***Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* in Karamanlidika: In the Footsteps of Teodor Kasap**

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**Abstract**

*Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1844) by Alexandre Dumas *père* is a popular novel that was translated into many languages in Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century. The Karamanlidika (Turkish in Greek script) edition of 1882–83 has not hitherto been studied in a comparative reading with the source text (ST). This article identifies the ST as the Turkish in Arabic script translation of *Monte Kristo* (1871) by Teodor Kasap, a prominent contemporary figure in Ottoman Turkish literature and media. This ST effected an ornate language in the Karamanlidika translation, in sharp contrast to the general tendency towards plainness in the Karamanlidika fiction of the time. Taking “translation” (*terceme*) as an umbrella term, the article analyses the practices of both Kasap and the unknown Karamanlidika translator in translating the novel. The paper also analyses the conventional paratexts of the Karamanlidika edition such as the copyright notice, the dedication page, and the subscriber’s list in the back of the book to understand the mechanisms of book production and circulation among the Turcophone Orthodox community.

**Keywords:** Karamanlidika; Turcophone Orthodox Christians; fiction in Turkish in Arabic script; translation; transliteration; paratext

Literarature in Karamanlidika[[1]](#footnote-1) in the nineteenth century had several similarities with others in various languages and scripts in the Ottoman Empire.[[2]](#footnote-2) Having begun with religious publishing in centres of the empire and in Europe, such as Venice, Vienna, Istanbul, and Izmir, these literary publications began acquiring a secular dimension in the second half of the nineteenth century. As early as 1850, the Turcophone Orthodox Christians[[3]](#footnote-3) living mostly in Cappadocia as well as in the Ottoman capital became acquainted with fictional works, most of which were translations from Western Europe, largely due to the influence of periodicals and newspapers. Compared to the other literatures produced in the same period, the Karamanlidika literary corpus is mostly made up of translations and adaptations or what might also be called “rewritings.” Karamanlika translations were the first such in the translation history of Turkish. Evangelinos Misailidis’s Karamanlidika newspaper *Anatoli*[[4]](#footnote-4) was the first outlet to serialise translated fiction, beginningin 1851 with Heliodorus’s *Aethiopica*, a popular adventure and love story of an Ethiopian princess and a Thessaian prince, published as *Theagenis ve Harikleia*.[[5]](#footnote-5) This was followed Çelebi Dimitraki Hadji Ephraim from Adalia’s *Robinson Krusos* in 1852–53, a translation of Defoe’s famous novel.[[6]](#footnote-6) Current knowledge suggests this was the first Turkish translation of a novel in the Ottoman Empire[[7]](#footnote-7) and was completed almost 10 years before the first translation from Arabic into Turkish in Arabic script by Vakanüvis Ahmet Lûtfi.[[8]](#footnote-8) The foreword to *Robinson Krusos*, probably written by Misailidis, presents the novel to *Anatoli’s* readers as being translated from a Greek source text (ST) into simple Turkish (“*Rumiceden alessevi Türkçe lisanına tercüme*”). However, the sources of other Karamanlidika translations are generally not indicated so this remains one of the significant questions to be answered in the field.

*Anatoli* serialised more than 20 works of fiction between 1888 and 1889, most of them translations.[[9]](#footnote-9) The works chosen were mostly by popular authors such as Xavier de Montépin and Eugène Sue that had been serialised or otherwise published in various languages and scripts of the Ottoman press.[[10]](#footnote-10) This and bibliographies of published literary narratives point to a “canon” of popular works chosen. Cebe asserts in relation to Turkish texts in Arabic, Armenian and Greek script that “*millets* of the empire affected each other’s choice and taste in modern translated literature. Translated works and their dissemination among the communities prove the existence of strong lines of communication. At the same time, preferences in translation exhibit important information about the literary market and literary ‘canon’ of the period.”[[11]](#footnote-11) Strauss, in his pioneering work on the topic, also demonstrates in detail that this canon was the result of a web of interactions.[[12]](#footnote-12)

Strauss stresses that there are questions still to be answered on the translations and their interrelations, such as: “Were these translations influenced by the Ottoman Turkish versions in Arabic script? From which language were they translated?”[[13]](#footnote-13) Strauss deduces that some translations from French into Karamanlidika were not translated from the original but a Greek version, such as de Montépin’s *Porteuse de Pain* (1884) as *Etmekçi Hatun*. Though the translator Emmanoulidis asserts that the novel was translated from the French (*Fransızcadan Türkçeye mütercem olarak*), Strauss finds several pointers, such as modern Greek phonetics and Hellenised names, suggesting it might have been translated from Greek.[[14]](#footnote-14)

It seems that Emmanoulidis’s translation practices were even more complex than this. De Tapia’s article about *Porteuse de Pain/Etmekçi Hatun* is a close reading of various versions of it that concludes that Emmanouilidis, a Turkish-speaking Christian, was able to work from the Greek version while having access to the French original. Since he was also fluent in Greek, it is quite likely that he used the Greek translation readily available in Istanbul in the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis*. Being a physician, one can assume that he must also have had a good knowledge of French, the main language of scholarship and instruction in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire, especially in fields such as medicine. Moreover, the format of the Karamanlidika publication tellingly does not correspond to the novel series in *Konstantinoupolis* published in two parts, but rather to the 1885 French edition in three volumes, each with its own title.[[15]](#footnote-15)

Tracing the STs, Balta also provides important information on the novels’ and serials’ paratexts and argues that Greek or Turkish written in Arabic or Armenian script was the intermediary language for translations.[[16]](#footnote-16) Accordingly, she determines the source language as Greek for many Karamanlidika novels, such as *Seirin, Tevarihat-ı Arabi, Beyoğlu Sırları* and *Rabbi Isaac*.[[17]](#footnote-17)

These examples indicate a quite complicated web of interactions between various languages and alphabets and close reading of the texts and paratexts can provide more accurate data about the STs. The concept of “translation” itself is narrow and problematic when it comes to understanding the various techniques used by the translators of the period. Demircioğlu problematises the relationship between the modern concept of translation (“*çeviri*” in today’s Turkish) and the Ottoman concept of translation (*terceme*) and its various related practices in the nineteenth century. He analyses the culturally- and temporally-bound Ottoman notions of translation in a “beyond binary” way. This implies that, rather than simply naming a text a “translation” or an “original,” one takes the various Ottoman text production practices into account that shaped the process. Demircioğlu lists some of these translation practices as *harfiyyen* (“literal”), *aynen* (“as the same”), *mealen* (“free”/”sense-for-sense”), *tevsien* (“expanded”), *hulâsa* (“summary”), *taklid* (“imitation”), *tanzir* (“emulation”) and *tahvil* (“conversion”).[[18]](#footnote-18)

In this article, I aim to answer some of the above questions about the Karamanlidika edition of *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1844; hereafter *Monte-Cristo*) by Alexandre Dumas *père*, who was the second-most translated author in Ottoman Empire with 43 novels.[[19]](#footnote-19) By focusing on both the text and its paratexts, I situate it in the context of broader practices in Karamanlidika translations.

**Reading *Monte Hristo’s* Paratexts**

*Monte-Cristo*, entitled *Monte Hristo* in Karamanlidika*,*[[20]](#footnote-20) was released in six volumes in Istanbul (Dersaadet) in 1882–83 by four different publishers at three separate publishing houses. The sixth volume was released by Manzume-i Efkâr Matbaası (1883), which was probably the publishing house of the famous Armeno-Turkish newspaper *Manzume-i Efkâr* founded by the prominent journalist Garabed Panosian, who kept the newspaper alive for 30 years until he retired for health reasons.[[21]](#footnote-21) This was also an interesting medium in which to publish a text in Karamanlidika, which was dominated by Misailidis’ famous publishing house, Anatoli. *Monte Hristo* was one of two novels (the other being *Lord Hop*) this publishing house issued in Karamanlidika, with the others being in Armeno-Turkish.[[22]](#footnote-22) It is furthermore significant in indicating an intercommunal relationship between Christian communities. The publishing houses Grafikos Kosmos and Margaritis also did not typically publish in Karamanlidika script. *Monte Hristo* has other peculiarities that indicate a rather different story of Karamanlidika publishing than with other books. Apart from its unusual publishing houses, there is no evidence that *Monte Hristo* was serialised before being published in book form, which was unusual. The last unusual and significant aspect of *Monte Hristo* is that it is a transliteration with only minor changes of the version of *Monte-Cristo* published in Turkish in Arabic script. This means that *Monte Hristo* was not directly based on either the original French nor the Greek translation, probably the earliest such in Ottoman lands.[[23]](#footnote-23) The Turkish translator of *Monte Kristo*[[24]](#footnote-24) is typically deemed to be the famous Ottoman journalist, writer, and translator Teodor Kasap.[[25]](#footnote-25) *Monte Kristo* was initially serialised in Kasap’s newspaper, *Diyojen*, from November 11, 1871. The serialisation was ended because readers were too impatient to read the novel and it was published in a book in six volumes. The translation in Turkish in Arabic script was first published as a book in 1872 under Ahmet Mithat’s imprint but the name of the translator was absent. Kasap was specified as translator in the second edition by the *Çıngıraklı Tatar* in 1872.[[26]](#footnote-26) In the newspaper *Devir*, *Monte-Cristo* was described as translated by the *Diyojen* writing committee (*Diyojen* *gazetesi heyet-i tahririyesi*).[[27]](#footnote-27) Strauss says that the novel wastranslated into Turkish in Arabic script by a multitude of translators under Kasap’s supervision in 1871.[[28]](#footnote-28) This article will deem Kasap the sole translator of *Monte Kristo* for the sake of convenience.

