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**TRANSLATING BOOKS
FROM GREEK INTO TURKISH
FOR THE KARAMANLI ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS
OF ANATOLIA
(1718-1856)**

Abstract

The paper seeks traces of the original works reproduced in Karamanlidika books of the early period (1718-1856) in order to study the cultural transfer to Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. From the beginning of the eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, fewer than two hundred Karamanlidika books were published, equivalent to one-fourth the total Karamanlidika book production. The majority were religious works, and their translators, publishers and sponsors note in the prologues that their publication was aimed at enlightening Christians in Anatolia, who were deprived of the Greek language and so were barely able to understand the doctrines of the Orthodox faith. Most of the translators were clerics from Anatolia, notably Seraphim from Antalya, metropolite of Ankara and later monk in the monastery of Kykkos, and Zacharias, monk in Mount Athos. During this initial, pre-national stage of printing production, under the aegis of the Orthodox Church and subsequent missionary organizations, Karamanlidika transmitted elements of both the Ottoman world and the Orthodox faith to its readership. In contrast, the few secular books that began to be published in the early nineteenth century conveyed the cultural production of Europe and served as a bridge between the Ottoman world and Greek education.

Recent years have seen an increase in publications on translation practice in the Ottoman Empire. Although some late nineteenth-century doctoral theses focused on translated western works that were released as books or serialized in newspapers and

journals,¹ almost all these studies were primarily concerned with the dominant Muslim *millet* and dealt with translations into the Turkish language that were printed in the Arabic alphabet. The current steady increase, by contrast, involves studies examining Turkish translations published for the Turkish-speaking peoples in the non-Muslim millets of the empire. These Turkish editions were printed in the alphabet used in the sacred books of each community: Greek characters for the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Rums, Armenian characters for the Protestant Armenians; and the Jewish alphabet for the Turcophone Jews. *Karamanli* or *Karamanlidika* books are those written in the Turkish language with Greek characters. The term was first used by M.R. Dawkins, with reference to the Turcophone Orthodox Christian reading public, to whom these printed works were addressed, the *Karamanlis* / *Karamanlidhes*, who identified themselves as Rum Anatolians.

As the title indicates, my focus is on the *Karamanlidika* publications in the Turkish language printed in Greek characters for the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians in the Ottoman Empire. Produced from the early eighteenth century until the Exchange of Populations between Turkey and Greece in 1923, the vast majority

* A preliminary version of this article was presented at the workshop “Migrating Texts: Circulating Translations in the Late 19th-century Middle East/Eastern Mediterranean,” University of Edinburgh, 15-16 December 2015.

¹ For example, Turgut A. Kut, “Ermeni Harfli Türkçe Telif ve Tercüme Konuları: Victor Hugo’nun Mağdûrin Hikâyesinin Kısaltmış Nüshası,” *Beşinci Milletlerarası Türkoloji Kongresi*, İstanbul, 23-28 Ekim 1985, Tebliğler, Cilt I, (İstanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1985), pp. 195-214; Saliha Parker, *Translations: (Re)shaping of Literature and Culture* (İstanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002); Sevda Ayluçtarhan, “Dr. Abdullah Cevdet’s Translations (1908-1910): The Making of a Westernist and Materialist ‘Culture Repertoire’ in a ‘Resistant’ Ottoman Context” (master’s thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2007); Hülya Yıldız, “Literature as Public Sphere: Gender and Sexuality in Ottoman Turkish Novels and Journals” (PhD diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2008); Cemal Demircioğlu, “Translating Europe: The Case of Ahmed Midhat as an Ottoman Agent of Translation,” in *Agents of Translation*, ed. John Milton and Paul Bandia, Benjamins Translation Library, no. 81, 2009, pp. 131-159; A. Selin Erkul Yağcı, “Osmanlı-Türk Dizgesinde Popüler Romanın Doğuşu: II. Abdülhamid ve Roman Çevirileri,” *Çeviri: Araştırma, İnceleme, Eleştiri* prepared by Gülperi Sert (İzmir: Dokuz Eylül Yayınları, 2009), pp. 120-138; Arzu Meral, “Western Ideas Percolating into Ottoman Minds: A Survey of Translation Activity and the Famous Case of Têlémaque” (PhD diss., Leiden University, 2010); eadem, “A Survey of Translation Activity in the Ottoman Empire,” *Osmanlı Araştırmaları/The Journal of Ottoman Studies* 42 (2013), pp. 105-155; Evangelia Balta, “Karamanlidika and Armeno-Turkish Editions of Sunday School Lessons,” in eadem, *Miscellaneous Studies on the Karamanlidika Literary Tradition*, Analecta Isiana 126 (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2013), pp. 171-199; Işın Taylan, “Reading and Translating Gustave Le Bon in the Late Ottoman Empire: The Translations of Abdullah Cevdet and Mehmed Fuat” (master’s thesis, Central European University, 2013); Alexandra Sfoini, “Turcophonie, orthodoxie et langue grecque,” in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta with the contribution of Mehmet Ölmez (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2014), pp. 155-176; Aude Aylin de Tapia, “De La Porteuse de Pain (1884) à l’Etmekçi Hatun (1885). Un roman populaire français chez les Karamanlis,” *ibid.* pp. 223-256.

of these books are translations of works from various languages, allowing us to monitor the process of a cultural transfer over two centuries of book production, the objectives behind it and its reception through the vehicle of language. Because the verb *translate* in this paper is used in both the active and the passive voice, this study approaches a range of topics related to Karamanlidika culture at large and looks at instances where Turkish-speaking Orthodox Anatolians were either agents or objects of translational practices.² I have divided the two centuries during which this complex phenomenon unfolded into two subperiods separated by the Tanzimat, which radically changed the landscape of the Ottoman Empire with its promises of a community of “civilized nations,” “progress” and the “lights of civilization.”

