

Research Article



The Translations of Aesop's Stories in *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât*: Correspondences in Aesop Indices and Alternative Reading Recommendations

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât'taki Ezop Hikâyelerinin Tercümeleri: Ezop İndekslerindeki Karşılıklar ve Farklı Okuma Önerileri

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Abstract

Most of these stories are fables that use the art of personification to give animals a voice, leading to their common designation as Aesop's fables. Initially written in Greek and Latin, these fables were translated into various languages from the fifteenth century onwards. Researchers have indexed these translations, allowing them to be grouped under the Aesopic tradition. Within this framework, Aesop's stories are analyzed in two categories: "Aesop's Life" and "Aesop's Stories." Almost all Turkish translations focus on Aesop's stories, with only one including brief information about Aesop's life in its introduction. The author of Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, found in the Turkish Language Institution Manuscripts (number A306), is unknown. This work begins with anecdotes about Aesop's life and continues with stories, primarily fables, narrated in his voice. Although this work has been introduced in previous studies, the indices have not been addressed, and misreadings of words in the text have led to inaccurate evaluations. This article seeks to provide a comprehensive account of Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât by describing its manuscript copy, language, and orthographic features, by identifying the counterparts of Aesop's stories in international indices, and by correcting the misinterpretations found in earlier scholarship.

Ezop hikâveleri: Ezop adlı bir köleve atfedilen ve kavnağı Antik Yunan dönemine davanan anonim hikâyelerdir. Hikâyelerin büyük çoğunluğu, hayvanların teshis sanatıyla konusturulduğu fabl türünde olduğu için bu hikâyeler, daha çok Ezop masalları olarak anılır. On beşinci yüzyıla kadar Yunanca ve Latince kaleme alınan masallar, bu tarihten itibaren farklı dillere tercüme edilmiştir. Bu farklı dilde tercüme edilen hikâyeler, araştırmacılar tarafından indekslenmiş ve bu indeksler sayesinde Ezopik gelenek çatısı altında toplanmıştır. Ezopik gelenek çerçevesinde Ezop hikâyeleri, "Ezop'un Hayatı" ve "Ezop'un Hikâyeleri" olmak üzere iki kolda incelenmistir. Ezop'un Türkçe tercümelerinin neredevse tamamı Ezop'un hikâvelerine dairdir. Bu tercümelerin valnızca bir tanesinin giriş kısmında Ezop'un hayatı ile ilgili çok kısa bilgi mevcuttur. Türk Dil Kurumu Yazmaları A306 numarada bulunan Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâvât adlı eserin müellifi belli değildir. Eser, Ezop'un hayatının anlatıldığı hikâyeler ile başlayıp onun ağzından anlatılan çoğunluğu fabl türünde hikâyelerle devam eder. Önceki çalışmalarda bu eser tanıtılmasına rağmen indekslerden hiç bahsedilmemiş, eserdeki kelimelerin hatalı okunması sebebiyle yanlış değerlendirmelerde bulunulmustur. Bu calısmada, Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât; nüsha, dil ve imla özellikleri bakımından tavsif edilmiş, eserdeki Ezop hikâyelerinin uluslararası indekslerdeki karşılıkları gösterilmiş ve önceki çalışmalardaki yanlış değerlendirmeler düzeltilmiştir.

Keywords

Ottoman literature, Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, life of Aesop, fables of Aesop, translation

Anahtar Kelimeler

Osmanlı edebiyatı, Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, Ezop'un hayatı, Ezop masalları, tercüme

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Introduction

Even if no records from the time of Aesop, who is believed to have lived in the sixth century BCE, have survived, numerous storytellers who followed his tradition contributed to the transmission of his tales to the present day, gradually increasing the number of stories attributed to him. From the now-lost compilation by Demetrius in the fourth century BCE, Aesop's fables began to circulate in Western languages and evolved into a popular literary tradition. Among the earliest and most influential transmitters of this tradition were Phaedrus, Babrius, and Avianus, who lived between the first century BCE and the fifth century CE. In the first century CE, Aesop's fables became an essential part of education in the Roman Empire when Marcus Fabius Quintilianus used them as tools for teaching rhetoric. These fables remained a core component of the European educational curriculum until the thirteenth century AD. In the fourteenth century, Maximus Planudes, a Byzantine priest and diplomat living in Constantinople, compiled a new Greek version of Aesop's fables that was soon translated into almost all Western languages.²

Despite the fact that it is commonly believed that translations from Western languages into Turkish began after the Tanzimat period, the stories of Aesop challenge this notion.³ Thus, it is necessary to consider the Turkish translations of Aesop's fables in two distinct time frames: before and after the Tanzimat period. There were four Turkish translations of Aesop's fables from the pre-Tanzimat period. The first is untitled and exists in a single manuscript copy, held at the National Library of France (Paris) under reference number "SUP Turc 453." The second work, titled *Hikâyât-ı Esepos*, has five known manuscript copies. The opening pages of this work contain a few folios discussing Aesop's life. The third work, titled *Kitâb-ı Emsâl*, has two known copies in existence. The final work, *Güzîde Meseller*, was printed in Paris by Victor Letellier in 1826.⁴ The translator of *Güzîde Meseller*, edited by Letellier, is unknown.⁵ Another copy of *Güzîde Meseller*, published alongside a facsimile, is located in the British Library with reference number "OR 7332." This copy also lacks information about the date and author.⁶

Niklas Holzberg, *The Ancient Fable: An Introduction* (Indiana University Press, 2002), 36–72.

Mehmet Kuru, "Ezop Alla Turca: Tanzimat Öncesi Döneme Ait Ezop Tercümelerinin Kültürel Çeviri Bağlamında İncelenmesi," *Nesir: Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi* 2 (2022a): 160.

² Holzberg, *Ancient Fable*, 29.

