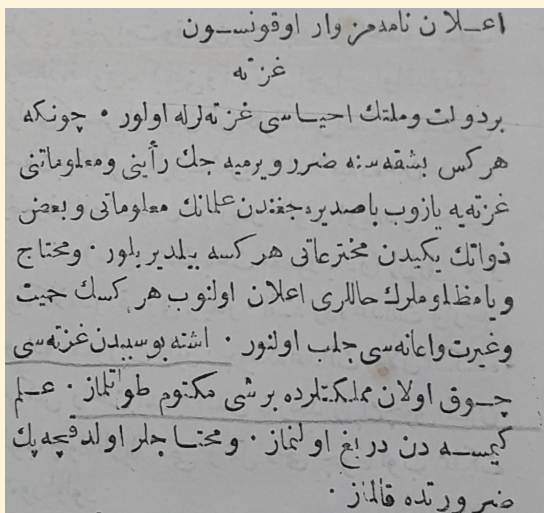


Press and Mass Communication in the Middle East

Festschrift for Martin Strohmeier

Börte Sagaster, Theoharis Stavrides and Birgitt Hoffmann (eds.)



12 Bamberger Orientstudien

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hg. von Lale Behzadi, Patrick Franke, Geoffrey Haig,
Christoph Herzog, Birgitt Hoffmann, Lorenz Korn
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Martin Strohmeier

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Preface

The present volume is intended as a small gift to Martin Strohmeier, who will be retiring from his position as Professor at the University of Cyprus in summer 2017. Martin Strohmeier has spent a considerable part of his academic life – from 1998 to 2017 – as a Professor of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies at the University of Cyprus. As one of the early members of the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies, he has shaped the department with his manifold interests and ideas, for which several long-term stays in different countries of the Islamic Middle East have surely been inspiring.

From his student days until his move to Cyprus, Martin Strohmeier has been a wanderer between the worlds: For many years, he taught at various universities in his home country Germany (Bamberg, Kiel, Freiburg, Würzburg) and was twice a researcher at the Orient Institute of the German Oriental Society – first in Beirut (1985-86), and later in Istanbul (1990-93). In addition to this, he made over the years countless journeys to the Middle East – for reasons of research, and simply for his love and interest in the history and culture of the eastern Mediterranean, to which he feels very much connected. In this sense, Martin Strohmeier came to an ideal place by his appointment in Cyprus: The complex history of Cyprus as an island, which for many centuries has been an important interface between ‘Orient’ and ‘Occident’, has fascinated and repeatedly occupied him as a researcher since his move to Nicosia in 1998. For this book, we have selected a thematic focus, which covers only one of Martin Strohmeier’s numerous interests, but contributes in its broadness to the various geographic areas that were particularly important for his personal life: the Arab world, Turkey and the Turcophone World, and Cyprus. The authors and editors of this volume are part of his network of colleagues, former students and friends from different periods of his life – we thank all of them for their contributions. A special thanks goes to our colleague Michalis N. Michael, for his valuable contribution in the preparation to this volume.

Introduction

Michalis N. Michael, Börte Sagaster, Theoharis Stavrides

**Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies,
University of Cyprus**

Although the Ottomans were quick to adopt technological advances coming from the West, it took them several centuries to receive one key western innovation: printing. The printing press, which was invented by Johannes Gutenberg in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire in the mid-fifteenth century, launched a printing revolution in Early Modern Europe.¹ However, these developments left the Muslim world more or less intact. Even though non-Muslim subjects of the Sultan soon adopted the new technology and introduced it into Ottoman lands, a variety of religious, aesthetic, socio-political and economic factors prevented for a long time the adoption of printing in the Arabic script.² The decision to permit the printing of books in Ottoman Turkish in 1727 led to a period of intellectual fermentation, which was, however, confined to the higher strata of society due to the limited number of publications and the small number of copies printed.³ The problem was compounded by the low levels of literacy of the wider public, reaching as low as 2–3 % for Muslims in the early nineteenth century.⁴ It can thus be said that printing did not have a decisive impact on Ottoman society in the first century after its introduction into the Empire.⁵ Things began to change in the middle of the nineteenth century with the diffusion of newspapers and the Press, as a response to rising literacy and the demands of an emergent Ottoman civil society, itself partly a result of this development.

¹ Eisenstein 1983.

² Faroqhi 2000: 94–6.

³ Hanioglu 2008: 38.

⁴ Quataert: 168–70.

⁵ Hanioglu 2008: 38.

Rising literacy, reaching around 15 % by the end of the nineteenth century, was a result of the increase in the availability of private and state-sponsored education.⁶ Indicators for this development were the increasing numbers of students in Ottoman schools, as well as the exponential rise in the output of Ottoman printing-houses, going from ca. 180 titles between 1729 and 1829 to 6,357 between 1876 and 1892.⁷ Even then, printing and newspapers remained for a long time an affair of the Ottoman centre, spreading to the provinces considerably later, especially after the *vilâyet* reform of 1864, and even then it remained restricted to official publications.⁸ For example, a major provincial centre like Damascus received its first permanent press as late as 1864 and its first privately-owned newspaper fifteen years later, in 1879. Before 1908, all three local Damascene newspapers were printed at the official provincial press, an indication that the views they expressed did not diverge from the official ones.⁹

In the Empire's centre, however, the Press became the main medium for the expression and dissemination of ideas that did not conform to those of the authorities. This is exemplified by the case of the Young Ottomans, the first modern ideological movement in the Ottoman Empire, which consciously tried to foster and influence public opinion, through the publication of newspapers, like *Tasvir-i Efkâr*, the circulation of which reached 20,000 copies in the late 1860s.¹⁰ The circulation of newspapers initiated debate on social, political and scientific topics, and contributed to the dissemination of western ideas and, even, the evolution of the Ottoman Turkish language into a new and more dynamic medium of expression.¹¹ Newspapers also contributed to the breaking down of the hitherto dominant outlook in Ottoman culture by focussing on knowledge about the everyday world, about society and nature, and

⁶ Hanioglu 2008: 102–3. Quataert 2005: 169–70. Fortna 2002.

⁷ Quataert 2005: 170–2. Strauss, 2005: 229.

⁸ Strauss 2005: 229.

⁹ Commins 1990: 16–7.

¹⁰ Zürcher 2004: 67–70. Hanioglu 2008: 94. Hanioglu 2008: 103–4.

¹¹ Hanioglu 2008: 94. Strauss 2005: 234.

diverting the attention of the public from religion.¹² Maybe more importantly, the Press became the channel for the formation of an Ottoman civil society and the fostering of an identity for the Ottoman bourgeoisie.

According to Fatma Müge Göçek, the press played a key role in the social, political and cultural transformation of the Empire: “As the print media created an imagined Ottoman community, conceptualized an Ottoman public opinion, and sanctioned the alleged omnipotence of the Ottoman sultan, the abstract vision of the Ottoman motherland started to take root”.¹³ Therefore, the appearance of an Ottoman public opinion in the late nineteenth century was a result of the multiplicity of views presented by the proliferation of newspapers.¹⁴ Perceiving the power of the press as potentially damaging to the legitimacy of Ottoman rule, the authorities attempted to control the content of the ideas circulating through newspapers by promulgating censorship laws. These laws exemplified the tensions existing between the Sultan and the emergent civil society, since through them, the Sultan “tried to control the expanding social influence of civil society by censoring and banning its main channel of communication”.¹⁵

Finally, a major characteristic of late Ottoman printing was its variety and cosmopolitanism, since by the term “Ottoman printing” we are not confined to publications in Ottoman Turkish, but we may also include other Islamic languages, like Arabic and Persian, languages of non-Muslim minorities of the Empire, like Greek, Armenian and Bulgarian, or major European languages, like French, Italian English and German.¹⁶ As Johann Strauss points out, “printing and publishing in the late Ottoman Empire must be regarded very much as the result of the collective effort of *all* the communities comprising this multi-ethnic

¹² Commins 1990: 19.

¹³ Göçek 1996: 125.

¹⁴ Göçek 1996: 126.

¹⁵ Göçek 1996: 128. Hanioglu 2008: 125–6. Strauss 2005: 238–9.

¹⁶ Strauss 2005: 227–8.

empire”. The importance of the role of the minorities in Ottoman printing is highlighted by the fact that, before 1914, the majority of the printing presses in Istanbul were ran by non-Muslims.¹⁷

The contributions in this volume reach from articles related to Press and printing in different regions and religious and ethnic communities of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century to post-Ottoman times, the Middle East in the 20th and 21st century. The book is divided into three parts. Owing to Martin Strohmeier's close connection to Cyprus and Greece, a considerable number of articles deal in various ways with the history of the Greek press during the Ottoman period, as well as with the history of printing and the Press in Ottoman and post-Ottoman Cyprus (Part 1):

In their chapter “Publisher of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* for half a century: Following the trail of Dimitris Nikolaidis in the Ottoman archives”, Evangelia Balta and Ayşe Kavak attempt to follow the publishing activity of Dimitris Nikolaidis (d. 1915), editor of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis*, through research in the Ottoman archives. Taking their cue from their discovery in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi of an 1887 application by Nikolaidis to publish a newspaper in Karamanlidika entitled *Asya*, the authors attempt to discover the fate of that newspaper, embarking on a more general attempt to reconstruct Nikolaidis' publishing production, which spanned half a century, within the broader context of Ottoman publishing activity. The study traces Nikolaidis' publication of the Greek newspaper *Konstantinoupolis*, published intermittently in Istanbul between the 1860s and World War I, his translation of Ottoman legislation into Greek (*Ottoman Codes*), and his founding of the influential avant-garde journal *Servet-i Fünûn*, which initially acted as a supplement to his Ottoman newspaper *Servet*.

As Stelios Irakleous points out in the introduction of his chapter “Karamanlidika is Ottoman; Viewing the Pages of *Anatoli*”, “newspapers and the press in general is always a resourceful tool regarding insight into

¹⁷ Strauss 2005: 228.

historical, cultural and linguistic phenomena”, adding that “this tool becomes even more important when dealing with traditions that have met extinction”. In his chapter, the author aims to contribute to the discussion of what Karamanlidika is in linguistic terms, by examining one specific page from *Anatoli*, a newspaper that was published between the years 1850 and 1922 and was, as he points out, the “avant-garde of Karamanlidika press”. In his introductory remarks, Irakleous argues that “Karamanlidika is Ottoman, is simple Turkish, is dialectal, is standard Turkish always in accordance to the circumstances, epoch, writer and reader”. So, by analysing this specific page from *Anatoli*, the author argues that the writers tried to illustrate their knowledge of the Ottoman language in their printed material mainly through the use of anachronistic morphology, which was actually a transliteration of Ottoman writing, on a first level, and then through the use of extensive Arabic/Persian vocabulary and conjunctions. Irakleous establishes his main arguments through a linguistic analysis of a specific page of *Anatoli*.

In his chapter “The Greek-Cypriot Press on Kâmil Paşa”, Ioannis P. Theocharides attempts to trace the ways, in which the Greek-Cypriot press perceived a prominent Muslim compatriot, Kâmil Paşa (1832–1913), who rose to prominence in the Late Ottoman State, reaching the office of Grand Vizier four times between 1885 and 1913. Using extensive passages from Greek-Cypriot newspapers of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the author sketches the ways the island’s press reported on this prominent Cypriot, on the policies that he followed, as well as on the intrigues that led to his fall, in the turbulent age of the reign of Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876–1909) and following the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. The paper traces the evolution of the attitude of the Greek press, from initial hostility due to its complete identification with the interests of the Greek State, to eventual admiration and pride, that characterizes the later reports, especially after Kâmil Paşa fell out of favour with the Young Turks, to the point that he is characterized as “Turkey’s Cavour or Bismarck”.

Matthias Kappler devotes his article “Divandrucke in der Universitätsbibliothek Zypern und der Divan des Selânikli Meşhûrî Efendi” to the

printed Ottoman poetry divans in the Turcological Collection of the University of Cyprus. The collections of Tibor Halasi-Kun, Louis Bazin, and above all Andreas Tietze, make the library of the University of Cyprus an important place for valuable Ottoman prints of the 19th and early 20th centuries. After an introduction on the history of Ottoman poetry printing in the 19th century, in which Cairo (Bulaq) played a pioneering role, Kappler turns to the divans in the Turcological Collection of UCY, of which three belong to the precious Bulaq prints of the 1830s. Kappler turns then to one specific poet and his divan, the divan of Meşhûrî Efendi from Thessaloniki, which was printed in Thessaloniki in 1292 (1875). In two large appendixes, finally, he presents a bibliography of the divan prints in the Turcological Collection of UCY (App. 1) as well as the transcriptions of the titles of all poems in the Divan of Selânikli Meşhûrî Efendi (App. 2).

Hüseyin Ağuıçenođlu's article "Der Nationalgedanke in den frühesten osmanisch-zypriotischen Periodika" is on the belated emergence of National thought in the Turkish-Cypriot press. Following the rhetoric in Turkish-Cypriot periodicals up to the 1930s, Ağuıçenođlu demonstrates how the debate on nationalism was in the beginning characterized by an Ottomanist defence rhetoric against Greek nationalism, before it got developed a sharper tone in the second decade of the 20th century. After the establishment of the Turkish Republic, the defence rhetoric was increasingly replaced by offensive tones of Turkish nationalism. In particular, the newspaper *Söz* was the journalistic 'guardian' of the Kemalist ideas on the island, which also fought the British colonial administration. Ağuıçenođlu states that with the suppression of the Greek uprising in October 1931 and its consequences, a new era began, which also was a turning point for Turkish nationalism. The suppression of the Greek and Turkish nationalisms after the uprising created the basis for the first roots of an "all-Cypriot patriotism," the pioneer of which was the newspaper *Masum Millet*.

In his article, entitled "A Protagonist in Cyprus' Tanzimat Literature: Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım", Ahmet Yıkık studies the emergence of Tanzimat literature in Cyprus as it coincides with that of newspapers

published in Ottoman Turkish during the last decade of the nineteenth century. The author argues that in Cyprus the foundations of modern and domestic literature in Turkish were laid by the publication of newspapers. Ahmet Yıkık's case study is Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım (1857–1924) who tried to find a noticeable place in the literary circles of Istanbul and, in order to achieve his goals, he formed close relations with innovative writers of Tanzimat literature, like Namık Kemal and Recai-zade Mahmut Ekrem, by whom he was greatly influenced. As a result, Nazım wrote literary works, which contained elements borrowed from the literary traditions of East and West and, consequently, he made his mark as the first Cypriot Muslim to write a novel. In this article, the author reviews the literary career and major works of the aforementioned writer.

Part 2 of this volume deals with press and printing in the Arabic world during and after the Ottoman rule:

Maurus Reinkowski argues in his article “Eine Windmühle mehr? Osmanische Pressepolitik in Kairo um 1900”, that Ottoman Egypt in the 19th century was a “particularly complicated case of overlaying domination claims.” Cairo and Istanbul were the two centres of the Ottoman Empire, one of them the capital, the other the seat of the Egyptian Khedive, whose attempt to take over the imperial power from the central government was hindered by the European Powers. In the second half of the 19th century, Egypt became important as a *refugium* for the oppositional Arabic press until it became its most important centre. Taking up the diplomatic activities of the Ottoman bureaucrat Ahmed Muhtar who was sent to Cairo by Sultan Abdülhamid as an ‘extraordinary commissioner’ (*fevkalade komiser*) in 1885, Reinkowski can show that this otherwise rather unsuccessful bureaucrat was quite successful in controlling and dealing with the oppositional press in Cairo.

Michael Ursinus focuses in his article on “Wider die Barbarei an der Wiege der Zivilisation. Osmanische Intellektuelle des 19. Jahrhunderts über das arabische Beduinentum im Zweistromland” on the discussion on the situation of the Arab bedouins in Mesopotamia as led in the *vilayet* newspaper of Baghdad, *Zevra*, between 1869 and 1871. Using the

example of the articles of the editor-in-chief of the newspaper, Ahmed Midhat Efendi, and his dialogue with his local readers, Ursinus shows how the discussion in *Zevra* on the “barbaric Bedouins” in Mesopotamia served as a means to carry the modernizing discourse of the Tanzimat from the centre of the Empire Istanbul into the provinces. As an Ottoman bureaucrat from the centre, Midhat Efendi took part in the late Empire’s endeavour to hold its sovereignty over its provinces in discussing in a language that was close to the people themes that were of concern for the local population.

Fruma Zachs notes in her chapter “Challenging the Ideal: *al-Diya’* as Labiba Hashim’s Stepping Stone” that, toward the end of the 19th century, when the *nahda* (Arab Awakening) was at its peak, many Arabic newspapers and journals were founded in Greater Syria and Egypt. One of these journals was *al-Diya’*. As she points out, although newspapers and magazines during the Arabic *nahda* have been researched extensively, *al-Diya’*, published by Ibrahim al-Yaziji from 1898 to 1906, has received scant attention. So in her chapter she examines a key feature of this newspaper: the short stories it published by Labiba Hashim, one of the leading women writers in the late *nahda*. The chapter inspects her earlier fictional short stories (*uqsusa*) and shows that *al-Diya’* served as a stepping-stone for her future career and shaped her literary approach. Like several other women writers in the *nahda*, Hashim’s stories defy the typical depiction narrative of women’s ideal life of love, family and marriage, so characteristic of novels of that period, by presenting conflicts and circumstances faced by women in their daily lives.

In his chapter “Fatwas as Political Communication: The Case of the Shihab al-Din Mosque in Nazareth”, Yitzhak Reiter takes the Shihab al Din affair as a case through which he analyses the practice of *fatwas*. This case was a dispute that broke out between Islamist activists and the Nazareth Municipality in December 1997. According to the author, the Shihab al-Din affair “sheds light on *fatwas* as a political communication platform. It also manifests the drawbacks of a *fatwa* in the political realm that undermines the credibility of the *fatwa* institution”. In this chapter, Reiter tries to show that the *mufti* tends to accept the petitioner’s narra-

tive and may refrain from investigating the truth of what has been presented to him in the petition. The author argues that “this case shows that, on the one hand, it is relatively easy to manipulate a *mufti* to issue a desired response, and the *mufti* himself may collaborate with the petitioner”. Additionally, as the author mentions in his introductory remarks, this chapter has also a wider context in understanding the current practice of Islamic law. It unfolds the central aspects of a *fatwa*, and more precisely the procedure of issuing the *mufti*’s response that make it easy to manipulate, resulting in the limited validity of a *fatwa* document. After a brief summarization of the Nazareth dispute, its background and the reason for the issuing of *fatwas*, the author analyses the drawbacks of using a *fatwa* as a legal tool and explains why it is easy to employ it for political purposes. Finally, the author analyses the specific *fatwas* that were provided in the Shihab al-Din case.

The third part of this volume, finally, is dedicated to press and printing in Turkey and the Turkic World in the 20th and 21st centuries:

Börte Sagaster’s article “‘Cheers to the new life’ – Five Turkish serial novels of the 1930s in the popular magazine *Yedigün*,” deals with some works of popular literature in Turkey, an area that is increasingly coming into the focus of scholars of Turkish literature. In order to distribute their novels, many young authors of the early Turkish Republic published their novels not as books, but as serial novels in various periodicals. Sagaster examines five serial novels of young authors of the early Republican period – published in the popular ‘family and folk magazine’ *Yedigün* – with regard to the social and gender images represented in them. From the five novels, she draws a number of ‘types’ of Turkish young men and women who function – positively or negatively – as ‘role models’ for the early Turkish Republican society.

Christoph Herzog investigates in his article “Zur populärwissenschaftlichen Geschichtszeitschrift: *Derin Tarih* anhand ihres Webauftritts” a contemporary subject, namely the digital version of a Turkish popular historical magazine. He argues that “the importance of the free available internet sites of printed periodicals is considerable considerably high” as quite a lot of readers resort to digital search engines, and that one could

consider the website of *Derin Tarih* as “a kind of ‘carte de visite’” of the magazine. *Derin Tarih* is a popular historical magazine that is published since 2012 by an affiliated company of the Albayrak Holding, a national religious holding with close ties to the AKP. Herzog has a detailed look at the makers and the thematic focuses of the magazine as well as at the structure of the website of *Derin Tarih* and its graphical representation, which reveal its close ties to Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s politics and its efforts to support him.

The article of by Beatrice Hendrich with the title “Meine Muttersprache? Ein Abenteuer! Mıgırdiç Margosyan” deals with the role of the mother tongue in a multilingual environment on the example of the works of a contemporary Armenian Turkish writer who is writing in two languages (Armenian and Turkish). In the 1990s, the multilingual cultural heritage of Turkey as well as the loss of it became the popular topic of an interested public. With the end of the ban on the public use of the Kurdish language in 1991, the publishing market became increasingly linguistically and ethnically pluralized. In addition to fiction and journalistic articles in Turkish written by ethnic Turkish, Armenian, Jewish or Kurdish writers, works in Kurdish or Armenian language have also been published. On the example of the Armenian Turkish writer Mıgırdiç Margosyan, in whose work language and the discussion of language take a prominent place, Hendrich investigates the role that language and the Turkish language politics play for writers in Turkey with a non-Turkish background.

Christiane Bulut’s chapter, entitled “Printing in the Peripheries”, deals with the adaptation or choice of writing systems for printing in the western borderlands of the Muslim World, especially in view of the fact that the Arabic alphabet has always been one of the major features of Muslim identity. According to the author, the close connection of the Arabic script with the Islamic religion impeded efforts to modify the script, in order to be better suited to different phonology or the technical needs for printing. Bulut argues that a renewed discussion about script reforms evolved in the second half of the 19th and the early 20th centuries, in an atmosphere of historical and political change, as efforts to reform or

even abolish the Arabic script were more likely to develop at a time when the role of religion was questioned or was being replaced by new concepts, such as the nation state on the western model, or where contacts with different languages, political systems and ideologies were more immediate, as in the Turkic-speaking peripheries of the Islamic World, such as in Turkey or Azerbaijan, or in diasporas. According to the author, the compatibility of writing systems with modern media, such as printing and electronic communication, required a rethinking of writing traditions for merely technical reasons, leading to the development of three distinct choices, namely, the creation of a reformed or supplemented Arabic alphabet, the abolition of the Arabic script and the adoption of an alternative one, such as the Latin or the Cyrillic, or the adoption of printing in different languages and related alphabets.

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Martin Strohmeier

Born in Scheessel, Germany, Martin Strohmeier studied Islamic and Turkish Studies in at the Universities of Heidelberg, Hamburg and Ankara and received his PhD from the University of Freiburg in 1984. He then worked as a researcher in the Orient Institute of the German Oriental Society in Beirut between the years 1985–1986, while between 1990 and 1993 he worked as a researcher in the Orient Institute of Istanbul. Meanwhile, in the period 1986–1990 and between the years 1993–1995 he taught as an Assistant Professor in the University of Bamberg, while from 1995 onwards he taught in the Universities of Freiburg, Kiel and Würzburg. In 1994, after completing his habilitation in Bamberg University, he received the title of Professor. The topic of his habilitation research was Culture and History of the Islamic Middle East. In 1998 he was elected Professor in the then newly established Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cyprus, from which he is retiring in 2017.

The scholarly and research interests of Martin Strohmeier always deal with the broader Islamic Middle East, like the History of the Middle East in the Modern era, the History of the Ottoman Empire and Turkey, especially the history of the press and the development of education in the Middle East; the Kurds in the Middle East; the Arab Revolt in World War I. As can be seen through his publications, with his election in the Department of Turkish and Middle Studies of the University of Cyprus, part of his research focused on Cyprus and its history, and its relation to the Islamic Middle East, especially during the Late Ottoman period.

Among his monographs, the most important are *Seljuk History and Turkish Historiography. The Seljuks in the Works of Modern Turkish Historians (Seldschukische Geschichte und türkische Geschichtswissenschaft. Die Seldschuken im Urteil moderner türkischer Historiker)* published by Schwarz in Berlin (1984) and his work *Arabism, Ottomanism and Panislamism in World War I (Al-Kullīya as-Salāhiya in Jerusalem: Arabismus, Osmanismus und Panislamismus im Ersten Weltkrieg)*, a monograph published in Stuttgart in 1991. His two latest books concern the Kurds and

the complex issue of Kurdish identity (*Crucial Images in the Presentation of a Kurdish National Identity: Heroes and Patriots, Traitors and Foes, and Die Kurden. Geschichte, Politik, Kultur (The Kurds. History, Politics, Culture* – with Lale Yalçın-Heckmann). In his works on the Kurds and their identity, Martin Strohmeier examines the progress and development, as well as the particularities of the Kurdish national movement, with specific emphasis on the process of nation building.

The election of Martin Strohmeier in the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cyprus in 1998, turned his research interests also towards the history of Cyprus, a part of the Ottoman periphery, and to the particularities it presented. During the time he taught in the University of Cyprus, a part of his research interests was focused on Cyprus, and especially on the history of the island during the Late Ottoman period, as well as on some issues of the Colonial period. Within the framework of a research programme funded by the University of Cyprus on the history of the Turkish Cypriot Press, Professor Martin Strohmeier collected the Ottoman Turkish Cypriot Press of the period 1891–1931 from various libraries and indexed primary material on issues of that period. The result of that programme was an article concerning Turkish Cypriot Press and the Turkish Cypriot community in the period 1891–1931 (“The Ottoman Press and the Turkish Community in Cyprus (1891–1931)”, as well as another article on economic issues, as they appear from the study of the Turkish Cypriot Press of that period (“Economic issues in the Turkish-Cypriot Press, 1891–1931”). Within the framework of the same research project, Professor Strohmeier edited a separate collective volume with the broader title *The Economy as an Issue in the Middle Eastern Press*, integrating the Ottoman Turkish Cypriot Press into the Press of the Middle East.

Beyond his works on the Turkish Cypriot Press and the topics that arise from the study of this primary material, Professor Martin Strohmeier also studied the history of Cyprus as a place of exile during the Ottoman period, examining the cases of Namık Kemâl and Subh-i Azal (“Exile in Cyprus: The cases of Namık Kemâl and Subh-i Azal”), the history of the great mosque of Ömeriye in Nicosia (“Ömeriye: A Mosque in Nicosia”),

the particularities of Islam in Cyprus, regarding the Turkish Cypriot community (“Islam in Cyprus-Introductory Remarks”), as well as the attempts at the founding of a British university in Colonial Cyprus (“‘I’d rather have it in Cyprus than nowhere’: A Plan for a British University in the Near East, 1935–1940”). Within the framework of the discussions and the dialogue that developed on the teaching of Turkish in Cyprus immediately after the founding of the University of Cyprus and the operation of the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies, he organized a workshop and prepared an article/report on the teaching of Turkish as a foreign language in Cyprus (“Report: Workshop on Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus”).

Another part of his activity during the time of his service in the Department of Turkish and Middle Eastern Studies of the University of Cyprus was the organization of international and local conferences on topics of Ottoman history. The Eastern Mediterranean and the historical processes in the Middle East are the topic studied by the international conferences and workshops organized by Professor Martin Strohmeier during the time that he served in the University of Cyprus. These conferences are distinguished by the breadth of their subjects of study and by the academic discussion that they generated on the Eastern Mediterranean. In 2002, he organized the “International Conference: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. History, Literature and Culture in the Ottoman Period and After”. In 2004, he organized the “International Workshop: Turkish as a Foreign Language in the Republic of Cyprus”. In the same year, he organized the “International Conference: History of the Press in the Middle East. The Economy as an Issue in the Middle Eastern Press”. In 2011 he organized the “International Conference: Crime Fiction in and Around the Eastern Mediterranean”, and in 2016 the “International Workshop: From the Arab Revolt to the Arab uprisings: 100 years of political movements in the Arab World”.

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PART 1

**Publisher of the newspaper Konstantinoupolis for half a century.
Following the trail of Dimitris Nikolaidis in the Ottoman archives**

Evangelia Balta, Athens – Ayşe Kavak, Istanbul

The material making up the study emerged during the research we conducted at the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi in 2009–2010 to locate data on 19th-century Karamanlidika press (newspapers and periodicals written in the Turkish language with Greek characters). It was then that in the said Ottoman archive we came across a document in which Dimitris Nikolaidis, the editor of the newspaper Konstantinoupolis, was applying for a permit to publish a Karamanlidika newspaper named Asya. In an attempt to gather any relevant information on the fate of this newspaper, if it ultimately went into circulation, etc., we embarked on more general research into Dimitris Nikolaidis and his publishing work, which spanned half a century. Archival research brought to light valuable information on his various publishing activities. The Ottoman archival material we located, combined with existing bibliographical information, forms the background for the study that follows and which attempts to reconstruct the image of Dimitris Nikolaidis' extensive publishing production, always open to the challenges of the era, at the same time viewing it within the context of the wider field of Ottoman publishing activity.

Dimitris Nikolaidis, offspring of the Ieromnimon family, graduate of the Phanar Greek Orthodox College (1861), began his career in journalism in 1862 as editor of the *Anatolikos Astir* (Gedeon 1932: 17). He worked at the *Anatolikos Astir* until 1864 alongside Stavros Voutiras (Giolias 2012), later the editor of the newspaper *Neologos*. He then joined the periodical *Eptalofos* owned by Ioannis Raptarchis, who in 1865 turned it over to him. The prologue of the first issue (15 Jan. 1865), cosigned by Nikolaidis and Voutiras, refers to their decision to continue publishing I. M. Raptarchis' periodical *Eptalofos* under the name *Nea Eptalofos*, as only

two Greek periodicals were in circulation at that particular time, *Nea Pandora* and *Chrysallis*.



Dimitris Nikolaidis
(d. 1915)

The periodical *Nea Eptalofos*

The first part of the new periodical was literary and scientific in content. It included original articles or translations of articles published in European journals. The second part contained home economics, hygiene, etc. and topics covering “national material”, as underlined, namely the lives of famous Greek men, whose name was directly or indirectly linked to “the history of our Nation”. A third part included travel, historical mem-

ories, particularly from Byzantine history, poetry and prose, as well as translations of European literary works. A text written by Dimitris Nikolaidis on the first anniversary of the publication of the periodical speaks of his goals and his colleagues (Evstathios Kleovoulos, Georgios Afthonidis, Efrosyni Samartzidou, Sapfo Leontias, Aimilia Leontias, Iraklis Vasiadis, Ioannis Filalithis, I. D. Aristoklis, K. Gavriil Sofoklis, Ilias Tantalidis, K. Alexandros

Zoiros, K. Chr. Samartzidis, K. I. G. Chrysovergis, K. G. Vafeiadis, etc. Scholars from Greece also worked for the periodical (S. Lambros, I. P. Rangavis, D. Paparrigopoulos, D. Pantazis, etc.) (Gedeon 1934: 67). The periodical *Eptalofos* continued to be published until 1871 and it should be mentioned that its contents included studies on the history of the Turks translated from German. More specifically its pages include studies on the origin of the Turks, the history of the Oghuz Turks, as well as a glossary explaining Turkish administrative terms, a first for a Greek periodical.¹ Manouel Gedeon states that the periodical imitated in form and appearance the *Revue des Deux Mondes* and that it contained articles (1865–1871) by Germanos Michailidis, later the Metropolitan of Drama,



¹ See for example the article “Καταγωγή και πατρίς των Τούρκων. Ιστορία των Ογούζων και των Τουρκομάνων των Σελδσούχων της Περσίας και του Ρουμ” [Origins and fatherland of the Turks. The History of the Oghuz and Turkmens and Seljuks of Persia and Rum] published in instalments translated from German (31 July 1867, no. 14) by N. Argyriadis.

the physicians Th. Georgiadis and Dimitzas (metropolitan of Adrianoupolis/Edirne), P. Thomas, N. Gavrilidis and Konstantinos and Dimitris Plithonidai (Gedeon 1932: 52).

The newspaper *Eptalofos* renamed *Konstantinoupolis*

In 1867 *Eptalofos* was published as small format newspaper (25 x 20 cm). In 1867 and 1868 D. Nikolaidis and Ch. Grigoras published in its printing house a series of ancient tragedies, Homer's *The Iliad*, Virgil's *The Aeneid*, etc. in the vernacular “for the use of the people”. As revealed by their title pages, these publications were included in a series called “Elliniki Vivliothiki” [Greek Library]. In addition the *Eptalofos* printing house (no. 25 Pemtopazarou St./Perşembe pazarı) published at the same time a number of French novels translated into Greek, and from 1869 onwards, the *Othomanikoi Kodikes* [Ottoman Codes], namely the Ottoman laws translated into Greek. We shall discuss the *Ottoman Codes* and their lengthy presence in publishing in a special chapter below.

Six months after its first appearance as a newspaper, Gedeon notes that *Eptalofos* was renamed *Konstantinoupolis* and continued to be published until World War I with intervals and name changes due to various bans on its circulation imposed by censorship (Gedeon 1932: 34–5). It was the newspaper that went down in the history of the Istanbul press as setting



the seal on D. Nikolaidis' career in journalism, becoming the reason for his financial ruin as he attempted to continue its publication at all costs.²

During its first years publishers and editors of *Konstantinoupolis* included Dimitrios and Athanasios Nikolaidis, Ioannis Raptarchis, G. L. Xanthopoulos, and from 1867 onwards Vlasiv Gavriilidis too. From March 1872 onwards, only Dimitrios and Athanasios Nikolaidis appear as publishers and editors, Dimitrios also stated as being manager of the paper. In 1872 Manuel Gedeon worked for the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* for a short time as a writer in the ecclesiastical and literary section.

When censorship forced *Konstantinoupolis* to shut down, Nikolaidis published the newspaper *Thraki* [*Thrace*] from August 1873 until 1880 and when *Thraki* also had to close, he produced, in collaboration with the Samian Dimitrios Katselidis, the newspaper *Avgi* [*Aurora*] from 6 July 1880 to 10 July 1884 (Antonopoulos 2007: 35). The newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* was published again from 1884 up until the First World War (1914). During its first years it was published three times a week and later on a daily basis. The paper's subtitles vary over its lengthy publication, just as its offices and printing houses also changed. The first two pages of the newspaper are devoted to political news, with political comment and reports from abroad and from the provinces of the Ottoman Empire. The third page includes financial, social and various other items of news, along with readers' letters, while the fourth page contains announcements and advertisements (Kanner 2008: 683–5).

The newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* leaned towards the Patriarchate, yet during the Bulgarian Question it came out in favour of a moderate stance towards the Bulgarians. It supported the views of Patriarch Joachim III (1834–1912) and his reform of education and the organization of the Orthodox Church. On 28 February 1882, according to information provided by Gedeon 1932: 75–80 gold sovereigns were collected from

² Issues of *Konstantinoupolis* can be found online at the Parliament Library (Athens). There are also several issues in the National Library (Athens), see Christopoulos 1993: 212. Individual issues can also be found in various libraries and archives in Athens, pinpointed by Kanner 2008: 683–685.

amongst merchants and bankers supporting Joachim so as to publish a supplement to be distributed with the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* denouncing the actions of Stavros Voutiras who opposed the Patriarch from his newspaper *Neologos* (Gedeon 1932: 67). The newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* supported the unity of the Orthodox Rum millet. Inevitably Dimitrios Nikolaidis clashed with his former colleague, journalist Stavros Voutiras, who had Hellenocentric views (Concept of Greekness)³ and he also differed ideologically from his fanatical Russophile colleagues, like Odysseas Ialemos (Gedeon 1932: 20–1).

Gedeon also says that in 1868–69 Dimitrios Nikolaidis formed a partnership with the author of the *Απόκρυφα Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* [*Apocrypha of Constantinople*] Christoforos Samartzidis (1843–1900) and “with another impostor”, as he describes him, to publish in French the *Φάρος του Βοσπόρου* [*Pharos of the Bosphorus / Lighthouse of the Bosphorus*]. Gedeon alleges that to obtain the money required for publication Nikolaidis turned to the ambassador of Russia, Ignatieff, who gave him 5,000 gold francs, most of which Nikolaidis kept for himself. He adds in fact that the satirical journal *Diogenis* of Theodoros Kasapis (1835–1897) described the event as bribery, and that later the *Pharos of the Bosphorus* adopted an anti-Slavic and anti-Russian policy (Gedeon 1932: 37–8).

Gedeon also refers to the involvement of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* in issues arising within the Patriarchate on the occasion of the elections of metropolitans in various provinces. He states that in some cases its silence was bought off regarding flagrant injustices at the Patriarchate and he comments on the paper’s intervention in favour of the return of the metropolitan Neilos to the rank of bishop from which he had been unlawfully deposed by Patriarch Gregory VI in 1871. However he points out that Dimitrios Nikolaidis and Ippokratis Tavlaris received as a contribution or a gift from the metropolitan Neilos the amount of 250 gold sovereigns (Gedeon 1934: 201–2).

³ “‘Hellenocentrism’ is not the concept of Greekness. Hellenocentrism means more than this: a conviction of the uniqueness of the Greek element and its superiority over everything foreign”, see Vagenas 1997: 45.

Amidst Ottoman archival material we located documents revealing the militant attitude of the newspaper concerning illegalities which it denounces from its pages. For example, in 1886 the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* condemns the trafficking of hashish worth 10,000 Ottoman lira in the region of Bayramdere near Gallipoli. The owner of the *çiftlik* had secretly planted a large amount of hashish, which he intended to sell in Egypt. The complaint about this illicit behaviour mobilized the Ministry of Public Order (*Zabtiye Nezaret-i Aliyye*) and illegal trafficking was prevented.⁴

Apart from news items and comments on the political situation, the pages of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* contained feuilletons with literary essays and translations of novels. Dimitris Nikolaidis had also initiated the publication of supplements with the latest news, two or three supplements per day, to which M. Gedeon will refer to in his memoirs:

Εκέρδαινε δε από των εφημερίδων τούτων ο Νικολαΐδης πολλά ... Κέρδιζε πολλά, ζούσε πολυτελή ζωή και έκτισε δυο ωραίες κατοικίες μια στο Μουχλί, στο Φανάρι, και την άλλη στο νησί Αντιγόνη ... Μεγάλη πηγή πλουτισμού για τις εφ. *Κωνσταντινούπολις* και *Νεολόγος* στάθηκε ο Γαλλοπρωσικός Πόλεμος του 1870. Οι δυο εφημερίδες εξέδιδαν δυο, τρία και τέσσερα παραρτήματα τη μέρα. Κάθε νέο τηλεγράφημα κυκλοφορούσε σαν έκτακτο παράρτημα ... (Gedeon 1932: 35–6). [Nikolaidis profited a great deal from these newspapers ... He made a lot of money, lived a life of luxury and built two beautiful houses, one at Mouchli, at Phanari, and the other on the island of Antigone ... The Franco-Prussian War provided a great source of wealth for the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Neologos*. Both papers issued two, three and four supplements a day. Every new telegram was circulated as a special supplement ...]

Concurrently with the publication of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis*, Nikolaidis applied himself from 1869 onwards to another publishing activity, the publication of the *Ottoman Codes*, the laws of the Ottoman state,⁵ which he translated into Greek and other languages and which

⁴ BOA, DH.MKT 1440 /44 (27 S 1304/25.11.1886).

⁵ “[εκέρδαινε] και από της εκδόσεως της συλλογής των νόμων του τουρκικού κράτους, ελληνικής το 1871 ... [he profited from the publication of a collection of laws of the Turkish

over the years that followed he promoted either independently or in the form of supplements through his newspapers. We can observe in the Ottoman material we found the long succession of the many editions of the *Ottoman Codes*, which were essentially used from a certain point onwards to financially support his papers.⁶

Nikolaidis though did not restrict himself only to the publication of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* and the *Ottoman Codes*. Over the years that follow he attempts at the same time to win over the Turcophone Orthodox reading public by publishing a Karamanlidika newspaper, something completely unknown, revealed by research in the Ottoman archives. Furthermore the processing and study of the material that emerged on formalities surrounding the issue of a permit acted as Ariadne's thread to lead us to the publication of the Ottoman newspaper *Servet*.

An attempt to publish the Karamanlidika newspaper *Asia*

Two documents dated October and November 1887 inform us that concurrently with the publication of the Grecophone newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* Dimitris Nikolaidis planned to publish a Karamanlidika newspaper for the Turcophone Orthodox reading public entitled *Asya*, which was to be issued three times a week (*Türkçe ibare ve Rumca huruf ile ve Asya namıyla haftada üç defa*) and he submitted his application to the Press Office to obtain a permit.⁷

state, in Greek in 1871 that he released in a large volume and in four 25 years later. The laws were also published in French in 1872 in 3-4 volumes edited by Grigorios Aristarchis, who later served as ambassador of the Ottoman Empire in Washington], see Gedeon, *Αποσημειώματα*, 36.

⁶ See below the section *Ottoman Codes*.

⁷ BOA, İ.DH 1058/83073, lef 1-2 (1305 M 29/17.10.1887) and DH.MKT 1466/29 (1305. Rebiulevvel.11 /14 Teşrin-i sani sene 303):
Huzur-ı ali-i hazret-i sadaret-penahiye

Konstantinopolis nam Rumca gazetenin sahib-i imtiyazı rifatlı Nikolaidi Efendi tarafından huzur-ı ali-i sadaret-penahilerine bi't-takdim havale buyrulan ve Matbuat Idaresi'ne tevdi kılınan arzuhal üzerine idare-i mezkureden kaleme alınan müzekkire mezkur arzuhal ile

The Ottoman authorities replied a month later (27 Dec. 1887). The sultan had accepted the application for the paper but on one condition: apart from the Turkish language, the newspaper also had to be printed in Arabic characters. He then asked Nikolaidis Efendi to state when and at which printing house he intended to print the newspaper in question. A document that follows reveals Nikolaidis' intention to print it during the night for circulation the next day at his printing house at Millet Han, located behind Sandıkçılar Street in Galata. His proposal though was not accepted as at that time all printing houses in the area of Galata operated only during the day and were closed at night. Greek, Armenian and French newspapers were printed during the day and went into circulation in the evening. As an alternative solution it was suggested that he print the paper at one of the printing houses in the area of Babıali and he was reminded that if he did not obey a large fine would be imposed on him. Lastly he was informed that a permit for publication would only be granted if he agreed to circulate the newspaper in the evenings, just like all the other foreign-language newspapers.⁸

In early January 1888, a permit for the newspaper was issued which underlined that the paper had to be printed in the Turkish language using the Arabic alphabet and it had to be printed during the day.⁹ Four days later a new decree announced that the name *Asya* had been rejected for the paper in question and it requested that a new application be submitted for a permit which would include a proposal for a new name.¹⁰ Nikolaidis submitted the names *İnkıyad*, *Telgraf*, *Havadis-i Yevmiye* and *Şark Postası*, pointing out that he was willing to go ahead with the publication of the paper regardless of the name chosen.¹¹ The

beraber takdim kılınmış ve mütalaaasından malum-ı ali-i sadaret-penahileri buyrulacağı üzere efendi-i muma-ileyh mezkur gazetenin Türkçe ibare ve Rumca huruf ile ve Asya namıyla haftada üç defa ayrıca tab ve neşrine müsaade edilmesi istidasında bulunarak icray-ı icabı merhun-ı müsaade-i aliyye-i cenab-ı fehamet-penahileri buyrulmuş olmağla ol babda.

⁸ BOA, DH.MKT 1472/28 (11 R 1305/27.12.1887) and BOA, İ.DH 1058/83073, lef 5 (1305 21 Ra/07.12.1887).

⁹ BOA, İ.DH 1064/83473-1, lef 1 (20 R 1305/05.01.1888).

¹⁰ BOA, İ.DH 1064/83473-1, lef 2 (24 R 1305/09.01.1888).

¹¹ BOA, İ.DH 1068/83732, lef 2 (27 R 1305/12.01.1888).

sultan initially chose the name *İnkiyad* from the list, but ultimately preference was shown for the name *Servet*.¹²

So that is how Nikolaidis ended up publishing the Ottoman newspaper *Servet*. The question remains why he was not allowed to publish the Karamanlidika paper he requested. In 1887–88, as far as we know, apart from Evangelinos Misailidis' *Ανατολή* (*Anatoli*), the periodicals *Ανατόλ Αχτερί*, *Τερακκή*, *Σαφάκ* (*Anatol Ahteri*, *Terakki*, *Şafak*), and two periodicals from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, *Αγγελιαφόρος* (*Angeliaforos*) and *Αγγελιαφόρος τζοτζουκλάρ ιτζούν*, (*Angeliaforos çocuklar için*) were produced (Balta 2010: 123–8). So was there a reaction from the other papers? Was there a reaction from Evangelinos Misailidis and his set? Unfortunately we do not have any issues of the newspaper *Anatoli* from those years in which to seek information. Ottoman documents give no reference as to why publication of the Karamanlidika paper Nikolaidis requested was refused, nor do we know why Nikolaidis ultimately agreed to produce an Ottoman paper. The fact that the name *Asya* proposed for Nikolaidis' newspaper was forced to be changed also raises a series of questions which inevitably refer back to the Karamanlidika paper *Anatoli*, as the names *Asya* and *Anatoli* are semantically similar. We wonder if the name change requested by the sultan so that circulation of the newspaper could be allowed is linked to efforts made by Evangelinos Mihailidis and his set to put a stop to a Karamanlidika publication with roughly the same name? Detailed research in the press of the era, both Greek and Ottoman, may help provide some explanations, if not answers, to the questions.

Documentary evidence from Ottoman archival material on the newspaper *Servet* and the periodical *Servet-i Fünûn*

In late January 1888 Nikolaidis requested permission from the Ministry of the Interior to publish the newspaper *Servet*, which would be produced, as stated in his application, in the Turkish language with Turkish

¹² BOA, İ.DH 1068/83732, lef 3 (27 R 1305/12.01.1888).

characters (*Türkçe ibare ve hurûf ile*). He was told to speak to the Press Office about the relevant formalities.¹³ About a month later the *Dördüncü Rütbeden Mecidi Nişanı* award was given to an employee at the newspaper *Servet*, Miltiadis Efendi, an event confirming that in the meantime publication of the paper had begun.¹⁴ This refers to the writer on the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Servet*, Miltiadis Asmanidis, who in the years to come was to be honoured with an award.¹⁵

The scraps of information we have about the newspaper, apart from references made by Manuel Gedeon, include the comment made by Ali Arslan, who likened the editorship of the paper to “the Tower of Babel and the Patriarch’s office”. The expression he uses leads us to assume that the published material was disorganized. The same writer also refers to Muallim Nacı and *Baba Tahir* as working at *Servet* (Pampalos 2004: 51).

Our research in issues of the paper revealed that its articles included both news and comments on public life in the Ottoman Empire, as well as a variety of news about the life and activities in the Rum millet inside and outside Istanbul: news about the churches, the schools, the patriarchate and the Patriarch, news about outstanding Rum personalities, such as Zarifis and the editor of the *Anatolikos Astir*, Vasileios Kallifron,¹⁶ etc. The newspaper also had readers in Asia Minor as an article signed by Nikolaidis in early 1892 announced that *Servet* would be mailed on Wednesdays and Fridays to its Anatolian subscribers.¹⁷

¹³ BOA, DH.MKT 1479/51 (8 Ca 1305/22.01.1888).

¹⁴ BOA, İ.DH 1069/83821 (6 C 1305/19.02.1888).

¹⁵ BOA, DH.MKT 1900/12 (8 Ca 1309/10.12.1891) and DH.MKT 1961/120; DH.MKT 1961/122.

¹⁶ See the article on the death of Vasilaki Efendi, publisher of the *Anatolikos Astir*, in 1892 (*Servet* no. 10, sene 4, 5 Cumazeyilahir sene 1309/25 Kanun-ı evvel sene 1307, p. 4).

¹⁷ *Servet* no 1, sene 4, 5 Cumazeyilahir sene 1309/25 Kanun-ı evvel sene 1307, p. 1).

Information was discovered in the *Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi* on sanctions imposed on the paper by censorship,¹⁸ as well as information on matters linking it to the Ottoman administration. To give an example, a defamatory article in the newspaper *Hizmet* from Aydin Province (*Aydın vilayeti*) slandering *Servet* provoked the passing of a law that prohibited newspapers from publishing similar libellous articles.¹⁹ An article published in the newspaper *Servet* resulted in its owner Nikolaidis being reprimanded and forced to officially retract it. The article concerned the professional incompetence of Şerif Efendi who worked as a teacher at the High School in Chios. This led to an investigation being conducted by the Ministry of Education from which it emerged that Serif Efendi was held in high esteem at work and performed his duties with dignity. *Servet* was severely reprimanded yet again for its criticism of the sultan in articles in issues nos. 39 and 40 published in 1892.²⁰

We also learn from the same archival material that *Servet* took a stand on matters pertaining to the political life of the Ottoman Empire. One such example of its militant stance is its article on the Minister of Finance (*Maliye Nazırı*) Mahmud Celaledin Paşa (Kuneralp 1999: 88), which was published on 11 Teşrin-i evvel 1304 (23 October 1888). It concerned his dismissal from the office of minister due to embezzlement against the State and the large sum of money he was forced to pay to escape the death penalty.²¹ Also recorded is its beneficial role in breaking news on the circulation of counterfeit currency (*kalp çeyrek para*). The article

¹⁸ See details on the newspaper being banned from circulation due to a misunderstanding that was finally resolved and it went back into circulation, BOA, DH.MKT 1547/14 (19 M 1306/25.09.1888).

¹⁹ BOA, DH.MKT 1780/124 (29 Ra 1308 /12.11.1890)

²⁰ BOA, MF.MKT 138/51 (27 Ş 1309/17.03.1892) και BOA, Y.PRK.PT 8/25 (25 N 1309/23.04.1892). See also another case involving the headmaster of the school in the district of Aghia Sofia, Ibrahim Efendi, who had been wrongly accused and was reinstated: MF.MKT 138/51 10 March 1317 (23 March 1901). And another document reveals *Servet's* interest in educational matters and the smooth running of schools, see MF. MKT. 624/2 (8 Nisan 1318/1.5.1902) and MF. MKT. 506/51 (23 Mayıs 1316/1.5.1900).

²¹ BOA, HR.TO 63/42 (10 Teşrinievvel 1304/22.10.1888).

prompted an investigation by the Police Department (*Zabita*) and measures were taken.²²

In 1891 we are informed that the newspaper *Servet* applied to the Interior Ministry Treasury to be granted the State benefit of a thousand piasters per month, also received by other Ottoman newspapers. The money was soon secured as *Servet* was granted the amount given up to then to the owner of the newspaper *Mizan*, Mihran Efendi.²³

In August 1895 Nikolaidis Efendi applied in writing to the Interior Ministry (Dahiliye Nezareti) for permission to publish as a daily paper the until then Turcophone *Servet*, one half in Turkish and the other half in French.²⁴ His application was granted by the sultan.²⁵

In 1897 Nikolaidis Efendi transferred the newspaper *Servet* for fifty years to Tahir Bey, owner of the paper *Malumat*, who appears as the publisher of *Servet* from the end of 1897 onwards.²⁶ The 50 years though, referred to in the contract, were regarded as incompatible with the Press Office's statutes. Nikolaidis stated that it was wrongly phrased and that he meant "for a period of 50 years" "elli sene müddetle".²⁷ The matter was settled and certificate no. 4702 dated 15 Seval 1315 (9.3.1898) and approved by the sultan, named Tahir Bey as owner of the newspaper *Servet*.²⁸ One month later Tahir Bey proposed changes to the form of the paper: he requested two independent versions, one Turkish and one French, as when he took over *Servet* was being published half in Turkish and half in French. He also proposed that the two papers should be illustrated, a request that was granted.²⁹

²² BOA, DH.MKT 1725/26 (4 L 1307/24.05.1890).

²³ BOA, İ.DH 1253/98291 (18 Ra 1309/22.10.1891), and also İ.DH 1248/97850 and DH.MKT 1888/26.

²⁴ BOA, BEO 677/50715 (11 Ra 1313/01.09.1895).

²⁵ BOA, İ.HUS 41/119.Ra (10 Ra 1313/31.08.1895).

²⁶ BOA, ŞD 2681/41 (14 B 1315/09.12.1897).

²⁷ BOA, BEO 1074/80537 (7 N 1315 /30.01.1898) See also BEO 1082/81081.

²⁸ BOA, BEO 1105/82827 (14 Za 1315/06.04.1898).

²⁹ BOA, BEO 1124/84263.

The most influential literary journal of the late Ottoman era is born: the *Servet-i Fünûn*

We also discovered documents in the Ottoman Archive that describe the birth of the famous periodical *Servet-i Fünûn*, which in Western literature is translated as “The Wealth of Knowledge”, “Wealth or Treasury of Sciences”. In late 1890 Nikolaidis requested permission to print and distribute along with the newspaper *Servet* a supplement entitled *Servet-i Fünûn*. That supplement was soon to become the most outstanding periodical of the 19th century, playing a significant role in the intellectual life of the Ottoman Empire over the many years it was published (1891–1944) until the middle of the 20th century. It is the periodical that was to create a literary school and influence many writers.³⁰ In his application to the Press Office Nikolaidis states with reference to the subject matter of the supplement in question, as he was required to do pursuant to the Press law, that it would contain scientific and industrial topics with illustrations. His application was accepted and in collaboration with the then 20-year-old Ahmed İhsan (Tokgöz), Nikolaidis embarked on his new venture which was to enjoy great success.³¹ Ahmed İhsan had often provided Turkish translations to the newspaper *Servet* and it was he who gave Nikolaidis the idea for this publication as a weekly supplement to the paper. Sales revenue though was not sufficient and one year later the periodical was sold to Ahmed İhsan (Wasti 2016: 359–74).³²

³⁰ A large number of studies and doctoral theses are dedicated to this periodical and the impact it had: Levend 1936; Tansel 1962; Kutlu 1976; Önertoy 1980; Mutluay 1988; Kolcu 1999; Üner 2006. Çoban 2012. For an overview, see Parlatri 2010 and Abdı 2006.

³¹ BOA, İ.DH 1214/95109 (28 Ra 1308/11.11.1890) and see BOA, DH.MKT 1783/55 (2 R.1308/20.1.1891).

³² The author based his study on the memoirs of Ahmed İhsan Tokgöz, see Kabacalı 1993.

In 1889 Dimitrakis Nikolaidis applied to the Ministry of Public Order for an operating permit for his printing house, which was located in Millet Han in Galata, at Fincancılar Yokuşu.³³ Both the Ministry of Public Order and the Interior Ministry (Hariciye Nezareti) issued a decree ordering the competent authorities to provide all essential support.³⁴ Obviously though for some reason the transfer never happened as in early 1902 (Zilhicce 1319), Nikolaidis again applied to move the printing house that produced the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* from the Han Buyuk Millet, at Galata, to Han Lloyd that was located on the waterfront.³⁵ In 1892 Nikolaidis requested that the operating permit for the newspaper's printing house be replaced by a new one, in accordance with the Printing House Statutes *Matbaalar Nizamnamesi*. Since he was already a newspaper publisher, no further investigation was required by the Police, it was simply ascertained that his printing house met the specifications laid down in the statutes and then the necessary formalities were completed.³⁶

As mentioned above, a great number of documents were discovered in the Ottoman archive concerning purchases of printing presses and various materials (ink, glues, fonts) from Europe and Athens used in the running of the printing house. They are his applications to Ottoman authorities for import licences. To give an example: in 1889 Nikolaidis applied to take delivery from the customs at Kireçkapısı (Kireçkapısı gümrüğüne) of a secondhand press for printing cartes de visite that he had ordered from Marseilles. From the file that preserved the bureaucratic process, it emerged that delivery required a certificate stating that Nikolaidis was the owner of a printing house and a newspaper. At the same time it cautioned him not to remove the machine from his printing house and stressed his obligation to present it during inspections.³⁷

³³ BOA, DH.MKT 1581/82 (3 Ca 1306/05.01.1889).

³⁴ BOA, İ.DH 1147/89477 (16 Z [1]306/13.08.1889).

³⁵ BOA, DH.MKT 456/34 (14 Z 1319/24.03.1902).

³⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 1994/72 (7 S 1310/31.08.1892).

³⁷ BOA, DH.MKT 1653/50 (6 M 1307/02.09.1889).

Orders for new machinery became more frequent during the first few years of the 20th century, reflecting Nikolaidis' efforts to modernize his printing house. In July 1903 Nikolaidis imported a new printing press from Europe. The Press Office Matbuat İdaresi sent an inspector to examine the machine so a delivery permit could be issued. This application gives the delivery address as Lloyd Han in Galata.³⁸ During the same period, an application made to the same authority states that he wished to sell an enormous printing press made at the Marinoni factory (Marinoni Fabrikası) to Vahram Terzisyan and he was requesting permission to transport it to Sultanhammam, where the buyer's printing house was located. Following an inspection the relevant department found that both Nikolaidis and Terzisyan held legal operating permits for their printing houses and allowed the sale and transportation of the machine³⁹. In the same year, 1903, Nikolaidis imported Greek fonts weighing 525 kg from Konstantinidis' printing house in Athens, as shown by certificates found in the Ottoman archives regarding the collection of the fonts from the customs house.⁴⁰

In early 1904 (Zilhicce 1321) he was importing from Europe glue and black ink needed in the printing house, as shown on the document addressed to the customs at Galata with which he applied to take delivery. "Box of type JPB/DN numbered 11229 contains glue weighing seventy kilos including tare, two barrels of type JPB/DN numbered 5699-5700, along with the two barrels of type JPB/JV numbered 5701-5702 contain a total amount of 240 kilos of black printing ink".⁴¹ Several months later he again takes delivery of 240 kg of ink from Hamburg, which also arrived at the customs in Galata (Ecnebiyye Gümrüğü) packed in four barrels of type HW/DN numbered 6051 - 6054⁴². In 1904 (Cemaziyelahir 1322) he imported from Europe a 3-metre long steam boiler, again ap-

³⁸ BOA, DH.MKT 739/56 (24 R 1321/20.07.1903).

³⁹ BOA, DH.MKT 739/57 (24 R 1321/20.07.1903).

⁴⁰ BOA, DH.MKT 744/30 (3 Ca 1321/28.07.1903).

⁴¹ BOA, DH.MKT 823/39 (4 Z 1321/21.02.1904).

⁴² BOA, DH.MKT 870/8 (29 R 1322/13.07.1904).

plying for permission to take delivery.⁴³ In the month of Ramazan in the same year he sold a printing press to the owner of the Greek newspaper *Proia*, Grigoris Karidis, while they both concurrently applied for permission to transport it from one printing house to the other. The Press Internal Affairs Department informed them that in order for the transport of the machine to be allowed, it had to be preceded by an inspection of the printing house at Han of Saint Pierre in Galata.⁴⁴

Ottoman Codes

The Code of Laws of the Ottoman Empire (*Düstur*) was published in the Turkish language in 1861 (Özege 1977: IV/18832) and in 1869 it was translated into Greek and released for the first time entitled *Ottoman Codes* by the printing house of the periodical *Eptalofos*, as stated on the title page of the publication.⁴⁵ One year previously, in 1868, the first volume of *Ottoman Codes* had been released in Karamanlidika by Evangelinos Misailidis and publication continued until 1871.⁴⁶ Dimitris Nikolaidis' Greek version of the *Ottoman Codes* was reprinted in the years that followed, supplemented with *Annexes*. They were sold as brochures together with the newspapers that D. Nikolaidis occasionally published.⁴⁷ From 1879 to 1881 the *Law Annexes* (*Παράρτηματα Νόμων*)

⁴³ ΒΟΑ, ΔΗ.ΜΚΤ 888/3 (13 C 1322/25.04.1904).

⁴⁴ ΒΟΑ, ΔΗ.ΜΚΤ 1127/73 (19 N 1322/27.11.1904).

⁴⁵ *Όθωμανικοί Κώδικες, ήτοι Συλλογή τῶν ἐν ἐνεργείᾳ Νόμων, Κανονισμῶν, Διαταγμάτων καὶ Ὁδηγιῶν τῆς Ὁθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας*, Μεταφρασθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Τουρκικοῦ, Ἐκδίδονται τὸ Πρῶτον ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφείου τῆς Ἐπταλόφου 1869; *Όθωμανικοί Κώδικες, ήτοι Συλλογή τῶν ἐν τῷ Δουστούρ περιεχομένων Νόμων, Κανονισμῶν, Διαταγμάτων καὶ Ὁδηγιῶν τῆς Ὁθωμανικῆς Αὐτοκρατορίας*, Μεταφρασθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Τουρκικοῦ, Ἐκδίδονται τὸ Πρῶτον ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Τύποις Ἐπταλόφου, 1871.

⁴⁶ *Δουστούρ Γιάνι Μεδζουάι Καβανίμι Δεβλέτι Αλιγέ, Ιστανπόλ, Ευαγγελινός Μισαηλίδης ματπασσηνδά*, 1868 (Salaville – Dalleggio 1974: no 158) ; *Δουστούρ Βιλαγέτ Νηζαμμαεσί ... 1869* (Salaville – Dalleggio 1974: III, no 159) ; *Δουστούρ... 1870* (Salaville – Dalleggio 1974: III, no 169) ; *Δουστούρ... 1871* (Salaville – Dalleggio 1974: III, no 170).

⁴⁷ *Παράρτημα τῶν Ὁθωμανικῶν Κωδίκων*, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Τύποις Ἀδελφῶν Νικολαΐδων, 1873; *Παράρτημα τῶν Ὁθωμανικῶν*

continued to be published in Greek translated by Kon. G. Vayannis (Skokos 1900: 20–1) and they were printed at the printing house of the newspaper *Thraki*, which was issued by Nikolaidis following the closure of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis*.⁴⁸ The completed body of *Ottoman Laws* was republished in four volumes at the printing house of the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Servet* between 1889 and 1891, covering a total of 4.470 pages.⁴⁹

Our archival research⁵⁰ comes to supplement this basic bibliographical information with unknown facts that shed light on D. Nikolaidis' publishing struggle to print and distribute the *Ottoman Codes* (*Düstur*) and the *Civil Code* (*Mecelle-i Ahkam-ı Adliyye*) (Osmanagaoglu 2011: 93–124), which, as he states in his applications to the “Press Office”, he considers would help Rum employees of the Ottoman Empire in carrying out their duties.

In 1876 the matter of the Greek translation of *Düstur* again came to the fore. A document drawn up by D. Nikolaidis states that he translated

Κωδήκων, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, Τύποις Ἀδελφῶν Νικολαΐδων, 1874.

⁴⁸ *Ὅθωμανικῶν Κωδήκων Παράρτημα Δεύτερον, Φυλλάδιον Πρῶτον*, Περιέχον τὴν Πολιτικὴν Δικονομίαν Μεταφρασθεῖσαν ἐκ τοῦ Τουρκικοῦ ὑπὸ Κωνστ. Γ. Βαϊάννη, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1879. Τύποις Θράκης; *Ὅθωμανικῶν Κωδήκων Παράρτημα Δεύτερον, Φυλλάδιον Δεύτερον*, Μετάφρ. Κωνστ. Γ. Βαϊάννη, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1880. Τύποις Θράκης; *Ὅθωμανικῶν Κωδήκων Παράρτημα Δεύτερον, Φυλλάδιον Τρίτον*, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1880, Τύποις Θράκης; *Ὅθωμανικῶν Κωδήκων Παράρτημα Δεύτερον, Φυλλάδιον Τέταρτον, Περιέχον τὴν Ποινικὴν Δικονομίαν*, Μεταφρασθεῖσαν ἐκ τοῦ Τουρκικοῦ, ὑπὸ Κωνστ. Γ. Βαϊάννη, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1880. Τύποις Θράκης; *Ὅθωμανικῶν Κωδήκων Παράρτημα Δεύτερον Περιέχον τὴν Πολιτικὴν Δικονομίαν*, Μεταφρασθέντας ἐκ τοῦ τουρκικοῦ ὑπὸ Κωνστ. Βαϊάνη προέδρου τοῦ ναυτικοῦ τμήματος τοῦ Ἐμποροδικείου, Ἐκδίδεται ὑπὸ Δημητρίου Νικολαΐδου, Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, 1881, Τύποις Θράκης.

⁴⁹ *Ὅθωμανικοὶ Κώδικες ἤτοι Συλλογὴ ἀπάντων τῶν Νόμων τῆς Ὄθωμ. Αὐτοκρατορίας Διαταγμάτων κανονισμῶν Ὁδηγῶν καὶ Ἐγκυκλίων*, Ἐκδιδόμενοι ὑπὸ Δημ. Νικολαΐδου Διευθυντοῦ τῶν Ἐφημερίδων «Κωνσταντινουπόλεως» καὶ «Σερβέτ», Ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει 1889, Τύποις Ἀδελφῶν Νικολαΐδων; τόμ. Β καὶ Γ (1890); τόμ. Δ (1891).

⁵⁰ ΒΟΑ, ΜΦ.ΜΚΤ 24/113 (1291.Ζ.29/06.02.1875).

Düstur and *Mecelle-i Ahkam-ı Adliyye* into Bulgarian and that he published half the work in two volumes. Due though to his financial difficulties, he postponed the publication of the rest, at the risk of losing his credibility, especially when in fact he had been presented with a 3rd degree award for his Greek translation of *Düstur*. As for obtaining funds to publish the other half, we learn from the document that D. Nikolaidis had asked the Bulgarian heads of the local councils in the vilayets of Adrianopolis, Danube, Thessaloniki and Monastir (*Edirne, Tuna, Selanik, Manastır vilayetleri*) to mediate so that the prefects of the said areas would buy the first two volumes of the Bulgarian translation of *Düstur* and of *Mecelle*.⁵¹

In 1886 Nikolaidis Efendi applied for permission to reprint the *Ottoman Codes* in Greek and French as some had changed or been improved, and to release them along with all the other laws of the Ottoman state. He was granted permission on condition that they were printed and published in the same way as the previous ones.⁵² On completing this Greek edition, Dimitrakis Nikolaidis turned to the Greek Orthodox members of the regional, prefectural and provincial councils, asking them to buy copies of *Düstur* to learn on the one hand about the laws and regulations existing in the Ottoman state and on the other hand, so he could recoup part of the publication costs. In 1887 as a reward for translating the *Ottoman Codes* into French, he was awarded the sum of 100 lira by imperial command. The amount was disbursed from the benefits account of the Home Office Dahiliye.⁵³

In 1892 Nikolaidis requested that the Press Office reduce the price of the *Ottoman Codes* from 400 to 300 piasters for the new edition he was preparing. He signs the document as the owner of the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Servet*.⁵⁴ His request was granted a month later as, after

⁵¹ BOA, MF.MKT 33/63 (23 Z 1292/20.01.1876).

⁵² BOA, Yıldız Hususî Evrakı 196/96 (22 S 1304/20.11.1886).

⁵³ BOA, DH.MKT 1528/74 (26 Za 1305/04.08.1888) and BOA, İ.DH 1089/ 85431 (7 Z 1305/15.08.1888).

⁵⁴ BOA, DH.MKT 1926/67 (26 B 1309/25.02.1892).

checking the Greek translation of *Düstur*, the Interior Ministry issued a licence for the book to be printed and sold.⁵⁵

In August 1891 the sultan awarded Dimitrakis Nikolaidis 5,000 piasters as a prize for his translation into Greek of *Düstur* and *Mecelle-i Ahkam-ı Adliye*. It was decided that the sum should be given from his Internal Affairs funds for the Hegira year 1308 (1892).⁵⁶ In September 1887 Dimitrakis Nikolaidis Efendi, publisher of the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Servet*, was awarded the *Üçüncü Rütbe'den Mecidi nişanı* medal.⁵⁷ He was also awarded the 3rd degree medal (*Üçüncü Rütbe'den Takova Nişanı*) by the Serbian Government, as we learn from a document he submitted to the Ottoman authorities asking for permission to receive it⁵⁸. The outstanding publications by the owner of the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Servet*, Dimitrakis Nikolaidis, were highly esteemed by the Sultan, as well as by the Ecumenical Patriarch. So after the 2nd degree medal (*Saniye Rütbesi*) he already had, in 1893 he was also awarded the *Mütemayize Rütbesi* medal.⁵⁹

In 1893 Nikolaidis repeated the request he had made to the provinces of Adrianopolis, Danube, Thessaloniki, etc. for them to buy the Greek translation of *Düstur*. And this time he also turned to the Ottoman Railway Company of Rumelia and Anatolia, to the Terkos Water Company, to the Tobacco Monopoly and to the directorates of the general banks *Osmanlı Bankası* and *Osmanlı Genel Gredisi* (Credit General Ottoman Banque). He then pointed out to the Rums working in these companies that the book in question would give them the chance to broaden their legal knowledge.⁶⁰ His request found reciprocation from the employees of the Régie Company, a foreign enterprise operating the domestic tobacco monopoly during the last three decades of the Empire, who

⁵⁵ BOA, DH.MKT 1938/33 (1 N 1309/30.03.1892).

⁵⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 1989/67 (25 M 1310/31.08.1891). See also BOA, BEO (Babiali Evrak Odası) 48/3595 (18 M 1310/12.08.1892).

⁵⁷ BOA, Y.PRK.ASK 41/91 (14 Z 1304/03.09.1887).

⁵⁸ BOA, İ.TAL 163/1315.Za/7 Za 1315 and BEO 1101/82532.

⁵⁹ BOA, DH.MKT 2057/6 (12 Ş.1310/01.03.1893).

⁶⁰ BOA, DH.MKT 14/31 (28 N 1310 /15.04.1893).

though wanted to know beforehand whether its sale had state approval. So Dimitrakis Nikolaidis wrote to the Interior Ministry (*Dahiliye Nezareti*) asking them to send an information sheet to the company similar to that sent to the provinces.⁶¹ The Department *Babıali Mektubi Kalemi* decided to make a charitable donation of a quarter of the revenue from the sale of *Düstur* and *Mecelle* to the poor-house (*Darül'aceze*), and also undertook to urge Greek Orthodox members of the courts and the various councils in the Ottoman state to buy a copy.⁶²

In the same year, 1892, Dimitris Nikolaidis gave his daughter in marriage and the sultan was invited to the ceremony, showing the close relations between Nikolaidis and the Sublime Porte.⁶³ Two years later Dimitrakis Nikolaidis' house at Mouchli was destroyed by a huge earthquake, and as he still had not recouped the expenses from the publication of *Düstur*, he found himself in a very difficult situation. In an attempt to find a solution, he sent his colleague Miltiadis Efendi to Thessaloniki, Kosovo and Monastir to sell as many copies of *Düstur* as he could and he applied to the Interior Ministry for the relevant permit, which he was granted. The document states that every assistance should be given to Miltiadis Efendi in selling the books, but also that any matter concerning the printing house of the newspapers *Konstantinoupolis* and *Servet* should be settled as quickly as possible.⁶⁴

In 1896 Dimitrakis Nikolaidis applied to the Ministry of Education (*Maa-rif Nezareti*) requesting that *Düstur* and *Mecelle* should be forwarded to Christians in the public sector in all provinces. Noting in addition that he would donate a quarter of the sales revenue to the poor-house (*Darül'aceze*) and with the rest he would pay off his debts as he had spent large amounts of money on publication. Replying that it had no authority to do so, the Ministry of Education told the Interior Ministry to

⁶¹ BOA, DH.MKT 2005/77 (29 Ağustos 1308/10.09.1892).

⁶² BOA, DH.MKT 1995/107 (1310.S.10/03.09.1892) and DH.MKT 1995/108; DH.MKT 1996/66.

⁶³ BOA, Y.PRK.AZJ 25/56 (1310/1892-1893).

⁶⁴ BOA, DH.MKT 295/62 (15 R 1312/16.10.1894).

forward the request to the Sublime Porte (Babiali).⁶⁵ In early August 1895 the Interior Ministry (Dahiliye Nezareti) issued a decision according to which Greek Orthodox employees in the courts and other departments were urged to buy a copy.⁶⁶

In the summer of 1905 (beginning of 1326) Nikolaidis informed the Press Office in writing that, due to his advanced age, he was unable to run the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* and wished to pass it on to his sons, Nikolakis and Georgakis⁶⁷. In mid 1327 (June 1909) Press Office Matbuat İdaresi procedures for transferring the business to his son Nikos Nikolaidis were completed and all that remained was to inform the Ministry of Public Order (*Zabtiye Nezareti*).⁶⁸

The longevity of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* certainly testifies to its popularity. Changes though on the political scene during the first few years of the 20th century, when the irredentist version of the Megali Idea began gaining ground, curbed its number of readers. Financial problems that had emerged over time escalated. In the Ottoman Archive in Istanbul we found evidence of Nikolaidis' debts to the State. In 1901 Nikolaidis' wife Sevastitsa reportedly owed the Tax Office a large amount of money for the house she owned on the island of Antigoni in the Princes' Islands⁶⁹. Documents from the 6th Municipal District of Istanbul also reveal that for many years, from 1888 to 1894 (from H. 1305 to the end of 1311), Nikolaidis had not paid taxes amounting to four thousand piasters for property he had in the said area.⁷⁰ To clear the debt he turned to the Financial Ministry (*Maliye Nezareti*) and asked if he could deposit the amount he was to receive from the sale of property he had in

⁶⁵ BOA, MF.MKT 303/15 (8 Ş 1313/24.01.1896).

⁶⁶ BOA, DH.MKT 405/25 (9 S 1313/01.08.1895).

⁶⁷ BOA, DH.MKT 1274/10 (2 B 1326/31.07.1908) and ZB 334/82.

⁶⁸ “Sâye-i terakki-vâye-i hazret-i padişâhîde kırk seneyi müteceviz zamandan beri ve Payitaht-ı saltanat-ı seniyye’de tab’ ve neşreylemekte olduğum Kostantinopolis nâm Rumca gazetesinin âرز olan sinn-i şeyhûhet-i bendegânemden dolayı devam-ı neşrinden âciz kalmış olduğumdan mezkûr gazete imtiyazının ...” see BOA, DH.MKT 2862/14 (11 C 1327/30.06.1909).

⁶⁹ BOA, DH.MKT 2517/10 (15 Ra 1319 /02.07.1901).

⁷⁰ BOA, DH.MKT 743/13 (29 R 1321/24.07.1903).

the Second Municipal District of Istanbul, where property belonging to his wife was also located, for which the debt from non-payment of taxes had reached 5,280 piasters.⁷¹ Gedeon describes the dire situation in which Nikolaidis found himself as follows:

He started to sell off his lovely houses, the library and finally his printing house. Nikolaidis, who used to earn such a lot from his newspaper and spent a great deal of money, lost everything. He also lost all sense of dignity but continued to go around clean and decently and elegantly dressed, thanks to the charity of his friends. He died all alone as his children were scattered here and there (Gedeon 1932: 38).

Nikolaidis died on 3 July 1915 and the announcement of his death was published in the periodical *Ap'ola* on 10 July 1915:

Last Saturday (July 3, 1915), Dimitrios Nikolaidis, Director of the local newspaper *Konstantinopolis*, published for the last 40 years, passed away after a long period of illness. The deceased, a well-known figure of our community, was a highly active journalist in various journals he printed. Sharp-witted and with an eye for business, he wished to offer new trends to the then exhilarated Greek-language journalism of the capital, for which both he and his work became renowned. He started his career as a journalist at *Anatolikos Astir*, published by V. Kallifron, with whom he published the outstanding magazine *Eptalofos*, and later the newspapers *Thraki*, *Avgi*, *Servet* and *Konstantinoupolis*. The latter, the most long-lived of all, was published until the first days of the Ottoman Constitution. He also published many useful books, including the *Ottoman Law Codes*. The deceased was awarded for his many services the Saniye Müttemayiz, the *Osmani* and *Mecidi* medals of the third degree, the Gold Cross of the Savior, and the Gold Cross of the Holy Sepulcher. His funeral was elaborate and imposing, led by His All Holiness (the Patriarch), with expenses covered by the Community of Beyoğlu. The condolences of the Patriarch were passed on to his grieving family by the Secondary Deacon Neophytos, and among those attending were journalists and scientists. To the deeply suffering family of the late Dimitrios Nikolaidis, we convey our deepest condolences, in our hope for eternal memory. The funeral matters were tirelessly taken care of by Alex. Mavrogiannopoulos, who served for many years at *Konstantinoupolis*, while the funeral decoration of the Church was undertak-

⁷¹ BOA, DH.MKT 1184/72 (12 C 1325/23.07.1907).

en, with great generosity, by Stavros Neokosmos. Mr N. Pistov also provided a first-rate hearse to carry the deceased.

Epilogue

After half a century in publishing, and having lost all his assets in an attempt to keep the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis* running, Dimitrios Nikolaidis' funeral expenses were covered by the Rum community of Pera and with contributions from his friends.

He chose to go into publishing at a very young age. Alongside his involvement in periodicals such as *Anatolikos Astir*, *Eptalofos* which he undertook to keep running, he and his Constantinopolitan and Greek colleagues published in colloquial Greek (*Koine* Greek) many texts from ancient literature and translated into Greek texts from foreign literature, which were printed at the printing house of his newspapers *Eptalofos* and *Konstantinoupolis*. His career in publishing from then on proved that he believed in Ottomanism, namely in preserving the Ottoman Empire intact, where its subjects, Muslims and non-Muslims, could live together in harmony for the common good. This is what he believed in, as seen in his publications, and a good indication of this is what he states in the prologue to the Greek edition of *Ottoman Codes* and the role he considers could be played by the Rums:

If we fail to teach the People their rights and duties, are we not demonstrating unforgivable indolence towards political and social prosperity - especially we, who claim, on the grounds of our culture and intelligence, an important position in the matters of the Anatolia?

