

## **At the Crossroads of Translation and History-Writing: *Büyük İran Tarihi* as a Case of Writing History through Translation**

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This article explores the relationship between translation and history-writing within the framework of translation studies by analyzing *Büyük İran Tarihi* (Great history of Iran) translated by Ömer Halis from Persian into Ottoman Turkish in 1926. Questioning whether the distinction between the translation and the original and the distinction between the translator and the history writer were blurred in this case of translation and whether the translator used strategies that reflect his ideology during the translation process, a descriptive analysis of the extratextual elements surrounding the translation and of the textual elements has been conducted. Drawing on the analysis of the extratextual sources and the textual sources with a focus on the translation strategies such as omissions, additions and modifications, it is claimed that Ömer Halis intervenes in the translation in line with his ideological stance and becomes both a visible translator and a history writer who enters into a communication, starts a dialogue and a discussion with the author of the source text, who evaluates and construes the information in the source text from his ideological point of view and who writes a history that serves his ideology. It is further claimed that, the boundary between the translator and the historian and the boundary between translation and history-writing become eliminated in this specific case of translation, which might be considered as a constituent of the ‘history translation repertoire’ of the period in question.

Keywords: history translation; history-writing; ideology; descriptive translation studies; history translation repertoire

### **1. Introduction**

Starting with the proclamation of the Tanzimat (Reorganization) Edict of 1839, which is officially accepted as the starting year of westernization in the Ottoman Empire up to the Alphabet Reform in 1928, several works in various fields were translated into Ottoman Turkish. In this period, translations from Eastern languages decreased dramatically when compared to the previous years, whereas translations from Western languages showed a significant increase (cf. Karadağ 2014; Bozkurt 2014). There was also an increase in the number of history translations during this period. Although most of the translations in the field of history were from Western languages, there were also translations from Eastern languages. One of the

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history books translated from Eastern languages into Ottoman Turkish between 1839-1928 is Mohammad Ali Foroughi's book titled *Büyük İnan Tarihi*.<sup>1</sup> The book was translated by Ömer Halis,<sup>2</sup> a Turkish nationalist and a military officer with a good knowledge of Persian, and published by *Matbaa-i Askeriye*<sup>3</sup> in 1926. The translator wrote a preface of 4 pages and added an epilogue of 36 pages at the end of the book.

The publishing date of the source text is 1931; however, the book was first published in Tehran in 1902 in installments with the title *Tarikh-e İnan-e Qadim* (The old history of İnan), which were then brought together in 1931 and published with the title *Tarikh-e İnan-e Bastan*<sup>4</sup> (The ancient history of İnan). The translation by Ömer Halis is based on the installments, but the installments were not available in libraries of İnan; thus, the text published in 1931 was taken as the source text for this study. When translating, Ömer Halis changed the name of the book to *Büyük İnan Tarihi* (Great history of İnan).

Two authors' names appear on the cover page (see figure 1 in the appendix) of the source text: "Mohammad Hüseyin Han Zekâü'l-Mülk" (Foroughi the father) under the word "nigârîş"<sup>5</sup> and "Mohammad Ali Han Foroughi Zekâü'l-Mülk" (Foroughi the son) under the word "telif."<sup>6</sup> That might be due to the fact that the author wrote the preface of the book together with his father and the author used his father's fame for accrediting the book, but there is no explanation on this matter in the preface. Five couplets written by Foroughi the father also appear right before the preface.

Mohammad Ali Foroughi, born in 1875 in Tehran, was named as Zekâü'l-Mülk-i Sâni (Second Zekâü'l-Mülk) because of his father's nick name, Zekâü'l-Mülk-i Evvel (First Zekâü'l-Mülk). He was also an important politician who was highly trusted by the United Kingdom. It is known that Foroughi played an important role in the most critical political periods of İnan, such as the transition period from Qajarid Dynasty to Pahlavi rulers, the Reza

<sup>1</sup> Literally means 'Great history of İnan.'

<sup>2</sup> Ömer Halis was born in 1883 in Erzincan and served at different military institutions after graduating from the military school Mekteb-i Harbiye. He took charge of the security command of Istanbul and was on duty when he died in 1939. The book named *İnan'da İngilizler* (The English in İnan) is another history translation by Ömer Halis. It was translated from French. Moreover, Ömer Halis wrote a book titled *Timurlar Zamanında Hindistan Türk İmparatorluğu* (The Turkish Empire of İnan in the reign of Tamerlane) which was published by the Turkish Historical Society.

<sup>3</sup> The publishing house of the Ottoman army.

<sup>4</sup> تاریخ ایران باستان

<sup>5</sup> Composition.

<sup>6</sup> Writing.

Khan Pahlavi period and the transition period from Reza Khan to the son, Mohammad Reza. Foroughi served for British and Russian interests when he was working for the Turkish Qajarid State, playing an important role in bringing the Turkish domination in Iran to an end and in the takeover of the state by Pahlavis (cf. Jahanbeiglou 2015). Foroughi was a member and the spokesman of the parliament during the period of Pahlavi the first. He also served as prime minister and after his term ended, he was first assigned as ambassador to Turkey and then to the USA. He passed away in Tehran before he had a chance to take office in the USA.

Foroughi's works<sup>7</sup> reveal his special interest in history. However, the author is believed to have viewed Iranian history from the perspective of France and the United Kingdom and been inspired by the social engineering efforts of these countries to write a new history book (cf. Malcolm 1908; Pirnia 1937; Briant 1998; Diakonoff 2001; Gershevitch 2008; Gershevitch 2012). Foroughi was interested in language as well. He founded the Persian Language Society in 1935 with the aim of cleansing the Persian language and protecting it from the influence of Turkish and Arabic languages (cf. Foroughi 1931).<sup>8</sup>

Even this limited information about Foroughi might suffice to reveal his attitude towards Turkic states. Therefore, a book written by a political figure like Foroughi about the history of Iran, throughout which Turkic states played an important role, can be argued to be an interesting research object for scholars working in the field of history. Whether some states

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<sup>7</sup> Foroughi's main works include:

- DorDore-yi Mukhtasar Ez Elme Fizik* [A brief review of physics] (Tehran: Ministry of Education, 1834)  
*Ekonomi Politik* [Economy politics] (Tehran: Ministry of Education, 1938)  
*Adab-e Meshroutiyet-e Dovel* [The constitution principles of governments] (Tehran: Kavir, 1907)  
*Tarikh-e Mokhtasare Iran* [A brief history of Iran] (Tehran: Mahmoudiyeh, 1909)  
*Tarikh-e Qadim-e Iran* [The old history of Iran] (Tehran: Entesharat-e Elm, 1902)  
*Tarikh-e Iran-e Bastan* [The ancient history of Iran] (Tehran: Entesharat-e Elm, 1931)  
*Tarikh-e Sasani* [The history of Sassanid] (Tehran: Dolat, 1897)  
*Tarikh-e Qadim-e Melal-e Mashregh* [The history of old governments of east], trans. Mohammed Ali Foroughi. (Tehran: Zamin, 1901)  
*Tarikh-e Mokhtasar-e Dolat-e Qadim-e Rom* [A brief history of Rome government] (Tehran: Farous, 1948)  
*Hekmet-e Soqrat ve Eflaotun* [The wisdom of Socrates and Plato] (Tehran: Majlis, 1943)  
*Seyr-e Hekmat Dar Oroupa* [The circulation of wisdom in Europe] (Tehran: Safi Alishah, 1911)  
*Ayin-e Sokhanvari* [The principles of speaking] (Tehran: Danesh Press, 1912)  
*Payam be Farhanghestan* [A message to the language association] (Tehran: Payam, 1936)  
*Fenn-e Semâ-e Tabii* [Natural sema techniques] (Tehran: National Parliament, 1937).

<sup>8</sup> Foroughi made significant contributions to the renewal of Persian. However, it should be mentioned that his approach to cleansing Persian from Arabic and Turkish was not as strict as some members of the Persian Language Society. While some members of the society opted for removing the influence of Arabic and Turkish completely from Persian, Foroughi had a milder and concealed approach towards the words commonly used by public and that had become a part of Persian. He underlined that Turks in Iran should not be allowed to change their alphabet to Latin, because they would be more acquainted with developments in Turkey.

in the Iranian history, like Safavids, are of Turkish origin or not has been a topic of interest among Iranian, Turkish and Western historians, whose views on the subject considerably differ from each other (cf. Feridun Ahmet Paşa 1847; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier 1910; Krosinski 1984; Seyed Hassan Astarabadi [1703] 1985; Bakihanov 2004). Many Iranian historians regard the Safavid State within the Iranian borders as a Shia-Persian state, for instance, while some Turkish and European historians describe it as the first independent Shia-Turkic state. What is clear is that Safavids' Turkish origin has almost always been ignored by Persian historians especially after the Pahlavi period. It can be argued that Mohammad Ali Foroughi displays a similar attitude in his book. Thus, Foroughi's approach can be considered as an example of how the author's ideology affects the way he writes history. The fact that the book was translated into Ottoman Turkish by a military translator who presumably had a completely opposing view to that of the author makes the subject even more intriguing especially from the perspective of translation studies.

The relationship between translation and history(writing) in the Ottoman context has been explored in a recent study by Karadağ (2019). Questioning whether Hongyin Wang's concepts of "foreign language creation" and "rootless/textless back translation" have an explanatory role in investigating the relationship between translation and history(writing), the author suggests that the act of translating a historical text might be considered as "re-writing" since the translator translates a text produced by a historian who, acting as a translator, treats the past as a source text and translates it into a target text (34). Following her descriptive analysis of the translation of Alphonse-Marie-Louis de Prat de Lamartine's 1859-text *L'Histoire de la Turquie* into Turkish as *Osmanlı Tarihi I - Aşiretten Devlete* (Ottoman history I - from tribe to state) by Mehmet Reşat Uzmen with a focus on the "restoration" of the source text by the translator and the redactor during the translation process, Karadağ claims that they assume the role of "history writer" who "write their own history" (52) as they translate a work penned by a French author on Turks, as a case of "foreign language creation," into the Turkish language, performing a process of "re-translation" (53).

How the distinction between the translator and the author and the translation and the original<sup>9</sup> becomes blurred in a translation case in the Ottoman-Turkish translation history has also been illustrated in a study by Öner and Karadağ (2016) on the drafting of the Ottoman

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<sup>9</sup> For a recent comprehensive study on the constructed nature of the concept of "the original," see Tellioglu (2019).

Penal Code of 1858 where the French Penal Code of 1810 was used as the source. Introducing the term “lawmaking through translation” to “define a case of lawmaking where translation is instrumentalized in the drafting process before the law is enacted by the legislative body” (15), the authors argue that the Ottoman Code of 1858 “was a translation which was not produced to be presented/perceived as a translation in the target system” (14-15), but “so as to entertain the status of an original code in the target system” (15), and “was a constituent of translated law as a particular system within the Ottoman-Turkish legal polysystem” (15).

Is the distinction between the translation and the original and hence between the translator and the history writer also blurred in the translation case under scrutiny in the present study? Why and how was this particular history book, shaped by its author’s ideology, translated into Ottoman Turkish by a translator who was a Turkish nationalist? Did the translator use strategies reflecting his own ideology during the translation process? If so, can we claim that the translator wrote history through translation in this specific case of history translation?

Looking for the answers to the above research questions, this paper aims to explore the relationship between translation and history-writing within the framework of translation studies. With this aim, section 2 and section 3 of the paper are devoted to the descriptive analysis of the extratextual elements surrounding the translation and of the textual elements, respectively. Section 4 presents the discussion and conclusions.

## **2. The Translator’s Preface and Epilogue**

### **2.1. The Translator’s Preface**

As one major source for analysis of translation products and for reconstructing translational norms within the Tourian descriptive framework, extratextual sources (Touy 1995, 65) are of critical significance for the analysis of the case in question in the present study.

One such source is the translator’s four-page long preface titled “Türkçeye Nakledenin Mukaddimesi” (The preface of the conveyor). Before discussing the “skopos” (Vermeer 2012) of the translator in writing a preface, the preface written by the author for the source text deserves to be focused on. Foroughi, the author of the source text, wrote a preface to his book with his father Mohammad Hüseyin Han Foroughi. The Foroughis state in the preface that their main purpose was to write a history book for educational purposes. This history book, which

the Foroughis expected to be taught in schools, is divided into two parts: Persian history before Islam and after Islam, which was a then-new historic segmentation compared to previous history books.

It would not be wrong to say that the book was written with an emphasis on Persian nationalism, taking into consideration the Foroughis' intention to teach this history to Iranian schoolchildren. The Foroughis' tendency towards 'Persian nationalism' is clearly reflected in their preface:

After writing this preface, we decided to divide the Persian history into two parts: the old and the new history. The first part (old history) starts with the Achaemenid Empire and ends with the toppling of Persian shahs by Arabs. The second part (new history) starts with the emergence of Islam and holds up to the present. Both parts include different chapters as seen in the table of contents. However, the history before the Achaemenid Empire will be presented in another book; because we cannot include this period in **Iranian history**. (Foroughi 1931, 7; emphasis added; see figure 2a)<sup>10</sup>

The fact that the writers of the preface do not regard the history of 6000 years before Achaemenid as Iranian history can be construed as their tendency to ignore other nations, apart from Persians, that have lived in Iran. In line with the statements of the authors in the preface, it can also be argued that they turn a blind eye to 2500 years of the Iranian history, especially the Mede, Manna, Elamite and Sumer states, and present the new age starting with Pahlavis as the extension of the "Age of Prosperity" (Foroughi 1931).