The privileges and liberties granted to non-Muslim subjects of the empire after 1856 also radically changed Karamanlidika book production. Just as the general trend in Ottoman–Turkish literature was toward adaptations and translations, and, according to A. Selin Erkul Yağcı, 46 percent of the novels published between 1840 and 1940 consisted of translated titles,³ in Karamanlidika publishing, production ceased to be monopolized by religious books, and the growing number of secular books ranged from educational works to European novels. Approximately, three-quarters of the entire Karamanlidika book production dates from the years following the Tanzimat to just after the Population Exchange. Nevertheless, although the earlier subperiod (1718-1856) accounted for fewer than two hundred published works, it provides a crucial foundation for understanding the cultural transfer to Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians that burgeoned after 1856 and, as such, is the subject of this study.

Translation of Religious Books

The first text printed in the Turkish language with Greek characters was the *Omologia pisteōs tou sofōtatou G. Scholariou* [Ὁμολογία πίστεως του σοφωτάτου Γ. Σχολαρίου—Confession of Gennadius Scholarios], included in Martinus Crusius’ book *Turcograecia* (1584). By no coincidence, the same *Omologia* was also included in the first Karamanlidika book published in 1718 under the title *Apanthisma tēs Christianikēs pisteōs* [Ἀπάνθισμα της χριστιανικῆς πίστεως—Gülzâr-ı îman-ı Mesihî—Anthology of the Christian faith], a work by Neophytos Mavrommatis, Metropolitan of Nafpaktos and Arta (1656-1740).⁴ Neophytos

² Ioanna Petropoulou, “From West to East: The Translation Bridge, An Approach from a Western Perspective,” in *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850-1950*, ed. Anna Frangoudaki and Çağlar Keyder, (London-New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), pp. 91-112.

³ Günül Özlem Cebe, “To Translate or not to Translate? 19th Century Ottoman Communities and Fiction,” *Die Welt des Islams* 56/2 (2016), pp. 187-222 and Ahu Selin Erkul Yağcı, “Turkey’s Reading (R)evolution: A Study on Books, Readers and Translation (1840-1940),” (PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2011).

⁴ Georges Ladas, “O Mēropolitēs Naufpaktou kai Artēs Neophytos Mavrommatēs kai ē symvolē autou eis tēn diasosin tēs thrēskeias kai tou ethikismou ton Ellēnon tēs Mikras Asias” [The Metropolitan of Nafpaktos and Arta Neophytos Mavrommatis and his contribution

dedicated it to the metropolitan of Iconium and exarch of Lycaonia (Karamania) Cyril and remarked that because in Anatolia the Greek language had been lost, the Orthodox Christians there were cut off from the Orthodox faith which should have been strengthened.⁵ One more edition of the same anthology, published by the early nineteenth century (1803),⁶ included Greek-Turkish vocabulary and dialogues, indicating that Karamanlidika books initially aimed at teaching Greek to the Turkish-speaking Orthodox Anatolians. Indeed, from the outset, many publications from the early period of Karamanlidika book production had text in both Turkish and Greek, the Greek appearing first.⁷

The first Karamanlidika publications were translations of Greek religious books published by the Venetian printing houses (Bortoli, Glykis, Theodosiou) that from the seventeenth century onward produced Greek ecclesiastical books also used as school textbooks.⁸ The majority of these were widely circulated admonitory texts accessible to common folk, liturgical books, catechisms, proskynetaria, hymns to the Virgin Mary, lives of saints—in general, moralizing books that aimed at the salvation of the Christian's soul. *Iptila Kelami* (1753) translated a book by Athanasios Varouchas (1631-1703), *Logoi psychōfeleis eis to sotōrion pathos* (Uplifting addresses on the redeeming passion); *Cümle senenin Kyriakilerine cevap ve nasa(h)atlar* (1756) [Exhortations on the Passion for all the Sundays of the year] and *Hacetname kitabı* (1756) correspond to work by Agapios Landos (? – 1664/1667), *Kyriakodromio* and *Amartōlōn Sōteria* (Salvation of the sinful), respectively, printed in Greek in Venice (1641), followed by 23 reissues by 1798. Seraphim of Antalya translated most of these religious books as well as excerpts from the Gospels (in a bilingual edition), the Psalter, *Neos Paradeisos* (New paradise) by Ioannis Theologos, and *Thesaurus* by Damaskinos Stouditis.⁹ In the

to saving the religion and ethnism of the Greeks in Asia Minor], *O Syllektēs* 2 (1947), pp. 33-44.

⁵ Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, vol. 1 (1584-1850), (Athènes : Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure–Archives Musicales de Folklore dirigés par Melpo Merlier, 1958), no. 2.

⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 32.

⁷ Indicatively I note the Karamanlidika books *Koutlouserrif* (1758), *Didaskalia hristianikē* (1768), *Aristotelous Physiognōmonika* (1819).

⁸ Georgios Ploumidis, *To Venetiko typographeion tou Dē mē triou kai tou Panou Theodosiou, 1755-1824* [The Venetian printing house of Demetrios and Panos Theodosiou, 1755-1824] (Athens, 1969) and Georges Veloudis, *To hellēniko typografeio tōn Glykidōn stē Venetia (1670-1854). Symvolē stē meletē tou hellēnikou vivliou kata tēn epochē tēs Tourkokratias* [The Greek printing house of the Glykys family in Venice (1670-1854): Contribution to the study of Greek books during the time of Turkish rule] (Athens: Ch. Bouras, 1987).

