

11 The Making and Reading of a Bibliography of Retranslations¹

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This chapter explores the use of translation bibliographies in translation historiography. It offers a short survey of the scholarship in the field and discusses the methodological relevance of various types of bibliographies of translated works for histories of translation. The chapter then presents an online bibliography of retranslations published in the Ottoman and Turkish societies. It outlines the process of building the bibliography and offers information on the interdisciplinary project that gave rise to the bibliography, the criteria and principles chosen, and the methodological challenges that emerged during the compilation of a bibliography that extends across nearly 900 years.

On Bibliographies in Translation History

Any historical research on translation that departs from published translations needs to collect reliable data about the books to be included in its corpus. Information as to when a book was published, by whom, where, and the authors, translators, and other agents behind the book are essential questions to be answered while embarking on any text-based scholarly work. Researchers turn to catalogs and bibliographies in search of such information with varying degrees of success. Bibliographies (or bibliographies of bibliographies) offer meta-data that are essential for placing a certain work in the general map of print history.

One should note that the term and concept of a bibliography harbors “a multiplicity of meanings, indiscriminate usage and some confusions between the technique of compilation and its end product” (Harmon 1988, 3). The term bibliography is most commonly used in the sense of a list of works that serve as the major references used by researchers in a given work. As such, a bibliography is a mere list, and unless it is presented as an “annotated” bibliography, it will not contain further descriptions or analyses of the works it includes. This is the most basic definition of the term in an academic sense. In the meantime, bibliography as a discipline and a major concept in book/print history has a much wider scope and is used in the sense of the study of the books as “physical objects” (Carter and Barker 2004, 37). When

understood in this second sense, a bibliography is a systematic description of books according to a certain criterion, such as subject, author, period, etc. (Carter and Barker 2004, 37). A common distinction made between list-like bibliographies and the more detailed ones, is that of enumerative vs. analytical bibliographies. Although it makes little difference for our purposes, it should be noted that researchers sometimes introduce a tri-partite division and differentiate among enumerative, analytical, and descriptive bibliographies (Dane 2013, 60). Terry Belanger, a leading scholar in bibliography studies, defines the enumerative bibliography as “the listing of books according to some system or reference plan, for example, by author, by subject, or by date” (1977, 99). The implication, as Belanger emphasizes, is that “the listings will be short, usually providing only the author’s name, the book’s title, and date and place of publication. Enumerative bibliography (sometimes called *systematic bibliography*) attempts to record and list, rather than to describe minutely” (Belanger 1977, 99). Belanger goes on to define analytical bibliography as “the study of books as physical objects; the details of their production, the effects of the method of manufacture on the text”, and introduces the subtypes of “historical bibliography” (the history of books), “textual bibliography” (the relationship between the writer’s manuscript and the printed book), and “descriptive biography” (the close physical description of books) (1977, 99–100).

There are various bibliographies of translated works in different cultures and languages. Most of these are enumerative bibliographies. These are often the result of archival research and surveys of specific works and form the basis for more analytical works on translation history. The compilation of translation bibliographies falls under the domain of what Anthony Pym terms “translation archeology”. These are efforts that are “concerned with answering all or part of the complex question of ‘who translated what, how, where, when, for whom and with what effect’” (Pym 1998, 5). Clearly, unless they go beyond their enumerative scope, bibliographies are limited with versions of the questions of “who” (author, translator, editor, publisher, patron, etc.), “what” (source and target texts, editions, paratextual material such as prefaces or illustrations, number of pages, owner of the collection the book belongs to, name of donor gifting the book to a collection, etc.), “where” (city, country, library, institution, etc.), and “when” (date of publication of the source and target texts, date of re-issue, date acquired by a certain collection, etc.). Pym writes that translation archeology could include “anything from the compiling of catalogs to the carrying out of biographical research on translators” (1998, 5). The metaphor of translation archeology has proved to be an apt one in the present research, as will be seen below, but it should be noted that whether “translation archeology” differs from (or comprises one aspect of) translation history as a whole has not been sufficiently discussed. However, it is fair to suggest that this type of work is indispensable for any type of translation historiography as it provides the data that is further offered for critical analysis. Likewise, an

enumerative bibliography often forms the basis of analytical and descriptive bibliographies in translation studies.

