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**WESTERN IDEAS PERCOLATING INTO OTTOMAN MINDS:
A Survey of Translation Activity and the Famous Case of *Télémaque***

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Abstract

The dissertation examines late Ottoman intellectual history from the perspective of its confrontation with Western ideas through translations in the Ottoman capital Istanbul, and in a leading intellectual centre of the Ottoman Empire, namely Cairo. It consists of three chapters. The first chapter surveys the history of translation activity in the Ottoman Empire from its beginning to the nineteenth century and, particularly, focuses on the nineteenth century translation movement. The second chapter takes the Arabic and Turkish translations of Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* as a case study and attempts to analyse the transmission of certain intellectual concepts through translations; while the third chapter concentrates on the reception of new ideas presented in the translations of the *Télémaque* and their impact on the process of reform.

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I hope this study to be a humble contribution to Ottoman studies.

Transliteration

The Ottoman-Turkish words and names are transliterated according to modern Turkish orthography. As for the transliteration of Arabic words and names, the dissertation makes use of the following table. Long vowels are indicated with (^), *hamza* with ('), and *ayn* with (^).

b	=	ب	z	=	ز	f	=	ف
t	=	ت	s	=	س	q	=	ق
th	=	ث	sh	=	ش	k	=	ك
j	=	ج	ş	=	ص	l	=	ل
h	=	ح	d	=	ض	m	=	م
kh	=	خ	ṭ	=	ط	n	=	ن
d	=	د	ẓ	=	ظ	h	=	ه
dh	=	ذ	'	=	ع	w	=	و
r	=	ر	gh	=	غ	y	=	ي

Abbreviations

- AIEO*: Annales de l'Institut d'Études Orientales d'Alger
AMEL: Arabic and Middle Eastern Literatures
AO Hungaricae: Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae
BJMES: British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies
BOA: Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi
BSOAS: Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies
DİA: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi
EI: The Encyclopedia of Islam: new edition
IJMES: International Journal of Middle East Studies
İA: İslam Ansiklopedisi
JAL: Journal of Arabic Literature
JAOS: Journal of the American Oriental Society
JSS: Journal of Semitic Studies
JRAS: Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
MEB: Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı
MES: Middle Eastern Studies
OTAM: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi
Dergisi
RLC: Revue de Littérature Comparée

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Introduction

The main purpose of this dissertation is to demonstrate that the translation activity in the late Ottoman era was an integral and important part of a series of political, economic, social, institutional, cultural and intellectual developments that transformed the region and whose impact is still felt by the people living there. Adopting an integral approach to late Ottoman intellectual history whereby the links between metropolitan and provincial developments are highlighted, this dissertation offers a new perspective on Ottoman studies and also contributes to a comparative approach within Middle Eastern studies by linking Arabic, Egyptian and Turkish studies.

Unfortunately, the history of the Ottoman Empire in general and of Ottoman intellectual life in particular is a largely uncharted field.¹ Much of the relevant literature exists in manuscript form in Arabic, Persian and Ottoman Turkish. Further investigation is needed in order to situate the place of Ottoman intellectual heritage in the structure of Islamic thought in general and that of Modern Turkish and Arabic thought in particular. The tendency to study Ottoman intellectual history within the context of “national history” seems insufficient for such a complicated tradition. Although the national histories approach has much to offer, it remains susceptible to the charge that it underestimates the extensive intellectual borrowings all major thinkers from different ethnicities engaged in.² The Ottomans ruled over Anatolia, the Balkans, the Arab world, North Africa and a large area of south-eastern Europe. Naturally, in such a wide area, many intellectuals from different ethnicities and languages contributed to the development of Ottoman intellectual life.

¹ See, K. H. Karpat (ed.), *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974); R. A. Abou-El-Haj, “The social uses of the past: recent Arab historiography of Ottoman Rule,” *IJMES* 14 (1982): 185-201.

² For a critique of national perspective, see, for example, W. McNeill, “The Ottoman Empire in world history,” in *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, 34-47; H. Anay, “Çağdaş Arap düşüncesi üzerine,” *Dîvân* 6/10 (2001/1): 1-88; İ. Kara, his introduction “Çağdaş Türk düşüncesi nasıl ele alınabilir?” to *Din ile Modernleşme Arasında: Çağdaş Türk Düşüncesinin Meseleleri* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 2003): 11-71.

This study traces the last phase of Ottoman intellectual life from the standpoint of its encounter with Western ideas through translations of Western works. The question of what action the Porte should undertake to save an apparently crumbling state became a predominant concern of Ottoman intellectuals. Many of them, both in Cairo and Istanbul, argued that traditional ideas which had found their origin in the classical phase of Islamic culture had become inadequate. Inspiration found in Western ideas helped to bring about a policy of reform and modernization during the nineteenth century, which was one of the most important shifts in the history of Muslim peoples in social, cultural and political transformation.³ Ottoman intellectual centers were in constant contact with the metropolis of Istanbul and most thinkers were preoccupied with the same intellectual problems; but, from the late eighteenth century onwards, closer ties were developed by newly invented channels of communication, printing and journalism that subjected the introduction of new ideas to a process of reciprocal influence and exchange. This study puts the translation movement in the late Ottoman Empire into a comparative critical framework by including Cairo and Istanbul in one case study, and analyzes how translation enters into the dynamics of literary and cultural change as a factor in the modernization period.

The role of translated texts in the formation of both Eastern and Western thought is of obvious importance. As Burke states, "Translation between languages is like the tip of an iceberg. It is the most visible part of an activity sometimes described as cultural translation."⁴ During the period of reform, translation became a potentially safe way to express political views and to spread new ideas. Translators saw many parallels between their troubled times and the solutions proposed in foreign literary or philosophical works. They were quite sure about the fact that words printed or spoken could help them to reshape the social and political order. However, they often met with serious difficulties in introducing new concepts, terms, ideas and styles, because of the lack of linguistic equivalents and of the cultural differences.

³ See, for example, B. Lewis, "Turkey: Westernization," and W. Caskel, "Western impact and Islamic civilization," in *Unity and Variety in Muslim Civilization*, ed. by G. E. von Grunebaum, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1995): 311-331, 335-350.

⁴ P. Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe*, KB Lecture 1, NIAS, (The Hague: National Library of the Netherlands, 2005).

On another level, knowledge of the translation activity is also of basic importance for understanding the rise of modern Islamic thought. This aspect has not been adequately covered. Although there are a few general surveys and several reference works on translation activity in the late Ottoman world, there has been no attempt at a systematic analysis of both institutional and individual translation activity. A number of scholars writing on the history of modern Turkish and Arabic literature have called attention to the importance of translations done from Western languages by the nineteenth century onwards; however, none of them have undertaken a specific investigation of certain translated texts and their reception. They neither attempted to flesh out the translation techniques employed in these translations nor to examine how new concepts and ideas were introduced/expressed in Turkish or Arabic languages and thus how they contributed to the transformation of language and thought.

Among the first Turkish works devoted exclusively to translation activity was H. Z. Ülken's *İslâm Medeniyetinde Tercümeler ve Tesirler* (Translations and Their Impact on Islamic Civilization, 1935). To explain the role of translation in the formation of civilizations, Ülken describes crucial translation activities from Ancient Greece to the emergence of modern Turkey. According to him, translation has played a central role in the "awakening" of civilizations. By pointing out earlier periods of "awakening" in history, he identifies the republican era as one such period, the foundations of which were laid by the second half of the nineteenth century. After giving a panoramic view of translations done during this period, he maintains that those translations were unsystematic and fragmentary; and that a systematic translation policy was needed in order to bring forward the achievements of the early republican period. His approach to the nineteenth century translation activity lacks a critical perspective from which one could understand the process by which certain works were selected for translation and why, how they were done and for whom.

In 1940, İ. H. Sevük published his two-volume work *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: Garpten Tercümeler* (European Literature and Us: Translations from the West). Considering Europe as a source of "enlightenment," he maintains that the great literary works produced in Europe have to be translated into Turkish in order to "become European." For this purpose, he attempts to present an inventory of translations from European literature, extending from classical works written in Greek or Latin to the ones written in European languages, by the nineteenth century onwards, in connection with the survey of intellectual

movements in Europe and in Islamic world. For him the more European works are translated, the more Turkish culture is Europeanized and civilized. Hence, the Turkish literature, developed under the influence of translations from European languages by the *Tanzîmât* onwards, represents for him the stage of Europeanization and thus civilization. He thus exclusively concerns himself with translation as a uni-directional flow of culture from a civilized and dominant culture to an uncivilized one in order to make the latter more civilized. Both Ülken and Sevük emphasize the role of translations from European languages in the making of modern Turkish language and culture; and refer to nineteenth century literary translations as an initial step towards Turkish modernization. However, they do not address issues of translation institutions, state policies of translation, ideologies of translators, and of how translations were acknowledged, foregrounded, or received.

T. Kayaoğlu's *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (Translation Institutions in Turkey, 1998) offers a review of translation institutions, their regulations, members and translations produced in those institutions. Basing himself on archival documents, the author draws attention to the continuous interest of the state in translation from the late Ottoman Empire to the early republican period. However, the book does not include all translation institutions. The Translation Office of the Sublime Porte (1821), for example, is only mentioned briefly in the introduction. The author ventures neither to examine the translation policies of the institutions nor the techniques employed in translations commissioned by those institutions. Moreover, translation institutions were the products of a particular set of historical conditions, a circumstance hardly commented upon.

In her *Translation and Westernization in Turkey from the 1840s to the 1980s* (2004), Ö. Berk traces the history of translation activity in Turkey from the mid-nineteenth to the late twentieth century within the modern paradigm of descriptive translation studies. By foregrounding the historical dimensions of the period under discussion, she not only offers an examination of ways in which translation has been linked to the process of westernization, but also attempts to shed light on the role of translation in the development of Turkish national identity. She particularly deals with literary translations and offers a brief survey of the first literary translations between 1839 and 1876 and the translation policies during this period. After the 1870s, however, she skips to the republican period and thus does not only ignores significant philosophical translations, such as Descartes' *Discours de la méthode* translated into Turkish

by İbrahim Edhem b. Mesud under the title *Hüsn-i İdâre-i Akl, Ulûmda Teharri-i Hakîkate Dâir Usûl Hakkında Nutuk* (1893), but also hundreds of literary translations produced during this period of time.

J. Tâjir's *Harakat al-Tarjama bi-Miṣr Khilâl al-Qarn al-Tâsi' Ashar* (The Translation Movement in Egypt during the Nineteenth Century, 1945) was the first work about the translation movement in Egypt. The work offers a brief survey of nineteenth century translation activity in Egypt and serves as a point of departure for a historical study of translation in Egypt. Nevertheless, while providing information about institutions, official translations, prominent figures of translators and their translations, Tâjir fails to provide proper descriptions of translations. Furthermore, he neither deals with the historical conditions in which the translations emerged nor with translated texts in terms of their language and translation qualities.

Tâjir's survey was followed by J. al-Shayyâl's *Târîkh al-Tarjama fi Miṣr fi 'Ahd al-Ḥamla al-Fransiyya* (The History of Translation in Egypt during the French Invasion, 1950); and *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fi 'Aṣr Muḥammad 'Alî* (The History of Translation and Cultural Movement During the Time of Muḥammad 'Alî, 1951) also by al-Shayyâl. The first work offers an examination of translation activity during the French Invasion of Egypt (1798-1801) and provides information about translators employed in the service of French troops, and official and scientific translations produced during those years. Al-Shayyâl's second work traces the history of translation activity during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha (1805-1849), and offers extensive information about translation institutions, government policies, translators and their translations, as well as about proofreaders. According to al-Shayyâl, the translation activity in this period is particularly important, because it was in this period that the foundations of the *nahḍa* "literary and cultural renaissance" in Egypt were laid. The pioneers of this renaissance were, for him, the graduates of the School of Languages established in this period. The translations produced in this early period, the most important of which are displayed in his appendices, are claimed to be the essential elements in shaping modern Egyptian Arabic literature and culture. In this dissertation we will extend this period to the year 1882 and attempt to broaden our knowledge of translation activity in Egypt during the period under discussion. Al-Shayyâl also touches on issues of style and technique of translations, the creation of new terms, and the impact of translation on Arabic language and culture over a few excerpts from translations. However, his assessments lack extensive elaboration

of the multi-layered texture of translations. He does not take into consideration how any particular translation was acknowledged, appropriated, or received in any way by readers; or how new ideas presented in translations percolated into the Egyptian intellectual milieu.

6

The pioneering works outlined thus far, no doubt, have made a vital contribution to both Ottoman studies and modern Arabic and Turkish thought, by calling attention to and examining translation activity during the nineteenth century Ottoman world from different perspectives. Yet, there is a need to rethink translation activity within a broader scale in order to situate its place in late Ottoman culture in general and in the formation of modern Arabic and Turkish languages and thoughts in particular. Hence, the present dissertation offers and attempts to analyze translation activity in the Ottoman Empire, particularly during the nineteenth century, from various perspectives, which are highly missing in the existing literature mentioned above, and thus demonstrates how this activity was complex, multi-faceted and significant in understanding the emergence of modern Islamic thought and culture. By adopting a critical historical perspective to translation activity in late Ottoman culture, the dissertation aims at exploring how certain ideas move from one culture to another through translations; and how these ideas live and operate in a new milieu.

The dissertation consists of three chapters. Chapter I attempts to document the history of the translation movement chronologically up until 1882. To do so, it displays the early translation activities at the Imperial *Dîvân* and Imperial Fleet, in provinces, foreign embassies and consulates and some translations done under the patronage of the government during the eighteenth century. The chapter then surveys the nineteenth century translation institutions and the translations produced within those institutions in Istanbul and Cairo. Next, it provides information about the contribution of learned societies and periodicals to the translation movement. Last but not least, the chapter reviews the nineteenth century translations and translators. Translation activities in the late Ottoman period have not yet been adequately studied either in Egypt, Turkey or in Europe. Therefore this chapter is an important contribution to the field of translation studies as well.

Taking the translations of Fénelon's *Télémaque* as a case study, chapter II offers an examination of the *Télémaque* translations in Arabic and Turkish, which involves a comparison of the original text with its Arabic and Turkish translations and also with each other. The *Télémaque* is a pertinent example for

several reasons which will become clear as we introduce the text, the author, the translators and their translation techniques. It was among the first European texts that attracted many oriental intellectuals. Its style and appeal were familiar in that they resembled that of traditional works in the “Mirror for Princes” tradition and therefore functioned as a bridge between the old and new. It was translated more than once into both Arabic and Turkish, and the translations were reprinted several times. In this case study, the dissertation shows that translations not only introduced new texts into a different culture, but also new ideas and that they had an impact even on social and political change in the Ottoman Empire. By studying the way key concepts of the French original were translated in the Arabic and Turkish translations, the chapter shows that the translation process went hand-in-hand with the creation of a new vocabulary in two important languages of the Ottoman Empire, Arabic and Turkish, and therefore contributed to the dissemination of new ideas throughout the Empire. Among these new ideas were fatherland and patriotism, the rule of law and public education. Since ideas are not developed in a vacuum, they are assessed in the context of the historical setting and conditions of the period.

Chapter III is mainly devoted to the impact and reception of the translations of the *Télémaque*. The purpose in this chapter is to analyze how translations of the *Télémaque* entered into the dynamics of intellectual or cultural change during the reform era. The translation of texts spreading the ideas of the French enlightenment was of fundamental importance for understanding the rise of the modern secular nations in the lands of Ottoman Empire, a subject which has hardly been tackled by the existing historiography. The detailed study of the reception of one of the most widely read European texts in the Middle East, namely Fénelon’s *Télémaque*, contributes to our understanding of how “foreign” ideas and concepts are appropriated and naturalized and become part of another intellectual tradition.

In the appendices the dissertation provides extensive lists of philosophical and literary translations done from European languages into Turkish and Arabic in Istanbul and Cairo from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the year 1882. The appendices also include lists of the translators of the Imperial *Dîvân*, and nineteenth century translators in Istanbul and Cairo. The lists are not exhaustive; however, with all their limitations, it is hoped that they revive interest in a neglected feature of Ottoman modernization and that they may be enhanced by future research in the field.

Chapter I: A Historical Survey

The verb *tarjama* in Arabic means to translate. The derived forms *terceme* and *tercüme* in the composite verb *tercemel/tercüme etmek/eylemek* mean the same thing in Turkish. The definition of the word *tarjama* is given in the dictionaries as to interpret, to comment, to explain, to state/express one language in another, and to convey the words and speech of one language in another.⁵ *Tarjumân*, *mutarjim* in Arabic or *tercemân*, *tercüman*, and *mütercim* in Turkish, derived from the same word, are used for translator. In Egypt, the words *ta'rib* and *tamşîr*, literally Arabization and Egyptianization, are also used for translation, though not in a precise sense, into standard Arabic or Egyptian colloquial, especially in the theatre.⁶

Translators have always played a crucial role in diplomatic and commercial relations of Muslim and Christian states. From the evidence of treaties with the states in Northern Africa, it appears that as early as the twelfth century they were indispensable officials at sea-ports (Mediterranean, Red Sea and Black Sea) accessible to foreign trade. This service was an important official post during the times of the Abbasids, Ayyubids, Mamluks in Egypt and Saljukids in Anatolia.⁷ However, the position and function of translators became increasingly important in the time of the Ottoman Empire. Because of its large territories, commercial and diplomatic relations, the Ottoman State had close contacts with the European powers and their relations became more frequent than in former centuries. In course of time, the need for good and reliable translators increased. At many sea-ports government offices had their

⁵ For a detailed study of the term *terceme*, see, C. Demircioğlu, “From Discourse to Practice: Rethinking “Translation” (*Terceme*) and Related Practices of Text Production in the Late Ottoman Literary Tradition,” (Ph.D. diss., Boğaziçi University, 2005): 133-148. C. Orhonlu, “Tercüman,” *İA*, 2nd ed., v.12/1 (Ankara: MEB, 1979): 175-181; F. Hitzel (ed.), *Enfants de langue et Drogmans – Dil Oğlanları ve Tercümanlar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1995), 17.

⁶ P. Cachia, *An Overview of Modern Arabic Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University, 1990), 36.

⁷ C. E. Bosworth, “Tardjumân,” *EI*, v.10 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000): 236-238; J. H. Kramers, “Tardjumân,” *EI*, 1st ed., v.8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1987): 725-726; Orhonlu.

own translators. These interpreters were originally appointed by the local authority and were attached to the local ruler. Functioning as intermediaries for all commercial transactions, they levied special duties on merchandise and wrote up, concluded or translated various treaties and agreements.⁸

The activity of translation is inseparable from political history, for both international and internal events had an important role in the development of translation activity and thus in that of language and ideas. By the late eighteenth century, this translation activity was among the channels through which Western ideas infiltrated the Ottoman intellectual milieu and was an important element of the broader intellectual, social and political movement of the late nineteenth century. Translation activity was thus by no means confined to the history of literature, as is usually assumed; on the contrary, it is also of considerable interest to scholars dealing with the modernization of Ottoman culture.

In this chapter, we will attempt to document the history of translation activity in the Ottoman Empire chronologically up until 1882, in order to demonstrate that this activity was an integral and vital part of the wider picture of late Ottoman intellectual history. The nineteenth century is characterized by an extensive growth of institutional and individual translations in various fields. This development can only be understood against the background of the political, social and economic changes of the period as well as the development of the printing press and journalism in the two most important centers of the Empire, namely, Istanbul and Cairo. While documenting the institutional history of the early translation movement, we will also consider some individual translations. During the nineteenth century, not only did state sponsored institutions contribute to the translation activity but so did some learned societies and individuals. After indicating their contribution to the introduction of new ideas to the intellectual milieu of their time, we will give an overview of the translations undertaken during the century under discussion. Last but not least, we will also provide some information about nineteenth century translators.

⁸ Kramers.

A. Early Translation Activities

1. Translation at the Imperial Dîvân (*Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*)

10

The translators working at the Imperial *Dîvân* were not only functionaries translating official documents, but also important figures in Ottoman diplomatic relations. They also contributed to Ottoman culture by their translations from Western languages. It is not known when the translatorship was established as an official function. As early as the time of Orhan Gazi (1324-1362), there is no doubt that translators – whether or not they bore an official title – were needed by the Ottomans for diplomatic relations with the Byzantines. The Imperial decrees (*ahidnâmes*) written in Greek for Christian states also support the idea that translators may have existed in the Ottoman bureaucracy since the fourteenth century. However, it is still unknown how, through whom and in which languages Ottoman officials carried out their diplomatic relations and correspondence with Byzantium and various Italian states during the fourteenth century.

By the second half of the fifteenth century, presumably, Ottoman sultans were involved in negotiations with foreign envoys through non-Muslim translators who did not have any official title. In 1423, Sir Benedicto, the envoy of the Duchy of Milan, talked with Sultan Murad II (1421-44, 1446-51) through the agency of a Jewish translator who translated the discussions of the parties into Turkish and Italian. In 1430, a Serbian by the name of Curac corresponded in Slavic and Greek on behalf of the Ottoman State. Sultan Murad II's clerk, Mihail Pillis, who conducted the Arabic and Greek correspondence, was probably a translator as well.⁹

Sultan Mehmed II, the Conqueror (1444-46, 1451-81), was interested in science and philosophy and patronized many scholars. In the year 1445, the Italian humanist Ciriaco d'Ancona and other Italians visited the Palace and taught him Roman and Western history.¹⁰ After the conquest of Istanbul, Sultan Mehmed II had some Byzantine bureaucrats and men of letters translate Western works; and at the same time established a library in his palace. This

⁹ B. Aydın, "Divan-ı Hümayun tercümanları ve Osmanlı kültür ve diplomasisindeki yerleri," *Osmanlı Araştırmaları* 29 (2007): 41-86.

¹⁰ E. İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman science in the classical period and early contacts with European science and technology," in *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, ed. by E. İhsanoğlu, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 1992): 1-48.

library contained books in foreign languages which were acquired in consultation with Geōrgios Amirutzes (1400-ca.1469). Some Byzantine scientists, aristocrats and bureaucrats also wrote books and dedicated them to Mehmed II. He himself ordered various Greek books to be written and translated. Among these was a translation of one of Geōrgios Gemistos Plethon's (ca.1360-1452) works into Arabic ca.1462. Sixteen Greek manuscripts were written by Greek clerks (*kâtib*) in his Palace between 1460 and 1480, some of them for the sultan himself and others for the students of the Palace to teach them Greek.¹¹ On the orders of Sultan Mehmed II, the *Almagest* by Ptolemy was translated into Arabic by a Greek scholar from Trabzon, Geōrgios Amirutzes, together with his son.¹² Critoboulos (1410-ca.1470), a historian from the island of Imbros (İmroz), is said to have conducted Mehmed II's correspondence. The sultan employed many other Byzantine bureaucrats and officials in the service of the State; one of them was the translator Dimitri Kyritzes. After Kyritzes, a certain Lütfi Bey, a convert to Islam, was appointed as a translator to the Palace. This appointment was a turning point, for after him translators were chosen from converts to Islam until the mid-seventeenth century. Lütfi Bey undertook diplomatic negotiations between Ottomans and Venetians in 1479. As an envoy to Venice, he brought a letter written in Greek in Istanbul on 29 January 1479 to the Doge Giovanni Mocenigo.¹³ The fifteenth century maps drawn by Muslim cartographers were among the first examples of maps of Western origin. According to Evliya Çelebi's account, Ottoman cartographers knew several languages, Latin in particular, and benefited from Western geographical works such as *Atlas Minor*.¹⁴ After the reign of Sultan

¹¹ Aydın. Some of the books written by Greek clerks were: Critobulus' *Historiae*, Arrian's *Anabasis*, Homer's *Iliad* and *Testament of Solomon*, Boundelmonti's travel book in Greek translation and Diegesi's tenth century manuscript about the construction of St. Sophia (*Ayasofya*) of which there are many translations both in Persian and Turkish languages. For the library of Sultan Mehmed II, see, Julian Raby, "East-West in Mehmed the Conqueror's Library," *Bulletin du Bibliophile* 3 (Paris, 1987): 299-304. About the Byzantine intellectuals at the court, see, P. Bádenas, "The Byzantine intellectual elite at the court of Mehmet II: Adaptation and identity," in *International Congress on Learning and Education in the Ottoman World (Istanbul, 12-15 April 1999) Proceedings*, ed. by A. Çaksu, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2001): 23-33.

¹² İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman science."

¹³ Aydın.

¹⁴ İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman science."

Mehmed II, all translations from Western languages in the sixteenth century were done by *Dîvân* translators.¹⁵

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From the sixteenth century onwards translators became part of the Imperial court (*Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*). They were part of the staff of the Chief Secretary (*Reîsü'l-küttâb*), who was under the authority of the grand vizier, responsible for the conduct of relations with foreign states with the assistance of the grand translator of the Imperial *Dîvân* (*Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn baş tercümanı*).¹⁶ Aydın mentions that during the time of Beyazîd II (1481-1512), translators were given the title of *dragoman*; and he gives us the names of three translators of the period: Alaaddin, İskender and İbrahim. He also states that Ali Bey, who in some sources is pointed as the first translator of the Imperial *Dîvân*, was among the staff of the translators in 1512.¹⁷ Ali Bey went to Venice in order to undertake negotiations on behalf of the Ottoman State and to convey the text of a treaty on two occasions, the first being in 1502-1503 during the time of Beyazîd II, and the second during the time of Sultan Selîm II, Yavuz (1512-1520).¹⁸

By the time of Süleymân I, Kanûnî (1520-1566), instead of *dragoman*, the title of *tercüman* began to be used. Three names are mentioned by Aydın as the translators of this period: Yûnus Bey, Ali Çelebi and Huban(?). Yûnus Bey, a Greek convert to Islam, was one of the important figures of Ottoman diplomacy of the Kanûnî period because of his role in Ottoman-Venetian relations beyond that of translator. He also had close contacts with French ambassadors and diplomats. He worked as a translator about twenty years (until 1550) and knew Greek, Italian, Latin and Turkish. He went to Venice many times. There, in 1544, he published a twenty-two-page-long Italian treatise about the organization of the Ottoman State, entitled *Opera nova composta per ionusbei in lingue greca et traduita in italiana*. During that time there were other translators in the *Dîvân*, among them: Hacı Ca'fer, Hasan Bey b. Abdullah and Mehmed.¹⁹ In the sixteenth century, another translator of the

¹⁵ Aydın.

¹⁶ Orhonlu.

¹⁷ Orhonlu also mentions a translator, Dimitrios Sofyanos, under the reign of Sultan Cem.

¹⁸ Aydın.

¹⁹ Aydın. About Yûnus Bey, see also, J. L. Bacque-Grammont, "A propos de Yûnus Beg, *Baş Tercüman* de Soliman le Magnifique," in *Istanbul et les langues orientales: actes du colloque organisé par l'IFÉA et l'INALCO à l'occasion du bicentenaire de l'École des langues orientales, Istanbul 29-31 mai 1995*, (Varia Turcica, 31), ed. by F.

Imperial *Dîvân* was a Viennese convert to Islam, Ahmed (Heinz Tulman)²⁰ who was succeeded by a Polish convert to Islam, İbrahim Efendi (Joachim Strasz).²¹ In 1550, İbrahim Efendi was appointed as the grand translator of the Imperial *Dîvân*. Between 1562 and 1568 his name was often mentioned in connection with Ottoman relations with Venice, Paris and Frankfurt. He knew Italian, German and Latin, though some ambassadors asserted that he was not fluent in these languages. Oram, Hürrem Bey and Mustafa, Hungarian and Latin translators of the *Dîvân*, also served as translators during this century. In 1572, Hasan b. Hamza and the clerk (*kâtib*) Ali b. Sinan translated a work from French into Turkish. It was entitled *Tevârih-i Pâdişâhân-ı Françe*, the history of French kings from Faramund to Charles IX.²²

A Hungarian convert to Islam, Murad Bey (Balázs Somlyai) was born in 1509 in Nagybánya and captured in the battle of Mohács by the Ottomans. He was ransomed by Rüstem Pasha and introduced by him to Sultan Süleymân. The Sultan appointed him as the translator of Latin and Hungarian texts in around 1553. He spoke Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Latin, Hungarian and Croatian.²³ Besides his service in diplomacy and translation, he wrote a treatise intended for Christian readers about Islamic doctrine and culture in 1556-57, named *Kitâb-ı Tesviyetü't-Teveccüh ile'l-Hakk*. Later on, he translated this treatise into Latin and wrote other theological treatises.²⁴ He is known as the only Ottoman poet who wrote verses in Hungarian. A famous hymn by him was written in three languages -Latin, Hungarian and Turkish- dating the early 1580s.²⁵ He translated Cicero's *De Senectute* under the title *Kitâb der Medh-i Pîrî*. He did this translation upon the request of the ambassador of the Venice in Istanbul, Marino di Lavalli, in order to offer it to Sultan Süleymân in around

Hitzel, (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997): 23-39; J. L. Warner, "Tribute to a translator," in *Cultural Horizons: A Festschrift in Honor of Talat S. Halman*, ed. by J. L. Warner, (Istanbul: Warner Syracuse University Press, 2001): 343-356. Orhonlu also mentions Ferhat and his son Mehmed as translators in the sixteenth century.

²⁰ Bosworth, "Tardjumân."

²¹ Orhonlu.

²² Aydın. For an edition and translation of this text in French, see, J. Bacque-Grammont (ed. and trans.), *La première histoire de France en turc Ottoman : chronique des padichahs de France 1572*, (Varia Turcica, XXX), (Paris : L'Harmattan, 1997).

²³ P. Ács, "Tarjumans Mahmud and Murad: Austrian and Hungarian Renegades as Sultan's Translators," in *Europa und die Türken in der Renaissance*, ed. by W. Kühlmann, B. Guthmüller, (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2000): 307-316.

²⁴ Aydın.

²⁵ Ács.

1559-1560.²⁶ He also translated some Turkish chronicles into Latin upon the demand of Phillippe von Haniwald. The most important among them was Neşri's historical work.²⁷

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The grand translator (*baş tercüman*) Mahmûd (Sebold von Pibrach) was born in Vienna and he knew German and Latin. He is mentioned as early as 1541 to have been a diplomat in the service of the Ottomans. He led some diplomatic missions to Vienna, Transylvania, Poland, Italy and France over the years between 1541 and 1575, and died on one such a mission in Prague.²⁸ He wrote a famous Hungarian historical work, the *Târîh-i Ungurus*, in the 1540s. Based on a Latin Hungarian chronicle, it covers the history of the Hungarian people from the beginning to the end of the battle of Mohács in 1526.²⁹ Mahmûd and Murad were two important figures among the translators of the Imperial *Dîvân*, as Ács rightly states: "Mahmud and Murad had unusual lives. They were participants in, and active protagonists of, the great popular, linguistic and religious movements of the sixteenth century. Like men going between peoples, languages and religions, they had a particularly rich knowledge of those movements. Unfortunately, only fragments of that knowledge have been left to us."³⁰

There was also the translator-ship of the Two Holy Cities (*Haremeyn-i Muhteremeyn tercümanlığı*), which was attached to the private secretariat (*kalem-i mahsûs*) and responsible for the Arabic-language correspondence with the Sharîf of Mecca.³¹ In the sixteenth century, there were special Arabic, Latin and Hungarian translators, which indicates that there might have been translators for other languages. We know also of private translators for grand viziers. For example, the Grand Vizier Halil Pasha in the seventeenth century had a Jewish translator, Frenk Süleyman Ağa, who was also his doctor and concierge (*kapıcıbaşı*). He also had a Venetian translator called Paul Antonio Bon. The Grand Vizier Sinan Pasha also had a translator, a British convert to Islam.³²

²⁶ Aydın.