⁹ Danieloglou Daniēl, *Prodromoi tēs anagennēsōs tōn grammatōn en tē Anatolē <kyriōs Mikra Asia>. Serapheim, metropolitēs Agkyras, Attaleus* [Precursors of the renaissance of letters in Anatolia “Asia Minor proper”: Serapheim, Metropolitan of Ankara, Antalya] (Constantinople, 1865); Pinelopi Stathi, “Ta graikotourkika vivlia kai o Serapheim o Attaleiatēs” [The Turco-Greek books and Seraphim of Antalya] in *To hellēniko vivlio, 15os-*

second half of the eighteenth century, the first Greek printing house appeared at Fener in İstanbul, and the Psalter (1764) was printed there with the permission of the patriarch Samuel Chatzeres.¹⁰

From the end of the eighteenth century onward, İstanbul became the leading publisher of Karamanlidika books and the site of the Patriarchal printing house.¹¹ Between 1718 and 1839 about a dozen titles were released and, table 1 indicates, had been reprinted several times by the first two decades of the nineteenth century, when the publications of Protestant missionaries entered the world of Karamanlidika books.

TABLE 1. Karamanlidika books printed, 1718-1839

Titles	Date of editions
<i>İptila kelami</i>	1753, 1806, 1807
<i>Apanthisma tēs christianikēs pisteōs</i>	1718, 1743, 1803
<i>Neos Thesaurus</i>	1746, 1756, 1795, 1796, 1804
<i>Kolay iman</i>	1753, 1806
<i>Cümle senenin</i>	1756, 1795, 1805
<i>Hacetname kitabı</i>	1756, 1802, 1809, 1832, 1839
<i>Ruh afiyetliği</i>	1776, 1782, 1794, 1806,
<i>Pahari heyat</i>	1783, 1806,
<i>Simavi bahçe</i>	1783, 1806
<i>Proskynitarion tēs Ierousalēm</i>	1758, 1780
<i>Psaltērion</i>	1764, 1767, 1782, 1810
<i>Nakliyet</i>	1776

Translators and often publishers and sponsors of books noted in their prologues that Christians in Anatolia, deprived of the Greek language, could barely understand the doctrines of the Orthodox faith. “As they have forgotten the Greek language, they do not understand the liturgy and so stray from the path of God.”¹² In the early eighteenth century Alexandros Helladios stated that the Turkish- and Arabic-speaking Christians of Caesarea, Ankara and Aleppo were grateful to the English for

19os aiōnas [The Greek printed Book, 15th-19th Centuries], Proceedings of the Congress, Delphi, 16-20 May 2001, (Athens, 2004), pp. 329-339.

¹⁰ Xavier Luffin, “Une version karamanli de l’épopée de Koroglu: mise en perspective culturelle,” *Archivum Ottomanicum* 16 (1998), p. 19.

¹¹ Evangelia Balta, “Périodisation et typologie de la production des livres Karamanli,” *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikōn Spoudōn* 12 (1997-1998), pp. 142-143.

¹² *Didaskalia Christianikē tēs Orthodoxou ēmon pisteōs* (1768).

the translations of the Gospel into their languages.¹³ That the need of the Turcophone Christian congregation for translated religious books continued was observed by a late nineteenth-century scholar:

In these areas and in all of Caesarea, the dominant language is that of the state, but Mass and all other holy rites are performed in Greek. [The result is that] neither the cantors nor the priest, nor even (and much less so) the common people are able to understand [the proceedings]. The people, at any given moment during the ritual, pronounce sometimes out of synch, sometimes in a timely manner, words such as *Lord Have Mercy*, *Gran* (in other words, *Grant It, oh Lord*), and most often *Amen*. And because the totality of the common people and the priests do not comprehend a single thing, therefore by necessity they have translated into their familiar language a manuscript Gospel on parchment, the Apostolic texts, the marriage prayers, and in general all those texts that are absolutely necessary (with the exception of the liturgy), so that the common people can listen [to the proceedings] in a language that they comprehend.”¹⁴

After the liturgical illiteracy of the Turcophone priests had become legendary, Manuel Gedeon reported:

People talked about the following story: A cabbage seller was ordained into the priesthood. The first time he ventured to pronounce the peace offering to the believers, instead of saying *Eirini pasi* (Peace to all), he said the Turkish words *yirindir pırasa* (oh leeks).¹⁵

As the translators strove to teach the dogmas and religious requirements of the Orthodox Church to the Christians of Asia Minor, their prologues frequently referred to the difficulty of translating the terminology of Christian doctrines into Turkish,¹⁶ and Johann Strauss has devoted an outstanding study to the terms

¹³ Alexandros Helladios, *Status praesens ecclesiae graecae*, 1714, p. 289 from a reference by Jean Deny, “A propos des traductions en turc osmanli des textes religieux chrétiens,” *Die Welt des Islams*, new series 4/1 (1955), p. 35. For Helladios, see Alexis Politis, “Alexandros Helladios: He Hellēnikē logiosynē stē diaspora, ligo meta to 1700,” [Alenadros Helladios: The Greek intelligentsia in the diaspora, just after 1700], *Apotypō mata tou hronou. Historica dokimia gia mia mē theoretikē theō ria* (Athens: Polis, 2006), pp. 109-131.

