

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

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From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking “Translation” (*Terceme*) and Related
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To the memory of
İlhan Demirciođlu, Aynur and Zeki Kurt
and Serpil Hotaman

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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'in Hulâsası*, 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 kültüründe “terceme” kavramını çeşitli yönlerden incelemek ve çözümlenektir. 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 edebiyat “repertuvarları”nın oluşumuna ne şekilde katkı sağladığını araştırmaktadır. Öte yandan, terim ve kavramlara odaklanarak, Osmanlı kültüründe *terceme* uygulamalarındaki kültüre-bağlı yönleri de ele almaktadır. Ayrıca bu tez, “*terceme*”yi Osmanlı çeviri geleneğinin *kültüre-bağlı* ve *zamana-bağlı* bir kavramı olarak yeniden düşünmeyi önermektedir.

Çeviriyle ilişkili çok çeşitli yazı uygulamaları bağlamında “terceme” kavramını yeniden düşünmek üzere araştırmada, Tanzimat döneminin önemli yazarı, mütercimi ve gazetecisi olan Ahmed Midhat Efendi’nin pek çok eseri, örnek bir külliyat olarak ele alınmaktadır. Onun çeviri söyleminde ve uygulamalarında karşımıza çıkan kültüre-bağlı ve zamana-bağlı kavramlar, çeşitliliği göstermek bakımından incelenmektedir. Tez, ayrıca Ahmed Midhat Efendi’nin Pierre Corneille’in *Le Cid* isimli eserinden yaptığı “özet çeviriyi” de karşılaştırmalı bir biçimde çözümlenmektedir. Bu eser, gerek *metin-ötesi* ve çeviri ile ilgili söylemlerin tek bir eserde bir araya gelmesi, gerekse çeviri yoluyla Osmanlı kültüründe metin üretiminin özgün bir örneğini incelememize imkân sağlaması bakımından seçilmiştir.

Bu tez, hem Osmanlıca/Türkçedeki çeviriyle ilgili terim ve kavramların tarihi hem de çeviri uygulamaları üzerine yapılan ilk akademik araştırmadır. Bu nedenle araştırma, çeviriyle ilgili terim ve kavramların bir soykütüğünü ve sözlüğünü de oluşturmaktadır. Daha da önemlisi araştırma, Osmanlı çeviri tarihi araştırmalarında, “*terceme*” olarak çevirinin, kültüre-bağlı ve zamana-bağlı uygulamaları arasındaki farklara dikkat çekmektedir. Sonuç olarak bu tez, Osmanlı kültüründe çeviri olgusunu, tarihsel sürekliliği gözardı etmeden, modern kavram olan “çeviri” ile değil “terceme” ve onunla ilişkili uygulamalar ile düşünmek gerektiğine işaret etmektedir.

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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 asar and âsar, or alem or âlem.
 2. Long vowels followed by Arabic letters ك and ج have been shown, e.g. lâkin, inkâr or malûm.
 3. The feminine gender of the possessive case [î] has been transliterated with double [y], as in edebiyeye and fikriyye.
- A Turkish transcription of Ahmed Midhat Efendi's summary translation (*Sid'in Hulâsası*) 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*, *hulâsa* 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; 2004c: 253-254).

The first extensive research in translation studies on Ahmed Midhat Efendi was carried out by Işın 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 Işın 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,

intertitles, 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 (Lefevere 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 1986: 43; Gummerus 1995: 201; Bengi 1990: 1-8; Mason 1992: 25; Hermans 1999: 35, 42; Tahir-Gürçağlar 2001: 151; Paker 2002a: 120-123; 2005a: 1-3; 2005b: 2). 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; Zürcher 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; Tanpınar 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-ı Hikemiyye* (Philosophical Dialogues) by Münif Paşa, and *Terceme-i Telemak*² (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 (Tanpınar 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; Tanpınar 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

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; Akbayan 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).⁵ 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-ı 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.

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.⁶ 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

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 Saïd (1848-1921), İsmail Avni (?), Hüseyin Daniş (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” (Lefevre 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).⁷ 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

⁷ For my analysis of Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s corpus of translations, which will be taken up in Chapter 4, I will work on the data from Koz (2002) and Esen (1999). But the following works also offer bibliographical information on the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi: İsmail Hakkı (1890-91), Rızaeddin bin Fahreddin (1913), İsmail Hikmet (1932), İsmail Habib [Sevük] (1941), Mustafa Nihat [Özön] (1936; 1942), Murat Uraz (1940-1941), Türker Acaroğlu (1951), Mustafa Baydar (1954), Hakkı Tarık Us (1955), Fevziye Abdullah [Tansel] (1955), Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar ([1956] 1988), Cevdet Kudret (1962), Şevket Rado (1986), Behçet Necatigil (1971), *Türk ve Dünya Ünlüleri Ansiklopedisi* (1983), Orhan Okay (1989; 1991), Işın Bengi (1990), Sabri Esat Sivayuşgil (1993), *Tanzimat’tan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* (2001).

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*”.⁸ 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*

⁸ Such a tendency can be seen in the following works: Köprülü [1966] 1999: 3-47; Köprülüade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman 1913-1914/1332: 39; Köprülüade Mehmed Fuad 1920: 7; Sevük 1921-1922/1340: 69; 1940: vi; Levend 1934: 6; Kocatürk 1936: 7; Perin 1946: 6; Banarlı [1948] 1987: 996; Enginün 1979: 2; Kerman 1978: iii-iv; Kolcu 1999a: 639.

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

⁹ Saliha Paker’s forthcoming article (2005b) examines Mehmed Fuad Köprülü’s general perspective on translation, imitation and influence in the light of his ideology, and also questions the validity for present-day research of Köprülü’s hierarchical positioning of the three concepts as “influence, imitation and translation” in his theory of Turkish literature. Paker emphasizes that “influence” as Köprülü’s all-inclusive concept covers imitation and translation. Paker also criticizes the fact that the historical research paradigm set by Köprülü 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 Hıfzı Tevfik Gönensay and Nihad Sami Banarlı in 1944 as a high school textbook. Referring to this article Paker states that Gönensay and Banarlı followed Köprülü’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 Köprülü’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.

¹³ For instance see [Aksüt] 1933: 30; [Özön] 1937: iii-viii; [Sevük] 1941: 36-38, 608; Perin 1946: 7; Tanpınar [1956] 1988: 456, 463, 471; Kerman 1978: 332; Enginün 1979: 86, 110, 112.

translation, and (ii) glossed over imitation (*taklid*), emulation (*tanzir*), borrowing (*iktibas*), conversion (*tahvil*), summary (*hulâsa*) 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 Hulâsası* (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 *tezkiye* 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 şüara ve üdebanın değıl edebiyatın terceme-i hâli mümkün mertebe anlaşılmaq matlub olduğundan müşarünileyhimin sergüzeştleri malûm

olduğu derecede bile yazılmamış ve yazılmaya lüzum da görülmemiştir. Bir de meslek ifadesinde maziye teveccüh etmeyerek, oldukça bir silk-i teceddüde mail olan üdeba mevzu-ı bahs edilmiş ve birçok peyrevleri metruk bırakılmıştır. Zira maksat, silsile-i cereyanı beyan etmek değil o cereyanın inkılâbatına ityan eylemektir (Abdülhalim Memduh 1888-1889/1306: 7).]

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).

[Fakat Viktor Hügo’dan terceme ettiği “Tıfl-ı Naim” manzumesiyle Jan Jak Ruso’nun [in Turkish transcription] birkaç mektup tercemeleri hakikaten dil-nişin bir üslûb-ı müceddidane ile tanzim olunmuştur. Pertev Paşa mezkûr Tıfl-ı Naim tercemesini garb siyakında tanzim etmiştir (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 usulünü şarkta gösterir göstermez bir inhimak ve meyelan-ı umumîye 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 Osmanîye*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 teşekkülü eşkâl-i cemiyetin teşekkülâtına benzer (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1328/1910: 14) (...) Bir milletin tarihi, muhtelif teşekkülâtı, muhtelif tebeddülâtı, muhtelif eşkal-i cemiyeti hâvidir. Maamafih cemiyetin şeklinin tebeddülâtı nisbetinde muhtelif edvar-ı

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 Celile”).

edebiyette her millette vardır. Buna binaendir ki edvar-ı edebiyette namıyla her milletin tarihinde muhtelif edebiyat devreleri vardır (Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 15).]

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 Rezaizade 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 edebiyette*” (literary weakness) in Şahabeddin Süleyman 1910/1328: 346-356).

1.1.1.2. Translation (*Terceme*) and Progress

In 1889-1890/1307, İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı compiled a number of translations in their *Müntehabat-ı 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, Kemal Paşazade Saîd, a very significant cultural and literary figure also known as *Lastik* (“elastic”) Saîd, drew attention to the importance of such anthologies (*müntehabat*, *mecmua-i terceme*) which had started recently to emerge in Ottoman culture ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1889-1890/1307: 3 in İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı 1889-1890/1307). In the preface titled “Mütalâaname” (Evaluation), Kemal Paşazade Saîd emphasizes the benefits of such anthologies which would help translators distinguish beautiful translations (“güzel tercemeler”) from those produced by unqualified translators (*ibid.*). In the preface, Saîd also offers certain definitions of translation (*terceme*),² 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) ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd’s “Mütalâaname” (Evaluation) in İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı 1889-1890/1307).

[Suver-i gun-âgun ile arz-ı cemal-i kemal edegelen terakkiyat-ı garbiyyeyi bize nakl ve îsal eden şey tercemedir... Tarik-i maarif-perverîde tayy-ı mesafat ettirerek yevmen-fi-yevmen esbab-ı temeddünümüzü istikmal eden şey tercemedir. (p.3)... Fransız lisanı garbdan şarka nakl-i miyah-ı maarif ve terakki için bir mizab hükmünde olduğundan lisan-ı ecnebî denilince Fransız lisanı mütebadir-i hatır olduğu gibi “mutlak zikr olunan şey kemaline masruf olmak” kaidesince “terceme” denildiği halde Fransızcadan Türkçeye terceme manası tahattür kılınmak tabîdir (p.4) ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd’s “Mütalâaname” (Evaluation) in İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı 1889-1890/1307).]

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

² Kemal Paşazade Saîd’s definitions of translation (*terceme*) will be taken up in Chapter 3.

prominent channel to cultural progress (*terakki*) in Ottoman society. Kemal Paşazade Saîd also pointed out the position of French language. In the preface he wrote to Nezaret Hilmi's *Osmanlıcadan Fransızcaya Cep Lugati* (A Pocket Dictionary from Ottoman Turkish to French) which was published in 1886-1887/1234, Saîd 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 Saîd* he published in 1918/1334 ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 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 (*teceddüd*) 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).

[Bu devirde lisana bir başkalık bir teceddüd geldiği gibi garbın bedayi-i sanatı olan roman, tiyatro usulleri de girmiş gelmiştir. Hulâsa olarak denilebilir ki bu devrin, devr-i sabık-ı edebîden tefrik eden mezayadan biri de edebiyatımızda o zamana kadar bulunmayan eşkâl-i edebiyyenin yeniden teessüs etmesi, *garbdan idhal olunmasıdır* (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. Türkçeye ‘*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 Edebiyatı*³ (New History of Ottoman Literature), published in 1913-1914/1332, Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman classified Ottoman literature in terms of modelling. Colloborating 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).

[Biz... tarih-i edebiyat-ı Osmaniyyeyi... evvelâ iki büyük devre ayıracağız. Biri maye-i şark ile beslenen gıdasını Acem, Arab edebiyatından ahz eden Âşık Paşa’dan başlayarak Âkif Paşa, Şinasi devrine gelen devr-i tarih-i edebî, diğeri de Âkif Paşa ile başlayan mayesini garbdan ahz iden hâlâ devam eden devr-i edebî-i tarihî (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 (“Menşelerden 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.⁴ 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 instability, 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 instability 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 Nacî; and a period of development that starts with the New Literature movement (Köprülüzade Mehmed and Şahabeddin Süleyman 1913-1914/1332: 41).

[İkinci büyük hatta gelince Âkif Paşa’dan başlayarak Edhem Pertev Paşaları, Reşid Paşaları, Ziya Paşaları, Şinasileri ihtiva eden bir devr-i tereddüd ve bîkararî, daha sonra Hamid, Ekrem, Kemal ile başlayan bir devr-i takarrür, Nacî ile zuhur eden devr-i fetret, edebiyat-ı cedide ile taayyün eden devr-i rikkat ve tekemmül gösterir (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

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 1911-1914/1327-1330,⁵ 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 *iktibas* (borrowing). His explanations were based on Ahmet Hikmet's review of Ottoman literature, which was quoted in the preface to his work.⁶ 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 *iktibasın* mümkün merteye kendisinden müterakki milletlere teşmiliyle bed eder ki bu devrin hududu, nihayeti

⁵ This is an undated publication, but it is dated 1327-1330 Hegira /1911-1914 A.D as the publication date in *Eski Harfli Türkçe Basma Eserler Bibliyografyası* (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 yekdiğerinden istifadesi bu noktadadır. Bu üçüncü devre bir kavmin hayat-ı edebiyeye ve medeniyyesince tekâmülüne hadim bir hatve-i mühimmedir 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 commets:

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).

Böylece şarkta yeniden yeniye iktibas edilecek ibdaat-ı sanat bulamayan Osmanlı şairleri, anenevî taklid heveslerini kudema-yı şuaraya tevcih ederek onların [Fars şairleri] âsarına mümasil eserler vücuda getirmeyi kâfi bir burhan-ı iktidar add eylemişlerdi. Yeniden yeniye ibda arzusunda olan nazarların başka bir menba-ı ilhama inatı lâzım geliyordu. İşte Şinasi garbın cuş-â-cuş bedayi-i merakiz-i medeniyyesinde o menba-ı ilhamı keşf ile muhit-i osmanîye yadigâr eyledi ([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 Moliere in this way and institutionalized the basis for translating in such a way ([Dilmen] 1919-1920/1338: 115) (my italics).

[Bu iktibas keyfiyeti iki suretle icra olunuyordu: Birincisi tercemedir ki doğrudan doğruya o eserlerin lisanımıza nakliyle delâlet eyledikleri terakkiyat-ı fikriyye ve edebiyeden Osmanlı karilerinin de haberdar edilmesinden ibarettir. Şinasi bâlâda izah edilen *Terceme-i Manzume*’leri ile bu yola süluk eylemiş ve badehu Ziya Paşa ve Ahmed Vefik Paşa başta olmak üzere heman her kalem sahibi, bazı Fransızca âsarı tercemeye koyulmuş idi. İkincisi “adaptasyon” denilen “iktibas” veya “imtisal” veya “tanzir” yoludur ki ecnebî lisanda yazılmış bir eserin mevzuunu kendi muhit ve itiyadatımıza *tatbik* ederek ve hatta icabına göre bazı *tagyirat* dahi icra eyleyerek lisanımıza *nakletmek* ve o eserdeki usul dairesinde yeniden telif edercesine enzar-ı umumiyeye vaz eylemekten ibarettir. Ahmed Vefik Paşa, Molyer’in [in Turkish transcription] mudhikalarından bazılarını bu tarzda lisanımıza naklederek bu usule de vaz-ı esas eylemiştir ([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), Agâh Sırrı [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, garp şekillerinin edebiyatımıza naklinde, bilhassa hikâye sahasında, çok büyük bir rol oynar. İlk büyük romancılarımız garbın bu yoldaki eserlerinin mühim tesirlerini görerek bizim dilimizde ona benzerlerini vücuda getirmeye çalışmakla işe başladılar. Bunların eserleri, ve doğrudan doğruya yapılan tercüme bu yolu bir hayli genişletti ([Özön] [1930]1934: 331).]

In his second book *Türkçede Roman Hakkında 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).

[Bu kitapların [tercümelerin] mevcut oluşu, hemen her zaman için, fikrî hayatımızda değişiklik yapabilmek yolunda tercüme ihtiyacının gerekliliğini bugün dahi tekrar ettirmekten bizi alıkoymadı ([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 Hakkında Düşünceler ve Tatbikata Ait Bazı Numuneler* (Thoughts on Translation and Some Examples in Practice), published in 1933, he reflected on translation (*tercüme*). He

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 Pş. (Victor Hugo)dan, (Jan Jak Ruso)dan parçalar tercüme ederek *edebiyatımıza (Avrupa)nun yeniliklerini getirmiş, tercümelerile dilimizin kudret ve kabiliyetini ispat etmişti* ([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), Hıfzı 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 tercüme yapmak veya garp eserlerine benzer eserler vücade 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 Tarih-i 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).

[Bizim teceddüd edebiyatımız garb tesiratiyle başlıyor. Türk edebiyatı, kavmi devirden, ümmet edebiyatından sonra *medeniyet devri edebiyatına garb tesiratiyle girdi*. Fakat biz garba Fransızlar vasıtasıyla temas ettik ve garbın tesirati bize Fransa vasıtasıyla geldi. Garbdan aldığımız şeylerin belki yüzde doksanını Fransızlardan aldık ([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), Ağâh Sırrı [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 Ati* 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 time⁷ 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.⁸ 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

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.

devir muharrirlerini alâkalandıran bir bahis te klâsiklerin lisanımıza nakli meselesi olmuştur”).

Levend also referred to the “classics debate” in his *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme 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 (Banarlı [1948]1987: 996).

[Tanzimat şiirinin gelişmesinde tercüme şiirin mühim tesiri vardır. Şinâsi'nin *Tercüme-i Manzûmesi*'ndeki şiirlerden başka Edhem Pertev Paşa'nın, Sâdullah Râmi Paşa'nın, Recâizâde ve Muallim Nâcî'nin şiir tercümeleri, Türk şiirinde şübhesiz yeni bir zevkin ve yeni bir anlayışın ifâdeleridir (Banarlı [1948]1987: 996).]

The quotation reveals that Banarlı 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 (Banarlı [1948]1987: 999).

[Tanzimat Devrinin Türk romanında yaptığı yenilik ve değişiklik ise daha çok, hayâl ve masal unsurlarıyla işlenen bu eski şark-Türk romanı yanına, roman'ın Avrupâî gelişmelerine uygun, yeni bir roman tarzı ve yeni roman anlayışları getirmiş olmasıdır. Bu hareket önce tercüme romanlarla başlamıştır (Banarlı [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 republican renaissance (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).

[Ayrı medeniyetleri açar gibi görünen büyük “uyanış”lar, hakikatta, gittikçe genişleyen sürekli tefekkürle birbirine bağlıdır. Bu sürekli tefekkürü temin eden ise bilhassa “tercüme”dir (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 Avrupalı 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).

[Kitapta “Garbdan tercümeler”e ait kısımların büyük ehemmiyeti şuradan geliyor: Bugünkü Avrupa medeniyeti Yunan ve Lâtin’den gelen ümanistliğe istinad eder. Avrupa büyük Rönesansa o sayede erdi. Bugünkü medeniyet şu veya bu Avrupa milletlerinin değil Yunan ve Lâtin’e eklenmiş Avrupanındır... Bu, kül halinde bir nur cephesidir. Hangi millet bu nurlu cepheyi bütün endamile kendi diline aksettirebilmişse o “tam Avrupalı” olur. “Avrupalı millet” demek “Avrupa coğrafyasında bulunan” demek değil. Avrupalı millet evvelâ bütün “Antiquité”yi, yâni Yunan ve Lâtin’in bütün bellibaşlı eserlerini, sonra diğer Avrupa milletlerinin de yine bellibaşlı kitaplarını kendi diline nakledendir.” ([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 (*nakl*) 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 influence since the *Tanzimat*” ([Sevük] 1940: vi).

[Bu işin tablosunu “Garbdan tercümeler”i kül halinde görmekle yapabiliriz. Büyük gaye, Türk çocuğunu yalnız kendi türkçesile “tam Avrupalı” yapabilmek; tercümeler kısmını işte bu gayenin bilançosunu çizebilmek için hazırladım. Bu bilânço kitabın 12nci kısmında, yâni ikinci cildin sonunda “Tanzimattanberi Türk edebiyatı ve bu edebiyatta Garb tesirleri” bahsinde gösterilecektir.” ([Sevük] 1940: vi).]

In *19uncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (History of 19th Century Turkish Literature), first published in 1956, Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, a novelist and scholar of modern Turkish literature, provided a comprehensive and analytical examination of

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 ile dir.”) (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).

[Nazmımızda yenilik tercüme ile başladı denebilir. Tercüme ve garp manzumelerine benzetilerek vücade getirilen eserler o zamana kadar edebiyatımızda tanınmamış bazı noktaları öğretti. *İlk tercümeleri, türkçe benzerleri takip etti. Eski eserlerde görülen ve çok itina edilen esaslar yavaş yavaş yerlerini garpten gelen kaide ve usullere bıraktı* ([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).

[Roman bibliyografyasına baktığımız zaman tercüme romanlardan sonra asıl romanların vücuda getirilmiye başlandığını göreceğiz... İlk *tercüme*, onun ardından *taklit* ve *tanzir* ile başlanılan roman biçiminde *teelif* sırası artık gelmiş bulunuyordu. Edebiyatı Cedide devresi içinde roman ve hikâye için *teknik* bakımdan ileri eserlere raslıyoruz ([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) *teelif* (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).

[Avrupa'daki anlamıyla 'hikâye ve roman' türü Türkiye'ye, 'Tanzimat edebiyatı' ile girmiştir. İlk çeviri yoluyla giren, daha sonra 'taklit' ve 'tanzir' (nazire yazma) yoluyla ilk yerli ürünlerini vermeğe başlayan bu tür, gittikçe gelişerek ve kişiliğini bularak bugüne kadar gelmiştir (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, içtimaî hayatta olduğu gibi edebiyatta da şuursuz ve tamamıyla 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 İmparatorluğunun 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).⁹ 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 activity 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*

⁹ 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 inkişaf etmesi vâkıa bizi Batı’ya daha çok yaklaştırmıştır. Fakat şurasını da unutmamalıdır ki, bir asra yakın bir zamandan beri devam eden ve bâzan mâalesef hakikî bir taklidcilik derecesine düşen bu edebiyatın, halâ aynı yolda bocalaması, herhalde memnuniyet verici bir hal değildir. Zira, Fransız edebiyatının bu derece tesiri altında kalmak, bizde orijinal, daha doğrusu milletimizin bünyesinden çıkacak 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 şurasını da derhal ilâve edelim ki, bir muharrir vaktile diğeri 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 husule 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 söyleyişlerin hâlis Türkçe karşılığını arayacak bir millî dil anlayışı havasında değildiler*”).

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); Tanpınar (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.¹⁰ Their ways of looking at Ottoman translation practices indicate that they tend to review

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).

[Tercümenin her nevi ve şeklinde gözedilecek mühim, belki en mühim nokta, selâset ve şiveye muvafakattır. Selis ve şivemize uygun olmayan tercüme elbette makbul değildir... Tercümemizi lisanın tabiat ve ahengine ne derece uydurmağa, şivemize mugayeretten kurtarmak için ne kadar itina ve ihtimam göstermeğe mecbur olduğumuzu kolayca anlarız ([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 camélias/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

original in translation.¹¹ 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 tercümeçilik*) in his *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garpten Tercümeler 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).

[İyi tercümeçiliğin ilk esas şartı asla sadakat, yani tercümede doğruluktur. Tercüme-yi meâlen yapıp kendi şivemize mi uydurmalı, yoksa kekremsi bir yabancılık hissi verse de aslına sadık mı kalmalı?... Meâlen tercümeçiliğe Ahmed Midhat, aynen tercümeçiliğe de Şemseddin Sami bayraktarlık yapıyordu. Artık bugün bu işin münakaşasına yer yoktur. Davayı Şemseddin Sami'nin bayrağı kazandı. Bütün dünya da tercümeçiliği böyle biliyor ([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” (*meâlen*) as apposed to Şemseddin Sami, who supported translation as the same (*aynen*). In other words, Sevük was critical of

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 Danişmend in a half-century ([Sevük] 1941: 36-38).

[Yarım asır evvel Ahmed Midhat'ın kalemile Korney'in bu ilk mühim şaheserinden Türk okuyucularının haberdar edilmesi "Tercüme edebiyatı tarihimiz" ve "Tercümeyle telakki edişimiz" noktalarından çok mühimdir... İşte böyle yavan ve yayvan bir eda ile, cümleler uzatılarak, ve rabıtlar tekrar edilerek eserin en heyecanlı yerleri gaip sıygasile bir masal naklediliyormuş gibi bir hale düşürülüyor. Kısa mükâlemeli yerler gelirse o zaman gûya metinleri aynen nakleder, fakat bu aynen nakil dahi bakınız ne kırattadır... Yarım asır evvel bir klâsik şaheser dilimize işte böyle naklediliyordu...

İsmail Hami Danişmend'in yine Corneille'den yaptığı "Sinna" tercümesini nümunesile göreceğiz ve şükredeceğiz ki yarım asırda Ahmed Midhattan Hami Danişmend'e gelebilmişiz ([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

Ahmed Midhat Efendi's literary translations. Tanpınar pointed to an apparent correlation between Ahmed Midhat Efendi's tutorship and his purpose in doing translation, and looked critically at Ahmed Midhat Efendi as a writer who attempted to translate immediately the materials which he encountered among western novels or articles in newspapers in a free and expanded way: ("Okuduğu romanı, gazete fikrasını ... doğrudan doğruya geniş ve serbest bir şekilde tercüme etmezse"; Tanpınar 1988: 463). According to Tanpınar, Ahmed Midhat Efendi reads absolutely anything he finds or, to use an analogy, he eats with no concern for digestion, like a giant ("Dev, hazmı düşünmeden yer. Midhat Efendi de aynı şekilde okur, yazar" Tanpınar 1988: 462). That is why Tanpınar rates Ahmed Midhat Efendi's literary translations as "superficial exchange" ("sathi yerdeğiştirme" ibid). Similarly, Tanpınar speaks of Ahmed Midhat Efendi's conception of exchange in reviewing his novels of adventure (Tanpınar 1988: 471).

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

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.¹³ 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.¹⁴ 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: "Aslı ile mukayesesinde fâhiş hataların görünmediği, aslını oldukça iyi aksettirmiş olan bu tercümede" (Enginün 1979: 86); "Nâdir'in tercümeleri, aslına uygunluk, daha az terkipli olması, lüzûmsuz kelimeler ihtiva etmemesi, cümle yapısının vâzih oluşu bakımından Nâci'nin tercümelerinden daha üstün ve daha canlıdır" (Enginün 1979: 110); and "Rahat ve temiz bir dille, çok sâdikane yapılmış olan bu tercüme başarılıdır" (Enginün 1979: 112). For Mehmed Nâdir translation of Shakespeare, see also Enginün's "Mehmed Nadir'in 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 Türkçeye 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 Saîd, 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 Daniş* 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 Daniş* 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 Dâniş* 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.

Işın 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 Tanpınar (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 *nazires* 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 *nazire* (Toska 2002: 73). On the basis of discourses by Ottoman poets and *tezkire* writers, she refers to diversity in translation practices, in which *nazire* 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 *nazire* 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 *nazire*, 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 [Abdülhalim Memduh]
 garb usulünü şarkta göstermek [Abdülhalim Memduh]
 lisana teceddüd gelmek [Şahabeddin Süleyman]
 garbdan ithal olunmak [Şahabeddin Süleyman]
 mayesini garbdan ahz etmek [Köprülüzade Mehmed Fuad and Şahabeddin Süleyman]
 şarktan iktibas etmek [Faik Reşad, İbrahim Necmi Dilmen]
 Osmanlı şairlerinin ananevi taklid hevesleri [İbrahim Necmi Dilmen]
 garbın merakiz-i medeniyesinde memba-ı ilhamı keşf etmek [İbrahim Necmi Dilmen]
 ecnebi lisanda yazılmış bir eserin mevzuunu... tatbik etmek... [İbrahim Necmi Dilmen]
 tagyir icra eyleyerek nakl etmek [İbrahim Necmi Dilmen]
 yeniden telif edercesine vaz eylemek [İbrahim Necmi Dilmen]

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 edebiyatımıza nakli [Özön]
 garbdan gelen kaide ve usuller [Özön]
 bizim dilimizde [Özön]
 fikir hayatımızda [Özön]
 edebiyatımıza Avrupa'nın yeniliklerini getirmek [Aksüt]
 dilimizin kudret ve kabiliyetini isbat etmek [Aksüt]
 teceddüd edebiyatımız [Sevük]
 garbdan aldığımız şeyler [Sevük]
 nazmımızda yenilik [Özön]
 teceddüd edebiyatımız garb tesiratyyla başlıyor [Sevük]
 garbın tesiratının Fransızlar vasıtasıyla gelmesi [Sevük]
 garb medeniyet ve edebiyatının tesiri altında yeniliğin başlaması [Levend]
 şuursuz ve tamamiyle hazmedilmemiş garb taklidi [Kocatürk]
 Fransız edebiyatının tesiri altında kalmak [Perin]
 yerli edebiyatın gelişmesine engel olmak [Perin]
 Tanzimat şiirinin gelişmesinde tercüme şiirin mühim 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

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-Gürçağlar 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 1992), “domesticating” and “foreignizing” translation strategies (Venuti 1995; 1998) 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.

¹⁶ For those studies see Paker 1986a, 1986b, 1987, 1991, 1998, 2002a, 2002b, 2004a, 2004b, 2005a, 2005b; Paker-Toska 1997, Toska-Kuran 1996; Bengi 1988, 1990, 1991, [Bengi-Öner] 1999a, 1999b; Pinar 1988; Karantay 1991; Berk 1999; Tahir-Gürçağlar 1997, 1998, 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Besen 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; Tanpınar [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 Hulâsası* 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, hulâsa, 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" (*hulâsa*) 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 *hulâsa* 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 *hulâsa* (summary) and *tanzir* (emulation), he made his sources clear (*Diplomalı Kız*, *İki Hüd'akâr*, *Ana Kız*, *Aleksandr Stradella*, *Şeytankaya Tılsımı*, *Nedamet mi? Heyhat!*, *Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar*, *Çifte İntikam*, *Hulâsa-ı Humayunname*, *Sid'in Hulâsası*, *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 presumedly 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),¹⁷ 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

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 Şahidî, 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 Saîd’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

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 *muhavere* 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 “produc[ing] 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).²⁰ Thus, Lefevere regards translation as representing just one of the forms

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’i: ‘Karıların Sahibkıranı 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. “*Sid*’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 intercultural 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 Cevherî's *El-Sihah* and first published by İbrahim Müteferrika in 1728, and Mütercim Asım's *El-Okyanûs* (1817-1818) which was translated from Firuzabadî's *Kâmûs el-muhît* of the early fifteenth century. I will also review the data in *Mecmua-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, Beşbalık 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”¹ (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 Pratnarakşiti Açari 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 *çatık* 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

¹ Inaugural paper presented in the Ph.D. seminars arranged by Saliha 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’² in which one can find certain clues related to the terms and/or concepts associated with the act of translation:

Aryaçintri Bodhisattva Kşi Açarı created it in Tohri from the Indian language, and Pratnarakşiti Açarı translated it into Turkish from Tohri language (Tekin 1995).

[Aryaçintri Bodhisattva Kşi Açarı, Enetkek tilintin Tohri tilince *yaratmış*, Pratnarakşiti Açarı Tohri tilintin Türk tilince *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 Kişi Açarı’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 tılntın tavğaç tılınça 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

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 *çevürmek* 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”:

“tavğaç tılıntın 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]* (*dönder-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 *ävirmäk* as “*evirmek, 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-ı 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 *Aydınoğlu* 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)

Tanıklarıyla Tarama Sözlüğü (Concordance with Examples) sheds light on certain words of Turkish origin that are associated with translation from the thirteenth century onwards.⁵ *Tanıklarıyla Tarama 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. [...Arabiden Türkiye *döndermeklik* (دوندرمکلك) Resûl Aleyhisselâmin işaretleriyle olundu"] from *Cevahirü'l-Ahbar* (15th -16th century) in (1965, vol. 2, pp.1238).

Let me translate the book from Arabic into Turkish. [...kitabın Tâzi dilinden Türk diline *döndürem* (دندرم)"] from *Kıyas-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* (دوندورم)"] from *Miftahü'l-Cenne* (15th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).

After I translated *Kıyas-il-Enbiya* from Arabic into Turkish, it was suggested that I, a humble man, translate *Tezkiret-ül-Evliya* from Persian into Turkish. [...Kıyas-il-Enbiya kitabın Arap dilinden Türki diline *döndürdüğüm*den (دوندردوکومدن) sonra ben zaife işaret olundu kim Tezkiret-ül-Evliya kitabın dahi Farisi dilinden Türkiye *döndürdüm* (دوندردم)"] from *Tezkiretü'l-Evliya Tercümesi* (14th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).

I changed its appearance. [...anın suretini *döndürdüm* (دندردم)"] from *Müzekki'n-Nüfus* (15th century) in (1965, vol. 1, pp.1238).]

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*, *Terceme/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 *Germiyanoglu* (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).

[Parsî kitâblardan ki pâdişâhlar için idüb-dururlar ve bu kitâbdan yig kitâb görmedüm. Her çend *Kelile* meşhûr ve mukaddemdür, lîkin himmet ve fâ'ide bunda artukdur; ammâ ibâret derin, degme kişi andan fâ'ide dutmaz, pes bu za'îf revâ görmedüm kim bu nâzânî (?) fâ'idelerden bu zemâne

pâzişâhları mahrûm kala. Pes ol müşkilliginden *Türki diline nakl eyledüm* ki fâ'idesi dükeline irişe (quoted from Korkmaz 1973: 71; this is from the paratext of another manuscript burned during the World War II, pp. 75).]

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 Şîrvânî, 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 Ibn-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).

[Lâkin merhamet-i ‘âmmesinden ve şafakat-ı şâmilesinden emr itdi kim *Türki diline tercüme olma...* Pes emr-i şerîfe imtisal idüp mümkün oldukça *ahzar-ı ‘ibârat-ıla tercüme olundu* (quoted from Yelten 1998: 125) (my italics).]

The quotation makes it explicit that Sultan Murad II was obviously offering “patronage” (Lefevre 1992: 15) and had actually commissioned Şîrvânî, 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 İslam*. This was translated in the fourteenth century by Mehemmed bin Bali into Old Anatolian Turkish from Ebu Nasr bin Tahir bin Muhammed Serahsî’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*... ümiddür kim *tasnif* ideni ve bu ibareti *tagyir* ideni unutmayalar kim mutâlaasından hidâyet ve kerâmet 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 Kâdî-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 Büyükkarcı-Yılmaz

(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 canonical 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).

[..bir Gülistan *tasnif idem* ki, bâd-ı hazân anun varakına el uzatmaya ve gerdiş-i zamâne anun 'ıyş-ı rebî'in mübeddel kılmaya (see 4a-7 in Özkan 1993)... Beytler ki her hikâyetün münâsebeti-le Hoca Sa'dî getürmişdür, fikr itdüm ki ber vech-ile *tercüme idem*. Gördüm ki Türkî dili galiz dildür, ebyât-ı 'Acem katında bârid düşer, nesr vechi-le *tercüme kılmağı* evlî gördüm (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).

[Mütâla’a kılanlar bileler ki bu kitâb egerçi Türk Dili’nce *te’lifdür* ve illâ garîb *tasnîfdür*. Zînhâr ma’rifet ‘âşıkları... bu surete ikrâh-ıla nazar bırakmayalar (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 takâzâsınca yirlü yirine yitirdüm ve ebyâttan şol ki bu za’îf inşâsındandır sâde yazdum; ol ki ayruk üstâzlarundur adı-y-ıla zikr itdüm... Garaz hûbun cemâlidür kemâli / Gerek *Türki tonansun* ger Mogâlî”) (Yavuz 1991: 39) (my italics).

One of the early-fifteenth century works by Muhammed b. Mahmûd-ı Şirvânî, 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, Şirvânî 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 Şirvânî’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-nâme-ı kitâb vardır, dilerüz sizden *ol kitâbı bizüm-içün türkiye döndüresiz*” (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. Şirvânî 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 asılda var-ıdı, cemî’sin tarh idüp giderdüm, yerine mu’teber kitâblardan ve bu kitâbumuza envâ’-ı fevâyide ve letâyif derc itdüm (quoted in Argunşah 1999: 13-14).]

This indicates that Şirvânî’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 Şirvânî’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 Şirvânî’s version? Do we consider it to be an indigenous or translated work? Şirvânî’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 etmek*) 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, *Tanıklarıyla 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 telif* (purpose in writing) or *sebeb-i tasnif* (purpose in re-arranging/compiling) or *sebeb-i terceme* (purpose in translation), and *dibace* (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 paratextual 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 *Nazm 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*: *Hurşîd-name* by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa (1387), *Cemşîd ü Hurşîd* by Ahmedî (1403) and *Cemşîd ü Hurşîd* by Cem Sultan

(1478).⁶ The paratextual information presented below indicates that “poet-translators”⁷ referred as their sources to a fourteenth-century Persian poet, Selmân Sâvecî and his *mesnevi* of *Cemşîd ü Hurşîd* 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:

<p><i>Hurşîd-name</i> by Şeyhoğlu Mustafa (ŞM), 14th century (in Ayan 1979)</p> <p>Example I: from “Der Sıfat-ı Nazm-ı Kitap ve Ahval-i Nazm” (Aspects in versifying the book)</p> <p><i>Ki Türki nazm idem bir hoş hikâyet</i> [couplet no. 347] (So that I may versify a fine story in Turkish)</p> <p>Verb: <i>Türki nazm etmek</i> (to versify in Turkish)</p> <p>Example II: from “Der Sıfat-ı Nazm-ı Kitap ve Ahval-i Nazm” (Aspects in versifying the book)</p> <p><i>Hak adıyla bu nazmı eyledüm nakl</i> [couplet no. 369] (For the sake of God, I conveyed this verse)</p> <p>Verb: <i>nazmı nakl eylemek</i> (to convey the verse)</p>
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<p><i>Cemşîd ü Hurşîd</i> by Ahmedî (A), 15th century (in Akalın 1975)</p> <p>Example I: from “Der Sebeb-i Telif ve Nazm-ı Kitap-ı <i>Cemşîd ü Hurşîd</i>” (Purpose in writing and versifying <i>Cemşîd ü Hurşîd</i>)</p> <p><i>Bu dilce eyidesin (anı) Cemşîd</i> [couplet no. 391] (So that you may tell the [story of] Cemşîd in this Turkish language)</p> <p>Verb: [<i>Türkiçe</i>] <i>eyitmek</i> (to tell in Turkish)</p> <p>Example II: from “Hâtime-i Kitap” (Conclusion of the book)</p> <p><i>Getürdüm anı burada be-tazmîn</i> [couplet no. 4761] (I took/appropriated it [the source])</p> <p>Verb: <i>be-tazmin getürmek</i> (to take/appropriate from)</p>
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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 intercultural”, 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 “intercultural” in terms of a systemic entity.

Cemşîd ü Hurşîd by Cem Sultan (CS), 15th century (in İnce 2000)

Example I: from “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Kitab” (Purpose in versifying the book)
İdüp Selmân kitâbından mütercem [couplet no. 1087]
 (I translated it from Selmân’s book)

Verb: *mütercem etmek* (to translate)

Example II: from “Sebeb-i Nazm-ı Kitab” (Purpose in versifying the book)
libâs-ı nazm birle bu kitâbı / düzettüm kim safâ vire hitâbı [couplet no. 1086]
 (I composed this book dressed in verse so that its content gives pleasure)

Verb: *libâs-ı nazm birle düzetmek* (to compose [a book] dressed in verse)

Example III: from “Hatime-i Kitab” (Conclusion of the book)
Geyüp Rûmî libâsı oldı mahbûb [couplet no. 5324]
 (Dressed in western (Anatolian) garment, it [his version] was loved)

Verb: *Rûmî libâsı geymek* (to dress in western (Anatolian) garment)

Verbs in couplets indicate that the poet-translators *versified* the story of *Cemşîd* and *Hurşîd*, the two protagonists, in Turkish by making use of a certain source text. It is Şeyhoğlu who complains of the difficulties in conveying (*nazmı 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 Hatimet-i Kitab-ı *Mantuku’t-Tayr*” of Gülşehri’s translation of Ferideddin Attar’s *Mantuku’t-Tayr* (Conference of Birds):

Mantiku't-Tayr by Gülşehri, 14th century, (quoted from Toska and Kuran 1996: 253)

Example I: from “Der Hatimet-i Kitab-ı *Mantiku't-Tayr*” (Conclusion of the book *Mantiku't-Tayr*)

Anı Türkî suretinde biz dakı
Söyledük Tâzî gibi Tanrı hakı

(For the sake of God, we told it [the story] in the likeness of Turkish)

Verb: *Türkî suretinde söylemek* (to tell in Turkish)

Gülşehri, a fourteenth century poet-translator, translated *Mantiku't-Tayr* by the thirteenth century Persian poet Ferideddin Attar. In his conclusion section, Gülşehri uses the verb “*Türkî suretinde söylemek*” to describe his act of translation. In her critical review of Köprülü’s discourse on Gülşehri, Paker states that “Köprülü accepted Gülşehri’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 Gülşehri’s translation of Attar’s Persian *Mantiku't-Tayr*, Mehmed Fuad Köprülü concludes that Gülşehri “seems to have produced not a casual translation (*gelişigüzel bir terceme*) but a work of his own”, and draws attention to Gülşehri’s statements in which “[Gülşehri] said that his work was not less worthy than the Persian *Mantiku't-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 *Türkîye dönmek* (To turn into Turkish), *Türkîye getürmek* (To bring into Turkish), *Türkîce 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:

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

dönmek” (to turn into Turkish), “*Türki’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*k, *Türki’ye getürme*k) and doing a commentary (*Türkice şerh eyleme*k) 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*:

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

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 vü Mecnûn* into Turkish verse.

2.2.4.5. Translation as *Türkîce dîbâc giyürmek* (To dress in a garment of Turkish), *Dîbâ-yı 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-ı Seniyye”

(Purpose in writing) of Şemseddin Sivasî’s translation *Menâkıb-ı İmâm-ı A‘zam*:

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

Example I: from “Sebeb-i telif-i in-Menakıb-ı Seniyye” (Purpose in writing)

Arab dilinden itdüm anı ihrâc

Giyürem pes ana Türkîce 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); *Türkîce 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-ı İmâm-ı A‘zam* (Stories on The Great İmam), 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 *giyür dîbâ-yı Rûmî*

Ki ziyet-yâb idüp bu merzûbümü

(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 hâmem

Hemân asl-ı hikâyetdür mütercem

(After my pen performed a lot of skill, the original story was translated)

Verb: *Dîbâ-yı Rûmî giyürmek* (to dress an Anatolian garment)

There appears another garment metaphor in *Gül ü Nevruz* (The Rose and Nevruz), 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 Nevruz, 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*, *Türkî suretinde söylemek*, *Türkîye dönmek*, *Türkîye getürmek*, *Türkîce şerh eylemek*, *Türkçe nazm inşa eylemek*, *Türkçe kılmak*, *Türkîce dibac giyürmek*, *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: *Terceme* and *Tercüme*

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*, *tercime* and *tercüme* 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*, *tercüme* and *tercime* (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, verfiio, translatio, traductio” (ibid).

The above findings demonstrate that *tercüme* as well as variants of *terceme* were in circulation and survived as the orthographic variants in the Ottoman/Turkish languages. The fact is that *tercüme* 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 (Kaçalın: 1996: 300). In his *Defter-i Galatât* (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 *dehrece* 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*, *tercime*, *tercüme*) tarzında telaffuzu haiz olduğunu beyan edenler varsa da *dehrece* babından masdar olduğu için kelime-i mezkûrenin sahihi *tercedir*. (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 Cevherî’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 kelâmı lisan-ı 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’nın ve cim’in fethiyle za‘feran vezni üzre bir kelamı lisan-ı 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 lisanı 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).

[Persian in Latin Transcription] [Terceme [vocalized as it was]: Tefsîr kerden zebânî-râ be-zebân-ı diger. Beyân-kerden-i sühân-ı kesîrâ be-zebân-ı diger (Dihhüda 1337/1919, vol. 12: 559). Terceme kerden: Güftârî yâ nüvişteî-râ ez-zebânî diger ber-gerdânden. Beyân-kerden-i kelâmî yâ ibâretî-râ ez-zebânî be-zebân-ı diger (Dihhüda 1337/1919, vol. 12: 560).]

[Turkish Translation] [Terceme: Bir dili diğer dil ile tefsir etmek. Bir kimsenin sözünü diğer dil ile beyan etmek (Dihhüda 1919/1337, vol. 12: 559). Terceme yapmak: Bir sözü veya bir yazıyı diğer bir dile döndürmek. Bir kelâmı veya bir ibareyi diğer dil ile beyan etmek (Dihhüda 1919/1337, 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 Müntejabat-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 üzere 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 *tefsir 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, Mehmed Salahi proposed Arabic and Persian as well as French borrowings in Turkish. He defined *terceme* (vocalized as *terceme*) 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 makali 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).

In his *Kamus-ı Osmanî* (Ottoman [Turkish] Dictionary) published in 1911-1912/1330, Ali Seydi defines *terceme* as parallel to the others: “to interpret, express/state a language in another one” (“Bir lisanı diğer bir lisan ile tefsir ve beyan eylemek”) (Ali Seydi 1911-1912/1330: 273).

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*:

Examined Dictionaries	Translational terms (verbs, conjugations, nouns etc.) appearing around definitions of <i>terceme</i>
<i>Vankulu Lügati</i>	tefsir etmek
<i>El-Okyanûs</i>	tefsir ve beyan eylemek
<i>Lügat-i Ebüzzıya</i>	tefsir ve beyan etmek
<i>Kamus-ı Osmanî</i> (by Mehmed Selâhî)	beyan etmek, nakl
<i>Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati</i>	beyan eylemek
<i>Lügat-ı Naci</i>	beyan
<i>Kamus-ı Osmanî</i> (by Ali Seydi)	tefsir ve beyan eylemek
<i>Lehçe-i Osmanî</i>	nakl, beyan
<i>İlaveli Müntehabat-ı Lügat-ı Osmanîyye</i>	ifade etmek
<i>Kamus-ı Türkî</i>	çevirme, nakl, diğer tabirlerle ifade
<i>Mecmua-ı Lisan</i>	nakl

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’in sükunıyla bir nesneyi bir mevziden bir mevzie iletme”) (Mehmed Vani (trans.) 1755-1756/1169: 360). Similarly, in *El-Okyanûs* it was defined as “to convey an object to another place” (“nun’un fetha ve kaf’in sükunıyla bir nesneyi aher 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-Okyanûs*. In Hüseyin Hüsnü’s *İlaveli Müntejabat-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).