Kuru, "Ezop Alla Turca: Tanzimat Öncesi Döneme Ait Ezop Tercümelerinin Kültürel Çeviri Bağlamında İncelenmesi," 161; Mehmet Kuru, "Ezop'un Osmanlı Coğrafyasındaki Maceraları," *Toplumsal Tarih* 343 (2022b): 9; Mehmet Kuru, "Ezop Alla Turca: Tanzimat Öncesi Döneme Ait Ezop Tercümeleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 343 (2022c): 10–13; Cevat Sucu, "Bir Tercüman Mecmuası: Sözlük, Bayramlık, Ferman ve Ezop," *Toplumsal Tarih* 343 (2022): 14–15.

Hasan Anamur, "Türk Dilinde Güzide Meseller, 1826 Yılında Paris'te Yayınlanmış Türkçe 'Fables' Çevirileri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 163 (2007): 48; Hakan Soydaş, "Türkçeye Çevrilen İlk Fabl Antolojisi Choix de Fables Traduite en Turk/Emsâl-i Güzîde," *Doğu Batı* 88 (2019): 120.

⁶ Beyhan Kesik and Gönül Delice, *Güzîde Meseller (Seçkin Masallar)* (Kut, 2022), 18.

The seven Turkish translations of Aesop's fables that date back to the post-Tanzimat period include one manuscript and six printed works. The first, a manuscript, is titled Nevâdirü'l-Emsâl and was translated by Hâfiz İbrahim Edhem Efendi (b. 1811 / d. ?) in 1259/1843.⁷ A further one, written in 1854 by Evangelinos Misailidis (b. 1820 / d. 1890), is titled Ezop'un Kıssadan Hisse Almaya Mahsus Meselleri. In the preface, Misailidis states that he translated the work from Greek.8 Another notable work is Kissadan Hisse, authored by Ahmed Midhat (b. 1844 / d. 1912) in 1287/1870, which contains thirty five stories, eighteen of which are attributed to Aesop. In the third edition of this book, the number of Aesop stories increased to thirty five. ¹⁰ Yet another work, Tercüme-i Yezepos, was written by Diyarbakırlı Çelebi-zâde Agop Lütfî (b. ? / d. 1910) in 1290/1873 and contains stories about Aesop's life. 11 The work titled Edebiyyât ve Hikâyât-1 Garîbe, authored by Hâfiz Refi' (b. 1840 / d. 1903), presents 10 stories first in Arabic, followed by their Turkish translations. ¹² Osman Râsih Efendi (b. 1822 / d. 1884) authored *Menâkıb-ı* Hayevân Berây-ı Teshîz-i Ezhân, in which he translated fourty one Aesop fables from French to Turkish. 13 The final work is Ezop, authored by Ebüzziyâ Mehmet Tevfik (b. 1849 / d. 1913) in 1300/1882. This work does not contain fables; rather, it includes stories about Aesop's life. 14 The primary objectives of translating Aesop's fables in the nineteenth century were to teach language skills and promote universal values. 15 The subject of this article, Letâ 'ifü'l-Hikâyât, which contains both Aesop's life story and his fables, has probably been translated at the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century, thus qualifying as part of the pre-Tanzimat translations of Aesop's fables.

In previous studies on *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât*, the work has been introduced;¹⁶ however, due to misreadings, inaccurate assessments have been made regarding both the anecdotes and the

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Suat Donuk, "Bir Aisopos Hikâyeleri Tercümesi: Hâfiz İbrahim Edhem Efendi'nin Nevâdirü'l-Emsâl'i," Littera Turca Journal of Turkish Language and Literature 7, no. 3 (2021): 622.

Evangelinos Misailidis, *Ezop'un Kıssadan Hisse Almaya Mahsus Meselleri* (Anadolu, 1854), 3; there is also a master's thesis on this book: Seda Öner, "Grek Harfli Türkçe Esopos'un Kıssadan Hisse Almaya Mahsus Meselleri (Giriş-Metin-İnceleme-Sözlük/İndeks-Tıpkıbasım)" (master's thesis, Fatih University, 2014), 12.

Ahmed Midhat, *Kıssadan Hisse*, 2nd ed. (Muharririn Zatına Mahsus Matbaa, 1287/1870), 74; Sabahattin Çağın, ed., *Ahmet Midhat Efendi Kıssadan Hisse* (Dergâh, 2013), 11; Erol Ülgen, ed., *Ahmet Midhat Kıssadan Hisse* (Akıl Fikir, 2018), 10.

Ahmed Midhat, Kissadan Hisse, 3rd ed. (Kirk Anbar, 1296/1879), 3.

Diyarbakırlı Çelebi-zâde Agop Lütfî, *Tercüme-i Yezepos* (Zartaryan, 1290/1873), 2.

Hâfiz Refi', Edebiyyât ve Hikâyât-ı Garîbe (Şark, 1291/1874), 6.

Osmân Râsih Efendi, *Menâkıb-ı Hayevân Berây-ı Teşhîz-i Ezhân* (Bakırcıbaşı-zâde Süleymân Efendi, 1294/1877), 1.

Ebüzziyâ Mehmet Tevfik, *Ezop* (Matbaa-i Ebüzziyâ, 1300/1882-83), 3; Evangelia Balta, *19. Yüzyıl Osmanlıca ve Karamanlıca Yayınlarda Ezop'un Hayatı ve Masalları* (Libra, 2019), 12.

¹⁵ Büşra Elif Özçelik, "19. Yüzyılda Neşredilmiş Ezop Eserleri," *Toplumsal Tarih* 343 (2022): 53.

Mustafa Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306] (İnceleme-Metin-İndeksli Sözlük-Tıpkıbasım)" (PhD diss., Erciyes University, 2024a); "Ezop Anlatılarını İçeren Bir Eser: *Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât*,"

translator's life. Moreover, these earlier studies did not address the counterparts of the stories in the international indices of Aesop's fables. This article seeks to fill this gap by identifying such correspondences and correcting the misinterpretations that stem from faulty readings.