¹⁴ Savvas Zervoudakis, “Ta ēthē kai ta ethima, to epagkelma, ē endymasia tōn en apokentrois Kaisareias Kappadokias oikountōn Orthodoxōn christianōn” [The habits and customs, profession, and clothing of those Orthodox Christians that live in remote areas of Cappadocian Caesareia], *Xenofanis* 1 (1896), p. 380.

¹⁵ Manuel Gedeon, *Historia tōn tou Hristou penēton, 1453-1913* [History of the poor in Christ, 1453-1913] (Athens, 1939), p. 251.

¹⁶ See for example the preface of the *Cümle senenin* (1756).

Karamanlidika books adopted to convey the vocabulary of the sacred texts of the Orthodox church.¹⁷

Before the Tanzimat the majority of the translators, publishers and sponsors were clerics from Anatolia, most prominently Seraphim from Antalya, metropolitane of Ankara and later monk in the monastery of Kykkos, and Zacharias, monk in Mount Athos. While they discussed their prologues the difficulties of translating sacred texts into Turkish, the canon at the metropolis of Caesarea, Ignatius Sarafoglou,¹⁸ was among those concerned with transliterating the Turkish language into Greek characters and was the first to use the letter s with a dot to render the ş (sh). Many others tried over the years to invent ways to transliterate Turkish phonemes, but the most successful were the missionaries of the British and Foreign Bible Society, who introduced their method in 1826 in their Karamanlidika publications.¹⁹

At some point, Orthodox works translated in the eighteenth century from Modern Greek into Turkish had been infiltrated by works from other dogmas that had already been released in Greek. One of the latter, for instance, was *Amartōlōn Sōtēria* (Salvation of the sinful) by Agapios Landos, which contains loanwords from western works and is largely a translation of *Dialogus miraculorum* by the Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (ca. 1180–ca. 1240). In 1818, the Patriarchate approved a published translation by Father Abraham from Endurluk of Kayseri of the book *Thyra tēs metanoiās* (The pate of penitence), which was based on the book by the English Jesuit William Stanihurst, *Veteris hominis per expensa quator novissima metamorphosis et novis genesis* (1661). The Karamanli book *Thyra tēs metanoiās*, a translation of a Greek version first released in 1795, deals with the fear of death and posthumous punishment, which was a frequent topic of Jesuit literature.²⁰

In 1812, assisted by Arsenios of Talas, Zacharias Agioreitēs translated *Ieron Apanthisma* (Holy anthology) with excerpts from the Old and New Testaments. It was an illustrated anthology of the Bible with questions and answers, which the

¹⁷ Johann Strauss, “Le lexique technique du christianisme en karamanli: remarques préliminaires,” in *Cultural Encounters in the Turkish-Speaking Communities of the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Evangelia Balta with the contribution of Mehmet Ölmez (İstanbul: The Isis Press, 2014), pp. 177-221; Xavier Luffin, “Une version karamanli de l’épopée de Koroğlu,” *op. cit.*, p. 26 and idem, “Religious Vocabulary in Karamanlidika Texts: The Case of the *Cebel-i Sinanin Medhnamesi* (1784),” in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books*, Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia, 11th-13th September 2008), ed. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), pp. 281-288.

¹⁸ *Risale-i Şerif* (1784).

¹⁹ Xavier Luffin, “Une version karamanli de l’épopée de Koroğlu,” *op.cit.*, p. 13; Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *op.cit.*, no 64.

²⁰ Alexandra Sfoini, *Xenoi syggrafeis metafrasmēnoi hellēnika, 15os-17os aionas. Historikē proseggisē tou hellēnikou metafrasitikou fainomenou* [Écrivains grecs traduits en grec 15e-17e siècles: Approche historique du phénomène de traduction en grec] (Athens, 2003), pp. 89-95, 102-107.

Greek edition (Leipzig, 1775) claimed had already been translated from German into Latin, French, Italian, English, Russian and Polish. That Greek translation was done by Polychronios Dimitriou from the German original compiled by teacher Johann Hübner, who intended it to be used in schools. The illustrations from Hübner's book were preserved in the Karamanlidika translation.

In translating Greek works, Karamanlidika publications also joined in the traditional conflict between the Orthodox Church and the Jews.²¹ In 1800, Father Chrysafis from Kayseri, under the supervision of Seraphim Antalyali,²² translated the Greek edition (by A. Bortoli, 1747) of the *Dialogos* (Dialogue) between St. Grē gentios and the Jew Ervan. The original had been published in 1647 with the aim of refuting "the wordy and vain opinions of the silly Jews."

In 1857, *Ispati Mesihije* would be published to the same end. First written in Romanian in 1803 by the monk Neophytos Kafsokalivitis, a Jew who had converted to Christianity, it had been translated into Greek by Ioannis Georgiou and entitled *Anatropē tēs thēskeias tōn Evraïōn kai tōn ethimōn autōn* (The overthrow of the religion of the Jews and their customs) *Neofytos* (Neophytos).²³ The Karamanlidika translation by the teacher Ioannis Georgiades from Endurluk (Kayseri) was published in Constantinople and sponsored by Michel Vasil Ketchetzioglou, who also wrote the prologue.