It is unknown who transliterated *Monte Kristo* from the Turkish in Arabic script, which was already an unusual approach to Karamanlidika translations. There is no reference to Kasap’s name either on the front cover or in the contents. Perhaps because it was transliterated, there was no name given of a translator (*mütercim*), just the publisher (*nâşir*). It is possible the publishers simply transliterated the Turkish from Arabic to Greek script and so did not describe it as a “translation.” Kasap was a native of Kayseri and a member of the Turcophone community, but was not on good terms with Misailidis or Panosian, who were his rivals and favourite targets in his satirical papers.[[29]](#footnote-29) Ironically, Panosian published the sixth volume of the Karamanlidika text that was based on Kasap’s translation.

**Conventional Paratexts: The Notice, the Dedication, and the Subscriber’s List**

*Monte Hristo* also has features that provide insight into conventional practices in Karamanlidika publishing. These include the copyright notice and the dedication page, typical features in publishing in Turkish in Arabic script, and the subscriber’s list at the back, an interesting feature of Karamanlidika book publishing for understanding the mechanisms of book circulation and production in the Turcophone Orthodox community. The copyright notice, invoking copyright laws on the first page, warns that: “Copies without the signatures of the publishers will be treated legally as fakes” (*Naşirlerinin imzası ile mümzi olmayan nüshalara nizamen sahte nazarı ile bakılacaktır*). This notice probably relates to the Ottoman state’s Statute of Copyright (1857) and the Statute of Copyright and Translation (1870).[[30]](#footnote-30) However, it seems that copyright was not prevalent enough for translators to be mentioned in this regard: The publishers’ but not the translator’s names are mentioned in *Monte Hristo*. There are other cases in which novels seem to be misattributed to various authors. *Lord Hop Meşhur Monte Hristo Hikâyesinin Zeyli* (1884), introduced as the sequel to *Monte-Cristo* in Karamanlidika, iseven wrongly attributed to Dumas *père* himself. The translator is not mentioned, but I. M. Pontidis and P. S. Shanidis are described as its *sahibi* (“owners”) on the front cover.[[31]](#footnote-31)

Another typical feature of Karamanlidika books is a dedication page on which the translator and/or publisher dedicates the work to a local figure notable for charitable activities in the Turcophone Orthodox community, who would often pay most of the publication costs. In the case of *Monte Hristo*, publisher B. I. Tökmecoglou dedicates his “humble work” (*asar-ı nacizane*) to Vasileios D. Pehlivanoglou with redundant Ottoman rhetoric.[[32]](#footnote-32) The implication is that it was a matter of prestige to sponsor a book in a community with a quite modest level of education and one ignored by the Greek-speaking authorities as Turcophones.[[33]](#footnote-33)

The list of the subscribers and readers at the back of the book is an interesting peculiarity of Karamanlidika publishing at the end of the nineteenth century and it was the subscription system that made the publishing process possible, with readers presubscribing by sending money to the publishing house. There are notices in *Anatoli* encouraging those who want a certain book published to send in their subscriptions,[[34]](#footnote-35) revealing the publishers’ dependence on such readers sponsoring particular novels. Thus, the publisher and, perhaps, the translator had to consider the readers’ points of view. This also affected the style, language and vocabulary of the texts produced, which meant that most literary texts were written in simple Turkish largely devoid of Ottoman compounds derived from Arabic and Persian words, as was generally the case with nineteenth-century Karamanlidika book production. A common phrase in the first pages of Karamanlidika books was: “Written in clear and simple Turkish” (*Sade ve açık Türkçe ile yazılmıştır*). Readers not only financially supported the novels; they sometimes actively proferred their opinions about the language used in the novels, demanding simple Turkish.[[35]](#footnote-36)

These lists are valuable in themselves for a literary historian in showing the names of the readers, their gender and where they came from. *Monte Hristo’s* subscriber’s list — *syndromiteslerin esamesi*, a noun phrase combining Greek and Turkish — is rather short at 108. It is not arranged in alphabetical order and the name of Vasileios D. Pehlivanoglou, to whom the novel was dedicated, is written at the top alongside the number 10, which may refer to the number of copies he purchased. Female names are very rare in such lists and this one has only one: Maria I. Tökmecoglou, who was probably a relative of the publisher.

The subscribers’ list for *Lord Hop* is a little longer, at 118, and more detailed than that of *Monte Hristo*. The subscribers’ names and cities are given under the title “*İşbu hikâyenin iştirasına rağbet buyuran erbab-ı mütalaanın esami cetveli*” (“Here is the list of the readers who have participated in the purchasing of this story”). Unlike *Monte Hristo*, *Lord Hop’s* subscribers were listed according to their cities and towns under headings such as “*Zincidere hanedan-ı muteberanından*” (“from one of the esteemed dynasties of Zincidere”) or “*Gelveri hanedan-I muteberanından*” (“from one of the esteemed dynasties of Gelveri”). The list shows that the readers of *Monte Hristo* were not only from the empire’s urban centres like Istanbul and Izmir, but also from central Anatolian cities like Kayseri, Nevşehir and Niğde.

**Translation Practices of Teodor Kasap Shared by the Karamanlidika Translator**

*Monte Hristo* most remarkably does not have chapter titles, except for the third, entitled “*Katalan Karyesi*” (“The Catalan Town”). This is the strongest evidence that the Karamanlidika translation is deeply indebted to Kasap, who also omitted chapter titles from *Monte Hristo*, unlike Avanzade Mehmet Süleyman,[[36]](#footnote-37) who translated Dumas’s chapter titles word for word.

The Karamanlidika text follows Kasap’s translation in the order of chapters, but the chapters are numbered differently in each volume. For instance, the first volume of Kasap’s translation has 21 chapters, while the Karamanlidika version has 18 chapters (the fifth chapter is mistakenly named the fourth, which is why the first volume ends with Chapter 17). Kasap’s secondvolume has 17 chapters, whereas the Karamanlidika text has 20.

The Karamanlidika version is a largely faithful transliteration of Kasap’s *Monte Kristo* with minor changes that include the intralingual translation discussed below. Thus, whatever is asserted about Kasap’s translation will also be largely valid for the Karamanlidika transliteration. Both texts follow Dumas’s plot, characterisation, chapter order and conclusion. No chapter in *Monte-Cristo* is removed or has its plot changed and the ending is untransformed, unlike in some Karamanlidika rewritings.[[37]](#footnote-38)

The first chapters provide significant insight into Kasap’s translation practices. He mainly eliminates proper names where he deems them irrelevant or unnecessary, especially references to geographical areas and cities, street names and historical monuments that would be unfamiliar to the reader and does not even explain why in a footnote. Whenever he does give the names of characters and places, he phonetically transliterates them or uses a Hellenised form, such as Alvertos in place of Albert, as was also the practice in *Etmekçi Hatun.*[[38]](#footnote-39)

The novel opens with a description of the ship Pharaon coming into the port of Marseilles, but Kasap eliminates some of the place names. such as Château d’If and Notre-Dame de la Garde, and changes Old Phocae into Marseille. Also noticeable is the Turkish phonetic transliteration, such as Feraon (Pharaon), Morjion (Morgion), San*-*Zan (Saint-Jean), Kalesarini(Calasareigne), Zaroz(Jaros), Pomag (Pomègue), Civitevakya (Civitavecchia), and Alcilio (Isola del Giglio). There are some minor changes in the proper names in Karamanlidika transliteration, as seen in the examples in Table 1.