Characteristics of Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât: Definition, Language and Orthography

The manuscript is registered in the catalog of the Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi (Turkish Language Institution Library, Ankara) under the title *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât* with catalog number A/306. According to the catalog, the manuscript measures 208×152-160×100 mm and features a watermark of a cat. The spine is covered with black leather, and the cover is wrapped in black buckram fabric. The catalog notes that the manuscript is attributed to Kâtip Çelebi, but the accuracy of this information cannot be confirmed.¹⁷

Although the manuscript is catalogued as being written in rik 'a script, Alkan disputes this classification, asserting that the script is actually naskh (nesih). However, he has not provided any evidence to support this claim. ¹⁸ One of the most distinctive features that differentiates rik 'a from other scripts is the form of the letter 'extstyle kef' at the end of a word, where the 'extstyle kef' diacritic is created by an inward curve of the pen without lifting it. Another defining characteristic of the rik 'a is the rendering of the end of the word 'extstyle num,' whose dot is drawn by curling the pen either inward or outward, again without lifting the pen. Additionally, at the end of words, the dots of 'extstyle kef' are typically omitted and replaced by an outward curve created without lifting the pen (See Figure I).

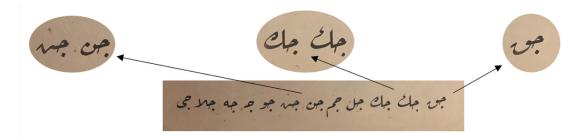


Figure I. *Rik'a* script practice (*mashq*) sample ¹⁹

RumeliDE Dil ve Edebiyat Araştırmaları Dergisi 39 (2024b); "Ezop Anlatılarını İçeren Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât'ın Dil ve İmla Özellikleri," Uluslararası Türkçe Edebiyat Kültür Eğitim Dergisi 13/3 (2024c).

Müjgan Cunbur, Türk Dil Kurumu Kütüphanesi Yazma Eserler Kataloğu (Türk Dil Kurumu, 1999), 169

Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 160; "Ezop Anlatılarını İçeren Bir Eser: Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât," 484.

¹⁹ Muhittin Serin, *Halim Efendi nin Dîvânî*, *Celî Dîvânî*, *Rik a Mesk Murakkaı* (Kubbealtı, 2014), 35.

While this outward-curving form of 'unûn' and 'ukaf' can also be found in the diwani script, it is entirely absent in naskh. All four of these features frequently appear in Letâ'ifū'l-Hikâyât, leaving no doubt that the manuscript is written in rik 'a script (See Figure II). It remains unclear on what basis Alkan claims the script to be naskh (nesih).

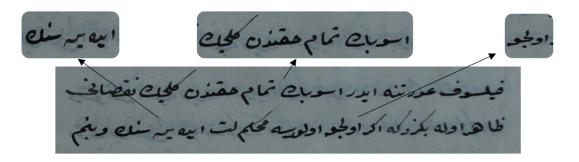


Figure II. Lines 10-11 on folio 3^b of *Letâ'ifū'l-Hikâvât*²⁰

The manuscript consists of 113 folios, each numbered and featuring 15 lines in a single-column layout with spaced lines between them. The paper has a chickpea color $(noh\hat{u}d\hat{i})$. The title of $Let\hat{a}'if\hat{u}'l$ - $Hik\hat{a}y\hat{a}t$ and the headings of the stories are written in red ink, while the rest of the text is in black ink. Some heading sections were intentionally left blank, possibly for later completion, but were not filled in. The manuscript does not contain any information regarding the date of copy $(istins\hat{a}h)$, the author $(m\ddot{u}ellif)$, or the scribe $(m\ddot{u}stensih)$. There is no recorded information $(kuy\hat{u}d\hat{a}t)$ at the beginning or end of the manuscript. The script is a clear example of rik'a handwriting. Given that the rik'a script is rarely found earlier than the second half of the eighteenth century and became more common in the nineteenth century, 21 the manuscript can be dated to this period. The work begins with a direct narration of stories and concludes after the last story.

Begins [1^b]: (1) Rivāyet olunur ki Yunan'da bir feylesōf var idi ve anuñ bir 'āķil (2) ķulı var idi. İsmine Esop derler idi. Anuñ 'acā'ib ü garā'ib menķıbeleri (3) vardur

²⁰ [3^b] (10) feylesōf 'avretine eydür: Esop'uñ tamām hakkından gelecek, nokṣānı (11) zāhir ola beñzer ki eger olıcak olursa muḥkem let ideyin senüñ ve benüm. In this article, quotations from the manuscript text were transcribed in accordance with Tenkitli Neşir Kılavuzu. See Berat Açıl, Sadık Yazar, Kadir Turgut, and Özgür Kavak, Tenkitli Neşir Kılavuzu (Osmanlı Türkçesi Metinleri İçin) (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Araştırmaları Merkezi (İSAM), 2022).

Muhittin Serin, "Rik'a," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), v. 35 (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2008), 108.

Ends [113ª]: (1) 'Āķībet-i aḥbār nice oldı taķrīr idelüm. Pādiṣāh bu laṭīfe-i zarīfe ile (2) mütesellā olup itmāmına iķdām itmeyüp el- 'ārifü [te]kfihi 'l-iṣāre (3) didi²²

After completing the final story, the author provides limited information about the work. Alkan refers to this section as the *ketebe* record.²³ A *ketebe* or *ferâğ* record is a note placed on manuscript by copyists to indicate that the transcription of the text (*istinsâh*) has been completed.²⁴ However, since there is no transcription information in this section of *Letâ'ifū'l-Hikâyât*, it cannot be considered a *ketebe* record. The information provided in this section after the end of the stories is typically expected to appear following the *besmele*, *hamdele*, and *salvele* sections in the introduction, followed by the expression *ammâ ba'd*. Contrary to classical tradition, this information appears in the conclusion (*hâtime*) after the work is completed. Although the translator states that he wrote the work to present it to the sultan, he does not provide his own name or the name of the sultan. He states that, in composing the work, he drew on books written in Greek and Hebrew that had not yet been translated into Turkish. These remarks suggest that the author possessed proficiency in both languages.