A new phase in Karamanlidika publishing began in the second decade of the nineteenth century when English and American Protestant missionaries appeared in Asia Minor and took up proselytizing and educational activities among the Turcophone Orthodox using Karamanlidika publications. In 1822, the British and Foreign Bible Society published 4,000 copies of Seraphim's translation of the Psalter supervised by the Reverend Henry D. Leeves, who had been in Constantinople since 1821.²⁴ As the Protestants focused intensive publishing activity on the main religious and liturgical texts, translations appeared of the Acts and Epistles, lives of saints, and in 1839 the Bible. After a number of Greeks in Anatolia raised 4000 Turkish piastres for the printing of the Bible in Greek, each contributor was entitled to purchase a copy for another forty piasters.²⁵ English and American missionaries likewise produced Karamanlidika editions²⁶ of the basic religious and

²¹ Nikēphoros Theotokēs, trans., *Ponēma hrysoun Samouēl Ravvi tou Ioudaiou exelghon tēn tōn Ioudaiōn planēn* [Valuable work by Rabbi Samuel the Jew which examines the fallacy of the Jews] (Leipzig, 1769); (Constantinople, 1834). The book, written in Arabic, was translated into Latin and from Latin to Greek by Theotokēs.

²² Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *op.cit.*, no. 30.

²³ The Greek translation was published in 1818 and the second Greek edition in 1834.

²⁴ Reverend A.A. Cooper, *The Story of the (Osmanli) Turkish Version with a Brief Account of Related Versions* (London: The British and Foreign Bible Society, 1901), p. 42.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-43.

²⁶ Richard Clogg has devoted a series of published studies to the Karamanlidika publications of the British and Foreign Bible Society. "Notes on some Karamanli books printed before 1850 now in British Libraries with particular reference to the Bible translations of the British and Foreign Bible Society," *Mikrasiatika Chronica* 13 (1967), pp. 521-563; "The Publication and Distribution of Karamanli Texts by the British and Foreign Bible Society before 1850: I,

liturgical texts, especially a translation of the Bible with the approval of the Patriarchate, as well as the Acts of the Apostles, lives of saints and some books with moralistic content, at least 30 titles in all during the years 1826-1859.

The publishing activities of the missionary organizations on the Aegean islands and in Athens and Smyrna, had an impact on Evangelinos Misailidis, who was to play a leading role in the world of Karamanlidika publications over the years that followed. While still in Smyrna, he published *Μεκτηπούλ Φεννούνι Μεσσηνή* (*Mekteb'ül Fennun-u Masriki*-School of oriental sciences),²⁷ a compiled journal directed at the family. It derived from the *Apotheke ton Ophelimon Gnoseon* (Repository of useful knowledge), a Protestant journal circulated in Smyrna between January 1837 and December 1844 that was a much-emulated landmark in the history of Greek periodicals.²⁸ Also in Smyrna in 1844 Misailidis published *Ησθηκόδαφ* (*Istikdaf*), a book compiled from various Greek journals and books of the time that combined entertainment and teaching.²⁹

In reaction to the Karamanlidika editions of religious texts and the overall activity of various religious missions in Asia Minor, the Patriarchate produced Karamanlidika publications translated, in turn, from Greek translations of foreign-language works. In 1839 Patriarch Gregory VI authorized a new Karamanlidika publication entitled *Amartōlōn Sōtērias* (Salvation of the sinful), which included psalms, warning against deadly sins and advice edited by Father Georges Oeconomos from Burdur of Antalya. In the same year, a *Catechism*, compiled by the metropolitan bishop of Moscow and translated in 1782 into Greek by Adamantios Korais (from German) and Georges Ventotis (from French) was printed at the Patriarchal printing house. Its translation into Karamanlidika was subjected to intense scrutiny by order of the Patriarch, but after receiving approval by the Holy Synod, it was published by Paisios from Erkilet (Kayseri), metropolitan bishop of Caesarea and abbot of the Zindjidere monastery. Paisios made some abbreviations to

II," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 19/1-2, pp. 51-81, 171-193; "Enlightening a Poor, Oppressed, and Darkened Nation: Some Early Activities of the British and Foreign Bible Society," in *Sowing the Word: The Cultural Impact of the British and Foreign Bible Society, 1804-2004*, ed. Stephen Batalden, Kathleen Cann and John Dean (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2004), pp. 234-250; "Publishing for the Poor, Ignorant and Oppressed Christians of Lesser Asia: Early Greco-Turkish translations of the British and Foreign Bible Society," 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, 2011), pp. 225-244; Evangelia Balta, "Périodisation," *op.cit.*, pp. 135-137.

²⁷ Evangelia Balta, "The First Family Periodical in the Ottoman Empire: A Karamanli Magazine in Smyrna (1849-1850)," *Journal of Turkish Studies* 39 *Defterology-Festschrift in Honor of Heath Lowry*, ed. Selim Kuru and Baki Tezcan (2013), pp. 205-245.

²⁸ Pavlina Nasioutzik, *Amerikanika oramata stēn Smyrnē ton 19o aiōna. E synatesē tēs agglosaxonikēs skepsēs me tēn hellēnikē* [American visions in 19th century Smyrna: The encounter of Anglosaxon with Greek thought] (Athens: Hestia, 2002).

²⁹ Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika: Bibliographie Analytique / 1. Additions (1584-1900)* (Athènes: Centre d'Études d'Asie Mineure, 1987), no 20.

facilitate its understanding by ordinary people to whom it was distributed free of charge, following the practice of the missionaries.³⁰ In his prologue, Paisios complained: “The disrespectful Lutherans tempt our nationals, and mainly the weakest, setting traps with wicked intentions to deceive them.”

