Edebiyat ve Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi

Cilt 1 / Sayı 2 / Kış 2021

Araştırma Makalesi

East and West: Émigré Literature in the Ottoman Empire (18th–20th Century)

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Strauss, Johann. "East and West: Émigré Literature in the Ottoman Empire (18th–20th Century)". *Kün: Edebiyat ve Kültür Araştırmaları Dergisi* 1.2 (Kış 2021): 51-81.
DOI: https://doi.org/10.54281/kundergisi.13

Geliş Tarihi: 18.11.2021 / Kabul Tarihi: 29.11.2021 / Yayımlanma Tarihi: 31.12.2021

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Abstract

This paper seeks to provide an overview of the literary activities of émigrés in the Ottoman Empire from the arrival of the first political refugees in the early eighteenth century (Swedes, Hungarians). It was during this period that the first masterpiece of émigré literature was produced, Kelemen Mikes´s" Letters from Turkey" (*Törökországi levelek*). The number of refugees increased considerably in the nineteenth century, after the suppression of the uprisings and revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe (Italy, Poland, Romania, Hungary). Among the most prominent figures who settled (at least temporarily) in the Ottoman Empire the following may be singled out: the Italian Princess of Belgiojoso, the Romanian poet and writer Dimitrie Bolintineanu and the Polish soldier Mihał Czajkowski ("Sadyk Pasha") who owed his early fame to his novels. But there were also refugees from the East, especially Qajar Iran, who became actively engaged in literary activities (Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni).

While the writings (poems, diaries, travelogues) of émigrés from European countries usually appear strongly attached to their own literary traditions, those of émigrés from Iran and Afghanistan found much inspiration in the new, Westernised type of literature that had developed among the Ottoman Turks; this is particularly true of the new literary genres (the novel) and the translations from Western languages. The transmission of new ideas via the Ottomans is particularly striking in the works of the great Afghan modernist thinker Mahmūd Tarzi who twice found himself exiled in Turkey. Among the Muslims expelled from the Caucasus we find a number of individuals who were the first to write or to publish works in their native languages; it is noteworthy that this occurred in the Ottoman Empire. A special case was Walī al-Dīn Yeğen, an Arab poet from Egypt who was exiled to Sivas under Abdülhamid II.

Apart giving from an—admittedly incomplete—overview of this literary legacy, this article also seeks to discuss the position of this émigré literature

within the respective national literatures and to show to what extent it reflects the environment in which it was produced.

Keywords: literature, emigration, Ottoman Empire

Özet

Batı ve Doğu: Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda Göçmen Edebiyatı (18-20. Yüzyıllar)

Bu makalede, on sekizinci yüzyılın başlarında ilk siyasi mültecilerin (İsveçliler, Macarlar) gelişinden itibaren Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'ndaki göçmenlerin edebî etkinliklerine genel bir bakış sunmak amaçlanmıştır. Göçmen edebiyatının ilk başyapıtı kabul edilen, Kelemen Mikeş'in "Türkiye Mektupları" (*Törökországi levelek*) bu dönemde üretilmiştir. On dokuzuncu yüzyılda, Orta ve Doğu Avrupa'daki (İtalya, Polonya, Romanya, Macaristan) ayaklanmaların ve devrimlerin bastırılmasından sonra, mülteci sayısı önemli ölçüde artmıştır. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na (en azından geçici olarak) yerleşen en tanınmış kişilikler arasında şunlar sayılabilir: İtalyan Belgiojoso Prensesi, Rumen şair ve yazar Dimitrie Bolintineanu ve adını ilk olarak romanlarıyla duyuran Polonyalı asker Mihał Czajkowski ("Sadık Paşa"). Bunların yanında, Doğu'dan, özellikle Kaçar'dan gelen ve edebiyatla bilfiil meşgul olan mülteciler de vardır (Mirza Habib-i İsfahani).

Avrupa ülkelerinden gelen göçmenlerin yapıtları (şiirler, günlükler, seyahatnameler) genellikle kendi edebî geleneklerine güçlü bir şekilde bağlı görünürken İran ve Afganistan'dan gelen göçmenlerin, Osmanlı Türkleri arasında gelişen yeni, Batılılaşmış edebiyat anlayışından epey ilham aldığı anlaşılmaktadır; bu, özellikle yeni edebî türler (roman) ve Batı dillerinden yapılan çeviriler için geçerlidir. Osmanlılar aracılığıyla yeni görüşlerin aktarımı, Türkiye'ye iki kez sürgüne gönderilmiş olan büyük Afgan modernist düşünür Mahmud Tarzi'nin yapıtlarında özellikle dikkat çekicidir. Kafkasya'dan ihraç edilen Müslümanlar arasında, kendi anadillerinde ilk kez yazan ya da yayın yapan bazı kişilikler bulunur. Bu olgunun Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda meydana gelmesi dikkat çekicidir. II. Abdülhamid döneminde Sivas'a sürgüne gönderilen Mısırlı Arap şair Veliyüddin Yeken ise ele alınması gereken özel bir vakadır.

Bu makalede, bu edebî mirasın—eksik olduğu baştan kabul edilmiş—genel bir görünümünün sunulmasının yanı sıra söz konusu göçmen edebiyatının ilgili ulusal edebiyatlar içindeki konumu da tartışılmış ve üretildiği ortamı ne ölçüde yansıttığı sorgulanmıştır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: edebiyat, göç, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu

Introduction: "Émigré Literature"

"Émigré literature" (French: *littérature d'exil*)[1] is the term used here for the literature produced by authors compelled to seek refuge abroad because their lives are at risk in their native country, generally for political or religious reasons. For some of these refugees, exile is only temporary, for others, permanent.

Even though this type of literature has been known since Antiquity, the experience of exile has been particularly characteristic of the literature of the twentieth century, when the phenomenon assumed a new dimension; indeed it has been called the defining characteristic of that century.[2] But to some extent, this is also true for the nineteenth century, as the example of Poland shows: What is considered as its great national literature (1831–1863) was produced in exile and its most prominent representatives were emigrants.[3]

The Ottoman Empire does not, at a first glance, seem to have been fertile ground for émigré literature, since many of its citizens had to seek refuge themselves, for political reasons, at least temporarily, abroad. Especially during the last century of its existence, the phenomenon was widespread: Muslim Turks emigrated to France, England, Switzerland, or Egypt; members of the minorities also to neighbouring countries including those still nominally under Ottoman rule (Romania and Serbia), or to Russia. Many of these émigrés started publishing newspapers, journals or books in their host countries as did Muslim Turkish intellectuals belonging to the Young Turks or the *Yeni Osmanlılar*.[4]

Émigrés in the Ottoman Empire

During this period, the Ottoman Empire also harboured émigrés from a variety of countries, some of whom were also active as writers. There exists a corpus of émigré literature that has its roots in the eighteenth century, the most brilliant example of which is perhaps the "Letters from Turkey" by Kelemen Mikes (1690–1761) who had accompanied Prince Francis II Rákóczi into exile.

The number of émigrés increased considerably in the nineteenth century, after the Tanzimat reforms. The revolutions that broke out in Central and Eastern Europe in the middle of the century produced a flood of exiles. Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, and even Italians (and their foreign supporters) were forced to seek refuge in the Ottoman Empire. The Polish "national poet" Adam Mickiewicz (1798–1855), who had spent much of his life in exile, ended his days in the Ottoman capital that was to become a magnet for writers and intellectuals from

[1] See, for English, Beaupré, "Émigré Literature." In German, *Exilliteratur* is the most commonly used term. Occasionally, the term *Exilliteratur* is also used for literary works which have to be published, as "forbidden works," by publishing houses abroad (*Exilverlage*), even if the authors continue to live in their native country. These phenomena are also known in Turkish history. For example, during the Ottoman period, Şemseddin Sami and his brother Naim Bey had to publish their Albanian works anonymously abroad. In Republican Turkey, Nazım Hikmet's works were for a long time only available in prints from Bulgaria.

[2] This refers to the emigration and exile (voluntary or enforced) of hundreds of writers, artists, and intellectuals, generally as a result of oppressive and censorious political regimes.

[3] "So entstand, einzig in ihrer Art, dem ebenso einzigen Schicksal der Nation entsprechend, im Exil, in den Nöten der Emigration, die große nationale Literatur" (Brückner 63).

[4] Among the latter were the prominent Tanzimat writers Ali Suavi, Namık Kemal and Ziya Pasha who had emigrated to Paris, London and Geneva. For later periods, Abdullah Cevdet is a typical example with his publishing activity (notably the journal *Idjtihad*) in Geneva and Cairo.

East and West. A number of these émigrés (dealt with in this article) have left literary works produced during their stay in the Ottoman Empire: the Romanian poet and writer Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1819–1872), the charismatic Italian Princess of Belgiojoso (1808–1871), who had settled in the *çiftlik* of Çakmakoğlu (Kastamonu Province), the Polish-Ukrainian aristocrat Mihał Czajkowski (1804–1886), known for a while as "Sadyk Pasha"—all of them found inspiration for their writings during the years of exile and travel in the Ottoman Empire.

Those who sought refuge in Ottoman lands came not only from the West, but also from the East. Among the Iranian émigrés in the nineteenth century, there were particularly prolific writers such as Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni ("Habib Efendi"; 1835–1893) who even adopted Ottoman citizenship. Zeynulʿābedin Marāgheʾi (1840–1910) managed to have a part of his work printed in Istanbul. Mahmūd Tarzi (1865–1933), who had emigrated with his family from Afghanistan, had the experience of exile twice: He stayed in the Ottoman Empire until the age of thirty-five and had to emigrate once more in 1929. He died in Istanbul. A paradoxical case is Walī al-Dīn Yeğen (Yakan; 1873–1921), a distinguished Egyptian poet who wrote in Arabic. While residing in Turkey, he was exiled under Abdülhamid II for many years, within the imperial territory, to Sivas province.

The descendants of émigrés have played an important role in Turkish literature. Among the best-known examples are Nigâr Hanım (1856–1918), one of the first Turkish female writers, who was the daughter of a Hungarian émigré, or Nazım Hikmet (1902–1963), among whose ancestors (from his mother's side) was a Polish refugee, Konstanty Borzęcki, later known as Mustafa Celâleddin Pasha.[5]

This article seeks to give not only an—admittedly very brief—overview of this literary legacy, but also to discuss the position of émigré literature within the respective national literatures and to show to what extent it reflects the environment in which it was produced.

The Eighteenth Century

Leaving aside the Jews who had been expelled from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century who included many talented scholars and writers, it was the eighteenth century that saw, for the first time, the arrival of prominent political refugees from Western countries in the Ottoman Empire: the Swedish King Charles XII (known among the Ottoman Turks as Demirbaş Şarl), and Prince Francis II Rákóczi of Transylvania. Charles XII had fled after his defeat at the battle of Poltava (28 June 1709), from Ukraine to Bessarabia, the Turkish-held territory between the Dniester and the Prut;[6] he stayed for five years (1709–1714). Rákóczi settled in Turkey in 1717 where he remained until his death in 1741.

The Swedish king, who is not known as a writer, had a few individuals in his entourage whom he encouraged to do research during their forced stay in the Ottoman Empire. From his exile near Bender[7] he began sending scholars on expeditions; these include Michael Enemann

[5] Nazım's maternal grandfather, Hasan Enver Pasha, was the son of Mustafa Celâleddin Pasha.

[6] During this difficult period, authors in Sweden, in their orations and poems, expressed their confidence that the king will soon return, victorious and at the head of a joint Swedish and Turkish army.