(4) eger bu ʿabd-ı züllüñ ṭāli ʿ müsā ʿid olup bu tercüme-i kitāb-ı nāyābı (5) nazar-ı iksīr-e[s]er-i pādişāhī ve ḥużūr-ı sa ʿādet-mevfūr-ı ḥażret-i (6) salṭanat-penāhīye vuṣūl bulup fì ʾl-cümle makbūl olursa zihī (7) sa ʿādet-i bā-ikbāl-i devlet-i cāvid ger kabūl küned ez-luṭf-ı kerem (8) ṣāh-ı cihān heme ikbāl-i cihān içün niṣānum lisān-ı Yūnānīde (9) ve zebān-ı ʿİmrānīye[de] vāķi ʿ olan kütüb-i tevārīḫ ü aḫbār u siyer-i (10) lisān ki bu Türkī dile tercüme olunmamışdır rūşen ʿibārāt (11) ve ḫūb ıṣṭılāḥātla tercüme olur. (12) Ve mine ʾllāhi ʾn-nevvir li-külli me ʾmūl (13) innehū ʿalā külli şey ʾin kadīr (14) temmet bi-ʿavni ʾllāhi ʾl-müste ʿān (15) mīm²5

The *zebān-i 'İmrānīye* mentioned in the quotation refers to Hebrew or the language of the Israelites. Imran is the father of Moses, Aaron, and Mary, and they are collectively referred to as *āl-i 'İmrān*.²⁶ Another instance of this term referring to the Israelites is a poem by Derzî-zâde 'Ulvî (d. 1585): *Güneş gibi hezārān altun üsküflü kuluñ vardur / Niçe Yūsuf-likālar saña oldı 'abd-i 'İmrān*.²⁷ The poem refers to Joseph's affiliation with *āl-i 'İmrān*.

On the one hand, the text contains Arabic and Persian words, but the number of Arabic and Persian compounds is relatively small. In contrast, the density of Arabic and Persian words does

Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 160.

²² Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, 1^b/1-3; 113^a/1-3.

Orhan Bilgin, "Ferâğ Kaydı," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi* (DİA), v. 12 (Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995), 354.

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, 113ª/4-15. Alkan claims that the author (müellif) wrote his work in his old age, reading the phrase 'abd-1 züllüñ' as 'abd-1 z[ā]lüñ' by adding the letter elif: However, it is also appropriate to read 'züll' in the phrase as meaning 'poor and humble.' See Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 213.

Semseddin Sâmî, *Kâmûsü'l-A'lâm V* (Mihran, 1896), 2316.

²⁷ İsmail Çetin, "Derzî-zâde 'Ulvî (Hayatı, Edebî Şahsiyeti ve Dîvânının Tenkidli Metni)" (master's thesis, Fırat University, 1993), 65.

not hinder text comprehension. Therefore, the language of the work is relatively plain prose for this era.²⁸ This observation can be illustrated by the following example:

(1) Ḥayvānāt kitābında mesṭūrdur ki (2) dilkü arslanı daḫi görmemişdi. Bir gün rāst geldi, görince (3) şöyle korkdı ki az kaldı öleyazdı. Şoñra bir kere daḥi (4) gördi, evvelki gibi korkmadı. Üçünci görüşde yüzi alışdı, (5) korkmaz oldı. Belki yanına varup münāsebetle mukārenete başladı. (6) Ol zamānda hükemā bu ḫuṣūṣi te'emmül kıldılar. Keṣret-i müṣāhede, kıllet-i (7) hürmet idügin bildiler. Her nesne az olsa ve ahyānen olsa mu'teber (8) ve hürmetli olurdı²9

The manuscript contains numerous significant errors in the orthography of words, which complicate the understanding of the text. It is unclear whether these errors were made by the translator or the copyist of the manuscript, with serious errors, particularly in spelling Arabic and Persian words. Most of these errors involve the substitution of letters that have similar shapes or sounds, such as ' $\pm tt$ ' with ' $\pm te$,' ' $\pm tt$ ' with ' $\pm te$,' ' $\pm tt$ ' with ' $\pm te$,' ' $\pm tt$ ' with ' $\pm te$,' ' $\pm tt$ ' with ' $\pm tt$ ' wi

In the manuscript, there are also instances where ' φ be' and ' φ ye' are confused at the beginning of Turkish words, or ' \neg dal' and ' \neg te' are interchanged, creating puzzles that complicate reading. This confusion also occurs in Arabic and Persian words, turning the task of reading the text into a challenge. Since this manuscript is the only copy, it is not possible to refer to other versions to read the words correctly. Therefore, to clarify their meaning, some words must be interpreted differently from those in the manuscript. Accordingly, the intended meaning of the words in the stories is the guiding principle. While copying, the text seemed almost as if a picture was drawn without the copier understanding the words. In several instances, it is evident that words were written with whatever letters came to mind, indicating uncertainty regarding the correct spelling. The same word was written incorrectly in various parts of the manuscript, and in some cases, it was written correctly.