Bibliographies of translated works and bibliographies that include both indigenous and translated books have been used as essential sources by translation researchers. The authors of the present chapter, who have been working on Turkish translation history, have personally worked closely with various types of bibliographies in their studies of translated works in Turkish, among which *Türkiye Bibliyografyası* (Turkish National Bibliography) can be considered the most comprehensive one. The bibliography, which has been in print since 1935, now continues as an electronic resource available at <http://eyayinlar.mkutup.gov.tr/> and remains the official publication of the national legal deposit system. This bibliography is illustrative of some challenges that enumerative bibliographies pose for the translation scholar. As is the case with most general bibliographies, the Turkish National Bibliography is not an ideal tool for general searches for specific translated texts, genres, translators or source authors. Since the bibliography has always been published in the form of a periodical of varying intervals, including monthly, quarterly, and semi-annually, its main principle of organization is the date of publication of works. Therefore, if a researcher wishes to work on texts that have been published during a certain time period, e.g., translations from American literature in 1976, they can easily find fairly complete information in the relevant issues of the bibliography. Yet if the intention is to work diachronically, the search becomes extremely laborious. The earlier issues are not electronically searchable, and the only possibility is to do manual searches, making the process extremely time consuming and arduous. In the meantime, especially during the initial decades of the bibliography, translations were not marked prominently except those of classical or canonical adult literature, which makes a full classification and excavation of translations next to impossible. These issues are not unique to the Turkish National Bibliography. Pym mentions two major problems with bibliographies (or “lists” as he calls them), the most significant one being the lack of previous research and data. Indeed, many national bibliographies, including the Turkish one, are ailed by gaps in data for various reasons. The second problem, which our work in compiling a bibliography of retranslations in Turkey has faced, is that bibliographies have to rely on pre-existing classifications by libraries, catalogs, publishers, etc. (Pym 1998, 41). Moreover, those who compile the bibliographies rarely disclose their criteria and it would be impossible to argue that any type of bibliography is value-free (Pieta 2010, 125; Pym 1998, 42). There are always “prior filters” at play (Poupaud, Pym and Torres Simon 2009, 266). A further problem valid for diachronic bibliographies is that bibliographic standards change through time, leading to changes in classification criteria and terminology (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010, 37). Despite their vices, Pym maintains that bibliographies are necessary for the construction of corpora, however, a few steps need to be ensured in order for them to become functional (1998, 47–48):

They should be a database with no genre or period divisions, facilitating access with key words, dates, authors, and translators; their coverage should be as complete as possible; any gaps in the bibliography should be indicated clearly with a description of the procedures followed during the compilation of the bibliography. These are criteria that our bibliography of retranslations has tried to critically engage in, as will be explained in the next section.

A significant concept to be discussed in any attempt at compiling a bibliography of translations, departing from first hand material or in the form of a meta-bibliography based on prior lists, is the “research filter” (Poupaud, Pym and Torres Simon 2009, 268). Among other things, the research filter includes the definition of the term “translation” (*ibid.*). For instance, in her study of the history of literary translation from Polish into Portuguese, Pieta discloses her research filter and offers the definition of translation that she operationalized while compiling her lists, which is very much inspired by Gideon Toury’s notion of assumed translation (2010, 126). In the case of a bibliography of retranslations, the research filter not only includes the term “translation”, but also “retranslation”, as this term is no less problematic than translation. Conceptually, this leads to a question mark regarding whether any (re)translation bibliography can be a sheer “enumerative” bibliography, as the prior research filters chosen by the researcher or by the compilers of the primary bibliographical source already add a bias and carry an inherent definition of (re)translation.

In their study on retranslation as reprocessing, Paloposki and Koskinen (2010) argue that compilation of retranslated works is a process that is fraught with complexities and can be much more time-consuming than compiling a bibliography of translations. They suggest that “retranslations cannot be picked out from bibliographical databases the way authors, translators or source languages can, as there is no search word of bibliographical field for the crucial piece of information that a translation in fact a retranslation” (Paloposki and Koskinen 2010, 36). Paloposki and Koskinen base their argument on the Finnish bibliographical tradition; however, the same would be true for many others, including the Turkish tradition. Even when a researcher goes through the necessary steps by comparing different entries in various bibliographies and compiles a bibliography of works translated more than once, the resulting meta-bibliography may feature a series of reprocessed texts, all of which are not necessarily “retranslation” in the conventional sense of the word. In their study, Paloposki and Koskinen reveal the overlaps between retranslation and revision and argue that only a textual analysis may help distinguish between the two. This surely invites a broader discussion on the concept of retranslation and the diffuse borders among genuine retranslations, revisions, re-editions, and plagiarized translations. The various authors in this book touch upon these different aspects of retranslation in their case studies.

In the rest of this chapter, we present an electronic retranslation bibliography compiled and maintained by a group of scholars at Boğaziçi University

in Turkey and offer an account of how we identified and responded to the challenges of creating a historical meta-bibliography of retranslations. We will also present a broad analysis of the quantitative findings of the bibliography by departing from the notion of distant reading. We conclude by posing some questions about the enumerative nature of our bibliography and present the ways in which our enumerative bibliography (an effort in translation archeology) has provided the groundwork for a number of critical and analytical works in Turkish and Ottoman translation history.