[7] In 1925, at the request of the Swedish authorities, a memorial obelisk was erected in the village of Varnitsa where the King had built his residence in 1711, called then "new Stockholm" or *Carlopolis* by some. Whereas Varnitsa is controlled by the Republic of Moldova, the city of Bender is since 1992 under the control of the unrecognized "Pridnestrovian Moldavian Republic (Transnistria)."

(1676–1714) of Uppsala who left a manuscript with an account of his travels in Asia Minor, Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon and Syria, (from August 1711 to June 1713).[8] Enemann became interested in particular in the beliefs and customs of the Karaite community in Istanbul[9] and also visited them in Cairo. Upon his return, the curious monarch questioned him about his travels for an hour a day, every day over a period of two months. After being appointed first chaplain at the Swedish Embassy in Istanbul, Enemann, already an accomplished oriental scholar, also studied Turkish (with Ibrahim Müteferrika as a teacher[10]) and Ottoman institutions.

The second chaplain of the legation, Sven Agrell (1685–1713) also left an extensive diary of more than three hundred pages for the years 1707–1713, to which he appended a dissertation on Ottoman institutions, "On the Sultan's Court" (*Om Sultans Håf* 342-68). He died in Edirne in 1713 while Charles XII was still in Turkey.[11] In the first parts of his diary, Agrell gives a very lively and realistic account of what happened to the Swedish émigrés after their arrival in a remote province of the Ottoman Empire. In the sections referring to his stay in Istanbul, he comes across as a very acute observer, especially in his portraits of foreign diplomats and residents. One can also see the psychological hardships endured by émigrés, dependent on getting news from Europe and Sweden through newspapers.

Hungarian emigration was a more important phenomenon, as it lasted much longer, and most of these émigrés failed to return to their native land. Moreover, the entourage of Rákóczi, who was himself an accomplished writer,[12] produced one of the most remarkable specimens of émigré literature in Turkey: the "Letters from Turkey" (*Törökországi levelek*) by a young nobleman from Transylvania, Kelemen Mikes.

Kelemen Mikes (1690–1761) and His "Letters from Turkey"

After the unsuccessful War of Independence (1703–1711), in which Rákóczi had endeavoured to liberate Hungary and Transylvania from the Habsburgs, he and his entourage had spent some five years in France. But after the death of Louis XIV in 1715, Rákóczi decided to accept the invitation of the Ottomans (still at war with the Habsburgs) to move there in 1717. The Sultan hoped that Rákóczi's presence would bring Hungary to the Ottoman side against Austria, while Rákóczi hoped to regain his Principality of Transylvania. But the Ottomans had already been defeated by the time that Rákóczi and his small court arrived. The Treaty of Passarowitz (21 July 1718) stipulated "[t]hat the tranquillity of the frontiers and the peace of

[8] An abridged version of it was published by Karl U. Nylander in 1889, under the title *Resa i Orienten 1711–1712* (Uppsala: W. Schultz, 1889).

[9] The Turkic speaking Karaites defend the Hebrew Bible as the sole authentic source of doctrine and practice. The Karaim movement, which began in the eighth century in Babylonia, spread to Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. The earliest settlement of the Turkic Karaim was in the Crimea. Karaim is a Kipchak Turkic language, which is close to other Kipchak languages, for instance to Crimean Tatar.

[10] The convert Müteferrika, himself of Hungarian origin, was also in contact with the Hungarian émigrés of Rákóczi.

[11] In the meantime, the so-called "Skirmish at Bender" (*Kalabaliken i Bender* in Swedish) had occurred (1 February 1713) where the Swedish emigrants and the king were attacked by Ottoman soldiers and eventually taken prisoners. After some time as a prisoner, Charles XII and his soldiers were released when news about the Swedish victory in the Battle of Gadebusch reached the Ottomans. Charles then started to plan his trip back to Sweden.

[12] Rákóczi has left *Mémoires sur la guerre de Hongrie depuis 1703 jusqu'à sa fin* (i.e., 1709), first published in the Hague in 1739; and an autobiography in Latin *Confessio peccatoris*, composed between 1717 and 1720 (first published in 1876). These works, whose composition had started in Paris and which were finished in the Turkish exile, are now available also in an English translation. See Rákóczi, *Confessio Peccatoris…* and *Memoirs….*

the subjects may not in any wise be disturb'd, Ragotski [….] and other Hungarians who revolted from their obedience to the most August Emperor of the Romans, and in the time of the late war sought refuge in the Ottoman dominions, shall be plac'd and dispos'd of in the Ottoman dominions far enough from the frontiers" (art. XV, "*Treaty of Peace*…" 409).

The Hungarians, after a brief sojourn in Istanbul, were therefore assigned to the town of Tekirdağ in Thrace, known as "Rodosto" in the West.[13] Unable to return to either France or Hungary, Rákóczi was eventually compelled to spend his remaining eighteen years there, dependent on Turkish largesse.[14] Some members of the party were able to leave, but Mikes was not granted permission to return to his homeland in 1741. Allegedly, Empress Maria Theresia herself had said that "*Ex Turcia non est redemptio*."[15] Named head of the Hungarian émigrés in Tekirdağ in 1758, Kelemen Mikes died there from the plague and was buried in the city's Armenian cemetery.

Mikes was a native of Zágon[16] in Transylvania and belonged to the *Székely* community (Latin: *Siculi*).[17] His father had been executed by the Austrians. Originally a Protestant, he had converted to Catholicism and been trained by Jesuits. Since he had already accompanied Rákóczi into his exile in France, he had become acquainted with French literature and culture. He later translated a number of mainly edifying religious works[18] into Hungarian.

His "Letters from Turkey" bear little resemblance to other works bearing the same title (e.g., by Lady Montagu, Moltke and others). The work belongs to the then relatively new genre of the epistolary novel that goes back to the seventeenth century and became popular in the eighteenth. The 207 fictitious letters are addressed over a period of forty years (1717–1758) to an imaginary aunt (*nénje*), the countess "P. E.," in "Constantinople." In these letters, Mikes speaks of the Hungarians' daily life, their hopes and disappointments, and of contemporary events in Turkey (the period coincides with the Tulip Era, and the reign of Mahmud I) and in Europe. The letters also shed light on their relationship with the local Christian communities (Armenians and Greeks). Mikes describes the death of some members of the party, including the Prince himself. The last letter, dated three years before his death in 1761, sees him, as the last survivor of the original party, become head of the Hungarian community in the Ottoman Empire.

For his "Letters from Turkey," Mikes used a great variety of sources.[19] The description of Turkish manners and customs sometimes draws on French travel books as well as on his

[13] In Hungary, it is still well known under this name thanks to Mikes's novel. On the dwellings of the Hungarian exiles and the remaining buildings see Satkın.

[14] They were paid initially 100 piasters (*guruş*) a day, later 60.

[15] "There is no redemption from Turkey."

[16] There is a monument (bust) of Mikes in his native village in the park of the chalet known as *Conacul Mikes-Szentkereszty*

[17] Today, they form roughly half of the ethnic Hungarian population in Romania. In Turkish, the term *Sekeller* is used. They maintain a somewhat distinct ethnic identity from other Hungarians. The *Székelys* continued to use the Old Hungarian script or Hungarian runes, based on the alphabet of the *Köktürk* in Mongolia.

[18] The only exception was his partial translation of Madame de Gómez's (1684–1770) collection of novellas, *Les journées amusantes, dédiées au roi* (Paris, 1722), under the title *Mulatságos napok* (1745).

[19] According to one scholar (Lajos Hopp) some twenty percent of the text is translated.

own observations. The manuscript of the work was brought to Vienna by a Hungarian servant of a certain Selim Pasha, and the Letters were first published in Hungary in 1794.[20]

Nineteenth-Century Revolutions in Central and Eastern Europe and Their Consequences

The various revolutions in the first half of the nineteenth century, and especially that of 1848, resulted in waves of emigration. Autocratic Russia had managed to quell the uprisings in Poland in 1830 and 1848. The Habsburg Empire had to fight the Hungarian Revolution in 1848–1849 and only managed to suppress it thanks to Russian intervention. The Austrians were also only partially successful in suppressing the revolutionary uprisings in those parts of Northern Italy (Lombardy, Venice) which were under its rule (since 1815). The failure of these movements drove thousands to emigrate. These emigrants sought refuge not only in liberal countries such as Switzerland, France, or Great Britain, but also in the Ottoman Empire.

This was due to a number of—sometimes very complex—factors, including geographical proximity. But it was probably also due to the fact that the Ottoman Empire was considered a safe haven whose leadership was determined to resist the pressure of extradition requests from the Austrian or the Russian Empires.

Romanian Émigrés: The Case of Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1824–1872)

Whereas the Polish and Hungarian emigration to the Ottoman Empire in the nineteenth century is well-documented, the same cannot be said of the Romanian émigrés of 1848. Their case is paradoxical since these revolutionary activists owed their defeat to a—rather half-hearted—Ottoman military intervention. Despite some sympathy from the Ottoman political leadership, their revolution was ultimately suppressed by the joint intervention of the Ottoman and Russian armies, which encountered no significant armed resistance.

Czar Nicholas I of Russia (r. 1825–1855) then demanded the extradition of the men who had started the revolutions and who were then seeking refuge in Ottoman lands. But Mustafa Reşid Pasha had previously refused the Czar's demands. Since the threat of war was growing, Fuad Efendi (the future grand vizier), a skilled negotiator, travelled to St. Petersburg and the demands for extradition were finally relinquished, subject to the condition—reminiscent of Rákóczi's case—that the revolutionaries should be kept far from the Russian borders. Their staunch opposition to Imperial Russia earned them the trust of the Ottomans, who later allowed all participants in the events to take refuge in Istanbul, and thus avoid contact with the Russian troops sent over to assist the Ottomans.

[20] Published under the title *Törökországi levelek, mellyekben a II-ik Rákótzi Ferentz fejedelemmel bujdosó magyarok történétei más egyébb emlékezetes dolgokkal eygütt barátságossan előadatnak* in Szombathely (1794); a critical edition was made by L. Hopp (Budapest, 1966). There are translations of Mikes's "Letters from Turkey" into German, Italian, Romanian, and French. An English translation was made by Bernard Adams: *Letters from Turkey* (New York: Kegan Paul International, 1998). A first Turkish translation in 2 vols. was published in Ankara, 1944–1945, in the collection *Dünya Edebiyatından Tercümeler, Macar Klasikleri*: *Türkiye Mektupları*. (Trans. Sadrettin Karatay. Ankara: Maarif Matbaası, 1944 [later editions, Tekirdağ: Tekirdağ Valiliği, 2006, revised by Sezai Kurt, and Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 2014]). Also see the new version by a Hungarian turcologist, *Osmanlı'da Bir Macar Konuk Prens Rakoczi ve Mikes'in Türkiye Mektupları* (Trans. Figen Turna. Ed. Edit Tasnadi. Istanbul: Aksoy Yayıncılık, 1999).

The most interesting individual among these exiles in our context was the writer and poet Dimitrie Bolintineanu (1824–1872). As Nicolae Petraşcu informs us, he was of Aromunian origin (his father had come from Okhrid in Macedonia). In 1845, he had been sent to Paris with a scholarship by the "Society of National Culture" (*Societatea de cultură naţională*) in Bucharest. But when the February Revolution broke out in Paris in 1848, the Romanian students decided to return to their home countries, Wallachia and Moldavia respectively.[21] The Wallachian Revolution broke out in the same year and was closely connected with the—unsuccessful—revolt in Moldavia. It sought to overturn the administration imposed by the Russian authorities under the *Regulamentul Organic* regime since 1831. Back in Wallachia, Bolintineanu edited, together with Nicolae Bălcescu, Cezar Bolliac and others, the paper *Poporul suveran* ("The Sovereign People"). After initial successes, the revolution faltered and Bolintineanu was arrested and forced to leave the country. He was first sent with other Wallachian revolutionaries to Giurgiu, from there on the Danube to Svishtov, Vidin, and Feth-i İslam (Kladovo) from where he entered Habsburg territory. But he returned to Paris afterwards to continue his studies.