[Mahalden mahal-i âhere iletmek ve hâlden hâl-i âhere geçirmek ve zikr ve hikâye etmek ve *terceme etmek ve başka lisana çevirmek ve bir yazının suretini yazmak*, göç etmek (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).

[Bir yerden bir yere götürme, diğer mahale geçirme, taşıma; tebdil-i menzil ve mekân etme, taşınma, göç; *yazı ve resim vesaire suretini çıkarma, aynını alma*, kaldırma; hikâye, rivayet; ağızdan ağıza veya kitaplar vasıtasıyla vasıl olup bilinen ve akl ile bulunması mümkün olmayan şey; *bir lisandan diğer bir lisana geçirme, terceme* (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).

[Bir şeyi bir yerden kaldırıp başka bir yere götürmek... rivayet, hikâye etmek... bir şeyin suretini çıkarma, terceme etme, bir lisandan diğer lisana çevirme (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 *tercüme* (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-ı 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).

[Version, traduction: Her ikisi de bir ibareyi, bir makaleyi, bir eseri bir lisandan diğer bir lisana nakletmek demektir. Traduction, asıl manaya dikkat edilerek nakl olunacak lisanın kavaidine, şivesine tevfiğe çalışılarak mealen yapılan terceme olduğu halde, version doğrudan doğruya yalnız elfazın tertib-i evveline riayet ederek harfiyyen olan tercemedir. Mekteplerde Fransızcadan Türkçeye, Türkçeden Fransızcaya kısa muhaverelerden mürekkep talimlerin tercemesi bu ikinci zümredendir. İşte görülüyor ki her ikisi de bir manaya geldiği halde aralarında büyük, epeyce büyük farklar vardır (*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:

Examined Dictionaries	Definitions of <i>nakl</i>
<i>Vankulu Lügati</i>	bir mevzie iletmek
<i>El-Okyanüs</i>	aher yere geçirmek
<i>Lügat-i Ebüzziya</i>	-
<i>Kamus-ı Osmanî</i> (by Mehmed Selâhî)	diğer bir yere götürmek, geçirmek, rivayet, takrir, hikâye, tebdil etmek, göç etmek, taşınmak
<i>Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati</i>	diğer yere götürme, geçirme, suretini çıkarıp alma, tebdil etme, taşınma, göç etme, terceme, başka lisana çevirme
<i>Lügat-ı Naci</i>	başka bir yere götürmek, hikâye etmek
<i>Kamus-ı Osmanî</i> (by Ali Seydi)	başka yere götürmek, hikâye etmek, suretini çıkarma, tercüme etme, diğer lisana çevirme
<i>Lehçe-i Osmanî</i>	getirme, geçirme, geçme, rivayet, tercüme, diğer yere alma, suretini çıkarma, tebdil etme, taşınma, nakl-i mekan eylemek
<i>İlaveli Müntehabat-ı Lügat-ı Osmanîyye</i>	mahal-i ahere iletme, hal-i ahere geçirmek, zikr ve hikâye etmek, terceme etmek, başka lisana çevirmek , suretini yazmak, göç etmek
<i>Kamus-ı Türkî</i>	başka bir yere götürmek, hikâye etmek, suretini çıkarma, terceme etme, diğer lisana çevirme

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 *çevirme(k)* can be traced back to Uighur Turkish. However, the term *çevirme(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).

[Bir lisandan diğer bir lisana *çevirme*; nakl. Harfiyyen terceme: Hiçbir kelimesini bırakmaksızın. Mealen terceme: Yalnız mealini alıp, diğer tabiratlâ ifade (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 Türkî*, in Reşad Faik's *Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati* (The Perfect Ottoman Dictionary), the author also uses *çevirme* 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/translating one language into another* (Reşad Faik [undated]: 944) (my italics).

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

It is significant that *çevirme* 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/translating”. 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, *çeviri* 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 Osmanlıcaya Cep Kılavuzu* (A Pocket Guide from Turkish to Ottoman Turkish) which was published by the Turkish Language Association in 1935 also shows that *çeviri* 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 *Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Söz Karşılıkları Tarama Dergisi* (Review Journal of Equivalents in Turkish for Ottoman to Turkish).⁹

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 *Osmanlıcadan 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:

Source: <i>Türkçeden Osmanlıcaya Cep Kılavuzu</i> (A Pocket Guide from Turkish to Ottoman Turkish), published by The Turkish Language Association in 1935	
Replacing terms of Turkish origin in republican Turkish	Replaced terms of Arabic and Persian origin in Ottoman Turkish
Çevirmek	=1. İhata etmek=cerner, encercler, invester, enveloper, 2. İdare etmek, tedvir etmek= driger, tourner, 3. kalbetmek, tahvil etmek, 4. İmale etmek, 5. İrca etmek, 6. Terceme etmek [vocalized as terceme]= traduire , 7. Tevcih etmek= driger
Çevirme	=İhata
Aktarmak	= Nakletmek= Transmettre
Döndürmek	=1. Tedvir etmek= Diriger, tourner, 2. Tahvil etmek
[-Evmek]	[-]
[-Çeviri]	[-]

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.

Source: <i>Osmanlıcadan Türkçeye Cep Kılavuzu</i> (A Pocket Guide from Ottoman Turkish to Turkish), published by <i>Ülkü Halk Mecmuası</i> in 1935	
Replaced terms of Arabic and Persian origin in Ottoman Turkish	Replacing terms of Turkish origin presented with their equivalents in French
Tercüme etmek	=Çevirmek, (Fr.) Traduire
[-Tercüme]	[-]
Nakl , nakliyat	=Taşıma
Nakletmek	=1. Almak (İktibas anlamına)=Extraire, 2=Anlatmak (hikâye anlamına)=Raconter, 3=Götürmek, taşımak=Transporter, 4=Aktarmak=Transmettre, 5=Göçmek=Déménager

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 Manastırlı 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 Saîd'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

¹ For the gradual increase in the number of literary translations (*terceme*) 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 Saîd draws attention to an interesting definition of translation (*terceme*) in his well-known but hardly studied work *Galatat-ı Terceme*² (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.³ 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] Saîd 1888-1889/1306, 2nd Notebook).

[*Terceme* demek ‘harf zarfest ve meani hemçü ab’ [harf kılıftır ve mana su gibidir] medlûlünce ab makamında olan manayı, bir lisanın elfazı tarafından diğer lisanın zuruf-ı elfazına nakletmek demek olup tecviz olunan tezyinat, zarf-ı cedidin suyu bozması ihtimaline mebnî muhafazaten bazı ecza-yı kimyevîye katmak kabilindendir.” ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 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

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.

² In the title, *terceme* was vocalized as *terceme*.

³ Kemal Paşazade Saîd also cites this metaphor in the preface to his *Musavver Kamus-ı Saîd* (Saîd’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*. Saîd 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, Saîd seems to have ignored the possibility of syntactic and semantic changes or “obligatory shifts” (Popovič 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 Saîd’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 shapless/unsuitable one (quoted from Kolcu 1999a: 94).⁵

[Şark kıyafetine sokulmuş bir Frenk dilberi demek olan şu manzumenin letafet-i dil-firibine –kıyafetin biçimsizliği hâlinde bile- gönüller müncezib olmamak mümkün değildir itikadındayım (quoted from Kolcu 1999a: 94).]

⁴ See section 2.3.3.2 in Chapter 2.

⁵ Kolcu does not mention both the title of the translation and the original. There is also no reference to this translation in Kolcu’s list of poems translated from western languages between 1859 and 1901 (Kolcu 1999a, 1999b).

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 “Klâsikler Meselesi Temhidat” (“The Classics Problem, Amendments”), or why Cenab Şahabeddin’s contribution was titled “Klâsikler Meselesi” (“The Classics Problem”) (Kaplan 1998: 1-60). Eminent literary historian Agah Sırrı 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 “Müşabaka-i Kalemîyye İkrâm-ı Aklâm” (Writing Competition, Writers’ Gifts) that was published in *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* on 24 August 1897/1313 (Kaplan 1998: 8). According to Kaplan (1998), 33 articles were published in this period in the newspapers *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and *İkdam* as well as the magazines *İrtika* and the literary supplement of *Malumat* (Kaplan 1998: 193-195). When Kemal Paşazade Saîd became involved, possibly in October 1897/1313 (ibid), he published two lengthy articles in opposition to Ahmed Midhat Efendi. Saîd’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 Saîd, 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 Paşazade Saîd’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’⁶ 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 *Sid’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-ı Osmaniyye, 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 mukallidliđi 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).

[Diyeceđiz ki ‘bir klâsik eserin taklid edilmesi bařka diđer bir lisana nakl olunması yine bařkadır’. Hatta diđer bir lisana naklindeki bařkalık dahi iki turlüdür. Harfi harfine nakletmek bařka mealen nakletmek dahi bařkadır] (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).]

Regarding the connection between *terceme* and *taklid* as two related concepts and practices in Ottoman culture, Cenab řahabeddin, the poet of the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* movement (New literature) who participated in the debate with two articles

(see Kaplan 1998: 194), objected to imitating classical works of European literature (“Zannımca bu taklid bilakis muzırdır” 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 (*tarik*) 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 Kalemîyye İkrâm-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 klâsiklere benzetemedim. Volter'in *Henriyat*'ını taklid mümkündür. Çünkü bir nevi şehnamedir. Fakat Rasin'in 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).

[Vakıa Hasan Mellah'ın plânı Monte Kristo'nun plânı kadar vâsi değildi. Bu Haydut Montari romanının plânı da naziresi ittihaz eylediğimiz (*Simon ve Mari*) romanının plânı kadar vâsi değildir (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)⁷. 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

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 oğluna gâh Oktav Föyye'ye gâh Rişburg gâh Gaboryö hatta Pol dö Kok'a varıncaya kadar birçok Avrupalı eazıma peyrev ola ola ve *eserlerini gâh terceme ve gâh tanzir ede ede* romancılık sanatındaki çalışkanlığımızı karilerimiz efendilerimize epeyce beğendirmişiz (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-ı 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 *iktibas* (borrowing) are related concepts and *terceme* (translation) may also be practiced by means of *iktibas* (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.

Reference: <i>Mecmua-i Lisan</i> , no.42, pp. 206	
Target Text (TT)	Source Text (ST)
Title: “Cümel-i hikemiyye, durûb-ı emsâl” Subtitle: “ <i>İktibasen tercemesi</i> ”	
[1] Kendini satmak üzere her ebleh, [2] Daha bir eblehan bulur her dem... [3] Dedirir fazlına ana, ya ya! [4] Saydırır kendini büyük adam. [5] Doluşır çokları bu sevdada... [6] Eski şeydir bu eski dünyada.	[1] Un sot trouve toujours un plus sot qui l’admire.

It can be seen that Ispartalı Mustafa Hakkı translated from the French verse by means of borrowing (*iktibas*), but explicitly identified his text as a translation (*terceme*). Thus the concept of *iktibas* (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:

<u>Linguistic elements in TT (line 1-2)</u>	<u>Linguistic elements in ST</u>
her ebleh	un sot
bulur	trouve
her dem	toujours
daha bir eblehan	un plus sot
kendini satmak üzere	qui l'admire

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 Hakkı which provides clues for understanding the notion of *aynen terceme* (translating as the same).

Reference: <i>Mecmua-i Lisan</i> , no.42, pp. 206	
Target Text (TT)	Source Text (ST)
Title: “Cümel-i hikemiyye, durûb-ı emsâl” Subtitle: “ <i>Aynen tercemesi</i> ”	
[1] Namus, uçurum-ı cezîredir bir, [2] Sarp öyle sevâhili kayalık, [3] Bir kere çıkan o yerden artık, [4] Tekrar olamaz duhûle kâdir	[1] L’honneur est comme une île escarpée et sans bords, [2] On n’y peut plus rentrer dès qu’on en est dehors.

The translation (*terceme*) was identified by Mustafa Hakkı 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 Hakkı 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 “kayalık” (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 Hakkı 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 *Ateşpare* 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.

Target Text I (TT1) Title: <i>Gözler</i> (Eyes) Subtitle: <i>Aynen Tercemesi</i> (Translation as the same)	Target Text II (TT2) Title: <i>Gözler</i> (Eyes) Subtitle: <i>Nazmen</i> (Versified)
Mâî yahûd siyâh hepsi sevilmîş hepsi güzel Bî-hisâb gözler şafakı görmüşlerdir Onlar umuk-ı mekâbirde uyumaktadırlar Güneş ise hâlâ doğmaktadır	Mâî siyâh bir nice sevdâ-fezâ uyûn Etmiş şafak safâsını şevk-âver-i derûn Toprak içinde şimdi o çeşmân-ı dil-fürûz Hurşîd zîver-i ufuk olmaktadır henüz
Source Text Title: Les Yeux	
Bleus ou noirs, tous aimé tous beaux, Des yeux sans nombre ont vu l'aurore; Ils dorment au fond des tombeaux Et le soleil se lève encore.	

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:

<u>Elements in TT1</u>	<u>Their correspondence in ST</u>
mâî yahûd siyâh [blue or black]	bleus ou noirs
hepsi sevilmîş [all loved]	tous aimé
hepsi güzel [all beautiful]	tous beaux
bî-hisâb gözler [uncountable eyes]	des yeux sans nombre
şafakı görmüşlerdir [have seen daybreak]	ont vu l'aurore
umuk-ı mekâbirde [in the tomb]	au fond des tombeaux
onlar uyumaktadırlar [they are sleeping]	Ils dorment
güneş ise [and the sun]	et le soleil
hâlâ doğmaktadır [still rising]	se lève encore

However, as the second version Naci proposed a versified translation in *aruz* meter “*mefûlü-fâilâtü-mefâilü-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 (Lefevre 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.

Elements in TT2	Their references in ST
mâî, siyâh [blue, black]	bleus ou noirs
-	tous aimé tous beaux
bir nice sevdâ-fezâ uyûn [many eyes making love increased]	des yeux sans nombre
etmiş şafak safâsını şevk-âver-i derûn [daybreak made its pleasure as bringing deep enthusiasm]	-
-	ont vu l’aurore
toprak içinde şimdi [now under the soil]	au fond des tombeaux
o çeşmân-ı dil-fürûz [eyes making heart shine]	Ils
-	dormant
hurşîd [the sun]	et le soleil
zîver-i ufuk olmaktadır henüz [yet becoming as adorning the horizon]	se lève encore

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 Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem’s emulation (i.e. “Yad Et”) of Alfred de Musset’s poem “Rappelle-toi” as well as Nigâr 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.

[*Nesteren* Paris'te yazıldı. Mevzuu tecâhüd-i nefis ü vicdanı tasvirdir. İkinci derecede Corneille nâm Fransız şair-i ma'rûfunun *Le Cid* unvanıyla Avrupa'da iştihar eden manzumesini tanzirdir. Tabir-i diğerle *Nesteren*, *Le Cid*'e nazîre olabilir, fakat *Le Cid*, *Nesteren*'in aynı değildir. Beyinlerinde olan fark-ı küllî ikisini de mütalâa edenlere ma'lûm olur. (Abdülhak Hamid [Tarhan]'s preface in Enginün 2002: 156).]

Hamid's statements indicate that *nazire/tanzir* was related to cross-textual transfer in which the emulator could make use of the story, theme or plot of the original and modify it to fit in with the target cultural and literary environment. 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).

[...bu eser bana Fransız şair-i meşhuru Corneille'in *Le Cid* unvanlı tiyatrosundan in'ikâs etmiştir. Fakat onun aynen aksi değil, aks-ı ma'kûs da değil belki bir zıll-i baîdidir. Türkçesi değil başka türlüsüdür. Mevzuan ona bir dereceye kadar mukarin ise de tasviren mütebâyindir (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. Parker 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 "Rappelle-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.⁸ In *Müntehabat-ı Teracim-i Meşahir* (Selections from Famous Translations), one finds the original, the

⁸ The translation (*terceme*) in the form of a prose poem first appeared in *Efsûs* 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).

[Fransa şuarası meyanında rikkat-i hüsn ve sadegî-i üslub ile şöret-şiar olan edib-i meşhur –Alfred dö Musse--nin (*Rappelle-toi*) “Yad Et” namındaki manzumesi ki, kıymet-i edebiyyesi üstad-ı maali-semir Ekrem Beyefendi Hazretlerinin tanzirine rağbet buyurmalarıyla da müsbettir, Nigâr Hanım Efendi tarafından –dakikasenc mütercimîne bile gıpta-aver olacak şu suret-i dil-nişin de terceme buyurulmuştur (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 “*Rappelle-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, Rezaizade 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.

Recaizade Mahmud <i>Ekrem's Nazire</i>	Nigâr Binti Osman's (<i>terceme</i>) <i>Prose Translation</i>	Elements in ST
leyl-i sükûn-nüma	leyl-i mütefekkir [pensive night]	la nuit pensive
olur gazelhân	zemezme-hân olacaktır [murmuring voice]	murmurer une voix
yad et beni o zamanda	tahattur et o demde ki [remember when]	rappele-toi quand
kalb-i refik-i nâtüvânla	bu kalb-i nevmîd [despairing heart]	ce cœur désespéré

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 intercultural. 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 Saîd’s perception of translation (*terceme*) is particularly illuminating. Saîd 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 Saîd 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 Hakkı. 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] Saîd's preface in İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı 1889-1890/1307: 3).

[Suver-i gunâgun ile arz-ı cemal-i kemal edegelen terakkiyat-ı garbiyyeyi bize nakl ve isal eden şey tercemedir. Darbe-i eydi-i sütunları bir zamanlar cihanı lerzenâk eyleyen bahadır-ı asakirimizi maarif-i cedide-i askeriyeye ile arayış-yab-ı celâl eden şey tercemedir. Tarik-i maarif-perverîde tayy-ı mesafat ettirerek yevmen-fi-yevmen esbab-ı temeddünümüzü istikmal eden şey tercemedir. Zuhurat-ı yevmiyyeden halkımızı külli yevmin haberdar eyleyen, telgrafları lisanımıza nakl ile umuma malûmat istihsal eden şey tercemedir. Ulûm ve fûnun-ı haziranın vesait-i tatbikiyyesini mülkümüze tamim ile şu'bat-ı umur-ı devlet ve memlekette ıslah-ı ahval eden şey tercemedir. Gazetelerin havadis ve mebahisi yüzde doksan nisbetinde mahsul-ı himem-i mütercemîn olup halkımızı siyasiyat ve ilmiyat ve fenniyata meyyal eden şey tercemedir. (([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd's preface in İbrahim Fehim and İsmail Hakkı 1889-1890/1307: 3).]

Saîd'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 Saîd, 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 Hulâsası* (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).

[Filvaki bu “klâsik âsâr dahi bu cümledendir. Bunlardan haberdar olmayanlar Avrupa’nın büyük kısm-ı terakkisine vukuf hasıl edememiş olurlar (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).

[Avrupa klâsikleri! Üç dört yüz seneden beri herşeyi tecrübe ede ede terakkiyatın hemen hemen mertebe-i gayesine varmış olan Avrupa bizim için muhassenat-ı maddiyenin her cihetinde bir meşk demektir. Edebî klâsikler ise Avrupa'nın hakikaten en büyük iftihar eylediği âsâr-ı muvaffakiyeti olup bizce en ziyade temeşşuk ve âdeta taaşşuk edilecek şey dahi bunlardır. Lâyık mıdır ki bunlar bizce mechulattan kalsınlar? (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 müfid 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 kifayeye isal edinceye kadar, teliften ziyade terceme cihetine sarf-ı efkâr ve iktidar 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 medeniyeti bir suret-i muntazamada istikrar ve mükemelen irae-i âsâr etmiş bir heyet-i medeniyye" (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 diğesine 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 eslâfi taklid ne kadar muzır ise tedkik ve terceme de fevkalâde müfid ve elzemdir... Hatta bu tercemelerin asla takribine çalışmak suretiyle lisana bîkr-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 Osmaniyyemizin genişlemesine pek büyük tesirâtı olacağından ıstıbah edilmemek lâzım gelen şu bahisler, cümle muhibban-ı 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 vazih, 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 (*harfiyyen 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 Crusoe*¹⁰ 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).

⁹ For a detailed examination of the movements for plain Turkish from the *Tanzimat* period onwards, see Levend ([1949] 1972) and Öksüz (1995).

¹⁰ On the title page, below the title *Robenson* [in Turkish transcription], it was noted that the novel was translated word-for-word from French (“Fransızcadan harfiyyen terceme olunmuştur”).

[Mümkün mertebede kelâmı griftlikten kurtarıp, cümleleri kısa kesmekle ve suret-i ifadeyi şive-i kitabeden kurtarıp şive-i tekellüme kalb ve tefrikle, bu farkın kısm-ı küllîsi izale edilmiş olup ve bununla beraber lisanımız dahi sadeleşmekle beraber güzelleşmiş olur (Şemseddin Sami 1884-1885/1302: 3).]

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 Teceddüd-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 imtisal etmekle 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 (Üyepazarıcı 1997: 71), expressed interesting views concerning his expectation from *Paris Faciaları*, 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).

[İşte şu teşvik-i mürüvvetmendedir ki efkârı terbiye ve ahlâkı tezkiye edecek birçok mebahis-i zarifane ve muhakemat-i hekimaneyi muhtevi olup cüz-i evvelini neşre muvaffak olduğum şu roman dahi tercemeye, hame-i cesaret olmaya mecbur eylemiştir (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).

[Şu kadar ki terceme edilecek kitapta aranılacak şartların biri ve belki en mühimi o kitabın mündericatından aklen ve hikmeten makbul olması ve alehusus bizim ahlâk ve âdâtımıza tevafuk etmesidir. Yoksa şu şeraiti haiz olmayan bir kitabın tercemesi, menfaati değil bilâkis mazarratı mucib olur. Şu hâlde nazaran emr-i intihabın bir dikkat-i fevkalâde dairesinden geçirilmesi lâzım gelir (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 medeniyeti ittifak ise sermaye-i saadeti de ahlâktır. Bir kavmin kavmiyyetini muhafaza eden fikr-i asabiyyet ise asabiyyet-i fikrini veren de ahlâktır... Ulûm-ı edebiyyenin vazife-i esasiyyesinden biri de ahlâk dersi vermek olmasına göre bu ilme ne kadar uluvviyyet isnad olursa yeri var ve bunun lüzum ve vücubu... her cemiyet-i beşeriyye için bedihî 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. Maamafih tercemeye ihtiyacımız yoktur demek istediğimiz anlaşılmasın. Ulûm ve fûnun için ihtiyacımız gün gibi aşikâr olup ondan sarf-ı nazarla hikâye tercemesine de muhtacız. Fakat tercemesine muhtac olduğumuz hikâyeler şimdiki halde terceme olunanlar gibi olmayıp tarih ve ilme ve ahlâka dair olanlardır... Biz tarih ve ilme ve ahlâka ait olan hikâyelere muhtacız. Yoksa birinci kısımdan olanlara muhtac olmadıktan başka tercemesinde hata etmiş oluruz. Fransız ahlâkı başka, müslüman ahlâkı

başka. Onlarda muhassenattan madut olan ahlâkın belki de üçte ikisi bizde muzırdır. 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 ahlâkı yerleşmeye kesb-i istidat eyledi (Hayal, January 24, 1874 in [Özön] [1930] 1934: 334-335)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.¹³

In his significant work *Hikâye* (The Novel), which was serialized in *Hizmet* newspaper in 1887-1888 then published in book form in 1891-1892/1307,¹⁴ 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

¹² For another version of this article in Latin transcription, see also Akbayar 1985: 450.

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.

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 (Uşaklıgil 1998: 28-30).

[İşte bu makalemizde hikâyenin mücmelen bir tarihini yaptıktan sonra hal-i hazırını, enva-ı muhtelifesini izah ve hikâyenin esasına, hizmetine dair ita-yı malumat ederek ne yolda hikâyeler tercüme olunmak ve yazılmak iktiza edeceğini anlatacağız (Uşaklıgil 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*.¹⁵ 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

¹⁵ For detailed information, see Halid Ziya's six-volume memoir, *Kırk 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 *mealên* (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).

[Terceme iki suretle olur: Birisi serbest tercemedir ki, bir kitabın mealini mütercim kendi zevkine göre lisanına nakleder. Âsâr-ı fenniyyenin bu yolda tercemesi, hem iyi anlaşılmasını, hem de az zamanda işin içinden çıkılmasını mucib olur. Bu sebeple ekser mütercimlerimiz bu yolu ihtiyar ederler. Âsâr-ı edebiyenin ise, aynen tercemesi mültezimdir. Binaenaleyh öyle tercemeye heves edenlerin iki lisanda da fevkalâde meleke sahibi olmaları şarttır (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 mütercemeye asıllarının ters yüzü nazarıyla bakılarak, tercemede aslın sanayi-i edebiyesinden sarf-ı nazarla fikr-i müellifin nakline riayet olunagelmıştır. Terceme şu suretle âdeta ihtira suretine girmiş olur (Necib Asım 1893-1894/1311: 169).]

Necib Asım seems to have discredited non-literal translation strategies which, for him, resulted in simple derivation (*ihтира*) 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 okuyanların malumudur ki yazarken birinci dikkat ettiğim şey sade yazmak ve terceme ederken en ziyade özendiğim 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).

[Tercemede cümlelerin, kelimelerin aynen ve harfîyyen nakli iltizam edildiğinden bazı ibareler biraz muakkad ve uzun oldu. Bunun için dikkatlice okunmadan manasız olduğuna hükmedilmemelidir (quoted from [Sevük] 1941: 230).]

When it came to translating texts as literal (*aynen, harfîyyen*) 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 (*mealên*) 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 İshak 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).

[Nakl ve tercemede iki tarik vardır. Birisi Patrikzade Yohanna ve İbn Naimet al-Hamsî ve daha bazılarının tarikidir ki, kelimat-ı Yunaniyyenin birer birer müradiflerini ve o manaya delâlet eden elfaz-ı Arabiyyeyi yegân yegân bulup yazmak ve cümleleri bu vechile kelime kelime nakletmek[tir]... Tarik-i sani ise Huneyn bin İshak ve Cevherî ve sair erbab-ı vukuf usulleridir ki bunlar elfazın müsavat ve muhalefetine bakmayarak tercemesini arzu ettikleri şeyi

cümle cümle mütalâa ve güzelce anladıkları maddenin mealini lisan-ı Arab şivesiyle nakletmektir (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 (*mealên*) and informed his readers that he did not translate word-for-word (*harfîyyen 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 Safdî's views]. I also state that I refrained from performing a literal translation and from converting literally from verse to prose.¹⁶ I offer this explanation so that some of the translations will not be criticized because they are literal (Mehmed Rifat 1911-1912/1327: 12).

[İşbu fakir, yani erkân-ı harb Manastırlı Mehmed Rifat dahi bu hulâsadaki tariklere tevessül ederek işbu muktesebat mecmuasının havi olduğu şeyleri yazmış olduğumu ve harfîyyen terceme ve aynen hallden mütevakki idüğümü beyan eyledim ta ki harfîyyen terceme zannolunup bazılarına tariz olunmasın (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), *Mealên* (Sense-for-sense) and *Tevsien* (Expanded)

In his work titled *Şöyle Böyle* (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 (*mealên*) 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 (Nacî 1884-1885/1302: 98).¹⁷

[Terceme –aynen-mealen-tevsien- olmak üzere üç nev’e münkasım olmakla bu terceme-i mahiranemiz üçüncü nev’den addolunur... İkinci yolda olan tercemeler arasına, ifade olunacak maksad-ı aslîyi ihlâl değil, izah ve tezyin eyleyecek bazı tabirat ilave edilecek olursa tarz-ı terceme üçüncü nev irca edilmiş olur (Nacî 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’ (*aslına tatamen mutabık*),

¹⁷ Ağâh 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 tebâüd edilmeksizin mealen*) and ‘sense-for-sense with expansions’ (*mealên ve tafsilên*).

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).

[Herhangi bir kitabı lisanımıza nakletmek için mütercimlerimiz bu üç usulden birini kabule mecburdurlar. Halbuki bunlardan üçünün de mehziri, nakayısı var. El sine-i ecnebiyyedeki dekayık-ı meaniyi, o üslûb ile tamamen terceme etmek o derece müşkil bir keyfiyettir ki tamamî-i muvaffakiyet âdetâ müsteb’addir. Aslına tamamen mutabık olarak terceme edilmiş olmakla beraber üslûbunda aynı selâset aynı letafet muhafaza edilebilmiş bir numune irae edilmek icab ederse intihabda pek büyük müşkilat çekileceğine emin olunuz. Hatta şunu da söylemeye cesaret ederim ki, şayan-ı intihab görünen numuneler hadde-i intikaddan geçirilecek olursa hiçbirinin matlûba tevafuk edemeyeceğini anlarsınız (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), *Mealên* (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 “Klâsikler” (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).

[Türkçe hususunda bizde dört tarik erbabı var. [1] Birincisi asıl nüshanın sanayi-i maneviyye ve lâfziyyesini aynen tercemede muhafaza etmek gayretidir... [2] İkincisi sanayi-i maneviyyesinin muhafazasıdır... [3] Üçüncüsü bu gün bilhassa gazetecilerle romancılardan bir kısmının tuttuğu usul-i tercemedir ki bir sahife veya makaleyi okuyarak çalاکalem mealini nakletmektir ki biz artık buna terceme namını veremeyiz. [4] Dördüncüsü de takliddir. Eskiden vücuda getirilen hamseler, *Telemak*'ın ilk tercemesi gibi. Bunların içinde klâsik derecesine çıkacakları bulunabilir ise de asıllarının tercemesi olmadıklarından sadedimizden haric kalır (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, Harîrî'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).

[...vaktiyle Harîrî'nin *Makamat*'ı sözde Türkçeye terceme edilmiş idiyse de o ucubeyi anlamaya vakit sarf etmekten ise aslı okumak daha kolay görülmüş idi. Çünkü bu tercemede (...) lugat-i Arabiyye kâmilen muhafaza edilerek aralarına bir iki Türkçe kelime sokuşturulmuş idi. Arabî ve Fârisîyi bize mal satanlar için böyle terceme kabil ve makbul olsa bile şu iki lisanın gayrısından o yolda terceme imkân haricindedir. Binaenaleyh merduddur (Necib Asım 1897/1313).]

With respect to the second path, Necib Asım referred to several translations of Sadi's *Gülîstan* 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 Aventures 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 2002a: 124-128).

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 intercultural 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 Garîbe* and *Amiral Bing*, and (ii) to Şemseddin Sami's definition of the term in his *Kamus-ı Türkî*. As for *akd ü hall*, this term will be examined within the context of Manastırlı 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-ı Türkî*, Şemseddin Sami defined *tahvil* as “bir halden bir hale koyma, deđiřtirme, 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).

[Edebiyat ile iştigal ettiğim zamanlarda mucib-i istifade olan Arabî, Farisî, Fransevî âsârın birtakımını terceme ve bazılarını hall ederek yazmış ve cümlesini de muhafaza eylemiş idim. Bir aralık gözden geçirdim. Hiçbirini yırtıp atamadım. Belki istifade eden bulunur dedim. Onun için ‘Hazine-i Hikemiyyat’ namıyla bir mecmuaya derceyledim. Bunların akd ü hall tarikiyle birtakım tercemelerden ibaret olduğuna binaen, ‘usul-i terceme’ ile ‘akd ü hal’ tarikine dair olan akval-i üstazânı dahi mecmuanın başına yazmaya lüzum gördüm, ta ki tercemelerimle, hallin hangi usulde yapılmış olduğu görülsün (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 terceme mütercim, terceme edeceği şeyin müteallik olduğu ilim ve fenni gereği gibi bilmek şartıyla lisan-ı âherde olan ol maddeyi ariz ü amik mütalâa ettikten ve güzelce anladıktan sonra hangi lisana 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 intercultural. *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-ı mutavassıt* (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 (Lefevre 1985: 233; 1992: 8, 10). Mehmed Rifat's views show us that

usul-i hall 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-ı Türkî*.

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).

[Zira bu mebhaste ilk varid olacak sual klâsikler terceme olunabilir mi meselesidir. Klâsik eser meşk-ittihazına salih olmak için hangi lisanda yazılmış ise o lisanın dekayık ve mezayasını cami olduğu için onu aslındaki tesir ve letafet ile diğer lisana nakl âdeta müstahildir (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 Nacî's translations of several couplets from the classics (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313) (my italics).

[O milletin edebiyatı hakkında bir fikir vermek veyahud onları 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 malûmat 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-itihaz*) 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).

[Arkadaşımız 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 mi? Biz hiçbir lisandaki manzum klâsiklerin hiçbir lisana nazmen tercemesi imkânını hatırdan 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 (*havaşı*) 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).

[Mensur klâsikler de iki nevidir. Birisi Ksenefon’un *Keyropad*’ı ve *Onbinlerin Ricatı*, Erodot’un *Tarih*’i gibi şeylerdir ki şu zamanın karilerince anlaşılır bir hâle girmeleri için bazı havaşı ilâvesiyle tercemeleri mümkündür... Klâsik tercemelerin en gücü hayalî olan manzum ve mensur âsar-ı edebiyededir. İşte bunlarda bîkr-i mazmunları hüsn-i muhafaza etmek, iki lisanı birbirine mümkün oldukça yaklaştırmak icab eder (Necib Asım 1897/1313).]

Hüseyin Dâniş, a poet and translator who participated in the “classics debate”, also claimed that it was quite impossible to translate (*terceme, nakl, 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).

[*Tercemeye, nakle yahud tanzire* kadir kalemler zuhur edip de bu işleri deruhte etseler bile aslındaki lâtif şivenin, eser-i aslının tulû ettiği millete mevcud hissiyat-ı vicdaniyyenin —ki kıymet-i eser onunla mütenasibdir— ıstılahat-ı mahsusa-i kavmiyyenin aslı gibi bir nefhada eda edilemeyeceği, birlikte nakl olunamayacağı az çok bu zeminde tecrübe-i kalemle melûf olanlarımıza müberhendir. Eserde kisve teceddüd eder, fakat kıymet-i atikıyyet gaib olur. Şu kadar var ki bu yolda mesai-i fikriyye dökülen bu gibi tercemelere hame-ran-ı himmet olan erbab-ı iktidar bunu mahza kütübhaneye-i Osmanîyi nev-be-nev taze-be-taze eserlerle tezyin etmek, zenginleştirmek tasavvuruyla yaparlarsa herhalde meşkuru'l-himemdirler (Hüseyin Dâniş 1897/1313: 1168) (my italics).]

Here, it is important that Hüseyin Dâniş 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 âsârın terceme-i nazmiyyesinde bir beytin mantuk ve mefhumunu hüsn-i ifadeye muktedir olan şuaranın muvaffakiyetlerine her taraftan edilegelen alkışlar 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 (*istilâhat*) 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 Saîd appears as the first person to focus particularly on the problem of terminology in translation (*terceme*). In his preface to Nezaret Hilmi's dictionary *Osmanlıcadan 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 "İstîlahat 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 (Saîd's preface in Nezaret Hilmi 1886-1887/1304).

[Bizde en ziyade su-i istimal olunmuş şeylerden biri de ıstîlahat maddesi olduğu malûmdur. Pek çok ıstîlahat-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 iştilal edenlere hafî olmadığı üzere en ziyade zahmeti mucib tercemeler, ıstılahat-ı mahsusa istimaline ihtiyaç gösteren tercemelerdir (Saîd's preface in Nezaret Hilmi 1886-1887/1304).]

From this point of view, Saîd's series of *Galatat-ı Terceme* (Translation Errors) is also significant. *Galatat-ı Terceme*, which was published in 18 notebooks¹⁹ 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, Saîd 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] Saîd 1888-1889/1306, *Galatat-ı Terceme*, 3rd Notebook).

[Fransızca birtakım elfaz ve tabiratın lisan-ı Osmanîye nakl ve tercemesinde vuku bulan galatatı tashih ve elfaz ve tabirat-ı mezkûrenin Türkçe asıl mukabillerini irae ve makam-ı istimallerini tayin ve lisan-ı mezkûrun daha birçok gavamiz ve dekâyıkını tarif ve izah eder bir eserdir ([Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1888-1889/1306, *Galatat-ı Terceme*, 3rd Notebook)²⁰]

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

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 İstanbul.

²⁰ From the fifth to the eighteenth notebook in the series of *Galatat-ı Terceme*, the expression of “lisan-ı Osmanî” was replaced with the expression of “Türkçeye” in the title pages: “Fransızca birtakım elfaz ve tabiratın Türkçeye tercemesinde vuku bulan galatatı tashih ve elfaz ve tabirat-ı mezkûrenin Türkçe asıl mukabillerini irae ve makam-ı istimallerini tayin ve lisan-ı mezkûrun daha birçok gavamiz ve dekâyıkını 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 ettiğim elfaza atf-ı nazar-ı mülâhaza 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 *Hatıyat-ı Terceme* (Translation Errors) by Mustafa Fatin İhsan, a member of the

editorial board of the *Istanbul* newspaper.²¹ 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.²² 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 *Hatıyat-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 hazretlerinin *Galatat-ı Terceme* namıyla tanzim ve telif buyurdıkları eserde vâki olan hatiyâta hasır olunmuştur”]

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 İkrâm-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 Saîd Beyefendi Hazretlerinin ‘*Galatat-ı Terceme*’leri im’an ile okunur ise görülür ki üstad-ı müşarünileyhin çalıştıkları şey bilâhare şu terceme-i ayniyyeye vasıl olacak yolu tehieden ibarettir. Bu mesele hakkındaki nazariyyat-ı muallimanelerini lütfen şerh ü izah buyursalar bu hakikat tamamıyla meydana çıkar (Ahmed Midhat 1897b/1313).]

²¹ In his *Türk Dilinde Gelişme ve Sadeleşme Evreleri*, Agah Sırrı Levend points out that *Galatat-ı Terceme* attracted considerable interest at that time. He says “*Galatat-ı Terceme*’yi çıkaran Sait Bey, *Galatat*’ın her defterinde çeviri yanlışlarına işaret etmekte ve bu yayımlar çevrede derin bir ilgi uyandırmaktadır”. See Levend [1949] 1972: 199-200.

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 Paşazade Saîd'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 Saîd'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 Paşazade Saîd complained of the erroneous usages of some official translators who worked especially in the administrative domain. According to Saîd, 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 Paşazade] Saîd 1890-1891/1308: 77-78).

[Cümleye malum olduğu vechile nur-ı hakikat müsademe-i efkâr ile hasıl olup alehusus usul-ı terceme gibi alakaya ve tarz-ı takdire şiddet-i taalluku olan ve belki sırf onlarla kaim bulunan bir maddede müdavele-i ebhas

mütehattim idiğünden bu babda mübaheseye girişmek istemek maarif-i vataniyyeye hizmet-i ciddiye arzusunda bulunmaktır. Çünkü hâlâ nice mütercimlerin tercemeleri nice nice galatat ile mal-â-mal ve âsar-ı mütercemenin birtakımını Fransızca bilmeyen adamlara göre hakikaten bîmeal olup tercemelerine çare-i hüsn-i ıslah bulunmaz ise âsar-ı garbiyyeden terceme tarikiyle istifademize ileride imkân kalmayacağı derkârdır. Hususiyle resmi tercemelerde iki lisanın ikisinde de meleke-i tammeleri olmayanların ettikleri hatalardan maada şive-i ifadece tesadüf olunan garabetler bîhadd ü payandır [Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1890-1891/1308: 77-78).]

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).

[Klâsiklerin kaffe-i mezayasıyla lisanımıza nakli matlûb olmasıyla bile yine her iki lisanda malûmat sahibi olmalıdır ki tercemeye şürua hak kazanılmış olsun. Bunun için Türkçeyi merhum Naci Efendi kadar bilir ve Fransızca'yı da artık bilmem kimin kadar bilir mütercimlere ihtiyacımız vardır. İhtimal ki

böyle mütercimlerimiz çıkarlar da bu işi ifa ederler (Ahmed Cevdet 1897/1313).]

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).

[Bizde en işlek yol gazete mütercimliği iken onu bile hakkıyla ifa edecek kaç kişi var sorarız. Bir mütercim lâzım olunca bulmak kabil olmuyor. Niceleri mütercim olmak üzere geliyorlar da Türkçede yahud Fransızcada affolunmaz hatalar ediyorlar. En fenası Türkçeyi bile bilmiyorlar (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 Atamyran's translation of *Médecin des folles* by Xavier de Montépin under the title *Mecnuneler Tabibi*. What he criticized in Atamyran'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 iştigal eden en mühim mesele terceme meselesidir. Türkçe lisana bihakkın vakıf olamayan bu gibi acemi mütercimler biraz düzgüncesine söylemeyi öğrenseler, ondan sonra eser-i maharetlerini gösterecekler! Türkçe bilmeden eser tercemesine kalkışmak gülünç olduğu kadar müellifin şöhretine nakısa irad etmek mazarratını da tevliid 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 Fransızcadan bir cebir kitabı terceme etse o ilme aşına biri de aynı kitabı terceme etse bu iki terceme arasında dağlar kadar fark görülür. Binaenaleyh 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).

[Usul-i tercemede mütercim, terceme edeceği şeyin müteallik olduğu ilim ve fenni gereği gibi bilmek şartıyla lisan-ı âherde olan ol maddeyi ariz ü amik mütalâa ettikten ve güzelce anladıktan sonra hangi lisana nakledecekse o lisanın şivesine tatbiken yeniden bir şey yazar gibi yazmaktan ibarettir (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).

[Bugün Avrupa'da vaktiyle Araplardan terceme olunmuş bazı kitaplar vardır ki aslı üzere nakl ve terceme edilmemiştir. Zira onlar kendi yaşadıkları hayat dahilindeki efkar ve âdata göre yazıp o yolda tertib ve terceme etmişlerdir (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, nâkıs 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. In 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 *harfîyyen*, *aynen*, *mealên*, *mealên 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'in 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).¹ 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

¹ The following other works also provide bibliographical information on the works of Ahmed Midhat Efendi: İsmail Hakkı (1890-91), Rızaeddin bin Fahreddin (1913), İsmail Hikmet (1932), İsmail Habib [Sevük] (1941), Mustafa Nihat [Özön] (1936; 1942), Murat Uraz (1940-1941), Türker Acaroğlu (1951), Mustafa Baydar (1954), Hakkı Tarık Us (1955), Fevziye Abdullah [Tansel] (1955), Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar ([1956] 1988), Cevdet Kudret (1962), Şevket Rado (1986), Behçet Necatigil (1971),

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 *Kitap-lık*, 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:

Title of the work³ identified as “çeviri” (translation)	Bibliographer’s description⁴
<i>Alayın Kraliçesi</i>	“Fransızcadan çeviri ” (p.162) [“Translation from French”]
<i>Amiral Bing</i>	“ Çeviri ” (p.162) [“Translation”]
<i>Antonin</i>	“Alexandre Dumas Fils’ten çeviri ” (p.162) [“Translation from Alexandre Dumas Fils”]
<i>Bilgiç Kız</i>	“Hector Malot’ tan ” (p.163) [“From Hector Malot”]

Türk ve Dünya Ünlüleri Ansiklopedisi (1983), Orhan Okay (1989; 1991), Işın Bengi (1990), Sabri Esat Sivayuşgil (1993), *Tanzimat’tan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* (2001).

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 heğira, together with the date in the Christian calander 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.

- Bir Fakir Delikanlının Hikâyesi* “Octave Feuillet’ten **çeviri**” (p.163) [“Translation from Octave Feuillet”]
- Bir Kadının Hikâyesi* “Alexandre Dumas Fils’ten **çeviri**” (p.163) [“Translation from Alexandre Dumas Fils”]
- Gabriel’in Günâhı* “Charles Mérouvel’dan **çeviri**” (p.166) [“Translation from Charles Mérouvel”]
- Hokkabaz Kitabı* “Fransızcadan **çeviri**... İsim yazmamakla birlikte ‘Mütercim’ imzalı ‘Mukaddime’ye bakılarak A.M. Efendi’ye mal edilmiştir” (p.167) [“Translation from the French... It was regarded as a work by Ahmed Midhat Efendi on the basis of the anonymous designation ‘mütercim’ (translator) in the ‘Introduction’”]
- Hüsrevnâme* “Xenéphon [sic.]’dan, Dassier [sic.]’den Fransızca çevirisinden **çeviri**” (p.167) [“From Xenéphon, translation from Dacier’s French translation”]
- Kamere Âşık* “Paul de Kock’dan **çeviri**” (p.168) [Translation from Paul de Kock”]
- Konak yahut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garîbe* “Adolf Muçelburg’dan **çeviri**, Vizental [sic.] ile birlikte” (p.169) [“Translation from Adolf Mützelburg, done together with Vizental [sic.]”]
- La Dam O Kamelya* “Aleksandr Dumazâde’dan **çeviri**, *La dame aux cameliàs*, Alexandre Dumas Fils” (p.169) [“Translation from Aleksandr Dumazâde, *La dame aux cameliàs*, Alexandre Dumas Fils”]
- Lü’lü-i Asfer* “Georges Pradel’dan **çeviri**” (p.169) [“Translation from Georges Pradel”]
- Merdûd Kız* “Emile Richebourg’tan **çeviri**” (p.169) [“Translation from Emile Richebourg”]
- Niza-ı İlim ve Din*
(J.V. Draper’dan çeviri)-*İslam ve Ulûm*
(Ahmet Mithat Efendi) “J.V. Draper’in kitabının **çevirisi** ile Ahmet Mithat Efendi’nin bu kitaba cevabı birbirini izleyecek biçimde ve iç içe yayımlanmıştır” (p.170) [“The translation of J.V. Draper’s book and Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s response were published together in a consecutive format”]
- Orsival Cinayeti* “Emile Gaboriau’dan **çeviri**” (p.170) [“Translation from Emile Gaboriau”]
- Papasdaki Esrâr* “Léon de Tinseau’dan **çeviri**” (p.170) [“Translation from Léon de Tinseau”]
- Peçeli Kadın* “Emile Richebourg’tan **çeviri**” (p.170) [“Translation from Emile Richebourg”]
- San’atkâr Nâmûsu* “Octave Feuillet’dan **çeviri**” (p.171) [“Translation from Octave Feuillet”]
- Udolf Hisârı* “Marie Anne Radcliff’ten **çeviri**” (p.172) [“Translation from Anne Radcliff”]

<i>Üç Yüzlü Karı</i>	“Paul de Kock’tan çeviri , Ebüzziya Tevfik ile birlikte” (p.172) [“Translation from Paul de Kock, done together with Ebüzziya Tevfik”]
<i>Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığına Çıkar</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i> ⁵]	“Arsene Houssay’dan çeviri-uyarlama ” (p.169) [“Translation-adaptation from Arsene Houssay”]

Title of the work not identified as “çeviri” (translation) Bibliographer’s description⁶

<i>Aleksandr Stradella</i>	“Flutov’un “stradella” operasından iktibas ” (p.162) [“Borrowing from Flutov’s [sic.] opera ‘Stradella’”]
<i>İki Hüd’akâr</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	“ Konusu bir Fransız gazetesindeki kısa bir yazıdan alınmıştır ” (p.167) [“The subject matter was taken from a short article in a French newspaper”]
<i>Sid’in Hulâsası</i>	“Pierre Corneille’den düzyazı özet ” (p.171) [“Prose summary of Pierre Corneille’s work”]
<i>Şeytankaya Tılsımı</i>	“Bir Fransızca eserden esinlenerek yazılmıştır ” (p.171) [Inspired by a French work”]

Similarly, Nüket Esen (1999) offers another comprehensive bibliography in *Ahmed Midhat Karı Koca Masalı ve Ahmet Mithat Bibliyografyası*.⁷ 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,

⁵ *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).

