiz (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 148).]

It is interesting that, similar to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s version which sparked off the “classics debate” of 1897, Le Cid had also been the subject of a famous debate known as “La querelle du Cid” (the quarrel of Le Cid) which continued for six months after the staging of the play in 1637 in France (Bagley 1937: 176, 204; Lockert 1957: 4-7; Julleville 1922: 10; Ay 1941: 205). Le Cid was regarded as a play opposing the conventions of French drama of the seventeenth century. In the course of the debate on Le Cid, Corneille’s literary opponents such as Georges de Scudéry, Mairet, and Claveret launched a campaign against the play and claimed that it lacked good taste and had many faulty verses, some of which were plagiarized.

6 In Tercüme (1941) magazine, Lütfi Ay provides the translation of the introduction of Corneille’s Le Cid (“Avertissement du Cid”) that was added to its second edition in 1648. Ay also supplies the Turkish translation of Scene I, Act V.
(Bagley 1937: 204). Hence, Corneille was accused not only of drawing his story from Spanish history but also of borrowing the plot from a Spanish play of the sixteenth century, *Las Mocedades del Cid* (The Youthful Exploits of the Cid) (1599) by Guilhem de Castro\(^7\). Responding to such criticisms, Corneille submitted his case to the French Academy, the institution of which was momentous event in the development of French language and literature in the seventeenth century during the reign of Louis XIV (Bagley 1937: 19). The Academy proposed a long criticism and published its views in *Sentiments de l’Académie sur le Cid* (Opinions of the Academy on the Cid) in 1638, which was written by Chapelain, a member of the Academy. The critique by the Academy was regarded as neither favorable nor unfavorable, and centered essentially on grammar and style as well as breaches of the rules for drama derived from Aristotle. It is thought that the Academy’s critique helped Corneille improve the classical form in his following plays such as *Horace* and *Cinna* (Bagley 1937: 184-186).

Reviving the so-called quarrel in the Ottoman target pole, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s *intikad* (critique) appears as a return to the French past and can be identified as a kind of metatext i.e. a text which has been produced using other text/s (see Popovič 1976 in Shuttleworth & Cowie 1997: 105). In “Sid’in İntikadı”, Ahmed Midhat Efendi provides his own response to the French Academy, seemingly participating retrospectively in the debate of 1638. Therefore, Ahmed Midhat Efendi not only conveys *Le Cid* through summary translation but also the discourse on it to a new literary environment that was culturally foreign.

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\(^7\) A Spanish dramatist (1569-1631), who became a member of a local literary academy called *Nocturnos*. His *Las Mocedades del Cid* was regarded as his most popular drama that made his reputation. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11\(^{th}\) ed. vol. 5. Cambridge: University Press 1910, pp.484-5.
5.1.2.1. Analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Critique of Le Cid

Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s organization of the intikad (critique) is divided into five main parts, each of which is marked with asterisks in the target text. It is apparent that in his intikad, Ahmed Midhat Efendi drew primarily on the critique of the French Academy, making use of a 42-page French article which was possibly the eighteenth century reprint of Sentiments de l’Académie sur le Cid. This article, which Ahmed Midhat Efendi said he obtained from the Kütüphane-i Kebir (The Grand Library), had two important parts published with an introduction. Ahmed Midhat Efendi seems to have rewritten the article which included comments taken from Voltaire’s critically review of Le Cid. As seen in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s statements of the article, Voltaire appears to be very critical of the Academy, hence supporting Corneille. In intikad, Voltaire’s analysis of Le Cid provides Ahmed Midhat Efendi with an outstanding reference point. It is worth noting that, between the lines, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s voice sometimes seems to fuse with that of Voltaire.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi appears to have concentrated mainly on the first part of this article which offered a discussion on the foundations (zemin) of Le Cid. He rewrote this part in which the Academy launched its main arguments and justifications for the critique of Le Cid but intentionally disregarded the second part of the article in which some of the verses from Corneille’s Le Cid were subjected to a critical evaluation by the Academy in terms of their quality in French.

8 Unfortunately, Ahmed Midhat Efendi does not mention the name of this article. But since Voltaire’s review (Voltaire, 1694–1778) is referred to in the article, it is most likely that the article was printed at least in (or after) the eighteenth century.
The noteworthy point here is that Ahmed Midhat Efendi regarded the second part of the article as useless for Ottoman readers who were unfamiliar with or inadequate in French. Of course, this can be seen as related to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s main purpose in setting the cultural and literary background of *Le Cid* for the benefit of Ottoman readers. But this also seems to be related to the difficulties Ahmed Midhat Efendi would have possibly faced in translating certain verses that were examined by the Academy into Turkish. He comments:

…the first part includes information on the foundation of *Le Cid*, and the second part is about the critique of couplets in terms of their quality in French. It is obvious that the second part is not beneficial for those like us who do not know that language. Thus we have to concentrate particularly on the first part of the article written by the [French] Academy (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 174-175).

In this critique of *Le Cid*, Ahmed Midhat Efendi first begins with a discussion on the historical identity of the protagonist, Rodrigue (Rodrig), who was a hero from Spanish history well-known as Cid (Sid). According to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, Cid, the hero, did not first emerge in Corneille’s play but had surfaced in many historical-literary legends of the Spanish troubadours for years before Corneille. Ahmed Midhat Efendi also points out that some of those legends had even been translated into French. But interestingly he regarded those works as misleading, because they did not provide true historical information about Rodrigue and his wife Chimène.

Ahmed Midhat Efendi seems to have paid special attention to the possibility of certain differences that one could find between the biography of Rodrigue as a
Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s main emphasis is on the unacceptability of expecting an overlap between historical truth and fictional reality. For this reason, he claims that one should not expect Corneille to have based his play on history. While discrediting such expectations, he acknowledges that Corneille did not totally deviate from the historical truth, commenting:

We cannot criticize Corneille on the basis of the difference between the origins of Le Cid he wrote and the historical information we have given above about the Cid. First of all, there is no need for writers to keep to historical events in such works. This point has been debated about one thousand times and accepted as such (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 158).

Ahmed Midhat Efendi also focuses on the argument that Le Cid had been plagiarized from Guilhem de Castro, and hence was an appropriation. In this regard, it is interesting that certain scholarly examinations of Le Cid have demonstrated that Corneille’s play includes several parts generated precisely by means of particular translational practices such as imitation. According to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, such a claim was among the stronger arguments of critics like Georges de Scudéry who argued that 72 verses of Le Cid appeared as if they had been translated from Castro’s Spanish original. Referring to Scudéry, Ahmed Midhat Efendi writes:

[Scudéry] deeply insulted Corneille by writing a special volume and claiming that there was no man more ignorant than Corneille and no work worse than

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9 L. Petit de Julleville’s edition which includes a detailed introduction, notes and analysis on Le Cid, suggests that certain verses were either imitated or translated by Corneille in his Le Cid. Julleville examines those in comparison with the verses by Castro (see Julleville 1922: 84-93).

10 For Scudéry’s analysis of Le Cid, see also his work, Observations sur le Cid that was published in 1637 and is available at http://www.chass.utoronto.ca/~wulfric/academie/scud_cid.htm
Le Cid. He stated that 72 couplets of Le Cid were something like a translation from the Spanish original, thus assuming that the whole work was translated from Spanish and that it was a bad translation (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 166-167).

 [...] bir cild-i mabsus kaleme alarak Korney’i o kadar tahkîr etmiş idi ki artıık dünyada Korney’den daha cahil ve Sid’den daha fena eser bulunmadığını hükme kadar varmış idi. Sid’in 72 beyti İspanyolca aslından terceme gibi bir şey olduğu beyanıyla bu halde teknil-i eserin İspanyolcaadan terceme demek olacağı ve o tarcememin de fena bir tarceme bulunduğunu hükümetsiz idi (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 166-167).]

From Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s point of view, Scudéry was Corneille’s foremost opponent, whose criticism typified that of the other members of the French Academy. For Ahmed Midhat Efendi, it was Scudéry who attacked Corneille conceitedly in order to fawn on Cardinal Richelieu, the founder and charter member of the Academy who instituted the critique of Le Cid. However, unlike Corneille’s opponents, Ahmed Midhat Efendi follows lines of argument that can be outlined as follows: (i) Corneille used Castro’s work Las Mocedades del Cid only as the basis (zemın) for his Le Cid, (ii) Corneille did not do a literal rendering (aynen tarceme) of Castro’s work, but (iii) generated a different version. Ahmed Midhat Efendi states:

Two Spanish poets had also written a tragedy under the same title before Corneille. One of them was Guilhem de Castro. The two works are not similar to each other. Although Corneille took Guilhem’s work as his basis, he wrote a different work of his own, deviating from it in many parts without translating it as the same (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 157-158).


Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s lines of argument also provide significant clues about the translational relationship between Corneille’s play and his own way of summarizing it in Turkish. Ahmed Midhat Efendi mentions that he too appropriated
Le Cid as a source in order to make a European classic known to Ottoman readers, and that he did not render Le Cid literally but generated a prose version of it in the form of a summary (hulâsa) that was regarded as unusual and comparable with a translation in the late nineteenth century.

One of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s letters, which he sent to Nigar Binti Osman on September 9, 1324 (September 22, 1908) sheds light on what Ahmed Midhat Efendi thought of Corneille’s play and what he was expecting from the translation of Le Cid several years after the “classics debate” of 1897. He wrote:

My Dear Lady… I have just remembered that there was an annotated [French] edition of Le Cid. I found it yesterday… You will find much information as well as many critical assessments in this edition. You will benefit more from this than from a copy of Le Cid itself. You see, the purpose is not to translate from Corneille but to get to know tragedy as a genre. If we like, we could also say “Nigar too rewrote Corneille’s Le Cid”. Oh! But we still forget to remember that Corneille did not invent Le Cid, but took it from Spanish. First, please read it, then we will get together and talk about it (Bekiroğlu 2004).

As can be seen, Ahmed Midhat Efendi seems to have encouraged Nigar Hanım to translate Le Cid into Turkish, possibly to produce a version in verse, and sent her the annotated French edition. What seems noteworthy is Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s emphasis on the significance of making a foreign literary genre (trajedya usulü) known to Ottomans rather than translating the play itself.

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11 I thank Professor Sema Uğurcan, a scholar of modern Turkish literature, for letting me see and work on the Turkish transcription of this letter. The original letter with Arabic script is also available at the Tevfik Fikret Museum in Aşıyan, İstanbul.
Most of the pages in “Sid’in İntikadi” were devoted to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s critique of the Academy, whose claims he assumed generally to be unfair and driven by an alterior motive. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s main emphasis is essentially on the dramatic and poetic success of Corneille’s Le Cid. Hence, in his intikad, Ahmed Midhat Efendi seems generally to have adopted a defensive stance.

His response to the Academy’s rationale draws our attention to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s notion of literary criticism which he regarded as a crucial activity that contributed much to the development of literature in a given culture. He also discussed the criteria that make a literary work elegant and adequate. According to Ahmed Midhat Efendi, a literary work should be regarded as elegant only if it is appreciated by the public (umumat), even though there might be men of taste who dislike it. Ahmed Midhat Efendi pursued the following lines in responding to the Academy: (i) a critique on the foundations of Le Cid, (ii) a critique on the chief characters, and (iii) critical assessments of whether any of the characters were unnecessary. In the following section I will concentrate only on the critique on the foundations of Le Cid because it shows clearly Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s adoption of a defensive stance.

5.1.2.1.1. On the Foundations of Corneille’s Le Cid

In his critique of the foundations of Le Cid, Ahmed Midhat Efendi honed in on three critical points made by the Academy. First of all, he focused on certain incidents that were regarded by Corneille’s opponents as neither extraordinary nor ordinary in Le Cid. Chimène’s acceptance to marry the champion of the duel between Rodrigue and Sanche and the King’s pressure on Chimène to marry the champion were both
perceived as unacceptable events by the Academy which claimed that the foundations of *Le Cid* were weak and unsuccessful in terms of the rules of classical tragedy. However, contrary to the Academy, Ahmed Midhat Efendi considered those developments to be extraordinary incidents. Ahmed Midhat Efendi interestingly presented his arguments with reference to two Aristotelian definitions which were identified by Ahmed Midhat Efendi as “*ahval-i acîbe*” (extraordinary incidents) and “*ahval-i âđiye*” (ordinary incidents). Quoting from Aristotle, he wrote:

Aristotle says that ordinary incidents are those which people can encounter under the conditions in which they live… Extraordinary incidents are also those which are unexpected but probable at all times (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 188).

In terms of the composition of dramatic incidents, Ahmed Midhat Efendi generally found the foundations (zemin) of *Le Cid* quite sound. He even claimed that in the construction of a neo-classical play such as *Le Cid*, Corneille had faithfully followed certain principles that were enunciated by Aristotle. He wrote:

If the individual actions of Rodrigue, Chimène and the King… are examined one by one, it will be seen that they are ordinary incidents. However, a real extraordinary situtation and strangeness appear due to the sequence of the incidents which follow each other. This shows that Corneille did not deviate from Aristotle’s principle (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 192).
However, examining Corneille’s plays from *Le Cid* to *Polyeucte*, Charles R. Bagley, a scholar of seventeenth century French literature, argued that *Le Cid* was not a regular tragedy. According to Bagley, a regular classical tragedy would be a play in alexandrine verse, containing five acts of approximately the same length, subdivided into scenes which are linked together. The action, largely psychological, hinges on one moral crisis, [such as Chimène’s dilemma whether to pursue for revenge on Rodrigue who killed her father or to accept reconciliation with him] and takes place in twenty-four hours or less within a restricted area —often a single room. The verse is lyrical; the tone of the plays is aristocratic and conforms to the conventions of seventeenth century polite society. The main characters are of noble blood, often of royal lineage, and their deeds are heroic. Their speech is dignified and heroic also, especially as compared with the language of the romantic drama. The story is generally taken from antiquity, though there are outstanding exceptions. The first two or three acts are a preparation for the final catastrophe, which normally occurs near the end of the play (Bagley 1937: 183).

In *Le Cid*, the death of Count Don Gomès, Chimène’s father, who is killed in a duel with Rodrigue, Chimène’s beloved, marks the catastrophe of the play, but occurs early in the second act, not near the end of the play. Moreover, the rest of the dramatic action centers on the reconciliation of the troubled lovers, Rodrigue and Chimène. In view of the conventions of French neo-classical tragedy, *Le Cid* appeared to have some technical faults of construction, which indicated essentially not a pure tragedy in form but a tragi-comedy (Bagley 1937: 184).

Another of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s important objections to the Academy centered on whether true historical events in the play needed to be modified in view of their potential influence on the public (*halk*). The Academy had criticized

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12 We do not yet know if Aristotle’s *Poetics* was translated in part or in its entirety into Ottoman Turkish. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s sources could have been either the Academy’s publication *Sentiments de l’Académie sur le Cid* or a collection which includes French translations of several works by ancient Greek writers such as Plato, Socrates and Xenophon. Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to that collection in one of his articles that appeared in the course of the “classics debate” titled “Yine İkrarn-ı Aklâm” (Kudema-yi Yunanîyenin teracim-i âsarından müteşekkil bir kolleksiyona malikiz ki Felatun, Sokrat, Ksenofon vesaire gibi meşahirin ibare-i Yunaniyesi…””) Ahmed Midhat (1897b/1313).
Corneille for not modifying true historical events in the light of their negative influence on the moral values of readers and spectators. According to the Academy, Don Gomès (Chimène’s father) should not have been killed in the duel, neither should Chimène have been married Rodrigue as a suitable solution for the sake of the kingdom. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, however, declared that these incidents were all necessary to show the loyalty and bravery of Rodrigue and Chimène in Corneille’s play.

The most significant criticism of the Academy with respect to *Le Cid* had concerned Corneille’s disloyalty to the seventeenth century interpretation of Aristotle’s so-called principle of the unity of time. Corneille was accused of composing a play overloaded with incidents which could hardly be condensed into twenty-four hours. The Academy considered that Rodrigue’s killing of Chimène’s father and the ensuing reconciliation with Chimène could not have actually happened within a day. Conversely, Ahmed Midhat Efendi emphasized that Chimène’s tender duty and revenge would become invalid once the duel between Rodrigue and Sanche was over and Rodrigue generously refused to take the life of Sanche who loved Chimène. Interestingly, Ahmed Midhat Efendi considered that it would be quite comic if Chimène had still persisted in her revenge. In his view, it would also have been historically inaccurate if Chimène had committed suicide so as not to marry Sanche or if the final would have been oppositely resolved as Rodrigue had been killed. Ahmed Midhat Efendi also thought that *Le Cid* conformed to the Aristotelian rules of the unity of time and that the Academy’s critique was due to ignorance. He wrote:

> In tragedies, it is customary that all the incidents take place in twenty four hours. Contrary to other literary genres, action that continues for years is not
recounted in tragedies. If there is such a prolonged series of incidents, they are implied but the main story includes an incident or incidents that take place in twenty four hours. Of course, the Academy is aware of that (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891/1308: 201).


5.2. Analyzing the Matricial Features of the Summary Translation of Le Cid

Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated Corneille’s verse play into a prose narrative interspersed with dialogue and direct speech.¹³

In this section, I will present a comparative analysis (1) of the structural distribution of the TT in relation to the ST, (2) of the matricial features of the TT and the ST with regard to the narrative makeup of the TT in terms of (a) introductory explanations to individual scenes, (b) paraphrases of individual scenes, dialogues and long utterances, (c) translations in one-to-one correspondences with ST utterances, (d) one-to-one correspondences in translating verse speeches and dialogues, (3) of the aspects of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s narrative technique in his summary translation, and (4) of the use proper names.

5.2.1. Comparative Analysis of the Structural Distribution in TT and ST

The source text i.e. Le Cid consists of five main acts, each of which is divided into several scenes. Sid’in Hulâsasi keeps the same number of acts (perde) and scenes (meclis) except those in the first act. Ahmed Midhat Efendi introduced each

¹³ See my Romanized transcription of Sid’in Hulâsasi in Appendix 5.
individual act and scene referring to their sequence in numbers e.g. “Birinci Perde” (Act I), “Birinci Meclis” (Scene I). Table 1 below shows the distribution of the scenes in the TT with respect to the ST at the macro-structural level:

**Table 1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The distribution of the scenes in the acts</th>
<th>(Birinci Meclis)</th>
<th>(İkinci Meclis)</th>
<th>(Üçüncü Meclis)</th>
<th>(Dördüncü Meclis)</th>
<th>(Beşinci Meclis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act I</td>
<td>7 [5]</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sid’in Hulâsası (TT)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Le Cid (ST)</strong></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 2** demonstrates the structural change in Act I in TT:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sid’in Hulâsası (TT)</th>
<th>Le Cid (ST)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birinci Perde</td>
<td>Scène I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Şimen, Elvir]</td>
<td>[Chimène, Elvire]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İkinci Meclis</td>
<td>Scène II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ürrak, Leonor, Mabeynci]</td>
<td>[L’Infante, Léonor, Page]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dördüncü Meclis</td>
<td>Scène III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don Gomes, Don Diyeg]</td>
<td>[Le Comte, Don Diègue]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Altinci Meclis</td>
<td>Scène IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don Diyeg, Don Rodrig]</td>
<td>[Don Diègue]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yedinci Meclis</td>
<td>Scène V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Don Rodrig]</td>
<td>[Don Rodrigue]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First of all, the table indicates that there are no shifts in the stage appearances of the dramatis personae in any of the scenes in the first act. Such regularity is also observed in the scenes throughout other acts. However, shifts are seen in the structural arrangement of the scenes in the first act. L’Infante’s monologue at the end of Scene II in the ST is merely referred to in the TT as Scene III without being
translated. Similarly, Don Diègue’s monologue in Scene IV in ST is referred to in the TT as Scene V but not translated. Thus there are 7 scenes in the TT but 6 in the ST. The reason for such shifts, both of which involve monologues, might be that Ahmed Midhat Efendi had followed an edition of *Le Cid* which was different from Julleville’s edition that I have used as my ST. These shifts may be taken as an indication of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary strategy.

5.2.2. Comparative Analysis of the Matricial Features of the TT and the ST with regard to the Narrative Makeup of the TT

5.2.2.1. Introductory Explanations to Individual Scenes

As Ahmed Midhat Efendi indicated in his preface to *Sid’in Hulâsası*, he took care to inform the readers about the details of the staging of the play by explaining the stage movements of the characters and the underlying reasons for their actions before he went on to translate. Such explanations which are consistent in his narrative might be regarded as part of his summary strategy.