From the pages of the newspaper *Konstantinoupolis*, Nikolaidis backed Patriarch Joachim III, a supporter of the conservation of the Rum millet within the Ottoman state framework. At the same time he published the Ottoman newspaper *Servet* for a decade. He infiltrated the terrain of the Muslim publishers, presumably with the aim of spreading the views of Helleno-Ottomanism and the principle of a single and undivided Ottoman Empire to Muslim and non-Muslim populations who could read

the Arabic alphabet. Future research to be carried out on this newspaper will shed light on the role it played.

Nikolaidis persisted to the end in continuing publication of *Konstantinopolis*, despite the fact that the number of his readers had dwindled, preferring papers that championed the irredentist ideology of the Greek state. Those supporting the irredentist ideas that prevailed were those who condemned him to oblivion, as we conclude from the silence surrounding him. Dimitrios Nikolaidis cannot be found in any biographical dictionary. It is no coincidence that M. Gedeon made very few references to him and those were deprecatory. Gedeon made hardly any references either to the long-lived *Konstantinopolis* and spoke not at all about *Servet* and its periodical *Servet-i Fünun*, which was to define the literary scene at the end of the Ottoman Empire and Kemalist Turkey until the Interwar period.

The Ottoman archival material revealed many aspects of Dimitrios Nikolaidis' work and testifies to his struggle to support the issue of his publications. Above all though, the archival evidence proves irrefutably that Dimitrios Nikolaidis was the publisher of *Servet-i Fünun*, the weekly supplement that accompanied his paper *Servet* and contained literary and scientific material. It was he who applied to Ottoman authorities for permission to release it. The extensive bibliography on *Servet-i Fünun* does not refer to D. Nikolaidis, except in a few instances where scholars use Ahmed İhsan's *Memoirs*. It is there that the collaboration between the two men in founding *Servet-i Fünun* is revealed. The overwhelming majority of scholars ascribe the periodical to Ahmed İhsan, who continued publication when later Nikolaidis sold it to him. The launch of *Servet-i Fünun* as a supplement of the newspaper *Servet* was not unlike similar practices previously followed by Nikolaidis with the supplements for his Greek newspapers *Eptalofos* and *Konstantinopolis*. His choices show the illuminating role it played in enlightening both Rum and Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire.

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Karamanlidika Is Ottoman; Viewing the Pages of *Anatoli*

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Introduction

Newspapers and the press in general are always a resourceful tool regarding insight into historical, cultural and linguistic phenomena. This tool becomes even more important when dealing with traditions that have met extinction. The newspapers complete the gap of information that is left behind by all kind of manuscripts, like personal correspondence or books, and give information on every day events or language. Those events become difficult to understand or trace years or centuries later, since they are small fragments of history that only found their way into a newspaper page. The meaning of the Greek name for newspaper reflects this fact. The term *efimerida* comes from the root *efimeron*, which literary means what lives for one day, short-lived in general, or something that soon becomes past. This applies not only to the content but to the material of which newspapers are made, which are not destined to last.

Research on the press of syncretic communities¹ has a lot to offer and regarding Karamanlidika, important steps have been made, but we need to engage more in all fields². *Anatoli* was the avant-garde of Karamanlidika press for several reasons. Primarily, it was the first and the longest lived, being in print from 1850 until 1922. Secondly, it was published by Evangelinos Misailides, one of the most prominent Turcophone Christian Orthodox from Anatolia and publisher of several books, translations

¹ By syncretic, I refer to communities that used a script for a language different than the one used by the majority of the population. In the Karamanlidika case, Greek alphabet is used for Turkish language.

² For studies on the Karamanlidika press and a catalogue of Karamanlidika periodicals, see Balta 2010. For various contributions on Karamanlidika press, see Balta 2014. For studies regarding language in the press, see Irakleous 2014 and Kahya 2015.

and periodicals (Balta 2010: 109–24, 179). Thirdly, the newspaper was published by a Turkish-speaking Christian for Turkish-speaking Christians, making *Anatoli* the voice of Karamanlides. In the pages of *Anatoli*, one could find the opinions and beliefs of the editors and readers, stories and arguments (Benlisoy – Benlisoy 2010, Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2010) and, if one studies the language used, linguistic practices and attitudes throughout a period of more than 70 years.

The present paper aims to add to the discussion of what Karamanlidika is in linguistic terms by examining one specific page from *Anatoli*, for reasons that will be explained shortly. This paper will not get into the discussion about the term Karamanlidika, which has already been dealt with extensively (Kappler 2006), but will take as a starting point the fact that Karamanlidika is Turkish language written in the Greek alphabet.

Since the first linguistic studies on Karamanlidika by János Eckmann in the 1950's, his assumption regarding the existence of a Karamanli “language” (Eckmann 1950a, 1950b, 1951, 1953, 1958, 1964) manages to survive today, although many studies have proven otherwise. First, Mefküre Mollova criticized Eckmann's work by showing that the material used could not be considered as a determinable dialect, since it constitutes a mixture (Mollova 1979–80), and Robert Anhegger led the discussion in its right path, namely that we are dealing with a graphical-cultural phenomenon (Anhegger 1979–80). As Matthias Kappler very correctly observed (Kappler 2006: 657), Eckmann created the false impression that the Turcophone Orthodox Christians located in Istanbul, Rumeli, Inner Anatolia and other coastal areas spoke literally the same language, which cannot be considered valid and becomes even more absurd when one takes into consideration the long period the phenomenon was in use and the various groups of different social or even ethnic backgrounds that used it.

The *yavan Türkçe* ('simple Turkish') of Serapheim Attalates, the leading figure in 18th century Karamanlidika publishing³, and manuscripts from that time (Gavriel 2010) have little similarities with the language used by the missionaries in their various publications (Irakleous 2013, Kahya 2015) or the language of poetry and songs written by Turcophone Orthodox of Anatolia (Kappler 2002a) and *Anatoli*. The way language and script are treated or used in general is subject to a variety of factors, including the literacy level of the author and readers, the message the author wants to convey and also the sociological context of the printed material, whether newspaper, book or another form⁴.

Naturally, in the pages of *Anatoli*, the language changed from time to time, not only due to the long period of time the newspapers was being published but also according to the intentions of its editors. Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu (2010) brought to light a very interesting incident from the pages of *Anatoli* of 1890, where a reader is complaining about the language of the newspaper. The reader noted that the newspaper's language was much simpler in the previous years when Evangelinos Misailides was editor. He says, "the purpose of a newspaper is to read and understand" and threatens to discontinue his subscription by adding, "if this language continues, you will be doing us a favour by erasing us from your customers list". The editor of *Anatoli*, N. T. Soullides, who was Misailides's successor, replies in a strict style, stating that a newspaper cannot be as simple as the vernacular and that newspapers should improve the vocabulary of the readers and correct the mistakes made in everyday language. Soullides's attitude towards the reader is typical in terms of sociolinguistics. The editor, who belongs to the intellectual community or upper class, confronts the opinion and language of the reader, a language probably similar to *Anatoli*'s language in previous years, as uncouth. Another reader, Chrysanthos Efendi, added to the conversation by noting that *Anatoli* could contribute to the improvement

³ *Yavan Türkçe* is the term Serapheim uses in his books to describe their language. Regarding Serapheim, see Kokkinoftas 2011: 131–43; Irakleous 2015: 179–98.

⁴ Regarding the use of scripts in terms of appearance, setting and font and their importance, see Morison 1972.

and unification of language⁵, which, of course, is another long subject that needs to be addressed in the future.

In this way, like every other aspect of Turkish language, Karamanlidika is Ottoman, is simple Turkish, is dialectal, is standard Turkish always in accordance to the circumstances, epoch, writer and reader. The material that comprises the Karamanlidika corpus exposes great language variation, but it is bound under one graphic phenomenon, which was again realised in more than one way. It is undeniable that there is a printing and writing tradition, a Karamanlidika scribal tradition, one could argue, and some language elements may have survived through time from one legacy to another – for example, within the Turcophone Christian Orthodox community from Seraphim to Misailides – but not enough to speak of a dialect.

Anatoli's issue

The source is a sample of the late developments in terms of language within the community of Turcophone Christian Orthodox of Anatolia, when they wanted to illustrate their knowledge of Ottoman language in their printed material. This was being achieved mainly through the use of anachronistic morphology, which was actually a transliteration of Ottoman writing (Irakleous 2013: 76–88), on a first level, and then through the use of extensive Arabic/Persian vocabulary and conjunctions. It was chosen because of the rare coexistence of the same text in two scripts, Greek and Ottoman, something that allows comparison on several levels.

The issue with number 4508 (year 52) from March 3rd, 1892, was found in the Orient-Institut Istanbul's library and is devoted to Sultan Abdulhamid II for the anniversary of his birthday⁶. The text is an endless

⁵ Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2010: 114–5. For a more detailed analysis on the incident concerning language and citing the source in original script as well, see Kappler 2013: 79–83.

⁶ Although there is no doubt that the text is about Abdulhamid's birthday, the dates do not match. Abdulhamid was born on September 21st, but the newspaper is published on

praise to the Sultan⁷, which confirms the good relationship *Anatoli* had with the authorities⁸ in a time widely known for its oppression and censorship of the press. The issue ends with an acrostic poem devoted again to the Sultan. Moreover, it provides information regarding the ideology of the newspaper. It has been previously mentioned (Benlisoy – Benlisoy 2010: 98–9) that *Anatoli* criticised its readers and compatriots for refusing to enroll in the higher state schools that had recently been established. They went even further by saying that this is the reason people of the Rum millet cannot get state positions and that the graduates of the millet schools are suitable only for teachers. This is also an example of *Anatoli* praising the Sultan, namely because of the newly established schools (lines 31–3), by saying how lucky and proud they are of the progress made during Hamid’s time with the establishment of countless (*lâ-yu’ad ve lâ-yuḥşâ*) schools and beneficial buildings that ensure the future of the children of the state.

The poem, titled Sultan Hamid binyaşa (Long Live Sultan Hamid), was composed by Silvestros Efendi, who is described as skillful, for the occasion of the Sultan’s birthday (lines 52–5). This assigns the poem to the group of poetical discourse written “for a certain purpose” for a concrete occasion, in this case, a panegyric (e.g. a qaside) (Andrews 1996: 284), in contrast to happening spontaneously, as in lyric poetry (e.g. a gazel) (Andrews 1976: 146). Concrete occasions for the composition of praise poems are historical events, like official or private festivities (e.g. ascension to the throne, a wedding, the circumcision of a prince, or erection of a palace or religious building a.o.) (Anagnostopoulou – Kappler 2005/06: 63).

March 3rd. There is another inconsistency in dates regarding Abdulhamid’s age, which should have been 50 years old in 1892 (born in 1842). The newspaper says he is 52 years old (see line 22 in transcription). Regarding Sultan Abdulhamid II, see Georgeon 2003.

⁷ Regarding praising poetry in the framework of Helleno-Ottomanism, see Anagnostopoulou – Kappler 2005/06.

⁸ Şişmanoğlu Şimşek 2010: 117. In the article, it is noted that the editors were on good terms with the government. The newspaper published praise for the Sultan on its first page in Ottoman script every year on the anniversary of his accession to the throne.

The poem is composed in a stanzaic form in quatrains divided into five bends. The *redif* (post-rhyme segment) of the poem is aaaa for the first four bends, realised with the verb *oldi*, but changes in the last bend with the verb *olsun*. Its *qafiye* (rhyme) is aaaa/bbbb/cccc/dddd/eeee, realised each time with the ending of the word preceding the verb. It is not a *şarqı* (song), according to the model, since it misses a *naqarat* (refrain) and a *mahlas* (nom de plume), which seems to occur regularly in this context, though, since they prefer to refer to the author outside of the poem⁹. The strategy of the poem focuses on the extension of political reign, longevity, prosperity and fortune.

Linguistic observations

The newspaper uses the writing system introduced by Evangelinos Misailides and his brothers, which is characterised by the gradual trend of using <δ> for /d/ and <δζ> for /c/ instead of <τù> and <τùζ>, respectively (Kappler 2002b, Irakleous 2013). The use of <γγ> to render the velar /ŋ/ only in the poem (line 66, 72), something that does not occur regularly in texts of the late 19th century, might be an effort to show the presence of the Persian letter kefi-nuni (كڤڤڤڤ), namely transcribing the Ottoman text, or the editor kept the original orthography of the composer. This is a subject of controversy since similar phenomena do not find their way into the rest of the text (e.g. genitive line 15) or other words in the poem (e.g. [sana] line 63). Also, the author was obviously following the guidance of Ottoman grammars that state that the digraph elif + ye [يٰ] should be read as /i/ when transcribing the verb etmek as itmek (see lines 12, 13, 56 a.o.) a sound identified as “closed e”, supposedly rooted to the Proto-Turkic. Furthermore, we see the use of old forms of personal pronouns (e.g. line 45 *aninle*) or roots (e.g. line 42 *içün*).

⁹ For the Formal Aspect of Ottoman poetry, see Andrews 1976: 131–174. Regarding the complexities of a *şarkı*, see Kappler 2002a: 45 ff. For the absence of a *mahlas*, see Anagnostopoulou – Kappler 2005/06: 67.

One can easily observe anachronisms in the morphology of the newspaper's language in suffixes and stems. Suffixes that do not follow the fourfold harmony or suffixes starting with a /d/ that does not assimilate to the previous phoneme, a process that was finalised for sure by the end of 19th century, are one example. This happens because what we are dealing with here is a transliteration of Ottoman writing, which again has its roots in Old Anatolian Turkish suffix phonology, a variety with certain characteristics different from the Ottoman Period and, of course, from contemporary Turkish. The most basic was the existence of three vowel harmonies instead of two in late Ottoman and contemporary Turkish. Therefore, in Old Anatolian Turkish, we come across the Palatal Harmony, which is realised as {A} > a/e; the Illabial Harmony, which is realised as {I} > i/ı and Labial Harmony, which is realised as {U} > ü/u. In late Ottoman as well as in contemporary Turkish, the Palatal Harmony remained the same whilst the Illabial and the Labial Harmony were combined to create what is known today as fourfold harmony or {X}, thus {I} > ı, i, u, ü. Moreover, consonant assimilation did not exist, so suffixes with an initial /d/ (like the suffixes of Locative, Dative, Ablative and others) were not assimilated with the previous phoneme. For example, the Locative suffix, today found as –DA (da, de, ta, te), in Old Anatolian Turkish was –dA (da, de) (Johanson 1998: 108, Kerslake 1998: 185). Suffixes that follow the Labial harmony can be seen in the following lines: 1 –lU, 9,13,23 a.o.+yUb. Suffixes that follow the Illabial harmony can be seen in lines: 8, 20 +dIK, 38,41 –sIn, +dI, 56–71. Suffixes with non-assimilative consonants can be seen in lines: 13, 20, 25 a.o. –dA.

The forms and functions of oral language are, of course, always largely different from those of written language, but what constitutes the anachronism here is the fact that Karamanlidika started as a representation of oral speech and then moved on to representing an older stage of language. This happened due to what is known as prestige of writing (Sausure 1979: 56), namely when a writing system achieves standardization (or some sort of it in the Karamanlidika case), and its rules create “obstacles” to a clear understanding of the oral tradition of that language, a tradition that is independent from writing. This also has to do with so-

cial factors of that time. Andreas Tietze (Tietze 1991: 385–6) had divided Ottoman intellectual history into three periods: first, the Turkish of Central-Asiatic traditions; second, the integration into the Islamic intellectual tradition, which led to the abdication of the purely Turkish one and third, the “discovery” of the Occident with the abdication of the Islamic tradition. The second period was characterised by the use of refined Ottoman language, which had become a language of prestige equal to the classics of Arabic and Persian. The Turcophone Orthodox Christians had passed to the second stage during the second half of the 19th century, moving towards a linguistic conservatism, at a time when Ottoman intellectuals had already been stressing the need for linguistic simplification, for script and lexicon, which was full of Arabic and Persian words (Kappler 2013: 73–5). And, that exactly explains the extensive Arabo-Persian vocabulary of the source presented here.

The Karamanlidika text has some elements that possibly illustrate oral language. Some of them are the assimilation of the Arabic article with the following consonant, e.g. [*Es–Sultan İbnis–Sultan*] and [*el sultân ibn el sultân*] in line 3, or the previous vowel, e.g. [*mafil-bal*] line 13. In line 5, [*müjdê*] is rendered in Karamanlidika as [*müce*] whilst in line 39, the grapheme <y> drops in [*olmakdaız*]. In line 43, the word *malıkız* lacks assimilation of <k> with the following vowel, and in lines 27 [*kalblere*], 45 [*anınle*] and 49 [*doalerini*], the palatalisation of suffixes exists. When there is an *ayn* (ع) in the Ottoman script, the author tends to duplicate the vowel in Karamanlidika (e.g. line 9 *niimet*, 12 *iilan* a.o.). The duplication of consonants, which also occurs, could be attributed to voice stress [e.g. lines 9 and 10, *illahiye/ilahîye, kürremize/kürêmize*]. Furthermore, we see the phenomenon of vowel epenthesis in lines 37 and 38 [*güsfend /güsfend, basiban/pâsbân*].

The two texts, except the poem in both scripts, have some minor differences in words and word order that can be explained in three ways. First, due to the limited space of the newspaper, in two occasions, the title (line 1) and the introduction of the poem (lines 52–5) the Ottoman text is shorter. Second, the replacement of words with a certain social context that cannot be explained using such a small sample and word order that

might seem “unnatural” to the readers, as seen in line 4: [*cümlemize subh-i saadeti*] (dawn of happiness to us all) instead of [*bütün cihâniyene şubh-i sa’âdeti*] (dawn of happiness to the whole world), line 46 [*tenvir idilmek ile*] instead of [*tenvir olmakda bulunmağla*] and line 50 [*kemal-i şevket*] instead of [*kemâl ‘az u şevket*]. Furthermore, in line 47, [*taarif-u beyan berun-i iktidar*] instead of [*êdâ bîrûn dâirê-i îqtidâr*]. The dropping of words can be seen in line 44 where [*pâdişahımız efendimiziñ*] is absent from the Karamanlidika text, in line 18 where the phrase [*bu gün*] is absent from the Ottoman text and while the Ottoman text ends with the phrase [*amin ya mu ‘in*], the Karamanlidika ends just with [*amin*].

The word order differs in two occasions (lines 42–3 and 50–1). There is no alternation to the meaning of the sentences or syntax, since the position of subject and verb remains, while one of the various adjectives of each sentence moves.

Transcription¹⁰

1.

Şevketlü merhametlü padişahımız Gazi Sultan Abdul Hamid Han Sani
Efendimiz hazretlerinin veladet-i Hümayun-i saadet makrunlerinin
ruz-i firuzi

Velâdet-i hümayûn-i sa’âdet-maqrûn hazret-i pâdişâhı

2.

Bu gün hurşid-i haveri olan Sevgili Padişah-i fukara penah ve Şehinşah-i,

bu gün hûrşîd-i hâveri olan sevgili pâdişâh-i fuqarâ-t (sic) ***–penâh ve şehinşâh-i***

¹⁰ Karamanlidika text transcription in regular text, and Ottoman text transcription in bold italics.

3.

şevket iktinah Es–Sultan İbnis–Sultan Gazi Abdul HAMİD Han Sani efendimiz

şevket-iktinâh el-sultân ibn el-sultân (Ġâzi 'Abd ül-Ĥamid Ĥân-i Sâni) efendimiz

4.

hazretlerinin şeref dolu–i ile, cümlemize subh–i saadeti ve selamet–i
hazretleri şeref tolu' ile bütün cihâniyâna şubh-i sa'âdeti ve selâmet-i

5.

Devleti müzde ve tebşir eylediği gündür.

devleti müjde ve tebşîr eylediği gündür.

6.

Bu gün derya-i cüd-ü-kerem-i cihanbanelerinden dilsir olan tebaa ve zir-i
Bu gün deryâ-i cûd ü kerem cihânânîlerinden dilsîr olan teba'a ve zir-i

7.

destanın hazine–i kulubında malamal olan şuule-i sürur-u-hubur
destânın her biri hazîne-i qulûbında mâlâmâl olan şu'le-i sürûr u ĥubûr

8.

nasîyelerine inikâsle lemean olduğu halde, kimi kemal-i şevk-ü-şataretle
nâsiyelerine in'ikâsle leme'ân olduğu hâlde, kimi kemâl-i şevq ü şatâretle

9.

barkâh-i niimet penah-i illahiyeye şitaban olub böyle bir niimet-i cihan kıymetin

bârkâh-i ni'met-penâh-i âlihîyeye şitâbân olub böyle bir ni'met-i cihân kıymetin

10.

kürremize ihsanından dolayı zanuzede-i ubudiyetle Cenab-ı Hakka vird-
ü-dualar

***kürremize îhsânından tolayı zânûzede-i 'ubûdiyetle cenâb-i haqqa vird ü
du'âlar***

11.

ile iştiğal – ve kimi zokak ve konaklarını gona gun nurlar ile tenvir

ile iştiğâl – ve kimi zoqaq ve qonaqlarını gûnâgûn nûrlar ile tenvîr

12.

ve cilvenüma-i temevvüc iden rengârenk rayat-ı zafer âyat-ı Osmaniye ile
tezyin

***ve cilvênümâ-i temevvüc iden rengârenk râyât-i zafer âyât-i 'oşmâniyê ile
tezyîn***

13.

idüb iilan-ı meserret-i mafil-bal eylemke,

edüb i'lân-i meserret-i mâ-fi-l-bâl eylemekde,

14.

Bu gün vucüd-i bihbud-i Şahaneleri kehvare-i kürremize şaşabahşa

bu gün vucûd-i bihbûd-i şâhâneleri kehvâre-i kürremize şa'sa (sic) bahşâ

15.

olması hasebi ile, her ehl-i lisanın dihanından eşar ve manzumeler ve
gona gun

***olması hasebiyle, her ehl-i lisânın dehânından êş'ar ve manzûmeler ve
gûnâgûn***

16.

kasideler feveran ve erbab-ı kalemin her biri bir dürlü lisanlar ile ihşa-
sat-ı

qaşideler feverân ve êrbâb-i qalemiñ her biri bir dürlü lisânlar ile ihsâsât-i

17.

ubudiyet ğayatlarını arz-u-beyan miirazında kemal-i şevk ile hameran olmakda,

'ubûdiyét ğâyâtlarını 'arz u beyân mi'razında kemâl-i şevqiyle hâmerân olmakda.

18.

El-hasıl bu gün memalik-i mahruset-ül-mesalik-i mülükanelerinin her köşesinde her ferd

El-hâşıl memâlik-i mahrûsêt êl-mesâlik-i mülûkâneleriniñ her köşesinde her ferd

19.

viladet-i pür meymenet-i Hümayunlerini bir yevm-i sayd ve bir ruz-i ferid add iderek,

velâdet-i pür-meymenet-i hümâyûnlarını bir yevm-i sa'id ve bir rûz-i ferid 'add ederek,

20.

ferah ve sevinclerini iraye ve ibraz ğayretinde olmakda buldukları mis-illu,

ferâh ve sevinclerini irâye ve ibrâz ğayretinde olmaqda bulduqları mis-illu,

21.

Asya-i suğrada mütemekkin kâffe-i Ορθόδοξοσ'ların terceman-i efkârı olan

Âsyâ-yi şuğrâda mütemekkin kâffê-i (ortodoqsosların) tercemân-i êfkârı olan

22.

ve tamam elli iki seneden beri layenkati devam ile Devlet-i metbuasına hıdemat-

ve temâm elli iki seneden berü lâyenqaṭı' devâm ile devlet-i metbû'asına ḥudemât-i

23.

mümkinneyi edada ve fedakâri-i lâzımeyi ifada aslan ve kattan kusur- itmeyüb,

mümkinneyi êdâda ve fedâkâr-i lâzımeyi îfâde âşlâ ve qaṭ'ân quşûr êtmeyüb,

24.

mücerred Selatin Osmaniyenin icraat-ı ber güzidelerini, ve asar-ı hayret-nisari

mücerred selâṭîn-i 'oşmânîyenin îcrâ'ât-i ber-güzidêlerini ve âşâr-ı hayret-nisâr

25.

müteaddidelerini beyan ile tezyin-i sûtun eylemekde bulunan Ανατολή ceridesi

müte'addidelerini beyân ile tezyîn-i sûtûn eylemekde bulunan "Anatoli" cerîdesi

26.

dahı böyle bir ruz-i firuzın hatırlara naqş eylediği tesavir-i nazar rubayı

dahı böyle bir rûz-i firûzın ḥâṭırlara naqş eylediği teşâvîr-i nazar rubâyı

27.

ve kalblere bahş eylediği ferah ve sevinci adem-i beyan, haric-i daire-i imkân

ve qalblere bahş eylediği ferah ve sevinci 'adem-i beyân ḥâric-i dâ'irê-i imkân

28.

olmağıla, bu gün viladet-i Hümayun, saadet nümün şereflerine hasseten nushalar

*olmağıyla, bu gün velâdet-i hümayûn-i sa'âdet-nümûn şereflerine
hâşşaten nushalar*

29.

tabb-u-neşri ile iftihar, ve atebe-i felek mertebe-i Şahanelerine rumal-i ubudiyetle

*tab' u neşri ile iftîhâr – ve 'atebe-i felek mertebe-i şâhânelerine rûmâl-i
'ubûdiyetle*

30.

beraber, lazıme-i tebrik-ü-tehniyeti min gayrı haddin takdim ile bahtiyar add olunuyor.

*berâber lâzıme-i tebrîk ü tehniyeti min gayr-i haddin taqdîm ile bahtiyâr
'add olunuyor.*

31.

Evvet, bahtiyar ve pür iftiharız-zira ahd-i Hamid-i tereki bedidin zaman-i

*Evet bahtiyâr ve pür-iftîhârız – zîrâ 'ahd-i Hamîd-i teraqqî bedîdîñ
zemân-i*

32.

Saltanatlarında sahapıra-i alem olan la yuad ve la yuhsa medaris-i ilmiye,

*saltanatlarında sâhâ pîrâ-yi 'âlem olan lâ-yu'ad ve lâ-yuhşâ medâris-i
'ilmiyê*

33.

ve ebniye-i hayriye ile evlad-i vatanın hal-u-istikbalı teemin, ve nice ıslahatı

*ve ebniye-i hayriyê ile evlâd-i vaţanın hâl u istiqbâlî tê'mîn ve nîcê
ıslahât-i*

34.

adaletkâri ve inayat-i bişûmarı ile hukuk-u nas vikaye, ve kulub-i
biçâregân

**'adâletkâri ve 'inâyât-i bişûmârı ile huquq-i nâs viqâye ve qulûb-i
bîçâregân**

35.

teskin idilmektedir.

teskîn edilmektedir.

36.

Bahtiyar ve pür iftiharız-zira asr-ı Mülükânelerinde sernuma-i zuhur

Bahtiyâr ve pür-iftilhârız – zîrâ 'aşr-i mülükânelerinde ser-numâ-i zühûr

37.

iden nice aduyan-i bi emanın pençe-i ğadrından gûsifend-i tebaasını
sahabet

**eden nîce 'adûyân-i bî-imânın pençe-i ğadrından gûsfend-i teb'asını
şahâbet**

38.

hususında hab-u-rahatı terk iden bir basiban-i muhafızı cihaniyan saye-i

**huşûşunda hâb u râhatı terk eden bir pâsbân-i muhâfız-ı cihâniyân sâyê-
i**

39.

secerinde sayeban olmakdaız.

secerinde sâyebân olmaqdayız.

40.

Bahtiyar ve pür iftiharız-zira Huda negerde, harik ve duĝıyan-i miyah

Bahtiyâr ve pür-iftilhârız – zîrâ hudâ-negerde, harîq ve tuĝıyân-i miyâh

41.

ve kaht-u-galâ gibi affat ve beliyenin sernuma-i zuhurında hasıl olan
ve qahṭ galâ gibi âffât ve beliyêniñ sernumâ-yi zuhûrında hâşıl olan

42.

cerihalara beder-i müşfike ve iltiyam pezir için iltica olunacak Sultan
Hamid Han

cerîhalara iltiyâm-pezir için ilticâ olunacaq (Ġazı Sulṭân Ḥamîd Ḥân-i Sâni)

43.

efendimiz gibi bir penahı zıl-ul-lahe malikiz.

efendimiz gibi bir peder-i müşfiqe ve bir penâh-i zıl el-llâhe mâlikiz.

44.

El hasıl vücûd-i pür sud-i Kitisitanileri Devlet-i

El-hâşıl pâdişâhımız efendimizin vucûd-i pür-sûd-i gîtî-sitânileri devlet-i

45.

ebed müddetin ruhu mesabesinde olub, vücûd-i Mülk anınle hayat bul-
makda

*ebed müddetiñ rûhı meşâbésinde olub vucûd-i mülk anınla hayât bul-
maqda*

46.

ve nur-i viladetinden beri ezhan-ı amme tenvir idilmek ile bu gibi
niimetlerin

*ve nûr-i velâdetinden beri ezhân-i 'âmmê tenvîr olmaqda bulunmağla ve
bu gibi ni'metleriñ*

47.

zerresini bile ne lisan-ı hal ve nede lisan-ı kal ile taarif-u-beyan berün-i
iktidar

*zerresini bile ne lisân-i hâl ve nede lisân-i qâl ile édâ bîrûn-i dâirê-i
îqtidâr*

48.

olmağıle, kâffe-i ehali yek dil ve yek zekan olarak Padişahım çok yaşa
olmağla kâffe-i ehâlî yek-dil ve yek-zebân olaraq (pâdişâhım çoq yaşa)

49.

doalerini asumanlara ref eyleyor. Heman Cenab-ı Hak ve feyaz-ı mutlak
du'âsını semânlara ref' ediyor. Hemân cenâb-i haqq ve feyâz-i mutlaq

50.

hazretleri sevgili padişahımızı ila ahır-ut-devran that-ı ali baht-ı Osma-
nide kemal-i şevket

hazretleri sevgili pâdişâhımızı ilâ-ahır el-devrân kemâl-i 'az u şevket

51.

-ü-afiyet ile ber devam buyursun. Amin.

ile taht-i 'âl-i baht-i 'osmânîde ber-devâm buyursun amîn yâ mu'în.

52–55.

Gazetamız muharrirlerinden ve Mekteb-i Hukuk-ı Şahane talebe-i
mütehaçanından olub, gerek umur-i Mezhebiye ve gerek Siyasiye
müteallik makalleleri ile Gazetamızı tezyin iden meharetlü Σιλβέστρος
efendi Δημητριάδης tarafından viladet-i Padişahi için venz-i milli üzere
tanzim olunan ακρόστιχον nam manzumeyi mael iftihar derc ideriz
söyleki:

*Ġazetemiz muharrirlerinden mekteb-i huqûq-i şâhânê talebêsinden
{Silvestros Dimitriadis} efendinin yevm-i velâdet bâhır el-meserret
şehinşâhı için venz-i millî üzere tanzîm eylediği "manzûme"yi ma'a el-
iftihâr derc ederiz.*

Sultan Hamid bin yaşa

56.

Sudu idüb, hurşid-i şark, bitün cihan, taban oldı
Suŧü' edüb hûrşid-i şarq bütün cihân tâbân oldı

57.

Osmaniyan, bu gündürki, kudumunle, şadan oldı
'Osmânîyân bu gündürki qudûmile şadân oldı

58.

İrfanile, tedbirine yar-u-ağıyar, hayran oldı
'irfân ile tedbîrine yâr u âgyâr hayrân oldı

59.

Lütfü ile, Millet mesud, hem mülkün abadan oldı
lütfi ile millet mes'ûd hem mülki âbâdân oldı

60.

Taht-i ali Osman vucüdünle bahtiyar oldı
Taht-i 'Âl-i 'Osmân vucûdünle bahtiyâr oldı

61.

Alemmesrur, nur-i viladetinle şeb, nihar oldı
'âlem mesrûr nûr-i velâdetinle şeb nihâr oldı

62.

Nam-u-şanın, bu devlete mücib-i iftihar oldı
nâm u şânın bu devlete mücib-i iftîhâr oldı

63.

Hudasana, hamd-u-sena, HAMİD çün şehriyar oldı
hudâ saña hamd u şenâ Hamîd çün şehriyâr oldı

64.

Asayişle, mülkün Şaha, her devlete, faik oldu

Âsâyişle mülkün şâha her devlete fâ'ik oldu

65.

Musadatın, her milleti, terakîya, saik oldu

musâ'dâtın her milleti, teraqîye sâ'iq oldu

66.

İhsanıyla, ru-i mazhun, biçaregân, barik oldu

ihsânıyla rû-yi mahzûn biçâregân bâriq oldu

67.

Devlet için, feda-i can, her efrada, laik oldu

devlet için, fedâ-i can her éfrâda lâ'iq oldu

68.

Beşaretle, tebrik için, felekler ser, nügün oldu

Beşâretle tebrîk için felekler ser-nigûn oldu

69.

İhya iden, çün milleti, kehvarezib, bu gün oldu

ihyâ eden çün milleti kehvâre-zîb bu gün oldu

70.

Neşr-i adaletle, asrı şöhret hasrın, meemün oldu

neşr-i 'adâletle 'aşr-i şöhret haşrın mé'mûn oldu

71.

Garib dilim, haddin bilmez, medhinde bi sükun oldu

garîb dilim haddin bilmez medhinde bî-sükûn oldu

72.

İhsan-ı derya-i hudâ, mülkünde malamal olsun

İhsân-i deryâ-I hudâ mülkünde mâlâmâl olsun

73.

Adaletin sayesinde, millet asude bal olsun

'adâletin sâyêsinde millet asûdê bâl olsun

74.

Şehinşahim, hezar sinin, sıhhatın ber, kemal olsun

şehinşâhım hezâr sinîn şıhhatın ber-kemâl olsun

75.

Ali osman, ta bemaşşer ikbalda bi misal olsun.

Âl-i 'osmân tâ be-maşşer îqbâlda bî-mişâl olsun.

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Appendix

LENEX, 88.		Κηρύξη 15 Μαρτίου		ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ ΜΑΡΤΙΟΥ 1892 (1897)		Κηρύξη 15 Μαρτίου 1898		Νο. 8898	
<p>Ελληνική γλώσσα</p> <p>ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ</p>			<p>ΜΟΥΣΙΚΗ</p> <p>ΕΥΡΑΓΓΕΛΙΝΟΣ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΤΗΣ</p>			<p>Μουσική</p> <p>ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΑ</p>			<p>ΚΑΤΑΦΑΣΤΗ</p> <p>Τομή πρώτη 110 κομμάτια 3,75</p> <p>..... 100 3,00</p> <p>..... 50 1,50</p> <p>..... 20 0,75</p> <p>..... 10 0,40</p> <p>..... 5 0,20</p>
<p>ΑΤΑΦΑΝ</p>						<p>ΑΤΑΦΑΝ</p>			
<p>ΟΜΟΝΟΜΙΑ ΣΙΖΙΓΙΕ ΜΕΚΚΙΝΙΕ ΒΕ ΦΕΝΙΓΙΕ ΓΑΖΕΤΑΞΗ ΟΛΟΥΠΗ</p>									
<p>ΣΑΛΙ ΠΙΝΤΖΕΡΜΙΝ ΕΒ ΑΖΟΥΛΑ ΙΠΡΕΞ ΝΕΠΡ ΟΛΜΠΟΥ</p>									

ΣΕΒΚΕΤΛΟΥ ΜΕΡΧΑΜΕΤΛΟΥ ΠΑΔΙΣΑΧΗΜΗΖ
 ΤΑΚΙ ΖΟΥΛΑΤΑΡ ΑΚΙΛΟΥ ΧΑΜΙΑ ΧΑΝ ΕΒΛΥΙ
 ΕΦΕΝΑΙΜΙΖ ΧΑΖΕΤΑΕΡΙΝΙΝ
 ΒΕΛΛΑΤΙ ΖΟΥΛΑΤΟΥΤΙ ΣΑΛΕΤ ΜΑΡΤΟΥΑΡΙΝΟΥ ΡΟΥΖΙ ΕΤΟΥΖΙ

Ομοτιμία Σιζιγίε Μεκκινίε Βε Φενίγιε Γαζεταξή Ολουπί
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The Greek-Cypriot Press on Kâmil Paşa

Ioannis Theocharides, Nicosia

The Turkish Cypriot Kâmil Paşa (1832–1913) was one of the most eminent Cypriots¹. His father, Salih Ağa, was a Jew from the small village of Pyroi. He converted to Islam when Kâmil was at an early age, and he served in the Ottoman army as an artillery captain. There is controversy concerning Kâmil's birthplace. Some authors suggest Nicosia, while others indicate the village of Kato Deftera. The latter suggestion seems to be correct, since it is also recorded in the contemporary Cypriot press. As there was no Turkish school in his native village, his father enrolled him at the Greek school of the nearest community, Pano Deftera. He received his secondary education at the Greek School of Nicosia, which later became the Pancyprian Gymnasium. He went to Cairo in order to continue his studies, and there he learned foreign languages. Because of this, sixteen-year-old Kâmil was appointed as an interpreter of the Governor of Egypt, Abbas Pasha, and his duties included the teaching of foreign languages to the Pasha's son. Kâmil travelled to England with the latter in 1851. His stay there influenced him so much that until the end of his life, he remained an admirer of British culture, while at the same time, he was characterized by Russophobia or Slavophobia.

After residing in Egypt for ten years, he joined the service of the Ottoman Empire. From the beginning, he occupied high administrative posts, initially that of Director of the *Evkaf* of Cyprus (1860) and later that of *Kaymakam* of Tuzla (Larnaca) and Chief Comptroller of Cyprus. Then he served in many parts of the Ottoman dominions, receiving several promotions and titles, until he was appointed to the highest office of Grand Vizier, a position to which he was appointed four times, as follows:

¹ In Greek-Cypriot historiography, there is not a single monograph, not even an extensive article or other publication, on the life and work of Kâmil Pasha. Among the handful of texts that exist, we may note the following: Myriantopoulos 1950: 310; Christodoulou 1987: 79; Koudounaris 1995: 108–9; Papapolyviou 2015.

25 September 1885 – 4 September 1891

2 October 1895 – 7 November 1895

5 August 1908 – 14 February 1909

29 October 1912 – 23 January 1913.

His last term ended in a memorable way. While the Cabinet was in session, the Young Turks entered the Porte, assassinated the Minister of Defence, Nazim Pasha, and forced Kâmil Pasha to submit his resignation. He was placed under house arrest when he was invited to Egypt by his old British friend, Lord Kitchener. After staying for a few months in the familiar environment of Cairo, he returned to his homeland, Cyprus, where he died shortly thereafter on 14 November 1913.

The Greek-Cypriot press, the first issues of which appeared nearly five decades after Kâmil Pasha's birth², was initially interested not in the man himself but in the administrative changes in the Ottoman state, the offices which he occupied, his activity as Grand Vizier, or even visits of members of his family to Cyprus. For example, in March 1888, they published a telegram that he sent to Stefan Stambolov, Prime Minister of Bulgaria, regarding political developments in the country (N. N. 1888. Εξωτερικά. *Αλήθεια*, 12/24.3). Greek-Cypriot press blames Kâmil Pasha for the aggravation of Greek-Turkish relations after

the Ambassadors of Britain and Austria were trying to persuade Kâmil Pasha that Greece, in agreement with Russia, intended to invade Macedonia ... After these representations, the Grand Vizier deposed the Greek Metropolitan of Serres and arrested some other Greek clerics and notables ... The Turkish authorities, having undertaken inquiries in Serres and elsewhere concerning the conduct of the Greek clergy, ascertained that the accusations against the Metropolitan of Serres were calumnies, coming from Austrian and Coburgian sources. The Padişah was exceedingly angry at Kâmil Pasha when he was informed of these events ... Since then there are emphatic rumours that the Grand Vizier will be deposed, also indicating his potential succes-

² For the first Greek-Cypriot newspapers in the period under study and relevant bibliography, see Sophocleous 1995 and 1998.

sors. As for me, however, I believe that nothing will happen, because the Sultan is afraid to displease Britain and Austria, whose interests Kâmil Pasha serves to the detriment of the interests of his country (N. N. 1888. *Αλήθεια*, 14/26.5).

The columnist was vindicated a few months later since, with the improvement of Greek-Turkish relations, the Greek government awarded the medal of the Grand Cross to Kâmil Pasha (N. N. 1888. *Εξωτερικά. Αλήθεια*, 26/8.12). A few months prior,

the honourable Hilmi Efendi, Ottoman judge in the District Court of Larnaca, being lately in Constantinople, was deemed worthy of the rank of Ruhbe Saniye second class and of the honour to appear many times and be hosted by the Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha (1888. *Διάφορα. Αλήθεια*, 4/16.6).

After about three years, the Greek-Cypriot press published the news that

on Wednesday arrived here from Constantinople with the Austrian steamship the harem of Subhi Bey, who is staying for a month now in Nicosia and who is the son of the Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha, who, as it is known, happens to be Cypriot. Suhbi Bey was on his way to Syria for health reasons, but due to the cholera epidemic there, he came to Cyprus ... (N. N. 1891. *Διάφορα. Αλήθεια*, 11/23.1).

Two months later, the same newspaper “*regretfully*” informs its readers that Subhi Bey “*having gone to Beyrut ..., has died recently in that city*” (N. N. 1891. *Διάφορα. Αλήθεια*, 15/27.3).

Kâmil Pasha’s deposition from the office of Grand Vizier happened as follows:

Most important of the latest news is the change of the Turkish Ministry, which is attributed to the actions of the Franco-Russian alliance. Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha was deposed, or rather was relegated, as being favourable towards the Triple Alliance ... (N. N. 1891. *Διάφορα. Αλήθεια*, 30/11.9).

“*Kâmil Pasha’s resignation is considered as a Franco-Russian triumph, as damaging to British interests in Egypt and favourable to the Russian designs in Bulgaria*”. A few paragraphs below, the author notes that “*the fall of Kâmil Pasha is attributed to local causes, unrelated to foreign policy*” (N. N. 1891. *Εξωτερικά. Αλήθεια*, 6/18.9). Regarding this issue, the following week, the newspaper informs its readers that “*Kâmil Pasha was detained,*

being considered guilty of conspiracy” and that “*he was detained awaiting trial soon*” (N. N. 1891. Εξωτερικά. *Αλήθεια*, 13/25.9). However, there is no further mention of the outcome of his fate.

During his brief second tenure, the newspaper gives information on the plans of the previous Grand Vizier for certain reforms in Macedonia and the hope for their approval by the newly appointed Kâmil Pasha (N. N. 1895. Ελληνικά. *Αλήθεια*, 13/25.10) and that “*the former Grand Vizier has been appointed Sancakbey of Aydın, and although he was ill, he was obliged to go immediately to Smyrna to his new position*” (N. N. 1895. Εξωτερικά. *Αλήθεια*, 10/22.11).

After a relatively long period of silence, the Greek Cypriot Press mentioned Kâmil Pasha once again in 1908. The newspaper *Phone tes Kyprou* (*The Voice of Cyprus*), under the title “Ministerial Changes”, announces his participation in the new Cabinet (N. N. 1908. Υπουργικαί αλλαγαί. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 19/1.8). As a member of this Cabinet, he associated his name with the first Constitution in the history of Turkey. The relatively long article in the newspaper *Phone tes Kyprou*, bearing the Sultan’s photograph and entitled “The Sultan delivered a speech to the people. The future of Turkey is assured”, is memorable. It begins as follows:

A colossal demonstration was organized, formed by about two hundred thousand people of every race and every religion, in which most officers also participated. At the head of the demonstration, there were musicians and Turkish and Greek flags. And various Turkish clerics were leading. The whole of Constantinople was shaking by the cheering of the crowd, which was delirious with joy and enthusiasm. Everybody was cheering for the Sultan and the Constitution in various languages ... The Sultan was surrounded by Grand Vizier Said Pasha, the Şeyhülislam, Kâmil Pasha and Ömer Ruhdi Pasha, Minister of the Military ... (N. N. 1908. Από την βασιλίδα των πόλεων. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 26/8.8).

At the end, under the subheading “The Sultan was offered poisoned food”, the article states:

According to information from Constantinople, the Sultan’s aide Halib Bey was rewarded with the highest medal because, on the eve of the declaration of the Constitution, he discovered that poisoned food was to be offered at the Sultan’s table.

A few days later, it was reported that “*by an imperial irade, Kâmil Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier and was assigned the formation of a Cabinet*” (N. N. 1908. Τα εν Τουρκία. *Νέον Έθνος*, 1/15.8), and various biographies of the man were published (N. N. 1908. Η νέα ζωή της Τουρκίας. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 2/15.8). Soon, however, rumours circulated about Kâmil’s replacement with another politician, who was a favourite of the Young Turks: “*Well-informed circles insist that, in a few days, former Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha, who is favoured by the Young Turks, will succeed Kâmil Pasha*” (N. N. 1908. Η κατάσταση εν Τουρκία. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 9/22.8), who tried to interfere in the affairs of the Orthodox Church, suggesting to the Ecumenical Patriarch to transfer the Metropolitan of Smyrna due to his old age (N.N. 1908. Πατριαρχικά δηλώσεις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 9/22.8). Meanwhile, rumours circulated about his resignation, since “*many insist that Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha, according to his expressed will to quit the Grand Vizirate before the commencement of parliament, is already submitting his resignation to the Sultan*” (N. N. 1908. Από την συνταγματική Τουρκίαν. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 6/19.9). A few months later, the newspaper reported that

it seems that the ministerial reform, which has already taken place partly ..., will have a more important development with the resignation of the Grand Vizier ... The reason for Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha’s withdrawal has to do with the fact that, after Turkey’s backing down vis-a-vis Austria on the trade embargo, which was deemed necessary, he could not remain in his office. Consequently, his withdrawal was deemed necessary, in order to ease the way for the impending understanding between Turkey and Austria (N. N. 1908. Ο πιθανός νέος Μ. Βεζύρης. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 12.12).

Despite the wishes and conditions cited above, he had not ceased to conscientiously perform his duties, given that “*according to information from New York Herald, Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha will reshuffle his Cabinet ...*” (N. N. 1909. Μικράι Ειδήσεις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 17/30.1) or that

the Ambassador of Greece, Mr. Gryparis, visited Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha and voiced fierce protests regarding the anti-Greek rally organized by the Turco-Cretans in the Law School and the other demonstration that was being planned ... Answering Mr. Gryparis’ intense protests regarding the anti-Greek demonstrations, the Grand Vizier said, among others, that these are not spontaneous manifestations of the Turk-

ish people but are instigated by the deputies of the opposition, who aim to create trouble for the Government and to force it to resign (N.N. 1909. Μικραί Ειδήσεις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 3/16.1).

Moreover, in the beginning of January 1909,

during the meeting of the parliament, while the ambassadors, the imperial princes and the ministers were present in their private galleries, Prime Minister Kâmil Pasha appeared in Parliament and, answering Cahid's inquiry, presented the general policy of the Government through a written report, which was read by the ministry's mektupçı ... After the reading of the report of the general policy of the Government, the Parliament unanimously gave a vote of confidence to the Government of Kâmil Pasha, whom they cheered vigorously (N.N. 1909. Τουρκική υπουργική δήλωσης. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 10/23.1).

However, the Young Turks did not approve of the Grand Vizier, forcing him to resign on February 14 of the same year. Information from the Ottoman Empire assured that *“the commander of the 3rd Army Corps in Thessaloniki was ready to march on Constantinople if the demand of the Young Turks for Kâmil's removal was not met”* (N.N. 1909. Τα εν Τουρκία. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 14/27.2). On the occasion of this event, the Greek Cypriot press devoted front-page articles on the man, accompanied by his photograph³. After his dismissal, *“in a conversation with a friend, former Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha declared that he hopes to spend the rest of his life in his homeland, Cyprus, towards which he feels special affection”* (N.N. 1909. Ο Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 28/13.3). However, *“telegrams from Constantinople announce that the position of Grand Vizier Hilmi Pasha is undermined, since Britain is persistently pursuing the return to the premiership of former Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha”* (N.N. 1909. Μικραί ειδήσεις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 7/20.3). However, when the latter visited the Ecumenical Patriarch, *“he declared, among others, that it would be impossible to assume the Government as long as the Committee of the Nationalists is in power”* (N.N. 1909. Μικραί ειδήσεις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*,

³ See, for example, N.N. 1909. Ο Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 21/6.3.

14/27.3.). But, since the opponent's vilification is always considered to be a powerful weapon in politics,

according to telegrams from Constantinople, a document found in the Palace of Yıldız proves that ... former Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha and many other prominent Turks were paid illegally from the Public Treasury with a large salary. This money was granted by order of the deposed Sultan Abdul Hamid, towards whom all of the above were devoted and offered their services (N. N. 1909. Εξωτερικά. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 23/5.6).

These accusations were part of the regime's attempts to minimize his influence. Thus,

a Frankfurt newspaper, according to new information received from Constantinople, writes that Kâmil Pasha is strictly under surveillance and that any contact with him is prohibited. It is rumoured that they are considering his exile to Asia Minor (N. N. 1909. Εξωτερικά. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 30/12.6).

But in the political fluidity of the times, events did not follow a logical sequence. Thus, in the news, we read that "*Prime Minister Hakkı Pasha and former Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha exchanged visits, which displeased the Committee*" (N. N. 1910. Τα εν Τουρκία. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 23/5.2). Hakkı Pasha's independence displeased the Committee, which "*applied indirectly to Kâmil Pasha and to Hilmi Pasha himself, in order to assume authority immediately*" (N. N. 1910. Διάφοροι Ειδήσεις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 10/23.4).

However, the danger for Kâmil was real, since he believed that "*the policies of the Young Turks of the Committee of 'Union and Progress' are leading the country into the abyss*" (N. N. 1910. Δηλώσεις του Κιαμήλ πασά. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 16/29.10). Therefore, he decided to leave Turkey and to return to Cyprus. His return (October 1910) was emphatically reported in the local press together with a photograph and a biographical note:

Last Thursday, our countryman, former Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha, arrived in Cyprus with the French steamship, accompanied by his twenty-year-old son Muzaffer Bey. Our illustrious countryman, who has not visited his native land for forty years, was welcomed by the inhabitants of Larnaca with demonstrations of honour and respect, while the eminent citizen Mr. G. I. Pierides gave a welcome address on the pier

(N. N. 1910. Ο προχθές αφιχθείς εις Κύπρον συμπολίτης ημών πρώην Μέγας Βεζύρης Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 9/22.10).

During his brief stay, Kâmil Pasha received visits from high officials and many of his countrymen, both Muslim and Christian. Likewise, after visiting his village (N. N. 1910. Ο Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 16/29.10), he departed for Egypt (N. N. 1910. Χρονικά. *Νέον Έθνος*, 23/5.11), where “*he received the visit of many journalists asking for an interview. To most of them he declared that he has completely withdrawn from politics*” (N. N. 1910. Δηλώσεις Κιαμήλ πασά. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 6/19.11). However, according to news from the Smyrna newspapers,

the Young Turks seem to be alarmed by Britain’s attitude towards the Cretan Question, and they intend to invite to the administration of the affairs of Turkey, His Highness Kâmil Pasha as Grand Vizier, in order to appease it. The question is now whether Kâmil, even if invited, would assume the administration of Turkey with the consent of the Committee of the Young Turks, against which he has openly and repeatedly expressed himself, and which he considers to be disastrous for Turkey ... Moreover, the idea that the appointment of one or the other Prime Minister would modify Britain’s stance on the Cretan Question seems to us ridiculous. The whole world, except the naive Young Turks, is convinced that, on the Cretan Question, Britain has always acted and is still acting only for the sake of its interests, and not for the sake of Greece or Turkey, and even if not only one, but one hundred Kâmil Pashas rose to power, they would not distract her from her aspirations towards Suda Bay (N. N. 1910. Ο Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 11/24.12).

Although, insisting on his views, he did not accept the Grand Vizirate (N. N. 1911. Τελευταίαι εξωτερικαί ειδήσεις. *Νέον Έθνος*, 24/7.10), he replied to a French journalist’s question that he would accept power,

only under the condition that I would have absolute freedom of action without control or submission to a secret power, which would be disastrous to Ottoman interests, and which would prevent any Government to really govern, bringing with it inertia and stagnation (N. N. 1911. Ο Κιαμήλ πασάς περί της καταστάσεως. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 15/28.10).

At the end of March 1912, developments brought him once again to the Ottoman capital:

It is telegraphed from Rome that the arrival to Constantinople of Kâmil Pasha and Sabaheddin, two of the main leaders of the opposition, is intensely discussed in circles there. It is expected that Turkey is on the eve of very serious events. It is said that, as soon as the Italian fleet acts, the opposition will triumph, bringing about the fall of the Committee of Union and Progress, and Kâmil Pasha will assume authority (N. N. 1912. Η μετάβασις του Κιαμήλ και Σαμπαχεδίν εις Κωνσταντινούπολιν. *Νέον Έθνος*, 17/30.3).

A few months later, with Turkey and the Balkan countries on a war footing, “*the old Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha went to the Greek Embassy in Constantinople and had a long conversation with Ambassador Mr. Gryparis*”, and, among others, “*he stressed that he supports Greek-Turkish conciliation in the Balkans*” (N. N. 1912. Εξωτερικαί Ειδήσεις. *Νέον Έθνος*, 7/20.7). In the following month, after he was appointed Foreign Secretary (N. N. 1912. Εξωτερικά. *Νέον Έθνος*, 21/3.8), Kâmil Pasha declared, regarding the Italo-Turkish War, that he did not wish “*to be the one who would sign peace, because he would probably be accused of delivering Muslim countries to foreigners*” (N. N. 1912. Δηλώσεις Κιαμήλ πασά. *Νέον Έθνος*, 1/14.9).

After the outbreak of the First Balkan War, Kâmil Pasha, with desperate efforts, managed to meet the Greek Ambassador to whom he expressed “*bitter complaints*” because

although Greece could have settled all her affairs and solved all her issues directly with Turkey and always be its right hand, she chose to enter the Anti-Turkish alliance of the Balkan States. And when Mr. Gryparis, counting not only the words but even the syllables, expressed his surprise for the Pasha’s statement, which was the exact opposite of the actual Turkish policy of the last years, characterized by constant persecutions against the Greeks, Kâmil Pasha sighed and said: ‘You are right. All these, however, were done by the stupidity of the Young Turks.’ And Mr. Gryparis, getting ready to depart, said: ‘Unfortunately, it is too late now’ (N. N. 1912. Μία ιστορική συνέντευξις. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 13/26.10).

After concise information on his appointment to the Grand Vezirate and some of his activities, there was a brief report on the 1913 coup d’état:

The decision of the National Assembly in Constantinople aroused the Young Turks, and Enver Bey, leading 300 softas, proceeded to a demonstration against the Porte.

Riots followed, in which Nazim Pasha was assassinated. Kâmil resigned and Şevket was declared Grand Vizier (N. N. 1913. *Εξωτερικά. Νέον Έθνος*, 12/25.1).

The political opponents of the Young Turks were living in an atmosphere of persecution and terror. Therefore, Kâmil, responding to the invitation of his friend, Lord Kitchener, left for Cairo. After staying there for three months, he decided to return to Cyprus.

H. E. the most distinguished of the politicians of Turkey, Kâmil Pasha, arrived in Nicosia last Thursday, together with his harem, coming from Egypt, in order to spend a few days in his native Cyprus. At the train station, he was welcomed by many distinguished Ottomans, who led him to the mansion of Velik Pasha, where he is staying (N. N. 1913. Η Α. Υ. ο Κιαμήλ πασάς εις Λευκωσίαν. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 20/3.5).

It seems that attempts on his life also followed him to Nicosia. According to a report from the middle of May 1913,

Because during this week, H. E. received an anonymous letter, which threatened him with assassination, the police took emergency measures for his safety and made investigations. From these investigations, it was revealed that, for a few days now, a suspicious person, a Circassian Turk, claiming to be a lawyer and a teacher, was staying in Nicosia and was arrested and interrogated by the police. From these interrogations, nothing was revealed, besides the fact that the said Turk intended to leave Nicosia last Wednesday, on the day on which Kâmil Pasha was expected to depart and, according to his statement, he would depart with the same steamship for Beyrut as Kâmil Pasha. As a result of these, the police could certainly not detain him any longer, and thus discharged him. However, he is still kept under surveillance, and, at the same time, he was prevented from travelling on the same steamship as Kâmil Pasha. It must be noted that Kâmil Pasha saw and heard all these with admirable equanimity, calm and smiling, both at the threats and the schemes and at the police measures. The man who has seen serious plots against himself in Constantinople, and lately saw Nazim Pasha falling before him, and was threatened to resign by a naked sword, does not have much to fear from similar childish threats. Kâmil Pasha left Nicosia yesterday [for Larnaca], in order to board on today's steamship for Beyrut ... (N. N. 1913. Η Α. Υ. ο Κιαμήλ πασάς. Αστυνομικά μέτρα υπέρ της ασφαλείας του. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 4/17.5).

He arrived in Larnaca

at about 6 p.m. ... with an honourary escort of police force and Ottoman notables. His Excellency is hosted in the house of our honourable countryman G. I. Pierides, since they are associated with old ties of friendship, and he received the visit of His Eminence the Metropolitan of Kition and of distinguished members of our society. Larnaca addresses a welcome to the great politician (N. N. 1913. Χρονικά. *Νέον Έθνος*, 4/17.5).

From Beirut, he went to Constantinople and returned via Pireus. He settled in his house in Nicosia, where he died on 14 November 1913.

The illustrious Turkish politician Kâmil Pasha, who was staying for some months here, in his birthplace, died of heart failure yesterday morning. Bereaved by the sad news of the death of his precious friend, George I. Pierides, on Thursday evening, he expressed his sorrow on the loss in many ways, without, however, showing any sign of malaise or debilitation. On the contrary, strong and vigorous as ever, he started writing his external correspondence, which he interrupted at an advanced hour with the intention to continue in the morning. In fact, yesterday morning he continued until 8 o'clock, when he felt indisposed and called his faithful Ethiopian, who immediately called the nearest doctor, Mr. Carletti. However, before he arrived, the illustrious man, barely saying a few words about the agony that he was experiencing, expired in great calm and serenity with the stylus in hand (N. N. 1913. Η Α. Υ. Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 2/15.11).

He was buried in the yard of Arab Ahmet Pasha mosque in Nicosia.

One month later, the newspaper "*Phone tes Kyprou*", under the title "*Was Kâmil murdered?*", wrote:

Our fellow newspaper 'Cairo' writes: The family of former and oftentimes Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha, who died in Cyprus, wrote to the Cypriot High Commission, asking for a forensic autopsy on his body because they have reasons to believe that he was murdered. In fact, a few days before the event, the British authorities of the island received information that Komitadji spies arrived in Cyprus, and for that reason, they ordered the doubling of the police guard of the old Prime Minister. On the evening of his death, Kâmil wrote a long letter to Paris, which reveals remarkable calm and clarity of mind. Nevertheless, a few hours later he died in horrible pain. Until the

eve, his heart had been completely healthy (N. N. 1913. Εδολοφονήθη ο Κιαμήλ. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 14/27.12).

From the few passages cited, we may note not only a favourable stance towards Kâmil Pasha from the part of the Greek-Cypriot press but also an attitude of admiration with a large dose of pride for the compatriot Grand Vizier, whose photographs often appeared on the front pages of newspapers accompanied by brief biographical notes. In 1908, for example, on the occasion of his resignation, the following comment appeared under his photograph:

the resigned Grand Vizier Kâmil Pasha may be called one of the greatest and most able administrative and political men of Turkey in the last thirty years. Today he is eighty years old, but he is full of health and so vigorous that last year, he became the father of a new child. As it is known, this brilliant old man had been Grand Vizier before, but after he fell out of favour with the Sultan, he was appointed Governor-General of Aydın ... He had been called to Constantinople three years ago, and he was staying there at the time of the outbreak of the Young Turk Revolution and the proclamation of the Constitution. Küçük Said Pasha, who was entrusted to form a government, appointed Kâmil as Minister, but two months later, he succeeded as Grand Vizier, and he proved a worthy administrator during the most critical period of the last six months. Despite his deep old age, Kâmil Pasha proved to be a peerless politician and administrator. Through his sagacity, his ingenuity and his supreme perception, this renowned old man obliged Austria to relent and Bulgaria to be confounded, and in his last stance and counterproposal towards Russia, which intervened in the Turko-Bulgarian conflict, he won general admiration. Such a political man rightly enjoys the undivided trust and reputation of crowned heads, and everyone remembers Edward VII's warm praise about him. And it is a great misfortune that today the Young Turks are knocking down a man of such eminence, who knew how to combine liberality with loyalty to the Sultan and how to compromise opposing views and to inspire moderation and prudence everywhere, and with him, they are causing upheaval in the new regime (N. N. 1909. Ο Κιαμήλ πασάς. *Φωνή της Κύπρου*, 21/6.3).

From the many laudatory comments of the press, a handful of selected quotations serve as an example from the extensive article of the newspaper "Kypriakos Phylax", which appeared immediately after his death: "A star of the first rank has been extinguished in the Muslim firmament at eight

in the morning of last Friday, having run a luminous and glorious course". After several sub-headings, the newspaper proceeds to an overview of his life and political activity. Under the sub-heading "*His affection for Cypriots*", it notes that

In his political heyday, Kâmil Pasha behaved in a friendly and kindred intimacy to every Cypriot, without distinction of race, and often left gilded Department Heads and officials waiting in his lobby, while he was intimately conversing with a 'vraka'-wearing Cypriot; and every Cypriot coming to his house received the first place next to Kâmil Pasha among the Turkish grandees sitting in the room.

The article ended with the sub-heading "*The funeral*":

We may say that the announcement of his death, which has quickly spread to the edge of the World and will become the topic of the day in world news, has been received with malice by the Turkish community in Nicosia. In its racial fanaticism, the Turkish crowd here is unable to appreciate the broad and elevated activity of Kâmil Pasha, while the Turkish officials, the Chief Kadı, the Müfti, the Kadı and the Evkaf Trustees, protecting themselves from the suspicions and the disfavour of the Young Turks who administer Turkey, avoided any honourary expression and presence regarding the illustrious deceased. The funeral of the former Grand Vizier in Nicosia was more shabby than that of a common Turkish notable ... After a brief funeral prayer, the Imam, in the presence of the deceased, addressed hesitantly to the Muslims present the customary question: 'İyi adam mı?' (that is, 'has he been a good man?'). A few men timidly replied 'İyi', but at the same time the phrase 'Adın batsın' (that is, 'may his name be erased') was also heard, and also, among the crowd the words 'geberdi' and 'bir köpek eksik oldu' were disrespectfully repeated. From Hagia Sophia, his remains were taken to the Arap Ahmet mosque, and in the presence of the High Commissioner and his entourage, and before the grave, a Muslim lawyer, Cemal Efendi, delivered a brief obituary. As an addendum to Turkish ingratitude, a young Turk who held a government position protested against the burial of the great dead man in the courtyard of the mosque in the city, in violation of the current law on burial! (N. N. 1913. Σκιαγραφία μεγάλης φυσιογνωμίας εν τη Οθωμ. Αυτοκρατορία, ο Κιαμήλ Πασσάς. Κυπριακός Φύλαξ, 8.11).

But why was it that the Greeks showed such great respect to Kâmil Pasha, who was, in fact, an enemy of their national aspirations? The an-

swer to this obvious question is given by the Greek-Cypriot press in its own way: At his funeral

in the mosque of Hagia Sophia were present His Excellency the High Commissioner, the Chief Judge and the Chief Secretary and all the Heads of Departments, and two thirds of the crowd were Greeks, who know how to honour virtue and intellectual excellence even among their enemies (N. N. 1913. Σκιαγραφία μεγάλης φυσιογνωμίας εν τη Οθωμ. Αυτοκρατορία, ο Κιαμήλ Πασάς. Κυπριακός Φύλαξ, 8.11).

Moreover,

the Young Turks often say that Kâmil Pasha enjoyed honour from the part of the Greeks because he helped Greek policy. However, nothing is more untrue than this. On the contrary, this claim is radically contradicted by events, which prove that Kâmil Pasha's political sagacity, prudence and sobriety was the main reason that prevented for so many year the collaboration of the Balkan states, which was the cause of the last victorious war against Turkey. The Greeks in fact honoured Kâmil Pasha, and particularly we Cypriots take pride that he was our compatriot, for his great gifts. However, we have to confess that we were not happy to see his rise to power every time, because in him we saw a man who was truly in a position to avert the creation of collaborations, which would have been dangerous for Turkey. When his death will mollify the unjust passion of the Young Turks against him, they will recognise the truth, and the future Turkish historian will find in Kâmil Pasha's person Turkey's Cavour or Bismarck (1913. Η. Α. Υ. Κιαμήλ πασάς. Φωνή της Κύπρου, 2/15.11).

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Divandrucke in der Universitätsbibliothek Zypern und der Divan des Selânikli Meşhûrî Efendi

Matthias Kappler, Venedig

I.

Es ist bekannt, dass die Turkologische Bibliothek der Universität Zypern so manche Schätze birgt, sowohl was Handschriften, als auch, und dies in besonderem Maße, alte Drucke angeht. Die meisten dieser Kostbarkeiten haben wir den seit Jahren dieser Bibliothek einverleibten Sammlungen von Tibor Halasi-Kun, Louis Bazin und vor allem Andreas Tietze zu verdanken. Ich möchte mich in diesem kurzen Beitrag den Divandrukken der Bibliothek widmen, und, bedingt durch das Interesse des in diesem Bande Geehrten, speziell denen mit Autoren des 19. Jahrhunderts, um dann, wieder dank der Forschungsgebiete von Martin Strohmeier um das *Bahr-i Sefîd* herum, einen Druck im Speziellen vorzustellen: den Divan des Meşhûrî Efendi aus Thessaloniki.

Der Druck von Divanen osmanischer Dichter ist, so wie das osmanische Druckwesen allgemein, in erster Linie ein Phänomen des 19. Jahrhunderts. Ich habe keinen einzigen Divandruck für das 18. Jahrhundert ausmachen können, zumal in der ersten staatlichen Druckerei von Müteferrika und dessen Nachfolger ja bekanntlich, außer wenigen Wörterbüchern und einer Grammatik, fast ausschließlich historische und geografische Werke gedruckt wurden (Babinger 1919: 14; siehe auch Gerçek 1939: passim). Das ist angesichts des hohen Stellenwerts, den Poesie im Allgemeinen in der osmanischen Gesellschaft innehatte, durchaus bemerkenswert (siehe hierzu die lohnende Lektüre von Andrews & Kalpaklı 2005), – und auch im Besonderen, wenn man an die politische Bedeutung der Kasidendichtung für den Machtdiskurs sowohl im Zentrum als auch in der Peripherie denkt. Vielleicht liegt der späte Druck von Divanen an einer gewissen Scheu, jahrhundertlang handschriftlich überlieferte Texte, die in der Regel von und für eine gesellschaftliche Elite produziert wurden, aus ihrem Traditionsrahmen zu nehmen und

durch ihre Veröffentlichung als Drucke einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit zur Verfügung zu stellen. Der religiös-mystische Aspekt eines großen Teils der osmanischen Lyrik dürfte ein weiterer Hinderungsgrund gewesen sein¹. „Das Vergnügen an einer schönen Handschrift ließ bei den Osmanen lange nicht das Verlangen nach dem Druck aufkommen“: so lautet der schöne Satz von Franz Babinger (1919: 8), den ich in diesem Zusammenhang noch einmal in Erinnerung rufen möchte, und der zwar allgemein für die Verspätung in der Entwicklung des osmanischen Buchdrucks formuliert wurde, aber für Werke poetischen Inhalts besonders treffend zu sein scheint. Dies wird in Jale Baysals Buch über die frühen osmanischen Drucke indirekt bestätigt: speziell für Divane habe demnach die Kairener Bulaq-Druckerei, die, wie wir gleich sehen werden, für den Divandruck eine herausragende Rolle spielte, mit dem Satz der ästhetisch akzeptablen Ta‘lîq-Schrift den Widerstand der konservativen Leser brechen und sie für die neue Drucktechnik gewinnen können (Baysal 1968: 64).

Der erste Divan, den wir kennen ist ein *Divân-ı Fuzûlî* vom Jahr 1244 (1828), leider ohne Angabe des Druckorts (TBTK 11157, Exemplare in der İl Halk Kütüphanesi von Afyon und in der Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Istanbul). Der Seitenumfang, der genau dem des unten erwähnten Bulaq-Exemplars entspricht, lässt schließen, dass es sich auch hier um ein Produkt aus Ägypten handelt. Die weiteren Divane werden in den 1830er Jahren gedruckt, und zwar ausschließlich in der ägyptischen Bulaq-Druckerei. Dies wird bei einer Analyse der bei Özege und TBTK (nicht vollständig) aufgelisteten Divane deutlich. Der erste Druck dieser Serie, der sich überhaupt mit Lyrik beschäftigt, ist bezeichnenderweise kein osmanischer Divan, sondern eine 1834 gedruckte Ausgabe von Ahmed Sûdî Bosnevîs osmanischem Kommentar des Divans des persi-

¹ Die hitzige Diskussion der ‘ulemâ’ im 18. Jahrhundert um den Buchdruck, die sich erst mit dem berühmten *fetvâ*, das 1729 im Vorwort des ersten Mütferrika-Drucks (dem sogenannten *Vânqulî Lugâti*) sogar gedruckt wurde, beruhigte, ist bekannt; siehe hierzu Babinger 1919: 8–9.

schen Dichters Hâfez². In den folgenden Jahren werden in Kairo vor allem Divane von Poeten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts gedruckt: 1835 der Divan von ‘Alî ibn Abû Tâlib (TBTK 3100), 1836 die Divane von Nef‘î, Neş‘et Efendi, Ragîb und Şeyh Gâlib (Özege 4202, 4205, 4210 und 4233); 1837 die von Pertev, Sâmi, und Vehbî Sünbülzâde (Özege 4209, 4218, 4242); 1838 folgen zum wiederholten Mal Fuzûlî, außerdem Niyâzî-i Mısırî und Rifat Efendi (Özege 4138, 4207 und 14824); und 1839 kommen Sürûrî und İzzet Molla Keçecizade an die Reihe (Özege 4228 und 4167). Die einzige Ausnahme, die die Regel bestätigt, d. h. der einzige nicht in Ägypten gedruckte Divandruck der 1830er-Jahre ist der *Divân-ı Hâşim Efendi* (Mustafa Hâşim Üsküdarî), Istanbul 1252 (1836), allerdings ohne Angabe der Druckerei (Özege 4150). Dies wäre dann also auch der erste in Istanbul gedruckte Divan überhaupt.

In den 40er-Jahren (genauer gesagt ab 1842) wird dann in Istanbul in der staatlichen Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire gedruckt. Insgesamt verzeichnet Özege für das 19. Jahrhundert etwas mehr als 100 Drucke und knapp 50 für das 20. Jahrhundert (bis 1924). Allerdings findet man in Özege „nur einen kleinen Teil der Istanbuler Buchproduktion“ (Strauss 1992: 308). So liefert EHTBEB (2002) 590 Treffer für das 19. und das 20. Jahrhundert bis 1986, allerdings sind dort auch alle mit Divanen zusammenhängende Drucke (Kommentare / *şerh*, Analysen / *tahlil* etc.), sowie Nachdrucke (in arabischer Schrift) nach der Schriftreform enthalten.

Wir können in dieser regen Druckertätigkeit zwei Kategorien ausmachen: Divane der „klassischen“ Dichter aus dem 15. bis 18. Jahrhundert und Divane zeitgenössischer Dichter des 19. Jahrhunderts, dabei sind das Kriterium unserer Unterteilung nicht streng genommen die Geburts- und Sterbedaten, sondern in welchem Jahrhundert der Dichter / die Dichterin hauptsächlich aktiv war (so zählen wir z. B. den unten beschriebenen 1783 geborenen Selânikli Meşhûri Efendi zum „langen 19. Jahrhundert“). Dass fast alle Divane beider Kategorien in der zweiten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts gedruckt werden und nur wenige aus den 30er-

² *Şerh-i Divan-ı Hafız-ı Şîrâzî*, 1250 (1834), in drei Bänden. Als Druckort des ersten Bands ist Alexandria und Saray Matbaası angegeben, danach Bulaq (Özege Nr. 18813).

und 40er-Jahren stammen, wurde schon oben erläutert. Zwar emanzipierte sich, laut Neumann (2002: 235–236), das osmanische Buchwesen „zwischen etwa dem Krimkrieg und den 1880er Jahren [...] weitgehend von den Vorgaben einer staatlich gelenkten Publikationspolitik“, und auch wenn demnach außer der Gründung von privaten Druckereien in dieser Epoche auch eine intensivere Tätigkeit aller Druckereien schon in den letzten Jahren von Abdülaziz (Strauss 1992: 313) für den starken Anstieg der gedruckten Erzeugnisse verantwortlich ist, kann man im Falle der Divandrucke nicht von einer eindeutigen Verlagerung auf den Privatsektor ausgehen: eine große Zahl der unten beschriebenen Erzeugnisse stammt aus der staatlichen Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire. Das hängt womöglich damit zusammen, dass in diesem Bereich der Einfluss der handschriftlichen Tradition noch groß war, und dass gleichzeitig durch den schon angesprochenen hohen politischen und religiösen Stellenwert der Divandichtung, sowie deren stark kanonisierter und traditionsverpflichteter Charakter im Gegensatz zu anderen Produktionen, vor allem der von Übersetzungen europäischer Romane und anderer neuer literarischen Gattungen, nicht-offizielle Druckereien sich noch mit ihrem Druck schwer getan haben.

In der Bibliothek der Universität Zypern befinden sich (nach unserer Zählung, die keinen Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit erhebt, da uns manche Bücher trotz dem angewendeten Autopsie-Prinzip entgangen sein könnten) 26 Divane von 21 Dichtern aus vorhergehenden Jahrhunderten³ und 39 Drucke von 31 zeitgenössischen Dichtern. Von beiden Kategorien sind jeweils 5 bzw. 10 Divane im frühen 20. Jahrhundert (bis 1924), und 19 bzw. 25 Divane zwischen 1836 und dem Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts gedruckt worden; 2 bzw. 4 Divane tragen kein Datum. Die

³ Als weiteren Schatz der Bibliothek sei hier noch der zeitlich aus dem Rahmen fallende, aber interessante Druck (aus der Sammlung Tietze) des Divans der im 15. und zu Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts lebenden Dichterin Mihrî Hatun erwähnt. Es handelt sich um einen Druck von 1967 der Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR; der osmanische Text ist von Elena I. Maštakova herausgegeben und kommentiert (siehe Maštakova 1967), die Signatur der UB Zypern ist PL248.M566D58 1967. Ich danke Börte Sagaster für diesen Hinweis.

Divandrucke von Dichtern, die in früheren Jahrhunderten gelebt haben, können in Anhang 1a als Liste eingesehen werden; es ist hier bemerkenswert, dass drei dieser Divane (Ragıb, Sâmî und Sünbülzâde Vehbî) zu den oben erwähnten Bulaq-Drucken der 1830er-Jahre gehören, also zu den ersten gedruckten Divanen überhaupt. Die Drucke, die noch zu Lebzeiten des Dichters / der Dichterin oder kurz danach gedruckt wurden, sind in Anhang 1b aufgelistet. Es handelt sich um relativ bekannte Dichter, sowie zwei Dichterinnen (Anhang 1b, Nr. 13 und 27), die zum größten Teil auch in der einschlägigen *tezkere* von İnal (1930–1942) verzeichnet sind. Unter ihnen befindet sich auch der Zypriote Hilmî Efendi (Anhang 1b, Nr. 8) und ein Dichter aus Euböa (Nu'mân Mâhir, Nr. 18), sowie unser Selânikli Meşhûrî Efendi, von dem noch die Rede sein wird. Nicht bei İnal verzeichnet ist ein gewisser Râcî (Nr. 23), von dem ich aber den Verdacht habe, dass es sich um einen zypriotischen Zeitgenossen von Hilmî Efendi handelt, der einen Râcî in einem Vers seines Divans erwähnt, und zwar in nicht allzu schmeichelhafter Weise (siehe Kappler, in Druck; zitiert nach Fedai 2000: 59):

Râcî-i tırfa-edâ gerçi er oğlu erdir / lîk pek de diyemez ben var iken naḥl-i ricâl

,Obwohl der originelle Râcî ein heldenhafter Mann ist, so hat er doch nicht viel zu sagen, solange ich die Palme der Männer bin‘

Leider ist mir über diesen Dichter nichts Weiteres bekannt; in der Liste von İsen 2000 und Genç 2000 kommt er nicht vor. Eine Untersuchung seines Divans würde hier bestimmt neue Erkenntnisse schaffen.

Die allermeisten Divane unserer Sammlung wurden in Istanbul gedruckt, nur Meşhûrî und Haqqı (Nr. 7) wurden in den Vilayet-Druckereien von Saloniki bzw. Bursa produziert (zu den Vilayet-Druckereien siehe unten Abschnitt II). Für einen relativ hohen Prozentsatz (fast 40%) der Divane fehlt die Angabe der Druckerei, was auch auf den „Volksbuch“-Charakter dieser Bücher, die oft wie Hefte ohne festen Einband gedruckt wurden, zurückzuführen ist, aber auch mit einem Ausweichen vor der Zensur zusammenhängen könnte, die zur Zeit Abdülhamids II. und speziell in den 1880er-Jahren besonders streng war (Strauss 1992: 328–331). Andererseits ist es, wie schon erwähnt, interessant, dass fast die Hälfte der Bücher, für die eine Druckerei ange-

geben ist, staatlich erzeugt wurde, was wie gesagt auf den offiziellen bzw. traditionellen Charakter des Divandruckwesens im Allgemeinen hinzuweisen scheint.