⁶ Words in bold are mine.

⁷ 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 calander, 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 *Kırkambar* 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: “Hikâye” (Story), “Roman” (Novel), “Tiyatro” (Drama), “Anı” (Memoirs), “Seyahatname” (Travel Writings), “Mektup” (Letter), “Monografi” (Monography), “Tarih” (History), “Felsefe” (Philosophy), “Sosyoloji, Psikoloji, Pedagoji, Ekonomi, Askeriye” (Sociology, Psychology, Pedagogy, Economics, Military), and “Ders Kitapları” (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:

Title of the work identified under the title of “çeviri” (translation)	Bibliographer’s description⁸
<i>Alayın Kraliçesi</i>	Çeviri , Yazarı bilinmeyenler: “Fransa’da Revue de Dumond’da çıkmış bir hikâye. Yazarı belirtilmiyor...” (p.215) [“Translation, Writer unknown: A story published in <i>Revue de Dumond</i> in France. Its author is not specified”]
Friedrich von Flotow, <i>Aleksandr Stradella</i>	Çeviri , Roman: “Friedrich von Flotow aldı Alman bestecinin Stradella başlıklı operanın librettosunun hikâye hali...” (p.215) [“Translation, Novel: A version of the libretto of the opera titled Stradella by Friedrich von Flotow, German composer”]
<i>Altın Aşıkları</i> ⁹	Çeviri , Yazarı bilinmeyenler: “Avrupa’da geçen bir olay anlatılıyor.” (p.215) [“Translation, Writers unknown: It is about an event which takes places in Europe”]
<i>Amiral Bing</i>	Çeviri (p.214) [“Translation”]
<i>Ana Kız</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	Çeviri , Hikâye: “Avrupa’da geçiyor...” (p.196) [“Translation, Story: It takes place in Europe”]
Alexandre Dumas pere, <i>Antonin</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
Hector Malot, <i>Bilgiç Kız</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
Octave Feuillet, <i>Bir Fakir Delikanlının Hikâyesi</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
<i>Bir Kadının Hikayesi</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
<i>Cankurtaranlar</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	Çeviri , Hikâye: “Avrupa’da geçen üç küçük hikâye” (p.196) [“Translation: Three short stories set in Europe”]
<i>Çifte İntikam</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	Çeviri , Hikâye: “Avrupa’da geçen bir hikâye” (p.195) [“Translation: A story set in Europe”]
<i>Cinli Han</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	Çeviri , Hikâye: “Fransa’da geçen bu hikâyede...” (p.194) [“Translation: In the story set in France...”]
Victor Hugo, <i>Derebeyleri</i> ¹⁰	Çeviri , Tiyatro (p.215) [“Translation, Drama”]

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.

<i>Diplomalı Kız</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	Çeviri , Hikâye: “Kadınların eğitilmesinin gerekliliği ile ilgili bir hikâye...” (p.196) [“Translation, Story: about the need for women to be educated...”]
Charles Merouvel, <i>Gabriel'in Günahı</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
<i>Gönül</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	Çeviri , Hikâye: “Avrupa’da geçen sınıf farkları hakkında bir hikâye” (p.192) [“Translation, Story: about class differences in Europe”]
Beydeba, <i>Hulasa-i Humayunname</i>	Çeviri , Roman: “Kelile ve Dimne’nin haşiyeli tercümesi ” (p.214) [“Translation, Novel: An annotated translation of Kelile and Dimne”]
Ksenophon, <i>Husrevname</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
<i>İki Hudakâr</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	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”]
<i>Jenovefa</i> ¹¹	Çeviri , Yazarı bilinmeyenler: “‘Rumcadan tercüme olunmuştur’ deniliyor” (p.215) [“Translation, Writer unknown: ‘It is noted that the translation was from Greek’”]
Alexandre Dumas fils, <i>Kamelyalı Kadın</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
Paul de Kock, <i>Kamere Aşık</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
<i>Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	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, <i>Konak</i>	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, <i>Lülü-i Asfer</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
<i>Merdud Kız</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
Emile Auffer, <i>Nedamet mi? Heyhat!</i> ¹²	Çeviri , Roman (p.215) [“Translation, Novel”]
Anne Radcliffe, <i>Odolf Hisarı</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.215) [“Translation, Novel”]
Emile Gobariau, <i>Orsival Cinayeti</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
Leon de Tinsau, <i>Papastaki Esrar</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]
Emile Richeborg, <i>Peçeli Kadın</i>	Çeviri , Roman (p.214) [“Translation, Novel”]

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.

Octeve Feuillet, *Sanatkâr Namusu*

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

Şeytankaya Tılsımı

Çeviri, Yazarı bilinmeyenler: "Girişte, 'Fransızca yazılmış bir fıkrayı **değiştirerek yeniden yazdım**' diyor" (p.215) ["Translation, Writer unknown: there is the following note in the introduction: 'I rewrote this, changing an anecdote in French'"]

Pierre Corneille, *Sid'in Hülasası*

Çeviri, Tiyatro: "Le Cid trajedisinin sahne sahne nesirle hikâye biçiminde **özet çevirisi**" (p.215) ["Translation, Drama: Summary translation of *Le Cid* tragedy in the form of a scene-by-scene prose story"]

Su-i Zan [in *Letaif-i Rivayat*]

Çeviri, Hikâye: "Evli bir kadının bir adama randevu verdiğini sanan birisinin yanlışlığını anlamasının gülünç hikâyesi..." (p.191) ["Translation, Story: A comic one about a man realizing he was wrong about a married woman setting up a date with a man"]

Hasan Ata b. Mehmed, *Terbiyeli Bala*¹³

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

Paul de Kock, *Üç Yüzlü Karı*

Çeviri, Roman: "Ebüzziya Tevfik ile birlikte" (p.213) ["Translation, Novel: with Ebüzziya Tevfik"]

Title of the work not identified under the title of "çeviri" (translation)

Bibliographer's description¹⁴

Nasib [in *Letaif-i Rivayat*]

Hikâye: "Konusu Fransızca bir kitaptan alınan masal" (p.194) ["Story whose subject matter was taken from a French book"]

Niza-ı İlm ü Din

Felsefe: "**Tercüme ve telif karışık bir eser.** William John Draper'ın *Conflict Between Religion and Science* adlı katolikleri tenkid eden kitabının tercümesi *Niza-ı İlm ü Din*, ve Ahmet Mithat'ın uzun araya girişlerle kendi görüşlerini anlatması. Ahmet Mithat'ın cevaplarından oluşan kitabın adı İslâm ve Ulum. Yani kitabın iki adı var. İki kitap birbirinin içinde..." (p.209) ["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 *İslâm ve Ulum* [Islam and Science]. In other words, this work has two titles. There are two books, one placed inside the other..."]

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 Mübtediler İçin Kıraat 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):

Alayın Kraliçesi, Amiral Bing, Antonin, Bir Fakir Delikanlının Hikâyesi, Bir Kadının Hikâyesi, Gabriel'in Günâhı, Hüsrevnâme, Kamere Âşık, Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil'in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garîbe, La Dam O Kamelya, Lü'lü-i Aşfer, Merdûd Kız, Niza-ı İlim ve Din, Orsival Cinayeti, Papasdaki Esrâr, Peçeli Kadın, San'atkâr Nâmûsu, Udolf Hisârı, Üç Yüzlü Karı, Bilgiç Kız, Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığına Çıkar [in *Letaif-i Rivayat*]

- (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 Hulâsası, Şeytankaya Tılsımı*

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

Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığına 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, Cankurtaranlar, Çifte İntikam, Cinli Han, Diplomalı Kız, Gönül, İki Hudakâr, Kısmetinde Olanın 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):

Altın Aşıkları, Ana Kız, Cankurtaranlar, Çifte İntikam, Cinli Han, Derebeyleri, Diplomalı Kız, Gönül, Hulasa-i Humayunname, Jenovefa, Nedamet mi? Heyhat!, Su-i Zan, Terbiyeli Bala

- (vii) 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

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

Hokkabaz Kitabı

- (ix) 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 düzyazı 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 *Niza-ı İlm ü Din* in the list of “çeviri” (translation), although she identifies it as “tercüme” (translation) (“Tercüme ve telif karışık bir eser”, Esen 1999: 209; “William John Draper’in *Conflict Between Religion and Science* adlı katalokleri tenkid eden kitabının tercümesi *Niza-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), “*haşiyeli tercüme*” (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 Sırrı 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)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 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’-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 is

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 *çevir-mek*, 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-Gürçağlar's research (2001)¹⁷, 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 *çevir-mek* 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.).¹⁸ 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 Gürçağlar'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 *translatore* 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) “*Terceme*”, “*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 *translation₂* [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 *translation*₂, 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) *translation*₂, 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 *translation*₂. Additionally, he indicates that culture-bound manifestations of *translation*₂ 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*₂ 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*₂, 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

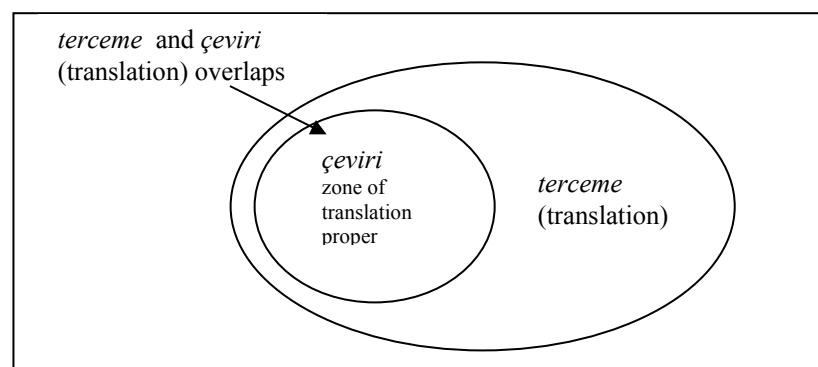
kind of cultural translation they are performing when they are *interpreting*...different concepts of translation” (Hermans 1995: 222).

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*₂’ (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 upto 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:



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 (*translation₂*). 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")¹⁹:

Works identified as "translation" in Bengi (1990)	Works identified as "çeviri" (translation) in Koz (2002) and in Esen (1999)
<i>Alayın Kraliçesi</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Aleksandır Stradella</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Amiral Bing</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Ana Kız</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Antonin</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Bilgiç Kız</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Bir Fakir Delikanlının Hikâyesi</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Bir Kadının Hikâyesi</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Can Kurtaranlar</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Çifte İntikam</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Cinli Han</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Diplomalı Kız</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Gabriyel'in Günahı</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Gönül</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Henriyet</i>	-
<i>İki Hüd'akar</i>	not "çeviri" (translation)
<i>Kamere Aşık</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar</i>	"çeviri-uyarlama" (translation-adaptation)
<i>La Dam O Kamelya</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Lulu-i Esfer</i>	"çeviri" (translation)
<i>Madarın Marifeti</i>	-
<i>Merdud Kız</i>	"çeviri" (translation)

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).

<i>Nedamet mi? Heyhat!</i>	-	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Orsival Cinayeti</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Papazdaki Esrar</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Peçeli Kadın</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Sanatkar Namusu</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Şeytankaya Tılsımı</i>	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Sidin Hülasesı</i>	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Su-i Zan</i>	-	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Udolf Hisarı</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

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):

Works not present in Bengi (1990)	Works identified as “çeviri” (translation) in Koz (2002) and in Esen (1999)	
<i>Altın Aşıkları</i>	-	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Derebeyleri</i>	-	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Hokkabaz Kitabı</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	-
<i>Hülase-i Humayunname</i>	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Husrevname</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Jenovefa</i>	-	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garîbe</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)
<i>Nasib</i>	not “çeviri” (translation)	not “çeviri” (translation)
<i>Niza-ı İlm ü Din</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	not “çeviri” (translation)

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).²⁰

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

²⁰ Tahir-Gürçağlar is also critical of Genette’s conception of translation as ‘paratext’. She claims that his conception is in contradiction 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]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz's list	in Esen's list
<i>Diplomalı Kız</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

Diplomalı Kız was published as the 19th in the series titled *Letaif-i Rivayat* (Finest Stories) (cf. “Ondokuzuncu cüzü ‘*Diplomalı Kız*’ ismiyle bir hikâyeyi havidir”).²¹ 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 fikradır ki kanun-ı 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

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).

[Fıkırayı aynen terceme ediyorum veyahut onu bast ve temhid ile bir roman haline ifrağ eyliyorum zann etmeyiniz. Yalnız ondan aldığım fikir üzerine şu romanı yazarak aslını hiç de ihbar etmemiş olsa idim hiçbir kimse de bunun muktebes veyahut müsterak olduğunu anlayamaz idi. Anlasa idi bile böyle bir iddiada bulunamaz idi. Zira ben Dik May’ın [in Turkish transcription] yazdığı fikradan 10’da 1 istifade etmediğim halde bu 10’da 1’i kendimden 500 misli büyüttüm. Anladınız ya? Dik May’dan hemen hiçbir şeyi kalmadı (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 temhid 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]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>İki Hüd’akâr</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

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

havidir”).²² 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 romancığın zemini 7, 8 mah mukaddem bir Fransız gazetesinde okumuş bulunduğum fıkracık teşkil etmektedir (p.2)... Muktebes-i anhamıza imza konulmamış. Yalnız iki harf yazılarak bunlar dahi müellifin isim ve mahlasının ilk harfleri oldukları derkâr ise de hangi harfleri oldukları da hatırımızdan 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 “Diplomalı 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 üzerinde daima birçok tadilat icra ederim de badehu onları ahlâk-ı umumiyye-i Osmaniyyemize 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. “Diplomalı Kız” namıyla işbu *Letaif-i Rivayat* meyanında ithal etmiş olduğum roman ile sair birçokları hep öyle iktibas suretiyle meydana geldikleri gibi, bu “İki Hüd’akâr” dahi o surette vücud 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)
“fikir-i tadil”	(the idea of changing or amendment)

4.3.1.3. Ana Kız [Mother and Daughter]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Ana Kız</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

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 havidir”).²³ On the title

²³ It is noted that this “story” was first serialized in *Tercüman-ı 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 bilâhare kendi tarafımdan ne surette bast ve temhid eylediğimi 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 fıkra-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 known 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:

Verbs

“hikâye ve roman yollu fikir almak”	(to take an idea by way of story and novel)
“bast ve temhid eylemek”	(to expand and to spread out)
“vakayı fikradan iktibas etmek”	(to borrow incidents from an anecdote)

4.3.1.4. Aleksandr Stradella [Alessandro Stradella]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Aleksandr Stradella</i> [in Turkish transcription]	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

Aleksandr Stradella [in Turkish transcription] is given as the title.²⁴ 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

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:

Verbs	
“bi’l-iktibas yazmak”	(to write by means of borrowing from)

4.3.1.5. *Şeytankaya Tılsımı* [Devil-rock Talisman]²⁵

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Şeytankaya Tılsımı</i>	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

Şeytankaya Tılsımı 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 (*temhid*) it out

²⁵ In his preface to his emulated novel (“*nazire*” p.3) *Haydut Montari* (1305/1887-1888), Ahmed Midhat Efendi identifies *Şeytankaya Tılsımı* 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 (“*nazire*” *ibid.*) of Alexandre Dumas’s novel *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1844).

²⁶ It is noted that this “novel” 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).

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!]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz's list	in Esen's list
<i>Nedamet mi? Heyhat!</i>	- (completely missing from the list)	“çeviri” (translation)

Nedamet mi? Heyhat! is given as the title.²⁷ 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 Hasbıhal” (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

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 romancılık hususunda görülen ahvalin bizde yalnız 15, 20 sene zarfında hemen kâmilin görülmüş olması kazıyyesidir. Çünkü erbab-ı terceme ve teliften 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 bulduklarından bizde roman denilen şeye dair mevcut olan fikir Avrupaca 60 senelik bir zamanın 3'te 1 nisbetinde tenkısı suretinde 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] cenablarının bu eseri bir roman değil bir tiyatro oyunu imiş. Ama öyle birkaç defa oynandıktan sonra kuşe-i nisyanı atıliverilecek derme çatma oyunlardan değil! Evvela nesir değil bir eser-i manzumdur... Korney, Rasin [in Turkish transcriptions] gibi Fransa'nın "klâsik" addolonan esatizesinin manzum tiyatrolarındaki letafet-i şiiyye derecesinde mühim metn-i üstadane-i tahrirane bir şiir ki ehl-i lisan olan Fransızlar için bile her bir mısraını birkaç sahifelik şerh ve haşiye 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 ayniyye*"):

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).

[...biz terceme-i ayniyye taraftarı deęiliz. Fransızca bir cümleyi, bir kelâmı hatta bir sahifeyi okuruz. Ne anlar isek onu müstakillen yani yeniden Osmanlıca yazarız. İşte bunun için bizim tercemelerimiz resen Osmanlıca yazılmış gibi olur. Haydi Emil Öjye'nin [in Turkish transcription] *Serseri*'sini de böyle terceme edelim. Fakat bu eser öyle âsar-ı adiyye-i mensureden deęil.... Bu kadar itinalı eserin ne yolda tercemesi lâıyk olacaęı bizi bihakkın düşündürmeye başladı. Derken aklımıza vaktiyle terceme yollu yazmış olduęumuz “Amiral Bing” romanı geldi (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).

[İşte bu mütalâaya mebni *Amiral Bing*'i romana tahvil ederek yazmış idik... Emil Öjye'nin [in Turkish transcription] *Serseri*'si hakkında da bu kaideye riayete lüzum gördük. Hatta Amiral Bing'in ismince de biraz tadil olduęu gibi *Serseri*'nin ismini külliyyen tebdile kadar lüzum gördük. “Niçin?” mi dediniz? Doğrusu o kadar nazikane, hikemiyane bir eser-i lâtif için bu *Serseri* ismini biraz liyakatsiz bulduk.... Romana *Nedamet mi? Heyhat!* ismini verdik. (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 writted *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 [eylemek]”	(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. *Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar* [Whatever is your lot will turn up on your spoon]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	“çeviri-uyarlama” (translation-adaptation)	“çeviri” (translation)

Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar was published as the 18th in the series of *Letaif-i Rivayat* (Finest Stories) (cf. “Onsekizinci cüz ‘*Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar*’ ismiyle bir hikâyeyi havidir”).²⁸ 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 fıkra üzerine bina eyledik (p.2).]

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 Kırk 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 (*fıkra*) 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
“fıkra üzerine bina eylemek” (to base on an anecdote)

4.3.1.8. *Çifte İntikam* [Double Revenge]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Çifte İntikam</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	not “çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

Çifte İntikam was published as the 16th in the series of *Letaif-i Rivayat* (Finest Stories) (cf. “Onaltıncı cüz ‘*Çifte İntikam*’ ismiyle bir hikâyeyi havidir”).²⁹ On the title page, Ahmed Midhat Efendi refers to himself as the “*muarrir*” (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 fıkra teşkil eyliyor (p.2).]

²⁹ 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 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*]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz's list	in Esen's list
<i>Amiral Bing</i> [in Turkish transcription]	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

The title of this text is *Amiral Bing* [in Turkish transcription].³⁰ 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.³¹ There is also a preface titled “Mukaddime” (Introduction).

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 Minakyan'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>, 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 etmekte olduğum bu roman, tiyatrodan oynanmak 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 eylemiştir. Zira vak‘a bir zamanda vukua geliyor ki İngiltere ile Amerika arasında zuhur eden muharebe-i azimeye Fransa dahi müdahale ederek birçok asırlarda bir düşmeyecek surette âlâ bir zemin tehiye eylemiş olduktan başka, o vakayı-i azime-i tarihiyyenin 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).

[Eseri aslından çıkarmamak için yine bir tiyatro dramı olmak üzere terceme eyleme lüzumu varid-i hatır olmuş idi. Lâkin o dramın temaşasından lüzumu vechile lezzet almak için tarihin bu fasıllarını güzelce bilmek lazım gelip bu ise herkese müyesser olamadığından izahat-ı lâzıme ye yol bulmak üzere roman suretine tahvil etmeyi müreccah gördüm.

Mahaza eserin tertibat ve taksimat-ı esasiyyesini hemen tagyir etmedim. Tagyir edebilir miyim ki bu eser herbiri bizim gibileri çıraklığa bile kabulden bihakkın istigna gösterir beş zatın³² ittihad-ı efkâr ve hayaliyle vücuda gelmiştir. Binaenaleyh taksimat-ı esasiyyesini tagyir etmeksizin mümkün mertebe nazar-ı rağbete şayan olabilecek bir surette roman haline tahvile muvaffak olabilir isem kendimi yine muzaffer ve bahtiyar add edebilirim (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-ı esasiye*") of the original play in the TT.

We find the following translational terms and/or concepts in his statements:

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 eylemek”	(to translate)
“roman suretine tahvil etmek	(to convert into the form of a novel)
“tertibat ve taksimat-ı esasiyesini tagyir et[me]mek” ([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]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Bilgiç Kız</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

The title of this text is *Bilgiç Kız*.³³ 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 “mütercim” (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 “mütercim” 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

³³ It is noted that this was first serialized in *Tercüman-ı 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 safiye-i aşıkâne”) 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).

[Geçen sene hikâye-i mezkûreyi Figaro nüshalarından kesmiş olan bir zat bu muharrir-i âcize ihda ederek tercemesi iltimasında da bulunmuş olduğu halde, “Kamere Âşık” serlevhasıyla Pol dö Kok’tan [Paul de Kock] terceme edilmekte bulunan diğer büyük roman buna meydan vermemiş idi. Bادهu araya “Amerika Doktorları” girdiğinden nihayet şimdi hikâye-i mezkureyi “Bilgiç Kız” serlevhasıyla tadilen tercemeye başladık (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).

[İsminin tebdilinden maksat hikâye içindeki dört mühim zattan en ehemmi, romanın mürettibi tarafından Mülazım Bone olacağı tahayyül edilmiş iken

bilâkis bilgiçliğine mağrur olan başka bir kızın Mülazım Bone'ye ehemmiyetçe faik görülmesinden naşidir (p.3).]

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 trois jupons]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz's list	in Esen's list
Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

The title of this work is *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı*.³⁴ 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).

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 Karı*, 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).

[Nazar-ı ittilanıza arz eylediğimiz (*Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı*) ünvanlı şu hikâye şimdiye kadar içimizde matbuat-ı cedide mütalâasını merak edenlerin ülfet edegeldikleri tarzda tasvir ve tahrir olunmuştur. Çünkü gerek bu tarz-ı tasvir ve tahrir ve gerek musavvir ve muharriri olan Pol dö Kok henüz bazılarımızın mechulüdür... Bu zat --yalnız mensup olduğu millet indinde değil zamanımızca fıkdanı bütün Avrupa halkınca zayıat-ı azimeden madud olabilecek-- bir Fransız münşisidir (p.2).]

It is evident that Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Ebüzziya Tevfik translated Paul de Kock’s novel *La Femme aux trois 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 (“*Fransız 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 trois 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

(“*letafet*”), 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-yı beşerde renk renk cilveger olan tecelliyat-ı fitratı bu hikâyenin dairesini... Pol dö Kok’un göstermek istediği yolda gösterebilişimizden ibarettir (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 yalnız şu hikâyesini arz ile iktifa etmeyeceğiz. Bu hikâyede numunesini göreceğiniz tarzın daima enva-ı adîdesini musavver olan, miktarı seksen parçaya varan sair hikâyelerini dahi gerek terceme ve tahrir ve gerek mütalaa ve iştirâ cihetlerince 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

- (iii) they say that they performed neither a literal nor a free translation in rendering *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı*
- (iv) they state that the strategy they followed consisted of “rewriting the sense of the ST” in the target language.
- (v) they say that they never distorted the structure and action-line or plot of the ST
- (vi) Their rewriting strategy seems to be related to both translation (“*terceme*”) and writing (“*tahrir*”) as well as examining (“*mütalaa*”) and purchasing (“*iştira*”)
- (vii) 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 vakanın tavır ve mişvarlarını asla bozmamak”	(never to distort the structure and story-line [of the original])

Nouns

“harfîyyen terceme”	(word-for-word translation)
“mealên terceme”	(free translation)
“terceme ve tahrir cihetince”	(from the point of view of translation and writing)
“mütalaa ve iştira cihetince”	(from the point of view of examining and purchasing)

4.3.2.4. *Hüsrevname* [Cyropaedia]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Hüsrevname</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

The title of this text is *Hüsrevname*.³⁵ 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

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*.³⁶ 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”³⁷ [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).

[Bu kitap Avrupa elsininin kâffesine defaat ile terceme olunmuştur. Yalnız Fransızca dört tercemesi vardır. Biz, Fransa Akademiyası azasından “Dasye”nin eseri olup bundan 108 sene evvel basılmış olan nüshayı intihab eyledik (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 hususîsini 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 kimbilir arzın hangi tabakatında kaldığı tayin olunamayan bir kafanın ne gibi hissiyat ile ne yolda muhakematta bulunduğunu göstereceğiz (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 Fénelon’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-i ricali meyanında behre-i kalemiyyeyi, meziyyat-ı seyfiyyeye zamm etmiş olan “Ksenofon”un eseridir. Okuyanlara vereceği ders-i hikmet ve göstereceği 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 tarafından olduğunu ve ne cihetlerce noksanı bulunduğunu izah eyliyor ki bizce lüzumu 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:

Verbs

“aynen terceme etmek”	(to translate literally)
“terceme olunmak”	(to be translated)
“terceme eylemek”	(to translate)

Nouns

“terceme”	(translation)
“mütercim”	(translator)

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

4.3.3.1. *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din – İslâm ve Ulûm* [Conflict Between Religion and Science – Islam and Science]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din-İslâm ve Ulûm</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	listed outside the category “çeviri” (translation)

There are two titles and two writers on the title page of this work.³⁸ One of the titles is *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Din*, 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-maarifi 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 Mûtaalatımız” (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 ayniyye*”) 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 sername koyduk. Bunun birisi Draper’ın *Les Conflits de la science et la religion* diye kendi kitabına koyduğu sernamenin terceme-i ayniyyesidir. Diğeri dahi o kitabı dahi kısmen şerh ve kısmen intikad yollu taraf-ı âcizanemizden yazılan sözlere mahsus bir sernamedir. Bu halde şu kitap bir cild içinde iki kitap hükmünü almıştır (pp.2-3).]

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-ı 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 yekdiğerine 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 mütalâat-ı âcizanemiz dahi büyük huruf ile dizildiğinden o huruf ile mürettep olan aksam müteselsilen okunmuş olur ise ait oldukları mesail hakkındaki mütalâat-ı 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.³⁹

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).

[Biz ise bilâkis şu kitap münasebetiyle ulûma mukabil İslâmiyetin ne mevki ve halde bulunduğunu meydana koyacak olur isek nasraniyyet ile ulûm arasında niza ve cidal noktası denilen şeylerin İslâmiyet ile ulûm arasında bilâkis nukat-ı mutabakat ve muvafakat oldukları görülerek Avrupa ve Amerika milel-i müterakkiye ve münevveresinin İslâmiyetimiz hakkındaki nazarı daha ziyade başkalaşacağını ümid eyliyoruz (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).

[Draper’in eserinden lüzumu kadar sözleri bitterceme onları bir “söz” eyledikten sonra tarafımızdan söylenecek sözler dahi bir “cevab” teşkil edeceklerinden bu surette yürütülecek mübahesenin tab-ı kariine kelâl dahi vermeyeceği ümit olundu (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

³⁹ For a piece of research on Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s views on the relationship between science and religion in this work, see also Sema Ermiş (2004), an unpublished M.A. thesis titled “Ahmed Mithat Efendi’nin *Niza-ı İlm ü Din* Eserinde Din Bilim İlişkisi”.

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).

[Draper’ın sözleri meyanında pek çok mükerrerat vardır ve bazı sözler dahi bizce bilküllüye haric-i ez maksattır. Bu mükerreratın tarafımızdan dahi tekrar olunmaması ve bu mâ-lâ-yanilerin tercemelerinin terk edilmesi bir tarik-i ihtisar add olundu ise de muallim-i mumaileyhin asıl meramı, asıl fikri asla tebdil olunmayıp tercemanlık için lâbüdd ve lâcerem olan sadakatten ser-i mu inhiraf edilmedi (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 (“*muhavere*”)
- (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:

Verbs

“muhavere suretine koymak”	(to put into the form of dialogue)
“bitterceme”	(by translating)
“asil fikri tebdil etmemek”	(not to change the main idea [of the original])
“kısmen şerh ve kısmen intikad yollu yazmak”	(to write by way of commenting and criticizing partially)

Nouns

“terceme”	(translation)
“terceme-i ayniyye”	(literal translation)
“tarik-i ihtisar”	(way of carrying out abridgement)
“tercemanlık”	([the profession of] interpreting)
“sadakat”	(faithfulness)

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]***

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe</i>	“çeviri” (translation)	“çeviri” (translation)

The title of this text is *Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe*.⁴⁰ There is also a note indicating that it was transferred (*nakl*) from German into Ottoman Turkish (“Almancadan Osmanlıcaya 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).

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-ı Hakikat*. It was also noted at the bottom that it was published by Kırk Anbar Matbaası in Istanbul in 1296/1878-1879.

The *nâkils* 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’in Kafkasya muharebatından bir fıkra-i tarihiyye üzerine mebni olarak kaleme aldığı bir romanı Osmanlı lisanına 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 Beygü 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\(entityref.adb0230119\)](http://mdz.bib-bvb.de/digbib/lexika/adb/images/adb023/@ebt-link?target=idmatch(entityref.adb0230119)), visited on May 5, 2005.

[Burada karilerimize asıl arz etmek ümidinde bulunduğumuz bir şey dahi Avrupalıların “kollaborasyon” tabir eyledikleri “sa’y-i müşterek” usulünden bir numune göstermektir (p.4).]

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).

[İşbu sa’y-i müşterek usulünün ne kadar mühim ve nafi olduğunu karilerimize güzelce tefhim için şunu söyleyelim ki işte biz ayrı ayrı iki adam olduğumuz halde birimiz Almanca bilmez diğerimizin dahi Osmanlıcası bu nama seza olacak derecede değildir. Şu halde sa’y-i müşterek usulü ikimizi tevhid etmemiş olsa idi böyle Almancadan bir eseri şu suretle Osmanlıcaya tahvil edemez idik. Ama sa’y-i müşterek usulü bizi bu işte ol suretle mezc ve tevhid eylemiştir ki ikimizden bir Alman kadar Almanca ve bir Osmanlı kadar dahi Osmanlıca bilir bir muktedir mütercim çıkmıştır (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).

[İşte milletimizin telifce olan ihtiyacına hizmet edecek evlâd-ı vatan için şu kadar suhuleti mucib bir tarik daha irae eyliyoruz. Ümid ederiz ki kadirşinasan bu tariki, şayan-ı sülûk bir tarik bulurlar (pp.5-6).]

The data pertaining to TT and ST on the title page and in the preface point out that

- (i) Ahmed Midhat Efendi and Vizental refer to themselves on the title page as “*nâkil*” 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 bitterceme”	(through translating into Ottoman Turkish)
“Osmanlıcaya 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*]

Target Text (TT)	in Koz’s list	in Esen’s list
<i>Hulâsa-i Humayunname</i>	[a non-translation]	“çeviri” (translation)

The title of this text is *Hulâsa-i Humayunname*.⁴² 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).⁴³

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. Atâ Çatıkkaş’s (1999) edition, which was published by the Turkish Ministry of Culture under the title *Ahmed Midhat’ın Kelile ve Dimne Tercümesi (Hulâsa-i Humayunnâme)*. In his edition, Çatıkkaş identifies this work as “tercüme” (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).⁴⁴ 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).

[Kütübhane-i Osmaniyyemizi teşkil eyleyen âsar-ı kadime meyanında "*Hümayunname*" denilir bir kitap vardır ki hikmet-i ameliyyeyi gerek insanlara ve gerek hayvanlara isnad olunan birçok lâtif hikâyeler ile tasvir ederek okuyanları hem ziyadesiyle eğlendirir ve hem de eğlendirdiğinden daha ziyade olmak üzere müstefid eyler. Bu kitabın Osmanlıcası bizce kitab-ı kadimeden add olunduğu gibi aslı bilkülliyeye kadimedir. Zira asıl nam-ı kadimi "*Kelile ve Dimne*" olmak üzere Hind'in "Sanskrit" denilen eski lisanı üzerine telif olunarak badehu tercemededen tercemeye Osmanlıcaya kadar gelmiştir (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.

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-Hüsn 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 “Rudegî” (“*nesirden nazma nakl edilmek*” p.5). Because Rudegî’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 anlaşılır bir lisanla tekrar yazılmasına...”, p.6).

Ahmed Midhat Efendi goes on to inform the reader that Mevlana Hüseyin bin Ali El-Vaiz (also known as Kâşifi) titled his fifteenth century version of *Kelile ve Dimne* in Persian *Envâr-ı Süheylî* (Lights from Süheylî) (Doğrul 1960: viii-ix). He writes:

Kâşifi 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 *Envar-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.

[[Kâşifi] onu gayet selis ve vazih bir lisanla o kadar güzel yazmıştır ki mukaddema edilen tercemelerden ve belki nüsha-i Hindiyyesinden daha ziyade meşhur olarak “*Envar-ı Süheylî*” diye tesmiye eylediği 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 sani Efendimiz Hazretleri bu kitab-ı celilin namını tecdid ve fevaidini tamim için asr-ı şahanelerinin tarz-ı selis ifadeleriyle

telhisini bu çaker-i hak-beraberleri Ahmed Midhat kölelerine irade ve ferman buyurmuşlardır (p.9).]

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 nüshayı esas tutsun da yapacağı hulâsayı ona göre yapsın. İstilah-perdazlık külfetine girişmesin. Sair yazdığı kitaplar gibi bunu da sade, güzel ve sehlülfehm bir yolda yazsın. Hikâyelerin netayicinde istintac olunacak hikmetlerden şayan gördüklerini şerh ve izah dahi eylesin” diye ferman buyurmuşlardır (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 “*mûlahhis*” (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:

Verbs

“Pehlevi lisanına bitterceme”	(through translating into Pahlavi)
“lisan-ı Arabiye terceme ettirmek”	(to have translated into Arabic)
“Farişiye terceme ettirmek”	(to have translated into Persian)
“nesirden nazma nakl edilmek”	(to be conveyed from prose to verse)
“anlaşılır bir lisanla tekrar yazmak”	(to rewrite in an understandable language)
“selis ve vazıh bir lisanla yazmak”	(to write in a clear and understandable language)
“hulâsa yapmak”	(to make a summary)
“sade, güzel ve sehl’ül-fehm bir yolda yazmak”	(to write in a simple, beautiful and understandable way)
“şerh ve izah eylemek”	(to comment and to explain)
“reng-i aslisinden çık[ar]mak”	(to violate the color of the original)

Nouns

“terceme”	(translation)
“terceme-i muğlaka”	(incomprehensible translation)
“hulâsa”	(summary)
“telhis”	(a making of summary or abstract)
“mülahhis”	(one who summarizes)

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 Yüzlü Bir Karı*, *Hüsrevname*, *Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe*

“*nakl*” (conveying) e.g., *Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe*

“*iktibas or muktebes*” (borrowing or borrowed from) e.g., *Diplomalı Kız, İki Hüd’akâr, Ana Kız, Aleksandr Stradella, Şeytankaya Tılsımı, Nedamet mi? Heyhat!, Kısmetinde Olanın Kaşığında Çıkar, Çifte İntikam*

“*müsterak*” (stolen) e.g., *Diplomalı Kız*

“*muhavere*” (dialogue and the translator’s response “*cevap*” as part of dialogue) e.g., *Niza-ı İlm ü Din-İslam 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:

collocations 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 romanlarını*] *terceme veya taklid eylemek*” (to translate or to imitate [European novels]), “*terceme ve tahrir [etmek]*” (to translate and to write), “*hükümünü terceme etmek*” (to translate the sense of the original), “*tadilen terceme etmek*” (to translate by amending), “*aynen terceme etmek*” (to translate as the same), “*harfiyyen terceme [etmek]*” (to translate word-for-word), “*mealen terceme [etmek]*” (to translate the sense), “*Osmanlı lisanına 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), “*vakayı fikradan iktibas etmek*” (to borrow incidents from an anecdote),

collocations centering on “*almak*” (to appropriate, to take):

“*hikâye ve roman yollu fikir almak*” (to take an idea by way of story and novel), “*[aşlın] fikrini almak*” (to take the idea from the original), “*mütalaa ve işтира [etmek]*” (to examine and to purchase), “*fikra üzerine bina eylemek*” (to base on an anecdote), “*zemini fikra teşkil eylemek*” (to set up an anecdote as a base),

collocations centering on “*yazmak*” (to write) and/or “*yeniden yazmak*” (to rewrite):

“*fikir üzerine roman yazmak*” (to write a novel based on the idea [of the original]), “*o fikir 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 hükmünü 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), “*anlaşılr bir lisanla tekrar yazmak*” (to rewrite in an understandable language), “*romana tahvil ederek yazmak*” (to write by converting into a novel),

collocations 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),

collocations centering on “*tahvil etmek*” (to convert) and “*nakl etmek*” (to convey):

“*Osmanlıcaya 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), “*nesirden nazma nakl etmek*” (to convey from prose to verse),

collocations centering on “tebdil etmek” (to change), “tagyir etmek” (to change), “tadil etmek” (to adjust):

“*[ismini] tebdil etmek*” (to change the name [of the original]), “*[ismini] külliyyen tebdil etmek*” (to change totally the name [of the original]), “*tadilat icra etmek*” (to perform adjustments), “*tertibat ve taksimat-ı esasiyesini tagyir et[me]mek*” ([not] to change essential arrangements and divisions [of the original]), “*asıl fikri tebdil etmemek*” (not to change the main idea [of the original]), “*aza-yı vakanın tavir ve mişvarlarını 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),

collocations centering on “muhavere” (dialogue):

“*muhavere suretine koymak*” (to put into the form of dialogue),

collocations centering on “hulâsa” (summary):

“*hulâsa yapmak*” (to summarize)

collocations 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:

“*mütercim*” (translator), “*muharrir*” (writer), “*nâkil*” (conveyor), “*mülâhhis*” (one who summarizes).

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*”.

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 Translation¹ of Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid*

The present chapter is a case study of Ahmed Midhat Efendi's summary translation, *Sid'in² 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?

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 ĩ d" (سید) in the title of *Sid'in Hulâsası* (سیدك خلاصهسى) 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 İsmail 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 (2nd 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 Yardım 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 Hulâsası*.

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 Hulâsası* contains two paratextual parts, namely “İfade” (Statement/Preface) and “*Sid'in İntikadı*” (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 Hulâsası* in 1890-91/1308 with a preface and an annotated critique (*intikad*) he added to the end. Though the ST³ was of about 75 pages, Ahmed Midhat Efendi's summary translation added up to a total of 222 pages; *Sid'in Hulâsası* included the summary itself (of about 131 pages) and two important paratextual sections, titled "İfade" (Statement) (of about 14 pages) and "*Sid'in İntikadı*" (Critique of *Le Cid*) (of about 76 pages). Ahmed Midhat Efendi identified

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 kısmı, posası, ve fazla şeyleri çıkarıldıktan sonra kalan güzidesi (Şemseddin Sami 1899-1900/1317: 585). Şemseddin Sami also adds the following: “uzun bir bahis ve makalenin az sözle ifade 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.⁴ Within this genre, Ahmed Midhat Efendi emerges as an important literary figure who followed

⁴ See *Eski Harfli 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 Humâyunnâme*, Beydeba, (Çeviren Alaaddin Ali Çelebi, özetleyen Ahmed Midhat), İstanbul 1887/1304, Matbaa-i Amire; *Hulâsa-i Mantık*, (Çeviren Ahmed Muhtar), İstanbul 1895/1312, Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekası Matbaası; *Hulâsatü'l-Vefai şerhi's-Şifa. Şifa-i Şerif Tercümesi*. Kadı İvaz Ebu el-Fazl Musa bin Yahsibi (Çeviren ve şerh eden İbrahim Hanif), 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).

[İyi ama elbette bilirsiniz ki klâsik denilen eserlerde başlıca iki meziyet bulunup bunun birincisi hayal, ikincisi belâğattir ki ikisi de bütün emsalinden daha mümtaz olmaz ise o eser için klâsik olmak ehemmiyeti uzak kalır. Terceme denilen şey ister aynen olsun, ister serbest terceme suretinde bulunsun mutlaka mütercem-i anhanın belâgatini aynen naklettiremez... Eğer maksad Avrupa enafis-i âsarını bizim için lüzum ve vücubu dairesinde tanımak ise işte *Sid* için yaptığım hulâsa kadarı kâfi görülemez mi? (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.

⁵ Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated two works into Turkish in the form of summary. The first in which he referred to himself as “*mülâhhis*” (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].

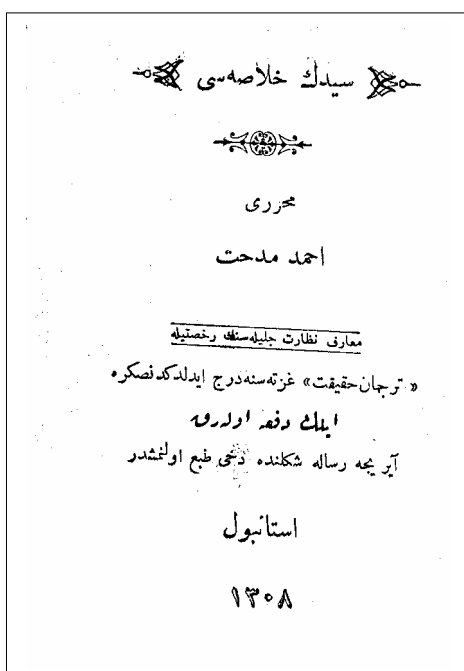
A few years after he wrote his preface to *Sid'in Hulâsası*, Ahmed Midhat Efendi reiterated the importance of the summary translation strategy in the “classics debate” of 1897. In his article titled “Yine İkrâm-ı Aklâm”, he explained this strategy and suggested that it needed to be taken as a solution 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).

[...harfiyyen nakl ve terceme meselesindeki güçlükleri hafiflendirmek için ‘anotasyon’ dedikleri şerh ve tahşiye suretine de müracaat olunmuştur. Felatun, Sokrat, Ksenofon vesaire gibi meşahirin ibare-i Yunaniyyesi sol sayfanın yukarıki nısfına aynen derc olunduktan sonra sağ sahife boylu boyuna iki sûtuna bi’t-taksim birinci sûtuna kelime-be-kelime cümle-be-cümle Yunanî ibareler ve onların mukabiline ikinci sûtuna dahi noktası noktasına Fransızca tercemeler yazılmıştır. Bu tercemeler okunsa letafetini bulmak şöyle dursun, anlaşılmaq bile kabil olamayacağından, hulâsa-i terceme halis Fransızca ile bir daha kaleme alınarak o da sağ sayfanın aşağıki nısfına derc olunmuştur. Teracim-i ayniyye, o lisanın hakayık ve dekayıkı letafetine vusul için olduğu cihetle bu yoldaki müşkilat işte bu surette bertaraf edilmiştir (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.



The title page of *Sid'in Hulâsası*

Sid'in Hulâsası was published in a series of “Enafis-i Âsârın 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 müştakil bulunduğumuz halde klâsikleri tanımamak bizim için büyük bir nakısadır (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 mevzulardan ibaret kaldığına göre velev ki serbest terceme suretinde olsun âsar-ı mezkûreyi uzun uzadıya tercemedenden de bir faide-i ciddiye bekleyebilir misiniz? Eğer maksat Avrupa enafis-i âsarını bizim için lüzum ve vücubu 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)

- i) He did not translate *Le Cid* but summarized
- ii) He did not give a literal rendering of the verse
- iii) 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).

[Âlâ! Âlâ! İşte *Cid*'in hulâsası bu şeraitin kâffesini camidir. Fransızca bilmeyen bir Osmanlı bu hulâsayı okumakla *Cid*'i tanımış olur. Hem de pek âlâ ve lüzum-ı hakikisi derecesinde mükemmelen tanımış olur. Fransızca bilen bir Osmanlıya hizmetiniz bundan daha nafidir. Zira bu suretle eseri tanıdıktan sonra Fransızca olan aslını okur ise o zaman bihakkın anlar. Şimdi *Cid* için ettiğiniz himmeti sair klâsiklere de tamiminizden başka ricamız kalmadı (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 değiştirmeksizin derece-i kâfiyede hulâsa 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 İntikadı” (The Critique of *Le Cid*) (Appendix 5, pp.416-429)

“*Sid*’in İntikadı” (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: 205⁶). *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 Castro⁷. 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 *İntikad*", 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.

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*, 11th 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*.⁸ 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).

[...kısım-ı evvel *Sid*'in zeminine, kısım-ı sanisi *Sid*'deki ebyatın hangileri Fransız lisanı nokta-i nazarınca şayeste-i muaheze ve intikad olduklarına dairdir. Bu ikinci kısım intikadın bizim gibi o lisanın ehli olmayanlara faide vermeyeceği derkârdır. Binaenaleyh biz asıl nazarı-ı ehemmiyeti Akademiya'nın yazdığı makalenin kısım-ı evveline hasretmek mecburiyetindeyiz (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

historical figure and the story of Rodrigue, the protagonist in Corneille's *Le Cid*. 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).

[Korney'in yazmış olduğu *Sid*'in zemini ile yukarıdaki fıkrada Sid hakkında dermiyan eylemiş olduğumuz malûmat-ı tarihiyye arasındaki mübayeneti görerek Korney'i bununla muahezeye hak bulamayız. Bir kere bu misüllü âsarda üdebanın tarihe mahkum kalmaları hiç lâzım gelmez. Bu nokta bin defa bahse çekilmiş ve hemen kâffesinde ittifak-ara ile böyle hükm olunmuştur (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*.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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

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/~wulftric/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 mahsus kaleme alarak Korney'i o kadar tahkir etmiş idi ki artık dünyada Korney'den daha cahil ve *Sid*'den daha fena hiçbir eser bulunmadığını hükme kadar varmış idi. *Sid*'in 72 beyti İspanyolca aslından terceme gibi bir şey olduğu beyanıyla bu halde tekmil-i eserin İspanyolcadan terceme demek olacağını ve o tercemenin de fena bir terceme bulunduğunu hükmetmiş 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 (*zemin*) for his *Le Cid*, (ii) Corneille did not do a literal rendering (*aynen terceme*) 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).