In 1851–1852, he left Paris for the Ottoman Empire where many of his comrades were still living in exile.[22] After a journey that took him through Ruschuk, Shumen and Varna, he arrived in Istanbul. This journey is described in his *Călătoriile pe Dunăre şi în Bulgaria* (Travels on the Danube and in Bulgaria).

In Istanbul, Bolintineanu lived at the house of his old friend, the engineer A. Zane, another exile, or in the house of Ion Ghica (1816–1897) who was appointed Prince of Samos in 1854. In his works, he left descriptions of various neighbourhoods in Istanbul such as Beyoğlu whose society was of little interest to him whereas he was full of enthusiasm for Bebek and the Bosporus. In one of his poems he wrote: "*Ori ce-i frumos încântător / Nimică nu egală o seară pe Bosfor*…"[23] (qtd. in Petraşcu 87).

Bolintineanu made several journeys to other areas of the Ottoman Empire.[24] After eventually settling on Büyükada, he traveled to Izmir and Bursa. From Samos, where Ghica was *bey*, he started touring the Anatolian coast and its ancient ruins (Milet, Halikarnassos, the island of Kos, etc.). In the same year, he also visited Izmir and Ephesus. After visiting other places in Lydia he returned to Istanbul. In March 1855, he embarked upon another journey, stopping briefly at the Aegean islands of Lesbos and Chios, before going on to Latakia, Tripoli, Beirut, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron. From Jerusalem he travelled to Alexandria and Cairo. Once back in Istanbul, he began another journey, this time through the Balkans, to find his origins, the Aromunians in Macedonia. He stayed with an Aromunian in Salonika and visited Mount Olympus, Mount Athos, Vodena (ancient Edessa), Ostrovo, Florina and Monastir (Bitola). He collected as much information as possible by frequenting libraries, etc. This

[21] These two principalities were united in 1859 and later became "Romania."

[22] They were first detained in the adjacent Ottoman territories of present-day Bulgaria. Passing through Ruschuk (Ruse) and Varna, they were taken to Bursa, where they lived at the expense of the Ottoman state. They were allowed to return after 1856. During their period of exile, rivalry between the various factions became obvious, a conflict which became the basis for political allegiances in later years.

[23] "Anything beautiful, poetic, splendid and charming, / Nothing equals an evening on the Bosphorus."

[24] Romanian travel accounts in book form are surprisingly few before 1860. A notable exception is Teodor Codrescu's, "A Voyage to Constantinople" (*O călătorie la Constantinopol*, Iaşi, 1844) (see Vainovski-Mihai). On Bolintineanu's travelogues, see Munteanu.

journey produced the *Macedonele* (Macedonians), a collection of poems dedicated to the Romanians of Macedonia, which is, however, based to a large extent on information contained in Pouqueville's *Voyage dans la Grèce* (1820–1821).

Some accounts of these travels were published after his return to his homeland (end of 1857). In 1856, he published *Călătorii în Palestina şi Egipt*, in 1858 *Călătoriile pe Dunăre şi în Bulgaria*, devoted to his travel in exile to Istanbul.[25] He continued, however, to travel in the Ottoman Empire even after his exile.[26]

Like many travellers before him, Bolintineanu was particularly interested in the vestiges of classical antiquity, which he primarily approached through academic sources. He also made interesting observations, some stereotypical, others quite original, on the way of life of certain population groups, including the Yezidis (*Călătorii în Palestina şi Egipt* 16-18). He quotes as a source Baptistin Poujoulat (1809–1864), whom he met or heard about during his travels. Poujoulat had made a similar journey some years previously (1836), described in his *Voyage dans l'Asie Mineure, en Mésopotamie, à Palmyre en Syrie, en Palestine et en Egypte*.[27] In Egypt, he found poetic inspiration in a number of locations.

The writer discovered the Orient through the lens of Western literature. Although the Danubian principalities were at that time, at least nominally, still part of the Ottoman Empire, there was something culturally, politically, and historically "regressive"—if not downright reactionary— about embarking on a journey eastwards, especially to Istanbul (Constantinople).[28] He paints an optimistic picture of Turkey's prospects: "*Ea este in ajunul unui prefaceri si dacă oamenii ce guvernă vor întelege misia lor, nu este indoială ca va renasce, din ruinele ei, mai frumoasă şi mai fericită*"[29] (Bolintineanu 12).

Bolintineanu's romantic Orientalism is best demonstrated by his collection of poems, the *Macedonele* and especially the *Florile Bosforului* (The Flowers of the Bosporus; 1851).[30] These "flowers" are in fact a number of women, whose names appear on the title of the poems. Some are genuinely Turkish (e.g., "Esmé" [Esma],[31] "Leili" [Leylâ]), others seem to have been invented by the poet. "Rabia" took its inspiration from the story of the *Hasseki* Rabia Gülnuş (1642–1715) and her rivalry with Gülbeyaz, an odalisque (*bayadere*) of Mehmed IV which led to a tragic end. Bolintineanu had once read this poem to Ion Ghica's wife who encouraged him to continue.

In order to underline the exotic character, many Ottoman Turkish terms occur in these verses, some of them unknown in the Romanian language. Love and jealousy often form the

[25] See, on these travels, Vainovski-Mihai.

[26] See his *Călătorii la Românii din Macedonia şi Muntele Athos sau Santa Agora* (1863). *Călătorii în Asia mică* (1866) describes his travels on the coasts of Asia Minor. In 1860, Bolintineanu had come back to Istanbul as a councillor of the ruler of the United Principalities, Alexander Ioan Cuza (1820–1873). This visit is described in his *Vizita Domnitorului Principateler Unite la Constantinopol* (Bucharest, 1860).

[27] 2 vols. (Paris, 1840–1841).

[28] See Munteanu.

[29] "She is on the eve of a transformation, and when the people who govern her understand their mission, there can be no doubt that She will be reborn, from her ruins, more beautiful and more happy."

[30] They were published first in 1855, edited by G. Sion, and with a foreword by Radu Ionescu, in the volume *Poesii vechi şi nouă* ("Old and New Poems").

[31] Some biographers presume that the poet had known this lady personally and that the "ghiaur" she loves secretly was the poet himself (Petraşcu 88).

background: intrigues of the seraglio, the unhappy life of the beautiful *hanîmă*s or *cadîna*s,[32] their love affairs, cruelly punished when discovered. Western models and influences, especially of Victor Hugo's *Orientales* (1829) are conspicuous. In the poem "Sclavele în vînzare" (Slaves on Sale),[33] a strange sort of national pride appears: The slave trader praises all his female slaves (Africans, Copts from Egypt, women from Yemen, from Persia [Ispahan], Kurdistan, Albania, as well as Greek and Serbian girls) and insists that the most precious and beautiful one for him is Ioana, a Romanian girl from Macedonia. In "Mehrubé" too it is a Romanian harem girl that talks to Sultan Selim.

These poems were later translated—not very faithfully—by the poet himself into French and published under the title *Brises d'Orient*.[34] During his exile in the Ottoman Empire, he was also able to publish in Paris, with the help of his friends there, *Les Principautés roumaines* (1854) and *L'Autriche, la Turquie et les Moldo-Valaques* (1856). Bolintineanu also has a novel, *Manoil* (1855), the first (sentimental epistolary) novel in Romanian literature, published in Jassy, the capital of Moldavia.[35]

Hungarian Refugees and Their Literary Output

The literary record of the much more numerous Hungarian exiles who had arrived in the Ottoman Empire after the failure of their revolution is less easy to establish.[36] Unlike Rákóczi and his entourage, most of them remained for only a short period in Ottoman lands before leaving for other destinations (France, England, even the United States) or returning to their homeland. For the first year of their stay in the Ottoman Empire, there is an extremely interesting account of several hundred pages published in 1850 in Pest, "The Hungarian Refugees in Turkey: Unknown Data on the History of the 1848 Emigration, according to the Authentic Diary of a Hungarian Eyewitness." It was published under the pseudonym "Imrefi" by the well-known writer and journalist Imre Vahot (1820–1879) in Pest.[37] Its author was Sándor Makay (1806–1890), *alispán* (vicecomes; sub-lieutenant) of Krassó-Szörény county during the Revolution. He had lived under the most miserable conditions in exile. Inevitably, this work too contains special chapters on the customs and manners and the religion of the Turks.

The leader of the Revolution, Lajos Kossuth (1802–1894), who sought refuge in the Ottoman lands in 1848, with several thousand comrades, composed a short glossary during his stay in Vidin, a Turkish grammar (*Török nylevtan*) during his stay in Shumen and Kütahya,[38] and in Kütahya, a multilingual (Hungarian-French-English-Turkish) glossary of 274 words.[39] He stayed in Kütahya until 1851. A few comrades in arms and men of letters wrote diaries,

[32] *Cadînă* (< Turkish *kadın*) is used in Romanian with the sense of "woman of the harem."

[33] Slavery was not yet totally abolished in the Ottoman Empire at that time.

[34] *Brises d'Orient: Poésies roumaines* is published with a preface by Philarète Chasles in Paris (1866).

[35] See Popescu.

[36] For general information on Hungarian refugees see Nazır.

[37] *A magyar menekültek Törökországban. Ismeretlen adatok az 1849-ki emigratio történetéhez. Egy török földre menekült s honába ismét viszatért magyar szemtanu hiteles naplója után* (Pest: Heckenast Gusztáv sajatja, 1850). A German translation appeared one year later under the title *Die ungarischen Flüchtlinge ín der Türkei. Eine Zusammenstellung bisher unbekannter Daten zur Geschichte der Emigration von 1849. Nach dem Tagebuch eines in die Türkei geflüchteten und von dort zurückgekehrten Augenzeugen, mitgetheilt von Imrefi* (Trans. Vasfi. Leipzig, 1851).

[38] The ms. of 48 pages is at the Hungarian National Archive.

[39] See Kakuk.

(like the Swedes), or similar works, such as Lázár Mészaros (1796–1858), Minister of War during the 1848 Revolution,[40] the actor Gábor Egressy (1808–1866), government commissioner in the lower-Tisza area, or Bertalan Szemere (1812–1869), former minister of the interior and prime minister alongside Kossuth. During the years spent in emigration, Mészaros wrote "Travels in the East after the Days of Világos," [41] which resembles those of other émigrés mentioned in this article. It is a description of the Turks, their capital and their country rather than a travelogue. The author is particularly interested in Hungarian vestiges. Egressy left a diary, *Törökországi Naplója*, in which he deals with the Ottoman Empire (17-241); and furnishes us with impressions of Istanbul (205-41). In Istanbul, on 26th June, he also met William Nosworthy Churchill, the publisher of the *Ceride-i Havadis*. The last entry is dated 23 August 1850. He returned to Hungary afterwards and was pardoned in October 1851.

Another émigré and companion of Kossuth, Daniel Szilágyi (1830–1885), seems to have become an important figure for the intellectual and literary life of Istanbul, even if he is not known as a writer. He had studied theology in Debrecen. He learnt Turkish very well and established himself in the book trade which was still in its infancy in Istanbul. He became an associate of the bookseller Roth, whose shop, located on the Yüksek Kaldırım in Galata, became the meeting place of the Young Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar*) for whom Szilágyi procured books. He was in contact with Şinasi and Cevdet Pasha. From 1862 onwards, he also purchased Turkish books for the Hungarian Academy of Science. He engaged in research himself and acquired a private collection of rare manuscripts, which was later sent to Budapest by Arminius Vámbéry who had befriended him during his stay in Istanbul.[42] This collection is today part of the "Collectio Szilágyiana" in Budapest University Library.