Mit Nr. 16 (Anhang 1b) ist auf unserer Liste der Divan von Meşhûrî Efendi aus Saloniki verzeichnet, den wir nun vorstellen wollen.

II.

Der 1198 (1783/84) in Saloniki geborene und am gleichen Ort 1274 (1857) gestorbene Meşhûrî Efendi war laut İnal (1930–1942: 955) außer in seiner Heimatstadt auch in Filibe (Plovdiv) und Edirne als Lehrer und *kâtib* tätig; er war außerdem Eigentümer eines *çiftliks*. İnal, wie auch die anderen *tezkere*, die unseren Dichter aufführen, berufen sich auf die *tercüme-i hâl* von Gâzî Evrenoszâde Mehmed Şefîq Paşa, die dem Divan vorausgeht, aber im Exemplar der Universität Zypern nicht enthalten ist. Auf der letzten der drei Seiten dieser Biographie, die von mir in einem im Internet⁴ verfügbaren Exemplar aus der Türkiye Büyük Millet Meclisi Kütüphanesi eingesehen werden konnten, ist auch das von İnal (1930–1942: 956) transkribierte Chronogramm (*târîh*) von Qırqağaç (bei İnal fälschlicherweise Karaağaç) Müftisizâde Emin Sâhib Efendi zum Druck des vorliegenden Divans zu finden.

Der Divan wurde erst 1292 (1875), also 18 Jahre nach dem Tod von Meşhûrî Efendi, gedruckt (Özege 17739, TBTK 1643). Die Herausgeber des Divans (Aydemir – Çeltik 2009) haben drei noch zu Lebzeiten des Dichters von Mehmed Emin verfasste handschriftliche Abschriften von Teilen des Divans aufgespürt, zwei davon sind in der Bibliothek der Universität Istanbul und eine in der Süleymaniye-Bibliothek aufbewahrt (Aydemir – Çeltik 2009: XX–XXI). Der gedruckte Divan umfasst 102 Seiten, das Exemplar in Zypern hat die Abmessungen 25x16,5 cm, das

⁴ [www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/EHT/197307804%20SELANIKLI%20MESHURI%20EFENDI%20DIVANI%20\(EHT\)/197307804.pdf](http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/eyayin/GAZETELER/WEB/KUTUPHANEDE%20BULUNAN%20DIJITAL%20KAYNAKLAR/KITAPLAR/EHT/197307804%20SELANIKLI%20MESHURI%20EFENDI%20DIVANI%20(EHT)/197307804.pdf) (letzter Zugang am 22.12.2015).

Buch hat keinen Einband und ist an manchen Stellen leicht beschädigt/ingerissen.

Die Titelseite des Drucks, die von Aydemir – Çeltik 2009 nicht transkribiert wurde, lautet:

Selânikli Merhûm Meşhûri Efendinin Dîvânıdır

Fiyat

15

Temennü’i Selânik ıslâh-hânesine ‘â’iddir

*Ma’ârif-i nezâret-i celîlesinin ruḥṣat-i resmîyesiyle Zamân gazetesini
şâhib-i imtiyâz ü muḥarriri Muştâfâ Bey ma’rifetiyle birinci defa
olarak Selânik Vilâyeti maḥba’asında ṭab’ âtdirilmîşdir*

Sene

1292

‘Divan des verstorbenen Meşhûri Efendi aus Saloniki

Preis: 15

Der Erlös kommt dem Reformatorium von Saloniki zugute

Zum ersten Male gedruckt in der Druckerei des Vilayet Saloniki mit der offiziellen Erlaubnis des erlauchten Erziehungsministeriums und durch die Vermittlung von Mustafa Bey, Konzessionär und Herausgeber der Zeitung *Zaman*.

Im Jahre

1292’

Aus dem Titelblatt geht hervor, dass der Divan aus der Presse der staatlichen Saloniker Vilayet-Druckerei stammt. Diese Druckereien wurden nach 1864, also nach der administrativen Umwandlung des Eyalet- in das Vilayet-System, vornehmlich zum Druck der Salnames und später der Vilayet Gazeteleri gegründet (siehe hierzu Varlık 1985). Die Bemerkung von Babinger (1919: 26), dass „[v]on den ersten Druckproben [...] aus den Landschaften bis in die neuere Zeit recht wenig, fast nichts

vor[liegt]“ kann heute nicht mehr aufrecht erhalten werden⁵. Als eine der ersten Vilayet-Druckereien wurde in Bursa die Hüdavendigâr-Druckerei gegründet, in unserer Sammlung haben wir hier davon ein Exemplar (Anhang 1b, Nr. 7). In Saloniki nahm die Druckerei ihre Tätigkeit im Jahr 1869 mit der offiziellen Vilayet-Zeitung *Selânik* auf (Varlık 1985: 101), sie war bis mindestens 1892 noch in Betrieb (Kabacalı 2000: 125). Von 1883 bis 1884 wurde in dieser Druckerei auch die Literaturzeitschrift *Gonca-i Edeb* herausgegeben (Oğuz – Korkmaz 2009).

Herausgeber unseres Divans – auch das geht aus der Titelseite hervor – war allerdings ein Privatmann, Mustafa Bey, der auch die Zeitung *Zaman* herausgab und die gleichnamige Druckerei leitete (aktiv bis mindestens 1917, siehe Kabacalı 2000: 149). Die wöchentlich einmal erscheinende Zeitung *Zaman* ist die Nachfolgerin der 1873 gegründeten *Rumeli*, die 1290 (1874) von *Zaman* abgelöst wurde und mit dem Untertitel „*Herşeyden bahseder Osmanlı gazetesidir*“ wohl bis 1296 (1880) bestand (EHTSYTK 2290; siehe auch Oğuz – Korkmaz 2009: 25). All diese Aktivitäten, und nicht zuletzt der Divan des Meşhûrî Efendi, sind Zeichen des regen kulturellen Lebens der osmanischen Elite in Saloniki in der Zeit der Reformen⁶.

Der Divan wurde von Aydemir – Çeltik (2009) herausgegeben. Der Titel *Tenkitleli Metin* ist insofern etwas übertrieben, als der Text unkommentiert der gedruckten Ausgabe folgt; das Buch verfügt aber über eine dreißigseitige Einleitung mit einer Auflistung aller Chronogramme, die den großen historischen Quellenwert des Divans ausmachen, sowie einem Namensindex. Es finden sich 62 Chronogramme zu Geburten, Todesfällen, Amtseinsetzungen und Beförderungen bekannter Saloniker

⁵ In der Fußnote (Babinger 1919: 26) wird noch Folgendes bemerkt: „Über die Erzeugnisse dieser Vilayetdruckereien, deren Tätigkeit z.B. bei Brussa von europäischen Gelehrten noch in allerjüngster Zeit angezweifelt wurde, finden sich leider keine zuverlässigen Angaben. Das wenige, was ich im vorstehenden hierüber zu bieten vermag, verdanke ich mündlichen Aufschlüssen des Herrn Generalkonsul Dr. J. H. Mordtmann in Pera.“

⁶ Siehe dazu auch Anastassiadou 1997; außerdem Özcan 2013, die 28 osmanische Dichter in Saloniki vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert aufführt. Dort wird auf Seite 421 auch Meşhûrî Efendi erwähnt.

Persönlichkeiten, sowie zur Erbauung und Renovierung verschiedener Bauwerke (Befestigungen, Brunnen, Kasernen) der Stadt, sowie 30 Kasiden. Außerdem enthält das Buch 123 Gazele (davon 118 im Gazel-Teil) und mehrere weitere Texte, wie Strophengedichte (*murabba*, *muhammes*, *müseddes*), Mesnevis und einzelne Verse. Eine detaillierte Inhaltsangabe mit einer aus dem Exemplar der Universität Zypern angefertigten Transkription der Titel aller Kasiden und Chronogramme wird hier als Anhang 2 beigelegt.

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Anhang 1: Divandrucke in der Universitätsbibliothek Zypern¹

1a: Dichter des 14. bis 18. Jahrhunderts²

1. Ahmed el-Müsellem³ (gest. 1737)
PL234.M87D58 1908, [Istanbul], Hikmet Matba'ası (Özege 4197, Druckjahr 1326 falsch mit 1910 umgerechnet)
2. Belig (Mehmed Emin, gest. 1760)
PL248.B42D58 1842, [Istanbul], Takvim-i Vekayi
3. Eşrefoğlu Rûmî (gest. 1469)
PL248.E8A17 1883, Istanbul, Muhib Matba'ası
4. Fuzûlî (gest. 1556)
PL248.F99F8 1874, Istanbul, Sanayi Matba'ası
PL248.F99F8 1890, Istanbul, Ahtar Matba'ası [Halasi-Kun]
PL248.F99F8 1897, Istanbul, Hurşid Matba'ası
5. Hâlimî (gest. 1759/60)
PL248.H340, s.l., s.n.
6. Hâşim Baba (1717?–1773)
PL248.H272D58, [Istanbul]?, s.n.⁴
7. Hâzıq (gest. 1763/4)
PL234.H424 1900, Istanbul, s.n.⁵

¹ Für die osmanischen Namen von Dichtern und Druckereien wurde in diesem Anhang eine vereinfachte Transkription ohne diakritische Punkte gewählt.

² Die zwei in der Bibliothek vorhandenen Divane des persischen Dichters Hâfız haben wir nicht in die Liste aufgenommen. Ihre Signaturen und Druckorte sind: PL248.H21605D59, 1867, Matba'a-i 'Âmiri; PK6465.D5, 1882, Şirket-i Hayriye-yi Sahâfiye.

³ Im Bibliothekskatalog fälschlicherweise als „Ahmed Muslim“ angegeben.

⁴ Özege 4150 erwähnt eine Ausgabe von 1252 (1836) mit demselben Format aber abweichender Seitenzahl (156, während unser Band 102 Seiten enthält).

⁵ Özege 4153 gibt die Druckerei der Şirket-i Sahâfiye-i 'Osmâniye Matba'ası an. Aus der UCY-Signatur (PL234.H424 1844) geht zwar 1844 als Erscheinungsjahr hervor, im Katalog steht dann aber das korrekte Datum (1900).

8. Isma‘îl Haqqı Bursalı (1653–1724/5)
PL248.I813A17 1871, Istanbul, Vezir Hanı [Tietze]⁶
9. Mehmet Muhyiddîn Üftâde (1489/90–1580)
BP189.7.C38M44 1910, Istanbul, Necm-i Istiqbâl Matba‘ası [Tietze]
10. Muhibbî (Sultân Süleymân Kanûnî, 1494–1566)
PL248.S92A17 1890, Istanbul, Matba‘a-i ‘Osmâniye [Tietze]
11. Nâbî (1641–1712)
PL248.N16D4 1875, Istanbul, Şeyh Yahyâ Matba‘ası
12. Nef‘î (1572?–1635)
PL248.N298 1852, Istanbul, Ceride-i Havâdis [Tietze]
13. Râgıp (Mehmed Paşa, 1698–1762)
PL248.R345D58 1836, Kairo, Bulaq.
14. Niyâzî-yi Mısırî (gest. 1693/4)
PL248.N654D58 1844, [Istanbul] s.n.
PL248.N654 1889, [Istanbul], Hacı Hüseyin Efendi
PL248.N545Z75 1867, [Istanbul], Rıza Efendi’nin Taş Destgâhı⁷
15. Mustafâ Nuzûlî El-Qulavî (gest. 1744)
PL248.M875A17 1912, Istanbul, Matba‘a-i Ahmed Kâmil
16. Sabrî (Mehmed Şerîf, gest. 1645)
PL248.S4A7 1879, Istanbul, Cevâ‘ib
17. Sâmi (Arpaemîni-zâde Mustafâ, gest. 1733)
PL248.S29A17 1837, Kairo, Bulaq
18. Şeyhî (gest. 1431?)
PL248.S499 1873 Istanbul, İbrahim Hilmî
PL248.S499, 1874 Istanbul, Necîb Baba Matba‘ası [Tietze]

⁶ Bei Özege 4163 wird außerdem auch eine Bulaq-Ausgabe von 1257 (1841) angegeben.

⁷ Der Titel des Buchs ist *Tahmîs-i Dervîş ‘Azbâ Divân-ı Mısırî Efendi* und enthält außer dem Divan des Niyâzî auch ein *tahmîs* (einem Gazel von Niyâzî angelehntes Strophen Gedicht) von Mustafâ ‘Azbi (gest. 1747), vgl. Özege 19245.

19. Vecdî (gest. 1660)
PL250.V492 1872, Istanbul, Süleymân Efendi Matba'ası
20. Vehbî (Sünbülzâde, 1719–1809)
PL248.S7757D58 1837, Kairo, Bulaq
21. Yunus Emre (gest. 1321?)
PL248.Y8D5 1924, s.l. s.n.

1b: Dichter des späten 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts

1. 'Ârif (Hersekli 'Ârif Hikmet, 1839–1903)
PL248.H48A17 1916, Istanbul, Matba'a-i 'Âmire
2. 'Ârif Mehmed (1771-1848)
PL248.A699 1854, Istanbul, Matba'a-i 'Âmire
3. Dertli İbrahim (1772–1845)
PL248.D388A17, s.a. s.l.
PL248.D388A17b, s.a. s.l. [Tietze]
4. Eşref Mustafâ Paşa (1819–1894, İnal 330–332)
PL248.S388E87 1860 (1288, sic!), Istanbul, Matba'a-i 'Âmire⁸
5. Hâfız Mehmed Sebâtüddîn (Sebâtî) (1846–1905, İnal 1681–1682)
PL248.S3565A17 1892, Istanbul, Mahmûd Bey Matba'ası
6. Hâlet Mehmed Sa'îd (1761–1822)
PL248.H145 1841, Istanbul, Takvîmhâne-i 'Âmire
7. Haqqı İsmâ'il Paşa (1839–1913)
PL248.H344 1875, Bursa, Vilâyet Matba'ası
8. Hilmî (Hasân Hilmî, 1782–1847/8)⁹
PL248.H32A17 1881?, Istanbul, İbrahim Efendi Matba'ası

⁸ Die erste Ausgabe des Divans wurde laut İnal (1930–1942: 331) im Jahr 1278 (1861) in der Matba'a-i 'Âmire gedruckt. Siehe auch Özege 4133, der dasselbe Datum angibt. Im Katalog der Universitätsbibliothek Zypern liegt ein Fehler vor, da das Hidschri-Jahr 1288 nicht 1860 entspricht.

9. Hilmî Mustafa (1840-1881, İnal 647–648)
PL248.H545 1873, Istanbul, Tabhâne-yi ‘Âmire
10. Hilmî Dede Baba (1842–1907)
PL234M4564 1909, Istanbul, Uhuvvet Matba‘ası
11. Huznî (1859/60–1923/4)
PL248.H88D58, 1894, s.l. s.n.
12. Ihsân (Hamâmizâde Ihsân, 1884/5–1948)
PL248.H2257A17 1928, Istanbul, Ahmed Hasan Matba‘ası
PL234.H281A6 1928, Istanbul, Ahmed Hasan Matba‘ası [Tietze]
13. Leylâ (gest. 1848)
PL248.L42D58 1881 s.l.¹⁰
14. Mehmed Murâd el-Nakşbendî (1808–1847/48)
PL248.M644 1873, Istanbul, Elhâc Hüseyin Efendi
15. Memdûh Mehmed Paşa (1839–1925; İnal 913–927)
PL235.M45 1913, Istanbul, Matba‘a-i Hayriye ve Şürekası [Tietze]
16. Meşhûrî (Selânikli Meşhûrî Efendi, 1783/84–1857)
PL234.S446 1875, Thessaloniki, Vilâyet Matba‘ası
17. Necmî (‘Ömer Necmî, gest. 1889)
PL248.O48A17 1870, [Istanbul], Esâd Efendi'nin Destgâhı
18. Nu‘mân Mâhir (gest. 1843)
PL234.N86A6 1871, Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire¹¹

⁹ Es handelt sich um den als Hilmî Efendi bekannten Dichter aus Zypern (siehe Kappler 2014 und Kappler, in Druck). Das Datum ist bei Özege 4149 mit 1303 (1886) angegeben. Dort auch eine Ausgabe des gleichen Jahres aus der Istanbuler Hattât Tefvîq Efendi Matba‘ası, mit etwas weniger Seiten (61, statt 68 der Ausgabe von İbrahim Efendi).

¹⁰ Laut Özege 4177 im Jahr 1882 in der iranischen Druckerei im Vâlîde Hân gedruckt.

¹¹ Es handelt sich offensichtlich um einen Dichter aus der Insel Euböa. Vgl. Özege 13363: *Mevâlid en Agribozî Osmân Reşîd Bey Zâde Numân Mâhir Bey Merhûmun Divân-ı Fesâhât Unvanlarıdır*, Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire 1288 (1871), 152 S.

19. ‘Ömer Şeyh Mîrzâ: *Divân-i emîr ve “mecmu‘a eş-şu‘arâ-i” Asya-yi vustâ*
PL248.O44 1881, Istanbul, Mekteb-i Sanayi-i Şâhâne Matba‘ası [Tietze]
20. Qaygulu Efendi (Qaygulu Şeyh Halîl, gest. 1818)
PL248.K178 1855, s.l.
21. Qâzım Paşa (gest. 1889/90, İnal 801–810)
PL234.K3948A6 1910, Istanbul s.n.
PL248.K395D58, s.a., s.l.
22. Quddusî Ahmed (1760–1848)
PL234.K755Z6 1893, s.l.
PL234.K755Z6 1905, s.l.
23. Râcî¹²
PL248.R33, s.a., s. l.
24. Selâmî Mustafa (gest. 1813)
PL248.S35 1870, Istanbul, Yahya Efendi Matba‘ası
25. Seyyid Nigârî (Seyyid Hacı Mîr Hamza Garabagi, 1805–1886, İnal
1208–1212)
PL314.N561 1884, Istanbul s.n.
26. Süleymân Şâdî (1830–1900, İnal 1751–1752)
PL248.S15 1907, Istanbul, Şirket-i Sahâfiye-yi ‘Osmâniye Matba‘ası
27. Şeref Hanım (1808/9–1861, İnal 1810–1815)
PL248.S4745A17 1875, Istanbul, Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire
PL248.S447D5 1903, Istanbul s.n.
PL248.S447D5 1919, Istanbul s.n.
28. Turâbî ‘Alî (gest. 1868?)
PL250.T8 1877, Istanbul, Matba‘a-i ‘Âmire [Tietze]

¹² Es handelt sich vielleicht um einen Dichter aus Zypern, der womöglich ein Zeitgenosse von Hilmi Efendi gewesen sein könnte (siehe Kappler, in Druck). Es gibt aber auch einen anderen Dichter desselben Namens, siehe Özege 4210.

29. Vâsîf-i Enderûnî (gest. 1824, İnal 1953–1956)

PL248.E53, 1841?, Istanbul s.n. (laut İnal 1953 in der Taqvîm-i veqâyi matba‘ası gedruckt)

PL234E524D448 1870, Istanbul, ‘Alî Rızâ Efendi Matba‘ası¹³

30. Zekâ‘î Mustafa (gest. 1812)

PL248.M8777D58 1841, Istanbul s.n.

PL248.M8777D58 1871, Istanbul, ‘Alî Bey Matba‘ası

31. Zihnî Kilisî (gest. 1867, İnal 2024–2025)

PL250.Z64 1874, Istanbul, Tatyos Divitciyan Matba‘ası

¹³ Es handelt sich hier nicht um Vasîfs Divan, sondern um seine berühmten Mesnevî-Dichtungen *Hûbân-nâme*, *Zenân-nâme*, *Defter-i ‘Aşq* und *Çengi-nâme*.

Anhang 2: Transkription der Titel aller Gedichte des *Selânikli Merhûm Meşhûrî Efendiniñ Divânı* (Saloniki 1292/1875), nach dem Exemplar der Universitätsbibliothek Zypern¹

Gebete, Qasiden und Chronogramme

1.

S. 2–3: Manzûme-i münâcât be-dergâh-i qâdî 'l-ḥacât.

2.

S. 3–4: Münâcât-i diger ber uslûb-i tercîḥ-bend (sic!) kimine eṣer – 5 Strophen,

Refrain:

ilâhî ilâhî kerem qıl baṇa / ki geldim qapıṇa dilendim saṇa.

3.

S. 4: Münâcât-i diger-i ḍarâ'at-göster – gazel 7 beyt.

4.

S. 4–6: Na't-i şerîf – qaside 55 beyt.

5.

S. 6: Sitâyiş-i diger – gazel 5 beyt, redif: yâ resûl il-lâh.

6.

S. 6: Weitere Eulogie an den Propheten (Nazm-ı be-nâm der ḥaqq-ı eṣref) – gazel 7 beyt, redif: [...] yâ Muḥammed Muştafâ.

7.

S. 7–8: Der medḥ-i aşḥâb-i güzin rıdvân ul-lâh 'aleyhim ecma'in ('Zum Lobe der ehrenwerten Herren, Gottes Schutz sei mit all ihnen'): Ode an die Vier Rechtgeleiteten Kalifen – Mesnevi-Form 49 beyt.

¹ Der osmanische Text ist mit diakritischen Zeichen transkribiert; im deutschen Text oder in der Übersetzung der Gedichttitel (in einfachen Anführungszeichen) verwendete Namen und Termini (wie Qaside oder Gazel) werden dagegen in der vereinfachten Transkription ohne Diakritika wiedergegeben.

8.

S. 8–11: Qaşıde-i evşâf-ı Sultân Maḥmûd Hân zamn-ı vaqı'a-ı Yenice-riyân ('Qaside über Sultan Mahmud, welche die Janitscharen-Ereignisse zum Inhalt hat') – Qaside 84 beyt.

9.

S. 11–12: Nazm-ı diger der medḥ-i Ğâzî Ḥazret-i Sultân Maḥmûd Hân-i 'adlî 'aleyhi raḥmet el-bârî – Qaside 41 beyt.

10.

S. 12–14: Tariḥ-i cülûs-i meymenet-me'nûs-i Ğâzî Ḥazret -i Sultân 'Abd-ül-Mecîd Hân, İbn Ğâzî Ḥazret -i Sultân Maḥmûd Hân ('Chronogramm zur glücksbringenden Thronbesteigung von ... Sultan Abdülmecid' [1255/1839]). In Strophenform ABAB / CCCB / DDDDB ..., 31 Strophen.

11.

S. 14–16: Lobgedicht für Abdülmecid in Mesnevi-Form (Meşnevî der sitâyîş-i Ğâzî Ḥazret -i Sultân 'Abd-ül-Mecîd Hân, dâma fî surîri saltâna-tihi ilâ âḥir az-zamân), 62 beyt.

12.

S. 16–18: Lobgedicht für Abdülmecid in Qaside-Form (Nazm-ı diger der sitâyîş-i Ğâzî Ḥazret -i Sultân 'Abd-ül-Mecîd Hân), qâfiye und redîf: -ân eder, 51 beyt.

13.

S. 18–19: Lobgedicht für den Großvezir in Qaside-Form (Qaşıde-i (sic!) der sitâyîş-i şadr a'zâm Muştafâ Reşîd Pâşâ), 41 beyt.

14.

S. 19: Tariḥ-i tebrîk-i câ-i vâlâ-yi fetvâ li-'Ârif Ḥikmet Bey Efendi (Glückwunschchronogramm zur Erhebung von 'Ârif Ḥikmet Bey Efendi zum Amt des Şeyhülislam, 1262 / 1846), Qaside-Form, 12 beyt Ahmed Arif Hikmet Bey Efendi, 1786-1859, wichtig für seine Bibliothek, die zuerst an Ibnülemin Mahmut Kemal Inan und dann an die Istanbul Teknik Üniversitesi ging (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmet_Arif_Hikmet_Bey_Efendi, letzter Zugang am 6.2.2016). Vgl. Nr. 102.

15.

S. 20–21: Weiteres Lobgedicht an den Şeyhülislam (Qaşide-i diger der sitâyiş-i Hâzret -i Şeyh ül-İslâm müşâr ileyhi ‘... an den oben erwähnten Şeyhülislam...’), Qaside-Form 43 beyt.

16.

S. 21–22: Weiteres Lobgedicht an den Şeyhülislam zum Dank für den Rang des *rü’ûs-i hümayûn* (Qaşide-i diger der sitâyiş-i Cenâb-ı Şeyh ül-İslâm müşâr ileyhi berâye teşekkür-i ru’us-i (sic!) hümayûn), Qaside-Form, außer qâfiye und redif (-âm üzre) auch Anfangsreim „yine“ in den ersten 16 beyt, 81 beyt.

17.

S. 23: Vor der vorangegangenen Qaside hatte der Dichter dem Şeyhülislam schon innerhalb einer Bitte (arzuhal) ein Gazel gesendet, das hier abgedruckt wird (Qaşide-i mezkûreden aqdem bir qıt’a arzuhal derünine mevzû‘en müşâr ileyhiye gönderilen bir gazeldir), 5 beyt.

18.

S. 23–24: Qaşide-i diger der haqq-ı Şeyh ül-İslâm müşâr ileyhi der zamm-ı sitâyiş-i Cenâb-ı Hâzret-i ‘Abd-ül-Mecîd Hân (‘Weitere Qaside über den oben erwähnten Şeyhülislam, das ein Lobgedicht für Seine Hoheit Abdülmeccid zum Inhalt hat’), 28 beyt.

19.

S. 24: İşbu qaşide ile müşâr ileyhiye taqdîm olunan gazeldir (‘Gazel, das mit dieser Qaside dem oben erwähnten [Şeyhülislam] präsentiert wurde’), 5 beyt.

20.

S. 24: Chronogramm zur Geburt des Prinzen Ziyaeddin (Tarih-i velâdet-i pür-meymenet şehzâde Sultân Ziyâ ed-dîn ibn Sultân ‘Abd-ül-Mecîd Hân), 1263, 11 beyt.

1847; laut https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdülmeccid_I, letzter Zugang am 6.2.2016, ist Mehmed Ziyaeddin aber am 10.12.1842 geboren und am 7.6.1845 gestorben.

21.

S. 25: Glückwunschchronogramm zur ersten Koranstunde und zum Beschneidungsfest der beiden Prinzen Mehmed Murâd und Abdül-

hamîd (Tariḫ-i tebrîk-i beda'-i besmele-i şerife-i sertâc-i Qur'ân ve tes'îd-i sûr-i pür-sürûr-i hitân-i şehzâde-i Hâzret-i Sultân Mehmed Murâd ve şehzâde-i Hâzret-i Sultân 'Abd ül-Ḥamid, aṭâla 'llâh 'umrahumâ ilâ yawmi 't-tinâd), 1263, Qaside-Form, 19 beyt.

22.

S. 25–27: Der sitâyiş-i Ḥasîb Pâşâ Vâlî-yi Selânik, Qaside, 45 beyt.

Mehmed Hasib Paşa, gest. 1870, Vali von Oktober 1839 bis Februar 1840 (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Selanik_Eyaleti, <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Greece.html>, letzter Zugang 30.12.2015).

23.

S. 27: Chronogramm zur drittmaligen Ernennung zum Vali von Saloniki, İbrâhîm Paşa (Tariḫ-i manşîb-ı vâlâ-yi Eyâlet-i Selânik li-Hâzret-i İbrâhîm Pâşâ), 1259/1843, Qaside, 13 beyt. Ohne mahlas, da zusammen mit folgender Nr. 24 als eine Qaside geschrieben.

4. Vali des Eyalet Saloniki, im Jahr der Ernennung gestorben (s. Nr. 24): Sirozlu Ibrahim Paşa (gest. 1843), Juli 1843–Oktober 1843 (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Selanik_Eyaleti, <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Greece.html>, letzter Zugang 30.12.2015). Im Gedicht ist die Rede von einer Ernennung zum 3. Mal. Vgl. Nr. 36, 40.

24.

S. 27–28: Chronogramm zum Tod des Vali İbrâhîm Paşa (Tariḫ-i intiqâl-i müşâr ileyhi İbrâhîm Pâşâ), 1259/1843, als Fortsetzung der vorgehenden Qaside, also mit gleichem Reim und ohne matla, 6 beyt.

25.

S. 28–29: Chronogramm für die Verleihung an 'Ömer Paşa, Vali von Saloniki, des Müşîr-Rangs (Tariḫ-i rütbe-i vâlâ-yi müşîri li-Hâzret-i 'Ömer Pâşâ Vâlî-yi Eyâlet-i Selânik), 1257 / 1840, Qaside 39 beyt.

Kızılhisarlı Ömer Paşa, Vali von Juli 1840 bis Juli 1843 (https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Selanik_Eyaleti, <http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Greece.html>, letzter Zugang 30.12.2015). Vgl. Nr. 41.

26.

S. 29: Chronogramm zur Renovierung der Vardar-Festung (Tariḫ-i ta'mîr-i qal'e-i Vârdâr in maḥrûse-i Selânik), 1257/1840-41, qâfiye -îr, 8 beyt.

27.

S. 29–30: Chronogramm zum Bau des Ömer-Brunnens in Saloniki (Tarih-i çeşme-i ‘Ömer Bey vâli-yi Selânîk), 1258, 6 beyt.

28.

S. 30: Tarih-i diger (‘Weiteres Chronogramm’), ebenfalls zum Ömer-Brunnen, gleiche qâfiye wie vorhergehendes Chronogramm, 1 beyt.

29.

S. 30–31: Der sitâyiş-i Ya‘qûb Pâşâ Vâli-yi Selânîk, Qaside, 32 beyt.

Qara Osmânzâde Ya‘qûb Paşa, Vali von April 1846 bis Mai 1847

(https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Selanik_Eyaleti,

<http://www.worldstatesmen.org/Greece.html>, letzter Zugang 30.12.2015).

30.

S. 31: Chronogramm zur Verleihung des Nişanordens an Yusuf Şadiq Bey Efendi (Tarih-i nişân-i furûh-efşân-i Cenâb-i Hâzret-i Yusuf Şadiq Bey Efendi), 1256, 7 beyt.

31.

S. 31–32: Chronogramm zur Errichtung einer Militärkaserne außerhalb der Stadtmauern von Saloniki durch Sultan Mahmud II (Tarih-i qışlaq-ı ‘asâkir-i manşûr der hâric-i sûr-i maḥrûse-i Selânîk), 1253, 15 beyt.

32.

S. 32: Chronogramm anlässlich der Renovierung des Kaiserstraßenbrunnens nahe Saloniki durch Sultan Mahmud II (Tarih-i ta‘mîr-i çeşme-i şâh-râ’ der qurb-i maḥrûse-i Selânîk), 1253, 7 beyt.

33.

S. 32: Chronogramm anlässlich der Renovierung eines Brunnens außerhalb der Stadtmauern von Saloniki durch Sultan Mahmud II (Tarih-i ta‘mîr-i çeşme der hâric-i sûr-i maḥrûse-i Selânîk), 1253, 7 beyt.

S. 33 und 34 im Exemplar der UB Zypern falsch gebunden zwischen S. 36 und 37.

34.

S. 33: Chronogramm anlässlich der Renovierung eines Brunnens (sebil)

als Teil einer Külliyyet (medrese, câmi' und mescid) durch Sultan Mahmud II, ohne Titel, 1253, 6 beyt.

35.

S. 33: Chronogramm anlässlich der Renovierung des Malta-Brunnens in Saloniki durch Sultan Mahmud II (Tarih-i ta'mir-i çeşme-i Mâlta der mahrûse-i Selânik), 1253, 5 beyt.

36.

S. 33: Chronogramm zur ersten Amtsbestätigung von İbrâhîm Pâşâ als Vali von Saloniki (Tarih-i ibqâ'-i İbrâhîm Pâşâ vâli-yi Selânik), 1252, 9 beyt.

Vgl. Nr. 23, 40.

37.

S. 33–34: Chronogramm zur Ernennung von Ebû Bekir Bey Efendi, Richter von Saloniki, zum Vâli von Mekka (Tarih-i pâye-i vâlâ-yi Mekke-i mükerrerme li-Ḥazret-i Ebû Bekir Bey Efendi hâkim-i mahrûse-i Selânik, 1252, 7 beyt.

38.

S. 34: Chronogramm zur Verleihung des Nişan-i imtiyâz-Ordens an Ebû Bekir Bey Efendi (Tarih-i nişân-i pertev-efşân-i imtiyâz li-Ḥazret-i mîr müşâr ileyhi Bekir Bey Efendi), 1252, 10 beyt.

39.

S. 34: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von 'Osmân Bey Efendi (Tarih-i vefât-ı Seyyid 'Osmân Bey Efendi), 1252, 6 beyt.

40.

S. 35: Chronogramm zur zweiten Amtsbestätigung von İbrâhîm Paşa als Vali von Saloniki (Tarih-i ibqâ'-i İbrâhîm Pâşâ vâli-yi Selânik), 1256, 7 beyt.

Vgl. Nr. 23, 36.

41.

S. 35: Chronogramm zur Amtsbestätigung von 'Ömer Paşa als Vali von Saloniki (Tarih-i ibqâ'-i Ḥazret-i 'Ömer Pâşâ vâli-yi Selânik), 1249, 7

beyt.

Vgl. Nr. 25.

42.

S. 35: Chronogramm anlässlich eines Schiffes zu Ehren von ‘Ömer Pâşâ (Tarih-i sefine-i müşâr ileyhi ‘Ömer Pâşâ), 1249, Qaside, ohne qâfiye im matla, 8 beyt.

43.

S. 36: Chronogramm anlässlich der Ernennung von Aḥmed ‘Ârif Hikmet Bey Efendi zum Kazıasker von Anatolien (Tarih-i pâye-i şadr-ı Anaṭôli li-Ḥazret es-Seyyid el-Ḥâc Aḥmed ‘Ârif Hikmet Bey Efendi), 1248, 5 beyt.

44.

S. 36: Chronogramm anlässlich dem Bau der Festung von Milion durch ‘Ömer Pâşâ, Vali von Saloniki (Tarih-i ṭâbiye-i Milyon ‘Ömer Pâşâ vâli-yi Selânîk), 1243, 7 beyt.

45.

S. 36–37: Lobgedicht auf ‘Ârif Hikmet Bey Efendi (Der sitâyişi-ı ‘Ârif Hikmet Bey Efendi), Qaside, 15 beyt.

Siehe Nr. 43.

46.

S. 37–38: Lobgedicht auf denselben (Nazm-ı diger der vaşf-ı mîr-i müşâr ileyhi), Qaside, 29 beyt.

47.

S. 38–39: Dankesqaside für ein Geschenk von ‘Ârif Hikmet Bey Efendi (Teşekkür-i ‘aṭiye-i müşâr ileyhi), 42 beyt.

48.

S. 39: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von ‘Osmân Nûrî Bey (Tarih-i velâdet-i ‘Osmân Nûrî Bey), 1260, 5 beyt.

Osman Nuri Bey war, nach Çeltik – Aydemir (2007: 271), der Sohn von Tahir Efendi, Kethüda der Bezmiâlem Vâlide Sultân.

49.

S. 39: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von ‘Abdurrahmân Efendi,

Molla von Bosnien (Tarih-i irtihâl es-Seyyid ‘Abdurrahmân Efendi), 1260, 5 beyt.

50.

S. 40: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von ‘Abdullâh Hâmî Efendi (Tarih-i intiqâl es-Seyyid ‘Abdullâh Hâmî Efendi), 1260, 5 beyt.

Es handelt sich um einen zeitgenössischen Dichter aus Saloniki (Çeltik – Aydemir 2007: 271), allerdings wird das Todesdatum bei Özcan (2013: 420) mit 1258 angegeben.

51.

S. 40: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von ‘Ömer Hülûşî Efendi (Tarih-i intiqâl-i ‘Ömer Hülûşî Efendi), 1260, 5 beyt.

52.

S. 40: Chronogramm anlässlich der Renovierung der Türbe von Zuhûri Baba durch den Kâtib-i Divân Rüşdî Efendi (Tarih-i ta‘mir-i türbe-i Zuhûri Baba), 1258, 5 beyt.

53.

S. 40–41: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Zübeyde Hanım (Tarih-i vefât-i Zübeyde Hanım), 1259, 4 beyt.

54.

S. 41: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Muştafâ Mazhar Bey (Tarih-i velâdet-i Muştafâ Mazhar Bey), 1259, 7 beyt.

55.

S. 41: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Ni‘metullâh (Tarih-i vefât-i Ni‘metullâh qadın), 1258, 5 beyt.

56.

S. 41: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Şeyh ‘Abdülqâdir (Tarih-i vefât-i Şeyh ‘Abdülqâdir), 1258, 5 beyt.

Şeyh ‘Abdülqâdir war, nach Çeltik – Aydemir (2007: 271), der Scheich des Bazar Tekkesi in Saloniki.

57.

S. 42: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Mehmed Şânî (Tarih-i velâdet-i Mîr Mehmed Şânî), 1253, 5 beyt.

Es handelt sich um den Sohn von Kâmil Bey, dem Evqâf-Aufseher von Saloniki (Çeltik – Aydemir 2007: 271).

58.

S. 42: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Meḥmed Behcet, Sohn von Pîri Efendi (Tarih-i velâdet-i Pîri Efendi zâde (sic!) Meḥmed Behcet), 1253, 5 beyt.

59.

S. 42: Chronogramm anlässlich der Errichtung des Hauses von Miralay Aḥmed Bey (Tarih-i binâ-yi Miralay Aḥmed Bey), 1253, 6 beyt.

60.

S. 42–43: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von ‘Osmân Lebîb, Sohn des Kâtib Ḥasan Efendi (Tarih-i mevlûd-i ‘Osmân Lebîb), 1252, 4 beyt.

61.

S. 43: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Aḥmed Bey, Sohn von Râmiz Bey (Tarih-i velâdet-i Râmiz Bey zâde Aḥmed Bey), 1251, 8 beyt.

62.

S. 43: Chronogramm anlässlich der Fertigstellung des Beşçınar-Brunnens (Beşçınar şadırvanı tarihi), 1251, 6 beyt.

63.

S. 43–44: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Maḥmûd Bey, Sohn von Şerif Yusuf Bey (Tarih-i velâdet-i Şerif Yusuf Bey zâde Maḥmûd Bey), 1251, 9 beyt.

64.

S. 44: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Meḥmed Zâtî, Sohn von Eşref Mollâ (Tarih-i velâdet-i Eşref Mollâ zâde Meḥmed Zâtî), 1251, 5 beyt.

65.

S. 44: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes der Tochter von Aḥmed Ağa (Tarih-i vefât-i duḡter-i Aḥmed Ağa), 1251, 5 beyt.

66.

S. 44: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes des Mevlevi-Scheichs

Meḥmed ‘Alî Dede (Tarih-i intiḡâl-i Şeyḡ Meḥmed ‘Alî Dede el-Mevlevî), 1246, 4 beyt.

67.

S. 45: Einzeiliges Chronogramm zum selben Anlass (Diger), 1246, 1 beyt.

68.

S. 45: Kurzes Lobgedicht auf den Mevlevi Seyfî Dede (Der sitâyiş-i Qalıcı (sic!) Dede el-Mevlevî), 5 beyt.

69.

S. 45: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von ‘Âkif Efendi (Tarih-i intiḡâl-i ‘Âkif Efendi), 1245, 4 beyt.

Es handelt sich um einen zeitgenössischen Dichter aus Saloniki (Çeltik – Aydemir 2007: 271), allerdings wird das Todesdatum bei Özcan (2013: 417) mit 1243 angegeben.

70.

S. 45: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Abû Bekir, Sohn von ‘Ömer Efendi (Tarih-i vefât-i ‘Ömer Efendi zâde Abû Bekir Bey), 1249, 4 beyt.

71.

S. 45–46: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Abû Bekir aus Euböa (Tarih-i vefât-i Eğribozî Abû Bekir Bey), 1252, 5 beyt.

72.

S. 46: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Ni‘metullâh (Tarih-i vefât-i Ni‘metullâh Mollâ), 5 beyt.

73.

S. 46: Chronogramm zum selben Anlass (Diger), 4 beyt.

74.

S. 46: Chronogramm zum selben Anlass (Diger), 5 beyt.

75.

S. 46: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Yusuf Bey (Tarih-i velâdet-i Yusuf Bey), 1243, 5 beyt.

76.

S. 47: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Süleymân Nesîb Efendi (Tarih-i velâdet-i Süleymân Nesîb Efendi), 1243, 5 beyt.

Vgl. Nr. 83.

77.

S. 47: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Mehmed 'İzzet Efendi (Tarih-i velâdet-i Mehmed 'İzzet Efendi), 1243, 5 beyt.

78.

S. 47: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Mehmed Refî' Efendi (Tarih-i velâdet-i Mehmed Refî' Efendi), 1256, 5 beyt.

79.

S. 47–48: Chronogramm zur Errichtung eines Tekkes zum Andenken an die Mutter des Vâli, Zeyneb Hânım (Tarih-i binâ-yi tekkiye), 1266, 5 beyt.

80.

S. 48: Chronogramm anlässlich des Todes von Zelihâ Hânım (Tarih-i vefât-ı Zelihâ Hânım), 1267, 5 beyt.

81.

S. 48–49: Qaside zu Ehren des Vali von Saloniki, Mehmed Şâlih Pâşâ (Qaside der vaşf-ı Vâli-yi Selânik Mehmed Şâlih Pâşâ), 44 beyt.

82.

S. 49–50: Chronogramm zur Ernennung von Rüstem Pâşâ zum Vali von Saloniki (Tarih-i câ'-i Hâzret-i Rüstem Pâşâ), 1269, 35 beyt.

83.

S. 51: Chronogramm anlässlich der Geburt von Mehmed Celîl Efendi, Sohn von Süleymân Nesîb Efendi (Tarih-i velâdet-i Süleymân Nesîb Efendi zâde Mehmed Celîl Efendi), 1269, 5 beyt.

Vgl. Nr. 76.

84.

S. 51–52: Chronogramm anlässlich der Ernennung von Mehmed Pâşâ zum Vizir (Tarih-i mansıb-ı Hâzret-i Mehmed Pâşâ), 1270, 42 beyt.

85.

S. 52–53: Chronogramm anlässlich der Ernennung von Ismâ'il Hâqqı Efendi zum Finanzdirektor (müdüri-i mâl) von Saloniki (Tarih-i rütbe-i Ismâ'il Hâqqı Efendi), 1270, 10 beyt.

86.

S. 53–54: Chronogramm zur Ernennung von 'Osmân Pâşâ zum Vali von Saloniki (Tarih-i câ'-i Hâzret-i 'Osmân Pâşâ), 1270, 44 beyt.

87.

S. 54–55: Gebet (Da'vât-i manzûme-i şıbyân-i âmin-gûyân), Gazel-Form, 7 beyt.

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88–90: Sechzeilige Strophengedichte:

88.

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89.

S. 55–56: Müseddes, 8 Strophen

90.

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91–94: Fünfzeilige Strophengedichte:

91.

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92.

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93.

S. 59: Teḥmîs, 5 Strophen

94.

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95–98: Vierzeilige Strophengedichte:

95.

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96.

S. 60–61: Murabba‘, 4 Strophen

97.

S. 61: Murabba‘, 5 Strophen

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S. 61: Murabba‘, 4 Strophen.

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100.

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101.

S. 62–63: Ebenso (Muḥammes), 5 Strophen.

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102.

S. 63: Lobgedicht auf den Şeyhülislam (Der vaşf-ı Hâzret-i Şeyḫ ül-İslâm Aḥmed ‘Ârif Hıkmət Bey Efendi), 5 beyt.

Vgl. Nr. 14.

103.

S. 63: Lobgedicht auf den ehemaligen Richter von Saloniki (Der vaşf-ı Aḥmed Vehîd Efendi ḥâkim-i Selânîk-i sâbîq), 7 beyt.

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Halb- und Einzelverse (mışrâ‘ât, müfredât, qıta‘ât):

S. 95–102.

Râtsel (luġaz):

S. 102.

TEMMET

Der Nationalgedanke in den frühesten osmanisch-zypriotischen Periodika

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Einleitung

Das Verhältnis zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und seinen Randgebieten gestaltete sich im Verlauf der Jahrhunderte als ein komplexer, dynamischer und variabler Prozess. In der postosmanischen Zeit konnte sich eine vergleichbare Zentrum-Peripherie-Beziehung aufgrund der enormen Gebietsverluste und des Zusammenschrumpfens des Nachfolgestaates Türkei auf Anatolien nur mit Zypern fortsetzen. Zypern war nach der Gründung der Türkischen Republik Kronkolonie, wurde dann unabhängig und schließlich geteilt – entsprechend facettenreich war die Beziehung der Inseltürken zum „Mutterland“ Türkei.

Die Wechselhaftigkeit der Türkei-Zypern-Beziehung spiegelte sich in der türkischen Presse Zyperns wider, die seit ihrer Entstehung Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts schnell zum bedeutendsten Medium der öffentlichen Meinungsbildung avancierte. Zur selben Zeit radikalisierte sich die *Enosis* von einer romantischen Schwärmerei zur politischen Massenbewegung und wurde so zu einem Lieblingsthema auch der türkischen Blätter.

Die meinungsbildende Rolle der Presse blieb den Machthabern nicht verborgen. Das hamidische Regime war von Anfang an darauf bedacht, das aufkeimende Presseleben der türkischen Zyprioten unter seine Kontrolle zu bringen, und gewährte deshalb den ersten Blättern Starthilfe. Auch die republikanische Türkei unterstützte später einige zypriotische Zeitungen finanziell, so *Doğru Yol* und *Söz* (siehe Ünlü 1981: 63, Azgın 1998: 646 und An 2002: 390).

Das Verhältnis zwischen den türkisch-zypriotischen Presseorganen und den verschiedenen osmanischen und türkischen Regierungen war stets spannungsgeladen und hatte mehr Tiefen als Höhen aufzuweisen. Nicht selten wurden Versuche unternommen, unerwünschte Stimmen

mit allen Mitteln zum Schweigen zu bringen: Die sich über Jahrzehnte wiederholenden Eingriffe reichten von Einfuhrverboten kritischer Blätter ins Osmanische Reich bzw. die Türkische Republik über die Schließung von Zeitungsbetrieben durch Aufkauf bis hin zu Todesurteilen gegen unbeugsame Redakteure.

Die ständigen Interventionen von außen ließen eine Art Selbstzensur entstehen, was von vielen Redakteuren permanent beklagt wurde.¹ Redaktionelles Geschick ermöglichte es vielen Blättern dennoch, ihre Agenda weitgehend selbst zu bestimmen. Im Folgenden werden wir uns kurz einem Thema zuwenden, das von Zensurmaßnahmen kaum betroffen war, für die Beziehung zum „Mutterland“ jedoch eine zentrale Rolle spielte: die Entstehung eines türkischen Nationalbewusstseins in den auf Osmanisch erscheinenden Periodika auf Zypern.

Erste Reaktionen auf die *Enosis* in der türkischen Presse

Im Themenuniversum der frühesten türkischen Periodika auf Zypern Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts nahm die nationale Idee erstaunlich wenig Platz ein. Man blieb lange Zeit vornationalistischen Denkmustern verhaftet. Zypern gehörte zu den Randprovinzen des Osmanischen Reiches, in denen die jungtürkischen Ideen erst relativ spät Fuß fassten. Es überrascht daher nicht, dass die ersten türkischen Blätter bei der Neupositionierung der beiden ethnischen Gruppen im einsetzenden Zeitalter des Nationalismus ideell und argumentativ mit ihren griechischen Konkurrenten nicht mithalten konnten. Erst kurz vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg waren Ideenwelt, Terminologie und Rhetorik auf vergleichbarer Höhe, zu einer Zeit also, als sich der Türkismus (*Türkçülük*) zur neuen Integrationsideologie entwickelt hatte und für die politischen Akteure nicht mehr die religiöse *umma*, sondern die türkische Nation die erstrebenswerte gesellschaftliche Großgruppe war.

¹ *Kıbrıs* (45/10 Temmuz 1893): 1; *Makale-i mahsusa, Kıbrıs* (274/13 Kânunuevvel 1897): 1.

Der Nationalismus der türkischen Blätter orientierte sich zunächst an den *Enosis*-Bestrebungen der mit dem nationalistischen Zeitgeist bestens vertrauten griechisch-zypriotischen Intellektuellen. Zentren der Griechenlandorientierung waren vor allem die Schulen und die Kirchen, deren Lehrer und Priester meistens in Griechenland ausgebildet worden waren.² Die griechische nationalistische Bildungsschicht unterhielt beste Verbindungen zur Presse, die sie als Plattform für ihre Ideen zu nutzen wusste. Lehrer und Geistliche wurden von Mitgliedern des Legislativrats unterstützt, die seit 1895 jährlich Eingaben im Sinne der *Enosis* machten (Zervakis 1998: 72–73). Ihre Aktivitäten im Rat fanden in der Presse großes Echo. Es war daher kein Zufall, dass die ersten türkischen Blätter sich in erster Linie an griechischen Zeitungen wie *Foni tis Kyprou* oder *Evagoras* abarbeiteten, denen sie Propagandatätigkeit im Dienst des griechischen Festlandes vorwarfen. Das langlebigste Periodikum vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, *Zaman* (1891–1900), brachte schon in seiner ersten Ausgabe einen Artikel mit dem Titel *Kıbrıs matbuatı*, in dem angekündigt wurde, dass man sich sehr genau mit den *Enosis*-Aktivitäten der zyperngriechischen Presse befassen werde.³

Auch das Blatt *Yeni Zaman* (1892–1893), das sich von *Zaman* abspaltete, und dann später dessen Nachfolger *Kıbrıs* [1] (1893–1898) lieferten sich einen heftigen Schlagabtausch mit den griechischen Zeitungen, die immer wieder zu Aktionen für den Anschluss aufriefen und ausführlich davon berichteten. Sie hofften, durch entsprechende Großdemonstrationen die britische Verwaltung vom Massencharakter der *Enosis* zu überzeugen. In ihren Kommentaren machten sie keinen Hehl aus ihrer Überzeugung, dass nach einem Rückzug der Briten Zypern allein Griechenland zustehe. Sollte dies nicht der Fall sein, wären die Zyperngriechen bereit, für dieses Ziel zu kämpfen (siehe Wallace – Orphanides 2004: 6–8, 16–17). Die türkischen Blätter hingegen wiesen in ihrer Kritik

² So unterrichtete beispielsweise der Schulinspektor F. D. Newham in einem Schreiben vom 4. August 1902 die britische Regierung darüber, wie an einigen Schulen eine professionelle „*Enosis*-Infrastruktur“ aufgebaut wurde, siehe Wallace – Orphanides 2004: 39–43.

³ *Zaman* (1/25 Kânunuevvel 1891): 4: *Kıbrıs matbuatı*.

auf die Verträge zwischen dem Osmanischen Reich und Großbritannien hin. Die Insel sei demnach osmanischer Boden, der vorübergehend den Briten überlassen worden sei.⁴ In zahlreichen Kommentaren sehnte man sich nach einer Rückkehr der „gerechten osmanischen Herrschaft“, unter welcher einst Türken und Griechen friedlich zusammen gelebt hätten.⁵

Die Einstellung, dass das Leben in einem multiethnischen und multireligiösen Reich das erstrebenswerte Ideal sei und eine *nationale* Alternative nicht in Betracht komme, war für fast alle türkischen Blätter auch noch in der ersten Dekade des 20. Jahrhunderts vorherrschend (so *Mir'at-ı Zaman* (1901–1910), *Sünuhât* (1906–1911), *İslam* (1907–1909)). Zu einer Wende kam es, als die *Enosis*-Bestrebungen in Gewaltakte gegen die türkische Bevölkerung ausarteten. Die *Enosis* galt jetzt nicht mehr als ein unrealistischer Traum, sondern als politische Massenbewegung, die mit allen Konsequenzen auf die Straße getragen wurde. Die wichtigsten Zeitungen dieser Jahre wie *Vatan* [1] (1911–1913), *Seyf* (1912–1914) und *Kıbrıs* [2] (1913–1914) berichteten über die Ereignisse nun aus einer Opferhaltung heraus, die zugleich nationale Symbole, Appelle und Botschaften vermittelte. Durch die nationale Emotionalisierung begann man über den Kreis der Intellektuellen hinauszugehen und breitere Bevölkerungsschichten anzusprechen. Die ersten türkischen Großdemonstrationen im Herbst 1911 waren maßgeblich Folge dieser Nationalisierung auf türkischer Seite.⁶

Neben der Konfrontation mit der Gewalt sorgte auch die angebliche Benachteiligung der türkischen Bevölkerung durch die britische Verwaltung für eine Verstärkung der *nationalen* Solidarität unter den Türken. Es häuften sich Beschwerden über Unregelmäßigkeiten bei der Besetzung öffentlicher Posten, etwa bei der Eisenbahn, dem Forstamt oder der staatlichen Druckerei. Man warf der britischen Verwaltung vor, die

⁴ *Yeni Zaman* (22/16 Kânunusani 1893): 1 und 3: *İfade-i mahsusa*.

⁵ *Kıbrıs* (57/2 Teşrinievvel 1893): 1: *Polis idaresi, Kıbrıs* (70/5 Mart 1895): 1 und *Kıbrıs* (143/3 Haziran 1895): 1: *İfade-i mahsusa*.

⁶ Siehe beispielsweise *Vatan* (12/18 Teşrinievvel 1911): 1: *Enosis protesto mitingleri, Vatan* (34/27 Mayıs 1912): 1, *Seyf* (14/2 Haziran 1912): 1.

Griechen systematisch zu bevorzugen⁷ und argwöhnte, dass diese Politik die griechischen Nationalisten ermutigen werde, die „Gräzisierung“ auch an anderer Stelle voranzutreiben, wie zum Beispiel bei der Umbenennung der Straßennamen in den türkischen Stadtvierteln oder bei der Verbannung der türkischen Sprache aus den Rathäusern.⁸ Darüber hinaus unterstellte man, dass die Griechen durch einen systematischen Boykott die türkische Wirtschaft lahmlegen wollten.⁹ Dies wurde als „existenzielle Bedrohung“ für die Türken auf der Insel begriffen – ein Wahrnehmungsmuster, das als typischer Verstärker für nationalistische Affekte bekannt ist.

Das jüngste der vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg erschienenen Blätter, *Kıbrıs* [2], trieb diese Entwicklung publizistisch auf die Spitze. Die Vorstufen des Nationalbewusstseins hatte man hinter sich gelassen. Man dachte nicht mehr in den klassischen Kategorien „Osmanlı“ bzw. „Islam“; diese Termini wurden komplett von türkisch-nationalistischen Begrifflichkeiten verdrängt. Schlagworte wie „*Türk ruhu*“ („türkische Seele“), „*Türk metaneti*“ („türkische Kontinuität“) und „*büyük Türklük*“ („das große Türkentum“) fanden inflationär Verwendung. Das Blatt bezeichnete sich selbst als kompromisslosen Vertreter des Türkentums.¹⁰ Da dieses Nationalbewusstsein überwiegend aus negativen Erfahrungen, Gefühlen und Abwehrhaltungen heraus entstand, trug es Eigenschaften eines „integralen“ Nationalismus, zu dessen festem Vokabular „Kampf“ und „Rache“ gehören: „Die Geschichte lehrt uns, dass sich das Türkentum nur durch den feurigen Gedanken an Nationalität und Rache (*milliyet ve intikam fikr-i ateşi ile*) weiter entwickeln konnte.“¹¹

⁷ *Sünuhât* (45/22 Ağustos 1907): 1: *Hükümet matbaası. Memurin İslamiyesi, Sünuhât* (67/12 Mart 1908): 3: *Havadis-i dahiliye, Seyf* (2/10 Mart 1912): 2: *Hükümetin nazarı dikkatine*.

⁸ *Seyf* (1/2 Mart 1912): 2: *Zat-i âli vilayetpanahinin nazarı dikkatlerine*.

⁹ *Seyf* (1/2 Mart 1912): 1: *Seyf'in mesleği ve vazâifi, Vatan* (34/27 Mayıs 1912): 1 und 3: *Tahriklerin ilk semereleri: İslamların aşâğılanması ve açık boykotu und hükümetin dikkatine*.

¹⁰ *Kıbrıs* (1,26/1 Haziran 1914): 1: *Kıbrıs'ın ikinci seney-i devriyesi*.

¹¹ *Kıbrıs* (1,26/1 Haziran 1914): 1: *Kıbrıs'ın ikinci seney-i devriyesi*.

Die offensive Phase des türkischen Nationalismus

Die Annexion der Insel 1914 durch die Briten, durch die alle Einwohner zu britischen Staatsbürgern wurden, und die Niederlage des Osmanischen Reiches im Ersten Weltkrieg, die die Besetzung Westanatoliens u.a. durch griechische Streitkräfte nach sich zog, beflügelten sowohl den griechischen als auch den türkischen Nationalismus auf Zypern. Während sich die *Enosis*-Anhänger ihrem Ziel nahe wähnten, verharrte der türkische Nationalismus in dieser Phase vor der Gründung der Türkischen Republik in der Defensive. Die Opferrolle wurde in den ersten Nachkriegszeitungen nun auch auf die Festlandstürken ausgeweitet, und man sah sich, gleichermaßen betroffen von der „griechischen Aggression“, mit diesen in einer Schicksalsgemeinschaft.

Das wichtigste zyperntürkische Blatt jener Jahre, *Doğru Yol* (1919–1926), erhob den Vorwurf, die Griechen wollten einen Geheimplan verwirklichen, der die Existenz aller Türken, sowohl in Anatolien als auch auf Zypern, aufs Höchste gefährdet hätte: Die *Megali Idea*, ein Großgriechenland mit Hauptstadt Konstantinopel.¹² Da das Schicksal Zyperns noch nie so stark von den Entwicklungen auf dem Festland abhängig schien wie jetzt, standen türkische Themen in der Berichterstattung an erster Stelle – weit vor der *Enosis*. Nachrichten über die Türkei und die türkische Nationalbewegung bezog man zumeist direkt von den türkischen Blättern aus Istanbul. Damit übernahm man auch deren nationalistische Rhetorik: Da sich „das letzte Land der Türken“ durch die Besetzung in großer Gefahr befinde, leiste die Bevölkerung dort zu Recht Widerstand, und es sei die Pflicht aller Türken in der Welt, ihr bei dieser „heiligen Aufgabe“ beizustehen, so ein Kommentar von Ahmet Raşit, des Redakteurs von *Doğru Yol*.¹³

Nur kurze Zeit später, nach der Gründung der Republik, verschwand diese Abwehrhetorik aus den türkischen Blättern. Offensive Kompo-

¹² *Doğru Yol* (18/19 Kânunusani 1920): 1: *Türkiye sulhu ve harp*.

¹³ *Doğru Yol* (17/12 Kânunusani 1920): 2: *Felaketzede kardeşlerimize muavenet*, *Doğru Yol* (81/26 Temmuz 1921): 1: *Mühim dakikalar*.

zenten des türkischen Nationalismus traten mit den Erfolgen der neuen Regierung in der Türkei mehr und mehr in den Vordergrund. Als eine alles durchdringende geistige Strömung, die sich erfolgreich gegen den Osmanismus und den Islamismus behauptet hatte, war der Türkismus zur Leitideologie des neugegründeten Nationalstaates geworden und fand entsprechend Eingang in die Presse. Zum Sprachrohr dieses selbstbewussten türkischen Nationalismus auf Zypern wurde in den ersten beiden Jahrzehnten der Republik das Blatt *Söz* (1919/1921–1942).

Mit einer Erscheinungsdauer von 21 Jahren war *Söz* nicht nur das langlebigste, sondern auch das bedeutendste Blatt der Zyperntürken. Die Zeitung war bis zu ihrem Ende im Januar 1942 *das* journalistische Aushängeschild der kemalistischen Ideen auf der Insel. Kein zyperntürkisches Blatt hat sich so stark mit dem türkischen Nationalstaat identifiziert und war so starr auf die gesellschaftlichen und politischen Entwicklungen in Anatolien fixiert wie *Söz*. Und in keiner Zeitung wurde das Wort *Anavatan* („Vaterland“) so ausdauernd verwendet und diskutiert wie hier. *Anavatan*, „das von einem Genie erweckt wurde und nun glücklicherweise seine Souveränität erlangt hat“, bedeutete für *Söz* das „wichtigere Ganze“. Zypern dagegen, das „zwischen den wilden Strömen des Mittelmeers eingeeengt bedroht ist“, bildete lediglich einen kleinen Teil davon.¹⁴

Der offensive, kämpferische und kompromisslose Nationalismus dieser Zeitung richtete sich außer gegen die *Enosis* gegen zwei weitere „Gefahren für das Türkentum“:

1. Das Blatt sah sich als „Wächter“ (*bekçi*) der kemalistisch-republikanischen Reformen und berichtete daher nicht nur ausführlich über die Aktivitäten der Reformgegner und ihre Bekämpfung in der Türkei,¹⁵ sondern führte auf Zypern selbst einen harten Kampf gegen sie. Dabei handelte es sich vor allem um die unter dem Namen

¹⁴ *Söz* (29 Temmuz 1922): *Soldan geri*, Zit. nach İsmail – Birinci 1989: 31.

¹⁵ *Söz* (471/8 Kânunusani 1931):1–2: *İrtica*, *Söz* (472/15 Kânunusani 1931): 4: *Mürtecilere aman yoktur. Menemen hadisesi Türkiye efkârı ummümiyesini altüst etti*.

„150'likler“ bekannt gewordenen Oppositionellen und Regimegegner wie Sait Molla, die nach Zypern geflüchtet waren.¹⁶

Als das erste zyperntürkische Blatt, das im Einklang mit den Reformen in der Türkei schon ab dem 1. Januar 1931 gänzlich auf das lateinische Alphabet umstieg, setzte man sich energisch für die Schriftreform ein und bekämpfte diejenigen Kreise, die die Vorgaben aus der Türkei nicht befolgten. So berichtete man über Schulen und Lehrer, die die neue Schrift noch nicht oder nicht vollständig eingeführt hatten und verlangte von der Schulkommission, energisch gegen solche Fälle vorzugehen.¹⁷

2. Um der *nationalen* Sache willen legte man sich auch mit der britischen Verwaltung an. Söz meinte, auch auf Zypern sollte in allen türkischen Institutionen das „Prinzip Nation“ gelten. Begriffe wie *milli şeref* („nationale Ehre“), *milli hukuk* („nationales Recht“) oder *milli menabi* („nationale Quellen“) sollten Orientierungspunkte auch ihres Handelns sein. Denn nur diese Werte seien der Garant dafür, dass die Türken nicht zwischen britischer Interessenpolitik und griechischem Nationalismus aufgerieben würden.¹⁸ In diesem Sinne führte man, nachdem Zypern 1925 Kronkolonie geworden war, eine große Kampagne gegen die Umstrukturierung türkischer Institutionen wie beispielsweise die Auflösung des Müftü-Amtes und die Gründung des *Fetva Eminliği* sowie gegen die „Enttürkisierungspolitik“ an den Schulen.

Söz sah in den britischen Maßnahmen eine Zentralisierung der türkischen Ämter unter dem Dach des *evkaf*, das von den probritischen Antikemalisten dominiert wurde. Dies war den türkischen Nationalisten ein Dorn im Auge. Unter der Führung der kemalistischen Mitglieder des Gesetzgebenden Rates, darunter Necati Bey, wurden Protestaktionen gegen die britische Zentralisierungspolitik organisiert. Der Höhepunkt war eine Versammlung der türkischen Gemeindevertreter

¹⁶ Söz (27 Teşrinisani 1925): 2: *Molla her tarafi bulaştırdı.*

¹⁷ Söz (471/8 Kânunusani 1931): 2: *Fikir ve düşünce.*

¹⁸ Söz (484/16 Nisan 1931): 1–2: *Kavanin meclisi açılırken.*

am 1. Mai 1931. Söz bejubelte diese Initiative als „Befreiung“ vom Joch der *evkaf*. Eine „magnetische Kraft“ habe Vertreter aus 150 Dörfern nach Nikosia gezogen und diese „Nationalbewegung“ (*milli hareket*) zur Rettung des verloren gegangenen „nationalen Rechts“ und der „nationalen Ehre“ ermöglicht. Mit dieser „Nationalen Generalversammlung der Zyperntürken“ (*Milli ve Umumi Kıbrıs Türk Kongrası*) hätten die türkischen Zyprioten unmissverständlich gezeigt, dass sie ihre Geschicke in die eigene Hand nehmen.¹⁹

In diesem Kommentar manifestiert sich ein Nationalismus, der sich nun imstande sah, nicht nur politische Forderungen zu stellen, sondern unter Berufung auf das Selbstbestimmungsrecht „eigene“ nationale Institutionen zu schaffen und dafür notfalls die Massen zu mobilisieren. Mit diesem Entwicklungsstadium hatte der türkische Nationalismus auf Zypern – kurz vor der griechischen Revolte Ende Oktober 1931 – zugleich seinen Scheitelpunkt erreicht.

Mit der Niederschlagung dieses Aufstandes begann auf Zypern eine neue Zeit, die auch für den türkischen Nationalismus die Wende brachte. Die Briten riefen den Ausnahmezustand aus, setzten die Verfassung von 1878 außer Kraft und lösten den Gesetzgebenden Rat auf. Es folgte eine Reihe von Freiheitsbeschränkungen: Pressezensur, Verbot jeglicher politischer Betätigung, strikte Unterrichtskontrollen in den Schulen, Abschaffung der Kommunalwahlen und Ernennung der Dorfräte durch den Gouverneur (siehe Zervakis 1998: 79).

Mit diesen Maßnahmen verschwand die *Enosis*, die jahrelang das meist-behandelte Thema der zypriotischen Periodika und von Beginn an ständiger Anlass einer Hinwendung der türkischen Bevölkerung zur Türkei war, aus dem Blickfeld der türkischen Medien. Durch die Beseitigung seines Widersachers verlor auch der türkische Nationalismus enorm an Strahlkraft. Die deutliche Schwächung der an den „Mutterländern“ orientierten griechischen und türkischen Nationalismen schuf Anfang der 1930er- Jahre dann die Basis für die Entwicklung eines „gesamtzyprioti-

¹⁹ Söz (486/7 Mayıs 1931): 1: *Milli kongra*.

schen Patriotismus“, dessen Vorreiter auf türkischer Seite das Blatt *Masum Millet* (1931–1934) war (siehe dazu Ağuıçenođlu 2012: 63–65, 171–183).

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A Protagonist in Cyprus' Tanzimat Literature: Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım

Ahmet Yıkık, Nicosia

The emergence of Tanzimat literature¹ in Cyprus coincides with that of newspapers published in Ottoman Turkish during the last decade of the nineteenth century. Through the literary columns of these publications, Cypriot Muslim readers had the opportunity to read samples of Divan literature of the era, along with new genres borrowed from the West. Therefore it can be argued that in Cyprus, the foundations of modern and domestic literature in Turkish were laid by the publication of newspapers. It was not long before a provincial writer, Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım (1857–1924), who relished both poetry and prose since he was young, entered the world of literature. He tried hard to get a noticeable place in the literary circles of Istanbul and in order to achieve his goals, he formed close relationships with the innovative writers of Tanzimat literature like Namık Kemal and Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem by whom he was greatly influenced. As a result, Nazım wrote literary works with elements borrowed from the literary traditions of the East and West and, consequently, he made his mark as the first Cypriot Muslim to write a novel. In this article, the literary career and major works of the aforementioned writer will be reviewed.

Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım was born in 1857 in Nicosia. After completing his education in Nicosia *Rüştiye* (Ottoman Junior High School), he worked as a public servant in Chios (1884), Adana (1888), Istanbul (1888), Izmir and Bursa. He returned to Istanbul again in 1910. After his

¹ Tanzimat literature is the term used for the Western-oriented literature which was established after the political and social reforms initiated by Sultan Abdülmeccid (1839–61) and covers the time period between 1860 and 1895. It emerged in Cyprus with a delay of 31 years within the literary corner of the newspaper *Zaman* (1891–1900) and of the rest of the newspapers that followed and were published in Ottoman Turkish. It continued until the 1930s when the newspapers began to be published with the new Turkish alphabet. See Fedai 2005: 450–3.

return to his homeland in 1914, Nazım was finally appointed as a clerk in the Cyprus Sheria Court, a post he kept until his death in 1924 in Nicosia.²

Nazım's life as a writer essentially started when he began to write Ottoman Divan poetry. Poems bearing his signature appear in the literary columns of the first Ottoman Turkish newspaper, *Zaman* (1891–1900), the oldest of the Ottoman newspapers for which copies are still available in the archives of Cyprus, as well as in other local newspapers.³ It is also possible to find his works in the form of prose in pages of the above mentioned newspaper. In this context, he became famous as the first Cypriot Muslim poet and later as a writer who produced and published works in the genres of *deneme* (essay), *hikaye* (story) and *tefrika roman* (serial novel) and whose native language was Ottoman Turkish.

The fact that Nazım commenced his literary career as a poet is a clear sign that he was following the trend of the period. At that time, poetry was the most common and popular among literary genres in Cyprus. Moreover, his connection with the Mevlevi Lodge⁴ in Nicosia played an important role in his interest in poetry.⁵ The establishment of Nicosia Mevlevi Lodge in the Ottoman period contributed to the development of Divan poetry on the island. Many of the Mevlevi sheikhs in Cyprus were

² Konur 1938: 73–4.

³ There were 24 different newspapers published in Ottoman Turkish in Cyprus. Their names are as follows: *Ümid* (1879–80), *Saded* (1889), *Dik-i Şarki* (1889), *Zaman* (1891–1900), *Yeni Zaman* (1892–3), *Kıbrıs* (1893–8), *Kokonoz* (1896–7), *Akbaba* (1897–8), *Feryad* (1899–1900), *Mirat-i Zaman* (1900–10), *Sünühat* (1906–12), *Sada-i Kıbrıs* (1908), *İslam* (1907–9), *Vatan* (1911–2), *Seyf* (1912–4), *Kıbrıs* (1913–5), *Doğruyol* (1919–26), *Hakikat* (1919–32), *Ankebut* (1920–3), *Vatan* (1920–5), *Söz* (1921–46), *Davul* (1922–3), *Birlik* (1924–9) and *Masum Millet* (1931–4). Apart from these newspapers, we know that permission was given to publish a newspaper named *Maabir* in 1897, but there is no record that this newspaper was ever published. See Mutluyakalı (ed.) 2012: 19–20.

⁴ The Mevlevi Lodge in Nicosia was opened just after the conquest of Cyprus by the Ottomans (1571) and was extended in 1607 and turned into the current Mevlevi Lodge. The Mevlevi Lodge continued its activities until the death of the last sheikh Celaeddin Efendi (1931). See Fedai 1997: 10.

⁵ Fedai – Azgın (eds.) 1993: XIV.

poets who composed Sufi works under the influence of Divan poetry.⁶ The most well known were Sheikh Mustafa Siyahî Dede (1710), Sheikh Arif Efendi (1725) and Hızır Dede (Handî) (1727). Nazım showed his devotion and admiration towards Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi⁷ in many of his poems by referring to Rumi directly.⁸ Bener Hakkı Hakeri, who mentions that the newspapers *Yeni Zaman* (1892–1893) and *Seyf* (1913–14) had published many of Nazım's *gazel* (love poem), *şarkı* (song), *kıt'a* (quatrains) and poems in the style of *serbest şiir* (free verse),⁹ supports the view that the style of Nazım's writing belongs to the school of Müftü Hilmi (1782–1847).¹⁰

Nazım established close relations with Namık Kemal (1840–1888),¹¹ one of the leading writers of Ottoman literature in the Tanzimat period, during the years he was exiled in Magosa, Cyprus.¹² After Namık Kemal departed from the island, Nazım continued communicating with him,

⁶ Atun 2010: 10.

⁷ Mevlana Celaleddin Rumi was born on September 30, 1207 in the city of Belas in Khorasan and died on December 17, 1273 in Konya. He is considered the greatest poet of the Sufis. He wrote his works, such as *Divan-ı Kebir* and *Mesnevi*, etc. in Persian because the literary language at that time among Anadolu Turks was Farsi. The Mevlevi Order was established by his son Sultan Veled according to his father's teachings after his death. See Banarlı 1998: 291–2 and 308–19.

⁸ For example, the couplet: “*Nazıma himmet resandır Hazret-i Molla-yı Rum / Destgir-i acizan, sultan-ı şandır bize*” (*Ey Nazım Rumi Tanrı sevgisine ulaşmış / yoksullara el uzatan, şanlı bir sultandır bize* – Hey Nazım, Rumi is our glorious sultan that reached God through love / he opened his hand to the needy and the poor). See Fedai – Azgın (eds.) 1993: 240.

⁹ Hakeri 2000: 91.

¹⁰ The Cypriot divan poet Hilmi Efendi, who had written a poem (*methiye*) in honour of Sultan Mahmud II's first library in Nicosia, was invited by the Sultan himself to Istanbul where he was awarded the title of Sultan of Poets. See Fedai 1987: 5-25; Fedai 1989: 37.

¹¹ Namık Kemal was arrested on April 6, 1873 after his play titled *Vatan yahut Silistre* was staged in Istanbul on April 1, 1873 and Sultan Abdulaziz (1861–76) exiled him to Famagusta. The author writes his novel named *İntibah* as well as many works such as theatrical plays, critic essays, etc. in Cyprus. After staying in Famagusta for 38 months, he returned to Istanbul on June 20, 1876. See Banarlı 1998: 885–7.

¹² Atun 2010: 45.

exchanging letters and, thus keeping in touch.¹³ When Nazım visited Istanbul, either for work or leisure, he attended the literary circles of Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem (1847–1914),¹⁴ whom he greatly admired.¹⁵ As a result, the influence of the above-mentioned poets and writers is evident in the formation of Nazım’s writing style. We can briefly comment on Nazım’s poetry as follows: He had previously written poetry entirely within the framework of Divan literature in terms of its form and content, but, later on, under the influence of these writers and the new literary trends of the Tanzimat era, he wrote poetry reflecting the daily life and political events of that period [Turco-Italian Wars (1911–2), Balkan Wars (1912–3), World War I (1914–8), Anatolian Independence War (1919–22), etc.]. Also noteworthy is that, with the influence of Western literature, he started to give his poems descriptive titles, thus departing from the Divan tradition of using the genre name as the title. This alone could be considered a revolutionary first attempt at modernization for the Turkish speaking Muslim Cypriot literature of the time. In the Divan tradition, poems were given the names of their form such as *gazel* (love poem), *kaside* (elegy), *mersiye* (eulogy), *rübai* (quatrain) etc. Ottoman poets who were influenced by Western literature titled their poems with their own titles for the first time in the Tanzimat period, reflecting

¹³ Nazım’s poem *Hürriyet Şarkısı* (The Song of Freedom) is similar in content to Namık Kemal’s poem *Hürriyet Kasidesi* (Ode to freedom). This poem, which he wrote to express his satisfaction with the establishment of the Second Constitutional Period of the Ottoman Empire, was first published in 1908 in the 31st issue of the newspaper *Mirat-i Zaman*. See Fedai – Azgın (eds.) 1993: XXXIX.

¹⁴ Rezaizade Mahmut Ekrem is one of the most prominent representatives of the Renovation Movement in Turkish literature. His most famous work is *Araba Sevdası* (The Love of Automobile) (1896). The novel reveals the absurd condition of particular Tanzimat period individuals who were pretending or aspiring to be Westerners. See Finn 1984: 65–74.

¹⁵ Nazım wrote a poem titled *Izhar-i Te’essür* in which he expressed his sadness about Ekrem’s death. In this poem, he mentions that he had a chance to visit Ekrem at his home in Şişli and that he was so lucky to have been able to take part in his literary conversation. He had no doubt that the deceased would go to Heaven. “*Ey sevgili Ekrem / Şişli’de okup nimet-i vaslın ile sir-ab / Defaitle şeref-yab / Hengâm-ı mülakat olarak lütfuna nail*”. See Fedai – Azgın (eds.) 1993: 236.

the content of their work.¹⁶ Some of Nazım's poems written in this manner bear the following titles: *Terane-i Zafer* (Victory Song), *Hayalat-ı Yunaniye* (Fantasies of Greece), *İtalya* (Italy), *Donanmamız İçin* (For Our Navy) and *Hazret-i Enverin Tasviri* (Depiction of Enver Pasha). Examining his poems as a whole, however, reveals that he mostly produced literary works in the style of traditional Divan poetry (*gazel*, *şarkı*, *mersiye*, *kıt'a* etc.), but later, he tried to break away from that tradition by writing free verse poems.¹⁷

Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım's real contribution to literature written in Turkish language on the island of Cyprus is mostly in the field of prose. He became prominent as the first Cypriot Muslim writer to produce a novel, a new genre borrowed from the West. *Yadigâr-ı Muhabbet* (The Remnant of Love) was the first novel published as a book after its serialization in the newspapers *Yeni Zaman* and *Kıbrıs*.¹⁸ Before *Yadigâr-ı Muhabbet*, a novel by Muzafferredin Galib titled *Bir Bakış* (A Glance) was serialized. Galib had come to Cyprus from Istanbul in 1891 to establish the newspaper *Zaman*. He took the editor's position and also prepared its literary section in which he published his work *Bir Bakış* (A Glance).¹⁹ However, a conflict arose between the owner of the newspaper, Tüccarbaşı Derviş Efendi and Galib because he was politically affiliated with the Young Turks and was in opposition to Sultan Abdulhamid's regime. As a result, Hacı Derviş became much more involved with the articles that his newspaper was publishing, and this, of course, was because he was afraid of the Sultan's wrath. Galib and some of his other colleagues left the newspaper due to the censorship that Hacı Derviş was imposing and established the newspaper *Yeni Zaman* (1892).²⁰ Galib continued to

¹⁶ EA 1991: 319–26.