[Korney'den evvel dahi iki İspanyol şairleri bu nama birer trajedy yazmışlardır ki birinin adı Gilhem de Kastro'dur. Bunlar yekdiğerine asla benzemeyip Korney bunlardan Gilhem'i kendisine zemin ittihaz eylediği halde o dahi Gilhem de Kastro'yu aynen terceme etmeyip pek çok yerlerde ona muhalefet ederek kendiliğince bir başka eser yazmıştır (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 Nigâr 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 "Nigâr 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).

[Seyyidem... *Sid*'in annote bir tabı olduğu hatırıma geldi. Dün onu buldurdum... Bu kitabın notları içinde pek çok intikadat ve malûmat bulacaksınız. Sade *Sid*'den ibaret bir nüshayı okumaktan ziyade müstefid olacaksınız. Malûm a, murad Korney'i terceme değildir. Trajedya usulünü görmektir. Canımız ister ise "Nigâr dahi Korney'in *Sid*'ini şöyle yazmış" deriz. Ha! Bakınız hâlâ hatırıma gelmiyor. Korney dahi *Sid*'i icad etmemiş, İspanyolca'dan almış. Siz bir kere şunu okuyunuz da yine görüşür, konuşuruz... (Bekiroğlu 2004).]¹¹

As can be seen, Ahmed Midhat Efendi seems to have encouraged Nigâr 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 (*trajedyâ usulü*) known to Ottomans rather than translating the play itself.

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 Aşiyan, İstanbul.

Most of the pages in “*Sid’in İntikadı*” were devoted to Ahmed Midhat Efendi’s critique of the Academy, whose claims he assumed generally to be unfair and driven by an ulterior 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 acibe*” (extraordinary incidents) and “*ahval-i âdiye*” (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).

[Aristo diyor ki: Ahval-i âdiye denilen şey insanlara hâl ve şanlarına göre alelâde vaki olan ahvaldir... Ahval-i acibe ise intizarın hilafına fakat daima imkân dahilinde olarak vukua gelen ahvaldir (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 situation 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).

[Filvaki Rodrik ve Şimen ve Kral vesairenin hareketleri... ayrı ayrı tahlil edilecek olur ise herbiri ahval-i âdiyeden olduğu görülerek binaenaleyh asıl fevkaladelik ve garaib dahi bunların teselsülünden peyda olduğu taayyün eder ki o halde Korney dahi Aristo’nun vaz eylemiş olduğu kaideden tebaüd etmemiş olur (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).¹²

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

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 İkrâm-ı Aklâm" (Kudema-yı Yunanîyenin teracim-i âsarından müteşekkil bir kolleksiyona malikiz ki Felatun, Sokrat, Ksenofon vesaire gibi meşâhîrin 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).

[Trajedyalarda bütün vukuatın yirmidört saat zarfında gûzar etmesi mutaddır. Yani sair âsar-ı edebiyeye gibi trajedyalardan bir meselenin senelerce suret-i devamı hikâye veyahud irae olunamaz. Onu öyle bir tasvir etmeli ki senelerce sürmüş olan vakayı var ise bile onlar hatırdâ bulunmak üzere asıl zemin yirmidört saatlik bir vak'a veyahud vakayı olsun. Akademiya bunu bilmiyor değildir (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 Hulâsası* 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 Hulâsası* 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

The distribution of the scenes in the acts	(Birinci Meclis) Act I	(İkinci Meclis) Act II	(Üçüncü Meclis) Act III	(Dördüncü Meclis) Act IV	(Beşinci Meclis) Act V
<i>Sid'in Hulâsası</i> (TT)	7 [5]	8	6	5	7
<i>Le Cid</i> (ST)	6	8	6	5	7

Table 2 demonstrates the structural change in Act I in TT:

<i>Sid'in Hulâsası</i> (TT)	<i>Le Cid</i> (ST)
Birinci Perde	Act I
Birinci Meclis [Şimen, Elvir]	Scène I [Chimène, Elvire]
İkinci Meclis [Ürrak, Leonor, Mabeynci] + [Donna Urraque's prayer referred to as Üçüncü Meclis]	Scène II [L'Infante, Léonor, Page]
Dördüncü Meclis [Don Gomes, Don Diyeg] + [Don Diègue's suffering referred to as Beşinci Meclis]	Scène III [Le Comte, Don Diègue]
Altıncı Meclis [Don Diyeg, Don Rodrig]	Scène IV [Don Diègue]
Yedinci Meclis [Don Rodrig]	Scène V [Don Diègue, Don Rodrigue]
	Scène VI [Don Rodrigue]

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 - Prens Ürrak, yanında mürebbiyesi Leonor, mabeyncisi olduğu (21) hâlde saha-i temaşaya girip mabeynciyi Şimen'i çağırma gönderdikten sonra kendisi mürebbiyesiyle yalnız kalınca hasbîhâle başlar. O da Rodrig'e âşık ama bunu henüz mürebbiyesinden bile saklıyor. Binaenaleyh mürebbiyesi, Prensini söyletmek için:

- Efendim! Hergün sizi Şimen ile görüşmek arzusu icbar ve tazyik eyliyor. Hem görüyorum ki her defa meselâ katınızda sevdasının derecesini soruyorsunuz!

deyince Prens:

- 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)

Altıncı Meclis – İhtiyar Diyeg oğluna sarılıp öpmek, koklamak ister ise de o genç kahramanı pek meyus bulunca tereddüt eder. Şu ak saçlarıyla duçar olduğu hakareten kendisini kurtaran ve kontun o namuslu yüze sürdüğü lekeyi yine onun kanıyla yıkayan oğlu birçok medh ü sena eyledikten sonra “Gel o temizlediğin yüzü öp” diye davet eyler ise de Şimen’den meyus olan Rodrig bu taltifatın 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 bahtiyarîsi olan Şimen’i ebediyen kaybetmiş olduğu için hiçbir şeyle müteselli olamayacağını 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

	Act I	Act II	Act III	Act IV	Act V
The distribution of scenes translated by means of paraphrase in <i>Sid'in Hulâsası</i>	Scene 7	-	Scene 5 Scene 6	Scene 3	Scene 2

Table 4

<i>Sid'in Hulâsası</i> (TT)	Characters whose utterances were paraphrased	Number of the verse lines in ST
Act I, Scene 7	Rodrig (Don Rodrigue)	60
Act III, Scene 5	Diyeg (Don Diègue)	20
Act III, Scene 6	Diyeg (Don Diègue) Rodrig (Don Rodrigue)	78 [52+26]
Act IV, Scene 3	Kral Fernand (King Fernand) Rodrig (Don Rodrigue)	122 [31+91]
Act V, Scene 2	Prenses Ürrak (Dona Urraque)	32

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 Diyeg, Don Ariyas, Don Rodrig ve Don Sanş dahi mevcut olduğu hâlde vukua gelir. Kral Rodrig'i tekrimat-ı faika ile huzuruna kabul ederek bunca namdar kahramanların mehdi olan şanlı bir familya oğlu olduğuna şu muvaffakiyeti burhan-ı azim olduğuna ve devlet (110) ve millete ettiği hizmeti bihakkın mükâfatlandırabilmek kendi kudret-i hükümrânîsinin de fevkinde idüğünü ve fakat demincek huzuruna getirilen mağribî serdarlar kendisi için “Sid” demiş olduklarından ve onların lisanınca bu kelime “Senyör” manasını ifade eylediğinden işte bu hizmet-i azimesinin mükâfatı olmak üzere badema Rodrig'e “Sid” ünvanıyla hitap olunmasına karar verdiğini cümle huzurunda kemal-i tevkir ve ihtiram ile beyan eder.

Nebet-i kelâm Rodrig'e geldikte kemal-i tevazu ve iftikar ile hükümdarına ifa-yı vazife-i ubudiyet ederek o kadar naçiz bir hizmet için bu kadar büyük bir mükâfat-ı mahza inayet-i hükümrânîlerin muktezası olduğunu mahçubiyetinden (111) kızarak arz eyler. Badehu vukuatın nasıl olduğunu Kral[ın] sual etmesi üzerine Rodrig dahi gece nehir tarikiyle Kastil'i basmaya gelen mağribîler üzerine evvelâ babasının beşyüz nefer dostları ile giderek fakat esna-yı rahta kendisine iltihak edenler ile miktarlarının üç bine vardığını ve nasıl pusular tertip ederek düşman ile nasıl şiddetli muharebeler ettiklerini ve gece karanlığında galip ve mağlup[un] bile fark olunamayacak kadar müşkilat çekildiğini ve nihayet Araplar gemilerine tekrar girerek akıntı aşağı ricat edip serdarları da gemilere girmişlerdir zannında buldukları hâlde serdarlar dışarıda kaldıklarını ve onların nasıl kahramanane cenk ederek nihayet yanlarındaki adamları (112) cümlesi yere serildikten sonra "Serdarınızı çağırın da ona arz-ı teslimiyet edelim" dediklerini ve o zaman kendisi bunların karşısına varıp teslimiyetlerini kabul ettiklerini uzun uzadıya hikâye eyler.

(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 vedasını icra etmek üzere Şimen'e gelmiş. Böyle güpe gündüz kendi hanesine gelmiş olması kendi namusunu halk nazarında bilküllüye berbat edeceği beyanıyla Şimen hemen çıkıp gitmesini rica ediyor ise de Rodrig:

- Ölüme gidiyorum! Ölmeye gidiyorum. Son vazife-i ubudiyeti ifa etmeyim mi?

deyince Şimen:

- Ölmeye mi?

diye mübarezede kendisi ölmeyip Don Sanş'ın helâki de muhtemel olduğunu anlatmak (124) ister, fakat Rodrig bunu anladığı hâlde de:

- Evet ölmeye! Hiss-i intikamınızı helâkimle mutmain edebilmek bahtiyarlığına!

der ki bu söz üzerine artık Şimen teessürat-ı âşıkane sine mağlup olarak Don Sanş'ın bu kadar mı cesur ve kendisinin bu kadar mı korkak olduğunu ve babasına ve mağribîlere karşı kendisini o kadar kuvvetli eden kim olup şimdi Don Sanş'a karşı bu derecelerde zayıf eyleyen de kim idüğünü sorar. Bunun üzerine Rodrig anlatır ki cesareti hep o cesaret, kuvveti hep o kuvvet ise de helâki sevdiğinin arzu eylediği bir şey olduğu için meydan-ı mübarezede mukavemet (125) etmeyecek, belki Don Sanş'ın kılıcı ucunda kendi helâkini

arayacak. Don Sanş sevgili Şimen'ine vekâleten düvello etmekte olduğundan ona mukavemet Şimen'e mukavemet sayılacaktır. Don Sanş Şimen'in şanını muhafazaten dögüşeceğinden kendisini bundan men Şimen'i şansız bırakacaktır. Herhâlde göğsünü açıp ölümü sevinerek kabul edecektir. Zira herhâlde sevgili Şimen'i mutmain ve mahfuz etmiş olmak için ölecektir.

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 şöret-şiarâ ettiği hakaret Kralın malûmu olunca pek ziyade müteessir olarak emr etmiş ki Gomes lüzum ve lâıyıkı veçhile Diyeg'e bir tarziye versin. Eğer bu emre itaat etmeyecek olursa Gomes için her ceza, her şiddet hazırdır demiş. Don Ariyas bunu tebliğ eyledikte Gomes:

- Aramızda bir suret-i mahremânede itiraf ederim ki o dakikada kanım biraz ziyadece kanayarak namusuma dokunacak bir kelimeyi derece-i ifrata kadar büyültmüşüm. Fakat (39) bir kere hakaret vukua gelmiş olduktan sonra artık tarziye filan gibi hiçbir çaresi bulunamaz.

diye kusurunu itirafla beraber ettiği hakarettten dönmüyor, tarziyeyi filânı kabul etmiyor. Don Ariyas bu taazzüm[ün] Kralın hışmını arttıracığından bahisle sahib-i emr olan hükümdaran-ı zişana itaat-i mutlaka lüzumundan bahs eyliyor ise de Don Gomes devlet uğrunda bu kadar hüsn-i hidematı sebk etmiş olduğu hâlde böyle yegâne bir kusurdan dolayı Kralın kendisine hışm-ı şedid göstermesi muvafık olamayacağını beyan eyliyor, buna mukabil Ariyas:

- Devlete millete hizmet etmek insan (40) için vazifesini ifa etmiş olmaktadır. Hizmetimizden dolayı mağrur olmaya selahiyetimiz yoktur. Bir Kral hiçbir kimsenin hizmetinin minnetdarı olmaz. Daima bendegân efendilerinin minnetdar-ı inayâtı olarak herbir emr ü nehylerine

gerdendade-i itaat ve inkıyad olurlar ise şan-ı ubudiyetlerine asıl bu cihet şayan ve muvafık düşer.

diye hikmet-i ubudiyeti anlatmaya çalışıyor ise de Gomes taazzüm ve tekebbürü gittikçe artırarak güya devletin bekası kendi vücuduna mütevakkıf bulunduğu derecesine kadar vardırır. Herhâlde tarziye için Kralın verdiği emre itaat etmeyeceğini söyler. Don Ariyas meyusen avdet (41) edip o gittikten sonra da Gomes:

- Ölümünden korkmayan bir adamın sair hiçbir idbardan da korkusu olmaz. Namusum bir tezelzül ile berbat olduktan sonra idbar içinde de yaşayabilirim. Yahut namus ve vakarım ile geberir giderim!

diye Ariyas'a adem-i itaat cevabı verdiğiinden dolayı pek isabet eylediğini hükmeder.

The table below demonstrates the total number of utterances in *Sid'in Hulâsası* translated in one-to-one correspondence with the ST.

Table 5

	Act I	Act II	Act III	Act IV	Act V	Total
<i>Sid'in Hulâsası</i>	20	38	46	21	23	148
<i>Le Cid</i>	58	113	87	59	46	363

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 Hulâsası* as a *muharrir* (writer) instead of as a *mütercim* (translator).¹⁴ 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

¹⁴ In this regard, it would be revealing to investigate why Ahmed Midhat Efendi designated himself as *mülâhhis* in his *Hulâsa-i Humayunname*.

emulation by way of **translation** of a published heroic work” (“**tercümeten** neşr buyur[ulan] Hamzaname’yi **tanzir** edivermek” [Kemal Paşazade] Saîd 1897-1898/1315: 13-14).

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 Diègue’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 hazırdır. (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 zalimane 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

translation. 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
 [6] Qui me donne à l'objet de mon aversion.
 [7] Te dirais-je encore plus? va, songe à ta defense,
 [8] Pour forcer mon devoir, pour m'imposer silence,
 [9] Et si u sens pour moi ton cœur encore épris,
 [10] Sors vainqueur d'un combat don't Chimène est le prix.
 [11] Adieu: ce mot lâche me fait rougir de honte.

The translation of this part in the TT (Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891: 128-129)

[Şimen]:

- [1] Rodrig! [2] Sevgili Rodrig! [3] Anladım ki uğrumda feda-yı candan seni hiçbir mülâhaza men edemeyecektir. [4] Fakat düşün ki sen helak olursan beni Sanş'a tezviç edecekler! [5] Sana olan sevda-yı pakime hürmeten aşkımız aşkına beni bu beladan kurtar. [6] Benim intikamıma hizmet için Sanş'a karşı müdafaasız duracağına beni Sanş'tan kurtarmak için müdafa et! [7] Gönlümün nefret eylediği bir taahhütten bir vaatten beni halas etmek için cenk et! [8] Daha ziyadesini de mi söyleyeyim? [9] Haydi git mübareze et! [10] Fakat kendini kurtarmaya bak. [11] Eğer gönlünde benim için zerre kadar muhabbet kalmış ise mükafatı Şimen'in dest-i tezevvücü olan şu cenkte galip çıkmaya çalış! [12] Adiyö! [13] Şu sözleri nasıl yüzüm kızarak ne kadar mağlubane bir mecburiyetle söylediğimi gördün ya?

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:

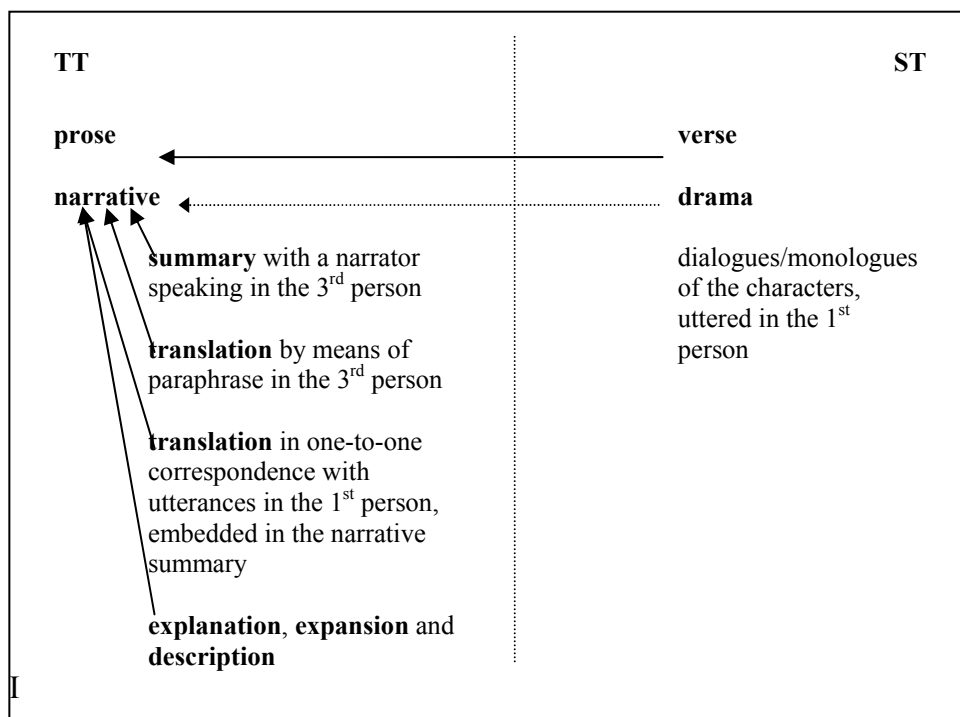
<u>Sentences in TT</u>	<u>Their corresponding sentences in ST</u>
[3]	[1] and [2]
[4]	-
[5] and [6]	[3] and [4]
[7]	[5] and [6]
[8], [9] and [10]	[7] and [8]
[11]	[9] and [10]
[12]	[11-i]
[13]	[11-ii]

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-yı pakime hürmeten aşkımız 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 duracağına” emerges as having a zero-correspondence whereas the rest i.e. “beni Sanş’tan kurtarmak için müdafa 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.

Table 6



In *Sid'in Hulâsası*, 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.

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 Hulâsası* 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.

Sid'in Hulâsası (TT, Ahmed Midhat 1890-1891: 15)

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'ın mürebbiyesi
Elvir	Şimen'in mürebbiyesi
Prensesin bir mabeyncisi	

Le Cid (ST, Julleville 1922: 130)

Don Fernand	premier roi de Castille
Dona Urrique	infant de Castille
Don Diègue	père de don Rodrigue
Don Gomès	comte de Gormas, père de Chimène
Don Rodrigue	amant de Chimène
Don Sanche	amoureux de Chimène
Don Arias	gentilshommes castillans
Don Alonse	
Chimène	fille de don Gomès
Léonor	gouvernante de l'Infante
Elvire	gouvernante de Chimène
Un page de l'Infante	

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.

<u>References in the TT</u>	<u>Their correspondences in the ST</u>
Kral [King]	le roi
Kral Hazretleri [your majesty]	- [i.e., zero correspondence]
Enfant	l'Infant
Prenses [Princess]	-
Kont [Count]	le comte
mürebbiye [governess]	-
muallime [woman tutor]	-

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 "Maşrıkî", an Ottoman term that represented people of the East. This is an addition indicating zero-correspondence:

<u><i>Sid'in Hulâsası</i> (TT)</u>	<u><i>Le Cid</i> (ST)</u>
Magribî [Moorish] Afrikalı [African] }	les Mores (e.g.: line 1477; line 1559; line 543, 610)
Maşrikî [Eastern]	-
Navarlı	Navarraï (e.g.: line 1559)
Kastilli	Castillans (e.g.: line 1559)
İspanya	l'Espagne (e.g.: line 1560)

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 Hulâsası*: *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 Hulâsası* is a *translation*.

Sid'in Hulâsası may be regarded as an “invention” (Even-Zohar 1997: 358; 2004d: 223)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 Hulâsası* 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.

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 Hulâsası* (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 *teceddiid* (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 *mülâhhis* (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 (*şerh*) and explanation (*tavzih*)". 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-ı Hakikat Matbaası”.

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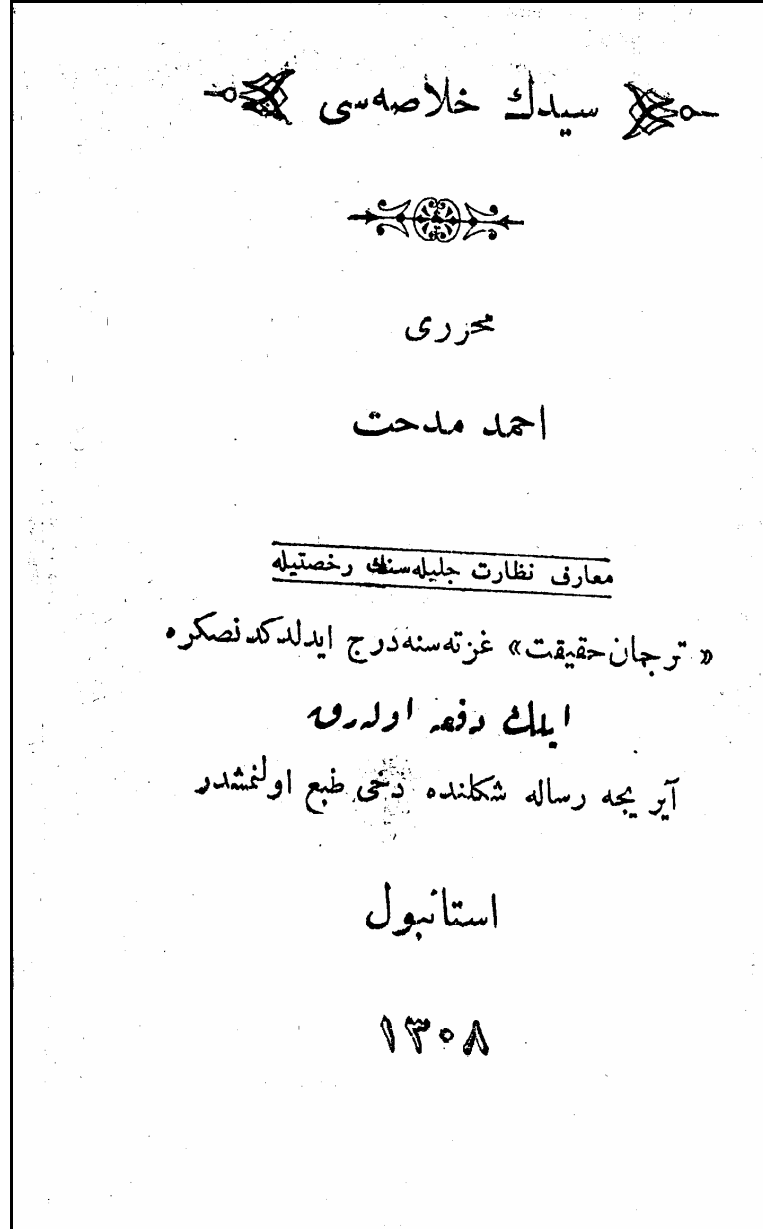
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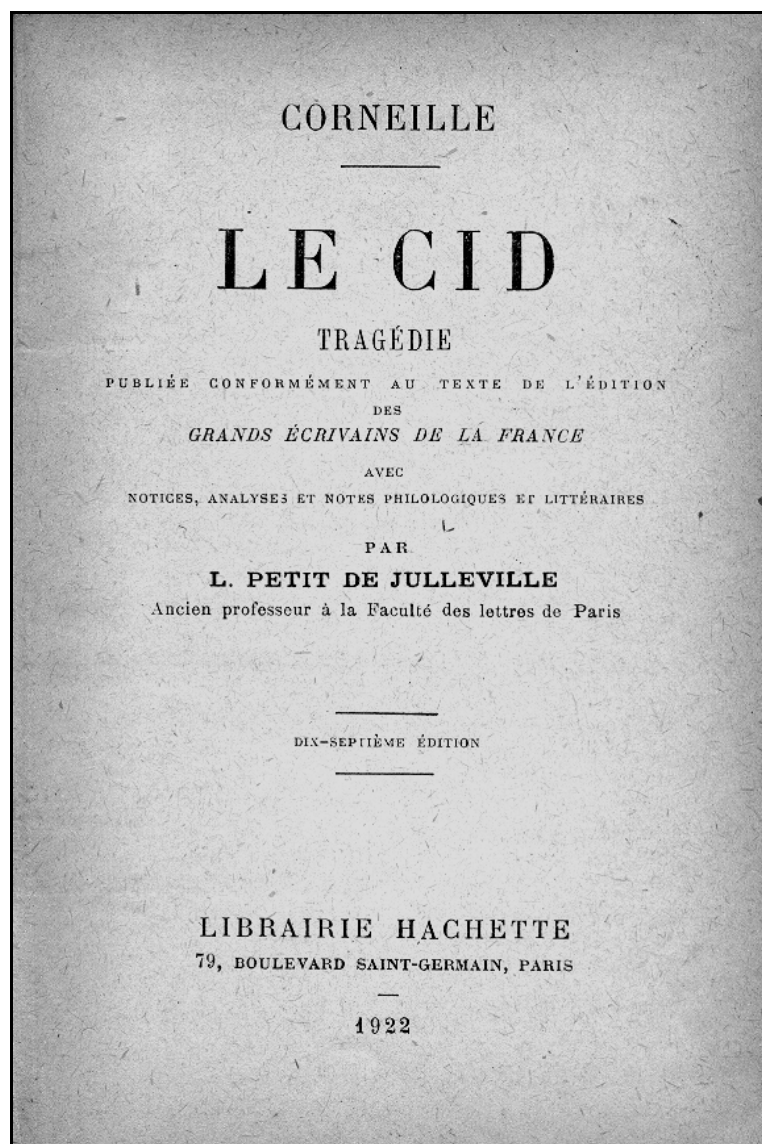
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Appendix 1

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Sid'in Hulâsası (TT)

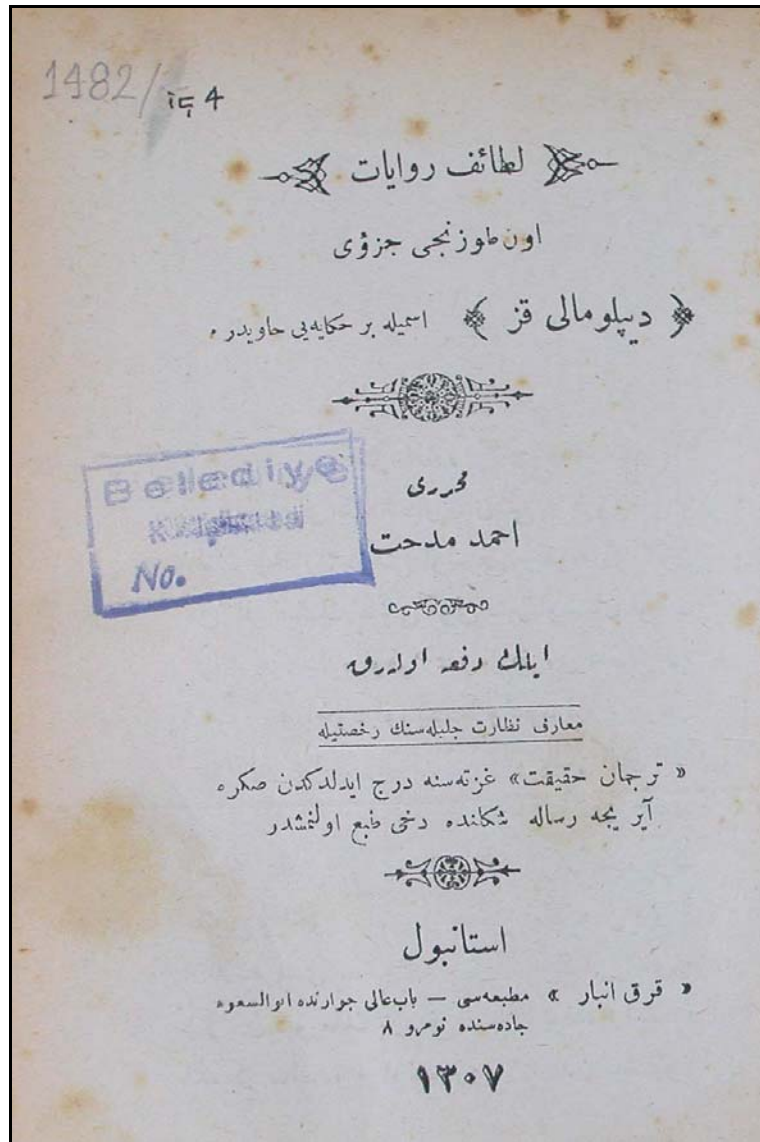


Title Page of Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid* (ST)

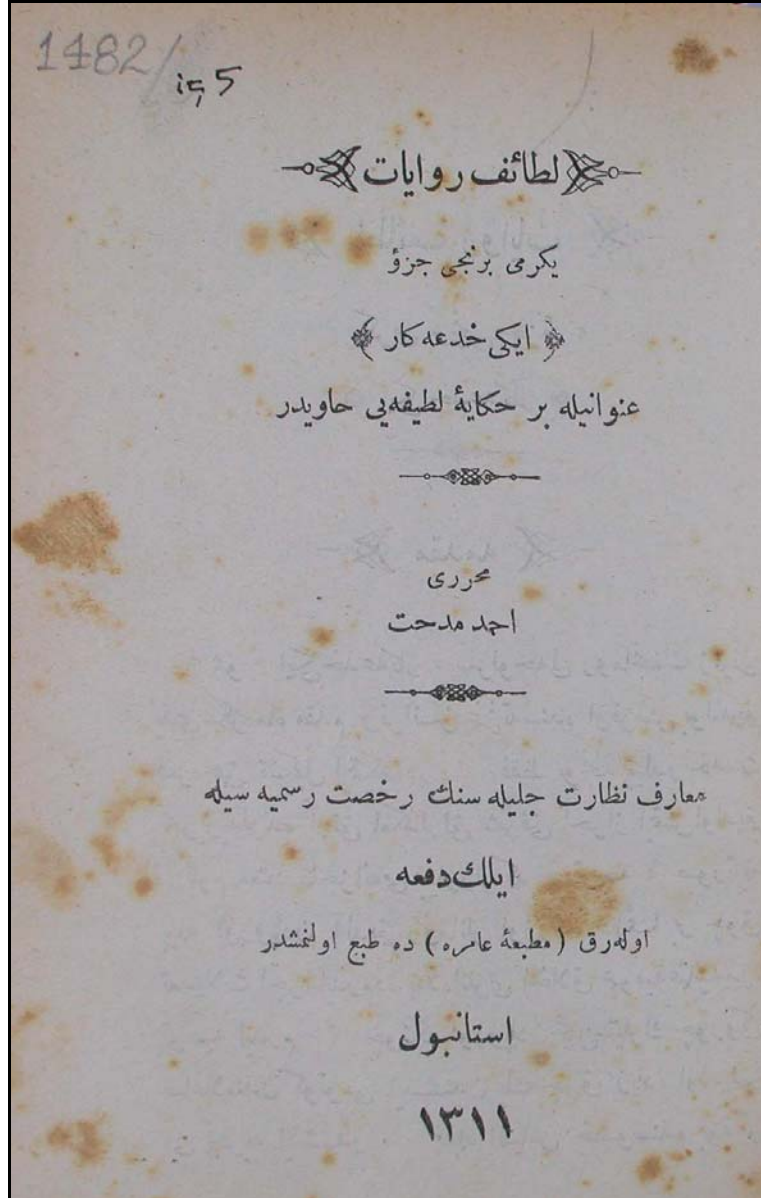
Appendix 2

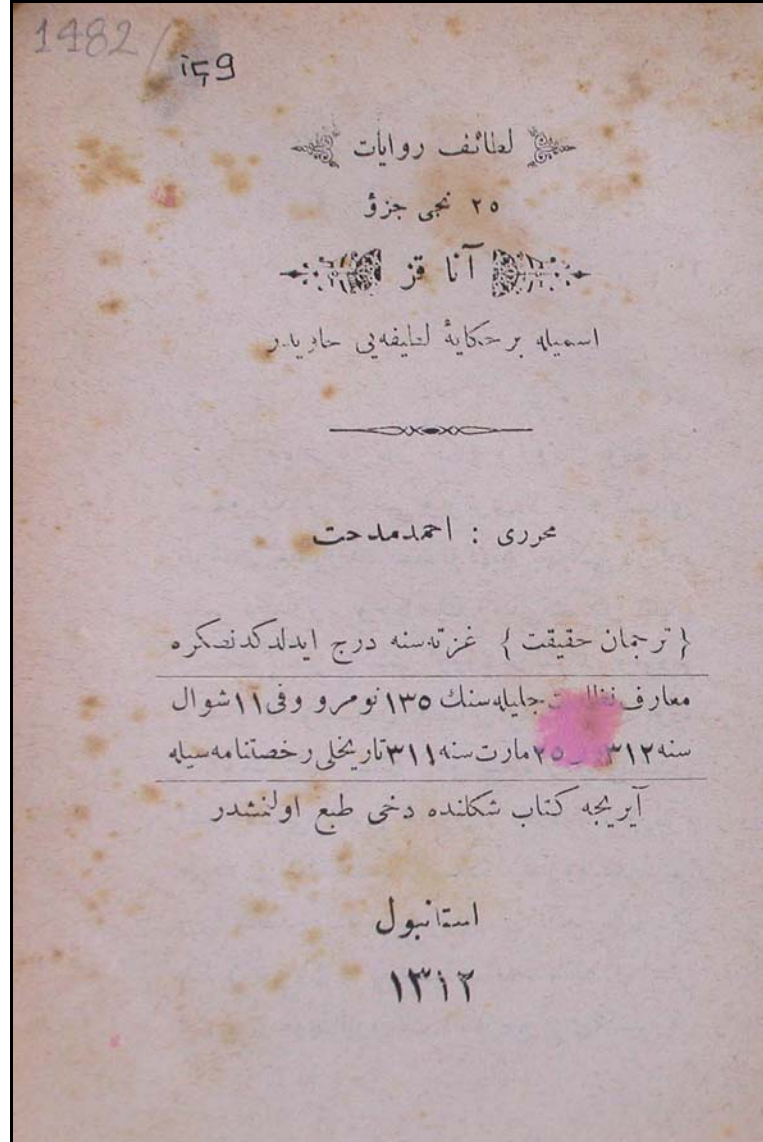
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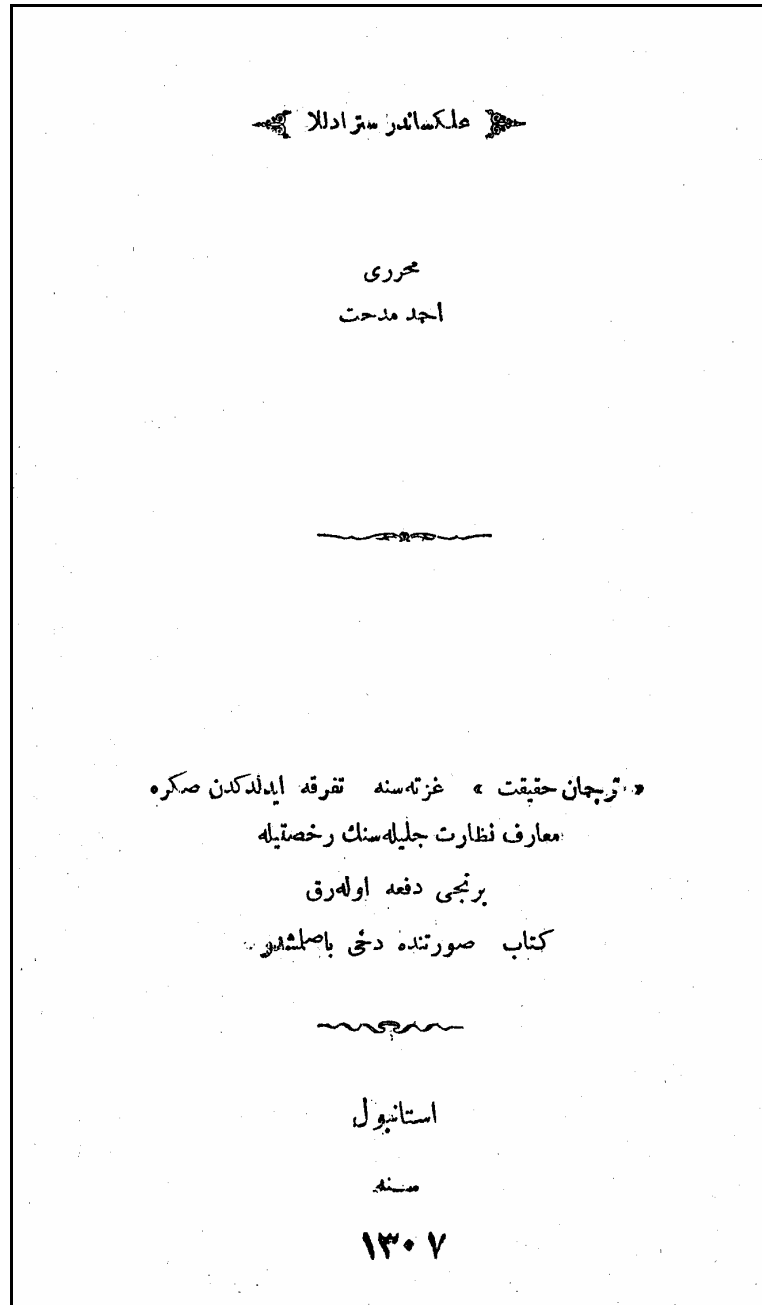


4.3.1.2. İki Hü'dakâr



4.3.1.3. *Ana Kız*

4.3.1.4. Aleksandr Stradella



4.3.1.5. Şeytankaya Tilsimi

﴿ شيطان فيا طلسمي ﴾

محرری
احمد مدحت

« ترجمان حقیقت » غزٹہ سنہ تفرقہ ایدلڈکن صکرہ
معارف نظارت جلیہ سنک رخصتیلہ
برنجی دفعہ اولہرق
کتاب صورتندہ دخی باصلشدر

استانبول

سنہ

۱۳۰۷

4.3.1.6. *Nedamet mi? Heyhat!*

بىامتى؟ ھېھات!

آمىل اوز يىمىن مەقبۇس
(رومان)

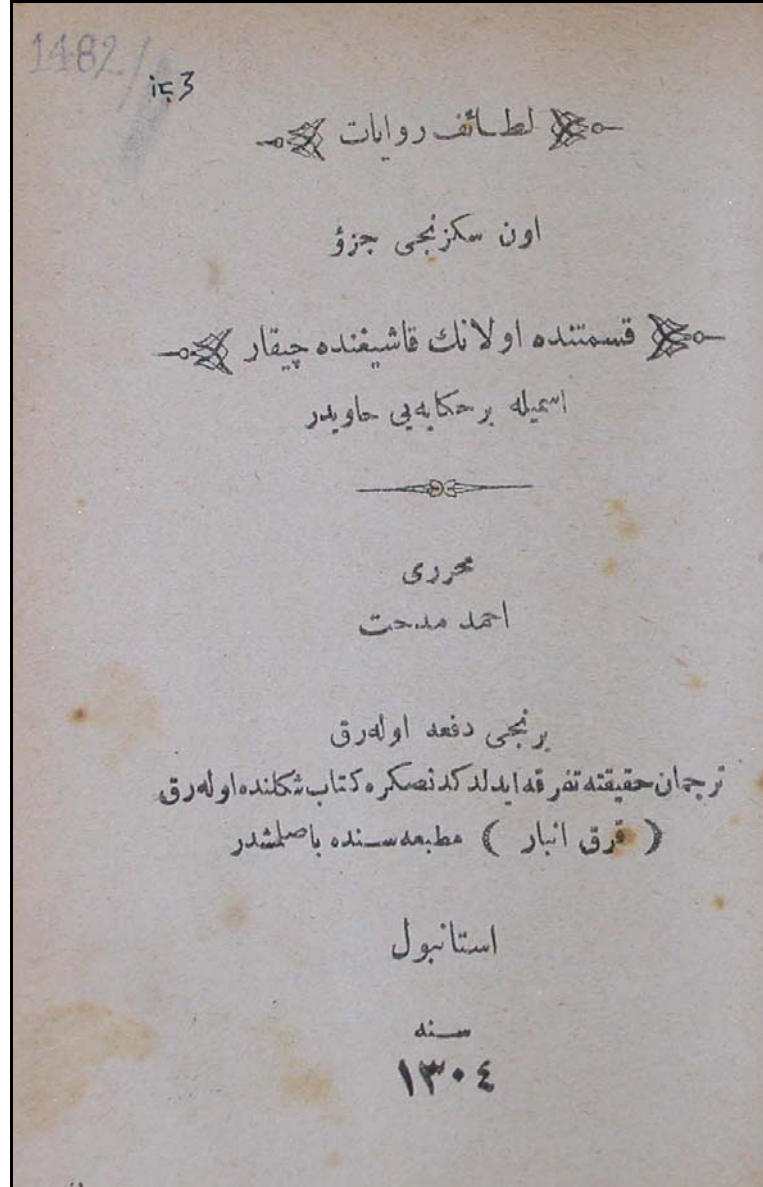
محررى
احمد مەدحت

« ترچان حەقىقەت » غزەنەسە بەدال تەفرىقە
ابلىك دۇغە
اولەرقى مەعارف نىظارت جىلبەسەنك رەخسەتلىك
أبرىجە كىتاب سۈرۈتتە دىخى باسماشدر