The consistent misspelling of words suggests that the text may have been copied or translated by a merchant or dragoman who had only recently learned to write Turkish in Arabic script. When

²⁸ Cihan Okuyucu, Ahmet Kartal and Mehmet Fatih Köksal, *Klâsik Dönem Osmanlı Nesri* (Kriter, 2009), 15

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, 32ª/1-8. The phrase 'yüzi alışdı' in the example story has the same meaning as 'gözü alışmak' and is commonly used in Ottoman literature, as in the verse by Nef'î (d. 1635) Bir gice yok ki çıkmaya tā māh ü encüme / Āhumla āsümānuñ alışdı yüzi gözi. See Metin Akkuş, Nef'î Dîvânı (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı, 2018), 292.

viewed alongside other translations of Aesop, this conclusion seems plausible. Assuming the translator wrote accurately, and the copyist made mistakes, there are two potential explanations for these errors. The first is that the copyist transcribed the text by listening rather than reading, writing down whatever incorrect letters came to mind. The second possibility is that the copied text contained diacritic marks (*hareke*), and the copyist, not using pointing, omitted some letters. Therefore, my textual interventions in the quotations extend beyond simple letter substitutions. To enhance comprehension and correct sentence structure, I make additions in square brackets [] as follows:

- (12) $O[\dot{g}]$ lan eydür: Bunlar[uñ]cevābi āsāndur, bir yük büre ṭaleb (13) eyle ki nışfi erkek ve nışfi dişi ola^{30}
- (6) Şāh-zāde yalñuz cāhil iken şimdi beter (7) budur ki re ʿāyā[dan] birü ʿaşk[ın]a ki c[ā]nunuñ bir kısmıdur māyil olur³¹

The 185th story in *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât*, titled "The Monk's Dog's Will" (*Vaṣiyyet-i seg-i rāhib*), is set in Thessaloniki. In this story, the author employs the phrase "*bu yerlerde*" (in these places). This expression may refer to either Thessaloniki or to the place where the author himself lived, and both possibilities should be taken into consideration. Based on this phrase, along with the misreading of '*Beṭrīķū'l-beṭārɪka*' as '*Paṭriķ Eliṭarkā*' and '*Paṭriyaḥ*' as '*Pāyzbah/Payzbāḥ*,' Alkan concluded that the author lived in the Balkan region.³² The relevant section of this story is as follows:

(2) Zamān-ı kadīmde Selānīk'de (3) bir manastırda bir mütemevvil keşīş vardı. Māl u ni met ve ģınā vu vüs ati gibi (4) ḥamākat u cehālet[i] ḥadd u kemālde idi. Bir kelbcügezi vardı. Ziyāde şūḥ (5) u şeng kelbdi. Envā -ı mülā abe ta līm olunmuşdı. İttifāk mürde oldı. (6) Keşīş, pür-teşvīş olup cām-ı sürūr inkisār buldı. Ziyāde muḥabbetden (7) kilīsānıñ bir kūşesinde āyīnlerince meşāy[ī]ḥ-i Naṣārā ya maḥṣūş (8) mevāżi de defin ider. Beṭrīkü l-beṭārıka³³, ki bu yerlerde Patriyaḥ³⁴ derler, (9) işidür. Mezkūr keşīşiñ mütemevvil ve māl-dār olduğın bilürdi³⁵

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, 13a/12-13. In this story, the word büre was mistranslated by Alkan as "bring a load of oud wood here as well." However, the phrase "half female, half male oud wood" was not explained. In fact, the character referred to as "the boy" is mocking the man by deliberately using the word büre—meaning "flea"—and absurdly requesting "a load of fleas, half male and half female." See Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 259.

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, 81^b/6–7.

Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 213.

This word appears in Kâmûs-ı Okyânûs as follows: el-bitrîk, Rûm tâ'ifesinin dîni ulusu; el-betârika, cem 'i, dîn uluları ma 'nâsına. See https://kamus.yek.gov.tr// [Date of Access: 26.09.2025]. The same word was defined by Meninski (1620-1698) as follows: patrîk: noun betrîk (plural betâriká, betârīk), pátrīk, pátrīkī → patriarcha. See Mertol Tulum, 17. Yüzyıl Türkçesi ve Söz Varlığı (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2011). 1444.

This word was defined by Molino (d. 1643) as follows: *Patriyah*, *Patriiah*, *Patrijah*→ *Patriarcha*. See Elżbieta Święcicka, *Dictionary of Italian-Turkish Language (1641) by Giovanni Molino* (De Gruyter, 2020), 414.

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, 87^a/2–9.

I believe that these two phrases alone are insufficient to conclude that the author lived in Thessaloniki or the Balkan region. Since the stories attributed to Aesop are set in Anatolia and Greece, it is quite natural for these locations to be mentioned. Contrary to Alkan's assertion,³⁶ the linguistic features of the work do not exhibit dialectal characteristics specific to the Balkan region but rather reflect the general characteristics of Western Turkish.

The Stories in Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât

In the Aesopic tradition, stories are categorized into two branches: one focusing on Aesop's life (*Vita Aesopi*) and the other on stories narrated from Aesop's perspective, most featuring animals as protagonists. *Letâ'ifū'l-Hikâyât* begins with a story that recounts Aesop's life directly, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

[1^b] Rivāyet olunur ki Yunan'da bir feylesōf var idi ve anuñ bir 'āķil (2) ķulı var idi. İsmine Esop derler idi. Anuñ 'acā'ib ü ġarā'ib menķıbeleri (3) vardur. Evvelā bir gün şarı feylesōf, felāsif[e]ye żiyāfet etmek murād eyledi. (4) Esop'a etdi: Var çārsūdan et al, lākin pek a 'lāsından al; zīrā felā- (5) sif[e]ye żiyāfet etsem gerek, didi. Esop varup çārsūyı gezdi, bir münāsib (6) şey bulamayup bir şıģır d[i]li alup götürdi, ḥāżır eyledi. Müsāfirler (7) geldiler, ṭa 'ām orṭaya ķondı, baķdılar bir ṣıġır d[i]lidir.

Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 229.

For the suffix -gür- in the word pişgürmek, see Ötüken Dictionary; -gur-: [-kir-/-cur-/-kür-/-gir-/-gur-/-gür-] {eT} {eAT} yap. e. 1. Fiillerden fiil türeten ek; ettirgenlik eki. [ETY] od-gur-mak (uyandırmak), tir-gür-mek (yaşatmak), dir-gür-mek, tur-gur-mak. http://www.otukensozluk.com/ [Access Date: 26.09.2025].