Such a tendency is also evident in Foroughi the father's following poem of five couplets appearing before the preface:

ز ربع کده و اطلال بابل  
ز خارجهای که وقتی بودند داخل  
ز مصر و نوبه سودان ساحل  
جبال صاعد و آجام نازل  
بسالی طی نمودنی قوافل<sup>11</sup>

بیبا تا با تو گویم داستانشانها  
ز کرسیهای ملک از شوش و استخر  
ز صنعا یمن شام و فلسطین  
ز بحر طونه و از رود آمو  
زمینهاییکه ما را بود و آنرا

<sup>10</sup> Translations of the quotations from Foroughi and Ömer Halis belong to the author.

<sup>11</sup> Let me tell you stories  
From the thrones of Shush and Estakhr  
From Sana, Yemen, Damascus and Palestine  
From Tuna Sea and Amu Darya  
The lands that were ours, once

from the ruins of Chaldea and Babel  
from foreigners, once upon a time was part of us  
from Egypt, Nubia and coasts of Sudan  
Jabal Mountains and reeds of lower lands  
but tribes took them in a year

As can be seen above, Foroughi the father only mentions the names of the capital cities and the lands captured during the Achaemenid era such as Egypt and Palestine, underlining in particular how vast the Persian Empire was.

The following excerpt from the preface of the original corroborates the argument that the book was written with national motives:

This book which is written about our history must begin with the history of the ancient nations of the East. First of all, we will go through the history of Iran; because ancient Iran was one of those nations that are famous because of their masterpieces. Here we place more importance on our homeland than the others. That is not a fault and we are not on the wrong side and like old men of wisdom, we think that loving the homeland is a part of our belief. (Foroughi 1931, 6-7; see figure 2b)

Foroughis underline that patriotism is a matter of faith, that they attach great importance to the notion of homeland, and that they are not at fault insofar as they do so. They refer to the Eastern nations as the origin of the world's history.

On the other hand, the excerpt from the preface the translator wrote may provide answers as to why Ömer Halis, a Turkish nationalist, translated a work with an emphasis on Persian nationalism into Ottoman Turkish. In the preface, the translator gives historical information about the Pahlavis and the Qajarid Empire, underlining the importance of Iran:

The country about half of which includes Turks and with which we nowadays share about five hundred kilometers of common boundary, has experienced many great historical incidents and we must follow their changes, to take necessary measures, since it is a vital issue for us. Only through looking into the maps, we will see that the Iranian government has colonized millions of our brothers, attempts to separate us from our Eastern provinces and threatens us. (Halis 1926, 1; see figure 3)

Ömer Halis points out to the fact that half of the population living in Iran was Turks at the time and that Ottoman Turks shared a border of five hundred kilometers with the neighboring state Iran. He adds that they should be informed about the fate of that state, because from his point of view, any state that might invade Iran and eliminate the Turks living there would be a great threat for the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire as well. The translator calls for taking measures to avoid that. It is understood that the translator refers to the dangerous situation for the Turks living in that region when the Qajarids, the last Turkic state ruling in Iranian territories, were destroyed and the Pahlavis started dominating the region.

The translator states in his preface that the author of the source text is a Persian with a good command of English who is well-acquainted with Europe, and that he wrote this history

book with a new perspective for his own people. Following this information, Ömer Halis explains his own motivation for the translation:

The dear writer of the history certain parts of which I have translated is the head of the viziers who has great knowledge of European advancement and knows English very well and he is one of the Iranian politicians. Without being drawn in the political concerns (to conceal one's opinions and to mislead) of a senior politician who leads Iran towards change and revolution, as a teacher and educator, I believe it will be beneficial for Turkish readers to have information about their country and nation as well as its past, present and future, and its struggle with and the approach towards the neighbor countries and hence I believe the Turkish readers will appreciate this humble work. (Halis 1926, 3; see figure 4)

As explained in the quoted passage, the translator, who is a military instructor, translated only some chapters of this work into Ottoman Turkish for Turkish readers, leaving out some other parts. The translator states further that he chose the work in question as he thought it would help Turkish readers to learn more about the political landscape of their neighbors. He starts the translation with Safavid and ignores the previous chapters but adds an epilogue that the original text lacks.

The translator's following statements clarify his ideological approach to the source text:

Even in the later time and in the reign of Safavids, the Shiite and Sunni conflicts that are aroused by the Russian and the English, that have led them to consider their own brothers as enemy, have caused war between them and Ottoman and Central Asia Turks and finally have led them to get weaker in economy, politics and military issues. As a result, they have weakened their own country and their other neighbor Turkic states against the common enemy. Undoubtedly, in this national crime, our sultan and religious leaders certainly are guilty as the partner of the crime, however all that is wasted and is innocent is the Turkish blood. (Halis 1926, 2; see figure 5)

The translator explains hereby the negative impact that the sectarian conflicts provoked by the English and the Russian had on Turkic communities. In his opinion, the Turkic state Safavids went to war with the Ottoman and Middle Eastern Turks because of the Shia-Sunni strife, which led to the invasion of their own and the neighboring lands by a 'common enemy,' namely the Western states. The translator adds that the Ottoman sultans and the sheikh al-Islams were jointly responsible for the war among Turks.

Ömer Halis believes that the Iranian State has acted against the Turks throughout history due to foreign provocation. The following words clearly reveal his ideological stance:



The unfavorable acts of Iranian government which, under the influence of foreigners, mostly have worked against the Turks' interests could be observed everywhere. The Iran and Turan wars that have continued for centuries were not enough that we fought with each other. Centuries before Christ, the Turk Medes who were ruling Iran under their own fame, ignorance, desire and interest forgot and ignored their own nation and even now they work contrary to the interests of Turks. (Halis 1926, 2; see figure 6)

The review of the preface of the translated work gives us clues as to why the translator might have chosen this particular work as well as his 'translation policy,' 'ideology,' and hence his 'skopos.' Based on this information, one can argue that the translator purposefully chose a history book promoting Persian nationalism, that he added some parts which, in his view, were missing, or omitted some parts altogether so that Turkish readers could have the 'right' information about Iran.

## 2.2. The Translator's Epilogue

As the other extratextual source, the epilogue annexed to the translated text is composed of two sections titled "Nasiriddin Şah'ın Vefatından Büyük Harb'e (1914) Kadar, Babiler Mezhebi" (The religion of Babis from the death of Nasereddinshah until the big war [1914]) and "Şah Abbas, Tahmasb Kulihan, Nadir Şah Avşar Devirleri ve Bu Edvara Müsadif Osmanlı Tarih-i Safahatı" (Shah Abbas, Tahmasb Gholikhan, Nader Shah Afshar era and the pages on contemporary Ottoman sultans with them).