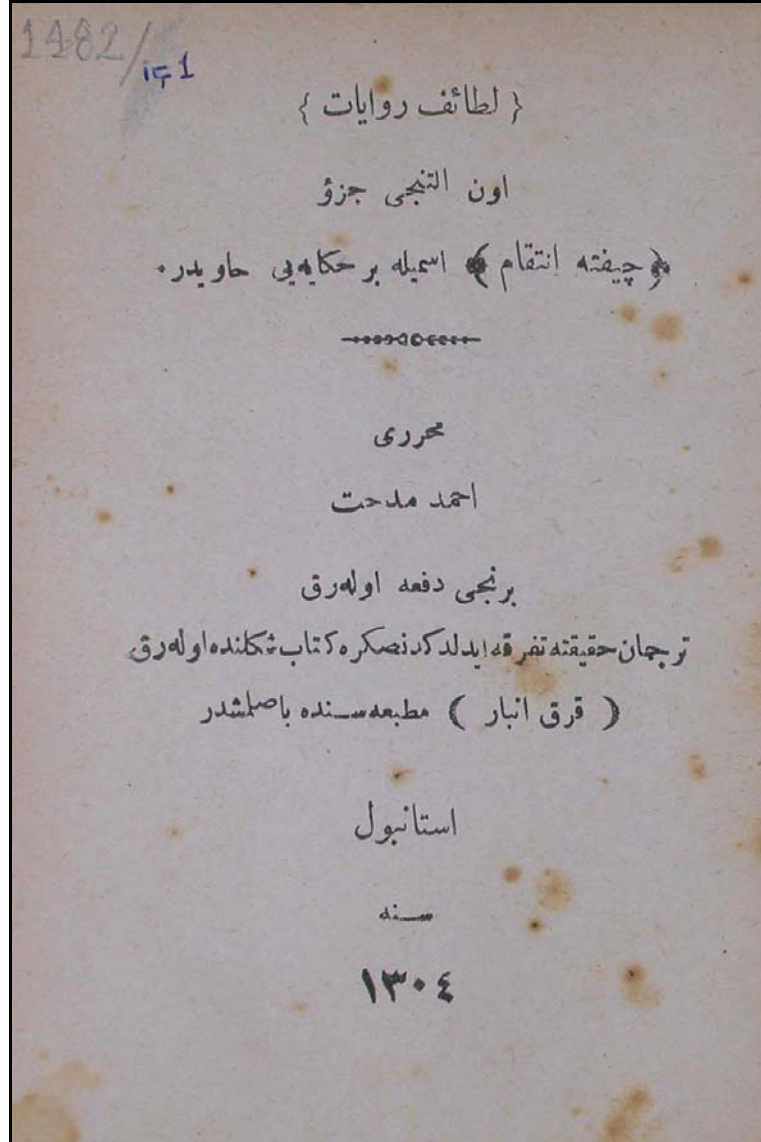
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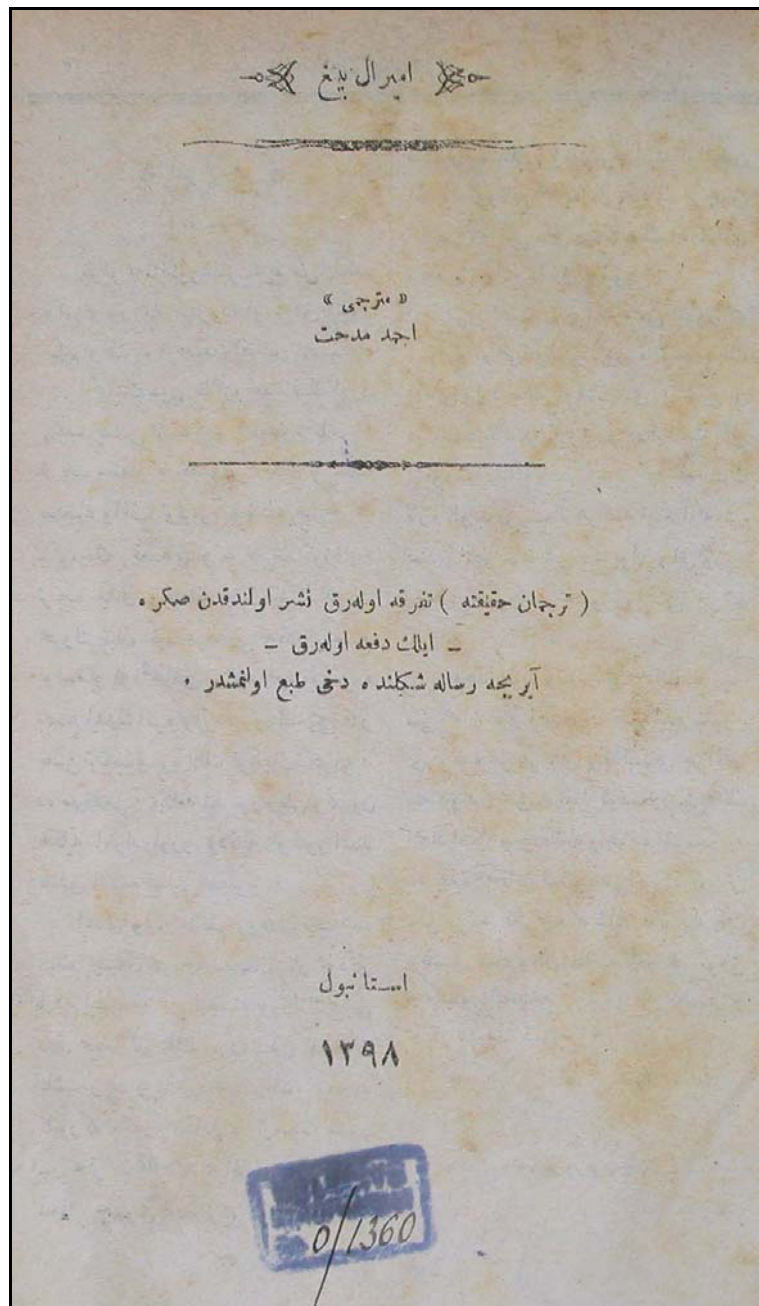
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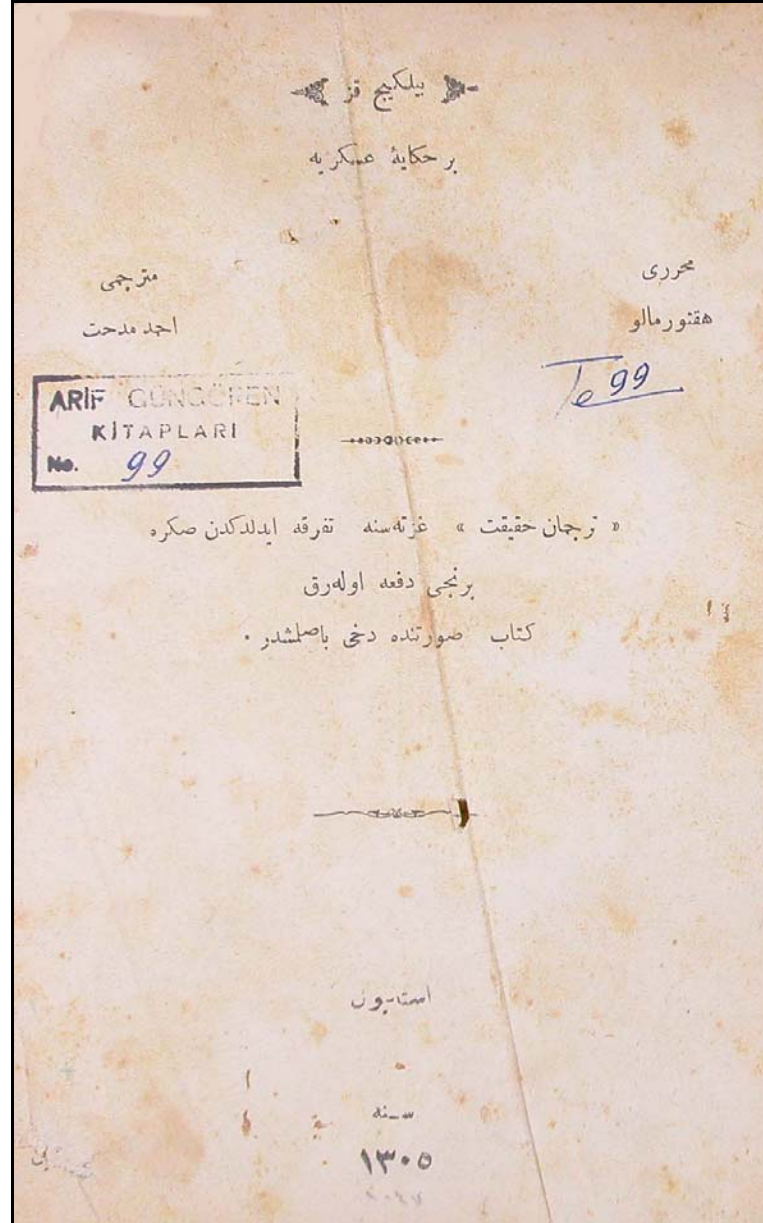


4.3.1.8. Çifte İntikam



4.3.2.1. *Amiral Bing*

4.3.2.2. Bilgiç Kız



4.3.2.3. Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı

اوچ یوزلی برقاری

بحری

پول دوقوق

—

مترجاری :

احمد مدحت ابو الضیا توفیق

—

معارف نظارت جلیله سنک رخصتیه

باب عالی جاده سنده ۲۸ نومزولی (مهران) مطبعه سنده

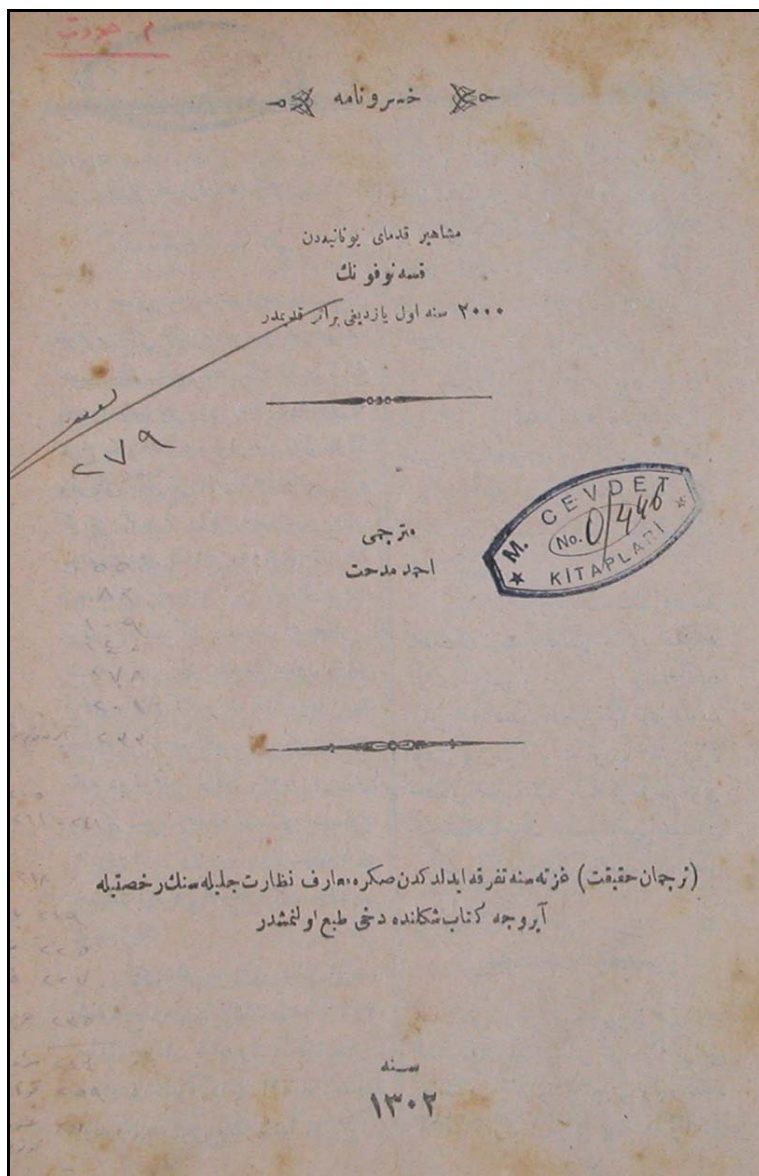
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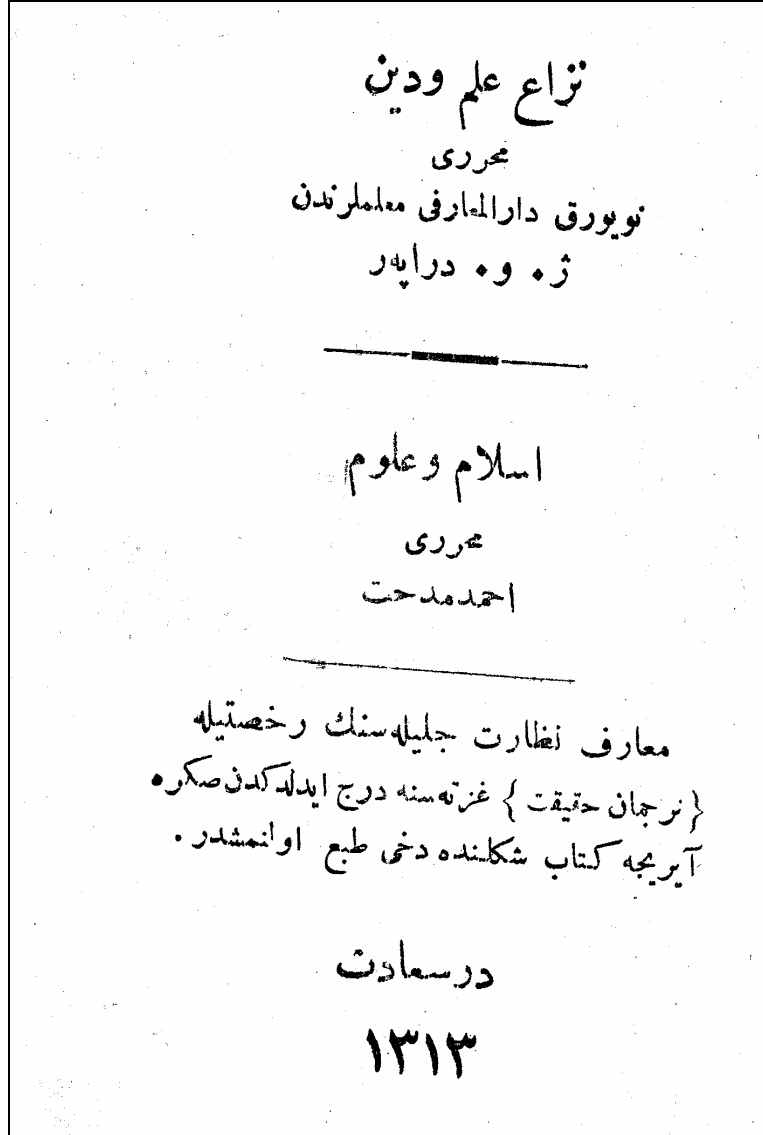
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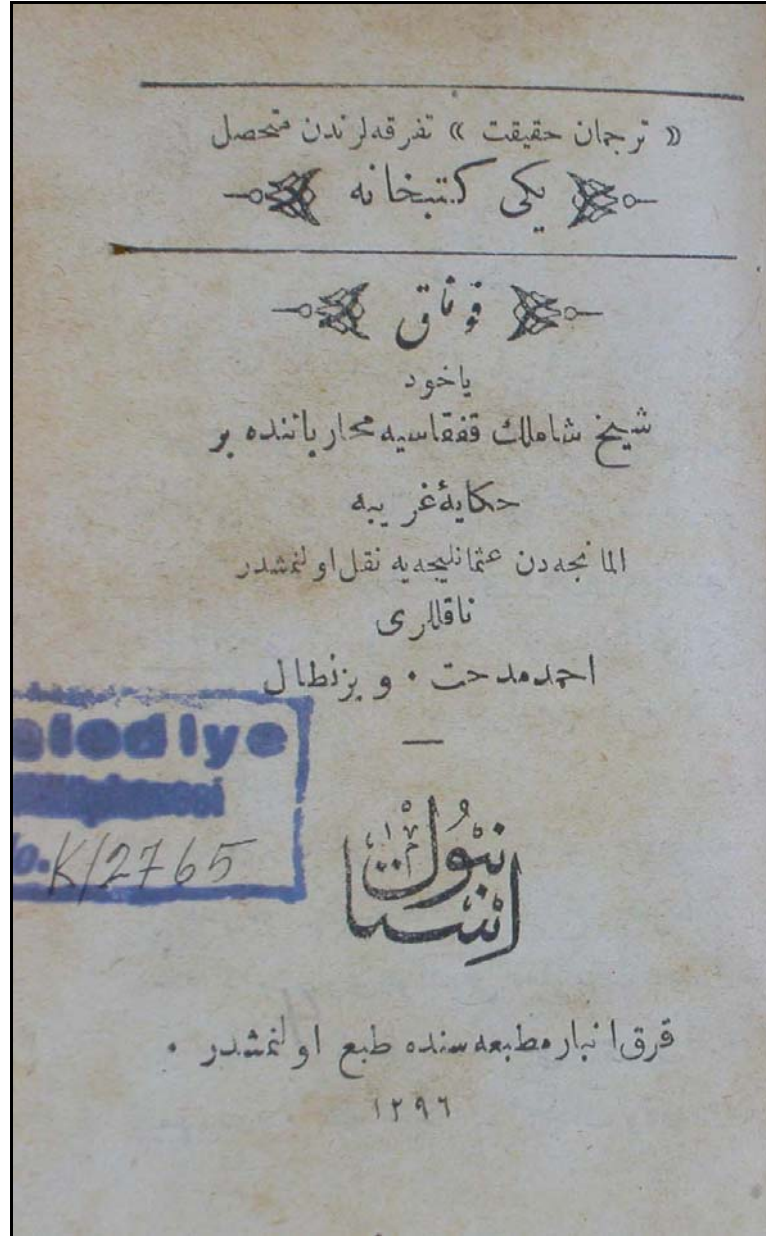
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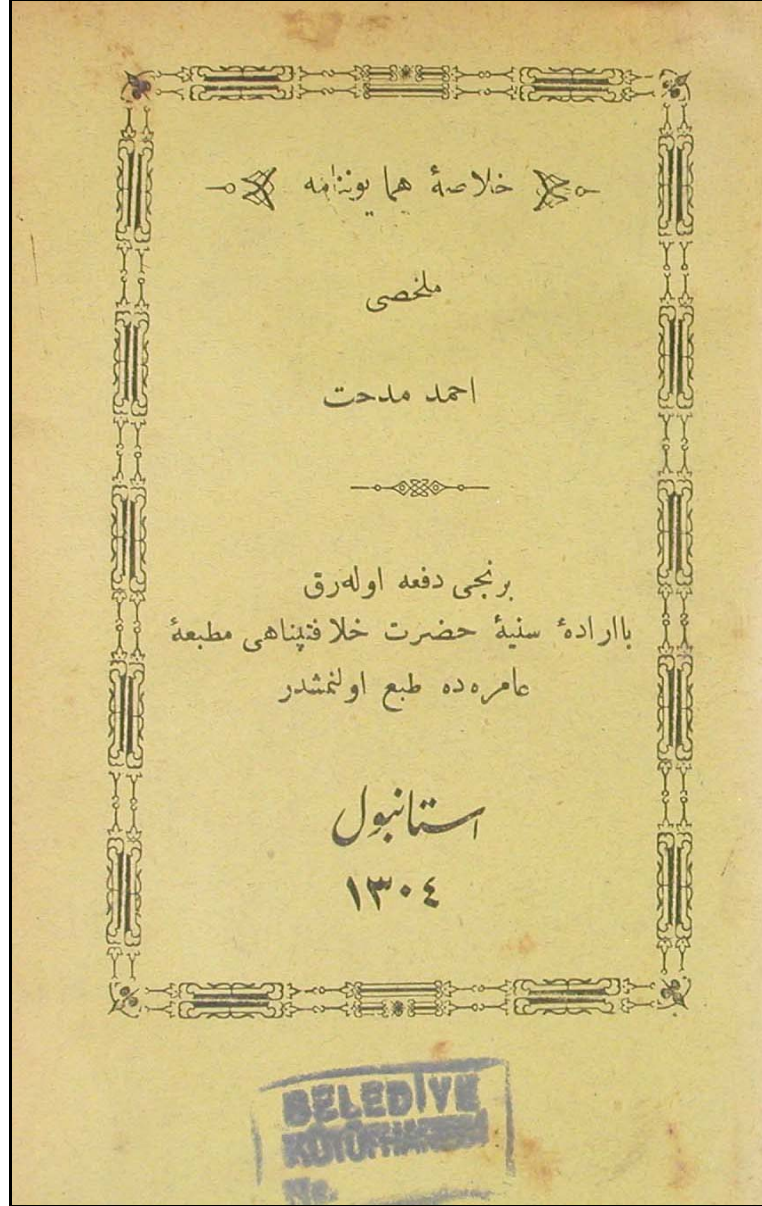
4.3.2.4. Hüsrevnâme



4.3.3.1. *Nizâ-ı İlm ü Dîn – İslâm ve Ulûm*

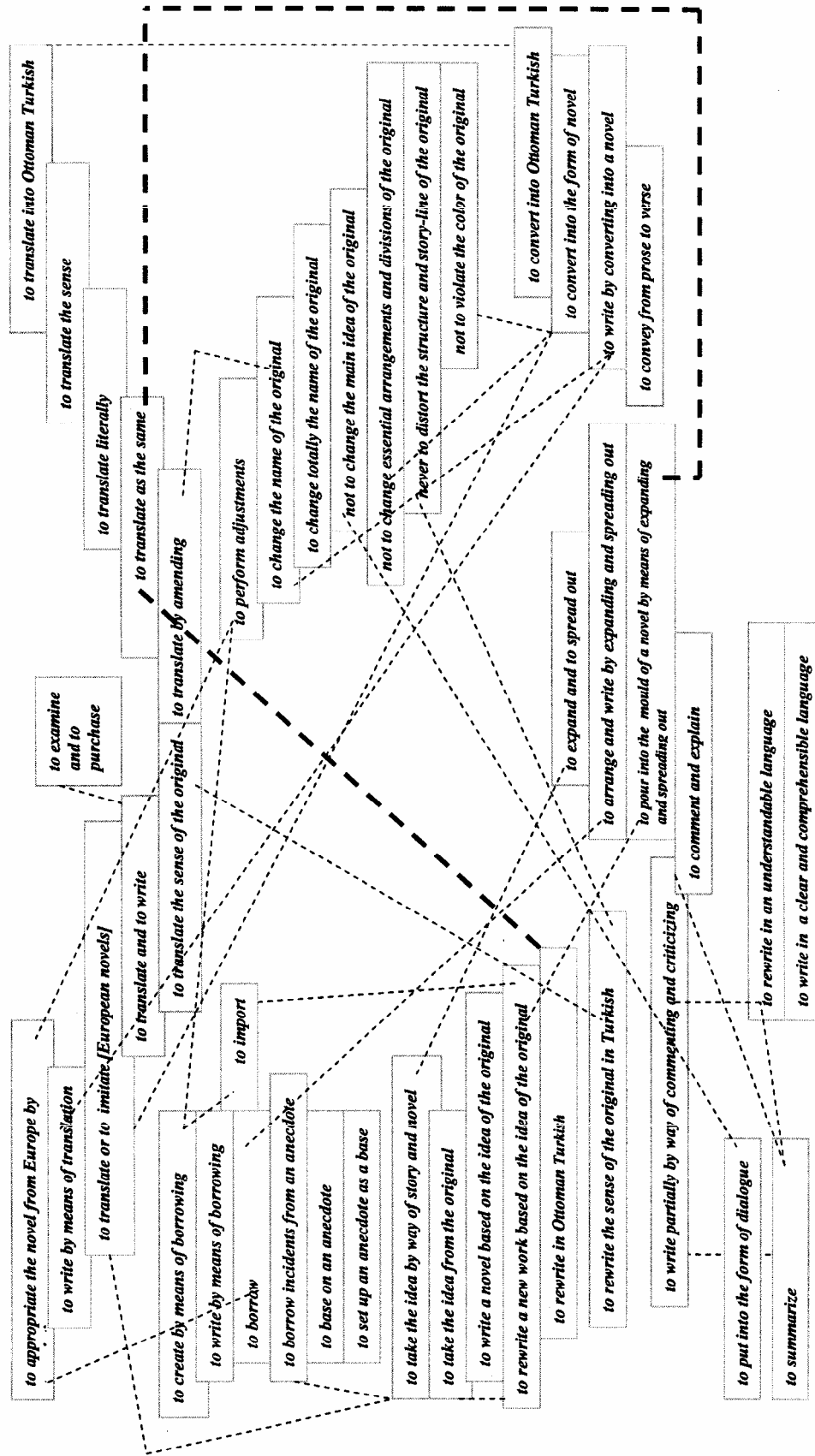
4.3.4.1. Konak yahud Şeyh Şamil'in Kafkasya Muharebatında Bir Hikâye-i Garibe



4.3.5.1. *Hulâsa-i Humayunnâme*

Appendix 3

Chart indicating non-linear, beyond-binary translational relationships among terms and/or 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 4¹

A Selected Corpus of Ahmed Midhat Efendi's Translational Works

Title of the ST and Name of the ST Author (If known)	Title of the TT	English translation of the title of the TT
?	<i>Alayın Kraliçesi</i>	<i>Queen of the Regiment</i>
<i>Alessandro Stradella</i> by Friedrich von Flotow	<i>Aleksandr Stradella</i> [Turkish transcription of the original title];	<i>Alessandro Stradella</i>
?	<i>Altın Aşıkları</i>	<i>Gold Lovers</i>
<i>L'admiral de l'escadre bleue drame historique en cinq actes et dix tableaux</i> by Paul Foucher, Antoine Nicholas Joseph Bovy	<i>Amiral Bing</i>	<i>Admiral Bing</i>
?	<i>Ana Kız</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	<i>Mother and Daughter</i>
<i>Antonine</i> by Alexandre Dumas Fils	<i>Antonin</i> [Turkish transcription of the original title]	<i>Antonine</i>
<i>Le Lieutenant bonnet</i> by Hector Malot	<i>Bilgiç Kız</i>	<i>Educated Girl</i>
<i>Le Roman d'un jeune homme pauvre</i> by Octave Feuillet	<i>Bir Fakir Delikanlının Hikâyesi</i>	<i>The Novel of a Poor Young Man</i>
<i>Le Roman d'une femme</i> by Alexandre Dumas Fils	<i>Bir Kadının Hikâyesi</i>	<i>The Novel of a Woman</i>
?	<i>Cankurtaranlar</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	<i>Life-savers</i>
?	<i>Cinli Han</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	<i>Inn with Jinni</i>
?	<i>Çifte İntikam</i>	<i>Double Revenge</i>
<i>Les Burgraves</i> by Victor Hugo	<i>Derebeyleri</i>	<i>The Burgraves</i>
(ST?) by "Dik May" [in Turkish transcription]	<i>Diplomalı Kız</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	<i>Girl with a Diploma</i>
(ST?) by Charles Mérouvel	<i>Gabriyel'in Günahı</i>	<i>Gabriyel's Sin</i>

¹ For the preparation of this list, the following works have been scanned, checked and amended if necessary: İsmail Hakkı (1890-91), Rızaeddin bin Fahreddin (1913), İsmail Hikmet (1932), İsmail Habib [Sevük] (1941), Mustafa Nihat [Özön] (1936; 1942), Murat Uraz (1940-1941), Türker Acaroğlu (1951), Mustafa Baydar (1954), Hakkı Tarık Us (1955), Fevziye Abdullah [Tansel] (1955), Ahmed Hamdi Tanpınar ([1956] 1988), Cevdet Kudret (1962), Şevket Rado (1986), Behçet Necatigil (1971), *Türk ve Dünya Ünlüleri Ansiklopedisi* (1983), Orhan Okay (1989; 1991), Işın Bengi (1990), Sabri Esat Sivayuşgil (1993), Nüket Esen (1999), *Tanzimat'tan Bugüne Edebiyatçılar Ansiklopedisi* (2001) and Sabri Koz (2002).

?	<i>Gönül</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	
<i>Kelile and Dimne</i> by Beydeba [from Ali Çelebi's translation titled <i>Humayunname</i>]	<i>Hulasa-i Humayunname</i>	<i>Summary of Humayunname</i>
<i>Cyropaedia</i> by Xenophon, [from Bon-Joseph Dacier's French translation]	<i>Hüsrevname</i>	<i>Cyropaedia</i>
<i>Le Comte du Monte-Cristo</i> by Alexandre Dumas Père	<i>Hasan Mellah</i>	<i>Sailor Hasan</i>
<i>Simon et Marie</i> by (ST Author?)	<i>Haydut Montari</i>	<i>Bandit Montari</i>
?	<i>İki Hüdakâr</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	<i>Two Cheats</i>
<i>L'Amant de la lune</i> by Paul de Kock	<i>Kamere Aşık</i>	<i>Lover of the Moon</i>
<i>Les Grandes dames de Paris</i> by (ST Author?)	<i>Kismetinde Olanın Kaşığına Çıkar</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	<i>Whatever is your lot will turn up on your spoon</i>
<i>Der Held von Garika: Roman aus den Laendern des Kaukasus</i> by Adolf Mützelburg	<i>Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil'in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garîbe</i>	<i>Mansion or a Strange Story about Şeyh Şamil's War in the Caucasus</i>
<i>La Dame aux camélias</i> by Alexandre Dumas Fils	<i>La Dam O Kamelya</i> [Turkish transcription of the original title]	<i>La Dame aux camélias</i>
(ST?) by Georges Pradel [Emmanuel Pradier]	<i>Lülü-i Asfer</i>	<i>Yellow Pearl</i>
<i>La fille maudite</i> by Emile Richebourg	<i>Merdud Kız</i>	<i>The Rejected Girl</i>
?	<i>Nasib</i> [in <i>Letaif-i Rivayat</i>]	
<i>L'Aventurière</i> by Emile Augier	<i>Nedamet mi? Heyhat!</i>	<i>Remorse? Alas!</i>
<i>Conflict Between Religion and Science</i> by William John Draper	<i>Niza-ı İlm ü Din-İslam ve Ulûm</i>	<i>Conflict Between Religion and Science- Islam and Science</i>
<i>The Mysteries of Udolpho</i> [fr. trans. <i>Les Mystères du chateau d'Udolpho</i>] by Anne Radcliffe	<i>Odolf [/Udolf] Hisarı</i>	<i>Odolf [/Udolf] Castle</i>
<i>Le Crime d'Orsival</i> by Emile Gobariau	<i>Orsival Cinayeti</i>	<i>Orsival Murder</i>
(ST?) by Léon de Tinseau	<i>Papastaki Esrar</i>	<i>Priest's Mystery</i>
<i>La Dame voilée</i> by Emile Richebourg	<i>Peçeli Kadın</i>	<i>Veiled Woman</i>
<i>Honneur d'Artiste</i> by Octave Feuillet	<i>Sanatkâr Namusu</i>	<i>Honor of an Artist</i>
<i>Le Cid</i> by Pierre Corneille	<i>Sid'in Hülasası</i>	<i>Summary of Le Cid</i>

?	<i>Su-i Zan [in Letaif-i Rivayat]</i>	<i>Wrong Idea</i>
?	<i>Şeytankaya Tılsımı</i>	<i>Devil's Rock Talisman</i>
<i>La Femme aux trois jupons by Paul de Kock</i>	<i>Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı</i>	<i>A Woman with Three Faces</i>

Appendix 5

Turkish Transcription¹ of Ahmed Midhat Efendi's Summary Translation (*Sid'in Hulâsası*) of Pierre Corneille's *Le Cid*

(2) Enafis-i Âsarın Hulâsaları

İfade

Bir mübahase-i lisanîye ve edebîyyenin gösterdiği lüzum üzerine Fransa meşahir-i üdebasından Korney'in *Sid* ünvanlı eserinin bir hülâsası *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*'imize derc edilmiştir. Bu hülâsayı okuyan kadirşinasan-ı enafis-i âsardan bir zat-ı memduhü'l-sıfat 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 edebilmek kabil olamadığımı bilirim. Ancak serbest terceme denilen suretle de olamaz mı idi?
- Olabilirdi. Ama bunu ne mütalâaya mebni söylüyorsunuz?
- Şu mütalâaya mebni söylüyorum ki saye-i maarifvaye-i cenab-ı padişahîde şubat-ı maarifimizce az vakitte hakikaten pek çok terakki yüz gösterip on beş sene evvel bilküllîye 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 tasavvur olunamaz. Bu kadar terakkîyatımız meyanında Avrupa Klâsiklerinin bize meçhul kalmaları reva mıdır?

Bu söz abd-i âcizi biraz düşündürdü. Kendi kendimize mırıldanmak nevinden dedik ki:

- Avrupa klâsikleri, ha?
- Avrupa klâsikleri! Üç dört yüz seneden beri her şeyi tecrübe ede ede terakkîyatın hemen mertebe-i gayesine varmış (5) olan Avrupa bizim için muhassenat-ı maddiyenin her cihetinde bir meşk demektir. Edebî klâsikler ise Avrupa'nın hakikaten en büyük iftihar eylediği âsar-ı muvaffakiyeti olup bizce en ziyade temeşşuk ve âdeta taaşşuk 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 meçhulattan kaldı.
- Anladım! Molyer'in âsarını demek istiyorsunuz. Âsar-ı mezkûrenin şöhret derecesinde rağbet kazanmamasının başka esbabı vardır ki ondan bahsetmek (6) uzun olur. Fakat asıl mesele de rağbet meselesi midir? Bazı âsar olamaz mı ki rağbetinden biraz kat'-ı nazar fedakârlığını iltizam etmeniz için yalnız nasa olacak menafî-i azimesini düşünesiniz?
- Hakkınız var!

Evet! Muhavirimizin hakkı vardır. “Bazı” değil, pek çok işler olur ki terakkiyat Osmanıyyemiz için edecekleri hizmet hizmet, rağbet ve masraf cihetlerini düşündürmeyerek erbab-ı hamıyyeti deruhte etmeye mecbur eyler. Filvaki bu “klâsik” âsar dahi bu cümledendir. Bunlardan haberdar olmayanlar Avrupa'nın bir büyük kısm-ı terakkisine vukuf hasıl edememiş olurlar.

(7) Biraz teemmülden sonra dedik ki:

- Meramınız halkımızı Avrupa'nın “klâsik! denilen ve kimbilir binlerce sene sonra bile bekaları muhakkak derecesinde memul olan âsarından kariin-i Osmanıyyeyi haberdar etmektir. Öyle mi?
- Evet! Onu da işte şu Korney'in *Sid*'i hulâsasını yapmanız ihtar eylemiştir. Hem yalnız bana değil, pek çok kimselere!
- İyi, ama elbette bilirsiniz ki “klâsik” denilen eserlerde başlıca iki meziyet bulunup bunun birincisi “hayal”, ikincisi dahi “belagat”tır ki ikisi de bütün emsalinden daha mümtaz olmaz ise o eser için “klâsik” olmak ehemmiyeti uzak kalır. (8) Terceme denilen şey ister aynen olsun, ister serbest terceme suretinde bulunsun mutlaka mütercim-i anhanın belagatını aynen naklettiremez. Bir eser hangi lisanla yazılmış ise o lisanı öğrenerek eser-i mezkûru aynen o lisan üze okumayınca belagatın künhüne vakıf olmak kat'ıyyen mümkün olamayacağı kazıyyesidir ki Avrupa müdakkiklerini bütün elsine-i mevcude ve marufenin tahsilinden başka Mısır ve İbrani ve Süryani ve Sanskrit lisanları gibi artık vücudu kalmamış addolunan lisanları da tahsile kadar mecbur eylemiştir. Binaenaleyh klâsiklerin tercemelerinden belagatları cihetiyle faide-i sahiha ümidi doğru olamaz. Kala kala mevzuları, yani onlar içindeki hayal kalır. (9)
- İyi ya işte! Biz de buna razı oluruz. Hatta...
- İnyet buyurunuz! İş yalnız mevzularından ibaret kaldığına göre velev ki serbest terceme suretinde olsun âsar-ı mezkûreyi uzun uzadıya tercemededen de bir faide-i ciddiye bekleyebilir misiniz? Eğer maksat Avrupa enafis-i âsarını bizim için lüzum ve vücubu dairesinde tanımak ise işte *Sid* için yaptığım hulâsa kadarı kâfi görülemez mi?
- Ay efendim! İşte ben de onu söyleyecek idim de sözümü kestiniz. Cid için yaptığınıza ber hulâsa nasıl denilebilir ki kelimat ve sütur ve sahayıfi (10) üzerine bir mukayese edilecek olsa aslının hemen ikisi kadar büyümüş olduğu görülür. Zira...

- O yine hulâsadır. Fakat öyle muvazzah yazılmayacak olsa hiçbir şey anlayamayacağından ...
- Galiba hep düşündüğümüz ve söyleyeceğimiz şeyler müteşabih ki lâkırdıyı hep birbirimizin ağzından kapıyoruz. Evet! Hiçbir şey anlayamaz zahir! Ben bu *Sid*'i Fransızca hocamdan aynen okumuş idim. Hem de hocam olur olmaz hocalardan değil idi. Fransızca'yı iyi bilmek ile meşhur idi. Fakat kendinin de itirafı veçhile edebiyata mensup olmadığından kendisi bihakkın (11) anlayamıyor idi ki bana da bihakkın anlatabilsin. Bir kere ondan, bir kere dahi kendi kendime okuduğum halde Hüda alim hiçbir şey anlayamamış idim. *Sid*'i bana tanıttıran, anlatan sizin hulâsa olduğunu inkâr eder isem nankörlük etmiş olurum.
- Anlaşılmasının sebebi ne olduğunu olsun anlayabildiniz mi?
- Hayır! İrşat eder iseniz lütfetmiş olursunuz. Şive-i edebiyesinin pek âli olmasından başka bir sebep hatırıma gelmiyor.
- Yalnız şive-i edebiyesi değil, malûm a, yeni basılan tiyatro oyunlarında "mizansen" denilen tarifât dahi beraberce basılır. Oyuncunun her sözü ne tavırla (12) söylediği bile izah edilir. Klâsikler ise artık bu külfetten varestede olmuşlardır. Yeni basılan nüshalarda bu işaretlerin hiçbirisi bulunmayıp, binaenaleyh oynadıklarını görmeyenler için tarifât-ı mezkûrenin noksanı hakikaten anlaşılabilmelerini mâni olur. Meğer ki insan romancılık, tiyatroculuk sanayi-i nefisesine bihakkın vakıf olmakla beraber âsar-ı mezkûrenin ait oldukları asırlar ve memleketler ahvaline de tamamıyla vakıf ola.
- Âlâ Âlâ! İşte *Sid*'in hulâsası bu şeraitin kâffesini camidir. Fransızca bilmeyen bir Osmanlı bu hulâsaya okumakla *Sid*'i tanımış olur. Hem de pek âlâ ve lüzum-ı hakikîsi derecesinde mükemmelen tanımış (13) olur. Fransızca bilen bir Osmanlıya hizmetiniz bundan daha nafidir. Zira bu suretle eseri tanıdıktan sonra Fransızca olan aslını okur ise o zaman bihakkın anlar. Şimdi *Sid* için ettiğiniz himmeti sair klâsiklere de tamiminizden başka ricamız kalmadı.

Düşündük. Hakikaten muhavirimizin hakkı var. Vakıa bu iş ziyade yorgunluğu mucip olan işlerdendir. Çünkü âsar-ı mevcudeyi tekrar okumalı, hem de hulâsa fikriyle ve kemal-i iman ile okumalı.

Ondan sonra bir yandan aslını değiştirmeksizin derece-i kâfiyede hulâsa etmekle beraber diğer taraftan tefehhümüne medar olmak için şerh ve tavzih ederek yazmalı. Bununla beraber (14) asla inkâr edilemez ki halk için faidesi pek büyük olacaktır. "Zira biz dahi Avrupalı olduğumuz ve Avrupa edebiyatıyla müştagil bulunduğumuz hâlde klâsikleri tanımamak bizim için büyük bir nakîsadır.

Şimdilik Korney elde iken ilk tecrübe *Sid* olmasına karar verdik. İkincisi olmak üzere dahi Korney'in bir başka eserini yine böyle hulâsa etmek için vaat verdik. Bakalım, tecrübelerimiz muvaffakiyet neticesi gösterir ise şu yeni çığırda da devam eder gideriz."

(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'ın mürebbiyesi
Elvir	Şimen'in mürebbiyesi
Prensesin bir mabeyncisi	

(16) Birinci Perde

Birinci Meclis - Şimen mürebbiyesi Elvir ile hasbihâl eder. Rodrig'e olan meylini pederi tasdik eylediği mürebbiyesi tarafından tebşir olunması cihetiyle Şimen'in:

- Söylediklerin doğru mudur? Babamın sana söylediklerini tebdil [ü] tagyir etmeksizin mi bana nakleyedin?

suali üzerine Elvir kızı temin ederek:

- Siz Rodrig'i sevdiğiniz kadar babanız onu takdir eyliyor. Hâl ve tavrından anladığım şeyde hatam yok ise Rodrig'in sevdasına muvafakat suretiyle muamelede bulunmanızı dahi pederiniz size emr edecektir.

diye teminatta bir kat daha ileriye varır. (17) Bunun üzerine Şimen böyle bir musahebeye doyulamayacağından bahisle pederinin kendi intihabını tasdik eylediğini Elvir'in neden anlayıp hüküm eylediğini sorar ve der ki:

- Hele şu Rodrig ile Sanş'ın benim teveccühümü celbe medar olmak üzere senin nezdinde gizlice iltizam 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 eylediğimi pederime anlatmadın mı?

Bu suale cevaben Elvir der ki kızının gönlünü babasına iki âşıkın ikisi için de bıkayddır diye anlatmış. Ne birisine ümid ve ne diğerine yeis verecek surette (18) davranmadığını ve bir koca intihabı için babasının emrine muntazır bulunduğunu söylemiş. Kızının bu itaatinden babası pek memnun olmuş demiş ki: "Rodrig ile Sanş'dan ikisi de kızıma lââyık asilzadelerdir. İkisi de cesur ve sadık şeylerdir. İkisinin de nâsiye-i hâlleri âbâ ve ecdadlarının fezailine varis olduklarını gösterir. Hele Don Rodrig'in nasiyesi âlf gönüllü bir genç olduğunu apâşikâre meydana koyar. Hanedanı

meyanında pek çok cengâveran bulunup gençliği zamanında vücudunun kuvveti devam eyledikçe babası bir misli daha bulunmayan bir kahraman-ı sahib-kıran idi. Hâlâ nasiyesindeki çizgiler bir zamanki (19) muzafferiyatının medayih-i mahkûkesi hükmünde bulunup şimdi bile yüzüne bakanlar o kahraman babanın vaktiyle ne âlicenap bir cengâver olduğunu anlamakta tereddüt etmezler. Babasında gördüğüm büyüklüğü oğlundan da ümid eylerim. Binaenaleyh kızım, bu kahramanı severse benim de rızama muvafık hareket etmiş olarak memnuniyetimi kazanmış olur.”

İşte Şimen’in babasının bu sözlerini Elvir aynen nakl ettikten sonra kendi istihracatı olmak üzere dahi diyor ki:

- Meclise gitmekte bulunduğu cihetle sözünü burada kesmeye mecbur olduysa da bu az sözler bana anlattı ki sizin için Rodrig’i Sanş’a tercih etmektedir. (20) Kral hazretleri de kendi oğluna bir muallim intihab edecek imiş. Bu şeref ancak babanıza düşecektir. Zira babanızın muzafferiyatı kendisini emsalsiz ve rakipsiz bırakmıştır. Don Rodrig dahi babasını irza etmiş. Bugün Meclis’ten çıkar iken onun babası izdivacınızı sizin babanıza teklif edecek imiş. Anlayınız ki arzularınız âdetâ husule gelmiş sayılacak bir zamandayız.

Fakat Şimen yine emin olamaz. Derunî bir havf, kızı sevinmekten de meneder. İkisi de saha-i temaşadan çıkarlar.

İkinci Meclis - Prenses Ürrak, yanında mürebbiyesi Leonor, mabeyncisi olduğu (21) hâlde saha-i temaşaya girip mabeynciyi Şimen’i çağırmağa gönderdikten sonra kendisi mürebbiyesiyle yalnız kalınca hasbîhâle başlar. O da Rodrig’e âşık ama bunu henüz mürebbiyesinden bile saklıyor. Binaenaleyh mürebbiyesi, Prensesi söyletmek için:

- Efendim! Hergün sizi Şimen ile görüşmek arzusu icbar ve tazyik eyliyor. Hem görüyorum ki her defa meselâ katınızda sevdasının derecesini soruyorsunuz!

deyince Prenses:

- Evet! Bu suallerim sebepsiz değildir. Rodrig tarafından atılan peykan-ı sevdaya sine-küşa-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 âşıkânesini kabul ettiremez iken, benim şu tavassutumla kabul ettirebilmiştir. Elhasıl bu âşık ve âşıkânın bağlandıkları zincir-i sevdâyı ben vücuda getirmiş olduğumdan ıztırapları imtidad etmeyerek kariben nail-i meram olmalarını da arzu etmeliyim!

cevabını verir ise de Prensesin bu cevabı azim bir ıztırab-ı derunla verdiğini mürebbiyesi anladığından:

- Öyle ama onlar mail-i meram olmaya takarrüb eyledikçe sizin kederiniz arttığını da görüyorum. Onları garik-i lücce-i mesar eden (23) sevdaları acaba sizin ulüvv-i tab’ınızda bir teessürü, bir ye’si mi mucib oluyor? Onları himayeniz, kendilerini mesut ettiği kadar sakın sizi bedbaht etmekte

bulunmasın? Aman affınızı rica ederim. Galiba haddimi tecavüz ederek pek ileriye gidiyorum!

demesi üzerine Prensese artık derunundan galeyan eden sevdaya mukavemet edemeyerek derdini dökmeye mecbur olur. Der ki:

- Kederimi sakladıkça şiddeti artıyor. Dinle öyle ise dinle ki gönlüm ile ne yaman bir mücahedede bulunuyorum! Fazilet-i necibanem ne şiddetli hücumata mukavemet eylediğini söyleyim de dinle! Aşk öyle bir zalimdir ki hiçbir kimseye pençe-i gadrinden halâs yolu (24) göstermez. Benim Şimen'e sevdirdiğim o genç senyör, o sevgili âşık yok mu? Ah! Onu asıl ben seviyorum!

Mürebbiyesi bu itirafa azim bir hayret gösterir. Prensese der ki:

- Koy elini şu kalbim üzerine de bak kendi galib-i muzafferinin ismi yad olunur olunmaz onu nasıl tanıyıp çırpınıyor!

Bîçare mürebbiye Prensese irşad için:

- Affediniz efendim! Bu sevdayı muaheze için daire-i tazim ve tekrimden çıkıyor isem affınızı istirham ederim. Bir büyük Prensese, âdeta bir şövalye senyörü kendi gönlüne kabul ettirmek derecelerinde mevki-i âlü'l-âl haşmetini unutsun! (25) Siz kimin kızı olduğunuzu derhatır etmiyor musunuz? Bunu işitince Kral ne diyecek?

demeye başlar. Prensese Ürrak der ki:

- Kimin kızı olduğumu o kadar tahattür ediyorum ki Rodrig'in zevcesi olarak uluvv-i mertebe-i haşmetimi tezlil edeceğime kanımı dökmeyi tercih ediyorum. Fakat sana şunu da söylerim ki ulüvv-i cenab erbabının kulubunda naire-i sevdayı ikad edecek bir şey var ise o da yalnız liyakat ve fazilettir. Eğer ben sevdamdan dolayı kendimi mazur bulmak istemiş olsa idim bin emsal-i meşhure irad edebilir idim. Fakat şan ve şeref-i haşmetimin tehlikeye duçar olduğu bir meselede (26) bu mazuriyeti istemem. Bu sevda benim cesaretimi yenemiyor. Daima kendi kendime diyorum ki Kral kızı olduğum hâlde yine bir Kraldan maada kimse bana lââyık-ı zevc olamaz. Nihayet gönlümün bu sevdaya karşı müdafaa edemeyeceğini anlayınca artık nailiyetine cesaretyab olamadığım şeyi başkasına kazandırmaya mecbur oldum. Rodrig'in dam-ı sevdasına, kendime bedel Şimen'i düşündüm. Kendi ateşimi söndürmek için onların kânun-ı dilinde bir ateş-i sevda parlattım. İşte onların izdivacını sabırsızlık ile beklediğime taacüp etme. Görüyorsun ki istirahat-ı kalbim bu izdivaca mütevakıf kalmıştır. Sevda ümit ile yaşar derler. O ümit mahv (27) olunca sevda dahi mahvolmak lâzım gelir. Benim keder-i fevkalâdemden kat-ı nazarla Şimen Rodrig'e varır ise ümidim mahv olacak. Fakat şanim kurtulacak. Maahaza bir elem-i azim ile müteellimim. Ta dakika-i zifafa kadar Rodrig maşukumdur. Rodrig'i kendim için mahvetmek istiyorum. Fakat kemal-i esefle onu mahv ediyorum. İşte için için çektiğimi gördüğün kederler bundandırılar. Kendime lââyık görmeyerek istihkar ile redd eylediğim bir sevda beni yine mağlup ederek göğüs geçirmekte olduğumu

kemal-i teessürle görüyorum. Bunların tezevvüçleri benim için bir musibettir. Ondan hem korkuyorum hem onu arzu eyliyorum. Bir yandan aşkım, diğer taraftan cenabım beni öyle (28) bir cendereye sıkışlar ki bu izdivaç hasıl olsa da olmasa da ben öleceğim.

Mürebbiye bu sözleri işitince Prensesin sevdasını evvelce şayan-ı tayib bulduğundan dolayı özürler dileyerek şimdi biçareyi acımaya şayan bulur ve sabr u metaneti bittavsiye o aralık Şimen gelmiş olduğu cihetle Prensesin emriyle mürebbiye onu biraz işgale gider ki Prenses az buçuk def-i teessür eylesin de Şimen'e bir şey sezdirmesin diye. Mürebbiye gidip de Prenses yalnız kaldığı zaman dizüstü çökerek ve Hak Taala hazretlerinin bargâh-ı manevîsine el kaldırarak dua eder. Şimen ile Rodrig'in izdivaçları bir an evvel vukua gelerek kendi ümidi (29) külliye mahv olsun da bu beladan kurtulsun diye yalvarır ki Prensesin şu yalnızca duası da birinci perdenin üçüncü meclisini teşkil eder.