²⁷ Ács. Aydın.

²⁸ Ács.

²⁹ Aydın. About the translation, see, G. Hazai, "Tarih-i Ungurus," in *VI. Türk Tarih Kongresi (20-26 Ekim 1961)* (Ankara: TTK, 1967): 355-358.

³⁰ Ács.

³¹ C. V. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform in the Ottoman Empire: The Sublime Porte, 1789-1922* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), 313.

³² Aydın.

Among the Jews who took refuge in the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were also physicians of Spanish, Portuguese and Italian origin. These immigrants brought with them new elements of European medicine and some of them operated in the service of the sultans. One of these physicians, Mûsâ bin Hâmûn (d.1554), wrote one of the early works on dentistry in Turkish. He wrote another work entitled *Risâla fî al-Adwiya wa Isti'mâlihâ* with the help of Islamic, European, Greek and Jewish sources. Shabân b. İshâk al-İsrâîlî (d. ca.1600), known as Ibn Jânî, translated from Spanish into Arabic a treatise on medical treatment using tobacco. From the seventeenth century onwards, however, Jewish physicians would be replaced by Greek physicians who were Ottoman subjects and had been educated in Italian universities.³³

Another Hungarian convert to Islam was the translator Zülfikâr. He served as a translator for about fifty years up until the appointment of the Greek Panayiotakis Nikousis in 1657.³⁴ Early translators of the Imperial *Dîvân* were non-Muslims, but by the beginning of the sixteenth century mostly European converts to Islam were employed until at least as late as the mid-seventeenth century. As for Turks, we know only about Osman Ağa from Temeşvar in Ottoman Hungary in the seventeenth century.³⁵ Referred to as *dragoman* or *tercüman*, the renegade translators of the sultans enjoyed a high esteem in the court and played important roles in Ottoman diplomacy far beyond the function of translator. They were regarded as foreign officers of the highest rank and as key members of the Ottoman intelligence service.³⁶

There were two remarkable translations during the seventeenth century. The first of these was *Sajanjal al-Aflâk fî Ghâyât al-İdrâk* (the Mirror of the

³³ E. İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman science;" R. Şeşen, "Belgrad Divanı Tercümanı Osman. b. Abdülmennan ve tercüme faaliyetindeki yeri," *Tarih Enstitüsü Dergisi* 15 (1997): 305-320. See, also, N. Sarı and M. B. Zülfikâr, "The Paracelsusian influence on Ottoman medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries;" G. Russell, "'The Owl and Pussy Cat' The process of cultural transmission in anatomical illustration;" M. W. Dols, "Medicine in sixteenth-century Egypt," in *Transfer of Modern Science*, 157-179; 180-212; 213-221.

³⁴ Aydın.

³⁵ Bosworth, "Tardjumân." Osman Ağa was appointed translator at the Austrian Embassy in Istanbul. See, R. F. Kreutel's translation of Osman Ağa's autobiography, *Leben und Abenteuer des Dolmetschers Osman Ağa : eine türkische Autobiographie aus der Zeit der grossen Kriege gegen Österreich* (Bonn: Selbstverlag des Orientalischen Seminars der Universität Bonn, 1954).

³⁶ Ács.

Heavens and the Purpose of Perception). This was a translation of Noel Durret's work into Arabic by Tezkireci Köse İbrâhîm Efendi between the years 1660 and 1664. It is said to be the first book to have treated the Copernican system in Ottoman scientific literature.³⁷ The second translation was Abû Bakr b. Behrâm b. 'Abd Allâh al-Hanafî al-Dimashqî's *Nuṣrat al-Islâm wa al-Surûr fî Tahrîr Atlas Mayor* (The Victory of Islam and the Joy of Editing Atlas Major), based on Janszoon Blaeu's *Atlas Major seu Cosmographia Blaeuiana Qua Salum, Coelum Accuratissime Describuntur*. Blaeu's *Atlas Major* was presented to Sultan Mehmed IV (1648-1687) by Justinus Colyer, the Dutch ambassador in Istanbul in 1668. Al-Dimashqî began his work in 1675 and completed the translation in 1685. These translations introduced the systems of Ptolemy, Copernicus, Tycho Brahe and Andreas Argoli to the Ottoman scientific world.³⁸

By the middle of the seventeenth century the post of translator was held, on an almost hereditary basis, by members of Orthodox Greek families³⁹ from the Phanar (*Fener*) quarter of Istanbul up until the Greek revolt in 1821.⁴⁰ The Greek families settled in Phanar, where the patriarch had his seat after the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, were known collectively as the Phanariots (*Fenerliler*). Many of them were educated in Italy and, thanks to their education, language skills and links with Europe they were employed by the Porte in various high positions, particularly in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. They served as physicians to Ottoman dignitaries; contractors for the supply of furs and meat to the Palace; "agents at the Porte" (*kapı kethüdası*); translators for the Arsenal, the Imperial Fleet and the Imperial *Dîvân*; and as *voyvodas* (hospodars) of Moldavia (*Boğdan*) and Wallachia (*Eflak*) for over a century. The *Dîvân* translators, after having occupied the office of translator, were appointed as princes of one of the Danube principalities (*Eflak-Boğdan*).⁴¹

³⁷ E. İhsanoğlu, "Introduction of Western science to the Ottoman world: A case study of modern astronomy (1660-1860)," in *Transfer of Modern Science*, 67-120.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ Among these families were Argyropoulos, Cantacuzinos, Caradjas, Ypsilantis, Mavrocordatos, Mourouzis, Callimachis, Ghikas, Soutzos, Mavroyenis, Manos, Negris and Rosettis. About the Phanariots, see, for example, A. A. Pallis, *Greek Miscellany: A Collection of Essays on Mediaeval and Modern Greece* (Athens, 1964): 102-124.

⁴⁰ Bosworth, "Tardjumân;" Kramers; Orhonlu.

⁴¹ J. H. Mordtmann, "Fener," *EI*, v.2 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965): 879-880. Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 91-93; İ. H. Uzunçarşılı, "Onsekizinci asırda Boğdan'a voyvoda

Panayiotakis Nikousis, a Greek doctor, had been educated by the Jesuit fathers in Chios, then studied philosophy under Meletios Sirigos at Istanbul, and from there went on to the medical school at Padua, Italy. On his return, in about 1660, he was employed by the Grand Vizier, Köprülüzâde Ahmed Pasha (1685-1676), as his family doctor. Later on, the Vizier employed him in drafting foreign dispatches, and in interviewing foreign envoys. In 1669 he was appointed as the grand translator of the Imperial *Dîvân*.⁴² Panayiotakis was the first Greek to be employed in the foreign affairs of the Ottoman State.⁴³ He and the second translator (*tercüman-ı sâni*) Ali Ufkî Bey did translations from Greek and Latin for Hezârfen Hüseyin Efendi's world history called *Tenkîh-i Tevârîh-i Müllûk*. Ali Ufkî Bey had been captured in the 1645 Ottoman-Venetian war and brought to Istanbul, where he was enrolled in the school of the Palace (*Enderun*). He also assisted in the task of translating the Bible into Turkish undertaken by Yahyâ bin İshak, also called Hâkî.⁴⁴

On Panayiotakis' death in 1673, Köprülü appointed in his place a Greek physician called Iskerletzâde Alexander Mavrocordato (1636-1709). Born in 1642, he was a very intelligent and highly educated man of Phanariot aristocracy and so excellent a doctor that he had the Sultan and many foreign ambassadors as his patients.⁴⁵ He held the post for twenty-five years, with a brief interruption in 1684. Four years later he became private secretary to the Sultan, with the title of "Prince and Illustrious Highness." He headed the

tâyini," *Tarih Semineri Dergisi* I (1937): 32-37. "The people of Danubian Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were speaking a Latin language with Illyrian forms and Slavonic intrusions. Their Slavonic-speaking church which had earlier been under the Serbian church was then depended on Istanbul. Wallachia and Moldavia were ruled autonomously under princes (hospodars or voyvodas). They were elected by the heads of the local noble families; yet, these elections had to be confirmed by the Ottoman sultan." S. R. Sonyel, *Minorities and the Destruction of the Ottoman Empire* (Ankara: Turkish Historical Society Printing House, 1993), 81.

⁴² Sonyel, 78.

⁴³ Aydın. See, also, G. Veinstein, "Osmanlı yönetimi ve tercümanlar sorunu," in *Osmanlı: teşkilat*, ed. by G. Eren, v.6 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye yayınları, 1999): 256-263.

⁴⁴ Aydın. About the Bible translation, see, H. Neudecker, *The Turkish Bible Translation by Yahya bin 'Ishak, also called Haki (1659)*, Leiden: Het Oosters Instituut, 1994). See, also, J. Schmidt, "Between author and library shelf: the intriguing history of some Middle Eastern manuscripts acquired by public collections in the Netherlands prior to 1800," in *The Republic of Letters and the Levant* ed. by A. Hamilton, M. H. van den Boogert, and B. Westerweel, (Leiden: Brill, 2005): 27-51.

⁴⁵ Sonyel, 80.

Ottoman delegation to the Peace Conference of Carlowitz and took an active part in the affairs of the Orthodox Church. He died in 1709.⁴⁶

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The aristocratic and rich Phanar-based families were sending their children to Italy for education. With these students a modernization movement started among Phanariots. Alexander Mavrocordato, one of the pioneers of this movement, studied philosophy and medicine in Rome and Bologna. His son Nicholas (1680-1730) was also named to the post of translator in 1698 and was appointed as voyvoda of Wallachia and Moldavia between 1709 and 1730. The appointment of Phanariot Greeks as governors or princes to the Danubian principalities shows that *Dîvân* translators had higher status in comparison with the translators of European embassies in Istanbul.⁴⁷ Besides their knowledge of Turkish and Arabic, owing to their education in Europe, they knew many languages and became indispensable elements in Ottoman diplomacy. They stood for one hundred and fifty-two years as translators of the Imperial *Dîvân*. They were not ordinary state officials, but rather enjoyed special authority and privileges. As advisors to the grand vizier and chief secretary, translators enhanced their power. With the establishment of permanent embassies in Europe they served in these embassies as well and had many privileges that not given to the other non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. By the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century almost all the foreign affairs posts of the Ottoman state, from the *Dîvân* and embassy translator-ships to the hospodar-ship of the Danubian principalities, were held by Greeks.⁴⁸

The translators were allowed to grow a beard, to have four servants, to wear fur and to ride a horse, in addition to being exempted paying *cizye* (head tax collected from non-Muslims). In the entourage of the grand translator of the *Dîvân* there were eight “language-boys” (*dil-oğlanı*) and twelve servants as of 1764.⁴⁹ The grand translator would act as interpreter during the grand vizier’s or the sultan’s conversations with foreign envoys; he would translate incoming letters to the Sublime Porte and vice versa; he would hold conversations with

⁴⁶ Sonyel, 81. Early in the nineteenth century some Phanariot families were allowed to use the title of “Prince.” Sonyel, 161. See, also, Mordtmann; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 91-93.

⁴⁷ Aydın. For the well-known families and Phanariots who worked as translators in embassies, see, A. H. de Groot, “The Dragomans of the embassies in Istanbul, 1785-1834” in *Eastward Bound : Dutch Ventures and Adventures in the Middle East*, ed. by G. J. van Gelder and E. de Moor, (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994): 130-158.

⁴⁸ Aydın.

⁴⁹ Orhonlu.

the foreign embassies and inform the grand vizier about these conversations with a memorandum (*takrîr*); and he would receive foreign envoys and present their demands or reasons for their visit to the grand vizier.⁵⁰ They translated every kind of document sent to the Imperial Council and reply to them, except the Arabic and Turkish ones which were directly conveyed to the grand vizier.⁵¹ They were the most important officials after the chief scribe in conduct of foreign affairs. Although they enjoyed some privileges comparable to those of the ruling class, their being cognizant of even the innermost policies and secret affairs of the state awakened doubts and anxieties, and made their position a dangerous one.⁵² With the execution of Constantine Mourouzi in 16 April 1821 because of his involvement in Greek unrest, the era of the Phanariot Greek translators came to an end.⁵³

It was thus only under the reign of Mahmûd II (1808-1839) and in the face of the Greek revolt (as well as the conflict with Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha of Egypt) that the government began to appoint Muslims to the translator-ship. The first of these was one of the instructors of the engineering School, Yahyâ Efendi (d. 1824), who was followed by İshak and Esrar Efendis.⁵⁴ However, the need for more statesmen equipped with at least one Western language entailed the establishment of the Translation Office (*Bâb-ı Âlî Tercüme Odası*) in 1821, with which we will deal in the following pages. And although Greek translators were executed for direct and indirect involvement in the Greek revolt, a number of Greeks were still employed in the government service. For example, one of the first directors of the Translation Office, Yahyâ Efendi, was a convert to Islam from Greek Orthodoxy.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Sonyel, 79.

⁵¹ Orhonlu.

⁵² Orhonlu; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 77-78, 93.

⁵³ Aydın.

⁵⁴ Kramers; Orhonlu.

⁵⁵ “Kostakis Musurus Pasha was ambassador in Athens (1840), in Vienna (1848), and in London from 1851 to 1855; Kalimakis Bey was *chargé d'affaires* in London (1846), in Paris (1848), in Brussels (1849), and in Vienna (1855); Konstantinos Bey was ambassador in Vienna (1851); Konstantinos Karadjas was minister in Berlin (1851); Yankos Aristarchis was minister in Berlin (1858); Yankos Fotiadis was minister in Athens (1860 and 1867), and in Rome (1870); Alexandros Karatheodoris was *chargé d'affaires* in Berlin (1865), in Moscow (1870), in Rome (1874), and in Brussels (1875); he was also deputy foreign minister; Konemenos was *chargé d'affaires* in Moscow (1864); Aristarchis was minister in Washington (1873), and Alekos was ambassador in Vienna (1876). There were also other officials such as Sava Pasha and Aleko Bogoridi.

Phanariots contributed to the translation process in various other fields as well. One of these translators was Constantin Alexandre Ypsilanti (Kostantin İpsilanti, 1760-1816), who received a good education, studied a number of languages, particularly French, and also served as a hospodar in the Danubian principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia. He translated a French book, assumed to be the work of Bernard Forest de Béliidor, into Turkish under the title *Fenn-i Harb (Muhasara-i Kal'a)*. He offered it to Sultan Selim III (1789-1807), who liked the work and appointed him to the translator-ship of the Imperial *Dîvân* in 19 August 1796. The translation was published in 1792. He also translated two other works in the field of military science, namely, Vauban's *Traité de l'attaque et de la défense des places* under the title *Fenn-i Muhâsara ve Muhâsara-i Kal'a ü Büldân*, published in 1794, and Vauban's *Traité des Mines* under the title *Fenn-i Lağım*, published in 1793, in Istanbul.⁵⁶

Furthermore, Iakôvos Argyropoulos, known as Yakovaki Efendi (1776-1850), translated a geographical work, *Précis de géographie*, written in French by Mahmud Raif Efendi. After having been presented to Sultan Selim III, the work was printed in 1804 in Üsküdar under the title *el-İcâletü'l-Cuğrâfiyye*. Yakovaki Efendi also translated Jean Henri Castéra's *Histoire de Catherine II, Impératrice de Russie* into Turkish under the title *Katerine Târihi*, also known as *Târîh-i Rusya*. Circulated first in manuscript form as early as 1813, it was published twice in Bûlâq (in 1829 and 1831) and then reprinted in Istanbul in 1861.⁵⁷ Ten years after the *Katerine Târihi*, George Rhasis (Yorgaki Razi) translated another historiographical work, *Anabasis Alexandrou* "History of Alexander the son of Philip" the work of Flavius Arrianus, under the title *Târîh-i İskender bin Filipos*. The first translation of an ancient Greek historian

One of the members of the Supreme Council of Juridical Ordinances, set up in 1856, was Vogoridis. There were eleven non-Muslims (including three Greeks) in the council of State established in 1868. There were also some Greek sailors in the Ottoman navy in the 1840s." Quoted from Sonyel, 188.

⁵⁶ Aydın; J. Strauss, "La traduction Phanariote et l'art de la traduction," in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, 373-401; and his "The millets and the Ottoman language: The contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman Letters (19th-20th centuries)," *Die Welt des Islams*, 35/2 (November, 1995): 189-249. K. Beydilli, *Türk Bilim ve Matbaacılık Tarihinde Mühendishâne, Mühendishâne Matbaası ve Kütüphânesi (1776-1826)* (Istanbul: Eren, 1995), 182-4, 311.

⁵⁷ Aydın; Strauss, "La traduction Phanariote," and "The millets and the Ottoman language."

into Turkish, it was printed in 1838, in Bûlâq.⁵⁸ Vasilâki Voukas (Vasilaki Efendi) translated a satirical philosophical dialogue by the Greek philosopher Lucian entitled *Dalkavuknâme*, presumably in the early 1850s. It was published in 1870 by the state press, *Matbaa-i Âmire*.⁵⁹

2. Translation in the Imperial Fleet

The foundation of the translator-ship of the Imperial Fleet predated that of the Imperial *Dîvân*; and its character was different from the latter. The translator-ship of the Imperial Fleet was given to Phanariot Greeks with a special certificate of privileges (*berat*). It was the first important official post given to Christians in the Ottoman State. After their service in the Imperial Fleet, translators of the Imperial Fleet were often appointed to the post of grand translator, and then to the rank of voyvoda of Moldavia and Wallachia. As secretaries to the Minister of the Marine (*Kapudan Pasha*), the translators of the fleet controlled the tax collection in the Mediterranean islands, and by extension served as the governors of the islands. The most eminent occupant of this post was Nicholas Mavroyenis, who was appointed as grand translator of the fleet by *Kapudan Pasha* Hasan Cezayirli (d. 1790). In 1786 he was appointed to the rank of Hospodar of Wallachia and two years later to that of Moldavia.⁶⁰ Since translators of the Imperial Fleet were occupied with the subjects of the Empire far away from the metropolis, they had more power than the translators of the Imperial *Dîvân*. After the *Tanzîmât*, however, the character of the function changed completely; by then the translators were only occupied with translation work. At this time, there were two translators at the service of the *Kapudan Pasha*, one of them employed for Arabic translations and the other for French.⁶¹

⁵⁸ About Rhasis' *Vocabulaire françois-turc* published in St. Petersburg in 1828, the French grammar in Ottoman Turkish, published in Istanbul in 1838, and Alexandre Handjéri's (Hançerî, Hançerli, 1760-1854) *Dictionnaire françois-arabe-persan et turc*, published in Moscow in 1840-1841, see, Strauss, "The millets and the Ottoman language."

⁵⁹ Strauss, "La traduction Phanariote," and "The millets and the Ottoman language."

⁶⁰ Pallis, 110-111.

⁶¹ Orhonlu; Sonyel, 79; Pallis, 110.

3. Translation in the provinces

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In the Ottoman provinces such as Egypt, the Morea (Peloponnesos), Tripoli, Damascus, Crete, Cyprus or Jerusalem, most of the subjects did not know Turkish. They conducted their affairs with the Executive Board of the Province (*Eyâlet Dîvânı*) and the courts of law through translators. For this reason it became necessary to employ, both in the *Dîvân* and the courts, translators to help them to explain their problems. Translators in the provinces were attached to the staff of the provincial governors,⁶² while the ones employed in the provincial *Dîvân* were called in the Ottoman official documents translators of the *Dîvân* (*Dîvân tercümanı*) or translators of the Palace (*Saray tercümanı*). Those employed in the courts were called translators of the court (*mahkeme tercümanları*).⁶³ In the provinces mostly inhabited by Arabs, translators of the *Dîvân* were called Arab translators (*Arab tercümanı*). In Egypt these translators were originally Turks, and in time the number of translators was increased with one of them being designated the grand translator of the Egyptian *Dîvân* (*Mısır Dîvânı baş tercümanı*). *Dîvân* translators were, in each situation, intermediaries between the administration and the inhabitants of the provinces, and were very influential. They functioned as intermediaries between the people to the Grand-seigneur (*Beylerbeyi*)⁶⁴ and later between them and the provincial administration. The collecting of tax was also among their responsibilities. In some provinces they became first assistants to the governor of the province. They were not only translators but also the most important civilian administrators of the provincial communities (*millet*).⁶⁵

During the time of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha, translators were employed for translating official documents, passages from European newspapers, and books about the political and social life of Egypt for the provincial *Dîvân* of Egypt, *Dîvân-ı ‘Âlî* (The Sublime *Dîvân*). These translators were called *mutarjîm wa kâtib bi-l-Dîvân al-‘Âlî* (translator and clerk of the Sublime *Dîvân*). Among these translators were Ūghûṣṣ Sakâkînî, Azîz Efendi and Ḥasan Efendi.⁶⁶ Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha also employed translators to maintain

⁶² Bosworth, “Tardjumân.”

⁶³ K. Çiçek, “Osmanlı adliye teşkilatında mahkeme tercümanları,” *Toplumsal Tarih* 5/30 (Haziran 1996): 47-52.

⁶⁴ Orhonlu.

⁶⁵ Çiçek, “Osmanlı adliye teşkilatında mahkeme tercümanları.”

⁶⁶ J. Tâjir, *Ḥarakat al-Tarjama bi-Miṣr Khilâla al-Qarn al-Tâsi‘a ‘Ashar* (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma‘ârif, 1945), 16.

continual relations with consulates and foreign travelers coming to Egypt. The first of these translators was the Armenian Yûsuf Bûghûş, who knew many languages. He was followed by Dr. Gaetani (Jâyatânî) and Artîn Bey. The most important translator in this position was ‘Uthmân Nûr al-Dîn Pasha. All these translators had wide authorities in administration.⁶⁷ Translators were also employed in conflicts between natives and foreigners in the commercial courts (*maḥkama al-tijâriyya*) of Alexandria and Cairo.⁶⁸

As for the court translators in the provinces, we have little information about their number, status or privileges. It is well known that the courts in Islamic states always employed translators for non-Muslims from the early years of Islam. Although the Ottoman state gave autonomy to its non-Muslim subjects in judicial and religious matters, this did not exclude them from the Islamic judiciary. According to Islamic jurisprudence, non-Muslims were free to bring disagreements between themselves to a Muslim judge (*kadı*); but, all cases or disagreements between Muslims and non-Muslims had to be solved by the judge. The same applied to criminal and territorial cases. Moreover, sometimes non-Muslims were judged for criminal offences, or for threatening the public security, in a provincial *Dîvân* headed by the governor of the province (*vâli*) or the grand-seigneur (*sancak beyi*).⁶⁹ Since cases were conducted in Turkish, translators were officially appointed to the courts. Judges had the initiative for the appointment of a translator. They selected them and requested confirmation of their appointment from the central administration. Translators translated the statements of defendants/claimants to the court and the decisions of the court for the defendants/claimants. Depending on the local languages, Arab, Greek, Armenian, Hungarian, Serbian or sometimes Turkish translators were employed at these courts.⁷⁰

4. Translation in Foreign Embassies and Consulates

It is said that the Western embassies in Istanbul had dragomans in their service from the time that the first Capitulations were issued, that is, from the sixteenth century onwards.⁷¹ At first these were Turkish native speakers, but

⁶⁷ Tâjir, 18.

⁶⁸ Tâjir, 95.

⁶⁹ Çiçek, “Osmanlı adliye teşkilatında mahkeme tercümanları.”

⁷⁰ Ibid. Orhonlu.

⁷¹ de Groot, “The Dragomans of the embassies in Istanbul.”

later they were replaced by local Christians. In some cases, as in the case of the envoys sent by Moldavia and Wallachia, a Muslim translator was appointed by the Imperial *Dîvân*. Translators and even some ambassadors were Greeks, though some were of Venetian origin, and lived in the Beyoğlu (Pera) quarter of Istanbul.⁷² In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they were usually local Levantines who knew Italian, the *lingua franca* of the time throughout the Mediterranean.⁷³

After the treaty of 1774 (*Küçük Kaynarca*), European states started to open consulates in the Mediterranean islands.⁷⁴ At the top of the hierarchy stood the ambassador. He was followed by consuls and vice-consuls in the various ports (i.e., Aleppo, Smyrna, Salonika, Alexandria, Cyprus, and Tripoli), where foreign factories existed or foreign ships docked. In effect, consuls were acting as all-round representatives of foreign nations.⁷⁵ The embassies and consulates employed translators, janissaries, a sergeant and a scribe in their service.⁷⁶ The ambassador and consuls never went out unless accompanied by janissaries.⁷⁷ Translators were responsible for conducting negotiations, written or oral, with the Turkish ministers and officials. They had to be present at discussions held with Ottoman statesmen, and had to conduct all kinds of correspondence.⁷⁸ It was translators who conveyed the messages between and sometimes acted as intelligence agents for the Porte, embassies or consulates, and other European representatives, thus they were international mediators.⁷⁹

The appointment of the translators was laid down in a certificate (*berat*) from the sultan. This certificate specified the privileges of translators. For this

⁷² Orhonlu. K. İnan, "Osmanlı döneminde yabancı elçilik ve konsolosluklarda görevli tercümanların statüleri," *Tarih ve Toplum* 26/154 (October 1996): 4-9; Hitzel, 17. For Armenian families, see, for example, K. Pamukciyan, "Camcioğlu Ermeni tercümanlar ailesi," *Tarih ve Toplum* 24/143 (October 1995): 23-27. He writes about some members of the Camcioğlu Armenian family who worked as translators in Swedish Embassy in Istanbul during the 18th century; Sonyel, 214.

⁷³ Bosworth, "Tardjumân;" C. Wood, *The History of Levant Company*, 2nd ed., (London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd., 1964), 225.

⁷⁴ Orhonlu.

⁷⁵ Wood, 217, 219-220.

⁷⁶ Orhonlu.

⁷⁷ Wood, 227.

⁷⁸ Sonyel, 80.

⁷⁹ Wood, 225; Kramers.

reason they were called certified translators (*berathlı tercümanlar*).⁸⁰ This certificate guaranteed them, in addition to the rights granted by the treaties or Capitulations, the protection of the nation they served in embassies or consulates.⁸¹ Embassies could not employ translators without the certificate. Ambassadors had to act as the guarantors of any translator employed by the embassy.⁸² In principle, the Ottoman state accepted that embassies and consulates in Istanbul and the provinces could determine the number of translators required.⁸³ In the event of employing more than one translator, one of them had to be appointed as the grand translator who, as an Ottoman subject, would communicate between the embassy and the Ottoman State. In big embassies, translators were ranked as the grand translator, and thereafter second, third and fourth translator. If a consulate wanted to employ a translator, they had, through their embassy, to propose a candidate in a petition to the Porte. Moreover, the fixing and payment of their salaries were at the embassy's discretion.⁸⁴ Besides Istanbul, translators were employed by the European powers in consulates elsewhere in Anatolia, the Mediterranean islands and the Arab provinces. The position of the translator in Istanbul was however the most prestigious.⁸⁵

Translators were not allowed to have another job or to move to another city, and they had to wear certain distinctive clothes.⁸⁶ In case of danger they were allowed to dress like Muslims to hide themselves and to keep a gun for self-defense; they could go wherever they wanted and were protected by the janissaries who stand guard in front of their house. Some privileges were also given to embassy translators in courts.⁸⁷ The functions of ambassadors and translators were parallel so that translators could act as deputies of ambassadors

⁸⁰ K. Çiçek, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde yabancı konsolosluk tercümanları," *Tarih ve Toplum* 25/146 (February 1996): 17-23.

⁸¹ Kramers. "In the seventeenth century almost all such dragomans were exempt from *haraç* and *cizye*, and were protected under the *protégé* system of the Capitulations signed with each foreign state." Sonyel, 80.

⁸² İnan, "Osmanlı döneminde yabancı elçilik ve konsolosluklarda görevli tercümanların statüleri."

⁸³ Orhonlu states that each consulate could employ two certificated translators from the Ottoman subjects and each had two asistants.

⁸⁴ Çiçek, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde yabancı konsolosluk tercümanları;" Orhonlu.

⁸⁵ Orhonlu; Kramers.

⁸⁶ İnan, "Osmanlı döneminde yabancı elçilik ve konsolosluklarda görevli tercümanların statüleri;" Hitzel, 53-54.

⁸⁷ Çiçek, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde yabancı konsolosluk tercümanları."

or consuls. The main duty of translators was to form the channel of communication between the representatives of the European powers and the Ottoman State. The number of privileges, which became more extensive by the end of the eighteenth century, was determined separately with each state.⁸⁸

Translators were also representing the consuls in procedures before Ottoman courts whenever the consul's fellow subjects were involved. They were also employed by Western trading companies both as translators and intermediaries and were expected to act as the eyes and ears of their employers⁸⁹

In 1551, to ensure secrecy and fidelity, the Republic of Venice started to send students to Istanbul for study in order to become translators. These students were called "*giovani della lingua*," which was the translation for the Turkish *dil ođlanı* ("language boy") and which was, following the Venetians, translated into French as *enfants de langue* or *jeunes de langue*.⁹⁰ In 1669, France decided to open a school, called *École des enfants de langue* or *jeunes de langue*, to provide translators for French embassies and consulates and avoid the use of Ottoman subjects. At the beginning they sent out boys to the convents of the Capuchins at Istanbul and İzmir to be brought up in the Turkish language.⁹¹ After a while it was decided that these students would continue their education in a school connected to the College of Louis-le-Grand in Paris; later, in their twenties, they were sent to Istanbul. The most brilliant years of this school fell between 1721 and 1762. It was closed in 1873. Long before then a new institution had been set up. On 30 March 1795 the Directoire, then in power in France, decided to open a new school, *l'École des langues orientales vivantes* (today, *l'Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales*), which was housed in the National Library in Paris.⁹²

While some of the graduates of this school were working in consulates, others were employed by Napoleon Bonaparte during the French occupation of Egypt (1798-1801). Among them were Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, Louis-Amédée Jaubert, Jean Joseph Marcel, Jacques-Denis Delaporte, Belletête/Belleteste, Damien Bracevich, Panhusen, Jean-Baptiste Santi

⁸⁸ Ibid. Bosworth, "Tardjumân."

