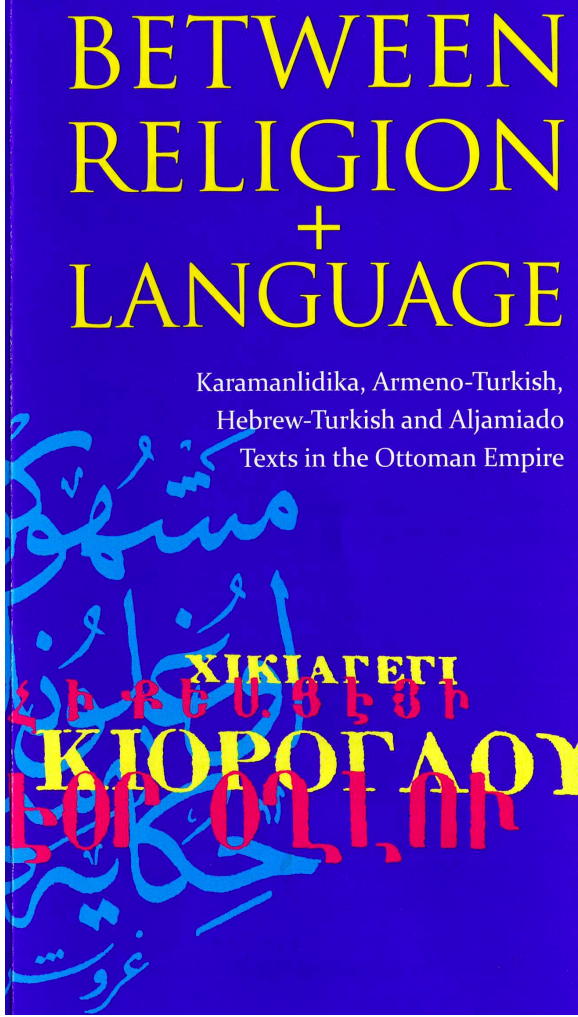


TÜRK DİLLERİ ARAŞTIRMALARI DİZİSİ: 48
NATIONAL HELLENIC RESEARCH FOUNDATION



**Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews
and Greek-Speaking Muslims and
Catholics in the Ottoman Empire**

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Between Religion and Language:
Turkish-Speaking Christians, Jews
and Greek-Speaking Muslims and
Catholics in the Ottoman Empire

Edited by

Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez

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Printed Balkan Turkish texts in the Cyrillic alphabet from the middle of the 19th century (1841-1875): A typological and graphematic approach

Matthias Kappler

Research problems and frameworks

Traditionally, Balkan Turkish texts in the Cyrillic alphabet have been studied in older surveys and text editions¹ as related to or even part of Karamanlidika book production – i.e. Turkish texts in the Greek alphabet – and not without reason, as we will see below. Undoubtedly, the use of

Abbreviations

- Balta 1987a = Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika. Additions (1584-1900). Bibliographie Analytique*, Athens, Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1987.
- Balta 1987b = Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika. XXe siècle. Bibliographie Analytique*, Athens, Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1987.
- Balta 1997 = Evangelia Balta, *Karamanlidika. Nouvelles Additions et Compléments*. Athens, Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure, 1997.
- BVK = Stojanov Manjo, *Българска възрожденска книжнина. Аналитичен регистър на българските книги и периодични издания, 1806-1878*. Vol.1. Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1957.
- Dmitriev (1928/1930) = Nikolaj K. Dmitriev, “Материалы по османской диалектологии. Фонетика „карамалицкого“ языка”, *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov* III/2 (1928): 417-458; IV (1930), 107-158.
- Kappler 2002 = Matthias Kappler, *Türkischsprachige Liebeslyrik in Griechisch-Osmanischen Liedanthologien des 19. Jahrhunderts* [Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur der Türkvölker, Band 3]. Berlin, Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2002.
- Mollova 1971 = Mefküre Mollova, “Kiril Hurufatiyle Bir Türk Dili Abidesinin Bazı Sentaktik Hususiyetleri”. *Voprosy Tjurkologii* 1971 [= Festschrift for M. Š. Širaliev, Baku: Izdalel'stvo Élm], 76-83.
- Mollova 1972 = Mefküre Mollova, “KTBRR ve Yunan-Kiril Harfli Türkçe Anıtların İlişkileri”, *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1972, 173-182.
- Salaville & Dalleggio, 1958 = Séverien Salaville & Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, I (1584-1850). Athens, Centre d'Etudes d'Asie Mineure – Archives Musicales de Folklore dirigés par Mme Melpo Merlier, 1958.
- Salaville & Dalleggio, 1966 = Séverien Salaville & Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, II (1851-1865). Athens, Collection de l'Institut Français d'Athènes, 1966.
- Salaville & Dalleggio, 1974 = Séverien Salaville & Eugène Dalleggio, *Karamanlidika. Bibliographie analytique d'ouvrages en langue turque imprimés en caractères grecs*, III (1866–1900). Athens, Φιλολογικός Σύλλογος “Παρνασσός”, Επιστημονικά Διατριβή αρ. 4, 1974.
- Stojanov 1957 = Manjo Stojanov, *Българска възрожденска книжнина. Аналитичен регистър на българските книги и периодични издания, 1806-1878*. Vol. 1. Sofia, Nauka i Izkustvo, 1957.

¹ Simeon Tabakov, “Бележки за караманлите и техната литература”, *Izvestija na Istoriceskoto družestvo* 1905/1, 131-196; Dmitriev (1928/1930); Manjo Stojanov, “La littérature bulgare-grecque-turque «karamanlienne»”, *Etudes balkaniques* 1979/2, 76-82, and Mollova 1972.

religious Karamanli books in the Turkophone Orthodox Christian milieu was equally diffused in Asia Minor and Rumelia, with Istanbul functioning as a passage and filter between the two areas. Religious texts in the daily language of the flock were available mainly in the Greek alphabet, which, as was the case with the Greek language itself, occupied a high prestige position with strong cultural and religious symbolic value among the non Greek-speaking Orthodox communities in the Balkan Peninsula². During the 19th century, even in some Slavic speech communities the only known form of writing was not in the Cyrillic but the Greek alphabet, as shown by Petko R. Slavejkov's newspaper *Makedonia* (1865), where he addressed the Macedonian Slavs in Bulgarian written in Greek letters³. It is therefore not at all surprising that, for practical reasons, Turkophone Balkan Christians used and produced Turkish printed and manuscript material in Greek letters. Bulgarian researchers stretched this natural fact to identify "Karamanli" as an ethnonym of Balkan Turkophone Christians in general, and even to an anachronistic explanation for the ethnogenesis of Asia Minor Turkophone Christians who, according to this view, were supposed to have originated from Balkan populations who "emigrated" after the "Turkish invasion" to Asia Minor where they "were Turkified without adopting Islam"⁴. Linking the Karamanlidika tradition in the Greek alphabet to Turkish texts written in Cyrillic script, the latter have been called "Karamanli", too, since the publication (Dmitriev 1928/1930) of Teodosij Sinaitski's *Книга за научение трѣх ѣзиков славяноболгарски и греческия и карамалицкоѣ* (Salonica 1841), where the eclectic Turkish variety used in the book is conventionally termed by Sinaitski as "karamalickij". The term "Karamanli", which anyway lacks a specific linguistic definition⁵, is thus extended to Balkan Turkish text production, be it in the Greek or Cyrillic

² Matthias Kappler, "Fra religione e lingua/grafia nei Balcani II: sincretismo religioso e *codeswitching* presso musulmani e cristiani in Bulgaria (sec. XIX-XX)", *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* 72 / fasc. 1-4 (1998), 71-73.

³ Emmanouil A. Zachos-Papazachariou, "Βαλκανική Βαβέλ". Κ. Tsitselikis (ed.), *Γλώσσες, αλφάβητα και εθνική ιδεολογία στην Ελλάδα και τα Βαλκάνια*, Athens, Ekdoseis Kritiki, 1999, 59.

⁴ Manjo Stojanov, "La littérature", op. cit., 78.

⁵ Matthias Kappler, "Transcription text, regraphization, variety? – Reflections on 'Karamanlidika'". Eva Csató & Astrid Menz (eds.), *The Mediators – Ottoman Turkish and Persian in non-Arabic scripts*. [Conference at the Orient Institut Istanbul, 15.-17.05.2009] (forthcoming).

alphabet. Lately the picture has become even more complicated because of a rising Gagauz nationalism which claims Karamanli literature as a “literature in [the] Gagauz language” and incorporates texts in both the Greek and Cyrillic scripts into the canon of Gagauz literature, even if the linguistic variety bears no traces of Balkan Turkish at all⁶. It goes without saying that we do have a rich production of Turkish texts in the Cyrillic, Greek and Latin alphabets (the latter with Rumanian orthographical features) in the Balkan Turkish variety used by the Gagauz in Bessarabia during the 19th and early 20th centuries, and that there is a close link between Karamanlidika book production and Gagauz literature and language⁷. The borders between the 19th century Cyrillic written Gagauz texts and the Cyrillic Turkish text production outside the Gagauz realm are very hard if not impossible to trace because of the similar linguistic varieties used in the texts. In the present approach, we have excluded Gagauz book production in the Cyrillic alphabet, confining our research to printed⁸ material produced outside Bessarabia, mainly in Istanbul, Serbia and Bulgaria, in the middle of the 19th century, which was edited or written by Bulgarians, thus adopting edition as an extra-linguistic criterion of selection. Evidently, some of the material discussed here, especially of a religious character, must have been used by Gagauz as well as by other Turkophone Balkan Christians.