Dördüncü Meclis - Don Gomes ile Don Diyeg arasında bir muhavere den müteşekkildir. Hatta bu oyun şimdilerde oynandıkça iki evvelki meclis terk olunarak ilk meclis olmak üzere bu üçüncü meclisten başlamaktadırlar. Bu iki asilzadenin birisi Şimen'in diğeri Rodrig'in babası olup Kralın meclisinden çıktıkları sırada çocuklarının izdivacına karar verecekleri müntazır iken bilâkis Don Diyeg Prese mürebbi intihab (30) olunmasından dolayı Don Gomes hased ederek meclisten çıkar çıkmaz münazaaya tutuşurlar. Don Gomes:

- Prese mürebbi intihab olunmak şerefi bana lâyük iken sen bu şerefi benden gasp ettin!

diye Don Diyeg'i muahezeye başlar. Don Diyeg dahi:

- Kralın beni intihabı âdil olduğunu ve emektarlarının hizmetini bihakkın mükâfatlandırmaya muktedir bulunduğunu gösterir.

diye bu şerefin asıl kendisine lâyük olduğunu iddia eder. Don Diyeg gayet ihtiyar ve Don Gomes orta yaşlı, kavi ve ikisi de ceri, cesur birer asilzadedirler. (31) Birisi gençliğini medar-ı temeyyüz addederek:

- Prens hazretleri benim nasıl cenkler ettiğimi, memleketler feth eylediğimi görerek hareketimden ibret alır!

dediği hâlde, diğeri:

- Dermansızlığım hasebiyle beni artık bilfiil cengâverlikte göremez ise de bilir ki sizin muzafferiyatınız dahi benim tertibatım ve kumandam sayesinde hasıl olmuştur. Binaenaleyh benim askerliğim tarihi kendisine ders olur.

diye söz uzatmak istidadını alır. Hatta bir aralık Don Diyeg böyle münazaadeceklerine ikisinin de yalnız birer evlâdı bulunduğundan şunları (32) baş göz etmekle bahtiyar olmalarını teklif eyler ise de Don Gomes pek hırçın olmak ve nail olamadığı şerefin Don Diyeg'e geçmesine fevkalhad kıskanmış bulunmak hasebiyle bu teklifi kabul etmedikten başka münazaada biddevam iki tarafın mütekebbirane ve meteazzimane sözleri yüksele yüksele nihayet Don Gomes elini kaldırıp Don Diyeg'e

bir tokat atmaya kadar cesaretyab olur. Bu tahkir Don Diyeg'i bittabi duçar-ı gazab ederek elini kılıca sunup:

- Silsilemde bu hakaretle ilk yüzü kızaran ben oldum. Bari canımı da al ki bu ayıptan kurtulayım!

diye Don Gomes'i mübarezeye davet eder (33) ise de bu acz-pîrfisi ile hakikaten mağlup ve maktul düşeceğini Gomes ihtar edince zavallı ihtiyar:

- 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 nutk-ı müteellimane irat eylediği sırada oğlu Rodrig yanına girer. İhtiyarın şu yalnız teellümü de birinci perdenin beşinci meclisini teşkil eder.

Altıncı Meclis - Bîçare peder o hâl-i (34) ye's ile oğluna der ki:

- Rodrig! Sende yürek var mı?

Rodrig babasının hâlinde ürkerek maahaza yürekli olduğunu da itiraf için:

- Babamdan başka her kim olursa hemen şu anda ne kadar yürekli olduğumu görebilir!

demesiyle Diyeg oğlunun bu cesaretini takdis ederek şu yaşta bir tokat yemiş olan pederin intikamını ona havale eder. Fakat tokatı vuran edepsizin de gayet cesur bir kahraman olduğunu ve kendi kumandası altındaki muharebelerde bölük bölük askeri dağıtmış bulunduğunu itiraf eder. Nihayet bu hakareti kendine eden zat Şimen'in pederi (35) olduğunu tasrih edince Rodrig'in aklı başından giderek:

- Şimen'in pederi mi?

diye beyan-ı hayret eder ise de Don Diyeg oğlunun Şimen hakkındaki ihtisatına vakıf olduğunu dermiyanla pederini hem böyle âbâ ve ecdadından biri hanedanından hiç birisinin bir hareketini görmemiş olan pederini bu hakaret altında bırakmaya Şimen'e olan aşkı da sebep olamayacağını da söyleyerek 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 kalınca asıl hâline ağlanacak bîçare[nin] kendisi olduğunu ve babasına tokat atan gaddarın öte taraftan maşukası Şimen'in pederi olması işi bütün bütün iğlak eylediğini ve Gomes'ten babasının intikamını alacak olsa Şimen'e karşı babasının katili olarak artık ümid-i izdivac değil a nazar-ı nefretinden başka kendisine hiçbir şey kalmayacağını ve bu intikamı almayacak olsa yalnız âleme karşı değil Şimen'e karşı dahi hakaret gören babasının intikamını almamış bir alçak sayılacağını ve böyle bir alçağın da Şimen'in muhabbetine lâyıık görülemeyeceğini düşünür. (37)

Hangi cihetini düşünse tezyid-i nevmidîden başka bir şeye yaramadığını gören kahraman Rodrig, bari kendi canına kıyarak yakayı sıyırmak mümkün olabilip olamayacağını düşünerek bir aralık buna kanaat etmek ister ise de bu da pederinin hanedanının duçar olmuş bulunduğu hakareti izale edemeyeceğini görerek ölümden vazgeçer. Nihayet bu işte feda olunabilecek bir şey var ise o da Şimen olduğunu katiyen hükmederek vakıa Şimen'in sevdası kendisine pek mukaddes ise de asıl hukuk-ı peder daha mukaddes olduğundan Gomes'i öldürüp ifa-yı vazife etmeyi azm eyler. İşte burada birinci perde hitam bulur. (38)

İkinci Perde

Birinci Meclis – Kralın bendegânından Don Ariyas ile hırçın Don Gomes arasında vukua gelir. Gomes'in Diyeğ gibi bir pir-i şöhret-şîara ettiği hakaret Kralın malûmu olunca pek ziyade müteessir olarak emr etmiş ki Gomes lüzum ve lâyıku veçhile Diyeğ'e bir tarziye versin. Eğer bu emre itaat etmeyecek olursa Gomes için her ceza, her şiddet hazırdır demiş. Don Ariyas bunu tebliğ eyledikte Gomes:

- Aramızda bir suret-i mahremânede itiraf ederim ki o dakikada kanım biraz ziyadece kanayarak namusuma dokunacak bir kelimeyi derece-i ifrata kadar büyültmüşüm. Fakat (39) bir kere hakaret vukua gelmiş olduktan sonra artık tarziye filan gibi hiçbir çaresi bulunamaz.

diye kusurunu itirafla beraber ettiği hakarettten dönmüyor, tarziyeyi filânı kabul etmiyor. Don Ariyas bu taazzüm[ün] Kralın hışmını arttıracığından bahisle sahib-i emr olan hükümdaran-ı zîşana itaat-i mutlaka lüzumundan bahs eyliyor ise de Don Gomes devlet uğrunda bu kadar hüsn-i hidematı sebk etmiş olduğu hâlde böyle yegâne bir kusurdan dolayı Kralın kendisine hışm-ı şedid göstermesi muvafık olamayacağını beyan eyliyor, buna mukabil Ariyas:

- Devlete millete hizmet etmek insan (40) için vazifesini ifa etmiş olmaktır. Hizmetimizden dolayı mağrur olmaya selahiyetimiz yoktur. Bir Kral hiçbir kimsenin hizmetinin minnetdarı olmaz. Daima bendegân efendilerinin minnetdar-ı inayatu olarak her bir emr ü nehylerine gerdendade-i itaat ve inkıyad olurlar ise şân-ı ubudiyetlerine asıl bu cihet şayan ve muvafık düşer.

diye hikmet-i ubudiyeti anlatmaya çalışıyor ise de Gomes taazzüm ve tekebbürü gittikçe artırarak güya devletin bekası kendi vücuduna mütevakkıf bulunduğu derecesine kadar vardırır. Herhâlde tarziye için Kralın verdiği emre itaat etmeyeceğini söyler. Don Ariyas meyusen 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 vakarım ile geberir giderim!

diye Ariyas'a adem-i itaat cevabı verdiğiinden dolayı pek isabet eylediğini hükmeder.

İkinci Meclis – Rodrig, Kont Gomes'in yanına girerek kendisiyle iki lâkırdı edeceğini söyler. Kont, istimaa hazır bulunduğunu beyan edince babasının ne âlicenap, ne

namuslu bir asilzade olduğunu (42) bilip bilmediğini sorar. Buna cevap-ı tasdik alınca kendisinin de o hun-ı asalete malik olduğundan bahisle:

- Bu asaletin muktezasını şuradan dört adım ayrılarak sana göstereceğim.

diye Gomes'i düvelloya davet eder. Kont kemal-i istihkar ile:

- Genç mütekebbir!

diyerek güya Rodrig'e acımak tavrını gösterir ise de Rodrig:

- Evet! Sana nisbetle genç ve tecrübesiz isem de şecaat ve asalet insanın ömrünün seneleriyle ölçülmez!

diye davetinde ısrar gösterir.

Gomes, Rodrig'in henüz silahını tecrübe (43) etmemiş bir genç olduğundan bahisle kendi şecaat-ı mücbiresini ihtar için:

- Sen benim kim olduğumu bilir misin?

sualini irat edince Rodrig:

- Evet! benden başka her kim olsa senin sıyt u şöhret-i şecaatinden korkarak tir tir titrer. Şimdiye kadar senin alnını tezyin etmiş olan fütuhât ve muzafferiyat çelenkleri benim de helâkimin nişanesi olurlar ise de bende de şecaatle meşhun bir yürek bulunduğundan o kuvvet-i kalble pederimin namusunu muhafaza gayretinde bulunan bir asilzade için hiçbir şey muhal hükmünü alamaz. Senin kolun şimdiye kadar bükülmüş değil ise de hiç de (44) bükülmez değildir ya?

diyerek gözlerinden ateş-i gazab ve intikam saçılmaya başlayınca Kont Gomes bu arslan yavrusu arslandaki cür'et ve cesarete hayran olur. Hatta delikanlıdaki bu cevher-i asalet, bu maye-i şecaat ötedenberi nazar-ı tahsinini celp etmiş olduğu cihetle kızı Şimen'i de ancak kendisine lâıyk görmekte olduğunu haber vererek:

- Kızıma olan sevdanı bilirim. Hatta o sevdaya da mukavemet ederek baba namusunu müdafaa için Şimen'i bile feda edişine hayranım! Sende bu cür'eti görünce seni kendime damat intihap edişimde hata etmemiş olduğumu da hükmeyledim. Fakat sana (45) acıyorum. İstedığın mübareze için aramızda müsavat yoktur. Seni öldürmek bana hiç şeref kazandırmaz. İnsanın kolayca yapabileceği şeyler, şanına şan katacak azametli muzafferiyattan add olunamazlar. Herkes diyecek ki ben seni bir hamlede öldürmüşüm. O hâlde yalnız vefatına acımakla kalacağım!

sözlerini hem tekebbür hem de terahhüm tavrıyla irat eyler. Fakat Don Rodrig bu ağızlara gelmez. Gomes'in bu sözlerini âdeta ölümden havfına haml edince Gomes dahi hiddetlenerek düvelloyu kabul eder. İkisi birden saha-i temaşadan çıkarlar. (46)

Üçüncü Meclis – Mürebbiye Leonor dahi hazır olduğu hâlde Prens Ürrak ile Şimen arasında vukua gelir. Kendi babası[nın], Rodrig'in babasına böyle tamiri gayr-ı kabil bir hakaretle bulunduğunu Şimen işterek gayet meyyus olmuş da Prens dahi Şimen'e

teselliler veriyor. Bu hadise pek küçük bir şey olacağından bahisle her ne kadar izdivaçlarını biraz tehir etse bile hadise-i mezkûra kariben bir taraf olarak yine nail-i meram olabileceğini söylüyor. Şimen ise vakıa kendisi Rodrig'i sevip Rodrig tarafından sevildiği ve babaları dahi bu işe muvafık buldukları cihetle mesudiyet-i muntazırası hemen husule (47) gelmiş demek ise de bu hadisenin vukuu artık o husulü muhal hükmüne koyduğunu beyan eder. Prenses hele Kralın bu hadiseyi keenne lem yekûn hükmüne koymak hakkındaki azmi artık her şüpheyi bertaraf edebileceğini beyan edince Şimen, vakıa Kralın emri nafız olacağına şüphe göstermez ise de iki familya arasında alevriz-i iştilgal olan naire-i husumet, bu suretle yalnız zahiren itfa edilmiş olarak kalpler içinde ise daima alev-efşan bir hâlde bulunacağını ihtar eder. Zira kendi babası da ne kadar şedit ise Rodrig'in babası[nın] o kadar anud olduğunu herkes bilir. Prenses bunu reddetmekte lüzum görmez. Fakat (48) Şimen, Rodrig[le] her hâlde izdivaç edebileceklerinden bunların yekdiğeri haklarındaki sevda-yı halisleri iki familya arasındaki husumete de elbette galebe edeceğinden ümitvar görünür. Hatta Don Diyeg'in artık kuvvetten düşmüş bir ihtiyar olduğu beyanıyla bu hadisenin iki familya arasında kan dökülmeye kadar varamayacağını da cümle-i esbab-ı ümidden olarak ihtar edince Şimen Don Diyeg aciz olsa bile oğlu Rodrig'in aciz olmadığını bildirir. Prenses:

- Adam o da pek gençtir. Âdeta çocuk sayılır.

diyince 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 Prenseste dahi bulunduğundan vakıa:

- Rodrig seni pek çok sevdiği cihetle onun intikamından o kadar korkmamalısın! Senin güzel ağzından sadır olacak iki kelime-i rica onun gazabını teskin eder.

diye şu havfi da ehemmiyetinden 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 asilzadenin bu kadar büyük bir hakarete tahammül edebilmesi nasıl tahsin olunur? Ricamı kabul etse de etmese de ben (50) bela içindeyim. Zira kabulü kendisini namussuz ve adem-i kabulü beni pedersiz eder!

yollu tavzih-i meram ile Prensesin de havfını arttırır. Nihayet Prenses Rodrig'i eser-i gazabını göstermekten mene medar olmak üzere kendi yanına alarak ta hadisenin bertaraf olacağı zamana kadar bir yere salıvermemek çaresini bulur ki bu çarenin faydasını Şimen dahi teslim eder.

Dördüncü Meclis - Bu meclis-i muhtazır yine evvelkiler ile bir de Prensesin mabeyncisi arasında vukua gelir. Prenses mabeynciyi çağırıp Rodrig'i davet etmesi emrini verince mabeynci: (51)

- Don Rodrig ile Kont Gomes ikisi birlikte...

diye söze başlayarak fakat bitirmeye cesaret edemez. Sözün yalnız bu kadarı Şimen'i son dereceye kadar meyus etmeye kifayet edip sözünü bitirmesi için Prenses tarafından verilen emir üzerine mabeynci:

- İki birlikte saraydan çıktılar. Yavaşça da muaraza ediyorlar idi.

der ki artık bunların dövüşmeye gittiklerine hiç şüphe kalmayarak Şimen güya vaktinde yetişebilir ise bunları men edebilecek imiş gibi fırlar, çıkar gider. (52)

Beşinci Meclis – Prenses ile mürebbiyesi arasında bir hasbıhâli 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 ahlâkiyeniz şimdi yine mağlup mu oldu?

diye muahazeye başlar ise de Prenses:

- Aşkımı artık tahkir etme! Her ne kadar fazilet-i asılanem hâlâ onunla mücahedede ise de hissediyorum ki gönlüm mağlup oluyor. Zira gönlüm Şimen'in gaip eylediği (53) âşğın üzerine atılıyor:

diye mürebbiyesinden özürler diliyor, mürüvvetini rica ediyor. Mürebbiye yine Prensesin şu aczini, mağlubiyetini tahsin edemiyor ise de Prenses dahi onun nasihatlerini kabul edemeyerek:

- Ah! Gönül bu kadar tatlı bir zehir ile mesmum olunca insan doğru sözleri anlayabilir mi? Güzel nasihatleri kabul edebilir mi? Bir hasta kendi hastalığından memnun olur ise o derdine devalar arandığını görmekten de metüessir olur.

diye mukavemette ısrar ediyor. Nihayet mürebbiye:

- Bir beyhude ümit sizi taglit (54) ediyor. Başınızdaki beladan hoşlanıyorsunuz. Fakat her ne olursa olsun bu Rodrig size lâıyk bir adam değildir.

deyince Prensesin teessürü artarak diyor ki:

- Bunu ben senden iyi bilirim. Fakat eğer Rodrig de şimdiye kadar kimseye mağlup olmamış bulunan Don Gomes'i mağlup edecek olursa bil ki ben bu galebeyi kayıtsızlıkla telakki edemem. Artık yüzüm kızarmaksızın kendisini sevebilirim. Rodrig şayet Konta galebe eder ise en meşhur cengâverler hakkında hikâye olunan havarıkı bile kendisinden bekleyebileceğim. O zaman bana olan aşkını da kendim için bir şeref (55) sayabileceğim.

Prensesin bu hayalâtı mürebbiyeyi duçar-ı hayret ederek ihtimal ki bu düvello[nun] hiç de vücuda gelemeyeceğini dermiyan eder ise de Kont bu hakareti etmiş ve Rodrig dahi hakarete katlanamayacağını söylemiş ve ikisi birden saraydan çıkıp gitmiş oldukları hâlde mukatelenin men'i kabil olamayacağı Prenses tarafından cevaben irat olunarak mürebbiye velev ki mübareze vukua gelsin de Rodrig'in galip çıkamaması dahi mümkünattan olduğunu söyleyince Prenses:

- Ne yapayım? İşte ben böyle divanelik ediyorum. İşte bundan anla ki şu aşk bana ne kadar fenalıklar 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 âşığı genç Don Sanş saha-i temaşaya dahil olarak Gomes'in Diyege'ye tarziye vermesi hakkındaki emr-i kraliye adem-i itaati hakkında Ariyas'ın götürmüş olduğu haber[in], Kralı ziyadesiyle mükedder 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 olmadığını bilmiyor. (57)

demesiyle Don Ariyas:

- İrade-i haşmetpenahîlerini kendisine uzun uzadıya tafsil eyledim. Fakat bir cevab-ı muvafakat almaya muvaffak olamadım efendim.

diye beyan-ı hâl eder. Bu söz Fernand'ın gazabını teşdit eyler. Bir teessür-i mütezayid ile:

- Aman ya Rab! Bir azgın Senyör benim hatırıma bu kadar az riayet eylesin! Don Diyege'yi tahkir eylediği az imiş gibi Kralına da itaatsizlik gösterebilirsin. Benim evimde bana hükmetmek istiyor ha? Ne kadar yiğit, ne büyük kumandan olursa olsun onun kibr ü azametini kırmaya muktedir olabilirim. Bir şecaat-ı mücesseme olsa bir ceng-i rabbi bulunsa (58) bile adem-i itaat[in] ne demek olduğunu ben kendisine öğretilirim. Ben evvel emirde kendisine cebr ile muamele etmek istemiş idim. Mademki benim istediğim bu riayetin kadrini bilmedi, hemen şimdi gitmeli, edeceği mukavemeti bakmayarak kendisini ahz ile huzuruma getirmeli!

sözleri Kralın ağzından çıkınca Don Sanş sevdiği Şimen'in babası aleyhinde bu suretle âsarî zahir olan gazab-ı kraliye tadile medar olmak üzere:

- Haşmetpenahâ! Biraz vakit geçer ise ihtimal ki gazabı sükun kesp eder. Don Diyege ile münazaasından dolayı kendisine 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 kraliye 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 kralî ile mülzem olmayarak:

- Ferman-ı hükümdarîlerine inkiyaden ihtiyar samt u sükut eder ise de iki lâkırdı... (60)

deyince Kral insafa gelerek:

- Söyleyiniz!

müsaadesini verir. O zaman Don Sanş der ki:

- Büyük işlere alışmış olan insan kolay kolay kayd u bend altına alınamaz, efendim. İşte Kontun adem-i itaati yalnız bundan dolayıdır. Emrediniz ki ettiği küstahlığın mukabilini yine harb ü darbda muvaffakiyatla ödesin. Elbette zat-ı hükümrânîlerinin hoşnut olacakları muzafferiyatla bu kabahati örtmeye muvaffak olabilir.

Kral bundan da memnun olamaz. Der ki:

- Bunda da hata ediyor iseniz de gençliğinize hamlederek sizi affederim. (61) Bir Kralın itidal-i efkârı kendi tebası kanını muhafaza emrinde hiç kimseye makis olamaz. Tebamin kanını israf edemem. Vakıa siz bir asker gibi beyan-ı mülâhaza ediyor iseniz de ben bir hükümdar gibi hareket eyliyorum. Her ne denilir ise denilsin Kont eğer emrime itaat etmiş olsa idi bu hâl haysiyetine mi dokunmuş olacak idi? Hem onun ettiği küstahlık doğrudan doğruya bana karşıdır. Oğluma muallim diye intihab eylediğim adamın vakarına taarruz etmek benim intihabımı beğenmemek demektir. Artık bundan bahsetmeyelim. Zira nehrin ağzında mağribîlerin gemileri görünmüştür. Asıl bu işin çaresine bakalım. (62)

Don Gomes meselesine filhakikiye artık nihayet vererek badehu Kral ile Don Ariyas Afrikalıların İspanyollar üzerine tasallutları hakkında bir müzakere açarak onlara ne yolda mukabele edilmek lâzım geleceğini konuşurlar iken Don Alonz içeriye girerek Don Gomes'in maktuliyeti haberini getirir.

Yedinci Meclis – Bu kısa meclis evvelkiler ile Don Alonz meyânında 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 şöyle bir intikamın vukua geleceğini tahmin etmiş idim. İşte bu felâketi men için de Gomes'e tarziyeyi tavsiye eylemiş idim!

der ise de tesiri yalnız bu derecede kalmayıp Alonz:

- Şimen dahi gözlerinden yaş seyelan ederek gelmiş efendimizden adalet istiyor!

deyince Kral olanca gazabını Rodrig bîçaresi üzerine çevirir. Vakıa Gomes'in maktuliyetini Diyeg'e karşı ettiği hakaretin ceza-yı sezasıdır diye hükümden geri duramaz ise de ne kadar ceza-yı sezası olursa olsun Gomes gibi (64) bir kumandanı kaybeylediğinden dolayı derecesiz müteessif olduğunu yine ketmetmez. Vefatı şahsen

kendisini müteessir eyledikten maada devletçe dahi büyük zayıttan olduğunu ilan ederek Şimen'i huzuruna kabul eder.

Sekizinci Meclis – Şimen huzur-ı kraliye girdiği gibi Rodrig'in babası Don Diyeg dahi oğluna şefaata için girmiş olduğundan ikisi birden Kralın adaletine, merhametine dahalet-i ricaya, istirahatına başlayınca ve ikisi de yerlere kapanınca Kral ikisinin de birden kalkarak daha telaşsız beyan-ı hâl etmelerini emr ile beraber Şimen'e: (65)

- Şimen! Sizin mateminize ben de iştirakteyim. Benim de ruhum sizin ruhunuz kadar ıstırap içindedir!

ve Don Diyeg dahi:

- Siz dahi söyleyeceğinizi sonra söylersiniz. Onun maruzat-ı müştekiyanesini ihlal etmeyiniz!

diyerek tarafeynin sözlerini dinlemeye hazırlanır. Şimen ağlayarak der ki:

- Haşmetpenahâ! Pederim katlolundu. Bu zavallı gözlerim onun hun-ı mazlumunu gördü. O hun-ı asalet, o sine-i sadakat-i defineden seyelan ediyor idi! Bunca muharebatı kazanan nice defalar hududunuzu (66) kıla'nızı muhafaza eden bu hun-ı adaleti sizin uğrunuzda feda edilmeyerek o kanı sarayınız erkânından Rodrig'in türab-ı gadr üzerine döktüğünü görmek ne azim felakettir. Mübarezeğe gittiklerini haber aldığım anda benim benzim uçmuş olduğu hâlde yanlarına koştum ise de ah babamı katlolunmuş buldum. Bendeki bu derece-i teellümü mazur görünüz. Daha ziyadesini arza takatim kalmadı. Felaketin derecesini gözyaşlarımdan anlayınız!

Kral kızın ye'sinden pek ziyade müteessir olarak:

- Cesaret kızım cesaret! Biliniz ki şu anda Kralınız Gomes'e bedel size babalık (67) etmeye hazırdır.

diye Şimen'i teselli eder. Şimen ise:

- Bu felaketin istihkakından ziyade merhametinizi isticlap eylediğine teşekkür ederim. Pederimin toprak üzerine dökülen kanı, bana hakk-ı pederi nasıl müdafaa edeceğimi mübeyyin bir ders hükmünü aldı. Sizin gibi adil bir hükümdar-ı âliyet-bâra, o kanın edeceği şikâyeti benim ağzım ediyor demektir. Asr-ı adaletinizde böyle bir cinayet cezasız kalmasın. Pederim gibi en şanslı kahramanlar öyle çılgın gençlerin şimşir-i gadrine uğrayarak hun-ı mazlumiyetleri içinde gark olmasınlar. Pederim kadar size hüsn-i hizmet eden bir cengâverin intikamını almaz iseniz (68) sair erbab-ı sadakati de meyus etmiş olursunuz. Hasılı ey hükümdar-ı adalet-şiarım, pederim katlolundu ben intikamını isterim. Bu istirahatım ise kendi teşeffi-i sadrımdan ziyade sizin şan-ı adaletiniz içindir. Kan yerine kan isterim. Peder-i mazlumun kanı, katil-i zalimin kanıyla tazmin olunur. Bu kadar büyük, bu kadar fâci bir cinayete cesaretyab olanı benim hukukum için, sizin tacınız için şan-ı adaletiniz mukteza-yı hakkaniyetiniz için öldürünüz efendim, öldürünüz!

diye tazallümünü son dereceye vardırır. Badehu Kral nevbet-i kelâmı Don Diyeg'e verince o dahi der ki: (69)

- İnsan, vücudunun kuvvetini kaybeylediği zaman hayatını da kaybeylemiş olsa ne kadar şayan-ı gıpta bir bahtiyarlığı nail olmuş olur! Ben ki mesai-i fedakâranem, devlet için bunca muzafferiyatı intaç etmiştir. Ben ki gençliğimde nereye teveccüh etmiş isem muvaffakiyet ve fütühat yolunu açmıştır. Mücerret çok yaşamış olduğum seyyiesiyle kendimi hem bir hakarete hem de intikamımı alamamak aczine duçar olmuş gördüm. Hiçbir muharebede hiçbir pusuda hiçbir muhasarada görmediğim Aragon'da, Granata'da tesadüf etmediğim bütün sizin düşmanlarınızdan bütün benim hasutlarımdan ümit bile etmediğim hakareti burada sizin sarayınızda gözleriniz önünde Konttan (70) gördüm. Taraf-ı hükümrânîlerinden Prens hazretlerine muallim intihap olunmuşsa haset ederek ve kendi gençliği, dinçliği ile benim ihtiyarlığıma, aczime galebe edebileceğini görerek bana bu hakareti etti. Ey hükümdar-ı merahim-şiar! Nazar-ı merhamete alınız ki bunca muharebatta ağaran bu saçlar ve nice defalar uğrunuzda feda edilen bu kan, bir vakit bütün bir düşmanınız ordusunu titreten bu kul eğer oğlum olmasa idi müthiş bir ayb-ı hakaretle mayuben mezara iniyor idi. Evet! Kendime, vatanına, Kralına lâyük bir oğul ki kendi zur-ı bazusunu imdadıma yetiştirerek Kontu öldürdü. Aybımı yıkayıp namusumu iade etti. Eğer şecaat göstermek, (71) pederine vurulan tokatın intikamını almak bir cinayet sayılacak ise bu cinayetin cezası bana gelmelidir. Kol, bir cinayet işler ise onun cezasını baş çeker. Bu iş bir cinayet mi addolunacak, ne sayılacak ise sayılsın bu işte Rodrig bazı demektir. Ben dahi baş mesabesindeyim. Eğer Şimen babası katlolundu diye şikâyet eyliyor ise babasını ben öldürebilecek olsa idim, Rodrig'e hiç hacet kalmaz idi. Hasılı beni katlediniz beni ki zaten tevafür-i sinin, kuvvetimi mahvetmiştir. Fakat benim bazı-yı intikamım mesabesinde olan Rodrig'i muhafaza ediniz ki o daha hizmetler görebilir. Kanımın isalesiyle Şimen dahi mutmain olsun. Asla mümanaat (72) etmeksizin cezama razıyım. Namusum yerinde olduğu hâlde ölmek benim için pek rahat bir ölüm sayılır.

Pir-i fazılın bu sözleri üzerine Krala bir düşünmek gelir. Fakat ne kadar düşünür taşınır ise de bir hüküm veremez. Bu iş pek mühim işlerden olduğu cihetle buna meclisçe bakılmak lâzım geldiğinden Şimen'i Don Sanş'a tevdiyen hanesine göndertip Diyeg'i dahi kendi sarayında mahpus addolunmak üzere kendisi misafir kabul eder. İkinci perde hitam bulur.

Üçüncü Perde

Birinci Meclis – Rodrig, Kont (73) Gomes ile mübareze ederek Kontu öldürdüğü ve Şimen bu hâl-i ??? görerek huzur-ı kralîye koşup ikinci perdenin sonlarında görüldüğü veçhile Krala arz-ı şikâyette bulunduğu esnada Rodrig hemen elinin kanıyla denilebilecek bir surette doğruca Şimen'in hanesine gelmez mi? Şimen'in mürebbiyesi Rodrig'i görünce hayretinden ne yapacağını şaşırır ve işte şu birinci meclis bu hâlde Rodrig ile mürebbiye Elvir arasında vukua gelir. Elvir'in:

- Rodrig sen ne yaptın? Nereye geldin ey bedbaht!

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 turfa cesareti bir yeni çıkma tefahür ve tazümü nerede buldun? O ne! Şimdi öldürdüğün Kontun hâlâ buralarda dolaşan 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 adamın hanesine duhulet etmek! Canım hiçbir katil böyle bir şey yapmış mıdır? (75)
- Ben buraya hakimane arz-ı teslimiyete geldim. Taaccüp etme! Birini öldürdüm ise de ben de ölümümü aramaya geldim. Benim hakimem muhabbetimdir. O hâlde benim hakimem Şimen'dir. Onun kinine duçar olmak gibi bir ölüme lâyıkim. Bunu da bir inayet-i mahza olarak kabule geldim. Ağzıyla katlime hüküm versin, eliyle öldürsün diye geldim.

Elvir şu hâlde Şimen'in gözüne görünmemesi için Rodrig'e pek ziyade yalvarır, nasihat verir ise de Rodrig, Şimen tarafından hangi şiddete, hangi gazaba duçar olsa lâyük olduğu beyanıyla nasihatlerin hiçbirisini kabul etmez. Nihayet Şimen, Don Sanş ile hanesine avdet (76) eder. Gelir iken kendilerini gören Elvir, Don Sanş'ın da Rodrig'e rakip olduğunu derhatır ederek belayı daha ziyade büyütmemek için yalvara yakara Rodrig'i bir tarafa gizlenmeye razı edebilir.

İkinci Meclis – Don Sanş ile Şimen saha-i temaşaya girerler iken Don Sanş, Şimen'in kederi[nin] öyle teselliyetlerle filânlarla bertaraf olabilecek şeylerden bulunmadığı ve mutlaka bir kanlı intikama muhtaç olduğu beyanıyla babasının katilinden intikamını almak için kendi aşkını, kendi kılıcını Şimen'e takdim ve arz eyler ise de Şimen bu hâl[in] kendisine adalet vadetmiş olan Krala karşı (77) itaatsizlik olacağı beyanıyla kabul etmek istemez. Sanş ise öyle uzun uzadıya tahkikât ve tetkikâtla uğraşmak mazlumlara çok gözyaşı 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. Tahkikâtın sonuna kadar hakkımdaki bu merhametiniz devam eder ise o zaman intikamımı alırsınız.

diye Sanş'ı hep teskine çalışır. Sanş dahi kızdaki bu kadarcık bir müsaade istihsal etmiş olmayı bir büyük bahtiyarlık (78) sayarak çıkar gider.

Üçüncü Meclis – Şimen, mürebbiyesi Elvir'e tazallüm-i hâle başlar. Fakat ne müthiş tazallüm! Ömrünün nısfı pederini ve nısfı âşıkı demek olup pederini, âşıkı mezara endaht eylediği gibi kendisi de âşıkını mezara atmak teşebbüsünde bulunduğundan bu hâlde artık ömürden, hayattan hiç nasibi kalmamış oluyor. Bîçare kızcağız nasıl müteselli olsun ki:

- Babamı öldüren elden de nefret edemiyorum. Bir katili takip ediyorum ama hâlâ o katili seviyorum!

diyor. Vakıa Elvir buna çıldırasıya şaşarak: (79)

- Hem babanızı öldürmüş olsun hem siz onu hâlâ seversiniz!

diye beyan-ı hayret ediyorsa da Şimen'den:

- Elvir! "Seviyorum" demek azdır. Perestiş ediyorum perestiş! Sevdam onun aleyhindeki hiss-i intikamıma itiraz eyliyor. Düşmanım olan zatta maşukamı buluyorum. Şu gazap ve şiddetimden kat-ı nazar Rodrig hâlâ gönlümde pederimle mübareze ediyor. Gâh ona hücum ve onu tazyik eyliyor, gâh gerileyip siper alıyor, gâh kavi, gâh zaif, gâh galip, gâh mağlup. Bu müşahede ile yüreğim parça parça oluyor ise de o yürekte yine Rodrig için çılgıncasına bir sevdâ hüküm sürüyor. Vazife-i hak-şinasânem ne olduğunu (80) biliyorum ama gönlümün de icbarına mağlup oluyorum. Nihayet herhâlde babamın katilidir diyorum.

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 Kralın adaletinden iddia ve talep ediyorum hem de istidam isaf olunursa diye korkuyorum. Biliyorum ki onu öldürürler ise ben de helâk olacağım. Fakat yine idamını istida eyliyorum!

Kız da ihtisâsın bu suret-i acibesini görünce bîçare Elvir ne diyeceğini şaşırarak neyinden olarak: (81)

- Böyle fâci bir emelden vazgeçiniz efendim! Bu kadar zalimane bir kanuna tevfiğ-i muamele etmeyiniz.

diyor. Lâkin Şimen bu nasihati de kabul edemeyerek:

- Ne? Babam hemen kollarımın arasında maktulen can versin diye "intikam, intikam!" diye dua eylediği hâlde ben intikamdan vazgeçeyim ha? Gönlüm, mucib-i mahcubiyeti olmak lâzım gelen bir hisse mağlup diye gözlerimden yalnız acz ve meskenet yaşlarını akıtmakla kalayım ha? Her şeyi taht-ı tahakkümüne alan bir aşk-ı galib, alçakçasına bir sükut emrederek namusumu da duçar-ı tehlike eylesin ha? (82)

diye onu da reddeyiyor. Fakat Elvir herhâlde Rodrig'e de acıdığından Şimen'e itidal tavsiyesine bir daha cür'et bularak:

- İnanınız efendim inanınız ki o kadar sevdiğiniz bir zat aleyhine biraz tadil-i şiddet eyler iseniz mazur görülürsünüz. Yaptığımız kâfidir. Kralı gördünüz. Adalet istediniz. Neticesini o kadar isticâl etmeyiniz. Bu şiddet-i acibede ısrar ve ibramda bulunmayınız!

der. Şimen ise hâlâ bu sözleri kabul edemeyerek:

- Mesele şan ve namus meselesidir. Mutlaka intikam almalıyım. Efkâr-ı aliye-i civanmerdane erbabı için sevda ne kadar şiddetli olursa olsun onunla itizar muayebattandır. (83)

diye ısrar eder ise de Elvir'in:

- Fakat Rodrig'i hâlâ sevdiğinizi inkâr edemiyorsunuz değil mi?

sualine de:

- Bu sevdayı itiraf eylerim!

cevabıyla bilmukabele nihayet Elvir'in:

- Pekâlâ encam-ı kâr ne yapmak emelindesiniz?

suali üzerine Şimen der ki:

- Bu âlemin her belasına nihayet vererek yalnız şanımlı, 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 çıldırması bir hayrete duçar olarak:

- Elvir! Elvir! Biz neredeyiz? Karşımda gördüğüm nedir? Rodrig evime girsin, Rodrig karşıma çıksın!

diye gazubane izhar-ı telaş eder ise de Rodrig:

- Kanımı esirgemeyiniz! Beni mahv ile intikamınızı itmam-ı safa-yı ruhaniyesine istediğiniz gibi nail olunuz!

deyince bîçare Şimen:

- Heyhat!... (85)

diye gayş derecelerini bulur. Ondan daha bîçare olan Rodrig:

- Allah aşkına dinleyiniz!

diye yalvardığı hâlde Şimen:

- Ölüyorum!

diye kendisinden geçmek derecelerini bulur. Rodrig:

- Bir dakikacık beni dinleyiniz!

diye yalvarır ise de Şimen:

- Git! Git! Bırak beni helâk olayım!

diye müdafaa eyleyerek biçare âşık:

- Dört kelime söylet de sonra beni şu kılıç ile öldür!

diye yalvarmaya başlar. Şimen kılıcı görünce: (86)

- Ne? Hâlâ babamın kanı üzerinde bulunan kılıç!

diye tavsifi gayr-ı kabil bir hâle gelerek Rodrig hâlâ:

- Şimenciğim!

diye yalvarır iken Şimen dahi:

- Kaldır gözümün önünden o mel'un silahı! Gözümde senin cinayetini de teşdid eyliyor, ölümün arzusunu da!

diye o silahtan çıldırasıya bir eser-i tevahhuş gösterir. Rodrig der ki:

- Bilakis o mel'un silaha bak da benim hakkımdaki nefretini teşdit ederek ölümümü de tacil et!

Lâkin Şimen artık intikamın o derece-i (87) şiddetinde değil. Vakıa kılıca bakarak:

- Aman babamın kanıyla kıpkırmızı!

diye teellüm 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 önünden! Ah zalim! Bir anda babasını timur-ı menfur ile öldürdüğün kızın kendisini de bu nümâyişler ile öldürüyorsun. Tahammül edemiyorum artık! Kaldır şunu 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:

- İşte emrin mucibince kılıcı yerine koydum. Ama yine senin elin ile ölmek iştiyakını bırakmaksızın! Zira sana olan aşkımdan dolayı iyi olarak gördüğüm işten nedametimi ümit edemezsin. Senin babamın her mülâhaza haricinde olan bir eser-i gazabı babamın namusunu berbat ederek beni de ayıp içine gark eylemiş idi. Bize bu hakareti edeni buldum. Babamın intikamını da kendi intikamımı da aldım. Eğer bu hakaret bir daha vaki olsa bu vazifeyi bir daha ifa ederim. Maahaza sana olan aşkım bu intikama hiç mümanaat etmemiş zannetme. Aşkın bana ne kadar galip bir kuvve-i (89) kahire olduğunu şundan anla ki bu intikamı almak veyahut senin

hatırın için vazgeçmek cihetlerinden hangisi müreccettir, diye uzun uzadıya düşünmeye de muktedir olabildim. O dehşetli hakaret düşünmeye meydan mı bırakabilir idi. İntikam eder isem senin nefretine ve etmez isem namusum ziyasına katlanmak lâzım geldi. Vakıa intikam hâlinde nefretin muhakkak ise de etmediğim hâlde de beni sana lâıyk eden namus mahvolarak gayr-ı lâıyk olacađım. Beni namuslu vakarlı olarak sevdiğin hâlde namussuz alçak olarak dahi sevemeyeceđin derkârdır. Senin sevdana mađlup olmak ona adem-i liyakat göstermek seni de intihabında haksız çıkarmak olacak. Tekrar ederim (90) son nefesime kadar hep bu sözü söylerim ki ettiđim iş ile sana taarruz eylemiş sayılır isem de buna bir yandan namusumu ikmal ve bir yandan da sana liyakatimi ibraz için mecbur oldum. Lâkin babama karşı, namusuma karşı olan vazifemi ifa eyledikten sonra şimdi de sana karşı olan vazifemi ifaya geldim. O vazife dahi size kanımı teklif etmektir. İcap eden şeyi yaptım. Daha iktiza eden şeyi de yapmaya geldim. Bilirim ki pederinin maktuliyeti sizi de benim helâkim için silah-ı intikam ile silahlandırır. Bu hâlde düşmanınızı sizden saklamaya mecbur oldum. İşte pederin yerine beni idam et de müteşeffi ol! (91)

Şimen'in bu sözleri azim bir ıstırab-ı derun ile dinledikten sonra der ki:

- Ah Rodrig! Her ne kadar senin düşmanın isem de duçar olduğunuz hakarete tahammül gibi bir namussuzluğu kabul edemediđinden dolayı seni takip edemem. Bu ye'sle ne kadar makhur olsam da yalnız felâketime ağlamakla kalıp seni mümkün deđil levn eyleyemem. Böyle bir hakarete duçar olduktan sonra namus ve haysiyet[in] insanı nasıl bir mükellefiyet altına soktuđunu pekâlâ bilirim. Ettiđin hakaret tamam bir âlicenabın hakareti olup şu kadar ki o hakaretle bana da vazife öğretmiş oldun. Ben de aynıyla sendeki şecaatle babamın intikamını almalıyım. Fakat (92) hayf ki işin içinde bir sen bulunması beni duçar-ı müşkilat ediyor. Eđer başka bir felâket pederimi bu hâle koysa idi benim yegâne teselliyetkârım sen olacak idin. Gözyaşlarımı senin elin sildikçe o musibet-i azimeye karşı gönlüm ferah bulacak idi. Fakat babamı kaybeylediđim gibi seni de kaybetmeye mecburum. Vazife ve aşkımı feda etmeliyim. Zira sen de ummalısın ki sevdaya mađlup olayım da vazife-i intikamı ihmal edeyim. Vakıa sevdam senin lehinde beni ihsas eder ise de uluvv-i tabım beni asıl vazifeye davet ve celp eder. Sen babamı öldürerek umduđum gibi kahraman çıktın. Ben de seni idam ettirerek umduđum gibi (93) bir kahraman-ı müntakim çıkacađım!

Rodrig maşukasının şu büyüklüğünü takdir ederek hemen dedi ki:

- Namusun size emr eylediđi intikamda asla teehhür etme! İntikam benim başımı istiyor. Ben de işte onu sana takdime geldim. Bu hükmün de, bu darbe-i müntakimane de bana pek tatlı gelecektir. Cinayetimden sona mukteza-yı adaleti uzun uzadıya beklemek senin şan-ı intikamını teehhür ve benim işkencemi temdit demek olur. Senin dest-i intikamınla urulacak darbe gibi bir tatlı darbe ile ölmek beni bahtiyar eyler.

Bu sözler Şimen'i mutmain edemezler. Der ki: (94)

- Haydi! Ben senin davacınım. Ben sana hücum etmeliyim ama sen de müdafaa göstermelisin. Başını alacak olan başka bir kuvvet olmalıdır. Sen vermemelisin. Ben seni talep etmeliyim. Ceza bana ait değildir.
- Hakkımdaki sevdan her ne kadar lehimde seni ihsas etse bile uluvv-i tab-ı müntakımanen benimki gibi olmalıdır. Bir peder intikamını almak için başka vasıtaya neden müracaat edeceksin? Sevgili Şimenim! İnan ki bu sana lâyıktır. Ben namusuma sürülen lekeyi yalnız kendi elimle yıkadığım gibi sen de öyle yap! Öldür beni! (95)
- Zalim! Bu nokta üzerinde ne hikmete mebni bu kadar ısrar ediyorsun? Sen yardımcısız intikam ettim diyorsun da bana kendini neden yardımcı veriyorsun? Ben de senin gösterdiğin misale imtisal edeceğim. Şeref-i intikamımı seninle paylaşmaya razı olamayacak kadar besaletim vardır. Ne babam ne ben senin bana olan sevdana minnettar olmak istemeyiz.
- Of ne müşkül nokta! Namus ve haysiyet hakkında ne mühim mesele! Her ne yapmış olsam senden bu inayete nail olamayacak mıyım? Babanın canı için muhabbetimiz hürmetine ya intikamen ya merhameten beni cezalandır! Bu bîçare âşıkın senin menfurun olarak (96) yaşamaktan ziyade elinle ölmekte daha az ıstırap çeker.
- Haydi! Sen bana asla menfur değilsin!
- Menfurun olmalıyım.
- Olamazsın! Sana nazar-ı nefretle bakamam.

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 muhakemesinde Don Rodrig'in beraat-ı zimmetine hükmolunsa sevinecektir. Bu derece-i muhabbeti âşıkına temin ederek gece karanlığında hiç kimseye kendisini göstermeksizin çıkıp gitmesini (97) rica eyliyor. Zira babasını öldüren bir adamı hanesine, huzuruna kabul eylediği ağyar tarafından sezilecek olursa bu ayıp bihakkın en büyük maayıpten sayılacaktır. Nihayet ayrılırlar iken temin eyliyor ki eğer Rodrig katlolunacak olursa Şimen dahi ondan sonra dünyada bir dakika daha berhayat kalmayacak.

Beşinci Meclis – Bu mecliste Don Diyeg yalnızdır. Vukuat gününden beri oğlunu göremediğinden dolayı pek müteessif hatta Rodrig firar mı etmiş yoksa Kontun dostları tarafından katl mi olunmuş yahut (98) Kral tarafından hapse mi atılmış onu da bilmediğinden ye'si son derecelere varıyor. İşte bu kadar ıstırab-ı elim içinde iken oğlu karşısına çıkıveriyor.

Altıncı Meclis – İhtiyar Diyeg oğluna sarılıp öpmek, koklamak ister ise de o genç kahramanı pek meyus bulunca tereddüt eder. Şu ak saçlarıyla duçar olduğu hakarettten kendisini kurtaran ve kontun o namuslu yüze sürdüğü lekeyi yine onun kanıyla yıkayan oğlu birçok medh ü sena eyledikten sonra “Gel o temizlediğin yüzü öp” diye davet eyler ise de Şimen'den meyus olan Rodrig bu taltifatın hiç (99) birisiyle mutmain olamaz. Filvaki babasına mukabil vazife-i ferzandaneyi ifa edebilmiş olduğundan dolayı kendisi de kendini bahtiyar buluyor ise de bu vazifeyi ifa

edebilmek için cihanda varı, yegâne ümid-i bahtiyarîsi olan Şimen'i ebediyen kaybetmiş olduğu için hiçbir şeyle müteselli olamayacağını babasına anlatır.