¹⁷ For evaluation of Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım's poems as a whole, see Fedai – Azgın (eds.) 1993.

¹⁸ Fedai (ed.) 2004: 1–3.

¹⁹ The novel was serialized in the following issues of *Zaman*: 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27 and 28. In the 5th and 13th issues of *Zaman* it was not serialized. The reason could be either technical or the author had not written the episodes on time. See Yıkık 2013: 11.

²⁰ Ünlü 1981: 20–5.

serialize the novel there, but this did not occur in the fourth issue of the newspaper. A farewell letter was published instead, informing the readers that he was leaving the island as he was very much homesick and needed to go back to his homeland. Consequently, that novel remained unfinished. *Bir Bakış* is a work that deals with love at first sight and carries the characteristics of the Romantic Movement.²¹

Immediately after the serialization of *Bir Bakış* was disrupted, Nazım's long story titled *Adem-i İhtiyat*²² (The Absence of Precaution) that carries features of Middle Eastern narrative traditions, started to be serialized in the 5th issue of *Yeni Zaman* (September 19, 1892). The serialization continued without disruption, and the final part was published in the 13th issue (October 14, 1892). Nazım began the story with a prologue in which he mentioned young people's embarrassment at making many mistakes due to their lack of experience and ignorance. He quoted a verse from a ghazal of the Divan poet Nef'i (157?-1635),²³ which states "*akla mağrur olma Eflatun-ı vakt olsun eğer*" (even if you are like Plato for your time period, do not be too vain / too proud of your mental capabilities).²⁴ Thus, he prepares the readers for a story that deals with the blunders of young people. The story is as follows:

There is a young and brave ruler named Kamran who helps the poor and the needy and never persecutes anyone. His positive features exceed the borders of the country and become a legend. His only flaw is that he has a soft spot for turbans. All the viziers and consultants around him are of young age. One day, a fraudulent old man from Kashmir, hearing of this weakness of the ruler, manages to meet him in the palace and claims

²¹ For more details, see Yıkık 2013.

²² Since the story has not yet been transliterated into the Latin alphabet, it can only be found in the newspaper *Yeni Zaman* in the archives.

²³ The Divan poet gained a reputation in his time with his satires and eulogies. Sultan Murad IV (1623-40), who was discontented with Nef'i's satire, had him executed.

²⁴ The whole couplet that starts with the above verse is as follows: "*akla mağrur olma eflatun-ı vakt olsun eğer / bir edib-i kâmilî gördükte tıfl-ı mekteb ol*" (Do not be proud of your mind even if you are the Plato of your time / When you come across a wise person, show respect the way a school child would). See Akkuş (ed.) 1993: 316.

that he has a fabric with magic qualities that no one else has. He says that the one who wears a turban made from this fabric will become aware of all the treasures in the world and everything that is happening. He also adds that the turban will not lend its magical properties to “bastards” and “corrupted people”. The Sultan is convinced by the promise of the old man and orders him to sew a turban for himself using that unique fabric. The crook delays the making of the turban and keeps asking the Sultan for money. As time passes and the Sultan becomes impatient, he sends his servant to enquire about the turban. The servant finds him working on an empty loom pretending to weave. But when the servant sees nothing, he is afraid to tell the truth for fear it means he is a “bastard” or “corrupted”. The old man tells the servant that he now wants a silver tray and a gold cloth from the Sultan on which to put the finished product. He says that he will present the turban on this tray which will be covered with a gold cloth. The Sultan gives him what he wants and eventually the old man comes to the palace to deliver the turban he had sewn in the presence of noblemen and local people. The silver tray where the turban is supposed to be is actually empty. Nevertheless, he presents the invisible turban to the ruler as if it exists. The ruler, caught by surprise, pretends that he can see the sewn turban, takes it out of the tray and wears it on his head. Neither the ruler nor the spectators dare to admit that they can not see the magic turban because they might be mistaken as bastards or corrupted souls. As one would expect, the old man disappears with all the valuable gifts that he had acquired from the Sultan and the spectators of his show. The following day a Sufi saint hears about this incident and, surprised by how everybody at the palace could behave so illogically, criticizes the Sultan and everyone else who was present during the incident. In the end, the old Sufi saint comments on the troubles young people face due to their imprudence and inability to anticipate what the future will bring along their path. This he says and leaves.

We can argue that Nazım had probably heard of or read this story, which is called *Adem-i İhtiyat* and was influenced by the *Binbir Gece Masalları* (Arabian Nights), beforehand. Furthermore, we should not ignore the possibility that he might have adapted the story when he was writing it

and that he might have added new elements while fictionalising it. Unavoidably, this work points towards the Danish writer Hans Christian Andersen's (1805–75) story of *The King's New Clothes*.²⁵ In his fairytale, an emperor, whose weakest spot is clothes, wants to have the most beautiful garments ever weaved and that nobody else in the world has. One day, two weavers tell him that they will weave the clothes he desires, but these clothes will be invisible to those who are stupid, incompetent or unfit for their positions. In the end, the king is ridiculed when he parades with his new clothes before his people stark naked-wearing an outfit that does not actually exist. Nobody dares to say that he is wearing nothing except for a child, who cannot stop laughing when he sees him in this laughable situation. Anderson was not the first to adapt this story in the West. He published the book, which includes this fairy tale, in 1835. However, before him, a Spanish writer, Juan Manuel, Prince of Villena (1282–1348) had written a similar story in *El Conde Lucanor* (1335).²⁶ In this book, Juan Manuel had compiled fifty educational stories from various sources, such as Aesop and Persian folktales, as well as other classical works of Eastern origin. Anderson had no information about the Spanish version of the story and had read it through the German translation titled “So ist der Lauf der Welt”. In the source tale, a king is cheated by weavers who claim to make a suit of clothes invisible to any man who is not the real son of his presumed father, that is, a bastard, or *piç*, to use Kaytazade's own words in *Adem-i İhtiyat*. Anderson changed it slightly and made his focal point the vanity of the intellectual rather than an unclear paternity.²⁷ This was not among the Western works translated into Turkish during the Tanzimat period. Considering that Anderson was not among the Western writers translated during the Tanzimat period,²⁸ it is not very likely that Nazım knew of the fairy tale of *Des Kaisers neue Kleider* (The King's New Clothes) published in 1835.

²⁵ Anderson 2016.

²⁶ Blecua (ed.) 1971.

²⁷ Wullschlager 2000: 16–7; Irwin 2004: 100–1.

²⁸ For more information on Western writers who were translated into Turkish at that time, see Koç 2006: 351–81.

We can, therefore, assume that Nazım adapted an oriental story motif successfully. Nazım admired Nef'i who was one of the Divan poets, so much that he mentioned his name and quoted the aforementioned verse in the prologue of his *Adem-i İhtiyat*. After careful study of Nef'i's satire book *Sihâm-i Kaza* (Arrows of Destiny), one will come across the following verse "*Tac ü destar ile tefahür eden / Açamaz başını keli görünür*"²⁹ (The one who is proud of his crown and turban cannot take them off because his baldness will be revealed), which actually points towards the same moral lesson as that found in *Adem-i İhtiyat*. As a matter of fact, the origins of the arrogant and flamboyant king found in Western fairytales can be traced to the narrations in the East.

With *Adem-i İhtiyat*, Nazım showed his competence in producing Oriental style fiction. Then, in the 14th issue of the newspaper, dated October 21, 1892, he started to publish *Yadigâr-ı Muhabbet*, and his readers came across a novel in the European literary genre. This work was published until the 28th issue of the newspaper, and after this issue the name of the newspaper was changed and became *Kıbrıs* (Cyprus). This was due to the fact that there was a dispute over the name with the newspaper *Zaman*.³⁰ The serialization of the novel was completed in the 116th issue of the *Kıbrıs*, dated November 26, 1894.³¹

The work, as one can observe in many novels written during the second period of Tanzimat literature, also has features that show a transition from Romanticism to Realism. Despite this, Nazım did not seek to draw his readers' attention to any social problems. This is evident in the preface where he praised Sultan Abdülhamid II because he most likely did not want to provoke the Sultan's wrath, but rather, was seeking his appreciation.³² The introductory part of the novel, where the author extols not only the beauties of Istanbul but also its entertainment, excursion

²⁹ Karahan (ed.) 1954: 120.

³⁰ Ünlü 1981: 25–7.

³¹ Fedai 2004: 3.

³² Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876–1909) became known for his censorship on press and literature. See Tanpınar 1988: 516.

spots and famous districts, gives the impression that it had been written to introduce the city to Cypriot readers who were not familiar with the city. Then, the first part of the work begins with a description that is reminiscent of classical style. It is interesting to note that the date the story takes place is clearly mentioned in the first sentences.

Nazım tells us that on 26 Teşrin-i Sani 1306 (November 26, 1890), on a snowy Monday, Mucib leaves his mansion, which is situated in the district of Şehzadebaşı, and goes to work with a horse-drawn carriage. The nineteen-year-old protagonist works at the Sublime Porte and has been brought up by wealthy parents. He is well educated and famous among his peers due to his poetic and literary talents. Despite the fact that he has only recently been employed at the Sublime Porte, he gets a salary increase and receives a total salary of 300 kuruş due to his excellent performance. His colleagues are envious of him, and they try to trick him into getting addicted to alcohol and seeking the company of women. The fact is that Mucib's one and only love is reading. What he enjoys most in life is to lock himself up in his room and read. Yet, he has no emotional attachments to any woman, and he criticises those men who are too dependent on women. Then one day, as he enters his sister Mediha's room to get a sheet of paper to write a letter to a friend, he sees the picture of a woman, Nevber, in his sister's room. The young lady in the picture happens to be Mediha's friend. It is love at first sight.³³ On the back of the picture, there is a dedication note: "From Nevber to Mediha, *yadigâr-ı muhabbet* (the remnant of love)," which gives the novel its title. Mucib writes a love poem expressing his love for Nevber and sends it to her through his sister. Nevber, who happens to live in the same neighborhood, sees Mucib when she goes to his house for a visit along with her mother. Mucib, in an attempt to express his deepest feelings, recites a couplet belonging to the poet Nef'i: "*İşve tutmuş dâmeninden fitne girmiş ârepe / Gelmiş ebrûler yine mestâne hançer hançere!*"³⁴ (The heart-

³³ Here, we witness that Nazım adds Eastern origin motifs to Western form because the motif of falling in love from seeing someones picture is often used in Turkish folk stories. See Bars 2014: 341.

³⁴ Fedai 2004: 54.

captivating behaviour of the beautiful girls caught hold of the girl's skirt; and the ill-wishers intervened / Once again the eyelashes commenced fighting like daggers in a manner be-fitting a drunkard.)³⁵ Nevber, only sixteen at the time, also falls in love with Mucib. The two start exchanging letters, and in these letters, many love poems can be found among the lines. The artistic style of the author becomes evident. In one respect, we witness the author's writing talent in the field of prose through Mucib and Mediha's correspondence. They meet with the help of Mediha in the house of Mucib. Then, Nevber's father falls ill, and the family moves to Kadıköy, following the doctor's recommendations. Mucib, as one would expect, becomes miserable, as he cannot see Nevber any more. They continue their correspondence, and a few months later, Nevber and her mother come to Istanbul, so the two lovers meet again. During a private moment in the garden, Mucib can no longer resist the desire to touch her, and he takes Nevber's hand into his own. It does not take long for him to touch her neck tenderly and kiss her cheeks. The narrator emphasises how sensational her hair was waving over her shoulders in the light breeze while she heads towards the house and says that a third person who would see the young girl as she is now would wonder how Mucib could control his desire. The narration of these scenes is remarkable and can be considered as the most erotic part of the novel:

as Mr. Mucib could not resist for long the trembling of the nerves due to the attraction of the face of the girl he loved, immediately in a begging and praying manner he went near Nevber and beyond his control took one of her hands into his own hands and said with extremely trembling voice.³⁶

Oh! My sweet Nevber! I am prepared to give up my life for you ... In God's name I shall no be able to live without you! Having uttered those words as though he was magnetically pulled towards the other side he threw his arms around Nevber's neck and for the first time in his life he placed his hot lips on the young girl's beauty-

³⁵ Nazım 2004: 80.

³⁶ Nazım 2004: 154.

spreading cheek which causes the envy of the freshest and most colourful rose blossoms. Therefore both their bodies as if electrified shook from head to toe.³⁷

On the way back to the house, ... if an outsider was to see her hair which is the area of love and affection and which was let loose at random over her shoulders and with the effect of the wind had become the wave-raising beauty; and indeed the beautiful manner of her composed walk which consumes the wisdom of a person, it is thought that he, the outsider, could not prevent himself from expressing his wonder as to how Mucib did not go mad by so far responding with patience towards this very beautiful face.³⁸

In the last decade of the nineteenth century, when the novel containing the above-quoted erotic passages had been serialized in the newspapers, Turkish-speaking Cypriots viewed themselves as Ottoman and people of Islam.³⁹ Therefore, the placing of the parts related to sexuality in his novel can be attributed to Nazım's boldness as a writer. This reflects sexuality from a male point of view, which sees the female body predominantly as a sexual object. Moreover, as the writer was male and so were the majority of the readers of that period, such a view could be regarded as the norm.⁴⁰ Such a perspective also contains the characteristics of a patriarchal Muslim Ottoman society at the time.

³⁷ Nazım 2004: 156.

³⁸ Nazım 2004: 160–1.

³⁹ Cypriot Muslims refer to themselves as *Ehl-i İslam* (People of Islam) in the Ottoman newspapers of the period.

⁴⁰ According to the 1881 census, the population of Cypriot Muslims was 45,358. During the early stages of the British administration, the literacy rate among the Muslims of Cyprus was very low, especially among women, which was even lower. The reason for this was the fact that conservative parents did not send their daughters to school at the beginning of the British administration. One can observe from the statistics on education of 1881, that there were 1,533 boys and 336 girls in primary education. In 1891 the number of Muslim children in primary schools increased gradually and became 2,645 boys and 800 girls. However the number of girls attending school was still lower than that of boys. Muslim girls started to have access to secondary education in 1902 when the first secondary school for girls opened in Nicosia, Victoria İslam İnas Sanayi Mektebi (Professional School for Muslim Girls). See Dedeçay 2008: 9–15.

Ms. Mediha, the sister of Mucib, thinks it is her duty to play the matchmaker and help her brother marry the love of his life. Her plan is to raise the question in the presence of their mother first. Their mother would then tell the situation to their father, who was in Manisa for work, when he returned, and she would receive his approval for the marriage, as the decision regarding marriages at the time always belonged to the father. However, Mediha is late in talking to their mother about the situation. When Nevber moves to Kadikoy with her family, Mucib gets ill with grief. At the end of the novel, Nevber's family moves even farther away from Istanbul to Bursa, and the fragile young man who grows weaker and weaker by the day, developing tuberculosis.⁴¹ Meanwhile, his parents find out about his love affair. Initially, both parents are against this marriage. However, as their son's illness progresses, they are convinced, finally, that this marriage is perhaps the only thing that could save their son's life. Unfortunately, it is too late by then, and Mucib dies soon after as his illness reaches a stage that could not be treated. Nevber, who has no news of the recent developments and certainly no news of her lover's death, moves back to Istanbul with her family. The novel ends with one of Mucib's colleagues hearing of the news of Mucib's death, pronouncing the following words, which summarize the basic lesson to be learned from the novel: "*those who are most harmed by love are usually the ones who are most against it.*" Thus, the novel ends with a prominent didactic message in a dramatic scene.

In *Yadigâr-ı Muhabbet*, Nazım sometimes addresses the reader directly like a *meddah* (public storyteller).⁴² He writes about friends who encour-

⁴¹ At that time, tuberculosis was very common. Sultan Mahmud II (1808–39) and Abdulmecid (1839–61) also died from tuberculosis. Here we witness that the theme of tuberculosis had become a trend in literature but not in a realistic way. People established a connection between suffering from love and tuberculosis. This theme is frequently used in the romantic novels of the period. See Tanpınar 1988: 293.

⁴² The frequent intervention of the writer in the work, as if he speaks directly to the reader, indicates that the traditional story telling techniques were used in the writing of the novels as well. This situation influenced Tanzimat novels both positively and negatively. The positive side was that it made it easier for the writers to explain their position in an informal atmosphere and declare their thesis with a direct discourse. On the negative side,

age the young and inexperienced protagonist to acquire bad habits, which resonates strongly with the stories in *A Thousand and One Nights*. He also uses motifs specific to Turkish folk stories, like falling in love by just looking at someone's picture. Despite the fact that he applied many of these traditional narrative motifs, we can safely say that Nazım was able to use the relatively new novel techniques successfully in his work within the context of Tanzimat literature. Although we can observe the characteristics of a transition to Realism in the descriptions of nature, space and characters, the writer avoids making long and detailed physical descriptions.

The focal point of the writer's attention is always Mucib's feelings and thoughts. He reflects the character of the young man in a very realistic way with a third person narrative, and with dialogues and letters by the character himself. Mucib, in contrast to the idealized characters in the traditional folk stories, is closer to the individual in Western novels. Another issue that Nazım emphasizes is the concept of time. He specifies the exact time of the story's development in the novel with the finest details of the day, the weeks, the months, the seasons and the year as well as the hours within the day. Based on the plot that develops in an atmosphere of intense emotion, we can argue that Nazım has produced a work that is more suitable for the Romantic Movement, which was popular in Ottoman literature, especially since 1880, preceding the Tanzimat era.⁴³ He gives the impression that he ignores the motto "*art for society's sake*" by Namık Kemal, one of the first-generation innovative writers of whom he is fan, because he instead follows the principle of "*art for art's sake*" like Rezaizade Mahmud Ekrem, one of the second-generation innovative writers whom he regards as his master.

One should not forget that Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım has made a good start in the field of literature as a promising young novelist with this first

it deprived the novel from having Western characteristics as was the author's aim. See Evin 1983: 149.

⁴³ For information on the influence of Romanticism in Tanzimat literature, see Akyüz (n.d.): 30–41.

novel, considering the circumstances of the period. However, he could not reach the readers in Istanbul, the heart of the empire and the center of literature, with his novel, which was published as a book after its newspaper serialization in Cyprus, a province of the empire at the time. Nazım's visits to Istanbul, both for business and for other reasons, are not enough for him to be accepted by literary authorities there. Even his close relationship with Namık Kemal and Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem, leading writers of the period, does not help him in this regard. A search for Nazım's name among the poets and writers of the Tanzimat period in books describing the history of Turkish literature yields no results. Thus, we can safely say that Nazım's reputation does not go beyond Cyprus. However, it is important to note that Nazım does not share the same view. That is to say, in a preface written for his theatrical work, titled *Safa yahud Netice-i İbtıla* (Pleasure or Trouble), dated December 1908, in which he criticizes the repressive regime of Sultan Abdulhamid (1876–1909) and narrates the tragic love story of two lovers ending with death, he says:

Although I admit that I am not proficient in this field, I wrote this theatrical play since my previous work-a national story (short novel) named *Yadigâr-ı Muhabbet* that I dared to publish before-was admired by both citizens here (Muslim Community in Cyprus) and by well-known writers in Istanbul [emphasis added].⁴⁴

Unfortunately, his view of his own reputation is not realistic. Although Nazım receives some positive reactions from some of the famous writers of the period living in Istanbul at the time, this is not enough to get a permanent reputation outside the island. Despite this, it is still necessary to underline the fact that he is the first name that comes to mind when talking about the literature produced in Cyprus during the Tanzimat period; his name can be found in newspapers published in the Ottoman language at the time, on the island. It would not be far-fetched to argue that Kaytazzade Mehmet Nazım, just like his character Mucib, desired to be appreciated in the literary circles of Istanbul and have a permanent

⁴⁴ Fedai 2005: 345.

place there. Yet, he seems to have achieved this goal only within the limited realm of the Turkish speaking Muslim community of Cyprus.

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PART 2

Eine Windmühle mehr? Osmanische Pressepolitik in Kairo um 1900

Maurus Reinkowski, Basel

Ägypten im 19. Jahrhundert: Die langen Linien

Abgesehen vom Intermezzo der von Bonaparte angeführten französischen Expedition (1799–1820) kann Ägypten im 19. Jahrhundert zweimal die besondere Aufmerksamkeit der Geschichtsschreibung erringen. In den ersten Dekaden des 19. Jahrhunderts wurde das Land von Mehmed 'Alī (1769–1849) beherrscht.¹ Seit den 1820er-Jahren versuchte er, offiziell in der Eigenschaft eines osmanischen Gouverneurs (*vālī* in den Jahren 1805–48), Ägypten in einen mächtigen eigenständigen Staat umzuwandeln, auf der Basis einer zentralisierten Staatswirtschaft und einer nach europäischen Standards ausgestatteten und trainierten Armee. Gemeinsam mit seinem Sohn İbrāhīm (1789–1848) machte er sich daran, in einer über Syrien und Anatolien führenden militärischen Kampagne das Osmanische Reich *von innen* zu erobern. Nur die Interventionen Großbritanniens und Russlands hielten die ägyptische Armee davon ab, auch Istanbul einzunehmen. Die beiden Großmächte retteten nicht nur die osmanische Dynastie vor dem internen Kollaps, sondern sie drückten auch Ägypten im Jahr 1841 im Vertrag von London auf den Status einer kleineren Macht mit beschränkten militärischen Mitteln herab. Die Eindämmung der expansionistischen Pläne durch die europäischen Mächte war, verglichen mit dem ursprünglichen Expansionsstreben und dem Experiment einer ‚eigenständigen Modernisierung‘²

¹ Mehmed 'Alī wurde 1770 in Kavala (heutiges Griechenland) geboren und kam durch die Wechselfälle des Schicksals nach Ägypten. Die Literatur zu seiner Person ist umfangreich (Dodwell 1931; al-Sayyid Marsot 1984; Fahmy 2009). Ehud Toledano hat eindringlich beschrieben, wie in der ägyptischen historischen Erinnerung des 20. Jahrhunderts die osmanische Geschichte des Landes verdrängt wird, indem unter anderem aus *Mehmed 'Alī*, einem osmanischen Offizier, *Muhammad 'Alī*, Begründer der modernen ägyptischen Nation wird (Toledano 2001).

² Zu einer luziden Analyse, warum das ägyptische Modernisierungsprojekt unter Mehmed 'Alī scheiterte, siehe Schölch 1982.

der 1830er-Jahre, ein Fehlschlag für Ägypten, aber doch konnte Mehmed 'Alī zugleich seiner Familie die erbliche Statthalterschaft über Ägypten sichern (Fahmy 1998: 176). Die von ihm begründete Dynastie hatte bis zum Jahr 1953 Bestand – und ist damit die im 20. Jahrhundert am längsten währende Dynastie osmanischer Prägung.

Nach dem gescheiterten imperialen Projekt Mehmed 'Alis verdichtet sich die Geschichte Ägyptens im 19. Jahrhundert ein zweites Mal in den 1870er-Jahren. Unter den Mehmed 'Alī nachfolgenden Angehörigen seiner Dynastie, 'Abbās (reg. 1848–1854), Sa'īd (reg. 1854–1863) und Ismā'īl (reg. 1863–1879), wurde Ägypten – zur Zeit der Hochblüte des europäischen Finanzimperialismus – zum ‚Klondike on the Nile‘ (Landes 1969). Zugleich aber trug sich der Khedive³ Ismā'īl wiederum mit großen Ambitionen, unter anderem mit dem Aufbau eines ägyptischen Imperiums: Die Bestrebungen Ismā'īls richteten sich nicht mehr gegen den Mittelmeerraum und osmanisches Herrschaftsgebiet, sondern zielten auf die Errichtung eines afrikanischen Imperiums, das über die Grenzen des heutigen Sudans hinausreichte. Diese nicht sehr durchdachten, aber aufwendigen imperialen bis imperialistischen Unternehmungen trugen dazu bei, Ägypten zu ruinieren. Der Staatsbankrott im

³ Die Titel der Machthaber in Ägypten veränderten sich über die Jahrzehnte hinweg: Die Nachfolger Mehmed 'Alis, trugen, wie Mehmed 'Alī, den Titel eines *vālī*. Ismā'īl gelang es 1867, vom osmanischen Sultan den Phantasietitel eines *Khediven*, am besten wohl zu übersetzen als ‚Vizekönig‘, verliehen zu bekommen, verbunden mit weiteren osmanischen Zugeständnissen ägyptischer Selbständigkeit. Mit der offiziellen Umwandlung Ägyptens in ein britisches Protektorat zu Beginn des Ersten Weltkriegs wird im Dezember 1914 der Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī II. abgesetzt und sein Nachfolger Ḥusain Kāmil (1914–1917) zum Sultan ernannt. Nach der Aufhebung des Protektorats 1922 wird Sultan Fu'ad I. (reg. 1917–1936) in den Rang eines Königs erhoben. Einen korrekten Eindruck ihres jeweiligen Machtstatus vermitteln die Titel *vālī*, Khedive, Sultan und König nicht: Der *vālī* Mehmed 'Alī war in den 1830er Jahren weitaus mächtiger als die beiden Khediven Tawfiq (reg. 1879–1892) und 'Abbās Ḥilmī (reg. 1892–1914). Im Folgenden wird mit einer gewissen Vereinfachung, über den eigentlich zutreffenden Zeitraum 1867–1914 hinaus, pauschalisierend von der ‚Khediven-Dynastie‘ gesprochen. Zur Frage der ‚Osmanizität‘ der Khedivendynastie in der ersten Hälfte des 20. Jahrhunderts gibt es bis heute noch keine Untersuchungen.

Jahr 1876 bedeutet das Ende aller hochfliegenden Pläne und eine starke Einschränkung ägyptischer und osmanischer hoheitlicher Rechte.

Schon vor 1876 waren die hoheitlichen Rechte zwischen der osmanischen Herrschaftszentrale und der Khedivendynastie geteilt gewesen. Hinzu kamen zahlreiche Einfallstore für internationalen Einfluss, etwa über die internationale Kanalverwaltung (Huber 2013). Nach dem Staatsbankrott 1876 ergeben die geschichteten Souveränitätsansprüche in Ägypten ein noch komplexeres Bild: Ismā'īl herrschte fortan „weiterhin im Namen des Sultans souverän; faktisch aber befand sich Ägypten in einer Art von Zwangsschuldenverwaltung durch England und Frankreich, die ihre Macht zugunsten der europäischen Gläubiger eingesetzt hatten.“ (Mommsen 1961: 38).

Das Scheitern der imperialen Ambitionen Ismā'īls verblasste damit gegenüber dem sich immer mehr verschlechternden Status Ägyptens im internationalen Mächtesystem. Mit dem ägyptischen Staatsbankrott von 1876 beschleunigen sich die Ereignisse, um sich zum sogenannten 'Urabi-Aufstand aufzuschwingen und schließlich in der britischen Besetzung ab dem Jahr 1882 zu münden.⁴ In den wenigen Jahren von 1876 bis 1882 treffen die hochfliegenden imperialen Ambitionen Ägyptens auf die militärischen, logistischen und politischen Potentiale der hochimperialen Macht Großbritannien; die noch unbestimmten Anfänge der ägyptischen Nationalbewegung münden im Desaster der pogromartigen Ausschreitungen gegen die europäische Bevölkerung Alexandrias am 11. Juni 1882, die Großbritannien zum unmittelbaren Anlass für seine militärische Besetzung Ägyptens nehmen kann. Aus der vermutlich ursprünglich wirklich nur als Zwischenspiel geplanten britischen Besetzung erwuchs eine mehrere Jahrzehnte währende britische Militärpräsenz in Ägypten. Mit der Konsolidierung der britischen Besetzung Ägyptens ab Mitte der 1880er, als sich die anderen europäischen Groß-

⁴ Ein gutes Beispiel für die fast immer zwangsläufige Konzentration auf diese Schlüsselperiode ist Mommsen 1961. Entgegen dem sehr weitgefassten zeitlichen Rahmen im Titel des Buches („Imperialismus in Ägypten“) handelt es sich im Wesentlichen um eine Geschichte, die auf die Eskalation der Jahre 1881–1882 zuläuft.

mächte der längerfristigen Besetzung Ägyptens durch Großbritannien nicht mehr widersetzen, beginnt eine Zeit der Entschleunigung. ‚Weltgeschichtliche‘, das heißt für die europäische imperiale Geschichte bedeutende Ereignisse, sind allein die Eroberung Khartoums und die Tötung von General Charles George Gordon 1885 durch die Armee des Mahdi und die Zerstörung des Mahdi-Staates durch Kitchener (als dem *sirdār*, also dem Oberbefehlshaber der ägyptischen Armee von 1892 bis 1899) in der Schlacht von Omdurman 1898.

Ägypten als das Alter Ego des Osmanischen Reiches in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts

Ägypten und das Osmanische Reich durchliefen im 19. Jahrhundert eine in vielerlei Hinsicht derart parallele Entwicklung, dass man von Ägypten als dem *alter ego* des Osmanischen Reiches sprechen kann – und *vice versa*. In den 1820er- und 1830er-Jahren verstand sich Ägypten als eine modernisierte und leistungsfähigere Version des Osmanenreiches und war für die osmanische Staatsführung Vorbild für rasche und erfolgreiche Reformen. Besonders im militärischen Bereich waren sich beide, Ägypten und Osmanisches Reich, gegenseitiger Ansporn: So wies Mehmed ‘Ali seinen Sohn Ibrāhīm an, diejenigen Strukturen in der Armee einzuführen, die der osmanische Sultan Selīm III. (reg. 1789–1807) mehr als zwanzig Jahre zuvor in der osmanischen Armee durchgesetzt hatte (Fahmy 1998: 154). Andererseits äußerte der osmanische Sultan Mahmud II. (reg. 1808–1839) nach der Vernichtung der Janitscharen 1826 gegenüber dem Vertreter Mehmed ‘Alis in Istanbul, Muḥammad Nağīb Efendi, dass man nur dank der Reformen von Mehmed ‘Alis verstanden habe, wie wichtig es sei, die Truppen gemäß moderner Richtlinien zu trainieren (Fahmy 1998: 158).

Die Nationalisierung des osmanischen Staates und Militärs, die erst in jungtürkischer Zeit (ab 1908) voll zum Tragen kam, wurde in Ägypten um mehrere Jahrzehnte vorweggenommen. In den mittleren Jahrzehnten des 19. Jahrhunderts mutierte die supra-ethnische und osmanisch geprägte Führungsschicht Ägyptens hin zu einer ägyptisch-nationalen Elite. Hinweis auf den ursprünglich osmanischen Charakter der ägypti-

schen Machtelite ist zum Beispiel, dass nicht nur die Korrespondenz zwischen Istanbul und Ägypten, sondern auch der interne ägyptische Schriftverkehr zwischen hohen Verwaltungsstellen und im Militär bis in die Regierungszeit von 'Abbās (1848–1854) in osmanischer Sprache geführt wurde. Zudem herrschte noch bis in die 1840er-Jahre hinein eine gewisse Durchlässigkeit zwischen dem ägyptischen und osmanischen Offizierskorps.

Bis weit in das 19. Jahrhundert hinein war es daher nicht möglich, ‚die Osmanen‘⁵ eindeutig von einer ‚indigenen‘ ägyptischen Elite abzugrenzen. Die osmanisch-ägyptische Elitenkultur war imperial, universal und nach Istanbul ausgerichtet, aber doch verankert in Alexandria und Kairo, den städtischen Zentren Ägyptens. Etwa in ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts bestand die osmanisch-ägyptische Elite (osmanisch: *zēvāt*, arabisch: *ad-dawāt*) aus etwa 10.000 Männern, die die politischen, wirtschaftlichen, kulturellen und sozialen Ressourcen des Landes für sich monopolisiert hatten (Toledano 1998: 264 f.).

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts löste sich jedoch eine Gruppe von einigen wenigen Tausend Menschen aus dem gemeinsamen Universum einer ethnisch weitgehend indifferenten osmanischen Elitenkultur, verselbstständigte und nationalisierte sich. In dem sich allmählich herausbildenden ägyptischen Nationalstaat verpflichteten sich die bisher kompartimentalisierten gesellschaftlichen Gruppen – unter der Leitung einer neu formierten Elite – auf das (scheinbar) gemeinsame Ziel eines homogenen Staates; der osmotische Charakter des ‚Osmaneseins‘ in der Elitengruppe ging verloren. Die bisher auf horizontaler Ebene frei flottierende osmanische – im wesentlichen militärische – Elite verfestigte sich gewissermaßen; andererseits eröffneten sich durch die Ideologie und Praxis des ägyptischen ‚Nationalstaats‘ neue, vertikal gerichtete Strukturen der Rekrutierung und Mobilisierung.

⁵ Hier nicht zu verstehen als Dynastie, sondern als Zugehörigkeit zur kosmopolitischen, ethnisch gemischten, aber kulturell homogenen Elitenschicht des Osmanischen Reiches.

Ab der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts gilt also: Wenn auch die Angehörigen der mamlukisch-osmanischen Elite sich selbst noch als den ‚Einheimischen‘ überlegen ansehen, so können sie doch nicht mehr länger ‚osmanisch‘ genannt werden (Hunter 1998: 191 f.). Sie waren mittlerweile ‚Postosmanen‘ geworden. Saʿīd bezeichnete sich selbst in einer Rede als ‚Ägypter‘ und äußerte den Wunsch, die Ägypter in solch einer Weise zu erziehen, dass sie nicht mehr auf Nicht-Ägypter angewiesen seien, die seit Jahrhunderten Land und Leute ausgebeutet hätten.⁶ Die osmanisch-ägyptischen Beziehungen hielten jedoch bis ins frühe 20. Jahrhundert hinein an. Während niemals Heiratsbündnisse zwischen den Osmanen und Herrscherhäusern Westeuropas geschlossen wurden,⁷ gab es enge Verflechtungen zwischen den beiden Dynastien der Osmanen und Khediven (Tugay 1963).

Ägypten ab 1882: Irrelevant für die spätosmanische Geschichte?

Historiker neigen immer dazu, die Periode, mit der sie sich gerade besonders ausgiebig beschäftigen, als ‚entscheidend‘, als ‚Umbruchphase‘ und so weiter zu bezeichnen. Für die Jahre ab 1882 lässt sich das für Ägypten jedenfalls kaum behaupten. Die Periode der 1880er-Jahre bis in die späten 1900er-Jahre wird dominiert von Sir Evelyn Baring, ab 1892 Lord Cromer,⁸ der von 1883 bis 1907 als britischer Generalkonsul in Ägypten residiert. Nach der britischen Besetzung des Landes 1882 wurde wiederum formell

die Alleinherrschaft des Khediven Taufik wiederhergestellt und auch die Oberhoheit der Pforte nicht angetastet. Im Hintergrund aber regierte Lord Cromer gleich einem aufgeklärten Monarchen, als verlängerter Arm der englischen Regierung, gestützt auf

⁶ Hunter 1998: 192 bezieht sich hier auf eine Passage aus den Memoiren von Ahmad ʿUrabi 1954. *Mudakkirāt at-tawra al-ʿurabiya*. Kairo, Bd. 1, 16.

⁷ Allerdings schlossen die Osmanen sehr wohl Heiratsbündnisse mit Byzanz bis zu dessen Vernichtung im 15. Jahrhundert.

⁸ Der Einfachheit halber wird im Folgenden auch dann von Baring als ‚Cromer‘ gesprochen, wenn es um die Jahre vor seiner Erhebung in den Lord-Stand geht.

die zahlenmäßig schwache englische Besatzungsarmee und den rasch wachsenden Stab englischer Fachleute und Offiziere (...). (Mommsen 1961: 85).

Diese 25 Jahre von 1882 bis 1907 sind ruhige, ja bleierne Jahre, wenn es um politische Mobilisierung und Partizipation geht.⁹ Dem wirtschaftlichen Erfolg seiner Regierungszeit stehen gleichzeitig soziale und politische Stagnation gegenüber.

Die ägyptische Präsenz im Sudan trug dazu bei, die Dinge noch komplizierter werden zu lassen. Eve Trout Powell hat zu Recht darauf hingewiesen, dass es nicht nur europäischen Imperialismus in Ägypten gab, sondern auch einen ‚internen‘ ägyptischen im Sudan. Das Gefühl der Ägypter, durch Europa bedroht zu werden, ließ sie einen grundlegenden Widerspruch des ägyptischen Nationalismus erfolgreich verdrängen: „(...) the fight against European imperialism that marched hand-in-hand with the fight to regain imperial control of the Sudan.“ (Trout Powell 2003: 79). Ägyptische Intellektuelle, vor die Frage gestellt, wie sie den Sudan in eine größere ägyptische Einheit integrieren wollten, pflegten die Sprache des „colonized colonizer“ oder gar des „actively self-colonizing colonized“ (Trout Powell 2003: 6, 12).

Die osmanische Wahrnehmung der Ereignisse in Ägypten bewegte sich – wie in vielen anderen Fällen auch – auf dem schmalen Grat einer Rhetorik, die einerseits die Wirklichkeiten aus taktischen Gründen nicht anerkennen will und andererseits Ansätze zur Selbsttäuschung zeigt – also das, was Selim Deringil die „beschwörenden“ (*incantatory*) Versuche des Osmanischen Reiches „to convince itself of its own legitimate right to existence“ (Deringil 1998: 42) genannt hat.

Noch vor der Niederlage der ägyptischen Armee gegenüber den britischen Interventionstruppen in der Schlacht von Tel-el-Kebir am 13. September 1882 entsendet Istanbul eine Delegation unter dem *müşîr* Dervîş Pascha. Die Instruktionen für Dervîş Pascha geben die etablierte

⁹ Eine von Anthony Gorman and Marilyn Booth im Jahre 2011 an der Universität Edinburgh organisierte Konferenz hatte den treffenden Titel „The Long 1890s in Egypt: Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance.“

osmanische Ordnungsrhetorik wieder: Sicherheit und Ordnung seien wiederherzustellen (*i'āde-i asāyīş*), die Ungehorsamen zu bestrafen (*fırka-yı ğayr-ı muṭī'a-yı tenkīl*), dem Khediven (als eine dem Sultan untergebene Person) sei zu helfen und das Recht der eigenen Souveränität (*ḥakk-ı ḥakimīyet-i mülūkāneleri*) zu wahren. Die Aufzählung der von Derviş Pascha zu ergreifenden Maßnahmen trägt dabei den gewohnten formelhaften Charakter. Bevor Derviş Pascha mit seinen Aktivitäten beginne:

(..) soll er noch den Ferman des Sultans den hohen Würdenträgern des Khedivats, den Notabeln, den religiösen Würdenträgern und den Personen, die bei den örtlichen Zeremonien immer gegenwärtig sind, verlesen. Die Verlesung soll mit den dementsprechenden Feierlichkeiten verbunden werden. Danach soll eine arabische Fassung des Fermans in der Öffentlichkeit verlesen werden. Da sehr viel Mühe darauf verwendet werden soll, die herrscherlichen Truppen ein perfektes Instrument für das Ansehen des Sultanats sein zu lassen, sollen die Truppen nach Rang antreten und nach der Verlesung dreimal *Padişahım çok yaşa* ausrufen. Anschließend soll sich der Kommissar in einer Rede an die Anwesenden wenden und ausführen, dass die Entsendung des Militärs der Aufhebung der Anarchie, die die Einwohner und Fremden schädige, und der Wiederherstellung von Sicherheit und Ordnung diene. Zudem sei zu versichern, dass das Hab und Gut, das Leben und die Ehre der Untertanen des Sultans immer unverletzbar seien, und dass – aus den Gesetzen und den gerechten Gedanken des Osmanischen Staates hervorgehend – Wohlstand und Wohlergehen insgesamt gesichert seien.¹⁰

Sehr deutlich ist das zähe Ringen um jede Handbreit vermeintlichen Bodens osmanischer Souveränität. Unmittelbar nach ihrer Ankunft in Ägypten berichten Derviş Pascha und zwei seiner Mitarbeiter von den kleinen Zurücksetzungen, die sie durch den Khediven erdulden muss-

¹⁰ *Ṭaraf-ı devlet-i 'āliyye'den bu def'a Mısır'a fevkal'āde komiser ta'yin olunan devletlü Server Paşa hazretlerine ta'līmātdır* [Instruktionen für Server Pascha, der von Seiten der osmanischen Regierung als ausserordentlicher Kommissar nach Ägypten abgeordnet wird], T.C. Başbakanlık Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü Osmanlı Arşivi Daire Başkanlığı (im Folgenden abgekürzt als „BBA“) Y.EE (Yıldız Esas Evrakı) 124/19, Kapitel (*mādde*) 2, 21. Ramazān 1299 = 6. August 1882. Eine Transkription der Instruktionen findet sich in (Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 2012: 439–445).

ten.¹¹ Oberstes Ziel ist immer, die souveränen Rechte des Osmanischen Reiches zu sichern.¹²

Istanbul hatte in Ägypten keine ‚Lobby‘, die für seine Interessen gekämpft hätte. Wenn die Wahrung der osmanischen Suzeränität vielen Beteiligten zupass kam, so trafen sich die meisten wiederum darin, der osmanischen Politik jede Handlungsfreiheit in Ägypten zu verweigern. Als die Pforte die Gelegenheit der Regierungskrise 1879 nutzen wollte, um ihren Einfluss auszudehnen, traf sie auf den Widerstand der ansonsten verfeindeten Parteiungen. Nur einige wenige Intellektuelle mit politischen Ambitionen wie Muştafâ Kâmil (1874–1908), enttäuscht von der Politik der europäischen Großmächte, suchten im Osmanischen Reich einen Verbündeten.¹³

Sultan ‘Abdülhamid II (reg. 1876–1909) war sich jedenfalls über die Grenzen der osmanischen Macht in Ägypten vollständig im Klaren: Er begnügte sich damit, den *status quo* zu verteidigen und Ägyptens imperiale, und später auch, nationale Ambitionen einzudämmen, kurzum jeden Schritt zu vermeiden, der die Legitimität der osmanischen Herrschaft und Dynastie noch weiter hätte unterminieren können (Yasamee 1996: 88 f.).

Im Verhältnis zum erfolgreichen Hegemon Großbritannien erscheinen die osmanischen und ägyptischen imperialen Ansprüche als eine Art

¹¹ Von İbrâhîm Dervîş, Lebîb, Aḥmed Es’ad und es-Seyyid ‘Abdülkâdir unterzeichneter Bericht vom 30. Receb 1299 = 17. Juni 1882, BBA Y.PRK.MYD (Yıldız Perakende Evrakı Yaveran ve Maiyyet-i Seniyye Erkan-ı Harbiye Dairesi) 2/36; eine Transkription des Berichts findet sich in (Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 2012: 423–429).

¹² „(..) devlet-i ‘aliyye’nin hûkûk-ı hûkûmrânisini (..) te’min ve tevşîk“ („die herrscherlichen Rechte des erhabenen Staates zu sichern und zu stärken“), BBA İ.MTZ 05 (İrade Mısır), 1174, Memorandum des Ministerrats (*meclis-i vûkelâ’*) vom 20. Şa’bân 1301 = 15. Juni 1884. Eine Transkription des Memorandums findet sich in (Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 2012: 459).

¹³ Muştafâ Kâmil wurde 1904 vom osmanischen Sultan sogar der hohe Ehrentitel eines Paschas verliehen (Mustafa Kamil 1909: 124).

imperiale ‘Mimikry’¹⁴ vernachlässigbar. Das osmanische Ägypten ab den 1880er-Jahren bewegte sich, so der offensichtliche Befund, im Hinterhof nicht nur der europäisch-globalen, sondern auch der osmanischen Geschichte. In welcher Weise könnte also diese – wenn man die bisherige historische Produktion betrachtet – so deutlich vernachlässigbare Periode von Bedeutung sein? Denn das große Interesse der allgemeinen historischen Forschung zum späten Osmanischen Reich ist ja ganz deutlich ein anderes: Es gilt, einerseits zu verstehen, wie die Transformation vom Osmanischen Reich zum türkischen Nationalstaat vor sich ging. Und ebenso sehr will die historische Forschung besser verstehen lernen, wie die zu großen Teilen konsensorientierte spätosmanische Gesellschaft so abrupt in die erschreckenden Gewaltkulturen der 1910er Jahre abgleiten konnte (Kieser – Öktem – Reinkowski 2015).

Das in diesem Beitrag vorgebrachte zentrale Argument ist, dass Ägypten im 19. Jahrhundert einen besonders verwickelten Fall von Überschichtungen von Herrschaftsansprüchen darstellte. Das Osmanische Reich, selbst seit dem 19. Jahrhundert einem informellen Imperialismus der europäischen Großmächte unterworfen, war bis 1914 Souverän über Ägypten. Faktisch war Ägypten das gesamte 19. Jahrhundert mehr oder weniger unabhängig, ohne dass die osmanische *Souveränität* jemals offiziell in Abrede gestellt wurde – sie wurde allerdings auf die Ebene einer *Suzeränität* abstrahiert und damit letztendlich gemindert. Die Handlungsmöglichkeiten osmanischer Politik in Ägypten selbst waren sehr begrenzt und sind im Detail von der Forschung noch gar nicht erschlossen worden.¹⁵

¹⁴ Den Begriff der ‘Mimikry’ findet sich in den postkolonialen Debatten (Bhabha 1987), aber auch in einem ähnlichem Sinne etwa im Begriff des ‘geborgten Imperialismus’, den (Geyer 1977) für den russischen Kontext angewendet hat.

¹⁵ Offensichtlich kurz vor der Publikation steht die Dissertation von Aimee Genell, *Ottoman Autonomy and the Origins of British Imperial Control in the Middle East*, in der sie zeigen will, dass die Konzeption der nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg vom Völkerbund vergebenen Mandatsgebiete sich massgeblich der ägyptisch-osmanisch-britischen-europäischen Souveränitätskonkurrenz in Ägypten vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg verdankt. Siehe die Kurz-

Nirgendwo sonst in der späten osmanischen Welt begegneten sich einander rivalisierende, aber zugleich sehr unterschiedliche Konzepte von Imperialität so eng und so verflochten wie im Ägypten der 1880er- bis 1910er- Jahre. Vor allem das Konkurrenzverhältnis zwischen Großbritannien, dem ‚Leitstern‘ des modernen Imperialismus, und dem Osmanischen Reich, dem ‚Kranken Mann am Bosphorus‘, und die sich daraus ergebenden unterschiedlichen Strategien der Selbstdarstellung sind reichhaltiger Anschauungsstoff.

Cromer und Aḥmed Muḥtār

Nach 1882 erlangt die osmanische Beteiligung an der internationalen Politik zu und in Ägypten nur noch einmal kurz eine gewisse Prominenz. Im Frühherbst 1885 entscheidet der damalige britische Außenminister Salisbury, Sir Henry Drummond Wolff als *Envoy Extraordinary* und *Minister Plenipotentiary* nach Kairo und Istanbul zu entsenden, um über eine Evakuierung Ägyptens zu verhandeln. Der Auftrag Wolffs ist es, den Einfluss Großbritanniens zu erhalten und zugleich für eine handlungsfähige ägyptische Regierung zu sorgen. Die Osmanen sollen eine militärische Rolle im Sudan erhalten.

Im Oktober 1885 unterzeichnet Wolff mit dem osmanischen Außenminister eine Vereinbarung, dass ein britischer Hochkommissar, nämlich Wolff selbst, und ein osmanischer Hochkommissar in der Person von Ğāzī Aḥmed Muḥtār Pascha gemeinsam in Kairo Vorbereitungen für die Reorganisation der ägyptischen Armee treffen und Mittel zur ‚Beruhigung‘ des Sudan mit friedlichen Mitteln finden sollen (Owen 2004: 215 ff.). Abschließend sollen sie einen Vertrag ausarbeiten, um zu einem Einverständnis über den Abzug der britischen Truppen in einem absehbaren Zeitraum zu kommen. Gazi Aḥmed Muḥtār Pascha kommt im Dezember 1885 in seiner Eigenschaft als ‚außerordentlicher Kommissar‘ (*fevkal'āde komisier*) in Kairo an.

beschreibung der Dissertation auf (<http://www.as.miami.edu/history/people/faculty/aimee-genell/>, letzter Abruf am 21. März 2016).

Den lang erwarteten englisch-osmanischen Vertrag unterzeichnen Wolff und der osmanische Außenminister am 22. Mai 1887. Aḥmed Muḥtār war in Kairo geblieben und schon lange nicht mehr an den Verhandlungen beteiligt. Laut Vertrag sollte Großbritannien seine Truppen innerhalb von drei Jahren aus Ägypten zurückziehen, sofern nicht ein ‚Anzeichen von Gefahr‘ in innen- und außenpolitischer Hinsicht droht. Unter französischem und russischem Druck machte der Sultan jedoch einen Rückzieher. Er bat Salisbury, die Verhandlungen zu einigen der wichtigsten Vertragsbestimmungen neu aufzurollen. Salisbury gestand eine 15-tägige Verlängerung zu. Als diese Frist auslief, rief er Wolff Mitte Juli 1887 nach London zurück (Owen 2004: 224 f.). Aḥmed Muḥtār wird von ‘Abdülhamid II. nach dem Scheitern der Wolff-Mission nicht nach Istanbul zurückberufen, sondern angewiesen in Kairo zu bleiben. Sein Status wird dabei in den folgenden zwanzig Jahren weder von britischer noch ägyptischer Seite offiziell anerkannt.

Aḥmed Muḥtār, 1839 in Bursa in Westanatolien geboren, entstammt einer türkischen Familie. Nach einer militärischen Ausbildung in Bursa und Istanbul und einer kurzen Tätigkeit als Lehrer an der Militärakademie in Istanbul setzen mit seiner ersten Entsendung nach Bosnien um 1864 zwei Dekaden ständiger Abordnungen und Aufgaben im militärischen, zivilen und diplomatischen Bereich ein. Es ergibt sich eine geradezu atemberaubende Folge von Ernennungen und Aufgaben.¹⁶

Im osmanisch-russischen Krieg von 1877–1878 ist Aḥmed Muḥtār Oberbefehlshaber an der ostanatolischen Front. Aufgrund seiner dort erworbenen militärischen Verdienste wird ihm im Alter von nur 38 Jahren der sehr seltene Ehrentitel eines *gāzī* verliehen.¹⁷

¹⁶ Zur Abfolge dieser zahlreichen Positionen siehe (Tugay 1963: 9–26). Auf die dort angegebenen Jahreszahlen, die die Enkeltochter von Aḥmed Muḥtār offensichtlich aufgrund von mündlichen Berichten zusammengestellt hat, ist nicht immer Verlass. Weitaus zuverlässiger ist, weil auf Akteneinsicht ruhend, (Uçarol 1976).

¹⁷ (Uçarol 1976: 460, Fussnote 1). Die beiden anderen Offiziere aus derselben Generation, die ebenfalls den Ehrentitel eines *gāzī* verliehen bekamen, waren Oṣmān Nūri Pascha (1832–1900) für seine hartnäckige Verteidigung von Plevna gegenüber russischen Truppen

Mit der Entsendung als osmanischer Sonderkommissar 1885 nach Ägypten scheint sich der Reigen der ehrenvollen und vielfältigen Aufgaben fortzusetzen, nur um – nach dem Scheitern der Wolff-Mission 1887 – mit dem mehr als zwanzigjährigen Schattenamt eines von niemanden anerkannten Hochkommissariats zu einem abrupten Ende zu kommen.

Sultan ‘Abdülhamid II. hoffte offensichtlich, über Ahmed Muhtâr seinen Einfluss in Ägypten aufrechtzuerhalten und wollte ihn zugleich in einer Art Exil halten. Erst nach der jungtürkischen Revolution kann Ahmed Muhtâr nach Istanbul zurückkehren, nach nahezu 25 Jahren unablässigen Dienstes in Ägypten. Angesichts ägyptischer und britischer Obstruktionen verzichtet die osmanische Regierung auf den Versuch, einen Nachfolger von Ahmed Muhtâr als weiteren ‚außerordentlichen Kommissar‘ nach Kairo zu entsenden. Die osmanische Präsenz am Nil ist damit schon 1908 so gut wie beendet.

Nach seiner Rückkehr nach Istanbul kann Ahmed Muhtâr nicht mehr zu großer Bedeutung aufsteigen. Seine Karriere erfährt zwar im Juli 1912 eine Krönung durch die Ernennung zum Großwesir; bereits im Oktober desselben Jahres muss er aber nach den desaströsen Niederlagen im Ersten Balkankrieg zurücktreten. Ahmed Muhtâr stirbt 1917, zurückgezogen von Politik und Öffentlichkeit.

Die Verbindungen Ahmed Muhtârs nach Ägypten hielten über seine Rückkehr nach Istanbul hin an. 1896 heiratete sein Sohn Maḥmūd Muhtâr Bey Prinzessin Ni‘met, die jüngste Tochter des Khediven Ismā‘il. Die aus dieser Ehe hervorgegangene Tochter Emīne schildert in ihren Erinnerungen ausführlich die zahlreichen engen verwandtschaftlichen Beziehungen zwischen der Khedivendynastie und dem, wenn man so sagen darf, ‚osmanischen Hochadel‘ (Tugay 1963).

1877 nimmt Cromer das Angebot an, als Vertreter Großbritanniens einen Sitz in der *Caisse de la dette publique* einzunehmen und als *controller-general* die Kontrolle über die ägyptischen Finanzen in seiner Hand

im Jahr 1877 und Edhem Pascha (1851–1909) für seinen Sieg in der Schlacht von Dömeke/Domochos im griechisch-osmanischen Krieg von 1897.

zusammenzuführen (Owen 2004: 115), übrigens offiziell als Beamter der ägyptischen Regierung, ausgestattet mit Fes, Stambouline und häufigen Gehaltsrückständen (Owen 2004: 91, 98). 1880 kehrt Cromer nach Indien zurück. Im Frühjahr 1883 erreicht Cromer das Angebot, Generalkonsul in Ägypten im Range eines *Minister Plenipotentiary* im diplomatischen Dienst zu werden; im September desselben Jahres trifft er in Kairo ein. Die sehr allgemein gehaltenen Anweisungen an ihn lauten, die ägyptische Verwaltung zu reorganisieren und den britischen Rückzug aus dem erst wenige Monate zuvor besetzten Ägypten zu koordinieren (Owen 2004: 174, 183, 186). Der auch im Falle von Cromer nur für einige Monate projektierte Aufenthalt verzögert sich um viele Jahre: Mit der Bedrohung Ägyptens durch die Armeen des Mahdi war nun den Briten ein Anlass in die Hand gegeben, vorerst in Ägypten bleiben zu müssen. Langfristige Perspektiven gewann Cromer mit dem Scheitern der Wolff-Mission im Jahre 1887. Nun war für Cromer der Weg frei, nach eigenem Ermessen in den nächsten Jahren seine Politik in Ägypten zu gestalten: „Still, if it is possible to date the moment at which he began the serious implementation of what he was later to call ‚my work‘ in Egypt, this was it.“ (Owen 2004: 232). Cromer war überzeugt, dass er nicht nur der beste Fachmann für finanzielle Fragen sei, sondern für alle ägyptische Belange, und dass er für die Umsetzung seiner Pläne mindestens zehn weitere Jahre in Ägypten bleiben müsse. Die Logik einer kolonialen Besatzung entfaltete sich nun: Je mehr Reformen eingeführt wurden, um so mehr wurden weitere Reformen für unverzichtbar gehalten, die die Ägypter selbst niemals ausführen könnten:

Soon all that differentiated Egypt from a conventional colony was the existence of certain limits imposed by what Baring sometimes referred to as ‚internationalism‘, sometimes simply as the obstruction of certain European powers, notably the French. (Owen 2004: 233).

Erst 1906 beginnt der Niedergang Cromers, als die öffentliche Meinung in Großbritannien sich gegen ihn wendet. Am 28. März 1907 reicht Cromer seinen Rücktritt ein (Owen 2004: 346). Die restlichen Jahre bis zu seinem Tod ist Cromer unter anderem Mitglied des Oberhauses und

Präsident der *National League for Opposing Women's Suffrage*. In den Jahren des Ersten Weltkriegs hat er kein bedeutendes Amt mehr inne.

Bilanzen: Verwässert und durchwachsen

In wirtschaftlicher Hinsicht war das Regime von Cromer in Ägypten erfolgreich. Während seiner Amtszeit reduzierte sich der Anteil, der aus dem ägyptischen Staatshaushalt für den Schuldendienst aufgebracht werden musste, um die Hälfte; die Staatseinnahmen wuchsen um das Doppelte, während zugleich die Steuern verringert werden konnten. Der *kurbasch* (Strafe durch Auspeitschung) und die *corvée* wurden abgeschafft. Zugleich aber waren, aufgrund seiner ideologischen Einstellung, die Leistungen Cromers auf dem Gebiet der Erziehung und der politischen Institutionen schwach (Daly 1998: 242 f.). Cromer wollte Ägypten gewissermaßen in seinem ‚natürlichen‘ Zustand belassen; der Etat für Bildung war vernachlässigenswert gering (Owen 2004: 112, 125 f., 136, 216). Sein Ziel war eine Stabilisierung Ägyptens auf relativ niedrigem Niveau, denn er sah die britische Besatzung Ägyptens nur als vorübergehendes Phänomen. Wegen seines elitistischen Politikverständnisses hatte er kein Gespür für die Stimmungen in der Gesellschaft und für den Groll, den die europäische Politik unter den Ägyptern schüren musste.

Cromer blickte auf seine Zeit in Ägypten mit Wohlgefallen zurück; erst das spätere Urteil der Geschichtsschreibung über Cromers imperialistische Politik war negativ.

Ahmed Muhtār dagegen konnte in seinen langen Jahren in Ägypten keinen politischen Gewinn sehen. Im Februar 1909, mehrere Monate nach seiner Rückkehr nach Istanbul, unterbreitete er ‚Abdülhamid II. ein Memorandum, in dem er seine Position und seine Arbeit in Kairo erläuterte. Man müsse seinem Nachfolger nur ein einziges Stück Papier überreichen, nämlich das Abkommen von 1885 (das die Grundlage für die Wolff-Mission war), denn außer diesem „sei niemals über etwas

Einigung erzielt worden und niemals etwas anderes in Kraft gesetzt worden“.¹⁸

Geprägt durch seine militärische Ausbildung und Laufbahn hat sich Aḥmed Muḥtār auf nüchterne Beschreibungen seiner Tätigkeit in Ägypten beschränkt. Seine Autobiografie bricht weit vor seiner Zeit in Ägypten ab und behandelt nur seine militärischen Erfolge im Krieg gegen Russland (Ahmed Muhtar 1996). Seine astronomischen Untersuchungen, zu seiner Zeit durchaus anerkannt, sind heute vergessen. Man vergleiche dies nur mit dem großen Fundus an Schriften, die Cromer hinterlassen hat, viele davon programmatischen Inhalts, unter anderem auch eine Reflexion über den Imperialismus (Cromer 1910), vor allem aber sein ‚opus magnum‘ über Ägypten (Cromer 1908). Das Schrifttum über Cromer ist umfangreich.¹⁹ Dagegen liegt außer einigen wenigen Arbeiten so gut wie nichts über Aḥmed Muḥtār vor.²⁰ Ein Beispiel für die Marginalität Aḥmed Muḥtārs ist, dass er in der umfangreichen Monografie von Owen nur einmal erwähnt wird, und zwar in Zusammenhang mit der Mission von Drummond Wolff 1885. (Owen 2004: 217f.). Im April 1899 schrieb Cromer an den damaligen Premierminister Salisbury: „Moukhtar Pasha possesses too little influence here to do much harm, but his attitude is persistently hostile to Her Majesty’s Government and to the present Egyptian Ministry.“²¹ Aḥmed Muḥtār war lästig, mehr aber nicht. Er verschwindet vollständig hinter der Person Cromers. Wenn Cromer eine Person war „somewhere between a long-serving viceroy, a provincial governor, an international banker, and an ambassador“ (Owen 2004: 393) dann war Aḥmed Muḥtār wohl „a person somewhere between an envoy, exile, idle bureaucrat and phantom“ (Reinkowski 2014: 414).

¹⁸ Uçarol 1976: 283 zitiert hier aus einem Dokument vom 14. Februar 1909 (BBA Yıldız Evrakı 2553, Kısım No 31, Zarf No 160, Karton No 87).

¹⁹ Siehe neben Owen 2004 auch Sayyid-Marsot 1968 und Marlowe 1970.

²⁰ Umfassend ist allein die Monografie von (Uçarol 1976). Auf den Seiten 166–285 wird Aḥmed Muḥtārs Tätigkeit in Ägypten ausführlich geschildert.

²¹ PRO FO 78/5023, Cromer to Salisbury, 17. April 1899, zitiert nach (Oded 2005: 117, Endnote 11).

Maḥmūd Muḥtār, der bereits erwähnte Sohn Aḥmed Muḥtār's, beschreibt zusammenfassend die militärische und diplomatische Laufbahn seines Vaters als Geschichte eines Scheiterns, in der Weise, dass sein Lebenswerk, all seine Bemühungen und Erfolge zu sehr vom allgemeinen Niedergang des Osmanischen Reiches niedergedrückt wurden. Seine zahlreiche Verpflichtungen und Tätigkeiten sind Stationen eines kontinuierlichen Niedergangs:

Nous y voyons un grand Empire plein de ressources, résister avec peine aux convoitises dont il est l'objet et perdre constamment du terrain. (...) Un courant irrésistible entraîne tout en sens inverse. Ainsi, même des hommes doués d'une érudition et d'un patriotisme aussi remarquables que Ghazi Moukhtar, ne peuvent se soustraire aux effets des forces occultes qui bouleversent tout. Si l'on examine donc le bilan de la longue et intelligente activité de ce maréchal, n'y voit-on que perte et déficit. L'Yémen qu'il pacifia, il y a trente ans, et incorpora dans l'Empire est aujourd'hui plus secoué que jamais. L'Herzégovine, qu'il défendit contre l'ambition des Monténégrins, a fini par passer sous la domination autrichienne. Le coin d'Anatolie qu'il disputa si glorieusement aux Russes, est aujourd'hui une province moscovite. La Crète dont le Ghazi avait assuré le maintien et la sécurité, n'appartient plus à la Turquie. La Macédoine, qu'il gouverna jadis et pour laquelle il avait préconisé de sérieuses réformes, s'est trouvée soumise à la surveillance de l'étranger. L'armée, dont la réorganisation lui était confiée, en a aujourd'hui plus besoin que jamais. Enfin l'Égypte, qu'il tâcha de défendre de tout son patriotisme, est restée aux Anglais. (Maḥmūd Muḥtār 1908: 202 ff.).

Kampf gegen Windmühlen

Aḥmed Muḥtār's politische Maßnahmen in Ägypten beschränkten sich weitgehend auf den Bereich des Symbolischen und blieben oft vergeblich. Drei Beispiele aus ein und demselben Jahr, nämlich 1892, lassen seinen sehr begrenzten Handlungsrahmen ermessen: Als der neu eingesetzte Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī im Juli für seine Inthronisierung nach Istanbul reisen sollte, drängte Aḥmed Muḥtār darauf, dass der Khedive für seine Reise unbedingt ein osmanisches Schiff verwenden solle. Als der Khedive am 2. August, nach seiner Rückkehr aus Istanbul, einen großen Empfang gab, vermerkte Aḥmed Muḥtār zufrieden, dass der

Khedive den ihm erst kürzlich verliehenen osmanischen Orden getragen habe (Uçarol 1976: 236 f.). Als Aḥmed Muḥtār im selben Jahr darauf drängte, dass auf diplomatischem Wege auf Cromers Rücktritt hinzuwirken sei, wurde dieses Ansinnen von Istanbul brüsk zurückgewiesen (Uçarol 1976: 231–234).²² Drittes Beispiel aus dem Mai 1892: Aḥmed Muḥtār wies in einem Schreiben daraufhin, dass es Cromer erlaubt sei, regelmäßig nach London zu reisen, währenddessen er aufgrund seiner isolierten Position „nicht mit dem englischen Konsul mithalten könne“ (Uçarol 1976: 263).²³ Die Marginalisierung Aḥmed Muḥtārs lässt sich daran ablesen, dass sich Aḥmed Muḥtār nur auf Berichte aus dritter Hand stützen konnte.²⁴ Zu seinen zahlreichen Aufgaben, für die Aḥmed Muḥtār in Kairo zuständig war, gehörte auch, ein Auge auf die Presseerzeugnisse in Kairo zu haben und bei Bedarf zu intervenieren. Wir werden sehen, ob auch dies ein Kampf gegen Windmühlen war oder nicht.

Publizistik und Presse in Ägypten

Im April 1867 floh eine Gruppe von politischen Aktivisten, nach Paris, unter ihnen Ziyā Bey (1829–1880), ‘Alī Su‘āvī (1839–1878) and Nāmīk Kemāl (1840–1888). Eine zweite Gruppe flüchtete im Mai 1867, unter

²² Die Antipathie gegenüber Cromer ist aus zahlreichen Briefen Aḥmed Muḥtārs herauszulesen: So empfiehlt er etwa, angesichts des kalten und harschen Charakters Cromers Auswege zu finden („*eṭvār-ı bārīde ve ḥuṣūnet mizācından kırtulmaya bir yol bulmak*“), Aḥmed Muḥtār am 23. Muḥarrem 1305 = 11. Oktober 1887, BBA Y.EE 129/80.

²³ Siehe im Detail BBA Y.EE 129/14 vom 23 Şevvāl 1309 = 21. Mai 1892: Aḥmed Muḥtār weist auf die Möglichkeit Cromers hin, jeden Sommer nach England zurückzukehren, um dort seine Ansichten mündlich vorzutragen. Zudem könne er jederzeit Informationen durch nach England reisende andere Beamte mündlich weiterleiten. Zumindest sollte daher der mündliche Informationsfluss zwischen Istanbul und Kairo durch regelmäßige nach Ägypten kommende osmanische Beamte gesichert werden.

²⁴ Aḥmed Muḥtār am 23. Muḥarrem 1305 = 11. Oktober 1887, BBA Y.EE 129/80. Man beachte die extreme Häufung von Wendungen des Hörensagens, auf das Aḥmed Muḥtār offensichtlich angewiesen war: *mesmū‘āta nazaran* („nach dem, was zu hören ist“), *maznūn* („vermutlich“), *görünmüş oldu* („es wurde beobachtet“), *mesmū‘ ve ma‘lūmu olaraḳ* („nach dem, was man hört und weiss“), *melhūz* („es ist zu erwarten“), *haber-i şāyi‘* („nach allgemein verbreiteter Nachrichtenlage“).

ihnen Nūrī (1844–1906), Reşād Bey (1844–1902) und Mehmed Bey (1843–1874): „Both groups went to Paris at the invitation of Muşţafā Fāzil Pasha (1829–1875) who possessed enormous wealth after having been paid off by his half-brother Ismā‘īl Pasha (1830–1895), the Khedive of Egypt.“ (Czygan 2016: 50). Mit dieser Unterstützung waren die im Exil lebenden oppositionellen Aktivisten dazu imstande, in den Jahren 1868–1870 die Zeitung *Hürriyyet* herauszubringen. Immer wieder tauchen – auch nach der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts – unvermittelt Querverbindungen zwischen dem osmanischen Zentrum und Ägypten auf.

In der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts jedoch waren die ägyptisch-osmanischen Verbindungen enger und stabiler. Nicht nur im militärischen, sondern auch im kulturellen Bereich war Ägypten für das Osmanische Reich Vorbild und Anregung: „The achievements of the Egyptian printing press cannot be overestimated: They provided an Ottoman reading public – often for the first time! – with printed specimens of their cultural heritage, in particular, the works of their most famous poets.“ (Strauss 2000: 48). So war es bisher in Istanbul niemand in den Sinn gekommen, Dichtung im Buchdruck zu veröffentlichen (Strauss 2000: 13). Durch die zunehmende Bedeutung des Arabischen als dem natürlichen Ausdrucksmittel arabischer Kultur und Nationalgefühle löste sich jedoch Ägypten ab den 1840er Jahren immer mehr aus dem osmanischen kulturellen Kosmos.²⁵

In der Zeit der britischen Besatzung erlangte Ägypten große Bedeutung als Zufluchtsort für die oppositionelle Presse, die nicht nur für ein arabisches Publikum schrieb, sondern zum Teil gezielt die osmanische Öffentlichkeit ansprach. Ägypten wurde damit zum dem wichtigsten Zentrum der arabischen Presse. Zahlreiche Intellektuelle und Publizis-

²⁵ *Al-Waqā‘i‘ al-miṣriyya*, der ab dem Jahr 1828 erscheinende ägyptische Staatsanzeiger (und damit drei Jahre früher als der osmanische Staatsanzeiger *Takvīm-i veķā‘i‘* ins Leben gerufen) war zweisprachig. Bis 1841 war die osmanische Version massgebend und die arabische Version wurde aus dem Osmanischen übersetzt. 1842 änderte Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ aṭ-Ṭaṭṭāwī die Praxis. Nun wurde das Arabische die massgebende Sprache und die osmanische Fassung beruhte fortan auf einer Übersetzung aus dem Arabischen (Kendall 2002: 332).

ten aus dem syrischen Raum wichen vor der ausgeprägten hamidischen Pressezensur aus und verlagerten ihre Aktivitäten nach Ägypten. Dort bewegten sie sich im komplexen „Spannungsfeld zwischen britischer Fremdherrschaft (1882–1922), Reformislam, Arabismus, Osmanismus und ägyptischer Nationalbewegung“ (Glass 2001: 32).

Die Pressepolitik unter ‘Abdülhamid II. war von der realistischen Einschätzung getragen, welch großen Einfluss die Presse auf die öffentliche Meinung im Osmanischen Reich und darüber hinaus hatte. Osmanische Beamte hätten es niemals so formuliert, wären aber doch einer Meinung mit Dagmar Glass gewesen: „Kein anderes arabisches Schrifttum des 19. Jahrhunderts bewegte sich so dynamisch im Konfliktfeld zwischen Herrschaft und Opposition wie Zeitungen und Zeitschriften.“ (Glass 2001: 32). Zum einen arbeitete die osmanische Regierung mit den Mitteln der Bestechung, oder wenn man es milder ausdrücken wollte, mit dem Instrument der Kooptation. Syrische Publizisten wurden von ‘Abdülhamid II. kooptiert und erhielten hohe Zuwendungen (Farah 1977: 160 ff.). Die paranoiden Aspekte der osmanischen Pressepolitik mitsamt einer ausgeprägten Zensur sind jedoch nicht zu übersehen. Als ‘Abalqādir al-Qabbānī, Herausgeber der Zeitschrift *Ṭamārāt al-funūn*, den mit ihm befreundeten Zensor (*mektūbcu*) in Saloniki, Rifat Bey, anfragte, welche Themen denn nun in Publikationen erlaubt seien, antwortet dieser ironisch, dass man über alles schreiben und alles kritisieren könne außer – gefolgt von einer nahezu erschöpfenden Liste aller politischen Probleme und Phänomene. Zu Recht merkt Farah an: “If any one principle can be deducted from the above, it is this: the Ottoman system, its custodians, *modus operandi*, and friends must not suffer insult or humiliation in whatever form and from whatever quarter” (Farah 1977: 183 f.). Als die amerikanische Missionarsdruckerei in Beirut eine Karte des Osmanischen Reiches zu Lehrzwecken in der Schule veröffentlichte, die Ägypten in einer anderen Farbe als den Rest des Osmanischen Reiches zeigte, wurde diese vom zuständigen Zensor nicht nur moniert, sondern sogar in die Nähe des Hochverrats gerückt. Die von der Missionarsdruckerei korrigierte und neu gedruckte Karte zeigte fortan alle Regionen, die jemals Teil des Osmanischen Reiches gewesen waren, in einer Farbe (Farah 1977: 184).

Die Presse fand in Ägypten weitaus bessere Bedingungen als in Gebieten, in denen die osmanischen Behörden unmittelbaren Zugriff hatten. Kritik an osmanischen Verhältnissen störte die britischen Machthaber kaum, ja konnte sogar willkommen sein. Angesichts der kaum einzudämmenden Presseaktivitäten fand man ein gewisses *Laissez-faire* am sinnvollsten: Cromer „(..) discovered that silencing the papers was a difficult and indeed impractical task, since other foreign powers offered many of them protection.“ (Ayalon 1995: 52). Die Presse spiegelte damit die verwickelten osmanisch-ägyptischen Beziehungen und die rivalisierenden imperialen Bestrebungen wider. Es kann also nicht überraschen, dass die osmanische Zentralregierung mit größter Aufmerksamkeit und Argwohn die journalistische Produktion in Ägypten beobachtete.

Aḥmed Muḥtār und die Presse in Ägypten

Aḥmed Muḥtār und sein Stab verfolgten aufmerksam die in Ägypten erscheinende Presse, um darüber jederzeit nach Istanbul berichten zu können, aber auch um über die Vorgänge im Land informiert zu sein.²⁶ Angesichts ihrer politischen und diplomatischen Marginalisierung war die osmanische Mission darauf angewiesen, jede mögliche Informationsquelle zu nutzen. Die Berichte der britischen Presse zu Ägypten wurden aufmerksam verfolgt.²⁷ Aḥmed Muḥtār wurde von Publizisten in Ägypten als Mittelsmann für Kontakte zur osmanischen Regierungszentrale in Istanbul gesehen und hatte dementsprechend durchaus Gewicht.²⁸ Von der osmanischen Regierungszentrale war er damit beauftragt, die monatlichen Zuwendungen an einzelne Herausgeber von

²⁶ Aḥmed Muḥtār am 23. Muḥarrem 1305 = 11. Oktober 1887, BBA Y.EE 129/80.

²⁷ Aḥmed Muḥtār am 29. Ramaẓān 1311 = 5. April 1894, BBA Y.EE 129/98: Weil englische Druckerzeugnisse sich in einer aggressiven Weise gegen die ägyptische Verwaltung äusserten, habe dies einige Leute in einer ausserordentlichen Weise beunruhigt.

²⁸ Aḥmed Muḥtār am 23. Şavvāl 1309 = 21. Mai 1892, BBA Y.EE 129/14.

Zeitungen und Zeitschriften zu kontrollieren bzw. bei deren Beschwerden über ausbleibende Zahlungen zu vermitteln.²⁹

Als die Zeitung *al-Fallāḥ* in ihrer Ausgabe vom 23. Februar 1893 über Unregelmäßigkeiten im osmanischen Postdienst berichtete, stellte die für die Kontrolle von Publikationen zuständige Abteilung (*idāre-i maṭbū'āt*) im Innenministerium fest, diese Schwäche offen gegenüber Freund und Feind auszusprechen, sei „ein hässliches Verhalten“ und zieme sich nicht für eine Publikation, die im Monat 40 Lira vom Sultan erhalte. Aḥmed Muḥtār solle an Ort und Stelle dafür Sorge tragen, dass dies nicht wieder vorkomme.³⁰

Auch die Vorgänge um anderweitige Druckerzeugnisse wurden aufmerksam verfolgt. Die von Missionaren publizierte und über missionarische Buchläden verteilte Schrift *Al-as'ila al-qur'ānīya 'alā l-awḡiba al-masīḥīya* wurde angesichts „religiöser Grenzüberschreitungen“ als Gefahr für die lokale öffentliche Ordnung gesehen. Aḥmed Muḥtār setzte sich – nach seinem Bericht zu urteilen: mit Erfolg – bei den (in ihrer Zugehörigkeit ungenannten) Konsuln dafür ein, die noch vorhandenen Exemplare aus den Buchläden zu entfernen.³¹

Ausführlich berichtete Aḥmed Muḥtār von den Feierlichkeiten im Jahr 1897 zum Jubiläum der Thronbesteigung 'Abdülḥamīd II. und achtete dabei besonders auf den Widerhall der Feierlichkeiten in der Presse: „Über die Aktivitäten berichtet ausführlich die Zeitung *al-Mu'ayyad*, von der wir einige Exemplare beilegen“.³²

²⁹ Schreiben des Innenministeriums an Aḥmed Muḥtār vom 7. Muḥarrem 1320 = 16. April 1902, BBA DH.MKT (Dahiliye Mektubi Kalemī) 480/46.

³⁰ Anweisung des Innenministeriums an Aḥmed Muḥtār vom 26. Şa'bān 1308 = 6. April 1891, BBA DH.MKT 2/59.

³¹ Aḥmed Muḥtār am 16. Şevvāl 1312 = 12. April 1895, BBA Y.EE 129/76.

³² Aḥmed Muḥtār am 6. Rebi'ü'l-aḥīr 1315 = 4. September 1897, BBA Y.EE 129/81; siehe auch die Transkription in (Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 2012, 486–487).

Schlussbetrachtung

Betrachten wir die Aktivitäten Aḥmed Muḥtār's im Rahmen der osmanischen Pressepolitik, so ergibt sich ein bemerkenswertes Bild. Insgesamt konnte Istanbul gegenüber den in Ägypten angesiedelten und damit nicht direkten osmanischen Repressionen bzw. Zensurmaßnahmen ausgesetzten Publikationsorganen nur wenig erreichen. Ohnehin zeigt die Gesamtheit der Pressegeschichte, dass dies ein Kampf gegen Windmühlen war. Zu zahlreich waren die Publikationsmöglichkeiten außerhalb des osmanischen Staatsgebietes. Nimmt man dagegen Aḥmed Muḥtār's Handeln in Kairo enger in den Blick, ergibt sich zumindest im Fall der Pressepolitik ein anderes Bild: Der außerordentliche osmanische Kommissar, der in den Fragen der großen Diplomatie so außerordentlich erfolglos und marginalisiert blieb, konnte im Alltagsgeschäft der ständigen Einflussnahme und Kooptierung der Presse in Kairo durchaus viele kleine Erfolge aufweisen.