As far as the links with Karamanli book production are concerned, our definition is strictly graphical, as is the phenomenon itself: “Karamanli” as a conventional term for Turkish texts in the Greek alphabet should be

⁶ This claim goes as far as to present Karamanli texts, originally in Greek script, in Latin alphabet and “transferred” into forms close to Gagauz phonetic patterns, in order to characterize them as “Gagauz”, e.g. a page from *Aziz Aleksiosun Methiyesi*, see Stepan Bulgar, “Из истории литературы Гагаузов XIX-нач. XX вв.”, in S. Bulgar (ed.), *Страницы Истории и Литературы Гагаузов XIX-нач. XX вв.*, 3-19. Chişinău: Pontos, 2005, 4.

⁷ Cf. the case of Islamic terminology in religious Gagauz texts, certainly mediated by Karamanli texts; see Ljudmila A. Pokrovskaja, “Мусульманские элементы в системе христианской религиозной терминологии гагаузов”, *Sovetskaja étnografija* 1 (1997), 130-142.

⁸ As may be understood from the title of the present paper, manuscript texts are not included in our analysis. For manuscript material, see György Hazai, “Monuments linguistiques osmanlis-turcs en caractères cyrilliques dans les recueils de Bulgarie”, *Acta Orientalia Hungarica* XI/1-3 (1960), 221-233; idem, “Kiril harfleriyle yazılı bir Türkçe metin üstüne”. *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı Belleten* 1966, 143-155, and Matthias Kappler, “Fra religione e lingua/grafia nei Balcani II”, op. cit., 73-83.

described separately from “Cyrillic Turkish” texts, and the two terms and text typologies, although culturally and historically linked together, should be clearly distinguished from a graphical point of view. However, since we will see that several Cyrillic Turkish texts precisely refer to Karamanli models, at least in the area of religious books, we will then have to compare graphematically these two narrowly related text corpora (section 2 below).

1. Cyrillic Turkish texts: categories and typologies

In a manner similar to the production of Turkish books in the Greek alphabet (“Karamanlidika”)⁹, Cyrillic Turkish texts can be divided into two main groups: religious and non-religious books. What distinguishes Cyrillic Turkish from Karamanlidika printed book production is the fact that, in the case of the former, religious books were not the dominant typology at the beginning: only two of the first six books in the period between 1841 and 1852 have religious content (see below chapter 4, “Appendix”, nos. 1-6). Five of the total twenty-one books have a religious purpose (prayer books, excerpts from the Bible, catechisms, pilgrimage and hagiographic literature; nos. 2, 4, 15, 19, 20), whereas the sixteen non-religious texts can be subdivided into language manuals (dialogue books and dictionaries/glossaries; nos. 1, 5, 8, 11), songs contained in poetical and musical anthologies (nos. 7, 9, 10, 12, 16, 17; the Turkish text in no. 13), and literary texts, either in translation or original (nos. 3, 6, 18; however, from a stylistic point of view, no. 2 also is a “literary text”). Additionally, our list contains two texts from Bulgarian newspapers (nos. 14, 21).

As for the chronological order, our material can be grouped according to both printing place and year; we thus suggest the following periodization:

1. 1841-1852: books printed in Salonica, Belgrade and in the printing-house of the Ecumenical Patriarchate;
2. 1854-1864: books printed in Istanbul, mainly by Divitčian, and in Plovdiv;
3. 1870-1872: books printed in the Petko Slavejkov’s *Makedonija* printing-house in Istanbul;

⁹ For a typological overview of Karamanlidika books, see Evangelia Balta, “Périodisation et typologie de la production des livres Karamanli”. *Δελτίο Κέντρου Μικρασιατικών Σπουδών* 12 (1997-1998), 129-153.

4. 1874-1875: books printed in the Danubian area (Ruse and Braila). The shift from the first to the second period is determined by, among other things, the tension between the Bulgarian Orthodox and the Ecumenical Patriarchate in the 1850s and 1860s which culminated in the schism of 1872; hence the abandonment of the patriarchal printing house¹⁰. The third period is characterized by Petko R. Slavejkov's activity and the *Makedonija* printing-house (the homonymous newspaper was founded in 1865)¹¹, whereas all three books produced during the last period were printed outside Istanbul, a fact which links this period to the following years of national struggle and independence.

1.1. Religious books

The first (published in 1845) and perhaps most interesting book of this group is the Cyrillic Turkish version of *Hazret-i Avraam*, a religious play about the sacrifice of Abraham, well-known from the Karamanlidika bibliography¹². The adaptor of the play to the Cyrillic Turkish version is indicated as Ierodiakon Hadži Ioanikij from Turija in the *kaza* of Kazanlāk (BVK 3247). The title (see Appendix, no. 2) indicates that this is the second edition; unfortunately we were not able to trace the book back to any first edition. Thirteen years later a translation from Turkish into Bulgarian by Andrej Popdojnov Robovskij (Elena 1801-1858) appeared in Divitčian's printing-house in Istanbul¹³. Even a superficial comparison between the Karamanli and the Cyrillic Turkish editions shows that we are dealing with the same translation, that of Papa Sofronios from Sille. However, interestingly enough, the only difference between the two texts is that the colophon which reveals Papa Sofronios' name in the Karamanli edition¹⁴ is missing in the Cyrillic Turkish edition. Because of its close

¹⁰ Cf. Evangelia Balta, *Beyond the Language Frontier – Studies on the Karamanlis and the Karamanlidika Printing*. Istanbul, Isis Press, 2010, 154 (with bibliography). I thank Evangelia Balta for having drawn my attention to this point.

¹¹ Bojan Penev, *История на новата българска литература. 4: Българската литература през втората половина на XIX век*, Sofia, Dържавна печатница, 1936, 428-626; D. Kosev, *Петко Р. Славейков*. Sofia, 1950.

¹² Edition in 1836; see Salaville & Dalleggio 1958, no. 81.

¹³ *Жертва или служба Авраамова. Превел от турски на български сакеларий поп Андрей п . Дойнов Робовский из Гърновска Елена*. Константиновгад, в печатницата Тадея Дивитчиана, 1858. 72 p. 8^o [BVK 6587, Kiril i Metodij 397].

¹⁴ Salaville & Dalleggio 1958, 238-239.

link to Karamanli book production, Ioanikij's *Hazret-i Avraam* will be discussed more in detail below (2.1.).

The second edition from the same period (1851, Appendix no. 4) is a one-sheet printing of New Testament texts in Ecclesiastic-Slavic letters selected by the well-known East Bulgarian editor and librarian Penčo Radov (d. 1865) from Karlovo (Plovdiv). A second edition of this publication appeared in 1855 (BVK 6440).

In 1870 Ioan Nikolov Zjumbulov, who in the title page (see Appendix, nr. 15) is indicated as “the monk Hadži Ioani, son of Nikola Sumbüloğlu from Incesu / Kayseri”, edited a selection of religious texts available also in the Karamanlidika bibliography, namely the pluriedited *Ierusalimin Ziyaretnamesi*¹⁵. Since the book was not available at the National Library “Kiril i Metodij”, we could not compare the contents with the Karamanli editions, a task which will remain for future research.

Two books (Appendix, nos. 19 and 20) belong to the last period of our material, and contain prayers and religious songs. Both books were produced in the printing house of the editor Dimităr Paničkov in Braila, and both books are printed in 1875. However, the last page (28) of edition no. 19 contains an announcement in Bulgarian of the volume to follow¹⁶ and therefore precedes no. 20. Another prayer book from the same printing house and same year is mentioned by Stojanov (BKV 7781)¹⁷; the same format (pages, price and title) points to a sister edition of no. 18, although the contents could not be checked, as the book was not available at “Kiril i Metodij”.

It should be remarked here that one of the musical anthologies (see below 1.2.1.), namely no. 10 of our Appendix, includes a religious song (*ilahi*) on Jerusalem (“Kutsuşerif [Yerusalim] için bent”), signed by “Pravitelstvennago Sabljara (‘chief sabre man’) Ch. Georgi Markoviča”,

¹⁵ First Karamanlidika edition in 1862, see Salaville & Dalleggio 1966, no. 139. Later editions in 1866 [Balta 1987a: no. 44], 1873 [Balta 1997: no. 38], 1892 [Balta 1987a: no. 84], 1905 [Balta 1987b: no. 21], and 1907 [Balta 1987b: no. 31].