The quotation below is an example from Act I, Scene II (Appendix 5: p.388):

İkinci Meclis - Prenses Ürrak, yanında mürebbiyesi Leonor, mabeyncisi olduğu (21) hâlde saha-i temaşaya girip mabeynciyi Şimen’i çağırırmaya gönderdikten sonra kendisi mürebbiyesiyle yalnız kalınca hasbhâle başlar. O da Rodrig’e aşık ama bunu henüz mürebbiyesinden bile saklıyor. Binaenaleyh mürebbiyesi, Prensesi söylemek için:

- Efendim! Hergün sizi Şimen ile görüşmek arzusu icbar ve tazyik eyliyor. Hem görüyorum ki her defa meselâ katınımda sevdasının derecesini soruyorsunuz!

deyince Prenses:

- Evet! Bu suallerim sebepsiz değildir…. 
5.2.2.2. Paraphrases of Individual Scenes, Dialogues and Long Utterances

An examination of the TT reveals that Ahmed Midhat Efendi paraphrased as a means of translation not only dialogues and long utterances but also individual scenes. In certain scenes, translation took in the form of detailed paraphrasing without establishing a one-to-one translational relationship in dialogues and/or monologues.

(A) The following is a translation by means of paraphrase of the entire Scene VI in Act III between Don Diègue and his son Rodrigue in TT:

(Appendix 5: pp.405-406)

Altncı Meclis – İhtiyar Diyeğ ogluna sarılıp öpmek, koklamak ister ise de o genç kahramanı pek meyus bulunca tereddüt eder. Şu ak saçılarıyla duçar olduğu hakaretten kendisini kurtaran ve kontun o namuslu yüzü sürdüğü lekeyi yine onun kanıyla yıkayan oğlu birçok medh ü sena eyledikten sonra “Gel o temizlediğin yüzü öp” diye davet eyler ise de Şîmen’den meyus olan Rodrig bu taltıftan hiç (99) birisiyle mutmain olamaz. Filvaki babasına mukabil vazife-i ferzendaneyi ifa edebilmiş olduğundan dolayı kendisi de kendini bahtiyar buluyor ise de bu vazifeyi ifa edebilmek için cihanda varı, yegâne ümid-i bahtiyarısı olan Şîmen’in ebediyen kaybetmiş olduğu için hiçbir şeyle müteselli olamayacağımı babasına anlatır.

Below, I would like to offer two tables, one of which shows the distribution of the scenes translated by means of paraphrase in the TT, while the other illustrates the length of utterances in the ST paraphrased in the TT:

Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The distribution of scenes translated by means of paraphrase in Şid’in Hulâsasti</th>
<th>Act I</th>
<th>Act II</th>
<th>Act III</th>
<th>Act IV</th>
<th>Act V</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scene 7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Scene 5</td>
<td>Scene 6</td>
<td>Scene 3</td>
<td>Scene 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sid‘in Hâlâsası (TT)</th>
<th>Characters whose utterances were paraphrazed</th>
<th>Number of the verse lines in ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Act I, Scene 7</td>
<td>Rodrig (Don Rodrigue)</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act III, Scene 5</td>
<td>Diyeg (Don Diègue)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act III, Scene 6</td>
<td>Diyeg (Don Diègue) Rodrig (Don Rodrigue)</td>
<td>78 [52+26]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act IV, Scene 3</td>
<td>Kral Fernand (King Fernand) Rodrig (Don Rodrigue)</td>
<td>122 [31+91]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Act V, Scene 2</td>
<td>Prenses Ürrak (Dona Urraque)</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the structure of Act II in the ST is analyzed, we find that Act II was made up of shorter verse passages uttered by the characters. This shows that Ahmed Midhat Efendi tended to translate long utterances in paraphrase, whereas in the case of short utterances, he translated in one-to-one correspondence with the ST and embedded them in his narrative.

(B) In the excerpt below from Act IV Scene III, it is the utterances by Don Diègue, Don Fernand, Don Arias, Don Rodrigue and Don Sanche that are translated by means of paraphrase:

(Appendix 5: p.408)

Act IV, Scene III

Üçüncü Meclis – Bu meclis Kral Fernand’ın huzurunda Don Diyeğ, Don Ariyas, Don Rodrig ve Don Sanş dahi mevcut olduğu hâlde vukuva gelir. Kral Rodrig’i tekrimat-ı faika ile huzuruna kabul ederek bunca namdar kahramanların mehdî olan şanlı bir familya oğlu olduğuna şu muvaffakiyeti burhan-ı azim olduğuna ve devlet (110) ve millete ettiği hizmeti bihakkın mükâfatlandırıbilmek kendi kudret-i hükümranlığın de fevkinde idâhünü ve fakat demincek huzuruna getirilen mağribi serdarlar kendisi için “Sid” demiş olduklarından ve onların lisanına bu kelime “Senyör” manasını ifade eylediğinden işte bu hizmet-i azimesinin mükâfati olmak üzere badema Rodrig’e “Sid” ünvanıyla hitap olunmasına karar verdiğini cümle huzurunda kemal-i tevkin ve ihtiram ile beyan eder.

(C) In the example below, Chimene’s and Rodrigue’s utterances are rendered both in paraphrase and in one-to-one translational correspondence.

(Appendix 5: pp.410-411)

Act V, Scene I

Birinci Meclis – Rodrig, Sanş ile mübarezeye gitmezden evvel son vedami ıcra etmek üzere Şimen’e gelmiş. Böyle güpe gündüz kendi hanesine gelmiş olması kendi namusunu halk nazariyesinde ilküllüye berbat edeceğini beyanıyla Şimen hemen çıkıp gitmesini rica eyiyor ise de Rodrig:

- Ölüme gidiyorum! Ölmeye gidiyorum. Son vazife-i ubudiyeti ifa etmeyim mı?
deyince Şimen:
- Ölmeye mi?
diyice mübarezede kendisi ölmeyip Don Sanş’ın helâki de muhtemel olduğunu anlatmak (124) ister, fakat Rodrig bunu anladığı hâlde de:
- Evet ölmeye! Hiss-i intikamını helâkimle mutmain edebilmek bahtiyarlığa!
der ki bu söz üzerine artık Şimen teessürat-ı âştıkanesine mağlup olarak Don Sanş’ın bu kadar mı cesur ve kendisinin bu kadar mı korkak olduğunu ve babasına ve magribilerle karşı kendisini o kadar kuvvetli eden kim olup şimdi Don Sanş’a karşı bu derecelerde zayıf eyleyen de kim iddüzünti sorar. Bunun üzerine Rodrig anlatır ki cesareti hep o cesaret, kuvveti hep o kuvvet ise de helâki sevdiğinin arzu eylediği bir şey olduğu için meyd-an-ı mübarezede mukavemet (125) etmeyecek, belki Don Sanş’in kılıç ucunda kendi helâkini

5.2.2.3. Translations in one-to-one Correspondence with ST Utterances

The example below is taken from Act II Scene I. According to Table 3 above, Act II in TT was not paraphrased. What is particularly noteworthy here is that in this act Ahmed Midhat Efendi both (a) expanded on the actions and emotions of the characters, describing how they interact with each other and (b) translated utterances in one-to-one correspondence to the TT.

(Appendix 5: p.392)

Act II, Scene I

**Birinci Meclis** – Kralın bendegânından Don Ariyas ile hırçın Don Gomes arasında vukua gelir. Gomes’in Diyeg gibi bir pir-i şöhret-işara ettiği hakaret Kralı’nın mütüssisi olunca pek ziyade müteessir olarak emr etmiş ki Gomes lüzum ve láyık veçh ile Diyeg’e bir tarziye versin. Eğer bu emre itaat etmeyecek olursa Gomes için her ceza, her şiddet hazırda demiş. Don Ariyas bunu tebliğ eyley dikte Gomes:

- Aramuzda bir suret-i mahremânede itiraf ederim ki o daki kada kanım biraz ziyade de kanayarak namusuna dokunacak bir kelimeyi derece-i ifrata kadar büyütmüşüm. Fakat (39) bir kere hakaret vukua gelmiş olduktan sonra artık tarziye ilan gibi hiçbir çaresi bulunamaz.

- Devlete millete hizmet etmek insan (40) için vazifesini ifa etmiş olmaktır. Hizmetimizden dolayıмагrur olmaya selahiyetimiz yoktur. Bir Kral hiçbir kimsenin hizmetinin minnetdari olmaydır. Daima bendegân efendilerinin minnetdar-ı inayatı olarak herbir emr ü nehyclerine
gerdendade-i itaat ve inkıyad olurlar ise şan-ı ubudiyyetlerine asıl bu cihat şayan ve muvafık düşer.

diye hikmet-i ubudiyeti anlatmaya çalışiyor ise de Gomes taazzüm ve tekebburü gittikçe artırmakça güya devletin beaksi kendi vücutuna mütevakkıf bulunduğu derecesine kadar vardırır. Herhalde tarziye için Kralın verdiği emre itaat etmeyeceğini söylüyor. Don Ariyas meyusev avdet (41) edip o gittikten sonra da Gomes:

- Ölümden korkmayan bir adamın sair hiçbir idbardan da korkusu olmaz. Namusum bir tezelzül ile berbat olduktan sonra idbar içinde de yaşayabilirim. Yahut namus ve vakarımı ile giderir giderim!

diye Ariyas’a adem-i itaat cevabından dolayı pek isabet eyledikini hükümder.

The table below demonstrates the total number of utterances in *Sid’in Hulâsasi* translated in one-to-one correspondence with the ST.

**Table 5**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Act I</th>
<th>Act II</th>
<th>Act III</th>
<th>Act IV</th>
<th>Act V</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Sid’in Hulâsasi</em></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Le Cid</em></td>
<td>58</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can see that Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated approximately 40% of the ST utterances. This means that he paraphrased nearly 60% of the ST material. This might be an indication of why Ahmed Midhat Efendi tended to identify his version as a *hulâsa* (summary) but not as a *terceme* (translation) and referred to himself on the title page of *Sid’in Hulâsasi* as a *muharrir* (writer) instead of as a *mütercim* (translator). This might also be an indication of why his imaginary reader in the preface found the *hulâsa* (summary) longer and why Kemal Paşazade Saîd identified the work as an unusual case of transfer in the course of the “classics debate”: “an

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14 In this regard, it would be revealing to investigate why Ahmed Midhat Efendi designated himself as *mülahhis* in his *Hulâsa-i Humayunname*. 

5.2.2.4. One-to-one Correspondence in Translating Verse Speeches and Dialogues

Ahmed Midhat Efendi appears as a translator (mütercim) in the parts where he offers direct translations of utterances. It is quite obvious that in those parts which generally have short utterances, Ahmed Midhat Efendi gives both literal and free renderings. In his literal renderings he tends to keep one-to-one correspondence with the ST linguistic material. But he also makes small modifications so as to transfer the sense of the ST material in an intelligible way. Below, I would like to offer a descriptive analysis of some translations selected from several scenes of the summary.

**Act I, Scene V**

**ST** Don Diègue: Rodrigue, as-tu du cœur? (p.150)

[Act I, but in Scene VI]

**TT** Don Diyeg: Rodrig! Sende yürek var mı? (p.34)

Here, it can be observed that Ahmed Midhat Efendi performs a close rendering of the ST material. Reminding Rodrigue of his filial duty, Ahmed Midhat Efendi puts an exclamation mark just after Dièque’s appeal to Rodrigue. He also renders “as-tu du cœur?” by transforming the genitive suffix to locative.

**Act II, Scene VIII**

**ST** Don Fernand: Prends courage, ma fille, et sache qu’aujourd’hui Ton roi te veut servir de père au lieu de lui (p. 180)

**TT** Kral: Cesaret kızım, cesaret! Biliniz ki şu anda Kralınız Gomes’e bedel babalık etmeye hazır. (pp.66-67)
In the example above, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s rendering appears to be in full conformity with the ST material. He seems to keep the order of the verses in the ST. But he repeats “courage” (“cesaret”) twice and uses “Gomes” instead of the personal pronoun marked by “lui” in French.

**Act III, Scene I**

**ST** Elvire: Rodrigue, qu’as-tu fait? où viens-tu misérable? (p.185)

**TT** Elvir: Rodrig sen ne yaptın? Nereye geldin ey bedbaht! (p.75)

This example too is in close conformity with the ST material. Ahmed Midhat Efendi only adds the expression “ey” so as to reinforce Elvire’s indignation towards Rodrigue when she sees him in her room after he has killed her father.

**Act III, Scene III**

**ST** Elvire: Quittez, quittez, Madame, un dessein si tragique; Ne vous imposez point de loi si tyrannique (p.191)

**TT** Elvir: Böyle fâci’ bir emelden vazgeçiniz efendim! Bu kadar zalim ane bir kanuna tevfik-i muamele etmeyiniz. (p.81)

In this example, Ahmed Midhat Efendi provides a close translation of the ST material, but does not repeat the verb “quitter” (to leave, to give up) twice. He uses “Efendim”, which is a polite form of address in Turkish, as the equivalent to “Madame” in French. He also translates the verb “imposer” (to impose, to force) idiomatically as “tevfik-i muamele etmek” (to bring about an agreement, to cause to agree).

In parts where the translation seems free, Ahmed Midhat Efendi tends to perform an explicatory translation which must have helped him strengthen the sense of the ST as well as the context of the utterances. Here, let me offer Chimène’s speech in the first scene of the fifth act as an example of free and explicatory
In this scene, Chimène begs Rodrigue to rescue her from a hateful marriage with Sanche who was willing to enter a duel with Rodrigue:

**Extract from Act V, Scene I of the ST (Julleville 1922: 233)**

Chimène

[1] Puisque, pour t’empêcher de courir au trépas,
[2] Ta vie et ton honneur sont de faibles appas,
[3] Si jamais je t’aimai, cher Rodrigue, en revanche,
[4] Défends-toi maintenant pour m’ôter à don Sanche;
[5] Combats pour m’affranchir d’une condition
[7] Te dirais-je encore plus? va, songe à ta défense,
[8] Pour forcer mon devoir, pour m’imposer silence,
[9] Et si tu sens pour moi ton cœur encore épris,
[10] Sors vainqueur d’un combat don’t Chimène est le prix.

The translation of this part in the TT (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891: 128-129)

[Şimen]:


First of all, it is evident that Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated 11 lines of the ST verse into 13 sentences in Turkish. He reinforces “cher Rodrigue” in the third line in the ST by placing it at the end of Chimène’s speech. Apart from this, Ahmed Midhat Efendi translates two lines from the ST with one sentence in the TT and adds some sentences which do not correspond to the ST material. The table below demonstrates shifts and manipulations the example given above:
It is clear that sentence [4] appears as an addition. Hence, Ahmed Midhat Efendi generates *semi-equivalent* sentences in relation to the ST material. For instance, in sentences [5] and [6] in the TT, the first half of sentence [5] i.e. “Sana olan sevda-yi pakime hürmeten aşkımdız aşkına” has more or less the same elements as the ST, but the rest of this sentence i.e “beni bu beladan kurtar” appears as an addition which serves to reinforce the context of the ST utterance. Similarly, the first half of the sentence [6] i.e. “Benim intikamıma hizmet için Sanş’a karşı müdafaasız duracağın” emerges as having a zero-correspondence whereas the rest i.e. “beni Sanş’tan kurtarmak için müdafaalı et!” has an equivalence relationship with the line “Combats pour m’affranchir d’une condition” in the ST.

5.2.3. Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Narrative Technique in His Summary Translation

The analyses above point to the fact that Ahmed Midhat Efendi pursued two strategies in rewriting verse drama in prose: (a) paraphrasing ST utterances and (b) translating them in one-to-one correspondence. The table below sums up the textual-structural relationships between Corneille’s tragedy and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s narrative summary-translation as shown above.
In *Şid’in Hulâsast*, Ahmed Midhat Efendi emerges as an omniscient and reliable narrator who recounts the summary of the events in the original play. Thus, he places himself outside the story and speaks in a third-person singular. He also participates in the play as a witness whose voice becomes explicit, as a narrator who knows everything that needs to be known about the actions and events. In some cases, he appears to be accessing the characters’ thoughts, feelings and motives as a witness. At this level, he paraphrases some of the utterances as if they were his own statements. In this manner, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s narrative offers readers not only a bare synopsis of the temporal order of what happens in the play but also appropriates the dramatic motives and actions in the original scenes. At this level of paraphrasing, it is significant that Ahmed Midhat Efendi is faithful to the action line and the sense of the original play.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TT</th>
<th>ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>prose narrative</td>
<td>drama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prose summary with a narrator speaking in the 3rd person</td>
<td>dialogues/monologues of the characters, uttered in the 1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>translation by means of paraphrase in the 3rd person</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>translation in one-to-one correspondence with utterances in the 1st person, embedded in the narrative summary</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>explanation, expansion and description</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 6**
As indicated above, the narrative is 60% paraphrase, into which are embedded translations with one-to-one correspondence. Such a dual aspect in the structure of the target text gives the impression of two-temporal axes: one is the time of the original utterances which strike one as part of a foreign work in translation. The other is the time of the summary, which appears to be another text by the narrator, who is obviously not foreign. If we look at the narrative as a whole, except for the indications of acts and scenes, *Sid’in Hulâsasi* can be regarded as a novel.

5.2.4. Treatment of Proper Names in TT

In his summary, Ahmed Midhat Efendi provides a phonetic transcription of the proper names in Turkish. Below is the list of the dramatis personae. Ahmed Midhat Efendi supplies this list in a section titled “Eşhas-ı vaka” (Dramatis Personae) which follows the preface.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Sid’in Hulâsasi</em> (TT, Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891: 15)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don Fernand</td>
<td>Kastil’in birinci kralı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enfant Ürrak</td>
<td>Kastil Prensesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Diyeg</td>
<td>Don Rodrig’ın babası</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Gomes</td>
<td>Şimen’in babası ve Gormas kontu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Rodrig</td>
<td>Şimen’in muhibbi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Sanş</td>
<td>Şimen’in aşıği</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Ariyas</td>
<td>Kastil senyörlerinden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Alonz</td>
<td>Keza Kastil senyörlerinden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Şimen</td>
<td>Don Gomes’ın kizi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leonor</td>
<td>Prenses Ürrak’ın mürebbiyesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvîr</td>
<td>Şimen’in mürebbiyesi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prensesin bir mabeyncisi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><em>Le Cid</em> (ST, Julleville 1922: 130)</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Don Fernand</td>
<td>premier roi de Castille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dona Urraque</td>
<td>enfant de Castille</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Diègue</td>
<td>père de don Rodrigue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Gomès</td>
<td>comte de Gormas, père de Chimène</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Rodrigue</td>
<td>amant de Chimène</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Sanche</td>
<td>amoureux de Chimène</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Arias</td>
<td>gentilshommes castillans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don Alonse</td>
<td>fille de don Gomès</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chimène</td>
<td>gouvernante de l’Infante</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Léonor</td>
<td>gouvernante de Chimène</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elvîre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un page de l’Infante</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It seems that Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s list of the dramatis personae is the same as the list in Julleville’s edition of *Le Cid*. Such closeness both in the order and descriptions of the characters seems to indicate that Ahmed Midhat Efendi might well have taken Julleville’s edition as his source for his summary translation. Ahmed Midhat Efendi keeps the same pronunciation of the names of the dramatis personae in Turkish. In this sense, he preserves the original, but some of his designations do not exactly correspond to those in the ST. The table below demonstrates designations in the TT as compared with the ST.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>References in the TT</th>
<th>Their correspondences in the ST</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kral [King]</td>
<td>le roi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kral Hazretleri [your majesty]</td>
<td>- [i.e., zero correspondence]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enfant</td>
<td>l’Infant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prenses [Princess]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kont [Count]</td>
<td>le comte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mürebbiye [governess]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muallime [woman tutor]</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *Sid’in Hulâsası*, there are also some orthographical variations in the translation of proper names in French. For instance, the orthography of Don Alonse, one of the noblemen of Castille in the play, is written either as Don Alonz (دون الونز) or as Don Alonzo (دون الونزو).

In translating the names of the countries mentioned in the ST, which illustrated in the table below, Ahmed Midhat Efendi generally replicates the original except in the case of the translation of “les Mores”, for which he provides two equivalents. But in Act V Scene I, he also uses “Maşrîkî”, an Ottoman term that represented people of the East. This is an addition indicating zero-correspondence:
5.3. Summary

In this Chapter, I have carried out a descriptive analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*. The summary translation was analyzed in terms of its paratextual and matricial features. Comparative analysis of the matricial features was performed with respect to the structural distribution in the TT and ST and the narrative makeup of the TT. In the analysis of the narrative makeup, I examined Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s strategies of translation, which the writer-translator referred to in his preface as writing in the form of commentary (şerh) and explanation (tavzih). Thus, the above analysis of the matricial features reveals that Ahmed Midhat Efendi performed the following translational strategies in *Sid’in Hulâsasi*: summary, translation by means of paraphrase, translation in one-to-one correspondence with ST utterances, explanation, expansion and description.

Although Ahmed Midhat Efendi identified his work as *hulâsa* (summary) and stated that (i) he did not translate *Le Cid* but summarized it, that (ii) he did not give a literal rendering of the verse, and that (iii) he did not favour free rendering of the verse, the discourse of his preface and the above analysis of his main translational strategies indicate that *Sid’in Hulâsasi* is a translation.
Sid‘in Hulâsasi may be regarded as an “invention” (Even-Zohar 1997: 358; 2004d: 223)\textsuperscript{15} produced to introduce a literary genre, a neo-classical verse tragedy, (cf. Abdülhak Hamid’s emulation Nesteren) into the Ottoman literary “repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1997: 355; 2002: 166) which lacked such a poetic genre. In this sense Sid‘in Hulâsasi may be thought of as an “option” offered by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. However, this work cannot be considered a “transfer” in Even-Zohar’s terms. Although Corneille’s Le Cid was “imported” in the form of a summary and might have been read and found useful by ordinary readers, it met with the criticism of the writers of the time because it was not a verse translation. Hence it cannot be considered to have achieved success as a “transfer” and as a model to be followed.