On the Turkish Retranslation Bibliography

In 2011, a group of researchers at Boğaziçi University came together to create a project consisting of the compilation of a bibliography of retranslated works as part of cultural history, from the pre-Ottoman 13th century to the present date. Entitled “Retranslated Works in Ottoman and Turkish Societies: a preliminary bibliography” and funded by the university’s research fund, the project was a multidisciplinary effort and included 17 participants from the departments of Translation Studies, Turkish Language and Literature, and History and one full-time researcher. Following the completion of this initial phase of the project, a second phase was carried out under the title, “A Descriptive and Critical Look at Retranslation: Retranslated Works in the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Turkey”, with the participation of 25 scholars in 2013–2016.²

The basic aims of the first phase of the project, proposed as a pioneer in Turkey and elsewhere, were to provide bibliographical data on initial and subsequent translations of source texts that have been translated into Turkish more than once. This project was conceived as a first step toward compiling a bibliography of all translated works in Turkish.³ Shortly after being launched, the work carried out under the scope of the project started offering glimpses into the rich landscape of retranslation in Turkey and a range of interesting findings regarding its unique dynamics began to appear.

We considered this project as part of a wider study on Turkish translation history that would continue and complement previous studies that focused on the role and function of translations in the Ottoman period, by shedding light on the phenomenon of retranslation in the Ottoman-Turkish context and explore new areas of knowledge revealed by retranslation. Particular importance was placed on setting up a common, yet diversified, methodology for studying Ottoman and Turkish translation history with emphasis on continuity rather than rupture.

During the past century, Turkish literary historians have regarded translations from French literature as the main model upon which modern Turkish literature has grown. This has led to an exclusive focus on translations from western literature in initial research on translation history in Turkey. This may have originated from an ideological attitude prevalent in the early decades of the Turkish Republic that adopted Europe as a model for the

nation's cultural development. However, research undertaken on movements of texts, literatures, and genres in the Ottoman Empire has shown that translations from Arabic and Persian sources into Turkish in Anatolia go back to the 13th century and translation from these languages have played a pivotal role in the emergence of the Ottoman "interculture" (Paker 2002b). A growing number of studies in Turkish history have demonstrated that various translational practices in the Ottoman period, valid for both translations from western languages and Arabic and Persian, continued into the Republican period. Our bibliography aimed to problematize this conceptual duality and identify divergences and commonalities in the eastern and western orientation of Turkey's translation efforts and repertoires. In the meantime, the change of the alphabet from Arabic to Latin letters in 1928 and the following purification movement in the Turkish language are also often seen as turning points in Turkish culture, causing an image of a cultural "rupture" between the two periods, which has also reflected in studies on Ottoman/Turkish translation history.

Two interdisciplinary research projects conducted by Saliha Paker and Zehra Toska at Boğaziçi University need to be cited here as the pioneering efforts to shed light on the functions of translation in Ottoman Turkish history before the 19th century. The first one, entitled "Translations and Their Functions in the Continuity of Ottoman Culture: 14th–19th Centuries", was carried out between 1997 and 1999, and the second one, "Early Ottoman Translations and Their Functions in the Formation of Ottoman Literary Models", took place between 1999 and 2001. These projects were the first that scrutinized translational phenomena within the Ottoman Turkish history and paved the way to a number of further studies, dissertations and publications on Ottoman Turkish translation history (Paker 2002a and 2002b, Toska 2002, Demircioğlu 2005 and 2009, among others).

Seen in a broader light, the aim of the Turkish Retranslation Bibliography project was not confined to creating a limited and enumerative bibliography. Our ambitions went far beyond creating a database with bibliographical information. From the start, the project team intended to encourage descriptive and critical studies based on the database of retranslations and create different academic platforms for the submission and publication of these studies. Thus, the second phase of the project also included qualitative analyses of the data in the bibliography and featured a number of case studies tackling the phenomenon of retranslation. These studies have explored the social, cultural, and ideological motives behind retranslations as well as the functions they have assumed in the society throughout various periods. Furthermore, the multidisciplinary nature and the divergent perspectives of these disciplines offered the possibility of a plurality of interpretations of the data while it also provided a common cultural historical framework for these interpretations.

Ultimately, an online database was built as a result of the two phases of the project and it is now being offered to researchers who work not only in

translation history, but also in many other areas where translations play a transformative role.⁴

The Making of the Bibliography

The initial bibliography was created by using a free-of-charge bibliographical software tool. However, the format of the tool and the categories it offered did not facilitate the inclusion of translational data and did not prove to be efficient for the kind of data gathered. Furthermore, the tool gave rise to a number of technical challenges, which made online searches difficult and also limited the further expansion of the bibliography. Therefore, we had to migrate our data to a different tool developed by the Computer Center of Boğaziçi University. The new tool answers the needs of our research, and we can add any category necessary for our purposes. The categories included in our current bibliography are: author, translator, title, original title, publication date, publication place, publisher, ISBN number, where available, series, volume, page numbers, edition, name of the library or catalog where the information was compiled, accession number, call number, language, and any additional notes.

As described above, the retranslation bibliography was conceived as an enumerative meta-bibliography from the start. In other words, it would be based on other bibliographies. This added convenience and speed to our efforts but also created various shortcomings, as it had to be built on the various research filters used by the previous sources. The data for the bibliography was mainly compiled through 20 library catalogs⁵ that are searchable online. Furthermore, it made use of literary and historical sources both within and outside of Translation Studies, including theses, catalogs, academic studies with extensive bibliographies,⁶ as well as online bookstores⁷ in the case of recent translations/retranslations that are still available in the market.