The Hungarian exiles also made a name for themselves as scholars, teachers and scientists. One such was "Macarlı Abdullah Bey" (alias Karl Eduard Hammerschmidt, 1799–1874), who was born in Vienna but arrived together with the Hungarian refugees. He made a remarkable career in the Ottoman Empire as a doctor and was even elected chairman of the "Imperial Society of Medicine" (*Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Şahane*).[43] He was engaged in important research in various fields (geology, mineralogy, botanics, zoology), especially in the surroundings of Istanbul. His writings were usually in French but two of his treatises, on veterinary medicine and on geology, were even translated into Turkish.[44]

Italian Émigrés and Princess Belgiojoso

The failure of the uprisings against Austrian rule in Northern Italy (Lombardy, Venice) during the period of national revival known as the *Risorgimento* also drove many individuals

[40] See Sokoly.

[41] *Utazás Keleten a világosi napok után* (Pest: Ráth Mór, 1870). The Surrender at Világos (now Șiria, Romania) was the formal end of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848. It took place on 13 August 1849.

[42] Arminius Vámbéry (1832–1913), the famous turcologist and traveler stayed in Istanbul 1857–1861. He did not come as a refugee but prepared his travels in Central Asia. Vámbéry regularly met the Hungarian refugees who used to gather in the café. He published a German-Turkish dictionary in Istanbul (in Latin script!) apparently the first book published in that language in Istanbul (*Deutsch-türkisches Taschen-Wörterbuch*. Istanbul: Verlag von Gebrüder Koehler, 1858).

[43] An obituary appeared in the *Gazette médicale d'Orient* 18.5 (1874): 77-78.

[44] *Fenn-i Hayvanat-ı Tıbbiyye* (trans. *Miralay* Ali Raşid. Istanbul, 1293/1876); *İlmü'l-arz ve'l-maâdin* (trans. İbrahim Lutfî, 1311/1893).

to seek refuge in foreign countries, including the Ottoman Empire. The activities of these exiles are still little known although there were Italian-language newspapers published in Istanbul and Italian printing presses, such as the Tipografia A. Domenichini in Beyoğlu (Mederli Sokak). This printing office printed, among others, in 1848 a famous drama, *Stamira*, a tragedy in 2500 verses, written in 1842 by Giuseppe Borioni (1804–1876), a professor of eloquence, poetry and logic, from Rome, a fervent Italian patriot.[45] It was dedicated to the "Youth of Ancona."[46] The publication of this work was forbidden in Austrian-occupied Italy. Another publication by Domenichini was a funeral speech for the illustrious patriot Daniele Manin (1804–1857), leader of the Risorgimento in Venice, penned by another Italian exile, Count Bartolomeo Malfatti (1802–1865), and printed at the *Casino de Péra* on 8 November 1857.[47] Malfatti had also been expelled from Venice by the Austrians.[48]

The same printing press had also printed in 1850 *La mia prigionia, episodio storico dell'assedio di Venezia*[49] by the well-known Ottoman statesman Wassa Pasha (Vasa Paşa; Pashko Vasa; 1825–1892), with a title reminiscent of Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigioni*.[50] It was an account of his experiences during the Revolution in Venice. Pashko Vasa, a Catholic Albanian from Shkodra, made a brilliant career in Ottoman state service which culminated with his appointment as Governor of Mount Lebanon, from 1882 until his death. In his youth, he had set off for Italy in 1847, on the eve of the events that were to take place there one year later. There are two letters written by him in Bologna in the summer of 1848 in which he openly expresses republican and anti-clerical views. He later went to Venice where he took part in the Venetian uprising against the Austrians, in particular in the epic battle of Marghera ("Sortita of Forte Marghera") in October 1848. After the Austrian reconquest, he was forced to flee to Ancona where, as an Ottoman citizen, he was expelled to Istanbul. There he made a remarkable career. Wassa Pasha, who was fluent in Italian left also works in Turkish, Albanian and French. He also published poems: *Rose e spine* (Roses and Thorns) in Istanbul (1873). His novel *Bardha de Témal* is considered the first Albanian novel. It was however, written in French and had to be published—significantly enough—under a pseudonym abroad.[51]

The most remarkable figure among the Italian emigrés was, undoubtedly, the Princess of Belgiojoso (Cristina Trivulzio di Belgiojoso; 1808–1871), the only female among the writers

[45] See Giansante.

[46] Stamira was a heroic self-sacrificing woman who saved the city of Ancona during the 1173 siege by the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. Unsurprisingly, her memory was taken up prominently by Italian nationalists.

[47] *Cenni biografici di Daniele Manin* (Péra: Tipografia di A. Domenichini, 1857).

[48] He died in 1865 near Ankara after a scientific mission. Surprised by a snowstorm, his body was mauled by wolves. His remnants and those of his son Lorenzo were buried in the Armenian cemetery of Ankara (Solinas 193).

[49] "My imprisonment, historical episode from the siege of Venice." He refers to himself as "*Pasco Vassa da Scutari d'Albania, ufficiale allo stato maggiore dell'armata veneta.*"

[50] This novel, an account of his experiences in the Spielberg prison in Brno (first published 1832) was also translated into various languages of the Ottoman Empire, including Turkish.

[51] "Albanus Albano." *Bardha de Témal. Scènes de la vie albanaise* (Paris: Albert Savine, 1890). The *Tanzimat* reforms had brought along with them a considerable degree of freedom. But it never allowed the same degree of freedom as in Western countries like France or England. It is mainly for this reason that there has always been a sort of "parallel" literary activity of all communities (at times also including the Muslim Turks), in Western Europe, in Russia, in neighbouring countries, even nominally Ottoman vassal states (Serbia, Romania, Egypt) which had been chosen as a residence by political emigrants. But not only revolutionary activists were, perhaps understandably, not allowed to publish their works within the boundaries of the Empire, but also, even Ottoman civils servants like Şemseddin Sami and his brother Naim Bey had to publish their Albanian works abroad.

dealt with here. This extraordinary woman, a member of an aristocratic family, was a major figure of the *Risorgimento*. She had played an active role in the so-called "Roman Republic" formed in the Papal States by Giuseppe Mazzini (1805–1872) and others (9 February –l4 July 1849), during which she was director of military ambulances. After the failure of the revolution in Rome, disappointed by the role played by the French, she fled, accompanied by her daughter, first to Malta and then to Istanbul. Eventually, she set up residence in Anatolia where she was to remain for nearly half a decade, from 1850 to 1855. Then she was granted permission by the Austrian authorities to return to her residence in Locate (Province of Milan). She later worked with Count Cavour for Italian unification, which was achieved in 1861.

In Anatolia, she bought land in the rather remote valley of Çakmakoğlu, in the *kaza* of Kızılbel in the *sancak* of Viranşehir (*Verandcheir*) in the province of Kastamonu.[52] There she lived with her daughter Maria and a number of other Italian émigrés and organized a farm (*chiftlik*).[53] Her Turkish servant, Budoz, would later follow her back to Italy. From there, she was able to send articles and stories about her experiences to journals in France where she had already spent many years previously; she wrote almost exclusively in French. Already in Istanbul, she had written an account of the Roman Republic and its fall, which was published in the French magazine *Le National* in 1850. The epistolary collection *La Vie dans l'exil* was written en route to taking up residence in Anatolia.[54] Other works written during her stay in the Ottoman Empire are the travel narrative *La Vie intime et la vie nomade en Orient* (1855).[55] This activity allowed her to obtain the money necessary to live there some five years. In January 1852, she embarked upon a journey to Jerusalem, and over a period of eleven months visited a number of places in Syria, Lebanon and Palestine, as "*une dame franque chassée de son pays par la guerre et venant passer son exil en Turquie*" as she used to be introduced.[56] She wrote about her returning to Çakmakoğlu as a sort of homecoming, although this was not her place of origin: "*Exilée sur une terre étrangère, je me retrouvais, après onze mois d'absence dans le lieu où l'exil avait dépouillé pour moi quelques-unes de ses amertumes*."[57]

Her travel accounts are interesting additions to our knowledge of Ottoman society prior to the Crimean War. She describes the position and situation of certain Anatolian *derebey*s under Mahmud II and his successor Abdülmecid. The aspect she was mainly interested in, was the condition of women which, unlike her illustrious predecessor, Lady Montagu, she found rather disturbing.[58] Unlike many male observers, she does not seek to unveil an exotic

[52] She writes herself: "*à quelques jours de la ville importante d'Angora*". This is why this place, usually spelt "Ciaq-Mag-Oglu," is located "near Ankara" in the literature. Today it is in Kadıköy village of Eskipazar within the borders of Karabük province.

[53] See Erler.

[54] "Souvenirs dans l'exil." *Le National* (5 September1850, 12 October 1850). See Caporuscio.

[55] "La Vie intime et la vie nomade en Orient." *Revue des Deux Mondes* (1 February 1855, 1 March 1855, 1 April 1855, 15 September 1855).

[56] "a Frankish lady driven from her country by war and coming to spend her exile in Turkey" (*Asie Mineure et Syrie…* 10). There is also an English translation with the suggestive title: *Oriental Harems and Scenery*, translated from the French of the Princess Belgiojoso (New York: Carleton, Publisher, 1862).

[57] "Exiled in a foreign land, I found myself, after eleven months of absence in the place where exile had stripped for me some of its bitterness" ("*Asie Mineure et Syrie"* 423).

[58] She published *Of Women's Condition and of Their Future (Della presente conditione delle donne e del loro avvenire*; 1866) in which she argues that deprived of education, women come to accept the oppressive conditions in which they find themselves.

and erotic Orient; her Orient is full of disappointments, in particular the *harem*. This also appears from her fiction, collected under the title *Scènes de la vie turque*.[59] These are short stories, written after her return to Italy and republished in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* in 1858. It has been observed that she takes a positive delight in destroying illusions and produces a corrective counter-discourse that has been labelled a "realist" orientalism.[60]

Polish Emigrants and Their Literary Activities

Polish exiles in the Ottoman Empire[61] arrived in several waves following the various insurrections (the 1831 "November Uprising"; the 1848–1849 "Greater Poland Uprising"[62]; and the1863 "January Uprising"). By 1839, a Polish Agency had been established in Istanbul, while in 1842 the Polish village of Adampol, the predecessor of today's Polonezköy, was founded on the Asian side of the Bosporus. The literary output of the Polish émigrés is complex. The great poet Adam Mickiewicz only spent his last days in the Ottoman Capital. He had come to Turkey in September 1855 to help organise Polish forces integrated in the Ottoman Army but fell ill and died on 26 November 1855 without having engaged in any literary activity.