**Table 1:**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Source Text[[39]](#footnote-40)**  Premier Volume, Chapitre 1, “Marseille.— L’arrivée” | **Kasap’s Text**  Cild-i Evvel (“First Volume”), Bab-ı Evvel (“First Chapter”). | **Karamanlidika Text[[40]](#footnote-41)**  Cild-i Evvel (“First Volume”), Bab-ı Evvel (“First Chapter”), 7 |
| Le 24 février 1815, la vigie [a] de Notre-Dame de la Garde signala le trois-mâts le Pharaon [b], venant de Smyrne [c], Trieste [d] et Naples [e].  Comme d’habitude, un pilote côtier partit aussitôt du port, rasa le château d’If [absent], et alla aborder le navire entre le cap de Morgion [f] et l’île de Rion [g].  Aussitôt, comme d’habitude encore, la plate-forme du fort Saint-Jean [h] s’était couverte de curieux; car c’est toujours une grande affaire à Marseille [i] que l’arrivée d’un bâtiment, surtout quand ce bâtiment, comme le *Pharaon*, a été construit, gréé, arrimé sur les chantiers de la vieille Phocée, et appartient à un armateur de la ville.  Cependant ce bâtiment s’avançait; il avait heureusement franchi le détroit que quelque secousse volcanique a creusé entre l’île de Calasareigne [j] et l’île de Jaros [k]; il avait doublé Pomègue [l], et il s’avançait sous ses trois huniers, son grand foc et sa brigantine, mais si lentement et d’une allure si triste, que les curieux, avec cet instinct qui pressent un malheur, se demandaient quel accident pouvait être arrivé à bord. | (Feraon) [b] nam üç direkli bir kıta-i Fransız sefinesinin İzmir [c] ve Triste [d] ve Napoli [e] şehirlerine uğrayarak 1815 sene-i miladiyesi Şubat’ının yirmi dördüncü günü Marsilya’ya tekarüb eylediği İşaret Kulesi’nden [a] görülmekle hasbelade limandan bir kulağuz huruç ve (Morjion) [f] burnuyla (Rion) adası [g] arasında sefineye yanaşub vüluc eyledi.  Marsilya [i] limanına bir sefine duhulü ve hususiyle bunun gibi Marsilya destgâhında inşa olunmuş bir geminin müddet-i medide seyr ü seferden sonra avdet ü vürudu o vakitler hükmünce beynelahali vukuat-ı nadireden ma’dud olmasıyla (Sen Jan) [h] Kalesi meydanı seyircilerle malamal olub sefinenin baş ve kıç direklerindekinden maada bütün yelkenleri indirilmiş olduğu ve kemal-i betaet-i hareketinden ve taifesinin evzaından bir felakete uğramış olması his olunduğu halde (Kalesarniyi) [j] ve (Jaroz) [k] adaları arasında sadme-i volkandan açıldığı muhtemel olan boğazdan geçüb (Pomag) [l] burnunu dolaşması üzerine orada tecemmu eden halk birbiriyle kıl ü kal ve fenn-i seyr ü sefaine âşina olanlar dahi hareket-i sefinede his olunan hal-i keduret-meâlin geminin bir kazaya uğramasından olmayub… | Feraon [b] nam üç direkli bir kıta Fransız sefinesinin İzmir [c] ve Trieste [d] şehirlerine oğrayarak 1815 seneyi milatiyesi şubatının yigirmi dördünci güni Marsilyaya tekarrrüb eyletiği işaret Kulesinten [a] görülmek ile Hasp-el-ade limantan bir kulağuz huruc ve Morzion [f] burnı ile Rion adası [g] arasınta sefineye yanaşub veluc eyledi.  Marsilya [i] limanına bir sefine dihuli ve hususi ile bunun gibi Marsilya testgahınta inşa olunmuş bir geminin müttet-i medite seyr ü seferten songra avdet ve virüti o vakıtlar hökmünce beyn-el-ehali vukuat-ı nadireden maadut olması ile Sain-Zan [h] kalası meydanı seyirciler ile tolup sefinenin baş ve kıç direklerindekilerden maada bütün yelkenleri endirilmiş olduğu ve kemal-i betayet harekatından ve taifesinin evzainden bir felakete oğramış olması his olunduğu halde Kalesarini [j] ve Zaroz [k] adaları arasında satemeyi volkandan acıldığı muhdemel olan boğazdan gecüp Pomag [l] burnını tolaşması üzerine orata tecemmü eden halk bir biri ile kıl-ü-kal ve fenni seyr ü sefaine aşna olanlar dahi haraket-i sefinete his olunan hal-i ketüret-meelin geminin bir kazaya oğramasından olmayub… |

Kasap also omits nearly all the classical allusions in *Monte-Cristo*, which McDermott notes as numbering 100: “Reference is made at one time or another in the novel [*Monte-Cristo*] to aspects of Plutarch (97), Martial (398), Pliny (404, 779), Caesar (475, 509), Cornelius Nepos (652-653), Ennius (954), and Pindar (625). Gods, mythological figures, and figures from history or historical legend abound, from Jupiter (351, 601, 1309) to Hebe (351), from Tantalus (146), Icarus (355), and Omphale (1181) to Curtius (369), Nero (139, 778, 1198, 1388), and Poppaea (509). Ships, horses, and characters are graced with Greek and Latin names: Pharaon, Eurus, Medeah, Haydée, Cocles.”[[41]](#footnote-42) In the ST, as seen in Table 2, Mercédès’s arms are likened to the Venus of Arles, but Kasap describes her only as an *esnam* (“idol”) in his translation. The rest of the compounds and phrases are analysed later in this article.

**Table 2:**

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| **Source Text**  Premier Volume, Chapitre 3, “Les Catalans”. | **Kasap’s Text**  Cild-i Evvel (First Volume), Üçüncü Bab (Third Chapter), “Katalan Karyesi”, 9. | **Karamanlidika Text**  Cild-i Evvel (First Volume), Üçüncü Bab (Third Chapter), “Katalan Karyesi”, 27. |
| Une belle jeune fille aux cheveux noirs [a] comme le jais, aux yeux veloutés [b] comme ceux de la gazelle, se tenait debout adossée [c] à une cloison, et froissait entre ses doigts effilés et d’un dessin antique une bruyère [d] [heather, bot. calluna vulgaris] innocente dont elle arrachait les fleurs, et dont les débris jonchaient déjà le sol; en outre, ses bras nus jusqu’au coude, ses bras brunis, mais qui semblaient modelés sur ceux de la Vénus d’Arles [e], frémissaient d’une sorte d’impatience fébrile, et elle frappait la terre de son pied souple et cambré, de sorte que l’on entrevoyait la forme pure, fière et hardie de sa jambe, emprisonnée dans un bas de coton rouge à coins gris et bleus. | Saçı leyla [a] *ve* nergis-i mestanı [b] âlâ bir mahbube-i dilara bu hanelerin birinde bir tahta perdeye dayanarak ittika ile [c] dirseklerine kadar sıvanmış ve güneşten biraz yanmış pamuk gibi kolları balmumundan dökme esnamdan [e] nümunenüma olmakta ve alacalı çorap içinde hapis olunmuş billur gibi baldırları seçilmekte ve elindeki ıtır [d] [rose geranium] yapraklarını güzel parmakları ile koparup yere atmakta ve küçük ayaklarını aralık aralık yere urmakta olduğu görülür ve şu evzainden kalbinin ızdırab-ı fevkaladesi hissolunur idi. | Sacı leyla [a] ve nerkis mestanı [b] illa bir mahpupeyi dilara bu hanelerin birinde bir tahda perdeye tayanarak [c] dirseklerine kadar sığanmış ve güneşten biraz yanmış bamuk kipi kolları pal mumından tokme esnamdan [e] numune nüma olmakda, ve alacalı corap içinde hapis olunmış billor kipi paldırları secilmekde, ve elindeki cicek [d] yapraklarını güzel barmakları ile koparub yere atmakda, ve küçük ayaklarını aralık yere urmakda olduğı görülür, ve evzayinden kalpinin iztirab-ı fevk-el-adesi hiss olunur idi. |

One of the classical references eliminated in the *Monte Kristo* is the name Haydée which Kasap cleverly transforms into “Hadiye.” Though Haydée does not appear very often, she is a strong character that helps Edmond Dantès gain revenge on his enemy, Fernand Mondego.[[42]](#footnote-43) The modifying strategy deserves special mention also because she is linked to a controversial figure in Ottoman history, Ali Pasha of Ioannina. In *Monte-Cristo*, Haydée[[43]](#footnote-44) is said to be the daughter of Ali Pasha,[[44]](#footnote-45) the supreme ruler of Ioannina, Albania, Epirus, and adjacent territories, who came to be perceived as a threat to the central authorities and was executed for treason in 1822, aged 80.His head was cut off and sent to Istanbul. Ali Pasha’s relationship with his Greek wife, Vassiliki, who is also a character in the novel, is a famous story in its own regard and relates to the Spoonmaker’s Diamond (*Kaşıkçı Elması*) said to be a gift from the Pasha to Vasiliki. The couple is also famous for their iconic paintings (one attributed to Raymond Auguste Quinsac Monvoisin (1794–1870).[[45]](#footnote-46)

In Chapter 20 of the original text, Haydée tells Albert, Fernand Mondego’s son, about her father’s tragic story and accuses one French soldier she does not name of betraying Ali Pasha, who is in fact Albert’s father. Haydée describes how she and her mother were given over to a man going to Istanbul, after her father was beheaded. When her mother sees Ali Pasha’s head placed over the gates, she falls down and dies. Haydée is sold to a rich Armenian slaver then, in turn, to Sultan Mahmut II and, finally, to the Count of Monte-Cristo.