In its first year, the project had already covered thousands of titles both in Ottoman and modern Turkish (both in Arabic and Roman alphabets). It also faced a number of methodological challenges, ranging from the practical problems caused by the software tool, which limited the foregrounding of translational data in the bibliography, to the need to adopt different classificatory approaches for older and more modern works, as well as the need to verify the accuracy of data compiled from various bibliographical sources and academic studies.

One of the main concerns from early on has been the necessity to emphasize the cultural continuity in the transition from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic in order to challenge the widespread conviction that these two were drastically different entities. While our findings have revealed strong common traits and continuities between the Ottoman and Republican periods, a number of differences between the two periods have also created challenges in the methodology and the procedures implemented during

the creation of the bibliography. A shared literary repertoire starting from the 19th century, the adoption of French as the main source language for translations for both the late Ottoman and early republican Turkish periods, a number of agents and publishers who were active during both the Ottoman and republican periods can be seen as some of the main common traits.

Despite the commonalities, there was a vital difference between the way works were classified in each of these periods in libraries and catalogs that formed our primary sources. Whereas an author-based approach could be taken for works (re)translated from Western languages after the 19th century, this could not be possible for translations made in the earlier centuries from Arabic and Persian. An example may be required to explain this crucial difference. The first entries researched for the bibliography came from a catalog of translated western classics commissioned by the Translation Bureau in 1940–1966 (Ötügen 1967). One of our early assumptions, which *did* get confirmed by the research, was that works that have attained the status of classics would have been retranslated more frequently than others. We started with authors that were prioritized by the Translation Bureau and expanded our research to translations from western literatures not covered by the catalog the Bureau prepared. We eventually extended the scope of the bibliography to cover more popular genres, such as detective novels and children's literature. Here, the main challenge has been the abundance of material.

Interestingly enough, when it came to earlier periods and especially translations from Arabic and Persian, the author-based approach did not work. It proved to be fruitful, if not necessary, to conduct research on retranslations based on the work rather than on the author for earlier periods. Works such as *Kalila and Dimna*, *Layla and Majnun*, and *Gulistan* were not really known by their authors/rewriters, but by their titles, and the bibliographical research had to be reconfigured in the light of this fact. This clearly had to do with the blurred boundaries between notions of original/translation and authorship/translatorship in the Ottoman culture. Anonymity and an unproblematic perspective on the provenance of works, written originally in Ottoman Turkish or translated, was also a major hallmark of the Ottoman literary field. This meant that grouping works under authors' names would result in false categories of author/translator and source/target text.

Another challenge that has emerged regarding (re)translations in the Ottoman period had to do with translations made into Turkish but written in Greek or Armenian script.⁸ The inclusion of such translations in the bibliography is necessary, as they were also part of the Ottoman cultural sphere. Nevertheless, this part of the project is still incomplete, since the research that needs to be carried out requires expertise in Armenian and Greek letters and this will probably not be possible without additional funding or the help of external advisors.

Perhaps one of the greatest challenges for the Ottoman intercultural system is to distinguish between an original and a translation in the modern

sense of these terms. Here, an approach to Ottoman conceptions of translation in its broadest sense as *terceme*, described by Saliha Paker (2002b) as an interculture-bound cluster of translation practices, seems necessary. Such practices, which have lasted for at least five or six hundred years, yielded a very large corpus of works transferred from Persian and Arabic cultures, subject to mediation according to the preferences of the translators and their times, thus obscuring the distinction between original and translation. Perhaps the majority of these works indicate *terceme*/translation in their titles, but while some are full translations, and translations *proper*, the majority has been mediated through expansions, additions, omissions, and many other forms of translational intervention (Paker 2015).

These diverse practices of textual mediation have required the adoption of an all-inclusive approach during the compilation of the bibliography. Such an approach needs to encompass various acts and products of *terceme* detectable in the Ottoman cultural field. Although translations have frequently been directly termed *terceme*, other terms have been used by authors and translators to describe their acts of textual transfer, including, but not limited to, *nakl* (transfer), *iktibas* (borrowing), *taklid* (imitation), *tanzir* (emulation), *tahvil* (conversion), and *hulâsa* (summary) (Demircioğlu 2005 and 2009). In addition to these, Paker has problematized the term *telif*, which is often used to refer to original writing in modern Turkish, as a form of creative mediation operational in acts of intercultural textual transfer (Paker 2011). This meant that our research filter had to be wider and comprise these and some other terms that can be considered as components of the cluster concept *terceme*.