\textsuperscript{15} See Section 1.2.2. in Chapter 1.
Conclusion

In this part of the thesis, I will offer my conclusions regarding the findings of my research. So far, I have explored and analyzed concepts of translation in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century, an examination which was carried out on various levels. On one level, I have investigated the implications of various discourses for literary translation activity and examined the ways in which translation/s contributed to the making of Ottoman literary repertoires in connection with European culture and literature. On the other level, I examined culture-specific aspects of Ottoman translation practices with a special focus on terms and concepts. As an exemplary corpus for rethinking translation in terms of diverse writing practices, I analyzed a number of works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi and set out to demonstrate the diversity, culture-bound and time-bound notions in his translation discourses and practice.

My study of the different dimensions of translation discourse and practice in Ottoman society has shown that the field of translation was closely connected with the socio-cultural context. The notions of options and repertoires helped me demonstrate how translations from European culture contributed to the making of the Ottoman culture repertoire and provided a number of options for the organization of Ottoman cultural and literary life.
In the thesis, I started out by setting a general context for rethinking “translation” through the examination of the discourses of literary histories (from 1888-1889 to 1969) on Ottoman translational activity. Further findings led me to establish a genealogy and lexicon of translational terms in Turkish from Uyghur up to the Tanzimat periods. Taking these findings as a point of departure, I examined aspects of late nineteenth century Ottoman discourse on literary translation in terms of definitions, functions and strategies of translation. I also discussed issues related to translatability, the problem of terminological correspondences and the quality of translators. As a transition to my case study on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation in prose of Pierre Corneille’s verse tragedy Le Cid, I analyzed the bibliographical discourse on Ahmed Midhat Efendi, looking critically at the terminology used therein, from the point of view of the modern Turkish concept of “çeviri” (translation). Here, I was guided by my paratextual findings regarding Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s own discourse. Finally, I studied Sid’in Hulâsasi (Summary of Le Cid) as a special case of culture-specific translation practice, including in my analysis the two paratextual sections included in the hulâsa. My main foci of analysis were the matricial features of the summary translation of Le Cid, Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s narrative technique and his treatment of proper names in the hulâsa.

In the first section of Chapter 1, I surveyed literary histories between 1888-1889 and 1920 and their representation of late Ottoman translation activity. This was the period in which the first attempts at historiography of Ottoman literature and compilations of translation anthologies appeared. My survey revealed that the periodization of Ottoman literature was an important issue in that period and historians tried to focus on Ottoman literature chronologically in connection with the great moments of Ottoman socio-cultural history. My survey also demonstrated that,
from the *Tanzimat* period onwards, historians tended to interpret both literature and translation on the basis of cultural and literary renewal as a result of contact with Europe. My findings indicated that the notion of *teceddiud* (renewal/innovation) was the most significant notion in relation to which translation (*terceme*) appeared as a literary practice in Ottoman culture from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. In Section 1.1.2, I surveyed the republican representation of the late Ottoman context through the literary histories from the 1920s up to 1969. This section illustrated that there was a gradual shift in the titles of the literary histories. Starting with the 1920s, titles started to change from histories of ‘Ottoman literature’ to histories of ‘Turkish literature’. Such changes in the titles may be taken as an indication of the emergence of *national* literary histories, in the process of the transformation from empire to nation-state. This led to the formulation of a question as to whether the changing titles, marked a shift in the representation of Ottoman literary and translation history in terms of nationalistic inclinations.

My survey revealed that the genitive “our” became a visible feature in the discourse of the republican historians’ representation of the recent past. Literary historians of this period rewrote the history of *their* “Turkish” literature with a special emphasis on translation activity from the West since the mid-nineteenth century. They also drew attention to the role of translations from the West in the making of a new “Turkish” culture, literature and language. They were very interested in the Ottoman context of progress (*terakki*) and renewal and placed emphasis on the *Tanzimat* period as the initial phase of the “Turkish” cultural and literary modernization.
My survey demonstrated that historical studies, especially in the 1930s and the 1940s, were also very interested in translation in the recent Ottoman past. Some of these studies presented inventories of translated corpora, mainly of works from the West. This led me to the conclusion that literary histories in the 1930s and the 1940s served to provide young republican generations with a “Turkish” cultural and literary background. The findings also indicated that there was a discourse of continuity from empire to republic in which “Ottoman” was replaced with “Turkish”. This discourse may be formulated as follows: modern “Turkish” culture and literature originated from western literature and was established mainly through translations from European culture from the mid-nineteenth century on.

My survey in this section also indicated that after the 1920s there was a shift in the interpretation of cultural and literary contact with Europe. The discourse on importing literary materials from the West was interpreted on the basis of what has been termed the influence paradigm, in other words, western acculturation. Ottoman literature since the Tanzimat period was interpreted as imitative, which implies a negative attitude towards western influence. According to those who adopted this attitude, imitative practice restricted the evolution of a domestic national literature. Such interpretations led me to look at the practice of “imitation” to see whether it could be considered a site of Ottoman translation practices that could provide new options for Ottoman literature, a site that was not yet “national” but in the process of re-organization and renewal. My survey of historians’ conceptions of translation also demonstrated that a binarist approach was dominant in assessing Ottoman translated texts, which can be summed up as the distinction between fidelity and non-fidelity to the integrity of the original text. Such a mode of reasoning could result in potential restrictions in observing the diversity in the strategies of translation in the late
Ottoman interculture. The findings also indicated that some historians judged certain translations without textual analysis. On this basis, it could be inferred that literary historians focused on paratextual information and did not demonstrate how they arrived at a particular conclusion. Hence their assessments, value judgments and binarist approaches to translators and/or actual translations needed to be questioned in terms of interpreting translation (terceme) and related text production in Ottoman culture.

In Chapter 2, I surveyed terms and concepts of translation from the pre-Ottoman to Ottoman periods, in other words, from East to West Turkic, and provided a lexicon of Turkish terms and concepts for “translation”. My genealogy highlighted the diversity in translational terms and concepts. In the pre-Ottoman period, which represents a formative period in literature in West Turkic in Asia Minor, texts were translated not only from Persian and Arabic but also from other vernaculars of Turkish into West Turkic, that is, Old Anatolian Turkish. This led me to conclude that there existed in the literature of that period not only translational terms of Turkish origin but also those of Arabic and/or Persian origin. My survey of translational terms/concepts in the paratextual discourse of literary and non-literary works showed that tasnif (re-arrangement/compilation or rewrite) came up in connection with translation (döndermek, tercüme/terceme itmek) in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; hence I analyzed tasnif as a culture-specific concept of translation in the pre-Ottoman period, and as a practice indicating a structural and thematic import or re-arrangement/compilation or rewrite via translation.

My survey in the pre-Ottoman period also indicated that translational terms and concepts were diverse, especially in the discourse of verse narratives (i.e.
mesnevi) which had a translational relationship with an original text and hence should be assumed as translations. This led me to examine a number of such verse narratives so as to establish a lexicon of terms used in their paratextual sections. My examination of verse narratives demonstrated that there were translational terms/concepts in their paratextual sections which implied translating/turkifying Persian and Arabic texts.

In this chapter, I also examined the late nineteenth century definitions of translation (terceme) through lexicons translated from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as well as those that appeared in the late nineteenth century. My examination of Ottoman Turkish lexicons indicated that definitions of translation had more or less similar orientations with those in Arabic and/or Persian, and that translation (terceme) was generally associated with exegesis/interpretation, commentary, stating/expressing and conveying. This led me to conclude that terceme in the discourse of lexicons in the late nineteenth century indicated two aspects of “translation”: first, it pointed to interlingual transfer and secondly to translation’s functions to interpret, comment, state and explain an original text in Ottoman Turkish. My examination of lexicons showed that terms/concepts of translation were many and varied and that translational practices in Ottoman culture in the late nineteenth century needed to be considered without overlooking their time- and culture-bound characteristics.

In Chapter 3, I examined Ottoman Turkish discourses (other than those in lexicons) on literary translation and analyzed the concepts and definitions of translation in the late nineteenth century. I also examined the functions of translation, norms in selecting source texts and strategies of translation as well as a number of
issues related to translation phenomena. My examination showed that a number of discourses on literary translation in the final quarter of the nineteenth century converged particularly in the “classics debate” of 1897. The discourse of the “classics debate” revealed that participants generally agreed that European classics had to be translated but not imitated. This implies an important trend in considering terceme separate from taklid, which had started to crystallize in Ottoman translation practice. But in the course of the debate, because “imitation” was discussed in relation to conveying (nakl) and translating (terceme) European classics into Ottoman Turkish, it was still a part of Ottoman text production via translation. In other words, terceme, nakl and taklid were among the primary notions that reflected particular varieties of Ottoman translational practice in the late nineteenth century.

My examination of discourses on literary translation demonstrated that Ottoman writers/translators also imported themes, figures and/or motifs from European texts by way of emulation (nazire). This pointed to a particular imitative relationship with an original text and showed that emulation was also practiced as part of Ottoman terceme tradition, hence remained a culture-bound concept of translation at the turn of the twentieth century. My examination of terms/concepts of translation showed that iktibas (borrowing) was an additional translation-bound concept. A text could be translated into Ottoman Turkish by means of borrowing, not only in translating verse but also in rendering prose, as in the case of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s diverse writing practices. In the late nineteenth century, discourses on literary translation also centered on expectations in translating European texts. My examination indicated that the cultural roles of translation constituted the central issue. Ottoman writers/translators emphasized that translation contributed to the progress of Ottoman culture and literature and that it was a means of introducing new
models and genres, and of shaping new literary products. The findings indicated that translation was attributed a function by which it would improve not only Ottoman material culture but also Ottoman Turkish which had not yet been standardized. In the late nineteenth century, translation was indeed a distinct subject of discussion and my examination on the discourse of the “classics debate” indicated that Ottoman literary and non-literary agents presumed translation to be an instrument that could contribute to Ottoman cultural and literary development (terakki) from the Tanzimat period onwards.

The idea of taking European works as models was dominant and pragmatic benefits were expected from translating great European works. During the 1870s there was a considerable emphasis on keeping Ottoman moral values not only in the production of domestic but also of translated literature. Intercultural agents tried to achieve Ottoman cultural and literary modernization through translations from the West but they also tried to preserve the moral values of the receiving culture, proposing certain norms.

The discourse of Ottoman writers and/or translators indicated that there were various types of Ottoman translation practices, ranging from harfiyyen (literal), aynen (as the same) to mealen (free) and tevsien (expanded) as well as other procedures such as hulâsa (summary), taklid (imitation), tanzir ( emulation) and tahvil (conversion). This indicated that translation strategies in Ottoman culture in that period were multiple; they also needed to be considered as being beyond-binary, and thus existing in a range extending from fidelity to freedom. My examination in this chapter also revealed that translation strategies such as harfiyyen, serbest, mealen or hulâsa were closely related to the notion of intelligibility. There were also
discourses on the importance that the intelligibility of translated popular literature had in making literature accessible to the reading public. These kinds of discourses indicated that comprehensibility was an initial norm much emphasized in translating (nakl and terceme) western works into the target literature. The concept of translatability was also one of the key issues in the late nineteenth century. Translatability in Ottoman discourse was generally discussed by literary figures in relation to the translation of verse. Preserving the elegance (letafet), impact (tesir) and merit (meziyet) of a verse work was considered a difficult, even an impossible task.

In Chapter 4, I analyzed culture-specific terms and concepts in a number of works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. I carried out two descriptive analyses, one of which was on two modern bibliographical works, which were examined with an eye to seeing what was regarded as translation (çeviri) and what was not. The divergent aspects in the bibliographers’ identification gave rise to another descriptive analysis in which the prefaces, title pages i.e. the discourse of Ahmed Midhat Efendi himself were examined so as to explore his diverse writing practice and translational relationship with his foreign sources.

This chapter showed that not only the self identification of works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi but also the bibliographers’ use of certain terms and concepts were controversial. The bibliographers reviewed the range of translational works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi in terms of “çeviri” (translation), but their identification of “çeviri” works (translation) differed from each other, depending on the texts they selected. This indicated that they followed different criteria –albeit ones not clearly expressed- in labelling certain texts by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. It was observed that
some of the works were classified as “çeviri” by both bibliographers while others were not. This suggested an obvious difference, hence a problem in the way bibliographers interpreted the term “çeviri” (translation). It emerged as possible to account for this problem on the basis of the hypothesis that terceme and çeviri are time-bound and specific to Ottoman and modern Turkish cultures respectively. It was also possible to see the bibliographers’ interpretation of the term “çeviri” (translation) as a universal concept, not as a Ottoman culture- and time-bound notion. This was the reason why I paid special attention to the analysis of the paratexts of certain works by Ahmed Midhat Efendi which were identified by the two bibliographers as “çeviri” (translation) or not as “çeviri” (translation). My analysis revealed that, in some of his works, Ahmed Midhat Efendi referred to himself as mütercim (translator) while in others variously as muharrir (writer), nâkil (conveyor) and múlahhis (one who summarizes). This indicated an obvious variety in self-designation of authorship. An obvious variety was also observed in his identification of certain text types. My analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s discourse on translation with special attention to verbs and collocations signifying empirical indications of his acts of translation also revealed variety. Ahmed Midhat Efendi made a significant connection between the practice of “terceme” (translation) and “iktibas” (borrowing) in his writings, by identifying “iktibas” (borrowing) as “terceme” in his discourse on translation. The variety in my findings led me to draw up a detailed chart indicating the non-linear, beyond-binary translational relationships among terms and concepts in Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s discourse. The chart may also be regarded as representative not only of “options” generated by Ahmed Midhat Efendi but also by other writers/translators who built up the Ottoman literary repertoire in the late nineteenth century.
In Chapter 5, I carried out a case study on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s summary translation of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid* as a special form of text production that combines in a single work both paratextual and translation discourses. I examined the summary translation in terms of its paratextual and matricial features. The latter were examined in a comparative analysis between TT and ST and the narrative technique of the TT. In the analysis of the narrative makeup, I also examined Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s strategies of translation which he identified in his preface as “writing in the form of commentary (ṣerh) and explanation (tavzīh)”. My analysis of the matricial features lead to the conclusion that Ahmed Midhat Efendi pursued the following translational strategies in *Sid’in Hulâsası: summary, translation by means of paraphrase, translation in one-to-one correspondence with ST utterances, explanation, expansion and description*. The discourse of his preface and my analysis of his main translational strategies indicated that *Sid’in Hulâsası* can be well assumed as a translation.

All my findings in Chapter 5 pointed to the fact that *Sid’in Hulâsası* may be regarded as an “invention” (Even-Zohar 1997: 358; 2004d: 223) to introduce a literary genre, a neo-classical verse tragedy, into the Ottoman literary “repertoire” (Even-Zohar 1997: 355; 2002: 166) which lacked such a poetic genre. In this sense *Sid’in Hulâsası* may be considered a literary “option” offered by Ahmed Midhat Efendi. However, this work cannot be thought of as a “transfer” in Even-Zohar’s terms, because although Corneille’s *Le Cid* was “imported” in the form of a summary and might have been read and found useful by ordinary readers, it was criticized by the writers of the time for not being not a verse translation, and was judged unsuccessful, hence not a model to be adopted.
The present thesis may be considered the first extensive academic research on the history of Ottoman/Turkish (a) translational terms and concepts, and (b) translational practices. It proposes a genealogy and lexicon of translational terms which is intended for the use of researchers, who, it is hoped, will complement them with further studies in translation and literary history.

The extensive data collected from the literary histories point to the necessity of building up a cultural context for translational practices, as translations cannot be fully studied outside a given temporal and cultural context, in other words, independently of discursive data belonging to a given period and culture.

Most importantly, the thesis has emphasized the importance of the distinctions between time-bound and culture-bound practices of translation as terceme in the study of Ottoman translation history. As a result, it has been possible to rethink “translation” in Ottoman culture not in terms of the modern concept of çeviri but of terceme and related practices, without overlooking historical continuity.

The focus on the late nineteenth century in general and on its prominent representative Ahmed Midhat Efendi in particular may also be considered important because the study of wide ranging practices of terceme and related text production in this period may prove especially illuminating for translation researchers working on the data from the early twentieth century leading up to the establishment of the Translation Office in 1940.
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¹ In some of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s works, the name of the printing house is not given on the title page. It can be considered that such works might have been printed by his printing houses “Kırkanbar Matbaası” or “Tercüman-i Hakikat Matbaası”. 

338


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Appendix 1

Title Page of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Summary Translation: Sid’in Hulâsast (TT)
CORNEILLE

LE CID

TRAGÉDIE

PUBLIÉE CONFORMÉMENT AU TEXTE DE L'ÉDITION DES GRANDS ÉCRIVAINS DE LA FRANCE AVEC NOTES, ANALYSES ET NOTES PHILOLOGIQUES ET LITTÉRAIRES

PAR

L. PETIT DE JULLEVILLE

Ancien professeur à la Faculté des lettres de Paris

DIX-SEPTIÈME ÉDITION

LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE
79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, PARIS

1922
Appendix 2

Title Pages of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Works Examined in the Thesis

4.3.1.1. Diplomatı Kız
4.3.1.2. İki Hü'dakâr

لطائف روايات

يكري بن نحس جوز

ثم ابي خدمة كار

عنوانية بر حكاية لطيفتهي حاورد

حذفي

احد مدحت

معروف نظرات جليله سند رخصت رسميه سيله

ايلك دفه

أولدوخ (ملخص عامه) دم طمج أوفتندر

استانبول

1311
4.3.1.3. Ana Kız
4.3.1.4. Aleksandr Stradella
4.3.1.5. Şeytankaya Tilsim"
4.3.1.6. Nedamet mi? Heyhat!

باشکوه ۴ هیات ۱

آمل اوز پیدن متفاوت
( رومان )

صریح
ارجح مدخت

مانی پنجره، عزتش بهداشت هرگز
بیک دفعه
او معرف تعاز چهل سالنی رختشته
آرزو کتاب صورت‌نگه داشته‌باشد

استانبول
۱۳۰۶
4.3.1.7. Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar
4.3.1.8. Çifte İntikam

( latino: Ruvaiyet )
Ayon elbemi zorlu
veجيبته انتقاماً احتمال بر رکابی حاوردی.

محرمي

امحمد مڅحت

پرچینی دکمل اوله رق
ترجمه: هنریند شنیده، ایدلک، کتاب‌نویسان، اوله رق
( قرق ایبار ) مطبوع، سایه با چاپ‌شده

استنبول

سنه

1304
4.3.2.1. Amiral Bing

[Text in Persian]

اصطلاح: امیرال بنگ

(ترجمه) از نادری، اثر اولاندویی، قهرمان

اولاندویی اولین

آرییه، رضا، وقتی، دوی، طبع اولی، ۱۳۹۸
4.3.2.2. Bilgiç Kız
4.3.2.3. Üç Yüzlü Bir Kart

اوج پریتی بخاری
پویل دوقوق

متیو یان
امید مسحت ابوا افضاء توافق

معارف نظارت جهیزه مکتی رخشیله
باب علی باهه سنده ۴۸ تومرزول (مهران) مطمیسموده
طبی اولئندر

اسناپول
۱۳۹۴
4.3.2.4. Hüsevnâme
4.3.3.1. Nizâ-ı Îlm ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm

نیزه-ی علم و دین

Muḥrī

نیزه-ی علم و دین

در ایران

اسلام و عالم

Muḥrī

اهمدحت

معارف نظام سبک و خصائص انجمن حضارت غریب و حمیدی در خلیل بکری

آزمایش کتاب مکمل‌نده دخی طبع اول نماید.