⁸⁹ Kramers; Bosworth, "Tardjumân;" A. H. de Groot, "Protection and nationality: The decline of the Dragomans," in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, 235-255.

⁹⁰ Hitzel, 19.

⁹¹ R. Mantran, "Preface," to *Enfants de langue et Drogmans*, 9-10; Wood, 226.

⁹² Mantran. See, also, R. H. Davison, "The French dragomanate in mid-nineteenth century Istanbul," in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, 271-280.

l'Homaca, Jean Renno.⁹³ Napoleon also employed some members of families who came from the island of Malta and later also Syrians.⁹⁴ There were also some Copts in this service like Alyûs Buqtur (Elias Bocthor).⁹⁵ In Napoleon's *Dîvân*, were also first and second translators (*mutarjim awwal* or *tarjumân kabîr* and *mutarjim thâni* or *tarjumân al-ṣaghîr*).⁹⁶

In Istanbul, language students studied Turkish, Arabic and Persian every day with a Turkish instructor,⁹⁷ went out for picnics and sometimes organized performances.⁹⁸ When they completed their education, some of them started work as translators, but others did service in the French Embassy in Istanbul or for French consulates and subjects in ports in Syria and North Africa.⁹⁹ They translated treaties and other documents and assisted at negotiations. Their range of involvement in the affairs of French embassies, consulates or the subjects of French in Ottoman lands was very broad, particularly, in diplomatic negotiations and affairs relating to judicial matters and commercial deals.¹⁰⁰ As early as the sixteenth century, these translators started to compile dictionaries and grammar books, and started to translate literary and scientific texts.¹⁰¹ Besides travelers, it was these language students who introduced the Ottoman world to France. By the end of the seventeenth century they opened a channel to the West, introduced Western ideas to their

⁹³ Tâjir, 5-13; J. al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama fî 'Ahd al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya* (Cairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-'Arabî, 1950), 46-51.

⁹⁴ Among these Eastern translators were Jibrân Sekrûj, Ilyâs Fakhr, Petro Sâfarlû, Ibrâhîm Sibâgh, Yûsuf Masâbikî, Dûn Ilyâs Fath Allah, Yûsuf Farḥât, Mîkhâil Kaḥîl, Naṣr Allah al-Naṣrânî, Nikûlâ al-Turk, al-Qiss Jabrâil al-Tawîl, Ya'qûb bin Yûsuf (Azîz), Alyûs (Ilyâs) Buqtur, and al-Ab Rufâil (Anṭûn) Zakhûrah (Dom Raphael de Monachis). The last two were the most celebrated ones. Although they did translations in administration and military fields, their main responsibility was to translate negotiations, orders, edicts and official documents. Tâjir, 3-4, 13-14; al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama fî 'Ahd al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya*, 45, 51-61,

⁹⁵ Al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama fî 'Ahd al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya*, 61-64.

⁹⁶ Al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama fî 'Ahd al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya*, 43.

⁹⁷ Hitzel, 41.

⁹⁸ For example, in 1815, at the palace of the Venice Embassy, students performed Rousseau's *Pygmalion* and also the musical parts of *Les précieuses ridicules* and *Le malade imaginaire*. Hitzel, 39.

⁹⁹ Hitzel, 42.

¹⁰⁰ Hitzel, 12.

¹⁰¹ For their works, see, Hitzel, 95-123.

fellow Ottomans and laid the foundations of Turcology and Orientalism in the West.¹⁰²

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Following the French example, at the end of the seventeenth century a few Greeks were sent to Gloucester College in Oxford to learn English at the Levant Company's expense. They would be employed as translators on their return. But the experiment was not successful.¹⁰³ During the first three-quarters of the nineteenth century British diplomats and merchants continued to depend on Levantine translators. It was only from 1877 that British translators were trained at home in London.¹⁰⁴

By the end of the eighteenth century there were two hundred eighteen embassy/consulate translators in the Ottoman territories. By 1854, foreign embassies and consulates could not employ more than four translators; however, some countries such as France, Britain and The Netherlands were exempted. By as late as the beginning of the twentieth century, the translators-in-chief of the embassies in Istanbul were still conducting negotiations of all kinds with the Porte, especially, negotiations regarding to the interpretations of the capitulations. When the Turkish government abolished the capitulations in 1914, it also refused to recognize translators as foreign diplomatic or consular functionaries.¹⁰⁵

5. Eighteenth century translation attempts

During the reign of Sultan Ahmed III (1703-1730), the Grand Vizier Nevşehirli Damad İbrâhîm Pasha (d. 1730) established commissions for the translation of Arabic, Persian and Greek works into Turkish. Most of these translations were from Arabic and Persian historical works, and remained in manuscript format. There were however two exceptions. The first was the translation from Greek into Arabic done by the commission headed by Es'ad b. Ali b. Osman b. el-Yanyavî (d.1730), grandfather of Ahmet Vefik Pasha (who was later well known for his Molière adaptations). Es'ad Efendi translated the *Isagoge* (İsaguci) by Porphyrius and the first four books of Aristotle's *Organon*

¹⁰² Mantran; Hitzel, 12. For the list of French Dragomans, see, "Liste alphabétique des drogman de France à Istanbul du XVI^e siècle à 1914," in *Istanbul et les langues orientales*, 533-538.

¹⁰³ Bosworth, "Tardjumân;" Wood, 225-228.

¹⁰⁴ Bosworth, "Tardjumân."

¹⁰⁵ Kramers.

and his *Physica*. He was perhaps the first Muslim scholar to mention in his works the telescope and microscope. The second translation was of a history of Austria from 800 to 1662. The work was translated from the German by the aforementioned Osman Ağa of Temeşvar under the title *Nemçe Târihi*.¹⁰⁶

İbrâhîm Müteferrika (d. 1745), founder of the first Turkish printing press, wrote a supplement to Kâtib Çelebi's geographical work *Cihannümâ* when he printed this work in 1732. His supplement contains a detailed explanation of the latest discoveries in the field of astronomy. After a year, Müteferrika translated Andreas Cellarius' *Atlas Coelestis* on the orders of Sultan Ahmed III. Halîfezâde İsmâil Efendi, also known as Çınâri İsmail Efendi, translated the astronomical tables of Alexis-Claude Clairaut in his *Rasad-ı Kamer* or *Tercüme-i Zîc-i Kılar*. Later he translated Jacques Cassini's astronomical tables into Turkish in 1772 under the title *Tuhfe-i Behîc-i Rasînî Tercüme-i Zîc-i Kasini*. Through these astronomical tables, logarithms were introduced to Ottoman scientists. Sultan Selîm III then ordered calendars to be organized according to Cassini's astronomical tables, while at the same time Uluğ Bey's tables began to fall into disuse. However, these translators were mostly concerned with astronomical tables necessary for timekeeping. They were interested neither in the theoretical works of the new astronomy nor in the mathematical and theoretical justifications of the Copernican theory.¹⁰⁷

Gelenbevî İsmail Efendi played a transitional role between the old and modern mathematics. It was with Tamanlı Hüseyin Rıfki Efendi (d. 1816) that the teaching of modern mathematics started. Born in Tâman in the Crimea, he worked in the *Mühendishâne* (School of engineering) as the chief-instructor (*baş-hoca*) for twenty years. He knew English, and by either translations or quotations from English sources, he wrote *Usûl-i Hendese* (Principles of Geometry), *Müsellesât-ı Müsteviyye* (Trigonometry), *Mecmû'atü'l-Mühendisîn, İmtihânü'l-Mühendisîn, Usûl-i İstihkâmât* and *Telhîsü'l-Eşkâl* (Summary of the Figures). Some twenty years later his works were reprinted in Egypt.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ M. Kaya, "Some findings on translations made in the 18th century from Greek and Es'ad Efendi's translation of the *Physica*," in *Transfer of Modern Science*, 385-391; S. Aydın, "Lâle devri'nde yapılan ilmi faaliyetler," *Dîvân İlmi Araştırmalar* 2/3 (1997/1): 143-170; M. İpşirli, "Lale devrinde teşkil edilen tercüme heyetine dair bazı gözlemler," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri, 1. Millî Türk Bilim Tarihi Sempozyumu 3-5 Nisan 1987*, ed. by E. İhsanoğlu, (Istanbul: Edebiyat Fakültesi Basımevi, 1987): 33-42.

¹⁰⁷ İhsanoğlu, "Introduction of Western science."

¹⁰⁸ H. Z. Ülken, *İslâm Medeniyetinde Tercüme ve Tesirler* (Istanbul: Vakit Yayınları, 1948), 359; *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi* (Istanbul: Ülken Yayınları, 1999), 27;

Osman b. Abdülmennân, an Austrian or Hungarian convert to Islam, was one of the first instructors of the *Mühendishâne*. He served as a translator in the second half of the eighteenth century in the Belgrade *Dîvân* interpreting for Ottomans and Austrians and also served as a second translator during the governorship of Köprülü Hâfız Ahmed Pasha between 1749 and 1751 in the same *Dîvân*. In 1751, with the encouragement of Hâfız Ahmed Pasha, Abdülmennân translated Bernhard Varenius' (1600-1676) *Geographia generalis in qua affectiones generales telluris explicantur* into Turkish under the title *Tercümetü Coğrafya-i Varenius*. His second translation was a Latin gloss of the Italian Pierre André Matthioli's (1500-1577) to Dioscorides' botanical book, *Materia medica*. He translated it in 1770 under the title *Tercümetü Kitâb el-Nebât li-Matthioli*. It was the first Western botanical work translated into Turkish.¹⁰⁹ During the Ottoman-Russian war (1770-1774), Osman b. Abdülmennân wrote a book on geometry and war based on translations from French and German works. Called *Hediyetü'l-Mühedî*, it was written in Arabic. He made a fair copy of it in 1779. This work was not composed for scientific purposes, but for practical military needs. *Hediyetü'l-Mühedî* includes more theoretical information and diagrams/figures than the works written before it in the field of geometry. He produced another translation, *İlm ü Ma'rifeti Taktîr*, from the work of another Austrian doctor, Berkhardos. Later on, with additions and some changes in form, another version of the translation was composed, entitled *Zamâimü Kitâb-ı Ma'rifeti Taktîr*.¹¹⁰

B. Nineteenth Century: Translation in the Service of Reforms

1. Translation in the newly established schools

From the eighteenth century onwards, the primary aim of the Ottoman state was to create a new army. Many European experts and technicians were brought and employed to reform the army and to train the personnel. For this

E. İhsanoğlu, *Mısır'da Türkler ve Kültürel Mirasları. Mehmed Ali Paşa'dan Günümüze Basılı Türk Kültürü Bibliyografyası ve Bir Değerlendirme* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 104.

¹⁰⁹ Dioscorides' *Materia medica* had been translated two times into Arabic at the beginning of the time of Abbasids by two Umayyads from Andalusia, namely, Abd al-Rahmân (912-961) and his son al-Hakam (961-977).

¹¹⁰ Şeşen.

purpose, the first modern schools were established in the eighteenth century for military training and medicine.¹¹¹ These new schools would serve the army and provide qualified personnel for the civil services. The lack of textbooks¹¹² in Ottoman Turkish made translations and translators necessary. They worked as translators for foreign experts in these schools or in the army. For example, the experts responsible for the training of *Nizâm-ı Cedîd* soldiers in the barracks of Levent Çiftliği had a translator called “*Levent tercümanı*” or “*Levent Çiftliği tercümanı.*” At the beginning most of these translators were appointed from among the Greek population.¹¹³ Among them was Caradja Manolaki, who was employed for teaching French to the students of the *Mühendishâne* and who translated a number of books.¹¹⁴

In Egypt, most of the early publications were the same as those printed earlier in Istanbul;¹¹⁵ however, this would be insufficient for the complicated

¹¹¹ In 1735, the bombardier Corps (*Humbaracı Ocağı*) was founded under the supervision of the French General Count de Bonneval. In the 1770s the Engineering School (*Hendesehâne*) was established. It was followed by The Imperial School of Naval Engineering (*Mühendishâne-i Bahrî-i Hümayûn*, 1773), The Imperial Military Engineering School (*Mühendishâne-i Berrî-i Hümayûn*, 1784), and War Academy (*Mekteb-i Harbiye*) in 1834-1835. The Naval Medical School (*Tersâne Tibbiyesi*) was established in 1806 and followed by the Imperial Medical School (*Tibhâne-i Âmire*) and the Imperial Surgical School (*Cerrahhâne-i Âmire*) in 1832, and the Medical School (*Mekteb-i Tibbiye*) in 1838. For details, see, E. İhsanoğlu, “Ottoman educational and scholarly-scientific institutions,” in *History of The Ottoman State, Society & Civilization*, ed. by E. İhsanoğlu, v.II (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2002): 361-515; M. Kaçar, “Osmanlı İmparatorluğu’nda askeri eğitimde modernleşme çalışmaları ve mühendishanelerin kuruluşu (1808’e kadar),” in *Osmanlı Bilimi Araştırmaları II*, ed. by F. Günergun, (Istanbul: 1998): 69-137; M. E. Yolalıcı, “Education in the late Ottoman Empire in the 19th century,” in *The Great Ottoman, Turkish Civilization*, ed. by K. Çiçek, v.II (Ankara, 2000): 657-667; M. Ergün, “Batılılaşma dönemi Osmanlı eğitim sisteminin gelişimine mukayeseli bir bakış,” in *Osmanlı Dünyasında Bilim ve Eğitim Milletlerarası Kongresi Tebliğleri, İstanbul, 12-15 Nisan 1999*, ed. by H. Y. Nuhoğlu, (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2001): 89-102; O. Kafadar, *Türk Eğitim Düşüncesinde Batılılaşma* (Ankara: Vadi Yayınları, 1997).

¹¹² About the first textbooks, see, E. Özbilgen, “Batı Bilimini Türkiye’ye aktaran ilk ders kitapları 1-4,” *Müteferrika* 2, 4-6 (Bahar 1994, Kış 1994, Bahar 1995, Yaz 1995): 179-185, 127-135, 191-197, 113-116.

¹¹³ Orhonlu; Bosworth, “Tardjumân.”

¹¹⁴ Aydın.

¹¹⁵ For the reforms in Egypt, see, A. Silvera, “Edme-François Jomard and Egyptian reforms in 1839,” *MES* 7/3 (October 1971): 301-316. F. R. Hunter, “Egypt’s high officials in transition from a Turkish to a modern administrative elite, 1849-1879,” *MES* 19/3 (July 1983): 277-291. M. A. Kireççi, “Mehmet Ali Paşa döneminde (1805-1848)

and wide variety of reforms that Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha had in mind. Translations from Western languages were considered part of his reform program, in which military reforms had priority. The first school was opened in 1816 in Cairo, and was followed by *Dâr al-Handasa* in 1820. Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha realized the need for European technical subjects like shipbuilding, engineering or mathematics, and in 1809, he sent the first Egyptian students to Europe.¹¹⁶ The new Engineering and Military Schools were staffed by a faculty of European instructors who were not able to lecture in Arabic. Hence the need arose for the simultaneous translation of lectures, some of which were later printed to provide textbooks.¹¹⁷ The technical translations made in Istanbul from about 1780 onwards were reprinted in Cairo. Moreover, Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha asked the students sent abroad to translate the texts they studied there into Arabic. Because of the lack of qualified staff and necessary textbooks in Arabic or Turkish the new education programs faced many problems. In order to solve these problems, official translation offices were instituted both in Istanbul and Cairo in addition to individual efforts. Indeed, the development of translation activity went hand in hand with the progress of the educational system in both centers.

2. The Translation Office of the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı ‘Âlî Tercüme Odası*): 1821

As seen above, translator-ship was entrusted to non-Muslims, later to Italian, Greek, German, Hungarian and Polish converts to Islam, and afterwards

Mısır’da modernleşme hareketleri,” *Türk Yurdu* 19-20/148-149 (Aralık 1999-Ocak 2000): 61-67.

¹¹⁶ Many other military schools and others were opened, such as The School of Medicine (1827), School of Pharmaceutics (1830), School of Maternity (1832), The Veterinary School, etc. See, J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt* (London: Luzac & Co., 1938), 104-111; B. Williamson, *Education and Social Change in Egypt and Turkey, A Study in Historical Sociology* (Houndmills: The Macmillan Co., 1987); J. A. Crabbs, *The Writing of History in Nineteenth-Century Egypt: A Study in National Transformation*, (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1984): 87-108. C. Bachatly, “Un member oriental du premier institut d’égypte: Don Raphaël (1759-1831),” *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien* XVII (1934-1935): 237-260; A. ‘I. ‘Abd al-Karîm, *Târîkh al-Ta’lîm fî ‘Aşr Muḥammad ‘Alî* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Nahḍa al-Miṣriyya, 1938).

¹¹⁷ Tâjir, 23; J. al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî ‘Aşr Muḥammad ‘Alî* (Cairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-‘Arabî, 1951), 19.

to the members of Phanariot Orthodox Greek families who knew a European language and who were familiar with European culture. These translators not only translated official documents, but also produced or translated works in the fields of medicine, history, geography, military and language. However, the Greek revolt of 1821 caused the replacement of the Greek translators of the Imperial *Dîvân* by Muslims, for which reason the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı 'Âlî Tercüme Odası*) was established on 23 April 1821.¹¹⁸ Findley describes the concomitant change in the system of government as follows:

The first of the new offices to emerge was the Translation Office of the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı 'Âlî Tercüme Odası*, 1821), founded to replace the old system of translators of the imperial Divan (*Tercüman-ı Divan-ı Hümayun*), a title that was nonetheless retained for the head of the new office. This nomenclature, referring to the Sublime Porte and the imperial Divan, is suggestive of the fact that there was at first no Foreign Ministry to which to relate the new office. With the nominal conversion of the chief scribe into a foreign minister, this Translation Office became in a sense the basic component of the emergent ministry, at least for the business that it conducted in languages other than Turkish. It is not surprising, then, that several of the other major offices of the ministry later emerged out of the Translation Office either directly or indirectly, or that its papers are probably the most comprehensive classification in the archives of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry.¹¹⁹

Yahyâ Nâcî Efendi, a Greek convert to Islam, was transferred from his teaching position at the *Mühendishâne* to the Porte, in order to serve both as a translator and language teacher. Together with his son, Rûh al-Dîn Efendi, they conducted the Greek and French correspondence, yet this did not yield satisfactory results fast enough. Because of the lack of qualified Muslims, the Greek Stavraki Aristarchis was given the post of translator on an interim basis, with Yahyâ Efendi delegated to check his work. In 1822, after the dismissal of Aristarchis, Yahyâ Efendi was given an Armenian deputy, Zenob Manasseh,

¹¹⁸ S. Balçı, "*Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık ve Bab-ı Ali Tercüme Odası*," (Ph.D. diss., Ankara University, 2006), 82.

¹¹⁹ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 186.

who was a good linguist. They also had a staff of apprentices to train in translation.¹²⁰ According to the order of 17 December 1824, the Translation Office consisted of two units: the language office (*lisan odası*) for the training of students, and the translator office (*tercüman odası*), the place where the graduates of the language office were working. These two offices were under the supervision of the *Beylikçi* Efendi. When a translator in the translator office was appointed to another position, a new one would be assigned to his place from the language office.¹²¹

On Yahyâ Efendi's death on July 10, 1824, he was succeeded by Hoca İshak Efendi (d.1836), a Jewish convert to Islam, who knew many languages including ancient Greek and Latin.¹²² Called as the second Kâtip Çelebi, he was later appointed as the chief-instructor to the School of Engineering. He wrote and translated books on mathematics, physics, chemistry and military science and became the pioneer of modern science in Turkey.¹²³ Among his translations from French, which he produced in collaboration with the chief instructor of the Military School of Engineering, Ali Bey, were: *İlm-i Mahrûtiyyât*, *İlm-i Cebîr*, *İlm-i Hesâb-ı Tefâzûlî* and *Hesâb-ı Tamâmî*.¹²⁴ Mehmed Nâmık Pasha (ca.1804-1892), who served under the supervision of İshak Efendi, discharged several diplomatic missions and played a crucial role in the founding of the new Ottoman Military Academy (*Mekteb-i Harbiye*, 1834).¹²⁵ Under the direction of İshak Efendi, the translator office did not produce more qualified translators.

İshak Efendi was succeeded by his assistant and son-in-law, Halil Esrar Efendi. Under his direction the number of the staff of the Translation Office, which was then three, increased. However, its real growth would be in the 1830s under the pressure of political events stemming from the defeat of the Ottoman forces by the Egyptian army of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha, which resulted in the Treaty of Kütahya with Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha and that of *Hünkâr İskelesi* with Russia in 1833. Together with the Egyptian Question and the treaty of *Hünkâr İskelesi*, diplomatic efforts required more officials with

¹²⁰ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 82-87; C. V. Findley, "The foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry: the beginnings of bureaucratic reform under Selîm III and Mahmûd II," *IJMES* 3/4 (1972): 388-416; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 133-134.

¹²¹ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 87-88.

¹²² Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 88; Findley, "The foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry."

¹²³ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 92.

¹²⁴ Aydın.

¹²⁵ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 134.

knowledge of European languages. Hence, the Translation Office became one of the most important departments; the salaries of its employees were increased; Tecellî Efendi was appointed as the instructor of the Office; Nedim, 'Âlî and Safvet Efendis (in 1833) were brought in from the Imperial *Dîvân* office. Of these, 'Âlî and Safvet Efendis would, in time, be appointed as foreign ministers and grand viziers.¹²⁶ Müftüzâde Mehmed Emin Pasha and the historian Tayyârzâde Ahmed Atâ Efendi were also attached to the Office in 1838. Promising young scribes of the Imperial *Dîvân* Office and some staff of the *mektûbî* and *âmedci* offices were also recruited by the Translation Office. In some cases, such as Keçecizâde Fuâd Pasha and Ahmed Vefik Pasha – both future grand viziers¹²⁷ – young men were drawn in from outside the bureaucratic stream because of their prior knowledge of French. The prestige of the Translation Office increased and many of the employees from the Office rose to the second ranks of the Ottoman bureaucracy.¹²⁸ Ahmed Vefik Pasha, the son of Rûh al-Dîn and the grandson of Yahyâ Efendi, was one of the outstanding figures of the Office.¹²⁹ With the entourage of Mustafa Reşid Pasha (1800-1858) he went to Paris in 1834 and graduated from the college of Saint Louis. He studied Italian, Latin and Greek besides French; and when he returned, he was appointed as the first translator to the Translation Office in 1845. He is well known for his translations from Molière, Lesage, V. Hugo, Voltaire and Fénelon. Other bureaucrats who had graduated from the Translation Office likewise made many translations of literary works.¹³⁰

The number of employees of the Translation Office increased steadily; over the course of time, many of them became the most important bureaucrats of the Porte and the pioneers of the reforms during the *Tanzîmât* period.¹³¹ The Translation Office gradually became the primary center for the formation of a new type of Muslim scribal official and the most prestigious place of service at the Sublime Porte.¹³² Recognizing it as the best place to start one's career,

¹²⁶ Balçı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 93-94.

¹²⁷ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 135.

¹²⁸ B. A. Lalor, "Promotion patterns of Ottoman bureaucratic statesmen from the Lâle Devri until the Tanzimat," *Güney-Doğu Avrupa Araştırmaları Dergisi* I (1972): 77-92.

¹²⁹ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 135.

¹³⁰ Aydın.

¹³¹ Ö. Berk, *Translation and Westernization in Turkey from the 1840s to the 1980s* (Istanbul: Ege Yayınları, 2004): 29, n. 25; Balçı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 97;

C. Bilim, "Tercüme Odası," *OTAM* 1 (June 1990): 29-43.

¹³² Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 133.

officials could after a few years move on from the Translation Office to one of the western European consulates or embassies, to positions in one of the ministries, or to staff positions in provincial administration.¹³³

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On August 27, 1835, after the death of Halil Esrar Efendi, Mehmed Tecellî Efendi was appointed head of the Translation Office. Under his supervision, the translation into French of the official gazette of the Porte, *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'*, was added to the duties of the Translation Office.¹³⁴ Sultan Mahmûd II opened the first permanent embassies in European capitals and appointed their staff from the Translation Office. These young diplomat-translators had the opportunity to discover the European world directly and became the reformist leaders and statesmen of their country in the following years. Henceforth, the Translation Office became one of the basic components of the Foreign Ministry and the starting-point of governmental careers.¹³⁵

By 1841, its staff had reached thirty in number consisting of: the translator of the Imperial *Dîvân*, his assistant the first translator (*mütercim-i evvel*), five employees of the first class (*sinif-ı evvel*), five of the second class (*sinif-ı sânî*), seventeen supernumeraries, and a teacher.¹³⁶ There were also non-Muslims among these translators such as Redhouse (of dictionary fame), Arzuman, Kirkor, Kostaki, Sahak Abru and Vuliç.¹³⁷ For the education of the officials of the Translation Office four classes were offered, with a curriculum consisting of a wide range of subjects such as French, Law, International Law, History, Geography, Mathematics, Calligraphy, and translation from newspapers. With the outbreak of the Crimean War, the translation of English documents was increased and a new class was opened to teach English.¹³⁸

In 1856, the Translation Office had very significant changes. Because of the increase in the volume of business, a new bureau was established in the Translation Office, namely, the foreign correspondence office (*tahrîrât-ı ecnebiyye odası*). Rüstem Bey was appointed director of the new unit with five employees on March 25, 1856. This office was mostly responsible for the classification of the documents coming from the Foreign Ministry, recording them, transferring them to the related units, and keeping them at the office.

¹³³ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 211.

¹³⁴ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 98.

¹³⁵ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 99; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 136.

¹³⁶ Findley, "The foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry;" *Bilim*.

¹³⁷ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 120.

¹³⁸ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 102-104.

Thus, it was like an archive of the Foreign Ministry.¹³⁹ The Porte also employed translators in other ministries. For example, the *Meclis-i Ziraat ve Sanâyi*, established in 1838, had a translator, Fuad Efendi, appointed from the Translation Office.¹⁴⁰ From the end of the Crimean War, however, the role of translators appears to have been limited to the translation of documents coming into the ministries in languages other than Turkish. The organization of the Translation Office remained almost stable until about the time of Fuad Pasha's death (1869).¹⁴¹ During the reign of Sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1909), the Translation Office was enlarged in regard to its staff and survived until the end of the Ottoman Empire.¹⁴² Besides their diplomatic duties, employees of the Translation Office worked in the offices that dealt with passports, customs, investigation of affairs (*tahkik-i ahvâl*), the distinction of the Empire's subjects (*tefrîk-i tebe'a*), the inspection of Rumelia (*Rumeli teftişi*), the Imperial Fleet, education (*ma'ârif*), telegraphy, and refugees, for which the knowledge of French was a requirement.¹⁴³

The Translation Office was also important for its library. The officials who read its books became part of the Ottoman intellectual life in the fields of science, thought, literature, and history.¹⁴⁴ They played an important role in the emergence of new types of literary expression, new media of communication, and new forms of political behavior.¹⁴⁵ Many of the pioneers of the reforms and the first translators of European literature started their careers in this office and had a crucial role in the transmission of Western ideas into Ottoman society.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁹ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 102; A. Akyıldız, *Tanzimat Dönemi Osmanlı Merkez Teşkilâtında Reform (1836-1856)* (Istanbul: Eren, 1993), 90.

¹⁴⁰ Aydın, n.82. Akyıldız, 259.

¹⁴¹ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 187-188.

¹⁴² Aydın.

¹⁴³ Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 121-130; Findley, "The foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry."

¹⁴⁴ About the library, the books existed there and the borrowers, see, Balcı, *Osmanlı Devleti'nde Tercümanlık*, 130-145.

¹⁴⁵ Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 216.

¹⁴⁶ A couple of names and some of their positions might give an idea about the importance of the Office in Ottoman political and cultural life: Âlî pasha (1815-1871): Foreign Minister, Grand Vizier; Fuad Pasha (1815-1869): Foreign Minister, Grand Vizier; Safvet Pasha (1814-1883): Minister of Education, Foreign Minister, Grand Vizier; Sarım Pasha: Grand Vizier; Nâmık Kemâl (1840-1888): Young Ottoman writer and journalist; Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-1891): Grandson of Yahya Efendi, writer, Minister of Education, Grand Vizier; Fevzi Bey: One of the founders of telegraph; M. Nâmık Pasha (1804-1892): Minister of the Navy, Ambassador to London; M. Sâdık

During the *Tanzîmât* period, the Translation Office became a school which had an enormous effect on Turkish language and literature. Although in the beginning it did not have an influence on grammar and syntax, many Western, particularly French, technical words and expressions infiltrated Turkish. For example, Âkif Pasha used the expression of *mesâil-i politikîyye* (political matters) or *münistrîca* (instead of *nâzır* (minister)), *palais* for *saray* and *epe* for *kılıç* (sword). Some new expressions were created such as *asrın reîs-i cumhûru* (president of the century), and some were taken as they existed in the original language, such as *nation*, *liberté* and *civilisation*. Henceforth, the Translation Office became a center for the formation of modern Turkish. Gradually, long opening sentences, devotions and eulogies were relinquished; instead of artistic expressions, didactic ones were preferred. In fact, the foundation of the Translation Office was itself one of the crucial reforms of the Ottoman Empire.

3. The School of Languages (*Madrasat al-Asun*): 1835

In 1835, the *Madrasat al-Tarjama* (The School of Translation) was established in Cairo by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha with the aim of centralizing all translation activity. Later on its name was changed into *Madrasat al-Asun* (The School of Languages) where the Arabic, Turkish, Italian, and French languages, history, geography, mathematics as well as Islamic law were taught under the supervision of al-Ṭaḥṫâwî (about whom more below). After a while, Persian and English were also taught at the school. The main purpose of the school was to produce translators competent in various sciences, to deal with systematic translations of European books and to educate French teachers for primary schools. While the number of students at the beginning was fifty, it gradually increased to eighty and later one-hundred-fifty. The full course lasted five

Rıfat Pasha (1807-1856): Ambassador to Vienna in 1837, Foreign Minister; Haydar Efendi: Undersecretary and *chargé d'affaires* to Tehran Embassy; Billurî Mehmed Efendi: The first Director of Telegraph, employee in the Foreign Office; Âgâh Efendi (1832-1885): Young Ottoman writer, founder of the newspaper, *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*; Ziya Pasha (1825-1880): *Tanzimat* author (Young Ottoman); Sâdullah Pasha: Ambassador to Berlin; Mehmed Bey (1843-1874): Young Ottoman; Münif Efendi (Pasha) (1830-1910): Founder of the *Cem‘iyyet-i İlimiyye-i Osmâniye* (Ottoman Scientific Society), author; Ethem Pertev Pasha (d. 1837): *Tanzimat* poet; Mehmed Şekip (d. 1855): Ambassador to London, Foreign Minister, Ambassador to Vienna; Ahmed Ârifi Pasha: Grand Vizier. Bilim.

years, later six. The staff was composed of a director, two inspectors, two Arabic language teachers, a Turkish teacher, and three teachers for French, history, geography and mathematics. It was al-Ṭaḥṭāwī who drew up the system and curricula of the school and devoted himself to the project. The school produced its first graduates in 1839. Some of them were teachers of Arabic or French, while others were primarily translators. The number of works translated by students and their teachers was extremely high and this made the school pivotal both in the translation movement and the modernization of Egypt. With his students, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī translated many books, most of which were military and scientific in nature, followed by historical and literary works, into Turkish and Arabic.¹⁴⁷

The first graduates of the School were to staff the *Qalam al-Tarjama* (The Translation Office), set up in 1842 under the direction of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī and annexed to the School of Languages. This office was established to translate the necessary textbooks for the schools and produce French teachers. The Office was divided into four departments. The first department, headed by al-Bînbâshî Muḥammad Bayyûmî Efendi, was responsible for the translations of works in mathematical sciences. The second department, under the supervision of al-Yûzbâshî Muṣṭafâ Wâtî Efendi, was responsible for the translations of works in medicine and the natural sciences. The third department, led by al-Mulâzim al-Awwal Khalîfa Maḥmûd Efendi, was to translate works in other fields, e.g., literature, history, geography, law and logic. Finally, the fourth department, headed by Mînâs Efendi, was expected to produce Turkish translations irrespective of genre. There were sixteen employees altogether in the Office. When the translations were completed, they were sent to the *Dîwân al-Madâris* (The Council of Schools) to be read and approved for publication.