A second methodological challenge experienced for retranslations published in the Republican era is the difficulty, or outright impossibility, of distinguishing between “authentic” retranslations and re-editions or plagiarized editions, i.e., retranslations that are not based on a source text, but on a previous translation without due acknowledgment of the fact. A number of preliminary studies have revealed that the phenomenon is widespread. For the time being, the bibliography includes all editions, which claim to be translations and, it will be up to future researchers to clarify the status of these works.

At this point, a further problem arose due to the absence of certain information in the catalogs. Particularly, the name of the translator is not always present in the catalogs, which makes it difficult, if not impossible to establish if the work in question is a genuine retranslation or a re-edition of a previous translation. In such cases we opted to maintain these works as retranslations, and to enter N/A in the category of the translator’s name. Another shortcoming is the lack of the source language used in a translation. In other words, we cannot say with any certainty if a work in question is translated from the original or from an intermediary language. Our challenge mainly derives from the lack of such information in the catalogs. However, even if data is compiled from the translated text itself, it is not always possible to identify the degree of directness of the translation. Even

when a translation claims to be a direct one, the researcher needs to take it with a grain of salt, until the directness is established by empirical findings.

Findings and their Analysis

As part of its aims, our project, as well as this chapter, has set out to map and analyze the information yielded by the compiled data in order to interpret trends in retranslation in the Ottoman Turkish context in a meaningful way. For this, we have decided to adopt a distant reading approach as proposed by Franco Moretti (2000 and 2005). Distant reading allows us “to focus on units that are much smaller or much larger than the text: devices, themes, tropes—or genres and systems” (Moretti 2000, 57). This approach also enables a transition from an enumerative bibliography to a more critical one.

The idea of moving away from individual texts to generate visualizations of a single or multiple texts becomes especially relevant within digital humanities:

In the Digital Humanities, distant reading explicitly ignores the specific features of any individual text that close reading concentrates on in favor of gleaning larger trends and patterns from a corpus of texts. Distant reading is therefore not just a “digitalization” and “quickener” of classic humanities methodologies. It is, rather, a new way of doing research wherein computational methods allow for novel sets of questions to be posed about the history of ideas, language use, cultural values and their dissemination, and the processes by which culture is made. (Burdick et al. 2012, 39)

Distant reading, then, extracts “the gist of a whole mass of texts” and presents them to researchers “in ways that allow researchers to detect large-scale trends, patterns and relationships that are not discernable from a single text or detailed analysis” (Burdick et al. 2012, 39). But this should not mean that “the text itself disappears” (Moretti 2000, 57) and close reading is disregarded. On the contrary, while computational techniques help us to sift through, organize, and visualize multitudes of data, and search for large-scale patterns, the database offers a platform for researchers to focus on micro-level analyses using close reading methods. The potentially interesting patterns highlighted, and questions posed by the distant reading method even encourage and require such analyses, as will be (re)emphasized in our conclusion. We consider the use of the retranslation bibliography especially pertinent for creating intersections between macro- and micro-level analyses.

Retranslations in Ottoman Script

At the moment the database includes a total of 5,833 works. This number covers first translations and retranslations from all languages. As shown

graphically in Figure 11.1, we have so far identified 33 retranslations in the 14th century, 93 in the 15th, 259 in the 16th, 253 in the 17th, 251 in the 18th, and 295 in the 19th. There were a further 147 retranslations detected in Ottoman script in the 20th century, published between 1900 and 1929, coming to a complete halt in 1929 due to the alphabet reform in 1928, transforming the national alphabet from Arabic to Latin letters. Retranslations printed in Latin letters can be found starting in 1930, as seen in Figure 11.2.