The translator claims that the author provides insufficient information about the periods of Muzafferiddin Shah, Mohammad Ali Shah and Ahmed Shah in the last revolution age of the Qajarids between 1896-1925. In his preface, he states that the source and target texts refer to different periods, giving information about which periods he scrutinizes in the first section of the epilogue as opposed to the source text.

The mentioned book starts with Achaemenids who ruled Iran for five hundred and ninety-five years before Christ and ends with the assassination of Nasiriddin Shah in three hundred and thirteen. Because of whatever I mentioned in the previous paragraph, I translated the book starting from the Safavid era in ninth century and continued it until Nasiriddin Shah's death, then I added, collected and summarized some parts concerning the revolution era of Mufazzeriddin Shah, Mohammad Ali, Ahmad Shah, and the very important era of Babis and their religion and brought the discussion to World War I. (Halis 1926, 3; see figure 7)

As seen in the quoted passage, Ömer Halis includes the Babis in addition to Muzafferiddin Shah, Mohammad Ali Shah and Ahmed Shah's reign in the first section of the epilogue. He explains this in the epilogue as follows:

Some rebellions that started in the reign of Nasiriddin Shah and influenced the internal life of people and spiritual life of the country were the important events of Babis and Babism. The dear author does not give any information in this regard; therefore, I thought it will be suitable to offer some information. (Halis 1926, 61; see figure 8)

According to Ömer Halis, the Babis and Babism had a great influence on the internal affairs and moral values of the country. This was an important issue, leading to domestic turbulence and revolution in the country. The translator presents further information and his views about Babism, which was not mentioned by the author, on the coming pages of the epilogue:

I will share the same ideas of Dr. Fakhraddin about Babis who aimed to form a Persian government, since, Ali Bab, Sobh-e Azal, Bahollah, all were from Yazd and Shiraz. They attempt to take out the government from Turks' hands. In addition to developing their religion, they attempt to change the ruling power and the ruling family.

Especially, Ali Mohammad Bab who has fabricated a hadith concerning the occupation of Mazandaran and the assassination of two hundred Turks, and his encouragement for the mentioned assassination, all emphasize that he is an anti-Turk one. (Halis 1926, 64; see figure 9)

As is understood from the quotation, Ömer Halis thinks that the Babis aim to overthrow the Turkish government in the region and introduce Persian sovereignty so that they can spread their religious sect and change the dynasty. According to him, the massacre of thousands of Turks because of a fake hadith by Ali Mohammad Bab is an evident proof that the Babis were enemy to Turks.

In his preface, the translator explains the content of the second section of the epilogue as well: "At the same time some explanations and footnotes are written and in the translated part, two separate parts are researched and added concerning the two important characters of the history and the related historical event; Shah Abbas the Great and Nader Shah" (Halis 1926, 4; see figure 10).

The translator states here that he will include his review notes about two prominent Turks in Persian history, Shah Abbas and Nadir Shah, in the epilogue, probably because he believes that the author did not present these two characters in detail: "In order to observe the role of two very famous heroes and men of wisdom who served their homeland's future, and in

order to study the relation between our own history and the related pages, we found it necessary to offer some explanations” (Halis 1926, 75; see figure 11).

From the translator’s point of view, understanding how significant roles these two prominent figures had played on the future of their country would, in a way, be necessary and helpful to understand Ottoman history. Therefore, the translator feels the need to present some episodes from Ottoman history to display the relationships with the Ottomans in this period.

In general, it can be argued that the epilogue annexed to the translation is a supplementary text that aims to propagate the translator’s nationalist attitude. In this supplementary text, historical issues which are either not mentioned or seen as insufficiently mentioned in the source text are presented from the translator’s perspective.

### **3. Translator’s Strategies as a Tool of Manipulation: Omissions, Additions and Modifications**

A comparative analysis of the book *Büyük İnan Tarihi* translated by Ömer Halis into Ottoman Turkish in 1926 reveals that the translator used various strategies during the translation process such as omissions, additions and modifications through which the matricial norms that govern the target-text language’s existence (Toury 1995) can be reconstructed.

#### **3.1. Omissions**

The translator’s exclusion of some chapters in the book is observed as a clear example of his omission strategy. The source text is comprised of four parts. However, Ömer Halis leaves out the first two chapters of two hundred pages when translating this book into Ottoman Turkish and starts translating from the third part. The first chapter of the source text, titled “Bab-ı Evvel Ez Tarikh-e İnan-e Qadim, Silsile-i Hakhameneshi, Ez Salatin-i Acem” (First part of the old Iranian history, Persian sultans in the Achaemenid period), and the second chapter titled “Tarikh-e İnan-e Qadim, Ez Sadr-i İslam Ta Zaman-e Hal” (The old history of İnan, starting with İslam up to the present) are not covered in the target text. Although the Safavids is the subject of the first chapter in the target text, it is the subject of the third in the source text.

The reason why the translator did not translate the first two chapters is most probably that the history before the Safavids is common history. In the preface, the translator explains his decision to start translating from the third chapter with the fact that the first contact of the

Ottomans with Iran occurred during the Safavid era. Furthermore, he states that he intends to write about this period in more detail: “Starting from our first contact and fight with Iran, I am going to write about our relationship and battles in detail” (Halis 1926, 4), and discusses this issue in the epilogue.

### 3.2 Additions

It is observed that the translator makes two types of additions to the translation. As mentioned above, the translator includes informative notes and footnotes to the text where he deems necessary.

*3.2.1 Informative Notes.* During the translation process, the translator occasionally provides explanations or comments in brackets to clarify or give information about the subject.

#### (1) Source text

Ez an vaqt be be'd ta akhahe-e saltanat-e merhum Muzafferiddin Şah memleket-e Keyhosrov qat'i nazar az bazi sevaneh ve vaqaye ke lazeme-ye umur-e donyast . . . (Foroughi 1931, 289; see figure 12)

#### (1) Target text

. . . bazı efkâr ve vakayiden başka Keyhüsrev'in memleketinde (**İran**) ihtilal ve inkılâp külliden masun kalmış . . . (Halis 1926, 57; emphasis added; see figure 13)

#### (2) Source text

Dar karhaye in cahan vey ra az hesab kharej danand va daşte ra az dast dadan ya sar dadam kardan honar nist belke montaha-ye bihonari ast. (Foroughi 1931, 294; see figure 14)

#### (2) Target text

. . . olmaz olanı elden çıkarmak veyahut başı kuyruk yapmak (**yani memleketi düşman istilasına uğratmak veyahut istiklali kaybetmek “nakleden”**) hüner değil belki hünersizliğin berbat derecesidir. (Halis 1926, 60; emphasis added; see figure 15)

In the first example above, the translator provides information in brackets to explain the noun phrase “Keyhüsrev'in memleketi” (the country of Keykhosro). In the second example, he translates the phrases word for word, inserting the meaning of these in brackets as he thinks that Turkish readers might have difficulty in understanding. He also states that the information in brackets is his own notes.