One wonders if Kasap pondered censoring any of this part of the narrative due to positive language used in it about a controversial pasha deemed a traitor by the central authorities, but there is no significant alteration in Haydée’s recounting of his story. Kasap directly translates Haydée’s sentences, such as: “My father was that illustrious man known in Europe under the name of Ali Tepelini, Pasha of Yanina, before whom Turkey trembled” (Vol. 4, 82). That said, Kasap adds the longest footnote in his translation here, explaining that Haydée, like the section describing the death of Vasiliki when she sees Ali Pasha’s severed head, is Dumas’s fictional creation.[[46]](#footnote-47)

There is a significant section in the ST (see Table 3) where Albert asks the meaning of this unusual name, Haydée, though made famous by its appearance as Haidée in Byron’s *Don Juan*. Kasap cleverly erases the reference to Byron, changing the character’s name into the Arabic name Hadiye. This name resembles Haydée and is associated by Kasap with the meaning of “innocence,” which is not actually the case. The change in the names of women in Kasap’s translation is often significant. He transforms them and adds them several more such as “rightness” and “integrity”. In the same passage, references to *Thousand and One Nights* and *Dionysius the Tyrant* are eliminated. The caprice of fortune is translated as *kader-ullah* (“fate of God”) and *prenses* (“princess”) is changed into the Greek *prinkipessa* in Karamanlidika.

**Table 3:**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Source Text**  Volume 4, Chapter 20, “Haydée”. | **Kasap’s Text**  Cild-i Râbi (“Fourth Volume”), 20. Bab (“Chapter 20”), 80. | **Karamanlidika Text**  Beşinci Cild (“Fifth Volume”), Birinci Bab (“First Chapter”), 931. |
| Haydée! quel adorable nom! Il y a donc des femmes qui s’appellent véritablement Haydée autre part que dans les poèmes de Lord Byron? [absent]  Certainement; Haydée est un nom fort rare en France, mais assez commun en Albanie [a] et en Épire [b]; c’est comme si vous disiez, par exemple, chasteté [absent], pudeur [absent], innocence [c]; c’est une espèce de nom de baptême, comme disent vos Parisiens.  Oh! que c’est charmant! dit Albert, comme je voudrais voir nos Françaises s’appeler mademoiselle Bonté [absent], mademoiselle Silence [absent], mademoiselle Charité chrétienne [d]!  Dites donc, si mademoiselle Danglars, au lieu de s’appeler Claire-Marie-Eugénie [e], comme on la nomme, s’appelait mademoiselle Chasteté-Pudeur-Innocence [absent] Danglars, peste, quel effet cela ferait dans une publication de bans!  […]  —C’est donc vraiment une princesse [f]?  — Vous l’avez dit, et même une des plus grandes de son pays.  — Je m’en étais douté. Mais comment une grande princesse est-elle devenue esclave [g]?  — Comment Denys le Tyran [h] est-il devenu maître d’école? Le hasard de la guerre, mon cher vicomte, le caprice de la fortune | Alber: Hadiye mi? Ne güzel isim?  Monte Kristo: Hadiye ismi Fransa'da yok ise de Arnavutluk’ta [a] ve Mora’da [b] pek çoktur; manası da doğruluk [rightness], istikamet, [direction/integrity] suçsuzluk [c/innocence] demektir.  Alvertos: Ne güzel! ne latif isim! Ah keşke Fransız kızların da isimleri Matmazel temizlik [cleanness, purety] matmazel ismet [g/purety, without sin] matmazel istikamet [direction/integrity]ve merhamet [d/mercy] olaydı mesela Matmazel Danglar’ın ismine Öjeni [e] yerine Matmazel hicap [shame, veiled] denilse idi ne âlâ olur idi.  […]  Alber-Gerçekten *prenses* [f] mi idi?  Monte Kristo-Hem memleketin en büyüklerinden.  Alber-Nasıl olmuş da cariye [g] olmuş?  Monte Kristo-Kader kader-ullah [h/fate, the fate of Allah/God] dostum cihanda insanın başına her bir şey gelir. | Alvertos: Hadiye mi? Ne güzel isim?  Kont: Hadiye ismi Fransada yok ise de Arnavutlukda [a] ve Morada [b] pek çoktur, manası da toğruluk [correctness], istikamet [integrity] ve suçsuzluk [c/innocence].  Alvertos: Ne güzel! ne latif isim! Ah keşke Fransız kızların da isimleri Matmazel temizlik [cleanness, purety] matmazel ismet [g/purety, without sin] matmazel istikamet [direction/integrity] ve merhamet [d/mercy] olaydı mesela Matmazel Dangların ismine Evgeniya [e] yerine Matmazel hicap [shame, veiled] denilse idi ne ala olur idi.  […]  Alvertos-Gerçekten *prinkipessa* [f] mı idi?  Kont-Hem memleketin en böyüklerinden.  Alvertos-Nasıl olmuş da cariye [g] olmuş?  Kont-Kader kader-ullah [h/fate, the fate of Allah/God]! dostum cihanda insanın başına her bir şey gelir. |

Byron’s satirical poem *Don Juan* (1819–1824) features a Greek woman called Haydée with whom Juan falls in love despite neither being able to understand each other’s language. Canto III is a long digression from the main story that includes Byron’s views on Greece’s status as a “slave” to the [Ottoman Empire](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire).[[47]](#footnote-48) It is no surprise that Dumas was affected by the Byron’s philhellenism, which were very popular at the time. It is ironic that the daughter of an Ottoman pasha was the slave (*cariye*) of a Frenchman. Byron had visited Ali Pasha in Ioannina and has several letters describing him with admiration.[[48]](#footnote-49) The reference to Byron was likely not eliminated due to his philhellenism but because he was unfamiliar to the Ottoman audience.

We turn now to how Ottoman lyric poetry’s rhetoric is used for expansion. Genette describes as “expansion” a kind of augmentation in texts by stylistic dilation, that is, the doubling or tripling the length of each sentence in the hypotext. The excerpt in Table 2 clearly shows Kasap’s tendency toward expansion, just as the Karamanlidika version does, with both using the rhetoric of Ottoman lyric poetry. This tradition depended on conventional images and tropes using Arabic and Persian compounds, particularly in descriptions. In the excerpt, Kasap describes Mercédès by transforming the metaphors in the ST (“hair as black as jet, her eyes as velvety as the gazelle’s”) into conventional compounds of Ottoman lyric poetry such as *mahbube-i dilara* (“beloved”) and *nergis mestanı/mestan-ı nergis* (“intoxicating eyes”). Not only does Kasap use conventional compounds but also makes use of lofty Ottoman Turkish style, something which expands the sentences while slightly changing the ST meanings (See Tables 2 and 5). Genette makes a distinction between amplification by figures — that is, introducing figures of speech into a repetitively literal text — and amplification by circumstances,” that is, “singling out details that had been merely mentioned or implied in a supposedly concise or laconic text, and working them out through descriptions, animations etc.”[[49]](#footnote-50) Kasap’s translation practice exemplifies amplification by “figures.” He does not foreground any kind of trivial detail in the ST but rewrites the sentences in a language that would appeal to the Ottoman audience. This is not always the case in the Karamanlidika text. For example, in the same paragraph where Mercédès is described, Kasap uses the word *ittika* (“leaning”), whereas in the Karamanlidika, the plain, colloquial Turkish word *dayanmak* (“to lean”) is used instead. Kasap also changes the flower name “heather” into *ıtır* (“rose geranium”), whereas it becomes just *çiçek*(“flower”) in the Karamanlidika version.