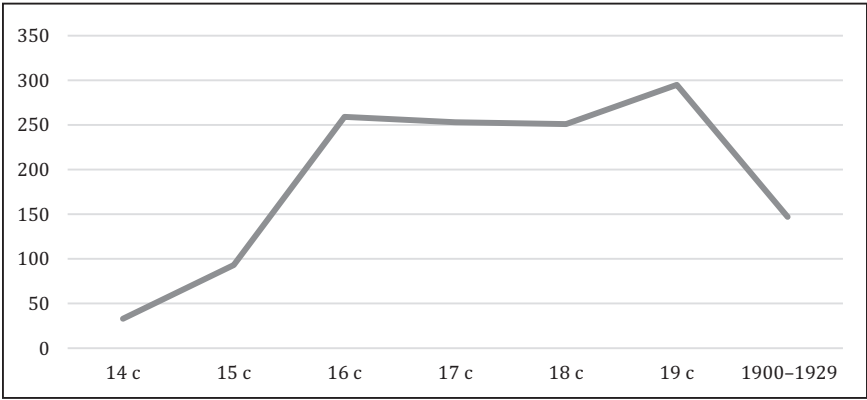


Figure 11.1 Number of retranslations from the 14th century to 1929

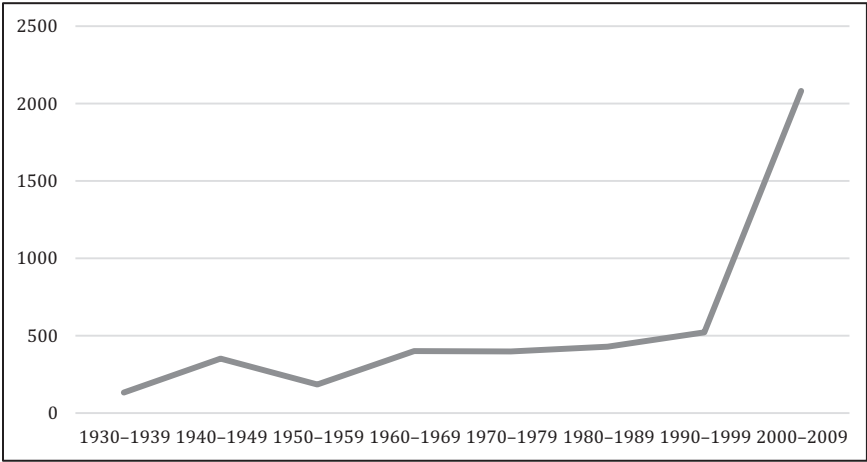


Figure 11.2 Number of retranslations between 1930 and 2009

As can be seen from this figure, there are two main periods when retranslations were especially dominant. The first of these, the 16th century, witnessed a significant increase in retranslations. This is the peak of the Ottoman classical period, in which Ottoman authors were fully engaged in cross-cultural transfer from the literary and scientific works of Persian and Arabic cultures, reinforcing Paker's (2002b and 2015) theory of a crystallized intercultural system in the 16th century. Paker draws attention to the specific role played by acts of textual transfer as an enabling force in this crystallization. She writes that the Ottoman interculture "was formed by repertoires of a long succession of interpreters and reinterpreters of a range of texts adopted from the Persian" (Paker 2015, 39). Therefore, the quantitative findings from the bibliography appear to confirm Paker's more qualitative conclusions about the emergence of the Ottoman literary system.

The second peak in the graph corresponds to the 19th century, which, again, largely confirms the findings of the previous studies carried out in translation history. The flourishing of the printing press, especially in the 19th century and the first literary translations made from western languages starting mid-19th century onwards might explain the rise of retranslated works in the 19th century. Although the first printing presses were established by the Sephardic Jews in Istanbul in 1494, until the late 18th century all printing houses were managed by Greek, Armenian, and Jewish communities who printed books in their respective languages. It should be noted that Jewish printers printed both Hebrew and Ladino works. It was İbrahim Müteferrika, a Magyar captive turned Muslim, who founded the first press in the Ottoman Empire in 1726 that printed books in Turkish (Davison 1963, 22). The first Turkish book in Ottoman script appeared in 1729. But it was in the 19th century that printing really started to thrive. According to Şükrü Hanioglu (2010, 38), "the major Ottoman printing houses published a combined total of only 142 books in more than a century of printing between 1727 and 1838". Hanioglu maintains that considering the small numbers of copies printed for each book, printing press did not "transform Ottoman cultural life until the emergence of vibrant print media in the middle of the nineteenth century" (2010, 38). Suraiya Faroqhi (2005, 96) emphasizes the high costs of founding and maintaining a printing press, as a result of which even Müteferrika's printing press occasionally foundered during his lifetime and completely after his death. She asserts that "continuous printing began in Istanbul only after 1800" (Faroqhi 2005, 96).

The most frequently retranslated works until the transition to the Roman alphabet are *Mesnevî* (*Masnavi*) by Jalal al-Din Muhammad Rumi (85), *Mevlid* (*Mawlid*) by Süleyman Çelebi (66), *Hadis Tercümeleri* (*Translations of the Hadith*) (100), *Kaside-i Bürde* (*Qaṣīda al-Burda*) by Mohammed al-Busiri (52), and *Leyla ve Mecnun* (*Layla and Majnun*) (56).

Retranslations Printed in the Roman alphabet

The number of retranslations identified for the period between 1930 and 2009 is 4,502 as can be seen in Figure 11.2.

When the data on the graph is analyzed, it becomes apparent that retranslations followed a rather steady course until the 1990s, and the average numbers for each decade remained between around 250 and 500, with the number flat-lining just below 500 for the three decades between the 1960s and 1990s. However, a boom seems to have occurred in retranslation from the late 1990s onward. Similar to the increase in 19th-century Ottoman literature, we witness an exponential growth in the number of retranslations after 2000. This finding invited a closer consideration of the underlying factors and required the integration of sociological, political, and economic issues into our interpretive framework. In general terms, this upsurge can be explained as a consequence of a general trend in the publishing market where both the numbers of publishing houses and the total number of books have been increasing. Turkish publishers have now become a part of the global publishing market and closely follow international trends, maintaining a strong emphasis on translated works in their repertoires.