Another example of the addition strategy is the additions made to the tables. In the source text, there is a table on the first page of the chapter discussing each state. Each table is made up of four columns, allotted for the names of the sultans, critical events that took place during their reign as well as the dates of their accession and death. In the target text, the translator provides the duration of each sultan's reign in an additional column. It is also seen that he made some changes on the dates given by the author.

**(1) Source text**

Shah Abbas-e Kabir	Omara ra maqhur kard. Dast-e Ozbakan ra az Khorasan kutah kard ve sayar-e velayat ra emn ve monazzam sakht.	996	1038
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(Foroughi 1931, 233; see figure 16a)

**(1) Target text**

Büyük Şah Abbas	Ümerayı kahretti. Horasan beylerinin elini çektirdi. Diğer vilayetleri intizam ve emniyet altına aldı.	1003	1045	42
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(Halis 1926, 19; see figure 16b)

**(2) Source text**

Shah Safi	Besyari az shahhzadegan va bozorgan ra bekosht ba Osmani jang kard va solh nomud ve Baghdad ra be an dovlat vagozasht va Iravan ra gereft	1018	1052
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(Foroughi 1931, 234; see figure 17a)

**(2) Target text**

Şah Sefi	Şehzadelerden, büyüklerden çoğunu öldürdü. Osmanlılarla harp etti ve müsalehe eyledi. Bağdat'ı Osmanlılara verdi. Revan'ı aldı.	1045	1049	4
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(Halis 1926, 20; see figure 17b)

As seen in the first example above, the translator states the ruling years of Shah Abbas in the last column of the table. On the same page, he alters the information given by the author by changing the Safavid Sultan's year of accession and death. Such alterations can also be seen in the example of Shah Sefi. We can assume that the translator aims to provide exact

information to the reader through alteration whenever he thinks that the author provides incorrect or incomplete information.

*3.2.2 Footnotes.* Footnotes make up a part of the material that can be considered as supplementary texts in the translation. The translator uses 11 footnotes in this translation of 55 pages. He intervenes where he deems necessary to present additional information to the reader or to explain his views. For example, in the following footnote the translator does not agree with the author's opinion about Afghan Mahmoud<sup>12</sup> and criticizes his biased manner:

The dear author with a sensation that is caused by his country's occupation by Mahmoud Afghan speaks very disparagingly about him. After occupying Ghandehar and bending them, he established an army and occupied Kerman and Sistan and without the existence of a good army who can protect the twenty-century old capital city of Iran, he attacked it and occupied Iran and he did not confront any resistance in this vast country, but he behaved with expediency and policy with his enemies. In two years, this man occupied Iraq and Fars, and during very short period, like great men of the history, did many valuable things. The reason for his policy and power of directing is his great works and occupying the South of Iran and establishing his own state. (Halis 1926, 16; see figure 21)

According to Ömer Halis, the author had used negative statements about Afghan Mahmoud due to his sorrow about the invasion of his county; yet an enemy with such great military and political achievements should certainly have 'deserved' more respect.

In another footnote, the translator interferes with the text due to a similar reason, opposing the views of the author about Shia: "The Shia that developed so rapidly over centuries has worked as a spiritual factor for the wars of our neighbor and has led to present results, we believe that it is a big political mistake that has not only prevented the prosperity of Iran but also worked as a factor of decline" (Halis 1926, 55; see figure 22).

In this footnote, Ömer Halis points out his belief that for centuries a highly conservative approach towards Shia has been used as a tool to set neighbor and brotherly countries against each other. He thinks that allowing such a situation is a critical political mistake.

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<sup>12</sup> Shah Mahmud Hoteki (1697-1725), known as Mahmud-e Afghan in Iran. He had become the ruler of the renowned province Kandahar and attacked Safavids. He brought down the Safavid State in 1722.

### 3.3 Modifications

One category of modification concerns the names of the provinces. Although the author of the source text uses the Persianized equivalents of the Turkish names of some Iranian provinces from time to time, the translator prefers to use the Turkish versions of these names as opposed to using the names in the source text. For instance, the author uses the name “Ganjeh (Elizabet Pol)” (Foroughi 1931, 261; see figure 18a) for a province in the North Azerbaijan (Republic of Azerbaijan) whereas the translator prefers to translate it as “Ganjeh” only (Halis 1926, 39; see figure 18b). This might be because the word “Elizabet Pol” would be irrelevant for the target readers who are familiar with the name Ganjeh.

A very interesting example of modification appears on the title of the book. Ömer Halis’ translation is based on the installment version of the book titled *Tarikh-e Iran-e Qadim* (The old history of Iran), but he has changed the title to *Büyük İran Tarihi* (Great history of Iran) without providing any explanation in the preface or the epilogue. ‘Qadim’ is an Arabic word stemming from the root ‘k-d-m’ with the meaning ‘old.’ However, Ömer Halis translates the title as ‘Great History of Iran’ instead of ‘The Old History of Iran.’ Although he does not explain this choice either in his preface or the epilogue, it might be argued that the modification was most likely due to the translation starting with the Safavid period, thus excluding old Iranian history.

Another example of the translator’s modifications during the translation process relates to paragraph structures. The translator changes the paragraph composition of the source text in certain places of the book. The conquest of Bagdad, Khuzestan and Khorasan by Shah Ismail in 1509 and the enlargement of the borders up to the Amu Darya River are explained in one paragraph in the source text whereas the translator divides this chain of events into three paragraphs (Halis 1926, 6).

#### **Source text**

Dar sal-e nohsad o chahardah Shah Esmail Baghdad ra gerefte va Khuzestan niz dar takht-e etaat va farman-e u daramed va yeksal be’ d yani dar sane-ye nohsed o panezdeh padeshah-e Safevi motavejjeh-e khorasan gasht va in velayet an vaqt zir-e dast o pay-e Ozbakan bud ve reis-e ishan Muhammad Khan Sheybani maruf be Shahi Bey ya Sheybak Khan az ovlad-e Chengiz Khan Shah Esmail ba u jang kard va Sheybak Khan şekast khord koshte shod va Khorasan zemime-ye sayer-e motasarrefat-e padeshah-e Safevi gardid va dar haqiqat hodud-e mamlekat-e Shah Esmail be rud-e Jeyhun rasid. (Foroughi 1931, 212; see figure 19)

### Target text

909'da Şah İsmail Bağdat'ı da zapt etti. Husiztan da kendiliğinden onun ferman ve itaati altına girdi.