درسمات

۱۳۱۳
4.3.4.1. Konak yahud Şeyh Şamil’in Kafkasya Muharebatında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe
4.3.5.1. Hulâsa-i Humayunnâme
Appendix 3

Chart indicating non-linear, beyond-binary translational relationships among terms and concepts in Ahmed Midhat Efendi's Discourse

Dashed lines point to the particular connections Ahmed Midhat Efendi makes in his discourse. Bold dashed lines point to the connections Ahmed Midhat Efendi uses in contrastive relationship.
Appendix 4

A Selected Corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Translational Works

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of the ST and Name of the ST Author (If known)</th>
<th>Title of the TT</th>
<th>English translation of the title of the TT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Alayın Kraliçesi</td>
<td>Queen of the Regiment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alessandro Stradella by Friedrich von Flotow</td>
<td>Aleksandr Stradella [Turkish transcription of the original title]:</td>
<td>Alessandro Stradella</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Altın Aşikları</td>
<td>Gold Lovers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’admiral de l’escadre bleue drame historique en cinq actes et dix tableaux by Paul Foucher, Antoine Nicholas Joseph Bovy</td>
<td>Amiral Bing</td>
<td>Admiral Bing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Ana Kız [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Mother and Daughter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonine by Alexandre Dumas Fils</td>
<td>Antonin [Turkish transcription of the original title]</td>
<td>Antonine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Lieutenant bonnet by Hector Malot</td>
<td>Bilgiç Kız</td>
<td>Educated Girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Roman d’un jeune homme pauvre by Octave Feuillet</td>
<td>Bir Fakir Delikanının Hikâyesi</td>
<td>The Novel of a Poor Young Man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Roman d’une femme by Alexandre Dumas Fils</td>
<td>Bir Kadının Hikâyesi</td>
<td>The Novel of a Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Cankurtaranlar [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Life-savers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Cinli Han [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Inn with Jinni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Çifte İntikam</td>
<td>Double Revenge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Burgraves by Victor Hugo</td>
<td>Derebeyleri</td>
<td>The Burgraves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ST?) by “Dik May” [in Turkish transcription]</td>
<td>Diplomati Kız [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Girl with a Diploma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ST?) by Charles Mérouvel</td>
<td>Gabriyel’in Günü</td>
<td>Gabriyel’s Sin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author/Translator</th>
<th>Summary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelile and Dinne</td>
<td>Beydeba [from Ali Çelebi’s translation titled Humayunname]</td>
<td>Hulasa-i Humayunname [Summary of Humayunname]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cyropaedia</td>
<td>Xenophon, [from Bon-Joseph Dacier’s French translation]</td>
<td>Hüsrevname [Cyropaedia]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Comte du Monte-Cristo</td>
<td>Alexandre Dumas Père</td>
<td>Hasan Mellah [Sailor Hasan]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Simon et Marie</td>
<td>(ST Author?)</td>
<td>Haydut Montari [Bandit Montari]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>İki Hüdakâr [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td>Two Cheats [Two Cheats]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Amant de la lune</td>
<td>Paul de Kock</td>
<td>Kamere Aşık [Lover of the Moon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Les Grandes dames de Paris</td>
<td>(ST Author?)</td>
<td>Kismetinde Olann Kaşığında Çıkar [Whatever is your lot will turn up on your spoon]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Der Held von Garika: Roman aus den Laendern des Kaukasus</td>
<td>Adolf Mützelburg</td>
<td>Konak yâhut Şeyh Şamil in Kağasya Muḥārebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garîbe [Mansion or a Strange Story about Şeyh Şamil’s War in the Caucasus]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Dame aux caméliaïas</td>
<td>Alexandre Dumas Fils</td>
<td>La Dam O Kamelya [Turkish transcription of the original title] [La Dame aux caméliaïas]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ST?) by Georges Pradel [Emmanuel Pradier]</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lülü-i Asfer [Yellow Pearl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La fille maudite</td>
<td>Emile Richebourg</td>
<td>Merdud Kız [The Rejected Girl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Nasib [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L’Aventurière</td>
<td>Emile Augier</td>
<td>Nedamet mi? Heyhat! [Remorse? Alas!]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conflict Between Religion and Science</td>
<td>William John Draper</td>
<td>Niza-i İlm ü Din-İslam ve Ulûm [Conflict Between Religion and Science- Islam and Science]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Crime d’Orsival</td>
<td>Emile Gobariau</td>
<td>Orsival Cinayeti [Orsival Murder]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ST?) by Léon de Tinseau</td>
<td></td>
<td>Papastaki Esrar [Priest’s Mystery]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Dame voilée</td>
<td>Emile Richebourg</td>
<td>Pçeçeli Kadın [Veiled Woman]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honneur d’Artiste</td>
<td>Octave Feuillet</td>
<td>Sanatkâr Namusu [Honor of an Artist]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Cid</td>
<td>Pierre Corneille</td>
<td>Sid’in Hulasası [Summary of Le Cid]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Şeytankaya Tilsim</td>
<td>Devil’s Rock Talisman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>La Femme aux troix jupons</em> by Paul de Kock</td>
<td>Üç Yüzü Bir Kari</td>
<td>A Woman with Three Faces</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix 5

Turkish Transcription\(^1\) of
Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s Summary Translation (*Sid’in Hulâsası*)
of Pierre Corneille’s *Le Cid*

(2) Enafis-i Åsarın Hulâsaları

İfade

Bir mübahase-i lisaniyye ve edebiyyenin gösterdiği lüzum üzerine Fransa meşahir-i üdebasından Korney’in *Sid* ünvanlı eserinin bir hülâsası *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*’imize derc edilmiştir. Bu hülâsayı okuyan kadırsınas-ı enafis-i âsardan bir zat-ı memduhü ’l-sifat ahiren abd-i âcizi görerek dedi ki: (3)

- Korney’in bu eserini aynen terceme etmiş olsa idiniz olamaz mı idi?
- Hayır! Çünkü eserin aslı manzumdur.
- Bir eseri-i manzumu aynen ve nazmen terceme edebilme kabil olamadığını bilirim. Ancak serbest terceme denilen suretle de olamaz mı idi?
- Olabilirdi. Ama bunu ne mütalâaya mebian sözlüyorsunuz?
- Şu mütalâaya mebian sözlüyorum ki saye-i maarifvaye-i cenab-ı padishahide şubat-ı maarifimizce az vakitte hakikaten pek çok teraklı yüz gösterip on beş sene evvel bülkülü meçhulümüz olan bir çok şeyler elyevm (4) malûmumuz, marufumuz olmuştur. Bu terakkinin cümle-i pişvayanından birisi de sizsiniz.
- Estağfurullah!
- Evet sizsiniz! Cihanın müsellemi olan bir şeyi inkâra, setre imkân tasarvur olunanız. Bu kadar terakkiyetimiz meyanında Avrupa Klâsiklerinin bize meçhul kalmaları reva mıdır?

Bu söz abd-i âcizi biraz düşündürdü. Kendi kendimize mûrûldanmak nevinden dedik ki:

- Avrupa klâsikleri, ha?
- Avrupa klâsikleri! Üç dört yüz seneden beri her şeyi tecrûbe ede ede terakkiyatın hemen mertebâ-i gayesine varmış (5) olan Avrupa bizim için mûhassenat-ı maddiyenin her cihatinde bir meşk demektir. Edebi klâsikler ise Avrupa’nın hakikaten en büyük iftihrâr eyledigi âsar-ı muvaffakiyeti olup bizce en ziyade temeşşük ve âdet taasuk edilecek şey dahi bunlardır. Lâyık mıdır ki bunlar bizce meçhulattan kalsınlar?

\(^{1}\) In the Turkish transcription, page numbers in *Sid’in Hulâsası* were given in parenthesis.
İyi, ama bir zat-ı maarif-simat bunlardan bir sınıfını terceme etmiş idi. Umulduğu kadar rağbet bulamadı. Terceme edildikleri hâlde de yine hemen meşhulattan kaldı.

Anladım! Molyer’in âsarını demek istiyorsunuz. Âsar-ı mezkûrenin şöhret derecesinde rağbet kazanmasının başka esbabı vardır ki ondan bahsetmek (6) uzun olur. Fakat asıl mesele de rağbet meselesi midir? Bazı âsar olamaz mı ki rağbetinden biraz katı’nın zavallisi edilmemeli? (7) Biraz teemmülden sonra dedik ki:

Meramıza halkımız Avrupa’nın “klâsik!” denilen ve kimbilir binlerce sene sonra bile beklediği ve kabul edildiği âsrardan kariin-i Osmaniyyeyi haberler olarak etmekten korkuyoruz. (8) Terceme denilen şey iki türlü olabilir; birincisi, eserin mezkûrenin sahibi olan Avrupa belediyesinin dahi bu cümledeki halını almasına, ikincisi ise bu eylemi Avrupa’daki mültecilerin dahi bu cümledeki halını almasına olanak vermiş olabileceğini belirtiriz. (9) Atlamaktan korkuyoruz! İltizam edilmiş olmasa da, eserin hiçbiri ikicersinde belirtilmektedir. Ciddi bir eser, bir dilde çevrilmememişse, onun/Public domain/
O yine hulâsadır. Fakat öyle muvazzah yazılmayacak olsa hiçbir şey anlaşılamayacağından...


O yine hulâsadır. Fakat öyle muvazzah yazılmayacak olsa hiçbir şey anlamalayacağından...

- Anlaşılamamasının sebebi ne olduğunu olsun anlayabildiniz mi?

- Hayır! İrşat eder iseniz lütfetmeli olursunuz. Şive-i edebiyesinin pek âli olmasından başka bir sebebi hatıra gelmiyor.


Ondan sonra bir yandan âslını değiştirmeke âsar-i mevcudeyi tekrar okunamak, hem de hulâsa fikriyle ve kemal-i iman ile okunamak.

- Ondan sonra bir yandan âslını değiştirmeke âsar-i mevcudeyi tekrar okunamak, hem de hulâsa fikriyle ve kemal-i iman ile okunamak.

- Anla-


Ondan sonra bir yandan âslını değiştirmeke âsar-i mevcudeyi tekrar okunamak, hem de hulâsa fikriyle ve kemal-i iman ile okunamak.

- Ondan sonra bir yandan âslını değiştirmeke âsar-i mevcudeyi tekrar okunamak, hem de hulâsa fikriyle ve kemal-i iman ile okunamak.

Bu nedenle beraber (14) asla inkâr edilemez ki halk için fâdesi pek büyük olacaktır. “Zira biz dahi Avrupalı olduğumuz ve Avrupa edebiyatıyla mustagfîl bulunduğumuz hâlde klâsikleri tanımamak bizim için büyük bir nakisadır.

Şimdilik Korney elde iken ilk tecrübe Şid olmasına karar verdik. İkincisi olmak üzere dahi Korney’in bir başka eserini yine böyle hulâsa etmek için vaat verdik. Bakalım, tecrübelerimiz muvaaffakiyet neticesi gösterir ise şu yeni çiftarda da devam eder gideriz.”

Ahmed Midhat
(15) Eşhas-ı Vak’a

Don Fernand Kastil’in birinci kralı
Enfant Ürrak Kastil Prensesi
Don Diyeg Don Rodrig’in babası
Don Gomes Şimen’in babası ve Gormas kontu
Don Rodrig Şimen’in muhibbi
Don Sanş Şimen’in aşığı
Don Ariyas Kastil senyörlerinden
Don Alonz Keza Kastil senyörlerinden
Şimen Don Gomes’in kızı
Leonor Prenses Ürrak’in mürebbiyesi
Elvir Şimen’in mürebbiyesi
Prensesin bir habercisi

(16) Birinci Perde

Birinci Meelis - Şimen mürebbiyesi Elvir ile hasb-etil eder. Rodrig’e olan meylini pederi tasdik eylemdiği mürebbiyesi tarafından tebsir olunması cihetiyle Şimen’in:

- Söylediklerin doğru mudur? Babamın sana söylediklerini tebdil [ü] tagyir etmeksziniz mi bana nakleyledin?

sualı üzerine Elvir kızı temin ederek:

- Siz Rodrig’i sevdinizi kadar babanız onu takdir eyliyor. Hâl ve tavrından anladığım şeyde hatam yok ise Rodrig’in sevdasına muvafakat suretiyle muamelede bulunmanız dahi pederiniz size emr edecek..

diyne teminatta bir kat daha ileriye varr. (17) Bunun üzerine Şimen böyle bir musaebeeye doylumayacağında bahisle pederinin kendi intihabını tasdik eyledikini Elvir’in neden anlayıp hüm eyledikini söror ve der ki:

- Hele şu Rodrig ile Sanş’ın benim teveccühümü celbe medar olmak üzere senin nezdinde gizlice ıltizam eyledikleri hüd’a-i âşıkane hakkında babam ne dedi? Bu iki âşık arasında ne gibi bir farktan dolayı ikisinden yalnız birine yani Rodrig’e meyl eyledikimi pederime anlatmadın mı?

Bu suale cevaben Elvir der ki kızının gönlünü babasına iki âşık ikisi için de bıkatdır diye anlatmış. Ne birisine umid ve ne diğerine yeş verek surette (18) davranmadığımı ve bir koça intihabı için babasının emrine muntazır bulunduğunu söylemiş. Kızının bu itaatinden babası pek memnun olmuş demiş ki: “Rodrig ile Sanş’dan ikisi de kızıma läyık asılzadeleder. İkisi de cesur ve sadik şeylerdir. İkisinin de nasıye-i håleri âbâ ve ecdadlarının fezaiiline varis olduklarını gösterir. Hele Don Rodrig’in nasiyesi âlı gönlü bir genç olduğunu apâşikare meydana koyar. Hanedani

İşte Şimen’in babasının bu sözlerini Elvir aynen nakl ettikten sonra kendi istihracattı olmak üzere da hâdi diyor ki:

- Meclise gitmekte bulunduğu cihetle sözünü burada kesmeye mecbur olduysa da bu az sözler bana anlattı ki sizin için Rodrig’ı san’s’a tercih etmektedir. (20) Kral hazretleri de kendi oğluna bir muallim intihab edecek ści. Bu çok eylemler ve derslerin bir sonucu olarak memnuniyetimi kazanmış olur.

İkinci Meclis - Prenses Ürrak, yanında mürebbiyesi Leonor, mabeyncisi olduğu (21) hâlde şahsa-i temasta girip mabeynciyi Şimen’i çağırmağa gönderdikten sonra kendisi mürebbiyesiyle yalnız kalınca hasbihâle başlar. O da Rodrig’e aşık ama bunu henüz mürebbiyesinden bile saklıyor. Binaenaleyh mürebbiyesi, Prensesi söyletmek için:

- Efendim! Hergün sizi Şimen ile görüşmek arzusun icbar ve tazyik eyliyor. Hem görüyorum ki her defa meselâ Katında sevdasının derecesini soruyorsunuz!

deyince Prenses:

- Evet! Bu suallerim sebepsiz değildir. Rodrig tarafından atılan peykan-ı sevdaya sine-kuşa-yı kabul olması için ben hemen (22) kızcağızı icbar etmişimdir. Şimdi Rodrig’i sevmesi işte bu suretle benden olmuştur. Şimdiye kadar o genç senyör, Şimen’e niyaz-ı aşkanesini kabul ettiremez ści, benim şu tavassutumla kabul ettermektir. Elhası bu aşk ve âşıkannın bağlandıkları zinçir-ı sevdayı ben vücuta getirmiş olduğumdan ıtrarları intidad etmeyerek karibin nail-i meram olmalarını da arzu etmeliyim!

cevabını verir ise de Prensesin bu cevabı azım bir ıtrırab-ı derunla verdiği mürebbiyesi anlaş耳边: 

- Öyle ama onlar mail-i meram olmaya takarrüb eyledikçe sizin kederiniz arttığini da görürüm. Onları garı-k-i luce-i mesar eden (23) sevdaları acaba sizin ulûv-vi tab’unızda bir teessürü, bir ye’si mi mucib oluyor? Onları himayeniz, kendilerini mesut ettiği kadar sakin sizi bedbaht etmekte
bulunmasın? Aman affınizı rica ederim. Galiba haddimi tecağı ederek pek ileriye gidiyorum!

demesi üzerine Prenses artık derunundan galeydan eden sevdaya mukavemet edemeyerek derdini dökmeye mecbur olur. Der ki:

- Kederimi sakladıkça şiddeti arıyorsun. Dinle öyle ise dinle ki gönlüm ile ne yaman bir mücahede bulunuyorum! Fazilet-i necibanem ne şiddetli hâccumata mukavemet eyledigiğini söyleyip de dinle! Aşk öyle bir zalimdir ki hiçbir kimseye pençe-i gadrinden halâs yolu (24) göstermez. Benim Şimen’e sevdirdğim o genç senyör, o sevgili aşk yok mu? Ah! Onu asıl ben seviyorum!

Mürebbiyesi bu itirafa azim bir hayret gösterir. Prenses der ki:

- Koy elini şu kalbim üzerine de bak kendi galib-i muzafferinin ismi yad olunur olunmaz onu nasıl tanılp çırpainyor? Bûcâre mürebbiye Prensesi iradi için:


demeye başlar. Prenses Ürrak der ki:

Mürebbiye bu sözleri işitince Prensesin sevadaşını evvelce evelveç hasıl olsa da olmasa da ben öleceğim.

Dördüncü Meclis - Don Gomes ile Don Diyeg arasında bir muhavereden mütęşekkâldır. Hatta bu oyun şimdilerde oynandıkça iki evvelki meclis terk olunarak ilk meclis olmak üzere bu üçüncü meclisten başlamaktadırlar. Bu iki asılzadenin birisi Şimen’in diğeri Rodrig’in babası olup Kralın meclisinden çıkartıkları sırada çocukların izdivacına karar verecekleri müntazır birlikte Don Diyeg Prense mürebbi intihap (30) olunmasından dolayı Don Gomes hased ederek meclisten çıkar çıkmaz münaazaaya tutuşurlar. Don Gomes:

- Prense mürebbi intihap olmak şerefi bana lâyık iken sen bu şerefi benden gasp ettin!

diye Don Diyeg’i muavezeeye başlatlar. Don Diyeg da:

- Kralın beni intihabı âdil olduğunu ve emekleterlerinin hizmetini bihakkın mukâfatlandirmaya muktedir bulunduğunu gösterir.

diye bu şerefinde asıl kendisine lâyık olduğunu iddia eder. Don Diyeg gayet ihtiyar ve Don Gomes orta yaşlı, kavi ve ikisi de ceri, cesur birer asılzadelerdir. (31) Birisi gençliğini medar-tı temeyyüz edederek:

- Prens hazretleri benim nasıl cennetle ettiğini, memleketler feth ettiğini gören harekatından ibret alır!

dediği hâlde, diğeri:

- Dermansızlığın hasebiyle beni artık bilfiil cengâverlikte göremez ise de bilir ki sizin muzafferiyatınız dahe benim tertibatım ve kumandam sayesinde hasıl olmuştur. Binaenaleyh benim askeriğim tarihi kendisine ders olur.

diye söz uzatmak istididim alır. Hatta bir aralık Don Diyeg böyle münaza azedeceklere ikisinin de yalnız birer evlâdı bulunduğundan şunları (32) baş göz etmekle bahtiyar olmalarını teklif eder ise de Don Gomes pek hırşın olmak ve nail olamadığı şerefin Don Diyeg’e geçmesine fekvâlhad kıskanmış bulunmak hasebiyle bu teklifi kabul etmedikten başka münazaada bidevam iki tarafın mütekebbirane ve meteazzimane sözleri yüksele yüksele niyahet Don Gomes elini kaldırım Don Diyeg’e
bir tokat atmaya kadar cesaretyab olur. Bu tahlir Don Diyeg’i bittabi duçar-ı gazab ederek elini kilca sunup:

- Silsilemede bu hakaretle ilk yüzü kızaran ben oldum. Bari canım da al ki bu ayıptan kurtulayım!

diye Don Gomes’i mübarezeeye davet eder (33) ise de bu acz-pîrîsi ile hakikaten mağlup ve maktul düşeceğini Gomes ihtارد edince zavallı ihtiyacı:

- Aman Allah! Takatsizlik bu dakikada beni ne hâl-i zillete düşürdü!

diye ye’sinden ağlamak derecelerini bulur. Bunca muzafferiyata nailiyetle devleti birkaç defa tehlikeden kurtaran kendisi gibi bir kahramana şu hakaret ölümden beter olduğu tarzında gayet müessir bir muteellimane irat eylediği sırada oğlu Rodrig yanına girer. İhtiyarın şu yalnız teellümü de birinci perdenin beşinci meclisini teşkil eder.

**Altıncı Meclis** - Biçare peder o hâl-i (34) ye’s ile oğluna der ki:

- Rodrig! Sende yürek var mı?