Liturgical, catechetical and moralistic books translated from Greek continued to be printed in Constantinople until the mid-nineteenth century. In 1835 *Can helalligi* (Description du jardin de la délivrance de l’âme) was published under the supervision of Paisios with excerpts from Nicodēmos Agioreitēs’ *Vivlion phychofelestaton* (Most edifying of books, 1799) and from a Christian catechism with questions and answers. In 1851, Evangelinos Misailidis’ Turkish translation of the *Apanta* (Complete works) of Symeon, archbishop of Thessaloniki also was published there with a foreword by Misailidis. Published in Athens during the same part of the century were *Tefekkūri ruhani* (Méditations spirituelles, 1836), translated from various languages other than Greek by Chrysanthos Papamihailoglou from Germir, and a book by Nicodēmos Agioreitēs, *Kanōn paraklētikos eis ton Agion ieromartyra kai thaumatourgon Charalambē psalōmenos en kairō loimikēs nosou* (Petitionary canon to the holy martyr and miracle-worker Charalambis chanted in a time of infectious disease, 1840), along with its Karamanlidika translation.

Translations of Secular Books

At some point, literary texts with religious themes began to appear in religious books, and as early as 1800, a publication from the Patriarchal printing house, *Dialogue of Saint Gregentios with the Jew Ervan*, included a translation of the Cretan religious drama *Thysia tou Avraam* (The sacrifice of Abraham),³¹ but popular press publications were not printed during the first century of Karamanlidika book production. Although such works as *Apokopos* by Bergadis, the *Fyllada tou gaidarou* (The donkey’s booklet), and *Voskopoula* (Shepherdess) had been regularly reprinted in Venice since the sixteenth century and were the Greeks’ favorite reading material during Ottoman rule, the earliest Karamanlidika publications were intended to teach the doctrines of Orthodoxy. Accordingly, they were written by clergy and followed the orders of Nicodēmos Agioreitēs, who in his work *Pēdalio* (Helm) condemned any reading material that was not religious, and even more so any that contained love stories.

The first secular Karamanlidika publications did not appear until the second decade of the nineteenth century. In 1819, when *Aristotelous Physiognomonica* was published in Constantinople, it contained ancient and modern Greek and Karamanlidika text translated by Anastasios Karakioulafoglou from Kayseri, and the word *tercüme* (translation) was used the Karamanlidika title. From the start of

³⁰ Kyriaki Mamoni, “O patriarhēs Grēgorios VI kai ē karamanlidikē metafrasē tēs Orthodoxēs Didaskalias tou Platonos Moshas apo ton Paisio Kaisareias” [Patriarch Gregory VI and the Karamanlidika translation of Platon of Moscow’s ‘Orthodox teaching’ by Paisius of Caesarea], *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasaitikōn Spoudōn* 7 (1988-1989), pp. 129-140.

³¹ Pinelopi Stathi, “Ē Thysia tou Avraam stēn karamanlidikē vivliographia” [The Sacrifice of Abraham in the Karamanlidika Bibliography], *Mesaiōnika kai Nea Hellēnika* 4 (1992), pp. 161-168.

Karamanlidika book production a century earlier until 1818, the verb *tercüme olundu* (translated), could be found in only six titles. Instead, the act of translation had been indicated by the expressions *türkçe diline veren* or *türkçe diline tefsir edildi* (an explanation, expounding; interpretation). Karakioulafoglou addressed his prologue to the Orthodox Turkish-speaking Anatolians. Because it is the duty of every Greek is to render service to the public, he offers to “the dearest fatherland Greece [...] this small gift” to help “studious Greek children [...] to experience the important phase of Greek education and to be of greater benefit to our nation.”³²

Karakioulafoglou’s translation of *Heiragogia tōn paidōn* (The guide to Virtue for children) by Dionysios Pyrros (Glykis, 1810) was published in Constantinople (*Sapilere fazilet kılavuzu*, 1819) at the expense of Chatzis Konstantis with the approval of the Patriarch Cyril. In his prologue, Karakioulafoglou mourns the loss of the Greek mother tongue, in which ecclesiastical books are written, but he points out that the Anatolians also need other books, as education will combat ignorance and poverty. A physician-philosopher, Pyrros had translated from the Italian Francesco Soave’s *Doveri dell’ Uomo per uso de’ Fanciulli* under the full title *Heiragogia tōn paidōn etoi Pragmateia Stoiheiodēs peri hreōn tou Anthrōpou* and had added to it some of Aesop’s fables and dialogues on contemporary issues. Pyrros’s work belongs to the so-called books of morality, which provided rules on practical ethical behavior for the growing bourgeoisie. *Komfukios filosofun*, a book on Confucianism’s teachings released in 1851 in İstanbul, belongs in the same category. It had originated as a well-known book on morality, *The Economy of Human Life* by the Englishman Robert Dodsley, then was translated into French as *Le philosophe indien*, into Greek in 1782 by Ventotis under the title *O Indos filosofos* (The Indian philosopher) and later underwent other translations with various titles.³³ The publisher of the Karamanlidika edition, Lazaridis, used a translation by Ioannis Athanasiadis, *Komfukios ē tehnē tou koinōnikou viou* (Confucius, the art of social life), published in 1848 by his own printing house and based on the French book *Économie de la vie sociale* (1821), which more closely translates the title of the English original. In other words the book was translated from French into Greek and from Greek into Karamanlidika. Athanasiadis, however, made the title of his translation similar to that of the French source Ventotis had used and added to it the name of a philosopher from the Orient. In his prologue Lazaridis, who was the translator as well as the publisher of the Karamanlidika edition, refers to Confucius and his life as a model of behavior for the “arrogant person” of the nineteenth century, who, oblivious to morality, is prone to lust and pays no heed to the virtue taught by religious books, instead reading books about love.