A compatriot, Michał Czajkowski (1804–1886), director of the Polish Agency, who went on to command the Polish troops in Turkey, stayed for several decades. He had been a very active writer prior to his arrival in the Ottoman Empire. His works were also translated into foreign languages (French, English, German), especially after the Crimean War in which his Cossack Brigade (*Kazak Alayı*) played an active role. Czajkowski converted to Islam in 1850[63] and assumed the name of Mehmed Sadık (Sadyk). However, following an amnesty, he eventually returned to the Russian Empire in 1872, where he committed suicide in 1886. During this last period he wrote his extensive memoirs.[64]

When his complete works were published in twelve volumes (1862–1873), he was still resident in Turkey. Many prefaces or dedications were therefore written in Istanbul (*Stambół*). *Kozaczyzna w Turcyj* (Cossacks in Turkey)[65] also contains the famous steel engraving with the Ottoman caption: *Rumeli Beylerbeyi ve Devlet-i Aliyye Kazaklarının […] Reisi Mehmed Sadık Paşa* and its French version: *M. Sadyk Pacha Beylerbey de Roumélie et de tous les cosaques de l´Empire ottoman.* The second edition of the historical novel *Stefan Czarniecki* (Leipzig, 1863) is dedicated to the "Ottoman dragoons, the fellow countrymen and comrades in the military service" (*Dragonom ottomańskim, wspólrodakom i towarzyszom wojennoj służby*). His *Dziwne zycia Polaków i*

[59] "Récits turques." *Revue des Deux Mondes* ("Emina," 1 and 15 February 1856; "Un prince curde," 15 March and 1 April 1856; "Les deux femmes d'Ismaïl Bey," 1 and 15 July 1856; "Le Pacha de l'ancien régime," 15 September 1856; "Un paysan turc," 1 and 15 November 1857; "Zobeïdeh," 1 and 15 April 1858). Also see the collection *Scènes de la vie turque*.

[60] See Barbara Spackman's perceptive observations in her *Accidental Orientalists* 42-89.

[61] For general information on Polish exiles and immigrants see Urbanik and Baylen.

[62] After the collapse of the Hungarian Revolution, also several thousand Polish legionnaires entered the Ottoman Empire.

[63] This conversion was motivated by Russian and Austrian efforts to have him extradited and by conflicts with the French authorities.

[64] They were later printed in L'viv (Lemberg): *Pamiętniki Sadyka Paszy Michała Czajkowskiego* (Lwów, 1898).

[65] *Kozaczyzna w Turcyj*, a work in three parts, was published under the pseudonym X. K. O. (i.e., X. Kozak Ottomański; Paris, 1857).

Polek[66] has a dedication, dated 25 August 1862, to his wife Ludwika Śniadecka (1802-1866).[67] The six biographical sketches of Polish émigrés (including of several living in the Ottoman Empire) contained in this book were written in the 1860s in various parts of the Ottoman Empire and in Istanbul. The book ends with a poem "*Duma polska zołnierza wojsk tureckich*" ("Polish Song of a Soldier of the Ottoman Army") written on Babuna mountain in Macedonia in February 1864 by another Polish émigré, Ryszard Bierwiński, a lieutenant in the Ottoman dragoons. For the new, revised, edition of *Kirdżali*, Czajkowski's internationally most successful novel[68] he writes a very interesting preface dated *Istamból*, 26 March 1862, where he explains how his perception of the "Orient" has changed since the original publication:[69]

> The old Danube! An Ottoman river.[70] On your shores shine the minarets of the mosques, the cupolas of the churches, Muslims and Christians fraternize, the different population groups merge in a great Ottoman state. And from everywhere they cry: Long live Osman's successor, the blood of our emperors, Sultan Abdülaziz Han, our lord, the Emperor of the Ottoman State!"
>
> And then, through the Emperor of the Ottomans, through the Ottoman Army, the Eastern Question will be solved, forever.

Czajkowski became a controversial figure and was criticised by many Poles in the 1860s and '70s for his opposition to the January Uprising. Another émigré, Zygmunt Miłkowski (pseud. Teodor Tomasz Jeż; 1824–1915) described Czajkowski as follows: "Half-poet, half-knight, half-scholar, half-simpleton, half-diplomat, half-crank, and in addition, half-Pole".[71]

Czajkowski's daughter, Caroline (1835 – 1898 (?)) stayed for a long time in Turkey. She had married Piotr Tytus Suchodolski (1828–1888) in Paris in 1858, who joined the Polish Kossacks and also converted to Islam, assuming the name of Tevfik Efendi. Under the pseudonym "Wanda," Caroline Suchodolska published in 1884 a book entitled *Souvenirs anecdotiques sur la Turquie (1820–1870)* in Paris. In her dedication to Monsieur le Colonel Comte de Meffray, marquis de Césarges, she writes that these souvenirs were "*Recueillis de la bouche de mon père qui, pendant la partie la plus longue de sa vie, a consacré son intelligence et son savoir-faire à son pays d'adoption*."[72] As a matter of fact, these *Souvenirs* are those of "Sadyk Pasha" speaking in the

[66] "The Strange Life of Polish Men and Women" (Leipzig, 1865).

[67] Ludwika Śniadecka died in Istanbul and was buried in Adampol (Polonezköy).

[68] Leipzig, 1863. First published in 1839, it was already translated in 1855 by Colonel Lach Szyrma under the title *The Moslem and the Christian, or, Adventures in the East* (3 vols., London, 1855). There is another English translation by S. C. de Soissons, *The Black Pilgrim: A Tale of Struggle for Faith and Freedom in the Balkan Peninsula* (London, 1900).

[69] The hero of *Kirdżali* is a Bulgarian rebel who takes a stand against the Turks. This figure was already known, as underlined by Czajkowski, by the Russian poet Pushkin. On the popularity of Czajkowski's novel in Bulgaria see Grigorova. Their historical and political situation divided Poles and Bulgarians. Russia was to Poles what the Ottoman Empire was to Bulgarians. Poles placed their hopes for liberation from the Russian yoke in the Ottoman Empire, whereas Bulgarians were relying on Russia. This explains the ambivalent attitude of the Polish émigrés towards the Bulgarians, their Slavic brethren.

[70] In the old edition, "Ancient Danube, river of the Slavs."

[71] "*pół poeta, pół rycerz, pół uczony, półgłówek, pól dyplomata, pół narwaniec i do tego pół Polak*" (Miłkowski 71).

[72] "Collected from the lips of my father who, for the longest part of his life, devoted his intelligence and know-how to his adopted country."

first person. They were translated (or rather adapted) from Russian.[73] They furnish a very lively picture of the Ottoman Empire before and after the Tanzimat, and many eminent persons are described. Caroline Suchodolska also contributed to Adolphe Thalasso's French-language literary journal *La Revue Orientale*, published in Istanbul in 1885, where she published several stories.[74]

Karol Brzozowski (1821–1904), a man of many parts (engineer, botanist, geographer, ethnologist, etc.) spent some thirty years in various parts of the Ottoman Empire from 1853, initially as an emissary of the Polish Democratic Circle (*Demokratyczne Koło Polskie*) after the outbreak of the Crimean War. After the failure of the January Uprising, in which he had participated, he returned to the Ottoman Empire.[75]

He learnt a lot about life in the Middle East during his travels and recorded his impressions in particular in rhymed stories embued with romantic exoticism. These and other works such as "The Fiery Lion: A Circassian Tale" (*Ognisty Lew: Powieść czerkieska*; Lwów, 1857), which he sent to Polish literary journals, earned him the title of "Poet of the East" (*Poeta Wschodu*). Brzozowski has left one of the most remarkable specimens of émigré literature, a narrative poem of some 150 pages, *Noc strzelców w Anatolii* ("The Night of Shooters in Anatolia")[76] dedicated to the "comrades of the camp" (*towarzysom koczowiska*). In this famous work, two Polish émigrés wistfully remember their homeland in the loneliness of an Anatolian night. Another of his long poems "Dream of the Balkans" (*Sen w Bałkanach*), written in 1858 and published in 1877 (Lwów) has a Turkish dedication (with Polish translation): "*Bujuk Ustamize* (sic) *J. Matejko, Ak-Baba*, *Kara-Audži* (Avcı)."[77] Like Czajowski, Brzozowski has left "Memoirs from Turkey" (*Wspomnienia z Turciji*) published in the Warsaw journal *Tygodnik ilustrowany* in 1886 where another piece of writing, "In Kurdistan" ("W Kurdystanie") appeared posthumously in 1907.[78] He also contributed a "Bulgarian novel"—attractive for many Polish writers at that time—with his "Deli Petko: A Tale according to a Bulgarian Legend."[79]

Walery Wacław Wołodźko (1831–1904) even used a Turkish pseudonym "Sahi-bej." He arrived after the January Uprising and was to spend seven years in Turkey where he worked as an engineer designing bridges and roads. He also became a correspondent of Polish journals and returned home in 1870. Wołodźko left several interesting works based on his experiences in Turkey. Under another pseudonym, "W. Koszczyc," he published an extensive account running to more than three hundred pages of his journey from Istanbul to Ankara at the end of October 1869,[80] where one can find all sorts of observations on Turkish life like in his "From the Secrets of the East: Images and Sketches by Sahi-Bey."[81] His Turkish name also

[73] *Tureckie anekdoty: iz tridcatiletnikh vospominanii Mikhaila Čajkovskago (Sadyk Paši)* (Moscow, 1883). See Ünver.

[74] "Trait de justice orientale." *La Revue orientale* vol. 1 (1885): 117-20; "Récit des épreuves d'une famille pendant la guerre turco-russe 1877." *La Revue orientale* vol. 1 (1885): 252-56, 297-301.

[75] He eventually settled in L'viv (Polish: Lwów`), in Austrian Galicia, in 1883.

[76] (Paris: L. Martinet, 1856).

[77] Supposedly surnames given by the Turks to Brzozowski. Jan Matejko (1838–1893) was a famous Polish painter, a leading exponent of history painting.

[78] His reminiscences and essays on his stay in the Balkans and in Syria were only to be published in book form in 1966, after they had been collected from various periodicals.

[79] *Deli Petko: Powiastka podług legendy bułgarskiej* (Lwów, 1876).

[80] *Wschód: ze Stambułu do Angory* (Lwów, 1874).

[81] *Z tajemnic wschodu: obrazki i szkici Sahi-Beja* (Warsaw, 1886).

figures on the title page of his "God's Order: A Picture from Turkish Life."[82] What attracted him to the Balkans can be seen in "Blood-tainted Output: A Tale from Albanian-Macedonian Life,"[83] which was dedicated to the Macedonian revolutionary and folklorist Konstantin Miladinov (1830–1862).

More original in its scope was the work of another Polish émigré, Konstanty Borzęcki (1826–1876), who is now mainly known by his Muslim name. He had participated both in the "Greater Poland Uprising" (Poznań uprising against the Prussians; 1848) and the Hungarian revolution in 1848–1849. After the collapse of the uprising, he emigrated to the Ottoman Empire. Like a number of other émigrés, he eventually converted to Islam and took the name of Mustafa Djelaleddin (Celâleddin). In Istanbul, he was a collaborator of the French-language paper *Courrier d'Orient* but also of the Turkish *Basiret*. He is remembered mainly for his *Les Turcs anciens et modernes*, first published in Istanbul in 1869 (second edition one year later in Paris) and dedicated to Sultan Abdülaziz. In this book, whose impact was to be considerable among Turkists (including Mustafa Kemal Atatürk), he tried to demonstrate—sometimes by somewhat dubious means[84]—that the Turks are not only of the same race as the peoples of Europe, but also that the "Touro-Aryans" had even been the founders of European civilization.[85]

A less known figure was Tadeusz Orzechowksi (1838–1902) who was sent by the Polish emigrants in Paris to Istanbul in 1863. He left, under the name Baron d'Oksza, a history of the Ottoman Empire, again written in French (*Histoire de l'Empire ottoman depuis sa fondation jusqu'à la Prise de Constantinople*) which was published in Istanbul in 1871. But this work remained incomplete and only covered the period up to the year 1389. The writer tried to bring Turks and Europeans closer together. According to Orzechowski the principal and most important task of the Turks was the transmission of Western civilization to their place of origin, Central Asia.[86]

Émigrés from the East: The Iranians and Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni (1835–1893)

The Iranian diaspora in the Ottoman Empire, and especially in Istanbul, left a rich and varied literary legacy.[87] Not all Iranian residents in Turkey were political refugees but this was certainly the case of Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni (1835–1893), perhaps the most interesting figure among them. He had fled from the despotism of the Qadjar rulers under dramatic circumstances[88] and arrived in Turkey in 1283/1866 (İnal 463-65). Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni, known as "Habib Efendi" among the Ottoman Turks, became well integrated and held a number of

[82] *Ład Bożi: Obraz z życia tureckiego* (Lwów: K. Łukaszewicz, 1882).