Kasap largely does not modify the unfamiliar or add numerous footnotes, even though the plot is based on contemporary historical events. Chapter 6, “*Le subtitut du procureur du roi*” is a good example to drawn on in this regard, as it is built upon political conversations between Bonapartists and Royalists with many references to historical figures, such as Robespierre. Kasap translates the conversations almost word for word, rarely omitting proper names, though deleting one phrase which would undoubtedly create censorship’s problems: “*Napoléon est le Mahomet de l’Occident*” (“Napoleon is the Mahomet of the West”).

Rather than modifying the unfamiliar details or summarising those he found trivial or irrelevant for his readers, he sometimes simply omits them. For example, particular cultural details and descriptions are eliminated from Volume 2, Chapter 15 describing the carnival in Rome.[[50]](#footnote-51) The carnival takes place when Albert de Morcerf, the son of Fernand Mondego and Mercédès, and his friend, Franz, visit Rome. After the first paragraph, around two pages are entirely omitted from the translation because they include a detailed description of the “the last and most tumultuous day of the Carnival.” The scene is described in the ST as “*un orage humain composé d'un tonnerre de cris*” (“a human storm made up of a thunder of cries”) with three hundred thousand spectators, fireworks, carriages, and many other details. The translator eliminates the descriptions of the carnival, the details of the costumes, the statements of the intrusive narrator, and the races of the carriages in the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza di Venezia. He only retains some details about the game of *moccoletti*, in which people rush to extinguish each other’s candles until the bell rings proclaiming the end of the carnival. Another interesting point about this passage is that the name of a Catholic church, San Giacomo, changes into an Orthodox one, Agios Iakovos, systematically repeated throughout the novel.

It is furthermore interesting that the traces of the intrusive narrator in Dumas’s text are mostly removed, as can be seen in the excerpt in Table 4.

**Table 4**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Source Text**  Premier Volume, Chapitre 3, “Les Catalans”. | **Kasap’s Text**  Cild-i evvel (First Volume), Üçüncü Bab (Third Chapter), “Katalan Karyesi”, 9. | **Karamanlidika Text**  Cild-i Evvel (First Volume), Üçüncü Bab (Third Chapter), “Katalan Karyesi”, 27. |
| Il faut que **nos lecteurs** **[absent]** nous suivent à travers l’unique rue de ce petit village, et entrent avec nous dans une de ces maisons auxquelles le soleil a donné, au dehors, cette belle couleur feuille morte particulière aux monuments du pays, et, au dedans, une couche de badigeon, cette teinte blanche qui forme le seul ornement des posadas espagnoles. | Katalan karyesinin yalnız bir sokağı olub bunın iki tarafında bulunan hanelerin güneşden sararub kurı yaprak rengine girmiş olan harici dıvarları karyenin manzarasına başka bir letafet virir. Ve beyaz badana olunmış içerüleri dahi İspanyaluların tezyinat-ı beytiyesinden nümune gösterir idi. | Katalan karyesinin yalınız bir sokağı olub bunın iki tarafında bulunan hanelerin güneşden sararup kuru yaprak renkine girmiş olan harici tıvarları karyenin manzarasına başka bir letafet verir ve beyaz padana olunmış içerüleri dahi İspanyalulerin tezyinat-ı beytiyesinden numune gösterir idi. |

The phrase “*nos lecteurs*” (“our readers”) appears several times in *Monte-Cristo*, but Kasap never translates it, replacing the narrator with a heterodiegetic narrative. Nineteenth-century Ottoman readers were very familiar with the intrusive narrator from *Tanzimat* narratives and writers frequently had the narrator[[51]](#footnote-52) address the reader as “reader,” “you,” “my friend,” or as part of “we/us” when asking the reader ostensible or rhetorical questions.[[52]](#footnote-54) The function of reference to the narratee in a text mediates between the narrator and the reader, emphasises the moral of the story, helps to develop the plot, and characterises the narrator.[[53]](#footnote-55) This was also the kind of narrator preferred in Karamanlidika novels and short stories, which we observe quite often in Misailidis’ texts and Gavriilidis’ rewritings of Ahmet Mithat.[[54]](#footnote-56) It is not clear why Kasap abandons the idea of a talkative narrator and chooses a heterodiegetic one instead.

In order to make clear which character is speaking, Kasap also includes characters’ names each time they speak, as does the Karamanlidika text. Kasap also adds the characters’ actions in parentheses, such as “Danglar (*Kadros’un elinden tutarak*)” (“Danglar (holding onto Kadros’ arms).” Another example is “*Morel* (*başını sallayarak*)” (“Morel (nodding his head”). He perhaps did so to help readers visualise the scene while providing a cue as to who is talking to whom so that readers are not confused by a text full of characters and dialogue.

***Monte Hristo*: Following in the Footsteps of Teodor Kasap**

The aforementioned features of Kasap’s translation indicate that *Monte Hristo* is a near faithful transliteration of Kasap’s translation. The publishers and/or unknown translator(s) of the text made use of Kasap’s text and transliterated the Turkish from Arabic to Greek script. Besides following Kasap’s translation practices, such as the elimination of proper names and classical allusions, they omitted culturally bound details and the intrusive narrator. What is surprising is that, to a large extent, the Karamanlidika text features the same lofty Ottoman rhetoric as Kasap’s, thus in many instances including the same compounds composed of Arabic and Persian originated words. This can be seen in the excerpt describing Fernand Mondego in Table 5. Kasap expands the passage by utilising compounds such as “*istihsal-i mesaiye*” and “*izhar-ı mafizzamir,*”though rewritten differently in the Karamanlidika text, with, for instance, “*izhar-ı mafizzamir*”written as“*izhar-ı mafi* *el-zamir*.”

**Table 5:**

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **Source Text**  Premier Volume, Chapitre 3, “Les Catalans” | **Kasap’s Text**  Cild-i Evvel (First Volume), Üçüncü Bab (Third Chapter), “Katalan Karyesi”, 9 | **Karamanlidika Text**  Cild-i Evvel (First Volume), Üçüncü Bab (Third Chapter), “Katalan Karyesi”, 28 |
| À trois pas d’elle [a], assis sur une chaise qu’il balançait d’un mouvement saccadé, appuyant son coude à un vieux meuble vermoulu [b], un grand garçon de vingt à vingt-deux ans la regardait d’un air où se combattaient l’inquiétude et le dépit [c]; ses yeux interrogeaient [d], mais le regard ferme et fixe de la jeune fille dominait [e] son interlocuteur. | Anden birkaç adım [a] ötede bir iskemleye oturup dirseklerini eski bir masa [b] üzerine dayamış kalbini bihuzur eden öpke [öfke] ve kedere [c] mukavemete çalışur, gözleri gönlünün arzusından eser istifsariyçün istihsal-i mesayie [d] ve muhatabesi ise dik dik bakışlar ile kendüsine izhar-ı mafizzamiri yesağa [e] oğraşır yigirmi yigirmi iki yaşında uzunca boylu Fernan isminde bir delikanlı ile şu vechile söyleşiyorlardı.” | Anden bir kac adım [a] ötede bir iskemleye odurup dirseklerinin [*sic*] eski bir masa [b] üzerine tayamış kalpini bihuzur eden elem ve kedere [c] mukavemete çalışur, gözleri gönlünün arzusından eser istifsarı içün istihsal-i mesaiye [d], ve muhatipesi ise dik, dik bakışlar ile kendusine izhar-ı mafi el-zamir yesaye [e] oğraşur yigirmi yigirmi iki yaşında uzunca boylu Fernan isminde bir delikanlı ile şu vechile konuşuyorlar idi. |

Strauss points out that “despite the efforts by certain writers [Christian Turcophones] to make use of the devices of the lofty style of Ottoman Turkish (*izafet, atf-ı tefsir* etc.) these imitations hardly ever worked well.” He explains this as due to

…the lack of formal training among the Turcophone Christians in the two cultural languages of the Muslims, Arabic and Persian. A correct use of Arabic and Persian grammatical constructions (*terkip*) requires a sound knowledge of the rudiments of both of these languages. Otherwise, shortcomings are inevitable. Even in texts which were simply transliterated from Ottoman Turkish, one encounters errors, mistakes of vocalization, etc.”[[55]](#footnote-57)

Strauss’s point turns out to be true for *Monte Hristo*, as Table 5 indicates.

Similar examples can be adduced from the text showing that such a language and style was not actually the ideal for Karamanlidika literary productions. The issue of language[[56]](#footnote-58) was a hot topic in late-nineteenth-century Karamanlidika literature and media, with the constant demand from readers for clear and simple Turkish. Though there were different approaches to language articulated in various newspapers and periodicals in Karamanlidika like *Terakki, Aktis, Anatol Ahteri*,and *Areti*, literary texts were mostly written in quite simple and ordinary Turkish and mostly without Ottoman compounds.