Bir sene sonra yani 911'de Şah İsmail Horasan'a teveccüh etti. Bu vilayet beylerin idare ve tasarrufunda olup bunların reisi olarak Cengiz han sülalesinden Muhammed Han Şeybani bulunuyordu. Şah İsmail onunla da muharebe etti ve neticede Şeybek Han mağlup Horasan ve havalisi de Safevi padişahı mülküne ilhak edilmiş oldu.

Artık Şah İsmail hükümetinin hududu Ceyhun Nehri'ne dayanmış idi.<sup>13</sup> (Halis 1926, 6; emphasis added; see figure 20)

As shown in the example above, the translator's decision to divide one paragraph into three can be regarded as an indicator of the importance he attaches to Shah Ismail. By doing so, he increases the emphasis on Shah Ismail and adopts a traditional storytelling approach to explain the historical events.

Almost all the strategies illustrated above can be considered attempts by the translator to tailor the translated text in accordance with his underlying ideological stance and translation 'skopos' and hence with the norms of the target culture he assumes to be adhered to. It can further be argued that the strategies are used to enable a translation that is in line with the purpose stated in the translator's preface, and that the translated text has achieved to serve the translator's ideology and skopos in the target culture system.

## 4. Discussion and Conclusions

According to Erdoğan, "[W]hen a historian constructs an event started in the past . . . , he necessarily affects, modifies and destroys the 'truth'" (2013, 416). On the basis of the definition that writing history means compiling some data in history and presenting it from a certain point of view, where the truth is always falsified and changed to a certain extent, it seems impossible to ignore the striking similarities between history-writing and translation.

As stated by the representatives of the Manipulation School, translated texts should be analyzed in terms of 'ideology,' 'manipulation,' and 'patronage,' and "from the point of view of the target literature, all translation implies a degree of manipulation of the source text for a certain purpose" (Hermans 1985, 11). This is because creating a translated text that is in alignment with the norm system of the target culture necessitates "rewriting" (Hermans 1991).

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<sup>13</sup> The dates in ST and TT are contradictory. This is also visible in the expression 'After one year in 911' in the sentence coming after the sentence where the year 909 is mentioned. The years 909 and 911 in the TT appear as 914 and 915 in the ST.



Explaining manipulation in terms of “ideology” and “patronage,” Lefevere (1985, 227) defines “patronage” as the authorities (real or legal persons) who can facilitate or hinder reading, writing, and rewriting of literature. According to the author, ideology is one of the critical restrictive tools affecting the act of translation. This restrictive tool manifests itself as patronage and/or the translator’s ideology. The dominant ideology in the target culture system shall either be adopted by the translator or imposed on the translator by dominant authorities (see Lefevere 1985, 41). In either case, the function of the translated text will be different from that of the source text.

If any translation is shaped by ideological factors in one way or another, a translator of history might treat information in the source text in line with his own ideology and present it with a new perspective. Thus, a translator builds a new history, and even writes history. In fact, as shown in the above analysis of the extratextual and textual sources, the translator Ömer Halis evaluates and construes the information in the source text from his point of view with his own ideological approach, extracting another history out of the history presented by Foroughi.

The above-presented analysis of the extratextual sources has shown that, translating a history book which might be argued to advocate Persian nationalism as reflected in its preface, Ömer Halis decides to add a preface to the translation where he states that he will translate only certain chapters of the book, omit some other parts and add an epilogue drawing on his view that the Turkish target-audience would need additional information. Thus, the translator intervenes in the translation in a way shaped by his ideological stance and not only becomes a visible translator, but also a history writer, entering into communication, starting a dialogue, or better yet, a discussion with the author of the source text. Although such an intervention would raise questions concerning translation ethics, drawing on Arrojo’s (1997, 18) understanding of translation ethics, it should be underlined that the translator does not “conceal” his intervention and openly announces it in the translator’s preface.

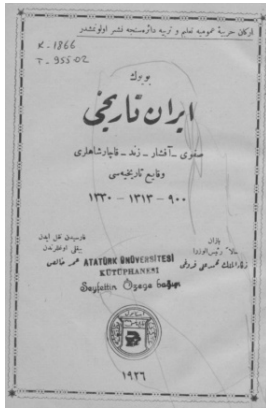
Analysis of the textual sources with a focus on the translation strategies such as omissions, additions and modifications employed by the translator has displayed that the translator does not hesitate to omit certain parts of the source text, to enter into a dialogue with the source text where he disagrees with the text and make modifications, which might be argued to imply that the translator writes a history that serves his ideology. In line with his ideology, Ömer Halis changes some parts of the text where he deems necessary and occasionally criticizes

the author of the source text and corrects his ‘mistakes’ by means of supplementary texts. This makes him not only a visible translator, but also a writer of Iranian history from the perspective of a nationalist Turk. Thus, in this specific translation case, the boundary between the translator and the historian becomes eliminated as is the boundary between translation and history writing.

Drawing on the notion of “culture repertoire” (Even-Zohar 2002), it might be further argued that the translation in question, *Büyük İnan Tarihi*, can be considered as part of the ‘history translation repertoire’ of the period, which is not in contradiction to the translator’s open statement in his preface that he wishes to contribute to the repertoire of the target culture along with his political and cultural motives.

## Appendices

Figure 1. Front cover of Foroughi's book translated by Ömer Halis, 1926.



*Büyük İnan Tarihi*, Safevi-Avşar-Zend-Kaçar Şahları Vekayi-i Tarihiyesi, 1330-1313-900, Erkan-ı Harbiye-i Umumiye Talim ve Terbiye Dairesince neşrolunmuştur, Yazan: Halen Reisü'l-Vüzera Zekâü'l-Mülk Muhammed Ali Foroughi, Farısiden nakleden: Bıyıklıoğullarından Ömer Halis, 1926

Figure 2. Preface of *Tarikh-e Iran-e Bastan*: 2a (left), 2b (right)