¹⁴⁷ Tâjir, 31-32; al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî ‘Aṣr Muḥammad ‘Alî*, 38-40, 147; ‘A. I. al-Jamî‘î, *Madrasat al-Alsun wa Taṭawwur Ḥarakat al-Tarjama wa al-Ta‘rîb fî Miṣr (1835-1973)* (Fayyûm: Maṭâbi‘ al-Nîl, 1999), 8-9; ‘Abd al-Karîm, *Târîkh al-Ta‘lîm fî ‘Aṣr Muḥammad ‘Alî*, 332-335; I. Abu-Lughod, *Arab Rediscovery of Europe: A Study in Cultural Encounters* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1963), 41-42. For the history of the School, see, also, M. Mâhir, “Madrasat Rifâ‘a,” *Majallat al-Alsun li’l-Tarjama* 1 (2001): 65-80; Sh. Jalâl, *al-Tarjama fî al-‘Âlam al-‘Arabî al-Wâqi‘ wa al-Taḥaddî fî Daw’ Muqârana Iḥṣâiyya Wâḍiḥa al-Dalâla* (Cairo: al-Majlis al-A‘lâ li’l-Thaqâfa, 1999); A. Khâkî, “The School of Languages (Madrasat El-Alsun),” *Majallat Madrasat al-Alsun al-‘Ulyâ* (May, 1960): 12-16; ‘A. al-Râfi‘î, *‘Aṣr Muḥammad ‘Alî*, 6th ed., (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma‘ârif, 2001), 440-441.

The Office was closed in 1849 at the time of the closure of the School of Languages under ‘Abbâş I (reigned 1848-1854).¹⁴⁸

40 The School of Languages existed for approximately fifteen years and gave rise to a generation of intellectuals who were proficient in both Arabic and a foreign language (generally French) and who would serve in the country’s administration. The number of books translated by its students and teachers was an enormous stimulus to the culture of modern Egypt and other Arab countries. Until the death of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha, almost one hundred students graduated from the School. By the mid-nineteenth century, translations in medicine and other sciences formed the basis of the new medical institutions in the country. Besides scientific books, works on history, geography, law and sociology were translated. The history of the School of Languages is closely connected with the history of modern Egypt. The School of Languages gave the country excellent translators, editors, writers, teachers and administrators.

However, under the reign of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha’s successor, ‘Abbâş I, the translation movement declined together with the educational system of which it was an integral part. Many schools were closed; the student mission in Paris was recalled. With the closure of the School of Languages and the Translation Office, the translators, who were part of the School and the Office, were reassigned to other departments of the government.¹⁴⁹ During the reign of Sa‘îd Pasha (reigned 1854-1863), some schools were reopened and two important edicts were issued. According to these edicts, court procedures were to be held in Arabic, where only Turkish was allowed before; and for the translations of letters coming from the consulates to the Cairo and Alexandria *Dîwâns* regarding the claims of foreigners, a new office, called the *Aqlâm al-Ifrankî* (The Foreign Office), was to be set up. In addition, it was to facilitate European-Egyptian trade wherever there was a need for translation of legal documents. This, in turn, led to an interest in European legal works. A few book-length translations were done during these years by the graduates of the School of Languages.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ Tâjir, 33; al-Shayyâl, *Târikh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî ‘Asr Muḥammad ‘Alî*, 42-44; al-Jamî‘î, 10; ‘Abd al-Karîm, *Târikh al-Ta’lîm fî ‘Aşr Muḥammad ‘Alî*, 339-344; *Târikh al-Ta’lîm fî Mişr min Nihâya Ḥukm Muḥammad ‘Alî ilâ Awâil Ḥukm Tawfîq 1848-1882: ‘Aşr ‘Abbâş al-Awwal wa Sa‘îd 1848-1863*, v.I (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Naşr, 1945), 58-61.

¹⁴⁹ Tâjir, 71-72.

¹⁵⁰ Tâjir, 77-79; Abu-Lughod, 42-43.

With the reform policies of Khedive Ismâ'îl (reigned 1863-1879) many native and European schools were opened. Among these was the *Madrasat al-Idâra wa al-Asun* (The School of Administration and Languages) in 1868. Ismâ'îl also entrusted al-Ṭaḥṭâwî with the re-establishment of the Translation Office (*Qalam al-Tarjama*). The duration of a full education was four years. The School had two objectives; one was the study of Western and Eastern languages and the other was the study of law, which gained more emphasis over time. However, since the main interest of the school and the Translation Office was in the translation of official documents, the School of Languages was detached from the School of Administration in 1878 and reopened as a new school. A full course in this new school lasted two years and the number of students was around twenty. The School was composed of two sections, each of which had three classes in French, English and German, of which German was the least popular. The students who studied German had to study French as well, while the students in the other two classes only studied the language they wanted to specialize in. Later on, German was scrapped and was replaced by Turkish in an optional course. The other languages taught were, apart from French and English, Arabic and Italian. Since the School did not produce enough translators, Syrian and other foreign translators were employed by the School. The School of Languages was eventually closed down in 1885 under the British occupation, as were so many others. It was revived as a Translation Office in 1889, and then incorporated in the *Madrasat al-Mu'allimîn al-Khidîwiyya*, which would later become the *Madrasat al-Mu'allimîn al-'Ulyâ*. The School of Languages *per se* was reopened only in 1951 and it still operates today as a faculty of Ain Shams University in Cairo.¹⁵¹

From 1863 onwards, many European works, mainly on French law, European history, and studies of Egypt and the Arab world were translated into Arabic. The translation of the *Code Napoléon* and the French Commercial Code shows the new direction that translation activity took and how it contrasts with that of the early years under Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha.¹⁵² Some aspects of European art and literature were also introduced to the reading public through

¹⁵¹ A. 'I. 'Abd al-Karîm, *Târîkh al-Ta'lim fî Miṣr min Nihâya Ḥukm Muḥammad 'Alî ilâ Awâil Ḥukm Tawfîq 1848-1882: 'Aṣr Ismâ'îl wa al-Sanawât al-Muttaṣila bihi min Ḥukm Tawfîq 1863-1882*, v.II (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Naṣr, 1945), 143-150, 546-565, 568-569; al-Jamî'î, 25-28, 34; M. Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 2nd ed., (Boulder & London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc., 1997), 7-13; Tâjir, 82-84, 115-117.

¹⁵² Moosa, *The Origins*, 7, 13.

translations at the end of the period under discussion. The new schools, especially the School of Law and the School of Languages, would produce the future intellectuals, government personnel and political leaders of the country. After the reign of Ismâ'îl, it is true, there was a noticeable decline in official encouragement and support for translation work. However, the translation movement continued intensively in all branches of sciences, albeit with a greater emphasis on translations from English.¹⁵³

4. The Academy of Knowledge (*Encümen-i Dâniş*): 1851

In 1845, a temporary Commission (*Meclis-i muvakkat*) was charged with taking steps towards improving the existing education system and drawing up plans for public education. The commission prepared a report (*mazbata*).¹⁵⁴ In it, recommendations were made for: improvement of the curriculum and instruction in primary (*sıbyan*) and secondary (*rüşdiye*) schools; the establishment of a university (*dârulfunûn*) and an academy to prepare textbooks for the university whether in translation or as original work; and establishment of a permanent council of public education (*Meclis-i maârif-i umûmiyye*) to implement these recommendations. The other remarkable point of the report was its suggestion to translate some essential works in Western and Eastern languages into Turkish and to simplify the language in order to spread knowledge among the people. The Commission proposed that the Academy be composed of twenty internal and twenty external members. The ability to translate and compose would be sufficient qualification for membership, which would be a title of honor.¹⁵⁵

In 1846, the Council of Public Education was set up. In 1851, another report concerning the Academy of Knowledge was written by Ahmed Cevdet (Pasha) on behalf of the Council.¹⁵⁶ The number of internal members increased to forty and that of the external was unspecified. They should be competent in

¹⁵³ Abu-Lughod, 43-45. For translations from English, see, for example, Laîfa al-Zayyât, "*Harakat al-Tarjama al-Adabiyya min Injilîziyya ilâ al-'Arabiyya fî Mişr fî al-Fatra mâ bayna 1882-1925 wa Madâ Irtibâihâ bi-Şaḥâfa hâdhîhî al-Fatra*," (Ph.D. diss., Cairo University, 1957).

¹⁵⁴ K. Akyüz, *Encümen-i Dâniş* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Eğitim Fakültesi Yayınları, 1975), 10; the report is to be found in pp. 32-35.

¹⁵⁵ Akyüz, 14-16.

¹⁵⁶ Akyüz, 11; for the report, see, pp. 44-49.

Arabic and Persian or in other foreign language.¹⁵⁷ External members, however, were not expected to have a good knowledge of Turkish but to produce scientific works in any language for the Academy.¹⁵⁸ It was decided to have two chairmen rather than one. Atâullah Efendizâde Şerîf Efendi was proposed as first, while Hayrullah Efendi was proposed as second chairman.¹⁵⁹ Upon the authorization of Sultan Abdülmecîd (1839-1861) on April 15, 1851, the establishment of the Academy was announced with Cevdet (Pasha)'s statement (*beyannâme*) together with the regulations of the Academy's organization and duties (*nizamnâme*) and the membership list in the official gazette (*Takvîm-i Vekâyi'*) in June 1, 1851.¹⁶⁰

The Academy was opened on July 14, 1851 with a grand ceremony including the Sultan, all the ministers and members of the Academy. After the speeches of the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşîd Pasha and the second chairman of the Academy, Hayrullah Efendi, a Turkish grammar book, *Kavâid-i Osmâniye*, written by Ahmed Cevdet and Mehmed Fuad, was presented to the Sultan as the first work of the Academy. There were ministers, statesmen, 'ulamâ, translators, and historians among the members of the Academy. It is said that some of the ministers and generals were included in order to give honor and prestige to the Academy.¹⁶¹

The Academy's importance lay in its efforts on behalf of the linguistic and educational reforms. It emphasized that the language and style of the translations and original works be as simple and plain as to be understood easily by common people. The use of strange words and ornate style had to be abandoned. For the development of Turkish, the need was also expressed for comprehensive grammar books and dictionaries. The Academy had to produce textbooks for the future university whether in translation or as original work. The importance of the Academy also lay in its promotion of the composition or translation of historical works. Last but not least, the Academy helped the

¹⁵⁷ The names of the forty internal members can be found in Akyüz, 58-61; A. Uçman, "Encümen-i Dâniş," *DİA*, v.11 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1995): 176-178.

¹⁵⁸ The names of the external members can be found in Akyüz, 61-62; Uçman.

¹⁵⁹ Akyüz, 17-19.

¹⁶⁰ Akyüz, 12.

¹⁶¹ Akyüz, 13; R. L. Chambers, "The Encümen-i Daniş and Ottoman Modernization," in *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi (11-15 October 1976) Kongreye Sunulan Bildiriler*, v.II (Ankara: TTK Basımevi, 1981): 1283-1289.

emergence of a modern élite who were the prominent supporters of the reforms in all aspects of Ottoman culture.¹⁶²

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Because of the political instability of the time, the Academy was closed in 1862. The members of the Academy produced, though not as much as expected, a number of translated and original works, most of which were not published. As for translations from Western languages; for example, Sahak Ebru, an external member of the Academy, translated several works such as Voltaire's *Histoire de Charles XII*; Jean-Baptiste Say's *Catéchisme d'Economie Politique* under the title *İlm-i Tedbîr-i Menzîl* (1851), the first work on European economic theories; a work by Louis-Philippe Comte de Ségur under the title *Vüçûd-ı Beşerin Sûret-i Terkîbi* and Souvanie's first volume of *General History* under the title *Târîh-i Umûmî*. He also wrote a bibliographical dictionary in which figured some European statesmen, such as Charles-Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, Franz Georg von Metternich-Winneburg, Comte de Nessellrode and Camilo Benso di Cavour, entitled *Avrupa'da Meşhur Ministroların Tercüme-i Hallerine Dâir Risâle* (1855).¹⁶³

Ahmed Ağrıbozî translated a history of ancient Greece entitled *Târîh-i Kudemâ-i Yûnân ve Makedonya*. Todoraki Efendi translated Louis-Philippe Comte de Ségur's history of Europe under the title *Avrupa Târîhi*. Aleko Efendi's *Beyânü'l-Esfâr* is about the last Napoleonic campaigns. Mehmed Ali Fethi, an internal member of the Academy, translated a book on geology, *İlm-i Tabakât-ı Arz* from the Arabic, which was originally written in French. It was printed in 1853 and attracted so much attention that nine forewords (*takrîz*) were written in Arabic and Turkish.¹⁶⁴

5. The Translation Society (*Tercüme Cem'iyeti*): 1865

In 1865, during the ministry of Ahmed Kemâl Pasha (1808-1888), the Translation Society (*Tercüme Cem'iyeti*) was established. Attached to the Ministry of Education, its objectives were: to compose books and translate scientific and artistic books, treatises and maps from foreign languages into

¹⁶² Berk, 29-38. See, also, E. B. Şapolyo, "Encümen-i Dâniş'in tarihçesi," *Türk Kültürü* 6/67 (1968): 439-444; A. S. Levend, "Türk kültürünün gelişmesinde derneklerin ve kurumların rolü," *Türk Dili* 17/198 (March 1968): 649-654; Chambers; Uçman; T. Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye'de Tercüme Müesseseleri* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998): 49-117.

¹⁶³ Berk, 37; Kayaoğlu, 81-82.

¹⁶⁴ Berk, 38; Kayaoğlu, 87-88.

Turkish for the public, and in particular, for students; to review translated works and to fix a price for translations; and to expand the scientific terminology in Turkish. The society consisted of eighteen men, including a head, members, a secretary and a proof reader. The head of the Society was Münif Efendi and its members were: Ahmed Hilmi Efendi, Sadullah Bey, Rifat Bey, Mehmed Şevki Efendi, Mecid Bey and Faridis Efendi from the Translation Office; Colonel Mehmed Ali Bey; Kaymakam Nuri Bey from the Engineering School; Ömer Bey, from the Military School; Ohannes Efendi; Alexandr Efendi, the translator of the *Meclis-i Vâlâ*; Kadri Bey, Vahan Efendi, Nuri Bey, and the proof readers İhya Efendi and Pertev Efendi.¹⁶⁵ Ahmed Hilmi Efendi translated a work by W. Chambers for students, entitled *Târîh-i Umûmî*, the first volume of which was published in Istanbul in 1866. He also translated a work by Otto Hübner for secondary school students under the title *İlm-i Tedbîr-i Servet*, published in 1869. After a short time, the Society was abrogated because of financial problems.

6. The School of Language (*Mektebü'l-Lisân*): 1866

The School of Language was established on the initiative of the Minister of Public education, Kemâl Efendi, on March 26, 1866 in Istanbul. At the start, only French was taught. Later on, courses in Greek, Bulgarian and *inşâ'* (ornate prose) were added to the curriculum. The school started with twenty students; by 1869 the number had risen to sixty-six. It is not known when this school was closed down, but it was reopened in 1879. The period of study was four years, with courses in Arabic, Persian and *inshâ'* obligatory. The curriculum included the study of Greek, Slavic, Armenian, English, German and Russian. These languages were optional, with the exception of Greek and Armenian, which were obligatory as well. It was closed again at some point, but reopened in 1883. This time the duration of the course was five years. Besides French and *inshâ'*, the curriculum included a wide range of subjects, from history, geography, literature and international law to economics. It was definitely closed down on August 18, 1892. It was decided that the school was not successful and would be replaced by a Higher School of Diplomacy.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁵ Kayaoğlu, 124-125.

¹⁶⁶ S. Balcı, "Osmanlı Devleti'nde modernleşme girişimlerine bir örnek: Lisan Mektebi," *Tarih Araştırmaları Dergisi*, Ankara, 27/44 (2008): 77-98. See, also, C.

7. The Grand Commission of Education (*Meclis-i Kebîr-i Ma'ârif*): 1869

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The Ministry of General Education was established in 1857 with Abdurrahman Sâmî Pasha at its head. One of the articles of the Law on General Education (*Ma'ârif-i Umûmiye Nizamnâmesi*) mentioned the Grand Commission of Education (*Meclis-i Kebîr-i Ma'ârif*); it was to remain in function to the end of the Ottoman Empire with some changes in its staff and competence. The Commission consisted of two departments: the department of science (*dâire-i ilmiyye*) and the department of administration (*dâire-i idâre*).

The department of science, which had an important role in the translation movement, consisted of a chairman, two clerks and internal and external members. There were meetings twice every week. The number of internal members was eight and they had to be Ottoman subjects. There was no limit to the number of external members. One of the clerks had to know French for correspondence with European universities. Internal members had to know Arabic, Greek, Latin or one of the European languages, had to be able to write Turkish and also had to show competence in some branch of science. As for external members, they had to inform the department about their new findings and writings. They could attend general meetings, which would be held every three months. The directors of schools were also considered members of the department, and if they were summoned they had to present themselves at the department. The tasks of the department itself were: to prepare books and treatises (whether original or translations) for public schools; if need be to advertise in newspapers for translations or original books or to establish societies for this purpose; to correspond with European universities; to stimulate the development of Turkish; and after examination and affirmation of written or translated books, to determine the wage for their authors and translators.¹⁶⁷

In the beginning, the head of the Grand Commission of Education was Münif Efendi (Pasha). The members of the department of science were: Kerim Efendi, Nasuhi Efendi, Mahmud Efendi, Mustafa Vehbi Efendi, Mehmed Efendi, Mikâil Efendi, Faridis Efendi, and Konstantinidi Efendi. The head clerk (*baş kâtib*) was Vacis Efendi, while the second clerk (*kâtib-i sâni*) was Hakkı

İşıksal, "Türkiye'de açılan ilk yabancı dil okulları," *Belgelerle Türk Tarihi Dergisi* 7 (1968): 29-31.

¹⁶⁷ Kayaoğlu, 135-136.

Efendi.¹⁶⁸ With the establishment of the department of science, translation activity was incorporated into the organization of the Ministry of Education. It still exists under different names and with different functions today.¹⁶⁹ Among the translations by members was Monsieur Le Mon's French grammar under the title *Sarf-ı Fransevi*,¹⁷⁰ and Alexandr Kostantinidis Efendi's translation of a book about ancient Greece under the title *Târîh-i Yunanistan-ı Kadîm* (published in 1869).

8. The Department of Composition and Translation (*Te'lif ve Tercüme Dâiresi*): 1879

After some changes in the central organization of the Ministry of Education in 1879, a new department, the Department of Composition and Translation (*Te'lif ve Tercüme Dâiresi*) was set up. Thus, translation activity, which had been conducted through a subsidiary within the Ministry, was incorporated into the central organization of the same Ministry. With the regulations of 1879, the Ministry was divided into five departments. Heads of the departments were appointed from the Commission of Education, and the existing officials were shared between these departments.

Based on these new regulations and under the supervision of the minister of education, Münif Efendi, as well as in keeping with the decree of Sultan Abdülhamid II for the translation of European books into Turkish, a translation society was established within the Ministry of Education. Ahmed Hamdi Efendi was appointed to its directorate and Ahmed Rifat Efendi to its secretariat. However, because of financial shortages, the results were meager. We do not know of any work produced by the department except the publication of the Arabic grammar, *Tarz-ı Nevin* (New Method), by the director Ahmed Hamdi Efendi.¹⁷¹

The Ministry of Education decided to close The Department of Composition and Translation because it failed to operate according to its original directives and because it took up too much space in the department. It was transferred to another department of the Ministry of Education, The Administration of Printing. With the Administration of Printing a new

¹⁶⁸ Kayaoğlu, 137-138.

¹⁶⁹ Kayaoğlu, 148.

¹⁷⁰ Kayaoğlu, 146.

¹⁷¹ Kayaoğlu, 149-151.

Commission was set up on December 31, 1881 called *Encümen-i tefîş ve muâyene hey'eti* (The Commission of Inspection and Examination). The duties of the Commission were: to inspect the books and booklets printed in Turkish, Arabic, Persian, French, Bulgarian, Greek and Armenian in the Ottoman territories; to censor books coming from abroad; and to inspect schools and libraries. This the Commission did achieve, but it never produced any scientific works.¹⁷²

C. Learned Societies and Translation

Throughout the nineteenth century several scientific and vocational societies, concerned with translation and spreading of science were set up. With their regular meetings, they provided a scholarly environment for scholars, professionals, government officials and other individuals. The precursor of these societies in Istanbul was the *Cem'iyet-i İlmiyye* (Scientific Society), activities of which could be called a kind of *salon*. The activities of the group started after the return of İsmail Ferruh Efendi from London where he had been ambassador for three years. The first meetings of the group took place in his mansion sometime after 1815. Members were scholars such as the chronicler and physician Şanizâde Atâullah Efendi, Melekpaşazâde Abdülkâdir Bey, and Kethüdâzâde Mehmed Ârif Efendi. The group devoted itself to scientific, literary, and philosophical discussions and debates, and to the teaching of individuals in a wide range of subjects. Some dignitaries and officials were also among the participants in these discussions, some of which touched on current events and political issues. The members of this group were mostly *'ulamâ* who had studied modern science and philosophy and thus were familiar with Western culture. They had a great many students and through them exerted a lasting influence on future generations.¹⁷³

In 1861, the *Cem'iyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniye* (The Ottoman Scientific Society) was established. Its foundation was largely the work of the learned Münif Pasha, former apprentice of the Translation Office and the translator of several literary and philosophical Western works. The statute of the Society was published in the first issue of the *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* (The Journal of

¹⁷² Kayaoglu, 154-155.

¹⁷³ E. İhsanoğlu, "19. Asrın başlarında –Tanzimat öncesi – kültür ve eğitim hayatı ve Beşiktaş Cemiyet-i İlmiyesi olarak bilinen ulema grubunun buradaki yeri," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, 43-74; Findley, *Bureaucratic Reform*, 130.

Science), the Society's journal, which was the first Turkish periodical of this kind in the Ottoman Empire.¹⁷⁴ According to the statutes of the Society, its goal was to produce and translate books, to educate the public through all possible means and to spread science in the Empire. The society would publish a monthly journal in which articles about science, commerce, crafts, and religious and political questions would be published. The Society was not state-sponsored but a private undertaking. It had three types of members, admitted irrespective of their religion and nationality: the permanent (*dâimî*), non-permanent (*dâimî olmayan*), and members connected through correspondence (*muhabir*). The members were supposed to know Turkish or Arabic or Persian and at least one Western language (French, English, German, Italian, or Modern Greek) besides. There was no limit to the number of members; however, the number of members without knowledge of a Western language was limited to seven. The permanent members had to write articles for the Society's journal, and to give public courses. The other members were also expected to write or translate books in their specialized areas. The director of the Society was Halil Bey, ambassador to Petersburg. According to İhsanoğlu, sixteen permanent members out of thirty-three were employees and translators in the Translation Office. The Society founded a library which was open three days a week and also offered public classes in natural sciences, geology, history, and economics, as well as in five foreign languages. More than thirty newspapers and journals in Turkish, French, English, Greek and Armenian were collected by the library. Furthermore, books on natural sciences, geography, and mechanics, maps, and some instruments of physics and mechanics could also be found there. Readers had to pay a monthly fee of five *kuruş*, or thirty *kuruş* for six months in advance, and to be proposed by a member of the society in order to use the library, whereas the library was free of charge to students of official schools. As the only public library which contained about a thousand foreign language books in sciences, it became quite famous. The Society, which was closed in 1867, contributed to the intellectual milieu of the time with its journal, library and public classes. Although it did not publish translations or original works, the journal of the society included several translations and adaptations on

¹⁷⁴ About the journal, see, Y. Işıl, "*Bir Aydınlanma Hareketi Olarak Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*," (M.A. thesis, Istanbul University, 1986); C. Aydın, "*Mecmû'a-i Fünûn ve Macmua-i Ulûm Dergilerinin Medeniyet ve Bilim Anlayışı*," (M.A. thesis, Istanbul University, 1995); M. Akgün, "Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye ve Mecmû'a-i Fünun'un felsefi açıdan taşıdığı önem," *Felsefe Dünyası* 15 (Bahar, 1995): 52-72.

history, geology, geography, philosophy, and the natural sciences from Western languages in its fourty-seven issues over five years.¹⁷⁵

50 We should also mention the *Cem'iyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmâniye* (The Ottoman Medical Society), the first vocational society in the Ottoman Empire. It was founded in 1866 and contributed significantly to the development of Turkish scientific language through its translations. According to its statutes, the main functions of the Society were to translate Western medical books and to publish a monthly medical journal in order to publicize medical advancements. The society prepared medical dictionaries, *Lugat-i Tıbbiye* (1874), and *Lugat-i Tıbb* (1902), and translated a number of medical books into Turkish.¹⁷⁶

In Egypt, the first learned society, the *l'Institut d'Égypte*, was established following the French invasion of 1798 by Napoleon. The French scholars of his army conducted researches on a wide range of subjects related to Egyptian nature, industry and history, the results of which were published in the *Description de l'Égypte*. The French scientific mission expired with the withdrawal of the French army in 1801. Then in 1836 a group of European residents set up the Oriental Society in Alexandria with the support of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha. However, in 1859 it was replaced by a new society, the *Institut Égyptien*, founded at the initiative of Sa'îd Pasha. The Institute, which moved from Alexandria to Cairo in 1880, organized regular meetings, offered lectures by fellow members, and published a regular *Bulletin*. There were three kinds of membership: titular, associate and correspondent. Although the early members of the Institute were mostly resident Europeans, there were also a few Egyptian members such as al-Ṭaḥṭâwî and Maḥmûd al-Falakî. The most important obstacle to reaching the Egyptian public was the language of the Institute, which was French. However, it was generously supported by the government. Another significant learned society of Egypt was the Khedivial Geographical Society (*al-Jam'iyya al-Jûghrâfiyya al-Khidîwiyya*) which was founded by Khedive Ismâ'îl in 1875 to encourage historical and geographical research. As in the case of the earlier Institute, the membership of the Society

¹⁷⁵ E. İhsanoğlu, "Cemiyet-i İlmiye-i Osmaniye'nin kuruluş ve faaliyetleri," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, 197-220; Berk, 38-42; Strauss, "The millets and the Ottoman language."

¹⁷⁶ N. Sarı, "Cemiyet-i Tıbbiye-i Osmaniyye ve tıp dilinin Türkçeleşmesi akımı," in *Osmanlı İlmî ve Meslekî Cemiyetleri*, 121-142; Berk, 43-44, n.79.

was predominantly European, while its working language was still French.¹⁷⁷ These early societies were followed by a number of other scientific societies during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

D. Translation in Periodicals

The first periodical, an official gazette, *al-Waqâ'i' al-Miṣriyya* (1828), was printed in Cairo both in Arabic and Turkish. It was followed by the first Turkish official gazette, *Takvîm-i Vekâyi'* (1831), printed in Istanbul. They marked the birth of journalism in Egypt and Turkey respectively, and would become an important means for the development of public opinion on social and political reforms, and for the popularization of modern ideas. They were followed by some early journals such as the semi-official gazette *Cerîde-i Havâdis* (1840) in Istanbul and medical journals such as the Turkish *Vekâyi't-Tibbiyye* (1848) and the Arabic *al-Ya'sûb* (1865) and *Wâdî al-Nîl* (1866). By the second half of the nineteenth century, many newspapers, journals and magazines, printed in Cairo and Istanbul, played an important role in the spread of knowledge, especially new ideas, throughout the Empire. Among these early enterprises were: the first non-official newspaper, *Tercümân-ı Ahvâl*, launched by Âgâh Efendi and İbrahim Şinâsi in Istanbul, in 1860; *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*, published by Şinâsi in Istanbul in 1862; and *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* (1861) of Münif Pasha. Arabic language newspapers also began to appear at this time: Fâris al-Shidyâq launched the newspaper *al-Jawâ'ib*, which was read throughout the Empire, in Istanbul in 1861; Ya'qûb Şarrûf and Fâris Nimr founded the very important periodical *al-Muqataṭaf* in Beirut in 1876, which was transferred to Egypt in 1885; the periodical *Rawḍat al-Madâris* (1870) was set up by 'Alî Mubârak and later on edited by al-Ṭaḥṭâwî; and *al-Ahrâm* was launched by the Taqla brothers in Alexandria in 1875.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ A. Gorman, *Historians, State and Politics in Twentieth Century Egypt: contesting the nation* (London: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 45-48; A. A. Ziadat, *Western Science in the Arab World: The Impact of Darwinism, 1860-1930* (London: Macmillan Press, 1986), 12; 'A. al-Râfi'î, *'Aṣr Ismâ'îl*, 4th ed., v.1 (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, 1987), 244-248.

¹⁷⁸ For the history of Press, see, Le comte Philippe de Tarrâzi, *Târîkh al-Şaḥâfa al-'Arabîyya* (Beirut: al-Maṭba'a al-Adabiyya, 1913); M. Hartmann, *The Arabic Press of Egypt* (London: Luzac & CO., 1899). I. 'Abduh, *Târîkh al-Tibâ'a wa al-Şaḥâfa fî Miṣr Khilâl al-Ḥamla al-Faransiyya (1798-1801)* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Âdâb, 1941); *I'lâm al-Şaḥâfa al-'Arabîyya* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Âdâb, 1944); *Taṭawwur al-Şaḥâfa al-Miṣriyya*

These and the other periodicals of the nineteenth century, partly by publishing scientific and literary translations in their pages, contributed to the spread of new ideas. They introduced simple language; they helped to develop modern Arabic and Turkish literature and thought; and in the process contributed to the transformation of society and politics. Some of the literary and scientific translations or, sometimes, adaptations from Western languages, were serialized in newspapers before they were printed in book form.