¹⁶ “Сега на скоро ся тури подпечат Акатис и Параклис на Пресвятая Богородица се на Турския язык”.

¹⁷ Ivan Todorov Chrulev, *Молитви с църковно пение на турски язык, съставил Иван Т. Хрулев*. Браила, печатница Х. Д. Паничкова, 1875.

possibly the Serbian poet and master of arms, Đorđe Marković (1806-1891)¹⁸.

1.2. Non-religious books

1.2.1. Music

The most wide-spread group over the years of Cyrillic Turkish book publication is the poetical corpus contained mostly in musical anthologies (seven books from 1854 to 1872). All of them were printed in Istanbul, with one exception (no. 13) that appeared in Plovdiv and, however, has a different typology, being a Bulgarian syllabary (*bukvar*) with an appendix of prayers and songs to be sung in schools, and two Turkish songs in honour of Sultan Abdülaziz (pp. 60-62)¹⁹. One anthology (no. 10) was edited by Penčo Radov, whom we have seen as the editor of religious texts and who also published a Turkish-Bulgarian dictionary, as well as a collection of fables (see 1.2.2. and 1.2.3. below). Penčo Radov was, thus, one of the most prolific editors in Cyrillic Turkish book production. The remaining six anthologies were edited by Petko Račov Slavejkov (Tárnovo 1827-Sofia 1895) or his collaborators. Petko R. Slavejkov, father of the celebrated poet of the Bulgarian Renaissance Penčo Slavejkov, being himself a poet and journalist, also edited two Bulgarian newspapers, *Gajda* and *Makedonija*, during his stay in Istanbul (1864-1874). Like the parallel editions of Ottoman Greek anthologies²⁰, these books addressed the “young generation for its delight” (*за растуха на младите*²¹ / *προς τέρψιν των ερωτευμένων Νέων και Νεανίδων*²²), and contain both

¹⁸ Marković spent part of his life in Istanbul and Jerusalem. The letter “Ch.” in the anthology undoubtedly stands for “Chadži” (*Haci*, pilgrim to Jerusalem). I thank Ivanka I. Ivanova, Sofia, for this information.

¹⁹ The other anthological texts, in Bulgarian, are: prayers [молитвы = урок 26], 51-56; one school song in honour of Abdülaziz, 57-58; one song on “learning”, 58-59; and one song on Kiril i Metodij, pp. 59-60. On Greek Ottoman hymns in honour of Abdülaziz, see Sia Anagnostopoulou & Matthias Kappler, “Ζήτω ζήτω ο Σουλτάνος / Bin yaşa Padişahimiz: the *Millet-i Rum* singing the praises of the Sultan in the framework of Helleno-Ottomanism”. *Archivum Ottomanicum* 23 (2005-2006) [= *Mélanges en l’honneur de Elizabeth A. Zachariadou*], 47-78.

²⁰ Cem Behar, “Türk Musikisinin Tarihinin Kaynaklarından: Karamanlıca Yayınlar”. *Müteferrika* 2 (1994), 39-54 and Kappler, 2002.

²¹ *Славейче* 1864 (BVK 6954; Appendix, no. 12).

²² *Κιθάρα* 1848 (Balta 1987a, no. 26).

Bulgarian and Turkish, but also bilingual²³ songs, mainly *şarki*, which were fashionable at that time in all Ottoman communities and repeated throughout Turkish, Greek and Bulgarian *mecmu'as*. A more detailed analysis of the songs compared with the Greek Ottoman anthologies will follow below (2.2.).

1.2.2. Language

Another rather large group of non-religious books is represented by language manuals, dictionaries, syllabaries and grammar books for use by Bulgarian speakers with Turkish as the target language. Like similar publications in Ottoman Greek, these works, written in Bulgarian, are not “Cyrillic Turkish books” *in sensu strictu*, but as they contain Turkish texts in the Cyrillic alphabet, we include them in our material²⁴. The language material in two of these works has been studied extensively from a linguistic point of view by Dmitriev and Hazai (no. 1), and Mollova (no. 5). Whereas these two books, as well as the anonymous hectalingual *Разговори български -гречески-турски-французки-англо-италиански* (no. 11), are dictionaries or dialogue books for the practical use of Bulgarian speakers, the *Турскѣй буквар* (1856, no. 8) by Stefan Vălkov, who was born in Žeravna, studied in Istanbul and then taught in his hometown until his death in 1878²⁵, is an interesting edition for use in school instruction which reveals not only Turkish language material (in Arabic and Ecclesiastic-Slavic letters), but also linguistic description patterns of the 19th century. The book will need to be studied in combination with comparable production in the Ottoman Greek area which begins much later (after 1875 with Avraam Maliakas’ *Elifbâ-yi ‘Osmani, Αλφαβητάριον οθωμανικόν κατά μέθοδον όλως νέαν*²⁶). As far as we know, no Bulgarian grammar of Turkish was written during the 19th century, as opposed to the extensive Ottoman Greek activity in this field,

²³ Cf. the edition of a Turkish-Bulgarian song contained in no. 9 (*Нова песнопойка*) in Matthias Kappler, “L’amour voilé: poésie bilingue et plurilingue dans les anthologies grecques et bulgares des chansons ottomanes du 19ème siècle”. *Mediterranean Language Review* 10 (1998), 159-163.

²⁴ Cf. the remark by Evangelia Balta, “Periodisation”, *op. cit.*, 132 for the Karamanlidika material.

²⁵ Stojanov 1957, 53.

²⁶ Balta 1987a, nr. 57.

and it may be assumed that Bulgarians probably used the widely diffused Ottoman grammars written in Greek or French²⁷.

1.2.3. Literature

An interesting edition (1848, Appendix no. 3), the *Masaliye Hekayet* about the “Greek Emperor Pontianus”, is mentioned by Mollova (1972: 174), although the book is not contained in BVK and is not available in “Kiril i Metodij”. The Karamanli edition was published in Athens in 1840²⁸. According to Mollova (ibid.), the prologue of the Cyrillic Turkish edition specifies that the book is a transcription of a formerly published “Anatolian Turkish” edition, obviously the 1840 edition in Greek letters²⁹. We have here an unambiguous hint that some Cyrillic Turkish books are actually transcriptions of Karamanli editions. This supposition must be proved by a comparative graphematical analysis; in the case of *Masaliye Hekayet* this is not possible at present, since the Cyrillic Turkish edition mentioned by Mollova has not yet been found, and, what is more, Mollova herself did not, unfortunately, undertake such an analysis. Another link between the two traditions of book production can also be established by the name of the librarian Vasilis Telamon from Ankara who paid the expenses of the Cyrillic Turkish edition printed in Bucharest³⁰, and was also the sponsor of the second Karamanli edition (1867) that appeared again in Athens³¹.

²⁷ Cf. Matthias Kappler, “Konflikt und Ideologie in den griechischen Grammatiken des Osmanischen im 19. Jahrhundert”. Hendrik Boeschoten & Heidi Stein (eds.), *Einheit und Vielfalt in der türkischen Welt – Materialien der 5. Deutschen Turkologenkongferenz, Universität Mainz*, 80-93. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2007.

²⁸ Balta 1987a, no. 16; a second edition appeared in 1867, see Salaville & Dalleggio 1974, no. 155.

²⁹ “Eşbu hik’ae Anadolda meşhur ... olan türk lisan-ile dahi tercüme olunmuşudu, şimdi bu defa slav’an kalemi, ve harfleri-ile dahi tahrir olunup...” (see Mollova 1972, 174). Cf. the similar formulation on the title page of the 1840 Karamanli edition: “Eşbu hikayet Arabistan lisanlarından sayrı çok Tayfelerin lisanları ile tercüma olunmuşudu, şimdi bu defa Anadolda meşhur ve musarrah türki lisanı ile tercüma olunub ...” (Balta 1987a, 21).

³⁰ “Vasilios Telamon mesarifi-ile tap olunmuştur”, see Mollova 1972, 174.

³¹ “Bu defa Engürlü Kitapçı Vasilaki Telamon mesarifi ile tab olunmuştur” (Salaville & Dalleggio 1974: nr. 155). Salaville & Dalleggio (ibid.) state also that “une édition de cet ouvrage a paru à Varna (Bulgarie) en 1903”, without, however, specifying any other details; would this perhaps be a yet undiscovered, second Cyrillic Turkish edition?

The second book with literary texts in our corpus is the 1852 edition of *Mesrebiye Masallar* edited by Penčo Radov (Appendix, no. 6). The book consists of a selection of Aesop's fables, see below (2.3.) for the connection to the Karamanli tradition.