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Wider die Barbarei an der Wiege der Zivilisation. Osmanische Intellektuelle des 19. Jahrhunderts über das arabische Beduinentum im Zweistromland

Michael Ursinus, Heidelberg

In ihrer Ausgabe vom 15. November 1870 berichtete die in Bagdad am Sitz der osmanischen Provinzialregierung erschienene offizielle *Vilayets-Zeitung*¹ mit Namen *Zevrā* (von arab. *Zaurā'*, „die Gekrümmte“ in Anspielung an die „Krumme Stadt“ Bagdad),² im Sandschak von *Hilla* ca. 200 km südlich von Bagdad hätten räuberische Beduinen zu wiederholtem Male die bäuerliche Bevölkerung nahe des Euphrat überfallen. Obstaine und Gärten der dortigen Bauern seien von mehreren Verbänden aus der Stammesgruppe der *Ḥazā'il*, darunter die *Āl-Ṣilāl*, *Āl-Ziyād* und *Āl-Ibrāhīm*, heimgesucht und verwüstet worden. Bei dem sich anschließenden Scharmützel zwischen diesen Beduinen und der Bewohnerschaft der *nāhiye* von *Cigāra* habe es auf beiden Seiten an die 20 Tote und über 50 Verwundete gegeben.

Eine Militärabteilung, die man zur Bestrafung der Beduinen ausgesandt hatte, habe diese auseinandertreiben und dabei mehrere Gefangene machen können, darunter den Stammesführer *Zawīr* mitsamt dessen Sohn *Munīr*, desgleichen einen gewissen *Tāmir*, den Sohn des unlängst gemeinsam mit einigen seiner Komplizen in Festungshaft genommenen (Scheich) *Muṭlaḳ*. Dieser *Tāmir*,³ so das Blatt weiter, sei ein zu jedweder Schändlichkeit bereiter Schuft, fähig, die Stämme der

¹ Einen rezenten Überblick über die Entwicklung der Druckmedien im Irak gibt Herzog 2012: Abschnitt 9.3, 627–44.

² Zu *Zevrā* vgl. Herzog 2012: 638 ff.; dazu die Literatur bei Ursinus 1994a: 157 f., Anm. 5.

³ Meine Umschrift arabischer Namen, Begriffe und Passagen geschieht in Anlehnung an *Yeni Redhouse* hier durchweg auf „osmanisierende“ Weise. Lediglich unterstrichenen großes „S“ konnte ich mit den mir zur Verfügung stehenden Fonts nicht abbilden, sodass hier „arabisierend“ unterstrichenen „T“ gesetzt wird.

Ḥazā'il zu jeder gewünschten Missetat zu verleiten. Wörtlich schreibt *Zevrā*:

Die Existenz solcher Bösewichte, die (sogar noch) den Titel „Scheich“ tragen und selbst zur (normalen) Wanderzeit und im Frieden (mit den Nachbarstämmen) die Mitglieder ihrer eigenen Stammesgruppe quasi als ihre Sklaven behandeln, indem sie diese Bedauernswerten durch unlauteren Zugriff auf deren (Weide-) Erträge und deren Besitz in Schach halten und diese armseligen Beduinen, die zwischen Realität und Trugbild nicht unterscheiden können (?), bei passender Gelegenheit mit schamloser Bosheit zu allerlei Raub und Plünderung anstacheln und sie (so) dazu bringen, dass sie sich ihre Köpfe verbrennen – die Existenz solcher Schufte (in unserem Lande) hat dem Staat, der Provinz und der Bevölkerung einen solchen Schaden zugefügt, dass es unmöglich wäre, dies (im Einzelnen) hier wiederzugeben. Um die Sicherheit des Irak wiederherzustellen, ist es deshalb unabdingbar, dass solche Schurken aus dem Land gejagt werden. Zu diesem Zweck wurden sowohl die erwähnten (Stammesführer namens) Zawir, Munir und Tāmir als auch der zur selben Sorte gehörige, hier am Ort bereits in Gefangenschaft befindliche Fāris Āl-Rabī' sowie der vor einigen Tagen gefesselt aus Kerbelā hierher überführte Kirkūş nach Başra eskortiert, damit sie von dort mit dem Dampfschiff Bābil, das in einigen Tagen nach Istanbul auslaufen soll, (aus dem Lande) entfernt und (anschließend) in die Festung von Niş [im heutigen Serbien] verbannt werden.

Das hier unverhohlen zum Ausdruck kommende tief verwurzelte Misstrauen des Städters gegenüber den Beduinen, und die latente Angst der Bauern vor beduinischen Überfällen, haben im Orient eine lange Tradition und reichen bis in die Neuzeit hinein (erst das mit Schnellfeuerge-
wehren bestückte Flugzeug hat hier die endgültige Wende gebracht). Auch im Koran hat diese Haltung ihren Niederschlag gefunden. Muḥammads Position ist ganz entschieden die des Städters; Beduinen existieren für ihn *außerhalb* der Grenzen geordneten menschlichen Daseins und müssen deshalb verdächtigt werden, sich dem Islam, wenn überhaupt, nur dem Schein nach unterworfen zu haben. Berühmt ist folgende Stelle in Sure 49 (Übersetzung Rudi Paret):

Die Beduinen sagen: ‚Wir sind gläubig‘. – Sag: Ihr seid nicht (wirklich) gläubig. Sagt vielmehr: ‚Wir haben den Islam angenommen!‘ (Denn) der Glaube ist euch noch nicht ins Herz eingegangen. (...) Die (wahren) Gläubigen sind diejenigen, die an Gott

und seinen Gesandten glauben und hierauf nicht (wieder unsicher werden und) Zweifel hegen (...).

– Oder Sure 48, Vers 11 ff.:

Diejenigen Beduinen, die zurückgelassen worden sind (anstatt nach Mekka bzw. Hudaibiya mitgenommen zu werden), werden, (zu ihrer Rechtfertigung) zu dir sagen: ‚Unsere Herden und Familien haben uns (so sehr) in Anspruch genommen (dass wir uns dem Zug nicht anschließen konnten). Bitte deshalb (Gott) für uns um Vergebung!‘ Ihre Äußerungen widersprechen dem, was sie im Herzen haben (...).

Tatsächlich dürften sich die Beduinen zur Zeit Muḥammads, wie vorher und nachher auch, nur schwer irgendwelcher Ordnungsmacht unterworfen haben. In diesem Sinne ist auch Sure 25 Vers 60 ff. verschiedentlich interpretiert worden:

Und wenn man zu ihnen (...) sagt: ‚Werft euch (in Anbetung) vor dem Barmherzigen nieder!‘ sagen sie: ‚Was soll das denn heißen: ‚der Barmherzige‘ (...)‘? Sollen wir uns vor etwas niederwerfen, nur weil du es uns befehlst? (...) Und es bestärkt sie (nur noch) in ihrer ablehnenden Haltung.

Vereinzelt gibt es indes auch – tatsächlich oder vermeintlich – positive Äußerungen über die Beduinen. Die arabischen Grammatiker etwa neigten dazu, mindestens bestimmte Beduinen wegen der Reinheit und Schönheit ihrer Sprache zu rühmen, während sich doch das Arabisch der sesshaften Koraisch, zu denen ja auch der Prophet gehörte, bei ihnen keines speziellen Ansehens erfreute. Ibn Ḥaldūn, der große Geschichtstheoretiker des islamischen Mittelalters, der die möglichen Ursachen des zunehmend sichtbaren Abstiegs von der einst großen Vergangenheit zu ergründen suchte, liefert in seiner *Muḳaddima* eine Reihe positiver Einschätzungen des Nomadentums, z. B.: „Das nomadische Leben ist älter als das sesshafte (...) Das freie offene Land ist Wiege und Kraftborn der menschlichen Kultur und der großen Städte“; „Die nomadische Bevölkerung neigt stärker dem Guten zu als die sesshafte Bevölkerung“; „Die nomadische Bevölkerung ist tapferer als die sesshafte“ usw. Doch gemeint sind hier nicht die umherstreifenden Beduinen, sondern die „herrschaftsbildenden“ Nomaden, die zur Begründung einer gottgefälligen Ordnung beitragen – nicht dazu, diese zu zerstören.

Die beduinischen Araber zeichnet Ibn Ḥaldūn besonders im Abschnitt 26 seines Zweiten Buches hingegen in düsteren Farben:

Den Ort zu wechseln und umherzustreifen, ist das eigentliche Ziel ihres täglichen Lebens. Es ist das Gegenteil des sesshaften Daseins, durch das die Zivilisation entsteht, und mit dem Sesshaftsein unvereinbar. So holen die Araber beispielsweise die Steine, die sie zum Aufstellen ihrer Kochgerätschaften benötigen, von Gebäuden, die sie zu diesem Zweck niederreißen. Ebenso gehen sie bei der Beschaffung von Holz vor, das sie für das Aufstellen ihrer Zelte (...) benötigen. Sie reißen hierzu die Decken der Gebäude herunter. (...) Ebenso liegt es in der Natur der Araber, andere ihres Besitzes zu berauben. (...) Wenn es darum geht, Menschen ihr Eigentum wegzunehmen, gibt es für sie keine Schranke, vor der sie haltmachen würden (...) jede Politik, die den Besitz des Menschen schützt, wird hinfällig, und so geht die Zivilisation zugrunde (...) Schau dir die Länder der Welt an, die die Araber beherrschten und eroberten. Wie ist ihre Zivilisation zerstört, wie sind sie entvölkert worden und wie wurde Land zu Niemandland! Im Jemen sind bis auf wenige große Städte die Ortschaften verödet. Ebenso ist die Zivilisation des arabischen Irak, die die Perser entwickelt hatten, ruiniert (...) Zuvor war das ganze Gebiet zwischen Sudan und dem Mittelmeer besiedelt gewesen, wovon die Spuren der dortigen Zivilisation Zeugnis ablegen, so die Bauwerke wie die Ruinen der Dörfer und Siedlungen.

– Solche und ähnliche Argumente ließen sich auch aus anderen Quellen gewinnen, und zwar bis ins 20. Jh. hinein, wobei sicher zu Recht bemerkt worden ist, „dass die starken emotionalen Vorbehalte gegen die Beduinen die Autoren zu mancher Hemmungslosigkeit und Übertreibung verleiteten“.⁴ Ein besonders markantes Beispiel sei die Darstellung der Beschneidung bei den Beduinen von aṭ-Ṭā'if durch Mehmed (Muḥammad) Şadiḳ Pascha.⁵ In den 1880er-Jahren schreibe dieser, die Beduinen

würden ihre Knaben nach dem Erreichen der Geschlechtsreife mit etwa 15 Jahren beschneiden, und zwar indem sie die Haut vom Bauch unterhalb des Nabels bis zum oberen Drittel der Schenkel abziehen! Die meisten männlichen Vertreter des na-

⁴ Stratkötter 1991: 116.

⁵ Treuhänder der ägyptischen *şurra*, dessen Berichte aus den Jahren 1880 und 1885 datieren.

mentlich nicht genannten Stammes kämen auf diese Weise zu Tode! Ferner sei die Verlobte des Knaben bei dieser Prozedur anwesend und würde jede Schmerzäußerung als Schande ansehen.⁶

Unter den Mekka-Pilgern vor dem Ersten Weltkrieg, und selbst noch danach, war „das Misstrauen gegenüber der beduinischen Bevölkerung des Hiğāz groß – ihr Ruf schlecht. Pilgern, Städtern und Osmanen galten sie gleichermaßen als ungläubig, ungebildet, ungehobelt und barbarisch.“⁷

Und doch hatten in den achtziger Jahren des 19. Jahrhunderts namhafte osmanische Intellektuelle, allen voran der in Kaukasien und Russland aufgewachsene Mīzāncı Meḫmed Murād⁸ und der unter der Protektion des berühmten Aḫmed Midḫat Pascha⁹ noch in Rumelien zu Amt und Würden gekommene Aḫmed Midḫat Efendi,¹⁰ den „edlen Beduinen“ entdeckt, und zwar in der Familie der zivilisationserneuenden, unverdorbenen „Barbaren“ der Völkerwanderungszeit: Als Hauptvertreter der „nördlichen Barbaren“ nennt Meḫmed Murād Germanen und Slawen, als sogenannte „östliche Barbaren“ Türken, Tataren und Mongolen, während er „die Beduinen und übrigen Araber“ als „südliche Barbaren“ bezeichnet.¹¹ Vorrangig kam es ihm, deutlicher noch bei Midḫat Efendi,¹² auf die „Erkenntnis“ an, dass es sich speziell bei den (osmanischen) Türken um eine solche zivilisationserneuende Völkerschaft handele, deren Rolle im Orient der der Franken im Abendland entsprochen habe. Aber auch die historische Rolle der (beduinischen) Araber konnte (oder: musste) im Lichte dieser neuen „Erkenntnis“ neu beleuchtet werden. Trotzdem bleibt die Revision des traditionellen Beduinenbil-

⁶ *Loc. cit.*

⁷ *Idea*, S. 115.

⁸ Vgl. Ursinus 1979.

⁹ Über Midḫat Pascha zusammenfassend (mit Literaturangaben) Herzog 2012: Abschnitt 3.2.12., 134–9.

¹⁰ Ursinus 2001. Weiterführende Literatur zu Aḫmed Midḫat Efendi bei Ursinus 1994b: 134, Anm. 10.

¹¹ Meḫmed Murād 1328H/1910: 5 f. und passim.

¹² Aḫmed Midḫat 1303H/1885-6: 59 f., 123 f. Vgl. Ursinus 1994b: 136, Anm. 18.

des im Kontext der spätosmanischen Historiografie (worauf ich hier im Einzelnen jedoch nicht näher eingehen kann) in ihren Ansätzen stecken; auch wenn Murād über die arabischen „Barbaren“ ungewohnt wohlwollend urteilt, indem er wiederholt ihre besonderen Verstandeskräfte rühmt (diese zeigten sich etwa in der atemberaubenden Schnelligkeit, mit der die Araber sich im Mittelalter die Wissenschaften angeeignet hätten) und ihre ausnehmend reiche Sprache lobt (sie seien imstande, einem Tier viertausend verschiedene Namen zu geben), so vermag er indes nicht zu verschweigen, dass die Beduinen ihren Lebensunterhalt aus Viehhaltung und Plünderi bestritten.

In seinem Aufsatz betitelt „Cavafy’s Barbarians and their Western Genealogy“ hat mein Birminghamer Kollege Dimitris Tziovas, ausgehend von Cavafys wohl bekanntestem Gedicht ‚Periménontas tous Varvárours‘ von 1898, das für das (abendländische) 19. Jh. kennzeichnende ambivalente Verhältnis zum „Barbarentum“ herausgearbeitet: „The paradox of the nineteenth century is that barbarism plays the role, on the one hand, of the comparative ‘other’ in order to prove western cultural progress and, on the other hand, represents a potential source of its rejuvenation“.¹³ Ich will und kann hier die vor allem in der Reiseliteratur, der schönen Literatur und in der Kunst des 19. Jahrhunderts immer wieder fassbare Begeisterung des gesellschaftsmüden Abendlandes für die „letzten freien Männer“ draußen in der arabischen Wüste nicht weiter ausführen und auch Karl May oder Laurence of Arabia keines Wortes würdigen. Doch sollte klar geworden sein, dass ich auch den von Midḥat Efendi und Mehmed Murād vorgestellten Beduinen positiven Vorzeichens eine „Western Genealogy“ zuschreiben möchte.

Auch wenn uns die kemalistische Kulturrevolution mit ihrem abrupten Perspektivenwechsel leicht dafür den Blick verstellen mag: die Belle Époque des Osmanischen Reiches war gesamt europäisch geprägt; kennzeichnend sind eine in der Rückschau oft verblüffende Offenheit im Umgang mit dem Westen; ein noch nicht entscheidend getrübt Vertrauen in den Fortschritt westlicher Prägung sowie beachtliches Wissen

¹³ Tziovas 1986: 169.

über den Westen, zumindest den zeitgenössischen. Aber auch die abendländische Geschichte, angefangen mit den Griechen und Römern, war vielen Osmanen spätestens seit der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts keineswegs mehr unbekannt. Vermutlich wusste man im Osmanischen Reich eines Kostantinidi Pascha (Autor einer 1869 verfassten *Geschichte des Alten Griechenland*)¹⁴ und eines Mîzâncı Mehmed Murâd (von dem die früheste *Römische Geschichte* in osmanisch-türkischer Sprache stammt,¹⁵ als Lehrbuch erstmals 1879 gedruckt) besser über die Alte Geschichte des Abendlandes Bescheid als über die eigene vorislamische Vergangenheit, die als „Zeit der Unwissenheit“ in weiten Kreisen für verabscheuungswürdig gehalten wurde. In der spätosmanischen Gesellschaft des ausgehenden 19. Jahrhunderts hatte, wie die genannten Autoren beweisen, die Rezeption abendländischer Geschichte bereits Ergebnisse aufzuweisen, die trotz aller Unzulänglichkeiten die spätosmanische Historiografie (ja das osmanische Geschichtsbewusstsein generell) nachhaltig beeinflussen sollten,¹⁶ selbst in den osmanischen Provinzen, die sich im Gefolge der neuen Vilayets-Gesetzgebung unter der Federführung von Ahmed Midhat Pascha seit 1864 einem verstärkten Modernisierungsdruck ausgesetzt sahen. Einschlägige Erfahrungen zur Neugestaltung der osmanischen Provinzen überwiegend nach französischem Muster hatte Midhat Pascha übrigens im Verwaltungsbezirk von Niş sammeln und weiterentwickeln können.¹⁷

Zu den noch längst nicht hinreichend untersuchten Gegenständen der Osmanistik gehört die Modernisierung der osmanischen Peripherie.¹⁸ Wir wissen zwar mit welcher Flut von Anordnungen und Verfügungen die Provinzen im Verlauf der *Tanzîmât* (die Periode der „Wohltätigen Anordnungen“, im engeren Sinne die Ära 1839–76) überschwemmt wurden; darüber, wie man „vor Ort“ damit in der Praxis umgegangen

¹⁴ *Tārîḫ-i Yunānistān-i Kadîm*.

¹⁵ Mehmed Murâd 1327H/1909.

¹⁶ Herzog 1996.

¹⁷ Immer noch grundlegend hierzu Kornrumpf 1976.

¹⁸ Einen wichtigen methodischen Ansatz zur Untersuchung osmanischer Modernisierungskonzepte speziell in der Peripherie des Reiches bietet Reinkowski 2005.

ist, sind wir sehr viel weniger gut unterrichtet, besonders bezüglich Gebieten mit indirekten Herrschaftsformen. Dass vieles nicht zur Zufriedenheit der Regierung in der fernen Hauptstadt bewerkstelligt worden ist, suggeriert die Häufigkeit, mit der Inspektoren (*müfettiş*) entsandt werden mussten. Nur in groben Umrissen zeichnet sich ab, was man in den Verwaltungsstellen auf Provinz-, Distrikts- und Kreisebene von so manchen der wortgewaltig angekündigten Reformabsichten Istanbuls hielt, oder gar was die Betroffenen darüber dachten – wenn sie diese denn verstanden. Es ist erwiesen, dass mit der Einrichtung offizieller Vilayets-Zeitungen in jeder Reformprovinz sichergestellt werden sollte, dass das Reformpaket bis in die entfernteste Region des Reiches hinein einem möglichst breiten Leser- und, da die meisten Untertanen des Lesens selbst nicht mächtig, sondern auf einen Vorleser angewiesen waren, Zuhörerkreis bekanntgemacht wurde. In Gebieten mit einer nennenswerten nicht-türkischen Bevölkerung (und das waren die weit-aus meisten) erschienen solche Zeitungen in zwei- bis viersprachigen Versionen.¹⁹

Verschiedene Leitartikel enthalten die Absichtserklärung, sich der örtlichen Leserschaft rückhaltlos verständlich machen zu wollen, um sie umfassend belehren zu können. Nachrichten über örtliche Kuriositäten, die Behandlung von Themen mit besonderem lokalem Interesse sowie die Einbeziehung der Leserschaft durch das Medium der Leserschrift unterstreichen das Bemühen der Redaktionen um Resonanz bei der Ortsbevölkerung. Insgesamt kann man sich des Eindrucks nicht erwehren, dass die osmanischen *resmî vilâyet gazeteleri* (so ihre osmanische Bezeichnung) in einigen Fällen von den zuständigen Gouverneuren bzw. deren Schriftleitern bewusst dazu eingesetzt worden sind, den *Tanzîmât*-Jargon der Regierungsstellen gewissermaßen in den „Lokaldialekt“ (zu verstehen natürlich nur im übertragenen Sinne) ihrer Provinz umzusetzen, d. h. in thematischer wie assoziativer Hinsicht mit „Lokal-kolorit“ zu versehen bzw. zu „lokalisieren“ (Chr. Herzog). Tatsächlich

¹⁹ Herzog 2012: Abschnitt 9.4, 644–73: Der Modernisierungsdiskurs in Zevra unter Midhat Paşa.

lassen einige Provinzzeitungen dieses Typs erkennen, wie hier – im allgemeinen Diskurs der *Tanzîmât* – regionalspezifische Argumente prominente Bedeutung erlangen, um im Einzelfall den Charakter regionaler Ausdrucksformen zentraler Modernisierungskonzepte anzunehmen.

Ich möchte Ihnen einen solchen Fall am Beispiel der Provinzzeitung von Bagdad veranschaulichen. Hierbei wird unsere besondere Aufmerksamkeit dem Thema „Beduinen-Unwesen“ gelten, wobei gezeigt werden soll, in welchem breiteren Argumentationsrahmen sich dieser Gegenstand lokal einfügt.

Ahmed Şefik Midhat Pascha war nach seiner Abberufung aus dem Donau-Vilayet am 27. Februar 1869 zum Gouverneur des neugeschaffenen *vilâyet* Bagdad ernannt worden, Standort der Sechsten Armee. Ahmed Midhat Efendi, der bekannte Literat, Stückeschreiber und Historiker, von dem bereits mehrfach die Rede gewesen ist, hatte als gerade 25-Jähriger von Midhat Pascha die Herausgeberschaft der Zeitung *Tûna* („Donau“) übertragen bekommen, war aber schon im März 1869 seinem Gönner und Namensgeber nach Bagdad gefolgt, um dort unverzüglich die Redaktionsgeschäfte der Vilayets-Zeitung mit Namen *Zevrâ* zu übernehmen, die dort einmal wöchentlich in osmanisch-türkischer und arabischer Sprache erscheinen sollte (sie hatte bis 1917 Bestand). Schon in der Nr. 3 der Zeitung zeichnet er unter der Überschrift „Die Gründe für den Niedergang des Irak und Mittel zu seinem Wiederaufschwung“ ein düsteres Bild seines neuen Wirkungskreises, charakterisiert durch raublustige und unbotmäßige Beduinen, das Fehlen von sicheren Verkehrsverbindungen und schiffbaren Häfen, ein fast gänzlich zum Erliegen gekommenes Handwerk und äußerst primitive Zustände in der Landwirtschaft. Midhat Efendi betrachtet das zeitgenössische Zweistromland sichtlich als ein Muster grenzenloser Rückständigkeit, und es fällt das Wort vom „*harâbezâr*“, d. h. Ruinenfeld. Schon in diesem ersten längeren programmatischen Beitrag unterstellt er einem Teil der einst sesshaften Bewohner des Zweistromlandes, die beduinische Lebensform sei ihnen keinesfalls aufgezwungen worden, sondern sie hätten sie angenommen, und zwar aus eigenem Versehen oder gar aus

freien Stücken. „Demjenigen, der sich in der Geschichte auskennt“, so Midḥat wörtlich, „ist es nicht verborgen geblieben, dass diejenigen Bewohner (des Landes), die anfangs in zahllosen Städten und Flecken ein zivilisiertes (oder: sesshaftes) Leben führten, schließlich Nomaden- und Barbarentum gewählt haben“.²⁰ Dieses Argument vom keineswegs naturräumlich bedingten Beduinentum gewinnt in nachfolgenden Ausführungen, die zum ganz überwiegenden Teil auf Midḥat Efendi zurückgehen dürften, auch wenn sie nicht namentlich gekennzeichnet sind, noch an Schärfe und instrumentaler Potenz.

In Nr. 9 des Blattes vom 11. August 1869 trägt der Leitartikel den Titel „Zivilisation (versus) Barbarei (oder: Beduinentum)“: Die gegenwärtig innerhalb des Radius der Zivilisation lebenden Menschen, so sage man, hätten ihr ursprüngliches Dasein im Zustand der Barbarei (oder: des Beduinentums) verbracht und seien erst später zur Zivilisation gekommen. „Auch wenn bekannt ist“, so der Wortlaut im Einzelnen,

dass die Menschen zu Beginn ihrer Existenz in den Bergen und Wäldern lebten und hieraus ihren Lebensunterhalt bezogen - ebenso wie der beduinische Ursprung einiger der gegenwärtig zivilisierten (oder: sesshaften) Völkerschaften bekannt ist - so liegt der Sachverhalt, wenn man die Angelegenheit auf ihre Grundlagen hin überprüft, doch anders, selbst wenn solche Gedanken auf den ersten Blick solide und einleuchtend scheinen. Im Gegensatz (zur geäußerten Ansicht) ist das Menschengeschlecht seinem Ursprung nach sesshaft; ein Teil (der Menschheit) ist jedoch, nachdem dieser in einer Welt von Blühen und Gedeihen den Weg des Fortschritts verfolgend schnellen Schrittes in Richtung auf den Hort der Glückseligkeit und Vollkommenheit vorangeschritten war, schließlich doch vom Pfad abgewichen und in der Wüstenei des Beduinentums versunken. Dies wird bei all denen, die dies in Erfahrung gebracht haben und besonders jenen, die der Menschheit allgemein eine glückliche Existenz wünschen, Bedauern hervorrufen.

– Worauf aber sei zurückzuführen, dass ein Teil des Menschengeschlechts, trotz seiner Verstandesgaben und Urteilskraft, wodurch es weit oberhalb des Tierreichs stehe, das Beduinentum gewählt habe,

²⁰ Der Leser findet eine deutsche Übersetzung des gesamten „Schlüsseltextes dieses lokalisierten Modernisierungsdiskurses“ aus der Nr. 3 von *Zevrā* bei Herzog 2012: 647–52.

dessen sich nicht einmal die Tiere, die doch alle über ein Nest verfügten, das sie zu ihrer Wohnstätte zu nehmen pflegten, schuldig gemacht hätten ? Dies sei eine komplizierte Frage, räumt der Autor ein. Sinn mache nur, wenn man eine graduelle Entwöhnung von der Zivilisation durch Jagen in der Wüste und zunehmende Gewöhnung an beduinische Lebensweisen mit dem Ergebnis postulierte, dass das Beduinentum – einmal angenommen – zusammen mit der daraus resultierenden Ignoranz es ihnen verwehrt habe, den Weg zurück zur Zivilisation zu finden. So hätten diese Menschen begonnen, unter Wegnahme von Hab und Gut untereinander und durch Raub von Feldfrüchten auf eine Art und Weise ihr Leben zu fristen, dass es im Namen von Menschlichkeit und Zivilisation unmöglich sei, ihnen dies weiterhin zu gestatten.²¹

In der Ausgabe vom 17. August 1869, also in der nächstfolgenden Nummer (Nr. 10), wendet sich ein offensichtlich traditionell gebildeter Leser an die Redaktion von *Zevrā* mit dem Hinweis, ihm reiche der Verweis auf die Jagd als Erklärung für die Annahme des Beduinentums durch einen Teil der Menschheit nicht aus. Zwar sei der Primat der Zivilisation gegenüber der Barbarei/dem Beduinentum durch den Prophetenspruch belegt: „*Man badā fa-kad cafā*“ (was soviel heißt wie „Wer in der Wüste wohnt, der hat sich abgewandt“). Doch gebe es zwingende Gründe, die die nach Glückseligkeit strebenden Menschen veranlasst hätten, das jedem geistigen und materiellem Fortschritt im Wege stehende Beduinentum anzunehmen. Einer dieser Gründe sei der Mangel an Gerechtigkeit und staatlicher Kontrolle im Lande. Besonders die Menschen in den östlichen Landesteilen hätten jahrhundertlang unter Tyrannei und Unterdrückung gelebt. Zugunsten der Beduinen des Zweistromlandes komme ihm noch ein weiterer Entschuldigungsgrund in den Sinn. Während in gemäßigten Landstrichen die Bewohner leicht einen Ort zum Siedeln fänden, wo sie sämtliche lebensnotwendigen Güter zur Verfügung hätten, so gelte für die Bewohner dieses Landes, dass die Menschen dort, wo sie geeignetes Land zum Feldbau zur Ver-

²¹ Vgl. die wörtliche Übersetzung längerer Passagen aus diesem Kommentar bei Herzog 2012: 658 f.

fügung hätten, ihre Tiere grasen zu lassen außerstande seien; und dass sie dort, wo sie Viehweiden fänden, kein Wasser auftreiben könnten und dass dort, wo sie auf Wasser stießen, Weiden und Felder fehlten. So seien sie gezwungen, bis zum Ende aller Zeiten mit dem Zelt auf dem Rücken umherzuziehen. Die Segnungen der Zivilisation blieben diesen armen Kreaturen dadurch auf immer vorenthalten.

Die Schriftleitung von *Zevrā* weist derlei die Beduinen entlastende Argumente mit Nachdruck zurück. In einem längeren Kommentar unmittelbar im Anschluss an den Leserbrief führt sie aus, man könne zwar nicht leugnen, dass es in vergangenen Zeiten Jahrhunderte gegeben habe, wo das Beduinentum zur Zuflucht der Sesshaften geworden sei; man müsse jedoch eingestehen, dass inzwischen andere Zeiten, solche, die der ganzen Welt ein Beispiel von Gerechtigkeit böten, angebrochen seien (jedoch ohne dass die Beduinen zum sesshaften Leben und zur Zivilisation zurückgefunden hätten). Was die naturräumlichen Bedingungen des Beduinentums in Mesopotamien angehe, so sei dieser Gedanke abwegig. „Denn“, so heißt es in der Entgegnung wörtlich,

diejenigen, die den blühenden Zustand des Zweistromlandes, wie wir ihn zu unserer Verwunderung nun in historischer Zeit erkennen können, hervorgebracht haben, waren Sesshafte. Dass sie sämtlich Sesshafte waren, beweisen die noch heute sichtbaren Ruinen von Städten und Ortschaften. Diese Ruinen stammen alle von großen Städten und Orten. Wenn wir sämtliche heute (längst) niedergerissenen und verschwundenen Dörfer und Saatfelder (*çiftlik*) in Rechnung stellen, so können wir mit Bestimmtheit sagen, dass sich das erwähnte Gebiet damals im Zustand eines blühenden Gartens, einem solchen in den gemäßigten Breiten vergleichbar, befunden haben muss. Da sich dies nun so (wie beschrieben) verhält, sind wir der festen Überzeugung, dass auch der Einsender der Zuschrift akzeptieren wird, dass das Beduinentum in den Regionen des Irak nicht durch örtliche Naturgegebenheiten bedingt ist.

Damit liegen die Verhältnisse für die Zeitung klar: Das Beduinentum des Irak ist „selbstverschuldet“. Die Ruinen in der näheren und weiteren Umgebung beweisen, dass die Natur des Landes sesshaftes Leben in weitestem Ausmaß erlaubt. Und warum soll, was einst möglich war, mit Hilfe einer zielgerichteten osmanischen Beduinenpolitik nicht erneut

Wirklichkeit werden? – Es gibt kaum einen Zweifel, dass – gewissermaßen als „Sprachrohr“ eines Aḥmed Midḥat Pascha – Aḥmed Midḥat Efendi hinter diesen und ähnlichen Formulierungen steht. Zu sehr ähneln die Argumente jenen, mit denen Midḥat Efendi in den Spalten derselben offiziellen Vilayets-Zeitung die Diskussion um das Entwicklungspotential des zeitgenössischen Irak unter Rückgriff auf die zivilisatorischen Leistungen des Reiches von Assur geführt hat.²² Für ihn liegt hier der Schlüssel zum richtigen Verständnis der zivilisatorischen Rolle der osmanischen Herrschaft über Mesopotamien.

Dank der schriftlichen Quellen, so Aḥmed Midḥat am 30. März 1870, sei bekannt, dass die *Cezîretü'l-‘Arab*, das Mesopotamien der Alten, vor einigen Tausend Jahren beileibe keine von Beduinen durchstreifte Einöde, sondern blühendes Kulturland mit einer hochstehenden Zivilisation, ja das Zentrum der zivilisierten Welt überhaupt darstellte, höher entwickelt als selbst Ägypten.²³ Die weiten Landstriche zwischen Euphrat und Tigris, so hatte er bereits in *Zevrâ* Nr. 38 vom 8. März geschrieben, seien von den frühgeschichtlichen Völkerschaften allen anderen Gebieten wegen ihrer unvorstellbaren Fruchtbarkeit vorgezogen worden. Dieses von seinen natürlichen Voraussetzungen her so außergewöhnlich begünstigte Land habe seinen Bewohnern eine blühende Kultur und reiches Wohlergehen beschert, doch wisse derjenige, der sich in der Geschichte auskennt, dass tiefgreifende Umwälzungen sie dem Niedergang preisgegeben und dazu geführt hätten, dass die Bewohner, die anfangs in zahllosen Städten und Ortschaften ein zivilisiertes Leben führten, schließlich Beduinentum (*bedeviyet*) und ein Leben in der Barbarei (*vahşiyet*) gewählt hätten. Diesen Prozess umzukehren und den ursprünglichen blühenden Zustand des Heimatlandes wiederherzustellen, erscheine zwar als glatte Unmöglichkeit, doch sei dies ein falscher Eindruck, der aus der Tatsache resultiere, dass es sich dabei um ein unvorstellbar schwieriges und langwieriges Vorhaben handele, dessen

²² Herzog 2012: 652 ff.; dazu Ursinus 1994a, S. 161 ff.

²³ *Zevrâ* Nr. 40.

Früchte erst nach Ablauf geraumer Zeit würden geerntet werden können.²⁴

Trotz einiger expliziter Bezüge auf das Reich von Assur in den Leitartikeln von *Zevrā* deutet nichts darauf hin, dass Midḥat Efendi sich für die alte Geschichte des Zweistromlandes in besonderer Weise interessiert hätte. Die französischen und britischen Grabungen, die über zwei Jahrzehnte vor seiner Zeit durch Botta und Layard aufgenommen worden waren, bleiben in den Beiträgen von *Zevrā* – soweit ich sehen kann – unerwähnt. Auch wenn Midḥat nachweislich von ihnen gewusst hat, deutet doch alles darauf hin, dass er keine der großen Grabungsstätten in der Nähe von Mossul je besucht hat. Stattdessen fällt auf – und ich habe hierüber an anderer Stelle bereits ausführlicher berichtet – dass Midḥat Efendi mit seiner instrumentalen Anknüpfung an Ort und Zeit der alten Reiche von Assur und Babylon keineswegs einzig dasteht. Unter seinem tatkräftigen Gouverneur Aḥmed Midḥat Pascha erlebt der Irak am Beginn der siebziger Jahre des 19. Jh. nicht nur, wie dieser die erste seegängige Dampfschiffflotte unter osmanischer Flagge ausbaut, sondern auch, wie dieser „*Gāvur Paşa*“ drei der vier größten Schiffe auf symbolträchtige Namen aus der vorislamischen Geschichte des Landes tauft, nachdem die von seinen Vorgängern in Dienst gestellten Fahrzeuge überwiegend regionsspezifische Fluss- oder Städtenamen wie *Dicle* oder *Fırāt* (die Flüsse Tigris und Euphrat) bzw. *Mūsul* trugen. So heißen die stattlichsten, aus England beschafften und vornehmlich für den Verkehr zwischen Basra und Istanbul sowie London bestimmten Dampfschiffe nun *Bābil*, *Nīnūva* und *Āsūr* – geeignet, aller Welt vom erneuten Aufstieg eines alten Landes Kunde zu geben.

Es ist indes damit keineswegs gesagt, dass sich Midḥat Pascha, unter maßgeblicher Beteiligung durch Midḥat Efendi als dem Redakteur der offiziellen Provinzzeitung, wirklich einer Art „mesopotamischen Pharaonismus“ als zentrifugaler Kraft bedient hat – noch, dass solche Absichten je bestanden hätten. Dass ein Korrespondent der bedeutenden

²⁴ Der osmanische Wortlaut dieser Passage findet sich bei Ursinus 1994a: 160 f., Anm. 22.

hauptstädtischen Zeitung *Teraḳḳī* („Fortschritt“) zu Beginn des Jahres 1871 (also noch Monate bevor Großwesir ‘Ālī Pascha Midḥat Paschas Verdienste um die Schaffung eines „zweiten Ägypten“ im Irak hintergründig rühmen sollte) in einer Zuschrift an *Zevrā* Nr. 121 vom 22. Februar 1871 Bagdad vielsagend als *Bagdād-i Midḥat-ābād* (etwa „das von Midḥat zum Blühen gebrachte Bagdad“) bezeichnet, mag lediglich andeuten, wie frühzeitig in der Hauptstadt bereits gegangewöhnt worden ist, der Pascha könne sich im Zweistromland eine dem Ägypten Muḥammad ‘Alis vergleichbare, gefährliche Machtbasis aufbauen.²⁵ Auch die Hintergründe seiner Abberufung aus der Runden Stadt (es waren Vorwürfe lautgeworden, er hielte die Überschüsse aus dem unter seiner Verwaltung sprunghaft vermehrten Steueraufkommen für lokale, wenn nicht gar eigene Zwecke zurück, statt sie der Staatskasse zufließen zu lassen, wie dies Maḥmūd Nedīm, der neue Großwesir, verlangte) spiegeln Midḥat Paschas konsequentes Eintreten zugunsten der ihm unterstellten Provinz wider, nicht jedoch separatistische Absichten, wie ihm mancherorts unterstellt wurde. Und doch scheinen, wie bereits andernorts zum Ausdruck gebracht,²⁶ beide Midḥats, Efendi wie Pascha, an der Förderung eines Bewusstseins von der wiederherstellbaren einstigen Größe des Zweistromlandes gearbeitet zu haben – ein Konzept, in dem nun allerdings die unbotmäßigen Beduinen keinen Platz mehr haben sollten. Damit wird der eingangs zitierte Bericht über die des Landes verwiesenen Stammesführer der Ḥazā’il in seiner Symbolträchtigkeit deutlich: mit dem Dampfer *Bābil*, dem Flaggschiff der Midḥat’schen Dampfschifflotte außer Landes gebracht, erwartet die Geiseln eine auf unbestimmte Zeit bemessene Haft in der Feste von Niş – dem Geburtsort der modernen osmanischen Provinzialreform, tief im Herzen einer der wichtigsten osmanischen Agrarregionen gelegen. – Bleibt zu fragen, was die ihrer Führer beraubten Stammesangehörigen erwartete.

²⁵ Vgl. Davison 1973: 156, 163 f.

²⁶ Ursinus 1994a: 163 f.

Auch hierauf hält die Zeitung *Zevrā* eine Antwort bereit. Sie findet sich ausführlicher dargelegt in einem Kommentar der Zeitung zu einem mehrspaltigen Bericht über Militärationen gegen die Schammar in der bereits erwähnten Nr. 121 vom 22. Februar 1871, aus dem ich abschließend zitieren möchte. Eine Gruppe der Schammar hatte, aus Mangel an Futtermitteln, einige bei der Aussaat beschäftigte Bauern überfallen und ihnen das Saatgut nebst einigen anderen Gegenständen geraubt. Kaum sei die Kunde davon nach Bagdad gelangt, als die Provinzialregierung eine Vorausabteilung mit vier Kavallerieregimentern und einer Feldkanone marschfertig gemacht und in die Wüste abkommandiert habe, um dort für die Nacht zu biwakieren und am nächsten Morgen noch vor Sonnenaufgang die Beduinen anzugreifen. Der Überraschungsangriff war offenbar ein voller Erfolg; die Beduinen wurden so restlos geschlagen, dass sie befürchten mussten, all ihrer Habe verlustig zu gehen. Frauen und Kinder, so *Zevrā*, hätten die Soldaten angefleht, ihnen doch ihr Vieh sowie ihr Hab und Gut zu lassen. Die Soldaten, so die Zeitung weiter, wären damit einverstanden gewesen und hätten ihnen nichts abgenommen, doch noch in der Niederlage aufsässig seien die Beduinen plötzlich unter Zurücklassung ihrer Tiere und Habseligkeiten geflohen. Selbst jetzt noch hätten die Soldaten sich an keinem „Körnchen“ beduinischen Besitzes vergriffen, sondern hätten lediglich das geraubte Saatgut zurückgegeben. Den Beduinen habe man daraufhin nachgesetzt und sie schließlich weiter nach Obermesopotamien abdrängen können.

Der nachfolgende Kommentar der Zeitung ist in seiner Ambivalenz, hinter der sich möglicherweise Kritik an einer solchen vorrangig militärischen Vorgehensweise verbirgt, bemerkenswert. So heißt es hier, es sei vornehmste Aufgabe einer Regierung, die Beduinen zurechtzuweisen und zu züchtigen, und zwar aus zwei Gründen: Erstens, um die Beduinen selbst vor einigen direkt aus dem Beduinentum resultierenden Nachteilen zu schützen. Zweitens, um die Schäden abzustellen, die der sesshaften Bevölkerung durch die Beduinen entstünden. Diese Verpflichtung gelte dergestalt, dass zu diesem Zweck auch alternative Wege zur bloßen Zurechtweisung und Züchtigung beschritten werden dürften. Es sei solch barbarischen Völkerschaften mit Wort und Tat klarzu-

machen, dass es gegen die Menschlichkeit verstößt, sich am Hab und Gut sowie dem Vieh der (sesshaften) Bevölkerung und besonders an ihren Rechten zu vergreifen, und dass es notwendig sei, dass der Mensch zu seinem Wohlergehen eine gottgefällige Beschäftigung wählt, die den Erfordernissen von Menschlichkeit und Zivilisation entspricht, wie Feldbau, Viehzucht, Handwerk und Handel. Die Beduinen umgekehrt überall dort, wo man sie anträfe, zu zerschlagen und ihnen ihre bewegliche Habe und ihr Vieh zu nehmen, stärke nur noch ihre Entschlossenheit, ihren Lebensunterhalt aus Raub und Plünderung zu bestreiten. „Allerdings“, so wörtlich vorliegender Kommentar,

kann man nicht sagen, dass ein solches Vorgehen keinen weiteren Nutzen hätte als den, die (ohnehin schon) wilden Beduinen noch barbarischer werden zu lassen. Wenn man die Beduinen immer dann, wenn sie (wieder einmal) über die sesshafte Bevölkerung hergefallen sind, konsequent bekämpft, dann erreichen sie (früher oder später) einen Zustand, wo sie keine Lust mehr an Überfällen verspüren und damit beginnen werden, Viehhandel zu treiben, da ihre beduinische Natur es ihnen ja wehrt, sich dem Feldbau zuzuwenden. Auf diese Weise hätten sie den Weg der Menschlichkeit und der Zivilisation bereits beschritten – und sei dies nur ein winzig kleines Stück. Es bleibt ihnen (dann) allerdings keine andere Wahl, als darauf zu achten, dass mit dem Viehhandel auch die Viehzucht (einhergeht) und die Zahl der Tiere zunimmt, da sie sonst, weil sie alle ihre Bedürfnisse aus den erzielten Gewinnen befriedigen wollen, ständig ihre (zur Transhumanz erforderlichen) eigenen Tiere verkaufen würden, was ebenso zum Mangel an Vieh führen würde wie die Viehräubereien, die die Beduinen während ihrer Raubzüge begehen. Auch führen die auf Gottes weisen Ratschluss hin alle ein, zwei Jahre hereinbrechenden Dürren und das auf den Weiden nur noch spärlich vorhandene Gras dazu, dass die Tiere in großem Stil verenden. (...) Das Ergebnis (...) ist, dass von den Angehörigen der Stämme 'Aneze und Schammar einige junge Männer in die Städte und Ortschaften gekommen sind, um sich hier als Kaffeeverkäufer, Herbergswirt, Lehrling oder Lastträger zu verdingen. Ebenso haben einige Zeltgruppen und Stämme damit begonnen, hier und da an den Ufern des Euphrat in begrenztem Umfang Landwirtschaft zu treiben.

– Anders ausgedrückt: Man locke die Beduinen in den Orbit des Geldes und zerschlage sie so ebenso effektiv auf unblutige Weise!

Etwa fünfzehn Jahre später sollte sich der bereits mehrfach erwähnte Mehmed Murād in der Nr. 53 seiner Zeitung *Mizān* („Die Waage“) vom 26. April 1888 in Istanbul folgendermaßen über das Zweistromland der Zeit nach Midḥat Pascha äußern:

Jedermann wird bestätigen, dass der Irak selbst Ägypten übertroffen hat; dass er größer ist als Deutschland, das über 50 Millionen Einwohner verfügt; und dass er infolge (seiner Natur als) Tiefebene die Möglichkeit zu jeder Anbauart bietet (...). Ohne Ende und Grenzen ist die Zahl jener Kenner, die ihn als an der Erdoberfläche liegenden Schatz, als ein „neues Amerika“, (ja) als „zweites Kalifornien“ betrachten.²⁷

„I trust that it may be the destiny of England to bring about that change“ hatte Henry Layard vierzig Jahre zuvor geäußert.²⁸ Ob er wohl der osmanischen Provinzregierung von Bagdad zugetraut hätte, jemals auch nur den Versuch zu einer nachhaltigen Modernisierung des Landes zu machen? Seine Erfahrungen mit den örtlichen Stellen, niedergelegt in mehreren seiner Berichte, lassen dies wenig wahrscheinlich erscheinen. Dass einst ein Istanbulī Efendi in Bagdad allgemeinverständlich formulierte Narrative eines „lokalisierten“, weil am konkreten Beispiel von „vor Ort“ orientierten *Tanzīmāt*-Modernisierungsdiskurses, zugeschnitten auf die Erfahrungswelten der örtlichen Leserschaft und dadurch mit „Lokalkolorit“ versehen, mittels einer Vilayets-Zeitung in türkischer und arabischer Sprache wenn auch vielleicht nicht „unters Volk“, so doch mindestens in die Amtsstuben und Haushalte der örtlichen Beamten- und Notabelnschaft zu bringen und sich per Leserbrief (ob nun fiktiv oder genuin) mit den Rezipienten darüber auszutauschen anschicken würde, beauftragt vom zuständigen Provinzgouverneur – das wird er sich vermutlich noch weniger hat vorstellen können. Doch genau dies dokumentiert die Zeitung *Zevrā* über die ersten Jahre ihres Erscheinens hinweg in aller Deutlichkeit.

²⁷ Vgl. Herzog 2012: 655 f.

²⁸ Waterfield 1963.

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Challenging the Ideal: *al-Diya'* as Labiba Hashim's Stepping Stone

Fruma Zachs, Haifa

Abstract

Toward the end of the 19th century, when the *nahda* (Arab Awakening) was at its peak, many Arabic newspapers and journals were founded in Greater Syria and Egypt. One of these journals was *al-Diya'*. Although newspapers and magazines during the Arabic *nahda* have been researched extensively, *al-Diya'*, published by Ibrahim al-Yaziji from 1898 to 1906, has received scant attention. This article examines a key feature of this newspaper: the short stories it published by Labiba Hashim, one of the leading women writers in the late *nahda*. It inspects her earlier fictional short stories (*uqsusa*) and shows that *al-Diya'* served as a stepping stone for her future career and shaped her literary approach. Like several other women writers in the *nahda*, Hashim's stories defy the typical depiction narrative of women's ideal life of love, family and marriage so characteristic of novels of that period by presenting conflicts and circumstances faced by women in their daily lives.

Introduction

Toward the end of the 19th century, when the *nahda* (Arab Awakening) was at its peak, many Arabic newspapers and journals were founded in Greater Syria and Egypt. One of these journals was *al-Diya'*. Although the journals of the Arabic *nahda* have been researched extensively, *al-Diya'*, which was published by one of the leading intellectuals of this period, Ibrahim al-Yaziji (1847–1906), from 1898 to 1906, has received scant attention.¹

This article examines one feature of this journal: its publication of short stories (*uqsusa*) by Labiba Hashim, one of the most prominent women

¹ To the best of my knowledge, the only study on *al-Diya'* is by al-Jarrah 1977.

writers and journalists in the late *nahda* period. I argue that *al-Diya'* was a stepping stone for Hashim's future career and shaped her experience as an author of fiction. I show that, similar to several other women writers of that era, Hashim challenges the standard depiction in literature of a woman's ideal life revolving around love, family and marriage by presenting conflicts and circumstances that women were called upon to deal with in their daily lives and the obstacles they had to overcome.

Labiba Madi al-Hashim (1882–1952) (Al-Qiyadi 1999: 58), a distinguished educator, pioneering novelist, journalist, playwright and translator, was born in Beirut and studied at the *Sister of Love* (*Rahibat al-Mahabba*) and the English Missionary schools and later at the Syrian Protestant College. Jurji Niqula Baz, a leading intellectual and journalist of that era, describes her as “an example for the women of his time.” (Baz 1919: 44). He depicts her life as divided between Syria and Egypt, two locations where she had an impact on women's issues. According to Baz, she was dubbed “Madame de Staël” for her political, literary and cultural activities.² (Baz 1919: 44). In 1900, Hashim moved with her family to Cairo, like many families of Syrian/Lebanese origin who wanted a more liberal political and cultural environment. In Cairo, she frequented the literary salon of Warda al-Yaziji (1838–1924), the sister of Ibrahim al-Yaziji and a gifted poet in her own right, who introduced her to the local scene. Thus Hashim met male and female thinkers and writers and was rapidly integrated to Cairene circles (Elsadda 2012: 34; Baz 1919: 44–6). For example, she worked with Istir Muyal (1873–1948) and Hanna Kasbani Kurani (1871–1898), two distinguished Arab writers. She was multi-talented and was fluent in several languages, including English, French and Persian. She excelled in handwork and was interested

² Madame de Staël (1766–1817) was a French woman of letters of Swiss origin, whose lifetime overlapped with the events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic era. She was one of Napoleon's principal opponents. Celebrated for her conversational eloquence, she participated actively in the political and intellectual life of her time. Her works, both critical and fictional, made their mark on the history of European Romanticism. Several Arabic newspapers during the *nahda* period used her as a symbol of an educated and patriotic woman.

in music and painting.³ (Baz 1919: 46). She also studied Persian calligraphy and established herself as a leading and pioneering calligrapher in Syria and Lebanon (Ashour – Ghazoul – Reda-Mekdashy 2008: 404).

She apparently wrote as early as 1896 for the *nahda* newspapers. She published a number of articles on the situation of women in *Anis al-Jalis*, a journal that was founded in Alexandria in 1898. In 1899, she started writing for *al-Diya'* and continued to do so until the death of Ibrahim al-Yaziji in 1906.

This period and her writing in *al-Diya'* were a stepping-stone for her career in that it enabled her to hone her fictional skills but also because she published opinion pieces on the situation of women in Arab society and was interested in defending women (*difa' al-mar'a*), their rights, and their place in Arab society. In 1904, she wrote an article entitled *Gambling and Marriage (al-Qimar wal-Zawaj)* (Hashim 1903–4: 398–403), in which she described the marital difficulties couples face when men are involved in gambling. She berates men who are a bad example for their family. In contrast to articles that focused on women's proper behaviour in modern times, she chose to write in detail on ways that men should act toward the family and their duties toward their wife. She wrote another article in *al-Diya'* entitled *The Duties of Marriage (Wajibat al-Zawaj)*, in which she stressed that a woman should marry a man who is her equal economically and socially and that love should be the basis for this relationship.

Like other educated Arab women of her time, Hashim was interested in the education of women and children. In 1909, she sent a long letter to the Ottoman Parliament (*Majlis al-Nuwwab al-Uthmani*) outlining her vision for Arab female education and demanding changes in the curriculum from the new Sultan Mehmed V Reshad (1844–1918). Specifically, she stipulated that there should be more attention given and funds provided for girls' schools in Syria and Lebanon (Baz 1919: 45). In 1911–12, the Egyptian University of al-Azhar invited her to lecture at the universi-

³ Baz claims that she painted Nasif al-Yaziji and his son Ibrahim. (Baz 1919: 46).

ty. She delivered ten lectures on the issue of education, which later were published in a book entitled *A book on Child Raising/Upbringing (Kitab fil-tarbiya)* (Hashim 1911).

During this entire period, she never neglected her love of writing for newspapers. From 1906 until 1939, and with the encouragement of Ibrahim al-Yaziji, she published in Egypt her own journal, *The Eastern Young Woman (Fatat al-Sharq)*, which was one of the first women's periodicals in the Arab world and was widely known and rapidly became one of the leading journals for women in Egypt and Greater Syria.

Fatat al-Sharq was well known for its columns on famous women and aphorisms (Ashour – Ghazoul – Reda-Mekdashy 2008: 107–8, 404). It called for advancement of the condition of women and their education (Al-Bughayni 2007: 56–69). Hashim was the editor-in-chief and employed a large number of young girls as freelancers, editors, and typesetters at her office in Cairo. She distributed the journal for free to girls' schools in Egypt, Syria, and Lebanon to encourage them to read and write poetry, articles, and editorials. *Fatat al-Sharq* became very popular among women who found themselves alone during World War I, when men were conscripted into the Ottoman Army. She herself wrote against the war and encouraged the war widows and the wives and daughters of men serving in the Ottoman Army to work and provide for their own livelihoods.

In October 1918, the Ottoman Empire was defeated and an Arab government was set up in Damascus under the leadership of King Faysal. Hashim supported King Faysal, the new ruler of Syria, who declared himself an advocate of women's rights. In turn, Faysal appointed her Inspector of Education at the Ministry of Education, and she worked with the minister and scholar Sati al-Husri. Hashim was the first woman to hold a government post in Syria, which was dominated at the time by a mainly male bureaucracy. Along with other women's rights activists, such as Nazik 'Abid and Ibtihaj Qaddura, Hashim lobbied heavily for a law granting women the right to vote. After the battle of Maysalun, the fall of King Faysal's government, and the entry of the invading French forces, Hashim moved to Chile with her husband and founded a

newspaper called *The East and the West (al-Sharq wal-Gharb)*. She returned to Egypt in 1923 and continued publishing *Fatat al-Sharq*.

Tragedy as an Option

The *nahda* press in Beirut was the first to introduce authentic Arabic narrative fiction (novel and short stories) in Greater Syria. This new genre combined influences from Western writing styles with those of the canonical and popular Arabic literature, while gradually departing from the traditional rhymed and rhythmic prose. As Greater Syria was gradually exposed to the economic and cultural developments of the West and modernism, this authentic writing created a bridge between the idealized model of Europe, local literary practices, and the new reading public of the late nineteenth century.

From the 1860s until the end of the century, male writers, such as Khalil al-Khuri (1836–1907), Salim al-Bustani (1846–1884), and Nu'man 'Abduh al-Qasatli (1854–1920), dominated the genre and published novels, novellas and short stories. They used their narrative fiction (often serialized in newspapers) as tools for educating men and women about the challenges facing a society undergoing rapid modernization (as in Greater Syria and Egypt at the time), and how to deal with personal relations and the political-social ramifications generated by the interaction between East and West. These narratives often voiced moral condemnation or criticism of middle-class values that threatened female virtue. They, for example, criticized the custom of forcing young women into loveless marriages, and they championed love as the personal motivation for chastity and marital fidelity.

These writers chose to promote their socio-political beliefs through gender. Their call to educate women sent a clear message that education could also help to define femininity or encourage women to be more feminine. In their view, an uneducated woman was savage and uncontrolled. By educating women to be moral, society would become more civilized. Most of the novels that were written by men described their heroines as exemplary wives and mothers and perfect housekeepers

(Russell 2004; Pollard 2005; Najmabadi 1998).⁴ These female figures were expected to be modern, modest, educated in art and science, and well read. The man of her choice should share the same qualities. (Halevi – Zachs 2007: 416–30).

All these novels dealt with marriage. They described key decisions such as whether to abide by a traditional arranged marriage contracted by parents or to adopt the principles of love and individual choice. In other words, male authors included gender issues in their writing and recognized them as important and crucial to the depiction of a new kind of individual and the reformation of modern society. Although they advocated free choice of a husband for a woman, they usually perceived this as the first step in building a good family, which they also considered the basis for a patriotic society. In most cases, these texts had a happy end and idealized love, marriage, and the relationship. The association between this discourse on womanhood and women's actual lives was tenuous at best, even though, in their various ways, each of these male writers believed that any analysis or plan for society needed to take gender into account (Zachs 2011: 332–57).

By the end of the 19th century, several Arab women in Greater Syria and Egypt had written novels and short stories. Like those by men, their novels (which were often published as books) focused on marriage and gender relationships. However, the message and sometimes the structure of women's novels differed from male productions. Most of them confronted tradition, the status of women in the family, and her counterparts in society. Most of them appealed directly to female readers (and not to society in general) and attempted to forge a bond of sisterhood, responsibility, and a desire for personal female experience. (Zachs 2011).

Al-Diya' was not exceptional in this regard, and it allotted considerable space to literary works. It had a regular section where it published trans-

⁴ This attitude toward women also prevailed in printed matter published in Egypt, Lebanon, and Syria. These journals published articles calling for women's education in home management or home economics.

lations of novellas or short stories, especially from French and English, and it was rapidly exploited as a launch pad for young writers to write authentic Arabic short stories. One of the main goals of its editor, Ibrahim al-Yaziji, was to enrich the Arabic language and make it accessible to the common people. In fact, Ibrahim planned to write a dictionary of synonyms. This was apparently one of the reasons he decided to move from Greater Syria to Egypt in the first place. Unfortunately, this dictionary was never written (Al-Khuri 1993: 6–7). However, in *al-Diya'*, he wrote a series of articles on the language of periodicals (*Lughat al-Jara'id*) ('Abbud 1984) in which he explained the meaning of new words, their roots and so on.

Al-Yaziji believed that short stories were another tool to reach the common people. This was why *al-Diya'* published translated and authentic short stories. Like Hashim, Ibrahim believed that short stories were an important way to improve human nature and virtues, raise consciousness, and guide people to choose the right path. He believed that this genre applied to all strata of society, especially the common people, and he and other intellectuals were convinced that national and regional development could be furthered through writing (Al-Khuri 1898–99: 457–61; Hashim 1899–1900: 428–31).

Hashim was acquainted with the Yaziji family. For example, Ibrahim taught her the fundamentals of Arabic language and literature, and his sister Warda was her close friend. This helped Hashim, even when very young, to become one of the very few female writers to publish her short stories in *al-Diya'*. Like Ibrahim al-Yaziji, she was probably exposed to literature in Beirut journals before coming to Egypt. She understood the power and influence of narrative fiction and managed to use her writing to advance her agenda to reform and change the place of women in society (Hashim 1899–1900: 428).

After translating several short stories from French and English, such as *Madlyn*, *The Suitable Respect* (*al-Sharaf al-Sahih*) and *Valentine* (*Valantin*) (Tumasi 1900–01: 56–64; N. N. 1900–01: 214–24; N. N. 1900–01:

597–608), she wrote three authentic Arabic short stories.⁵ In these texts she tries to show, through literature, how women feel and think. This challenged the way men described women and the usual setting in love stories of the typical man and the typical woman.

Her main subjects in her short stories in *al-Diya'* were love, marriage, and especially forms of relationships (loyalty and betrayal). It is obvious that Hashim was influenced by the translated romantic short stories of her time. However, she presents these topics in a more complicated and dramatic manner. In two of her three short stories, the heroines are depicted either as victims of their husbands, fate and circumstances of unintentional error, or of love. Love is introduced not as an idealization but sometimes as misleading, deceptive, a swindle or a tactic to lead women astray, regardless of whether love is true or false. Love brings women/men to a dreadful end. In most cases, Hashim chooses to end her narratives in a tragic/dramatic way (Taha 1998: 1–23).

Hashim's writing can be seen best as part of the growing Arabic literary transition toward tragic closure. Tragic, in this context, referred to an extremely sad and at times unexpected or expected end. In fiction, as in life, it usually meant death or some equally permanent disaster or a negative twist in the plot; however, this single event illustrated nature or life in general and reflected a pattern of continuous and inevitable suffering. Tragedy for Hashim suggested a vision of the real life of women, and she used these endings to stir up her readers and make them confront the “truth of life” and reject traditional happy endings (King 1978: 2; Al-Mursi 1984: 172–8). Hashim was not the first to use a tragic tone with social criticism at the end of her stories. Men such as Salim al-Bustani (1848-1884) and Nu‘aman Qasatli (1854–1920) sometimes employed tragic endings in their serialized novels in newspapers. Although tragic endings were part of Arabic literature before the 19th century, Hashim’s short stories, like those of other writers of her time (both men

⁵ Hashim also wrote a novel in 1904 entitled *A Man's Heart (Qalb Rajul)*, which was published in book form, and a novel called *Shirin*, which was published in *Fatat al-Sharq* in 1906–7.

and women), combined the classical Arabic literary mode with its didactic tone together with the modern construction of Western novels.

Hashim's first short story in *al-Diya'* was *The Merits of Love or Love's Finer Features (Hasanat al-Hubb)*, which presents a story of love as deception with a surprising twist (Hashim 1898-9: 634–40). The story begins with the personal voice of the author stating that this is a true story that took place in June 1889 (Hashim 1898–9: 634). Hashim makes this statement to educate her readers by suggesting that the event is recent. The story takes place in the palace of a rich and honourable family made up of a widow and her five married sons and their families. One evening, a young beautiful woman dressed like a nun knocks on the door. The family's gatekeeper, Butrus, opens the door and is astounded by the nun's beauty. She introduces herself as Sister Augustine and asks for the lady of the house.

When the mistress of the house arrives, the nun explains to her that she has lost her way and that people told her that she could stay the night in the palace. The mistress is happy to host her. In the evening, the people go to sleep; however, the gatekeeper, who is mulling over the nun's beauty, wanders in the garden and looks at her through the window. He is amazed by what he sees. The supposed nun removes her outer garments and under them there is a weapon. He sees how her face changes and takes on an evil appearance while she signals with her lamp to her partners in crime to enter the house. He immediately understands that the house is in danger. He runs to his employer and warns her, saying that the family has let the devil into the house and if he had not been enticed by her beauty, he would not have been able to prevent this wickedness. In fact, this is the main message of the story, and this is indeed what Hashim refers to in the title. Thanks to the alertness of the gatekeeper, the family calls the police, and the woman together with her gang are arrested.

This love story does not develop the way the reader would expect or according to what the title implies, since the beautiful heroine turns out to be the villain. The story does not end with marriage but rather in prison. Hashim shows a different and a more realistic side of love and its fickle-

ness. She shows how gentleness and beauty can be deceiving. The unexpected twist in the plot encourages readers to ask questions about love and to doubt the normative narratives they are used to reading.

Hashim's second short story in *al-Diya'*, which attempts to expose the reader to the "real" life of women by making changes in the construction and style of the story, was called *Victory after Death/Disappointment (al-Fawz ba'da al-Fawt)*⁶ (Hashim 1899-1900: 568–76). This time, she describes how circumstances prevent true love from flowering.

The story starts with a realistic depiction with which young middleclass men and women in Beirut could identify. Jibra'il, a successful educated journalist, leaves Aleppo for Beirut after having a fight with the newspaper for which he was working. In Beirut, he tries to climb the social ladder by teaching and giving lessons. He also decides to start his own newspaper. One day, while sitting at his window, he sees a beautiful girl who is sitting at her window as well. He, of course, falls in love with her, and apparently, she feels the same. Later, Ni'man Bek, a rich city notable, asks him to teach his daughters French. When he gets to Ni'man's house, he realizes that this is the house of the girl he saw at the window. In fact, she is the sister of the young girl who is to be his pupil. After teaching a few lessons, he decides that he will never meet his love and quits the job. When he goes to get paid, he meets Marie, the woman he loves and the sister of his pupil. They reveal their love to each other and swear fidelity. As he leaves, Jibra'il wonders how he will earn enough money to marry her. This is yet another topic with which young middle class men and women could identify.

Jibra'il then starts working in the Egyptian government office in Alexandria. This was the period when Gordon occupied Sudan. During all this time, he keeps his relationship with Marie secret. Eventually, Jibra'il joins Gordon's forces and the Egyptian army but is captured and impris-

⁶ In the same volume, Hashim published another translated short story, which has a very similar title: *Victory after Despair (Al-Fawz ba'da al-Ya's)*. However, in contrast to Hashim's story, it ends happily (Al-Mash'alani 1899–1900: 119–28).

oned by the enemy for thirteen years. He thinks about committing suicide, but a pendant, a gift from Marie, gives him the strength to survive.

Later, the Egyptian forces rescue him, but while fleeing with them, he is mortally injured. In his hospital bed, he sees a nun/nurse whom he recognizes as Marie. He shouts at her, and she explains to him that, after several years of not hearing from him, she decided to become a nun. Jibra'il is happy that she has been loyal to him and calls her a generous angel. Before closing his eyes, his last words are to murmur her name and ask her to remember him.

This tragic end conflicts with the normative expectation and idealization of the plot. In addition, the reader is exposed to the feelings and thoughts of the protagonists and their trials and tribulations. It is obvious that Hashim weaves in the economic and social situation of the middle class in Greater Syria and their conflicts, such as the need to climb the social ladder, the need to be married, and the struggle for true love.

Hashim's third "realistic" short story in *al-Diya'*, entitled *The Punishment of Betrayal (Jaza' al-Khiyana)*, takes place once again in a historical setting, but this time going back to pre-Islamic times and with Arabic and Sassanid characters. This story again shows that women cannot control their destiny. The plot revolves around the protagonist, who is torn between her loyalty to her father and her people/*watan* and her love for a man, who happens to be the enemy of her father and nation (Hashim 1902–3: 282–92).⁷

The story takes place during a war between the Arab tribal king Satrun (in Arabic, Dayzan), who ruled a region of what is known today as Iraq and *Bilad al-Sham*, and the famous Sassanid king Shapur (in Arabic,

⁷ This story was apparently central to Hashim's writing, and she published it several times. In 1911-1912, it appears in the journal *Fatat al-Sharq* (Hashim 1911-2: 30–40). In 1922, she wrote a play on this story (Hashim 2004). The play is longer than her original short story – 84 pages in total. This allowed her to develop her depictions of the characters and their feelings and make the plot more sophisticated.

Sabur). It is not clear whether the story is set during the era of King Shapur I (240/42 to 270/72 A. D.) or King Shapur II (309 to 379 A. D.). When the time was right and King Shapur was engaged in a war outside his kingdom, the Arab tribal king invades some of Shapur's lands and takes his sister prisoner. When the victorious king returns from battle, he is eager to see his only daughter, the beautiful and spoiled al-Nadira, who has a strong influence on him and whom he loves above all else. Al-Nadira does not know much except obedience to her father and the laws of the land. When she hears that he has returned, she runs happily out to meet him.

However, several days later, the victorious king and his people hear the armies of King Shapur approaching and surrounding the walls of the city. Al-Nadira realizes the situation is dangerous. She hurries to the balcony to see the enemy's armies, and while looking down, her gaze meets that of a handsome and respectable horseman. Al-Nadira feels the connection between them and runs inside the palace. She is unaware that this man is in fact the Persian king who had placed her city under siege.

From that time on, the Persian king returns constantly to the place where he saw al-Nadira. Very quickly, each one of them longs for their next meeting. Al-Nadira, who loves him deeply, is worried, since she knows that he is her father and people's enemy. She becomes miserable and is torn between her love, loyalty and obedience to her father and her love for the Persian king. Al-Nadira's servant, Hind, begs al-Nadira to tell her what has happened. After some hesitation, al-Nadira tells her about her love for the Persian King. Hind, who now knows al-Nadira's secret, observes the king whenever he comes, and she witnesses his love for her mistress.

The siege continues for several months, and al-Nadira becomes ill and disturbed. While al-Nadira continues to hesitate, Hind tries to convince her that she is not to be blamed for this situation, since her father started the war, and that Shapur is doing what is expected from him as a king. She advises her mistress to send a message to Shapur saying that she is willing to help him conquer the city and then become his wife. She ex-

plains to her that this will stop the siege, and by doing so, she will have influence over her father's enemy and can help her father and her people. Astonished by her servant's suggestion, al-Nadira runs from the room, saying that she would rather die than betray her father and people (Hashim 1902–3: 287).

Before giving her mistress's refusal to Shapur's messenger, Hind convinces her that it is not the right solution, since many people will die and both she and her father will lose the people's respect. In her distress al-Nadira accepts Hind's suggestion, mainly in order to help her father and people. Hind promises her that she will show Shapur and his army the way to enter the city without bloodshed. Al-Nadira sends a message to Shapur saying that she gives him the city but with the proviso that he will make her his first wife and that he will pity her people. Shapur agrees to these conditions. Al-Nadira is not satisfied with her decision and worries about the future of her father and people. In the meantime, Hind gives al-Nadira's guards wine, and while they sleep, she leads Shapur into the city. Shapur does not keep his promise and attacks the city, kills the people and takes al-Nadira's father prisoner. When al-Nadira realizes what she has done, she feels that she is going to lose her mind. Shapur enters her room and says that he will keep his promise to her and she will become his first wife.

When Shapur returns to his city, he places al-Nadira at his side. When her father enters Shapur's room and sees them together, he says that he hopes that God will punish her, and then he turns to Shapur and tells him to be careful with his daughter, since she will do to Shapur what she has done to him, her own father (Hashim 1902–3: 289). Shapur executes al-Nadira's father and destroys his city. Al-Nadira become very sick and asks for forgiveness while Shapur begins the preparations for their marriage. Shapur tries to make her happy. However, when he learns how her father spoiled and took care of her, he cannot understand how she could have betrayed him, and he becomes obsessed with the idea that she will betray him as well.

The next morning, in his distress, Shapur calls one of his horsemen and asks him to tie al-Nadira to a horse and to drag her until she is dismem-

bered. Al-Nadira is convinced that this is a punishment for her betrayal, and while accepting her destiny, she is not afraid to die. She is dragged around the central square while people watch her praying to the heavens, where she feels that her father is watching her from above. Hashim emphasizes that her misery (*miskina*) did not affect Shapur's attitude. She even blames him for her betrayal, saying that he (not the servant) encouraged her to commit her betrayal (Hashim 1902–3: 292). The story ends with Shapur's remorse over what he has done, but it is too late for al-Nadira. These details and the tragic end make al-Nadira a victim of political, patriarchal and social circumstances. She is the victim of men: her father, whom she wanted to save, and her lover, who did not keep his promise. This is why she is depicted as a saint and not a traitor.⁸ As Laura Brown emphasizes with regard to English literature, "the development of English tragedy is bound to the ideology of the defenceless woman" (Brown 1982: 443).

The message of the historical story is clear: if a woman chooses to follow her personal choices in love and not the love of her father or the nation, for whatever reasons, then she is doomed to be miserable and die. Hashim clearly felt that women should help the nation. But, she also recognizes the high price women pay and how often this is not acknowledged. Even though Hashim may reflect the hegemonic discourse of her time, she also criticizes the impossible situation that women are expected to fulfil in society. The reader feels sorry for al-Nadira and identifies with her plight. Hashim also shows how women are unable to determine their own fate and suffer from events beyond their control. She also raises several difficult questions. For example, is al-Nadira's situation the result of her father's education? After all, she is very young to be able to tell right from wrong. Hashim suggests that only death can re-

⁸ The second and third stories emerge as opposites. In the second story, the heroine is positive, loyal, saintly, or angelic (Hashim called her Marie), but in the end, she loses her love and is described as a tragic figure. In the third story, the heroine is negative, disloyal and spoiled even though it is not her fault, and she is presented as a victim who loses her life in a very violent way. These two figures live in different periods (present and past), but they both are victims of the circumstances of their society.

lease al-Nadira from this suffering and impossible situation. In a way, al-Nadira's death freed her. Nevertheless, the main question is who betrayed whom. Did al-Nadira betray her father since she wanted to save him, or did her father betray her by spoiling her and not preparing her for real life? Perhaps the man she loves betrayed her by not keeping his promise and for doubting her loyalty. After all, she gives him everything, and he then has her executed.

These three short stories by Hashim do not end with marriage. Hashim presents different and more realistic aspects of relationships and love.⁹ The issue of deconstructing the stereotypical representation of womanhood and manhood is central to her earlier works. Hashim stresses that men are more easily forgiven by society while women are judged and criticized more harshly. Her short stories are designed to show her readers (both men and women) the complicated aspects of women's lives. Through her stories, she presents the misery of women from all classes. In this way, she tries to elicit the reader's sympathy or empathy (and not criticism) as regards women's difficulties. All these stories make a direct association between the moral standards they apply to their characters and the sympathetic emotional response of the readers, which duplicates those standards in the real world. Whereas Hashim punishes her hero or heroine, the reader also identifies with them and their tragic end.

Conclusion

The new ideal of modern Arab society in Egypt and Greater Syria clearly affected women. Like other Arab women of her time, Hashim saw the Arabic press of the *nahda* in Egypt and Greater Syria as the best platform to voice the problems of Arab women and challenge the dominant male hegemonic discourse. In this sense, the *nahda*'s journals in general, and *al-Diya'* in particular, played an important role in disseminating and

⁹ Hashim's literary style differs from stories written by men. Her short stories contain more dialogue and reveal more of the emotions and feelings of the protagonists, even though the transitions in the plots are still quicker and unexplained.

fostering creative women's criticism through literature. These print outlets became the preferred way to bring women's thoughts into the public sphere.

What was unique about Hashim's literary work in *al-Diya'* was that she systematically wrote tragic endings that shocked her readers into examining women's and men's contemporary relationships in society. She used her tragic endings to elicit her male readers' sympathy and to confront her female readers with the real and not the ideal, so as to question their situation and hopefully transform them into active agents in society.

Writers like Hashim helped develop a modern style of fiction in Arabic literature that differed from classic Arabic drama and tragedy ('Alqam 2006). Hashim basically constructed a more "realistic" tragedy. Her tragic writing endowed the texts with a degree of realism that centred on women's conflicts beyond the scope of the plot. In other words, she combined traditional tragic writing in Arab literature with the modern Western style of the tragic novel but added a new subversive dimension of social criticism.

Her publications in *al-Diya'* encouraged her to publish her novel *Qalb Rajul* as a book in 1904 (Hashim 2002). This novel also ends with unrequited love. In it, she presents the reader with an example of a woman who clings to her love despite the circumstances, in contrast to a man whose emotions are fickle and whose word is not sacred. After the death of al-Yaziji, *al-Diya'* stopped publication, but Hashim went on to become a leading journalist in her own right.

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***Fatwas* as Political Communication: The Case of the Shihab al-Din Mosque in Nazareth**

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In December 1997, a dispute broke out between Islamist activists and the Nazareth Municipality led by a Christian Mayor (Ramez Jiraysi), regarding the city council's intention to demolish an old school and build a public plaza in front of the Church of Annunciation. This project was part of a joint Government-Municipality plan to develop Nazareth in preparation for the 2000 Pope John Paul's visit to Nazareth as well as part of an attempt to emphasize the Christian character of the city and to attract more pilgrims and visitors. The Israeli Islamic movement claimed that the school and land plot belonged to the *waqf* (Pious Endowment) of a religious saint named Shihab al-Din buried in the corner of the school's property. When works to construct the Plaza began, local Muslim activists forcefully took control of the land and began the construction of the basement for a massive Mosque without receiving a permit. In an attempt to settle the dispute peacefully, the political leadership of the Arab minority in Israel established an internal Commission of Fact Finding. In order to win their case at the Commission, the Islamist activists appealed to six muftis from Jordan, Syria, and the Palestinian Authority asking for their legal-religious opinion as to whether the disputed land is in a status of *waqf*.

The Shihab al-Din affair sheds light on *fatwas* as a political communication platform. It also manifests the drawbacks of a *fatwa* in the political realm that undermines the credibility of the *fatwa* institution. As I will show, the mufti tends to accept the petitioner's narrative and may refrain from investigating the truth of what has been presented to him in the petition. This case shows that, on the one hand, it is relatively easy to manipulate a mufti to issue a desired response, and the mufti himself may collaborate with the petitioner.

The paper has also a wider context in understanding current practice of Islamic law. This article unfolds the central aspects of a *fatwa* and more

precisely in the procedure of issuing the mufti's response that make it easy to manipulate, resulting in the limited validity of a *fatwa* document.

The responses of these muftis are being analyzed in this article. The first part of this article briefly summarizes the dispute in Nazareth and the background as to why the *fatwas* were requested. The second part analyzes the drawbacks of *fatwa* as a legal tool and explains why it is easy to employ it for political purposes. The third and final part, analyzes the specific *fatwas* that were provided in the Shihab al-Din case.