Although it is beyond the scope of our research, a quick glance at some of these journals reveals many translations in serialized form that deserve further investigation. For example, as early as 1845, *Cerîde-i Havâdis* published a comedy in translation from Beaumarchais's *Barbier de Séville* under the title *Sevil Berberi*. In 1860 the newspaper, *Ruznâme-i Cerîde-i Havâdis*, serialized the translation of Victor Hugo's *Les misérables* under the title *Mağdûrîn Hikâyesi* and also brought out translations from Voltaire. *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* serialized in its early issues translations from Emmer de Vattel and Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon. *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn*, for another example, serialized translations from Rousseau as did the journal of Ebuzziya Tevfik, *Mecmû'a-i Ebuzziya*.¹⁷⁹ In 1863, the newspaper *Mir'at* published Nâmık Kemâl's translation of Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur et de la décadence des Romains*. Arabic journals such as *al-Muqataf* and *al-Ahrâm* also provided their readers with scientific and literary translations from Western languages, particularly French. After the 1870s, with the increase of private newspapers and journals, the translation movement gained momentum. Most of the newspapers and journals of the time were full of translations especially from French Enlightenment philosophers.

1798-1951, 3rd ed., (Cairo: Maktabat al-Âdâb, 1951); A. Emin, *The Development of Modern Turkey as Measured by Its Press* (New York: Columbia University, 1914). "Matbuat," *DİA*, v.28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003): 119-127. S. S. Kuru (prepared by), "Yüz senelik gazeteciliğimiz," *Müteferrika* 3 (Yaz 1994): 3-47. H. S. Keseroğlu, "Batı'da ve Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nda süreli yayınların ortaya çıkışı ve özellikleri," *Müteferrika* 6 (Yaz 1995): 19-28. O. Koloğlu, "Osmanlı'daki Türkçe dışı basın," *Kebikeç* 2 (1995): 127-137. H. Duman, "Süreli yayınlar üzerine yapılmış tezler bibliyografyası," *Müteferrika* 5 (Bahar 1995): 157-177.

¹⁷⁹ About Ebuzziya Tevfik and his journal, see, Ö. Türesay, "Ebuzziya Tevfik ve Mecmua-i Ebuzziya (1880-1912)," *Müteferrika* 18 (Kış, 2000): 87-140; A. Gür, *Ebuzziya Tevfik. Hayatı; Dil Edebiyat, Basın Yayın ve Matbaacılığa Katkıları* (Ankara: Kültür Bakanlığı, 1998); F. Gündoğdu, "Ebuzziya Tevfik'in Türk Basıncılığına Getirdiği Yenilikler ve Türk Kütüphaneciliğine Katkıları," (Thesis of specialty, Hacettepe University, 1982).

E. An Overview of the Nineteenth Century Translations

In the early nineteenth century, İshak Efendi presented a long and perhaps the most technical explanation of the Copernican theory in his *Mecmû'a-i 'Ulûm-i Riyâziyye*. By translating and summarizing contemporary European sources, İshak Efendi introduced new concepts and theories of modern science to Ottomans, such as Descartes' theory of the influence of mass on motion and Newton's theory on vacuum and gravity. His four-volume work, *Mecmû'a-i Ulûm-i Riyâziyye*, was influential not only in Istanbul, but also in Cairo. It was first printed in Istanbul in 1834 and then in Cairo between 1841 and 1845. In 1834, al-Tahtâwî published a geographical work entitled *al-Ta'ribât al-Shâfiya li-Murîd al-Jûghrâfiya* in Cairo. This work was the first book of modern geography published in Arabic in the Ottoman Empire in order to be used in the newly established schools in Cairo. Four years after al-Tahtâwî's book, another translation from European languages into Turkish, *Mecmû'a-i Fenn el-Bahriye*, was printed in Bûlâq.¹⁸⁰ Al-Tahtâwî also translated Conrad Malte-Brun's *Précis de géographie universelle* under the title *al-Jûghrâfiyya al-'Umûmiyya* between 1835 and 1846. Another translation of a work by Felix la Mirus under the title *al-Dirâsa al-Awwaliyya fî al-Jûghrâfiyya al-Tabî'iyya* by Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Rushdî appeared in 1839.¹⁸¹

Tamanlı Hüseyin Efendi's son, Emin Pasha, studied mathematics and physics at Cambridge. Like his father, he endeavored to bring modern

¹⁸⁰ İhsanoğlu, "Introduction of Western science;" Ülken, *İslâm Medeniyetinde Tercüme ve Tesirler*, 360; *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 28, 52. See, also, G. Saliba, "Copernican astronomy in the Arab east: Theories of the Earth's motion in the nineteenth century," in *Transfer of Modern Science*, 145-155; İ. Kalaycıoğulları and Y. Unat, "Kopernik Kuramı'nın Türkiye'deki yansımaları," XIV. *Ulusal Astronomi Kongresi* 31 Ağustos – 4 Eylül 2004, Kayseri, ed. by İ. Küçük, F. F. Özeren, İ. Yusifov; available from <http://193.255.235.2/~unat/you/T16.pdf>; Internet; accessed 8 October 2008. Y. Unat, "Türk astronomi tarihi literatürü (1923-2004)," *Türkiye Araştırmaları Literatür Dergisi* 2/ 4 (2004): 103- 133; available from <http://193.255.235.2/~unat/you/M26.pdf>; Internet; accessed 8 October 2008; "Türkiye'ye Çağdaş astronominin girişi," *Türkler* 14 (Ankara: Yeni Türkiye Yayınları, 2002): 906-914; available from <http://193.255.235.2/~unat/you/M16.pdf>; Internet; accessed 8 October 2008; "Hoca İshak'tan Hoca Tahsin'e çağdaş astronominin Türkiye'ye girişi," XV. *Ulusal Astronomi Kongresi* 27 Ağustos – 1 Eylül 2006, Istanbul; available from <http://193.255.235.2/~unat/you/T29.pdf>; Internet; accessed 8 October 2008.

¹⁸¹ Al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî 'Aşr Muḥammad 'Alî*, 50.

mathematics to the attention of the Ottomans and worked as an instructor at the Harbiye School. He translated his dissertation into Turkish under the title of *Tahavvülât* (Transformations) and published it, and wrote mathematical books for secondary schools as well. Vidinli Tevfik Pasha (1832-1893) studied mathematical sciences in Paris while he was an attaché there. He wrote a *Linear Algebra* in English. *Cebr-i âla*, *Mihanik*, and *Cebr-i hattî* were among his works which included translations and quotations from Western sources.¹⁸² All these works on mathematics were written for the newly established schools. Works in the natural sciences and medicine were also translated or written for the modern hospitals and new schools of medicine.

In Egypt, Ibrahim Edhem Bey translated two works of the French mathematician Legendre into Turkish: *Kitâbu Usûli'l-Hendese* (Eléments de géométrie), published in 1836 (it was also translated into Arabic) and *Makâlât al-Handasa*, published in the same year.¹⁸³ The first medical work was translated into Arabic from a work by Bayle under the title *al-Qawl al-Şarîh fî 'Ilm al-Tashrîh* by Yuḥannâ 'Anḥûrî and published in 1832. In the School of Medicine, there was a group of teachers from al-Azhar, who checked the translations, edited them and sometimes invented better terms for the new concepts. Over a period of five years there appeared a kind of medical dictionary "Vocabulaire" composed of more than 6000 words. Father Rafâ'îl Zâkhûr's Italian-Arabic dictionary *al-Qâmûs al-Îṭalî wa al-'Arabî* (Dizionario Italiano e Arabo) was among the first books printed by the Bûlâq press in 1822. Other dictionaries printed in Bûlâq as early as the 1830s were Persian-Turkish and Turkish-Arabic dictionaries besides the ones in the field of medicine.¹⁸⁴ Early French-Turkish dictionaries such as Bianchi's were also composed at the same period.¹⁸⁵

Translations of Western historical works first appeared in Egypt. The first one was Şanizâde Mehmed Atâullah Efendi's (d.1826/1827) translation from French into Turkish, *Vesâyânâme-i Seferiyye*. It consisted of the Prussian

¹⁸² Ülken, *İslâm Medeniyetinde Tercümelere ve Tesirler*, 359-360; *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 27-28.

¹⁸³ İhsanoğlu, *Mısır'da Türkler*, 122-125. S. M. H. 'Abd al-Raziq, "Arabic sciences since the beginning of the nineteenth century," *BSOAS* 2 (1921-1923): 249-762.

¹⁸⁴ Al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî 'Asr Muḥammad 'Alî*, 20, 77, 185-194.

¹⁸⁵ About the early Turkish dictionaries, see, for example, H. Hatemi, "Fransızca-Türkçe ilk sözlükler (Rhasis, Handoğlu, Bianchi Sözlükleri)," *Tarih ve Toplum* 2 (1984): 430-431.

King Frederick the Great's advice to his generals. Published in 1822, it was the first book issued by the Bûlâq press.¹⁸⁶ The second translation in the field of history was Yakovaki Efendi's translation of Russian History, *Katerina Târihi* (*Histoire de l'impératrice Catherine II de Russie, précédée d'un court aperçu de l'histoire de la Russie depuis son origine*), first published in 1829, as we mentioned earlier.¹⁸⁷ These early Turkish translations were followed by others about Napoleon Bonaparte and the history of France and Italy.¹⁸⁸

The first work on the history of ancient philosophy had been translated into Arabic and published in Cairo in 1836 under the title *Târîkh al-Falâsifa al-Yûnâniyyîn, aw, Mukhtaşar Tarâjim Mashâhîr Qudamâ' al-Falâsifa* (*Histoire des anciens philosophes*). In 1838, an Arabic translation from the French by Muştafâ Sayyid Aḥmad al-Zarâbî and others was printed under the title *Bidâya al-Qudamâ' wa Hidâya al-Ḥukamâ* and contained a foreword by al-Ṭaḥtâwî. In 1841 and 1845 two works of Voltaire were translated into Arabic: the first one was *Maṭâli' Shumûs al-Siyar fî Waqâ'i' Karlûs al-Thâni 'Ashar* (*Histoire de Charles XII, Roi de Suède*), translated by Muḥammad Muştafâ al-Bayyâ'; and the second one was *al-Rawḍ al-Azhar fî Târîkh Butrus al-Akbar (Imbarâtûr Muskû)* (*Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*), translated by Aḥmad 'Abîd al-Ṭaḥtâwî. By the second half of the nineteenth century a Turkish translation of a book on America was also printed in Cairo.¹⁸⁹ In 1879 Hidayet Ahmed translated a work about the history of philosophy by Emile Faguet under the title *Yeni Felsefe Târihi: Meşhur Filozoflar*, published in Istanbul.¹⁹⁰

The first book on logic was translated from French into Arabic in 1838 under the title *Tanwîr al-Mashriq bi-'Ilm al-Manṭiq*. The first Turkish

¹⁸⁶ İhsanoğlu, *Mısır'da Türkler*, 26.

¹⁸⁷ It was reprinted in 1831 under the title *İkinci Katerina nâm Rusya İmparatoriçenin Tarihi*.

¹⁸⁸ For example, *Târîkh Nâbülyûn Bûnâbarta (Extrait du Mémorial de Saint-Hélène)*, Bûlâq, 1832; *Târîh-i Nâbulyûn Bûnâbarta*, translated from the memoirs of Duc de Rovigo into Turkish in 1834; *Târîh-i Dawla İtalyâ*, translated into Turkish by 'Abdullâh Azîz Efendi in 1834. An Arabic translation of the last work was done by 'Abdullâh 'Azîz and Ḥasan Fahmî in the same year under the title *Târîkh Dawla İtâliyya fî Bayân al-Iḥtilâl al-Wâqi' fî al-Mamâlik al-Ûrûbbiyyâ bi-Zuhûr Nâbilyûn Bûnâbarta*.

¹⁸⁹ *Târîh-i Amerika* was the translation of William Robertson's *History of America* by Ali Rıza Efendi in 1858. It was reprinted in Istanbul in 1880.

¹⁹⁰ For the other translations in the field of history, see, for example, al-Jamî'î, 15-23; al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî 'Asr Muḥammad 'Alî*, 166-168.

translation in this field was *Miftâhu'l-Fünûn* from a work written by Pasquale Galuppi. It was published in 1868 in Istanbul. The translator is unidentified. Father Rafâ'îl Zâkhûr (1759-1831), who entered the service of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha as a translator in 1816, translated Machiavelli's *Il principe* into Arabic upon the order of the Pasha. One of the earliest philosophical translations from the West, it is now preserved in the Egyptian National Archives.¹⁹¹ It was translated into Turkish in 1834 by İshak under the title *Terceme-i Prens*. Later in the nineteenth century Haydar Rifat Bey started to translate it in the journal *Zeka* but could not complete it.

In 1869 a work on political economy by Otto Hübner was translated into Turkish by Mehmed Midhat entitled *Ekonomi Tercümesi: Fenn-i İdâre*. Another Turkish translation was done in 1869 from a work by Benjamin Franklin under the title *Tarîk-i Servet ez Hikmet-i Rikardos* by Bedros Hocasaryan.¹⁹²

Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque* was among the first literary and philosophical books translated from Western languages. In his *La Turquie actuelle*, Ubcini states that in the first half of the nineteenth century *Les aventures de Télémaque* was the most popular classic among Levantines in the metropolis, and that it was translated into many languages such as Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Armenian, Kurdish, Georgian, Russian, Tatar, Bulgarian, Romanian and Albanian. He also mentions that he had been shown an album by the Russian attaché in Istanbul with the beginning of the *Télémaque* in seventeen or eighteen languages. He says that his landlord knew the most beautiful passages of the *Télémaque* by heart, but he had stopped reading at a certain point; instead he was reading Alexandre Dumas again and again.¹⁹³ We read in Ahmed Refik's *Târîhî Sîmâlar* that the Turks' acquaintance with the *Télémaque* went back to the eighteenth century. According to the French ambassador, General Aubert du Bayet, Moralı es-Seyyid Ali Efendi translated the *Télémaque* into Turkish to learn French before he travelled to France.¹⁹⁴ Besides, the students sent to France for their education played an important role in the introduction of the *Télémaque* to the Ottoman

¹⁹¹ Moosa, *The Origins*, 96; The National Archives of Egypt, MS: Târîkh, 435. Another Arabic translation is said to be done by Don Raphael in 1832 under the title, *Kitâb al-Amîr*. In 1912, another translation is done by Muḥammad Luṭfî Jum'a in Cairo.

¹⁹² There are also translations from Benjamin Franklin in periodicals, see, for example, *Mecmû'a-i Ebuzziya* (1880).

¹⁹³ A. Ubcini, *La Turquie Actuelle* (Paris: Librairie de L. Hachette et C^{ie}., 1855), 457.

¹⁹⁴ A. Refik [Altınay], *Târîhî Sîmâlar* (İstanbul: Kitâbhâne-i Askerî, 1331), 63-64.

world. Most of the Turkish intellectuals of the nineteenth century were familiar with the *Télémaque* and some of them had an original copy of it in their libraries.¹⁹⁵ It was read in French schools, and a course, named *Télémaque*, was offered in the school of medicine.¹⁹⁶ It was translated into Turkish by Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha in 1859. Having been widely circulated in manuscript form in Ottoman *salons* for three years,¹⁹⁷ the translation was finally published in 1862. The *Télémaque* was thus a unique phenomenon: translated by different authors, the translations were printed many times, and extracts were published in journals, as will be seen in the next chapter.

In 1859, some dialogues from Fénelon were translated into Turkish in *Muhâverât-ı Hikemiyye*, the translation by Münif Efendi (Pasha). This work consisted of eleven dialogues from Fénelon, Fontenelle and Voltaire. Two of these dialogues were taken from Fénelon's *Dialogues*. Thus, Fénelon had been introduced to Ottoman readers before the first publication of the *Télémaque* translation. Two other translations also into Turkish from the work of Fénelon, appeared in 1876 and 1888: *Meşâhir-i Kudemâ-i Felâsifenin Tercüme-i Halleri*, translated by Yanyalı K. Şükrü, and *Hikâye-i Aristonous*, translated by Reşad. In 1880, an article about Fénelon was published in the journal *Şark*, and many fragments from his writings were quoted in Turkish journals.¹⁹⁸ Ahmed Midhat's *Kıssadan Hisse*, published in 1870, consists of eighteen extracts from Aesop, eleven from Fénelon, one from Voltaire and fifteen passages written by Midhat himself.¹⁹⁹

As for the Arabic translations from Fénelon, the first translation was done by Rifâ'a al-Tahtâwî in the 1850s under the title *Mawâqî' al-Aflâk fî Waqâ'i' Tilimâk* (*Les aventures de Télémaque*), which was published in 1867 in Beirut. In 1885, Jurjî Shâhîn 'Atiyya made another translation of it under the title *Waqâ'i' Tilimak*, again published in Beirut. There were also some Arabic

¹⁹⁵ M. K. Özgül, "Yusuf Kamil Pasha'nın Tercüme-i Telemak'ı," *Erdem* 40/14 (Ocak 2002): 193-241.

¹⁹⁶ Özgül. R. Tahsin, *Mir'ât-ı Mekteb-i Tıbbiyye* (Dersaâdet: Kader Matbaası, 1328), 26.

¹⁹⁷ Ş. Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought: A Study in the Modernization of Turkish Political Ideas* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 241.

¹⁹⁸ Fénelon, "Tercüme-i Hâl: Fénelon (I)," *Şark* I/8 (1298/1881): 189-191. For some translations from Fénelon, see, for example, Fénelon, "İki Tilki," *Âfâk* 6 (1 Muharrem 1300/1882): 278-280; Fénelon, "Duc de Bourgenge'a mektub," *Âfâk* 7 (1882): 321-323.

¹⁹⁹ Berk, 69.

translations which were not published and we will deal with them in the next chapter. In 1909 another translation was published in Cairo by Şâlih Hamdî Hammâd from a book by Fénelon about the education of girls: it appeared under the title *Tarbiyat al-Banât*.

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Muhâverât-ı Hikemiyye (Philosophical Dialogues) was translated into Turkish by Münif Pasha in 1859. It consisted of two dialogues from Fénelon's *Dialogues*, viz., "*Démocrite et Héraclite* and *Le connétable de Bourbon et Bayard*;" a dialogue from Fontenelle's *Dialogue des Morts*, "*Erostrate et Démétrius de Phalère*;" six dialogues from Voltaire's *Dialogues et entretiens philosophiques* and two dialogues from an undisclosed source.²⁰⁰ Through these translations, new themes were introduced to Ottoman readers in a different way, namely, through the medium of philosophical conversations. In the second half of the nineteenth century other works had been translated from Voltaire, not to mention extracts in various journals.²⁰¹ According to Özege's catalogue the first Turkish translation of Voltaire's work in book form was published in 1869 in the Armenian alphabet under the title *Mikromega (Hikâye-i Filozofîyye)*. In 1871 Ahmed Vefik Pasha translated his *Micromégas* under the title *Hikâye-i Hikemiyye-i Mikromega*. The catalogue also mentions another translation of Voltaire's *Alzire* for which no translator or date is mentioned.

At the beginning of the 1860s, two translations appeared in the newspaper *Tasvîr-i Efkâr*. The first one was Emer de Vattel's *Le droit des gens*, translated under the title *Hukûk-ı Milel* and serialized from 1865. The second one was Buffon's *Histoire naturelle* under the title *Târîh-i Tabîi*, which began

²⁰⁰ For the names of Voltaire's dialogues in the translation, see, Mardin, 234-235. Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 68.

²⁰¹ For translations from Voltaire, see, for example, Voltaire, "Meşhur Voltaire'in makâlâtından tercüme olunan tabîat ile bir feylosofun muvâheresidir," trans. by Münif Pasha, *Ruznâme-i Cerîde-i Havâdis*, 89 (22 Şaban 1277/5 March 1861): 1-2; Voltaire, "Hikâye-i Hikemiyye-i Mikromega." *Diyojen* II/62-67 (15 Tışrîn-i evvel 1287 – 2 Tışrîn-i sâni 1287 / 1871); Voltaire, "Volter'in hâl-i ihtizârında söylediği bir kıt'anın nazme-i tercumesi," *Mecmû'a-i Ebuzziya* I/7 (15 Zilhicce 1297/1879): 212; Voltaire "Voltaire'in âsârından bir fikra" *Mecmû'a-i Ebuzziya* II/20 (1 Receb 1298/1881): 634-637; J. J. Rousseau, Voltaire, La Fontaine, Bousseut and others "Cümel-i âtiyyeye Fransızca'dan tercüme olunmuştur," *Şark* I/4 (1298/1880): 854-888; Voltaire, V. Hugo. "Edebî ve Hikemî bazı mülâhazalar," *Şark* I/6 (1298/1881): 132. Beşir Fuad was the first to give a detailed account of Voltaire's life in his *Volter* published in 1886 in Istanbul.

to be serialized in 1865.²⁰² It was published in book form as well. In 1881 Ebuzziya Tevfik published a book entitled *Buffon*, which was reprinted in 1890. Nâmık Kemâl translated Montesquieu's *Considérations sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence*, under the title *Roma'nın esbâb-ı ikbâl ve zevâli* and published it in the newspaper *Mir'at* in 1863. He also translated his *L'esprit des lois* under the title *Ruhu's-Şerâyi*, but this was not published.²⁰³ Montesquieu's *Considérations* was translated into Arabic by Hasan al-Jubaylî bin 'Alî under the title *Burhân al-Bayân wa Bayân al-Burhân fî Istikmâl wa Ikhtilâf Dawla al-Rûmân* and published in Cairo in 1876.

The other influential philosopher in late Ottoman intellectual circles was J.J. Rousseau.²⁰⁴ Edhem Pertev Pasha (1824-1872) seems to have been the first to have translated a work by Rousseau. In 1865, two articles appeared in Münif Pasha's *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* about whether suicide was permissible or not. They consisted of two letters exchanged between J.J. Rousseau and Lord Edward.²⁰⁵ In 1872, Edhem Pertev Pasha translated a verse stanza from Rousseau and published it in the journal *Cüzdan* under the title *Bekâ-yi Rûh*. In 1873, another verse stanza from Rousseau, without mentioning the name of the translator, appeared in the same journal.²⁰⁶ *Le contrat social* was translated by

²⁰² Emmer de Vattel, "Hukûk-ı Milel (le droit des gens)," *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* (4 Safer 1279-17 Muharrem 1282 / August 1, 1862- June 12, 1865); Georges-Luis Leclerc de Buffon, "Tarih-i Tabîi (Histoire naturelle générale et particulière)," trans. by Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet Efendi, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* III-IV/216-248, 250, 252-255, 258-276, 286-325 (24 Safer 1281 – 4 Rebiyülevvel 1282 / July 29, 1864 – August 27, 1865).

²⁰³ İ. Habib [Sevük], *Avrupa Edebiyatı ve Biz: garpten tercümelere*, v.I (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1940), 122.

²⁰⁴ R. Fakkar, "Comment Rousseau fut connu en Orient," *La tribune de Genève* 191 (Jeudi 16 août 1962): 1.

²⁰⁵ J. J. Rousseau, "Bakâ-yi şahsî ve nev'îye hizmet azam vazâif-i insâniyyet olduğuna dair makale," trans. by Edhem Pertev, *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* III/33 (1281/1864): 329-346; Lord Edward's reponse to J. J. Rousseau, "Bakâ-yı nevî ve şahsîye hizmet-i a'zam vazâif-i insâniyyet olduğuna dair makaledir (Milourd Edwar'ın J. J. Rousseau'ya cevabnamesi)," trans. by Edhem Pertev, *Mecmû'a-i Fünûn* IV/34 (Muharrem 1283/1866): 8-18.

²⁰⁶ There are plenty of Turkish translations from Rousseau in the journals and newspapers of the nineteenth century. For example: J. J. Rousseau & Pascal, "Bazı emsâli hikemiyye," *Muharrir* I/1 (1875/1292): 32; J. J. Rousseau, "J. J. Rousseau'nun bir mütâlâası," *Muharrir* I/4 (1292/1875): 105-108; J. J. Rousseau, "Edebâ-i hukemâdan J. J. R.'nun hâl-i ihtizârında söylediği bir kıt'anın terceme-i manzûmesi," "J. J. R.'nun bir mutâlâa-i hikemiyyesi," "Kontes de Bari'nin name-i a'mâlinde J. J. Rousseau'ya dair olan ifâdâtı" *Mecmû'a-i Ebuzziya* I/9 (15 Muharrem 1298/18 December 1880): 282-83, III/28 (15 Safer 1300/26 December 1882): 869-876. Between

Nâmık Kemâl (1840-1888) under the title *Şerâit-i İctimâiyye*; however, it was not published.²⁰⁷ Ahmed Midhat (1844-1912) started to translate *Le contrat social* in the newspaper *İttihâd* but he could not complete it.²⁰⁸ *Le contrat* only be translated into Turkish in the twentieth century. Nâmık Kemâl also translated Volney's *Les ruines de Palmyre* but this was not published either. Volney's work is reported to be translated four more times by Suphi Paşazâde Âyetullah Bey, Ziyâ Pasha, Recâizâde Ekrem Bey, and Seyfi Râşid Bey.²⁰⁹ While he was in Switzerland, Ziya Pasha (1825-1880) translated Rousseau's *Émile* and *Les confessions* (*Defter-i Âmâl*), yet, these two translations were not published except the foreword to *Émile*. This foreword was published by Ebuzziya Tevfik in 1891 in the *Numûne-i Edebiyât-ı Osmâniye*. In 1880s Münif Pasha translated a couple of letters from *La Nouvelle Héloïse*. Mustafa Reşid included the first letter in his anthology, *Müntehabât-ı Cedîde*, published in 1884. Rousseau's answer given to the question posed by The Academy of Dijon: "Si le rétablissement des sciences et des arts a contribué à épurer les mœurs? (1750)" was translated by Said Kemâl Paşazâde under the title *Fezâil-i Ahlâkiyye ve Kemâlât-ı İlmiyye* in 1881.²¹⁰

İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871) was very impressed by the ideas of Fontenelle, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Condorcet and Ernest Renan.²¹¹ In 1859, he translated some verses from Lamartine, La Fontaine, Gilbert and Racine under the title *Tercüme-i Manzûme* (Translation of some verses), with its French title on the facing page, *Extraits de poésies et de prose, traduits en vers du français en turc, Constantinople, Imprimerie de la Presse d'orient, 1859*. It was originally printed lithographically and was republished in 1860, 1870, 1885 and 1893. The translation consisted of some selected lines from Racine's *Esther*, *Athalie*, *Andromaque* and *A laudes*, Lamartine's *Méditations-Souvenirs* and *Recueils poétiques*, La Fontaine's *Le loup et l'agneau*, Gilbert's *Sur sa mort*, and two paragraphs from Fénelon's *Télémaque* in verse. Şinasi also translated Racine's tragedies as *Trajedyâ Mazûmesi*. Another translation was made from works by Racine by Mehmed Nüzhet under the title *Fedri* in 1878 in Istanbul. In 1875 Rifat translated another work of La Fontaine with the name

1882 and 1886, letters from his *Nouvelle Héloïse* were translated by Âlî Bey Efendi and serialised intermittently in *Mecmû'a-i Ebuzziya*.

²⁰⁷ Habib, v.II, 132.

²⁰⁸ Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 105, n. 12.

²⁰⁹ Ülken, *İslâm Medeniyetinde Tercüme ve Tesirler*, 362.

²¹⁰ Habib, v.II, 132-133.

²¹¹ Ülken, *Türkiye'de Çağdaş Düşünce Tarihi*, 67.

Gürk-i Kaza, while Recâizâde Ekrem Bey likewise translated some fables by La Fontaine.²¹² Lamartine's *Geneviève* and *Raphaël* were translated into Turkish in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.²¹³ Edhem Pertev Pasha's *Tıfl-ı Nâim*, the translation of Victor Hugo's *Les feuilles d'automne*, is said to be the second verse translation in Turkish.²¹⁴ In 1879, Şemseddin Sâmî translated Victor Hugo's *Les misérables* under the title *Sefiller*, but he could not complete it. It was completed by Hasan Bedreddin and published in 1908. After 1874 more translations from the work of Hugo were published in Istanbul, Arabic translations seem to have been published in Cairo in the early twentieth century.

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After historical, philosophical and verse translations there came translations of novels, stories and stage plays. The literary translations mostly covered second-rate romantic fiction and later thrillers, and spy, detective and mystery stories. These translations introduced Ottoman readers to Western literary techniques, models and genres, and had an ever growing influence on both the Arabic and Turkish languages, culture and literature.²¹⁵ With the growth of non-governmental journalism during the second half of the nineteenth century, short stories and novels were serialized in daily, weekly, and monthly journals and newspapers, and thereby popularized not only in Istanbul and Cairo, but also in the other great centers of the Empire.²¹⁶ It is difficult to give a complete list of dramas, novels and romances translated into Arabic and Turkish during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for many of them are lost, and while some of the journals or newspapers in which

²¹² Berk, 62-64. Ülken, *İslâm Medeniyetinde Tercüme ve Tesirler*, 362.

²¹³ A translation from Lamartine appeared in *Âfâk* (1882/1 Muharrem 1300) under the title "Mevt."

²¹⁴ Berk, 64.

²¹⁵ Moosa, *The Origins*, xi. For the development of novel in Egypt, see, M. Moosa, "The translation of western fiction into Arabic," *Islamic Quarterly* XIV/4 (1970): 202-236; H. Pérès, "Les premières manifestations de la renaissance littéraire arabe en Orient au XIXe siècle," "Le roman, le conte et la nouvelle dans la littérature arabe moderne," *AIEO* 1 (1934-35):233- 256, 3 (1937): 266-337; M. Peled, "Creative Translation: Towards the Study of Arabic Translations of Western Literature Since the 19th Century," *JAL* X (1979):128-150; A. T. Badr, *Tatawwur al-Riwâya al-'Arabiyya al-Hadîtha fî Mişr (1870-1938)*, 5th ed., (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, 1992); Cachia, 29-42; J. Brugman, *An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1984): 215-218; H. A. R. Gibb, "Studies in contemporary Arabic literature I-IV," *BSOAS* 4 (1926-1928): 745-760, 5 (1928-1930): 311-322, 445-466, 7 (1933-1935): 1-22.

²¹⁶ Cachia, 34; Moosa, *The Origins*, 97.

many were serialized are no longer available, others still have to be scanned. Furthermore, translators sometimes did not mention the author's name or the title of the original book.²¹⁷

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Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* was translated into Arabic by an anonymous translator in Malta in 1835.²¹⁸ Whether from this version or not, in 1863, the chronicler Ahmed Lutfi Efendi translated *Robinson Crusoe* into Turkish under the title *Hikâye-i Robenson* from an Arabic intermediary.²¹⁹ Şemseddin Sâmî translated it into Turkish from the French in an abridged form in 1884. According to Özege's catalogue, there were other Turkish translations by Mehmed Ali, by Halil Hamid in 1916, and by Şükrü Kaya in 1923.