The only original literary text, i.e. not a translation, is the travel narration written in rhyming couplets by Bačo Kiro Petrov, printed in 1874 in Ruse (Appendix, no. 18). The author was born 1835 in Gorni Turčeta (Ottoman name: Murad Bey, today Bjala Cerква, between Veliko Tŕrnovo and Ruse), studied at the Monastery Batoševskij, taught in several villages, and between 1872 and 1873 travelled to Bucharest, Istanbul and Belgrade³². He committed to writing the account of his travels in 1873 in his native village – the date and place of composition emerge from the colophon (p. 52)³³. The first edition of *Пътуване на Бача Кира* appears in Bulgarian in 1873 in Ruse [BVK 6066]; this second version contains the trip to Serbia (pp. 7-34) in Bulgarian, whereas the part about Turkey (but with many passages about Serbia) is written in Turkish (pp. 35-52).

As a kind of literary production we must add two satirical poems included in the Bulgarian newspapers *Gajda* (1864, Appendix nr. 14) and *Napredăk* (1875, nr. 21) published in Istanbul. *Gajda*, which presents itself as a satiric periodical (“Satiričeski vestnik za svestjavane na Bălgarite”), published on 5.10.1864 a poem comprising twenty-four stanzas and entitled “Dasitan-ı hicv-i zariflik” (‘Satiric epic on elegance’). Satirizing fashion and its negative influence on society was already widespread in other communities of the City as well: examples are the Ottoman Greek booklets *Τα Αποτελέσματα του Συρμού* (‘The effects of fashion’; 1860) and *Βουλγαροφαναριώτης* (1853), both by Anastasios Pnevmatikas³⁴. The poem included in *Napredăk* (18.1.1875) bears the title “Survaknik ili novogodišni pozdravljenija” (‘Feuilleton or New Year Greetings’). Beyond being “a play of our skills in Turkish” it satirizes “our situation [...] and those who operate on our nation of working people”, as

³² Stojanov 1957, 286.

³³ In the Cyrillic alphabet: “Murad-bek karyesinden Kiro daskal. Orasını varmış gezmiş / Burada o kendisi yazmış. 1873”. Below, in Arabic letters: “Murad beg qaryesinden Kiro Petro 1289”.

³⁴ Kappler 2002, 41, 494 and Pinelopi Stathi, “Κωνσταντινουπολίτικα στιχουργήματα – Η Ωραία Μελοπομένη και ο διπρόσωπος εραστής Νικολάκης”, *O Eranistis* 21 (1997), 353 and 365.

the Bulgarian foreword states. Both texts deserve a closer analysis in view of their historical context.

2. Cyrillic Turkish texts and the production of Turkish books in Greek letters

In this section we shall try to show the close link between Karamanlidika and Cyrillic Turkish book production through examples drawn from graphematic-linguistic analysis and from a typological point of view. Obviously, space limitations do not allow comparative analysis of all the material. Thus, our proposed approach includes the linguistic analysis of a small part of *Hazret-i Avraam*, a comparison of the songs (*şarki*) contained in three of the anthologies of our corpus, as well as a comparison of narratives and language in *Mesrebiye Masallar*.

2.1. Graphematic analysis of Cyrillic Turkish texts: the example of *Hazret-i Avraam*

Although the relationship between Turkish texts in the Greek and Cyrillic alphabets is sometimes made explicit by the book producers themselves in cases such as the *Masaliye Hekayet* mentioned above, a detailed graphematic and linguistic analysis is required for each book in order to get a clearer picture of that relationship. A comparison between the graphization choices³⁵ for those phonemes which do not stand in a 1:1-relation to a grapheme in the respective graphic system, and then between the phonetic and morphological forms in the two versions, will clearly show the links and differences between the analysed texts. As an example, we proceed by the analysis of *Hazret-i Avraam* (Karamanli edition: 1836 [Salaville & Dalleggio 1958: nr. 81]; Cyrillic Turkish edition: 1845

³⁵ We deliberately speak about graphic “choices”, since in no case is there a standardized “orthography” for Turkish texts in any alphabet of the 19th century, except, to a certain extent, the Arabic one (with great oscillations even in that field). As far as can be determined at this stage of research, the process of graphization is still largely determined by “choices” made by each editor/translator/author, although partly influenced by certain “rules” according to the book’s typology, printing-house and origin,. See, for a further analysis, Matthias Kappler, “A proposito di ‘ortografia caramanlidica’”. Ugo Marazzi (ed.), *Turcica et Islamica - Studi in memoria di Aldo Gallotta* (= Series Minor LXIV). Napoli, Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici dell’Istituto Universitario Orientale, 2003, 309-339, and Gavriel Eftychios, “Transcription Problems of Karamanlidika Texts”, Evangelia Balta & Matthias Kappler (eds.), *Cries and Whispers in Karamanlidika Books – Proceedings of the First International Conference on Karamanlidika Studies (Nicosia 11th-13th September 2008)*. Wiesbaden, Harrassowitz, 2010, 255-265.

[Appendix below, no. 2]). We shall compare the preface and the first three distichs of the poem³⁶.

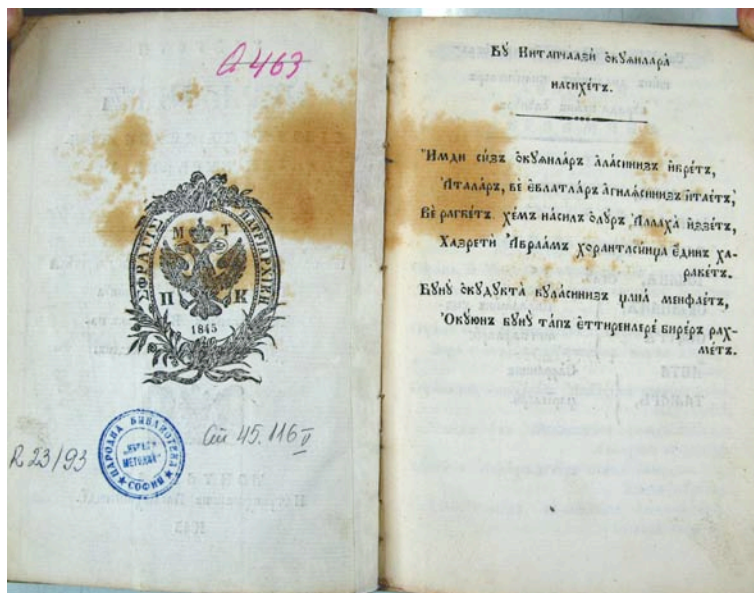


Fig. 1: *Hazret-i Avraam* (1845), p. [2-3]

(1) The preface

Preface <i>Hazret-i Avraam</i> , in Greek letters (1836), p. 3	Preface <i>Hazret-i Avraam</i> , in Cyrillic letters (1845), p. [3] ³⁷
1. Ποῦ Κιταπτζααζῆ ὀκουγιανλαρὰ νασιχέτ.	1. Бу Китапчаазῆ окуянларá насихέτ.
2. Ἦμδι σῖζ ὀκουγιαννὰρ ἀλάσηνηζ ἱπρέτ,	2. Ἦмди сиз окуянлáρ алáсиниз ибрéт,
3. Ἀταλάρ, βέ ἐβλατλάρ ἀгнаγιασηνηζ ἰταέτ,	3. Аталáρ, ве евлатлáρ агнаясиниз итаéт,
4. Ве ραγπέτ хέμ νάσηλ ὀλοῦρ Ἀλλαχὰ ἦζζέτ,	4. Ве рагбéт хем нáсил олýр Аллаха́ иззéт,
5. Χαζρέτι Ἀβραάμ χοραντασήντζα ἔδιν χαρακέτ.	5. Хазретῆ Авраáм хорантасῖнца éдин харакéт.
6. Πουνοῦ ὀκουδουκτὰ πουλάσηνηζ τζανὰ μενφαέτ,	6. Бунý окудуктá булáсиниз цанá менфаéт,
7. Ὀκούγιουν πουνοῦ τὰп ἐттиренνερè πирèρ ραχμέτ.	7. Окуýон бунý тап еттиренлерé бирéр рахмéт.

³⁶ The text in the Greek alphabet is provided as it appears in Salaville & Dalleggio 1958, 237-239.

³⁷ Page without numeration; cf. fig. 1 for the original page in Ecclesiastic-Slavic letters with Greek breathings and accents.

(2) The first verses

Greek letters (1836, p. 5)	Cyrillic letters (1845, p. 1) ³⁸
1. ΑΓΓΕΛΟΣ Γιάνι Μελέκ σοϊλενήρ	1. АГГЕЛ яни Мелék соиленήρ
2. Οὐγιάν για Άβραάμ, οὐγιανήπ άγιαγά καλκάσην,	2. Оуян я Авраάμ, оуянип аяаgá калкáсин,
3. Σανά Γκιοϊδέν έμiρ κетηрдήμ έσιδουπ πακάσην.	3. Санá Гiоидέν έμiр гетирдiм ешидуп бакáсин.
4. Οὐγιάν για Άλλαχiн саδiк, βέ χás κουλουò όγιάν,	4. Оуян я Аллахи́н садiк, ве хас кулу́ оуян.
5. Ζiρα каηγησηζ όγιουμανiн βακтi деiλ, оугián.	5. Зiра каигисiз оуюманiн вактi дейл, оуян.
6. Οὐγιάνκι, έσιδέσην Άλλαχiн сендέν όλάν ματλουπουноῦ,	6. Оуян ки, ишидэсин Аллахи́н сендэн олán матлубуну́,
7. Έσιδ όλ Μελαηκтέν сеτζиде όλουνán Άλλαχiн νουφουζουноῦ.	7. Ешид ол Мелаиктén сечиде олунán Аллахи́н нуфузуну́.