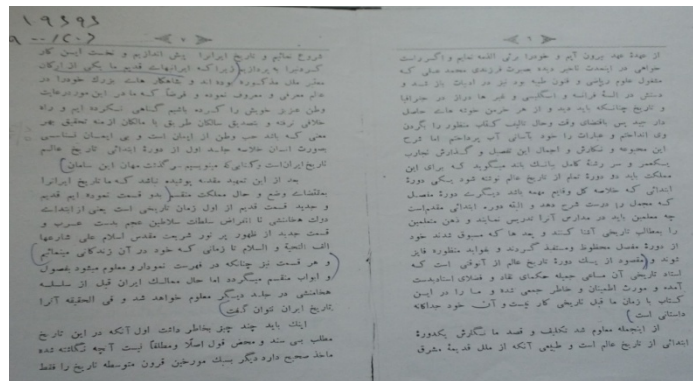
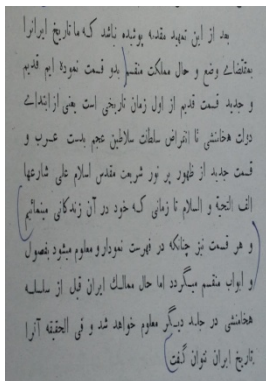
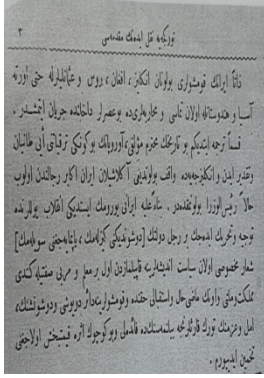


Figure 3. Translator's preface



On küsur milyon ahalsinin bugün dahi hemen nısfı Türk olan ve hâlâ da kendisiyle beş yüz kilometreyi mütecaviz hududumuz bulunan bir devletin mukadderat-ı tarihiyesindeki bu azim tahavvülü bütün ihtimalat ve şumulüyle takip edemez, tedabir almamız elbette bizim için hayati bir vazife sayılmaya layıktır. İran'ı istila edecek bir devletin milyonlarca kardeşimizi esir ve imha edeceğine ve bizi Şark'tan ayırmak ve kendi Şark vilayetlerimizi daha ziyade ayırtmak ve azdırmak imkânına kadir bir vaz-ı tehdit alabileceğine kâni olmak için yalnız haritaya bakmak bile kifayet edebilir.

Figure 4. Translator's motivation for the task



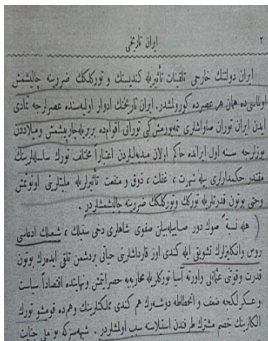
Kısmen tercüme ettiğim bu tarihin muhterem yazarı, Avrupa'nın bugünkü terakkiyatını iyi tanıyan ve takdir eden ve İngilizceye de vâkıf bulunduğu anlaşılın İran ekâbir-i ricalinden olup hala reisü'l-vüzerâ bulunmaktadır. Binaenaleyh İran'ı yürümeğe istediği inkılâp yollarında tevcih ve tahrik edecek bir rical-i devletin (düşündüğünü gizlemek, yapmayacağını söylemek) şîâr-ı mahsûsu olan siyaset endişelerine kapılmadan evvel bir muallim ve mürebbi sıfatıyla kendi memleket ve milleti ve onun mazi, hâl ve istikbâli hakkında ve komşularına dair dövüşü ve düşüncenin emel ve azmini Türk kârilerece bilinmesinin faydalı ve bu küçük esere kıymet bahşolacağını tahmin ediyorum.

Figure 5. Translator's ideological stance



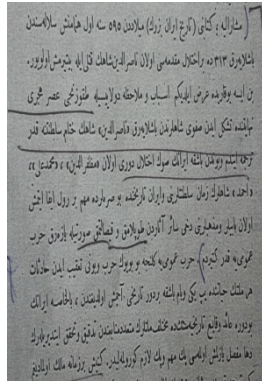
Hele nispeten son devir sayılabilen Safevi şahları dahi Sünnilik Şiiilik iddiası Rus ve İngilizlerin teşviki ile kendi öz kardeşlerini hayati bir düşman telakki ederek bütün kudret ve kuvvetini Osmanlı ve Orta Asya Türkleri ile muharebeye hasretmiş ve nihayet de iktisadi, siyaset ve askerlikçe zaaf ve inhitata düşerek hem kendi memleketlerinin ve hem de komşu Türk illerinin hasm-ı müşterek tarafından istilasına sebep olmuştur. Şüphesiz ki bu milli cinayet-i tarihiyede bizim padişah ve şeyhülislamlarımızla fail-i müşterek halinde görülmekte asırlarca mebzulen akıtılan mübarek Türk kanının mesulü bulunmaktadırlar.

Figure 6. Translator's ideological stance



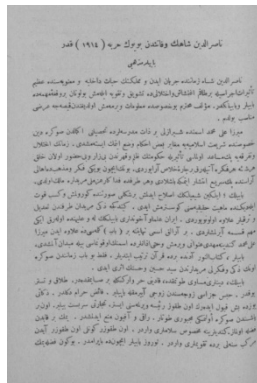
İran Devleti'nin harici telkinat tesiriyle kendisinin ve Türklerin zararına çalışmış olması da hemen her asırda görülmüştür. İran tarihinin edvar-ı evveliyesinde asırlarca temadi eden İran Turan savaşları yetmiyormuş ki Turanî akvamda birbiriyle çarpışmış ve milattan yüzlerce sene evvel İran'da hâkim olan Midyelilerden itibaren muhtelif Türk sislilerinin muktedir hükümdarları bile şöhret, gaflet, zevk ve menfaat tesiriyle milletlerini unutmuş ve hatta bütün kudretleriyle Türk'ün ve Türklüğün zararına çalışmışlardır.

Figure 7. First part of the epilogue introduced



Müşarünileyh kitabını milattan beş yüz doksan beş sene evvel Hahameniş sülalesinden başlayarak üç yüz on üçte bir ihtilal mukaddimesi olan Nasiriddin Şah'ın katli ile bitirmiş oluyor. Ben ise yukarıda arz eylediğim esbab ve mülahaza dolayısıyla dokuzuncu asr-ı hicri nihayetinde teşekkül eden Safevi şahlarından başlayarak Nasiriddin Şah'ın hitam-ı saltanata kadar tercüme ettim ve bundan başka İran'ın son ihtilal devri olan Muzafferiddin, Muhammed Ali, Ahmed Şahların zaman-ı saltanatlarına ve İran tarihinde bu sıralarda mühim bir rol ifa etmiş olan Babiler ve mezheplerini dahi sair asardan toplamak ve kısaltmak suretiyle yazarak Harb-i Umumi'ye kadar getirdim.

Figure 8. Translator's epilogue



Nasiriddin Şah zamanında cereyan eden ve memleketin hayati-dâhiliye ve maneviyesinde azim tesirat icrasıyla bir takım igtışaş ve ihtilalı de teşvik ve takviye eylemiş bulunan bir vakıa-i mühime de Babiler ve Babilik'tir. Müellif-i muhterem bu hususta malumat vermemiş olduğundan kısaca arzı münasip buldum.