Alexandre Dumas Père's *Le comte de Monte-Cristo* was translated into Turkish by Teodor Kasab in 1864, and afterwards serialized in the periodical *Diyojen*. Dumas Père was among the most translated and read authors. It achieved such a success among Ottoman readers that Ahmed Midhat wrote a *nazîre* to *Monte-Cristo* under the title *Hasan Mellâh* in 1875. After 1871 translations from works by Dumas Père appeared one after another.²²⁰ *Le comte de Monte-Cristo* was also translated into Arabic by Salim Sa'ib and serialized in the periodical *al-Sharîka al-Shahriyya* (Monthly Enterprise). Bishâra Shadîd translated the same work in Cairo in 1871. Dumas Père's *Les deux Dianes* was translated and published serially in *al-Ahram* in 1881. Up until the 1910s, some twenty-five novels by Alexandre Dumas Père were translated into Arabic.²²¹

In 1870 Emin Sıddık translated Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* into Turkish and serialized it in the newspaper *Mümeyyiz*. It was not completed but was later published in book form. Another translation was done in 1893 by Osman Senâi [Erdemgil] under the title *Pol ve Virjini*. Muḥammad 'Uthmân Jalâl al-Miṣrî made an Arabic translation from a work of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre under the title *Al-Amânî wa al-Minna fî Hadîth Qabûl wa Ward Janna* in 1871 in Cairo. Swift's *Gulliver's Travels* was translated into Turkish by Mahmud Nedim Efendi in 1872 and published in Istanbul.²²² Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem translated Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigionî* from its French

²¹⁷ Moosa, *The Origins*, 32, 93-94.

²¹⁸ Moosa, *The Origins*, 96-97.

²¹⁹ It was republished in 1866, 1869, 1870, 1871, 1874 and 1877.

²²⁰ Like, *Polin* (1871), *Şerobino ve Selestini* (1873), *Mohikan dö Pari* (1875), *Pol Jön* (1878), and *Kadınlar Muharebesi (La Guerre des femmes)* (1880). Habib, v.II, 238, 287.

²²¹ Moosa, *The Origins*, 103.

²²² Habib, v.II, 140, 149.

translation *Mes prisons* and first serialized it in the *Terakkî* newspaper in 1869 under the title *Mahbeslerim*; afterwards it was published as a book in 1874.²²³ Recâizâde also translated Chateaubriand's *Atala* which was first serialized in *Hakâyiku'l-Vekâyi* in 1869.²²⁴ It was published as a book in 1871 and reprinted in the next year. Chateaubriand's *Les aventures du dernier Abencérage* was translated in 1880 by A. Tahir under the title *İbn Serac-ı Âhir (Endülü's'e dair)*.²²⁵

Among the most translated authors in the Ottoman world were Paul de Kock and Jules Verne. From the 1870s, more than twenty books of Paul de Kock were translated into Turkish.²²⁶ Besides ethical lessons and wisdom, Jules Verne's novels provided scientific and geographical information to the younger generation. Probably for this reason, these translations became very popular, so much so that some translators, like Ahmed İhsan, devoted their life to them. Jules Verne's books continued to be translated until the 1930s.²²⁷ One of the earliest translations was published in 1875 under the title *Seksen Günde Devr-i Âlem*. It was reprinted in 1888 and 1895. The Arabic translations of Jules Verne's works appeared between 1875 and 1894.²²⁸

Xavier de Montépin's *Les mystères de l'Inde* was translated into Turkish by Süleyman Vehbi and Manuk Gümüşciyan in 1874 under the title *Esrâr-ı Hind*. Up until the 1910s about thirty works were translated from the writings of Montépin. In 1880, Mahmud Şevket translated Abbé Prevaut's *Manon Lescaut*. Later translators of this work included Nuri Şeyda, İ. Panayotidis and Hasan Bedreddin, according to the entries in Özege catalogue. As of 1879 Ahmed Midhat had translated ten books by Alexandre Dumas Fils. More translations of his work appeared from 1880 onwards.²²⁹ Lesage's *Gil Blas* was translated by İstépan under the title *Sergüzeşt-i Jil Blas* in 1880. After the 1880s a great number of other books were translated into Arabic and Turkish. Among the writers who were mostly translated were: Eugène Sue,

²²³ Habib, v.II, 284.

²²⁴ Berk, 66.

²²⁵ Habib, v.II, 148.

²²⁶ For example, *Evlenmek İster Bir Adam* (1873), *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı* (1877), *Güstav* (1877), *Madam Blakizkof Yahut Fitne-i Cihan* (1878), and *Loranten Yahut Seadet Yüziünden Felaket* (1881).

²²⁷ Habib, v.II, 243-247.

²²⁸ Moosa, *The Origins*, 103.

²²⁹ Among them were: *Lâ Dam O Kamelya* (1879), *Antonin, Bir Kadının Hikâyesi* and *İncili Hanım*, all published in 1880.

George Ohnet, Hector Malot, Emile Barbieux, Emile Richbourg, Pierre Zaccone, Jules Mary, Michel Zévaco, René LeSage, Ann Ward Radcliffe, Emile Zola, Arthur Conan Doyle, Ponson du Terrail, Paul Segonzac, Maurice Leblanc, Mary Jules, Michel Morphy, and Charles Mérouvel.²³⁰ There were also translations from the German, Italian, Russian and English either directly or through French versions.²³¹

As in the case of the novel, drama entered the Ottoman world as a new genre through contacts with Europeans and translations. Carlo Goldoni's pieces were among the first to appear, but it was Molière's plays that were most often translated. Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823-1891) translated sixteen plays into Turkish, the majority of which were adaptations. His translations were first printed in Bursa where he was provincial governor between 1878 and 1882, and later by the *Matbaa-i Âmire* in Istanbul. His success may have been due to the fact that the French scenes in these plays were changed into Islamic-Turkish ones. We should also add the translations of Teodor Kasab and Âli Mirza Habib, Güllü Agob, Mehmed Hilmi and Ziya Pasha from the works of Molière.²³² In Egypt on the other hand, the theater was introduced during the reign of Khedive Ismâ'îl. In 1868, he founded the *Masrah al-Komedi* (Théâtre de la Comédie), and in 1869 built a Western-style opera house, *Dâr al-Opera* (Théâtre Khédivial de l'opéra) where Verdi's *Rigoletto* and *Aïda* were enacted. Although the plays were in foreign languages at first, later on mostly French but also English works were translated into Arabic or Turkish. Muḥammad 'Uthmân Jalâl (1829-1898), who was a pupil of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî in the School of Languages, translated many plays into colloquial Egyptian Arabic, including Molière's *Le Tartuffe*, *Les femmes savantes*, *L'école des maris*, *L'école des femmes*, and *Les fâcheux*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*, La Fontaine's fables under the title *al-'Uyûn al-Yawâqiz fî al-Amthâl wa al-Mawâ'iz*, and Racine's tragedies, namely *Esther*, *Iphigénie*, *Alexandre Le Grand*.²³³ Both Ahmed Vefik Pasha's and 'Uthmân Jalâl's translations were mostly adaptations. Their translations were meant to be both instructive and

²³⁰ Moosa, *The Origins*, 103, 105.

²³¹ For Arabic translations from English, See, Muḥammad Abdul-Hai, "A bibliography of Arabic translations of English and American poetry (1830-1970)" *JAL* VII (1976): 120-150; al-Zayyât.

²³² Habib, v.II, 44-50. Some of the Turkish adaptations from Molière were *Zoraki Tabib* (1869), *Zor Nikâhu* (1869), *Pinti Hamid* (1873), *İşkilli Memo* (1874), *Yirmi Çocuklu Bir Adam yahut Fettan Zeman İnsana Neler Yapmaz* (1879), and *Riyanun encamı* (1880).

²³³ Moosa, *The Origins*, x, 11; 'Abd al-Raziq.

entertaining. They did not only provide their audience with understandable and appealing language, but also Turkicized or Egyptianized the names, scenes, and sometimes even the themes, while advertising Western ideas.²³⁴

In the 1870s, plays by Victor Hugo, Dumas Fils and Chateaubriand were translated into Turkish. Hasan Bedreddin and Mehmed Rauf even translated a play entitled *Hüda ve Aşk*, based on a work by Schiller in 1865. It was translated from the French version entitled *Intrigue et amour*.²³⁵ Shakespeare's *Othello* was translated into Turkish in 1876 by Hasan Bedreddin for the first time from a French version.²³⁶ Later on, Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, *Henry V*, *The Tempest*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Othello* were translated both into Arabic and Turkish. Thus, the most favored dramatists translated into Turkish and Arabic were Molière, Racine, Corneille, and Shakespeare besides Victor Hugo and Voltaire.²³⁷ Some fables from Aesop were among the few classics translated in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1884 Ahmed Midhat translated Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* under the title *Hüsrevnâme* from Dacier's French version. He writes in his foreword to the translation that "regarding the wisdom and lesson it offers, this work is superior to Fénelon's *Télémaque*." This statement shows how the *Télémaque* was celebrated among Ottoman readers.²³⁸

F. Translators of the Late Ottoman Period

If we exclude earlier official translations and some individual ones, from the late eighteenth century onwards the translation movement went hand in hand with the development of new educational systems both in the capital of the Empire and its provinces. Besides being an integral part of the new educational system, the movement was encouraged and sponsored by the state

²³⁴ Moosa, *The Origins*, 12; Cachia, 33-34. About Ahmed Vefik Pasha's Molière translations, see, for example, M. G. Uluğtekin, *Ahmet Vefik Paşa'nın Çevirilerinde Osmanlılaşan Molière*, (M.A. thesis, Bilkent University, 2004); L. Ay, "Molière en Turquie et son introducteur, Ahmet Vefik Pacha," *Varia Turcica* III (1986): 283-303. About M. 'Uthmân Jalâl and his translations, see, C. Bardenstein, *Translation and Transformation in Modern Arabic Literature: The Indigenous Assertions of Muḥammad 'Uthmân Jalâl*, *Studies in Arabic Language and Literature*, v.5 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 2005).

²³⁵ Habib, v.II, 162.

²³⁶ Habib, v.II, 599-601; Habib, v.I, 527.

²³⁷ Moosa, *The Origins*, 104; 'Abd al-Raziq.

²³⁸ Habib, v.I, 69-70.

and local governors; the translators involved were consequently employed by the administration. By the mid nineteenth century, the number of translators had risen to such a level that we are no longer capable of identifying them as individuals or even say much about them as part of a larger group. More research on this topic remains to be done in the future.

For translators active in Istanbul, it is possible to classify them under three categories. The first one included those translators who, besides their traditional education, learned a European language and became acquainted with European culture either in Istanbul or during their stay as officials in European capitals. To this group belonged Esad Efendi, İbrâhîm Müteferrika, İsmâil Efendi, Tamanlı Hüseyin Rıfkı Efendi and Şanizâde Atâullah Efendi. They translated books on various modern subjects from European languages into Turkish to be used in the newly established state schools. The second group included graduates of the Translation Office, while the third group consisted of students sent to Europe. Though not all of them eventually came to work as translators, many of them contributed to the translation activity either by their private translations or because they entered the state service. All these groups included Muslim, Greek, and Armenian subjects of the Empire.

In Egypt we can classify translators into four groups. The first group included the Syrian Christians and Coptic natives of Egypt who were employed in the service of the French army as translators. Some of these translators later on entered the service of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha. Among these early translators were Father Anṭûn Rafâ‘îl Zâkhûr, Yûḥannâ ‘Anḥûrî, Jûrj Faydâl, Ūghustîn Sakâkînî, Ya‘qûb, and Yûsuf Fir‘awn.²³⁹ These early Syrian translators, employed by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha, translated foreign textbooks, mostly restricted to military and scientific works, into Arabic and served as classroom interpreters for foreign teachers.²⁴⁰ By the 1870s, Syrian immigrants in Egypt were involved in a wide range of cultural activities such as publishing newspapers, translating European prose fiction and drama into Arabic and transmitting European scientific thought through their periodicals.²⁴¹ The second group was made up of orientalist who worked in the newly established schools of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha, such as Dr. Clot Bey, Dr. Perron, Koeing Bey, Georges Vidal, Giovanni Finati, Macherreau, and Le Sage Haycer (Ḥaysar

²³⁹ Al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fi ‘Aşr Muḥammad ‘Alî*, 92.

²⁴⁰ Moosa, *The Origins*, 95-96.

²⁴¹ Moosa, *The Origins*, 17-18.

al-Hakîm).²⁴² The third group comprised students sent to Europe in the early nineteenth century. They were instructed to translate French textbooks into Arabic to be used in the Pasha's new secondary and specialized schools.²⁴³ They were also expected to replace European instructors whose cost had become a financial burden to the treasury. The last but the most important group of translators was constituted of the graduates of the School of Languages established in 1835. They were faced with almost insurmountable linguistic problems and had to invent Arabic or Turkish equivalents for modern European terms and concepts; nevertheless, they produced hundreds of translations and became the pioneers of the Arabic linguistic revival. We should also add individual translators, amateur or professional, whose number increased during the second half of the nineteenth century with the founding of educational institutions, learned societies, and the publication of scientific, political, and literary journals.²⁴⁴

In this first chapter we have attempted to demonstrate that translation activity was an integral and vital part of the late Ottoman culture and thought. Beginning from the early days of its existence, the Ottoman Empire employed translators in its administrative and commercial negotiations and correspondence. With the expansion of its borders and its embracing of diverse ethnicities and languages in its territories, the need for translators increased both in interior and foreign affairs. As we tried to show, the employment of translators from the fourteenth century onwards continued to increase up to the last period of the Empire. Although there were some scientific translations from European languages up to the eighteenth century, their number was limited in comparison to the number of translations produced by the eighteenth century onward.

From the eighteenth century onwards a cultural translation began under state patronage. From this time on, translation was an indispensable component of reform policies. The center of this movement was naturally the metropolis of the Empire, namely Istanbul. The early translations done in Istanbul in the fields of military, medicine, geography, and etc., were after a while reprinted in Cairo. Most of these early translations were used as textbooks in newly

²⁴² Tâjir, 46-50; al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fî 'Aşr Muḥammad 'Alî*, 52.

²⁴³ Tâjir, 25-27.

²⁴⁴ For the tentative list of translators see the appendices.

established schools in both centers. The Cairo-based translation activity, which started by imitating the activities initiated earlier in the metropolis, later on became a rival to Istanbul and a crucial factor in the modernization of Egypt.

68 Istanbul, as the center of the caliphate was still important for Egypt; however, ideas like “Egypt,” “being Egyptian” and “*waṭan*” were developed under the influence of translations and fertilized in this period, and over the course of time, helped to accelerate the efforts for the independence of Egypt from the Empire. The reason that so much importance and effort was devoted to translation activity in the beginning, in both centers, was that it was considered as one of the channels through which the technical achievements of Europe could be transmitted. However, in time it was realized that those technical achievements were the result of an intellectual tradition, which also had produced philosophical and literary works, and that these also needed to be translated. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, philosophical and particularly literary translations started to appear one after another.

The Translation Office in Istanbul was the leading institute of the period and the officials trained there became prominent figures in the translation movement. In Cairo, the School of Languages, established under the supervision of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, played the same role in the history of Egypt. The graduates of the School of Languages and the officials of the Translation Office were the forerunners of modern thought in Egypt and Turkey. Later on some formal and private institutions became involved in translation as well, but they were not as successful as the aforementioned institutions. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, particularly as a result of support from the printing presses, journalists and some learned societies, translation activity was enhanced in various fields. This process continued with an increase both in the number and quality of translated works up to the twentieth century and translation became an important component of late Ottoman or modern Islamic thought. The translation of texts spreading the ideas of the French enlightenment was of fundamental importance for understanding the rise of the modern secular nations. By the late nineteenth century, translations from French works were followed by translations from English works, especially in Cairo, and from German works in Istanbul.

Most of the translators of the nineteenth century were bureaucrats who served in various positions of the state. They were a generation of a new type of intellectuals who received their education in Europe or in newly established schools of the Empire. They had knowledge of one or more European

languages and modern sciences. Their positions, in fact, in the service of state helped them to put the new ideas they acquired through their education or translations into practice; and thus, they took an active part in the implementation of reforms. Even in times when they could not achieve this, they started to discuss new political ideas and paved the way for modern bureaucracy. Some of these translators were also engaged in printing and press, through which they endeavored to spread new ideas.

In light of our survey, it is possible to say that the translation movement had a deep influence on various aspects of Ottoman culture. Translations helped to undermine the roots of traditional culture, and even provided arguments for questioning the authority of *'ulamâ* and traditional values. Moreover, translations contributed to a change in Muslim intellectuals' attitude towards their own intellectual tradition and pushed them into a new preoccupation with the recent problems of the West, which forced them to think of and speak about new concepts. While doing this, they took an important role in the transformation of language, thought and hence society.

Nevertheless, the first and foremost difficulty of the translators was how to introduce/express/translate new genres, subjects, and concepts into another culture. In order to see these operations and understand how modern Islamic thought was influenced by them, many translations have to be carefully scrutinized. In the next chapter, to illustrate these operations, we will scrutinize the Arabic and Turkish translations of Fénelon's *Télémaque*. The *Télémaque* is chosen because of its coverage of new ideas regarding the most debated subjects of the period, because of the fact of its being one of the earliest texts translated from French into Arabic and Turkish in the same period, and because of its remarkable reception among the Ottomans.

Chapter II: The case of *Télémaque*

In this chapter, after giving a brief account of Fénelon's life, we will try to present the history of translations of *Les aventures de Télémaque* in the Ottoman Empire. We will then examine the Arabic and Turkish translations of Fénelon's *Télémaque*, by Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî and Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha, respectively. How did the translators approach their task? How were they able to transform the original text into Arabic and Turkish versions? By drawing attention to some literary features of these translations we will show how the translators made the text palatable to their potential readers, and how this book was considered as a new kind of classical advice literature. Next, we will compare some key passages of the translated texts with the original in order to display the translation techniques of the translators and the way they introduced new ideas into their culture. With a work so rich in content, a selection of subjects was inevitable. The most striking points chosen for scrutiny are: fatherland and patriotism, the ruler and his subjects, the rule of law, the election of the ruler, the manner of ruling and public education. Because these were among the most debated ideas of the period and constituted the bases of emergent modern states, they are of considerable importance. The evolution of a particular set of ideas during the late Ottoman period was, no doubt, influenced by the conditions of the nineteenth century. With this in mind, while scrutinizing the translations from the standpoint of their vocabulary and the new ideas advertised through them, we have, now and then, tried to draw attention to these conditions in order to place the translations of the *Télémaque* in a wider context. In this way we have attempted to demonstrate the role of translations in the modernization and popularization of new ideas both in the metropolis and in the provinces, particularly as reflected in the most famous example of this phenomenon, the *Télémaque* of Fénelon.

A. Fénelon and his *Télémaque*

François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, a theologian, philosopher, educational theorist, author of fables, dialogues and letters, a literary scholar and a spiritual director, was born on August 6, 1651 at the Château de Fénelon in Périgord.²⁴⁵ At the age of twelve he was sent to the Université de Cahors, and in 1666 to the Collège du Plessis at Paris. Studying Greek and Latin literature, he went on to concentrate on theology and philosophy. In 1668, following his uncle's advice, he entered the Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice and began his studies under the direction of M. Tronson. In this school, Fénelon was grounded in the practice of piety, priestly virtue and Catholic doctrine. In about 1675, he was ordained priest and joined the community of Saint-Sulpice where he gave himself up to the work of the priesthood. In 1678, he was named by François de Harlay, the Archbishop of Paris, to the position of Superior of the Congrégation des Nouvelles Catholiques, which was a community founded in 1634 for the instruction of Protestant women converted to Catholicism.²⁴⁶ After the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (October, 1685), Fénelon was chosen to head a mission to Poitou and Saintonge to bring about the conversion of the Protestants of those provinces.²⁴⁷ After his return, he went to live with his uncle in the Abbey of Saint-Germain-des-Prés. There he was introduced to Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, the Bishop of Meaux. Fénelon often visited him at his country-house, and assisted at his spiritual conferences and his lectures on the Scriptures at Versailles.²⁴⁸ During the 1680s Fénelon was presented to, among others, Madame de Maintenon, wife of Louis XIV, the Duc de Beauvillier and the Duc de Chevreuse, and formed many friendships. It was for the Duchesse de Beauvillier that Fénelon composed his *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (*Treatise on the Education of Girls*), a forerunner of Rousseau's *Émile*.²⁴⁹

In 1689, the Duc de Beauvillier, who was appointed governor to the Duc de Bourgogne, Louis XIV's grandson, proposed Fénelon to the king for the

²⁴⁵ A. Tilley, "Fénelon," in *The Decline of the Age of Louis XIV, or French Literature 1687-1715* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1929): 244-296; A. J. Krailsheimer, "Fénelon," in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by P. Edwards, v.3 (New York: Macmillan, 1972): 186-187; P. Riley, "Fénelon," in *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. by E. Craig, v.3 (London & New York: Routledge, 1998): 629-630.

²⁴⁶ Tilley.

²⁴⁷ Ibid; J. H. Davis, *Fénelon* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979), 18.

²⁴⁸ Tilley.

²⁴⁹ Davis, 19.

post of tutor. Fénelon began to write books that would convey to his pupil basic lessons in conduct and morality. Among his efforts in this line were his *Fables*, *Dialogues des morts* (*Dialogues of the Dead*) and the most famous, *Les Aventures de Télémaque*.²⁵⁰ In 1693, he was elected to the French Academy; and in 1694, Louis XIV gave him the Abbey of Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme. Following these honors, the next year he was named Archbishop of Cambrai.²⁵¹ However, his relationship with Madame Guyon, disciple and advocate of Quietism, changed the course of his life. He was attracted by her piety, her spirituality, and by her books.²⁵² When his *Explication des maximes des saints sur la vie intérieure* (*Explanation of the Maxims of the Saints on the Interior Life*) was published, a conflict broke out between Bossuet and Fénelon. After a long and detailed examination by the consulters and cardinals of the Holy Office, *Les maximes des saints* was finally condemned. In 1697, Louis XIV ordered Fénelon to go into exile at Cambrai, which lasted until his death in 1715.²⁵³ His political ideas are to be found in *Examen de conscience sur les devoirs de la royauté* (*Examination of Conscience on the Duties of Royalty*), *Discours pour le sacre de l'Electeur de Cologne* (*Discourse for the Consecration of the Elector of Cologne*), nine memoirs on the war of the Spanish Succession, and *Les aventures de Télémaque*.²⁵⁴

Les aventures de Télémaque was the most read work in eighteenth century France and it was immediately translated into other European

²⁵⁰ Davis, 21.

²⁵¹ Davis, 20-21.

²⁵² About Fénelon's relationship with Madame Guyon, see, M. de la Bedoyere, *The Archbishop and the Lady. The Story of Fénelon and Madame Guyon* (London: Collins, 1956).

²⁵³ Davis, 25-27. For Fénelon's life and works, see, also, P. Janet, *Fénelon* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1892); A. Levi, "Fénelon," in *Guide to French Literature. Beginnings to 1789* (Detroit: St. James Press, 1994): 277-293; J. L. Goré, *L'itinéraire de Fénelon: humanisme et spiritualité* (Grenoble: Imprimerie Allier, 1957); A. Adam, *Histoire de la littérature française au XVIIe siècle: La Fin de l'école classique (1680-1715)*, v.5 (Paris: Editions Mondiales, 1968): 132-179; A. Cherel, *Fénelon au XVIIIe siècle en France (1715-1820): Son prestige – son influence* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1917).

²⁵⁴ For Fénelon's political ideas, see, for example, Janet, 135-150; V. Kapp, *Télémaque de Fénelon. La signification d'une oeuvre littéraire à la fin du siècle classique* (Paris: Place, 1982); G. Gidel, *La Politique de Fénelon* (Geneva: Slatkine, 1971); R. Schmittlein, *L'Aspect politique du différend Bossuet-Fénelon*, (Bade: Éditions Art et Science, 1954); H. Sée, "Les idées politiques de Fénelon," *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* I (1899-1900): 545-565; Davis, 112-131; Adam, 162-169.

languages.²⁵⁵ Yet, with the development of the novel in the nineteenth century, it gradually lost its appeal to a wider readership.²⁵⁶ Presented as a continuation of the fourth book of Homer's *Odyssey*, it reminds the reader of Virgil's *Aeneid*, and Plato's *Republic*. Influenced by his classical training, the structure, descriptive details, characters, subjects, battles, storms, plays, struggles, comparisons, and the didactic feature of the novel show how much Fénelon owes to Homer and Virgil, not to mention other classical authors.²⁵⁷ *Télémaque* was probably written during the years 1695 and 1696 for the purpose of teaching the young prince, the Duc de Bourgogne, about the vanity of human affairs, the danger of power, the evils of war, the responsibility of kings and the aim of government. Thus, it is not only a novel, but, as Voltaire calls it, *un roman moral*, an educational novel, which is inseparable from politics and religion.²⁵⁸ Montesquieu called it *le livre divin de ce siècle*,²⁵⁹ which was mostly read for its philosophical, morale, political, aesthetical and pedagogical aspects. Enlightenment philosophers were influenced by its ethics and political dimensions, such as Voltaire in *Candide*, Montesquieu in *Lettres persanes*, Bernardin de Saint Pierre in *Paul et Virginie*, and Rousseau in *La Nouvelle Héloïse*.²⁶⁰ The first part of it was printed in 1699 without the author's permission and it was only in 1717 that Fénelon's great-nephew released the complete and authorized edition.²⁶¹ It is the story of the development of a prince, an inexperienced young man, into a wise ruler, traveling through the ancient Mediterranean in search of his father Ulysses. The young man is accompanied by the Goddess Minerva under the guise of Mentor, who guides him to learn by his observations of events and people, and his own experiences.

²⁵⁵ Levi.

²⁵⁶ Davis, 109; Tilley.

²⁵⁷ For the influence of ancient and classical literature on Fénelon, see, Janet, 123-126; Davis, 90-92.

²⁵⁸ Janet, 128.

²⁵⁹ Adam.

²⁶⁰ For Fénelon's impact and influence on enlightenment philosophers such as Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, and Rousseau, see, Cherel, 322-335, 392-400; Davis, 107-110.

²⁶¹ Tilley.



Figure 1: François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715)

B. *Télémaque* in the Ottoman world

As we mentioned earlier, according to Ubicini's account in his *La Turquie actuelle* (1855), *Les Aventures de Télémaque* was the most popular classic among Levantines in Istanbul in the first half of the nineteenth century, and it was translated into many languages besides Turkish and Arabic in the Ottoman Empire.²⁶² Indeed, the first printed version of a Greek translation dates from the eighteenth century, while an Armenian version by Ambroise Calfa was published in Paris in 1859.²⁶³ The Turks' acquaintance with the *Télémaque* stretches back to the eighteenth century as well, although we do not have a translation from that period. It is reported that the Ottoman Ambassador Morali es-Seyyid Ali Efendi (1757-1809) translated the *Télémaque* in order to have an idea about Europe and to improve his French.²⁶⁴ Some of the Turkish intellectuals of the nineteenth century had the original copy of the *Télémaque* in their libraries.²⁶⁵ It was used as a reading book in French classes in the *Tıbbiye* (The Medical School) besides the works of d'Holbach, Diderot, Voltaire, Cabanis etc; and it is said that a course, named *Télémaque*, was opened in the School of Medicine.²⁶⁶

The earliest Arabic translation of the *Télémaque* we have is found in a manuscript kept in the French National library.²⁶⁷ The translation was done by İlyâs bin Faraj bin Dâhir al-Ḥalabî in Constantinople in 1812. It is also stated at the end of the manuscript that the book was reproduced on June 14, 1815. Presumably, the first date indicates the completion of the translation in draft, while the second refers to the fair copy. The manuscript consists of 275 folios written in *naskh*. The translation, consisting of twenty-four chapters, is preceded by a preface and an introduction (*muqaddima*). We read in the preface that the translator was twenty-one years old when he completed the work. Living in Constantinople, he was originally from Aleppo and, probably, a Christian. He introduces Fénelon and his *Télémaque* with pleasure and writes about Greek mythology and its symbolic language. He says that he read it in

²⁶² Ubicini, 457.

²⁶³ J. Strauss, "Who read what in the Ottoman Empire (19th-20th centuries)," *AMEL* 6/1 (2003): 39-76.

²⁶⁴ Refik [Altınay], 63-64. Özgül, n.6.

²⁶⁵ Özgül.

²⁶⁶ Tahsin, 26; Özgül; N. Berkes, *The Development of Secularism in Turkey* (London: Hurst & Company, 1998), 199.

²⁶⁷ French National Library, Arabe-6243.

French and liked its literary, philosophical and moral content. Knowing its reputation and having seen translations in many other languages such as Greek, Italian, Armenian, and Bulgarian, he writes that he wanted to translate it into Arabic, despite admitting a poor command of its grammar. The book, he says, is full of wise advice for everybody from ordinary men, children, and administrators to rulers.²⁶⁸



Figure 2: The first folio of İlyâs bin Faraj’s translation (1812) (MS, National Library of France, Arabe-6243)

²⁶⁸ Arabe-6243, f2a-7a. See, also, M. Z. ‘Inânî, “Rifâ‘a al-Tahtâwî wa al-Adab: Tarjama Tilmâk,” *al-Kâtib* 16/189 (December, 1976): 8-25.

Another early Arabic translation is mentioned by P. Sadgrove in his review of Moosa's *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*. Sadgrove cites a partial translation of the *Télémaque* into Arabic by Bâsîlî Fakr, a Syrian merchant and French consul for the port of Egypt, in 1815. We were not able to find the translation, which was probably not published.²⁶⁹

The first Turkish translation of the *Télémaque* was done by Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha in 1859 (1275). This translation was first circulated in manuscript form and was published three years later in 1862 in book form. The second translation of the *Télémaque* into Turkish was done by Ahmet Vefik Pasha in 1879 and printed in Bursa.²⁷⁰ An incomplete translation, the translator of which is unknown, was serialized in *Mahfel*.²⁷¹ It is said that Mustafa Âsım Bey and Abdülhamid Ziyâ Pasha also possessed unpublished translations of the *Télémaque*, which we could not find.²⁷² In 1946, Ziya İshan translated it into modern Turkish, under the title *Telemakhos'un Başından Geçenler*.²⁷³ Some other translations are also mentioned in Özege's catalogue but they have not been located yet.²⁷⁴

Al-Tahtâwî translated the *Télémaque* into Arabic when he was in the Sudan in 1850-1854; however, it was only published after fifteen years later in Beirut in 1867 under the title *Mawâqî' al-Aflâk fî Waqâ'i' Tilîmâk*. Yûsuf 'Izz al-Din writes that the newspaper *al-Zawrâ'*, published in Baghdad, announced in its second year (issue 62 of 1871 (1287)) that the *Télémaque* had been translated into Turkish and that an Arabic translation had also been published on the printing press of the province of Baghdad (*Maṭba'at al-Wilâya*) under

²⁶⁹ P. Sadgrove, review of *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, by M. Moosa, *IJMES* 19 (February, 1987): 110-111.