Mustafa Alkan, "Ezop Anlatılarını İçeren *Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât*'ın Dil ve İmla Özellikleri," *Uluslararası Türkçe Edebiyat Kültür Eğitim Dergisi* 13/3 (2024c): 896.

Beyt Ne kim ʿālemde geldiyse vücūda Kamu bir söz ile geldi sücūda³⁹

İmdi kelāmıñ āleti (9) ol et pāresidir ki 'Arab lisān deyü ta 'bīr eder, me'l-insânü lev le'l-lisânü (10) illā ṣūretün müme<u>ss</u>eletün ev behīmetün mühmele⁴⁰. Esop'uñ ṣoñra getürdügi ṭa 'āmlar [2a] daḥi ṣiġir d[i]linden olmaġin tenāvül edenlere melāl gelüp āḥar ṭa 'āma meyl olundi⁴¹

As shown in the example above, although the stories are primarily in prose, some include Turkish and Persian verses related to their themes, as well as Arabic idioms and proverbs. Some stories in *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât* do not have titles, and blank spaces appear to have been left for titles to be added later, which were never filled. Based on these blank spaces, I assigned numbers to the stories, resulting in a total of 216, including the one located directly beneath the main title. The work contains ten stories concerning Aesop's life, which comprise the one directly beneath the heading and those numbered 1–6 and 13–15. The 128 stories narrated in Aesop's voice primarily consist of animal fables. Among the remaining seventy eight stories, several have been translated from other narrative sources, including *Kelîle ve Dimne* and *Câmi'ü'l-Hikâyât*. 42

The history of academic studies on Aesop dates back to the nineteenth century. However, the first comprehensive and analytical compilation of Aesop's fables based on ancient Greek and Roman sources was produced by Émile Chambry. Published in French in Paris in 1927, Chambry's edition organized and numbered 358 fables in alphabetical order. The edition used as the source text for the full Turkish translations by Nurullah Ataç and İo Çokona was also based on this 1927 compilation. Following this publication, studies on Aesop have continued to expand. Ben Edwin Perry, incorporating newly discovered sources from various libraries, prepared a more extensive index. This work, listing a total of 725 fables attributed to Aesop along with their sources, has become a reference in international Aesop scholarship. This index, which provides a shared framework for the growing body of literature in different languages, is known as the Perry Index.

The distich meaning "Everything created in the universe prostrated itself with a word" also appears in Kemalpaşazade's *Yûsuf u Zelîhâ*. See Mustafa Demirel, *Kemâl Paşa-zâde (Şemse'd-dîn Ahmed bin Süleymân) Yûsuf u Zelîhâ [Süleymaniye, Lala İsmail Efendi 621]* (Harvard University the Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizatons, 2004), 34.

This proverb expresses that without language, humans would be nothing more than a represented image or a neglected animal, and there are two spelling errors in the text. See Meydânî, *Mecma'ü'l-Emsâl II* (Matbaatü's-Sünneti'l-Muhammediyye, 1374), 291.

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, $1^{b}/1-10-2^{a}/1$.

⁴² Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 180–197.

⁴³ Émile Chambry, *Ésope Fables* (Belles Lettres, 1927), 155.

Nurullah Ataç, *Aisopos Masalları* (Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı, 1945); İo Çokona, *Aisopos Masallar Bütün Ezop Masalları* (İş Bankası, 2013).

Ben Edwin Perry, Aesopica: A Series of Texts Relating to Aesop or Ascribed to Him (University of Illinois Press, 1952).

More recently, addressing the lack of an English-language compilation, Laura Gibbs prepared an anthology of 600 fables, including corresponding numbers from both the Chambry and Perry indices alongside each story. 46

In indices compiled within the scope of the Aesopic tradition, only the fables ascribed to Aesop are indexed, while biographical narratives about his life are excluded. In the table below, Aesop's stories in *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât* are indexed according to the numbering systems found in these indices (Table I).

Table I. Numbers in the Chambry, Perry, and Gibbs Indexes of Aesop's Stories in Letâ'ifù'l-Hikâyât

Perry	Gibbs	Chambry	Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât	Story Title in Laura Gibbs (2002)
15	255	32	Ḥikāyet [23]	The Fox and the Grapes
1	155	3	Ḥikāyet [28]	The Eagle and the Fox
9	113	40	Ḥikāyet [29]	The Fox and the Goat in the Well
10	269	42	Ḥikāyet [30]	The Fox and the Lion
4	131	8	Ḥikāyet [31]	The Hawk and the Nightingale
16	129	12	Ḥikāyet [32]	The Cat and the Rooster
17	398	41	Ḥikāyet [33]	The Foxes and their Tails
20	189	35	Ḥikāyet [34]	The Fox and the Crocodile
27	550	43	Ḥikāyet [35]	The Fox and the Mask
23	134	21	Ḥikāyet [36]	The Partridge and the Roosters
115	138	137	Ḥikāyet [37]	The Bird Catcher and the Viper
118	451	153	Ḥikāyet [38]	The Beaver and his Testicles
29	542	56	Ḥikāyet [39]	The Charcoal Burner and the Fuller
33	209	51	Ḥikāyet [40]	The Boastful Athlete
34	478	46	Ḥikāyet [41]	The Sick Man and his Wife
21	420	22	Ḥikāyet [42]	The Fishermen and the Tuna Fish
43	445	68	Ḥikāyet [43]	The Two Frogs at The Well
60	484	78	Ḥikāyet [44]	The Poor Man and Death
57	589	87	Ḥikāyet [45]	The Old Woman and her Doctor

Laura Gibbs, *Aesop's Fables: A New Translation* (Oxford University Press, 2002).