³² *Αριστοτέλους φυσιογνωμονικά παρά Αναστασίου Χ. Γρ. Καρακιουλάρη Καισαρέως.....* Ισλαμπολτά 1819, pp. ε, ια. See Séverien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *op.cit.*, no. 62.

³³ Alexandra Sfoini, “Ο Ινδός φιλόσοφος–Οικονομία του ανθρωπίνου βίου. Διαδοχικές ελληνικές μεταφράσεις ενός αγγλικού εγχειριδίου ηθικής” [The Indian philosopher–Economy of human life. Successive Greek translations of an English morality manual], *O Eranistēs* 23 (2001), pp. 114-132.

The secular books translated into Karamanlidika from Greek or through Greek from another language remained linked to religion and piety. In 1846 in İstanbul, Agapios Papazoglou, a bookseller from Ankara, funded the release of *Ηρόφαν ναμέ* (*İrfan-name*), a collection of moral tales and myths taken from various Greek translations of foreign works. A Karamanlidika version of Xavier de Maistre's *La jeune Sibérienne* (1825) entitled *Garib Elisavetin nakliyeti*—perhaps the first Karamanlidika novel—was included in the first volume of the *İrfan-name* (Ērphan name, 1846).³⁴ The Karamanlidika translation of the novel *Robinson Crusoe* came out in 1853, preceding by just over a decade the first Ottoman Turkish version, said to have been translated from Arabic.³⁵ Similarly, some translations of myths and achievements from the Greek past aimed at entertaining as well as teaching.

A French book on an Ancient Greek topic was translated from its Greek version (*Pythia ē Alēthēs Symvoulos* or Pythia the True Advisor, Athens 1838) and published in Athens in 1840 under the title *Pythia yani Falci* (Pythia the Fortune-teller). It contains questions and answers on the subject of divinity. For instance, in his translation of Heliiodorus' *Aethiopica* (1851) based on its simple Greek paraphrase (Smyrna, 1843), translator Evangelinos Misailidis pointed out that no nation in the world had not translated this story and recommended it over the French Oriental-inspired *Les Mille et Une Nuits* by Antoine Galland.³⁶

Practical publications containing scientific material were usually collections or compilations from various Greek, French or Turkish scientific books translated by anonymous Karamanli linguists or professional translators in the Ottoman administration. The exceptions included *Insa* (1835), a collection of manuals on correspondence translated by Georgios Oeconomou from Burdur; *Mütenevvi*, a selection of Greek scientific books translated by Moïse d'Adana (Smyrna, 1836); and Evangelinos Misailidis' translation from Greek of an essay on cholera (1854).³⁷

By the mid-nineteenth century even the Karamanlis were perturbed by the difficulties of translating from Greek into Turkish to meet the need for religious

³⁴ János Eckmann, "Die Karamanische Literatur," in Louis Bazin et al., eds., *Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1964), p. 828 and Johann Strauss, "Is Karamanli Literature Part of a 'Christian-Turkish (Turco-Christian) Literature'?", in *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books*, Proceedings of the First International Conference of Karamanlidika Studies, Nicosia, 11-13 September 2008, ed. Evangelia Balta and Matthias Kappler (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), pp. 163-164.

³⁵ Etienne E. Charriere, "'We Must Ourselves Write About Ourselves': The Trans-Communal Rise of the Novel in the Late Ottoman Empire" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 2016), pp. 99-106.

³⁶ Evangelia Balta, "The First Family Periodical in the Ottoman Empire," op. cit., p. 222. In 1849 Evangelinos Misailidis published in his journal *Mekteb'ül Fennuni Maşrîki* stories from *One Thousand and One Nights*, or the *Arabian Nights*, which had a huge and substantial editorial success throughout the Greek world and by the mid-nineteenth century had been repeatedly published in Venice, see *ibid.*, pp. 221-222.

³⁷ Evangelia Balta, "Karamanlidika Editions on Cholera Years 1848-1854," in *Beyond the Language Frontier: Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing*, Analecta Isiana 110, (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2010), pp. 193-205.

popularization. In the second edition (1844) of the *İbadetname* (Prayer book) issued in 1840 from the printing house of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, Agapios Papazoglou described the difficulties in translating Christian texts into such a poor language as Turkish. Yet, he added, although the use of Ottoman literary language with loanwords from Arabic and Persian would solve the problem, it would be incomprehensible to the people. That is why the Turkish-speaking Rums had to learn Greek, something which both the German-born bishop of Caesarea and his successor Paisios strove toward. To that end, also in 1840, Papazoglou printed the *Sylogē diaforon dialogon* (Collection of various dialogues), published in Athens. In it, Turkish and Greek dialogues of a purely educational nature, selected from Greek books, were arranged in two columns.³⁸

In 1846 the Patriarchal printing house published the *Lisan bahçesi* (The garden of the language) for the children and Christian brothers of Anatolia who wished to learn Greek.³⁹ As early as 1804, the Glykis printing house had published the *Lexicon tourkikon kai graikinon* (Turkish and Greek dictionary) by Zacharias Agioreitēs and had reprinted it many times. Containing a Karamanlidika vocabulary of approximately 4,400 of the most useful words from daily life,⁴⁰ it was the first secular book printed in Karamanlidika literature. In 1812 the doctor Dimitrios Alexandridis had published in Vienne the *Grammatikē graikiko-tourkikē* (Greek-Turkish grammar) and the *Lexicon tourkikēs kai graikikēs dialektou* (Greek and Turkish dictionary). The *Dialogoi Hellēnotourkikoi* (Greek-Turkish Dialogues) published in 1854 by Evangelinos Misailidis aimed to give the “ethnic Greek Youth of Asia Minor” practice in both languages. By then, *Stoiheia tēs Othomanikēs Grammatikēs* (Elements of Ottoman grammar) by Konstantinos Adosidis from Caesarea, a member of the translators’ office at the Sublime Porte, had been published in 1850 by the imperial printing house of İstanbul. It sought to teach the Ottoman language through language tools written by professional translators in the Ottoman administration and was intended for Rum subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who would soon acquire the same rights as the Turks after the Tanzimat and be forced to learn Turkish.⁴¹