Don Diyeg oğlunu müteselli etmek için daha birtakım medayihî meyanına katarak aşk bir zevk, namus ise bir vazife olduğunu ????? birçok maşuka bulabilir ise de bir kere zayi olan namusu bir daha ele geçirmek mümkün olamayacağını anlatmak ister ise de Rodrig bu sözü (100) asla kabul edemeyerek babasının namusunu vikaye etmemek ne kadar alçaklık ise maşukasının aşkında sebat etmemek dahi o kadar denaet olduğunu söyler. Nihayet bir daha şeref-i izdivacına nail olamayacağı Şimen'den bilkülliye mahrumiyete de katlanamayacağı beyanıyla ölüme muntazır olduğunu ortaya koyunca babası şu dakika ölüme intizar dakikası olmadığını ve vatan ve Kral kendi şecaatine, hizmetine muhtaç bulunduğunu badelihtar mağribîler nehir tarikiyle bu gece hücum edeceklerinden memleket ahalisinin ve hatta Kralın ziyadesiyle telâş içinde bulduklarını ve hâlbuki kendisinin Kont tarafından duçar olduğu hakareti duyarak intikama gelmiş bulunan beşyüz kadar dostları (101) kumandası altına alarak gidip muhacimler ile cenk eder de o cenkte helâk olursa meyusiyet-i âşıkane ile ölmekten daha şanlı bir ölüme nail olmuş olacağını ve şayet galiben avdet eyleyecek olursa o hâlde Kral kendi cürmünden vazgeçeceği gibi Şimen'in de diyeceği kalmayacağını güzelce tefhim ederek bu muhavere nihayetinde baba oğul dışarıya çıkarlar üçüncü perde dahi iner.

Dördüncü Perde

Birinci Meclis – Üçüncü perdenin nihayetinde Don Diyeg'in oğluna tavsiyesi veçhile Don Rodrig cümlesi babasının dostlarından olan beşyüz cengâver ile (102) gece gidip mağribîleri bozmuş imiş. İşte bu havadis memleket içinde şayi olduğundan Şimen'in muallimesi Elvir havadis-i mezkûreyi Şimen'e dahi isal edince Şimen kolay kolay inanamayarak:

- Sakın bir havadis-i kâzibe olmasın! İyi 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 düştüğü bütün memleketin ağzında dolaşıp herkesin Rodrig'i alkışladığını tekrar eyler. Şimen Kralın bu muzafferiyeti ne nazarla telakki eylediğini de sorar. Elvir haber verir ki Rodrig bu galebeyi (103) Kralın haberi olmaksızın kazandığından henüz Kralın huzuruna çıkamıyor ise de babası arz-ı teslimiyet eden iki serdarı Krala bittakdim şu kahraman galipin de huzur-ı Kralîde mesul şerefine nail edilmesini istirham eyliyor imiş.

Şu havadis-i garibe Şimen'i bir hayret-i azime içinde bırakır. Rodrig'in yaralanıp yaralanmadığını da sorar. Elvir buna dair hiçbir haber almadığını beyan edince kızın çehresi bozularak anlaşılır ki âşıkının mecruhiyeti ihtimalinden bîzardır. Bunu Elvir sual dahi eder. Şimen:

- İki serdarı esir etmiş ise neme lâzım? Benim babamı öldürmüştür ya! (104)

diye yine fikr-i intikamı tecdit ederek mutlaka o vazife-i mukaddeseyi ifa gayretinde bulunduğunu anlatır ise de herhâlde mürebbiyesine itiraf eder ki gönlü hâlâ Rodrig'te olmaktan fazla şu şan-ı galibiyetinden de bıkayd değildir.

İkinci Meclis - Bunlar şu hasbîhâlde iken Prenses dahi kendi mürebbiyesiyle gelip:

- Buraya sana teselli vermeye gelmedim Şimen! Bilakis kendi gözyaşlarımı da sana katmaya geldim!

diye bir mukaddimeden söze başlar ise de Şimen Prensesle bilâkis cümle ile beraber kendisinin de Rodrig yüzünden husule gelen (105) muvaffakiyetten dolayı şenlik etmesi lâzım geleceğine ve Rodrig'in zur-ı bazusu memleketi kurtarıp Kralına bir hüsn-i hizmet-i azime addolunabilir ise de kendi hakk-ı intikamını tadile sebep olabileceği için yalnız kendisine menhus olacağını arzla:

- Hepiniz sevinmelisiniz. Ağlayacak yalnız benim!

der. Prenses Ürrak işte Şimen bu cihet-i ye'sini de izale edebilmek için Rodrig'in böyle bir şeref-i galibiyete nailiyeti yine Şimen için bir şan sayılacağını çünkü Rodrig düne kadar Şimen'in sevgilisi olup bu galibiyet ise Şimen'i âşık intihabında pek haklı göstereceğini (106) dermiyan edince Şimen babasının katili olan o âşıkın şan ve şerefi böyle taalli eyledikçe filvaki kendi hakkındaki aşkı dahi tezyid-i şiddet eylediğini itiraftan çekinmez ise de işte bu kadar aşkıyla beraber yine Rodrig'in kellesini uçurtmak iddiası gibi bir vazifeden kendisini kurtaramayacağı için felâket-i âşıknesinin de Rodrig'in şanı nispetinde büyüdüğünü anlatır. Prenses filvaki Şimen'in bu iddiasında haklı olduğunu teslim ederek hatta babasına karşı muvazzaf olduğu vazifeyi hüsn-i ifa için öyle bir âşıkı feda yolunda dün sarayda huzur-ı Kralîde gösterdiği besalet-i fevkâlade, cümleyi hayran etmiş olduğunu da tezkârdan sonra: (107)

- Fakat benim kadar sana sadık olan bir dostun nasihatini dinler misin?

diyerek Şimen'den dahi:

- Size itaat etmemek benim için bir cinayet sayılır!

cevabını aldıktan sonra dünkü gün için pek doğru olan bir şeyin bugün doğru olamayacağını ve elhâletü hazihi Rodrig devletin medar-ı a'zam-ı selâmeti olduğundan onun başını istemek memleketin tehlikesini tecviz demek olacağını ve babamın intikamını alacağım diye memleketi zorlu düşmanlara karşı tehlike içinde bırakmak tecviz eylemeyeceğini ve Rodrig kendi babasını öldürmüş ise devlet ve millet kendisine hiçbir fenalık (108) yapmamış olduğundan kendi intikamı uğrunda selâmet-i vatanı da fedada haklı görülemeyeceğini ve Rodrig için en şiddetli ceza onun hakkındaki muhabbetini nefrete tahvilden ibaret olup vakıa pederinin katili olan bir adamla tezevvücünü hiçbir kimsenin de münasip bulamayacağını sayıp dökerek hatta:

- Pederim Kral hazretleri dahi bu fikirdedir. Pederin Gomes gibi bir kahramanı kaybetti ise Rodrig kendisi onun yerine kaim oldu demektedir.

diye Şimen'i ilzama sa'y u gayret eder. Lâkin Şimen'i ikna ve ilzam kabil olamaz. Hep evvelki söylediği sözleri tarz-ı aherle tekrar ederek Prenses dahi maksat-ı (109) aslısı Rodrig'ten intikam ve onu mücazat ise gönlünü ondan almak kadar muvafık ve şedit intikam ve ceza olamayacağını tekrar tekrar tefhim eyleyerek işte bunları yalnızca ve kemal-i itidal ile düşünmesini tavsiye edip çıkar gider.

Üçüncü Meclis – Bu meclis Kral Fernand’ın huzurunda Don Diyeg, Don Ariyas, Don Rodrig ve Don Sanş dahi mevcut olduğu hâlde vukua gelir. Kral Rodrig’i tekrimat-ı faika ile huzuruna kabul ederek bunca namdar kahramanların mehdi olan şanlı bir familya oğlu olduğuna şu muvaffakiyeti burhan-ı azim olduğuna ve devlet (110) ve millete ettiği hizmeti bihakkın mükâfatlandırabilmek kendi kudret-i hükümrânîsinin de fevkinde idüğünü ve fakat demincek huzuruna getirilen mağribî serdarlar kendisi için “Sid” demiş olduklarından ve onların lisanınca bu kelime “Senyör” manasını ifade eylediğinden işte bu hizmet-i azimesinin mükâfatı olmak üzere badema Rodrig’e “Sid” ünvanıyla hitap olunmasına karar verdiğini cümle huzurunda kemal-i tevkir ve ihtiram ile beyan eder.

Nevbet-i kelâm Rodrig’e geldikte kemal-i tevazu ve iftikar ile hükümdarına ifa-yı vazife-i ubudiyet ederek o kadar naçiz bir hizmet için bu kadar büyük bir mükâfat-ı mahza inayet-i hükümrânîlerin muktezası olduğunu mahçubiyetinden (111) kızarak arz eyler. Bادهu vukuatın nasıl olduğunu Kral[ın] sual etmesi üzerine Rodrig dahi gece nehir tarihiyle Kastil’i basmaya gelen mağribîler üzerine evvelâ babasının beşyüz nefer dostları ile giderek fakat esna-yı rahta kendisine iltihak edenler ile miktarlarının üç bine vardığını ve nasıl pusular tertip ederek düşman ile nasıl şiddetli muharebeler ettiklerini ve gece karanlığında galip ve mağlup[un] bile fark olunamayacak kadar müşkilat çekildiğini ve nihayet Araplar gemilerine tekrar girerek akıntı aşağı ricat edip serdarları da gemilere girmişlerdir zannında buldukları hâlde serdarlar dışarıda kaldıklarını ve onların nasıl kahramanane cenk ederek nihayet yanlarındaki adamları (112) cümlesi yere serildikten sonra “Serdarınızı çağırın da ona arz-ı teslimiyet edelim” dediklerini ve o zaman kendisi bunların karşısına varıp teslimiyetlerini kabul ettiklerini uzun uzadıya hikâye eyler.

Dördüncü Meclis – Rodrig bu uzun hikâyeyi bitirdiği sırada Don Alonzo içeriye girerek Şimen’in istida-yı adalete geldiğini haber verir. Kral bu haberden ziyadesiyle müteessir olur. Fakat onun maruzatını dinlememek dahi muvafık-ı şan-ı hükümrânî olamayacağından âşıkasının gözüne görünmemek için Rodrig’i dışarı çıkarır ise de ettiği hizmet-i azimenin (113) son mükâfatı olmak üzere Rodrig’e sarılıp kemal-i muhabbetle öper. Şimen henüz huzuruna girmeden evvel yanında olanlara:

- Bana haber verdiler ki Şimen Rodrig’i hâlâ seviyor imiş. Bir hüd’a tertip edeceğim. Hepiniz güya Rodrig maktul olmuşçasına bir mahzuniyet tavrı takınınız!

emrini verir ve işte Şimen’i bundan sonra huzuruna kabul eder.

Beşinci Meclis – Şimen içeriye girer girmez Kral der ki:

- Ey artık memnun olunuz kızım! Netice-i hâl tamam arzunuz veçhile zuhur eyledi. Rodrig bizi bir tehlikeli düşmandan kurtardı (114) ise de o muharebede almış 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 ediyor musunuz?

demesi üzerine Don Diyeg Şimen'in böyle sararıp ağarması Rodrig hakkındaki şidde-i sevdasına delalet eylediğini ihtar eder. Bîçare Şimen o hâlde:

- Ne? Rodrig vefat mı etti dediniz?

diye daha bahir bir surette izhar-ı teessür ve teellüm edince Kral bu kahırla kıza bir fenalık geleceğini görerek: (115)

- Hayır! Merak etmeyiniz! Teessürünüzü teskin eyleyiniz. Hâlâ yaşıyor. Hakkınızdaki sevdasını da muhafaza ediyor.

diye manalı bir surette gülmeye başlar. Fatanetli Şimen Kralın bu hâlimden bütün tertibatını anlayarak:

- Haşmetpenahım! İnsan yalnız kahırlandığı zaman çehresi bozulmaz. Sevindiği zaman da mütegayyir olur.

diye müdafaaya başlar ise de Kral:

- Artık muhal olan bir şeye de bizi inandıramazsınız ya?

diye reddedince Şimen derhâl tebdil-i müdafaa ederek:

- Pekala efendim! Tagayyürümü haydi (116) telehhüfûme alâmet addediniz! Kahırılanmakta da hakkım yok mudur? Rodrig'in vefatı onu pençe-i intikamdan kurtarmış olur. Vatanı, Kralı uğrunda feda-yı can etmesi onun için bir bahtiyarlıktır. Ben onun helâkini istiyor idim. Ama böyle şanslı bir surette değil siyasetgâhta adalet satırı ile başı kesildiğini istiyor idim. Vatan için değil babam için ölmeli idi. Ölümüyle şan kazanmalı, duçar-ı şeyn olmalı idi. İster idim ki bu cenkte galip olarak devleti kurtarmalı idi de sonra da pençe-i intikamında mağlup olmalı idi.

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 güttüklerinden artık kendi intikamının alınacağı ümid-i adalet-cuyanesine hâle geldiğini arz eyler.

Kral ise kızın bu sözlerini istimayla beraber Rodrig babasını öldürmüş ise bir katl-i adî ile öldürmemiş ve babası sözün en doğrusu ettiği hakaretin cezasını bulmuş olduğunu ve hâlbuki Şimen'in gönlü hâlâ Rodrig'te olduğundan eğer Rodrig'i öldürecek olsa kızın mutlaka müteessir kalacağını ve binaenaleyh Rodrig'i affından dolayı elbette Şimen'in memnun olması lâzım geleceğini söyler ise de Şimen mümkün değil (118) bu sözleri de kabul edemeyerek mademki Kral ihkak-ı hak etmiyor o hâlde İspanya'nın kaide-i kadimesi veçhile Rodrig'i yine bir düvello ile cezalandıracağını ve mevcut olan asilzadegânından her kim Rodrig ile düvello eder de mübarezede galip çıkar ve öldürür ise dest-i izdivacı müntakime takdim eyleyeceğini meydana koyar.

Fakat Kral dahi bu teklifi kabul edemez. Bu âdet eğerçi kadim ise de ihkak-ı hakkın en emin vasıtası olmadığını ve ekseriya mübarezelerde asıl kabahatli olanın galip çıkageldiğini ihtar eder. Burada Rodrig'in babası Don Diyeg söze karışarak Rodrig'i kurtarmak için o kaide-i (119) kadimenin ilgası mümkün olamayacağını ve Rodrig

Kralın böyle bir eser-i merhameti olarak sağ kalır ise bu sağlığın dahi o kahraman için bir ayıp, bir şeyn sayılacağını ihtar ile herhâlde Şimen'in teklifi kabul olunmasını istirham eylediğinden Kral bu söze hak verir ise de mübarezenin yalnız bir adam ile yalnız bir defaya mahsus kalmasını şart koyarak:

- Eğer bu meydanı bilâşart açık bulunduracak olur isen bütün İspanya asilzadegânını Rodrig'e düşman etmiş oluruz. Zira Şimen'in nümayiş için tayin etmiş olduğu mükâfat bütün genç asilzadeleri bu meydana can atmaya mecbur eyler! (120)

diye hem Rodrig hakkında bir eser-i merhamet göstermiş hem de Şimen'in kadr ü kıymetini büyültmüş 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 çıkamayacağından bahisle meydan-ı mübarezeyi bilâşart bırakmayı teklif ederek:

- O canına susamış küstah kimdir ki o meydana girsin!

deyince çünkü Don Sanş dahi Şimen'in âşıkı olup evvelce bu hizmet-i intikamı kendisine teklif ve nim-i vaadini bile ahz etmiş bulunduğundan hemen şu mecliste ileriye çıkararak: (121)

- İşte o canına susamış küstah benim!

der ki buna cümlece istigrap olunur. Kral:

- Şimen! Mübareze vekâletini bu asilzadeye verdiniz mi?

sualini irat edince kız:

- Evet haşmetpenahım! Zaten de bunu kendisine vadeylemiş idim!

diyerek o hâlde iki gencin iki rakibin mübarezeye hazırlanmaları emrolunur ise de Don Diyeg yiğitler için ölüme hazırlık lâzım gelmeyeceğini dermiyan edince Kral dahi razı olarak Don Ariyas'a hitaben: (122)

- Düvelloya siz nezaret ediniz. Mübarizlerden hangisi galip çıkar ise hemen alıp bana getiriniz ki zevç olmak üzere kendi elim ile Şimen'e takdim edeyim.

der. Bu söz Şimen'in aklını başından alıp şayet Rodrig galip çıkar ise onunla tezevvücü kabul edemeyeceğini anlatır ise de Kral ikisinden hangisi galip çıkarsa mutlaka ona varması lâzım geleceğini ve eğer kalbine sorar ise mutlaka Rodrig'in galebesini arzu eylediği dahi inkâr olunamayacağını emr makamında irat eyleyerek dördüncü perde dahi hitam bulur. (123)

Beşinci Perde

Birinci Meclis – Rodrig, Sanş ile mübarezeye gitmezden evvel son vedanı icra etmek üzere Şimen'e gelmiş. Böyle güpe gündüz kendi hanesine gelmiş olması kendi namusunu halk nazarında bilküllüye 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 mübarezede kendisi ölmeyip Don Sanş'ın helâki de muhtemel olduğunu anlatmak (124) ister, fakat Rodrig bunu anladığı hâlde de:

- Evet ölmeye! Hiss-i intikamınızı helâkimle mutmain edebilmek bahtiyarlığına!

der ki bu söz üzerine artık Şimen teessürat-ı âşıkaneşine mağlup olarak Don Sanş'ın 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 idüğünü sorar. Bunun üzerine Rodrig anlatır ki cesareti hep o cesaret, kuvveti hep o kuvvet ise de helâki sevdiğinin arzu eylediği bir şey olduğu için meydan-ı mübarezede mukavemet (125) etmeyecek, belki Don Sanş'ın kılıcı ucunda kendi helâkini arayacak. Don Sanş sevgili Şimen'ine vekâleten düvello etmekte olduğundan ona mukavemet Şimen'e mukavemet sayılacaktır. Don Sanş Şimen'in şanını muhafazaten döğüşeceğinden kendisini bundan men Şimen'i şansız bırakacaktır. Herhâlde göğsünü açıp ölümü sevinerek kabul edecektir. Zira herhâlde sevgili Şimen'i mutmain ve mahfuz etmiş olmak için ölecektir.

Âşıkının fedakarlığı bu dereceye vardırması Şimen'in ihtisat-ı kalbiyesine bittabi tevafuk etmediğinden Rodrig'i ölmek niyetinden vazgeçirmek ister ise de bunu da (126) açıktan açığa söyleyemez. Eğer böyle kendi ihtiyarıyla helâk olursa halk bu iş içindeki esrar ve hafayayı bilemeyeceğinden mutlaka Don Sanş'a mağlup olduğunu hükmedeceklerinden bahseder. Don Gomes'e mağribilere galip olarak kazandığı şerefi dahi Don Sanş'a terk etmiş olması hiç kimse bir eser-i semahat olduğunu bilmeyerek belki o şerefi Don Sanş kendi zur-ı bazusuyla kazanmış diye hükmedeceklerini iknaa çalışır.

Fakat ikna edemez. Konta ve mağribilere karşı yılmayan, mağlup olmayan bir adamın Sanş'tan yılıp ona mağlup olacağına kimse ihtimal vermeyeceğini ve aralarındaki sevda (127) artık cümlelerin malûmu olmuş bulunduğundan bu sevda ile muhalatı göze aldırıp mümkün etmek kendisi için işten bile olmayacağına cümlelerin kanaat göstereceğini ve şu ölümü ihtiyarı mutlaka âşıkasının menfuru olarak yaşamak istemediğine haml olunacağını Rodrig etrafıyla hem de bir suret-i âşıkane ve fedakârane ile arz ederek nihayet:

- Halk ne diyecek? Babasının intikamını almak için sevdasını feda ederek Şimen'in babasını öldürdü ve sevdiğinin intikamını hasıl etmek için de kendini Sanş'a öldürterek hayatını feda eyledi. Her cihetle cömertlik gösterdi derler.

deyince Şimen Rodrig'in bu fedakârlıktan (128) mümkün değil geri durmayacağını katiyen anlar. Artık meyusiyet-i âşıkaneşine tahammül olunamayacak derecelere varır. İşte bu noktada Rodrig'e öyle bir itiraf-ı âşıkaneşinde bulunur ki hakikaten canlar dayanamaz. Der ki:

- Rodrig! Sevgili Rodrig! Anladım ki uğrumda feda-yı candan seni hiçbir mülhaza men edemeyecektir. Fakat düşün ki sen helâk olursan beni Sanş'a tezviç edecekler! Sana olan sevda-yı pakime hürmeten aşkımız aşkına beni bu beladan kurtar. Benim intikamıma hizmet için Sanş'a karşı müdafaasız duracağına beni Sanş'tan kurtarmak için müdafa et! Gönlümün nefret eylediği bir taahhütten (129) bir vaatten beni halas etmek için cenk et! Daha ziyadesini de mi söyleyeyim? Haydi git mübareze et! Fakat kendini kurtarmaya bak. Eğer gönlünde benim için zerre kadar muhabbet kalmış ise mükâfatı Şimen'in dest-i tezevücü olan şu cenkte galip çıkmaya çalış! Adiyö! Şu sözleri nasıl yüzüm kızarak ne kadar mağlubane bir mecburiyetle söylediğimi gördün ya?

Filvaki Şimen bu sözlerle babasının intikamından bile vazgeçerek nimet-i visaline 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 fırlayıp kaçıyor. Rodrig yalnız kalınca aşkının olanca şiddetiyle coşarak diyor ki:

- Bu hâlde artık makhur ve mağlup edemeyeceğim bir düşman olabilir mi? Navarlı, Kastilli, Mağribî, Maşrikî ne kadar cengâver var ise cümleniz birden karşıma çıkınız! Bütün İspanya'nın kahramanları hep birleşerek karşımda bir kahraman ordusu teşkil ediniz! Şimen'deki maksad-ı yegâneme karşı bütün heyet-i mecmuanız bana hiç görünür.

İkinci Meclis – Bu mecliste Prenses Ürrak yalnız görünür. Rodrig'e olan sevdaşı kendisini ne derecelerde (131) mağdur eylediğinden şikâyete başlar. Son eser-i galibiyetle Rodrig'in kendi gönlü üzerinde dahi galebesini arttırarak âdeta tahtgâh-ı kalbi üzerinde sahib-kıran bir hükümdar olduğunu badetteslim eyvah ki yalnız kralzade değildir diye onunla becam olamayacağına hayıflanır. Hele babasını öldürmüş olduğu hâlde bile Şimen'in yine Rodrig'ten soğuyamaması kendi için helâk derecesinde kıskanacak bir hâl olduğunu itiraf ederek dünyada en bedbaht bir kimse var ise o da koca bir Prenses olmasıyla beraber yine kendisi olduğunu hükmeyleyler.

Üçüncü Meclis – Prenses bu hâlde (132) iken mürebbiyesi Leonor içeriye girer. Prenses için artık halas-ı kat'î saati gelmiş olduğunu bir tavr-ı tebrik ile beyan ederek Prenses:

- Nasıl halas?

diye sual etmesi üzerine işte Rodrig ile Sanş'ın mübarezeye gittiklerini ve Rodrig maktul düşer ise onun aşkıdan halas tahakkuk etmiş olacağı gibi galip çıkar ise Kral kendisini Şimen ile tezviç edeceğinden bu da Prenses için kat-ı ümid demek olacağını beyan eder.

Fakat hayfa ki mürebbiyenin sözleri Prensesi teskin edemez. Zira Prenses bilir ki Şimen hâlâ Rodrig için çıldırıyor. (133) Kendisi ise Şimen'den ziyade Rodrig'in delisi divanesi olduğunu mürebbiyesine tekrar itiraf edince Leonor:

- A! Kimin kızı olduğunuzu yine unutuyor musunuz? Sizin kocanız başı taçlı bir kral olacak iken tebaanızdan bendegânınızdan birisini sevmeniz lâyük olur mu?

diyor ise de Prensese o söylediği sözler kendisini ye's-i kat'î ile de müsterih edemeyeceğini ve daha başka söyleyecekleri için de kendi dairesine gidilmek lâzım geleceğini dermiyanla ikisi birden çıkıp giderler.

Dördüncü Meclis – Şimen ile Elvir'in bir muhavereleri suretindedir. Şimen hep (134) o meyusiyet-i mutlaka içinde her neyi arzu etmiş olsa neticesi kendisine gözyaşı döktürecek şeyler olduğundan bahisle mürebbiyesine şikâyet ediyor. Elvir:

- Yok ama artık bu son karar pek âlâdır. Ya babanızın intikamını almış ya Rodrig'e varmış olacaksınız. İki de sizin için en büyük emeldir. Her hâlde şanınız muhafaza olunuyor. Her hâlde size bir koca bulunuyor.

diye fasl-ı dava etmeye çalışıyor ise de Şimen:

- Bu nasıl bahtiyarlık? Bana koca olarak takdim olunacak adam ya babamın katili olacak ya Rodrig'in değil mi? Her hâlde (135) Rodrig ile Sanş'tan hangisine tezviç edilecek olsam ikisinin de kılıcı üzerinde bir sevdiğimin kanı lekesi bulunmayacak mı? Bu hâlde en doğru temenni Rodrig ile Sanş'tan hiçbirisinin ne galip ne mağlup çıkmaması temennisinden ibaret kalır.

diye mürebbiyesini ilzam ediyor. Söz biraz daha uzanıp gidiyor. Şimen'in mümkün değil mülzem olmadığı ve hatta Rodrig Sanş'a dahi galebe etse bile onun izdivacına razı olmamak daiyesinde bulunduğunu görünce artık Elvir dahi kızarak:

- Eğer sizi memnun etmek bu kadar güç olacak ise Hak Taala dahi bu kadar nazı tasvip buyurmayacağından korkarım ki bu (136) düvelloda Rodrig'i maktul düşürüp de sizi Sanş'a zevce etmesin?

der. Şimen kendisine böyle bir musibeti niçin temenni eylediğini sormaya başlar ise de bu aralık Don Sanş'ın yalnız geldiğini görünce artık olacak işlerin kâffesini olmuş bitmiş olduğunu anlayarak gayş olmak derecelerini bulur.

Beşinci Meclis – Don Sanş Şimen'in huzuruna gelerek kılıcını ortaya koyarak:

- Bu kılıcı hâkipayinize takdime mecbur oluşum!...

der demez Şimen çıldırmaşçasına bir gazapla: (137)

- Rodrig'in kanyla mülemma olan kılıcı ha? Hain! Ne cesaretle gözüme gözükiyorsun? Âlemde en ziyade sevdiğim vücudu mahveyledikten sonra... Ey aşkım! Olanca şiddetinle meydana koy! Artık korkacak hiçbir şey kalmadı. Babamın intikamı alındığından aşkımı ketme de artık lüzum kalmadı. Darbe-i yegâne namusumu kurtardı. Beni ye's-i külliye endaht etti ise aşkıma da serbesti verdi!

diye Don Sanş'ı kemal-i nefretle redde davranır. Bîçare 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 katili!

diye adamcağızı bin hakaretle tard eyliyor. Sanş hâlâ:

- Ne acip teessür. Beni dinlemeksizin...

diye söz söylemeğe davranıyor ise de Şimen kendisini söyleyip de kendisinden âşıkını nasıl öldürdüğüne dair tafra-füruşane sözleri mi işiteceği beyanıyla mümkün değil söyletmeyip o anda Kral ve Don Diyeğ ve Don Ariyas ve Don Alonzo meclise girivererek her hâlde Sanş'ın sözleri ham armut gibi boğazına tıklıp kalıyor. (139)

Altıncı Meclis – Kral gelince Şimen:

- Haşmetpenah! Artık sizden hiçbir şeyi saklamaya hiçbir şeyden haya etmeye lüzum kalmadı!

mukaddimesiyle söze başlayarak katlettirdiği kahraman hâlâ mahcup kalbi olduğunu ve fakat pederine karşı olan vazife-i mukaddese yolunda onu feda eylediğini bilitiraf fakat bermucib-i mukavele Don Sanş'ın zevcesi olmak kendisi için muhal olduğunu o mukavelenin nakzı için olanca maa mülkünü Sanş'a terk ederek kendisi badema son gününe kadar âşıkına ağlamak için bir manastıra çekileceğini söyler ve buna merhameten müsaade olunmasını istida eder. (140) Bunun üzerine Don Diyeğ:

- İşte haşmetpenahımız artık hiçbir şeyden pervası kalmadığı için sevdasını kendisi de itiraf eyliyor!

deyince Kral gülerek:

- Şimen artık ağlamayınız! Mağlup olan Don Sanş'tır ama size yanlış anlattı!

diyor ki bu hâl biçare Şimen'i tekrar çıldırmasıya bir hayrete duçar ededursun Don Sanş izah eyliyor ki ne yanlış ne doğruyu hiçbir şeyi anlatmaya meydan kalmaksızın Şimen yalnız kılıcı görünce herşeyi kendisi anlayıvermiştir.

Meğer vuku bulan mübarezedden Don (141) Rodrig öyle hasmının kılıcına sinesini amaç edivermiş. Bihakkın müdafaa ederek bir hareket-i serie ile Sanş'ın elinden kılıcını yere düşürmüş. Bu hâlde Sanş'ı istediği gibi tepelemeye mâni kalmamış ise de gençliğine, yiğitliğine acıyarak yalnız şu mağlubiyetini itiraf ettirmesiyle kalmış. Don Sanş dahi Şimen'e itiraf-ı mağlubiyete gelmiş ise de Şimen söz söyletmemiş ki itiraf edebilsin.

Bu netice-i garibe cümlede ziyadesiyle hayreti mucip olarak Kral Şimen'e:

- Don Rodrig'e olan muhabbetiniz sizce hiçbir veçhile mucib-i hayret olacak şeylerden değildir. İşte pederinizin de (142) intikamını aldınız. Artık benim emrim dahi yerine gelmelidir. Rodrig'in zevcesi olmalısınız!

der iken Prenses Ürrak, Don Rodrig'i elinden tutmuş olduğu hâlde mürebbiyesi Leonor ile beraber içeriye giriverir. Getirip Rodrig'i:

- Gözyaşlarınızı dindiriniz Şimen! Bu âlicenap âşığı, bu kahraman zevci işte Prensesiniz Enfant Ürrak'ın elinden alıp kabul ediniz!

diye takdim eder ise de o dahi Rodrig'in delisi divanesi olduğu hâlde bu takdimi nasıl bir tavr-ı makhuriyetle icra eylediği mülâhazaya tahayyüle muhtaç kalır. (143)

Yedinci Meclis – Bu mecliste en parlak hareket yine Rodrig'in hareket-ı kahramanîsidir. Evvelâ Krala:

- Huzurunuzda Şimen'in ayaklarına kapandığımı terbiyesizliğime hamlı buyurmayınız efendim! Bu bir mecburiyet-i âşıkane'dir!

diye özürler diledikten sonra Şimen'in huzurunda diz çökerek:

- Buraya gelmekten maksatım nihayet kılıcım ekmeği olarak kazandığım Şimen'i talep için değildir. Tekrar sırr-ı cinayetskârımı size takdime geldim, hiçbir şey size olan sevda-yı mutianeme galebe edemez. Eğer bu kadar yapılan şeyler pederiniz için kâfi değil ise emrediniz daha ne ister iseniz yapayım! Daha hezaran rakipler (144) ile mübareze mi istersiniz? Tek başıma bir ordu üzerine mi hücum edeyim? Romanlarda muhayyel olan kahramanları da mı geride bırakayım? Her hâlde ölümden başka bir şey ile teşeffi edemez iseniz işte başım ayaklarınızın altındadır. Başkalarına havale etmeye ne hacet, kendi eliniz ile öldürünüz! Ne kadar lâ-yugleb bir kahraman isem sizin eliniz beni mağlup edebilir. Başkalarına muhal olan bir intikamı siz alınız. Fakat cezam için yalnız ölüm kâfi olsun da beni ihsas-ı kalbinizden de matrut etmeyiniz. Yalnız bazı bazı hatırıma gelirim deyiniz ki eğer beni sevmese idi ölmeyecek idi!

Böyle son dereceye kadar hem kahramanane (145) hem mutiane olan bir harekete Şimen'in dahi diyeceği kalmayıp ayaklarına kapanmış olan kahramanı kaldırır ve Kralın izdivacı için vermiş olduğu emre inkıyadın da lüzumunu teslim eder ise de babasının kanı henüz kurumamış olduğu hâlde bu nikahın icrası kabil olamayacağını dermiyan eyleyince Kral dahi insafa gelerek işin üzerinden bir zaman geçmesini 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 hülâsası budur. Fakat bizim burada hülâsa (146) eylediğimiz şeyin bir de suret-i mebsutasını karilerimiz zihinlerinde bulduktan sonra bu eserin emsali nadir bulunur derecelerde bir nazm-ı belîğ ile yazılmış olduğunu da düşünmelidir ki Korney'in kudret-i edebiyesi bihakkın takdir olunarak hakk-ı tazim ve tebriki de ona göre ifa olunabilsin.

***Sid*'in İntikadı**

(147) Âsar-ı edebiyenin hemen hiçbirisi Korney'in *Sid*'i kadar duçar-ı intikad olunmamıştır, diye iddia edilse hemen de reddolunamaz. Bunun sebebi de malûmdur. *Sid* âdeta âsar-ı edebiyenin hemen kâffesine faiktir de onun için! *Sid*'e gelinceye kadar Fransa'da hiçbir edip, hatta Korney'in kendisi bile bu kadar güzel bir trajedyaya yazmamış idi. Korney'den sonra gelenlerin ve hatta yine Korney'in yazdıkları âsarın dahi *Sid*'i geçip geçememiş olduğu muhtelifün fihtir.

Acaba *Sid* bu kadar ehemmiyet almış ve Volter de dahil olduğu hâlde en müşkilpesentleri bile ulüvviyyetini teslim mecbur olmuş olduğuna (147) göre müntakidleri âciz bırakacak kadar mükemmeliyet-i kat'iyeyi cami mi idi?

Ne gezer? O mükemmeliyet-i kat'iyeye kimin eserine mahsus olabilir ki *Sid*'de dahi görülebilir. İşin içine bir de büyük bir garaz karıştığı için intikadın yüzde seksen beşi haksız ve garazkârane idiye de yüzde yirmi kadarı yine haklı idi. İntikaddan, itirazdan bilkülliyeye masun olabilecek bir eseri meydana getirmek insanoğluna verilmemiştir.

Biz burada intikadat-ı vak'adan karilerimizi haberdar etmeye başlamazdan evvel bu eserin zemini hakkında bazı malûmat vereceğiz. (149)

Korney'in bu eserinde en mühim şahıs olan ve “*Sid*” diye teşhir edilen Rodrig'in ilk defa olmak üzere şair-i müşarünileyhin hayalinde vücut bulmuş olduğunu zannetmemelidir. Korney'den evvel dahi bu zemin üzerine yazılmış âsar-ı edebiyeye vardır. Hatta *Sid* namı İspanya'nın ta ezmine-i mütevassıttan beri zebanzed-i enam olan millî şarkılarında da alkışlanmış olup bu hâl ile beraber bir zamana kadar bu zatın sırf eşhas-ı muhayyeleden olduğu zannedilmiş ve bir aralık bu zanna mukabil bilkülliyeye hakikî ve tarihî bir adam olduğu da iddia olunmuş idi. Nihayet erbab-ı tedkikden Dozi nam müellif, İspanya'nın ezmine-i mütevassıtada tarih-i siyasî ve edebîsi hakkında icra-yı (150) tedkikata giriştiği esnada sair pek çok mevadd-ı muhtelifin fiha hakkında saip hükümler verdiği gibi *Sid* hakkındaki rivayatın da sahihlerini hayalîlerinden ayırmaya muvaffak olabildiği.

Sid'in asıl ismi Rodrig yahut Rodrih olmakla Roy Dıyaz olması muhtelifin fihi olduğu gibi babasında dahi ihtilaf vardır. Bir rivayete göre babası Diyego, Kastil ahalisinin Kral ikinci Fervalâ zamanında intihap etmiş oldukları iki baş hakimden birisi olan Kalav nam zatın sülalesinden olup diğer rivayete göre de Kastil ahalisinden ve yine meşahirden Riko Homber nam zatın sülalesindedir. Olabilir ki bu Riko Homber dahi salifü'z-zikr (151) sülalesinden olsun. Tarih-i sahihte ilk defa olmak üzere Rodrig'in şöhreti Lion Kralı birinci Ferdinand zamanında yani miladın 1064 tarihinde yazılmış olan bir varaka-i resmiyyeden başlar. Ferdinand'ın oğlu Kastil Kralı ikinci Sanş zamanında Rodrig muzafferiyat-ı mütetabia ile şöhret-şiar olarak müşarünileyh 1067 tarihinde hükûmetinin en mühim bayrağını mumaileyhe bitteslim bütün ordulara başkumandan tayin eylemiş idi.

Korney'in trajedyasına hiç taalluku olmayan birçok vukuat-ı tarihiyyeden sonra Rodrig'in Kasmiyena yani Şimen ile izdivacı görülür ise de o zaman Kastil'de Kral (152) bulunan zat Ferdinand olmayıp 1082 sene-i miladiyyesinde sandali-i hükûmete hem de yine Rodrig'in muavenetiyle oturmuş bulunan Alfons olarak, Şimen dahi Osteri dükası ve Ovyâ Kontu Don Diyego'nun kızı olarak bu Kont dahi Kralın

biraderi olmakla Şimen Kralın yiğeni olur. Biraz sonra Don Rodrig ile Kralın araları bozularak 1081 sene-i miladiyyesinde Rodrig'i tard eylediğinden Rodrig dahi Saragos'a çekilerek orada İspanyol tarihlerinin "benî hud" diye kaydeyledikleri Arap hanedan-ı hükümdarîsine iltica eyler. Yine İspanyol müverrihlerinin rivayetlerine göre orada Rodrig Arapların İspanya nasarası yani kendi (153) hemşehrîleri aleyhine vuku bulan muharebelerinde de hizmet eylemiş, hatta "Sid" ünvan-ı iştiharını da o zaman bu Saragos Araplarından almış. Hep o İspanyol müverrihlerinin rivayetlerine göre Rodrig'in Saragos'ta ikameti haylice uzayarak hatta iki defa Kastil Kralı ile barışarak oraya avdet eylediği hâlde yine bir takım entrikalara tutulup Saragos'a gittiği dahi cümle rivayat-ı tarihiyyedendir. Nihayet 1094 tarihinde Valansda'ki ümera-yı megaribe yekdiğeri ile duçar-ı ihtilaf olarak her biri bir kısım memlekette ilan-ı istiklal eyledikleri sırada Rodrig kendi hami-i mahubı olup Kadı İbn-i Cehaf tarafından (154) katledilmiş bulunan emir Yahyaü'l-Kadir'in intikamı için kendisine tâbi olan cengâverler ile beraber muharebeye kıyam etmiş ve Valans'ı zapt ederek orada beş sene müstakil kaldığı gibi 1098 senesinde Almanara ve Moriyadoru da zapt ve memalike ilhak ederek bir sene sonra Es-Seyri Enam mahalle gönderdiği firka-i askerîye mağlûp olmasıyla kederinden vefat eylemiş imiş.

Rodrig'in vefatından sonra zevcesi Şimen iki sene daha Valans'da payidar olmuş idi. Lâkin her taraftan duçar olduğu muhacemata mukavemet iktidarı olmadığından mülkünü Kral Alfons'a terk etmiş ve bir buçuk sene kadar daha muammer olduktan sonra o da (155) vefat ederek Sen Pedro de Karniya manastırında kocası Rodrig yanına defnolunmuştur.

Sid'in Diyego Rodrigez namında bir oğlu olup Magribîlerle bir muharebede maktul düşmüş ve Kristin ve Mari namında iki de kızı olarak birincisi Navar veliahtı Enfan Ramir'e ve diğeri Barselon Kontu üçüncü Ramon'a tezviç olunmuşlardır.

İşte Rodrig hakkındaki malûmat-ı safiye-i tarihiyye şundan ibarettir ki bu malûmatı teyit edecek mızrak ve kılıç ve kalkan ve bayrak gibi yadigârlar dahi iştihar eylemiş ise de vaktiyle turbador denilen ayak şairleri İspanya'nın her tarafında geşt ü güzar ederek namdar cengâverlerin vukuat-ı (156) harbiyyesini ilan yolunda destanlar okuduklarından Rodrig bunların en büyük sermayesi olmuş ve binaenaleyh bu cengâver hakkında o kadar hayalat âdeta hakikat suretinde nazma çekilmiştir ki asıl kendi hakkındaki hakayık-ı tarihiyyeyi ihlâl eden ve hatta kendi şahsını bile eşhas-ı muhayyele menzilesine indiren şey bu destanlar olmuştur.

Nasıl olmasın ki bu destanların adedi yüzleri geçerek bir takımı Fransızcaya dahi terceme edilmesiyle büyücek iki cilt teşkil eylemiştir. Bunlar okunduğu zaman Rodrig hakkında doğru bir haber almak kabil olamaz. Yekdiğerini nakız olan işbu destanların bazılarında Rodrig, İspanya krallarının ilk (157) babası olmak üzere teşhir edildiği hâlde diğesinde âdeta bir kralın serdarı ve bir takımında sadece bir cengâver olarak tasvir olunup o serdar, o cengâver dahi bazılarında krala fevkalhad mutî ve bazılarında hadden ziyade mütekebbir ve asi bir şey olmak üzere gösterilmektedir. Hele Şimen ile olan muaşakası bilküllüye masala çevrilmiştir. Denilebilir ki bir şair-i hayalperver bu destanlar üzerine bina-yı hayal ederek kırk sene *Sid* trajedyası yapabilir de kırkı da birbirine benzemez. Nasıl ki Korney'den evvel dahi iki İspanyol şairleri bu nama birer trajedyaya yazmışlardır ki birinin adı Gilhem de Kastro'dur. Bunlar yekdiğerine asla benzemeyip (158) Korney bunlardan Gilhem'i kendisine zemin ittihaz eylediği hâlde o dahi Gilhem de Kastro'yu aynen

terceme etmeyip pek çok yerlerde ona muhalefet ederek kendilerince bir başka eser yazmıştır.

Korney'in yazmış olduğu *Sid*'in zemini ile yukarıdaki fıkrada *Sid* hakkında dermiyan eylemiş olduğumuz malûmat-ı tarihiyye arasındaki mübayeneti görerek Korney'i bununla muahezeye hak bulamayız. Bir kere bu misüllü âsarda üdebanın tarihe mahkûm kalmaları hiç lâzım gelmez. Bu nokta bin defa bahse çekilmiş ve hemen kâffesinde ittifak-ara ile böyle hükmolunmuştur. Maahaza bizim verdiğimiz hulâsa-i tarihiyye en sâfî ve âdeta hakayık-ı tarihiyyeden madut olup hâlbuki (159) hakikat-i tarihiyye ile sarf-ı hayal arasında daha bir çok rivayet bulunarak bunların dahi hükmü “tarihi” addolunacak kadar kavîdir. Hatta Mariyana namında bir müverrihin yazmış olduğu İspanya Tarihi'nde Rodrig ile Şimen arasında hem aşk hem de kan davası bulunarak Şimen'in Krala “Ya onu idam ederek babamın intikamını al yahut beni ona zevce olarak ver” demiş olduğu da münderiç olduğu gibi vak'anın cihat-ı sairesi dahi mütevakif olduğundan Korney'i hakayık-ı tarihiyyeden tebaüt ile tayip edenlere cevaben ve Volter “Mariyana'nın bu sözleri Korney'in beraat-i zimmetine kâfidir” denmiştir.

(160) 1606 senesi haziranında Fransa'nın Ruen şehrinde doğmuş ve Cizvit mektebinde tahsil ederek badehu babası tarafından avukatlığa sevk olunduğu hâlde o mesleği sevmeyip şairliğe süluk etmiş olan Korney'i işbu *Sid* trajedyasından evvel *Melit* [Mélite] namında bir komedy tanzim ederek mazhar olduğu rağbetten bitteşevvuk *Klitandr* [Clitandre] namında bir trajedy ve “Vöv” [La Veuve] yani *Dul* namında diğer bir komedy daha yazmış idiyse de komedyalarının asıl sebeb-i mergubiyetleri letafetlerine diyecek olmayan güzel beyitlerden ziyade o zamanlar Fransa'da henüz komedy usulünün bir tarz-ı edeb olarak taayyün etmemesinden ve bunlar[ın] yeni görülmesinden ibaret idi. Zira o zamana kadar Fransa'da (161) komedyalar yerine bir takım maskaralıklar oynanarak hatta meşhur Molyer'in bile badi-i emrde bu surette işe başlamış olduğu meşhurdur ki bizim Abdürrezzak Efendi bu hâlde Osmanlıların Molyer'i addolunsa müstebad görülemez.

O zamanlar meşhur kardinal Rişelyö [Richelieu] papazlığa muhalif olarak başvekâlet vazifesini deruhte eylediği gibi başvekâlete de muhalif olarak ediplik, müelliflik daiyyelerine kıyam ederek hanesinde dört kitap ve şair cem'iyile kendi efkârını bunlara yazdırmakta olduğundan ve fakat Rotro namında olanından maada diğer üçü hiçbir işe yarar adam (162) olmayıp kardinal namına yazdıkları şeyler kardinale şan yerine şeyn kazandırdıklarından beyitleri o kadar lâtif olan şair-i nev-zuhur Korney'i dahi beşinci olmak üzere bunlara ilhak etmiş idi. Bundan sonra Korney *Galeri du Pale* [La Galerie du Palais] ve *Suivant* [La Suivate] ve *Palas Rovayyal* [La Place royale] ve *İllüzyon* [L'illusion comique] namlarıyla dört komedy ve *Mede* [Médée] namıyla bir de trajedy tanzim ederek vakıa cümlesini âleme beğendirmiş ise de henüz *Sid*'in kendisine verdiği şöhret-i sahib-kıranane bed etmemiş idi.

İşte şu sekiz âsar-ı nefise ile kudret-i edebiyyesini cihana tanıttırdıktan sonra Korney, 1636 senesinde *Sid*'i meydana koydu ki henüz otuz yaşında bir genç adam (163) olması nazar-ı dikkate alınınca eslâfından hiçbirisinin muvaffak olmadığı gibi hemen ahlâfından da hiçbirisinin muvaffak olamamış bulunduğu bu eser-i nefis-i alûla'lâ bütün cihanı hayrette bırakmıştır. İspanyol şuarasından birisi bu eseri derhâl “müntakim peder” manasına olan “honeradur dö su padr” namıyla terceme eylemiş ise de tercemesi fena olmakla beraber birçok kimseler hatta Volter bile bir aralık Korney'in eseri bundan mütercemdir zannına düşmüşler idi. Sonra hakikat meydana

çıkınca mütercim-i merkûmemin zahmeti kendisine levmden başka bir şey kazandıramamıştır. Filvaki *Sid*'i öyle tahrif ve terzil ederek terceme eden için bu ceza (164) lâyıktır. Zira o sırada kardinal Rişelyö dahi Korney'i istirkap ederek cümle âlemin hayretle alkışladığı bu eseri bilittifak fenadır diye hükmetmesini Akademiya'ya emreylemiş ve vakıa Akademiya –ileride bahsedeceğimiz surette- bir mufassal intikadname yazmış ise de Akademiya azası dahi bunun ciddiyetine inanmayarak hele halk-ı âlem güzel bir eser görseler “*Sid* gibi güzel” demeyi darb-ı mesel sırasına koymuştur. Gariptir ki hâlâ bugün dahi bu darb-ı mesel bakîdir.