Figure 9. Translator's views on Babism in the epilogue



Babiler bir Fars hâkimiyetini istihdaf eylediği yazan Doktor Fahrettin beye ben de iştirak ediyorum. Çünkü Ali Bab'da Sübh-i Ezel, Baha Ullah da Şiraz ve Yezd şehirlerindedir. Hükümeti Türklerden almak azminde idiler. Bunu mezheplerinin intişar ve tavizine bir vasıta olmak kadar tebdil-i hanedan ve saltanata şamil gibi telakki eylediler.

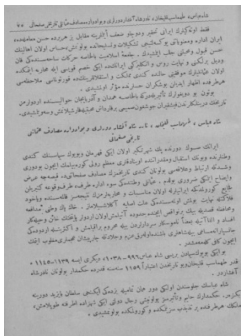
Bilhassa Ali Muhammed Bab tarafından uydurulan yalancı hadisin Mazenderan'ın işgali ve on iki bin Türkün kesilmesini teşvik ve tergib eylemekte bulunması da Türk düşmanı bir zihniyete delalet eder. Fakat ne yazık ki her iki tarafta da pek mebzulen akan yine mübarek Türk kanı olmuştur.

Figure 10. Second part of the epilogue introduced



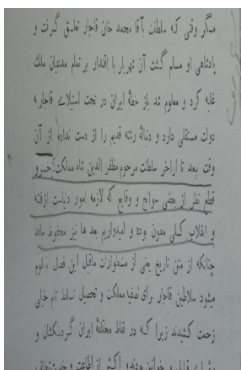
Bunlarla beraber bazı izah ve derkenarlar yazılmış ve tercüme edilen kısım içinde İran tarihinin en büyük şahsiyeti olan büyük Şah Abbas ve Nadir Şah ahdine mutabık vakayi-i tarihiyemize ait umumi iki tetkik hülâsası da kitabın nihayetine ilave edilmiştir.

Figure 11. Notes on Shah Abbas and Nadir Shah



İran'ın son devrinde pek şöhretgir olan iki kahraman ve büyük simasının kendi vatanlarına ve bunun istikbal ve mukadderatında oynadıkları muazzam rolü görebilmek için bu devri ve şiddetle irtibat ve alakası bulunan kendi tarihimizin müsadif safahatı da kısaca arz ve izah eylemeği zaruri buldum.

Figure 12. Page 289 from Foroughi's source text



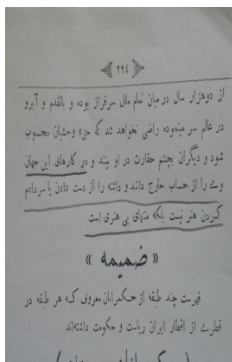
After that era, until the end of the Muzafferidin Shah's reign, the country of Keykhosro, ignoring some events and incidents that is necessary for the world, was safe from big revolutions.

**Figure 13.** Translator’s rendition of page 289 with clarification



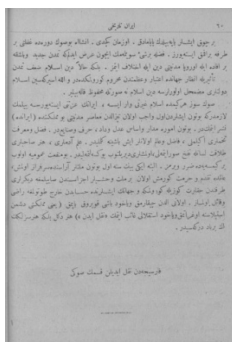
After that era until the end of the Muzafferidin Shah’s reign, the country of Keykhosro (Iran) ignoring some events and incidents that is necessary for the world, was safe from big revolutions.

**Figure 14.** Page 294 from Foroughi’s source text



. . . and in the affairs of this world, they do not want to be out of the circle, or to lose what they have, being lost in the history is not art, it is the end of lacking art.

**Figure 15.** Translator’s rendition of page 294 with explanation

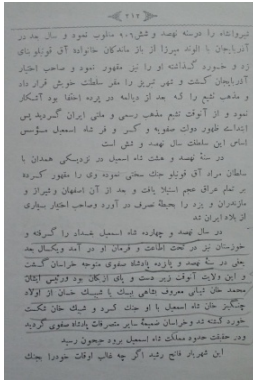


. . . and in the affairs of this world, they do not want to be out of the circle, or to lose what they have, (it means that without losing the independence of the country or being under the domination of enemies “the conveyor”) being lost in the history is not art, it is the end of lacking art.





Figure 19. Paragraph structure of the source text



In nine hundred fourteen, Shah Ismaeil occupied Bagdad. Khozestan accepted his ruling without any problem. After one year, in nine hundred and fifteen, Shah Ismaeil paid more attention to Khorasan. The province was under the domination of Uzbeks and their ruler was Mohammad Khan Sheybani, famous as Shahi Bey or Sheybak Khan, one of the grandchildren of Genghis Han. Shah Esmaeil fought him and he was defeated and Khorasan became a part of Safavid territory and in fact the boundaries of Shah Esmaeil's land reached Amu Darya.

Figure 20. Paragraph structure of the target text



In nine hundred fourteen, Shah Ismaeil occupied Bagdad. Khozestan accepted his ruling without any problem. After one year in nine hundred and fifteen, Shah Ismaeil paid more attention to Khorasan. The province was under the domination of Uzbeks and their ruler was Mohammad Khan Sheybani, famous as Shahi Bey or Sheybak Khan, one of the grandchildren of Genghis Han. Shah Esmaeil fought him and he was defeated and Khorasan was a part of Safavid territory. In fact, the boundaries of Shah Esmaeil's land reached Amu Darya.

Figure 21. Translator's footnotes



Müellif-i muhterem kendi memleketinin istilasından mütevellit bir hisle olacak ki Mahmut Han Afgan'dan pek istihfakârane bahsetmektedir. Kandihar'ı zapt ve itaati teminden sonra bir ordu tesis ve sevk ederek Kirman'ı ve Sistan'ı da zapt etmiş ve yirmi asırlık İran payitahtını muhafaza edecek bir ordu ihzar edemeden onu basmış ve İran'ın ocağını söndürürken bile bu mülki vasiin hiçbir tarafından mani ve mukavemet görmeyecek kadar hüsnü idare, tedbir ve kiyaset göstermiş olan bir zat-ı düşman ile evvela hürmete layık görmelidir. Bu zat iki buçuk sene gibi bir zamanda bu zat Irak ve Fars'ı da zapt ederek tarihin büyük şahsiyetleri gibi bir zamanda çok iş yapmıştır. Akıl ve idaresinin iktidar ve ehliyetinin en büyük burhanı hakikate isal eylediği muazzam ilin ve cenubi İran ve İran'ın bile zapt edilmesiyle kurduğu devlettir.

Figure 22. Translator's footnotes



Şiilik bu kadar taassupla iltizam edilerek asırlarca komşu ve kardeş memleketin çarpıştırılmasında bir amil-i manevi halına getirilmesi ve bu günkü netice-i feci-e varılmış olması bizce en büyük bir hata-i siyasi olup İran'ın mütemayiz olması değil duçarı taarruz ve inhitat olması sebeplerinde birini teşkil eylemiştir.

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