The Dispute

The Shihab al-Din dispute erupted in 1997, when the municipality of Nazareth began the public works of constructing a grand plaza, south of the Church of Annunciation, in order to create an open space and a landscape better able to serve tourists and Christian pilgrims who frequent the city holy to Christianity (Tsimhoni 2010: 202; Rabinowitz 2001: 93–113). The work began with bulldozing the old school located amid the plot designated for the public plaza.

On part of the compound designated for the plaza was a small tomb (41 sqm.) of a Muslim saint carrying the name Shihab al-Din. No one in Nazareth knew exactly who Shihab al-Din was. It was considered a tomb of a minor saint which had been neglected by the Muslim community until the city council's decision to build the plaza (Bishara (ed.) 1999). In its plan, the municipality had allowed for the preservation of this tomb, which was erected on land registered officially as belonging to an Islamic endowment – *waqf*. In response to the demolition of the Ottoman schoolhouse, the Islamic movement of Nazareth, headed by Salman Abu Ahmad and local Waqf activist Abu Nawaf (Ahmad Salih Hamudah Zu'bi), launched an opposition campaign and proposed an alternative plan. They made actual preparations to construct a central mosque on the same spot whose minaret would rise 86 meters, thereby overshadowing the top of the nearby Church of Annunciation, a monument which is

the symbol of Nazareth and one of the most important religious sites for Christianity.¹ When the (Christian) Mayor rejected Abu Ahmad's proposal, the latter organized a group of Muslims who trespassed onto the disputed compound, demolished the wall which linked the open space and the Shihab al-Din tomb, erected an Islamic prayer tent and began constructing the mosque without a permit.²

The dispute that ensued over the plot of land resulted from the attempts of local Muslim activists to assert the current Muslim demographic strength in Nazareth (70 % of the city's residents) and claim an appropriate representation in the symbolic landscape of the city (Tsimhoni 2010: 203). The Islamists of Nazareth argued that they were not trespassers but rather the original owners of the land who were only materializing their right to possess *waqf* land that had belonged to the Muslim community since medieval times. The municipality, however, claimed that the disputed compound is not an Islamic endowment at all but land that had been used until recently for a public school.

During Easter, April 1999, violence erupted in Nazareth after several intoxicated Christians were involved in a fist-fight with Muslims at the Prayer tent. The next day members of the Islamic movement rioted in the streets of Nazareth. Muslims issued calls from the Minarets of the Mosques to defend Shihab al-Din, and Christian civilians, including women, were attacked. Despite the escalation of the violence, the Israeli government refrained from intervening to quell the violence and protect the Christian citizens of Nazareth for a significant period of time, on the (unofficial) grounds that the events represented an Arab intra-communal issue. Moreover, resulting from the Netanyahu right-wing

¹ For a scheme of the mosque overshadowing the Church of Annunciation see *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya* (23 January 1998): 5 and (13 February 1998): front page. For a picture of the Minaret see *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya* (29 April 1998): 11. The plan was designed by architect Mahmud Tab'uni of Nazareth. However, a different picture was published in *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya* (6 March 1998) without Minarets presumably aimed at calming the Christian outrage and sending a message that the planned mosque will not harm Christian feelings and will not devastate the influx of tourists.

² *Al-Ittihad* (23 December 1997).

Likud government's concern about the upcoming elections of 1999, and the desire to maintain calm in the preceding weeks, the government leaned toward supporting the demands of the Islamic movement to construct a mosque (smaller in its size) in the disputed square. Likud's position was influenced by the fact that the Muslim leaders of the movement made it clear that they had not yet decided which way their organization would vote (Tsimhoni 2010: 204).

***Fatwa* as a Legal Opinion and Communicative Tool**

When the Nazareth dispute broke out in December 1997, an internal Commission of Fact Finding was formed by one Muslim representative from each of the disputing parties (the city council and the Islamic Movement) and a chair – the President of the *Shari'a* Court of Appeals in Israel – Ahmad Natour. In the last two decades the *shari'a* court system under the leadership of Natour has become more independent, and therefore the system is supported by the Islamic movement. Here, it should be noted that the implementation *shari'a* in Israel is a complicated issue beyond the scope of this article.³

Natour was appointed to the arbitration committee due to his relatively independent position and as the prominent Islamic legal officer in Israel. He is also known as a defender of *waqf* properties, Muslim holy sites and the *shari'a* court system in Israel (Reiter 2009). Therefore, appointing him to the position of heading the Fact-finding Committee could be taken as a pre-judging of the case in favor of the Islamic Movement. No wonder then, that the Deputy Minister of Religious Affairs who at the first place permitted him to chair the Fact-finding Committee, withdraw his permit just before Natour was about to issue his final decision (at that time the *shari'a* courts were subjected to the administration of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, today they are under the Ministry of Justice and hence more independent).

³ On the administration of Islamic law in Israel see Layish 2005: 13–51; Abou Ramadan 2006: 243–74; Reiter 1997: 205–31; Reiter 2009; Eisenman 1978.

In order to win their case at Natour's-headed committee, the Islamist activists appealed to six muftis from Jordan, Syria, and the Palestinian authorities asking for their legal-religious opinion as to whether the disputed land is in a status of *waqf*.

What is a *fatwa*? Scholars of Islamic law ascribe to *fatwa* (*shari'a*-based legal opinion) a significant role in developing Islamic law in order to bridge the gap between legal theory and practice.⁴ An authoritative opinion on points of doctrine given by a mufti (jurisconsult), an expert in *shari'a*, is a legal tool that has developed into an independent judicial source. The muftis determined the law in its social settings, articulated the law's reaction to social and other changes and by so doing, they legitimized legal change. Then, it was the author-jurist (*musannif*) who was mainly responsible for setting the final seal on *fatwas* by incorporating (the strongest among) them into the school's works of positive law (Hallaq 1995: 174). *Fatwa* collections are the most cited sources in the court rulings of *qadis*. Parties to a lawsuit before the *qadi* (judge) will seek legal precedence in locating the most relevant and authoritative *fatwas*, although the *qadi* is not bound to accept any of them (Schacht 1964: 73). However, if the mufti was an authority, his *fatwa* could even override a local court decision (Tucker 1998: 31–6). The mufti to whom a judicial question is referred, analyzes the specific case in light of accepted religious law, and his response once documented will become part of the legal body of knowledge, and a source of reference for future *qadis* and muftis. Hence, the *fatwa* serves as an important judicial source in making *shari'a* a dynamic and vital body of law which can adapt to social change, and its importance increases based on the reputation of the mufti as an authority of legal religious knowledge. However, *fatwa* also has many drawbacks that have not received enough attention in research. Islamic law and the religious opinion of a mufti issued in the

⁴ Schacht 1964: 73. On *fatwas* and their political role see Hallaq 2001: 174–234; Skovgaard-Petersen 1997; Messick 1986: 102–19; Heyd 1969: 35–56; Tyan 1965: 866–7; Masud – Mesick – Powers 1996: 3–32, 297–309; Tucker 1998: 31–6.

form of a *fatwa*, are significant in the daily lives of devote Muslims. According to Joseph Schacht:

The practical importance of the sacred Law for the pious Muslim is much greater than that of any secular legal system for the ordinary law-abiding citizen. It comes into play not only when he has to go to the courts; it tells him what his religious duties are, what makes him ritually clean or unclean, what he may eat or drink, how to dress and how to treat his family, and generally what he may with good conscience regard as lawful acts and possessions. There was thus a constant need of specialist guidance on these questions. (Schacht 1964: 75.)

Hallaq maintained that the *fatwa* “represented a legal opinion stated in universal terms, reflecting both the most authoritative law in the school as well as legitimized legal practice” (Hallaq 1995: 248). The five traditional areas of jurisdiction of *shari’a* relate to matters of ritual worship, transactions and contracts, morals and manners, beliefs and punishments. However, modern Muslim society still respects the opinion of muftis, even if the fatwas deal with political issues beyond these areas.⁵ What makes political *fatwas* effective today is their wide dissemination through printed media, radio, television, and the Internet. In order to find out whether or not a particular *fatwa* is effective, the reception of each case should be studied separately.⁶

The proliferation of learned-men in *shari’a* in modern times has led to an enormous increase of those who issue *fatwas* addressing daily affairs, including political issues. In many cases local sheikhs who only graduated from a peripheral colleges, and in some cases graduated only from a high school, issue *fatwas*.⁷ This reality differs from the pre-modern prac-

⁵ For an example of how *fatwas* are “alive and kicking nowadays” including the political sphere see Kaptein 2002: 99–107.

⁶ Kaptein 2004: 115–30 (also published as Working paper: Visiting Scholars Series No.2. Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, January 2004, Singapore, available at <http://www.iseas.edu.sg/vr22004.pdf>). On *fatwas* in the internet see Sisler 2006; Caeiro 2003. For a recent fatwa contending that there is no separation between religion and politics see Ibn ‘Uthaymin’s opinion: http://www.ibnothaimen.com/all/noor/article_8995.shtml.

⁷ Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, the founder of the Hamas movement in Palestine graduated only high school. See Reiter 2007: 172–97.

tice, according to which muftis received a broad education in all *madh-habs* (schools of law) and they were also an authority of learning. Moreover, the newly developed genre of political *fatwas* is more a sort of a statement, or an advice, made by an '*alim* than being a learned analysis of the law (Kaptein 2002). Thus, the charisma of a particular individual mufti may play a role in the acceptance of the *fatwa* regardless of his education and knowledge of the law. The above modern development raises the question as to whether *shari'a* rules of *fatwa* issuing could prevent the abuse of *fatwas* or its manipulation. During the Ottoman period considerable attention was paid to a variety of matters revolving around curbing the abuse of the system and stemming the forgery of *fatwa* documents.⁸ But, it seems to me that the main concern of abusing *fatwas* derives from the absence of strict ethical rules.

There are two central aspects of a *fatwa* and more precisely in the procedure of issuing the mufti's response that make it easy to manipulate, resulting in the limited validity of a *fatwa* document. First, is the technical procedure of issuing the response. A *fatwa* is composed of two parts, the first is a question (*istifta'* or *su'al*) addressed to the mufti by a questioner or petitioner called *mustafti*, and the second is the response (*fatwa* or *jawab*). The way in which the *istifta'* is framed, and the details incorporated into the question, has a decisive role in determining the mufti's response. Since the question typically deals with a specific case, much is embedded in the presentation of "facts" by the petitioner. Moreover, since one of the main functions of the *fatwa* was to support the case of a party to a lawsuit or an interested party there is always a fear of misrepresenting the case to the mufti by the *mustafti*. Hallaq says in this regard: "We may assume that misrepresentation of the case in the *istifta'* was occasionally attempted in order to solicit a *fatwa* in favor of the petitioner", but he also estimates that "instances of misrepresentation must have been few" (Hallaq 1994: 38). Therefore, when the muftis suspected misrepresentation, they opened the *fatwa* with the qualifying phrase: "If the matter is exactly as you have described it, then ..." (Hallaq

⁸ Hallaq, 2001: 179 quoting Heyd 1969.

2001: 180). Hallaq concludes that it was in the interest of any party of a dispute to misrepresent the case, for such a misrepresentation could result in the judge ignoring the *fatwa* altogether. The *ifta'* manuals recommended that if the question is vague or unduly general, the mufti must interrogate the questioner about the case, reformulate the question accordingly, and only then provide an answer.⁹ The manuals do not even mention the possibility of misrepresentation but refer only to technical issues such as the size of the paper submitted for the mufti so that it will have enough space to contain the answer.¹⁰ Investigating the facts of the case was the task of the judge (Ibn al-Salah 1986: 180). The mufti, however, will consider the information presented to him in the *istifta'*, as the database for determining his response. It is not part of his mission to inquire into the details presented to him. From his point of view, he deals with a theoretical and academic question posed after studying the relevant sources of religious law. This practice causes a major problem of integrity of *fatwa* issuing because many *fatwas* are applied without seeking a court decision due to the authority and reputation of the mufti. This is more problematic in *fatwas* pertaining to public affairs which are not presented and scrutinized by the judge.

To illustrate this point, I will use a *fatwa* responding the question whether *shari'a* allows Muslim soldiers of the US Army to participate in military actions in Afghanistan following the terror actions of 11 September 2001. US Army Chaplain Capt. Abd Al-Rasheed Muhammad, the Imam of Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C. sent an inquiry to the North American Fiqh (Islamic Jurisprudence) Council, which in turn referred the matter to clerics in the Arab world.¹¹ Imam Muhammad first outlined the goals of the prospective war in his *istifta'* [to combat the terrorists, Bin Laden and the Taliban who were responsible for the attack] and added that more than 15,000 Muslim military

⁹ Hallaq, 2001: 177 quoting Nawawi, *Al-majmu'*, I 48.

¹⁰ See ex. Ibn al-Salah 1986: 169.

¹¹ MEMRI report no. 75 of November 7, 2001: "Terror in America (23) Muslim Soldiers in the U.S. Armed Forces in Afghanistan: To Fight or Not to Fight?", available at <http://www.memri.org/bin/articles.cgi?Area=ia&ID=IA7501&Page=archives>.

personnel serve in all three branches of the U.S. armed forces, and that if they refuse to participate in the fighting, they would have to resign from the army, which might have other consequences. The response of five muftis from the Arab World was that Muslim soldiers are permitted to take part in the fighting if there was no alternative.¹² This answer was based on the information provided by Army Chaplain Imam Muhammad according to which the goal of US fighting in Afghanistan is to combat the terrorists who were responsible to the 9/11 attack. Later on, other Muslim clerics issued a different ruling based on alternative information: A Hamas leader, Bassam Jarar ruled that “such fighting is clearly forbidden by Islamic religious law”.¹³ His alternative information was that the penalty for soldiers in the American army who refuse to fight is in any event only a few months in jail and that a Muslim soldier who refuses to participate in the war in Afghanistan for the reason that it is forbidden by Islamic religious law is actually in a very strong position when he faces the American judicial system. In other words, he would not have to resign as the Chaplain argued in his *istifta*’. Another mufti who expressed an opposing opinion was Sheikh Muhammad Al-Hanooti, a member of the North American Fiqh Council. Al-Hanooti stated that “Up to this moment, I don't see any evidence or proof [against the Taliban or bin Laden].”¹⁴ In other words, if one questions the information provided by the Army Chaplain in his *istifta*’, then he arrives to a completely different response. Thus, the petitioner can dictate the requested answer by how he formulates the question and what information he provides within its text. In questions relating to public affairs, that are very well known in the media, the mufti can be more cautious when he refers to the details presented in the *istifta*’. He can, if he so desires, refer in his response to other known facts, that the peti-

¹² Ibid. On October 30, 2001, the editor of the Arabic London daily *Al-Sharq Al-Awsat* reported that the clerics have abrogated their position with a new *fatwa*. But this new *fatwa* was never published.

¹³ Published in *Al-Quds* (Palestinian Authority), October 15, 2001.

¹⁴ Statement of October 12, 2001 in a press conference of the American Muslim Council.

tioner refrained from presenting or phrased partially, and in a misleading way.

A second drawback of *fatwa* emanates from the process of choosing the mufti. From the start the function of the mufti is essentially private; his authority is based on his reputation as a scholar, his opinion has no official sanction, and layman might resort to any scholar he knows and in whom he has confidence (Schacht 1964: 74). In other words, the mufti is chosen by the petitioner who in many cases has a vested interest in the dispute. The choice of a specific mufti is an informed and significant decision. If the petitioner seeks a liberal opinion he will refer to a mufti who has a reputation of liberal interpretation of legal sources. As an example, prior to the first municipal elections that took place in the Bahrain Emirate in 2004, one of the female candidates campaigned for a seat on the municipal council, against other candidates all of whom were men who were affiliated with a puritan stream of Islam. In their election campaign, they claimed that a woman cannot fulfill a position of public office because she has to negotiate with men in a political forum. The female candidate who was a kindergarten teacher and a devoted Muslim woman, addressed the question to Sheikh Dr. Yusuf al-Qaradawi, situated in the nearby Emirate of Qatar, asking him: whether a woman can hold a position on a municipal council.¹⁵ She did not apply to al-Qaradawi on a random basis. Whilst he is very popular among Muslim Brothers movements, he is known to hold liberal opinions regarding women's status in society. In the past he has ruled that a woman pilgrim to the Hajj in Mecca does not require a male escort (*mahram*), as Saudi Arabia demands, based on its Wahhabi *ulama* opinion. Al-Qaradawi argued that in the middle ages, a woman could not cross the desert on her own, without exposing her decency to dangers. However today, pilgrimage is conducted in public transportation and via airplanes, ships, trains, public buses, etc., in which a woman is always in the company of

¹⁵ Neil MacFarquhar, "In Bahrain, Women Run, Women Vote, Women Lose", New York Times, May 22, 2002. Available at: <http://www.nytimes.com/2002/05/22/world/in-bahrain-women-run-women-vote-women-lose.html?pagewanted=1>.

other people, and she is not exposed to the dangers of the past. As anticipated, al-Qaradawi responded positively to the Bahraini candidate's petition.¹⁶ In spite of al-Qardawi's liberal *fatwa*, the Islamist candidates reacted by petitioning a Wahhabi mufti from Saudi Arabia and succeeded in receiving an opposing *fatwa*, which they used in their election campaign against her.

Hence, the choice of mufti indicates that the mufti generally does not consider himself as an objective adjudicator, but rather as a sort of legal advisor to the petitioner. It is a traditional custom to offer payment to the private muftis that were petitioned by litigants, or people who were in need of a legal advice. The payment to the mufti puts him in a subjective position from the outset because the mufti would make an effort to satisfy the petitioner. The same is true for official muftis who are civil servants. In some cases they are more objective. However, it is common knowledge that their opinions will support the policy of their governments (Skovgaard-Petersen 1997: 19).

The phenomenon of "shopping" for muftis points to another problem regarding the skills and credentials of muftis. There are no specific educational qualifications for acting in the capacity of mufti. In fact, any person who has studied some Muslim law can issue a *fatwa*, but two major grounds will determine whether a *fatwa* will be accepted by the public. First, the mufti's popularity among a target audience. Second, his scholarship and experience as a religious legal authority.

Another problem regarding *fatwa* is that there is no traditional process or procedural rules for issuing a *fatwa* by the mufti. There are no stipulations regarding what kind of literature the mufti must consult or refer to in his *fatwa* in order to respond to a question, and to which of the legal sources he has to give priority. It further does not indicate how he should draft his response: should it be a short one, or a long one that cites the sources on which his response is grounded. The technique of how the mufti provides his legal interpretation differs according to the

¹⁶ Ibid.

mufti's personal approach. The result is that in some cases, and particularly in questions addressed via the internet, a *fatwa* may be very short.¹⁷ In some cases the response could be more detailed, but here again in some *fatwas* one can find references to the Qur'an, to the Hadith, or to the four major schools of Law in Islam.¹⁸ Further, a *fatwa* could also be phrased similar to modern civil court verdicts, comprising of the presentation of relevant facts, laws, analysis, interpretation, and references.¹⁹ In other cases, the detail of the response will not include references or any explanatory details.

The characteristics of a *fatwa* mentioned above, enable muftis to express political opinions on debatable issues, and even to become secondary actors in the political sphere by issuing a *fatwa*, as we saw in the above case of the Bahrainian municipal elections. In the contemporary context, muftis express public opinions in the media without basing their opinions on any source, but they frame their (ideological) opinion in the form of a *fatwa* as if this opinion reflects Islamic law and tradition. By doing so, they believe that their audience of Muslim believers is compelled to support their political position. Hence, in the last century a new genre of *fatwas* has developed referred to as "political *fatwas*" or "*fatwas* in current affairs", in which the Mufti phrases his response in the language of a press-release more than a legal document. Political *fatwas* influence public opinion to a significant extent. Two examples illustrate the importance of a *fatwa* in the political play. The first is the appeal of Tantawi, the Head of al-Azhar institution to his colleagues not to issue political *fatwas* while he, himself, has continued to express his opinions in public on political affairs.²⁰ The second example is from Saudi Arabia. Following the terror attacks of 9/11 in the US and other terror actions in Saudi Arabia, itself, as well as in Europe, the Supreme

¹⁷ Example: <http://www.alfawzan.ws/alfawzan/fatawasearch/tabid/70/default.aspx?PageID=435> from the site of Sheikh Salih al-Fawzan.

¹⁸ Same example, and others in the same site.

¹⁹ Example from Egyptian Dar al-Ifta' on the WMD: <http://www.dar-alifta.org/ViewFatwa.aspx?ID=646>.

²⁰ Example from the same site: <http://www.dar-alifta.org/ViewFatwa.aspx?ID=419>.

Council of Ulama warned against independent muftis who issue *fatwas* regarding *jihād* (holy war).²¹

One example showing how the boundaries between a press-release and a *fatwa* have been blurred is shown by the way in which the former Palestinian Grand Mufti, Sheikh Ikrima Sabri, expressed his opinion on a political question. Sabri appealed through the Egyptian newspaper, *al-Jumhuriyya*, to the Muslim citizens of Israel, to boycott the elections for prime minister conducted in February 2001. In response to the question of a journalist who interviewed him if his opinion is a *fatwa*, Sabri stated: "Indeed this is not a *fatwa*; however, from the point of view of Muslim religion, my instruction has similar status to *fatwa*"²². In other words, Sabri claimed that the platform in which his words are being expressed, whether it is a legal opinion or a press interview is not important. What is important is the position and status of the individual speaking.

The above mentioned drawbacks of a *fatwa* are perhaps a reason why a *fatwa* is a non-binding opinion. It has a validity of recommendation only. Its task is to give religious legal legitimacy to an action or a position of a petitioner. In the following section I will analyze four *fatwas* issued in the case of the Shihab al-Din dispute to demonstrate how the characteristics of *fatwa* enable the manipulation of muftis and *fatwas* for political ends.

***Fatwa* Manipulation**

Nine muftis from four countries addressed the issue of the Shihab al-Din affair. Three of them referred to it in the press in a general address without a prior petition, and the other six muftis responded to the petition which was submitted to them by activists of the Islamic Movement of Nazareth. The question addressed to the muftis stated:

²¹ <http://www.encyclopedia.com/doc/1G1-127281203.html>.

²² *Haaretz* (5 February 2002): A2

What is the proper *shari'a* rule regarding Islamic land which contains a *maqam* (saint tomb) of one of the Muslim's religious clerics who was one of the most important *qadis* of Palestine, as well as a preacher at the al-Aqsa Mosque named Shihab al-Din Abu al-Abbas Ahmad b. Nasser Halifa b. Faraj al-Shafi'i al-Nasiri (751-816 h.[1350-1413]). The land in question contains an ancient Islamic school, which included a praying hall (*mussalah*) and a prayer niche (*mihrab*). We, the Muslims of Nazareth, were surprised when the municipality demolished the above mentioned school and turned the land, which is regarded as the courtyard of the Shihab al-Din Mosque, into a public plaza. We, Muslims, opposed this action of the municipality. We ask your honor, to elaborate the relevant *shari'a* law regarding this land that we see as an Islamic land endowed as *waqf* for the benefit of the Shihab al-Din Mosque. Are we permitted to relinquish this land and to denigrate it for the sake of an interest held by non-Muslims?

The major legal question, necessary to decide the Shihab al-Din dispute in the Israeli-Arab domain was: whether the disputed land, or part of it, is today, or was in the past, under the status of *waqf*. The requested *fatwas* aimed at challenging the archival documents from Ottoman, British Mandate and Israeli Land Registry that the Nazareth City Council provided according to which only 12 % of the disputed land (259 out of 2,200 sqm.) was previously considered to be classified as *waqf*. In other words, the school that was demolished for the construction of the Plaza and occupied most of the disputed land was not part of the Shihab al-Din Waqf. What we see in the above *istifta'*, is that the petitioners inserted their own position by writing, "we see it as an Islamic land endowed as *waqf* for the benefit of the Shihab al-Din Mosque". The fact, however, is that the Shihab al-Din site was never a Mosque, but a *maqam*, a saint tomb of only 41 square meters.

The petitioners – the Islamic Movement – presented a subjective narrative to the muftis regarding the school building. In their request for a legal response, they claimed that the school was an old religious Muslim school (*madrasah*) from the Mameluke period, containing a prayer hall

considered to have the status of Mosque.²³ This claim was challenged by the City Council who argued, basing itself on a book about the history of Nazareth from 1924, that this particular building was never an Islamic *madrasah*, but was first built as a school in 1906 by the Ottomans. Underlining its non-religious nature, they emphasized that non Muslim students also studied there.²⁴

Another detail reflecting the subjective approach of the petitioners related to the *maqam* as belonging to, “one of the most important *qadis* of Palestine” from the 14/15th century. It is interesting to note that the Islamic Movement departed from this narrative and in its newspaper identified the Shihab al-Din tomb with Saladin’s nephew.²⁵ This reconstructed narrative was aimed at winning the Muslim public to their side by identifying the site with an important hero (Saladin) and together with a founding event in the (nationalist) Arab and Islamic ethos, the battle of Hattin of 1187, in which the Crusaders were defeated, and the Muslim army, led by Saladin liberated Jerusalem. There does not seem to be concrete evidence for either of the two narratives regarding the question of the historical background of Shihab al-Din.

The petitioners also incorporated in their question additional details, which lacked foundation. They wrote that they resisted the municipality’s action, and that they were surprised when the city council bulldozed the school. The fact is that the plan to build the plaza was approved dur-

²³ The Islamic Movement’s Organ, *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya*, 26 December 1997, narrated that during the Ottoman period, the religious *madrasah* was used for a military school and the prayer hall remained intact. Later on, during British Mandate the building served as the headquarters of the British Military Governor in the North. While after the establishment of Israel, the structure and the land was declared Absentee Property and then was used as an elementary school.

²⁴ The book titled *Ta’rikh al-Nasira Min Aqdam Azmanihi Ila Ayamina al-Hadira* (The History of Nazareth from Antiquity to Present Time) Nazareth 1924, Xerox edition of 1983, by Father Asad Monsour.

²⁵ Hamad Aghbariyya wrote in the Islamic movement’s Organ *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya*, 26 December 1997, the Following: “The Shihab al-Din tomb was erected in honor of the Martyr who sacrificed his life together with his brother, in purifying the Islamic land from the impurity of the aggressors in a battle led by Saladin”.

ing the city council deliberation in 1994, when no opposition was expressed. When the issue was discussed in the council, the Islamist leader Salman Abu Ahmad, asked weather or not this particular school belonged to the *Waqf*? In other words, he himself didn't know the answer. At that meeting, he only suggested that instead of a public plaza a new city hall building should be erected (Israeli, 2002: 82).

Assuming that the mufti would accept the petitioners' narrative that the entire disputed land is *waqf* in a status of a Mosque and a holy tomb on face value, then the question presented to him was rhetorical: "Are we permitted to renounce this land and to neglect it for the sake of an interest held by the non-Muslims"? The terminology used by the petitioners "to renounce" and "to neglect" of "holy Islamic *waqf* land" is often employed by Palestinians in their struggle against Israel and her policies.²⁶ For example, Article 11 of the Hamas Charter refers to the entire land of Palestine as a holy *waqf* land that should not be renounced. The petitioners link their struggle against the Christian project in Nazareth, and against the Nazareth municipality headed by a Christian, to the interests of the greater conflict against the state of Israel. The language used by the petitioners aimed at influencing the muftis they approached to issue a response in line with Arab-Muslim national goals, by specifying that the disputed land belongs to the *Waqf*.

The petitioners provided the muftis with two evidential documents aimed at supporting the information that they provided in their Question. The first document was a petition signed by hundreds of Nazareth Muslims (the supporters of erecting a Mosque) who announced that some of them even studied in the demolished school, and they could be witness to the fact that the school was an Islamic *madrasah* that contained a prayer hall. The second document was a map produced in 1868 by a Swiss explorer named Titus Tobler. The map, was actually a sketch, indicating that south of the Church of Annunciation was a place marked with a crescent (Islamic site), noting "Small Mosque" without demarcat-

²⁶ Dumper 1994: 25–62; Reiter 2010: 104–27; Reiter 2007: 172–97; Ben-Ze'ev – Aburaiya 2004: 639–55.

ing the borders of this “small mosque”. Apparently Tobler confused the *maqam* (tomb) with a Mosque, but the Islamic movement indicated in the material they submitted to the muftis, that Tobler’s “map”, proves “the Islamic nature of the site” (i.e. the entire disputed land including the school yard).

The six *fatwas* issued at the request of the Islamic movement, supported its position that the disputed land has the status of *waqf*. The first *fatwa* was issued by the Chief Mufti of the Palestinian Authority at the time, Sheikh Ikrima Sabri. Sabri in his response copied the details in the *istifta’*, and added that “the open court (*saha*, of the school) adjacent to the Shihab al-Din *maqam*, is an Islamic *waqf*”. Sabri wrote that *waqf* land has an eternal status with no statute of limitation. A *waqf* property is inalienable and cannot be sold, expropriated, and its ownership cannot be transferred to others. Therefore, if somebody illegally took over a *waqf* property, even if it rendered it to state land, it is the duty of Muslims to remove the damage caused to the *waqf* and to return it to its original purpose, regardless of the time that passed from the transgression. Sabri added that, “from a *shari’a* and a religious point of view, the Nazareth inhabitants, and every Muslim has the right to reclaim the release of *waqf* and the removal of the Israeli government’s hands out of this land”²⁷.

The Palestinian Mufti’s response extended the context of the *fatwa* from a specific dispute in Nazareth to the broader issue of Israel’s nationalization of *waqf* properties (Reiter 2007: 172–97). Israel’s policy of nationalizing public *waqf* properties by defining them as “absentees property” and handing them over to a government custodian is strongly criticised by the Arab Muslim minority in Israel (Layish 1966: 41–76; Reiter 2010: 104–27). One can assume that the muftis consulted in this case believed that their *fatwa* was requested in order to challenge Israel’s policy and to “rescue” a *waqf* property from the hands of the government. Sabri stated that *waqf* has a holy status and even if it was used for mundane purposes it does not affect the eternal Islamic status of the land. This view is based

²⁷ *Fatwa* of 31 December, 1997.

on an incorrect interpretation of Islamic sources (Reiter, 2007). Sabri's response is politically motivated as one can conclude from his participation in 1998 in the Nazareth Islamic Movement's celebration in winning the majority of seats on the city council, and on this occasion he said: "We came [to this celebration] to [manifest that we] reinforce our right in our sacred sites and *waqf* properties; we support you as you support us" (Fahoum-Ghanim 2003: 293).

The second *fatwa* was written by professor of *shari'a* at the Jordanian University, Dr. Mahmud Ali al-Sartawi. Al-Sartawi maintained, that for proving that a given property has a *waqf* status it is enough hearing evidence claiming the property to be *waqf*, due to the importance of protecting *waqf* properties in Islam, and further because it is difficult to provide first hand evidence after the significant lapse of time since the asset was endowed as *waqf*. Therefore, he concluded, that if the evidence of the Muslims (who signed the petition provided by the Islamic Movement) is correct, then it proves that the land is *waqf*. He added that the fact that this land contained a mosque, a cemetery²⁸, and a *madrasah*, proves also that the land is *waqf* land because these three institutions according to Muslim tradition are only erected on *waqf* land. Regarding the question of what utilities this *waqf* land could be used for, the Jordanian professor argued that it is not permissible to use land that in the past served for a Mosque, for a *madrasah*, and for a cemetery for any other the purpose than that for which they were established. Hence, instead of the (demolished) Mosque [i.e. the school], one can build only another Mosque and the *madrasah* could be replaced by another educational institution. He also stressed the religious duty to preserve the tomb and cemetery due to the sacredness of a human Muslim body.²⁹

²⁸ The Islamic movement claimed that when they dug the basement of the Mosque they found a number of bones testifying that the place was also a cemetery. The picture of such bones was published in the front page of its newspaper dated 29 April 1998.

²⁹ Undated and hand written *fatwa*.

The third *fatwa* was provided by the Chief Mufti of Jordan, Sa'id Abd al-Hafiz al-Hijawi who wrote the following³⁰:

... after reading the question and studying the official map annexed to it, which proved the existence of a little mosque, and looking at the signatures of so many persons, it is impossible that so many people would testify falsely, the evidence supports that the land referred to in the question and all that exists on the land is in fact *waqf* land which hence should never be sold, bequeathed or inherited. Undoubtedly this is *waqf* land and the prophet Muhammad stated that *waqf* assets cannot be sold bequeathed or inherited.³¹

To strengthen his opinion Hijawi cited another *fatwa* issued in 1984 by the then Jordanian Fatwa Council conveying the same argument of the Palestinian Mufti mentioned above:

Every land or property endowed as *waqf* has an eternal holy nature (*lahu hurmatuhu*), it receives the status of a holy place and it does not lose its *waqf* standing or its status as a holy place (*sifat al-qadasah*) under any circumstances. Aggression (*'udwan*) against a [*waqf*] property [by taking it over] does not exclude it from this status and does not abolish its status regardless of the time that has passed since it has been violated, and in fact, trespassing is a violation against the religion and against the holiness (*'ala al-din wa-qudsiyatihi*) – a matter that Islamic law rejects, as well this aggression contradicts agreements and conventions between nations and states.³²

The decision of the Jordanian Fatwa Council, given in 1984, was issued to reinforce the Jordanian Waqf Administration's standing in holy places in Jerusalem and the West Bank against the background of Israel's actions to Judaize the character of Jerusalem and other places. Thus, in the same way as the Palestinian Mufti acted, Hijawi presented a direct connection between the dispute over the land in Nazareth and the national struggle against Israel's activities. Hijawi ended his *fatwa* with the following strong statement:

³⁰ Interestingly the Jordanian Mufti who quoted the *iftista'* dropped out after the question whether Muslims are permitted to renounce it the words "for the sake of an interest held by non-Muslims".

³¹ *Fatwa* dated 5 January, 1998.

³² *Fatwa* dated 5 January, 1998.

In light of the above, the land mentioned in the *istifta'* is **entirely** an Islamic *waqf* in which any forceful trespassing or violent actions against it could not change its [legal] status and does not create a legal right [in favor of the trespasser]. According to the *shari'a*, *waqf* land cannot be state land; nor can it belong to a specific body or a private person. However, it is an endowment for a specific purpose since what was stipulated by the endower is regarded as a text of the *shari'a* itself. Whoever belittles or opposes the punishments of Allah, particularly if he is a Muslim who operated against the *shari'a* of Allah, or who attempted to exclude a *waqf* asset from its original status, or the one who attempted to assist non-Muslims to prove their claims, such a person is regarded as a sinner who has breached Islamic law because he uses a property which is not privately owned by him and he trespassed an Islamic *waqf* and harmed it for the benefit of non-Muslims.³³

This *fatwa* of Hijawi, out of all other *fatwas* received by the Islamic Movement, best served their interests since it stated that the **entire** land is *waqf* without indicating its boundaries or its area. It further stated that every Muslim should do his best to prove the *waqf* status of the land, and whoever concedes or belittles its holy status, or assists in transferring it to non-Muslims is a sinner.³⁴ The text is crystal clear regarding the status of the disputed land, and its potential for having an impact on the Muslim public is strong.

The above three *fatwas* were published by the Islamic Movement in leaflets and Arab newspapers in Israel in order to influence Arab public opinion in Nazareth and Israel.³⁵ The Nazareth City Council felt that they had to do something to influence Arab public opinion in its position against erecting the Mosque. Mayor Ramez Jiraysi went to Jordan

³³ Fatwa dated 5 January, 1998.

³⁴ The *istifta'*; quoted by Hijawi, was missing the following words that appeared in the one quoted by Sabri: "to hand it over to non-Muslims". However, Hijawi, of all other muftis emphasized the obligation to prevent the *waqf* land ending up in non-Muslim ownership.

³⁵ *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya* (13 Feb 1998), Similar three Fatwas were issued by another professor of *shari'a* from the Jordanian University, Dr. Hassan Abbas, by the chair of the department of religion in Damascus University, Dr. Mohammad Said al – Bouti, by the then Chief Mufti of Syria, Sheikh Ahmad Kufaro, and there was also an announcement by the head of the League of Palestinian Ulama Sheikh Hamid Bitawi.

accompanied by two Muslim dignitaries from Nazareth to meet mufti Hijawi and present to him the original archival documents refuting the details submitted to the mufti with the *istifta*' of the Islamic Movement. He showed the mufti that the Tobler sketch was forged by the Islamic Movement.³⁶ Apparently, Hijawi was convinced that the Islamic Movement provided him with incorrect information and therefore he issued a new *fatwa* three weeks after his previous one in which he wrote the following:

In reference to a *fatwa* that I issued number 21/16/6/1 dated 7/9/1418 Hijra, equivalent to 5 January 1998, dealing with an Islamic *waqf* in the city of Nazareth, I would like first to clarify that a *fatwa* is only clarification of *shari'a* law to the petitioner regarding his specific question. The petitioner could embellish his words in a way that the listener could be impressed that he is just. However, the Prophet said 'There is the type of man whose speech about this world's life may dazzle thee, and he calls Allah to witness about what is in his heart; yet is he the most contentious of enemies (Quran 2:204)'.

Every Muslim has the right to zealously protect a public right, yet protecting the right should rely only on truth ...The honorable Mayor Mr. Ramez Jiraysi came to me escorted with two of his colleagues, Mr. Wajih Mansour, and Walid Muhammad Ibrahim. He presented to me historical Islamic maps of Waqf Shihab al-Din in Nazareth, and documents demarcating exactly the space of the above mentioned Shihab al-Din *Waqf* that were provided to the municipality, by the department of Fatwa and Islamic Research – the Institute of Revival of Islamic Heritage and Research located in Jerusalem. Submitted to a letter dated 3 January, 1998 clarifying that the *Waqf* plot, including the Shihab al-Din tomb is 134 square meters, registered under the number 38/8/191, 38/151 of volume 10, pg. 180, 10 August, 1939, and a nearby plot of 125 square meters registered under the same number and volume, pg. 181, dated 20 August 1938. Therefore, the rules of *waqf* that I indicated in my previous *fatwa* refer only to the lot that was proven as belonging to the *Waqf*, naming 259 square meters. And let me stress what Allah said in Quran 5:2, 'Help not one another in sin and transgression. Hence, retreat from a *fatwa* due to a clear mistake casts a prohibition to act

³⁶ The forged map was published in *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya* (26 December 1997) and the newsletter of the Committee to Defend Waqf Shihab al-Din (8 January 1998).

according to the previous opinion, and since this case is inverse it is a judicial issue unavoidable to be determined [in court] in order to find the truth, and to prevent disagreement and dispute’.

The Jordanian Mufti was left with no other option but [forced] to retreat from the first *fatwa* he issued after seeing the original documents exposing new facts that diametrically contradicted the information that he initially received. In contrast to Hijawi, who wrote in his first *fatwa* that it was unlikely that so many Muslims would testify falsely, in his second *fatwa*, the mufti stated that he has no trust in the false information presented to him by the Islamic Movement. In the first *fatwa* the Mufti determined that transferring a *waqf* property to non-Muslims is a religious sin; however, in his second *fatwa* he sided with the Christian Mayor of Nazareth by concluding that the disputed land is not in a status of *waqf*. In the second *fatwa* Hijawi concluded by suggesting that the land dispute “is a judicial issue unavoidable to be determined”. The mufti deliberately refrained from stating the case should be referred to a *shari’a* court and consequently we can understand that he means a civil [Israeli, non-Muslim] court.

The circumstances of revoking the first *fatwa* of Hijawi damaged the credibility of the *fatwa* institution. Despite the initial success of the Islamic Movement in the first round of *fatwa*-issue, they later experienced significant rejection, when the same Jordanian mufti revoked his original ruling, which had been in their favor.³⁷

In the meantime, Christian leaders of all denominations assembled in Jerusalem to establish the “International Coalition for Nazareth”. The Coalition exerted pressure on Israel, the PA government, Jordan and Egypt, asking them to intervene to prevent the construction of the Mosque where the public plaza was planned. The world Church Organization appealed to US President George W. Bush who intervened and personally asked Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon to prevent the erection of the Mosque. The same pressure was put on PLO and PA Chair-

³⁷ The second *fatwa* of Hijawi is dated 27 January, 1998.

man Yaser Arafat.³⁸ Arafat made an attempt to mediate between the disputed parties, but failed. Hamas leader Sheikh Ahmad Yasin was also contacted (Fahoum 2003: 299). The attempts of Yaser Arafat and other Palestinian figures were motivated to keep good relations with the Holy See seeking Christian support for future Palestinian control in East Jerusalem.³⁹ Apparently, pressure was also exerted on Egypt. Egyptian Chief Mufti, Dr. Nasser Farid Wasel was quoted in November 1999 by the Lebanese Newspaper *Al-Safir*, stating: “A prayer in the Shihab al-Din Mosque recently constructed near by the Church of Annunciation is null and void. Whoever will pray in this mosque participates in fueling a civil strife which is a sin greater than assassination, and whoever agrees to build the Mosque will be responsible in front of Allah”. The Mufti added that Islam is a religion that provides protection to all religious communities and said, “we shouldn’t allow our enemies [Israeli Jews] to generate a civil strife between the members of the one nation, and I say to my Muslim brothers in Nazareth: Build your Mosque in a different location, and I ask what is the difference between this particular place and another place. We have to consider reasonably and to respect our national collaterals, that they and we support each other against our joint enemy.”⁴⁰

Two months later, in January 2000, following a letter sent by Cardinal Francis Arinze, the chair of the Inter-Faith Council of the Vatican, to the head of Al-Azhar institution in Cairo, Dr. Muhammed Sayyid Tantawi, former Chief Mufti of Egypt, declared that, “dialogue is the preferred way to solve the disagreement in this issue and this was always the posi-

³⁸ Fahoum, 2003: 358, *Haaretz* (25 December 2001).

³⁹ *Sawt al-Haqq wal-Huriyya* (16 Jan 1998): 7, Fahoum, 2003: 323.

⁴⁰ *Al-Safir* (30 November 1991). The leader of the Islamic movement in Nazareth Salam Abu Ahmad reacted to the mufti’s interview by saying, “Al-Safir is known as hostile to the Islamic movement in Israel and its is unavoidable that the newspaper provided the mufti of Egypt with a faked information as if the mosque would be erected on a plot usurped from the Christian community. We invite the mufti of Egypt to meet with us and then he will find our position correct.” (*Haaretz* 1 December 1999). Fahoum 2003: 333 wrote that the Egyptian mufti denied saying what was quoted in *Al Safir*, adding that such an opinion negates the *shari’a* that states that prayers in mosques are important.

tion of Al-Azhar.⁴¹ Apparently, Christian international pressures were also exerted on Jordan. We can make this assumption because the Jordanian Inter-religious Dialogue Council invited senior political actors from Israel, the Palestinian Authority and Jordan to a symposium in which the Nazareth Islamic activists were pressured to build its Mosque on a substitute plot (Fahoum 2003: 323). The Supreme Islamic authority in Jerusalem, which is subordinate to Jordan, also published a press release denouncing the foundation of the cornerstone of the Shihab al-Din Mosque (Fahoum 2003: 323).

The opinions voiced from Egypt, Jordan and the PA against the erection of the mosque reinforced the Israeli government's action to demolish its foundations in July 2003 after a Magistrate Court ruled that they were constructed without obtaining a permit according to law. Construction of the public Plaza subsequently began, and was completed in 2005.⁴²

Later on, the Shihab al-Din Tomb was remodeled to serve as a small mosque with the addition of a second floor to the tomb. A huge banner in both Arabic and English was flagged on the mosque enumerating Quran 3:85 saying: "And whoever seeks a religion other than Islam, it will never be accepted of him; and in the Hereafter He will be one of the losers". The text in English was apparently aimed to challenge the non-Muslims visitors to the Church of Annunciation. The *imam* of the mosque – Nazem Abu Salim – was reported to praise al-Qaeda.⁴³ In June 2010 a group of seven Muslims worshipers at this mosque who formed a cell of Global Jihad were arrested after carrying out a series of terrorist

⁴¹ Letter dated, 19 January, 2000 of the General Director of Al-Azhar Fawzi Fadil al Zafzaf who serves at the head of the committee of dialogue between religions in response to letter dated 2 December 1999 of Cardinal Arienza.

⁴² Out of fears for continued Muslim protest, the Plaza remained closed until March 2006, when after an unrelated explosion in the church, Islamic activists broke into the tourist plaza attempting to pray, the activists were removed by police, and the plaza remained open from that point forward.

⁴³ <http://www.memritv.org/report/en/3932.htm>.

attacks against Christians and Jews, including murdering a Jewish taxi driver.⁴⁴

Conclusion

The Shihab al-Din affair sheds light on different aspects of the modern development of *fatwa*. First, it is one of many examples of political *fatwas* that were developed as a new special genre of *fatwas* and are very popular today in public discourse and political disputes. Second, is that in many cases they are articulated as press releases in which muftis express their public position without grounding them in sources of Islamic law. Third, the mufti tends to accept the petitioner's narrative and may refrain from investigating the truth of what has been presented to him in the *istifta'*.

In the case of the Shihab al-Din mosque of Nazareth, we have seen that political considerations influenced the Jordanian mufti's response in opposing directions, according to the narrative presented to him. Initially, he accepted the narrative of the Islamic Movement at face value. He did so because he viewed the entire dispute within the context of the national struggle against the Israeli land policy. However, when he was confronted with new, more accurate information presented to him from a different political standing, he realized that this was an intra-Arab conflict, and then changed his ruling. Possibly he did so after international Christian pressure was exerted on Jordanian authorities.

In this affair, the Islamic Movement acted forcefully and refused proposals to build the Mosque elsewhere in Nazareth. It found itself confronted with stronger forces and finally lost its case. This case shows that, on the one hand, it is relatively easy to manipulate a mufti to issue a desired response, and the mufti himself may collaborate with the peti-

⁴⁴ The Jerusalem Post, 28 June, 2010: <http://www.jpost.com/Israel/Article.aspx?id=179751>.

tioner. On the other hand, when the rival side becomes politically stronger, the mufti may change his mind. This whole episode highlights the drawbacks of a *fatwa* in the political realm and undermines the credibility of the *fatwa* institution.

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PART 3

'Cheers to the New Life' – Five Turkish serial novels of the 1930s in the popular magazine *Yedigün*

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It was customary in the last decades of the Ottoman Empire and the early years of the Turkish Republic to disseminate Turkish literature in serial form in newspapers or magazines appearing daily or weekly. Many of these serial novels were eventually published as books, especially if they were written by well-known authors. So it was, for example, with the novels of Ahmet Midhat (1855–1912) which had first appeared periodically in his newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. Halit Ziya (Uşaklıgil; 1866–1945) first published his famous novels *Mai ve Siyah* (Blue and Black) and *Aşk-ı Memnu* (Forbidden Love) serially between 1896 and 1898 in the newspaper of the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide*-movement, *Servet-i Fünun*,¹ and Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu; 1889–1974) published his first three novels serially from 1920 to 1927 in the newspapers *İkdam*, *Akşam* and *Milliyet*.

Some authors even led a double life as writers by sometimes publishing works with literary ambitions, while at the same time publishing others more in the line of popular novels, destined for newspapers and magazines or in small paperback format. These 'dime novels' were published, for example, by Peyami Safa (1899–1961) whose thrillers and love stories appeared under the pseudonym Server Bedi. An author otherwise known for his socially-relevant novels, Kemal Tahir (1910–1973), translated the American 'Mike Hammer' novels by Mickey Spillane into Turkish. When he noticed how popular these Mike Hammer novels became, he started to invent new Mike Hammer stories for his Turkish readership.²

¹ The *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* (New Literature) movement – which is often alternatively named after its main publication organ *Servet-i Fünun* (Wealth of Sciences) – was the first modern Turkish literary movement. It lasted from 1896 to 1901.

² See the article on "Kemal Tahir", *DBEA* 2003 (2): 591–594.

This paper presents the following five novels of the 1930s which all appeared serially in *Yedigün*. To my knowledge, none of these were published later in book form:³

- *Nankörlerin Romanı* (The Novel of the Ungrateful) by Sedat Simavi, 1933.
- *Taşbebek. His Aşk ve Memleket Romanı* (The Stone Doll. A novel of sensibility, love and homeland) by Mahmut Yesari, 1934–5.
- *Daktilo* (The Secretary) by Kadircan (Kafılı), 1935–6.
- *Aşkın Yanıbaşında* (Very Close to Being Love) by Selami İzzet (Sedes), 1936.
- *Kördüğüm. Hayattan Alınmış His ve Sevgi Romanı* (The Gordian Knot. A true life story of feelings and love) by Etem İzzet Benice, 1936.

With the exception of Mahmut Yesari (1895–1945), the authors of these novels are today considered to be more journalists and publicists than authors. In particular Sedat Simavi (1896–1953) is better known as the founder and publisher of the Turkish daily newspaper *Hürriyet* than as the owner of *Yedigün*, a weekly magazine whose publication he shut down in 1950.⁴ Kadircan (Kafılı; 1899–1969) was a journalist for the *Vatan* und *Tercüman* newspapers; Selami İzzet (Sedes) is far better known as the translator of crime classics such as those of Conan Doyle (Sherlock Holmes) and Maurice Leblanc (Arsène Lupin); and Etem İzzet

³ The selection of novels was made on the basis of a cross-section within the issues 1–208 of the Magazine *Yedigün* from the years 1933 through 1937 (Sayı 1–8). Other novels which appeared in *Yedigün* during this period – Sedat Simavi's *Fuji-Yama* (Sayı 1–24, 1933), Kadircan Kafılı's *Sürgün!* (Sayı 53–82, 1934) and *Akbay Han!* (Sayı 95–115, 1935), Edhem İzzet Benice's *Foya* (Sayı 116–135, 1935), Halide Edib's *Yolpalas Cinayeti* (Sayı 178–189, 1936) and Reşat Nuris *Eski Hastalık* (Sayı 199–250, 1937) appeared later in book form and were, therefore, not included in the study here. One other novel – Server Bedi (Peyami Safa), *Cingöz Baloda* – began in *Yedigün* (Sayı 18–19), but was then discontinued.

⁴ See Koloğlu 1993: 457.

Benice (1903–1967) is better known as publisher and journalist for the newspapers *İkdam*, *Zaman*, *Açık Söz*, *Son Telgraf* and *Gece Postası*.⁵

Yedigün was an extremely popular magazine publishing 911 issues between 1933 and 1950, sometimes with distributions topping 50.000. It appeared in a large format,⁶ both in colour and in black and white. Alluding to the popular cinemas of the time its founder, the journalist and author Sadri Etem (Ertem, 1898–1943), wrote in the first issue:

Yedigün is your magazine. Pass it to your acquaintances to read. Inform them about it so that it will reach a large audience. It appears on Wednesdays, is a weekly family and folk magazine dealing with every subject. [...] Yedigün is a cinema screen which you can hold in your hands to follow world events, bold adventures, dramas, and sweet comedies without having to spend time in a foul-smelling, smokey, overcrowded, narrow and dark space. (*Yedigün* 1933 (Cilt 1. Sayı 1/15 Mart).

The magazine presented an appealing mixture of current events, gossip and rumors, culture and literature. Similar to *Varlık* – a magazine that first appeared in July of 1933 and continues until today – *Yedigün* assumed the task of introducing young readers to Turkish literature by pursuing a clever strategy of rotating known figures of national literature with those who were unknown. For example, Halide Edib Adıvar's first and only thriller, *Yolpalas Cinayeti* (The Yolpalas Murder), appeared in serial form in *Yedigün* before its publication as a book.⁷ By means of interviews with contemporary authors, the young reporter Naci Sadullah (Danış; 1907–1972) – a nephew of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil – Hikmet Feridun (Es; 1909–1992), and Taha Ay (Taha Toros, 1912–2012) the reader became acquainted with the well-known greats of Turkish literature such as Hüseyin Rahmi Gürpınar, Reşat Nuri Güntekin or Yahya Kemal. By

⁵ See the entries on them in *TDEA* 1977-98 (8): 18 (Simavi, Sedat), *TDEA* 1977-98 (8): 590 (Yesari, Mahmud); *TDEA* 1977-98 (7): 483 (Sedes, Selami İzzet); *TDEA* 1977-98 (5): 99 (Kafılı, Kadircan); *TDEA* 1977-98 (1):397 (Benice, Ethem İzzet).

⁶ With a break between 20 March, 1948 and 17 March,1949, when they appeared in a smaller format.

⁷ Halide Edib: *Yolpalas Cinayeti. Büyük Realist Roman*. Appeared in *Yedigün* 1936, Sene 4 (Cild 7–8. Sayı 178–189/12 August–21 October). The book version appeared first in 1937.

these means the current debates in contemporary literature would be discussed. For example, the polemic between Peyami Safa and Nazım Hikmet in the *Tan* magazine was broached in an interview by Naci Sadullah with Nazım Hikmet in July of 1935 (Danış 1935).

The novels considered in this paper are of the type that were specifically developed for publication in *Yedigün*: On the whole they were composed on a weekly basis. It could happen that a novel would end abruptly, or, that characters at the start of the novel would disappear later. With the exception of *Taşbebek* they were all accompanied with illustrations by artists whose names were sometimes – as in the case of Etem İzzet Benices *Kördüğüm* and Kadircan Kafılı's *Daktilo* – published side by side with the author's name.⁸

With the exception of Sedat Simavi's *Nankörlerin Romanı* all the novels considered here are set in the present, that is roughly within the first ten years of the establishment of the Republic of Turkey in 1923. Sedat Simavi's novel is also taken into consideration because it is also nearly contemporary to the others, set at the turn of the century – the Ottoman Fin de Siècle – in which the authors of the 'New Literature' movement – *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* – were active. It tells retrospectively of the past and ends in the present.

At the core of all these novels is a young man or woman of modest or even poor background. Istanbul is usually the venue, though in the case of *Daktilo* Ankara also plays a role. The society in which these protagonists live is for the most part one which is outwardly quite European and modern. Yet, in paying particular respect to relationships between the sexes, the traditional patterns of the past lurk, and from these the problems in the novels emerge. In all five works the plot facilitating this recurrent theme is a romantic love story. This story unfolds an image of the Turkish society of the twenties and early thirties of the twentieth

⁸ İzzet Ziya Turnagil (1880–1934) illustrated *Kördüğüm*; Münif Fehim (Özerman; 1899–1993) illustrated the novel *Daktilo*.

century, which is to be examined in more detail below with a focus on the topics of interest in the novels.

Sedat Simavi's *Nankörlerin Romanı* (1933–34) ties its plot clearly into that of Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's famous novel *Mai ve Siyah* from 1897. The latter's hero, Ahmet Cemil, a highly sensitive youth with ambitions to become a writer, lives in Istanbul at the time of the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* movement. As in the case of Ahmet Cemil, Sedat Simavi's hero Kamran has little money and is a half-orphan. Yet he frequents a mansion (*konağ*) which belongs to the wealthy family of one of his friends where he falls in love with the daughter of the house. In *Mai ve Siyah* the story progresses from there to the dashing of all the hero's dreams and his departure from Istanbul. He cannot breach the huge gap between his impoverished existence and the life of the late-Ottoman Istanbul elite. With Kamran, on the contrary, there is success. At the juncture where Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil's novel ends pessimistically, that of Sedat Simavi's commences within the context of the early Republic's pioneering social spirit:

When Kamran's friends' father, a Pasha, loses his position as a result of the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, and soon afterwards suffers a stroke, the mansion's budget must be reduced drastically. As a trusted family friend Kamran assumes the finances of the household, sells the mansion and buys a three-story stone structure near Taksim Square. Ownership of one of these sought-after apartment buildings restores the pasha's prestige placing him suddenly once again in the favour of Istanbul society.

Yet, the Pasha persists in refusing his daughter's marriage to Kamran. Deeply hurt, Kamran departs abruptly to search for a cheap room in Beyoğlu. But shortly afterwards the Pasha's house burns to the ground. The family is totally impoverished. Kamran finds a job with a French Insurance Company in Galata and offers his wages to Leyla's family. The Pasha and his wife are so grateful that they now agree to Kamran's marriage to Leyla.

Then a letter arrives informing the Pasha that the Insurance Company will pay for the damages of the fire, a development that reveals that Kamran had bought an insurance policy for the Pasha's house against the latter's expressed wishes. The Pasha sees this as a betrayal and breaks the engagement. When Kamran flees the house, however, Leyla runs after him and goes with him. The last part of the novel is no longer narrated in the first person. From then onwards, the narrator is a friend of Kamran who relates that Kamran lives happily with his wife Leyla and their child, in an apartment in Beyoğlu.

The protagonists of Sedat Simavi indicate how much the literature of the *Edebiyat-ı Cedide* was still embedded in the consciousness of the early Republican society: The aesthetic spirit of the Ottoman Fin de Siècle literature as represented by the figure of Ahmet Cemil – with his long curly hair and frail and pale exterior – lives on in the description of Kamran at the beginning of the novel. However, whereas Ahmet Cemil is characterised as one who 'obdurately refuses to see the world realistically' and who therefore is crushed (Uysal 2014: 197), Kamran demonstrates that he is a man who is not satisfied with 'class differences'. He pursues his life's ambitions and forges on. That is not to say that he is not aware of the social differences:

He was the rich son of a Pasha living in the large mansion in Şehzadebaşı who had grown up under the protection of his nannies, coming to school in a carriage with rubber wheels. By contrast I was without means, a poor wretch like Ahmet Cemil in Halit Ziya's *Mavi ve Siyah* (...) Between me and Muammer was such a deep class chasm that we, had it not been for this small encounter,⁹ would have remained strangers throughout our entire school time. Though we both warmed the same school bench we would have harboured rancour against each other. (Simavi 1933 (Sayı 27): 13)

Kamran is not willing to accept his fate as a less-advantaged individual:

⁹ Muammer demonstrated his friendship and solidarity with Kamran on the occasion of a school outing to Kağıthane. For lack of money Kamran was not able to participate. Instead of going on the excursion himself Muammer took Kamran home with him. Simavi 1933 (Sayı 27): 13.

When I returned from the mansion I thought about things continuously. There was something like a struggle going on inside me. Muammer's little workroom with its Maroccan leather chair and elegant décor wouldn't go out of my head. No other room in the house – with all the expensive furnishings – impressed me as much as Muammer's workroom. I was not feeling envy. It was rebellion against my own unfortunate fate crowding in on me. (Simavi 1933 (Sayı 28): 19)

For his goal to be happy with Leyla, Kamran relinquishes his dreams to become a famous writer. He uses the signs of the times as his way to the top. Though he might yet sit evenings in the small garden hutch and indulge some fantasies of becoming a great literary figure in order to impress Leyla, he, in contrast to Ahmet Cemil, never loses touch with reality:

Then I suddenly woke up and knew that I would have to go to school the next day. I left the hutch the way I came and went slowly back to my room. Now there would be no more fantasies. I was confronted with reality. Leyla was for me no longer a distant dream but would come within reach. (Simavi 1933 (Sayı 36): 17)

In *Nankörlerin Romanı* the 'old order' as represented by the Pasha, who had served as a civil servant in the regime of Sultan Abdülhamit, stands in contrast to the enlightened behaviour of Kamran. He values and utilizes the tools of modernity to lead the family of his beloved Leyla out of a difficult time and also to guide his own social advancement. His cleverness in the world of business is demonstrated by his profit-bringing sale and purchase of properties on behalf of the Pasha, activity which conforms to the modern spirit of his times. His business acumen is also demonstrated in the fact that he purchases a house in Taksim near to the European district of Beyoğlu. Without needing the assistance of the Pasha he makes this decision to leave the old-fashioned mansion in Şehzadebaşı in the traditional quarter of Fatih and exchange it for a modern stone structure. The marriage with Leyla takes place without the approval of her parents. Also in this way, the novel shows opposition to former authority and tradition, replacing these with the 'modern life' of the early Republic.

Turning to *Taşbebek* (The Stone Doll), Mahmut Yesari's serial novel published in 1934–35, we see another depiction of a romanticised Fin de

Siècle type resembling Ahmet Cemil. But in this novel the Ahmet Cemil-type competes with another favorite type character of the early Republic, the muscular athlete who is both the friend of the hero and also his competitor for the love of the girl. The novel's protagonist, Haluk, is, like Ahmet Cemil, also a well-read young man with long hair, a pale complexion and delicate physique. Yet he is significantly different from Ahmet Cemil in that his hang for poetry limits itself to quoting from the poems of others, writing these in a notebook and declaring:

Haluk bent over to open his notebook, turning one page after the other. He was no poet, but he knew how to manage the poems of any poet – whether old or new. He had brought the poets under his own control. When he jotted down lines on the back of a cigarette package, on the margins of an envelope, or on a tattered piece of scrap paper he may have been resembling poetic behavior. But Füsün would never have listened to poems read from such torn papers ... [Only once the poems were registered in] the notebook which had gold-edged pages and a binding of Moroccan leather were they worthy of reciting. (Yesari 1934–5 (Sayı 83): 14)

Haluk, actually a rather hum-drum figure, works as a clerk in a company and lives an uneventful life with his mother. Their house was inherited from the deceased father and is a slightly neglected traditional wooden structure (*köşk*) in an (unspecified) green suburb of Istanbul. This life is thrown out of its rhythm when Haluk's mother falls ill. The cost of treatment is beyond their means unless they put a part of their house up for rent, and so it is that the young Füsün, her mother and aunt move in as their tenants.

Füsün is a not very educated, but all the more capricious young girl, who turns Haluk neatly the head. Her interest for music and poetry is only a pretense. What she really cares for is clothes and having fun with her friends. The many books in her room in several languages are never read, nor are the piano notes there ever played. Haluk takes driving lessons secretly with the intention of driving her around. They are betrothed but once Haluk's athletic friend, Fatin, shows up, she falls for him. The two friends compete for her favours, a situation which she exploits. On a group outing in the car the two friends notice that she bad-mouths both of them to her friends. The young men realize that

Füsün is a 'stone doll' without a soul. They realise that their friendship is what counts and that it had been nearly destroyed in their rivalry over her.

As in *Nankörlerin Romanı*, the picture of the romantic young aesthete, reciting verses and escaping into his dreams, is in *Taşbebek* no longer in harmony with the reality of the story. Where the contrast between the main protagonist, the delicate Haluk, and his athletic friend Fatin, is made, Haluk is valued as the cleverer and better educated one. As for the ignorant Füsün who doesn't know who Goethe is,¹⁰ and confuses "Ahmet Midhat with Abdülhamit," (Yesari 1934–35 in *Yedigün* Sayı 85: 20), Haluk can no longer be blinded by his infatuation with her. Füsün's ridicule of the two friends is only the last straw: "Shall I marry her? She is so beautiful, so cute. One would be proud to have such a fine-looking wife ...But what is in her head ...What am I to do with that? ..." (Yesari 1934–5 (Sayı 98): 25).

Füsün, the fashion doll that imitates everything European but does not understand European culture at the core, still belongs to a type of woman who, in her seductive superficiality, is the female equivalent of the stereotypic character of the European fop ('*alafanga züppe*') of the Tanzimat period. Marrying such a woman is not acceptable to a modern young man like Haluk. He is looking for a wife with whom he can engage intellectually. This brings us to the next novel under study.

A woman with whom a man can engage intellectually appears as protagonist in the novel of Kadircan (Kafı) entitled *Daktilo* – The Secretary. Seval is a sixteen-year-old orphan living in her paternal uncle's house in Istanbul. The uncle's wife is abusive to Seval and eventually tries to marry her off to her own fifty-year old, alcoholic brother. Seval flees secretly to Ankara with her friend Jale who has found a job there as a secretary. There Seval takes a typing course and then lands a job in Jale's company. But being so beautiful is a disadvantage because she is constantly har-

¹⁰ 'Oh God, I have had enough of your English poets!' Haluk gulped. 'He's not English. He's German!' Simavi 1933(Sayı 83):14.

assed by men at work. She changes jobs often. One day she encounters a certain Orhan, the young man with whom she was befriended in Istanbul who had disappeared without a farewell. Despite his youth Orhan has done well and has a good job. But Seval will have nothing to do with him and flees a confrontation with him by transferring to the firm's other branches in Mersin, and then Konya. There, mostly out of frustration, she nearly marries a mediocre colleague. But at the last minute Orhan intervenes and it turns out that it was the uncle's evil wife who was responsible for their having lost contact. The two are then united.

As the novel begins Seval is depicted as a naive, helpless orphan, mistreated by her uncle's nasty wife. With the move to Ankara and the help of her friend Jale, however, she is transformed. No longer a destitute and poorly-dressed girl, she becomes a modern young woman. Jale challenges her to transform her appearance as they travel in their own train compartment to Ankara:

Take a look at you! A jewel in rags ... like a beautiful picture stuck in a broken, grimey frame ...you dress like an old woman ...throw this scarf away..No! What beautiful silky hair you have ...such hair can't be pulled together in a knot! ... (Yesari 1934-5, Nr. 137: 24)

Finally, Jale even cuts her friend's hair:

Jale cut the chestnut brown hair with the technique of a good hair dresser, fashioning it into something much like that of a man's haircut. 'Now you are a modern girl. Cheers to the new life!' These two words created a whole new world in Seval's head: a world of elegant dresses, dancing, music, balls, cinema, cars, young men in tuxedos, sweet love stories and, just pure and simple freedom (Yesari 1934-5, Nr. 138: 29)



Jale gantaandaki makası çıkarıyor, bir çarpıda çözüp kestiği kumral saçları..

With her bobbed hair and European clothes Seval conforms to the Kemalist ideal of the modern Turkish woman. Inwardly, however, Seval is moved by superficial ideas of European “free life” (which are, by the way, not very different from the ideals of Füsün). And so Seval arrives in Ankara, the new capital of the young republic, a modern city with newly-built buildings, memorials, streets and people:

(Jale:) ‘Ankara is just like you. Only a few years ago it was a woman in baggy pants, head scarf, printed dress and old-fashioned boots. But just like with you, these were thrown out the train window and the city has completely undressed and then redressed itself.’ Seval pondered these words. How much Jale had learned. It was dumbfounding. Noticing this Jale said: ‘Those are not my words. I read them in a novel of a great Turkish author. Umm ... Who was he? I can’t now remember his name.’ ... (Yesari 1934–5, Nr. 138: 29)

The reference here to a ‘great Turkish author’ is probably meant to ironically recall Yakup Kadri (Karaosmanoğlu), whose novel *Ankara* was given so much attention when it was published in 1933 shortly after the tenth anniversary of the foundation of the Republic. Seval, as with Semra, the heroine of this novel, is moving from Istanbul to Ankara to begin a new life. Unlike Semra, however, Seval is not a married woman from the elite who grew up during the late Ottoman era and whose life was financed by a succession of three husbands. By contrast, Seval is a very young, unmarried, and destitute girl from the people who is completely dependent on herself for support. She is more like Feride in Reşat Nuri Güntekin’s *Çalılıkusu* (The Wren, first published in 1922) who had to defend herself from the encroachment of men and who, in her desperation, nearly makes the mistake of marrying a colleague who she does not love in order to avoid further disruptions.

With Seval in *Daktilo* we encounter the new Turkish woman of the Republic as often depicted in Turkish national literature (*Milli Edebiyat*): modern, educated, and trained to hold down a job, but not yet breaking the social norms and rules in her behaviour with men. Seval must guard herself in her behavior with her colleagues not to make any mistakes which could endanger her reputation. As she once erupts as a result of

her conflict with Orhan, emotionally leaving her post and begging for a transfer to another city, her fatherly boss in Ankara makes the rules of her position clear:

I'll give you some advice: You should behave more cleverly over there ...You represent the modern woman who has just begun to move among men. There will not always be a man who takes you in hand and shows you the way. You must learn to protect yourself! (Kafli 1935–6, Nr. 146: 28).

But in Izmir and soon afterwards in Konya Seval is further plagued by the advances of men. Only with the help of Orhan, who has been following her secretly everywhere, is Seval able to squirm out of precarious situations. Yet she holds to the opinion that Orhan is not reliable and remains on her guard towards him. In the meantime Jale has gotten married and writes about her life as a married woman and that she will soon leave her job because she is pregnant and would not want to have her child cared for by a stranger. ('I have changed the way I thought before. Sooner or later we all reach this point (marriage), but those who wait too long can be felt sorry for because their lives will be bitter.' Kafli 1935–6, Nr. 152: 27) Seval comes to the conclusion that marriage is the best solution for her. Only when she is on the verge of marrying a man she does not love she changes her decision at the last moment and decides to have Orhan, but not without accusing him of being far too indecisive: "Seval: 'If you had only asked instead of forcing me to....' (...)" Orhan took her in his arms and caressed her. Then he sighed and murmured: 'You are right. I should have known.'" (Kafli 1935–6, Nr. 153: 31).

Packaged within the stereotypes of 'modernity' of the 1930s – modern Ankara with its wide streets and modern buildings, people in elegant western clothes, and the hairstyles popular in Europe of that era – Kadircan Kafli's *Daktilo* harbours core traditional expectations about the role of women. Seval has not really chosen to work. She is forced to do so as a woman escaping a forced marriage and because she has no other means to support herself. Her beloved Orhan has a very clear opinion on the issue of working women:

Orhan: 'I feel sorry for working women ...The place of a woman is at home. Her highest and most appropriate calling is that of motherhood. Today they leave home for (work in an) office, firm, or bank. What a luxury, and such fluff ...They use their wages of 30 Lira to dress in silk, ride only in the first class compartments on the ferries and trams. They spend their money on all sorts of bric-a-brack. They disdain housework and live in a dreamworld of automobiles, balls, dancing, and beautiful clothes. They are not equal to men in life. But they are also not able to fulfil their obligations as women. So, what are they? Men or women?' (Kaflı 1935–6, Nr. 148: 28).

This novel's 'modernity' goes only so far as to view marriage as an institution based on mutual love rather than convenience or force. As a teacher told her when she was a child, the name Seval means 'Sev Al', i.e. 'Love him and take him.' (Kaflı 1935–6, Nr. 139: 28) Seval's expectations from love and marriage – that there will be a partnership and that she will not be patronized (Kaflı 1935–6, Nr. 145: 25–26) and that her beloved will treat her as his equal – are not reflected in her own behaviour. On the contrary, her life is given to constant flight and passivity. The novel depicts the world of the working woman as one in which the 'honour' of a woman is constantly endangered. The appropriate habitat for a woman – as seen also in the life of Jale – is at home, and the appropriate work is that of raising children.

The next novel for consideration is Etem İzzet Benice's *Kördüğüm* (Gordian Knot). Again a young woman is central to the plot. Necla is forced to accept work as a secretary in a factory in Istanbul. It is 1924. She is the young wife of Muhterem, director of the Office of Finance of Çankırı, a town near Ankara. They have travelled to Istanbul so that Muhterem can be treated for tuberculosis, renting a room with a family in the traditional quarter of Sultanselim in Fatih. The complications begin with the son of the family, Seyfi, and his father Dersiam Hoca observe Necla, while Dürdane, the daughter of the house, is smitten with Muhterem. Keriman, who calls herself Necla's sister, and her husband Halit also become involved. Dürdane's fiancé Veysel becomes interested in Keriman, though Keriman is actually longing for Muhterem, and then

Halit also has a crush on Necla. Necla goes looking for a job given their financial straits due to Muhterem's illness. She finds work in the tobacco factory in Fatih.¹ This intensifies the cross-cutting sentiments. Keriman intrigues by suggesting that Necla is betraying Muhterem, while Halit tells Necla that Muhterem does not love her. Conflict erupts between Necla and Muhterem. This is only resolved once the 'gordian knot' is cut when the landlord and his family intervene, knowing the truth of what is going on.

Comparing the two heroines, Seval (*Daktilo*) and Necla (*Kördüğüm*), we see that both the women are at first sight similar. With their bobbed hair and European clothing they conform to the fashionable ideals of the young Republican society. But while Seval is passive and anxious, avoiding conflicts and fleeing ahead of Orhan, Necla is the more active of the two in her marriage to Muhterem. She communicates easily and, in searching for an apartment in Istanbul, assumes the role of negotiator. Parenthetically, it is interesting to note that Muhterem, the husband, is again somehow a throw-back to the Ahmet Cemil type, being sickly, delicate and sensitive. He has fought in the World War and because of his being drafted for the War of Independence was obliged to forego finishing his law studies. But Necla is an independent force. When the men of the landlord's family flirt with her she is energetic in defending herself. She is a true comrade to her husband, going out to earn money in order to get them through a difficult time.

Central to both these novels is the theme of 'marrying for love,' with both partners in both novels embracing this concept. The theme is carried further, however, in *Kördüğüm* in that the plot carries the reader inside a marriage, raising the issue of how this should be lived. All the intrigues have the goal of breaking up the marriage of Necla and Muhterem. The most insidious of these bring Muhterem to doubt his wife's loyalty. It is the calumny of Necla's pseudo-sister Keriman and her husband Halit that incite Muhterem to attack Necla physically. In the ensu-

¹ Cibalı Tütün Fabrikası – the hero in Mahmut Yesari's novel *Çulluk* (1927), the first Turkish novel to describe the lives of factory workers – also works here.

ing confrontation Muhterem strikes Necla repeatedly until she is unconscious. Though he is immediately contrite, declaring it is wrong to beat one's wife and far better 'to separate once all has been discussed' (Benice 1936 (Sayı 177):23), the damage has been done. Even when in the end the misunderstanding is revealed on Necla's initiative and Muhterem is ashamed that he had been fooled by an intrigue, the marriage is over. Necla has already declared that for her there is now no way back: "I will clarify everything. This gordian knot will come undone. But after that you will not see me. Between us everything is over." (Benice 1936, Nr. 178: 26).

Moving to the fifth and final novel under discussion we see that the themes of forced marriage, love marriage, and violence within a marriage are again central. In Selami İzzet's (Sedes) *Aşkın Yanıbaşında* (Very close to being love), the plot centers on a couple who have been friends since childhood but due to 'opposing circumstances' cannot be joined:

Bergin and Özge are both teachers waiting for assignments in Anatolia. But Bergin cannot abide Istanbul and goes to stay with her father in Bursa for the summer. Her father falls unexpectedly and terminally ill. Before his death he marries her off to an older man so that she will be cared for though she does not love this man. In the meantime Özge is still living in Istanbul. One weekend he goes to the beach where a rich young girl by the name of Nergis falls in love with him. Özge at first rejects her advances, but once she declares her love, proceeds to plan their marriage. One day Özge sees Bergin by chance in a house in Yeşilköy. Bergin invites Özge and Nergis to come in to have dinner with her husband Kudret and herself. Kudret becomes jealous of Özge and later beats Bergin. She then leaves him. In a hotel in Sirkeci where she stays overnight, she again encounters Özge. Though he says that he loves her and that he will leave Nergis to be with her, Bergin refuses this. Özge then marries Nergis. Not longer afterwards one reads in the newspaper that Bergin has died following a brief illness.

In this novel we encounter two young women who are at first sight very different. Bergin, the childhood sweetheart of Özge, is an educated

young woman who is, as a consequence of the well-meant intentions of her father, forced into a marriage with a man she does not love. By contrast Nergis appears to be the superficial Europeanized type, capricious, attractive to men, a slave to fashion similar to Füsün whom we encountered in *Taşbebek*. But Nergis differs quite significantly from Füsün in that she is searching for a life with deeper meaning. It is this that makes the figure of Özge attractive to her. He is introverted, loves literature, and is the only man in her circle of superficial Floryan admirers who is not interested in her. The novel *Aşkın Yanıbaşında* shows the reader what happens if a man does not marry for love. Bergin, the true love of Özge, is deeply unhappy. The violence of her husband brings her to the brink and she declares her remorse at marrying him and not Özge. She then leaves him and dies shortly afterwards of an unnamed illness.

Conclusion:

Assuming that popular novels have an identity and community-building effect through the mediation of certain corporate images,² the novels presented here can be read as media which have contributed to the social formation of the young Turkish republic. The romance novel of the popular press was an extremely productive branch of Turkish literature in the early decades of the Republic. Authors in this genre such as Kerime Nadir, Esat Mahmut Karakurt and Muazzez Tahsin Berkand have only in the last years attracted the interest of those who study popular culture.³ Similar to other novels by well-known authors of popular literature in this period⁴ a dominant theme is the discourse about the correct form of relationships between men and women. In all these novels the correct form is linked with the institution of marriage. In them we also find a clear list of behavioural rules and boundaries during

² See Humble 2012.

³ See Yıldız 2010; Uğur 2013.

⁴ See the results of the expansive study by Yıldız 2010, dealing with the theme of 'love marriage' as the main theme of the novels of Kerime Nadir, Esat Mahmut Karakurt and Muazzez Tahsin Berkand between the years 1930 and 1950.

this period. We can summarize these as follows by means of the questions raised and the answers given:

- Marriage with an uneducated woman or one who is only superficially westernized does not work. In *Taşbebek* though the protagonist was at first fascinated by such a woman, in the end he rejects her as a “Stone Doll” because she does not satisfy his intellectual expectations.
- Marriage with a divorced woman does not work. In *Aşkın Yanıbaşında*, Bergin, who had left her husband, refuses to marry her love Özge, and Özge marries another woman.
- Marriage with a loyal woman as an equal partner works. In *Nankörlerin Romanı* Leyla opposes her parents in order to stand on the side of Kamran with whom she builds a new life.
- Marriage with a man who beats his wife does not work. In *Kördüğüm* and in *Aşkın Yanıbaşında* the women leave their husbands after they have been beaten by them.
- Marriage with a working woman does not work. In *Daktilo* the girlfriend of the protagonist and her later husband give a clear opinion on marriage. Though the conclusion remains open the reader is given clear indications that Seval will not work as a secretary after the wedding. In *Kördüğüm*, Necla, who is forced to work because of the illness of her husband, gets into trouble due to men stalking her and her husband’s mistrust. After her husband has beaten her, they separate.