42	494	83	Ḥikāyet [46]	The Farmer and his Sons
52	292	80	Ḥikāyet [47]	The Farmer and his Dogs
58	433	90	Ḥikāyet [48]	The Widow and her Hen
64	173	177	Ḥikāyet [49]	The Man Bitten by The Dog
66	540	246	Ḥikāyet [50]	The Boys and the Butcher
68	159	114	Ḥikāyet [51]	The Two Enemies
79	299	13	Ḥikāyet [52]	The Chickens and the Cat
113	160	132	Ḥikāyet [53]	The Tuna Fish and the Dolphin
114	586	134	Ḥikāyet [54]	The Doctor at The Funeral
134	117	184	Ḥikāyet [55]	The Wolf and the Sleeping Dog
252	149	180	Ḥikāyet [56]	The Fox, the Rooster and the Dog
141	270	201	Ḥikāyet [57]	The Lion and the Frog
149	15	209	Ḥikāyet [58]	The Wolf, the Fox and the Lion Dividing the Spoils
213	201	324	Ḥikāyet [59]	The Trees and the Bramble Bush
214	260	326	Ḥikāyet [60]	The Mole and the Frankincense
219	22	334	Ḥikāyet [61]	The Peacock Elected King of The Birds
224	449	327	Ḥikāyet [62]	The Fox, the Boar and his Tusks
81	24	38	Ḥikāyet [63]	The Monkey Elected King of The Animals
229	192	348	Ḥikāyet [64]	The Raven, the Swallow and the Seasons
147	62	200	Ḥikāyet [65]	The Lion and the Bear
161	316	233	Ḥikāyet [66]	The Soothsayer and the Theft
235	71	242	Ḥikāyet [67]	The Ant, the Pigeon and the Bird-Catcher
179	10	273	Ḥikāyet [68]	The Donkey and his Masters
193	87	283	Ḥikāyet [69]	The Bird-Catcher and the Lark
178	476	260	Ḥikāyet [70]	The Traveller and Hermes
200	496	296	Ḥikāyet [71]	The Thief and his Mother

196	141	290	Ḥikāyet [72]	The Snake and the Crab
267	36	314	Ḥikāyet [73]	The Shepherd, the Wolf Cub and the Wolf
258	17	205	Ḥikāyet [74]	The Wolf, the Fox and the Ailing Lion
246	558	88	Ḥikāyet [75]	The Woman and her Drunken Husband
399	303	173	Ḥikāyet [76]	The Goose and the Swan
393	361	11	Ḥikāyet [77]	The Black Man in the River
48	288	75	Ḥikāyet [78]	The Bat and the Songbird
55	432	89	Ḥikāyet [79]	The Maids and the Rooster
61	469	84	Ḥikāyet [80]	The Farmer and the Goddess Fortune
67	93	256	Ḥikāyet [81]	The Travellers and the Axe
92	68	175	Ḥikāyet [82]	The Hunting Dog and the Watch Dog
351	249	247	Ḥikāyet [83]	The Deer and his Mother
138	248	191	Ḥikāyet [84]	The Hares and the Frogs
357	410	268	Ḥikāyet [85]	The Donkey, the Horse and the War
225	407	344	Ḥikāyet [86]	The Man and his Gold
228	49	353	Ḥikāyet [87]	The Swans and the Geese
230	331	351	Ḥikāyet [88]	The Eagle and the Tortoise in the Air
76	459	104	Ḥikāyet [89]	The Deer and the Lion
77	80	103	Ḥikāyet [90]	The Deer and the Vine
82	235	269	Ḥikāyet [91]	The Lion, the Rooster and the Donkey
223	196	342	Ḥikāyet [92]	The Bald Horseman
97	356	107	Ḥikāyet [93]	The Kid, the Wolf and the Flute
116	333	150	Ḥikāyet [94]	The Crab on Dry Land
121	252	156	Ḥikāyet [95]	The Musician at Home
122	122	158	Ḥikāyet [96]	The Rooster and the Thieves
129	325	163	Ḥikāyet [97]	The Jackdaw and the Doves
131	8	164	Ḥikāyet [98]	The Jackdaw and the String
160	33	231	Ḥikāyet [99]	The Sheep and the Injured Wolf

256	51	190	Ḥikāyet [100]	The Hares and the Foxes
166	513	240	Ḥikāyet [101]	Zeus and the Ant
172	364	251	Ḥikāyet [102]	The Bat and the Weasels
183	4	264	Ḥikāyet [103]	The Onager, the Donkey and the Driver
188	322	267	Ḥikāyet [104]	The Fox, the Donkey and the Lion Skin
189	377	271	Ḥikāyet [106]	The Donkey and the Frogs
190	390	274	Ḥikāyet [107]	The Wolf and the Raven
191	145	270	Ḥikāyet [108]	The Fox, the Donkey and the Lion Skin
192	441	286	Ḥikāyet [109]	The Hen and the Eggs
195	268	148	Ḥikāyet [110]	The Camel and the People
198	172	291	Ḥikāyet [111]	Apollo and the Snake
201	431	301	Ḥikāyet [112]	The Pigeon and the Painting
208	78	316	Ḥikāyet [113]	The Sheep, the Shepherd and his Cloak
181	65	141	Ḥikāyet [114]	The Donkey and the Ox
22	387	34	Ḥikāyet [116]	The Hare and the Cowherd
285	464	61	Ḥikāyet [117]	The Statue of Hermes and the Treasure
328	382	178	Ḥikāyet [118]	The Cook and the Dog
11	290	24	Ḥikāyet [119]	The Fisherman and his Pipe
49	229	74	Ḥikāyet [120]	The Shepherd and the Lion
324	370	168	Ḥikāyet [121]	The Kite and his Mother
276	43	7	Ḥikāyet [122]	The Eagle and the Arrow
373	126	336	Ḥikāyet [123]	The Ant and the Cricket
87	434	287	Ḥikāyet [124]	The Man and the Golden Eggs
142	18	196	Ḥikāyet [125]	The Fox, the Lion and the Footprints
51	75	81	Ḥikāyet [126]	The Snake and the Farmer
98	221	106	Ḥikāyet [127]	The Ram and the Wolf
315	206	128	Ḥikāyet [128]	The Boastful Mule
370	121	325	Ḥikāyet [129]	The Soldier and the Trumpet