However, behind the global economic and publishing drives, the specific works retranslated during the first decade of the 21st century also invited a sociological and political discussion. The surge in the number of retranslated titles reflected a particular focus on a range of western classics, which had to do with a specific decision taken by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry issued two separate lists of 100 essential books for primary and secondary school students in 2004. These lists include about 30 translated titles each, and the Ministry has refrained from mentioning specific editions or translations. This means that in a country with millions of school children, the publication of the titles recommended by the Ministry started to bring high sales figures.

These lists prepared by the Ministry have been harshly criticized for various reasons, some of them rather ideological. The idea of essential readings lists is problematic in itself. The way these lists limit the vision and imagination of young readers is well known, and the canons they create and reproduce have been subject to a wide public debate in Turkey. The Turkish Union of Education Workers (Eğitim-Sen) has drafted a report on both the concept of essential readings and the actual books included in the lists prepared by the Ministry ("*100 Temel Eser*" *Niçin Temel Eser Değil* 2009). Among issues that they criticize are the outdated perspective adopted by the Ministry officials who insisted on excluding modern works from the lists, the profit-based approach of publishers of these books, poor translation quality, outdated language used, undue omissions, ideological censorship, and the way some books in the list impose idealized images of children on readers.

The most controversial aspect of the lists prepared by the Ministry may have been manipulations, which surfaced in some translations in the lists, causing a scandal in the mid-2000s (Aktaş 2006). The retranslations of Western children's classics as recommended for primary school students (such as *Heidi*, *Treasure Island*, and *Oliver Twist*), have become ideological battlegrounds between secularism, a principle enshrined in the Turkish Constitution, and the Islamic sentiments that have been on the rise for the last 25 years, as Esra Birkan Baydan (2015) has demonstrated in a recent publication. Birkan Baydan has examined some retranslations of these titles by a number of Islamist publishers who appear to have exercised Islamist censorship over previous, so-called secularist translations, introducing conservative terms and idioms favored by the more religiously inclined.

In this context, we can assume that the motives behind the boom of re-editions and retranslations after 2004 are mainly ideological, economic, and marketing-related. First and foremost, the ministerial approval brings guaranteed sales, and since there is no specific edition prescribed by the ministry, all publishers can have a piece of this huge cake. Furthermore, as the books in the essential readings list are mostly classics, they need no copyright permission. As the main targets of this market, parents who often buy translations in an undiscerning way, unknowingly feed a vicious circle of re-edited and plagiarized translations (For a discussion on the link between the ministry's list and plagiarism in translation, see Şahin, Duman, and Gürses 2015).

The engine of retranslations is not limited to the book market aiming student readers. As copyrights of canonized authors expire, a wave of retranslations of their best-known works floods the market nearly overnight. The best-known example is Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince*. The copyright protection over Saint-Exupéry's works expired on 1 January 2015. Already on 3 January 2015, over 20 new re-editions/retranslations of *Le Petit Prince* had become available in the market (Uluşahin 2015). This is a pattern visible in the case of many well-known foreign authors. Another example is Virginia Woolf's *The Waves*, which is currently available in at least seven retranslations through online booksellers, all published since 2016 when Woolf's copyright protection expired.

When the Ottoman and republican periods are assessed together in terms of the most popular works and authors for retranslation, the following findings⁹ emerge (see Tables 11.1 and 11.2):

All of these retranslations were made from Western languages, a finding that demonstrates that the canon of western literature adopted as a model for Turkish literature since the 19th century still remains strong in Turkey. Similarly, with the exception of Rumi, the most retranslated authors also belong to western literature.

Table 11.1 Top 10 Most Retranslated Works

<i>Title</i>	<i>Author</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of First Translations/ Retranslations (Ottoman script)</i>	<i>Number of First Translations/ Retranslations (Roman alphabet)</i>
<i>Pollyanna</i>	Eleanor Porter	130	0	130
<i>Cuore</i>	Edmondo De Amicis	105	1	104
<i>Les Misérables</i>	Victor Hugo	102	3	99
<i>Peter Pan</i>	James Matthew Barrie	98	0	98
<i>Robinson Cruose</i>	Daniel Defoe	92	7	85
<i>Alice in Wonderland</i>	Lewis Carroll	78	0	78
<i>Don Quixote</i>	Miguel Cervantes de Saavedra	71	1	70
<i>Sherlock Holmes</i>	Arthur Conan Doyle	68	4	64
<i>Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours</i>	Jules Verne	56	3	53
<i>The Happy Prince</i>	Oscar Wilde	49	1	48

Table 11.2 Top 10 Most Retranslated Authors

<i>Author</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Number of First Translations/ Retranslations (Ottoman script)</i>	<i>Number of First Translations/ Retranslations (Roman alphabet)</i>
Jules Verne	354	21	333
Fyodor Dostoevksy	216	0	216
Mevlana (Jalāl ad-Dīn Muhammad Rūmī)	193	85	108
Leo Tolstoy	192	3	189
Eleanor H. Porter	170	0	170
William Shakespeare	150	17	133
Victor Hugo	135	7	128
Charles Dickens	133	1	132
Plato	132	0	132
Jack London	131	0	131

Conclusion

Our bibliography is a product and part of the rise in digital humanities. A searchable database with information on trends enables a mapping of history that is not possible through qualitative studies. It shares the threads common to digital humanities as a collaborative effort, involving distributed networks of expertise including scholars, students, technologists, etc.,

as well as an open and accessible platform enabling researchers not only to use the data available but also to contribute to the database. Ultimately, our aim is to turn this project into a permanently evolving activity.