The politics of Karamanlidika literary language was very much affected by the sociological character of its readers. In the foreword to *Yeniçeriler*, Gavriilidis writes about the difficulty of narratingthe story because the rhetoric of Ahmet Mithat is replete with verbiage that Anatolians would barely understand, even though the author is renowned for using simple Turkish. He declared that he wrote without rhetorical flourishes in simple Turkish so that everybody could understand it, though not in the vulgar Turkish of the Anatolians.[[57]](#footnote-59)

Turning back to the language issue in *Monte Hristo*, Arabic and Persian words are replaced by Turkish ones in Karamanlidika texts, as can be seen from the excerpts in Table 2 and on many other occasions in the novel.[[58]](#footnote-60) However, this was far from systematically done. Some expressions are not replaced with much simpler Turkish ones[[59]](#footnote-61) and the complex compounds are sometimes preserved, as in Kasap’s translation (see Table 5). Whether it is systematic or not, this effort to simplify as a translation practice diverges slightly from Kasap’s. Albachten offers the concept of intralingual translation in this regard, which is a translation between different scripts of the same language that exceeds the act of transcription, as in the case of Karamanlidika. Albachten asserts that “Jakobson’s notion of ‘rewording’ (1959) will be inadequate to describe these transnational activities, as they exceed seeking linguistic equivalence alone.”[[60]](#footnote-62) It is inadequate too because contexts and “the factors that influence or create the demand for intralingual translations, and (micro) strategies” must be taken into account. Albachten cites Gavriilidis’s *Yeniçeriler* as an example and deems his translating, writing, summarising and so on parts of text production in Turkish written with different scripts. The boundaries between these are not always clear.[[61]](#footnote-63) Gavriilidis uses various rewriting strategies, but several “rewordings” expose the language issue in the necessity of simpification based on the social position and education of Turcophone Orthodox Christians.

**Conclusion**

As this article shows, *Monte Hristo* has several features that distinguish it from better-known Karamanlidika literary works. The most significant aspect of this is that the ST a Turkish text in Arabic script: Teodor Kasap’s *Monte Kristo*. As Strauss emphasises, the participation of Turcophone Christians in the literary movement of the Ottoman Turks was rather limited. Turkish-speaking Christians did not use Arabic script, though this does not mean that they were unable to read it. The number of people who produced works in Arabic script as well as in Karamanlidika is very small, exceptions being Kostaki Bey Vajannis, Nikolaos Soulidis, and Teodor Kasap.[[62]](#footnote-64) Though the identity of the translator(s) of *Monte Hristo* into Karamanlidika remains a mystery, it is clear that, with the exception of transliterating compounds, they could read Arabic script, which adds new names to the likely picture described by Strauss and increases the possibility that other translations that might have been based on novels published in Arabic script.

Kasap’s text also affected the ornate language used in Karamanlidika edition, a marked departure from the general tendency of the literary productions in Karamanlidika to use a plain, vernacular Turkish. *Monte Hristo* is also different in not being serialised before being published as a book. *Monte Hristo* also provides significant insights for understanding the circulation and production mechanisms for novels in the Turcophone Orthodox community, with its conventional paratexts such as the copyright notice, the dedication page, and the subscriber’s list. Furthermore, various practices of text production in nineteenth-century Ottoman fiction, such as transliteration and intralingual translation, become apparent in the text. More research needs to be done in the field and each “translated” literary work to be studied both in itself and as an element in a web of interactions.[[63]](#footnote-65)