Rodrig babasının hâlinden ürkerek maahaza yürekli olduğunu da itiraf için:

- Babamdan başka her kim olursa hemen şu anda ne kadar yürekli olduğunu görebilir!

demesiyle Diyeg oğlunun bu cesareti takdis ederek şu yașta bir tokat yemiş olan pederini intikamını ona havale eder. Fakat tokatı vuran edepsizin de gayet cesur bir kahraman olduğunu ve kendi kumandası altında bölük bölük askeri dağıtmış bulunduğunu itiraf eder. Nihayet bu hakareti kendine eden zat Şimen’in pederi (35) olduğunu tasrih edince Rodrig’in akla başından giderek:

- Şimen’in pederi mi?

diye beyan-ı hayret eder ise de Don Diyeg oğlunun Şimen hakkındaki ihtisasatına vaktif olduğunu dermiyanla pederini hem böyle âbâ ve edcdadından biri hanedanından hiç birisinin bir hareketini görmemiş olan pederini bu hakareti altında bırakmaya Şimen’e olan aşkı da sebep olmayaçağını da söleyerek ya Gomes’i öldürmesini yahut onun tig-i gadri önünde kendisinin de ölmesini emr eder. Zavallı ihtiyar artık oğlunun vereceği cevabı beklemeyerek çıkar gider. (36)

**Yedinci Meclis** - Rodrig yalnız kalıncası asıl hâline ağlanacak biçare[nin] kendisi olduğunu ve babasına tokat atan gaddarın öte tarafına maşükasi Şimen’in pederi olmasi işi bütün bütün iğlak eyledigiini ve Gomes’ten babasının intikamını alacak olsa Şimen’e karşı babasının katili olarak artık ümid-i izdivac değil a nazara-ı nefretinden başka kendisine hiçbir şey kalmayacağını ve bu intikami almayacağı olsa yalnız aleme karşı değil Şimen’e karşı dahi hakaret gören babasının intikamını almamış bir alçak sayılacağını ve böyle bir alçığın da Şimen’in muhabbetine laýık görülemeyeceğini düşünür. (37)
namuslu bir asilzade olduğunu (42) bilip bilmediğini sorar. Buna cevap-ı tasdik alınca kendisinin de o hun-ı asalet malik olduğundan bahisle:

- Bu asaletin muktezası şimdiden dört adım ayrıarak sana göstereceğim.

diyerek Gomes’i düvelloya davet eder. Kont kemal-i istihkar ile:

- Genç mütekebbir!

diyerek Gomes, Rodrig’in henüz silahı tecrübe (43) etmemi şudan bahisle kendi ecaatını mücbiresini ihtar için:

- Sen benim kim olduğumu bilir misin?

sualını irat edince Rodrig:

- Evet! benden başka her kim olsa senin siyt u şöhret-i şeçaatinden korkarak tir tir titrer. Şimdiye kadar senin altını tezeyin etmiş olan fütuhat ve muzafferiyat çelenkleri benim de helâkımını nişanesi olurlar ise de bende de şeçaatle meşhun bir yurek bulunduğundan o kuvvet-i kalble pederimin namusunu muhafaza gayretinde bulunan bir asilzade için hiçbir şey muhal hükmünü alamaz. Senin kolun şimdiye kadar büyükülms değil ise de hiç de (44) büyükülmez değildir ya?

diyerek gözlerinden aşe-i gazab ve intikam saçılmaya başlayınca Kont Gomes bu arslan yavrusu arslandaki cür’et ve cesarete hayran olur. Hatta delikanlıdaki bu çever-i asalet, bu maye-i şeçaat ötedenberi nazar-ı tahsinin celp etmi şudan bende de ecaatle meşhun bir yürek bulunduğuna o kuvvet-i kalble pederimin namusunu muhafaza gayretinde bulunan bir asilzade için hiçbir şey muhal hükmünü alamaz. Senin kolun şimdiye kadar büyükülms değil ise de hiç de (44) büyükülmez değildir ya?


Üçüncü Meclis – Mürebbiye Leonor dahi hazır olduğu hâlde Prenses Ürrak ile Şimen arasında vukua gelir. Kendi babas[nn], Rodrig’ın babasına böyle tamiri gayr-ı kabil bir hakaretle bulunduğu Şimen işiterek gayet meyus olmuş da Prenses dahi Şimen’e
teselliler veriyor. Bu hadise pek küçük bir şey olacağını bahisle her ne kadar izdivaçlarını biraz tehir etse bile hadise-i mezkişa kariben bir taraf olarak yine nail-i meram olabileceğini söylüyor. Şimen ise vakia kendisi Rodrig’i sevdiğini ve babalarından bahisle her ne kadar izdivaçları biraz tehir etse bile hadise-i mezkûra kariben bir taraf olarak yine nail-i meram olabileceğini söylüyor. Şimen ise vakia kendisi Rodrig’i sevdiğini ve babalarından bahisle her ne kadar izdivaçları biraz tehir etse bile hadise-i mezkûra kariben bir taraf olarak yine nail-i meram olabileceğini söylüyor.

- Adam o da pek gençtir. Âdeta çocuk diliyince Şimen yürekli asilzadeler için gençlik, çocukluk denilen şey[in] namusa müteferri (49) vezaifin ifasına mâni olamayacağını kemal-i havfla dermiyan eder. Kızın asıl bu korkusu Prenestede hâlâ bulunduğundan vakia:

- Rodrig seni pek çok sevdiği cihetle onun intikamından o kadar korkmamalısın! Senin güzel ağzından sadır olacak iki kelime-i rica onun gazabını teskin eder.

diyince Şimen âl-i esbab-ı umidden olarak ihtar edince Şimen Rodrig’in aciz olmadığını bildirir. Prenses:

- Ya bana da itaat etmeyecek olursa o hâlde iş nereye varır? İtaat eylediği hâlde de cihan kendi hakkında neler söyler? Öyle bir asılzadenin bu kadar büyük bir hakarete tahammül etmesi nasıl tahsin olunur? İriamı kabul etse de etmese de ben (50) bela iç indeyim. Zira kabulü kendisini namussuz ve adem-i kabulü beni pedersiz eder!

yollu tavzih-i meram ile Prenesin de havfı arttı. Nihatayet Prenselsin Rodrig’i eser-i gazabını göstermekten mene medar olmak üzere kendi yanna alarak ta hadisinden bertaraf olacağı zamanı kadar bir yere salıvermemek çaresini bulur ki bu çarenin faydasını Şimen dahi teslim eder.

**Dördüncü Meclis** - Bu meclis-i muhtaz yine evvelkiler ile bir de Prensесin mabeyncisi arasında vukua gelir. Prenselsin mabeynciyi çağırıp Rodrig’i davet etmesi emrini verince mabeynci: (51)

- Don Rodrig ile Kont Gomes ikisi birlikte...

diyice şu havfı da ehmmiyyetinden düşürmeye çalışıyor ise de Şimen:

- Ya bana da itaat etmeyecek olursa o hâlde iş nereye varır? İtaat eylediği hâlde de cihan kendi hakkında neler söyler? Öyle bir asılzadenin bu kadar büyük bir hakarete tahammül etmesi nasıl tahsin olunur? İriamı kabul etse de etmese de ben (50) bela içindeyim. Zira kabulü kendisini namussuz ve adem-i kabulü beni pedersiz eder!
- İkisi birliktte saraydan çıktılar. Yavaşça da muaraza ediyorlar idi.
der ki artık bunların dövüşmeye gittiklerine hiç şüphe kalmayarak Şimen güya vaktinde yetişebilir ise bunları men edebilecek işi gibi fırlar, çıkar gider. (52)

Beşinci Meclis – Prenses ile müreibbiyesi arasında bir hasbihâli havidir. Rodrig ile Şimen’in izdivaçlarının muhale talik olunmuş bulunması kendi kalbindeki mezahimin de ümitlerin de tekrar uyanmalarını mucip olduğunu Prensesin itiraf etmesi üzerine Leonor:

- Evvelce sevdanıza da galebe eden fazilet-i ahlâkiyez mididir? şimdi yine mağlup mu oldu?
diye muahazeye başlar ise de Prenses:

- Aşkı artık tahkîr etme! Her ne kadar fazilet-i asilanem hâlâ onunla mücadelede ise de hissediyorum ki gönlüm mağlup oluyor. Zira gönlüm Şimen’in gaip eylediği (53) aşğın üzerine atılıyor:
diye mürebbiyesinden çözürler diliyor, müruvvetini rica ediyor. Mürebbiye yine Prensesin şu acızını, mağlubiyetini taşın edemiyor ise de Prenses da onun nasihatlarını kabul edemeyerek:

- Ah! Gönül bu kadar tatlı bir zehir ile mesmû olunca insan doğduğu sözleri anlayabilir mi? Güzel nasihatleri kabul edebilir mi? Bir hasta kendi hastalanından memnun olur ise o derdine devalar arandığı görmekten de müüssiz olur. diye mukavemette israr ediyor. Nihayet müreibbiye:

- Bir beyhude ümit sizi taglit (54) ediyor. Başınızda beladan hoşlanıyorsunuz. Fakat her ne olursa olsun bu Rodrig size lâyık bir adam değildir. deyince Prensesin teessürü artarak diyor ki:


Prensesin bu hayalâtı mürebbiyeyi duçar-ı hayret ederek ihtimal ki bu düvello[nun] hiç de vücuda gelmemeyeceği dermiyan eder ise de Kont bu hakareti etmiş ve Rodrig da bu hakarete katlanamayacağı söylemiş ve ikisi birden saraydan çıpkıt gitmiş oldukları hâlde mukatelenin men’i kabil olamayacağı Prenses tarafından cevaben irat olunarak müreibbiye velev ki mübareze vukua gelsin de Rodrig’in galip çıkamaması dahi mümkünattan olduğunu söyleyince Prenses:
- Ne yapayım? İşte ben böyle divanvelik ediyorum. İşte bundan anla ki şu aşk bana ne kadar fenahıklar tehiyye ediyor. Bari (56) gel daireme gidelim de nasihatlerinde orada devam et!

diye mürebbiyesini alarak dairesine çekiliyor.

**Altıncı Meclis** – Kral Fernand ile Don Ariyas ve Şimen’in diğer aşığı genç Don Sanş saha-i temaşaya dahil olarak Gomes’in Diyeg’e tarziye vermesi hakkında emr-i kraliye adem-i itaat hakkında Ariyas’ın götürdüğü haber[in], Kralı ziyadesiyle mukeddər etmiş olduğu görülür. Kral:

- Demek oluyor ki Kont bu kadar boş kafalı, bu kadar haksız bir adam imiş ki irtikap eylediği cinayetin kabil-i afv olmadı mı, Kralıziyadesiyle mukedder etmiş olduğu görülür. (57)

demsiyle Don Ariyas:

- İrade-i hasmetpenahillerini kendsine uzun uzadıya tafsıl eyledim. Fakat bir cevab-ı muvafakat almaya muvaffak olamadım efendim.

diye beyan-ı hâl eder. Bu söz Fernand’in gazabını teşdit eyler. Bir teessür-i mütezayid ile:


sözleri Kralın ağzından çıkınca Don Sanş sevdiği Şimen’in babası aleyhinde bu suretle âsar zahir olan gazab-ı kraliyyi tadile medar olmak üzere:

- Haşmetpenahâ! Biraz vakit geçer ise ihtimal ki gazabı sükun kesp eder. Don Diyeg ile münazaasından dolayi kendsine tefhim (59) olunmuştur da onun için bu itaatsizlikte bulunmuştur. Kendisi de kusurunu biliyor, ama o kadar âlicenap ve sahib-i vakar olan adam, birdenbire gazabını teskin edebilir mi?

demiş ise de bu sözler gazab-ı kraliyyi teskin edebilmek şöyle dursun:

- Susunuz Don Sanş, susunuz! Biliniz ki Don Gomes’in tarafını tutmak dahi bir nev cinayet irtikap etmek sayılır!

diye Kral tarafından bir de tekdiri davet eylemiş idi. Ama Don Sanş bu men-i kralı ile mülzem olmayarak:

- Ferman-ı hükümdarilerine inkiyaden ihtiyar samt u sükut eder ise de iki läkirdi... (60)
deyince Kral insafa gelerek:

- Söyleyiniz!

musaadesini verir. O zaman Don Sanş der ki:

- Büyük işlere alışmış olan insan kolay kolay kayd u bend altında alınmaz, efendim. İşte Kontun adem-i itaatı yalnız bundan dolayıdır. Emrediniz ki ettiği küstahlığın mukabili yine haberni ve darbda muvaffakiyatla ödesin. Elbette zat-ı hükümenleriin hoşnut olacakları muzafferiyatla bu kabahati örtmeye muvaffak olabilir.

Kral bundan da memnun olamaz. Der ki:

- Bunda da hata ediyor iseniz de gençlikinize hamlederek sizi affederim.

Don Gomes meselesine filhakikiye artık nihayet vererek badehu Kral ile Don Arijas Afrikalların İspanyollar üzerine tasallutları hakkında bir müzakere açarak onlara ne yolda mukabele edilmek lâzım geleceğini konusurlar ıken Don Alonz içeriye girerek Don Gomes’ın maktuliyeti haberini getirir.

Yedinci Meclis – Bu kısa meclis evvelkiler ile Don Alonz meyanında vukua gelerek Alonz:

- Haşmetpenah! Don Diyeg oğlu vasıtasıyla duçar olduğu hakaretin intikamını aldı. Zira Kont şimdi vukua gelen düvelloda maktul düştü!

deyince Kral pek ziyade müteessir olarak: (63)

- Bu hakareti haber aldığım anda söyle bir intikamın vukua geleceğini tahmin etmiş idim. İşte bu felâketi men için de Gomes’e tarziyeyi tavsiye eylemiş idi!

der ise de tesiri yalnız bu derecede kalmayıp Alonz:

- Şimen dahi gözlerinden yaş seyelan ederek gelmiş efendimizden adaletistiyor!

deyince Kral olanca gazabını Rodrig cümresi üzerine çevirir. Vakıa Gomes’ın maktuliyetini Diyeg’e karşı ettiği hakaretin ceza-yı sezasıdır diye hükümden geri duramaz ıse de ne kadar ceza-yı sezası olursa olsun Gomes gibi (64) bir kumandan kaybeylediğinden dolayı derecesiz müteessif olduğunu yine ketmetmez. Vefatı şahsen
kendisini müteessir eyledikten maada devletçe dahi büyük zayiattan olduğunu ilan ederek Şimen’i huzuruna kabul eder.

**Sekizinci Meclis** – Şimen huzur-1 kraliyе girdiği gibi Rodrig’in babası Don Diyeg dahi oğluna şefaat için girmiş olduğundan ikisi birden Kralın adaletine, merhametine dahalet-i ricaya, istirhama kapanınca Kral ikisinin de birden kalkarak daha telâşsiz beyan-1 hâl etmelerini emr ile beraber Şimen’e: (65)

- Şimen! Sizin mateminize ben de iştirakteyim. Benim de ruhumuz sizin ruhunuz kadar âstı rap içindedir!

ve Don Diyeg dahi:

- Siz dahi söyleyecinizle sonra söylersiniz. Onun maruzat-muşteessir-i te ellümü mazur görünüz. Daha ziyadesini arza takatım kalmadı. Felaketin derecesini gözyaşlarmdan anlayınız!

Kral kızın ye’sinden pek ziyade müteessir olarak:

- Cesaret kızım cesaret! Biliniz ki şu anda Kralımız Gomes’e bedel size babalık (67) etmeye hazırlanır.

diye Şimen’i teselli eder. Şimen ise:

diye tazallümünü son dereceye vardırır. Badehu Kral nevbet-i kelâmi Don Diyeğ’e verince o dahi der ki: (69)


- Rodrig sen ne yaptın? Nereye geldin ey bedbaht!

**Üçüncü Perde**

**Birinci Meclis** – Rodrig, Kont (73) Gomes ile mübareze ederek Kontu öldürüdüğu ve Şîmen bu hâl-i ?? Göre, huzur-i kraliyê koşûk ikiçini perdenin sonlarda gürüldüğü veçhile Krala arz-1 şiâkâyeti bulunduğunu esnda Rodrig hemen elini kanıylı denilebilecek bir surette doğruca Şîmen’in hanesine gelmez mi? Şîmen’in mürebbiyesi Rodrig’i görünce hayretinden ne yapacağını şaşırır ve işte şu birinci meclis bu hålde Rodrig ile mürebbiye Elvir arasında vukua gelir. Elvir’in:
diye izhar-ı telaş etmesi üzerine Rodrig: (74)

- Tali-i nâsazımın hükmü ne ise onu görmeye geldim.

der ise de Elvir def-i hayret edemeyerek:

- Duçar-ı matem eylediğin bir haneye gelmek gibi bir turba cesareti bir yeni çıkma tefahür ve tazzümü nerede buldun? O ne! Şimdi öldürdüğün Kontun hâlâ buralarda dolaşan ruhunu ruhunu tazip ha?

diye delikanlıyı hep muahazede devam eder. Rodrig der ki:

- Kontun yaşaması benim aybım idi. Namusum yedd-i intikamımdan böyle bir hizmeti istedi.

- Öldürdüğün adamının hanesine duhulet etmek! Canım hiçbir katil böyle bir şey yapmış mı? (75)


Elvir şu hâlde Şimen’in gözüne görümemesi için Rodrig’e pek ziyade yalvarır, nasihat verir ise de Rodrig, Şimen tarafından hangi çıldı, hangi gazaba duçar olsa lâyık olduğu beyanıyla nasihatlerinin hiçbirini kabul etmez. Nihayet Şimen, Don Şanş ile hanesine avdet (76) eder. Gelir iken kendilerini gören Elvir, Don Şanş’ın da Rodrig’e rakip olduğunu derhatı r, daha ziyade büyütmemek için yalvarı Rodrig’i bir tarafa gizlenmeye rızâ edebilir.

İkinci Meclis – Don Şanş ile Şimen saha-i temasaya girerler iken Don Şanş, Şimen’in kederin kendisine adalet vade ettiği olan Krula karşı (77) itaatsizlik olacağı beyanıyla kabul etmek istemez. Şanş ise öyle uzun uzadıra tahkikât ve tetkikâtla uğraşmak mazlumlara çok koşuyuşu kaybettireceğinden bahisle kestirme yoldan ihkak-ı hak ister ise [ve], kendisi[nin] Rodrig’i öldürmeye hazır bulunduğunu tekrar teklif eder ise de Şimen:

- Bu dediğiniz çare son çaredir. Tahkikâtının sonuna kadar hakkından yeni merhametiniz devam eder ise o zaman intikamımı alırsınız.

diye Şanş’ı hep teskine çalışır. Şanş dahi kızdan bu kaderik bir müsaade istihsal etmiş olmayi bir büyük bahtiyarlık (78) sayarak çıkar gider.

Üçüncü Meclis – Şimen, mürrebbiyesi Elvir’e tazallüm-i hâle başlar. Fakat ne müthiş tazallüm! Ömrünün nısı pederi ve nısı aşkı demek olup pederini, aşkı mezara endaht eylediği gibi kendisi de aşkınnı mezara atmak teşekküründe bulunduğundan bu hâlde artık ömürden, hayattan hiç nasibi kalmamış oluyor. Biçare kızcağız nasıl müteselli olsun ki:
- Babamı öldüren elden de nefret ediyorum ama hâlâ o katili seviyorum!
diyor. Vakıa Elvir buna çıldırasıyla şararak: (79)

- Hem babanızı öldürümuş olsun hem siz onu hâlâ sevesiniz!
diyen beyan-ı hayret ediyorsa da Şimenden:


sözlerini işitince hayretine artık nihayet bulunamıyor. Nihayet soruyor ki:

- O katili takip edeceksiniz ya?

- Ah bu zalimane takibe kendimi mecbur görüyor isem de hem onun başını Kralı adalatinden iddia ve talep ediyorum hem de istidam isaf olunursa diyen korkuyorum. Biliyorum ki onu öldürürler ise ben de helâk olacağım. Fakat yine idamı istidam eyleyorum!

Kız da ihtisasın bu suret-i acibesini görünce biçare Elvir ne diyeceğini şaşırmak nevinden olarak: (81)

- Böyle fâci bir emelden vazgeçiniz efendim! Bu kadar zalimane bir kanuna tevfik-i muamele etmeyiniz.
diyor. Lâkin Şimen bu nashihatı de kabul edemiyor: (82)

- Ne? Babam hemen kollarının arasında maktulen can versin diye “intikam, intikam!” diye dua eylediği hâlde ben intikamdan vazgeçeyim ha? Gönüm, mucib-i mahcubiyeti olmak lazım gelen bir hisse mağlup diye gözlerimden yalnız acz ve meskenet yaşlarını akıtmakla kalayım ha? Her şeyi taht-ı tahakkümüne alan bir așık-ı galib, alçakçasına bir sükut emrederek namusumu da duçar-tehlike eylesin ha?

diye onu da reddeyiyor. Fakat Elvir herhâlde Rodrig’e de acıdıklından Şimen’e itidal tavsıyесine bir daha dür‘et bularak:

der. Şimen ise hâlâ bu sözleri kabul edemiyor: (83)
- Mesele şan ve namus meselesidir. Mutlaka intikam almalıyım. Efkâr-ı aliye-i civicamerdane erbabı için sevda ne kadar şiddetli olursa olsun onunla itizar muayebattandır. (83)

diyे ısrar eder ise de Elvir’in:

- Fakat Rodrig’i hâlâ sevdiğini itiraf eylerim!

sualine de:

- Bu sevayı itiraf eylerim!

cevabyla bilmukabeye nihayet Elvir’in:

- Pekâlâ encam-ı kâr ne yapmak emelindesiniz?

suali üzerine Şimen der ki:

- Bu âlemin her belasına nihayet vererek yalnız şanımı, namusumu kurtarabilmiş olmak için Rodrig’i takip ederek başını kestirdikten sonra kendimi de öldürmek emelindeyim!