The challenges encountered during the compilation process of the project also shed light on several important issues one has to confront in historical research, such as historical continuity, blurred boundaries between notions of original/translation and authorship/translatorship, the publishing industry, plagiarism, censorship, etc.

The project has also focused on “plagiarized translations”, an issue that was particularly made topical by the research and publications of Sabri Gürses (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2008, 2011), and generated some question marks that may help researchers in their investigations of plagiarism in translation. In this context, another project needs to be mentioned. Carried out by Şahin et al, with support from the Turkish Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey, the project developed a methodology for the identification and investigation of plagiarized translations (see Chapter 9 in this volume).

The studies carried out in the scope of the Retranslation Bibliography project treat a broad range of subjects pertaining to the link between retranslation and ideology, discourse, readers, popular culture, intercultural contacts, direct and indirect translation, editorial and publishing strategies, copyright problems, and censorship. This demonstrates that an archeological project in translation history, which was initially conceived as the compilation of bibliographical data, has inevitably led to broader questions that require analytical and critical answers. In sum, the enumerative bibliography is only the beginning and opens up a myriad of research avenues.

Notes

1. This chapter is the result of two multidisciplinary research projects supported by Boğaziçi University Research Projects Fund: “Retranslated Works in the Ottoman and Modern Turkish Societies: A Preliminary Bibliography” (2011–2013, code 6140) and “A Descriptive and Critical Look at Retranslation: Retranslated Works in the Ottoman and Modern Turkish Societies” (2013–2016, code 7430).
2. Members of the two project teams included Şehnaz Tahir Gürçağlar, Saliha Paker, Özlem Berk Albachten, Zehra Toska, Derin Terzioğlu, Tülay Gençtürk Demircioğlu, Fatma Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, Semra Çörekçi, Ülkü Akçay, Ayşenaz Cengiz, Ceyda Elgöl, İrem Konca, Cansu Canseven, Oğuz Baykara, Sadık Yazar, Selin Erkul Yağcı, Sevda Ayłuçtarhan, Muazzez Uslu, Şule Demirkol Ertürk, Cemal Demircioğlu, Tansel Demirel, Müge Işıklar Koçak, Vildan Serdaroğlu, Sabri Gürses, and Esra Demirkoparan.
3. An attempt to create such a bibliography has recently been made by Öncü et al. (2017). The same team has also created a limited online bibliography of various translators accessible at <http://translation.ege.edu.tr/translex/en-index.html>.
4. The bibliography is now available at <https://retranslation-turkey.boun.edu.tr/>. The authors would like to thank Zeynep Kürük, PhD candidate and research assistant at Boğaziçi University, for her efforts in giving the website of the bibliography its final form and her assistance in providing the quantitative data used in this chapter.

5. These are: Atatürk Kitaplığı, Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Aptullah Kuran Kütüphanesi, Beyazıt Devlet Kütüphanesi, Milli Kütüphane, Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, İSAM Kütüphanesi, Yapı Kredi Sermet Çifter Kütüphanesi, Eyüp Barış Manço Halk ve Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Nail Bayraktar Halk Kütüphanesi, Halil İnalcık Halk Kütüphanesi, Muallim Cevdet Halk Kütüphanesi, Ahmet Süheyl Ünver Halk ve Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Güngören Halk ve Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Esenler Barış Manço Halk ve Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Tuzla İdris Güllüce Kütüphanesi, Sefaköy Metin And Kütüphanesi, Alibeyköy Erdem Beyazıt Halk ve Çocuk Kütüphanesi, Ahmet Kabaklı Kütüphanesi, Rasim Özdenören Kütüphanesi, Osman Akfırat Kütüphanesi.
6. Among them are Kerman (1978), Enginün (1979), Pınar (1984), Ayaydın Cebe (2009), Yazar (2011), Bilgiç Kader (2011), Ötüken (1967), and Özege (1971–1979).
7. The following are the major online bookstores used in our searches: www.kitapyurdu.com/, www.idefix.com/, www.dr.com.tr/, www.nadirkitap.com/.
8. Both script forms were used widely to print texts in Turkish. *Karamanlidika* were Turkish texts written in the Greek alphabet by the Turkish-speaking Greek community in the Ottoman Empire and represent a unique literary tradition. Many Armenian-Turkish texts were printed in Armenian script by both Armenian and non-Armenian subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and the practice continued until the mid-20th century. In fact, the first novel written in the Turkish language was printed in Armenian script in 1851. This was *Akabi Hikayesi* by Osep Vartanian.
9. The data available in the bibliography includes both first translations and retranlations.

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