First of all, it must be noted that the Greek graphization shows the usual inconsistent, yet conventional choices found in Karamanli editions³⁹, e.g. in the area of the phoneme /i/, although at the beginning of text (1) it seems that the writer uses <ι> for /i/ and <η> for /i/ (νασιχέτ, πiρέρ / άλάσηνηζ, νάσηλ), it becomes clear that in the following pages the grapheme <η> is used rather arbitrarily (e.g. in σοϊλενήρ, κетηрдήμ).

Comparing the two texts, we may distinguish three trends in the graphical and linguistic formation:

I. The adaptation of some Greek graphemes to the possibilities of the Cyrillic graphical system.

This is the case with two graphemes: <π> and <κ>, standing for both /b/ or /p/, and /g/ or /k/, respectively. In other words, the Greek alphabet in our text does not distinguish the representation of voiced and unvoiced pairs⁴⁰, whereas the Cyrillic alphabet does (<б> or <п> / <г> or <к>). Ioanikij, who adapted the Cyrillic Turkish edition, took advantage of the graphical resources of the Cyrillic system and subsequently wrote буну́ : тап, and

³⁸ Cf. fig. 2 for the original page in Ecclesiastic-Slavic letters.

³⁹ Even when certain graphical rules are given at the beginning of a Karamanli work, these rules are not always followed in the same book; see for example Eftychios Gavriel, “Transcription Problems”, op. cit., 256.

⁴⁰ However, our text shows inconsistency also in this area, since there is one example (Γκιοϊδέν) where /g/ is graphically distinguished.

гетирдѣм : кулѣ versus πουνοῦ : τὰπ and κετηρδῆμ : κουλοῦ in the Karamanli version. This might appear quite natural, but was not always the case: as Mollova (1972: 175) has pointed out, in some Cyrillic Turkish texts we observe the traces of the original Greek graphization without distinction between voiced and unvoiced stops (e.g. керек / gerek).

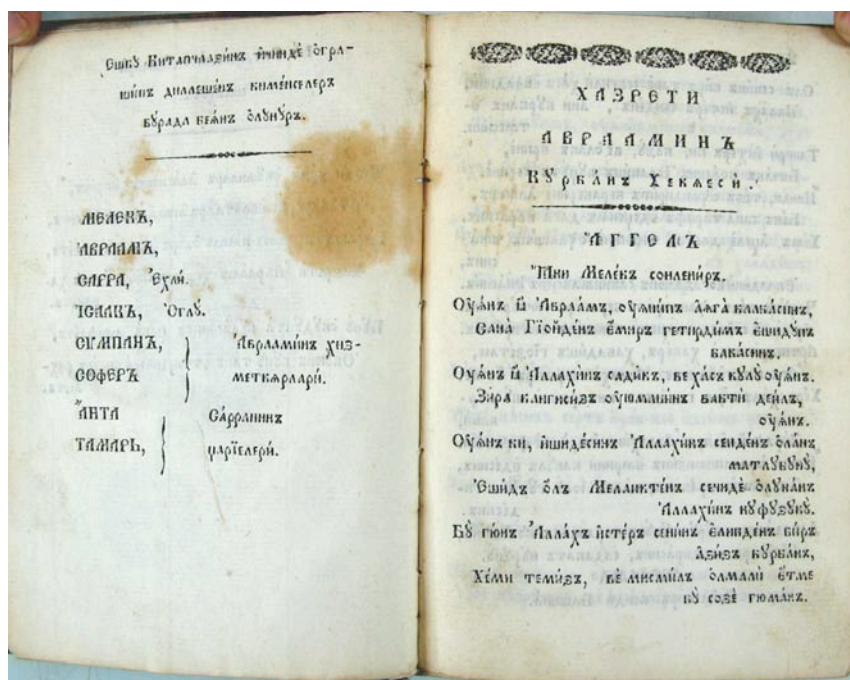


Fig. 2: *Hazret-i Avraam* (1845), p. [4]-1

II. The phonetic and morphological adaptation of the language.

The second “natural” procedure in transcription is the sporadic linguistic adaptation to a variety closer to the transcriber’s speech or writing habits, or to a “standardized” variety the transcriber wants to achieve with his adaptation. Examples of this in our text include:

- The *nl* > *nn* assimilation phenomenon in the Karamanli text (ὄκουγιαννὰρ [text 1, line 2], and ἔττιρεννερὲ [1,7]) shifts to окуянлάρ and еттиренлерѣ, respectively;
- eşid* is shifted to *işid* (ἐσιδέσθην > ишидѣсин [2,6], although also *e*-forms occur: ешидѣп [1,3] ешид [2,7]);
- The *o*- > *u*- shift in ὀγιάν > оуян (2,4 and 2,5) and in ὀγιουμανῆν > оуюманѣн (2,5; though also the Karamanli text presents *u*-forms).

All these cases show a more centralized or “standardized” language in the Cyrillic text, or, with other words, a levelling trend as opposed to the Anatolian dialect forms of the Karamanli text.

III. The conservation of graphical and linguistic features from the Karamanli original in the Cyrillic adaptation.

An inverse phenomenon, though equally typical for transcription, can be observed in some maintained forms, namely in three areas of phonology:

a) The Greek stressing is faithfully conserved even in abnormal cases, such as the imperative 2pl forms ἔδιν > één (1,5), and Ὀκούγιουν > Οκύюн (1,7). The only exception to this rule is ἐμίρ > éмир (2,3); however an error in the Cyrillic text cannot be excluded here.

b) The fluctuation in the converb form (y)Ip ~ (y)Up in the Karamanli text is exactly reflected in the Cyrillic version: οὐγιανῆπ > оуянийп (2,2) ~ ἐσιδοῦπ > ешидúп (2,3).

c) Phonological variants which are not necessarily dialect forms, or not perceived as such by the transcriber, are faithfully copied to the Cyrillic text: ἰταῒτ > итаéτ (1,3; *itaat*), χαρακέτ > харакéτ (1,5; *hareket*), μενφαῒτ > менфаéτ (1,6; *menfaat*)⁴¹.

All the aforementioned trends prove that a faithful transcription was produced by Ioanikij, a transcriber who was well acquainted with Turkish and carefully adapted or maintained the text without changing it absolutely.

2.2. The links between Cyrillic Turkish and Greek Ottoman musical anthologies

It goes without saying that the Turkish songs and poems (mostly *şarki*, to a lesser extent *gazel* and *mane*) contained in the anthologies, which were often edited by prominent figures in the Ottoman capital’s urban milieu, represent more generally the cultural legacy of Istanbul’s diverse communities, crossing ethnic, religious and social borders. The Greek anthologies were the first printed books of this genre (1830), whereas Ottoman Turkish *güfte mecmu’aları* (beginning with Hâşim Bey in 1852)⁴² and Armenian anthologies (the oldest dating back to 1865) were

⁴¹ The cryptic form χορανταςήντζα / хорантасѣнца (1,5), with unknown meaning, can also be added to this category.

⁴² Cf. Kappler, 2002, 30.

printed afterwards.⁴³ Additionally, for our purpose it is important to note that the subscriber lists of the Greek anthologies around the 1850s include many Slavic names (even in Cyrillic script) and Bulgarian place names⁴⁴ – an indication that Bulgarians used the Greek anthologies extensively⁴⁵. It is thus no wonder that many of the songs in our material can be found in previous musical anthologies edited by Ottoman Greeks. The more interesting question is: from which anthologies are the songs taken, and has the linguistic shape been changed during the transcription process, or has it been adopted?

We have selected three anthologies for our purpose: *Нова песнопойка* (1857; henceforward NP; Appendix no. 9), as the first book with a consistent number of songs (29 Turkish *şarki*), mostly from Ottoman Greek anthologies; *Разна любовна песнопевка* (1858; henceforward PP; Appendix no. 10) as a follow-up anthology of the previous one; and *Славейче* (1864; henceforward SL; Appendix no. 12), as an anthology containing almost exclusively new songs.

2.2.1. *Нова песнопойка* (NP) appears in 1857, when a large number of Ottoman Greek anthologies had been recently published, in other words, a period when the boom of printed *мечму'а* / *mismagies* reached its peak. A total of eleven Ottoman Greek anthologies were printed in the decade between 1846 and 1856, mostly with mixed contents, i.e. with songs in both Greek and Turkish⁴⁶. It is quite natural that most of the songs selected

⁴³ See Turgut Kut, “Ermeni harfleriyle Türkçe basılmış şarki ve kanto mecmuaları”, *Müteferrika* 1 (1993), 19-43.