Conclusions

During the first sub-period of Karamanlidika book production (1718-1856), religious content prevailed until the mid-nineteenth century, and publication aimed at preserving the Orthodox Christian religious identity of Turkish-speaking communities. The books in circulation were meant to teach religion to the Turkish-

³⁸ Sévérien Salaville and Eugène Dalleggio, *op.cit.*, no. 102.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 108.

⁴⁰ Pinelopi Stathi, “Dictionnaires et grammaires dans la bibliographie en Karamanli,” *X. Türk Tarih Kongresi* (Ankara, 1994), pp. 2055-2063.

⁴¹ Evangelia Balta, “Turkish-speaking Anatolian Rums and the Karamanlidika Book Production,” in *Beyond the Language Frontier: Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing*, *Analecta Isiana* 110 (İstanbul: Isis Press, 2010), pp. 75-76.

speaking Orthodox and, more specifically, to facilitate their liturgical, catechetical and moral education by Orthodox clergy. Consequently, those books were a hotchpotch of the catechisms and doctrinal books circulating in Greece and the Balkans. With the arrival of Protestant missionaries in Asia Minor, however, Karamanlidika publishing hastened to defend the doctrines of the Orthodox Church by increasing its production of liturgical books, text interpretations, sermons, and protest texts. Behind the publishers in this endeavor were clerics recruited to the cause of Orthodoxy and the Patriarchate of Constantinople, as well as some lay persons who campaigned to enlighten the Orthodox of Anatolia.

Except for dictionaries, a few grammars and some anthologies that were original creations, the Karamanlidika publications were translations from Greek books or from religious or moralistic readings read by the Greeks in earlier times. In the pre-Tanzimat era the few books of western origin, other than the missionary publications, were translated into the Turkish language on the basis of a previous Greek version, a phenomenon that, with a few minor exceptions, continued into the post-Tanzimat period. As this shows, Karamanlidika book production was closely linked to Greek cultural tradition, which still was sometimes the transmitter and sometimes the receiver in the process of cultural transfer.⁴²

Most prologues, of both ecclesiastical and secular Karamandlika translations from Greek, or from other languages through Greek into Turkish, circle around the issues of nation and languages. They dedicate the works that follow to “the spiritual benefit of our brothers,” “the benefit of the nation,” “the Orthodox Christians living in Anatolia,” etc. and they repeatedly refer to a Greek language that has been lost and to the danger that Turcophone Anatolians will be alienated from the culture of the Orthodox world. Nevertheless, since language has always been a defining feature of national identity, without explicitly professing to, the Karamanlidika publications constituted a national benefaction as well as a highly planned and beneficial transfer of knowledge to the uneducated.

As this brief overview of the translation phenomenon in Karamanlidika book production before the Tanzimat suggests, there is much work to be done. First, there must be a quantitative and qualitative assessment of each translation. Systematic comparison and research is required on the original work, the language and the specific edition’s starting point, as well as on the translator’s access to it, the reasons for choice and translation, and the identification and location of the components of translation (translators, publishers, editors-proofreaders, sponsors, subscribers). The second task is to trace the process, the historic moment and the timing that produced and controlled the translation. This includes comparison of the original and the translation regarding the transfer of cultural context and the investigation of titles

⁴²Athini Steni, *Opseis tēs neollēnikēs afegematikēs (1700-1830). O dialogos me tis hellēnikes kai tis xenes paradoseis stē theoría kai stēn praxē* [Aspects of Modern Greek prose narrative (1700-1830): The dialogue with Greek and foreign traditions in theory and in practice] (Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation, 2010), p. 334.

and prefaces. The prologues, as I have pointed out elsewhere,⁴³ offer extremely fragile testimony to the present. Here, we must acknowledge the fact that the various cultural traditions interact through translation. In other words, it is very important to approach translation not only as the transposition of meaning from one linguistic code to another but also as a discursive practice, as a critical engagement, as a cultural practice and as methodology. In recent years in marginal programs within area studies, such as Armeno-Turkish and Karamanlidika Studies, translation is being used as a tool to explore the cultural transfer, emphasizing the transnational, transcommunal interactions that shaped these non-Muslim intellectual histories of the Ottoman Empire.

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⁴³ Evangelia Balta, “Les avant-propos des livres karamanlis en tant que sources pour l’étude de la *conscience ethnique* des populations orthodoxes turcophones,” in *Problèmes et approches de l’Histoire ottomane. Un itinéraire scientifique de Kayseri à Egriboz* (İstanbul: Isis Press, 1997), pp. 245-256. Translators and publishers discussed a variety of issues in the forewords and afterwords they penned for the novels they translated. See also Ayşe Banu Karadağ, “The Contribution of the Novels Translated into Ottoman Turkish between the Ottoman Tanzimat Period and the Alphabet Reform to the Ottoman/Turkish Cultural Heritage: An Overview of the Prefaces with a Focus on National Morals and Customs,” *Rumelide Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi*, 2015-2 (Nisan), pp. 113-128.