[83] *Krwawy dorobek: Powieść z życia albańsko-macedońskiego* (Warsaw: Gebethner i Wolff, 1884).

[84] This concerns in particular the etymologies he proposes to show genealogical links between Turkish and Indo-European languages.

[85] A copy of this book was also in Atatürk's private library. On Mustafa Celâleddin's ideas see Kołodziejczyk. A Turkish translation by Güven Beker of *Les Turcs anciens et modernes* appeared in 2014, under the title *Eski ve Yeni Türkler* (Istanbul: Kaynak Yayınları, 2014).

[86] See Strauss, "Le Livre français d'Istanbul…"

[87] For a general assessment, see Balaÿ.

[88] He had to hide in a French monastery in Urmiyah for two months. Then, the clergymen provided him with a donkey and five pounds for the continuation of his flight. He succeeded in shaking off his pursuers but arrived wounded in Turkey.

teaching and administrative posts. Paradoxically, he was even appointed member of the Committee for Censorship (*Encümen-i Teftiş ve Muayene*).[89] He also became the Persian instructor of European diplomats in Istanbul and of the Russian aristocrat "Gülnar Hanım" (alias Olga de Lébédeff).[90] These contacts even once seem to have saved his life when the Iranian ambassador had placed a bounty of 100 pounds on his head.[91]

His literary output is extremely varied: apart from a number of works on Persian grammar in Persian (including what is regarded as the first comprehensive grammar of Persian), it features several translations such as his translation of Molière's *Misanthrope*, the first Persian translation of a comedy of Molière to appear in print.[92] It is in fact an adaptation (the protagonists bear Iranian names), in the style of his patron Ahmed Vefik Pacha (1823–1891).[93] Mirza Habib also published an interesting translation of an ethnographical work, under the title *Ketāb-e ġarāyeb-e ʻavāyed-e melal*, printed in 1885 by the printing office of the periodical *Akhtar*. It was based on the *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et usages des nations* (Paris, 1826) by G.- B. Depping. Habib Efendi had translated it from Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī's Arabic version *Qalāʾid al-mafākhir fī gharīb al-awāʾil wa al-awākhir* (1833).

He also translated Western novels into Persian, a genre hitherto more or less unknown in Iranian literature and to the Iranian reading public. Unlike the above-mentioned works, these translations circulated only as manuscripts but were nevertheless successful. Mirza Habib's translation of Lesage's *Gil Blas de Santillane* (it may also have been inspired by Ahmed Vefik Pasha)[94] was reprinted in Iran.[95] Also his most important translation, the seminal translation (from the French version) of J. Morier's *Adventures of Haji Baba of Isfahan*, could not be published in the Ottoman Empire and was published anonymously abroad, in British India, in Calcutta, in 1905, by D. C. Phillott, who misattributed the translation to another Iranian refugee, Sheikh Ahmad Ruhi Kermāni (1272/1856–1314/1896).

Iranians in the Ottoman Empire, like Europeans and Americans, enjoyed certain privileges which allowed them to trade in "forbidden books." The Iranian printers in Istanbul are known for having printed works whose publication was a sensitive matter in Iran and/or the Ottoman Empire.[96] "Habib Efendi" was also involved in this activity. He published—also on a very small scale—"forbidden" works by Persian poets such as the *Resāle-ye Delgošā*, in collaboration with the French dragoman Ferté. This was a collection of quite frivolous *hazaliyyāt* by the fourteenth-century poet Obeyd Zākāni.[97]

[89] This is often misunderstood by his biographers.

[90] See on this woman and her translations from Russian, my "Ol'ga Lebedeva (Gülnar Hanım)…"

[91] According to Mirza Habib's son, Mirza Habib's Armenian host, who knew Persian, had got wind of it and warned him. Thereupon he stayed for two weeks in the British Embassy with its First Dragoman (who was his pupil) and consequently acquired Ottoman citizenship.

[92] *Mizantrop: Gozāreš-e mardom-goriz* (Istanbul, 1286/1869).

[93] cf. Rypka 329.

[94] Ahmed Vefik Pasha's (partial) translation was published under the title *Cilbilas Santillani'nin Sergüzeşti* (Istanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matbaası, 1303 [1886]).

[95] *Sargozasht-e Jil Blās* (Ed. Gholāmhoseyn Mirza Sāleh. Teheran: Mo'in, 1377).

[96] The Turkish writer Ahmed Rasim (1864–1932) calls them "the most active agents of the freedom of the press" (*Muharrir, Şair, Edip…* 101).

[97] They appeared under the title Montaxab-e Latā'ef-e Nezāmoddin Mowlānā Obeyd Zākāni in 1885-6 (Istānbul: Maṭbaʿe-ye Abozziyā Towfiq Bek [Ebuzziya Tevfik], 1303). Several stories from this work were translated into Turkish by Muallim Nâci in *Ubeydiyye* (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1305).

Quite curious works were the "gastronomical" poems of Abū Eshāq (Bushāq) "Aṭʿima" (d. 1424 or 1426) whose *dīvān* was once more published by Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni in Istanbul in 1886,[98] and the *Divān-e albese* by Mawlanā Nizāmuddīn Qārī who did for garments what Bushāq had done for gastronomy.[99]

Mirza Habib published numerous poems in the Persian-language paper *Akhtar*, published between 1876 and 1896 in Istanbul. He even composed Turkish poems whom his Turkish biographer calls, somewhat maliciously "*biraz acemice*" (İnal 464). Moreover, he is also the author of two satirical obscene works, the rhymed *Irnāme* ("The Book of the Penis") distributed clandestinely in Istanbul in 1302/1885,[100] and the *Čahārgāh-e kos* ("The four Seasons of the Vulva").[101] These writings were only known to a few initiates.

As far as the destinies of the Iranian exiles in Turkey are concerned, one can see that the Ottoman Empire under Abdülhamid II was no longer the safe haven it had once been. Another émigré, and at the same time one of the most active writers, Mirza Aqa Khan-e Kermāni (1854–1896), who had fled to Istanbul in 1886, was executed in Tabriz together with two other exiles and close companions.[102] Charged with conspiracy, he had first been exiled to Trabzon by the Ottoman authorities but was eventually extradited following the assassination of the Iranian ruler, Nāseroddin Shah, in 1896.[103] Mirza Aqa Khan-e Kermāni is known as the author of some twenty works,[104] most of them written during his ten years' exile in the Ottoman Empire, including an unfinished translation of Fénelon's *Télémaque*,[105] a work that had previously attracted the interest of Iranians. Like others before (and after) him, Kermāni seems to have drawn his inspiration from other translations being undertaken in the Ottoman Empire, as his translations of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, and *La Chaumière indienne*[106] show.[107] Almost all of these works however remained unpublished during his lifetime. He is also said to have helped Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni on his translation of *Hajji Baba of Isfahan*.

A life-long émigré was Haji Zeynolʿābedin Marāgheʾi (1255/1840–1328/1910), of Kurdish origin and born in Azerbaijan, the author of the *Siyāhatnāme-ye Ebrāhim Bek*, a work very critical of Iran's political and social affairs, of which the third volume appeared in Istanbul in 1909, printed by Ebuzziya Tevfik. Interestingly enough, the name of the author appears for the first time on the title page of this volume.[108] Marāgheʾi spent most of his life in exile, first in

[98] *Divān-e At'eme-ye Mowlānā Abu Eshāq Hallāj-e Širāzi* (Čāpxāne-ye Abozziyā dar Ġalata), 1302). On this printing activity see Strauss, "Paul Horn…"

[99] *Divān-e albese-ye Mowlānā Nezām Qāri* (Čāpxāne-ye Abozziyā dar Ġalata, 1303). The Iranians were very fond of Ebuzziya Tevfik's qualities as a printer. In the foreword to the *Divān-e albese*, Mirzā Habib calls him "*faxro t-tābe'in*" ("pride of printers").

[100] See Mirzâ Habib Esfahâni.

[101] See Zipoli.

[102] Sheikh Ahmad Ruhi and Mirza Hasan Khan-e Khabirolmolk

[103] Nāseroddin Shah's assassination in 1896 also led to the ban of *Akhtar*.

[104] including "Three letters" *Seh maktub* and "Hundred speeches" *Sad xetābe*), published anonymously.

[105] See Bayat.

[106] *Paul et Virginie* was first translated by one Emin Sıddık in the early 1870s, an Ottoman version of *La Chaumière indienne* appeared under the title *Kulübe-i Hindî* in 1874.

[107] See Seidel.

[108] The first volume had been published in Egypt, the second one 1905 in Calcutta. There is now a partial Turkish translation by Mustafa Çiftçi: *Seyahatname-i İbrahim Bey veya Vatanseverlik Belâsı* (Ankara: Alter Yayıncılık, 2019).

the Caucasus and the Crimea, where he even took Russian citizenship. But he then spent the rest of his life in Istanbul where he became once again an Iranian citizen in 1906. He is also mentioned as a collaborator of the Persian language paper *Shams* published in this city (8 Shaʿban 1326/ Sept. 1908). But Marāgheʾi complains about not having been much valued by his countrymen there (Alavi 78). He died in Istanbul, some time after having completed the publication of his famous work.

Afghan Modernist Mahmud Tarzi (1865–1933) and His Ottoman Experience

A number of Persian writers in Istanbul in the entourage of the paper *Akhtar* discovered the West and its literary legacy via Ottoman Turkish. This is also true of the Afghan writer Mahmud Tarzi (1865–1933), a key-figure of Afghan modernism.[109] In 1881, shortly after Amir Abdurrahman Khan (1840 and 1844–1901) came to power, Tarzi's father and the rest of the family were expelled from Afghanistan. They first travelled to British India (Karachi), where they lived from 1882 to 1885, then they moved to the Ottoman Empire. Only in 1902, one year after the Amir's death, his successor Habībullāh Khan invited the Tarzi family back to Afghanistan.

Mahmud Tarzi had taken up residence for some time in Damascus, where he was employed at the secretariat of the province. During his sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, he wrote a number of works, travel books,[110] anthologies on various subjects, morals, poetry; most of them were printed later in Kabul. In Damascus, Tarzi wrote "The Garden of Knowledge,"[111] containing select articles about literary, artistic, travel and scientific matters. It concludes with an article "My Beloved Country, Afghanistan," in which he tells his Afghan countrymen how much he longs for his native land.

The city of Istanbul left a deep impression on Tarzi. A poem describing an evening spent on the charming shores of the Bosporus features in his *Az har dahan soxani, va az har čaman samani*.[112] Like Mirza Aqa Khan-e Kermāni, he also came in contact with Jamāl al-Din Afghāni in Istanbul (1897). This encounter was a decisive moment in his intellectual development: "seven months of conversations are worth seven months of traveling" (qtd. by Schinasi).

The nearly twenty years Tarzi spent between Damascus and Istanbul at the end of the nineteenth century had given him the opportunity to come into contact with European culture and literature. Several of Jules Verne's novels such as *Le Tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*,[113] *Vingt mille lieues sous les mers*,[114] *L'Île mystérieuse*,[115] *Robur-le-Conquérant*[116] were translated by

[109] See on this writer Schinasi.