⁴⁴ See Kappler, 2002, 25 with detailed indication of the place names.

⁴⁵ Another underlying factor is the insertion of Bulgarian female names in the *şarki* “Kara deniz yar yakın olsa yanıma” which was sung in many of the communities and included in both Greek (HK) and Bulgarian (NP) anthologies. See the song in the list below. Cf. Kappler, 2002, 494.

⁴⁶ The books are: the second (Turkish) volume of *Πανδώρα* (1846; 75 Turkish *şarki*), *Επανθούσα* (1847; 13 *şarki*), *Καλλιόπη* (1847; 12 *şarki*), *Αρμονία* (1848; 12 *şarki*), *Κιθάρα* (1848; 11 *şarki*), *Η Ωραία Μελπομένη* (1849; 4 *şarki*), *Η Ηχώ της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (1853; 7 *şarki*), *Ο Βουλγαροφαναριώτης* (1853; 5 *şarki*), *Τερψιχόρη* (1853; 6 *şarki*), *Ευανθία* (1853; 10 *şarki*), and the first edition of *Απάνθισμα* (1856; 61 *şarki*). For the whole titles, see Kappler 2002, 745-746, for a detailed description of the books, see Id., 33-35. It is worth remarking that two of these anthologies (*Κιθάρα* and *Ευανθία*) are edited by V. Telamon, who, as we have observed, was also involved with Cyrillic Turkish books (*Masaliye hekayet*, Appendix no. 3, and above 1.2.3.).

by the editor of NP, P.R. Slavejkov, were already included in these books which circulated in Istanbul: only eight from twenty-nine songs are not to be found in previously published Ottoman Greek anthologies. The correspondences can be presented as follows⁴⁷:

Songs also included in *Κιθάρα* (KI; 1848):

KI V > Kesti yine takat-ı taabım felek (suzidil) 77-78

KI VI > Yok mı acep girmiş (recte: görmüş) mi o mahparemi (şehnaz) 78-79

KI VIII > Teşrifini özler canım (hüseyni aşiran) 78

KI XI > Geydin mavi, inadına kavi 79

Songs also included in *Ενανθία* (EN; 1853):

EN IV > İki çifte bir piade (rast) 71

EN V > Şu derede telli kurşum parladı (hicaz) 71-72

EN VI > Sarı zeybek şu daglerde yaslanır (hüzam) 72

EN VII > Evrerinin (recte: evlerinin) önü Kyamilem ebe-gömece (hicaz) 73

EN VIII > Çeke çeke ben bu derdi çekemes oldum (hicaz) 89-90

EN IX > Adilemin parmakları (hicaz) 73-74

EN X > Bi vefa bi çesmim birdir (muayar) 90

Songs also included in *Η Ηχώ της Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* (HK; 1853):

HK I > Gelin oldum allı pullu giymedim (hüzam) 74-75

HK II > Bir görüşte beendim seni sevdim efendim (sebah) 75

HK III > Gül açıl gel aslı ne durgunluun (hicaz) 75-76

HK IV > Ateşim yanmadan tütünüm tüter (ferahnak) 76

HK V > Kara deniz yar yakın olsa yanıma (ferahnak) 76-77

HK VI > Kyafur gibi nazık teni (hicaz) 91

Song also included in *Βουλγαροφαναριώτης* (BF; 1853):

BF V > Bir köilan (= yolan / köheylan) at gerektir aşkımla yarışa (rast) 82-83

Songs also included in *Απάνθισμα* (AP1; 1856):

AP1 XV > Ben sana mecbur olmuşim (usul-i sofyan) 80

AP1 XXV > A efendim a sultanım didem doldu yaş ile (hicazkar) 85-86

⁴⁷ The complete texts of the songs from Greek anthologies can be found in Kappler 2002 under the respective indication (e.g. EN IV = *Ενανθία*, şarkı no. IV); the indication in brackets after the incipit of each song is the *makam*, according to the Ottoman musical system. The number indicates the page(s) in NP.

AP1 LXII > Sevastopol önünde bir ufak deniz (rast usul sofyan) 87-88

Songs not included in Greek anthologies of the 19th century:

Ak sadeler giymiş a yarım boylu boyunca (hicazkar) 82

Andon 86-87

Cibuum yok yol üstüne uzadam (tahir) 81-82

Fatime dedikçesde kaşın oynadır (Aydın hicaz havası) 88-89

İncili fesini giymiş başına 84

Kaçıpta karşımda gözünü süzme (acem) 74

O dökülen kumral saç sinemi yaktı ey peru (rast) 84-85

Vurdi vurdu şu sinemi bir kıma 83-84

AP1, which includes three songs contained also in NP, belongs to the genre of “musical anthologies”, i.e. with musical notes; it contains only Turkish texts and is therefore probably addressed to a Turkophone public. Moreover, the songs are not always exactly the same as in our Bulgarian anthology, namely the famous “Sevastopol şarkısı” in NP is a variant of AP1 and displays the stanzas in a different way. Therefore, we cannot suppose (nor can we exclude) that Slavejkov used this anthology. On the other hand, KI, EN and HK – the most frequently mentioned books in the above list – are “small” anthologies, without musical notes and with a larger number of Greek songs including a supplement of Turkish ones, being thus more similar to the typology of NP with its Bulgarian and Turkish “parts”. Such *Volksbücher* addressed to a Graecophone public were extremely popular in the 1850s, even more than the musical anthologies, because they also contained other texts in Greek, such as short stories, satirical texts and *billets doux* that served as a model for love-letters. Almost all songs in EN (7 out of 10) and in HK (6 out of 7) can be found in NP. Additionally, as can be seen from the above list, the order of the songs displayed in NP is almost identical with the order in the three Greek anthologies. It is therefore highly probable that the editor, Slavejkov, used these books as a direct model for his own anthology.

A linguistic comparison, not to be undertaken here, would in all likelihood confirm this finding: although Slavejkov sometimes transferred the language to his own Rumelian / Istanbul variety⁴⁸ (e.g.: eyleyemem >

⁴⁸ It should be noted that HK already contains some songs with dialect features from the East Rumelian varieties, see Kappler 2002, 197-198.

eylemem, KI VI / NP p. 78; geymedim > giymedim, HK I / NP p.), he more often adopted linguistic variation, graphic shapes and even errors from his models. Examples are the exact adoption of Anatolian dialect forms from EN IV (NP p. 71), the graphic correspondence in NP p. 77 and KI V (Κεστιϊνέ τακατί τααμπίμ φελέκ > кестиїне такать таабим фелек), and the copying of the mistaken doubling of the interrogative *mi* (impossible because of the metrical scheme) in NP p. 78 / KI VI (Yok mi acep görmiş mi o mahparemi).

2.2.2. *Разна любовна песно певка* (PP) appears in 1858, only one year after NP. The following nineteen *şarki* are included:

Song also included in *Πανδώρα* (PA; 1846):

PA LVII > Bir güzel aldattı beni (hüzam) 91-92

Song also included in *Επανθούσα* (EP; 1847):

EP X > Mah yüzüne aşıkânım (hicaz) 93

Songs also included in *Καλλιόπη* (KA; 1847):

KA V > Enmede turnam enme sen bu punara (beyat) 94-95

KA VII > Gel a kız göster memeni (acem) 96

Songs also included in *Απάνθισμα* (AP1; 1856):

AP1 XXI > Baharın zemanı geldi (hicaz) 89-90

AP1 XXXIX > Gönül verdim bir civane (hüzam) 91

Songs also included in *Нова песнопойка* (NP; 1857):

NP 71 (< EN IV) > İki çift bir piade (rast) 99

NP 71-72 (< EN V) > Şu derede telli kurşum parlardı (hicaz) 99

NP 73-74 (< EN IX) > Adilemin parmakları (hicaz) 100

NP 75-76 (< HK III) > Gül açıl gel aslı ne durgunluun (hicaz) 100-101

NP 76 (< HK IV) > Ateşim yanmadan tütünüm tüter (ferahnak) 101

NP 85-86 (< AP1 XXV) > A efendim a sultanım didem doldu yaş ile (hicazkar) 101-102

NP 81-82 > Çibuim yok yol üstüne uzada 96-98

NP 86-87 > Andon 102-103

Songs not included in previous anthologies:

Arabadan gösterdin parman 98

- Bir gözele tutuldum (muhayer) 92-93
 Bülbül olsam gecede konsam dallere (beyat) 95
 Güller açıldı geldi yaz (hüzam) 90
 Sim-u ten gonce dihen bir dilbere (acem aşiran) 103-104

As far as the Greek anthologies are concerned, we could make similar observations concerning NP. However, we would like to focus on the fact that PP takes over eight songs from a previous Bulgarian anthology (NP). The difference consists in the fact that PP is a product from another intellectual circle: it is the only Bulgarian anthology containing Turkish texts which was not edited by Slavejkov, and it is the only one not to be printed in Istanbul, but in Serbia. It seems obvious that the editor Penčo Radov of Karlovo aimed with his new anthology to familiarize Bulgarians (or other Slavs) outside Istanbul with the songs *en vogue* in the capital.