²⁷⁰ Fénelon, *Telemak Tercümesi*, trans. by Ahmed Vefik Paşa, (Bursa: Matbaa-i Hüdavendigâr, 1879 (1297). While the second edition was published in Bursa in 1881 (1298), the third one was published in the printing press of Civelekyan in Istanbul in 1885 (1302).

²⁷¹ "Yeni Télémaque tercemesi ve Fénelon," *Mahfel Mecmuası* 2/19-21 (1921/1340): 123-124, 147-148, 163-164.

²⁷² İ. M. K. İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, 3rd ed., v.I, IX-XII (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1988): 65, 2005; Özgül.

²⁷³ Z. İshan, *Telemakhos'un Başından Geçenler* (Istanbul: MEB, 1946). (2nd ed.: Istanbul, 1967).

²⁷⁴ *Telemak Küpîton Heykelinde*, trans. by Nalyan, (Istanbul, 1871/1288); *Sergüzeşt-i Telemak*, trans. by P. İ. Misailidis (1st vol.) and T. İ. Maksûrî/Margaritû (2nd vol.) (Istanbul: Der Aliye and Maksirus/Margaritis, 1887).

the title *Hişsa Dûna Qişsa*.²⁷⁵ Moosa mentions an unpublished translation of the *Télémaque* into Arabic by Ḥabîb al-Yazîjî (d.1870) and a verse adaptation by Wâdi al-Khûrî under the title *Riwâyat Tilimâk* published in Beirut in 1912.²⁷⁶ The printing press of the newspaper *al-Jawâ'ib* in Istanbul also offered its readers an Arabic translation, the translator of which is not mentioned.²⁷⁷ In 1885, it was translated by Jûrjî Shâhîn 'Atiyya under the title *Waqâ'i' Tilimâk* in Beirut. A verse adaptation of the *Télémaque* was done by Sa'd Allâh al-Bustânî under the title *Riwâyat Tilimâk* and published first in Beirut in 1870 and then in Cairo in 1897. Finally, a modern Arabic translation of the *Télémaque* was done by 'Âdil Zu'aytir in 1957 in Cairo.

The *Télémaque* was not only translated but also reworked for performances in the theatre. It seems from the advertisements of the Gedikpaşa Theatre in Istanbul that the *Télémaque* was among the plays performed at the theatre in 1869. It was also performed as an opera, the first occasion being in 1871, under the title *Télémaque Küpîton Heykelinde*.²⁷⁸ In the Arab world, it was first performed in Beirut, in Buṭrûs al-Bustânî's *Madrasat al-Waṭaniyya* established in 1863. Among the dramas performed at the School in 1869 was an adaptation of the *Télémaque*.²⁷⁹ In Egypt, the play, probably the adaptation of Sa'd Allâh al-Bustânî, was first performed by the troupe of Sulaymân al-Qardâhî on August 5, 1880 in Alexandria. A performance was also given in Cairo in 1886, and then both in Cairo and Alexandria in 1888. The troupes of Iskandar Farâh and Salâma Ḥijâzî also performed the play many times in Cairo, from 1891 onwards. These performances were advertised in the newspaper *al-Ahrâm*.²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ Y. 'Izz al-Dîn, "Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭawî wa al-Ta'rîb," *Majallat Majma' al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya bi'l-Qâhira* 90/2 (November, 2000): 229-236. About the newspaper *al-Zawra'*, appeared in June 1869 in Baghdad, see, A. Ayalon, *The Press in the Arab Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University, 1995), 25.

²⁷⁶ Moosa, *The Origins*, 6, 392, n.23.

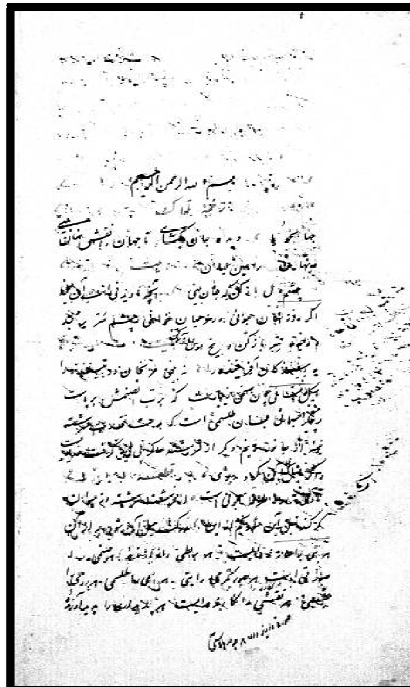
²⁷⁷ Strauss, "Who read what."

²⁷⁸ Özgül.

²⁷⁹ M. Y. Najm, *al-Masrahiyya fi al-Adab al-'Arabî al-Ḥadîth 1847-1914*, 3rd ed., (Beirut: Dâr al-Thaqâfa, 1980), 52.

²⁸⁰ Najm, 108-110, 128, 142; Aḥmad Shafîq Bâshâ, *Mudhakkirâtî fi Nişf Qarn* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Mişr, 1934), 31-32; S. 'A. Ismâ'îl, *Târîkh al-Masrah fi Mişr fi al-Qarn al-Tâsi' 'Ashar* (Cairo: Maktabat Zahrâ al-Sharq, 1997), 139-156; P. C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteen Century (1799-1882)* (Reading, Berkshire: Ithaca Press, 1996), 143-145.

Interestingly, the Persian newspaper *Akhtar*, published in Istanbul, also offered its readers a Persian translation of the novel in serial form in 1879-1880.²⁸¹ It had already been translated into Persian, however, at a much earlier date. There is an incomplete Persian translation of the *Télémaque* in the National Library of Iran in manuscript form which goes back, presumably, to the eighteenth century. During the late nineteenth century and subsequently, various *Télémaque* translations were done in Iran, a fact that, although beyond the scope of our research, is worth investigating. The similarities of translation activity and even the works chosen to be translated in the Ottoman Empire and Iran are clearly of interest.²⁸² All these translations, Arabic, Persian and Turkish, show how much the book was appreciated in the Middle East.



**Figure 3: The first folio of the earliest translation of the *Télémaque* into Persian (uncompleted)
(MS, National Library of Iran, f379)**

²⁸¹ Strauss, "Who read what."

²⁸² See, J. Meisami, "Iran," in *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East (1850-1970)*, ed. by R. Ostle, (London: Routledge, 1991): 45-62.



Figure 4: The first folio of another Persian translation of the *Télémaque*
(uncompleted)
(14th century h.)
(MS, National Library of Iran, f1104)

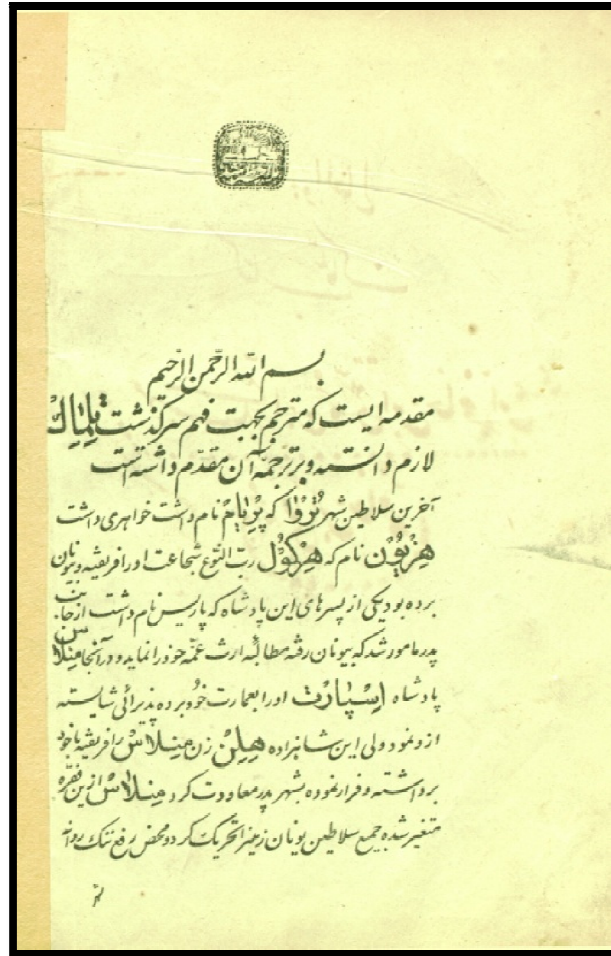


Figure 5: The first folio of the Persian translation of the *Télémaque* by 'Alîkhân Nâzîm al-'Ulûm (Tehran, 1884/1304) (Lithograph, National Library of Iran, 6-18351)

C. Analysis of the first translations of the *Télémaque* in Arabic and Turkish

1. Translators

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a. Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî

Rifâ'a Badawî Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî was born in Ṭaḥṭâ, Upper Egypt, on October 15, 1801, into a noble and wealthy family. He started his early education under the supervision of his father by learning the Qur'ân by heart and then studying religious texts with the help of his uncles. In 1817, he arrived in Cairo and enrolled at al-Azhar, where he studied religious sciences and Arabic language and benefited from the teachings of some eminent scholars. After his graduation in 1823, he started to lecture in al-Azhar.²⁸³ Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭâr (1766-1835), one of the traditional scholars of his time with a wide interest in European sciences, was the scholar who had the greatest influence on al-Ṭaḥṭâwî.²⁸⁴ Thanks to al-'Aṭṭâr, he was first appointed as a preacher (*wâ'iz*) and *imâm* (prayer leader) of a regiment in Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha's New Army, where he became familiar with the modernization project of the Pasha. Two years later, he was, again with the favor of al-'Aṭṭâr, appointed *imâm* of the educational mission sent to Paris by Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha.²⁸⁵

During his five year stay in Paris, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî studied the French language and various sciences; read in a wide range of subjects including French thought and especially the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu and Racine; became acquainted with French Enlightenment ideas, the French political system, and French orientalis, including Caussin de Percival, Pierre Amédée Jaubert, and Silvestre de Sacy; and did some translations from French

²⁸³ About his life, see, for example, Ş. Majdî, *Ḥilyat al-Zamân bi-Manâqib Khâdim al-Waṭan: Sîra Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî*, ed. by J. al-Shayyâl, (Cairo: Maktabat wa Maṭba'at Muṣṭafâ al-Bâbî al-Ḥalabî, 1958); A. A. Badawî, *Rifâ'a al-Ṭaḥṭâwî Bey* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Bayân al-'Arabî, 1950); J. Shayyâl, *Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî (1801-1873)* (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif bi-Miṣr, 1958); M. 'Imâra, *Rifâ'a al-Ṭaḥṭâwî: Râid al-Tanwîr fî al-'Aṣr al-Ḥadîth*, 3rd ed., (Cairo: Dâr al-Shurûq, 2007); Crabbs, 67-86. D. N. Newman, *An Imam in Paris: Al-Tahtawi's Visit to France (1826-1831)* (London: Saqi, 2004): 29-68.

²⁸⁴ About Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭâr, see, F. De Jong, "The itinerary of Hasan al-'Aṭṭâr (1766-1835): A reconsideration and its implications," *JSS* 28/1 (Spring, 1983): 99-128; M. 'Abd al-Ghanî Ḥasan, *Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭâr* (Cairo: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, 1968); Newman, 34-38.

²⁸⁵ 'Imâra, 47-48.

into Arabic in different fields, some of which were sent to Cairo to be printed.²⁸⁶ He wrote about his trip to and his stay in France, impressions of Paris and the knowledge he had acquired in Europe in great detail in his travelogue *Takhlîş al-Ibrîz fî Talkhîş Bârîz* (The Extraction of Gold in the Abridgement of Paris), published in 1834 with a preface by al-‘Aṭṭâr. On the order of the Pasha it was translated into Turkish by Rüstem Efendi in 1839 under the title *Sefâretnâme-i Rifâ‘a Bey*, and had a wide circulation both among his officials and in Istanbul.²⁸⁷

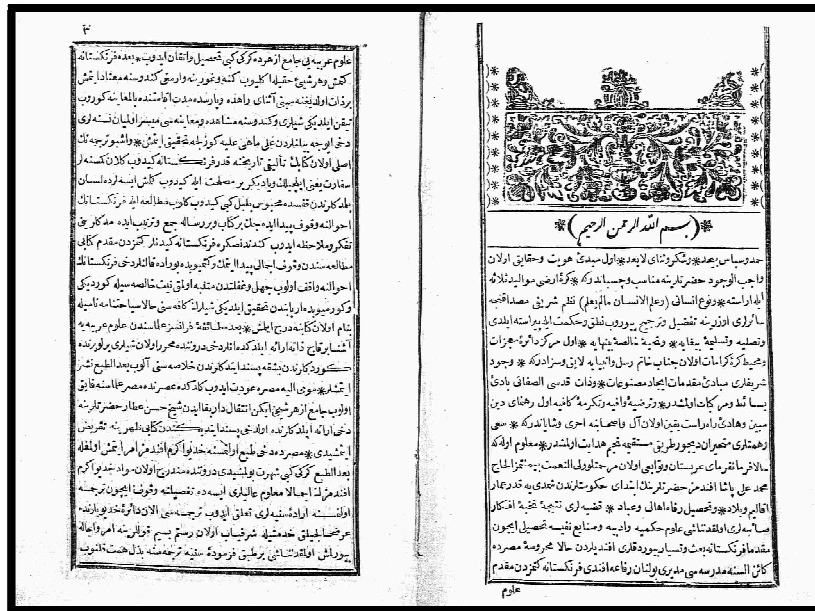


Figure 6: The first pages of the Turkish translation of Al-Ṭaḥṭawî’s travel book (Süleymaniye Library, Esad Efendi-2295)

²⁸⁶ Moosa, *The Origins*, 5.

²⁸⁷ J. Heyworth-Dunne, “Rifâ‘ah Badawî Râfi‘ at-Ṭaḥṭawî: The Egyptian Revivalist,” *BSOAS* 10 (1940): 399-415; ‘Imâra, 66; Newman, 44.

When he returned to Egypt in 1831, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî worked at the School of Medicine as a translator and French teacher, and supervised the Preparatory School (*al-Madrasa al-Tajhîziyya*) attached to the Medical School. During these years he released two translations that had been completed during his Paris sojourn, i.e., a translation of Cyprien-Prosper Brard's *Minéralogie populaire* (1832) and Georges-Bernard Depping's *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations* (1833).²⁸⁸ In 1833, he was appointed to the military school (*Madrasat al-Tûbjiyya*) where he, besides his translation activity, supervised and revised translations of works in engineering and the military sciences. The same year, he established the School of History and Geography (*Madrasat al-Târîkh wa al-Jûghrâfiyâ*). While working as a librarian at the Qasr al-'Aynî School, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî prepared a proposal for the creation of a school for translators. The proposal was accepted and the School was inaugurated in 1835, as we related earlier. As a director of the School of Languages, his duties included technical and administrative supervision, teaching, training translators, producing manuals for the school, choosing the books to be translated, reviewing and correcting translated works, and his own activity of translation. Under the supervision of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, the school would produce about 2000 translations of European (mostly French) and Turkish works. In the 1840s, following the opening of the Translation Office (*Qalam al-Tarjama*, 1841), which was also headed by al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, several other adjuncts were added to the School of Languages. In this period he translated Legendre's *Eléments de géométrie*. In 1842, he was appointed chief editor of the Official Gazette, *al-Waqâ'i' al-Misriyya*, the first editor of which had been al-'Aṭṭâr.²⁸⁹

During the reign of 'Abbâs I (1848-1854), with the closure of many schools – including the School of Languages – al-Ṭaḥṭâwî was exiled to the Sudan for four years (1850-1854).²⁹⁰ In Khartoum, he was charged with setting up and directing a primary school. When Sa'îd Pasha came to power in 1854, unlike his predecessor, he endeavored to revive the earlier reforms and continue the achievements of Muḥammed 'Alî Pasha. He employed some Europeans in his service and appointed al-Ṭaḥṭâwî to various administrative posts.²⁹¹ During the reign of Khedive Ismâ'îl (1863 - 1879), education and translation activities

²⁸⁸ Newman, 40.

²⁸⁹ 'Imâra, 67-73.

²⁹⁰ About his stay in the Sudan, see, A. A. Sayyid Aḥmad, *Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî fî al-Sûdân* (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lîf wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr, 1973).

²⁹¹ 'Imâra, 85-98.

were revived. Among others, the School of Languages and the Translation Office were re-established under the direction of al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, and devoted mostly to the translation of European legal texts. As of 1866, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī translated the *Code Napoléon* and French commercial code with his colleagues. The *Dîwân al-Madâris* (Department of Schools) was also re-established and al-Ṭaḥṭāwī was chosen to serve in it. In 1870, he was also appointed editor-in-chief of the *Dîwân's* journal *Rawḍat al-Madâris*. In this period he supervised Arabic language teaching and wrote the first modern Arabic grammar for use in schools in 1869; participated in *Qûmisyûn al-Ta'lim* (the Council of Education); and last but not least, wrote his most important works especially on knowledge, politics and education like *Manâhij al-Albâb al-Miṣriyya fi Mabâhij al-Âdâb al-Aṣriyya* (The Paths of Egyptian Minds to the Joys of Modern Manners, 1869) and *al-Murshid al-Amîn li'l-Banât wa al-Banîn* (The Honest Guide for Girls and Boys, 1872). He passed away at the age of 72, on May 27, 1873.²⁹²

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, with his lifetime devotion to learning, teaching and translating, was one of the most distinguished and outstanding figures of his time. As an inexhaustible activist and intellectual, he contributed to the educational reforms, translation activities and administrative structure of his country. His activities both in translation and education, as director, teacher, translator or supervisor, had a decisive and lasting impact on the cultural and scientific development of the nation. It was mostly through these two channels, translation and public education, that new ideas would disseminate, and the Arabic language would enter a new phase to express them.

²⁹² 'Imâra, 98-103. He produced over thirty publications of translations and original works. About his role in the translation activity, see, al-Shayyâl, *Târîkh al-Tarjama wa al-Ḥaraka al-Thaqâfiyya fi 'Asr Muḥammad 'Alî*, 120-146; J. Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifâ'ah Badawî Râfi' at-Ṭaḥṭāwî: The Egyptian Revivalist," *BSOAS* 9 (1939):961-967, 10 (1940): 399-415; M. Sawaie, "Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi and his contribution to the lexical development of modern literary Arabic," *IJMES* 32 (2000): 395-410; I. al-Sa'îd Jalal, *al-Muṣṭalah 'Inda Rifâ'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwî Bayn al-Tarjama wa al-Ta'rîb* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Âdâb, 2006); A. Khâkî, "Rifâ'a al-Ṭaḥṭāwî – Mutarjiman," in *Seminar on Sheikh Refa'a Rafie al-Tahtawi (1216-1290H) (1801-1873A.D.)* Faculty of Languages (18-21 December 1976) (Cairo: Ain Shams University Press, 1984): 361-401. For the list of his translations, see, 'Imâra, 126-127.



Figure 7: Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭahṭâwî (1801-1873)

b. Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha

Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha was born in Arabgir, Anatolia, in 1808 into a family descended from the Gök Beyi dynasty. His father İsmâîl Beyzâde Mehmed Bey passed away when Kâmil Pasha was a child. He was therefore brought up by his uncle Vezîr Gümrükçü Osman Pasha. Kâmil Pasha's first instructor was Müderriszâde Mehmed Ârif Efendi, in Kayseri. When he came to Istanbul with his uncle, he continued to study with other scholars, besides working in the service of his uncle as a secretary. In 1829, he was appointed to the secretariat (*qalam*) of the *Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn*. In 1833 he went to Egypt and wrote a petition to Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha requesting an official position. The governor (*vâlî*) accepted him with pleasure and after a long talk appointed him

to the Secretariat of the Egyptian Treasury (*Hazîne-i Mısriyye Kitâbeti*). About seven months later, he was appointed to the provincial *Dîvân* (*Dîvân-ı vilâyet*) as a second deputy (*ikinci muavin*), the first being Sâmi Pasha. He was also continuing his studies and it was during this time that, with the encouragement of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha, he started to learn the French language. In time, Kâmil Pasha was raised from the rank of *kaymakâm* (district governor) to the rank of *mirlivâ*. He also established family ties with the governor of Egypt. In spite of his family’s opposition, Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha married off one of his three daughters, Zeyneb Hanım, to Kâmil Pasha. Using these new family ties, he began to play an important role as intermediary between the local governor and the sultan in Istanbul. In 1845, he was sent by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha as his representative to Istanbul for the wedding of Âdile Sultan, the daughter of Mahmûd II. Sultan Abdülmecîd welcomed and granted him the rank of *mîr-i mîrân*.²⁹³

Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha’s successor, ‘Abbâs Pasha, was determined to change the politics of his predecessor and removed some former administrators, among them Kâmil Pasha, Sâmi Pasha, Subhi Bey and Kânî Bey, from his court. Kâmil Pasha was exiled to Aswan and coerced to divorce Zeyneb Hanım and waive his assets in Egypt. Kâmil Pasha secretly wrote a letter to the Grand Vizier Mustafa Reşid Pasha, whom he knew from earlier, asking his help. By an imperial edict sent to ‘Abbâs Pasha, he was released and sent back to Istanbul in 1849. After a while, his wife was also sent to Istanbul.²⁹⁴

In 1850, he was appointed as a member to the *Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye* (The Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances) and the *Meclis-i Maârif-i Umûmiyye* (Council of Public Education). He was also a member of the newly established *Encümen-i Dâniş* (The Academy of Knowledge). Between 1852 and 1854 he was twice appointed Minister of commerce (*Ticaret Nâzırı*). In 1854, he was again appointed president of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances. At this time, he used his family ties with the Egyptian governors. Sa‘îd Pasha, the governor of Egypt, had just granted a privilege to France for the inauguration of the Suez Canal, which threatened to increase foreign intervention. At the end of the meeting of the *Meclis-i Vükelâ* (Council of Ministers) in Kâmil Pasha’s mansion (*konak*), it was decided that Kâmil Pasha would write a personal letter to his brother-in-law, Sa‘îd Pasha, asking him to

²⁹³ İ. M. K. İnal, *Son Sadrazamlar*, 3rd ed., v.I (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1982): 196-258.

²⁹⁴ İbid.

cancel that privilege. However, this letter was seized by the French *chargé d'affaires*, Benedetti. Upon his complaint to the State, Reşid Pasha and Kâmil Pasha resigned respectively from the Grand vizierate and the presidency of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances and they went to Egypt.²⁹⁵

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When they returned to Istanbul forty days later, both were reappointed to their previous posts. During the reign of Sultan Abdülazîz, Kâmil Pasha held the post of Grand Vizier for almost five months (5 January 1863 - 1 June 1863). He persuaded the Sultan to go on a journey to Egypt to strengthen the relations between the Ottoman State and the provincial government which had almost become an independent power since the time of Kâmil Pash's father-in-law, Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha. Sultan Abdülazîz went to Egypt with the former Grand Vizier, Fuad Pasha, on April 3, 1863. Upon their return, Fuad Pasha was appointed second time to the Grand Vizierate. Kâmil Pasha continued to serve as a statesman in different positions until his death on October 10, 1876, shortly after the death of Sultan Abdülazîz.²⁹⁶

Kâmil Pasha was a well educated and a distinguished statesman in his time and worked with pro-reform viziers and statesmen such as Mustafa Reşid, Âlî and Fuâd Pashas. He knew Arabic, Persian and French. Some of his poems and writings were all burnt in a fire in 1864. The rest, written after this date, were collected by İbnülemin Mahmûd Kemâl İnal and published under the title *Eser-i Kâmil Paşa* by Kirkor in Istanbul in 1890. What established his reputation as a man of letters in literary and intellectual circles, however, was his translation of Fénelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque* under the title *Terceme-i Telemak* published in 1862.²⁹⁷ Being the first literary work translated from a Western language into Turkish, the translation had a wide circulation and received considerable acclaim. It achieved a great success because of its ethical, educational and political content and of its literary qualities. These will be discussed in the following pages.

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ About his life, see, Y. Kâmil Paşa, *Eser-i Kâmil Pâşâ*, ed. by İ. M. K. İnal, published by Kirkor (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1890/1308); İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, v.II, 781-791; A. Rıza Bey, M. Galib, *Geçen Asırda Devlet Adamlarımız*, ed. by F. Ç. Derin, (Istanbul: Tercüman Gazetesi, 1977): 78-82; S. Beyoğlu, "Yûsuf Kâmil Paşa (1808-1876)," *DİA*, v.24 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2001): 283-284; E. Üyepazarcı, "İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal'in sadrazam Yusuf Kâmil Paşa ile ilgili bir risalesi," *Müteferrika* 17 (Yaz 2000): 47-71.

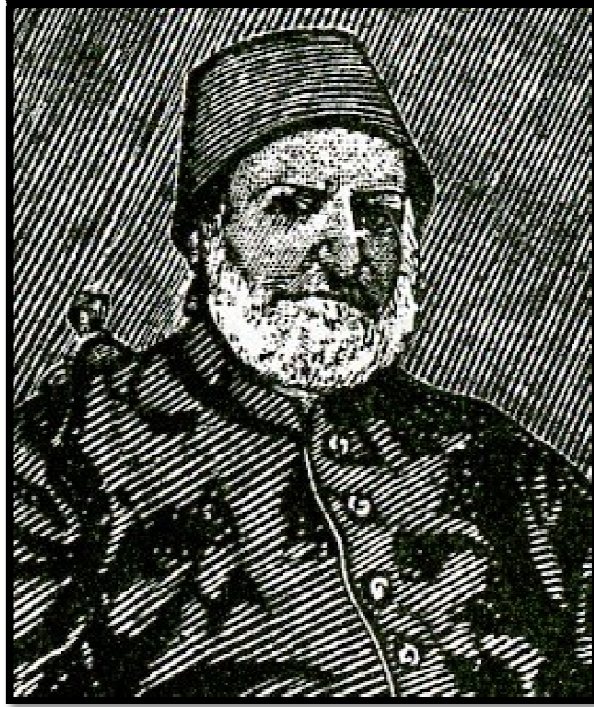


Figure 8: Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha (1808-1876)

2. Translations

a. The Turkish translation

The translation of Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha in manuscript form (1859) consists of ninety-two folios written in *riq'a*. The codex is bound in red cover with a traditional flap and preceded by a flyleaf having the library seal on it “*ez kütüb-i mevkûfe-i Mevlevîhâne-i Bâb-ı Cedîd 1283* (one of the books donated to the library of Yenikapı Mevlevîhânesi 1866-67).”

The first printed edition of his translation (1862) consists of 275 pages. In his introduction to the translation, Kâmil Pasha emphasizes two important points: the first is that the book is one of the most famous foreign philosophical works about ethics, and the second is that he translated it in an abridged form

(*alâ vechi'l-icmâl yâ'ni hulâsatü'l-meâl sûretinde*).²⁹⁸ Kemâl Efendi, then the Minister of Education, wrote a chronogram (*târîh*) for the translation. The translation was published by the official printing press, Matbaa-i Âmire, which was then affiliated with the Ministry of Education. It is from Kemâl Pasha's chronogram that we understand that the translation was completed in 1859 (1275).²⁹⁹ Although he says in his chronogram that the translation seems to be a story, it is a book of wisdom (*hikmet*) for the learned. To the second edition, a word of praise (*takrîz*) was added by 'Abdurrahmân Sâmî Pasha, the former Minister of Education, who also had served Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha in Egypt with Kâmil Pasha and returned Istanbul with him in 1849. His *takrîz* begins as follows: “*sâbikan ma'ârif-i 'umûmiye nâzırı devletlü Sâmî Paşa hazretlerinin işbu kitâb-ı hikmet-nisâba yazdıkları takrîzdir* (Word of praise written by the former Minister of Public Education, the Illustrious Sâmî Pasha, to this philosophical book).” Sâmî Pasha writes in his *takrîz* that despite the fact that intellectuals all over the world write in their own languages, meaning is universal, and a unity exists beyond all cultural diversities. For him, a letter is like an envelope while meaning is like water, “*Harf zarf-est vü me'ânî hem-çü âb.*” That is languages are the forms in which meaning does not change, as in the case of Kâmil Pasha's translation. He, then, praises the eloquence of Kâmil

²⁹⁸ His introduction reads as following: *Ba'de edâ-yı mâ-vecebe aleynâ Fransa müelliflerinden (Fenelon) nâm müellifin te'lif-kerdesi olub devâlîb-i efvâh-ı ahâlî-i meâsirde dâir ve (Sergüzeşt-i Telemak) nâmıyla her şehr ü diyârda şöhrati misl-i sâir olan kitâb-ı hikmet-nisâb kütüb-i ahlâkkiyye-i ecnebiyye miyânında bâhirü'l-i'tibâr ve elsine-i mile-i mütemeddinede nüshaları bulunduğu misillü lisân-ı letâfet-resân-ı Türki'ye nakli dahi arzû-dâşte-i mezâyâ-şinâsân-ı âsâr ü ahbâr olmasıyla alâ vechi'l-icmâl yâ'ni hulâsatü'l-meâl sûretinde ziynet-yâb-ı terceme-i hâme-i pesen-dîde-nigâr ve bâdî-i nazarda hikâyetden ibâret görünür ise de inde'l-hakîka fehâvî-i makâsîd-ı matâvîsi ni'am-ı himem-i hümayûnu ser-i erbâb-ı hünerer derârî-rîz ve kalb-i ilhâm-meşhûnu muhîti envâr-ı adl-i Cenâb-ı Rabb-ı Azîz olan pâdişâh-ı dil-âgâh nâle mâ-yetemennehu efendimiz hazretlerinin mehâsin-i ahlâk-ı müsellemetü'l-âfâk-ı mülk-dârâneleri hasâyis-i celîlesini şâmil ve i'tibârât-ı eshâb-ı basâ'ir ve tekâdire şâyân bir kitâb-ı kâmil olduğundan “Kâmil artar hemîşe kadr-i hüner / Andırır sâhibin cihânda eser” i'tikâdiyle kitâb-hâne-i erbâb-ı irfâna bergüzâr kıldı.*

²⁹⁹ The chronogram reads: *Següzeşt-i Telemak ile be-nâm/Bir eser bulmuş idi şöhrat-i tâm, Çün Fransızca olunmuşdu beyân/Herkese fehmi değildi âsân, Eyledi tercemeye bezl-i himem/Bir kerem sâhibi zât-ı efham, Ya'ni bir zât-ı edîb ü Kâmil/İlm ü irfânı cihâna şâmil, Yapdı bir nev eser-i müstesnâ/Görmedi mislini çeşm-i dünyâ, Sûretâ nakl-i hikâyet görünür/Lâkin erbâbına hikmet görünür, Okuna tâ ki cihânda bu kitâb/Hakk ide ömrünü bî-hadd ü hisâb, Nâmına dense sezâ bâğ-ı 'iber [1275]/Çünkü târîhini iş'âr eyles, Eyledim vasf-ı cemîlin icmâl/Hırz-ı cân eylesün erbâb-ı Kemâl.*

Pasha in this translation. The second edition of the translation appeared on February 6, 1863 in the printing press of Tasvîr-i Efkâr, when Kâmil Pasha was the Grand Vezier. The printed editions of his translation are as follows:

- 1862, 7 August (9 Safer 1279) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Tabhâne-i Âmire.
1863, 6 February (15 Şaban 1279) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Tasvîr-i Efkâr Matbaası.
1867 (1283) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire.
1870 (1286) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Tasvir-i Efkâr Matbaası.
1871 (1287) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanâyi Matbaası.
1877 (1294) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Şeyh Yahyâ Efendi Matbaası.
1880 (1297) *Terceme-i Telemak*. ?
1881 (1299) *Terceme-i Telemak*. Istanbul: Ahter Matbaası.
? Another edition was published without date in Hacı Hüseyin Efendi Matbaası.