Korney'in birçok müntakidleri meyanında bir Senyör “Sküderi” vardır ki intikadının ciddiyeti ile değil tuhafılığı ile meşhurdur. Bizde ciddiyattan evvel şu tuhafıklar işini görüp bitirmiş olmak üzere evvel emirde Sküderi'yi nazar-ı muhakemeye çekeceğiz ki onun gibi daha birçok tuhaf müntakidleri de muhakeme külfetinden kurtularak cümlesinin işbu Sküderi'ye makis olduklarını karilerimize ihtar ediverelim.

Senyör Sküderi dört kelimeye birer kafiye takarak bunları bir de ölçü dahilinde sıraya dizer ise şair olmuş, şiir söylemiş itikadında bulunan adamlardan olup Kardinal Rişelyö'nun *Sid*'i istirkap eylediğini de görünce *Sid* gibi bir eser-i muazzamı terzil eylemiş olmak şanınca ziyade kardinale yaranmak fevaid-i maddiyyesine tamaen şurada burada bazı sözler ile bazen de kelâm ile *Sid*'i intikada (166) başlamış idi. Kendisi “Amanliberal” ve “Ligdamon” namıyla iki komedyaya yazarak vasat dereceden biraz daha aşağı bir müteşair olduğunu âleme göstermiş olduktan sonra bir de *Sid*'i intikada kalkışınca kendisinden biraz daha hâllice olanlar dahi onu reddeylemek gayretine düşmüşler idi. Bu erbab-ı gayretten birisi Sküderi'yi ziyade hırpaladığından ve Sküderi bu tarzın Korney tarafından geldiğini zanneylediğinden bir cild-i mahsus kaleme alarak Korney'i o kadar tahkir etmiş idi ki artık dünyada Korney'den daha cahil ve *Sid*'den daha fena hiçbir eser bulunmadığını hükme kadar varmış idi. *Sid*'in 72 beyiti İspanyolca (167) aslından terceme gibi birşey olduğu beyanıyla bu hâlde tekmil-i eserin İspanyolca'dan terceme demek olacağını ve o tercemenin de fena bir terceme bulunduğunu hükmetmiş idi. Bادهu kendisini medhe başlayarak “Ben şöyle asilzadeyim, Korney bana nispetle şöyle vazîdir. Ben şöyle yiğit bir cengâverim, Korney fazilet-i şecaatten mahrum bir zavallıdır!...” gibi mukayesata dahi girişerek kendisini halk nazarında düşürdükçe düşürmüştü.

Dostundan birçokları Korney'i Sküderi'ye mukabele için teşvik eylemişler ise de Korney o taraftan gelen intikadın hiçbir kıymet-i edebiyesi olmadığından Sküderi (168) kendisine itirazla ne kadar gülünç olmaktan havfını beyan eylemiş idi. Fakat bu intikad cildinde Sküderi kendi aleyhinde *Sid*'i müdafaa eden Korney olduğu zannında bulunup bu ise sahih olmadığından işin bu cihetini tashih etmek için Korney, Sküderi'ye bir mektup yazmaya mecbur oldu.

Bu mektubu ne kadar ustalıktır! Evvelâ Sküderi aleyhinde yazan kendisi olmadığını söyleyerek yazanın kim olduğunu da iham ile ifham edip de Sküderi'nin mukabele yolunda yazdığı cildin hiç değeri olmadığını isbat eyledikten ve bu suretle muteriz (169) efendiyi mahcup bıraktıktan sonra asalet ve şecaate hürmet-i mahsusasıyla beraber bunların münazarat-ı edebiyede hiçbir hükmü olamayacağını öyle bir zarafetle anlatmış ki Sküderi'nin aklı başında bir adam olması şartıyla asilzade olduğundan da şecî ve cesur olduğundan nedamet getirmesi lâzım gelmiş! Öyle ya! Ne kadar kibar, ne kadar cesur olursa olsun edebiyat ve ilim ve hüner meydanında bunlar burhan makamına kaim olabilirler mi? Servette, ikbalde

Rişelyö derecesinde olsa bile yine ilim ve edep meydanında o meydanın kahramanlarına mukabil hacîl kalmak tabîidir.

Mektubunun bir yerinde Sküderi'nin (170) kendisine cehl isnadını gayet tuhaf bir suretle reddediyor. İntikad ile şan kazanmak hüner olacağı itikadında bulunsa idi Sküderi'nin âsarını intikad eyleyeceğini badelişrab edebiyata dair Sküderi kendisinden epeyce ders almış, menfaat görmüş bulunduğu hâlde onun âsarını intikad etmemesi meğer zatına riayetinden değil cehlinden imiş gibi bir zarafet göstermiş ki eğer kendisi Sküderi'nin âsarını intikad edecek olsa herifin kemiklerini kırmak işten bile değil ise de mücerret böyle zebunkeşlikten şeref ve şan ummadığı için yapmamış.

Elhasıl Korney'in bu mektubu gayet zarifane ve halimane bir şey olmakla beraber (171) muteriz ve mütearrız Sküderi'yi berbat edip bırakmış olduğundan burada aynen böyle tercemeye şayeste ise de havi olduğu zarafetlerinden imaların hep Fransız lisanına mahsus şeyler olması ve birçok noktaları dahi zamanının ahvaline irsal-i mesel suretinde görülmesi hasebiyle aynen tercemesine imkân olmadıktan başka şerh ve izah yollu terceme edilse dahi derece-i lüzumun fevkinde tatvil-i kelâmı mucip olacağı için sarf-ı nazar kılınmıştır.

İmdi Korney'in Sküderi gibi yalnız kendi hakkında tekebbür ve Korney hakkında tahkirden başka bir zemin üzerine bina-yı intikad etmeyen müntakidleri pekçok ise de burada (172) onlarla iştigal, kariin-i Osmaniyemiz için hiçbir faideyi mucip olamaz. İktidarı fevkinde intikadla uğraşanlara tarihin ne nazarla bakacağı hususunda şayan-ı ibret ve misal olmak için dahi bu Sküderi kâfi ve vafidir.

Ciddi olan müntakidlerin intikadatı içinde pek çok haklı ve mühim şeyler vardır ki bunları bilâhare Korney dahi kabul eylemiştir. Yine bu intikadat-ı ciddiye den birtakımı dahi ciddiyetiyle beraber haksız olduklarından, onları Korney reddetmiş olduğu gibi Korney'den maada bîtaraf erbab-ı iktidar dahi reddetmişlerdir ki Volter dahi onların birisidir. Biz intikadının bu cihet-i (173) ciddiye ve mühimmesinde de "Filân şöyle demiş ona şöyle cevap verilmiştir" diye bir çok sami-i irad ile sözü lüzumundan ziyade uzatmaya mecbur değiliz. Zira yine Korney'in hem güya hamisi hem de hakikatte rakib-i a'zamı bulunan Rişelyö'nun eser-i teşviki olmak üzere o zamanki Fransa Akademiyası işbu intikadat-ı ciddiyesinin heman kâffesinden maada kendi mülâhazatını dahi bir makale-i mufassalaya derç etmiş olduğundan aradığımız şeylerin kâffesini bu makalede bulabeceğimiz gibi Volter'in bazı mülâhazatı da o makaleye haşiyeye suretinde derç edilmiş ve Korney kendi intikadında makale-i mezkûrenin şayan-ı mukabele olan yerlerini göstermiş olduğundan (174) bu makale dahilinde meşgul olmak bize kâfidir.

Makale-i mezkûre Akademiya azasından Mösyö Şaplen kalemiyle yazılmışdır ki nüsha-i asliyyesi hâlâ aynen Kütübhane-i Kebir'de mahfuzdur. Gözümüzün önünde olan matbuu "in oktavo" denilen büyücek sahifeler ve ince hurufla kırk iki sahife olup aynen terceme edilmek lâzım gelse bizim şu küçük sahifelerimizin beşi ancak onun bir sahifesini tercemeye kifayet edebileceğinden ikiyüz sahife kadar bir terceme eder. Bu da esasen iki kısma münkasımdır ki kısım-ı evvel *Sid*'in zeminine, kısım-ı sanisi *Sid*'deki ebyatın hangileri Fransız nokta-i nazarınca şayeste-i muaheze ve intikad (175) olduklarına dairdir. Bu ikinci kısım intikadın bizim gibi o lisanın ehli

olmayanlara faide vermeyeceği derkârdır. Binaenaleyh biz asıl nazar-ı ehemmiyeti Akademiya'nın yazdığı makalenin kısm-ı evveline hasr etmek mecburiyyetindeyiz.

* * *

Akademiya'nın işbu makalesinde dört buçuk sahife kadar bir mukaddeme vardır ki intikad hakkında bir mülâhaza-i umumiyye olmak üzere hakikaten ehemmiyetle takdire şayandır.

Evvelâ “ Min elf fekad istihdaf ” fehvasını irat ederek şan ve şeref arzusuyla âsarını nazar-gâh-ı umuma koyanların o âsarı tedkik hakkını da umuma vermiş olacaklarını dermiyen ediyor. Diyor ki: Bu bir alış (176) veriş demektir. Âdetâ bir tacirin müşteriye gösterdiği metaa müşterinin istediği gibi beyan-ı mülâha etmesine benzer. Volter bu misale hiçbir mülâhaza beyan etmiyor. Vakıa esas iddia muvafık ise de misal pek muvafık mıdır ya? Malını satan “yoğurdum ekşidir” demeyeceği gibi bir malı alan dahi onu medhederek almaz. Kendi vereceği paranın kıymetini arttırmak için mala büyük kusur bulur. İntikad ise bu misalden baiddir. Müntakid âdetâ bir müddei-i umumî olup intikada çektiği eser hakkında serdedeceği iddiayı da vicdan-ı umumî mahkemesine arz eder. Maahaza eser yazanın intikada ruhsat vermiş olacağı herhâlde tabiatından görülür. (177)

Emr-i intikadda bir eserin fena yerlerini gösterenlerin ma'yup ve muateb olmayacağı dahi Akademiya'nın bu mukaddemesinden serd olunuyor. Ve bahusus müntakid kendi şan ve şerefini o eserin tahribinde aramayıp da menfaat-i umumiyye ve müşterekesi noktasından arar ise memduh ve meşkûr dahi olacağını beyan eyliyor ki hakikaten doğrudur. Ama bu intikad için hem eserin kıymetini hem o menfaat-i umumiyye ve müşterekenin mahiyyetini bilmek derecesinde iktidar şart olup yoksa iktidarsız intikad kanun bilmeksizin ve selâmet-i umumiyyeyi takdir edemeksizin müddei-i umumî olmaya benzer ki mahkeme-i vicdan müttehimin (178) beraat-i zimmetine karar verip bu da diğer cihetten müddei-i umumînin mahkûmiyeti demeye müsavi olur.

Bu meseleyi Akademiya pek güzel bir misal ile tavzih de eyliyor. Diyor ki: Zira medh ü sena bizi fazilet yolundan alıkoyarak ta'yib ise kabayıhten menedeceği için ta'yip ve ta'zir medh ü senadan daha faidelidir. Medh ü sena bizi mahiyyet-i sahihamızın fevkinde göstererek o hâlde yalnız kendimizi kendimize değil sair kimselere de faik görerek terakkiye çalışmamış oluruz. Hâlbuki bu ataletle kendimizi âdetâ yine kendimizin hani ya şu meddahın medheylediği hürriyetimizin mâdununda bırakmış oluruz. (179) Kusurlarımız ta'dat olunur ise onları tashih ederek yerlerini muhsinat ile doldurmuş oluruz ki bu da tekemmülümüze hizmet eder.

Ama dikkat etmelidir ki meayibimizi ta'dat eden dahi meayip ve mehamidi güzelce farik-i erbab-ı hikmetten olmalıdır. Yoksa “ne içkiye tahammülü var ne kumar bilir! Neyleyim o avanağı?” tarzındaki ta'yipler ayn-ı sena hükmündedirler.

Akademiya hem Korney'in enfes eserini intikada hak ve selahiyyetini isbat etmek hem de Korney'in ulüvv-i şan-ı edebîsini inkâr etmemiş olmak için anlatıyor ki pek büyük iktidar sahibi olan bir adam alü'l-a'la bir eser meydana getirebilir. Fakat o eserin (180) ser-tâ-pa hep güzel olması ve içinde fena ve çirkin hiçbir şey bulunmaması taht-ı temine alınmış olamaz. Mükemmeliyetin o derecesi hiçbir

kimseye müyesser değildir. Hele edebiyattaki hep güzellikleri cami olmak lâzım olup o güzellikler meyanına hiç çirkinlik karışmaması da mümkünattan değildir.

Akademiya'nın bu sözde de hakkı vardır. Hatta şu sözü de doğrudur ki:

Gayret-i intikad fikr-i telifi takiben meydana çıkmıştır. Kadimeden beri her eser intikat olunagelir. Zaten bu intikad olmasa idi edebiyatta asren ba'd-asr terakki de hasıl olamaz idi. Bir şeyin beğenilmeyecek cihetleri meydana konuldukça ondan sonra (181) yapılan şeyler de o beğenilmeyecek yerlerden ictinap olunur.

Nihayet Akademiya bir eserin beğenilip beğenilmemesi hususundaki kuvve-i temeyyüziyeye intikal ederek diyor ki:

Bir eser pekçok kimselerin hoşuna gitmekle o eserin fi'lhakika güzel ve iyi olması lâzım gelir. Hoşa gitmek, beğenmek başkadır, iyi olmak ve beğenmeye filvaki şayan-bulunmak yine başkadır. Bir eseri kaç kişi beğenmiş diye düşünmemeli. O eserin nerelerine cihetle beğenmeye şayan olduğunu düşünmeli. Âsar-ı edebiyeye dahi müzika ve resim gibidir. Bir beste, bir levha pek çok kimselerin hoşlarına giderek hatta umumen bile beğenilebilir. (182) Ama ehl-i hibre olanlar onun şayan-ı takdir olduğunu hükmetmezler ise umumun şevkine gittiğinden dolayı o şeyin hakikaten güzel ve iyi olması lâzım gelmez. Herhâlde bir şeyin beğenilmesi zevk-i selim ve tab'-ı müstakimeye vabeste olup yoksa birkaç kişi veyahut zevk-i selim ve tab'-ı müstakim sahibi olmayan birçok kişi bir şeyi beğeniyor diye o şeyin mutlaka beğenmeye şayan olduğuna kanaat lâzım gelmez. Bazı zevkini bilmeyenler ekşi ve acı olan şeyleri de severler ki elbette zevk-i selime, tab'-ı müstakime uymaz.

Volter buracıkta bir mülâhaza beyan ederek diyor ki: Ekşiyi ve acıyı sevmek zevk-i selim ve tab'-ı müstakim sahibi olmamaktan (183) neş'et etmez. Bunlar zevk ve tab'a mugayir değildirler. Yalnız zevk-i umumîye mugayirdirler.

Biz deriz ki bir şeyin güzelliği iyiliği umumiyet derecesinde mazharı takdir olur ise o şeyin güzel ve iyi olduğuna inanmaya daha ziyade meyyal bulunabiliriz. Zira umumun beğendiği o şeyi bazı kimselerin beğenmemesini, bunların ehl-i hibre olmaları hasebiyle vakıa ehemmiyetten iskat edemez isek de bu adamların düşündükleri gibi söylediklerine yani hakkaniyetten ayrılmadıklarına kolay kolay ihtimal verilebilir mi? Umumun içinde ise elbette az çok ehl-i hibre olanlar dahi bulunur. Ama umum butlan-ı kat'î üzerinde ittifak etmiş de ehl-i (184) hibre dahi hak kendi sözlerinde olduğunu burhan-ı kat'î ile isbat eyliyorlar ise iş başkalaşır. Korney'in *Sid'*ini intikad hususunda ise iş böyle değildir. Şu makaleyi yazıp imza edenlerin kendileri bile verdikleri hükümleri yine kendi vicdanlarında istinaf ederek vermişlerdir. Böyle olan hükümlerde ehl-i hibreden olmak hakimleri insafsızlıktan menedemez. Belki ehl-i hibreden olmak ehemmiyeti bunların insafsızlıklarını takviyeye medar olur.

Elhasıl Akademiya'nın bu mukaddematı bu esası tesis ve serdetmesinden maksatı Korney'in *Sid'*ini intikada isbat-ı istihkak eylemesinden ibaret olup hele evvelce dahi bilmünasebe (185) denildiği veçhile asıl başkalarının suret-i intikadını cem ve hikâyeden sonra kendi mülâhazatını dahi serdetmesi ve hatta başkalarının intikadından bazılarını da haksız diye redde kadar varması şu meselede kendisine bir mümeyyizlik süsü ve binaenaleyh bir bîtarafılık rengi vermek için olduğu apaşikâre görülüyor ise de şu gayretlerin kâffesi *Sid'* aleyhinde söyleyeceği haksız sözlerden

dolayı kendisinin muaheze edilmemesini temin garazıyla söylendiğinden ve hâlbuki suret-i intikadına hasmane olduğundan o sözler dahi halisiyyet-i kat'iyyesini kaybeylemektedirler. Binaenaleyh Akademiya'nın bu intikadda en doğru görülen sözlerini de münafıkın ağzından (186) işitilen kelime-i şehadet suretinde telakkiye mecburiyyet-i sahiha vardır.

* * *

Kavaid-i intikadiyyeyi mukaddemen serdedip bitirdikten sonra eserin zeminini intikada başladıkta Akademiya asıl zemin hakkında söylenen sözleri şairlerine takdim ediyor. Birtakım müntakidlerin “*Sid*'in zemini hiçbir şey değildir. Daha mukaddemesi okunur iken neticesi anlaşılıyor. Bu misüllü eserlerde ise netayic daima intizarın hilâfında zuhur ederek erbab-ı temaşayı müstemileri hayrette bırakmalıdır” diye söyledikleri sözleri tamamıyla tasdik etmeyerek *Sid*'in dahi hayret-efza-yı müstemîn olmakla bu kuvveti (187) bir dereceye kadar haiz olduğunu teslim eyliyor ise de oyunun nihayetlerinde Şimen babasının katili olan Rodrig'i uzun uzadıya takip eyledikten sonra encam-ı kârânı kim öldürür ise onun karısı olacağını ilan eylemesi ve Don Sanş'ın zuhuru üzerine Kralın Rodrig'i açıktan açığa iltizamıyla beraber iki mübarizden hangisi sağ kalır ise Şimen'i onunla izdivaca mecbur eylemesi ne ahval-i adîyyeden ve ne de ahval-i acibeden olmadığını hükmeyleyor.

Akademiya'nın burada “ahval-i adîyye” ve “ahval-i acibe” tabir eylediği şeyler vaktiyle hakîm Aristo'nun enzar-ı üdebaya arz eylemiş olduğu dekayık-ı sanayi-i edebiyededir. (188) Aristo diyor ki: Ahval-i adîyye denilen şey insanlara hâl ve şanlarına göre alelâde vaki olan ahvaldir. Bir tacirin kârını araması, bir çocuğun haşarılık yapması, bir müsrifin iflası, bir gazubun intikam araması gibi. Ahval-i acibe ise intizarın hilafına fakat daima imkân dahilinde olarak vukua gelen ahvaldir. Bir hüd'akârın aldatılması, bir kuvvetli adamın mağlûp olması vesaire gibi. Vuku'ü görenlerde taaccüp ve hayreti mucib olacak ahvalin kâffesi bu ahval-i acibe meyanına girer ise de bunların vuku'ü öyle birtakım ahvalin teselsülünden neş'et etmelidir ki ahval-i müteselsile-i mezkûrenin kâffesi de ahval-i adîyyeden (189) olmalı ve fevkâlade hâl ise bunların teselsülü neticesinde pek tabiî olarak zuhura gelmelidir. Yunanistan meşahir-i üdebasından Öripid'in bir trajediyasındaki kahramanı olan ve Truva Kralı Priyam'ın zevcesi bulunan Hegob'un maktul bir kızını yıkamaya gittiğinde denizin bir de oğlunun naaşını getirip kenara ativermesi gibi. İşte fevkâlade bir hâl ama iki ahval-i adîyyenin teselsülünden neş'et eylemiştir. Birisi bir validenin kızının naaşını yıkamak için deniz kenarına gitmesi ki pek adî ve tabiî bir hâldir. Diğeri ise bir validenin deniz kenarına vardıkta oğlunun naaşı denizden zuhur etmesi ki o da pek tabiîdir. (190) Gayeti bunda biraz garabet var ise onu da iki hâl-i tabiîye taksim mümkündür. Birisi denizden birçok naaş zuhur etmesi ki her zaman görülüyor. Diğeri bir kadının deniz kenarına inmesi ki daha çok vaki olur. Ama şimdi üçe balig olan şu ahval-i adîyyenin teaküp ve teselsülünden bir evlâdının naaşını yıkamak için deniz kenarına varan validenin diğeri evlâdının da naaşı denizden çıktığını görmesi gibi bir netice hasıl oluyor ise bu netice ahval-i fevkâladeden addolunarak müşahede edenlerde dahi taaccüp ve hayreti mucip olur.

İmdi Akademiya, Aristo'nun şu kaidesine binaen Şimen ve Rodrig ve Kral arasındaki (191) ahvali hiç de ahval-i fevkâladeden addedememekte ve bir kızın pederinin katiline varması ne kadar müstebit ise bir kralın dahi bir kızı bir mübarezede galip çıkana varacaksın diye icbar etmesi yine o kadar müstebit

olduğunu ve işte bu cihetle *Sid*'in zemini ustalıklı olmadığını hükmeyleyor ise de Volter, Akademiya'nın bu hükmü *Sid*'in aleyhinde değil tamamıyla lehinde olduğunu hükmederek diyor ki:

“Akademiya hakkındaki ta‘zimat-ı mahsusama hâlel gelmeksizin zannederim ki hatta enzar ve efkâr-ı umumiyye dahi zanneder ki bir kralın selâmet-i vatani temin etmiş olan bir zata zevce olarak bir kızı vadetmesi asla sahtin, ihtimalin fevkinde görülemez. (192) Bu bir hâl-i adîyyedir. Bahusus ki o kız dahi o kahramanı çıldırmasıyla sevmektedir. Hele o zaman Rodrig'in Kont ile düvello etmesi herkesin bir hareket-i kahramanane olmak üzere telakki eylediği bir şey olup öyle bir katl-i adî değil idi. Rodrig bu düvellodan mümkün değil sarf-ı nazar edemez idi.”

Filvaki Rodrig ve Şimen ve Kral vesairenin hareketleri Hegob hakkında olduğu gibi ayrı ayrı tahlil edilecek olur ise herbiri ahval-i adîyyeden olduğu görülerek binaenaleyh asıl fevkâledelik ve garaip dahi bunların teselsülünden peyda olduğu taayyün eder ki o hâlde Korney dahi Aristo'nun vaz‘ eylemiş olduğu kaideden tebaüt etmemiş olur. (193)

Vakıa Akademiya Korney'i biraz mazur göstermek için “filvaki hakayık-ı tarihiyye Korney'in dediği gibidir. Binaenaleyh bu kusurdan dolayı mazur görülmek lâzım gelir” diyor ise de bu ‘lâzım gelir’i dahi bir “ise de” ile badetta’lil bir şey hakikaten vaki olmuş bulunmakla o şeyin yine tabîi olması lâzım gelmeyeceğini ve hele halkın okuyacağı romanlarda ve temaşa edeceği tiyatrolarda inzibat ve ahlâk-ı umumiyyeye su-i te’siri olabilecek şeyler kat’iyen doğru olsalar bile meydana konulmamasını hükmeyleyor da diyor ki:

“Şair bir mesele-i tarihiyyeden bile bahs (194) etmek lâzım gelse o meselenin efkâra olacak tesirine göre tadili lâzım gelir. Tarihe hürmet edeceğine efkâra olacak tesiratına ehemmiyet vererek tarihi de tebdil eder. Binaenaleyh *Sid*'i o hâlde ibka edeceğine hakayık-ı tarihiyyeyi biraz tagyir etmiş olsa idi Korney daha az mesul olur idi. Meselâ ya oyunun nihayetinde Kont, Şimen'in gerçekten babası ölmeyip öyle zannolunduğu tahakkuk etmeli yahut herkesin zannı hilâfına olarak vefatı düvelloda aldığı yaradan olmamalı veyahut Kralın ve vatanın selâmeti mutlaka bu izdivaca mütevaflık olarak kız, âdeta bu yolda feda olmalı idi. Vakayı-i tarihiyyeyi o hakikat-i (195) safiyyesiyle tiyatro sahnesi üzerine koyup da halka bir su-i tesir vermekten ise hakikat-i tarihiyyeyi bu yolda tagyir etmek daha münasip olur idi. Lâkin *Sid* hikâyesi halk beyninde pek maruf olup bu yoldaki tadilata da imkân kalmayacağından işin en hayırlısı bunu hiç de yazmamak idi”

Volter diyor ki:

“Eğer Kont kızın babası zuhur etmemeli idiyse işte asıl sıhhate mugayir bir roman bu olur idi. Hem o hâlde hikâyenin lezzeti bilküllüye kaybolur gider idi. Kralın ve hükûmetin selâmeti ve izdivaca mütevaflık olması meselesine gelince (196) bu hâl bana pek muvafık, pek güzel görünür. Lâkin o hâlde de eseri baştan başa bilküllüye değiştirmek lâzım gelir idi.”

Biz deriz ki selâmet-i vatan bu izdivaca mütevaflık kalsa idi Rodrig küçülür idi. Zira mücerret vatanın sevdası ve hükümdarının sadakati ile bu fedakârlığı göze aldırılmış olmayıp Şimen'deki ümidiyle aldırılmış olur idi. Şimen için ise kendi sevdasından

kat'-ı nazar fakat hükümdarına, vatanına sadık ve fedakâr koca elbette daha muvafık, daha kibaranedir.

Tarihi bu kadar tagyire mecburiyet gösterecek şey Şimen'i mutlaka pederinin katline tezviç etmemekten ibaret oluyor ise de (197) bu itirazın cevabı yine Korney'in eserinde şerholunmuştur. Eğer Rodrig bu intikamda rehavet gösterse idi asıl bu hâl; mâni-i izdivac olur idi. Çünkü ihtiyar pederinin yüzüne vurulan lekeyi kanı ile silmekte rehavet gösteren bir adama Şimen'in vakarı mâni-i izdivac olur. Rodrig ise henüz kuvvetini, şecaatini tecrübe etmemiş bir çocuk olduğu hâlde kuvveti, şecaati mücerrep bir namlı şanlı Kont ile döğüşmüştür. Öldürmekten ziyade kendi ölümü mümkünattan idi. Hele bu düvello öyle esbab-ı adîyyeden dolayı da iltizam olunmuş değildir. Asıl terbiyesizliği eden Kont idi. Kontun Rodrig'in babasına (198) ettiği muamele eğer Şimen'in nazar-ı temeyyüzüne arz olunsa idi o da babasını şayan-ı tahsin bulamaz idi. Binaenaleyh Rodrig'i "katil peder" diye ithamda taassup etmek Akademiya'ya yakışamaz. Zaten Şimen bile bu iddiada bihakkın mecd değil idi. Babasının maktuliyetinden dolayı bıkayd bulunuyor denilmesin diye intikamda-epyce de haksız olduğu hâlde- ısrar ile beraber kalben yine Rodrig'e meclup ve mahkûm idi.

Akademiya'nın mutlaka tarihi tadil lüzumuna dair uzattığı sözler meyanında "vak'anın sıhhat-i kat'iyyesini yazmak şairlik değildir. Onu sahihe benzer bir hâle koymak şairliktir." Sözü üzerine Volter (199) diyor ki: "Hayır! Sahihi sahihe benzere tahvil etmek şairlik değildir. Gerek sahihi gerek sahihe benzer şeyleri donatıp tezyin eylemek şairliktir" Volter'in ne kadar hakkı vardır! Gerek sahihi gerek sahihe benzeri sadece hikâye etmek sahihe benzeri mutlaka hazine-i belagat ve fesahatında aldığı cevahir-i hayalat ile de bir şeyi tezyin edendir.

Sid'in zeminine Akademiya'nın bulduğu kusurlarda birisi dahi beş perdenin hâvi olduğu vukuatın yalnız yirmidört saat zarfında müruru ve bu kadar az bir zamana pek çok vukuatın sıkıştırılması kazıyyesidir. Bahusus ki (200) Şimen'in pederinin maktuliyeti ile Rodrig'i tezevvücü gibi biri diğerini mutlaka mâni olması lâzım gelen iki vaka-i mütehalife dahi bu yirmidört saat zarfında gösterilmiştir. Volter için bu cihetini nazar-ı tedkike alarak eğer pederinin maktul olması üzerine yirmi dört saat zarfında Şimen Rodrig ile tezevvüç etmiş olsa vakıa pek fena olacağını teslim ediyor ise de Kralın icbarıyla kızıdan koparılabilen şey yalnız artık pederinin intikamı sevdasında devam etmemek ve bir gün olup da Rodrig'i koca olarak kabulden istinkâf eylememek suretlerinden ibaret olduğuna göre bu fenalık kat'iyyen geçmiş ve "bu dikkat-i nazikesinden dolayı Korney (201) en büyük medayihe lâyıktır." diyor.

Trajedyalarda bütün vukuatın yirmidört saat zarfında gûzar etmesi mutaddır. Yani sair âsar-ı edebiye gibi trajedyalarda bir meselenin senelerce suret-i devamı hikâye veyahut irae olunamaz. Onu öyle bir tasvir etmeli ki senelerce sürmüş olan vakayı var ise bile onlar hatırda bulunmak üzere asıl zemin yirmi dört saatlik bir vak'a veyahut vakayı olsun. Akademiya dahi bunu bilmiyor değildir. Ettiği intikadı bilerek etmiştir. Yalnız vukuatın çokluğu oyuna bir sıkılık vermiş olduğunu yazmıştır. Hâlbuki hadd-i zatında o kadar mücmel ve müfît olan oyunda kesret-i vukuattan dolayı can (202) sıkılabilecek aglakı Akademiya'dan başka kimse göremeyip herkes oyunu doyamaya doyamaya seyr ve temaşa eylemiş veyahut hâlâ dahi ve rağbetle okumakta bulunmuştur.

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Zemin hakkındaki şu intikadat Akademiya'yı yine o zeminden münbais olmak üzere bu vak'anın kahramanları aleyhinde icra edilen muahezat hususunda da gayretlendirmiştir. Bu misüllü trajedyaların kahramanları zalim iseler en parlak zalim ve mazlûm iseler en parlak mazlûm velhasıl her ne iseler onun en parlağı olmak lâzım gelip *Sid* oyununda Şimen eğer ahlâkı mükemmel kız olmak üzere tasvir olunuyor ise ahlâkı hiç de mükemmel (203) olmadığından ve bilâkis pek fena hulku, şayan-ı tayip bir şey olduğundan bahsolunuyor. Lâkin Şimen eğer ser-â-pa öyle bed-ahlâk olsa bu yolda bir numune addiyle muvafık-ı sanat görülmek lâzım geldiği hâlde bilâkis evvelce ahlâk-ı âliyye ashabından olduğu tasvir edilmiş iken müteakiben sebatsızlık ve denaete duçar olmuş gösterildiği için Korney'in şayeste-i muaheze bulunduğu hükmediliyor.

Meselenin bu ciheti dahi hep Şimen'in Rodrig ile izdivacı noktası üzerinde tekevvün ediyor ise de âsar-ı edebiyeden müntazır olan şey hüsn-i ahlâk olduğuna göre hakikaten bir suret-i müstakilede calib-i (204) nazar-ı itina ve dikkattir.

Deniliyor ki Şimen'in Rodrig'i sevmesi tabiîdir. Her kızın her beğendiği adamı sevmesi gibi. Pederinin maktuliyeti bu sevdadan sonra vaki olmuştur. Binaenaleyh o faciadan sonra dahi Şimen Rodrig'i sevebilir. Bu da tabiîdir. Fakat pederinin intikamı dahi hem tabiî hem vazifedir. Rodrig'i sevmekte devam eylediği hâlde bu intikamın tabiîliği mahvolamaz. O vazife menedilemez. Korney badi-i emrde bu nazik noktayı nazar-ı dikkat ve hikmete alarak kıza ne güzel bir söz söyletmiştir! "Sevda-yı intikamla Rodrig'i takip ettireceğim. Katlettireceğim, sonra da ona aşkım hasebiyle kendimi telef eyleyeceğim" dedirtmiştir. (205)

İşte eserin neticesini böylece intaç ettirmiş olsa Şimen büyük ahlâklı bir kadın olur idi. Fakat sebat edememesi ve Rodrig'e kendi konağına hatta kendi odasına girmek derecesinde müsaade vermesi ve onun aşkına mağlûbiyetini âdeta ikrar ederek mahvdan kurtulması için yol gösterip temennilerde bulunması Şimen'i pek alçak bir mahlûk olmak üzere mahkûm ettirmiştir.

Volter buna cevaben diyor ki: Burada bir dakika vardır ki gereği gibi garip ise de gayet doğrudur. O da şudur ki: Rodrig Sevil'i kurtardıktan, Don Sanş'ı da affyledikten sonra eğer Şimen hâlâ onun cezasını talep hususunda ısrar ededursa (206) idi pek gülünç bir şey olur idi. Eğer böyle bir tiyatro oyunu yapılacak olsa temin ederim ki enzar-ı rağbetten düşer. İspanyolları o kadar hayran etmiş olan şu ahval Fransızları da hayran eylemiştir.

Volter'in bu sözündeki kuvveti anlamak için tahattür etmelidir ki Sevil'i kurtarmak meselesi de Şimen nazarında o kadar kat'î bir kuvvet peyda eylemese bile kendi tarafından vekil-i intikam olarak tayin eylediği Don Sanş, Rodrig'e mağlûp olunca artık Şimen'in bütün iddiaları hükümden düşmüş sayılır. O hâl-i mağlûbiyette Rodrig, Sanş'ı katl dahi edebilir idi. Affi ise her intizarın fevkinde bir ulüvv-i cenabdır. (207) Bu imtihan, vukua geldikten sonra Şimen'e artık yapacak başka ne kalmış idi "Rodrig ile döğüşecek bir adam daha yok mu?" diye dellal çağtırmak mı? Vakıa bu düvelloda Rodrig maktul düşse idi de Şimen dahi onun aşkı hilâfına olarak başkasına zevce olmaktan ise onun aşkıyla ölümü ihtiyar eylese idi pek büyük olur idi. Lâkin böyle olmadı, tarihen böyle olmadı. Tarihi bu derecelere kadar ihlâl kabil olabilir mi? Helâk olmayan adama "maktul oldu" ve vardığı kocaya "varmadı" ve

kendisi berhayat kaldığı hâlde “Hayır, nefsinin helâk eyledi” demek bu vak‘a-yı tarihiyyeden başka bir vak‘a-yı hayaliyye yapmak (208) demek olur di.

Akademiya yine böyle ahlâk-ı âliyye nokta-i nazarından Rodrig’i muaheze edenleri dahi haklı buluyor. Bu muahezeye göre vakıa Rodrig pederine edilen hakaretin intikamında haklı ve mecbur imiş ise de Şimen’in babasını öldürmeğe kadar varması ne mecbur imiş, ne de lâzım imiş. Onu öldürmemeli ve bir katl ile sevdiği kızın izdivacını muhale-i talik etmemeli imiş. Onu yalnız mağlûp ve mecruh ederek pederinin namusunu ikmâl eylemiş olduktan sonra bir gün olup da Şimen’i tezevvuç eylemek imkânını yine muhafaza etmiş olur imiş.

Vakıa öyledir. Bu suret hakikaten (209) mürecceh görülebilir idi. Hatta oyunun netayicini bilküllüye tagyire kadar da lüzum göstermez idi. Tarihi bu kadarcık tagyirden de bir fenalık çıkmaz idi. Lâkin düşünmeli ki Kont nice vukuatta kuvvetini, şecaatini cihana teslim ettirmiş bir meşhur kahramandır. Hatta Rodrig’i adam bile saymayarak bir hamlede öldüreceği için acıyor idi. Rodrig Kontu öldüremez ise bari onun kılıcı ile ölerək ifa-yı vazife etmiş olmayı göze aldırıştır. Şimdi öyle bir muallim karşısında böyle bir çırak onun kılıcını düşürterek canına kıymak derecesinde mahareti umabilir mi ki öyle hareket etmeye çalışsın? Eğer Rodrig bu mahareti (210) göze kestirmiş olsa idi işte o zaman sıhatten bütün bütün âri bir hareket tasvir olunmuş olur idi. O zaman Rodrig kendi meziyetini kendisi dahi bilmiyor idi. Asıl yararlığını kendi de anlayıp cihana da tanıtdırdığı muharebe bundan sonra vukua gelmiştir.

Akademiya Don Sanş’da da ulüvv-i ahlâk göremeyen müntakidleri haklı buluyor. Don Sanş dahi korkak, denî bir adam imiş. Zira Rodrig’e mağlûp olduğu zaman yere düşen kılıcını alıp Şimen’e götürmek gibi bir denaeti tek canını kurtarmak mükâfatını kaybetmemek için kabul eylemiş imiş.

Volter bu itirazı asla beca bulmuyor. (211) Bunu Akademiya’nın şövalyeler[in] ahlâk ve âdatını bilmediğine haml eyliyor. Şövalyeler nezdinde mağlûp olan, kılıcını alıp galibin maşukasına götürür imiş. Bu bir adet imiş ki galip için pek büyük şan olduğu hâlde mağlûp için de ayıp sayılmaz imiş. O zamanlar dahi İspanya’da şövalye âdetleri hüküm sürer imiş.

Hâlâ bizim bu taraflarda iki pehlivan güreş eyledikleri zaman birisi galip ve diğeri mağlûp olur da her ikisi yekdiğerini belinden sarılarak kaldırıp yine yere bırakınca mağlûbiyet arı filân kalmaz. İkisi de yine pehlivan, kahraman addolunurlar. İşte İspanyolların şövalyeleri âdeti dahi (212) böyle imiş demek oluyor.

Don Diyeg ile Don Gomes dahi ahlâk cihetinden dolayı muahezeden kurtulamıyorlar. Don Diyeg o kadar ihtiyarlığıyla beraber dava-yı cengâverîde bulunduğundan ve Kontu kendine tokat urmağa kadar mecbur eylediğinden dolayı âdeta bir zevzek olduğunu hükmeyledikleri gibi Don Gomes dahi hükümdar-ı metbûî, efendisi, velinimetini hakkında o kadar şiddet-i lisan istimal eylediği için şayan-ı muahezedir diyorlar.

Volter Don Gomes için bir şey söylemiyor. Zaten söylenemez ki söylensin. Bu adam hakikaten terbiyesizdir. Fakat dikkat etmelidir ki eserde dahi terbiyeli bir adam olmak üzere (213) tasvir olunmamıştır. Onun ağzından insaniyyete, ulüvv-i ahlâka, âdaba muvafık hiçbir söz çıkmamıştır. Akademiya’nın da dediği veçhile Kralın onu

oğluna mürebbi intihap etmemesi hiç de kendi hakkında bir hakaret olmadığı hâlde Kont bunu bir hakaret-i uzmâ addederek etmediği uygunsuzluk kalmamıştır. Bu hâlde şayan-ı muaheze Korney değildir. Çünkü fenayı yine fena olarak tasvir etmiş ve hatta o kadar gururuyla beraber bir genç adam elinde maktul olarak cezasını göstermiştir.

Don Diyeg'e gelince Volter diyor ki:

O zamanın asilzadeleri kendilerini medheyledikleri zaman hakikaten pek mübalağalı medh (214) ederler idi. Hele tiyatrolarda oynanan oyunlar esnasında bu yoldaki temeddüher zevzeklik derecelerini de aşar idi. Binaenaleyh Korney'in Don Diyeg'e söylettiği sözler Fransa Akademiyası nazarında filvaki şayan-ı muaheze görülürler ise de İspanyolluğa nazaran şayan-ı muaheze görülemez. Bu bapta Korney biraz kuvvetsiz bile davranmıştır.

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Sid'in müntakidleri aza-yı vak'adan en başlıklarını ahlâk-ı âliyyeden mahrumdur diye hükmetmekle de iktifa eylemeyerek eşhastan bazılarını da bilkülliyeye lüzumsuzdur diye hükmeyleyorlar ve lüzumsuz şeyleri ise kattığı için Korney'i muahezeye (215) giriyorlar.

Bunlardan evvel-be-evvel Kralın kızı Ürrak'ı lüzumsuz eşhastan addeyledikten sonra Kralın maiyeti olan iki asilzadeyi ve hatta *Enfant*'ın ve *Şimen*'in mürebbiyelerini bile oyuna lüzumu olmadıkları hâlde katılmış sayıyorlar. Bu hükümde nazar-ı dikkate aldıkları şey bunların şu meselede ne bir iş yapmak ve ne de bir iş bozmak hususunda hiçbir tesir göstermedikleri kaziiyesidir.

Akademiya badi-i emrde prensesin lüzumsuzluğunu tasdik ederek filvaki *Şimen* ile *Rodrig*'in izdivaçlarına müşarünileyha karar verdirmemiş olduğu gibi bilahere izdivaç (216) kararının bozulmasında dahi dahil olmadığını ve hatta bir Kral kızı için henüz fezail-i cengâveranesi tahakkuk etmemiş olan bir delikanlıya o kadar meftur ve mağlûp olmak lâyük da olmayacağını dermiyan ediyor ise de bu lüzumsuzluğu eşhas-ı saire hakkında dahi doğru bulmak lâzım gelir ise oyunun pek تنها kalacağını ve bahusus bir Kral veya Kraliçenin bir prenses veya maşukanın bilkülliyeye yalnız bulunması tiyatro sanatınca kaidesizlik olacağına da kanaat gösteriyor.

Velev ki trajedyada olsun tiyatro oyunlarında eşhasın kâffesi birinci derecede mühim olmak ve vak'aya doğrudan (217) doğruya taalluk ashabından bulunmak zaruriyattan olduğunu kimse iddia etmemiştir. Hele Kral, Prens gibi zevatın maiyeti erkânıyla meydana çıkarılmış heybetlerini arttıracığı için erkân-ı mezkûre kâmilin samit ve sakit olsalar bile fazla addolunamazlar. Hâlbuki *Sid* oyununa en ziyade güzellik veren şeylerin birisi *Enfant*'ın da *Rodrig*'e çıldırması âşık olması kaziiyesi iken tamam-ı Akademiya'nın onu lüzumsuz addetmesine şaşılmaz mı? Demek oluyor ki hangi şey en güzel ise o lüzumsuzdur.

Enfant'ın henüz meziyyet-i cengâveranesi tahakkuk etmemiş olan bir asilzadeyi sevmesi gayr-ı muvafık olduğundan bahse bile hacet (218) yoktur. *Enfant* bu muhabbetin nâbeca olduğunu biliyor. Mürebbiyesi de bunu kendisine ihtar eyliyor. *Rodrig* ile tezevvüç kendi şan-ı âlisine muvafık olmadığını teslim de eyliyor. Muhabbeti ise bu mülâhazatın kâffesinin fevkinde olmakla beraber meydana hiçbir

eser-i gayr-ı lâıyk ıkarmaksızın derunî bir madde hükmünde kalıyor. Bunda lâıyksızlık nerede?

Sid hakkında edilen intikadlar meyanında Kral Don Fernand’a ait olan kısmı bütün bütün garıptir. Bu intikadlar Kralın ulüvv-ı cenabına dair midirler yoksa Kralı dahi hiç lüzumu olmayan eşhastan addetmek için mi irat olunmuşlardır veyahut her iki maksat mevcut mudur kat’iyyen tayin olunamaz. Kral (219) mağribîlerin hücumuna karşı limanı vesair mevaki-i harbiyyeyi neden muhafazasız bırakmış olduğuna ve kendisini bir büyük tehlikeden kurtaran Rodrig’e mükâfat edecek ise üzerinde hiçbir hakkı olmayan bir kızı zor ile ona tezviçden ise doğrudan doğruya kendisine müteallik olan şeylerden bir şey ile mükâfatlandırması lâzım geleceğine ve saireye dair birçok itirazat vardır ki bunların aglebi doğru olmakla beraber Volter “Vakia doğru iseler de zaman ve mekâna pek muvafıkdırlar” diye intikadat-ı mezkûrenin kâffesini yine Korney’in lehine tahvil eyliyor. Evet! Pek çok şeyler olur ki bu zamanda şayan-ı muaheze oldukları hâlde başka (220) zaman da memduh edilir. Kezalik pek çok şeyler olur ki burada şayan-ı tayib oldukları hâlde başka mahallerde doğru görülürler. Binaen alâzâlık *Sid*’in intikadı hususunda bu gibi akval-i zaifinin çendan ehemmiyeti görülemeyeceği aşikârdır.

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Akademiya’nın layihasında *Sid* hakkında verilen hükümlerin birtakımları dahi haksız gösterilmiş ve onlar hakkında müntakidlerin hataları ortaya konulmuş ise de dikkatle okunacak olur ise bu semahatın dahi aks-i tesir hasil etmek için iltizam edilmiş olduğu anlaşılır. Zira zahir-i hâlde hak-gûyane bir tavır ile reddolunan hükümler kâmilen (221) küçük ve manasız şöyler olup hâlbuki *Sid*’in meziyyatını inkârda en ziyade işe yarayabilecek haksızlıkları haklı göstermek için Akademiya fevkalhad iltizam-ı külfet eylemiştir. Bununla beraber bir eserin kıymeti ne kadar büyük ise o kadar duçar-ı intikad olacağı hakkındaki hükme göre *Sid*’in kadr ü kıymeti bu büyüklükteki intikadat ile eksilmeyip bilâkis artmıştır.

Akademiya layihısından bazı beyitlerin kıymet-i şiiiriyelerine dair olan sahifeleri kabil-i terceme bulamadığımızı evvel dahi haber vermiş idik. Sırf Fransız lisanına ait olan bu bahsi, kârilerimiz isterler ise yine Fransızcasından okuyabilirler ki *Sid* oyununun intikadlı olan nüsha-i matbuasının kâffesinde mezkûr lâyiha aynen münderiçtir.

(İntiha)