Dördüncü Meclis – Tamam Şimen şu son sözü söyler iken Rodrig içeriye (84) giriverir:

- Takip zahmetine ne hacet? İşte beni öldürmek itminanı elinizdedir!

diye yere kapanır. Şimen bunu görünce çıldırasıya bir hayrete duçar olarak:


diyeye gazubane izhar-i telaş eder ise de Rodrig:

- Kanımı esirgemeyniz! Beni mahv ile intikamınızı itnam-ı safâyı ruhaniyesine istediğiniz gibi nail olunuz!

deyince biçare Şimen:

- Heyhat!... (85)

diyeye gayş derecelerini bulur. Ondan daha biçare olan Rodrig:

- Allah aşkına dinleyiniz!

diyeye yalvardığı hâlde Şimen:

- Ölüyorum!

diyeye kendisinden geçmek derecelerini bulur. Rodrig:

- Bir dakikacık beni dinleyiniz!
diye yalvarır ise de Şimen:

- Git! Git! Birak beni helâk olayım!

diye mûdafaa eleyerek biçare âşık:

- Dört kelime söylет de sonra beni şu kılıç ile öldür!

diye yalvarmaya başlar. Şimen kılıcı görünce: (86)

- Ne? Hâlâ babamın kamı üzerinde bulunan kılıç!

diye tavsîfi gayr-ı kâbı bir hâle gelerek Rodrig hâlâ:

- Şimencîgim!

diye yalvarır iken Şimen dahi:

- Kaldır gözümün önünde o mel’un silahı! Gözümde senin cinayetini de teşdid eyliyor, ölümün arzusunu da!

diye o silahdan çîldırasıya bir eser-i tevahhûş gösterir. Rodrig der ki:

- Bilakis o mel’un silaha bak da benim hakkımîdaki nefretini teşdit ederek ölümümü de tacil et!

Lâkin Şimen artık intikamın o derece-i (87) şiddetinde de ûl. Vakıa kılıç bakarak:

- Aman babamın kanıyla kıkırmızı!

diye teellüüm ediyor ve Rodrig dahi:

- İyi ya, işte al onu sineme sok!

diye arz-ı müessir-i fedakârîde devam ediyor ise de nihayet Şimen:

- Kaldır o menhusu gözlerimin önünde! Ah zalim! Bir anda babasını timur-ı menfur ile öldürüdüğün kızın kendisini de bu nûmayışlar ile öldürüyorsun. Tahanmûl edemiyorum artık! Kaldır şuunu aradan! Hem istiyorsun ki söyleyeceğin sözleri dinleyim hem de onları dinleyememen için beni böyle en müthiş bir işkence ile öldürüyorsun. (88)

deyince Rodrig maşukasını insafa takrip edebildiğini görür de der ki:


Şimen’in bu sözleri azim bir istirâb-1 derun ile dinledikten sonra der ki:

- Ah Rodrig! Her ne kadar senin düşmanın insem de duçar olduğunuz hakarete tahammül gibi bir namussuzluğu kabul edemediğinden dolayı seni takip etmek. Bu ye’lsen ne kadar mahkûr olsam da yalnız felâketime ağlamakla kalıp seni mümkün dehşetle hâlâ seni idam ettirerek umdu

Bu sözler Şimen’i mutmain edemeler. Der ki: (94)

Hakkımdaki sevdan her ne kadar lehimde seni ihısan etse bile uluvv-i tabi müntakimanen benimki gibi olmalıdır. Bir peder intikamını almak için başka vasitaya neden müracaat edeceksin? Sevgili Şimenim! İnan ki bu sana lâyıkdır. Ben namusuma sürülen lekeyi yalnız kendilerime yükçüğüm gibi sen de öyle yap! Öldür beni! (95)

Zalim! Bu nokta üzerinde ne hikmete mebni bu kadarısrar ediyorsun? Sen yardımcı McIntız intikam ettim diyorsun da bana kendini nereden yardım veriyorsun? Ben de senin gösterdiğin misale imtihatım. Şeref-i intikami seninle paylaşmaya razı olamayacak kadar besaletim vardır. Ne babam ne ben senin bana olan sevdanın minnettar olmak istemeyiz. (96)

Elhasıl bu yolda devam eden muhavere gösterir ki Şimen her ne kadar pederinin intikamını almayı kendisine bir vazife-i mukaddese bilir ise de Don Rodrig’i dahi hâlâ o kadar seviyor ki Kralın netice-i mukaddesinde Don Rodrig’in beraat-i zimmetine hükmolunsa sevinecektir. Bu derece-i muhabbetimiz hürmetine ya intikamen ya merhameten beni cezalandır! Bu biçare aşıkın senin menfurun olarak (96) yaşamaktan ziyade elinle ölmekte daha az östroaptır. (97)

Haydi! Sen bana asla menfur değilsin!

Menfurun olmasın.

Olamazsın! Sana nazarıne nefretle bakamam.

Beşinci Meclis – Bu mecliste Don Diyeg yalnızdır. Vukut gününden beri oğlundu göremediğimden dolayı pek müteessif hatta Rodrig firar mı etmiş yoksa Kontun dostları tarafından katıl mı olunmuş yahut (98) Kral tarafından hapse mi atılmış onu da bilmediğimden ye’si son derecelere vartır. İşte bu kadar ıstrab-ı elim içinde iken oğlu karşısında çıkmışveriyor.

Altüncü Meclis – İhtiyar Diyeg oğluuna sarılıp öpme, koklamak ister ise de o genç kahramanı pek meyus bulunca tereddüt eder. Şu ak saçlarıyla duçar olduğu hakaretten kendisini kuratran ve kontun o namuslu yüzü sürgü dü lekeyi yine onun kanıyla yıktan oğlu birçok medh ü sena eyledikten sonra “Gel o temızlediğin yüzü öp” deye davet eyler ise de Şimen’den meyus olan Rodrig bu taltıfın hiç (99) birisiyle mutmain olamaz. Filvaki babasına muhabel vazife-i ferzandeyi ifa edebilmiş olduğundan dolayı kendisi de kendini bahtiyar buluyor ise de bu vazifeyi ifa...
edebilmek için cihanda varı, yegâne ümid-i bahtiyarısı olan Şimen’i ebediyan kaybetmiş olduğu için hiçbir şeyle müteselli olamayacağını babasına anlatır.

Don Diyeg olduğu müteselli etmek için daha birtakım medayihi meyanna katarak aşk bir zevk, namus ise bir vazife olduğunu ???? birçok maşuşa bulabilir ise de bir kere zayı olan namusu bir daha ele geçirmek mümkün olamayacağını anlatmak ister ise de Rodríg bu sözü (100) asla kabul edemezse de sebat etmemek ne kadar alçaklık ise maşûkânını aşında de sebat etmemek da hâli denaet olduğu söyler. Nihayet bir daha şeref-i izdivacası nail olamayacağı Şimen’den bilıklıi mahrûmiyeti de katlanamayacağı beyanıyla ölüme muntazir olduğunu ortaya koyan babası şu da verdikçe ölüme intizar dâkitası olmadıkını ve vatan ve Kral kendi şecaatine, hizmetine muhtaç bulunduğu bâdelihter mağribîler nehir tarikiyile bu gece hiç ebediyeceklerinden memleket ahalisinin ve hatta Kralın ziyadesiyle telâş içinde bulunduklarını ve hâlibükî kendisinin Kont tarafından deçar olduğu hakareti duyarar intikama gelmiş bulunan beşyüz kadar dostları (101) kumandası altında alarak gidip muhacimler ile cenk eder de o cenkte helâk olursa meyusiyet-i aşikane ile ölmekten daha şanlı bir ölüme nail olmuş olacakını ve şayet galiben avdet eleyecek olursa o hâlde Kral kendi cümründen vezgeçcegi gibi Şimen’de diyeceği kalmayacağını güzelce tefhim ederek bu muhavere nihayetinde baba oğul dışarı çıkartlar üçüncü perde da hâli iner.

Dördüncü Perde

Birinci Meclis – Üçüncü perdenin nihayetinde Don Diyeg’in oğluna tavsiyesi geçile Don Rodrig cümlesi babasının dostlarından olan beşyüz cengâver ile (102) gece gidip mağribîlerı bozmuş işlemi. İşte bu havadis memleket içinde şeyi olduğundan Şimen’in muallimesi Elvir havadis-i mezküreyi Şimen’e dahi isal edince Şimen kolay kolay inanmâyarak:

- Sakın bir havadis-i kâzibe olmasın! İyî haber aldın mı Elvir?

diye tekrar tekrar istifsar eyler. Elvir dahi üç saat şiddetli muharebeden sonra düşmanın fena hâlde bozulduğu ve hatta iki serdarları da esir düştuğü bütün memleketin ağzında dolaşıp herkesin Rodrig’i âkışladığını tekrar eyler. Şimen Kralın bu muzafferiyeti ne nazarla telakki eylediğini de sorar. Elvir haber verir ki Rodrig bu galebeyi (103) Kralın haberî olmaksızın kazandığından henüz Kralın huzuruna çıkamıyor ise de babası arz-arz teslimiyet eden iki serdarı Krala bittakdim şu kahraman galipin de huzur-i Kralîde mesul şerefine nihat edilmişini istirham eyliyor imiş.

Şu havadis-i garibe Şimen’i bir hayat-i azime içinde bırakır. Rodrig’ın yaralınp yaralanmadiğını da sorar. Elvir buna dair hiçbir haber almadığını beyan edince kızın çehresi bozularak anlaştı ki âşıkin mecrühiyeti ihtimalinden bizardır. Bunu Elvir sual dahi eder. Şimen:

- İki serdari esir etmiş ise neme lázım? Benim babamı öldürmüştür ya! (104)

diye yine fiqr-i intikâmi tecdid ederek mutlaka o vazife-i muakkadesi ifa gayretinde bulunduğunu anlatır ise de herhâlde mürebbyesine itiraf eder ki gönlü hâlâ Rodrig’te olmaktan fazla şu şan-i galibiyetinden de bıkayd dequeue.
İkinci Meclis - Bunlar şu hasbihalde iken Prensès dahi kendi murebbiyesiyle gelip:

- Buraya sana teselli vermeye gelmedim Şimen! Bilakis kendi göz yaşılarınızı da sana katmaya geldim!

diye bir mukaddimeden sözde başlar ise de Şimen Prensese bilâkıs cümle ile beraber kendi sifatını de Rodrîg yüzünden hususı gelen (105) muvaffakiyetten dolayı şefik etmesi lüzum geleceğine ve Rodrîg'ın zur-ı bâzusun memleketi kurtarıp Kralına bir hüsn-i hizmet-i azime addolunabilir ise de kendi hakkını intikamını tadile sebep olabileceği için yalnız kendisine menhus olacağını arzla:

- Hepiniz sevinmelisiniz. Ağlayacak yalnız benim!

der. Prensès Ürrak nite de Şimen bu cihet-i ye'sini de izale edebilmek için Rodrîg’in böyle bir şefref-i galibiye nailiyeti yine Şimen için bir şan sayılacağını çünkü Rodrîg dünə kadar Şimen ’in sevgilisi olup bu galibiye ise Şimen ’i aşk intihabında pek hakî gösterceğini (106) dermiyan edince Şimen babasının katili olan o aşkın şan ve şefref böyle taalla eylediğçe filibvaki kendi hakkındaki aşk da tezyid-i şeffet eyledigiini itiraftan çıkarıncı ise de işte bu kadar âşkıyla beraber yine Rodrîg’ın kellesini uçurmak iddiası gibi bir vazifeden kendisini kurtaramayaçı için felâket-i aşkkanesinin de Rodrîg’ın şanı nispetinde büyüdüğünü anlar. Prensès filibvaki Şimen’ in bu iddiasında hakli olduğunu teslim ederek hatta babasına karşı muvazzaf olduğu vazifeyi hüsn-i ifa için âxlı bir âşkı feda yolunda dün sarayda huzur-i fevkalade, cümleyi hayran etmiş olduğunu da tezkârdan sonra:

(107)

- Fakat benim kadar sana sadık olan bir dostun nasihatini dinlersin?

diyerek Şimen’den dahi:

- Size itaat etmemek benim için bir cinayet sayılır!

cevabını aldıktan sonra dünkû gün için pek doğru olan bir şeyin bugün doğru olamayacağını ve elhâletü hazihi Rodrîg devletin medar-i a’zam-i selâmeti olduğundan onun başına istemek memleketin tehlikesini tecvîz demek olacağını ve babamın intikamını alâcağım diye memleketi zorlu düşmanlarla karşı tehlike içinde birakmak tecvîz eylemeyecğini ve Rodrîg kendi babasının öldürümiş ise devlet ve millet kendisine hiçbir fenalik (108) yapmaması olduğundan kendi intikamını uğrunda selâmet-i vatani da fedada hakli görülemeceğini ve Rodrîg için en şiddetli ceza onun hakkındaki muhabbetini nefrete tahvilden ibaret olup vakâta pederinın katili olan bir adlâma tezevvücûnû hiçbir kimsenin de münasip bulamayacağını savîp dökerek hatta:

- Pederim Kral hazretleri dahi bu fikirdedir. Pederin Gomes gibi bir kahramanı kaybetti ise Rodrîg kendisi onun yerine kaim oldu demektedir.

diyê Şimen’i ilzama sa’y u gayret eder. Lâkin Şimen’i ikna ve ilzam kabil olamaz. Hep evvelki söylediğî sözleri tarz-ı aherle tekrar ederek Prensès dahi maksat-i (109) aslîsi Rodrîg’ten intikam ve onu mücázat ise gönlünü ondan almak kadar muvafîk ve şedit intikam ve ceza olamayacağı tekrar tekrar tehim eyleyerek işte bunları yalnızca ve kemal-i itidal ile düşünmesini tavsiye edip çıkâr gider.
**Üçüncü Meclis** – Bu meclis Kral Fernand’ın huzurunda Don Diyeg, Don Ariyas, Don Rodrig ve Don Sanș dahi mevcut olduğu hâlde waktu gelir. Kral Rodrig’i tekrimat-ı faika ile huzuruna kabul ederek bunca namdar kahramanların mehdi olan şanlı bir familiya oğlu olduğunu şu muvaffakiyeti burhan-ı azim olduğunu ve devlet (110) ve millete ettiği hizmeti bıhkakın mükâfattandırıblemek kendi kudret-i hükümranınının de fevkinde iddîünü ve fakat demincek huzuruna getirilen mağribi serdarlar kendisi için “Sîd” demis olduklarından ve onların lisanını bu kelime “Senyör” manasını ifade ederinin içinde bu hizmet-i azimmesinin mükâfat olmak üzere badema Rodrig’ e “Sîd” ünvanıyla hitap olunmasına karar verdiği cümle huzurunda kemal-i tevki ve ihtiram ile beyan eder.


**Dördüncü Meclis** – Rodrig bu uzun hikâyeyi bitirdiği sıradada Don Alonzo içeriye girerek Şimen’in istıda-yı adaleti geldiğini haber verir. Kral bu haberden ziyadesiyle müteessir olur. Fakat onun maruzatını dinlememek dahi muvâfık-ı şan-ı hükümanı olamayacağından âşkasının gözüne görünmemek için Rodrig’i dışarı çıkartır ise de ettiği hizmet-i azimenesin (113) son mükâfat olmak üzere Rodrig’e sarılıp kemal-ı muhabbetle öper. Şimen henüz huzuruna girdiğinden evvel yanına olanlar:

- Bana haber verdiler ki Şimen Rodrig’i hâlâ seviyor imiş. Bir hâl’dı tertip edeceğim. Hepiniz güya Rodrig makul olmuşçasına bir mahzuniyet tavri takınız!

emrini verir ve iste Şimen’i bundan sonra huzuruna kabul eder.

**Beşinci Meclis** – Şimen içeriye girir girmez Kral der ki:

- Ey artık memnun olunuz kizım! Netice-i hâl tanam arzunuz veçhile zuhur eyledi. Rodrig bizi bir tehlikeli düşmandan kurtardı (114) ise de o muharebede almiş olduğu yaranın tesirinden kendisi de şurada gözlerimizin önünde teslim-i ruh eyledi.

Şimen bu haberi işitince beti benzi kül kesilerek gaşy derecelerini bulur. Kralın Don Diyeg’e:

- Tavrına dikkat ediliyor musunuz?
demesi üzerine Don Diyeg Şimen’in böyle saranıp ağarması Rodrig hakkındaki şiddet-i sevdasını delalet ��lediğini ihtaret eder. Biçare Şimen o hâlde:

- Ne? Rodrig vefat mı etti dediniz?

diye daha bahir bir surette izhar-ı teessür ve teellüm edince Kral bu kahrla kızı bir fenalık geleceğini görerek: (115)


diyi manâlî bir surette gülmeye başlar. Fatanetli Şimen Kralın bu hâlinden bütün tertibatını anlayarak:

- Haşmetpenahım! İnsan yalnız kahırlandığı zaman çeklési bozulmaz. Sevindiği zaman da mütegâyir olur.

diyi müdafaaya başlar ise de Kral:

- Artık muhal olan bir şeye de bizi inandıramazsınız ya?

diyi reddedince Şimen derhâl tebdîl-i müdafaa ederek:


tarzında bir mukaddime ile herhâlde intikam davasında sabit-kadem olduğunu ve fakat (117) hayf ki şu nail olduğu şan-ı galibiyet üzerine Kral da, erkân-ı devlet de bütün millet de onun gayretini göttüklerinden artık kendi intikamının alınacağı ümid-i adalet-cuyanesine halel geldiğini arz eyler.

Kral ise kızın bu sözlerini istimayla beraber Rodrig babasını öldürümsüz ise bir katl-i adî ile öldürmemiş ve babası sözün en doğru eştiği hakaretin cezasını bulmuş olduğunu ve hålbuki Şimen’in gönlü hâlâ Rodrig’te olduğundan eğer Rodrig’i öldürecek olsa kızın mutlaka müteessir kalacağını ve binaenaleyh Rodrig’i affîndan dolayı elbetçe Şimen’in memnun olması lazım geleceğini söyler ise de Şimen mümkün değil (118) bu sözleri de kabul edemerek mademki Kral ihkak-ı hak etmiyör o hâlde İspanya’nın kâide-i kadimesi vehículo Rodrig’i yine bir düvello ile cezalandıracağını ve mevcut olan asılzadegânından her kim Rodrig ile düvello eder de mubahzedede galip çtcar ve öldürür ise dest-i izdavî mümkün takdim eyleyeceğini meydana koyar.

Fakat Kral dahi bu teklifi kabul edemez. Bu âdet eğerçi kadim ise de ihkak-ı hâlân en emin vasitası olmadığını ve ekeriya mubahzedelerde asıl kabahatî olanın galip çt plugsını ihtaret eder. Burada Rodrig’in babası Don Diyeg sözde karsarka Rodrig’i kurtarmak için o kaide-i (119) kadimênin ilgasi mümkün olamayacağını ve Rodrig
Kralın böyle bir eser-i merhameti olarak sağ kalır ise bu sağlığun dahi o kahraman için bir ayıp, bir şeyin yapılacağını ihtılar ile herhalde Şimen’in teklifini kabul olmamasını istirham eyleğinden Kral bu söze hak verir ise de mübarezenin yalnız bir adam ile yalnız bir defaya mahsus kalmışını şart koyarak:

- Eğer bu meydanı bilsaарт açık bulunduracak olur isen bütün İspanya asılzadeğini Rodrig’e düşmand etmiş oluruz. Zira Şimen’in nümayiş için taşin etmiş olduğu mükâfat bütün genç asılzadeleri bu meydana can atmaya mecbur eyler! (120)

diye hem Rodrig hakkında bir eser-i merhamet göstermiş hem de Şimen’in kadr ü kıymetini büyütmüş olur. Ancak Don Diyeg bunu da tasvip etmez. Kont Gomes’i öldüren ve muharebe-i ahirede bunca yararlık gösteren bir Rodrig’in önüne hiç kimse çıkamayacağını bahisle meydan-i mübarezeyi bilsaарт bırakmayı teklif ederek:

- O canına susamış küstah kimdir ki o meydana girsin!

deyince çünkü Don Sanş dahi Şimen’in âşı olup evvelce bu hizmet-i intikamı kendisine teklif ve nim-i vaadini bile ahz etmiş bulunduğundan hemen şu mecliste ileriye çıkaran: (121)

- İşte o canına susamış küstah benim!

der ki buna cümlece istigrap olunur. Kral:

- Şimen! Mübareze vekâletini bu asılzadeye verdim mi?
sualını irat edince kız:

- Evet haşmetpenahım! Zaten de bunu kendisine vadeyememid!

diyerek o hålde iki gencin iki rakibin mübarezeye hazırlanmaları emrolunur ise de Don Diyeg yiğitler için ölümü hazırlık lazım gelmeyeceğini dermiyan edince Kral dahi razı olarak Don Ariyas’a hitaben: (122)

- Düvelloya siz nezaret ediniz. Mübarızlerden hangisi galip çıkar ise hemen alıp bana getiriniz ki zevç olmak üzere kendi elim ile Şimen’e takdim edeyim.

der. Bu söz Şimen’in akında başından alıp şayet Rodrig galip çıkarsa ise onunla tezvvücü kabul edemeyeceğini anlatır ise de Kral ikisinden hangisi galip çıkarsa mutlaka ona varması lazım geleceğini ve eğer kalbine sorar ise mutlaka Rodrig’in galebesini arzu eylediği dahi inkâr olunamayacağını emr makamında irat eleyerek dördüncü perde dahi hitam bulur. (123)

**Beşinci Perde**

**Birinci Meclis** – Rodrig, Sanş ile mübarezeye gitmezden evvel son vedami icra etmek üzere Şimen’e gelmiş. Böyle güпе gündüz kendi hanesine gelmiş olması kendi namusunu halk nazara bilkülüye berbat edeceği beyanıyla Şimen hemen çıkıp gitmesini rica eyliyor ise de Rodrig:
- Ölüme gidiyorum! Ölmeye gidiyorum. Son vazife-i ubudiyeti ifa etmeyim mi?

deyince Şimen:

- Ölmeye mi?

diye mürbarezedeye kendisi ölmeyip Don Sanş’un helâki de muhtemel olduğunu anlatmak (124) ister, fakat Rodrig buunu anladığı hâlde de:

- Evet ölmeye! His-i intikamını helâkimle mutmain edebilmek bahtiيارlıguna!

der ki bu söz üzerine artık Şimen teessûrat-ı aşikanesine mağlup olarak Don Sanş’un bu kadar mı cesur ve kendisinin bu kadar mı korkak olduğunu ve babasına ve mağribilere karşı kendisini o kadar kuvvetli eden kim olup şimdi Don Sanş’a karşı bu derecelerde zayıf eyleyen de kim idü söylenmektedir. Bunun üzerine Rodrig anlatır ki cesareti hep o cesaret, kuvveti hep o kuvvet ise de helâki sevdifinin arzu eyledigi bir şey olduğu için meydan-ı mürbarezedeye mukavemet (125) etmeyecek, belki Don Sanş’in kilic ucunda kendi helâkini arayacak. Don Sanş sevgili Şimen’ine vekâlede dünvello etmektedir ki ona mukavemet Şimen’e mukavemet söyleacaktır. Don Sanş Şimen’in şansını muhafazaten doğuşuğundan kendisini bundan men Şimen’i şansız bırakacaktır. Herhalde göğsünü açıp ölüümü sevinerek kabul edecektir. Zira herhalde sevgili Şimen’i mutmain ve mahfuz etmiş olmak için ölecektir.