Additionally, a number of common characteristics are apparent in the contents of these five novels:

- In all five novels the protagonists are individuals who do not benefit from the support and protection of their families. From what one can assume, they are orphans or half-orphans coming from modest if not poor backgrounds. In two cases the fathers have been killed in wars, the Ottoman-Russian war (*Nankörlerin Romanı*) or, the War of Independence (*Daktilo*) respectively.

- In all five novels the framework is one of a Europeanized urban middle class, and the scene of the action is Istanbul. In the case of *Daktilo*, Ankara, Mersin and Konya also play a role.

- The protagonists have a well-groomed urban lifestyle. They surround themselves with the status symbols of modernity. They live in modern apartments in the Europeanized quarters of the city, travel in cars, on steamboats and in trains. They listen to American music (jazz), go to the cinema and theater and know the names of Hollywood film stars (Greta Garbo, Marlene Dietrich). They play sports (tennis, swimming), dance modern dances, dress in the latest fashions. Especially important for the women of the 1930s was their hairstyle: All the female protagonists in these novels have “bobbed” their hair as was popular in Europe and America at that time. This hairstyle is also often depicted in the novel’s illustrations.

- The education of the males is greatly respected in these novels. All the male protagonists have completed at least their secondary-level education. They are employed for the most part in middle level positions in firms (*Daktilo*, *Taşbebek*, *Nankörlerin Romanı*), are civil servants (*Kördüğüm*), or teachers (*Aşkın Yanıbaşında*). They are well-read in late-Ottoman literature and in European literature. In their outward appearance they resemble the ideal type of sensitive hero of the Ottoman Fin de Siècle (*Nankörlerin Romanı*, *Taşbebek*; and, to a slightly lesser extent, also in *Kördüğüm*, *Aşkın Yanıbaşında*).

- The women are depicted more erratically: There is the type of the care-free seductress who devotes her time to fashion and having fun (*Taşbebek*, *Aşkın Yanıbaşında*). But there is also the secretary (*Daktilo*, *Kördüğüm*) who is a hard working individual, or the teacher (*Aşkın Yanıbaşında*). Though the ideal of ‘woman with education’ is present here, which is expressed in the desire of the man for an educated wife (*Taşbebek*), the only female figure whose profession as a teacher requires an advanced degree – Bergin – is crushed by the social traditions which require her to marry a man she does not love. It is also noticeable that if the women read at all, they – in contrast to the men – read at most a

fashion magazine (*Nankörlerin Romanı*) while the men enjoy reading Turkish and European literature.

- Anatolia plays only a secondary role in these novels. This is in contrast to the central position it plays in the national literature of the time as in the works of Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Halide Edib Adıvar, Reşat Nuri Güntekin or Refik Halid Karay. Anatolia in our novels is minor: e.g. Necla and Muhterem (*Kördüğüm*) arrive in Istanbul from Çankırı; Bergin and Özge (*Aşkın Yanıbaşında*) await a transfer to Anatolia as teachers.

- Religion plays hardly any role in these novels. It is embedded in the theme of tradition, i.e. the Turkish life style as opposed to the European life style. The characters who live a religious or traditional life in these novels are cast as anti-models to those who are enlightened and progressive. The former block the way of the latter (as does the Pasha in *Nankörlerin Romanı*), or, they are 'hypocrites' (as in the case of the landlord Dersiam Hoca in *Kördüğüm*).

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Zur populärwissenschaftlichen Geschichtszeitschrift *Derin Tarih* anhand ihres Webauftritts

Christoph Herzog, Bamberg

Die meisten gedruckten Periodika verfügen heutzutage parallel zur Printausgabe über einen Webauftritt. In der Regel wird jedoch nicht der gesamte Inhalt einer Zeitschrift oder Zeitung frei im Internet zugänglich gemacht, sondern nur ein Teil davon oder möglicherweise auch ergänzende Inhalte. Jedoch ist auch dann die Bedeutung des frei zugänglichen Internetauftritts für ein gedrucktes Periodikum erheblich, denn potentielle Suchmaschinentreffer erreichen eine nicht unbeträchtliche Zahl potentieller Leser. Im Folgenden soll der Versuch unternommen werden, den Internetauftritt der populärwissenschaftlichen Geschichtszeitschrift *Derin Tarih* unter <http://derintarih.com> zur Grundlage einer Beschreibung ihrer inhaltlichen Ausrichtung zu verwenden, indem von der heuristischen Annahme ausgegangen wird, dass ihr freier Internetauftritt so etwas wie eine Visitenkarte für diese Publikation darstellt.

Die populärwissenschaftliche Geschichtszeitschrift *Derin Tarih* wird seit April 2012 von der Albayrak Medya Grubu, einer 2013 ausgegliederten Tochterfirma der Albayrak Holding, veröffentlicht. Dort ist u. a. auch die Tageszeitung *Yeni Şafak* beheimatet.¹ Die Albayrak Holding begann ihre Aktivitäten im Bausektor. Sie wurde 1952² von dem aus der Provinz Trabzon stammenden Ahmet Albayrak (1925-2010) gegründet³ und als Familienunternehmen geführt. Ahmet Albayrak, Träger des religiösen Ehrentitels Hacı, hat sieben Kinder,⁴ von denen sein ältester Sohn Ah-

¹ <http://www.albayrakmedya.com> (30.1.2017).

² <http://www.albayrak.com.tr/Kurumsal/Tarihce> (30.1.2017).

³ <http://www.yenisafak.com/aktuel/haci-babamiz-rahmete-eristi-290195> (30.1.2017).

⁴ Ahmet, Bayram, Nuri, Kazım, Mustafa, Muzaffer sowie Asiye Coşkuner (geb. Albayrak). <http://www.yenisafak.com/gundem/haci-ahmet-albayrak-dualarla-ugurlandi-290404> (30.1.2017).

met Albayrak u. a. die Medientochterfirma leitet. Die Albayrak Holding erhielt in den 1990er-Jahren, als Recep Tayyip Erdoğan Oberbürgermeister von Istanbul war, dort zahlreiche öffentliche Bauaufträge und gilt als Erdoğan-nah.⁵ In den 2000er-Jahren verzeichnete sie einen Umsatzwachstum, von 150 Millionen Dollar im Jahr 2000 hin zu über eine Milliarde Dollar im Jahr 2008.⁶ Das Selbstverständnis der Holding ist prononciert nationalreligiös. So heißt es in ihrem Webauftritt, der in türkischer, englischer und arabischer Sprache vorliegt: “*Ülke çıkarlarımız bizim için her şeyden önce gelir*”; in der englischen Übersetzung: “National interests are our priorit[y]”.⁷

Verantwortlicher Herausgeber von *Derin Tarih*, für welche eine Druckauflage von 20.000 für das Jahr 2013 angegeben wird,⁸ ist der Journalist und Selfmade-Historiker Mustafa Armağan (geb. 1961). Mit eigener Website, aktiv auf Twitter und Facebook, ist er weiterhin stark in den klassischen Printmedien vertreten. Er verfasste an die fünfzig Bücher mit zumeist historisch-politischen Themen, von denen zahlreiche im Timaş-Verlag erschienen. Mustafa Armağan stammt seinen Angaben zufolge aus bescheidenen Verhältnissen.⁹ Seine Eltern kamen ursprünglich aus Urfa, er selbst wurde jedoch in Cizre geboren und verbrachte seine Schulzeit in Bursa. 1985 erhielt er einen Hochschulabschluss der Fakultät für Literatur an der Universität Istanbul. Danach war er als Publizist und Herausgeber in verschiedenen Verlagen und Zeitschriften tätig, darunter bis 1995 auch in der im Jahr zuvor gegründeten Zeitung *Yeni Şafak*, die er jedoch 1995 verließ, um vor allem in der Tageszeitung

⁵ <http://www.milliyet.com.tr/Ekonomi/HaberDetay.aspx?aType=HaberDetayArsiv&KategoriID=3&ArticleID=234772> (30.1.2017).

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ <http://www.albayrak.com.tr/En/Corporate/MissionVision> (14.2.17).

⁸ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Derin_Tarih. Die dort angegebene Quelle ist nurmehr archiviert noch verfügbar: <http://web.archive.org/web/20130723052936/> und <http://www.kahinhaber.com/derin-tarih-dergisi.html> (7.2.2017).

⁹ Vgl. Armağan 2014: 45, wonach er als Kind nicht an den offiziellen Festivitäten des *Çocuk Bayramı* teilnehmen konnte, weil seinen Eltern die Mittel fehlten, ihn mit entsprechender Kleidung auszustatten.

Zaman historische Kolumnen zu schreiben.¹⁰ Anfang März 2016, nach dem endgültigen Zerwürfnis der türkischen Regierung mit der als Gülen-nah angesehenen *Zaman* kehrte er auch wieder zu *Yeni Şafak* zurück, nachdem er bereits seit 2012 durch die Herausgabe von *Derin Tarih* mit der Albayrak Medienholding verbunden war.¹¹

Die erste Nummer von *Derin Tarih* erschien zu Monatsbeginn April 2012. Mitte des Monats wurde die Zeitschrift mit einer als offiziös zu bezeichnenden Veranstaltung in der Dolmabahçe Sarayı Sanat Galerisi vorgestellt. An dieser Veranstaltung nahm auch der damalige Vizeministerpräsident und Regierungssprecher Bülent Arınç – offensichtlich nicht nur als Gast, sondern auch als Redner – teil.¹² Der Journalist Emre Aköz, der in der Zeitung *Sabah* über diese Veranstaltung berichtete, kommentierte die zu erwartende Ausrichtung der neuen Geschichtszeitschrift mit den Worten: „Da ich Mustafa Armağan's Einstellung einigermaßen kenne, kann ich die Richtung der Zeitschrift abschätzen: Sie wird sich dem kemalistischen Geschichtsnarrativ gegenüber kritisch und dem osmanischen Erbe gegenüber wohlwollend verhalten (*Kemalist tarih anlatımına eleştirel, Osmanlı mirasına ise sempatiyle yaklaşacaktır*).“¹³

Diese allgemeine Einschätzung bei Gründung der Zeitschrift hat sich zweifellos als richtig erwiesen. Insbesondere beleuchtet aber die Formulierung von Emre Aköz, dass sich Armağan gegen das kemalistische Geschichtsnarrativ richte, einen entscheidenden Punkt der Geschichtsperspektive des Herausgebers von *Derin Tarih*. Es geht ihm eben nicht allein um eine Kritik des Kemalismus, sondern es geht ihm um die Kritik und Revision des kemalistischen Geschichtsbildes bezüglich des Osmanischen Reiches. Eine drastische Darlegung seiner Position gibt Armağan im Vorwort seines 2014 erschienenen Buches *Cumhuriyet Efsaneleri*, wo er eine Parallele zwischen der von den alliierten Sieger-

¹⁰ Armağan 2015, biographische Notiz auf der Titelblattrückseite.

¹¹ Vgl. sein „Derin Bir Merhaba“ vom 7. März 2016 unter <http://www.yenisafak.com/yazarlar/mustafaarmagan/derin-bir-merhaba-2027262> (30.1.2017).

¹² <http://www.sabah.com.tr/yazarlar/akoz/2012/04/15/derin-devlete-karsi-derin-tarih> (31.1.2017).

¹³ Ibid.

mächten nach 1945 betriebenen Entnazifizierung in Deutschland und der kemalistischen Politik einer „Entottomanisierung“ (*deottomanizasyon*) zieht: „Dort wurde sich bemüht, die Spuren des Deutschtums auszulöschen, bei uns jene des Osmanentums.“¹⁴

Sowohl in Deutschland als auch bei uns wurde angestrebt, über die Geschichte eine neue Identität zu schaffen. Aber der wichtigste Unterschied war, dass es in Deutschland dafür eine offizielle Bezeichnung gibt: Entnazifizierung. Das eigentlich Merkwürdige ist, dass eine Bezeichnung dafür in der Türkei nicht gefunden wurde, ja dass sogar der Mut zur Benennung nicht gefunden wurde.

Ich benenne [hiermit] das Programm, das ab 1923 in der Türkei durchgeführt wurde: Entosmanisierung (*Osmanlısızlaştırma*).¹⁵

Dieses Programm basierte für Armağan auf der systematischen antiosmanischen Geschichtsfälschung durch die Republik. Sein Ziel lautete demzufolge „Reosmanisierung“ (*reottomanizasyon, yani yeniden Osmanlılaştırma*). Diese Epoche sei nunmehr angebrochen.¹⁶ Noch aber sieht er die Diskurshegemonie der kemalistischen Geschichtsfälschung nicht gebrochen: „Es gibt einige revisionistische Ansätze (*revizyonist yaklaşımlar*), zweifellos, aber diese haben das die Meistererzählung (*ana (master) tarih anlatısı*) noch nicht in großem Umfang beeinflussen können.“¹⁷ Damit stellt Armağan zugleich den postmodernen Topos des herrschenden Diskurses in die Dienste seiner als Geschichtsrevisionismus definierten Reosmanisierungsbestrebungen. Diese Reosmanisierung setzt durchaus auf der Grassroot-Ebene an. Nicht zufällig steht besonders die kemalistische Schriftreform im Zentrum seiner Kritik,¹⁸

¹⁴ „Orada Almanlığın izleri siliinmeye çalışıldı, bizde Osmanlılığın.” Armağan 2014: 10. Eine Variante dieses Textes in Zusammenhang der Kritik an der Umwandlung der Hagia Sophia in ein Museum durch Atatürk findet sich auf Armağans Webseite: <http://www.mustafaarmagan.com.tr/ayasofya-camii-ve-osmanlisizlastirmanin-sonu/> (4.2.2017).

¹⁵ Armağan 2014: 11–12.

¹⁶ Ibid.: 12.

¹⁷ Ibid.: 10.

¹⁸ Gerade hier zeigt sich auch deutlich die historische Begrenzung seiner Parallelisierung von Nationalsozialismus und Osmanischem Reich: die Verwendung der Fraktur wurde von den Nationalsozialisten ausgerechnet auf die Intervention Hitlers hin 1941

und seine Antwort darauf lautet, seine Editorials in der Druckausgabe von *Derin Tarih* nebeneinander im lateinischen und im arabischen Alphabet, also in osmanischer Schrift, zu veröffentlichen.

Nun könnte man den Topos vom Ende der Meistererzählungen aber als ein zweischneidiges Schwert betrachten mit dem Argument, dass Armağan ja offensichtlich anstrebe, eine neue Meistererzählung an Stelle der alten zu setzen. Allerdings ist Armağan darin konsequent, dass er keinen universalen Gedankengang verfolgt. Im Gegenteil, die Formung eines neuen Bewusstseins auf der Grundlage „universal-humanistischer Prinzipien“ (*evrensel-hümanitaryan prensipler*) ist für ihn gerade der Inbegriff der deutschen Entnazifizierung.¹⁹

Natürlich lassen sich nicht alle Autoren von *Derin Tarih* auf diese radikale Programmatik Mustafa Armağans festlegen, zumal nicht die teilweise europäischen oder amerikanischen Gastautoren. Selbst für die Hauptautoren oder Kolumnisten der Zeitschrift trifft dies wohl eher nicht durchgehend zu: Deren Namen finden sich im unter dem Menüleistenpunkt „Autoren“ (*Yazarlar*) auf einer separaten Seite mit Fotos und einigen Links auf Teasern einiger (nicht aller) von ihnen verfasster Beiträge. Es handelt sich um folgende neun Autoren (in dieser Reihenfolge):²⁰ Mustafa Armağan (19), İsmail Kara (13), der in Princeton lehrende M. Şükrü Hanioglu (16), Mehmet Çelik (11),²¹ Norman Stone (3), Yavuz Bahadıroğlu (8),²² Semavi Eyice (13), Mehmet Doğan (15) und Hüsamet-

untersagt, was sicherlich zu Armağans diesbezüglicher terminologischer Verwirrung bezüglich der lateinischen Schrifttypen beigetragen hat; vgl. *ibid.*: 11. Für die Auseinandersetzung um die Schrift in Deutschland siehe Hartmann 1998.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*: 9.

²⁰ <http://www.derintarih.com/yazarlar/>. In Klammern ist hier die Zahl der anklickbaren Artikel von diesen Autoren genannt (Stand vom 3.2.2017).

²¹ Geb. 1954, Historiker und seit 2016 Rektor der privaten Anka Teknoloji Üniversitesi in Ankara; <http://profmehmetcelik.com/hakkimda/> (3.2.2017).

²² Geb. 1945, Journalist und Publizist, regelmäßiger Kontributor zu *Vakit* bzw. der Nachfolgezeitung *Yeni Akit*. <http://yavuzbahadiroglu.blogspot.de/> (3.2.2017).

tin Arslan (3).²³ Kara, Stone, Eyice und Doğan sind zugleich Mitglieder des Advisory Board der Zeitschrift.

Im Advisory Board von *Derin Tarih* waren Anfang Februar 2017 folgende Personen aufgelistet.²⁴

- Ahmet Ağırakça (geb. 1950).²⁵ Er war Geschichtspräsident an der İstanbul Üniversitesi, wo er 1999 entlassen wurde. Danach war er Dekan an der der Nurculuk-Bewegung nahestehenden Islamischen Universität Rotterdam,²⁶ bevor er 2005 in die Türkei zurückkehrte und nach einigen Zwischenstationen Dekan der Theologischen Fakultät an der Mardin Artuklu Üniversitesi und 2014 deren Rektor wurde.
- Ali Birinci (geb. 1947).²⁷ Der Geschichtspräsident und Historiker mit dem Schwerpunkt osmanische Geschichte des 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts war von 2008 bis 2011 Vorsitzender des Tarih Kurumu.
- Ahmet Demirel (geb. 1957),²⁸ an der Boğaziçi Üniversitesi und an der Marmara Üniversitesi lehrender Historiker mit einem Schwerpunkt auf frührepublikanischer Geschichte.
- Uğur Derman (geb. 1935),²⁹ an der Marmara Üniversitesi lehrender Historiker mit engen Verbindungen zum Research Center For Islamic History, Art and Culture (IRCICA).
- D. Mehmet Doğan (geb. 1947),³⁰ Mitglied im Obersten Rundfunkrat der Türkei (Radyo ve Televizyon Üst Kurulu), mit dem Dergâh-

²³ Geb. 1956, Soziologe an der Uludağ Üniversitesi Bursa. <http://sosyoloji.uludag.edu.tr/akademik/arslan.htm> (3.2.2017).

²⁴ <http://www.derintarih.com/kunye/> (2.2.2017).

²⁵ <https://www.ilkha.com/haber/2606/prof-dr-ahmet-agirakca-kimdir>. (23.1.2017).

²⁶ Einen Kommentar zu dieser Universität bietet <http://en.qantara.de/content/islamic-university-in-rotterdam-muslims-are-the-best-teachers-of-islam> (23.1.2017).

²⁷ <http://www.kimkimdir.gen.tr/kimkimdir.php?id=4912> (23.1.2017).

²⁸ <http://www.iletisim.com.tr/kisi/ahmet-demirel/4809> (23.1.2017).

²⁹ <http://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=1528> (23.1.2017).

Verlag verbundener Publizist, der regelmäßig für islamistische Zeitungen (zuletzt *Vakit und Vahdet*) schreibt.

- Ekrem Buğra Ekinci (geb. 1966), promovierter Jurist und seit 2005 Professor für Rechtsgeschichte an der Marmara Üniversitesi, neben wissenschaftlichen Arbeiten zum Thema osmanischer Rechtsgeschichte ausgedehnte publizistische Tätigkeit in verschiedenen türkischen Zeitungen, u. a. *Türkiye Gazetesi*.
- Semavi Eyice (geb. 1923), international bekannter Kunsthistoriker mit einem Schwerpunkt auf byzantinischer Geschichte.
- Mehmet Genç (geb. 1934), international bekannter Wirtschaftshistoriker des vormodernen Osmanischen Reichs.
- Şinasi Gündüz (geb. 1960),³¹ in Großbritannien promovierter Religionshistoriker, 2009 zum Dekan der Theologischen Fakultät der İstanbul Üniversitesi ernannt.
- Hüsrev Hatemi (geb. 1938),³² Professor der Medizin, Dichter und zusammen mit seinem Zwillingsbruder Hüseyin dem konservativen Spektrum zuzurechnender öffentlicher Intellektueller.
- İsmail Kara (geb. 1955), prominenter Historiker des islamistischen Segments der spätosmanischen und republikanischen Geistesgeschichte.
- Kemal Karpat (geb. 1925), international bekannter Historiker des Osmanischen Reiches.
- Aykut Kazancıgil (geb. 1930),³³ prominenter Gynäkologe, Publizist und Übersetzer.

³⁰ <http://www.biyografi.net/kisiyrinti.asp?kisiid=214> (23.1.2017); <http://www.tyb.org.tr/d-mehmet-dogan-165h.htm> (23.1.2017).

³¹ <http://www.sonpeygamber.info/yazar/prof-dr-sinasi-gunduz> (23.1.2017).

³² <http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/hasan-husrev-hatemi-3667060> (23.1.2017). Seine Memoiren sind unter dem Titel *Anılar. Ömür Süvarisi* publiziert, siehe Hatemi 2008.

³³ Seine Memoiren veröffentlicht in Interviewform, siehe Şakacı (ed.) 2005.

- Muharrem Kesik (geb. 1979),³⁴ Dozent für seldschukische Geschichte an der İstanbul Üniversitesi.
- Mahmud Erol Kılıç (geb. 1961),³⁵ Professor an der Theologischen Fakultät der Marmara Üniversitesi und Generalsekretär der Parlamentarischen Union der OIC-Mitgliedsstaaten.
- Heath W. Lowry (geb. 1942), emeritierter Atatürk Professor of Ottoman and Modern Turkish Studies, bekannt besonders für seinen Beitrag zur frühosmanischen Geschichte, kontrovers für seine öffentlichen Stellungnahmen gegen die Existenz eines Genozids an den Armeniern.
- Ümit Meriç (geb. 1946),³⁶ Tochter des bekannten Autors Cemil Meriç und einzige Frau des Beirats, als Soziologin langjährige Leiterin des Instituts für Soziologie der İstanbul Üniversitesi.
- Orhan Okay (1931-2017),³⁷ Professor für türkische Literatur, nach seiner Pensionierung von der Sakarya Üniversitesi im Jahr 1996 Tätigkeit an der Fatih Üniversitesi Istanbul und redaktionelle Mitarbeit an der *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*.
- Mehmet Niyazi Özdemir (geb. 1942), in Deutschland promovierter Jurist,³⁸ der 1988 in die Türkei zurückkehrte, Publizist und Verfasser nationalistischer Romane wie etwa *Yemen Ah Yemen* (2004).
- Norman Stone (geb. 1941), prominenter britischer Historiker, der nach dem Ende seiner Tätigkeit als Professor für Modern History an

³⁴ <http://mkesik.fsm.edu.tr/Biyografi> (23.1.2017).

³⁵ <https://ilahiyat.marmara.edu.tr/bolumler/temel-islam-bilimleri/tasavvuf/profdr-mahmut-erol-kilic> (23.1.2017).

³⁶ <http://www.biyografi.info/kisi/umit-meric> (23.1.2017).

³⁷ <http://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/1348813-orhan-okay-kimdir> (23.1.2017).

³⁸ https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mehmed_Niyazi_%C3%96zdemir (23.1.2017). Sein Doktorvater war demnach der Kirchenrechtler Dietrich Pirson (geb. 1929). Bei der Promotionsarbeit dürfte es sich um die unter dem Autorennamen Mümin Özdemir gelistete Dissertation „Grundzüge des türkischen internationalen Gesellschaftsrechts“, Diss. Universität Köln, Rechtswiss. Fak., 1976 handeln.

die Bilkent Universität in Ankara wechselte. Kontrovers ist seine öffentliche Leugnung des Genozids an den Armeniern.³⁹

- Ramazan Şeşen (geb. 1937),⁴⁰ Mittelalterhistoriker für islamische Geschichte an der Mimar Sinan Üniversitesi, später an der İstanbul 19 Mayıs Üniversitesi, Verfasser zahlreicher Artikel der *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* und Koautor von Studien zur osmanischen wissenschaftlichen Handschriftenliteratur, die bei IRCICA (Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture) erschienen.

Es ist bemerkenswert, dass sich eine recht große Zahl von öffentlichen Intellektuellen der Türkei und Fachhistorikern bereift, sich hinter der doch als recht radikal zu bezeichnenden Position des Herausgebers der Zeitschrift zu versammeln und diese dadurch mitzutragen. Damit ist auch eine enge Anlehnung an die Person des Staatspräsidenten Erdoğan und die Unterstützung seiner Politik verbunden. Diese drückt sich nicht nur in einer dem gescheiterten Putsch im Juli 2017 gewidmeten Ausgabe aus,⁴¹ sondern auch in einer weiteren Nummer, welche die Kontinuität zwischen Sultan Abdülhamid II. und Recep Tayyip Erdoğan durch den Aufmacher „Das Beharren Abdülhamids und die Wiederauf-erstehung der neuen Türkei (*Abdülhamid'in Direnişi, Yeni Türkiye'nin Dirilişi*)“ und die Abbildung beider Staatsmänner auf dem Titelbild nahelegt.⁴² Schließlich wurde in einer weiteren Nummer mit dem Aufmacher „Präsidentschaft im Licht der türkisch-islamischen Geschichte

³⁹ Vgl. <http://www.weltwoche.ch/ausgaben/2006-43/artikel-2006-43-es-war-kein-voel.html> („Es war kein Völkermord“, *Weltwoche* 43/2006) und die Antwort hierauf von Hans Lukas Kieser unter <http://www.weltwoche.ch/ausgaben/2006-44/artikel/artikel-2006-44-kern-der-sache.html> („Kern der Sache“, *Weltwoche* 44/2006); (23.1.2017).

⁴⁰ https://www.29mayis.edu.tr/upload/2015/02/17/ramazan_sesen_154e33d7f443d2.pdf; https://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ramazan_%C5%9Ee%C5%9Fen (23.1.2017) und Fazlıoğlu 1997: 12–14, 18 ff.

⁴¹ Nr. 53/August 2016 mit dem Aufmacher: „Das Heldenepos vom 15. Juli. Die Welt wird Demokratie von uns lernen (*Dünya Demokrasiyi Bizden Öğrenecek*)“; <http://www.derintarih.com/sayilar/agustos-2016> (11.2.2017).

⁴² Nr. 54/September 2016; <http://www.derintarih.com/sayilar/eylul-2016> (11.2.2017).

(*Türk-İslam Tarihi Işığında Başkanlık*)⁴³ die Politik Erdoğan's, das politische System der Türkei in ein Präsidialsystem zu verwandeln, mit historischen Argumenten gestützt. Es ist durchaus möglich, hierin den Versuch wahrzunehmen, *Derin Tarih* als offizielles Sprachrohr für die Geschichtspolitik der AKP zu etablieren.

Während sich die ganze thematische Bandbreite der Zeitschrift nur über eine systematische Analyse der Druckausgabe erschließen lässt, ist es immerhin möglich über die in ihrem Webauftritt komplett zugänglichen Titelseiten einen Eindruck der thematischen Schwerpunkte von *Derin Tarih* zu gewinnen:

Von den 59 bis Februar 2017 erschienenen regulären Ausgaben von *Derin Tarih* sind auf den meisten Titelblättern Personen abgebildet. Lediglich auf sechs Nummern sind Personen kein Bestandteil des Titelbildes. Auf zwei dieser sechs Ausgaben ist die Hagia Sophia abgebildet, deren Rekonversion in eine Moschee ein wichtiges Anliegen von *Derin Tarih* darstellt. Bei den „figürlichen“ Titelbildern überwiegen Abbildungen prominenter historischer Figuren. Mit Abstand am häufigsten dargestellt ist Atatürk (achtmal), gefolgt von Sultan Abdülhamid II. (viermal). Immerhin jeweils zweimal sind Sultan Selim Yavuz, General Kazım Karabekir, İsmet İnönü und Adnan Menderes abgebildet.

Jedes Heft hat einen Aufmacher, der durch das Titelbild und eine deutlich in der Größe abgehobene Titelzeile als Aufmacher charakterisiert wird. Die Häufigkeit von Themenfeldern der Aufmacher ist in folgender Tabelle dargestellt:⁴⁴

⁴³ Nr. 57/Dezember 2016; <http://www.derintarih.com/sayilar/araklik-2016/> (11.2.2017).

⁴⁴ Manche Hefte wurden hierbei mehr als einem Themenschwerpunkt zugeordnet.

Christoph Herzog

Zahl der Ausgaben mit dem Thema	Thema des Aufmachers	Heftnummern
20	Frühe Republiksgeschichte (einschließlich Unabhängigkeitskrieg bis 1949)	56, 52, 43, 41, 35, 34, 32, 30, 25, 21, 20, 17, 12, 16, 15, 13, 8, 6, 4, 1
13	Europa/Imperialismus	58, 56, 52, 46, 45, 40, 39, 37, 16, 13, 4, davon Zionismus 36, 29
9	Vormoderne osmanische Geschichte	45, 33, 23, 22, 19, 18, 14, 10, 9
6	1. Weltkrieg	58, 51, 49, 37, 36, 31
4	Abdülhamid II.	59, 54, 29, 11
4	Geschichte mit direktem Gegenwartsbezug	57, 54, 46, 3
4	Moderner Naher Osten	48, 40, 28, 5
4	Historiographie	50, 41, 11, 1
4	Kurden	44, 34, 27, 16
4	Islam, Religion	42, 28, 24, 23
3	Späte osmanische Geschichte (ohne 1. Weltkrieg, ohne Abdülhamid II.)	39, 38, 7
2	Zeitgeschichte	53, 3
2	Menderes	26, 2
2	Vormoderne islamische Geschichte,	55,42

Zahl der Ausgaben mit dem Thema	Thema des Aufmachers	Heftnummern
1	Vormoderne türkische Geschichte, vorosmanisch	47

Es wird ersichtlich, dass sich die Auseinandersetzung mit dem Kemalismus auf die spätosmanische und frührepublikanische Zeit konzentriert und dass die Auseinandersetzung mit Europa und dem westlichen Imperialismus weiterhin eine zentrale Rolle spielt. Die Beschäftigung mit der Kurdenfrage, der osmanischen Geschichte und die positive Bewertung von Menderes lassen sich ebenso als Gegenposition zum Kemalismus interpretieren wie das weitgehende Fehlen der vorosmanischen türkischen Geschichte. Bemerkenswert ist auch, dass die Geschichte der Republik nach 1960 im Wesentlichen nur noch mit direktem Gegenwartsbezug in den Aufmachern vorkommt.

Ungeachtet ihrer einschlägigen politischen Positionierung bietet die Druckausgabe der Zeitschrift interessante und wertvolle Informationen, nicht zuletzt auch Faksimileausgaben und Übertragungen von osmanischen Quellen ins moderne Türkisch. Die Zeitschrift ist jedoch weit von allem Antiquarianismus⁴⁵ mancher populärer Historiographie entfernt. Ihr Programm ist die Bereitstellung von Geschichte als politische Resource.

⁴⁵ Verstanden als Interesse an historischen Fakten, ohne sich für Geschichte zu interessieren; vgl. Momigliano 1990: 54.

Anhang: Aufbau des Webauftritts

Zwar heißt es, das Internet vergesse nichts,⁴⁶ doch gilt dies vermutlich in erster Linie für Skandalinformationen und soziale Medien. Tatsächlich können Internetauftritte auch flüchtig sein. Informationen, die nicht durch tausendfache Kopien von Mitinternetbenutzern oder auf Servern von Internetkonzernen und Geheimdiensten gespeichert sind, können leicht verloren gehen, wie wahrscheinlich alle bestätigen können, die schon einmal auf zuvor besuchte, gespeicherte, nunmehr aber tote Links geklickt haben und die dort einst vorhandene Information auch mit intensiven Suchmaschineneinsatz an keiner anderen Stelle mehr auffinden konnten. Aus diesem Grund wurde der Aufbau des Internetauftritts der Zeitschrift zum Zeitpunkt der Untersuchung zwar ohne Anspruch auf Vollständigkeit, aber etwas ausführlicher als dies für eine im Moment allgemein zugängliche Webseite auf den ersten Blick naheliegender erscheinen mag, dokumentiert.⁴⁷

Der Webauftritt der Zeitschrift *Derin Tarih* unter der Domain www.derintarih.com basierte Anfang Februar 2017 auf dem in PHP geschriebenen Content-Management-System WordPress in der Version 4.6.1.⁴⁸ Als Serverplattform kam Microsoft IIS in der Version 8.0 zum Einsatz. Die Domain ist seit 2011 über den Großregistrar GoDaddy anonym in den USA registriert.

Das Internetarchiv www.archive.org hat über seine sogenannte Wayback-Machine die Webseite von *Derin Tarih* im Zeitraum zwischen 2008 und Januar 2017 insgesamt 172-mal archiviert. Zwischen 2008 und 2010 war die Domain www.derintarih.com offenbar von anderer Seite als türkischsprachige Ressource für Geschichte genutzt.

⁴⁶ Vgl. z. B. den entsprechenden Artikel der ZEIT „Das Internet vergisst nichts“, <http://www.zeit.de/zeit-wissen/2011/05/Internet-Daten-Ewigkeit> (2.2.2017).

⁴⁷ Hier ist nur eine Beschreibung des Webauftritts aus Nutzersicht beabsichtigt. Eine genaue Analyse unter Berücksichtigung der Struktur der Software WordPress würde den vorliegenden Rahmen sprengen.

⁴⁸ Die Homepage von WordPress ist <https://wordpress.org/>.

Die Webseite ähnelt im Aufbau einer Desktopapplikation, indem die Navigation über eine horizontale zentrale Menüleiste am oberen Rand erfolgt, die unterhalb der Titelmanschette und der durch ein stilisiertes Lupen-Icon aufrufbare Suchfunktion angeordnet ist. Der Aufbau dieser Menüleiste ist wie folgt (von links nach rechts):



Ana Sayfa

Hakkımızda

Tüm Sayılarımız

Özel Sayılarımız

Kategoriler

Yazarlar

Dergide Bu Ay

Editörden

Ana Sayfa (<http://www.derintarih.com/>): Informationen über die aktuelle Ausgabe der Zeitschrift in Form von Links auf einzelne Hauptartikel und Titelthemen, von denen bis auf das Editorial meist nur der Textanfang oder eine Zusammenfassung, sogenannte Teaser, wiedergegeben

ist, die die Leser neugierig machen und zum Kauf animieren sollen. Am Fuß der Seite befinden sich Links auf die Internetpräsenzen der Zeitschrift in den Social-Media-Netzwerken Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Google+ und YouTube.

Hakkımızda (<http://www.derintarih.com/hakkimizda/>): Enthält den folgend übersetzten kurzen programmatischen Selbstdarstellungstext (s. u.) sowie auf der linken Seite Links zu weiteren Informationen:

- *Künye*: Titelangaben und Impressum der Zeitschrift, einschließlich ihres Advisory Board, etc.
- *Abonelik*: Angebote und Information für das Abonnieren der Zeitschrift, u. a. das einfache Jahresabonnement zu 112 TL (ca. 28 €).
- *Satış Noktaları*: Frontend für eine interaktive Adressdatenbank zu Verkaufsstellen der Zeitschrift in der ganzen Türkei.
- *Mobil Uygularımız*: Zugang zum nicht kostenfreien Downloadbereich der Zeitschrift für mobile Lesegeräte (iPhone, iPad und Android).
- *Sıkı Sorulan Sorular*: Eine FAQ mit neun Antworten vor allem auf Fragen nach Bezugsmöglichkeiten, etwa Abonnement außerhalb der Türkei, zum Download als E-Paper oder Bezugsmöglichkeiten für Backissues.
- *İletişim*: Kontaktadresse und -formular für E-Mail.
- *Arşiv*: Nach Zeitschriftennummern geordneter Zugang zu den Teasern.

Über uns:⁴⁹

Mit *Derin Tarih* wird alles, was Sie wissen Geschichte! Mit *Derin Tarih* erringt die Geschichte die Freiheit und beginnt in ihrer eigenen Sprache zu sprechen ... Eine Geschichtszeitschrift, die mit der Devise „alles, was Sie wissen, wird Geschichte“ im

⁴⁹ Übersetzung der Selbstdarstellung unter „Hakkımızda“ auf <http://www.derintarih.com/hakkimizda/> (2.2.2017).

April 2012 zu erscheinen begann. Sie bringt die historischen Tatsachen aus den dunklen Magazinen im Licht der Dokumente an den Tag und vor ihre Leser. Ausgehend vom Bedarf nach einer Geschichtszeitschrift, in welcher die Leser die Positionen vertrauenswürdiger und anerkannter Spezialisten finden können und die sich nicht auf Illustriertenniveau bewegt, aber gleichwohl wissenschaftliche Unterkühlung vermeidet, hat *Derin Tarih* sich aufgemacht im Namen einer der Wahrheit treuen und gerechten Publizistik. *Derin Tarih*, die unter der Leitung von Mustafa Armağan steht, besitzt ein machtvolleres und vielfältiges Autorenteam. Den Lesern begegnen auf den Seiten von *Derin Tarih* Geschichtsspezialisten auf ihrem Gebiet wie Semavi Eyice, Şükrü Hanioglu, İsmail Kara, Abdülkadir Özcan, Mustafa Kaçar, Mahmud Erol Kılıç und Norman Stone. *Derin Tarih* wird in jedem Heft in die verborgenen Buchten und geheimen Korridore der Geschichte steuern.⁵⁰

Tüm Sayılarımız (<http://www.derintarih.com/sayilar/>): Eine Linksammlung aller bisher erschienenen Ausgaben der Zeitschrift mit Titelseite. Die Links führen auf Inhaltsüberblicke zu den einzelnen Ausgaben wie sie unter dem Menüleisteneintrag „*Dergide Bu Ay*“ für die aktuelle Ausgabe angeboten wird.

Özel Sayılarımız (<http://www.derintarih.com/ozel-sayilar/>): Links zu weiterführenden Informationen und Titelseiten der bis dato erschienenen sieben Sonderausgaben von *Derin Tarih*.

Kategoriler: der einzige Punkt der Menüleiste, der ein Menü aufklappen lässt, das die folgenden Menüpunkte enthält: *Kapak Dosyası* („Titelthemen“), *Özel Dosya* („Sonderthemen“), *Osmanlı Tarihi*, *Selçuklu Tarihi*,

⁵⁰ “*Derin Tarih*’le tüm bildikleriniz tarih olacak! / *Derin Tarih*’le tarih özgürlüğüne kavuşuyor ve kendi diliyle konuşmaya başlıyor... / ‘Tüm bildikleriniz tarih olacak’ sloganı ile 2012 Nisan’ında yayın hayatına başlayan, tarihi gerçekleri kapatıldıkları karanlık mahzenlerden belgelerin ışığında gün yüzüne çıkararak okurlarıyla buluşturan bir tarih dergisidir. / Okurun güvenilir, sözüne itibar edilir uzmanların görüşlerini bulabileceği, magazine kaçmayan ama bilimsel soğukluğa da düşmeyen bir tarih dergisine duyduğu ihtiyaçtan hareketle *Derin Tarih*, hakikate sadık ve adaletli bir yayıncılık için yola çıktı. Mustafa Armağan’ın yayın yönetmenliğinde hazırlanan *Derin Tarih*, güçlü ve zengin bir yazar kadrosuna sahip. Semavi Eyice, Şükrü Hanioglu, İsmail Kara, Abdülkadir Özcan, Mustafa Kaçar, Mahmud Erol Kılıç ve Norman Stone gibi her biri alanında uzman tarihçiler *Derin Tarih* sayfalarında okurla buluşuyorlar. / *Derin Tarih*, her sayısında tarihin saklı koallarına, gizli dehlizlerine dümen kırmaya devam edecek.” <http://www.derintarih.com/hakkimizda/> (2.2.1017).

İslam Tarihi, *Avrupa Tarihi*, („osmanische, seldschukische, islamische und europäische Geschichte“), *Söyleşi* („Interviews“) und *Eşyanın Kalbı* (etwa: „zur Geschichte von Dingen“). Jedes dieser Menüs führt auf eine Seite mit Links zu Teasern der entsprechenden Kategorie.

Yazarlar (<http://www.derintarih.com/yazarlar/>): Eine Liste von neun als „Kolumnisten“ (*köşe yazarları*) bezeichneten Autoren von *Derin Tarih* mit Passfotos und Links zu Zusammenfassungen oder Textanfängen zu von ihnen für *Derin Tarih* verfassten Beiträgen.

Dergide Bu Ay (<http://www.derintarih.com/sayilar/subat-2017/>): Ein kurzer Überblick über die Inhalte der aktuellen Ausgabe nebst der Abbildung der Titelseite. Die alten Ausgaben sind über den Menüleistenpunkt „*Tüm Sayılarımız*“ zu erreichen.

Editörden (<http://www.derintarih.com/kategori/editorden/>): Eine Sammlung von Links zu Editorials und Titelthemen. Die Auswahl der Links kann durch eine Linkliste von vierzig Kategorien auf der rechten Seite gesteuert werden. Kategorien sind z. B.: *Abide Şahsiyetler*, *Avrupa Tarihi*, *Biz Osmanlıyız*, *Dinler Tarihi*, *Editörden* (dies die Defaultkategorie beim Öffnen der Seite), *Deşifre*, *Efsaneler ve Gerçekler*, *Kapak Dosyası*, *Tarih Skandalları*, etc.

Die Grundelemente des Webauftritts von *Derin Tarih* bilden also die Teaser, die auf verschiedenen Wegen erreicht werden können, aber nicht in systematischer Weise kategorisiert und katalogisiert sind. So ist etwa der in der Februarausgabe 2017 der Zeitschrift erschienene Teaser des Artikels von Şükrü Hanioglu, „The Times ve Sultan Abdülhamid“, sowohl von der aktuellen Homepage (<http://www.derintarih.com/>) verlinkt als auch über die Seite, welche die regelmäßigen Kolumnisten und ihre Artikel auflistet, erreichbar. Dagegen ist er nicht unter der Kategorie „Osmanische Geschichte“ verlinkt (worunter sich nur neun Teaser finden) und auch sonst unter den Kategorien nicht erreichbar, offenbar weil er (wie fast alle anderen Artikel dieses Autors) überhaupt nicht kategorisiert wurde. Dagegen ist sein Kommentar über den Juliputsch des Jahres 2016 in der Kategorie Titelthema (*Kapak Dosyası*) eingetragen, was es ermöglicht, ihn sowohl über die Autorensseite, als auch über den

Menüleistenpunkt *“Editörden”* und nach Aufruf dieser Seite durch einen Klick auf die Kategorie *“Kapak Dosyası”* zu finden. Diese Kategorie enthält allerdings so viele Einträge, dass sie auf insgesamt vier durchnummerierte Seiten verteilt wurden. Der Link zum Teaser von Hanioğlu entsprechendem Artikel *“Darbecilerin Türkiye’yi Silah Zoruyla Yönetebileceklerini Düşünmeleri Tam Bir Hayalcılıktı”* findet sich auf Seite 2.⁵¹

Ob diese doch eingeschränkte Strukturierung und Navigierbarkeit des Webauftritts von *Derin Tarih* beabsichtigt oder durch konzeptionelle Schwächen der Software WordPress, die ursprünglich eher eine Blogsoftware als eine hierarchische Content-Management-Verwaltung war (obwohl sie diese Möglichkeit durchaus bietet),⁵² bedingt ist, muss hier dahingestellt bleiben. Die Tatsache aber, dass etwa zwei Artikel des Historikers Norman Stone unter der für Uneingeweihte wenig aussagekräftigen Kategorie *“İzdüşüm”* („Projektion“, „Extrapolation“) katalogisiert sind,⁵³ spricht eher für erstere Möglichkeit.

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Hartmann, S. 1998. *Fraktur oder Antiqua. Der Schriftstreit von 1881 bis 1941*. Frankfurt/Main: Peter Lang.

⁵¹ <http://www.derintarih.com/kategori/kapak-dosyasi/page/2/>. Der Teaser selbst unter der URL <http://www.derintarih.com/kapak-dosyasi/darbecilerin-turkiyeyi-silah-zoruyla-yonetebileceklerini-dusunmeleri-tam-bir-hayalcilikti/> (4.2.2017) erreichbar.

⁵² Vgl. <https://wordpress.org/about/> (4.2.2017).

⁵³ Dies trifft auf zwei der drei von Stone in *Derin Tarih* gelisteten Artikel zu: *“1915’in Vahşi Dünyası”* und *“İngilizlerin Kût Tekerlemesi: Cennet Dedikleriye Bu Kurna, Cehennem Nerede Ola?”*, nicht aber für *“Savaşın Kanlı Cephesi”*, das ohne Kategorie ist.

Hatemi, H. 2008. *Anılar. Ömür Süvarisi*. İstanbul: Dergâh.

Momigliano, A. 1990. *The Classical Foundations of Modern Historiography*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.

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Meine Muttersprache? Ein Abenteuer! Mıgırdıç Margosyan

Béatrice Hendrich, Köln

Armenische Literatur in der Türkei

Armenisch-sprachige Literatur und Literatur armenischer Autoren und Autorinnen waren Teil des Kulturschaffens im Osmanischen Reich. Die fast vollständige Vernichtung der armenischen Gemeinde auf dem Territorium der heutigen Türkischen Republik hat dazu geführt, dass einige Elemente dieser kulturellen Tradition ebenfalls zerstört wurden – so die Verwendung des armenischen Alphabets für unterschiedliche Textsorten in türkischer Sprache. Andere Elemente haben über Jahrzehnte ein Schattendasein geführt, beispielsweise das literarische Schaffen in armenischer Sprache in der Türkei und die kulturell-ästhetische Auseinandersetzung mit der Lage der Armenier in der Türkei beziehungsweise dem armenisch-türkischen Verhältnis.

In den 1990er-Jahren wurden das kulturelle Erbe der Mehrsprachigkeit sowie der Verlust derselben zum populären Thema einer interessierten Öffentlichkeit. Mit dem Ende des Verbots über die Verwendung des Kurdischen in der Öffentlichkeit im Jahr 1991 ging eine zunehmende sprachliche und ethnische Pluralisierung des publizistischen Marktes einher. Neben Belletristik und Zeitungsbeiträgen, die sich in türkischer Sprache mit der sogenannten multikulturellen Vergangenheit¹ befassten und sowohl von ethnisch türkischen als auch armenischen, jüdischen oder kurdischen Schreibern verfasst wurden, wurden und werden auch Werke in kurdischer oder armenischer Sprache publiziert. Eine herausragende Stellung in der Verbreitung armenischer und armenischsprachiger Literatur nimmt dabei der 1993 gegründete Aras-Verlag in Istanbul ein, aber auch zweisprachige Zeitungen wie *Agos*. Auch in den

¹ Mit dieser ‚multikulturellen Vergangenheit‘ der Türkei bzw. der literarischen Aneignung derselben beschäftigen sich insbesondere Beiträge von Catharina Dufft und Börte Sagaster (beispielsweise Dufft 2009b; Sagaster 2009).

mittlerweile eingestellten türkischsprachigen Zeitungen *Radikal* (1996–2016) und *Taraf* (2007–2016) waren armenische Autoren und Artikel zu armenisch-türkischen oder kurdischen Themen täglicher Bestandteil.

Seit dieser Zeit gibt es auch ein größeres Interesse gerade bei jungen Leuten in der Türkei, Sprachen der osmanischen Vergangenheit neu zu lernen, einschließlich der osmanischen Schrift und Grammatik. Für manche handelt es sich dabei darum, die Muttersprache als Zweit-, wenn nicht gar Fremdsprache zu erlernen. Diese, jetzt nicht mehr so neue, Diskussion um die Position des Türkischen als Erstsprache für alle türkischen Staatsangehörigen und die Bedeutung der ‚echten Muttersprache‘ für die individuelle und kollektive Identität stellen ein außerordentlich interessanten Fall dar für alle, die sich mit (familiärer) Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachpolitik beschäftigen.

Muttersprache als Zweitsprache²

Bis auf ein paar Begriffe der Alltagssprache kommunizierten wir durchgehend auf Türkisch. Wenn sich mein Vater und meine Großmutter alleine unterhielten, so geschah dies oft auf Zazaki oder Kurmanci, das sie besser beherrschten als ihre Muttersprache. Diese Sprachen hörten wir also auch zu Hause. Aber dass wir Armenier waren, ja, das wusste ich in jenem Alter mehr oder weniger nur durch diesen bestimmten armenischen Dialekt (Interview der Verfasserin mit Mıgırdiç Margosyan vom 7. November 2008).

Mıgırdiç Margosyan,³ der 1938 in Diyarbakır im Südosten der Türkei geborene Autor und Verleger, erlernte nach eigener Aussage mit 15 Jahren seine *Muttersprache*, das Armenische. Seit 1966 veröffentlicht er Kurzprosa und Kolumnen in armenischer Sprache, seit Anfang der neunziger Jahre auch türkischsprachige Prosa. Er gehört zu den Grün-

² Viele wichtige Anregungen zur linguistischen Diskussion von (Mutter-)sprache verdanke ich Anne Storch, Köln.

³ „Mıgırdiç Margosyan“ ist die türkisierte Form seines Namens. Darüber hinaus findet man international die Varianten Megerdich Margossian, Mkrtich oder Mkrtič‘ Markosean (eine Transliteration des Armenischen) sowie Մկրտիչ Մարկոսեան.

dem des 1993 ins Leben gerufenen Aras-Verlages in Istanbul. Leitmotivisch zieht sich das Thema *Sprache*, insbesondere aber die *Muttersprache* durch Margosyans Texte; das eigene biografische Erleben und die Sprachpolitik der türkischen Republik prägen seine Sicht auf die Dinge. Schon eine seiner ganz frühen, zunächst auf Armenisch verfassten Erzählungen reflektierte das – nur scheinbare? – Paradox des verspäteten Erwerbs der Muttersprache. Unter dem Titel „Anadili Serüvenim“ (1998, Mein Abenteuer mit der Muttersprache)⁴ erscheint diese Erzählung später in einer überarbeiteten, türkischen Version. Der Titel der Erzählung verdichtet und ironisiert die eigene Perspektive auf eine Muttersprache, die man als Zweitsprache zu erwerben gezwungen wird. Aber auch dem kulturellen Wert aller ‚Muttersprachen‘ weltweit und den möglichen Auswirkungen einer global dominanten Sprache wie dem Englischen widmete und widmet er vor allem seine Kolumnen.

Die ironischen, aber niemals sarkastischen Erzählungen Margosyans lassen Vergangenheit und Gegenwart der Armenier in der Türkei lebendig werden. Dank der kulturellen, geografischen und demografischen Details, die der ehemalige Lehrer Mıgırdiç Margosyan in seine Texte einbettet, lernen die Leser vieles, was in keinem ethnologischen oder lokalhistorischen Werk verzeichnet ist. Die Bedeutung der armenischen Sprache als Bollwerk gegen den Untergang und das Vergessen werden einer Ethnie Anatoliens, aber auch die sozialen Verwerfungen innerhalb der armenischen Gemeinde werden durch Margosyans Texte nachvollziehbar. Die literarischen Inhalte verweisen auf eine außertextuelle Wirklichkeit und fordern dazu heraus, Margosyans Erfahrungen mit seiner Muttersprache – und der hegemonialen Sprache, dem Türkischen – aus soziolinguistischer, sprachpolitischer und historischer Perspektive zu diskutieren. Wie noch zu sehen sein wird, war die in Anatolien lebende Elterngeneration Margosyans, also die Kinder des Ersten Weltkriegs, mehrsprachig, beherrschte aber nur noch rudimentär das

⁴ Zuerst in der Zeitung Marmara ca. 1976 abgedruckt, erschien sie 1984 im ersten armenischsprachigen Erzählband Margosyans, *Mer ayd koghmerë* [Bei uns dort]. Im Folgenden stütze ich mich auf die überarbeitete türkischsprachige Version „Anadili Serüvenim“ aus dem Erzählband *Biletimiz İstanbul'a Kesildi* von 1998.

Armenische ihrer Region. Stellt dieser Sprachverlust selbst auch in der globalen Sprachgeschichte keine Singularität dar, so lässt doch die Suche der folgenden Generationen nach der Muttersprache annehmen, dass Verlust und Aneignung in diesem Fall in einem besonders komplexen Gesamtzusammenhang stehen.

Im Folgenden werde ich mich mit dem Blick von *Literaten* auf die Muttersprache beschäftigen, insbesondere natürlich mit Margosyans Verarbeitung des Themas. Was versteht der Autor selbst unter dem Begriff, also seine eigene *Sprachideologie*, und findet die Muttersprache oder die literarische Reflexion der Muttersprache Eingang in die Schreibstrategie? Aber auch die historischen und kulturellen Hintergründe für Sprachwechsel und -verlust, für (defizitäre?) Mehrsprachigkeit und Schreiben in mehreren Sprachen kommen zur Sprache. Ansätze der Soziolinguistik zu Mehrsprachigkeit und Muttersprache können schließlich helfen, in einen reflektierten Dialog mit Margosyans Texten zu treten.

Die Muttersprache der (Exil-)literaten

In ihrem Beitrag zur Muttersprachenideologie der 1920er- und 30er-Jahre in Deutschland schreibt Susanne Utsch:

Die hier als naturgegeben verstandene Bindung an die Muttersprache, ja ihre Überbewertung und Hypostasierung, verweist auf Kernthesen deutscher Sprachwissenschaftler in den 1920er Jahren. Nach dem Ersten Weltkrieg hatte sich in Deutschland auch in der Sprachwissenschaft ein sogenanntes Versailles-Syndrom herausgebildet, das revisionistisch die Verteidigung und Behauptung des Eigenen, hier der Muttersprache, implizierte (Utsch 2014: 38).

Die Hypostasierung gilt nicht nur der Vorstellung von einer in der Kindheit als erste gelernte Sprache und ihrer identitätsprägenden Macht, sondern auch der Bezeichnung dieser ersten Sprache als *Muttersprache*. Bemerkenswert ist, dass nach Utsch nicht nur die völkischen Sprachwissenschaftler die Idee von der Muttersprache als entscheidendem und unausweichlichem Element der *Geistesbildung* propagierten, sondern auch die Exilintellektuellen der 1930er- und 40er-Jahre an die

Unabwendbarkeit ihres Sprachschicksals glaubten. Autoren wie Klaus Mann beschworen das Einssein des Poeten und seiner Muttersprache (Utsch 2014: 41); der Kölner Romanist und Sprachwissenschaftler Leo Spitzer, der 1933 bis 1936 in Istanbul lehrte bevor er in die USA ging, führte einen Gelehrtenstreit mit Leo Weisgerber (Spitzer 1944), einem entscheidenden Vertreter der „sprachsoziologischen“ Muttersprachentheorie (Utsch 2014: 45). Doch selbst Leo Spitzer war nicht an einer Kritik des Konzepts Muttersprache selbst interessiert, sondern lediglich an Weisgerbers Vereinnahmung desselben für die völkische Ideologie.

Auch in der Gegenwartsliteratur ist die Muttersprache immer wieder Ideen- oder auch Titelgeberin. Auch hier ist das eigene Exil oft zum Anlass für die literarische Auseinandersetzung mit Sprache geworden. Allerdings ist die Qualität dieses Exils vielfältiger – es überschneidet sich mit andern Formen der Migration – und die Eins-zu-Eins-Zuordnung von Aufenthaltsort und Sprache in vielen Fällen obsolet geworden. An die Stelle der Sehnsucht des Exilintellektuellen nach der Wiederherstellung der sprachlichen und räumlichen Einheit ist die Auseinandersetzung mit der erlebten und gelebten Mehrsprachigkeit sowie mit der eigenen Sprachpraxis getreten. Zentrum der Auseinandersetzung bleibt immer noch die – auch so bezeichnete – Muttersprache, doch wird die Unauflöslichkeit des Bandes zwischen Muttersprache und (literarischer) Sprachpraxis durch verschiedene Erzählstrategien hinterfragt, gespiegelt und ironisiert.

In „Writing the Self, Choosing a Language“ analysiert Stephan Guth, wie arabische und türkische Autoren und Autorinnen mit erlebter und fiktionalisierter Mehrsprachigkeit umgehen (Guth 2007). In *When the Grey Beetles Took Over Baghdad* (Mona Yahia, 2000) verbannt die Protagonistin aufgrund traumatischer politischer Erlebnisse die Sprache ihrer Jugend, das Arabische, aus ihrem Leben. Die irakische Jüdin, die sich schließlich als Flüchtling im Iran wiederfindet, versucht durch den Sprachbann auch die Furcht aus ihrem Leben zu verbannen (Guth 2007:

187).⁵ Die seit 1997 in Köln lebende Autorin Mona Yahia (geb. 1954) wählte zudem als Sprache des Romans das Englische, obwohl ihr auch Arabisch und Hebräisch zur Verfügung gestanden hätten. Für Yahia fiel, so Guth, aus zwei Gründen die Wahl auf das Englische: Zum einen ist es die Sprache der im Roman eingearbeiteten Liebesgeschichte, die Sprache der Emotion, zum andern ist es die Sprache der Wahrheit, denn in ihr verbreitete 1967 der BBC die wahren Nachrichten über den Arabisch-Israelischen Krieg (Guth 2007: 190).

Auch für die ebenfalls in Deutschland lebende Romanautorin und Theaterschaffende Emine Sevgi Özdamar (geb. 1946) ist die Sprache selbst oftmals Thema ihrer Texte. Besonders deutlich wird das in den Erzählungen „Mutterzunge“ und „Großvaterzunge“ (1990). Özdamar geht allerdings in der literarischen Umsetzung einen Schritt weiter als Yahia und andere, indem sie ihre eigene Mehrsprachigkeit, das Scheitern an sprachlichen Standards und das kreative Potenzial des Sprachkontakts in ihre Schreibpraxis integriert. Die genannten Erzählungen sind, wie ein Großteil ihrer Werke, auf Deutsch verfasst. Doch provoziert ihre Einsprachigkeit Verwirrung bei den Lesern, scheint es sich doch oft um eine defektive Realisierung des Deutschen zu handeln: Verstöße gegen die Grammatik, insbesondere aber scheinbar falsche weil nicht äquivalente sondern wortwörtliche Übersetzungen wie die schon berühmte ‚Mutterzunge‘ statt ‚Muttersprache‘ kennzeichnen Özdamars Schreibpraxis. (Deutsch-türkisches code switching tritt hingegen nur selten auf.) Es geht Özdamar jedoch nicht darum, ein vermeintliches Türken-Deutsch zu literarisieren. Vielmehr geht es auch hier, ähnlich wie in *When the Grey Beetles Took Over Baghdad*, um Traumaarbeit, die nicht in der Sprache der Täter – des türkischen Staates – geleistet werden kann (Yildiz 2012: 164). Zugleich hinterfragt Özdamar die Dichotomie von *eigener* und *fremder* Sprache. Dies tut sie mittels des Arabischen, das die Protagonistin in „Großvaterzunge“ in Berlin erlernen möchte. Durch

⁵ Ein interessantes Detail ist, dass die Protagonistin Varietäten des Arabischen wahrnimmt: Das jüdische Arabisch ihrer unmittelbaren Umgebung und das gefälschte Jüdisch-Arabisch ihres Vaters. Mit der Weigerung, Arabisch zu sprechen, verweigert sie sich auch den Sprachen ihrer frühesten Kindheit, nicht nur der Staatssprache.

das Erlernen vor allem der arabischen Schrift versucht jene sich sowohl dem Osmanischen, der Sprache und Schrift ihres Großvaters, als auch dem Islam, der Glaubenswelt ihrer Großmutter, zu nähern. Die fremden arabischen Schriftzeichen werden als Teil des familiär-kulturellen Erbes wahrgenommen, dem man sich durch die Schriftreform von 1928 entfremdet hat (Begemann 1999: 2017). Über die Fremdsprache Deutsch – der Berliner Lehrer ist Araber – sucht sie sich die Vergangenheit ihrer Muttersprache anzueignen.

Der „postmigrantische“ (Yildiz 2012: 172) Autor Feridun Zaimoglu (geb. 1964) hat mit *Kanak Sprak* (1995) einen Ausgangspunkt für unzählige Sprachwissenschaftler, Autoren und Comedians geschaffen. Die in *Kanak Sprak* versammelten *24 Mißtöne vom Rande der Gesellschaft* – so der Untertitel – stellen bekanntlich keine O-Töne dar, sondern verdichtetes und artifiziertes Material, dessen Ausgangsform Zaimoglu tatsächlich im Gespräch mit männlichen – dieses Detail wird oft übersehen – Postmigranten gewonnen hat. Wie bei Özdamar werden auch hier Grammatik und Lexik grenzüberschreitend und provokativ verwendet, wobei Özdamars Suche nach einer Erweiterung ihrer eigenen Ausdrucksmöglichkeiten in einer Zweitsprache und sogleich nach einer produktiven, poetischen Erweiterung des Bildbestands der deutschen Sprache ersetzt wird durch eine künstliche Jugendsprache (*synthetic vernacular*), deren Grundbestände ganz und gar dem Sprachraum deutscher Städte entstammt. Nur mit Kenntnissen des Standarddeutschen konnte dieser Text verfasst und kann er entschlüsselt werden; anders als in folgenden Werken verzichtet Zaimoglu auf die Einbettung türkischer Lexeme. Gerade dieser scheinbar monolinguale Text soll, so Yildiz, das Paradigma der Einsprachigkeit in Frage stellen und überwinden und den postulierten Zusammenhang zwischen (Mutter-)sprache und Ethnizität zerstören:

In an attempt to resist the monolingual logic that would consider Turkish to be these figures' proper "mother tongue" and their "natural" property, Zaimoğlu excludes Turkish altogether from his inventive style. Instead, he casts the Kanak vernacular as a result of male self-generation without sources elsewhere (Yildiz 2012: 173).

Die wenigen Beispiele in diesem Abschnitt stehen stellvertretend für die vielfältige Beschäftigung von Literaten mit *ihrer* oder *der* Muttersprache; sie stehen auch für den direkten Zusammenhang zwischen der extratextuellen Wirklichkeit und der jeweiligen literarischen Verarbeitung von Sprach-Settings durch eine(n) bestimmten Autoren oder Autorin. Neben der Autorenperspektive auf die Sprache gibt es auch die Perspektive der Rezeption – der Rezeption des Autors und seines Werks als ausländisch/türkisch/armenisch. Zuweilen entsteht ein reflexives Verhältnis zwischen Rezeption und Werk, vor allem dann, wenn die Umgebung, der Literaturbetrieb, die Leser und auch die Politik schon vorab wissen, dass es sich um einen deutschen/kurdischen/jüdischen Autoren handelt. Beide Perspektiven sind von Bedeutung, wenn es um Margosyan und sein Abenteuer mit der Muttersprache geht.

Mehrsprachigkeit und Sprachlosigkeit der Armenier Anatoliens

Mıgırdiç Margosyan wuchs unter ökonomisch bescheidenen Bedingungen auf; nach der Grund- und Mittelschule hätte auch er, wie die meisten Armenier in Diyarbakır, das Leben eines Handwerkers führen sollen. Doch sein Vater ergriff die Möglichkeit, armenischen Kindern auf Kosten der Kirche eine bessere Ausbildung zuteilwerden zu lassen und schickte Mıgırdiç 1953 nach Istanbul, wo dieser die weiterführenden armenischen Schulen, die Bezciyan-Mittelschule und das Getronagan-Gymnasium, besuchte. Im Anschluss studierte er Philosophie an der Istanbul-Universität und unterrichtete am armenischen Heilig-Kreuz-Gymnasium (Surp Haç Lisesi) in Istanbul, dessen Direktor er von 1966 bis 1972 war. Ab 1966 veröffentlichte die armenische Zeitung *Marmara* die ersten Erzählungen Margosyans. Für seinen Erzählband *Mer ayt goğmeri* (1984, *Bei uns dort*) erhielt Margosyan 1988 in Paris den Eliz-Kavukçuyan-Literaturpreis für armenischsprachige Literatur. Um eine größere Leserschaft erreichen zu können, begann Margosyan in den neunziger Jahren seine armenischen Erzählungen ins Türkische zu übertragen, neuzuformulieren oder direkt auf Türkisch zu verfassen. Dem türkischsprachigen Publikum ist er seit 1992 durch den Erzählband *Gavur Mahallesi*, zu Deutsch *Das Heidenviertel*, insbesondere aber

durch den auf Türkisch verfassten und 2006 erschienenen Roman *Teşpih Taneleri (Die Perlen des Rosenkranzes)* bekannt. Essayistische Arbeiten und Glossen erscheinen seit vielen Jahren in der links orientierten Tageszeitung *Evrensel*, aber auch in der armenisch- und türkischsprachigen Zeitung *Agos*. Während Margosyan unter des Türkischen oder Armenischen kundigen Lesern ein bekannter Autor ist, liegen fast keine Übersetzungen seiner Werke in andere Sprachen vor. Über seine Aktivitäten als Autor und Verleger hinaus engagiert sich Margosyan öffentlich für gesellschaftspolitische Fragen, insbesondere für die Forcierung des historischen Erinnerungsdiskurses in der Türkei (Çakır 2008).

Als der Abgesandte des Armenischen Patriarchats in Istanbul 1953 die Provinzgemeinden der Türkei besuchte, darunter auch Diyarbakır, gab Mıgırđıç Margosyans Vater gerne dem Werben des Abgesandten nach, seinen Sohn zum Schulbesuch nach Istanbul zu schicken. Der Vater, als ‚Zahnarzt Ali‘ in der Region tätig, hatte selbst keine formale Ausbildung genießen können. Nun hegte er die Hoffnung, sein Sohn könne endlich das aufholen, was er selbst versäumt hatte, nämlich seine „Muttersprache zu lernen“ und „es zu etwas zu bringen“ (Margosyan 2009, passim).

Der Grund für die Werbetour des Abgesandten war, dass zu jener Zeit einige der sogenannten Minderheitenschulen in der Türkei (wieder)eröffnet werden durften; so auch das armenisch-gregorianische Priesterseminar in Üsküdar (Istanbul), errichtet auf den Ruinen einer 1938 geschlossenen früheren armenischen Schule. (1970 wurde das Seminar durch den Staat in ein Regelgymnasium umgewandelt [Özuzun 2003]). Einen wichtigen Bestandteil des neuen „Heilig Kreuz Priesterseminars“ bildete der Schlaftrakt, der nicht nur Priesteramtskandidaten, sondern auch Schülern anderer armenischer Lehranstalten als Unterkunft diente. Für die verbliebene armenische Gemeinde in Anatolien hatte diese Entwicklung große Tragweite, da die armenische Kirche sich das Ziel gesetzt hatte, in den neuen Einrichtungen Kinder, die bisher von einer religiösen und kulturellen armenischen Erziehung abgeschlossen aufgewachsen waren, kostenlos aufzunehmen und zu beschulen. Bei den anatolischen Armeniern stieß diese Initiative nicht nur auf Wohlwollen:

Man fürchtete nicht nur die erneute Zerstörung der armenischen Sozial- und Familienbeziehungen, sondern auch das Ende der eigenen – regionalen – Kultur. „Im Krieg sind unsere Wurzeln ohnehin wie die des Mandelbaumes abgestorben, und jetzt sollen wir unsere Kinder nach Istanbul schicken, sie Priester werden lassen, und unsere Nachkommenschaft mit eigener Hand auslöschen? Gibt's denn das!“ (Margosyan 2009: 177). In der Tat beschleunigte dieser Binnen-Braintrain das Absterben der armenischen Kultur Anatoliens einschließlich ihrer Sprachvarianten, regionaler Verwurzelung und Identität. Das Wissen um Glaubenslehre und Ritus war zu dieser Zeit in den anatolischen Gemeinden ohnehin schon weitestgehend zerstört.

Das Ende der anatolisch-armenischen Kultur rührt aus einer gewaltsamen demografischen Verschiebung her, die schon vor dem Armenier-Genozid von 1915 begonnen hatte, sich bis in die Gegenwart (2016) erstreckt und dabei keineswegs nur das Schicksal der Armenier beeinflusst. Die osmanische Provinz Diyar Bakr lag zwischen Euphrat und Tigris, zwischen dem armenischen Hochland im Norden und der mesopotamischen Steppe im Süden. Hauptstadt war Amid(a) oder Diyarbakır, armenisch Tigranakert, das heutige Diyarbakır (Canar – Cahen – Sourdel-Thomine 1991). Rund ein Drittel der Bevölkerung war in osmanischer Zeit christlich, vor allem armenischer, aramäischer und chaldäischer Denomination; ebenso gab es jüdische Gemeinden, alevitische und jesidische Siedlungen. Die übrige Bevölkerung gehörte dem sunnitischen Islam an. “The countryside of Diyarbakır was dotted with hundreds of Armenian villages, ranging from tiny hamlets to the equivalent of small towns” (Üngör 2009). Aus einem dieser Dörfer, dem rund 60 Kilometer nördlich von Diyarbakır im Kreis Dicle gelegenen Herdan, osmanisch Herıdan, armenisch Hretan, heute offiziell Kırkpınar genannt, stammte Margosyans Familie väterlicherseits. Zu Beginn der 1870er Jahre waren 18 der 50 Haushalte des Dorfes armenische Haushalte. Die Armenier verfügten über eine kleine Kirche und eine Schule und hatten sich unter den Handwerken auf die Schreinerei und Weberei spezialisiert (Margosyan 1998: 23).

In der Stadt Diyarbakır lebten 1869 rund 8000 Armenier und über 4000 andere Christen (Sapan 2006). Die auch für das 19. Jahrhundert nachgewiesene Gewalt gegen die Nicht-Muslime führte allerdings schon zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts zu einer ersten Migrationswelle. So formulierte ein 1912 nach Diyarbakır versetzter Lehrer:

Bei einer Einwohnerzahl von rund 200000 handelt es sich meist um Kurden. Auch gibt es recht viele Armenier. Da man allerdings schon bei der geringsten Gelegenheit ihr Viertel überfällt, ihr Hab und Gut plündert und selbst die Nachbarn sie bedrohen, wandern sie nach Amerika oder an andere Orte aus (Bali 1999: 377, meine Übersetzung).

Gouverneur der Provinz Diyar Bakr war im Jahre 1915 Dr. Mehmed Reşid (1873–1919), der nicht nur die Armenier, sondern auch die übrigen Christen der Provinz vertreiben und ermorden ließ. In Diyarbakır fanden die ersten Massenverhaftungen im Zusammenhang mit dem Genozid von 1915 Mitte April statt (Üngör 2009). Das Stadtviertel Hançepek, auf Türkisch Gavur Mahallesi (Heidenviertel), dem Margosyans Erzählband seinen Namen verdankt, war damals der Stadtteil der nichtmuslimischen, überwiegend christlichen, Bevölkerung. Am 1. Juni 1915 wurde Hançepek überfallen:

[Der Gouverneur Reshid] had his militia evacuate the Armenian men and women of the Armenian neighborhood Xançepek and escort them to the Diyarbekir plain through the city gates. The people were gathered and a proclamation was read out loud, offering the Armenians their lives in exchange for conversion to Islam. Although the decision was not unanimous, most of the victims refused, whereupon they were stripped of their clothes and belongings. The militia and local Kurdish villagers then massacred them with rifles, axes, swords, and daggers (Üngör 2009).

Im Herbst 1915 wurden die Armenier des Dorfes Heredan durch osmanische Soldaten, unterstützt von Kurden des Dorfes, überfallen und vertrieben. Seither leben dort keine Armenier mehr (Kışanak 2005). Nach mündlichen Überlieferungen wurden die meisten Armenier von Heredan bereits unweit des Dorfes ermordet (Kışanak 2005).

Mıgırđıç Margosyans Großvater war noch vor 1915 ins osmanische Heer eingezogen worden und verschollen; die Großmutter hingegen erreichte

nach den Angriffen auf Heredan mit zwei ihrer fünf Kinder Urfa. Allerdings verstarben beide Kinder innerhalb kurzer Zeit, woraufhin die Mutter zwei Jahre in einem psychiatrischen Krankenhaus in Urfa verbringen musste. Den damals vier Jahre alten Sarkis, den Vater Margosyans, hatte die Mutter während des Marschs im Gedränge verloren. Der Junge wurde von Kurden aufgenommen, die ihn beschnitten, ihm den Namen Ali gaben und als kurdischsprachigen Muslim aufzogen. Sarkis-Ali diente verschiedenen Familien im Raum Siverek bis zum Alter von 17 Jahren als Hirtenjunge.⁶ Über Umwege fand Sarkis seine Mutter und eine Schwester wieder, mit denen er sich in Diyarbakır, im „Heidenviertel“, Hançepek oder Gavur Mahallesi, niederließ (Margosyan 2009: 271-279).

Wie für Margosyans Familie wurde nach 1915 das Heidenviertel nach und nach auch für andere Christen aus der Region wieder zur Heimat. Der Zuzug in die Stadt, hier und andernorts in der Türkei, stellte die erste Stufe der Emigrationsbewegung dar, die in den folgenden Jahren durch die zweite Stufe, nämlich die Auswanderung in andere Länder, abgelöst wurde (İçduygu – Toktaş – Soner 2007: 370).

Im Diyarbakır der 1940er und frühen 50er Jahre, wie es sich in Margosyans Werk widerspiegelt, lebten Menschen verschiedenster Religionszugehörigkeit oder Ethnizität; Mehrsprachigkeit, jedenfalls in der Alltagssprache, war häufig anzutreffen. Allerdings beherrschte niemand mehr, auch die Armenier selbst nicht, das Armenische vollständig. Das Kirchenarmenisch, *Krabar*, war nicht nur der Gemeinde unverständlich, sondern auch oft genug den wenigen überlebenden Geistlichen, mangels theologischer Ausbildungsstätten. Legt man die Sprachbeispiele Margosyans zugrunde, so hatte sich in der Stadt ein eigenes Idiom entwickelt, das auf einer türkischen Grammatik basierend das Vokabular der Region einfügte und über Eigenheiten in der Aussprache und

⁶ Im Jahr 2007 stellte sich heraus, dass Margosyans Vater in dieser Zeit u. a. bei den Großeltern von Zozan Uzun, der Ehefrau des Autors Mehmed Uzun, gearbeitet hatte (Alpay 2009).

Grammatik verfügte, sodass diese Sprache von Außenstehenden als *kurdischer Dialekt* identifiziert wurde.

Durch die Auswanderung der Juden nach Israel oder Istanbul nach 1948 (Bali 1999: 381; İçduygu 2007: 374) stieg der Anteil der muslimischen Bewohner Diyarbakırs an und die Armenier übernahmen die unterste Stufe der gesellschaftlichen Hierarchie, auf der zuvor die Juden sich befunden hatten. Unter Anspielung auf den antisemitischen Vorwurf der Christen, die Juden würden Christenkinder fangen, in mit Dornen gespickten Fässern deren Blut gewinnen und trinken, kommentiert Margosyan diesen Wandel mit den Worten: „[Mit der Migration der Juden] waren deren Dornenfässer uns, den Gottlosen, den Armeniern, vererbt worden“ (Margosyan 1995: 94).

Die armenischen Gemeinden Anatoliens waren unter den gegebenen Umständen nicht überlebensfähig. Die Abwanderung der Gebildeten und Wohlhabenden ins Ausland oder in die Metropolen, der Mangel an religiöser Infrastruktur und die Vereinsamung in den schrumpfenden Restgemeinden bewogen ab den 60er Jahren die noch verbliebenen Gemeindeglieder, sich ebenfalls in den Großstädten, vorzugsweise Istanbul, niederzulassen. Nach dem Jahr 2000 erschienen vermehrt Presseartikel über das Schicksal der jeweils letzten armenischen Einwohner Diyarbakırs oder anderer kleinerer Städte (Başlangıç 2001). Es folgte eine Phase, in der Intellektuelle, unter ihnen auch Mıgırdiç Margosyan, sich dafür engagierten, wenigstens einige Erinnerungsorte dieser Kultur zu retten oder wiedererrichten zu lassen. Der Wiederaufbau der in Trümmern liegenden, durch Jahrzehnte der Zweckentfremdung und erzwungene Vernachlässigung zerstörten, als Winterstall oder Holzlager genutzten Kirche des Hl. Giragos in Diyarbakır war eines dieser Projekte (Avşar 2008). Von Dezember 2015 bis Juni 2016 herrschte in der Altstadt von Diyarbakır (Sur), in der auch das Heidenviertel liegt, eine Ausgangssperre. Vor und während der Ausgangssperre kam es zu schweren bewaffneten Auseinandersetzungen. Nach einer ersten Besichtigung der Zerstörungen durch Journalisten im Sommer 2016 titelte die armenische Zeitung Agos „*Gâvuru kalmamıştı, şimdi mahallesi*

de kalmamış“, die Heiden waren schon verschwunden, nun auch das Viertel (Özcan 2016).

Die einst von Armeniern bewohnten Dörfer wie Heredan wurden nach und nach von anderen Bevölkerungsgruppen der Region, im Falle von Diyarbakır meist von Kurden besiedelt. Als Folge des bewaffneten Kampfs zwischen der PKK und dem türkischen Militär wurden dieselben Dörfer oft ein zweites Mal in ihrer Geschichte entvölkert. Heredan wurde auf staatliche Anweisung aus militärstrategischen Gründen 1993 geräumt. Nachdem es zehn Jahre leergestanden hatte und bereits zu verwildern begann, kamen die ersten Kurden zurück, um ihre Häuser wieder aufzubauen (Kışanak 2005). Die aus den Dörfern geflohenen und vertriebenen Kurden der 90er Jahre hatten u.a. in den ehemaligen, nun verfallenden Vierteln der Minderheiten neuen Wohnraum gefunden, so auch in Hançepik, einschließlich der Kirchen.