1. Anatolian Orthodox Christians named this language “*Rumca hurufat ile lisan-ı Türkî*” and “*Rumiu’l-huruf, Türkîü’l-ibare*”, both meaning “Turkish in Greek script.” For a critical analysis of the terminology used for Turkish in Greek script, see Matthias Kappler, “Transcription Text, Regraphization, Variety? Reflections on Karamanlidika”, in *Spoken Ottoman in Mediator Texts,* ed. Éva Á. Csató, Astrid Menz, and Fikret Turan (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2016), 119-28. The term “Karamanlidika” is used for Turkish in Greek script and “Armeno-Turkish” for Turkish in Armenian script in this article. “Ottoman-Turkish” and “Turkish in Arabic script” are used interchangeably. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Johann Strauss, “Who Read What in the Ottoman Empire (19th–20th centuries)?” *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6:1 (2003), 39–76; Olga Borovaya, “The Serialized Novel as Rewriting: The Case of Ladino Belles Lettres”, *Jewish Social Studies* 10: 1 (2003), 30–68; Laurent Mignon, “Lost in Transliteration. A Few Remarks on the Armeno-Turkish Novel and Turkish Literary Historiography”, in *Between Religion and Language Turkish Speaking Christians, Jews and Greek Speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (Istanbul: Eren Yayınları, 2011); Murat Cankara, “Ermeni Harfleriyle İlk Türkçe Romanlar Üzerine”, in *Tanzimat ve Edebiyat: Osmanlı İstanbulu’nda Edebi Modernleşme,* ed. Mehmet Fatih Uslu and Fatih Altuğ(Istanbul: İş Bankası Kültür Yayınları, 2014), 115-37. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. It is problematic to use the term “*Karamanli*” for this community since it is used by the Greek elites in a pejorative sense. Thus, the term “Turcophone Orthodox Anatolians/Christians” will be used instead. See, Foti and Stefo Benlisoy, “Reading the Identity of Karamanli Through the Pages of Anatoli”, in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books – Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia 11th–13th September 2008),* ed.Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 93–108. The community itself used the appellations such as “*Anadolulu Hristiyan karındaşlarımız*” (“our Anatolian Christian brethren”), “*Anadolu Hristiyanları*” (“Eastern Christians”), “*Anadolu[lu] Ortodoks Hristiyanlar*” (“Anatolian Orthodox Christians”). See Evangelia Balta, “Gerci Rum Isek de Rumca Bilmez Türkçe Söyleriz: The Adventure of an Identity of the Triptych: Vatan, Religion and Language”, *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* 8 (2003), 25-44. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. *Anatoli* was, in a way, the Enlightenment project of Evangelinos Misailidis, a leading figure and key figure in Karamanlidika not only publishing newspapers and owning a printing house which published numerous books in various genres, and also published his own novel, *Temaşa-i Dünya and Cefakâr ü Cefakeş*, one of the first nineteenth century Turkish novels. See Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “The *Anatoli* Newspaper and the Heyday of the Karamanli Press”, in *Cries and Whispers,* 109–23. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th ed.), Cambridge University Press, XIII/223. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. Bülent Berkol, “133 Yıl Önce Yunan Harfleri ile Türkçe (Karamanlıca) bir Robinson Crusoe Çevirisi”, *Sosyoloji Konferansları* 25 (1986), 135–58. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. Günil Özlem Ayaydın Cebe, “To Translate or Not to Translate? 19th Century Ottoman Communities and Fiction”, *WI* 56 (2016), 187–222, 197. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. Ahmet Lûtfi, *Hikâye-i Robenson* (İstanbul: Takvimhane-i Âmire, 1864). See Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman* (Istanbul: İletişim Yayınları, 1985), 160–67. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “Karamanlidika Literary Production at the End of 19th Century as Reflected in the Pages of *Anatoli*”, in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta (İstanbul: The Isis Press, Istanbul), 429-447. [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. Ayaydın Cebe, “To Translate or Not to Translate”, 195. [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. Ibid., 217. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. Strauss, “Who Read What?” 53–60. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. Johann Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature part of a ‘Christian-Turkish (Turco-Christian) Literature’?” in *Cries and Whispers*, 153–200, 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature”, 183. [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. Aude Aylin de Tapia, “De *La Porteuse de Pain* (1884) a *L’Etmekçi Hatun* (1885): Un Roman Populaire Français Chez Les Karamanlis”, in *Cultural Encounters,* 223–56, 229. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. Evangelia Balta, “Novels Published in Karamanlidika”, in *Karamanlidika Legacies,* ed. Evangelia Balta (Istanbul: Isis Press, 2018), 50. Balta cites one particular book in Karamanlidika, *Geceleleri* (1910) (*sic*) by Edward Young which is especially interesting because it indicates the interactions between various languages: From English, it was translated into French and from French into Armeno-Turkish. The Karamanlidika edition was probably based on the Armeno-Turkish translation. See Balta, ibid., 64. It was also serialized in the Karamanlidika periodical *Anatol Ahteri* starting from 8th of January in 1888. The full title of the serial is *Feylosofun Figanleri Yahot Yugkun Geceleri*. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. Balta, “Novels Published in Karamanlidika”, 53–73. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Cemal Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking ‘Translation’ (*terceme*) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition” (PhD Thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2005), 333. It would be interesting to analyse and compare the translation of Kasap with the source text *Monte-Cristo* in terms of Demircioğlu’s terminology of translation practices, but this lies beyond the scope of this article. Though limited, the quotations in the tables give an idea about some of Kasap’s translation practices that are defined by Demircioğlu as a three-term taxonomy in the discourse on translation: *Aynen*, *mealen* and*tevsien*. Demircioğlu states that *tevsien*is considered “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.” Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice”, 188–189. However, as it is discussed throughout the article, Kasap also applies other writing strategies such as eliminating proper names and classical allusions and making use of rhetorical expansions. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. Ayaydın Cebe, “To Translate or Not to Translate?” 195. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. In the article, the Karamanlidika version of *Monte-Cristo* will be cited as *Monte Hristo*, as indicated on the title page: “*Monte Hristo*, *müellifi Fransa meşahir-i şuarasından*” (“from the famous French poet) Alexandros Dumas, *naşirleri* (publishers) Vasileios I. Tökmecoglou and Ippokratis G. Margaritis, V.1, Grafikos Kosmos Matbaası (printing house), Dersaadet 1882; *Monte Hristo*, Alexandros Dumas, naşirleri Vasileios I. Tökmecoglou and Stavros D. Teriakoglou, V.2, Grafikos Kosmos Matbaası, Dersaadet 1882; *Monte Hristo*, Alexandros Dumas, naşirleri Vasileios I. Tökmecoglou and Stavros D. Teriakoglou, V.3, Grafikos Kosmos Matbaası, Dersaadet 1882; *Monte Hristo*, Alexandros Dumas, naşirleri Vasileios I. Tökmecoglou and Stavros D. Teriakoglou, V.4, Ipp. Margaritis Matbaası, Dersaadet 1882; *Monte Hristo*, Alexandros Dumas, *naşirleri* Vasileios I. Tökmecoglou and Stavros D. Teriakoglou, V.5, Ipp. Margaritis Matbaası, Dersaadet 1882; *Monte Hristo*, Alexandros Dumas, naşirleri Vasileios I. Tökmecoglou and Stavros D. Teriakoglou, V.4, Manzume-i Efkâr Matbaası, Dersaadet 1883. Note that Dumas is dubbeds a poet in a direct translation from Kasap’s edition. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. Masayuki Ueno, “One Script, Two Languages: Garabed Panosian and His Armeno-Turkish newspapers in the Nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire”, *MES* 52:4 (2016), 605–22, 610. [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. Günil Özlem Ayaydın Cebe, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumu ve Basılı Türkçe Edebiyat: Etkileşimler, Değişimler, Çeşitlilik” (PhD Thesis, İhsan Doğramacı Bilkent University, 2009). [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. The Greek translation appeared in the first Greek newspaper published in the Ottoman capital, the *Telegraph of the Bosphorus*. This was followed by a printed version: Aleksandrou Douma, *O Komis tou Montehristou*, trans. I. Patroklou, Konstantinoupolei, E. Cayol, 1845-46. I. Patroklos was a director of a Greek school in Pera/Beyoğlu and the translation was published by E. Cayol (1805–1865), a pioneer of printing in Istanbul. See Strauss, “Who Read What?”, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. Fransa Meşahir-i Şuarasından Aleksandr Düma, *Monte Kristo*, Ahmet Mithat Matbaası, 1872, 6 V. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. Teodor Kasap (Theodoros Kasapis, 1835–1897), born in Kayseri, was a prominent figure in the Ottoman media. He was the founder of the famous satirical papers *Diyojen* (published in languages such as French, Turkish, Greek), *Çıngıraklı Tatar* and *Hayâl* (published in French, Turkish and Greek). See Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature”, 189. For a detailed biography and analysis of his theatre plays see Seval Şahin, “Giriş”, in *Teodor Kasap Oyunlar,* ed. Seval Şahin (Istanbul:İstos Yayın, 2019). [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. Ayaydın Cebe, “19. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Toplumu ve Basılı Türkçe Edebiyat”, 369. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. Sıddıka Dilek Yalçın, “19. Yüzyıl Türk Edebiyatında Popüler Roman” (PhD thesis, Hacettepe University, 1998), 187. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Strauss, “Who Read What”, 62. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. “Misailidis in Kasap’s newspapers” is regularly referred to, in a dismissive manner, as the *çorbacı* (village notable), and his paper is called a *bakkal gazetesi* (“greengrocer’s paper”). Panossian, a somewhat ambivalent figure and contested even within the Armenian community, was the first to see his cartoon published in the *Diyojen*, represented with long ears like a donkey.” For details, see Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature”, 189. Nevertheless, Kasap later bequeathed *Hayal* to Misailidis. The Turkish newspaper *Basiret* and its publisher Ali Efendi has also been a target for Kasap, esp. in *Çıngıraklı Tatar*. See Alparslan Oymak, “Osmanlı Mizahında Teodor Kasap (*Diyojen*, *Çıngıraklı Tatar* ve *Hayal* Gazetesi Üzerine Bir İnceleme)” (PhD thesis, Marmara University, 2013), 98–103. [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Diren Çakmak, “Osmanlı Telif Hukuku ile İlgili Mevzuat”, *Selçuk Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 21 (2007), 191–234, 211. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. “O Arhon tou Kosmou” *Meşhur Monte-Hristo Hikâyesinin Zeyli Lord Hop*, müellifi (“author”) Aleksandros Doumas, Sahibi I.M. Pontidis ve Shanidis P. S., Asitane, Dim. ve Ath. Nicolaidi Matbaası, 1884. This novel is also mistakenly attributed to the French author Jules Lermina, who wrote two sequels to *The Count of Monte-Cristo*: *Le Fils de Monte-Cristo* (1881) and *Le Trésor de Monte-Cristo* (1885). However, the true original of *Lord Hop* is Adolf Mützelburg (1831–82)’s *Der Herr der Welt* (1856). The Karamanlidika version might be a translation of the Greek translation published in 1871–74. Another book attributed to Mützelburg was translated by Ahmet Mithat and W. Wiesenthal into Turkish in Arabic script: *Konak yâhut Şeyh Şâmil’in Kafkasya Muhârebâtında Bir Hikâye-i Garîbe* (İstanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası, 1878–1879). Demircioğlu notes that the original of this translation is Adolf Mützelburg’s (1831–1882) historical novel *Der Held von Garika* (1866): See Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice”, 273–274. However, there is another novel, *Der Konak: Eine Episode aus dem Kaukasus: Aus den Papieren eines Amerikaners* published in 1860. There is no indication of the author’s name on the title page and it is not catalogued as Mützelburg’s novel. See Münchener Digitalisierungs Zentrum https://mdz-nbn-resolving.de/details:bsb10125760. However, given the content of the novel and the names of the characters, one can assert that this is Mithat and Wiesenthal’s translation: See Kudret Savaş, “Ahmet Mithat’ın Unutulan Bir Roman Tercümesi: Konak”, *Turkish Studies-Language and Literature* 14:2 (2019), 141–158 (http://dx.doi.org/10.7827/TurkishStudies.14956). [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. “*Ubudiyet-i uhuvvet-kâraneme/ Bir celil-i kavi olmak üzre / işbu asar-ı nacizanemi / vatandaşlarımızdan/ maarif-perver rağbetlü / Vasileios D. Pehlivanoglou / namına tenmik eyledim. B. I. Tökmecoglou*.” [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. The Turkophony of Anatolian Orthodox Christians became considered an anomaly in the second half of the nineteenth century by the Grecophone Greek authorities who considered it ignorant and uncivilised. The Greek language and religion was foundational to the ethno-religious identity of the nation and nineteenth-century Greek diplomatic records on Asia Minor and the reports of the Greek Philological Syllogos of Constantinople attest to this negative perception. See Benlisoy and Benlisoy, “Reading the Identity of Karamanli”. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “The *Anatoli* Newspaper”, 121. [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
35. Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “Osmanlı Tefrika Çalışmalarında Göz Ardı Edilen Bir Kaynak: Karamanlıca *Anatoli* Gazetesi”, *Kebikeç* 44 (2017), 145–87. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)
36. Alexandre Dumas, *Monte Kristo*, translated by Avanzâde Mehmet Süleyman, Matbaa-i Jirayer and Keteon, Dersaadet 1327/1909. [↑](#footnote-ref-37)
37. Misailidis transformed the conclusions of the narratives when rewriting *Temaşa-i Dünya ve Cefakâr u Cefakeş* and *Beyoğlu Sırları*. See Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “*Beyoğlu Sırları*: ‘Esrarlı’ İstanbul Romanlarına Karamanlıca Bir Giriş”, *Edebiyat ve Gündelik Hayat*, ed. Didem Ardalı Büyükarman, Seval Şahin, Tülin Ural, Banu Öztürk (Istanbul: Bağlam Yayınları, 2021), 33–40. [↑](#footnote-ref-38)
38. de Tapia, “De *La Porteuse*,” 238. [↑](#footnote-ref-39)
39. All the excerpts from the source text are taken from Calmann Lévy edition, 1889. Alexander Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo,* Calmann Lévy edition, 1889, https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Le\_Comte\_de\_Monte-Cristo (accessed 3 December 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-40)
40. In transliterating the Karamanlidika text, idiomatic expressions such as *höküm* (for *hüküm*), *aşna* (for *aşina*), *urmak* (for *vurmak*), *böyük* (for *büyük*) and non-standard Ottoman compounds such as “*izhar-ı mafi* *el-zamir*” instead of “*izhar-ı mafizzamir*”were preserved. Accordingly, hyphens for *izafet* were written inconsistently, following the choice of the writer in Karamanlidika. Grammatical cases are written according to the Ottoman orthography such as *-de* and *-da* but not *-te*, *-ta*, for example *secilmekde*, *urmakdan*. The vowel and consonant harmony rules are not applied in transliterating the suffixes in accordance with the Karamanlidika text. [↑](#footnote-ref-41)
41. Emily A, McDermott, “Classical Allusion in *The Count of Monte Cristo*”, *Classics Faculty Publication Series,* Paper 10, 1988, 93, http://scholarworks.umb.edu/classics\_faculty\_pubs/10 (accessed 3 December 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-42)
42. For the significance of Haydée in the novel, see Elena Raicu, “*The Count of Monte Cristo* between 1844 and 2002. Losing Haydée”, II. International Film Studies and Cinematic Arts Conference, 10–11 June 2015, Nâzım Hikmet Cultural Center, Istanbul, 2002. Unpublished paper. [↑](#footnote-ref-43)
43. There is no reference to Haydée in historical resources, but Vasiliki is mentioned in various biographies of Ali Pasha. See Richard Alfred Davenport, *The Life of Ali Pasha of Tepelini* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2002). [↑](#footnote-ref-44)
44. It seems Dumas was very much interested in this controversial figure since he had produced a book about his life before *Monte-Cristo*. From 1839 to 1841, with the assistance of several friends, he compiled *Celebrated Crimes*, an eight-volume collection of essays on famous criminals and crimes from European history including *Ali Pacha* (1841). http://www.gutenberg.org/files/2753/2753-pdf.pdf (accessed 3 December 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-45)
45. There are also other popular stories about the diamond related with Napoleon: “In 1774 a French officer by the name of Pigot purchased a diamond from the Maharajah of Madras and brought it to France. After changing a number of hands, the diamond was put up for sale at auction, in which Napoleon's mother purchased it. For a long time she wore it on her breast. When Napoeon was sent into exile, his aged mother put the diamond up for sale in order to be able save her son.” See Mehmet Önder, “The Spoonmaker’s Diamond”, *Antika; The Turkish Journal of Collectable Art* 1 (April 1985), http://www.ee.bilkent.edu.tr/~history/Ext/Spoondia.html (accessed 3 December 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-46)
46. “*Tepedelenli Ali Paşa’nın vefatının rivayetinde ba’zı mertebe mübalağa ve yanlışlık var ise de mesela Vasiliki’nin satılması, Paşa’nın başını Bab-ı Hümayun’da gördüğü anda düşüp ölmesi ve Hadiye’nin gerek şahsı ve gerek ibtida bir Ermeni’ye satılub andan dahi saraya alındıkdan sonra Monte Cristo’nun yekpare zümrütten oyma bir kutuya satun almış kamilen hayali ise de şair kendi hikâyesine revnak virmek içün tarihin ehemmiyetsiz mahallerini istediği veçhile tebdil iderek yazmış olduğu ihtar olunur*. (*Mütercim*)” (Kasap, volüme 4, 86)/ “There are some exaggerations and mistakes about the narration of the death of Ali Pasha of Janina such as the selling of Vasiliki, her death when she sees the decapitated head. And Hadiye as a character and her being sold first to an Armenian, later to the court and lastly to Monte Cristo in exchange for an emerald box. Notice that these are the imaginations of the poet making some changes in the trivial details of the history in order to adorn his own text.” Dumas is described as a poet in Kasap’s text; in Karamanlidika this is changed into *müellif*(“author”), but remains “poet” on the book cover. (*Karamanlidika*, Volume 5, 947.) [↑](#footnote-ref-47)
47. Lord Byron, *Don Juan: In Sixteen Cantos* (Milner and Sowerby,1837) https://www.gutenberg.org/files/21700/21700-h/21700-h.htm (accessed 3 December 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-48)
48. See Peter Cochran, “Nature’s Gentler Errors: Byron, the Ionian Islands, and Ali Pacha”, *The Byron Journal* 23 (1995), 22–35. [↑](#footnote-ref-49)
49. Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree,* trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997), 260. [↑](#footnote-ref-50)
50. Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo,* Ch. 36 https://fr.wikisource.org/wiki/Le\_Comte\_de\_Monte-Cristo/Chapitre\_36 (accessed 3 December 2021). [↑](#footnote-ref-51)
51. Gerald Prince, *The Form and Functioning of Narrative* (Berlin, New York and Amsterdam: Mouton, 1982), 16. [↑](#footnote-ref-52)
52. Prince, *The Form and Functioning of Narrative*, 1–20. [↑](#footnote-ref-54)
53. Gerald Prince, “Introduction to the Study of the Narratee”, in *Narratology: An Introduction*, ed. Onega Susan and Landa Jose Angel Garcia (New York: Longman, 1999), 190–202. [↑](#footnote-ref-55)
54. Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “The *Yeniçeriler* of Ioannis Gavriilidis: A Palimpsest in Karamanlidika”, *Between Religion and Language*, 245–75. [↑](#footnote-ref-56)
55. Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature”, 191. [↑](#footnote-ref-57)
56. The language issue was mainly discussed in terms of simplification of the language, the formal teaching of Turkish language to the Anatolian Orthodox community, the necessity of knowing Ottoman-Turkish as an official language to enter the state apparatus and the acqusition of Greek by the Anatolians, described sometimes as a national or mother language. See Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “19. Yüzyıl Yunan Harfli Türkçe (Karamanlıca) Gazete ve Süreli Yayınlarda Dil Tartışmaları”, *Hacettepe Üniversitesi Türkiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 31 (2019), 29-56. [↑](#footnote-ref-58)
57. Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “The *Yeniçeriler* of Ioannis Gavriilidis”, 264. [↑](#footnote-ref-59)
58. In the first chapter, “*cihetle*” changed into “*içün*,” “*izâa-i vakit*” into “*vakit gayb eylediği*”, “*müşahede ile*” into “*görerek*” (Kasap, Vol 1, Ch. 3) [↑](#footnote-ref-60)
59. See Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, “The *Yeniçeriler* of Ioannis Gavriilidis” for an analysis of systematic simplification of language. [↑](#footnote-ref-61)
60. Özlem Berk Albachten, “Challenging the Boundaries of Translation and Filling the Gaps in Translation History: Two Cases of Intralingual Translation from the 19th Century Ottoman Literary Scene”, in *Moving Boundaries in Translation Studies*, ed. Helle V. Dam, Karen Korning Zethsen and Matilde Nisbeth Brogger (London and New York: Routledge: 2019), 168–80, 169. [↑](#footnote-ref-62)
61. Albachten, “Challenging the Boundaries”, 176. [↑](#footnote-ref-63)
62. Strauss, “Is Karamanli Literature”, 185–9. [↑](#footnote-ref-64)
63. A preliminary version of this paper was presented at the workshop “Reading *Le Comte de Montecristo* in the Eastern Mediterranean” organized by the Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures and Modern Cultures, in University of Turin in 2018. I want to thank my colleagues, the organizers of the workshop Elisabetta Benigni and Rosita D’Amora; and also Cristina Trinchero, Roberto Merlo, Arif Can Topçuoğlu, Olcay Akyıldız and Mehmet Fatih Uslu for their comments and contributions to this article. I want to thank especially Matthias Kappler who provided me the fifth and sixth volumes of *Monte-Cristo* in Karamanlidika. [↑](#footnote-ref-65)