Aşkının fedakârlığı bu dereceye dünyasını Şimen’in ihtisasat-ı kalbîyesine bittabî tevafuk etmediğinden Rodrig’i ölmek niyetinden vazgeçirmek ister ise de buünda da (126) açıktan açıça söyleyemiz. Eğer böyle kendi ihtiyarlarıyla helâk olursa halk bu iş içindeki esrar ve hafayayı bilemeyeceğinden mutlaka Don Sanş’a mağlup olduğunu hükmedeceklere bahseder. Don Gomes’e mağribilere galip olarak kazandığı şerefi dahi Don Sanş’a terk etmiş olması hiç kimse bir eser-i semahat olunmayana bilmeyecek belki o şerefi Don Sanş kendi zur-i bazusuyla kazanmış diye hükmedeceklere iknaa çalışır.

Fakat ikna edemez. Konta ve mağribilere karşı yılmaya, mağlub olmayan bir adamın Sanş’tan yıllıp ona mağlub olacağını kimse ihtimal vermeyeceğini ve aralarındaki serva (127) artık cümilenin mağlum olmuş bulunduğundan bu serva ile muhalatğa göre aldırp mümkün etmek kendisi için işten bile olunamayacağı cümilenin kanaat gösterecegini ve şu ölüümü ihtiyari mutlaka aşikasının menfuru olarak yaşamak istemediğine hamî olunacağı Rodrig etrafıyla hem de bir suret-i aşikane ve fedakârane ile arz ederek nihatet:

- Halk ne diyecek? Babasının intikamını almak için sevdasını feda ederek Şimen’in babasını öldürüdü ve sevdifinin intikamını hasıl etmek için de kendini Sanş’a öldûrterek hayatını feda eyledi. Her cihatle cômertlik gösterdi derler.

deyince Şimen Rodrig’ın bu fedaârîktan (128) mümkün değil geri durmayacağını katiyen anlar. Artık meyusiyet-i aşikanesi tahammül olunamayacak derecelere varır. İşte bu noktada Rodrig’e şöyle bir itiraf-ı aşikanedede bulunur ki hakikat canlar dayanamaz. Der ki:

Filvaki Şimen bu sözlerle babasının intikamından bile vazgeçerek nimet-i visalone yine Rodrig’den başka kimseyi nail etmek mümkün olamayacağını itiraf etmiş oluyor ki o kadar uluvv-i cenabla bu derece mağlubiyet ve mecburiyetinden (130) dolayı hicabından mosmor kesilerek firlayıp kaçıyor. Rodrig yalnız kalınca aşkını olanca şiddetile çözar diyor ki:

- Bu hâlide artık makhursta ve mağlup edemeyeceğim bir düşman olabilir mi? Navarli, Kastilli, Mağribi, Maşrâki ne kadar cengâver var ise cümeleniz birden karşıma çıkıniz! Bütün İspanya’nın kahramanları hep birleşerek karşılımba bir kahraman ordusu teşkil ediniz! Şimen’deki maksad-i yegâneme karşı bütün heyet-i mecmauanız bana hiç görürün.


Üçüncü Meclis – Prenses bu hâlde (132) iken mürebbiyesi Leonor içeriye girer. Prenses için artık halas-ı kat’ı saati gelmiş olduğunu bir tavr-i tebrîk ile beyan ederek Prenses:

- Nasıl halas?

diye sual etmesi üzerine işte Rodrig ile Sanş’in mübarezeye gittiklerini ve Rodrig maktul düşer ise onun aşkından halas tahakkuk etmiş olacağı gibi galip çıkar ise Kral kendisini Şimen ile tezviç edeceğinden bu da Prenses için kat-ı ümîd demek olacağını beyan eder.

Fakat hayfa ki mürebbiyanın sözleri Prensesi teskin edemez. Zira Prenses bilir ki Şimen hâlâ Rodrig için çıldıryor. (133) Kendisi ise Şimen’den ziyade Rodrig’in delisi divanesi olduğunu mürebbiyesine tekrar itiraf edince Leonor:

- A! Kimin kızı olduğunuzu yine unutuyor musunuz? Sizin koçanız başı taçlı bir kral olacak ıken tebaanızdan bendegânnızdan birisini sevmenzîâyık olur mu?
Dördüncü Meclis – Şimen ile Elvir’in bir muhavereleri suretindedir. Şimen hep (134) o meyusiyet-i mutlaka içinde her neyi arzu etmiş olsa neticesi kendisine gözəşti döktürecek şeyler olduğundan bahisle murebbiyesine şıkâyet ediyor. Elvir:

- Yok ama artık bu son karar pek âlâdir. Ya babamin intikamı almış yada Rodrig’e varmış olacakmışın. İkisi de sizin için en büyük emeldir. Her hâlde şanınız muhafaza olunuyor. Her hâlde size bir koca bulunuyor. 

diye mürebbiyesini ilzam ediyor. Söz biraz daha uzanıp gidiyor. Şimen’in mümkün değil mülzem olmadı ve hatta Rodrig Sanş’a dahi galebe etse bile onun izdivacına razı olmamak dairıside bulunduğunu görünce artık Elvir dahi kızarak:

- Bu kılçılı hâkipayınize takdim mecbur oldum!...

der Şimen kendisine böyle bir musibeti niçin temenni eyledikini sormaya başlar ise de bu aralık Don Sanş’in yalnız geldiğini görünce artık olacak işlerin kâffesini olmuş olduğunu anlayarak gaz olmak derecelerini bulur.

Beşinci Meclis – Don Sanş Şimen’in huzuruna gelerek kılçını ortaya koyarak:

- Bu kılçığı hâkipayinize takdime mecbur oldum!...

der demez Şimen çıldırmasımasına bir gazapla: (137)


diye Don Sanş’ı kemal-i nefretle redde davranır. Bıçare Don Sanş:

- Biraz daha itidal-i efkâr ile davransanız...

diye tekrar söz söylemek ister ise de (138) Şimen adama söz söyletiyor mu?
- Ey pereştiş ettiğim kahramanın menfur katılı!
diyə adamaçağızı bin hakaretle tard eyliyor. Sanş hâlâ:
- Ne acip teessür. Beni dinlemeksizin...
diyə söz söylemeğe davranıyar ise de Şimen kendisini söylentip de kendisinden aşıkını nasıl öldürdüğüne dair tafa-furuşane sözleri mi işiteceği beyanıyla mümkün değil söylenteyip o anda Kral ve Don diyeg ve Don Ariyas ve Don Alonzo meclise girivererek her hâlde Sanş’in sözleri ham armut gibi boğazına tıkılıp kalıyor. (139)

**Altınçi Meclis** – Kral gelince Şimen:

- Haşmetpenah! Artık sizden hiçbir şeyi saklama hiçbir şeyden haya etmeye lüzum kalmadı!
mukaddimesiyle şöyle başlayarak katlettirdiği kahraman hâlâ mahcup kalbini olduğunu ve fakat pederine karşı olan vazife-i mukavese yolunda onu feda eylediğini bilitiraf fakat bermucib-i mukavele Don Sanş’in zevcesi olmak kendisi için muhal olduğunu ve mukavelenin nakzi için olanca maa mükûnünü Sanş’a terk ederek kendisi de itiraf eyliyor!

deyince Kral gülerek:

- İşte haşmetpenahımız artık hiçbir şeyden pervası kalmadığı için sevdasını kendisi de itiraf eyliyor!
diyor ki bu hâl biçare Şimen’i tekrar çödarısta bir hayrete duçar ededursun Don Sanş izah eyliyor ki ne yanlışı ne doğruyu hiçbir şeyi anlatmaya meydana kalmaksızın Şimen yalnızlığın kiliç mı görünce herşeyi kendisi anlayvermiştir.


Bu netice-i garibe cümledede ziyadesiyle hayreti mucip olarak Kral Şimen’e:

- Don Rodrig’eye olan muhabbetiniz sizce hiçbir veçhile mucib-i hayret olarak şeylerden değildir. İşte pederinizin de (142) intikamını aldınız. Artık benim emrimi dahî yerine gelmelendir. Rodrig’in zevcesi olmasınız!

der iken Prenses Ürrak, Don Rodrig’i elinden tutmuş olduğu hâlde murebbiyesi Leonor ile beraber içeriye giriverir. Getirip Rodrig’i:
- Gözyaşlarını dindirinizi Şimen! Bu âlicenap aşığı, bu kahraman zevci işte Prensesiniz Enfant Ürrak’ın elinden alıp kabul ediniz!

diyə takdim eder ise de o dahi Rodrig’in delisi divanesi olduğunu hâlde bu takdimi nasıl bir tavr-ı makhuriyetle icra eylediği mülahazaya tahayyüle muhtaç kalır. (143)

Yedinci Meclis – Bu mecliste en parlak harekat yine Rodrig’in harekât-ı kahramanîsidir. Evvelâ Krala:

- Huzurunuzda Şimen’in ayaklarına kapandığı, bu kahraman zevci işte Prensesiniz Enfant Ürrak’ı n elinden alıp kabul ediniz! 

diyə özürler diledikten sonra Şimen’in huzurunda diz çökerek:


Böyle son dereceye kadar hem kahramanın (145) hem mutian olan bir harekete Şimen’in dahi diyeceği kalmayıp ayaklarına kapanmış olan kahramanı kaldırır ve Kralın izdivacı için vermiş olduğu emre inkiyade da lüzumunu teslim eder ise de babasının kâfi henüz kurummuş olduğu hâlde bu nikahın icrası kabul olamayacağını derdiyan eyleyince Kral da insafa gelerek işin üzerinden bir zaman geçmişini ve o zaman zarfında Rodrig’in daha birçok muharebeler ederek şanlar kazanarak Şimen’e bir kat daha isbat-ı liyakat eylemesini bittensip oyuna hitam verilir.

* * *

İşte Korney’in Sid oyununun hâlası budur. Fakat bizim burada hâlasa (146) eyledigişimiz şeyin bir de suret-i mebsutmasını karilerimiz zihinlerinde bulduktan sonra bu eserin emsali nadir bulunur derecelerde bir nazım-ı belî ile yazılımış olduğunu da düşünülmelidir ki Korney’in kudret-i edebiyesi bihakkı takdir olunarak hakk-ı tazim ve tebriki de ona göre ifa olunabilirsin.
Acaba *Sid*’i kadar ehemmiyet almış ve Volter de dahil olduğu hâlde en müskilpesentleri bile ülulüvviyetini teslim mecbur olmuşguna (147) göre müntakidleri âciz biri olan Korney’den evvel dahi intikadına hakkında bazı malumat vereceğini iddia olunmuştuk. (149)


Korney’in trajedyasına hiç taalluku olmayan birçok vukuat-ti tarihiyyeyen sonra Rodrig’in Kasmiyena yani Şimen ile izdivacî görürlû ise de o zaman Kastîl’dé Kral (152) bulunan zat Ferdinand olmayıp 1082 sene-i miladiyyeyesinde sandali-i hükümete hem de yine Rodrig’in muvenetîyle oturmuş bulunan Afons olarak, Şimen de Osteri dükası ve Övya Kontu Don diyego’nun kızı olarak bu Kont dahi Kralin

Sıd’ın Diyego Rodrigeze namında bir oğlu olup Magribilerle bir muharebede makul düşmüş ve Kristin ve Mari namında iki dedi kızları olarak birincisi Navar veliahtı Enfan Ramir’e ve diğerı Barselon Kontu üçüncü Ramon’a tezvîq olmuşlardır.

İste Rodrig hakkında malûmat-ı safiye-i tarihîye şundan ibarettr ki bu malûmatı teyt edecek mizrab ve kılıç ve kalkan ve bayrak gibi yadigarlar dahi istihbar eylemiş ise de vaktîyle turbador denilen ayak sahipleri İspanya’nın her tarafından geçtiğü gibi gazar ederek namdâr cengâverlerin vukuat-ı (156) harbiyeyesi ilan yolunda destanlar okuduklarından Rodrig bunların en büyük sermayesi olmuş ve binaenâleyh bu cengâver hakkında o kadar hayatal adeta hakikat suretinde nazma çekilmştir ki asıl kendi hakkındaki hakayık-ı tarihiyeyi ihlal eden ve hatta kendi şahsını bile eşsâs-ı muhayedele menzile sine indiren şey bu destanlar olmuştur.

terceme etmeyip pek çok yerlerde ona muhalefet ederek kenderince bir başka eser yazmıştır.


İşte şu sıkız asar-ı nefis ile kudret-i edebiyesini cîhana tanıtтирıktan sonra Korney, 1936 senesinde *Sid*’i meydana koydu ki henüz otuz yaşındaki bir genç adam (163) olması nazara-dikkate alınma esâflândan hicûbirisinin muvaffak olmasıldığı gibi hemen ahâfından da hicûbirisinin muvaffak olamaması bununu bu eser-i nefis-i alûla’lâ bütün cihanı hayretle bırakmıştır. İspanyol şurrasından birisi bu eseri derhâl “mûntakim peder” manasına olan “honeradur dö su padr” namıyla terceme eylemiş ise de tercemesi fena olmakla beraber birçok kimseler hatta Volter ile bir aralık Korney’in eseri bundan mütercemdir zannına düşmüşler idi. Sonra hakikat meydana
çıkınca mütercim-i merkûmemin zahmeti kendisine levmden başka bir şey kazandıramamıştır. Filâvakı Sid'i öyle tahrîf ve terzil ederek terceme eden için bu ceza (164) läykür. Zira o sırada kardinal Rişelyö dahi Korney'i istîrkâp ederek cümle âlemîn hayrette açıkladığı bu eseri bilîttifak ânîndar diyê hûkmûmetmesini Akademiya'ya emreyelemiş ve vaka Akademiya –îlîrlere bahsedeceğizimiz surette- bir mufassal intîkadname yazmış ise de Akademiya azasî dahi bunun ciddiyetine inanmayarak hele halk-i âlem güzel bir eser gorseler “Sid’i gibi güzel” demeyi darb-ı mesel sırasında koymuştur. Garîbrit ki hålâ bugün dahi bu darb-ı mesel bakıdîr.

Korney’ın birçok mûntakîdlerî meyanında bir Senyör “Sküöderi” vârdar ki intîkadının ciddiyeti ile değil tuhaflîğı ile meşhurdur. Bizde ciddiyattan evvel şu tuhaflîklar işi görüp bitirmiş olmak üzere evvel emîrde Sküöderi’yi nazar-i mühakemeye çekçeceğiz ki onun gibi daha birçok tuhaflîkîdîleri de mühakeme külfetinden kurtularak cümlelinî işbu Sküöderî’ye makîs olduklarını karîlerîmîze ihtâ ediverelim.

Senyör Sküöderi dört kelîmeyî birer kâfiye takarak bunlû bir de ölçû daheîinde sîraya dîzer ise şair olmuş, şir sûylemîs itikadında bulunan adamlardand olup Kardinal Rişelyö’un Sid’î istîrkâp eyledîğîni de görucünê Sid’i gibi bir eser-i muazzamî terzîl eylemîş olmak şâmından ziyade kardinalî yerînmak fevâid-i maddiyyesine tamaîn şûrada burada bazı sözler ile bazen de kelân ile Sid’î intîkada (166) başlâmîş idi. Kendisi “Amanliberî” ve “Lîgdamon” namîyla iki komedîa yazarak vasat derecede biraz daha aşâqı bir müteşair olduğunu âleme göstermiş olduktan sonra bir de Sid’i intîkada kalkışınca kendisinden biraz daha hållîce olanlar dahi onu reddeylemek gayretine düşmüşler idi. Bu erbâb-ı gayretten birisi Sküöderî’yi ziyade hûrpaladığûndan ve Sküöderî bu tarzîn Korney tarafından geldiğini zannîyedîlîğinden bir cîld-i mahlus kaleme alarak Korney’î o kadar tahâr etmiş idi ki artık dünyada Korney’den daha cahlî ve Sid’den dahi fena hicîrb eser bulunmadığını hûkme kadar varmiş idi. Sid’in 72 beyti İspanyolca (167) âslîndan terceme gibi birşey olduğu beynînî sîrde İspanyolca’dan terceme demek olacağını ve o terceminin de fena bir terceme bulunduğunun hûkmetmiş idi. Badehî kendisini medhe başlayarak “Ben sîyle asîlizadeyim, Korney bana nispetle sîyle vazîdırım. Ben sîyle yiğîr bir cengâverim, Korney fazîlet-i şeçaatîn mahrum bir zavallıdır!…” gibi mucayesata dahi girişerek kendisînî halk nazazarda düsûrdükçe düsûrmiş idi.

Dostûndan birçoklar Korney’î Sküöderî’ye mukabele için teşvîk eylemîşler ise de Korney o tarafîn gelen intîkadinat hîcîrb kıymet-i edebiyyesi olmâdûğûndan Sküöderi (168) kendisine itiraﬂâ ne kadar gülnç olmâktan havfinî beyan eylemîş idi. Fakat bu intîkad cîldinde Sküöderî kendi aleyhinde Sid’i mâdafa eden Korney olduğu zannînda bulunup bu ise sahih olmâdûğûndan işin bu cîhelîn tashîh etmek için Korney, Sküöderî’ye bir mektup yazmaya mecbûr oldu.

Bu mektubu ne kadar ustâhîldrî! Evvelâ Sküöderî aleyhinde yazan kendisi olmâdûğûn söyleyerek yazanûn kim olduğunu da iham ile ihâm edip de Sküöderî’nin mukabele yolunda yazdiği cîldîn hicî değer olmâdûğı isbat eyledeken ve bu suretle muteriz (169) efendiyyî mahcûp biraktıktan sonra asalet ve şeçâete hîrmet-i mahsusasıyle beraber bunlûn mûnazarat-i edebiyyede hicîrb hûkûm olmâyacağını öyle bir zarafetî anlatmûs ki Sküöderî’în akîî başında bir adam olması şartîyle asîlzedə olduğundan da seçiç ve cesur bulunduğunun nedamet getirmesi lazım gelmiş! Öyle ya! Ne kadar kîbar, ne kadar cesur olursa olsun edebîyyat ve ilim ve hûner meydanında bunlar burhan makamına kaim olabilirler mi? Servette, ikbalde
Makale-i mezkûre Akademiya azası zaman Fransa Akademiyasını muteriz ve mütearrıh de hakikatte rakib-i a'zamı lüzumundan ziyade uzatmaya mecbur de

Elhasbaşı ırsal-i mesel suretinde görülmesi hasebiyle aynen tercemesine imkân olmadı.

İmdi Korney’ın Sküderi gibi yalnız kendi hakkında tekebûr ve Korney hakkında talhîrden başka başka zemin üzerine bina-ya intikad etmeyen müntakidleri pekçok ise de burada (172) onlarla işgal, karin-i Osmantyyemiz için hiçbir faideyi mıcip olamaz. İktidarları fevkinde intikadatla uğraşanlara tarihin ne nazarla bakacağı hususunda şeyan-1 ibret ve misal olmak için daha bu Sküderi kâfi ve vafidir.


Riayet derecesinde olsa bile yine ilim ve edep meydanında o meydanın kahramanlarına mukabil hazır kalmak tabiîdirt.