2.2.3. This leads us to the third anthology, *Славејче* (1864), again edited by Slavejkov, and printed in Istanbul (in the Armenian printing house of Divitčian, where a large number of Karamanli books were printed too!). The section with Turkish *şarki* bears the title “Novi šarki” and, in fact, Slavejkov introduces here a complete innovation in the intricate history of Ottoman anthologies: none of the songs is contained in any previously printed Greek or Bulgarian anthology, and only one of them appears in another anthology from the 19th century, namely the second edition of *Απάνθισμα* (1872), though in another version with a different third stanza:

Song also included in the second edition of *Απάνθισμα* (AP2; 1872):
 Bir görüşte hey peru yandım sana (dübent) 107-108 (AP2 LXXIII)

Songs not included in any printed Greek or Bulgarian anthology of the 19th century:

- Aman aman Bagdatlı 102-105
 Beni candan uşandırdı (dübent) 110-111
 Bildir güzel göynün bana (muhayer kürdü) 106-107
 Can-u dilden sevdim seni (hüzam) 106
 Çıkar tahta divan eyler (dübent) 111
 Ezmenden sözmenden (set araban) 108-109
 Gözeller tacietinde (semai) 109-110
 İbrahim İzmail kurbanı kurdu (tesniş) 111-112
 Karpuzu kestim sulandı (set araban) 108-109

Var mı hacet söyleim hey gül-tenim (muhayer kürdü) 105

The short approach proposed here shows, on the one hand, that for a significant number of Cyrillic Turkish anthologies the models of the texts must be sought in previously printed Ottoman Greek *mismagies*. On the other hand, however, the Bulgarian editors adapted the texts to their readership, and also presented completely new texts which cannot be traced back to Greek printed material of the period.

2.3. The transmission of narratives and the shaping of language: the example of *Mesrebiye Masallar*

Although Penčo Radov's collection of fables (*Mesrebiye Masallar*, 1852; Appendix no. 6) does not explicitly refer to Aesop⁴⁹, his stories are a selection of adapted fables from the Aesopic tradition. Radov's small selection (22 fables) appears two years before the Karamanli edition in Evangelinos Misailidis' translation⁵⁰. The first printed Ottoman edition of Aesop's fables appears much later, in 1889, translated by Ziya Tevfik probably from French (as the title *Ezop* suggests), while manuscript Ottoman versions existed at least from the eighteenth century⁵¹. Another possible model for the Cyrillic Turkish edition might be sought in the translation history of Aesop's fables into European languages, which dates back to the late fifteenth century⁵². We cannot establish here if Radov simply made a transcription of an Ottoman (or other Turkish) manuscript, or if he translated, more or less freely, from one of the numerous editions that circulated in various languages in the 19th century. However, we would suggest, sticking to our comparative approach, a confrontation between the Karamanli and the Cyrillic Turkish edition. The overlapping material between the two editions is not very sizeable: only five out of 22

⁴⁹ The only reference to Aesop in the book can be found in fable no. 3 (pp. 3-4) entitled "Esopos ve kaybettar kimse", where Aesop figures as the fictive narrator of the story "Jupiter and the pouches".

⁵⁰ *Αισωποσων κησασαδάν χησσε άλμαγά μαχσούς Μεσελλερί*, Istanbul: Anatoli 1854. See Balta 1987a: no. 34.

⁵¹ For example: *Hikayat-i Asapus*, (undated, written before 1752), Bodleian Library Oxford, Ms Bodl. Or. 191. *Hikayat-i Esopus*, (undated) Leiden University Library, Cod. Or. 1289.

⁵² Friedrich Adolf Ebert, *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexikon, Erster Band A-L*. Leipzig, Brockhaus 1821, 23-24.

stories in *Mesrebiye Masallar* are also included in the Karamanli edition two years later:

<i>Mesrebiye Masallar</i> (1852)	<i>Aisoposun ...</i> (1854)
Evlat ve valide (nr. 2, p. 2)	Valideyle evladının faslı (nr. 43, p. 37)
Tilki ve leylek (nr. 4, p. 4)	Tilki ile leyleyin faslı (p. 100)
Karı ve hekim (nr. 9, p. 7)	İhtiyar hatunile hekimin faslı (nr. 20, p. 21)
Fareler ve kedi (nr. 11, p. 8)	Kedi ile sırçanların faslı (nr. 27, p. 25-26)
İhtiyar ve ölüm (nr. 16, p. 11)	İhtiyarile ölüm faslı (nr. 19, p. 20)

A comparison of a whole fable might be useful in order to show the difference in language of the two versions:

İhtiyar ve ölüm (<i>Mesrebiye Masallar</i> , p. 11)	İhtiyarile ölüm faslı (<i>Aisoposun ...</i> , p. 20)
İhtiyarın birisi dağda odun kesti de sırtına aldı, ve yol çok olduğundan yorulmak ile çağırır-idi, ya ölüm gel beni al git. Ölüm da anide geldi ve dedi: niçin beni çağırдың? O da cevap etti şu odunları arkama yüklet deyü çağırдың. Her adam ömürü sever, eger da nacar vaktında ölümü çağırıp, ölmek arzularsa da.	Bir ihtiyar dağda odun kesip omuzuna koydukda varacağı mahal hayluce uzak olmağıle, usanıp omzundan atdı ve be ey ölüm neredesin, usandım tatlı canımdan gel al kurtar deyü çağırır çağırılmaz, ölüm derhal başına bitip, beni niçün teklif etdin deyü sual etmiş ise, teklif etdim ki şu yükü arkama kaldırıveresin cevap etmiş. Kıssadan hisse budur ki, be her adem tabiatdan ömür sevicisi olmağıle, sıklet vaktında ölümü arzulerse de, yine ömüre ölümünden ziyade rağbet ider.

The differences are evident at the various levels of language: phonetically, the dialect forms of Radov's language (Balkan Turkish *ölüm* : Standard Ottoman *ölüm*) coincide with simplification in lexicon and phonology (*niçin beni çağırдың* : *beni niçün teklif etdin*; *arzularsa da* : *arzulerse de*), as well as in syntax (*odun kesti de sırtına aldı* : *odun kesip omuzuna koydukda*) in the Cyrillic Turkish version. Radov wants to be understood by his Turkophone public in the Balkan provinces, whereas Misailidis shapes his language for an urban target readership in Istanbul, or aspires to the linguistic education of the Turkophone public in Asia Minor by using more complex structures and standard Ottoman phonology.

3. Research perspectives

Cyrillic Turkish texts have not yet been analysed in depth. Subsequent to the aforementioned valuable studies by Hazai and Mollova, the material has to be ordered and investigated in a comparative approach with Turkish texts in other alphabets, notably in the Greek script. In other words, the linguistic and historical analysis must consider the Karamanli production which is narrowly related to the Cyrillic texts produced in Istanbul and elsewhere. On the other hand, the study of Cyrillic Turkish texts, although so closely linked with the production of Karamanli writings, must have developed in parallel and also autonomously. The different approaches proposed in these few pages have shown the importance of the Karamanli texts, but also the originality of Cyrillic Turkish text production, especially in the non-religious domain. Part of the religious material may be considered as fine examples of “transcription texts” (the well-known *Transkriptionstexte*, Turkish texts in non-Arabic script, as is still the current term in Turkology), but a thorough graphematic analysis on large corpora of texts must be undertaken in order to corroborate what has been found in this contribution. Moreover, it is expected that additional material will be discovered in the process of more extensive archival research in Bulgarian, Turkish and Rumanian libraries. The linguistic analysis which should accompany historical research may also help to tackle the delicate question of Gagauz literature in the Cyrillic alphabet, but particularly it can show us the way to understand the complicated mechanisms between transmission, transcription and tradition.

4. Appendix:

Cyrillic Turkish texts printed in Istanbul, Bulgaria, Rumania, Serbia, and Salonica during the 19th century⁵³.

1. **1841.** Teodosij Sinaitski, *Книга за научение трих языков славяноболгарски и греческия и карамалицкой*. Solon [Salonica]. 24 p. 8⁰ [BVK 7480, Kiril i Metodij 59; see also Dmitriev 1928/1930, and

⁵³ The following list is the result of research undertaken at the National Library “Kiril i Metodij”, Sofia, in October 2010, and does not pretend to be exhaustive. Much more material might be found, especially for the period after 1875, but our research was necessarily limited to the titles described by Stojanov 1957. The indication in square brackets refers to the bibliographical source (usually BVK = Stojanov 1957) where the work has been listed and to the catalogue number in the Library (Kiril i Metodij).