[110] *Siyāhatnāme-ye Dar-i sa'ādat* (1888), *Siyāhatnāme-ye seh qet'e-ye ru-ye zamin: Asyā, Owrupā, Afriqā* (on a travel made between May and June 1891 to Beirut, Izmir, Istanbul and Port Said, before returning to Damascus; printed in Kabul in 1915), *Siyāhatnāme-ye manzum*, a versified travelogue of 500 *beyit*, written after the death of his father in Istanbul, 1901. He presented a copy of it to the Ottoman Minister of Foreign Affairs.

[111] *Rowze-ye hekam* (Kabul, 1913).

[112] Yek šabi ke dar boġāz-e delnovāz gozarānīde am" is on page 83 of *Az har dahan soxani, va az har čaman samani* ("From Every Mouth a Word, and from Every Meadow a Jasmine"; written in 1890, published in Kabul, 1913).

[113] *Siyāhat dowrādowr-e kore-ye zamin be-haštād rūz* (Kabul, 1331/1912).

[114] *Bist hazār farsax siyāhat zir-e baḥr* (Kabul 1332/1914).

[115] *Jazire-ye penhān or Qazā-zādegān-e bālun* (Kabul 1332/1914).

[116] *Siyāhat dar jow-e havā* ("A trip to the Skies or Atmosphere") (Kabul, 1331/1913).

him into Persian, from their Turkish versions.[117] In other works, also published later in Kabul, we find translations from Ottoman authors that had appeared in journals such as Ahmed Midhat Efendi's *Kırkanbar* or Mustafa Reşid's *Envar-ı Zekâ.* Ahmed Midhat Efendi, in particular, was for Tarzi a sort "of mentor he never met but knew only through his writings".[118] In 1897 (1315), he translated Hasan Fehmi's *Telhis-i Hukuk-ı Düvel* (Abridged International Law, 1300/1883) under the title *Talxis-e hoquq-e beynoddoval* into Persian and sent it to the Amir Abdurrahman.[119] Another work, *Motāla'āt -e Sehhiye* (Studies of Hygienics) was also translated, , from Turkish, with the encouragement of the Indian journalist Mahbub-e 'Ālam, the editor of the *Paisa* newspaper.[120] This translation was completed in 1900, some weeks before his father's death.[121]

Tarzi experienced two periods of exile in Turkey. He was again exiled after the double coup d'État in Afghanistan in 1929 and returned to Istanbul where he died a few years later. His descendants still live there.[122]

Walī al-Dīn Yeğen, an Arab Poet of Turkish Origin Exiled to Sivas

Unsurprisingly, there was no community of Arab political refugees in the Ottoman Empire. Those who were opposed to the regime, being Ottoman nationals, had to seek refuge elsewhere. Arab dissidents from Ottoman lands usually emigrated to Egypt. For the Syrians, Egypt under British domination proved to be particularly attractive. However, odd as it may seem, there were some Arab political exiles living in the Empire, as the following case shows.

Among the Arab writers and intellectuals present in Istanbul during the last decades of the Ottoman Empire, the case of the Egyptian poet and publicist Walī al-Dīn Yeğen ("Yakan"; 1873–1921) is certainly one of the most intriguing. For a number of reasons, he has long remained largely unknown in Turkey.[123]

Muhammad Walī al-Dīn belonged to the Turko-Egyptian aristocracy that had emerged in nineteenth century in Egypt. He was the son of Hasan Sirrī Pasha Yeğen, a great-nephew of Muhammad Ali Pasha.[124] Walī al-Dīn was born in Istanbul in the Süleymaniye neighbourhood (2 Muharrem 1290/2 March 1873). But the family left the city three years later, at the time of the first Constitutional Period and on the eve of the Russo-Turkish War, and moved to Cairo. There Walī al-Dīn received an excellent education, learnt foreign languages (French, Greek) and started writing articles for the local Arabic-language papers. At that time, he was opposed to the anti-Hamidian emigrants who had arrived in large numbers in Egypt in the '90s. Walī al-Dīn even wrote articles against them in the paper *Al-Nīl* founded by Hasan Hüsnî Doyranî

[117] These novels had been translated principally by Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] (1868–1942), the publisher of *Servet-i Fünun*.

[118] See Tarzi.

[119] This translation has not been printed and the manuscript has not been seen yet.

[120] It was a work by the Greek Doctor A. Christidi, translated into Turkish by Bafrali Yanko: *Şeriat-ı Garrâ-yı İslâmiyeye dair Mutalaat-ı Sıhhiye* (Istanbul, 1887/8).

[121] When Mahmud Tarzi came back to Kabul, it was copied by a calligrapher. Its manuscript was in the library of Saleh Parwanta.

[122] His grand grandson Ömer Tarzi is the author of a biography of his grandfather, published under the title *İki Kral, Bir Lider* (Ankara: Paloma, 2014).

[123] There is an article by Şükran Fazlıoğlu with bibliography.

[124] His grandfather Ibrahim Pasha Yegen was the son of Mehmed Ali Pasha's sister.

(Ḥasan Ḥusnī al-Ṭuwayrānī; 1266–1315/1850–1899), one of the prominent Turks living in Egypt, familiar with both Turkish and Arab culture.[125] He seems to have had a decisive influence upon Walī al-Dīn who then became a supporter of the Sultan-Caliph. According to Waḥīd's *ʿĀshiq al-ḥurriyya*, Hasan Hüsnî eventually returned to Istanbul where he spent the last years of his life, having obtained a post at the *Cemiyet-i Rüsumiye*, a decision he regretted later (37f). In 1313 (beg. June 1895), he was awarded the *rütbe-i saniye* by Sultan Abdülhamid II.

Walī al-Dīn visited his native city again in 1895, and spent one year in the house of a relative, Mehmed Faik Bey Yeğen, member of the Council of State. During his stay in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul "which was considered one of the five most beautiful cities in the world, and which was not only the capital of a country, but the capital of the Islamic caliphate" (Waḥīd 11), he soon discovered the corruption of Abdülhamid's regime, which he had hitherto praised so lavishly. Back in Egypt, he started criticizing the Sultan and his policy in his writings for various papers.

He nevertheless returned to Istanbul again at the beginning of 1316 (May 1898) and then obtained a post at the customs office (*rüsumat dairesi*). In 1317 (1899), he was even appointed member of the Supreme Council of Education (*Meclis-i Maarif*).

Due to his critical attitude, he incurred the hatred of Zühdi Pasha (1833–1902), the Ottoman minister of education and his entourage. Among these, Ebulhuda (al-Ṣayyādī; 1850–1909) seems to have been Walī al-Dīn's principal enemy (cf. Yakan, *Al-Maʿlūm wa al-majhūl* I, 90-104). Ebulhuda was a Syrian from Damascus, sheikh of the Rifaî order, who has been viewed as a sort of Ottoman "Rasputin."[126] He lived in Yıldız Palace and was one of the most active propagandists of the Sultan among the Arab population. Walī al-Dīn published chapters on his misdeeds under the pseudonym Zahīr in the Egyptian paper *al-Rāʾid al-miṣrī* and wrote satirical poems (*Al-maʿlūm wa al-majhūl* I, 163f).

When he eventually asked for leave to return to Egypt, he was arrested and banned by Sultan Abdülhamid to the Anatolian province of Sivas in 1318/1902. There, however, he was appointed assistant secretary (*mektupçu muavini*) of the *vilayet* (*Sivas Vilayeti Salnamesi…* 55). He was to spend almost seven years in this exile, together with his family, until the Young Turk Revolution (1908). These years are described in detail in the second volume of his memoirs published under the title *Al-maʿlūm wa al-majhūl* after his return to Egypt. During the years in Sivas, Walī al-Dīn composed many poems in which he laments his exile.[127] They are full of nostalgia for life in Istanbul ("Farūq") and Cairo,[128] in sharp contrast with the situation his Anatolian exile. According to one of his biographers, "he celebrates in verse this city all his life long, as no Arab poet had ever done for his birthplace or any city he had fallen in love with" (Waḥīd, *ʿĀshiq al-ḥurriyya* 10). Walī al-Dīn also mentions the Turkish poet İsmail Safa (1866–1901) who died in Sivas, where he had been exiled after a pro-British demonstration (Hanioğlu

[125] As his *laqab* indicates, Hasan Hüsnî descended from a Turkish family of *bey*s from Macedonia known as the Sührabzadeler (*Sührabzade Hocaoğlu*) but had grown up in Egypt.

[126] See Abu Manneh.

[127] e.g. "*Shakwā al-manfā*" (*Dīwān* 25-26), "*Ḥīna al-nafy fī Sīwās*" (*Dīwān* 53), "*Shakwā ilā ṣadīq*" (*Dīwān* 36-37), "*Wadāʿ Fārūq*" (*Dīwān* 55). Walī al-Dīn Yeğen's *dīwān* was published posthumously by his brother Yūsuf Hamdī Yakan. It contains 2500 *beyit*s. The section *siyāsiyyāt* is important.

[128] "*al-ḥanīn ilā Miṣr*" (*Dīwān* 34-35).

139). In Sivas, he discovered on the walls of the *khan* in Çakallı, among many other inscriptions and graffiti, two verses by İsmail Safa and a short text on the tragic destiny of this poet, who had died two years previously (Waḥīd, *Al-ma'lūm wa al-majhūl* 2: 65). Walī al-Dīn knew his works and had met him once (*Al-ma'lūm wa al-majhūl* 2: 58).

His attitude towards Sultan Abdülhamid II and his regime had become unequivocal. This appears most starkly in one of his famous poems, "The Bosporus during a Winter Night" ("Khalīj al-Busfūr fī iḥdā layālī al-shitāʾ") where he describes the terrible fate of an opponent to the Sultan drowned in the Bosporus.[129] There is also the *qaṣīda* written in response to a poem by his famous contemporary (who also had mamluk ancestors) the poet Aḥmad Shawqī (1868–1932) which he had composed after the deposition of Abdülhamid II in 1909. Shawqī, who had always been an admirer of the Sultan, deplored this act.[130] Walī al-Dīn's sympathy for the Young Turks is also demonstrated by his Arabic translation of the souvenirs of Niyazi Bey (1873–1913), one of the heroes of the Young Turk Revolution. This translation was published in Cairo in 1327.[131]

Ambivalent about his position and vacillating between his Arab, Ottoman and Turkish identities, he was once prompted to write" I love all Ottoman elements[132] and I stand by the oppressed among them"[133] and he described his paradoxical position with the following words: "I am Turkish and detest people who attack Turks […] and I am an Arab as regards literature and the pen, and an Arab in outlook, and I detest those who detest the Arabs."[134]

Conclusion: Émigré Literature in the Ottoman Empire and Its Legacy

To sum up, there is a significant corpus of "literary" works—in the broadest sense—produced in the Ottoman Empire that can be termed "émigré literature" (this corpus is, of course, non-exhaustive and requires more comprehensive research). Most of them were written after the Tanzimat period when the Ottoman Empire had become more accessible to foreigners and when that type of emigration had become a common phenomenon.

It is only exceptionally that these writings were printed in the Ottoman Empire (e.g., Wassa Efendi/Pasha; Mustafa Celâleddin Pasha; a few works by Mirza Habib-e Esfahāni). Usually, they were published in Europe, often in magazines or journals. Some of them were published after the return of the emigrants to their homelands, some of them even posthumously.