70	202	143	Ḥikāyet [130]	The Oak Tree and the Reed
156	46	224	Ḥikāyet [131]	The Wolf and the Crane
358	323	279	Ḥikāyet [132]	The Farmers, the Donkey and the Lion Skin
146	245	213	Ḥikāyet [134]	The Lion and the Mouse on his Mane
124	104	165	Ḥikāyet [135]	The Fox and the Raven
74	262	102	Ḥikāyet [136]	The Stag and his Reflection
133	263	185	Ḥikāyet [137]	The Dog, the Meat and the Reflection
117	510	146	Ḥikāyet [138]	Zeus and the Camel
281	454	20	Ḥikāyet [139]	The Two Roosters and the Eagle
372	59	71	Ḥikāyet [140]	The Two Bulls and the Lion
180	152	265	Ḥikāyet [141]	The Merchant, the Donkey and the Salt
13	419	23	Ḥikāyet [142]	The Fishermen and the Stone
69	490	67	Ḥikāyet [143]	The Two Frogs by the Road
91	338	275	Ḥikāyet [148]	The Donkey and the Pet Dog
563	69	_47	Ḥikāyet bā-arslan [149]	The Shepherd and the Lion
503	403	-	Ḥikāyet [155] Ḥorūs cevher baķīna	The Rooster and the Pearl
480	116	-	Ḥikāyet [158] Zāden-i seg der-ḥāne-i ʿacūz	The Mother Dog and her Puppies
149	15	209	Ḥikāyet [159] Şīr ve r[ū]bāh ve peleng	The Wolf, the Fox and the Lion dividing the Spoils
150	70	206	Ḥikāyet [160] Şīr bā-mūş	The Lion and the Mouse
490	-	-	Ḥikāyet [161] Bāz bā-keşef ^{t8} ḥīle-i zāġ	[The Falcon and the Tortoise, and the Crow's Deception] ⁴⁹

The dashes (-) signify that the fable is not present in that specific index.

Alkan translated the story's title as "Falcon's Discovery of Deceit and the Crow" because he misread the word "keşef," meaning "tortoise," as "keşif" (discovery). See Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 208; For the meaning of "keşef" as "tortoise," see Ali Nazîmâ and Faik Reşad, Mükemmel Osmanlı Lügati (Türk Dil Kurumu, 2009), 209.

Since this story is not included in the Gibbs index and lacks a title, the heading has been assigned by me.

378	52	354	Hikāyet [165] Mübāḥa <u>s</u> e-i kūze-i mis bā-kūze-i ḫazef	The Two Pots
46	183	73	Ḥikāyet [170] Āfitāb bā- ṣabā	The North Wind and the Sun
155	130	221	Ḥikāyet [188] Gürg bā- berre	The Wolf and the Lamb
44	27	66	Ḥikāyet [189]	Jupiter and the Frogs
218	497	307	Ḥikāyet [207] Beççe-i rubbāḥ ⁵⁰	The Monkey and her Two Children
31	584	52	Ḥikāyet [211] Pīr-i nābāliģ bā-zenān	The Bald Man and his Two Mistresses
210	151	318	Ḥikāyet [212] Çōbān-ı dürūġ-gūy	The Boy who Cried 'Wolf'

Conclusion

Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât, catalogued under number A/306 at the Turkish Language Institution Library (Ankara), is a collection of 216 stories. Nine of these stories relate to Aesop's life, while 128 are attributed to him, most of which are fables. The remaining seventy-eight stories are translations from Eastern literature collections, such as Kelîle ve Dimne and Câmi'ü'l-Hikâyât.

Although the manuscript copy of Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât indicates it is a translation, there is no information regarding the author (mütercim), copyist (müstensih), or source text. The translator claims to have used works written in Greek and Hebrew but does not specify them. The numerous spelling errors in Turkish, Arabic, and Persian words suggest some insights about the translator and the copyist. One possibility is that the translator learned Ottoman Turkish, which extensively incorporates Arabic and Persian vocabulary, later in life. Another possibility is that these errors were introduced by an ignorant copyist who learned Ottoman Turkish later as well. In particular, the numerous errors resulting from the absence of diacritic marks (hareke) in the text suggest that the scribe copied the work from a text with diacritic marks (hareke) but did not include them in his copy.

Given that the language features resemble those of Old Anatolian Turkish, the translation may have occurred at the end of the sixteenth century or the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, since the manuscript is written in the *rik* 'a script, which was prevalent in the latter half of the eighteenth century and more commonly in the nineteenth century, it is estimated that the

Alkan confused the word *rubbāh*, meaning "monkey," with *rūbāh*, which means 'fox'. See Alkan, "Letâyifü'l-Hikâyât [TDK A 306]," 332. For the meaning "monkey," see https://kamus.yek.gov.tr// [Date of Access: 26.09.2025] (*er-rubbâh*: *erkek maymûn*, *hamdûne-i ner ma'nâsına*).

manuscript was copied in the nineteenth century. This article contributes to the Aesop tradition in terms of Turkish translations by highlighting the equivalents of Aesop's fables in *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât* within the indexes prepared by Perry, Chambry, and Gibb. *Letâ'ifü'l-Hikâyât* is the most extensive work among the Turkish translations of Aesop's Fables written during the pre-Tanzimat period.⁵¹

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Conflict of Interest Statement

The author declares no conflict of interest related to this study.

Statement on the Use of AI and AI-Assisted Tools

I confirm that no artificial intelligence-based tools were used in the preparation of this article.

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The project "Aesop Alla Turca: A study on Turkish Translations of Aesop Fables From Pre-Tanzimat Era in the Context of Cultural Translation" has been carried out on Turkish translations of Aesop's fables from the pre-Tanzimat era. For information about the project and to examine the texts, see https://www.ezopalaturka.com/ [Date of Access: 26.09.2025].

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