Die in Deutschland lebende Fotojournalisten Müjgan Arpat verbrachte, angeregt durch Margosyans Werke, längere Zeit in Hançepik. Unter dem Titel *The Giaor Neighborhood: Those who remain – those who came* stellte sie ihre in fünf Jahren entstandenen Aufnahmen dieses Viertels und seiner Bewohner 2008 in Istanbul aus (Avşar 2008; Arpat 2008). Während ihrer Recherchen war sie auf eine ausgeprägte Verachtung des kulturellen — hier armenischen — Erbes, verknüpft mit einer sozialen Verelendung der Kurden getroffen. Über ihre Erfahrungen in Hançepik sagte Müjgan Arpat:

Überall traf ich auf Plünderungen, die immer noch andauern. Die Fotografin [in mir] wird wütend, je wütender sie wird, um so öfter drückt sie auf den Auslöser, aber auf der anderen Seite fühlte ich mich auch grausam, wenn ich diese [durch Vertreibung] geschädigten Menschen sah. Denn ich versuchte ihren Schmerz in Bilder zu fassen. Zwischen Margosyans Büchern und dieser Realität liegt ein großer Unterschied. Das ist sehr schmerzhaft und grausam. [...] In der Türkei besitzt jedes Volk einen eigenen Schmerz. [...] Wir schauen, aber sehen nichts. Lasst uns endlich sehen, endlich sprechen. Lasst uns nicht flüstern, lasst uns gemeinsam sprechen. Lasst uns die Vergangenheit hinterfragen und beginnen, um Verzeihung zu bitten (Avşar 2008, meine Übersetzung).

Margosyans Muttersprache

Als Mıgırdıç Margosyan 1953 nach Istanbul geschickt wurde, um dort ein armenisches Gymnasium zu besuchen, war ihm die armenische Sprache nicht völlig fremd. Das Altarmenisch der religiösen Sphäre (*Krabar*) hatte er in der Kirche gehört – wohl ohne es zu verstehen –, die Schriftsprache hatte ihn in den Ferien der Priester von Diyarbakır lehren sollen, und das gesprochene Armenisch der Region Diyarbakır war ihm in Grundzügen geläufig. Angekommen in Istanbul wurden er und die anderen Schüler aus Südostanatolien allerdings von den großstädtischen Mitschülern als „Kurden“ bezeichnet, da sie weder das Standardtürkische noch das Neu-Westarmenische, wie man es in Istanbul pflegte und das seit dem 19. Jahrhundert zu der nun allgemein verwendeten Schriftsprache weiterentwickelt worden war, beherrschten. Ein Beispiel für die Sprachbarriere zwischen den Armeniern von Diyarbakır und denen Istanbuls findet sich auch in *Tespîh Taneleri*: Die ersten armenischen Worte, die der junge Mıgırdıç in Istanbul spricht, lösen beim Direktor seiner künftigen Schule, Diraduryan Efendi, lautes Lachen aus, denn sie entstammen dem Vokabular der südost-anatolischen Varietät. Erst die Intervention des begleitenden Pfarrers, der ebenfalls aus dem Diyarbakır stammt, kann die peinliche Situation retten:

Diraduryan Efendi [...], wie Sie wissen, besteht ein großer Unterschied zwischen den verschiedenen Dialekten Anatoliens und der in Istanbul verwendeten Sprache. Dabei kann man in vielen Wörtern, wenn wir sie auch nicht verstehen, Spuren des Bibel-Armenisch, des *Krabar*, finden. Die Armenier Anatoliens verwenden immer noch mehr oder weniger das Armenisch ihrer Gegend (Margosyan 2009: 319).

Als Margosyan seinen neuen Lebensabschnitt in Istanbul begann, war er bereits alt genug um die neuen Lebensumstände genau erfassen zu können, sowohl die Chancen, die sich ihm hier boten, als auch seine sprachliche Unzulänglichkeit und den Makel seiner sozialen Herkunft. Zunächst entwickelte er deshalb einen „Komplex“, wie er es selbst formulierte, gleichzeitig aber versuchte er durch besonderen Fleiß diesen Unterschied wieder wettzumachen. Nach zwei Jahren Unterricht am Gymnasium forderte ihn sein Armenischlehrer auf, an einem Aufsatz-

wettbewerb teilzunehmen, bei dem der Autor den zweiten Platz gewann (Interview der Verfasserin mit Mıgırdiç Margosyan vom 7. November 2008). In den folgenden Jahrzehnten schrieb Margosyan regelmäßig; die armenische, in Istanbul erscheinende Zeitung *Marmara* veröffentlichte seine Beiträge unter dem Titel „Erzählungen von Mıgırdiç aus Diyarbakır“, doch es blieb eine Nebentätigkeit. Ein zu kleiner Leserkreis und die politische Zensur engten die Möglichkeiten armenischer Autoren in der Türkei stark ein.

Hagop Mintzuri (1886-1978) aus Erzincan⁷, der in einer Mischung aus Bericht und autobiografischer Prosa von seiner Kindheit in Anatolien, dann aber auch vom multikulturellen Leben der armen Migranten Istanbuls seiner Zeit erzählte, gilt als ein wichtiges Vorbild für Margosyans eigene Arbeiten. Vor allem aber Mintzuris öffentliche Unterstützung für Margosyan machte letzteren einem größeren, armenischsprachigen Publikum in der Türkei bekannt. Mintzuri besprach in einem 1976 erschienenen Zeitungsbeitrag in der Form eines offenen Briefs die bis dahin erschienenen Arbeiten Margosyans (*Marmara* 18. März 1976), insbesondere aber eine Erzählung, die 1974 in *Marmara* erschienen war, nämlich „Halil İbrahim“. „Das ist ein Erz“, schrieb Mintzuri,

das du (Margosyan) ans Tageslicht gebracht hast. Nein, nicht aus der Erde, sondern aus deiner eigenen Mine. Das geschieht nicht oft. Das war reines Gold, mit Erde und Steinen behaftet, die du nicht entfernt hast. Du hast sie nicht entfernt, um die Farbe des Landes (der ländlichen Regionen) zu erhalten, meine ich. [...] Vergiss niemals die Literatur. Stiehl ein bisschen vom Morgen, vom Tag, von der Nacht, und gib uns Texte! (Margosyan 1995: 8, meine Übersetzung).

Mıgırdiç Margosyan verwendete seinerseits diesen Brief als Fixpunkt seiner Erzählung „Anadili Serüvenim“ (Mein Abenteuer mit der Muttersprache), in der er sich zugleich kritisch mit dem Verhältnis zwischen den Armeniern in den Städten und jenen in der Provinz auseinandersetzt. In diesem ebenfalls in Briefform gehaltenen Text würdigt der

⁷ Hagop Mintzuri [Demirciyan]s Erinnerungen an Istanbul erschienen 1984 auf Armenisch (*Değər Ur Yes Yeğər Yem, Places Where I Lived*), und 1993 auf Türkisch: *İstanbul Anıları (1897–1940)*. Mehr zu Hagop Mintzuri s. Riedler 2008; Riedler 2009.

Autor die Bedeutung Mintzuris als Prosaautor armenischer Sprache, aber auch als Bewahrer der armenischen und türkischen Geschichte, die in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten niemand mehr hatte hören wollen:

Warum haben Sie immer wieder von Ihrem Dorf und Ihrem Leben dort erzählt? War das eine Lehre für die Geschichte und die Geschichtsschreiber? Oder war es ein tieftrauriges Lied, das für die versteinerten Herzen und insbesondere für die tauben Ohren geflüstert wurde? (Margosyan 1998: 12, meine Übersetzung).

Das eigentliche Anliegen des Textes aber ist deutlich zu machen, wie schwierig sich für Armenier der Generation Margosyans der *Erwerb der Muttersprache* gestaltete, gestalten musste. Nicht ohne ironische Untertöne bedankt sich Margosyan beim „sehr verehrten Meister“ für die unverdiente Aufmerksamkeit und fährt fort:

Ich wusste, dass ich Ihren offenen Brief, den Sie in unserer Muttersprache Armenisch geschrieben hatten, auch in unserer Muttersprache beantworten müsste. Schön und gut, doch wie sollte ich mit meiner unzureichenden Muttersprache, die ich nur stockend und stolpernd so halb und halb gelernt habe, dies bewältigen? (Margosyan 1998: 10, meine Übersetzung).

Der 50 Jahre ältere Mintzuri hatte bis 1915 als Armenier von den Bildungsmöglichkeiten im Osmanischen Reich profitieren können; er besuchte das angesehene Robert-College in Istanbul und beherrschte neben Türkisch auch Armenisch, das er selbst unterrichtete, sowie Französisch und Englisch. Wie ein Hofnarr hält Margosyan nun mit Wortwitz und übertriebener Bescheidenheit („Ich mit dem Verstand eines Regenwurms“) den gebildeten Armeniern – denn für diese war die Erzählung zunächst entstanden – seinen Spiegel vor: Die Generation, die noch in wirtschaftlich geordneten Verhältnissen aufwachsen konnte, die gebildeten Städter, die in Istanbul den Ersten Weltkrieg unter vergleichsweise günstigen Umständen überlebt hatten und ihr kulturelles Leben erhalten konnten, diese Menschen hatten sich in Margosyans Augen wenig bemüht, Kontakt zu halten zu den armen Brüdern auf dem Land, und ihre intellektuellen Fähigkeiten zu wenig genutzt, um auf das Unrecht der Vergangenheit hinzuweisen. Die anatolischen Kinder ihrer gewohnten Umgebung zu entreißen um sie in Istanbul eine

fremde Sprache zu lehren, könne dieses Desinteresse nicht wirklich ausgleichen.

Anlässlich des Erscheinens der türkischen Version von „Mein Abenteuer mit der Muttersprache“ 1998 schrieb ein Rezensent:

Ohne von der Vertreibung (*tehcir*) von 1915 zu wissen, kann man nicht verstehen, warum jemand sich des ‚Abenteuers der Muttersprache‘ unterziehen muss. Anders gesagt, um Margosyan verstehen zu können, muss man Mintzuri [und die Geschichte] kennen. [...] Dieses Abenteuer, wie Margosyan ein Leben lang seiner Muttersprache hinterher rennt, ist eigentlich eine bittere Erzählung darüber, wie hart Menschen vor und nach dieser Zeit denen gegenüber sind, die sie für anders halten (N. N. 1998, meine Übersetzung).

Margosyan selbst nennt jene Sprache, die für ihn selbst die größte emotionale Nähe besitzt, Muttersprache. Diese emotionale Nähe ist weder davon abhängig, dass man die Sprache von den Eltern gelernt hätte oder als Erstsprache, noch gar von einer Zugehörigkeit zu einem ‚Volkskörper‘. Man könne in irgendeiner Sprache aufwachsen, diese sogar von den Eltern erlernen, aber irgendwann stelle man fest, dass diese Sprache „nicht die eigene ist“, dass lediglich die Umstände es nicht zugelassen haben, in der Muttersprache aufzuwachsen, so Margosyan. Diese *eigene* Sprache sei allerdings keine von anderen Sprachen abgeschottete Entität; sie lebe in und mit den Sprachen der Umgebung und sei insbesondere durch ihre Fähigkeit gekennzeichnet, eine große emotionale Nähe zwischen den Sprechern herzustellen (Interview der Verfasserin mit Mıgırdiç Margosyan vom 7. November 2008).

Die Muttersprache ist die, die dem Menschen am nächsten ist. Es ist, als ob diese im Unterbewusstsein ihre Aktivität entfaltet. [...] Als ich Armenisch gelernt hatte, begann ich Armenisch zu schreiben. [...] Es hätte attraktiv sein können, *Bei uns dort* auf Türkisch zu schreiben, aber ich wollte auf Armenisch schreiben

erklärte Margosyan in einem anderen Interview (Gül 1998).

Für die Armenier in der Türkei steht die ‚Wiedererlangung der Muttersprache‘ in einem direkten Zusammenhang mit der Wiederherstellung des historischen Gedächtnisses. Zum einen gilt es, die bedeutende armenischsprachige Literatur des Osmanischen Reichs sowie der Türki-

schen Republik ins Bewusstsein einer größeren Leserschaft zu bringen, vor allem durch Neuedition und Übersetzung ins Türkische. Zum andern aber geht es um die Anerkennung ‚des Ereignisses von 1915‘, des Genozids, und der darin wurzelnden kulturellen, sozialen und ökonomischen Zerstörung armenischen Lebens in der Türkei. Mıgırdiç Margosyan aktualisiert durch seine Erzählungen das armenische Gedächtnis, insbesondere durch die präzise Beschreibung der kulturellen und sozialen Verhältnisse im Diyarbakir der 1940er und 50er Jahre, wobei die Verhältnisse jener Jahre im Wesentlichen das Ergebnis des Genozids sind, der auf einer weiteren Erzählebene oft mitverhandelt wird. Zu einem wirklich bedeutenden Instrument der Gedächtnisarbeit ist jedoch der Aras-Verlag geworden. Zusammen mit Yetvart Tovmasyan und Hrant Dink gründete Margosyan 1993 den Verlag, um mit armenischen Themen und armenischer Literatur an die Öffentlichkeit (der Türkei) zu gehen und die türkische Sprache als Kommunikationsmittel bewusst einzusetzen. Neben dem Dialog mit den türkischsprachigen Nicht-Armeniern geht es auch um die Förderung der armenischen Kultur *für die Armenier selbst*. Um dieser Aufgabe nachzukommen, werden sowohl armenischsprachige Originaltexte herausgegeben, oft mit einem ausführlichen armenisch-türkischen Glossar, oder besonders einfache Texte, um den ungeübten Lesern den Zugang zu erleichtern, als auch Übersetzung ins Türkische verlegt. Da sich die Werke in türkischer Sprache bisher besser verkaufen als die in armenischer, sichert diese Sparte auch das wirtschaftliche Überleben des Verlags (Kışanak 2000). Seit einigen Jahren ergänzen auch mehrsprachige Werke (armenisch-türkisch-englisch oder armenisch-türkisch-kurdisch) das Verlagsangebot.

Margosyans Mehrsprachigkeit

Mehrsprachigkeit gehört von Beginn an zu den stilbildenden Mitteln Margosyans. Die Sprachen der Region Diyarbakir, neben dem Türkischen insbesondere das Kurdische und das Armenische, finden in den Dialogen Anwendung. Gegenstände besonderer regionaler kulturspezifischer Bedeutung wie Kleidungsstücke, Werkstücke und Speisen, werden mit ihrem armenischen Namen benannt. Anhand einer der ersten Erzählungen, die auf Türkisch erschienen, lässt sich nachverfolgen, wie

gering das Wissen um die anderen in der Türkei verwendeten Sprachen für den türkischen Leser in jener Zeit (1992) gewesen sein muss. Wie ein Lehrer – der er auch einmal gewesen war – führt Margosyan Sprachbeispiele an und erläutert sie innerhalb der Erzählung selbst:

Sie [die kurdischen Kunden] riefen dem [armenischen] Schustermeister zu:

„Haço hoste solakê b1 de min.“

Das haben Sie verstanden, nicht wahr? In ihrer eigenen Sprache baten sie den Meister, ihnen Lederpantoffeln zu verkaufen. Meister Haço sprach wenigstens so gut Kurdisch wie die Kurden selbst, sogar das Zazaki, ein Dialekt des Kurdischen (Margosyan 1992: 60, meine Übersetzung).

In den späteren Erzählungen, ganz besonders aber in *Tespîh Taneleri*, wird die Mehrsprachigkeit zu einem komplexen System ausgebaut. Neben den bereits genannten Sprachen lässt Margosyan seine Protagonisten hier in langen Passagen im Diyarbakır-Dialekt sprechen. Die Verwendung dieser Sprache in einem schriftlichen Text wirkt zunächst nur originell, nicht aber befremdend. Doch bei intensiverer Beschäftigung mit dem Kontext der Szenen und einer geschärften Wahrnehmung auch für das eingestreute armenische Vokabular der Region, beginnt man die Sprecher als Individuen mit einer eigenen Geschichte wahrzunehmen. Eine zusätzliche Bedeutung auf der Ebene der sozialen Hierarchisierung erhält der Dialekt in dem Moment, da er mit dem Standarttürkisch der Istanbuliten kontrastiert wird, aus deren Perspektive er nicht für historisch-kulturelle Vielfalt sondern Devianz und Mangelhaftigkeit steht. Treffen Personen verschiedener sozialer und kultureller Gruppen aufeinander, so sind auf einer Buchseite vier und mehr Sprachen gleichzeitig zu finden: Neben dem türkischen Erzähltext gesprochenes West-Armenisch (die Lehrer und Pfarrer) und Standarttürkisch (die anderen Kinder) sowie Dialekt (Mıgırdiç).

Kurdisch, genauer gesagt Kırmanci, lässt Margosyan in der Regel die Bauern der Umgebung sprechen, wenn sie, um ein Amt, den Zahnarzt oder den Markt zu besuchen, in die Stadt kommen. Der armenische Dialekt Urfas, Arabisch, Aramäisch oder das Zazaki werden thematisiert ohne Sprachbeispiele zu geben. Die Sprachen können aber auch ineinander fließen wie im Falle von *delalis*. Dieses Kosewort im Sinne von

„Mein Herz“, türkisch *delalım*, kurdisch *delaliye min*, führt Margosyan als Beispiel für die universelle Sprache der Liebe an, die auch ohne Worte auskommen kann (Margosyan 2009: 493). Hier ist der affektive Gehalt das entscheidende Moment des Ausdrucks, nicht seine sprachlichen Wurzeln.

Schließlich trägt Mıgırdıç Margosyan sowohl durch seine Veröffentlichungen, die als Quellentext Verwendung finden, als auch durch eigene Audioaufnahmen zur Erforschung des Armenischen der Region Diyarbakır bei (Vaux 2006: 196).

Eine besondere Form der Mehrsprachigkeit erschafft Margosyan auch in rein türkisch-sprachigen Texten, beispielsweise in seinen Kolumnen. Hier spielt er mit dem divergierenden Wortschatz verschiedener historischer Phasen und gibt sich selbst als armseligen Narr (*mankafa*) aus, der kaum einen Satz zu Ende bringen kann. Die Lexik des als elitär wahrgenommenen Osmanisch dient der Übertreibung und wird durch ange deutete Vulgarismen kontrastiert.

Im folgenden Ausschnitt aus der Zeitungskolumne „*Kirveme Mektuplar*“ (Briefe an meinen Paten) geht es um eine öffentlich und gerichtlich ausgetragenen Kontroverse zwischen dem Medienmogul und Inhaber der Doğan-Holding, Aydın Doğan, und dem damaligen Ministerpräsidenten Recep Tayyip Erdoğan⁸:

Lieber Pate,

nun, da du in einem Alter bist, da nicht mehr nur die Haare auf deinem Kopf, sondern auch fast alle Haare an den anderen unaussprechlichen Stellen deines Körpers grau sind, weißt du ja ganz genau, dass, mal ganz abgesehen von der Zeit ‚vor Christi Geburt‘⁹ in diesem unserem Land, auch in der folgenden Zeit, neben den ‚Exzellenzen‘ [*devletlu*] allsämtliche Großwesire [*bilumum vezir-i azamları*], die obersten Religionsgelehrten, kurz gesagt alle, die an der Spitze des Staates ihre Trillerpfeife erklingen ließen und sich als ‚Schiedsrichter‘ aufspielten, die bedeutender waren als die Exzellenzen selbst, wie Großgrundbesitzer oder der Pascha so-und-so [*falan feşme-*

⁸ Zu dieser Kontroverse s. Thumann 2008.

⁹ Diese und die folgenden Anführungszeichen im Original.

kan], welche auch mal dazu befugt waren, durch einen einfachen Befehl den ‚Schädel abschlagen zu lassen‘ – dass also diese zahlreichen Großadmirale [*kaptan-ı derya*] und ihre ‚pseudo-hilfreichen‘ Mannschaften, die auf dem Spielfeld dieser Kinderportion von ‚Demokratie‘ – die durch den Zeittunnel immer wieder auftaucht und auf die wir uns stützen – mit den Stimmen des Volkes an die ‚Macht‘ kommen, und dann auch wieder sich vom Volk in die ‚Opposition‘ getrieben sehen, dass diese, egal in welcher Situation sie sich befinden, erstens [*evvela*] zum Wohle ‚des Volkes, der Volksgemeinschaft‘, na, und was natürlich noch wichtiger ist, für den Fortbestand des ‚Staates‘ ihren Schweiß vergießen; aus diesem Grund schwadronieren wir lauthals allüberall [*yedi düvelde*] ‚blablablupp‘, heute genauso wie gestern, zur selben Zeit zu jedem Thema! (Margosyan 2008).

Mehrsprachige Muttersprache

Die Biografie Margosyans, die Thematik seiner Werke und sein Umgang mit Sprache/n fordern die Literaturkritiker (der Türkei) heraus. Wie wäre dieser Autor zu kategorisieren? Als armenischer oder türkischer Autor, und welche Schule repräsentiert er?

„Es ist üblich geworden, Mıgırdiç Margosyan als den letzten Vertreter der Provinzliteratur, armenisch *kavaragan kraganutıyun*,¹⁰ zu bezeichnen“, ist im Vorwort zum Erzählband *Söyle Margos Nerelisen?* (Margosyan 1995) zu lesen. E. Çakıroğlu scheint diese Formulierung in der von ihm herausgegebenen, türkischsprachigen Autoren-Enzyklopädie zu übernehmen, verzichtet allerdings auf den spezifischen armenischen Begriff und spricht stattdessen nur von „*Ermeni taşra edebiyatı*“, d. h. armenische Provinz-Literatur (Çakıroğlu 2001: 549). Beide Rezipienten relativieren allerdings im Anschluss ihre Kategorisierung Margosyans

¹⁰ *Kavar* heißt auf Armenisch "Provinz" und *kavari* oder *kavaragan kraganoutıyun* "Provinzliteratur". Darunter ist eine bestimmte literarische Bewegung zu verstehen, die durch Tlgadinzi, (Schriftstellername von Howhannes Harutjunjan, 1860-1915) aus Charpert (heutige Elazığ) im 19. Jahrhundert initiiert wurde. Diese Literatur bzw. ihre Vertreter wollten sich von der Literatur der multikulturellen Metropole Istanbul unterscheiden. Im ‚unverfälschten Provinzarmenier‘ suchte man die ‚rein armenischen‘ Eigenschaften auch der Literatur zu erkennen (schriftliche Auskunft von Ischchan Tschiftsdshjan).

als armenischem Schriftsteller: Çakıroğlu schlägt als weitere Kategorien authentische oder ethnische Literatur vor (ebd.), der anonyme Verfasser des Vorworts indes befasst sich mit der Originalsprache der in jenem Band veröffentlichten Erzählungen:

Letztlich weist auch der Umstand, dass die hier veröffentlichten Erzählungen zum Teil keine Übersetzungen aus dem Armenischen sind, sondern direkt auf Türkisch verfasst wurden, darauf hin, dass man Margosyan nicht nur innerhalb der armenischen, sondern auch innerhalb der türkischen Literatur bewerten muss (Margosyan 1995: 8).

Offensichtlich stellt sich Margosyans literarische und fikionalisierte Mehrsprachigkeit quer zu den geläufigen Kategorien, die sich am Kennzeichen der *Originalsprache* entlanghangeln.

Das Konzept ‚Muttersprache‘ beschäftigt literarische Autoren immer wieder, wie ich am Anfang an einigen Beispielen angedeutet hatte. Die Erfahrung von Exil und Migration scheint Autoren besonders häufig dazu zu veranlassen, die von ihnen eingesetzte Sprache noch gründlicher zu hinterfragen und sie in veränderter Form zu verwenden, vielleicht auch zu verbannen. Ganz unterschiedliche Schreibpraxen können sich aus der Konfrontation des Autors mit mehreren Erst- oder Fremdsprachen ergeben. Für Mıgırdiç Margosyans Schreibpraxis, seinen virtuoseren Umgang mit Mehrsprachigkeit bzw. dem ihm eigenen Sprachrepertoire und seine Verteidigung des *Rechts* auf Muttersprache gibt es mehrere Deutungsmöglichkeiten. Mit seiner Biografie und seinem Bildungsgang verkörpert er ein Paradox, das in der Türkei häufig zu finden, aber strukturell keineswegs auf die Situation in der Türkei beschränkt ist. Margosyan steht in einer Tradition, und ist zugleich einem inneren Exil unterworfen. Die Tradition ist die der armenischen Literatur auf dem Territorium der Türkischen Republik von heute. Armenische Literatur ist hier nicht im exklusiven Sinne von armenischsprachiger Literatur in armenischer Schrift, verfasst von ethnisch-religiös der armenischen Gemeinschaft zugehörigen Autoren. Wie Johann Strauss deutlich zeigt, war die Verwendung bestimmter Sprachen und Alphabete im Osmanischen Reich des 19. Jahrhunderts wesentlich vielfältiger, als es eine homogenisierende Perspektive erwarten lassen würde. So

schrieb beispielsweise der damals bekannte armenische Autor Vartan Pascha (1813–1879) sein Geschichtswerk über Napoleon Bonaparte in Türkisch, mit der Begründung dadurch eine weitere Leserschaft zu finden (Strauss 2003: 41). Die Mehrsprachigkeit in Margosyans Heimatregion ist ebenso Ergebnis von politischer Gewalt wie Teil der kulturellen Vielfalt des Nahen Ostens.

Zugleich lebten die Armenier des Osmanischen Reichs spätestens seit 1915 in einem ständigen inneren und inländischen Exil. Obgleich Margosyans Vorfahren das Territorium des Osmanischen Reichs nie verlassen haben, haben sie doch ihre Heimat verloren, ihre kulturellen und oftmals auch staatsbürgerlichen Rechte. Das generationell weitervererbte und durch folgende rassistische Ausschreitungen stets aktualisierte Trauma des Genozids verstärkt die Fremdheitserfahrung und Orientierungslosigkeit, die Teil jedes Exils sind. Dieses Exil wirft nicht nur die Frage nach der (Mutter-)sprache auf oder macht sprachlos; es kann auch dazu führen, andere, schon vorhandene oder später erlernte Sprachen als Ressource zu begreifen (Busch – Reddemann 2013: 23). Für Margosyan war das Erlernen seiner, von ihm so genannten, Muttersprache eine Selbstermächtigung, ein Weg zu seinem Unterbewusstsein und seinem Selbst. In einem zweiten Schritt konnte er die Sprache der dominanten Kultursphäre, das Türkische, sich ein zweites Mal aneignen durch das Neuschreiben seiner alten Geschichten und die satirische Auseinandersetzung mit der *türkischen Realität* in seinen Kolumnen.

Margosyan bildet mittels seines kommunikativen Repertoires – das sogar den Gegenständen durch die lautmalerische Abbildung ihrer Geräusche eine Sprache gibt – eine Realität ab, die längst nicht nur eine sprachliche ist. Er literarisiert die Sprache, die er als Kind gehört hat, und zugleich steht jeder Sprecher sowohl für seine eigene Biografie als auch die Geschichte Diyarbakirs und Istanbul. Die Kritikerin Necmiye Alpay verdeutlicht das an dem Wort *kafle*. *Kafle* als dialektale Aussprache von *kafle*, türkisch für Karawane, Treck, steht in der Sprache der Region, in der Sprache der Armenier, die vom Genozid betroffen waren, für

den Todesmarsch (Alpay 2007).¹¹ Margosyan behält diesen dialektalen Euphemismus bei und transportiert gerade durch dieses spezifische Wort die traumatische Geschichte in die Gegenwart, zu den Lesern, die diese Vokabel erst erlernen müssen.

Insofern ist Margosyans Forderung nach dem Recht auf Muttersprache für jeden keine Propaganda für eine exklusivistische nationale Sprachgemeinschaft, sondern formuliert den Anspruch auf individuelle und kollektive seelische und kulturelle Integrität, verbunden mit der Möglichkeit, in einer Sprache etwas zu sagen, was in einer anderen unsagbar bliebe.

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¹¹ “Alles, was Margosyan schreibt, ist Geschichte. Aber wenn wir uns dafür entscheiden, dies Mikrogeschichte zu nennen, müssen wir zugleich begreifen, dass wir Teile der großen Geschichte in der Trauer und den Fragen, die sich wie ein Schatten über diese Erzählungen ausbreiten, suchen müssen. Im Echo [des Wortes] *kafle*, das nicht weniger gewaltig ist als das Echo eines Tsunamis. *Kafle*, genau so [geschrieben], ohne ‚i‘“ (Alpay 2007, meine Übersetzung).

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Printing in the peripheries

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This paper deals with the adaptation or choice of writing systems for printing in the western borderlands of the Muslim World. The discussion about script reforms had evolved in an atmosphere characterized by extensive historical and political change during the mid-19th and early 20th centuries. On the whole, efforts to reform or even abolish the Arabic script were more likely to develop in an environment where the role of religion was under discussion or being replaced by new concepts, such as, for instance, that of a nation state after western models, or where contacts with different languages, political systems and ideologies were more immediate – which was the case in the Turkic-speaking peripheries of the Islamic World, such as Turkey or Azerbaijan, or in later diaspora situations. Moreover, the compatibility of writing systems with – in the widest sense – modern media, such as, for instance, printing and electronic communication (such as early teletypewriters, but also the internet) required a rethinking of writing traditions for merely technical reasons.

Related questions concern printing in peripheral or minority languages that do not possess a literary tradition. Which writing system or model do these minor languages choose, and which considerations govern the respective choice?

1. Historical background: Arabic script for Iranians and Turks

Across the Islamic world, the usage of the Arabic alphabet has always been one of the major features of Muslim identity. When Iran adopted the religion of Islam in the mid-7th century, religious texts, prayers and traditions came in Arabic, as did the terminology for extras such as Islamic Law and jurisdiction, codes of social behavior, and cultural habits. Arabic also functioned as the language of the natural sciences, while Persian later was to profile as the medium of literature and the language of administration.

So, besides the social and political influence of Islam, the linguistic impact was considerable, and, as in every state becoming Muslim, Arabic expressions soon dominated the lexicon. Just a hundred years later, Iran profiled as the leading power of the Eastern Caliphate, imposing a synthesis of Perso-Arabian cultural traits on other newcomers to the Islamic World – together with the Arabic script, which, undisputedly, is the Islamic alphabet par excellence, and an important expression of belonging to the Muslim community.

The utilization of the Arabic alphabet for the writing of Persian required the introduction of four new signs representing consonant phonemes (namely: p, č, ĵ, and g). On the other hand, a number of graphemes denote consonant phonemes in Arabic, but only allophones in Persian pronunciation (such as /t/ [t] corresponding to the graphemes <te, tâ>, /s/ [s] to <se, sin, sâd>, and /z/ [z] to <zâl, ze, zâd, zâ>), which means that the pronunciation of these Arabic graphemes coincides in Persian. Given the huge proportion of Arabic loans in Persian and other Islamic languages, it was vital to keep these Arabic graphemes so as to differentiate the meaning of numerous homophones among the loanwords. The Arabic signs for vowels – a set of three long and three short vowels – posed no major problem for the notations of the Persian vowel inventory.

In the first decades of the 11th century, Oghuz tribes under the leadership of the Saljuqs conquered large parts of greater Iran, present day Iraq, and later also Anatolia. These western Turks as the last newcomers to the Islamic Middle East adopted Islam and the connected writing traditions in a Persian guise. The modified Persian alphabet satisfied most of the needs of the Turkic consonant inventory. Worse, though, was the incompatibility of the set of (3 long + 3 short) vowel signs with the Turkic inventory of (8+1) vowels, all of which in Middle Turkic times no longer applied length as a distinctive feature. It should become one of the major points of critique in later discussions about the unsuitability of the Arabic script for Turkic languages. The writers of early western Turkic manuscripts from the Old Anatolian Turkic period (between the 13th to 15th centuries) tried to solve the problem by using *hareke* vocaliza-

tion for Turkic words or Turkic passages in texts representing different languages or translations.

This summary of well-known facts shows that for technical reasons the Turks as the newcomers to the Islamic Middle East were probably predestined to develop a more critical attitude towards the Arabic script. Despite this, the Arabic alphabet remained in usage for nearly a millennium, as it was an indispensable expression of Islamic identity and a means of communication across the Islamic world.

2. How to print? A survey of alphabet reforms and the choice of writing systems

During the late 17th century, some Ottoman writers introduced slight alternations of the Arabic script that would enable a more apt depiction of the characteristic traits of Turkic phonology (Bulut 1997: 38). Yet, most early ambitions to reform the Arabic alphabet were doomed to failure. As it was not feasible to change the established spelling of Arabic and Persian loans, a reformed writing only of Turkic roots would have created a two-pronged orthography that treated words of the first group differently from those of presumably Turkic origin.

Characteristically a more comprehensive re-thinking of the writing traditions starts during Tanzimat, the so-called reform period that was characterised by various attempts to modernize society according to western models. These attempts included for instance the abolishing of social institutions that were based on the definition of citizens according to their religious denomination, the introduction of new institutions in the educational system, and the development of modern means of mass communication. The first privately financed Ottoman newspaper, the *Tercümân-i Ahvâl*, started to appear in 1860.

Printing in Arabic letters is a very time-consuming and complicated process. As only cursive script exists, the letters are written joined together (no block letters). While every basic grapheme possesses two to four different forms, combinations of certain letters form ligatures, which require special combined types. So among the intellectuals who

thought about introducing an alphabet that would be easier to learn, to read, and to print were representatives of the new educational institutions and editors of newspapers, journals, and books.

Already in 1852, Ahmed Cevdet Pasha, member of the Ottoman Academy of Sciences (*Encümen-i Dâniş*, until 1862) and co-author of the first Ottoman grammar ‘The Rules of Ottoman’ (*Qavâ'id-i Osmâniyye*) written in the Empire, had stressed the need for a reform of the Arabic alphabet (Kornrumpf 1976: 10 f., Özkan 2000: 28). In his textbook *Medhal-i qavâ'id* (‘Introduction to Grammar’) he proposed the introduction of additional diacritics that would make the Arabic script less ambiguous. The quality of the vowels should be indicated by eight – instead of the traditional three plus *sükûn* – diacritic signs (*hareke/-ât*)¹, *sağır kâf* should be marked with three dots. In the literature, this amended script is sometimes referred to as the *Encümen-i Dâniş* alphabet.

Ahmed Cevdet’s ideas were taken up and developed further by Mehmed Münif Pasha². In his speech to the Scientific Society on the 12th of May 1862, Münif Pasha criticized the ambiguity of the Arabic script, the difficulties in rendering foreign names properly, and the conservation of the original orthography of Arabic and Persian loan words in Turkish. The Arabic script was held



Picture no. 1: *The mystery of the Arabic script. Viewers are puzzling about the meaning of a notice.* (From Molla Nasreddin).

¹ The new diacritics differentiated the four Turkic labial vowels /ü/, /u/, /ö/, and /o/. The open rounded vowels /ö/ and /o/ were marked by the Arabic numeral <٧> ‘seven’: In a position above a grapheme, <٧> represented /ö/, while when below it it had to be pronounced /o/. The same principle applied to the close labial vowels /ü/ and /u/, which were indicated by the Arabic numeral <٨> ‘eight’ above or below a grapheme.

² The chief interpreter of the Bâb-i Âli and a founding member of the Academy’s successor, the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cem’iyyet-i ‘İlmiyye-i ‘Osmâniyye*) of 1861.

responsible for a high rate of illiteracy in the Muslim world and made the business of printing costly and complicated (Algar 1969). Münif Pasha's proposal comprised 'cutting off' the ligatures of the script, so that every basic grapheme would be written separately (*hurûf-i mun-qatı'a*); as already proposed by Ahmed Cevdet, different diacritic signs (*hareke/- ât*) should mark the quality of the vowels unambiguously.

Interestingly, the discussions about a modernization of society and related reforms of the educational system, the role of religion, and the creation of a new script took a very similar direction in the Caucasus and Azerbaijan – especially in the northern part, which, since 1828, formed part of the Russian Empire. Reformers exchanged ideas circulating in the predominantly Christian regions of present day Armenia and Georgia, with Tiflis forming the intellectual center, and presumably, they also closely followed the developments in the Ottoman Empire. In 1863, only one year after Münif Pasha's speech at the Scientific Society, the famous Azerbaijani poet, playwright and reformer Fath 'Alî Âkhûndzâdeh³ approached the Ottoman Sadrazam Fuad Pasha with a very similar proposal for a modified Arabic script: Instead of diacritics or dots above the basic graphemes, the letters would be marked by extensions. Like the vowel signs of European scripts, new *harekât* of the same size were to be inserted between the consonant signs, directly and at the same level of the line. Münif Pasha discussed both his own approach to a reformed Arabic script, and the proposal presented by Âkhûndzâdeh in an article that was published in the journal of the *Cem'iyyet-i 'İlmiyye-i 'Osmâniyye*, the *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*, in 1863.

On matters of westernization and script reform, Âkhûndzâdeh, who called himself an atheist (so one may suppose that he did not feel obliged to preserve the spiritual values of the Arabic alphabet) and was also experimenting with various models for Latin-based writing systems, worked closely together with Malkûm Khân, an Iranian Armenian in the Russian Embassy in Tehran.

³ Âkhûndzâdeh was born in 1812 in Nukha (present-day Shaki, Azerbaijan) to a wealthy land-owning family from Iranian Azerbaijan.

During the second half of the 19th century, the discussion of alphabet reforms almost came to a complete standstill, both in Azerbaijan and in the Ottoman Empire. Only after the turn of the century did a new generation of intellectuals increase the efforts to abolish the Arabic script, which, under the prevailing circumstances – the Ottoman Empire under the Caliphate, and North Azerbaijan still linked by a close spiritual bond to Shii Iran – proved difficult.

Especially after the Russian Revolution of 1905, the weakening of imperial censorship and state control enabled the establishing of various educational and cultural societies in the peripheries of the Russian Empire, a trend which could also be felt in the Caucasus, Azerbaijan and adjacent countries of the region⁴. The press played a central role in the creation of political parties and public organizations. It announced the purpose of new parties and organizations and tried to strengthen social support for related institutions. Over 60 periodicals were published during that time and the number of books in *Turki*⁵ or Azeri Turkic also increased.

New ideas were developing, often inspired by European models. One of the most important thinkers of this period was Mammad Agha Shahtakhtinski, a typical product of the multi-cultural melting pot of Tiflis, who had studied linguistics and Middle Eastern Studies at European universities, such as Leipzig, and in Paris. He worked on different versions of a Latin alphabet for Azeri Turkic, but, at the same time, also on a more practicable solution for a reformed Arabic script.

Surely the reformers' familiarity with the Cyrillic or Latin alphabets also influenced their concepts for new variants of the Arabic script. Conse-

⁴ Among these societies were, for instance, the *Neshri-Maarif Cemiyyeti* ('Society for Publishing and Enlightenment'), the *Nicat-Maarif Cemiyyeti* ('Society for Salvation and Enlightenment'), the *Sefa Cemiyyeti* ('Society of Joy'), the *Seadat Cemiyyeti* ('Society of Happiness'), and the *Musulman Cemiyyeti Kheyriyessi* ('The Muslim Charitable Society').

⁵ *Turki* is the name its speakers still use to designate an Oghuz Turkic language widely spoken or used as a means of communication across East Anatolia, greater Iran (including Iraq and Azerbaijan) and the Caucasus, and which began to develop after the migration of Oghuz tribes to the West in Saljuqian times. It is also a predecessor or ancestor of Azeri Turkic.

quently, Shahtakhtinski's proposal (published in Tiflis in his newspaper *Sharq-i Rus* 'Russian Orient' in 1903) transfers the technical details of the Latin block script to writing with Arabic letters: all graphemes are written separately. Arabic numeric signs from one to nine represent the nine vowels in Azeri Turkic⁶. These graphemes are the same size as consonants and inserted between them on the same level. Thus, Shahtakhtinski's approach adopts both Ahmed Cevdet's call for an unambiguous marking of the vowels and Münif Pasha's proposal to write every grapheme separately (*hurûf-ı munqaṭı'a*), while it anticipates and surpasses later developments, such as the Ottoman *hurûf-ı munfaşıla* or 'Enver's alphabet', see below.

Back in the Ottoman Empire, the discussion began again in 1911 when İsmail Hakkı Bey presented various proposals for a reformed Arabic alphabet in the newspaper *Teceddüt* ('Renewal'). The new alphabet consisted of basic letters written separately (*hurûf-ı munfaşıla*), and vowels represented by unambiguous signs added on the same level and in the same size as consonants. İsmail Hakkı Bey's initiative led to the founding of the *İslâh-ı Hurûf Cem'iyeti*. Under the auspices of the Society, the calligrapher Mustafa Rakım Bey created a revised form of the *hurûf-ı munfaşıla* alphabet. It was published in March 1912 in the first issue of the weekly newspaper *Yeni Yazı*, which established the voice of the Society (facsimiles in Akçay 2007). Shortly afterwards, Hüseyin Cahit Yalçın, a member of the *İttihâd ve Terakkî*, printed the first page of his newspaper *Tanin* in the new alphabet. The *Harbiye Nâzırı* ('Minister of War') Enver Pasha ordered that the reformed alphabet should be used in the writings of his offices; he even created a refined variant, generally referred to as 'Enver's alphabet', which, during the Balkan Wars, proved totally unpractical and hindered communication between different parts of the army.

As already indicated, the efforts to create a modern printable alphabet based on Arabic letters were rooted in the belief that it would be blas-

⁶ Namely: 1 = /e/, 2 = /a/, 3 = /ə/, 4 = /i/, 5 = /i/, 6 = /o/, 7 = /ö/, 8 = /u/, and 9 = /ü/; see also Karaman (2010: 134).

phemous for Muslims to use any other writing systems. Proposals for the introduction of different scripts, such as Latin or Cyrillic, mostly came from intellectuals who also wanted to cut back the role of religion in society, as did Âkhûndzâdeh and, in later years, Shahtakhtinski. On the other hand, even the concepts of reformed Arabic alphabets more or less sank into oblivion, as both the Ottoman Empire and Azerbaijan had returned to more traditional forms of the Arabic script.

After the fall of Tsarist Russia, the government of the short-lived Democratic Republic of Azerbaijan (1918–1920) ‘continued publishing all its official correspondence in the Arabic alphabet.’ (Bahadori 1993). In 1921, the Soviets set up a ‘New Alphabet Committee’ (*Yeni Türk Elifba Komitesi*). The initiative was met with approval; intellectuals and teachers started campaigns in support of a new Latin-based script. On the 21st of September 1922, the weekly newspaper *Jeyi Jol*, the voice of the Alphabet Committee, used the Latin alphabet in its first edition. The new writing system was phonological, as one grapheme corresponded to one phoneme.

Compared to the Latin alphabet introduced in 1928 in Turkey, the Azeri Latin script of 1922 displayed a closer affinity to the Arabo-Persian alphabet. Given the huge proportion of loan words that have become part of the lexicon of Azeri, this approach makes sense.⁷ The Latin-based alphabet Turkey introduced six years later in 1928, on the other hand, reflects firstly the phonology of Turkic items.⁸

⁷ The new Latin script for Azeri differentiated between the voiceless front and back stops <q> and <k> (which would be treated as allophones of the Turkic phoneme /k/ in Turkish and represented by a single grapheme <k>), and the voiced palatal and post velar stops <g> and <c>, while the post-velar fricative was indicated by <x>. It represented the voiced and unvoiced affricates by <c> and <ç>, and the velar and post-velar nasals by <n> and *sağır kâf* <ŋ>; for more details and facsimiles of *Jeyi Jol* including a table of the new alphabet, see Şimşir (1991: 5, 34–5).

⁸ Yet, the new Turkish alphabet also ignores a Turkic item (*sağır kâf* <ŋ>, which still exists in the dialects). Some signs were taken from the Azeri Latin script (the voiced and unvoiced affricates indicated by <c> and <ç>), but <q> and <k> were no longer differentiated, as in Turkish phonology they had to be interpreted as allophones of /k/.

Supported by the Caucasus office (*Kawbjuro*) of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, the Latin-based script for Azeri quickly spread throughout the territory of the former Transcaucasian Republic. In 1921, the Party initiated the founding of the newspaper *Yeni Fiqir*, which appeared in the traditional Perso-Arabic alphabet in Tiflis. In 1924, the readers were offered a supplement of two pages under the name of *Işık Jol*. In March 1924, with the publication of its 2nd issue, *Işık Jol* began to appear as an independent newspaper. As is characteristic of transitional stages, the articles were presented side by side both in the traditional Perso-Arabic *and* in the new Latin-based script; for details and facsimiles, see Şimşir (1991: 12–15, 37).

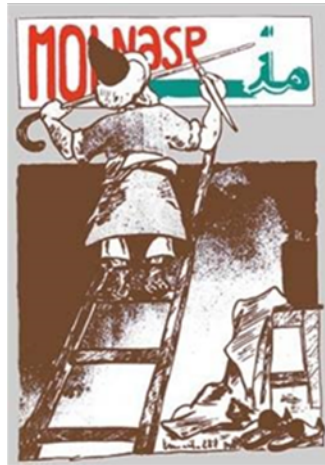
Linguistic and scientific justification for a Latin-based script for Azeri came from the First Conference of Turcology, held in Baku in 1926. The new alphabet was finally and officially adopted in 1929, replaced by Cyrillic in the Stalinist era in 1939, and revived after the fall of the Soviet Union and the independence of the Republic of Azerbaijan in 1992.

3. Printing in the peripheries: Four examples

3.1 *MOLLA NASREDDIN*: Satire in times of transition

One of the fiercest advocates of westernization and alphabet reform was the satirical magazine *Molla Nasreddin*. Its editor, Jalil Mammadgulu-zâdeh or Mirza Jalil, was born in 1866 in Nahchivan, to a family of Iranian background (originally from the city of Khoy in NW Iran) with – as was typical for the region – links to the Caucasus, Russia, Anatolia and the Khazar area. He went to an ecclesiastical school in his hometown and later visited the Transcaucasian Teachers' Seminary in Gori/Georgia. In 1901, he began to study law in Yerevan. Two years

later, he moved to Tiflis, where his novel ‘The Post Box’ caught the attention of Shahtakhtinski (see above). The same year Mammadguluzâdeh started his career as a journalist with a column in Shahtakhtinski’s Tiflis-based newspaper *Sharq-i Rus*. The newspaper published articles in Azeri Turkic or Turkî and attracted a vast readership not only in the Caucasus, but also in Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and other Turkic speaking regions. While working for *Sharq-i Rus*, Mammadguluzâdeh became friends with Omar Faiq Nemânzâdeh, a Meskhatian Turk from Akhaltsikh, who would profile as an important journalist.



Picture no. 2: *Molla Nasreddin goes Latin*

In 1906, these two friends founded a satirical magazine that they named after the sharp-tongued Middle Eastern sage whom the Persians call

Mollah Nasreddin and the Turks Nasrettin Hoca. Born in the somewhat anarchic, polyglot, and multicultural atmosphere of Tiflis, the Caucasus’ cultural capital, the magazine’s texts and essays were predominantly written in Turkî, but they also came in various other languages, such as Persian and Russian, and in various



Picture no. 3: *Molla presents a draft of a Latin alphabet.*

scripts – even on the cover page of the magazine, one could discern different languages in three or four scripts. In the Tiflis period (1906-1917), most of the captions and texts were in Turkî, while the title – written in the traditional Arabic alphabet – sometimes displayed additional *hareke*-vocalization. Captions mostly appeared in Arabic characters used for Turkic, often with a Russian translation in Cyrillic script. The choice of the basic language for printing was somewhat daring. Turkî was consid-

ered boorish and unpolished, the language's prestige close to zero. Across the greater area, the language of Islamic high literature was traditionally Persian, which many of the intellectuals spoke and wrote. The educated in the Caucasus spoke and read Russian, as their Ottoman counterparts cultivated their knowledge of French.

Mammadguluzâdeh not only strongly supported the use of Turkî, he also was one of the most dedicated advocates of an alphabet reform; he ridiculed the Arabic graphemes as hieroglyphics, saying that it was 'obligatory to replace these scrawls with Latin script'.⁹

What is surprising is the use of a script which, even during the Tiflis period of MN (1906-1917), seemed to anticipate the present Azeri alphabet, displaying graphemes such as <c, ç, ş, x, y, z, ı, ə>. On the 18th of Zilhicce 1329 (17.11.1911), for instance, Molla Nasreddin (Altıncı il, No. 42) published a commemorative cover honouring Mirzâ Fath 'Alî Âkhûndzâdeh (1812–1878), the famous writer and notable playwright, who, as already mentioned, in his later years had advocated strongly for the introduction of a Latin-based script. The caption under the picture of Âkhûndzâdeh on the cover page is in Turkî in Latin script (followed by a translation into Russian) and reads as follows:

Mirzə Fətəli Axundov (anadan olmağının yüz illiyi münasibətilə). Bəli, hələ bəs deyil ki, müsəlman arvadlarını teatr tamaşağahlarına çıxartdı və bizim abrumuzu tökdü, bunlar bəs deyil?! Hələ bu nainsafi cəmi müsəlman aləmi yada salıb, rəhmət oxuyub və bunun şəklinə baxıb fexr eyləyir.¹⁰

Of the signs appearing in this and other captions of MN, only <c, ç> are part of a contemporary script proposed by Farhâd Âghâzâdeh in 1906. His Latin-based alphabet can be seen in a number of caricatures advertising the use of a Latin-based script, see picture no. 3. An explanation of

⁹ "Bu heroqlifləri Latin əlifbası ilə əvəzləmək vacibdir" (Əliyev 2013).

¹⁰ "Mirzə Fath 'Alî Âkhûndzâdeh (on the occasion of the centennial of his birth): Now, is it not enough that he was the first to put our Muslim women on stage in the theater and thus brought shame on us?! And yet the whole Muslim world holds the memory of this atheist in honor, prays for his soul and takes pride in looking at him." (this author's translation).

this untimely use of a more recent alphabet would be that some issues of MN have been reprinted after the introduction of the Latin script for Azeri in 1929, and the original captions in Arabic script were replaced by this new script.¹¹

As the editors of MN were operating from a place outside of the borders of the states they targeted and in which many of their readers lived, they were not subject to limitations imposed by a fixed system of rules, a certain state's ideologies, or its religious or political institutions. Thus they could also be more relaxed about their choice of languages and scripts.

Famous writers and poets wrote for the magazine; when the topic was sensitive – which was quite regularly the case – they used various pseudonyms, such as *Molla Nasreddin*, *Laglagi* ('joker, chatterer'), or *her-dam-xeyâl* ('capricious, whimsical'); see Pashayev (2011).

Each issue of the weekly comprised eight pages, dominated by wood-print-like caricatures. These expressive illustrations served multiple purposes: they could reach the illiterate parts of the local populations and communicate the magazine's messages to speakers of different languages. The cartoons established the most characteristic feature of Molla Nasreddin and played a very central role in the concept of the trademark.

From the founding of the magazine in 1906 till 1917, when the Russian Revolution forced the editors to interrupt publishing for three years, the head caricaturist was Oskar Ivanovich Schmerling (1863–1938). A representative of the German minority of Georgia, Schmerling was a well-known painter and an eminently important social personality; the se-

¹¹ One could think that the exact date of origin of each issue of MN is indisputable, as each cover bears the respective Hijri and Gregorian dates. Yet, there are various copies of the very same issues of MN where the captions are in Arabic or in the new Azeri script. These latter must have been reprinted at some point after the introduction of the new script.

cond caricaturist, Josef Rotter, also belonged to the same minority group.

Schmerling had received his basic education in Tiflis and studied painting in St. Petersburg (1884 to 1889) and later also in Munich; in 1902 he founded the 'Institute of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture', which became an academy of arts in 1922. He created illustrations for a number of German, Russian, Georgian and Armenian journals in a characteristic style reminiscent of posters by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec – inspired by classical Japanese woodprints.

Topics, addresses, and scandals

Texts and cartoons attacked the multiple defects of society. Major topics in earlier issues comprised modernization, westernization and critique of Islam. The complicated Arabic script was a symbol of a hopelessly obsolete society, and a major obstacle in the spread of literacy and progress, while the religion itself was held responsible for the backwardness of the Muslim East, the lack of education, and the marginalization of women in society.

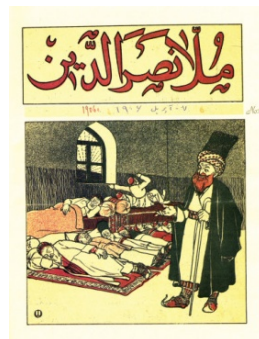
The cover page of the first issue (1906) shows the sleeping nations of the East in their traditional costumes; Molla sings them a highly ironical cradlesong:

Tərpənmə, Don't move, for goodness
amandır bala, sake, little one, don't wake up
ğəflətdən from unconsciousness
ayılma!

Açma gözünü, Don't open your eyes, don't
xəbi-cəhalətdən wake up from the sleep of
ayılma! ignorance

Laylay, bala, Lullaby, little one, sweet
laylay! dreams

Yat, qal dala, Sleep and remain behind,
laylay! sweet dreams!



Picture no. 4: *The sleeping nations of the East.*

From its safe haven in Tiflis, MN tackled topics pertaining to the declining Ottoman Empire and the – also declining – regime of the Qajars of Iran, without respect or reservation. As most of the interested readers (and large numbers of subscribers) came from these countries, the magazine directly addressed their most essential concerns.

A favorite topic of critique was the enormous influence of Qajar Iran's conservative mollahs, which supposedly kept people in ignorance, clinging to outdated social customs and traditions. Clearly these themes also expressed Mammadguluzâdeh's love-hate relationship with his country. The attacks led to frequent complaints/protests by Iranian officials. In 1910, a whole meeting of the Iranian parliament was dedicated to the investigation of non-descript 'indecent activities' by one member of parliament, Seyyid Nasrullah, who had supposedly contributed an article to MN (Pashayev 2011). In Soviet times, the People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs, Georgy Chicherin (1872–1936) complained that "Molla Nasreddin was ruining the Soviet Union's relationship with Iran." (Slavs and Tatars 2011: 9). Similarly, in 1907 caricatures of the Ottoman Sultan had caused a minor diplomatic crisis, which resulted in the magazine's temporary closure and a strict ruling not to publish on the Empire and the Sultan.

In the East, the magazine was – and still is – perceived as the most influential press product of its time, with readers across the Islamic World. It managed to stay alive in times of permanent far-reaching changes, surviving the Soviet Revolution (1917), the short-lived Azerbaijanian Republic (1918–1920), and its integration into the Soviet Union in

1922.¹² And it readily supported the transition from Arabic to the new Latin-based script in Azerbaijan.¹³

Recent Azerbaijanian sources claim Molla Nasreddin as a purely Azeri enterprise, which fought for the independence of country and language. This may only partly be true. Although the magazine placed importance on the use of Azeri Turkic or Turkî, it was rather a product of its multicultural Caucasian environment (one of the editors being a Ahiska Turk, the other of Iran Turkic descent, the leading illustrators having German roots) than the voice of a specific nationalist movement.

Secondly, the concept and the style of the illustrations of MN are praised as an absolute novelty. For the East, the nature of a satirical magazine was certainly new and surprising; but it had numerous predecessors in the West. To the western onlooker, the style of the drawings, the graphical layout, and even some symbolic figures are strangely familiar. The appearance of the devil in the picture below (and also on other caricatures in MN) strongly reminds one of contemporary Christian caricatures, as does belief expressed in the cartoon: If you are doing well, the devil will sit down and weep.

But there is much more to say on the prototypical role Western satirical magazines played in the shaping of Molla Nasreddin. An important source of inspiration was probably the German *Simplicissimus* (based in Munich), maybe along with other satirical magazines with a long tradition in the country, such as the Berlin-based *Kladderadatsch* (1848–1944).

¹² From 1906 to 1917, 340 issues of MN appeared in Tiflis. This period was surely the heyday of the magazine, when it was at its anarchic best. After a break of three years, in 1921 the magazine made a new, less successful start in Tabriz, the capital of South Azerbaijan/Iran, where 8 issues were published. Between 1922 and 1931, after MN had moved to Baku, the output was another 400 issues (Durmuş 2008: 360).

¹³ See also the sketch no. 2 on p. 346, where Molla is changing the script of the magazine's title from Arabic to Latin-based Azeri.



Pictures no. 5 from MN, and no. 6 from the German satirical magazine *Simplicissimus* convey a similar concept of the devil and his evil deeds.

MN and *Simplicissimus* are conspicuously similar to each other, both in style and organization, down to the graphical layout of the front page or cover; compare, for instance, the cover pages of MN depicting *The Sleeping nations of the East* (picture no. 4, on p. 349) and the cover page from *Simplicissimus* (picture no. 7, on p. 353). As Oskar Schmeling, the head illustrator who adopted the style of MN in its first decisive period in Tiflis, had studied in Germany, he had surely read the *Simplicissimus* and other satirical magazines, which circulated among contemporary intellectuals.

The influence of European satirical magazines as models and the fact that the caricaturists had received their education in Europe also explain the extremely distanced view the magazine has of the Islamic World, and even the sometimes rather un-reflected prejudices about how Islamic society functions (or rather: dis-functions) clearly represent the perspective of an outsider.

Seen from this point of view, MN is no document on the awakening of the Azerbaijani nation. It does not present, in the first place, the criti-

cal view of intellectual Muslims on the backwardness of the Islamic World, but rather a clever adaption of current trends in European, especially German satirical writing – Sultan Abdulhamid II and the decline of the Ottoman Empire, for instance, was also a declared favorite of contemporary German satirical press, see the two cover pages (pictures no. 7 and no. 8) below:



Picture no. 7: Thomas Th. Heine (1867-1948), *Simplicissimus* 1909: Sultan Abdul Hamid cleans up after the Adana massacre.



Picture no. 8: *Türken-Nummer* ('Turkish issue') of the satirical magazine <Qilâderâdâch> (in Arabic characters).

If this is the case, some of the motives of modernization and westernization that MN presents to its readers owe their existence to a successful transfer of ideas (and of the European know-how on creating satirical magazines) to the East. The magazine's originality and its eastern flavor come in with the central character of Molla Nasreddin, who also establishes a point of identification for the local readers. And what else would one expect of a sage like MN, who was traditionally associated with the role of a distanced onlooker, and whose subtle humor revealed the deficits of human interaction, society and the ruling elites?

MN is certainly the most original printing product of its time, amidst an atmosphere of awakening and radical change. And it is surely much more progressive, daring, interesting and humoresque than any newer printing product from the peripheries of Turkey and Azerbaijan.

3.2 VARLIQ: A voice for the Turkic-speaking minorities of Iran and South Azerbaijan

The voice that addressed the Turkic-speaking populations in the greater region of the Caucasus, Iran, and the Ottoman Empire, and which had started so successfully with MN, fell silent with the Soviet rule in the Caucasus. Ever since, North Azerbaijan and the South have been drifting apart, culturally and linguistically.

Similar to the rulers of Turkey, the Pahlavî Shahs of Iran tried to ban minority languages completely from public life; the great nation of the Âryâ was presented as homogeneously Persian speaking. Yet, a major change occurred with the Islamic Revolution. The Constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, adopted in December 1979, guarantees freedom of cultural expression and linguistic diversity. Paragraph § 15 defines Fârsî as the common official and literary language of Iran, and adds that ‘the use of regional or tribal languages (*zabân-e mahallî va qavmî*) in items of printed matter and in the media of communication of the respective linguistic communities, as well as the teaching of their (language and) literature in schools (as a second language) besides Fârsî, is allowed.’ Among the political organizations that were established along ethnic lines the most important is the *Anjuman-e Azerbaijan* (‘Council of Azerbaijan’), founded in 1979 shortly after the consolidation of the new regime. In its manifesto, it demanded the recognition of the Azeri language and culture, the establishment of schools and mass media in the Turkic language, and the right to use Azeri in court and government offices.

Nowadays, in many Iranian provinces radio and television stations broadcast smaller programs in the local languages or dialects. To a limited extent, and often due to private initiatives, books and newspapers

are published in the two largest minority languages, Iran Turkic and Kurdish. Since the academic year 2004–5, B.A. programs in the Azeri language and literature (in Tabriz) and in the Kurdish language and literature (in Sanandaj) have been offered in Iran for the very first time.

The first journal in Turkic language to appear under the new constitution was the Tehran-based VARLIQ. In its first issue (June 1979), the journal identified itself as the voice of a committee in charge of cultural and literary affairs of the *Anjuman-e Azerbaijan* (see above). Moreover, the editors explicitly stated that – although their culture and language is Azeri – their state identity is Iranian. This definition is commonplace among the Turks of Iran, and a reassurance that the journal does not pursue separatist goals.

The editor-in-chief, Javâd He'yat¹⁴, was a Turkic-Persian bilingual, born on the 24th of May 1925 in Tabriz; he died on the 12th of August 2014 in Baku. Javâd He'yat had studied medicine in Iran and in Istanbul (1943–1946) and later became an immensely famous surgeon and cardiologist in Tehran, where in 1969 he performed the first heart transplant in Iran. With great energy, he also studied a variety of topics pertaining to Turkic languages and linguistics, and regional studies on the local varieties of Turkic and the history and culture of Azerbaijan and Iran.

The first series of VARLIQ, which appeared between 1979 and 2014, was more or less an internal Iran-Turkic affair. It primarily aimed at increasing the literacy and cultural knowledge of the Turks of Iran, where Turkî had been banned from the educational system for decades and hardly any printed material was on offer. In two languages, namely Fârsî and Turkî, the journal presented topics that are, in the widest sense, Turcological; they include, for instance, the history of the Turkic peoples, the literary history of Azerbaijan, folklore studies, or older books in Turkic on popular medicine (another special field of interest of Javâd He'yat). A central problem was, of course, the question of an adequate script for Iran Turkic. The editors decided to use a modified form of the

¹⁴ In Turkish writing: Cevad Heyet; in Azeri: Cavad Heyət.

Perso-Arabic script; under the given circumstances, anything else would have been deemed un-Islamic. This decision involved a discussion on the creation of a standardized orthography for the Turkic items in the lexicon of Turkî, which developed into a central theme treated in several issues of VARLIQ. In 1982, Javâd He'yat stated that the journal had accomplished two important tasks: "It has standardized written Azeri (of Iran) despite the various local varieties, and it has reformed and adapted the alphabet so as to phonemicize it."

The modified Arabic script applied is surprisingly similar to the reformed alphabet developed by Ahmed Cevdet and the *Encümen-i Danış* in 1852. Its distinctive features are those *harekât* that mark the quality of the labial vowels of Turkic.¹⁵

A later issue of VARLIQ (23rd year, summer 2001/1380, no. 1) is largely dedicated to the rules of orthography that should be applied to Iran Turkic in Arabic script.

It goes without saying that publishing in Arabic script was impeding the realization of another important aim formulated by Javâd He'yat and his co-editors, namely the re-approach to the culture and language of the northern part of Azerbaijan. But, under the aegis of the Islamic Republic, printing in a Latin-based alphabet seemed to be out of the question. After the death of the main editor in 2014, VARLIQ had to pause for one year. Meanwhile, a new series started to appear with issue no. 1 in June 2015. 'VARLIQ: Journal for Turkic Language, Literature and Culture' is printed in Turkey in various Turkic languages and alphabets, namely in the new Latin script for Azeri, in the Turkish alphabet for Turkish of Turkey, and in the Perso-Arabic script based on the VARLIQ alphabet for Iran-Turkic.

While the journal mainly used to address an Iran-Turkic readership, the new series is obviously targeting a broader public located also in Turkey and Azerbaijan. The logical consequence of this new orientation, namely

¹⁵ One of the major lexicons of Iran-Turkic, Behzâd Behzâdî's *Farhang-e Âzarbayjâni-Fârsî*, consistently applies the VARLIQ alphabet; see Bulut 2001.

the use of different languages and alphabets, puts VARLIQ into the same category as a number of other journals published by Turkic-speaking exile groups in Turkey.

3.3 QARDASHLIQ – an Iraq Turkic journal¹⁶

Across Turkey, expats from other Turkic-speaking regions tend to form homeland associations or clubs, which are sometimes very active in publishing their own journals. The common goal of these items of printed matter is to preserve the respective community's linguistic and cultural heritage and to transmit some knowledge about the home region to their children, immigrants of the second and third generations.

The quarterly KARDAŞLIK/QARDASHLIQ is just one of the many journals published in Turkey by Turkman refugees from Iraq, who had escaped persecution by the Baath regime. It is one of the older journals that started to appear in 1998 in Istanbul, issued by Kerkük Vakfı ('Kerkük Foundation', under the chairmanship of **Erşat Hürmüzlü**). Established in 1979, the foundation promotes the cultural and public relations activities of the expat Iraq Turks and tries to create awareness of the situation of the Turkman minority in Iraq. QARDASHLIQ contains articles on culture, folklore, and politics in three languages, namely Turkish of Turkey, Arabic, and, to lesser extent, also English.

It is an unfortunate tradition among the Turks of Iraq not to write in their own language, a variety of South Oghuz with a number of peculiar features. Traditionally, intellectual bonds with Turkey have been very strong, and many of the intellectuals have studied in Turkey; among them diglossia (Turkish of Turkey and Iraq Turkman) is widespread. Most Turkmans¹⁷ of Iraq grew up as tri-linguals, learning Turkman at home, Arabic at school, and Kurdish as the language of communication

¹⁶ The subtitle specifies QARDASHLIQ as a 'Journal for Culture, the Arts, Literature and Folklore' (*Kültür Sanat Edebiyat ve Folklor Dergisi*).

¹⁷ For the Turkic speaking populations of Iraq I use the expression *Turkman* to differentiate them of the Turkmen of Turkmenistan.

in their neighborhood. The language of books and journals published by members of the Turkman minority in Iraq over the last decades, though, is the Turkish of Turkey, mostly written in plain Arabic or rather Ottoman script. Bilingual newspapers and journals also have a long history in Iraq¹⁸; in 1911, *Havâdîd* ('News'), the first Turkman newspaper started to be printed in Ottoman and Arabic.

So what does the choice of three languages, namely the Turkish of Turkey, Arabic, and English, in the expat journal QARDASHLIQ indicate? For older and middle-aged Turkmans, Arabic is of course the language in which they received their education and which they read more easily. The younger generation which grew up in Turkey is more comfortable with Turkish, while the English section is directed at an interested public from all over the world and is mostly comprised of selected translations of some of the articles from the same issue.

The Turkman language only appears in folklore texts; see, for instance, the two quatrains below. They represent the specific form of the *khoryat*, which is extremely popular among the Turkmans from Iraq. The *khoryat* is based on a play with homophones, words sharing the same outward form, but bearing a different meaning¹⁹. The topic introduced in the opening of the quatrain takes a sudden turn when – in the last line of the quatrain – the homophone appears again with different semantics. Thus, there is an element of surprise which forces the listener to puzzle about the meaning of the *khoryat*. The first example below is based on a play with the words *az al-* 'to take little' and *azal-* 'to become fewer, to decrease', the second on *kimin*, which means both 'like' and 'whose'.

Az alrıĝ

We take little

Çox satıp az alrıĝ

We sell so much and take so little

Özümüz bés on dana

We are just five to ten (persons)

¹⁸ For a comprehensive survey of the history of the press in the Turkman region of Iraq, see Köprülü 2016.

¹⁹ From QARDASHLIQ, 3rd year, July-September 2001(no. 11): 32.

<i>Gün be gün azalınğ</i>	And we become fewer every day
<i>Qoyun kimin</i>	<i>Like sheep</i>
<i>O sürü qoyun kimin</i>	To whom belongs that flock of sheep?
<i>Düşmüşüğ qurt ağzına</i>	We have fallen into the throat of the wolf
<i>Sehebsiz qoyun kimin</i>	Like the abandoned sheep.

These short examples demonstrate that some additional graphemes have to be added to the Turkish Latin script in order to give an approximate picture of the language reflected; the signs <q> for the post velar stop, <x> for the unvoiced velar fricative, and the sign <ğ> for the voiced post velar fricative [ɣ] resemble the current Latin alphabet for Azeri; see, for instance, *ğem* ‘sorrow, pain’. Open [æ] is indicated by <e>, closed [e] by a combined sign <é>; it might have been easier to use the Azeri vowel signs <ə> [æ] and <e> [e] instead.

What is characteristic of QARDASHLIQ and other publications of the Iraq Turkmans in exile, though, is that no attempt is made to print in their own language. In other words: language does not seem to play a role in the identity building of the community. This attitude goes back many years in Iraq, where representatives of the minority preferred to write or print in Arabic, Ottoman, or recently also the Turkish of Turkey. When using Turkman in folklore texts, the establishment of a linguistic connection to Azeri via the alphabet is obviously avoided – an expression of the strong ties to Turkey, which are also reflected in the use of the writing system.

3.4 NASL-E DOVOM, ALEFBÂ-YE DOVOM: The Iranian Diaspora

A final example brings us back to the question as to under which conditions a supposedly Muslim community – in this case Iranian expats in Germany – may consider the Arabic script dispensable. Most immigrants from Iran came to Germany in the 1980s, after the Islamic Revolution or during the subsequent Gulf War; many of them were at this time in their twenties or early thirties and considered themselves mod-

ern intellectuals. So by definition, their ties to religion were not very strong. Now, the second and third generations are growing up in an environment where most of them acquire some practical knowledge of Persian or Iranian minority languages spoken at home, but they rarely ever learn to read and write in these languages.

As is the case with most immigrant groups, magazines addressing the Iranian expat community traditionally cover topics referring to politics and the culture of the homeland; another major topic is the activities of the Iranian community in Germany. Much space is dedicated to the announcement of social events, such as concerts of Iranian singers or music groups, films, reading sessions or theater plays, advertisements of specific services (Iranian translators, doctors, lawyers, specialized food stores etc.) or commercials aimed at this group of consumers.²⁰ The language of all these printed items is Fârsî, written in the Perso-Arabic script – and thus lost on the younger generations, who may well be able to speak, but only rarely to read and write this language.

In July 2013, NASLE 2om ('Second Generation'), a journal published by the Iranian Society in Frankfurt/Germany, introduced a new concept that is more likely to appeal to younger Iranians abroad. Alongside the traditional topics pertaining to culture and the arts, there are sections dedicated to travel, lifestyle, cooking, and electronic communication /computers.

More remarkable, though, is the script chosen for this journal, a Latin-based transcription of Fârsî called *Alefba-ye 2om* ('Second (*dovom*) Alphabet'). At first glance, the alphabet displays a mixture of the English transcription of Persian, and signs taken from the IPA alphabet²¹; the

²⁰ See, for instance, monthly magazines such as *Payâm* ('Good News'), which started to appear in 2002, or *Peyvand* ('Connection') from 2014.

²¹ A combined grapheme <sh> represents the voiceless post-alveolar fricative [ʃ], its voiced counterpart [ʒ] is written as <zh>; the unvoiced affricate [tʃ] as <c>, and its voiced counterpart [dʒ] as <j>, while the post-velar fricative [x] is indicated by <x>, and the labiodental fricative [v] by <v>. The approximant indicated by <w> only appears in diphthongs.

creators of the writing system mention that among its predecessors are alphabets such as Unipers, IPA2 Pársik, Eurofarsi, Dabire, Nowdabire and Persik.

The effort to introduce a Latin-based alphabet as a second or alternative writing system for Fârsî is supported by the Iranian government. In 2013, all ministries and government agencies were instructed to implement a standard developed by the *Iranian National Committee on the Standardization of Geographical Names* under the name ‘Transcription procedure for Iranian toponymic items’. Based on this set of rules infrastructure tools for spell checking, transcription of texts, translation of words, and language teaching are under development. (Farroukh 2013)²².

It is surely very useful to standardize the Latin transcription of Persian names of geographical locations. On the other hand, a Latin transcription for Persian and other languages of Iran had already widely been in use in different means of electronic communication, e-mails, or SMSs over the last twenty years or so. Since there has been no recognized standard, this Latin script displays various individualistic forms – but in fact, all of these are not very different from *Alef bâ-ye Zom*. The middle and younger generations are thus familiar with Latin-based writing systems, which they already apply in daily life. The new idea of the journal *NASLE Zom* consists in transferring this usage of a ‘parallel alphabet’ to texts in Fârsî that otherwise would be out of the reach of those young Iranians who grow up without acquiring the ability to read the Perso-Arabic script.

The six vowels of Persian are indicated by <a>, <e>, and <o> for the short vowels [æ, e, o], and <â>, <i>, and <u> for the (formerly) long vowels. Glottal stop [ʔ] is represented by <ʔ>.

²² For more information see ISNA 2013.

Summary

For centuries, the close connection between the religion of Islam and the Arabic script has been impeding the transition to other writing systems, as well as efforts to supplement this script, in order to adapt it to the needs of languages with a different phonology or to the technical needs of printing. During the second half of the 19th century, reforms aimed at modernization and westernization required a revision of the traditional eastern educational system, a higher level of literacy among the populations of the Ottoman Empire and the peripheries, and a new approach to media of printing or communication. Criticism of the Arabic alphabet, which – for practical and technical reasons – seemed unsuitable to meet the demands of a modern society, became more explicit. Undoubtedly, Arabic characters are more difficult to print, and their use on tele-writers etc. is extremely time-consuming. Moreover, Arabic transcriptions of technical terms, foreign names or geographical terminology etc. can be rather ambiguous. Whether the Arabic script is also more difficult to learn – as some of the reformers maintained – is a totally different question.

How have writers and publishers in the peripheries dealt with these problems? During 150 years of discussions, major arguments and similar proposals for solutions have been reconsidered from various aspects and under the most diverse historical and political conditions. Basically one may observe three ways to deal with the script, namely: Firstly, the introduction of a supplemented or ‘reformed’ Arabic alphabet; secondly, the complete abolishment of the traditional writing system in favor of Latin or Cyrillic alphabets; and thirdly, the parallel use of two or more writing systems, often in combination with several different languages.

The oldest approach – creating a reformed or rather supplemented Arabic alphabet that has been made less ambiguous by means of additional diacritics – had already been propagated in the Ottoman Empire and the Caucasus region during the Tanzimat period. Some 150 years later, similar forms of supplemented Arabic scripts are still in use, for in-

stance in Iran-Turkic publications, such as VARLIQ or Behzâd Behzâdî's *Farhang-e Âzarbayjânî-Fârsî* (see Bulut 2001).

The abolishing of the Arabic script as the second option, on the other hand, was in some cases chosen by a certain community or nation, or it was imposed due to changing political circumstances (Azerbaijan experienced both variants several times, namely the replacing of the Arabic script by a Latin-based alphabet, the imposed transition to Cyrillic under Stalin, and the return of the Latin script after independence). A radical change of writing systems often means that parts of the cultural heritage will become inaccessible to those of the younger generation who do not learn the older script anymore. Alphabet transitions have cut off readers in Turkey from the Ottoman literary tradition, while for literate people in adjacent countries and in Central Asia the over-regional literary language, Chaghatay, became inaccessible. As every alphabet also delimitates a certain cultural sphere, the introduction of new writing systems created borders that the initiators had actually striven to overcome: The new Latin script (accompanied, of course, by artificially created neologisms) cut off the Turkish of Turkey from other Turkic speaking countries, Molla Nasreddin in Latin script could no longer reach parts of its readership in Iran, while journals printed in a reformed Arabic script, such as, for instance VARLIQ, could not gain any influence among the Turkî speaking populations in North Azerbaijan or the Caucasus.

In any case, the choice a new writing system is a highly political decision, as it also usually implies the choice of a political model: Abolishing the Arabic script in favor of Latin symbolized the dissociation of Islamic traditions in favor of modernization according to western standards (both in Turkey and in the peripheries of the Caucasus); the use of Cyrillic expressed closeness to the circles of westernized intellectuals in the Russian Empire, and later to the ideologies of the Soviet Union. Under certain conditions, the parallel use of a diversity of scripts and languages may be a more comfortable way to avoid such decisions and remain open to all sorts of worldviews.

A third model consists of printing in different languages and related alphabets, often with a second thought that readers will be more attract-

ed to those systems of writing which are supposedly easier to learn or to print, more practical, or more progressive. This practice is highly characteristic of printed matter in the peripheries that addresses a linguistically heterogeneous readership, or operates under specific circumstances where norms of an official or national language are still under construction – as was the case, for instance, with *Molla Nasreddin*. Publications that address different generations of immigrants or groups in exile (such as QARDASHLIQ) may use similar strategies, which can often be an expression of a stage of transition.

Technical or practical necessities brought about by modern media 150 years ago played an important role in attempts to reform the Arabic alphabet – with the intention of making it printable, or using it in modern communication techniques. A last surprising development along this line, which was also triggered by technical progress, can be seen in Iran. In an outspokenly Islamic Republic there is little reason to doubt the hegemony of the Arabic script. Yet, more than twenty years ago users of new electronic media began to apply a rather amorphous Latin-based script when writing messages via internet or smart phone. Thus, the Government accepted the unavoidable and set up standards for a so-called ‘parallel’ Latin-based transcription of Persian.

Learning the Arabic script outside its natural context in a diaspora situation, according to the argumentation of the initiators of NASLE 2om, is too complicated or time-consuming. That the Arabic script is deemed more difficult than other writing systems reminds us strongly of the very old line of reasoning of 19th century reformers.

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