Georg Hazai, “Über den osmanisch-türkischen Abschnitt des dreisprachigen Sprachführers von Saloniki”. *Ural-Altäische Jahrbücher* 33 (1961), 66-72]

2. **1845.** [Hadži] Ioanikij Ierodjakon, *Хазрети Авраамин зиаде чок джана менфаатли кур бан хикяеси . Шимди текрар басмая верилди гайретииле Рагбетлу Хаџи Иоанникиа Иеродиаконун Казанлик нахиесинден Туриа киойнден . Аситанеде Патрикханенин басмаханесинде.* 4 + 109 + 27 p. 8⁰ (Цена 8 gr.) [BVK 3247, Kiril i Metodij 45.116]

2. ed.; 1. ed.?

I-II: Prologue in verses

1: presentation of the characters

2-109: text

(111-128): list of subscribers

Translated from Turkish to Bulgarian by Andrej Popdojnov Robovskij (Elena 1801-1858): *Жертва или служба Авраамова . Превел от турски на български сакеларий поп Андрей п. Дойнов Робовский из Търновска Елена . Константиновгад, в печатницата Тадея Дивитчиана, 1858. Odobrenie ot “Caregradskia cenzor na Bălgarskoto prosveštenie”. 72 p. 8⁰ [BVK 6587, Kiril i Metodij 397]*

3. **1848.** *Масалие хекяеттир ки ... Румистанда гелмиш олан ... патиишахлардан Понтианос кайсер наминда бир патиишахин ... хекяетидир.* Bucharest: Vasilios Telamon. [Mollova 1972]

4. **1851.** Penčo Radov, *Китаби шерифтен алинма ве чок улема, ве акилана кимеснелерин китаплариндан тахсил олунма, тене ве џана менфаатли н асихетлер Филибе казасъндан Карловалъ Пенчо Радиоглу мисарифи иле тап олунмуштур. Сербия де Белиград Басмаханесинде.* [BVK 6440]

5. **1851.** Penčo Radov, *Краткий турско -болгарский речник и разговорник.* Belgrade. [Mollova 1971, 1972 et. alii (cf. p. 172, fn 3)] 94, 2 p. 8⁰ (цена 2 сваница) [BVK 6439, Kiril i Metodij 51.212]

6. **1852.** Penčo Radov, *Месребие масаллар . Филибе казасъндан Карловалъ Пенчо Ради-оглу мисарифи -иле тап олунмуштур.* Сербия

де Белиград Басмаханесинде. 26 + 2 p. 16⁰ [BVK 6441, Kiril i Metodij 50.240]

Eccl.-Slav. letters

7. **1854.** Petko Račov Slavejkov, *Веселушка развеселяване на младите. Издал Петко Р. Славейков*. Цариград, в печатницата Цариградскаго вестника. 32 p. 4⁰ [BVK 6821, Kiril i Metodij 54.296]

29-32: Turkish songs

8. **1856.** Stefan Vălkov, *Турскій буквар за българските юноши, които желаят със полесен способ да получат добро начало на Турският язык. Преведен, допълнен и издаден от Стефана Вълкова из Жеравна*. В типографията Тадеа Дивитчианова в Цариград. 64 p. 8⁰ [BVK 1165, Kiril i Metodij 56.357]

Eccl.-Slav. letters and Arabic

9. **1857.** Petko Račov Slavejkov, *Нова песнопойка. Избрана от ветата и от Веселушката с приложение на еше други нови песни и сатири. И от по-употребителните турски песни. Издава Петко Р. Славейков*. Цариград, в печатнята Тадеа Дивитчиан. 96 p. 8⁰ [BVK 6835, Kiril i Metodij 377]

Eccl.-Slav. letters.

3-70: Bulgarian songs and poems

71-91: 29 Turkish songs (şarkı)

92: bilingual (Turkish-Bulgarian) song

92-96: Bulgarian poems

10. **1858.** Penčo Radov & G.M.L. Sofijanec, *Разна любовна песнопевка, Събрал Г.М.Л. Софиянец, Издал Пенчо Радов*. Белград, в кнажеско-Сърбската книгопечатня, 106 p. [BVK 4976, Kiril i Metodij 58.428.I]

89-104: 19 Turkish songs (şarkı)

104-106: religious song (“İlahî”) ‘Kutsuşerif (Yerusalim) için bent’ (Incipit: İptida serden yügeim hal-i Kutsuşerifin) by “Ch. Georgi Markoviča Pravitelstvennago Sabljara”

11. **1858.** (Anonymous), *Разговори български -гречески-турски-французки-англо-италиански за ония, които желаят разговора на*

тия язици. Цариград, в печатницата Тадея Дивитчиана. 39 p. in 3 coll., 8⁰ [BVK 8238, Kiril i Metodij 58.427]

In Eccl.-Slav. letters

12. **1864.** Petko Račov Slavejkov, *Славейче или събрание на различни песни български и турски за растуха на младите*. Цариград, в типограф. на Т. Дивитч иан, 128 p. 16⁰ [BVK 6954, Kiril i Metodij 64.722]

In Eccl.-Slav. letters

102-112: Turkish songs (*Novi šarki*)

112: gazel

113: 4 mane

13. **1864.** D. V. Mančev, *Българский букварь*. Plovdiv. 64 p. 16⁰ [BVK 5084, Kiril i Metodij 64.680]

60-62: two Turkish songs in honour of Abdülaziz

14. **1864.** Periodical *Gajda* (II, 11, p. 81-82 / 05.10.1864): Даситанъ хичви зарифлик [BVK 6905]

15. **1870.** Ioan Nikolov Zjumbulov, *1. Иерусалимин зияреднамеси 2. Валидет – Дулах бикир Меирямън Ясларъ 3. Хазрети Авраамън Исакъ курб ан итмеси 4. Бени адем узерине иляхи 5. Илиас пейгамбери амели адалети 6. Махшер диванън къямети хъйбети сурети 7. Инсанън руху теслиминде махшер къямети сиянмасънъ ниhaети бозулмасънъ бентлери беанъндадър 8. Ериле гьокюн метхиесини ве Св. Божа ибадети (с)[о]ларак. Каусерие Инджесулу Сюмбюлоглу – Никола махтоми монахос хаджи Иоани малюмати месар и фи -иле таб олунду*. [Цариград] В печатницата на в . „Македония“. 93, 1p, 1 obraz. 16⁰ [BVK 3246]

16. **1870.** Petko Račov Slavejkov, *Песнопойка или събрание на разни песни български и турски*. Цариград, в печатницата на Македония. 80 + 16p., 8⁰ [BVK 6985, Kiril i Metodij 1233]

1-80: Bulgarian

1-8: Turkish songs: 1: şarki in makam eviç praising Abdülaziz; 2-7: 10 şarki; 8: Gazemî (sic) = fragments of şarki and gazel

9-16: “Novi pesni” in Bulgarian

The second part (16 pp.) including the Turkish songs has also been edited separately (according to Stojanov 1957: 329).

17. **1872.** Konstantin S. Tinterov, *Песнопойче от български и турски песни. Издава К . С . Тинтеров . Цариград, в печатницата на Македония.* 32р., 8⁰ (сена 40 pari) [BVK 7485, Kiril i Metodij 1414]

1-22: Bulgarian

23-32: Turkish (turski pesni); 23: şarkı praising Abdülaziz (same as *Pesnopojka*, p. 1); 24-31: 11 şarkı (in part same as *Pesnopojka*); 1 gazel (24-25); 31-32: mane

18. **1874.** Ваčo Kiro Petrov, *Второ пътуване на Бача Кира. Издават добрите му приятели за любопитни читатели.* Руссе, в печатницата на Дунавската област. 52 р. 8⁰ (сена 3 gr.) [BVK 6067, Kiril i Metodij 74.1573]

3-6 предисловіе и исторія (in Bulgarian)

7-34 Пътуваніето ми по сръбско

35-52 Пътуваніето ми по турски

19. **1875.** Levter M. Dobricianov, *Молитви с църковно пение на турски язык, съставил Левтер М. К. Добрициянов.* Браила, печатница Х. Д. Паничкова, 1875, 27, 1 р. 8⁰. (Cena ½ frank.) [BVK 1736, Kiril i Metodij 1681]

Cf.:

1875. Ivan Todorov Chrulev, *Молитви с църковно пение на турски язык, съставил Иван Т. Хрулев.* Браила, печатница Х. Д. Паничкова, 1875, 27 р. 16⁰ (Cena 50 st.) [BVK 7781]

20. **1875.** Dimităr Paničkov, *Параклис на пресветая Богородица на турски език . Съставил Х . Д . Паничков.* Браила, печатница Х . Д. Паничкова, 1875, 21 р. 16⁰ [BVK 5911]

21. **1875.** Periodical *Napredăk* (IX, 25, 18.01.1875): Сурвакник или новогодишни поздравления [BVK 7116]