Mektubunun bir yerinde Sküderi’nin (170) kendisine cehl işnadını gayet tuhaf bir suretle reddeyiliyor. İntikad ile şan kazanmak hüner olacağı intikadında bulunsa idi Sküderi’nin âsarını intikad eyleyecğini badelîşrâb edebiyyata dair Sküderi kendisinden epeçeye ders almış, menfaat görmüş bulunduğu hâle onun âsarını intikad etmemesi meğer zatına riayetinden değil celhinden ımsî gibi bir zarafta göstermiş ki eger kendisi Sküderi’nin âsarını intikad edecek olsa herifin kemiklerini kırmak iştên bile değil ise de mücûret böyle zebunkeşlikten şeref ve şan ummadığı için yapmamış.
olmayanlara faide vermeyeceği derkârdır. Binaenaleyh biz asıl nazarr-ı emhmiyeti Akademiya’nın yazdığı makalenin kısm-ı evveline hasr etmek mecuburiyetindeyiz.

* * *

Akademiya’nın işbu makalesinde dört büyük sahife kadar bir mukaddeme vardır ki intikad hakkında bir mülâhaza-i umumiyye olmak üzere hakikaten emhmiyetle takdire şeyandır.

Evvelâ “Min elf fekad istihdaf” fehvasını ırat ederek şan ve şeref arzusuya ısrarını nazarr-gâh-ı umuma koyanların o âsarı tedkik hakkını da umuma vermiş olacaklarını demriyen ediyor. Diyor ki: Bu bir alışı (176) vermiş demektir. Âdet a bir tacirin müşteriye gösterdiği metas müşterinin istediği gibi beyan-i mülâhaza olmak üzere hakikaten ehemmiyetle takdire edandır. Evvelâ “Min elf fekad istihdaf” fehvasını ırat ederek şan ve şeref arzusuyla âsarını nazarr-gâh-ı umuma koyanlar içindeki iddiaları da vicdan-i umumî yetirir. Maahaza eser yazan intikada ruhsat vermiş olacağın herhâlde tabiâtından görülür. (177)

Emr-i intikadda bir eserin fena yerlerin gösterenlerin ma'yup ve muhafed olmayacağın dahi Akademiya’nın bu mukaddemesinden serd olunuyor. Ve bahusus müntakid âdete bir mühde-i umumî olup intikada çektiğî eser hakkında serdedeceğî ii디yayı da vicdan-ı umumi mahkemesine arz eder. Maahaza eser yazanın intikada ruhsat vermiş olacağını herhâlde tabiatından görürlür. (178)


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Akademiya’nın işbu makalesinde dört büyük sahife kadar bir mukaddeme vardır ki intikad hakkında bir mülâhaza-i umumiyye olmak üzere hakikaten emhmiyetle takdire şeyandır.

Evvelâ “Min elf fekad istihdaf” fehvasını ırat ederek şan ve şeref arzusuya ısrarını nazarr-gâh-ı umuma koyanların o âsarı tedkik hakkını da umuma vermiş olacaklarını demriyen ediyor. Diyor ki: Bu bir alışı (176) vermiş demektir. Âdet a bir tacirin müşteriye gösterdiği metas müşterinin istediği gibi beyan-i mülâhaza olmak üzere hakikaten ehemmiyetle takdire edandır. Evvelâ “Min elf fekad istihdaf” fehvasını ırat ederek şan ve şeref arzusuyla âsarını nazarr-gâh-ı umuma koyanlar içindeki iddiaları da vicdan-i umumî yetirir. Maahaza eser yazanın intikada ruhsat vermiş olacağını herhâlde tabiâtından görülür. (177)

Emr-i intikadda bir eserin fena yerlerini gösterenlerin ma'yup ve muhafed olmayacağın dahi Akademiya’nın bu mukaddemesinden serd olunuyor. Ve bahusus müntakid âdete bir mühde-i umumî olup intikada çektiğî eser hakkında serdedeceğî ii디yayı da vicdan-ı umumi mahkemesine arz eder. Maahaza eser yazanın intikada ruhsat vermiş olacağını herhâlde tabiatından görürlür. (178)

kimseye müyesser değildir. Hele edebiyattaki hep güzellikleri cami olmak lâzım olup o güzellikler meyanna hiç çıkınlık karşılaması da mümkünunftan değildir.

Akademiya’nın bu sözde de hakkı vardır. Hatta şu sözü de doğrudur ki:


Nihayet Akademiya bir eserin beğenilip beğenilmemesi hususundaki kuvve-i temeyyyüziye intikal ederek diyör ki:


Volter buracıkta bir mülâhaza beyan ederek diyör ki: Eksiyi ve acıyi sevmece zevk-i selime filvaki etmek uchur olğerken iyi olmak ve iyi oluyor diye o eserin mutlaka beğenmeye şayın olduğuna kanaat lâzım gelmez. Bazı zevkini bilmeyenler ekşi ve acı olan şeyleler de severler ki elbette zevk-i selime, tab’a-ı müstakim uymaz."


Elhasil Akademiya’nın bu mukaddematu bu esası tesis ve serdemesinden maksatı Korney’in Sid’i intikada isbat-ı istihkak eylemesinden ibaret olup hele evvelce dahî bilmünasebe (185) denildiği veçhile asr başlıklarını suret-i intikadını cem ve hikâyeden sonra kendi mülâhazatını dahî serdemesi ve hatta başlıklarının intikadından bazlarını da haksız diye reddde kadar varması şu meselede kendisine bir mümeyyizlik süsü ve binaenaleyh bir bitaraflık rengi vermek için olduğu apâşıkare görüllüyör ise de şu gayretlerin kâffesi Sid’ aleyhinde söyleyeceği haksız sözlerden nihayet Akademiya bir eserin beğenilip beğenilmemesi hususundaki kuvve-i temeyyyüziye intikal ederek diyör ki:"


Elhasil Akademiya’nın bu mukaddematu bu esası tesis ve serdemesinden maksatı Korney’in Sid’i intikada isbat-ı istihkak eylemesinden ibaret olup hele evvelce dahî bilmünasebe (185) denildiği veçhile asr başlıklarını suret-i intikadını cem ve hikâyeden sonra kendi mülâhazatını dahî serdemesi ve hatta başlıklarının intikadından bazlarını da haksız diye reddde kadar varması şu meselede kendisine bir mümeyyizlik süsü ve binaenaleyh bir bitaraflık rengi vermek için olduğu apâşıkare görüllüyör ise de şu gayretlerin kâffesi Sid’ aleyhinde söyleyeceği haksız sözlerden
dolayı kendisinin muahze edilmemesini temin garazıyla söylendiğinden ve hâlbuki suret-i intikadına hasmane olduğundan o sözlere dahi halisiyyet-i kat'îyyesini kaybeyelemektedirler. Binaenleyh Akademiya’nın bu intikadda en doğru görülen sözlernini de münafık in ağızından (186) iştilen kelâdet suretinde telakkiye mecburiyyet-i sahiha vardır.

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İimdi Akademiya, Aristo’nun şu kadesine binaen Şîmen ve Rodrig ve Kral arasındaki (191) ahvalî hicde ahval-i fevkâladeden addedememekte ve bir kızın pederinin katiline varması ne kadar müstebit ise bir kârlı dahî bir kizî bir mubaharedede galip çikan varacaksn diye icbar etmesi yine o kadar müstebit
olduğunu ve işte bu cihetle Sid’in zemini üstlendiğini hükümlüyor ise de Volter, Akademiya’nın bu hüküm Sid’in aleyhinde değil tamamıyla lehinde olduğunu hükümmedek diyor ki:


Filvaki Rodrig ve Şimen ve Kral vesairenin hareketleri Hegob hakkında olduğu gibi ayı ayrı tahlil edilecek olur ise herbiri ahval-i adîyyeden olduğu görülecek binaenaleyh asıl fevkaledelik ve garaip dahi bu romanlarda ve temaşa edeceğti tiyatrolarda inzibat ve ahlâk-a edecektir. (193)


Volter diyor ki:

“Eğer Kont kızın babası zühur etmemeli idiyye işte asıl sühhatı mugayır bir roman bu olur idi. Hem o hâlde hikâyeyin lezzeti bilkülüyeye kaybolur gider idi. Krahn ve hükümetin selâmeti ve izdivaca mütevaffık olması meselesine gelince (196) bu hâl bana pek muvaffik, pek güzel görünür. Lâkin o hâlde de eseri baştan başa bilkülüleye değiştirmede lüzım gelir idi.”

Biz deriz ki selâmet-i vatani bu izdivaca mütevaffık kalsa idi Rodrig küçülür idi. Zira mäcerret vatannın sevdiği ve hükümderinin sadakati ile bu fedakârlığı gözle almış olmayıp Şimen’deki umidiyle almış olur idi. Şimen için ise kendi sevdasından
Kat’-ı nazat fakat hükümdarına, vatanına sadık ve fedakâr koca elbette daha muvafık, daha kibaranedir.


Zemin hakkındaki şu intikadat Akademiya’yı yine o zeminden münbais olmak üzere bu vak’nanın kahramanları aleyhinde icra edilen muhezat hususunda da gayretlendirmişti. Bu müstüllü trajediyaların kahramanları zalim iseler en parlak zalim ve mazlûm iseler en parlak mazlûm velhasıl her ne iseler onun en parlağı olmak lazım gelip Sid oyununda Şim’en eğer ahlâkı mükemmel kız olmak üzere tasvir olunuyor ise ahlâkı hic de mükemmel (203) olmuyduğunu ve bilâkıs pek fena hulku, şanlı-tayip bir şey olduğundan bahsolanuyor. Lâkin Şim’en eğer ser-â-па öyle bed-ahlâk olsa bu yolda bir numune addiye muvafık-ı sanat görülmek lazım geldiği hâlde bilâkıs evvelce ahlâk-ı âliye ashabından olduğu tasvir edilmiş iken mütteakiben sebatsizlik ve denaete duçar olmuş gösterildiği için Korney’in şayeste-i muâheze bulunduğu hükmüddiyor.

Meselenin bu ciheti dahi hep Şim’en in Rodrig ile izdivacı noktası üzerinde tekevvin ediyor ise de âsâr-ı edebiyyeden muntazâr olan şey hüsn-i ahlâk olduğuna göre hakkatın bir suret-i müstakilede callib-i (204) nazari itina ve dikkattir.


İşte eserin neticesini böylece intâc ettirmiş olsa Şim’en büyük ahlâkî bir kadın olur idi. Fakat sebat edememesi ve Rodrig’e kendi konağına hatta kendi odasına girmek derecesinde müsaade vermesi ve onun aşkına mağlûbiyetini âdetê ikrar ederek mahvandan kurtulması için yol gösterip temennilerde bulunması Şim’en’e pek alcak bir mahlûk olmak üzere mahkûm ettirmişdir.


kendisi berhayat kaldıği hâlde “Hayır, nefsini helâk eyledi” demek bu vak’a-yı tarihleyleden başka bir vak’a-yı hayalîyye yapmak (208) demek olur di.

Akademiya yine böyleahlâk-ı aliyye nokta-i nazardan Rodrigo’nun muahheze edenleri
dahî hakî buleyor. Bu muahbezeye göre vakia Rodrigo pederine edilen hakaretin
intikamında hakî ve mecbur işe de Şimen’in babasını öldürmege kadar varması
ne mecbur işi, ne de lâzım işi. Onu öldürmemeli ve bir katî ile sevdigi kızın
izdivacını muhâle-i talik etmemeli işi. Onu yalnız mağlup ve mecrûh ederek
pederinin namusu nîmâl eylemiş olduktan sonra bir gün olup da Şimen’i tezvüç
eylemek imkânını yine muhafaza etmiş olur işi.

Vakıa öyledir. Bu suret hakikaten (209) mürecceh görülebilir idi. Hatta oyunun
netayicini bîlküllüe tagyire kadar da lüzum göstermez idi. Tarihi bu kadarcık
tagyirden de bir fênalik çâzma idi. Lâkin düşünmeli ki Kont nice vukatta kuvvetini,
şecaatini cihana teslim ettirmiş bir meşhur kahramandır. Hatta Rodrigo’ı adan bile
sayamayarak bir hamlede öldürmege içinde acıyor idi. Rodrigo Kontu öldürmege ise bari
onun kilicî ile ölekre ifa-ı vaiîe etmiş olmayı göze aldirmıştır. Şimdî öyle bir
muallim karsıında böyle bir çirk onun kilicini düşûrterek canına kymak
dereseinde mahareti umabilir mi ki öyle hareket etmeye çalışsun? Eger Rodrigo bu
mahareti (210) göze kestirmiş olsa idi iste o zaman sîhatten bütün bütün âri bir
hareket tasvir olunmuş olur idi. O zaman Rodrigo kendi mezîyetini kendi diâ
bilmîyol idi. Asıl yararlîhim kendi de anlayıp cihana da tanîtdirdîği muharebe
bundan sonra vukia gelmiştir.

Akademiya Don Sanş’da da ulüvv-i ahlâk göremeyen müntakidleri hakî buleyor.
Don Sanş dahî korkak, denî bir adam iş. Zira Rodrigo’ma mağlup olduğu zaman yere
duân kilicî alıp Şimen’e götürmek gibi bir danaeti tek canını kurtarmak mûkâtînî
kaybetmemek için kabol eylemiş işi.

Volter bu itirazı asla beca bulmuyor. (211) Bunu Akademiya’nın sövalyele[în] ahlâk
ve âdâtını bilmegiine haml eleyiyor. Sövalyeler nezdinde mağlup olan, kilicini alıp
galin maşuvasına götürür işi. Bu bir adet işî ki galîp için pek büyük şan olduğunu
hâlde mağlup için de ayp sayılmaz işi. O zamanlar dahî İspanya da sövalye
adetleri hüküm sürer işi.

Hâlâ bizim bu taraflardı iki pehlivan gûres eyledikleri zaman birisi galîp ve diğerî
mağlup olur da her ikisi yekdîleri belînîn sârîlarak kaldırıp yine yere birakinca
mağlûbiyêt ari filân kalmaz. Ikîsî de yine pehlivan, kahraman addolunurlar. İşte
İspanyollarının sövalyeleri adeti dahi (212) böyle işi demek oluyor.

Don Diyeg ile Don Gomes dahî ahlâk cihetinden dolaş muazeceden
kurtulamyorlar. Don Diyeg o kadar ihtiyaolvableyla beraber dava-yi cengâverîde
bulunduğunand ve Kontu kendine tokat urmağa kadar mecbur eylediğini dolaşy
âdetâ bir zevzek olduğunu hûkmeylededikleri gibi Don Gomes dahî hükümdar-ı
metbû, efendisi, velinîmeti hakkında o kadar şiddet-i lisan istimel eylediği için
şayan-i muhezedir diyorlar.

Volter Don Gomes için bir şey söylemiyor. Zaten söylenemeezi kö sölensin. Bu adam
hakikaten terbiyesizdir. Fakat dikkat etmelidir ki eserde dahî terbiyeli bir adam
olmak üzere (213) tasvir olunmamıştır. Onun ağzından insaniyyete, ulüvv-i ahlâka,
adâba muvafık hicbir söz çkmamıştır. Akademiya’nın da dediği veçhile Kralin onu
oḫluna mûребbi intиhâp etmemesi incę de kendi hakkında bir hakaret olmadıği hålde Kont buňu bir hakaret-i uzmâ addederek etmediği uygunsuzluk kalmamıştır. Bu hålde şayan-ı muheze Korney değildir. Çünkü fenayı yine fena olarak tasvir etmiş ve hatta o kadar gururuyla beraber bir genç adam elinde maktul olarak cezasını göstermiştir.

Don Diyeğ’e gelince Volter diyor ki:


* * *

Sid’ın müntakidleri aza-yı vak‘adan en başlılarını ahlâk-ı âliyyeden mahrumdur diye hükümmetekle de iktifa eylemeyerek eşhastan bazıları da bilkülliye lüzumsuzdur diye hükümleyenler ve lüzumsuz şeyleri ise kattiş için Korney’i muhezeye (215) girişiyorlar.

Bunlardan evvel-be-evvel Kralın kizi Ürra’ız lüzumsuz eşhastan addeyledikten sonra Kralın maiyeti olan iki asılzadeyi ve hatta Enfant’in ve Şimen’in murebbiyelerini bile oyunca lüzumu olmadıkları hålde katılmış sayyorlar. Bu hüküm]]= nazar-ı dikkate aldıkları şey bunların şu meseledede ne bir iş yapmak ve ne de bir iş bozmak hususunda hiçbir tesir göstermedikleri kâzîyyesidir.

Akademiya badi-i emrde prensesin lüzumsuzluğunu tasdik ederek filvaki Şimen ile Rodrig’in izdivâcılara müşarûnîleyheyka karar verdûrûmi olduğu gibi bilahere izdivâc (216) kararının bozulmasında dahi dahi olmamıştır ve hatta bir Kral kızı için henüz fezâl-ı cengâveranesi tahakkuk etmemiş olan bir delikanlıya o kadar meftur ve mağlup olmak lâyık da olmayacağı demrîyan ediyor ise de bu lüzumsuzluğу eşhâs-ı saire hakkında dağını bulmak lâzım gelir ise oyunun pek tenha kalacağı ve bahhüs bir Kral veya Kralichenin bir prenses veya maşukânın bilkülliye yâlınz bulunması tiyatro sanatına kadesizlik olacağını da kanaat gösteriyor.


eser-i gayr-i läyık çıkarmaksızın derуни bir madde hükmünde kalıyor. Bunda läyîksizlik nerede?

**Sid** hakkında edilen intikadlar meyanında Kral Don Fernand’a ait olan kısmi bütün bütün garipdir. Bu intikadlar Kralın ulûv-ı cenabına dair midirler yoksa Kralı dahi hiç lüzumu olmayan eş hastan addetmek için mi irat olunmuşlardır veya her iki maksat mevcut madur kat’iyyen ta’inn olunamaz. Kral (219) mağribîlerin hükümuna karşı limani vesair mevaki-i harbiyyeyi neden muhafázasız bırakmış olduğu ve kendisini bir büyük tehlikeden kurtaran Rodrig’e mükâfat edecek ise üzerine hiçbir hakk olmayan bir kızı zor ile ona tezvîden ise doğruan doğruga kendisine müteallik olan şeylerden bir şey ile mükfatlandırması lâzım geleceğine ve saireye dair birçok itirazat vardır ki bunların aglebi doğrudan doğrudan olmakla beraber Volter “Vakıa doğru ise”ler de zaman ve mekâna pek muvafîkdirler” diye intikadat-ı mezkûrenin âkffesini yine Korney’in lehine tahvil eyliyor. Evet! Pek çok şeyler olur ki bu zamanda şayan-ı muahêze oldukları âhde başka (220) zaman da memduh edilir. Kezâlik pek çok şeyler olur ki burada şayan-ı tayib oldukları âhde başka mahallerde doğru görürlürler. Binaen alâzâlik **Sid’ın** intikadı hususunda bu gibi akval-i zaifenin çendan ehemmiyeti görülemez. Zira zahir-i hâlde hak-gûyane bir tavır ile reddolunan hükümler kâmilen (221) küçük ve manasız sözler olup hâlbuki **Sid’ın** meziyyatı nı inkârda en ziyade i̇se yarayabilecek haksızlıkları haklı göstermek için Akademiya fevkalâhad iltizam-ı külfet eylemiştir. Bununla beraber bir eserin kıymeti ne kadar büyük ise o kadar duçar-ı intikad olacağı hakkındaki hükmе göre **Sid’ın** kadr ü kıymeti bu büyüküğükteki intikadat ile eksîlmemeyip bilâkis artmışdır.

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Akademiya’nın layihasında **Sid’ın** hakkında verilen hükümlerin birtakımları dahi haksız gösterilmiş ve onlar hakkında müntakidlerin hataları ortaya konmuş ise de dikkatle okunacak olur ise bu semahatı dahi aks-i tesir hasîl etmek için iltizam edilmiş olduğu anlasılır. Zira zahir-i âhde hak-gûyane bir tavır ile reddolunan hükümler kâmilen (221) küçük ve manasız sözler olup hâlbuki **Sid’ın** meziyyatını inkârdâ en ziyade i̇se yarayabilecek haksızlıkları haklı göstermek için Akademiya fevkalâhad iltizam-ı külfet eylemişti. Bununla beraber bir eserin kıymeti ne kadar büyük ise o kadar duçar-ı intikad olacağı hakkındaki hükmе göre **Sid’ın** kadr ü kıymeti bu büyüküğükteki intikadat ile eksîlmemeyip bilâkis artmışdır.

Akademiya layihasından bazı beyitlerin kıymet-i şirîyyelerine dair olan sahîfeleri kabil-i terceme bulamadığımızı evvel dahi haber vermiş idik. Sırf Fransız lisannına ait olan bu bahsi, kârilerimiz isterler ise yine Fransızcasından okuyabilirler ki **Sid** oyununun intikadlı olan nûsha-i matbuasını kâffesinde mezqûr läyîha aynen mündericîtir.

(İntîha)