Most writers from Europe continued to use their native languages (Hungarian, Romanian, Polish) in their exile. Others used French, the dominant Western language in the Ottoman Empire, with which Muslim Turks had become increasingly familiar. None of these writers adopted the language of the host country as a medium of literary expression although such

[129] It is reminiscent of Tevfik Fikret's "Sis."

[130] On Shawqī see Tekin and Kırmızı.

[131] *Khawāṭir Niyāzī*: *Ṣaḥīfa min ta'rīkh al-inqilāb al-'uthmānī al-kabīr* (Cairo, 1327-1909).

[132] Arabic *ʿanāsır* (sg. *ʿunsur*). This term was used also in Ottoman Turkish to designate the different ethnic groups in the Empire; "Ottomanism" was often referred to as *ittihad-ı anasır* (union of elements).

[133] "*Uḥibbu al-ʿanāṣir al-ʿuthmāniyya kulla-hā wa ākhidh bi-nāṣir al-mustaḍʿaf minhā.*"

[134] "*Anā Turkī wa ubghiḍu 'ibādullāh ilā Turkī mu'tadin* […] *wa ana 'Arabī al-adab wa al-qalam 'Arabī al-naz'a wa man abghaḍa al-'arab fa-anā mubghiḍu-hu.*"

cases are known with other Western immigrants.[135] Occasionally, this may be due to the short duration of their stay which did not allow them to become proficient in the language. But émigrés from the East too usually continued to use their mother tongues: the Iranians (and the Afghan Mahmud Tarzi) wrote in Persian, the Arabs in Arabic. Mirza Habib-i Isfahani who has left a few minor works in Turkish[136] and even composed poems in this language, is a rather exceptional case.[137]

Ottoman literature failed to make much impact on Westerners. Even Bolintineanu wrote his poems on beautiful Ottoman ladies in an entirely orientalist fashion, according to Western models, without any trace of influence of Ottoman *divan* literature. Fascination with the exotic Orient is characteristic of romanticism[138] and Brzozowski's *Noc strzelców w Anatolii* was in fact inspired by the masterpieces of Polish romanticism (e.g., Mickiewicz's *Pan Tadeusz*).

This is emphatically not the case of émigrés from Islamic countries. Mirza Habib-i Isfahani seems to have taken the inspiration for some of his translations from his patron, Ahmed Vefik Pasha. For Mahmud Tarzi, too, the twenty years spent in the Ottoman Empire had given him the opportunity to come into contact not only with Ottoman literature but also with European culture—with Ottoman Turkish acting as an intermediary. Zeynolʿābedin Marāgheʾi, though respected as a pioneer of modern Iranian literature, has been blamed by modern Iranian critics for having "translated Turkish phrases into Persian" (Alavi 78). Walī al-Dīn Yeğen is said to have written newspaper articles in Turkish, and he translated—after his exile—works from Turkish into Arabic. For his poetical works, he continued to use the Arabic language and Arabic models, even if Western influence is also quite conspicuous. Among the Turkish writers he had studied,[139] he seems to have been particularly impressed by Namık Kemal whom he admired as a great poet.[140] Even his own poetry is, according to some (al-Kayyālī 43), strongly influenced by the Ottoman poet.

[135] There are two German cases: Wilhelm Wiesenthal (1845–1900), who wrote the patriotic drama *Asya'da Çernayef yahud Türk Kahramanları* (1877); and Willy Bolland ("Veli Bey Bülend"), who translated a comedy, Picard's *Encore des Ménechmes* (under the title *Dayı ile Yeğen*) into Turkish (Istanbul, 1888).

[136] In particular a treatise on calligraphy: *Hatt ve Hattâtân* (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1305/1889).

[137] There are, of course, the emigrants from the Russian Empire, who already knew Turkish such as the journalist and writer Mehmed "Mizancı" Murad (1854–1917) from Daghestan. There were even ethnic Turks (e.g., the Tatar Yusuf Akçura; 1876–1935). These have not been dealt with in this article since they soon became fully integrated both into the society and the literature of their host country. Some of the emigrants from Daghestan are particularly interesting figures (On this diaspora see Murtazaliev). Mizancı Murad (known as Haji-Murad Amirov in Daghestan) was a native of Urakhi where the local language is Darginian (Dargwa). But thanks to his training in Russian schools, he was also perfectly familiar with Russian. This allowed him to translate Griboedov's famous comedy *Gore ot uma* into Ottoman Turkish under the title *Akıldan Belâ* (1882). Other Daghistanis even left works written in their native Caucasian language. The learned Ömer Ziyaüddin ed-Dağıstanî (1849-1920), a native of Miatli, author of numerous theological works, especially on hadith, experienced exile several times (Turkey, Medina, Egypt). He also left works (in particular a *Mevlid*) in his native Avar language, which were printed in Turkey, some of them at the time when he served as a regimental mufti in Edirne (1879–1894). In 1908, another work written by ed-Dağistanî, in Avar, the poem *Qisasu l-anbiyā*, appeared in Temir-Khan Shura (since 1922 *Buinaksk*) in Daghistan.

[138] On the subject see Kirschbaum.

[139] Şinasi, Namık Kemal, Ziya Pasha, Abdulhak Hamid, Samipaşazade Sezai, Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem, etc.

[140] Also see the portrait of Namık Kemal in *Al-ma'lūm wa al-majhūl*, I, 96 with the caption: "*Ash'ar shu'arāʾ al-Turk wa aktab kuttābi-hā al-adīb Nāmiq Kamāl Beg al-shahīr*."

In so far as Western émigrés deal with Turkish affairs in their writings (especially in their travel accounts), they contribute much less than one might expect to modifying Europeans' vision of Turkey. They were usually influenced by their previous readings and the scholarly research done by Europeans. This applies even to Kelemen Mikes, who spent several decades in Turkey.[141] The Princess Belgiojoso, as a travel writer, displays more originality and distinguishes herself by her specifically feminine gaze and perception. Some diaries provide the historian with interesting material. Czajkowski's biographical and autobiographical writings can be considered as a valuable historical source for post-Tanzimat Turkey. But there can be no doubt that the considerable corpus of travel literature produced by the émigrés, in particular Easterners (e.g., Mahmud Tarzi), needs and merits further study.

A number of these works are commonly regarded as pioneering works. They were instrumental for the development of literature in their native countries, or their (linguistic) community. Mikes's "Letters from Turkey" are generally considered as the outstanding Hungarian prose work of the eighteenth century representing a turning point in Hungarian literary prose. Mikes is therefore regarded as one of the first prose writers. Paradoxically, he was also the first to transpose French culture into the Hungarian language.

As to Dimitrie Bolintineanu, he is considered, thanks to his *Florile Bosforului*, as the first Romanian poet to deal with exotic subjects. Mihał Czajkowski is now nearly forgotten, but had been quite popular for a while for his Kossack stories. He is still mainly known for his earlier works, written during his previous exile in Paris. Mirza Habib's translation of Morier's novel marks the origin of the novel in Persian (its contemporary readers even considered it an original work!). The same applies to Marāghe'i and his *Siyāhatnāme-ye Ebrāhim Bek*, a pioneering work in the field of the Persian novel.

Also Mahmud Tarzi brought a new genre of prose to Afghanistan, including short stories and travel writing. He was, moreover, the first to introduce the novel in Afghanistan by translating French novels into Persian. He is without doubt the most important figure of these émigrés. He is considered as one of Afghanistan's greatest intellectuals and as the father of Afghan journalism. Also as a politician, he is a key figure of Afghan modernism. Walī al-Dīn Yeğen became one of the foremost Istanbul poets in the Arabic language.

Especially among the immigrants from the Caucasus in the Ottoman Empire we find individuals acknowledged as pioneers in their native countries thanks to the works they produced during their exile. The Daghistani Ömer Ziyauddin, for example, is considered as the writer who first introduced the genre of the *Mevlid* into Avar spiritual literature (Khaybullaev 61). The Ossetian émigré Mamşıratı Temirpolat (Temirpolat Mamsurov**;** 1845-1898) is even hailed as the first poet in the Ossetian language. After having started a military career in St. Petersburg, he decided to follow his paternal uncle Musa Kundukhov,[142] and emigrated to the

[141] The letters 172-191 from the *Letters from Turkey* have as their source a shortened French version of Ricaut's *The History of the Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (London, 1669): "Tableau de l'Empire Ottoman," the appendix to *Histoire de l'Empire Ottoman (Histoire générale des Turcs, depuis leur origine jusqu'à 1704)* (La Haye, 1709). This topic has been dealt with by Lajos Hopp, in his *A fordító Mikes Kelemen* (Kelemen Mikes, the Translator).

[142] Musa Kundukhov (1818-1889) had been a highly decorated general in the Russian Army who participated in the suppression of the Cracow Uprising (1846) and the Hungarian Revolution (1849). He had even fought against the Ottomans in the Crimean War. After having changed sides he continued his military career in the Ottoman Army, and fought against the Russian Empire during the War of 1877-1878.

Ottoman Empire in 1865. He eventually settled in Batmantaş (Tokat province). Temirpolat first became known in his homeland after the Russo-Turkish War (1877-1878)[143] Some decades later, in 1920, a small collection (10 poems) of his poems in Latin script, composed in Batmantaş were brought to Ossetia (Vladikavkaz) by Musa Kundukhov´s son Bekir Sami (1865-1933), who had led the Turkish nationalist government's delegation to the Soviet Union. These poems were to establish Temirpolat´s fame.[144]

Another Caucasian and pioneer in the literary field was Hüseyin Şem'î [Tümer], pseudonym Seyin Tıme (1875-1962). He was born in the Ottoman Empire, in the Macedonian town of Demirhisar (today Siderokastro). His ancestors had come from the Shapsugh tribe in the Kuban area.[145] Seyin Tıme was the first to have published poems in the Circassian language in Latin script (*Gesefetxid* "Educational, i.e., patriotic, poems")[146]. This attempt was, however, short-lived and unable to establish a lasting trend. [147]

It is well known that exiles often played the role of intermediary between the host country and the country they had left behind. This was seldom the case of the émigrés in the Ottoman Empire. It seems as if their literary activity remained more or less unnoticed in the host country (at least among the Muslim Turkish population) during their lifetime. It has occasionally been rediscovered recently (Mikes's *Letters* almost two hundred years later). Some works gained late popularity in Republican Turkey.[148] But there can be no doubt that the study of these works, especially in a comparative approach, is promising: It will pave the way for many discoveries and open up new and interesting perspectives for the literary history of the Ottoman Empire.

[143] The Russian scholar Vsevolod Miller published one specimen of his poetry, "Lamentations" (*Cæгъæcmæ*) in his *Osetinskie etjudy* 1: 105.

[144] Mamşıratı Temirpolat´s poems may be considered as typical specimens of émigré literature: they are full of nostalgia for his homeland and critical about his experience in Turkey. A Turkish translation of one of his famous poems "Two Friends," a dialogue between an old *muhacir* and a child can be found in Aydemir´s *Muhaceretteki Çerkes Aydınları*, 55-58.

[145] See on this person Berzeg.

[146] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Osmaniye, 1919).

[147] Today even Caucasian activists in Turkey prefer to use the Cyrillic script introduced, after a decade of a Soviet Latin script, in 1936-1937. Cf. "Kiril esaslı Çerkes alfabelerini öğrenmek ve bu alfabelerle üretilen eserlerden yararlanmak, en mantıklı yoldur" (Aydın 101).

[148] To these belong *Les Turcs anciens et modernes.* A copy of the Paris edition of Mustafa Celâleddin's work was also in Atatürk's private library. There one even finds reactions of its illustrious but also critical reader: notes on the margins such as "*çok mühimm*," "*dikkat*" but also "*yok canım!*"

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