Later editions of the translation included subtitles indicating what sort of lesson was to be drawn from the translated book. For example: the path to the construction of a country; the description of a sovereign's duties; the examination of a contractual community to choose an eligible sovereign; three problems and their answers about the government of a country; negotiations on the election of a sovereign for a defeated people; sovereigns should not concern themselves with details; the ranks of administrators should be decided according to their skills and so forth. A table of contents was also added to the beginning of the translation. Starting from the third edition, the table of contents was followed by an alphabetic list showing the pronunciation of proper names mentioned in the translation. For the purpose of comparison, we will use Kâmil Pasha's Turkish translation *Terceme-i Telemak* published in Istanbul (*Matbaa-i Âmire*), on February 19, 1867; and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's Arabic translation *Mawâqi' al-Aflâk fî Waqâ'i' Tilîmâk* published in Beirut (*al-Maṭba'a al-Sûriyya*), in 1867.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ After here, Kâmil Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî.

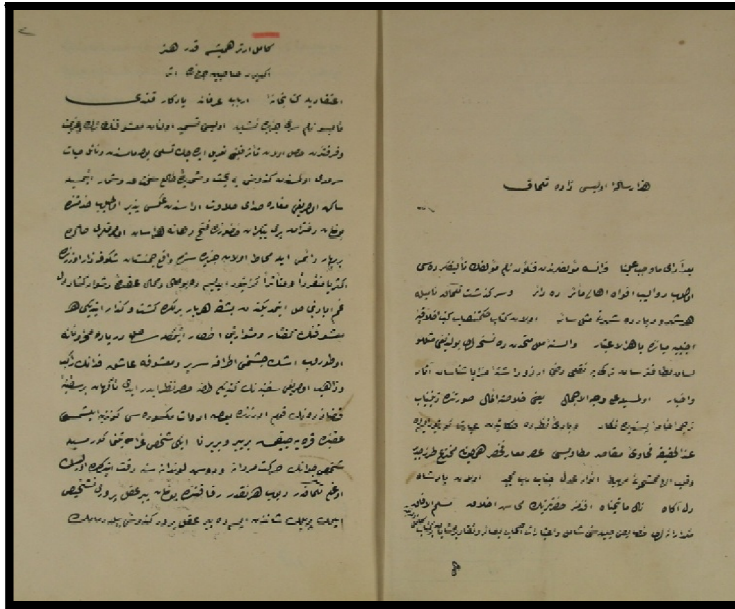


Figure 9: The first folio of Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha's translation (1859) (MS, Süleymaniye Library, Nafiz Paşa, 850)

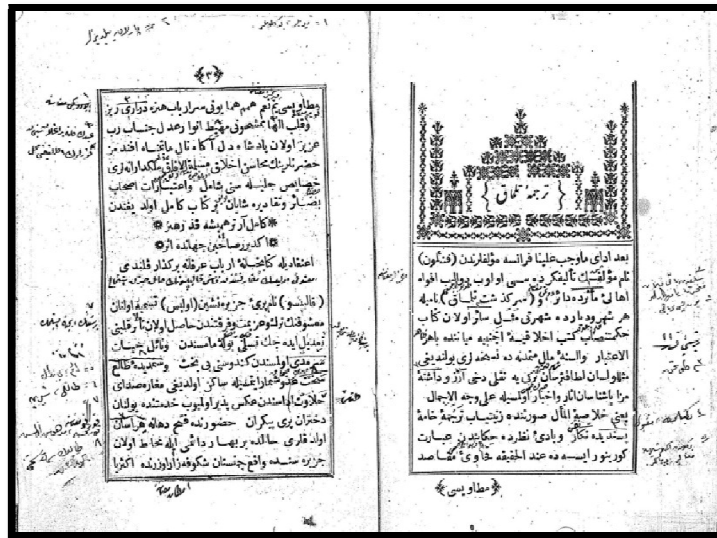


Figure 10: The first pages of the first printed edition of Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha's translation 9 Safer 1279 (7 August 1862)

b. The Arabic translation

Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's translation consists of 792 pages, including an introduction (*muqaddima*) and a preface (*dibâja*). The title page of the Arabic translation reads *Mawâqî' al-Aflâk fî Waqâ'i' Tilîmâk* (The position of the heavens concerning the adventures of Télémaque), which was the first literary French classic to be translated into Arabic. Intended as a guide for just and wise government, the work was also a critique of an unjust ruler, which spoke to al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's position. Although he translated it in the Sudan, presumably for political reasons, it would only be published in Beirut in 1867. The title of the translation makes use of the literary style of *saj'* (rhymed prose), which is used throughout the book. It is also indicated on the title page that the book was translated from the French by Rifâ'a Bey Badawî Râfî', the Head of the Translation Office and the Member of the Commission of Schools in Egypt, and that it was published in Beirut at the printing press of *al-Maṭba'a al-Sûriyya*. There are twenty four chapters, each of which is called *maqâla*. In his introduction, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī compares the new genre with the *Maqâma* (pl. *maqâmât*), a classical Arabic literary genre, which was composed of collections of short independent narrations written in ornamental rhymed prose form. The most celebrated exponents of the genre were al-Hamadhânî (967-1007) and al-Ḥarîrî (1054-1122). Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī writes that the narration of the new genre was quite unlike that of short independent *maqâmât*.³⁰¹

The introduction begins with the *basmala*, with the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful, *ḥamdala* (*taḥmîd*); praise for Allah; *salwala* (*taṣliya*), praise for the Prophet Muḥammad, and then praise and prayers for the governor of Egypt. After this al-Ṭaḥṭāwī tells of his life from the time he accepted the headship of the Translation Office and the membership of the Council of Schools in Egypt, during the time of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha. He writes that he taught many students for years, and when they graduated they became important figures in various fields. He mentions that he translated many works from the French language in order to provide students with books needed for their education and worked for thirty years without feeling exhaustion or laxity.

³⁰¹ al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 29. For *maqâmât*, see, for example, R. Drory, "Maqâma," in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, ed. by J. S. Meisami and P. Starkey, v.II (London and New York: Routledge, 1998): 507-508; W. J. Prendergast's introduction to his English translation of al-Hamadhânî's *Maqâmât*, *The Maqâmât of Badî' al-Zamân al-Hamadhânî* (London: Luzac & Co., 1915).

What he did was all for the sake of his *waṭan*, or fatherland. For him the love of *waṭan* stemmed from faith. When he was exiled to the Sudan, he was depressed and anxious for being far away from his fatherland. He found solace in the *ta'rīb* (Arabicization) of the *Télémaque*. The reason why he translated the work was, he says, that it is full of beautiful stories and is used in schools and colleges for education in European and other countries. The book, he adds, is full of literary art, of ethical and political lessons. He adds that Fénelon is the sultan of literature. For all these reasons he worked hard to Arabicize it.³⁰²

Then he gives information about his translation technique. He tried to turn it into Arabic using the clearest and most beautiful expressions possible, avoiding anything that could distort the original meaning. However, he says, in some cases he used his own words to make the text meaningful in Arabic, and adds that this is a common habit in translation.³⁰³ What he expects is that the translation be useful for Eastern students, in particular, for the education of Egyptian teachers by being a basic beautiful Arabic book.³⁰⁴ Then he writes that he has seen neither a Turkish nor an Arabic translation of the book. Yet, he adds, "I heard that it was translated into Turkish "*bi-ma'âlin*" (sense-for-sense) by Kâmil Pasha, the son-in-law of Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha." This is not surprising, he says, for Kâmil Pasha has a good command of both languages.³⁰⁵

Four *qaṣîdas* (odes) in his introduction are about the love of fatherland (*ḥubb al-waṭan*) which includes the praise of Egypt and its rulers from Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha to the Khedive Ismâ'îl, excluding, however, 'Abbâs Pasha who sent him into exile in the Sudan. After these *qaṣîdas*, he relates how the translation came into being: He Arabicized this book when he was in the Sudan living under hard conditions, and then put it aside. One day one of his students asked for a copy of his translation; and he sent him a copy of it and the original. Later on al-Ṭaḥṭâwî thought to put it into a literary form common in Arabic, and to add poems, proverbs and some wise sayings in the form of verse and prose. However, in the end, he decided to keep to the original as much as possible, and to keep it in accordance with the Arabic language, grammar and

³⁰² al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 5.

³⁰³ و ادبیت التعرّيب باسهل تقریب و اجزل تعبیر. و تحاشیت مما یورث المعانی انی تغییر. و یؤثر فی فهم محلا محلا بالعادة فاتمحل لذكر مال المعنی ومضمونه بعبارات تفید لازم "المقصود اقل تاثير. اللهم الا ان يكون ثم المعنی اكمل افاده. و هذه اساليب فی قالب الترجمة معتاده.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 5.

³⁰⁴ al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 5.

³⁰⁵ al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 6.

beliefs.³⁰⁶ In his *dibâja* (preface), he introduces Greek mythology and tries to explain the polytheist system of the Ancient Greeks by referring to Eastern classics and even to some verses from the Qur'ân to show the esoteric meanings of the events; however, he concludes that the *Télémaque*, which was translated into many languages, is superior to Arabic classics in terms of literary qualities and meaning. It is a sermon for sultans and a book that makes other people's lives better through either with its explanations or allegories.³⁰⁷

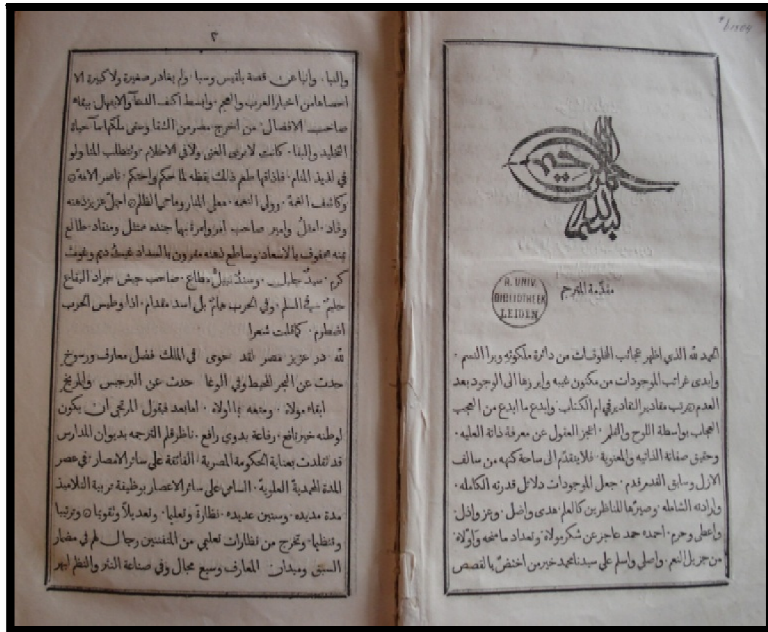


Figure 11: The first pages of Rifâ‘a Râfi‘ al-Ṭahṭâwî’s translation (Beirut, 1867)

³⁰⁶ al-Ṭahṭâwî, 22-23.

³⁰⁷ al-Ṭahṭâwî, 29.

3. Language and Style

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An extensive analysis of the language and style of the translations is beyond the scope of the present study, and we will restrict ourselves to a few remarks about the most striking aspects. Both the Arabic and the Turkish translations make use of a specific literary style, the so-called *inshâ'* (or *inşâ* in Turkish), which developed in the chanceries during the late Umayyad period for use in official documents and memoranda.³⁰⁸ Initially signifying construction, style or composition of letters, documents or state papers, *inshâ'* came to designate a form of literature, the stylistic techniques of which were later adopted by prose writers in languages other than Arabic (i.e., Persian, Turkish, Urdu).³⁰⁹ The *inshâ'* style was used in many genres such as history, philosophical and mystical treatises up to the early twentieth century.³¹⁰ Its most important characteristics were rhyme, assonance, parallelism, richness of description, the use of metaphor, rhetorical figures, and quotations in verse and prose, such as proverbs, Quranic verses, Prophetic sayings, etc.³¹¹ The translators' adherence to the practices of the *inshâ'* genre and the success of the translations illustrate that this classical style was still very much appreciated during the nineteenth century. In the following, we will point out some examples of literary figures which mark the style of these two translations, on the basis of the first paragraph of the text. The first paragraph of the original text and its translations read:

The original passage reads:	The Turkish translation reads:	The Arabic translation reads:
<i>Calypso ne pouvait se consoler du départ d'Ulysse. Dans sa douleur, elle se trouvait malheureuse d'être immortelle. Sa grotte ne</i>	Kalipso nâm perî-i cezîre-nişîn Ulis tesmiye olunan (R1) ma'şûkunun terk ü azîmet ve firkatinden hâsıl olan (R1) teessür-i kalbini ta'dîl edecek teselli	كانت كاليسه بعد سفر عولوس لا تستطيع الصبر على فراقه (R1) بل تكابد احوال العشق و اشواقه. (R1) وكانت عليه متحسره متأسفه. (R2) حتى كرهت البقا و التخليد بعد

³⁰⁸ J. S. Meisami, "Artistic prose" in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, v.I, 105-106; See, also, A. Gully, "Epistles for grammarians: illustrations from the *inshâ'* literature," *BJMES* 23 (1996): 147-166; Ahmed Cevdet Paşa, *Belâgat-ı Osmâniyye*, 6th ed., (Istanbul: Arakis Matbaası, 1326): 80-90.

³⁰⁹ H. R. Roemer, "Inshâ'," *EI*, v.3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971): 1241-1244.

³¹⁰ Meisami.

³¹¹ Ibid.

<p><i>résonnait plus de son chant; les nymphes qui la servaient n'osaient lui parler. Elle se promenait souvent seule sur les gazons fleuris dont un printemps éternel bordait son île : mais ces beaux lieux, loin de modérer sa douleur, ne faisaient que lui rappeler le triste souvenir d'Ulysse, qu'elle y avait vu tant de fois auprès d'elle. Souvent elle demeurait immobile sur le rivage de la mer, qu'elle arrosait de ses larmes, et elle était sans cesse tournée vers le côté où le vaisseau d'Ulysse, fendant les ondes, avait disparu à ses yeux.</i>³¹²</p>	<p>bulamamasından (R2) ve nâil-i hayât-ı sermedî olmasından (R2) kendisini bî-baht ve sitem-dîde-i tâlî-i saht add ü şümâr etmesiyle sâkin olduğu mağara sadâ-yı halâvet-edâsından aks-pezîr olmayıp hidmetinde bulunan duhterân-ı (R3) perî-peykerân (R3) huzûrunda feth-i dehâna hirâsân oldukları hâlde bir bahâr-ı dâimî ile muhât olan cezâresinde vâki' çemenistân-ı şukûfe-zâr üzerinde ekseriyâ münferiden (R4) ve müteessiren (R4) gezinür ise de bu hâl (R5) ü mahâl (R5) ukde-i düşvâr-küşâd-ı dil-i gam-âbâdını hall etmediğinden başka her bâr birlikde geşt ü güzâr etdiği ma'sûkunun güftâr ü mişvârını ihtâr etmekle sâhil-i deryâda mahzûnâne oturup eşk-i çeşmini etrâfa serper (R6) ve ma'sûk-ı âşık-fedânın râkib ve zâhib olduğu sefînenin gitdiği tarafa hasr-ı nazar eder (R6) idi.³¹³</p>	<p>فراقه. وتمنت الموت لوضح لها اذ اليه صارت متشوقة متشوفه. (R2) وبعد ان كانت جبالها و كهوفها مملؤه بصوات الالحن (R3) و يرجع الصدا اليها نغمات العبدان (R3) صار لا يسمع فيها النغم. (R4) و تبدل السرور عندها بالنغم (R4) و القينات الحسنان. (R5) الخادمت لجنابها السامي بالحسن و الاحسان (R5) العذارى الهاروتيه (R6) والهور العين الماروتيه. (R6) لزمت السكوت (R7) و صموت (R7) على الصموت. و انما صارت تتماشنا وحدها في غالب الاحيان في الرياض الزاهره. (R8) والغياض الزاهية الباهرة. (R8) التي هي دايمًا كناية عن زهور ربيع مقيم. (R9) وزمن معتدل مستديم. (R9) لا ينفك محفوفًا بهذه الجزيرة حبا في النسيم. (R10) الذي هو ارق من التنسيم (R10) ومع ان شطوط جزيرتها من المنتزهات (R11) وفي العادة تجلب المسرات. (R11) فكان لا يخفف احزانها. (R12) و لا ينسيها انسانها. (R12) بل يذكرها هذا المحبوب (R13) الذي طالما واصلها هناك وبوصله تعلقت القلوب. (R13) وفي اكثر اوقاتها تقف على البر باهته متحيره. (R14) ترشه بوابل دمعها وما كان اغزره. (R14)</p>
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³¹² F. de S. de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Les Aventures des Télémaque* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1968), 65-66. After here, Fénelon.

³¹³ Kâmil Pasha, 3-4.

		<p>شاخصة البصر نحو الجهة التي خرجت منها سفينة معشوقها المفارق (R15) وخفيت عنها ذات هذا الحبيب في افاق المغرب والمشرق. ³¹⁴(R15)</p>
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The above paragraph shows some of the most important features of *inshâ'* literature. Most prominent among them is the use of *saj'*, rhymed prose.³¹⁵ Apart from the rhyme used in the subdivisions of the sentences, internal rhyme is also used. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî used rhyme more than Kâmil Pasha, and also made extensive use of all kinds of parallelism. Parallelism consists of “making the second part of a sentence balance with the first, either by way of antithesis, or by expressing the same idea in different words, thus producing, as it were, a rhyme of the sense as well as of the sound.”³¹⁶ These stylistic embellishments of course make the text longer than the original and result in expanded discourse. Some examples of rhyme in the Arabic paragraph quoted above are:

- R1: اثنواقيه / فراقه *firâqihi / ashwâqihi* (his departure / his longing)
R2: متشوفه / متأسفه *muta'assifa / mutashawwifa* (regretful / waiting for)
R3: أصوات الألعان / نغمات العبدان *aşwât al-alḥân / naghâmât al-'ubdân*
(sounds of the chants / melodies of the servants)
R4: النغم / الغم *al-nagham / al-ghamm* (melody / grief)
R5: الاحسان / الحسان *al-ḥisân / al-iḥsân* (beautiful / kindness)

As for examples of rhyme in the Turkish paragraph:

- R1: *tesmiye olunan / hâsıl olan* (named / derived)
R2: *bulamamasından / olmasından* (not to be able to find / to be)
R3: *duhterân / perî-peykerân* (girls / nymph-faced)

³¹⁴ al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 29-30.

³¹⁵ Roemer. For *saj'*, see, for example, E. K. Rowson, “Saj’,” in *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, v.II, 677-678; For its usage in pre-Islamic Arabic, see, W. P. Heinrichs “Sadj’,” *EI*, v.8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995):732-734; For its usage in Arabic literature of the Islamic period, see, A. ben Abdesslem, “Sadj’,” *EI*, v.8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995): 734-738.

³¹⁶ Prendergast, 20-21.

R4: *münferiden / müteessiren* (separately / regretfully)

R4: *hâl / mahâl* (condition / place)

A further characteristic of the *inshâ'* style is the rhythm that is produced by the extensive use of antonyms and synonyms. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî makes extensive use of synonyms and antonyms throughout the translation. Some examples of antonyms in the Arabic paragraph above are: *al-baqâ wa al-takhlîd / al-mawt* (perpetuity and everlasting / death), *al-surûr / al-ghamm* (joy / grief), *aşwât / şumût* (sounds / silence), *al-maghârib / al-mashâriq* (the west part of the horizon / the east part of the horizon). Examples of synonyms or near-synonyms are: *al-şabr / takâbud* (patience / endurance), *mutaḥassira / muta'assifa* (disappointed / regretful), *mutashawwiqa / mutashawwifa* (eager / waiting for), *al-alḥân / naghâmât* (chants / melodies).

Kâmil Pasha makes frequent use of two nouns, whether synonyms or antonyms, united by *ülu* or *velvü* (and). For example: *terk ü azîmet ve firkat* (leaving and departure and separation), *add ü şûmar* (regarding and counting), *geşt ü güzâr* (to walk or ride about), *râkib ve zâhib* (who is on board and goes away).

A noteworthy point in Kâmil Pasha's translation is the extensive use of Arabic and Persian vocabulary. Thus Arabic and Persian words are often used with the auxiliary verb *olmak* (to be) or *etmek* (to do) to construct gerunds. For example: *nâil-i hayât-ı sermedî olmasından*, *add ü şûmâr etmesiyle*, *aks-pezîr olmayıp*, *hirâsân oldukları*, *hall etmediğinden*, *râkib ve zâhib olduđu*. Persian *izâfet* was another important component of the Ottoman prose style, and thus, of Kâmil Pasha's translation. For example: *perî-i cezîre-nişîn* (the resident nymph of the island), *teessür-i kalbi* (the grief of her heart), *feth-i dehân* (opening the mouth), *bahâr-ı dâimî* (perennial spring) or *sâhil-i deryâ* (shore of the sea). Also noticeable is that punctuation marks were still not in use at that time.³¹⁷

Thus, *Les Aventures de Télémaque* was reborn in a new language and culture in the hands of the translators. What we see in Kâmil Pasha's

³¹⁷ For other examples, see, S. Somekh, *Genre and Language in Modern Arabic Literature* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991): 77-79; H. I. A. Meguid, "La traduction du Télémaque, Notes et commentaires," in *Nadwa al-Shaikh Rifâ'a Râfi' al-Ṭaḥṭâwî – Seminar on Sheikh Refa'a Rafie El Tahtawi (1216-1290H) (1801-1873 A.D.) – Kulliyya al-Alsun (18-21 December 1976)* (Cairo: Ain Shams University Press, 1984): 75-118; G. Dino, "L'influence française sur la langue littéraire turque dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle," *RLC* 34 (1960): 561-577.

translation, as will become evident in the following pages, is that he sometimes shortens and sometimes lengthens, or adds things peculiar to the Ottoman world. The additions were mostly in the nature of paraphrases. For example, at the beginning of his translation Kâmil Pasha renders Calypso as “the nymph resident of the island, named Calypso” (*Kalipso nâm perî-i cezîre-nişîn*) and Ulyse as “her beloved, named Uli” (*Uli tesmiye olunan ma‘şûkunun*) to make the text intelligible to the reader. He rewrites the work by making cuts to simplify the plot, or by adding a few scattered new lines or phrases, or by completely changing the context, especially in religious themes. Sometimes subplots and minor characters are cut away. Sometimes he entirely rewrites the scenes substituting his own words for those of Fénelon. Complex passages are frequently omitted or reconstructed. What he writes in his introduction about his translation technique, i.e., that it is a sense-for-sense translation (*me‘âlen terceme*) rather than word-for-word, is confirmed throughout. His style was, mostly, conceived as a work of high literary art and reprinted in number of times.³¹⁸

Just as in Kâmil Pasha’s translation, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s translation is a sense-for-sense translation, although he is more faithful to the original. Following the original text in its general outlines, he sometimes translates a sentence with more than one sentence or a word with an entire sentence. Sometimes he leaves out words and sometimes he is not successful in finding the Arabic equivalent of a French word, while at other times he adds things which do not exist in the original such as lines of verse, popular maxims and proverbs and even verses from the Qur’ân. As a graduate of the famous al-Azhar, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s adherence to the classical Arabic tradition was so natural that the translation was never criticized because of its language or style. By using classical Arabic and Turkish prose styles, the translators sought to dress their work in an indigenous garb and thus make them palatable to potential readers. In doing so, they gave us an insight into the literary taste of the period.

³¹⁸ The style of the translation was appreciated so much so that it was quoted in late Ottoman rhetorical works such as Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem’s *Ta’lîm-i Edebiyât* (1883-84/1299), Abdurrahman Süreyyâ’s *Mîzânü’l-Belâga* (1887-88/1303), and Reşid’s *Nazariyyât-ı Edebiyye* (1912-1913/1328). See, A. Yıldız, “Bazı belâgat kitaplarına göre secinin tanım ve tasnifi üzerine düşünceler,” *Turkish Studies* 2/4 (Fall 2007): 1055-1065.

4. Content

The translators try to bridge two different religions and cultures and consequentially they meet with serious difficulties. What the translators do, regarding the religious discourse, is to transform the polytheist religion of Ancient Greece into a monotheistic religion, namely Islam. Here, what we would like to draw attention to is the way they translate the religious expressions or names into Turkish and Arabic. For example, Kâmil Pasha puts the name of the goddess between brackets (Calypso) and explains that she is the nymph of the island, *perî-i cezîre-nişîn*. He renders *les nymphes* as *duhterân-ı perî-peykerân* meaning the nymph-faced girls. The reason to do so is easy to understand: he does not want to use the word “goddess.” The same attitude is found in al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, who also renders *les nymphes* as “*al-ḥisân al-khâdimât*” meaning the beautiful servants. In the Turkish translation different expressions are used for *les nymphes* such as: *duhterân-ı sîmberân*, *duhterân-ı hânendegân*, *duhterân-ı mehveşân*, *duhterân-ı dilberân*, *peykârlar*, *perî kızları*, *hânendeler*, or *kızlâr*.

In another passage, *la déesse* is rendered in Arabic as queen, *malika*, and in Turkish as nymph, *peri*. When Mentor and Télémaque arrive at Calypso’s island, she cannot recognize the man accompanying Télémaque, for the superior gods can conceal whatever they please from the inferior deities. Here, Mentor is introduced by Kâmil Pasha as a wise old man, *pîr-i akl-ı perver*, who accompanies Télémaque, while “the ability of the superior gods” is translated as “the distinction of being a nymph,” *perilik şânından*. Mentor as god is rendered in Arabic as *mudabbir al-ḥikma*, meaning who conducts with wisdom. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî translates this passage as “the ethereal spirits, *al-arwâḥ al-rûḥâniyya*, and the sublime souls, *al-nufûs al-‘ulwiyya*, are superior to the other people in finding out the hidden things (*al-mughayyibât*) and in the science of secrets (*‘ilm al-khafîyyât*.” In the same passage, Télémaque’s question to Calypso “whosoever you are, mortal or goddess...” is rendered in Turkish as “whosoever you are, nymph or human being... *peri olunuz insan olunuz her ne olursanız olunuz*” and in Arabic as “whether you are material (*jismâniyya*) or spiritual (*rûḥâniyya*)...”³¹⁹ The following passage becomes more interesting when we see that *les dieux* is turned into *Cenâb-ı Hakk*, one of the names of Allah, by Kâmil Pasha: “Que les dieux me fassent périr plutôt que de souffrir

³¹⁹ Fénelon, 66; al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 30; Kâmil Pasha, 4-5.

que la mollesse et la volupté s'emparent de mon cœur!"³²⁰ becomes "*Hevâ vü heves kalbimi istî'âb etmekden ise Cenâb-ı Hakk'dan temenni-i mevt ederim.*"³²¹

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This is not the only place where he translates *les dieux* in this way, throughout the translation *les dieux* is rendered in Turkish as *Cenâb-ı Hakk*, *Cenâb-ı Hüddâ*, *Cenâb-ı Bârî*, *Cenâb-ı Rabb*, *irâde-i ilâhiyye*, *hükm-i kader*, or *hükm-i takdîr*. Nor does al-Ṭaḥṭâwî use the terms god or goddess; instead, he employs *Allâh*, *Arwâh Rûhâniyya*, *Nufûs 'Ulwiyya*, *al-Hikma al-Rabbâniyya*, *Ta'âlâ* or *Rabb*. The translators knew that in the polytheist society of Ancient Greece the gods were distinguished from many by their immortality and they were believed to appear in human form and yet were endowed with superhuman strength. What they did in their translations was adapt this aspect of the work to the religion of their readers. For example, in the next passage, the gods, or the name of one of the gods, Jupiter, is translated neither into Turkish nor into Arabic. Rather, both translators rewrote the passage in accordance with Islamic discourse.

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Croyez-vous, Télémaque, que votre vie soit abandonnée aux vents et aux flots? Croyez-vous qu'ils puissent vous faire périr sans l'ordre des dieux? Non non ; les dieux décident de tout. C'est donc les dieux, et non pas la mer, qu'il faut craindre. Fussiez-vous au fond des abîmes, la main de Jupiter pourrait vous en tirer. Fussiez-vous dans l'Olympe, voyant les astres sous vos pieds, Jupiter</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Look Télémaque, what made you terrified and faint is not the fluctuation of the sea; rather, it is the necessity of the decree of destiny. Do not think that these kinds of dreadful things are the reasons for death. In this world, whatever the divine fatality is, it does become true. For example, whether you are at the bottom of a shoreless sea or above the first level of the heavens, the Divine omnipotence can raise</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Do you believe, Télémaque, that your spirit is now in the possession of waves and they remove you without the Will of the Supreme from this captivity? This belief is faulty. Allâh is the only active agent of every thing, do not be the one striving against Him. He is the One, without any partner, who deserves to be feared. If you are at the highest level of a mountain and Allâh decrees your descent to</p>
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³²⁰ Kâmil Pasha, 10.

³²¹ Fénelon, 69.

<p><i>pourrait vous plonger au fond de l'abîme ou vous précipiter dans les flammes du noir Tartare.</i>³²²</p>	<p>and lower you; thus, all difficult and easy decrees generated or that came into existence in this world of generation and corruption, are bound to the Almighty Lord's chain of Will.³²³</p>	<p>the deepest level of the hell, he does so. He is the Creator of the actions.³²⁴</p>
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This attitude is to be found throughout the translations wherever the gods or the religious/mythological characters appear on the scene. One such scene is found where Fénelon puts his Platonic ideas about the supreme power into Mentor's mouth; unique, infinite, unchangeable light; sovereign, universal truth, etc. Although it is a bit longer, we will quote the original passage and its translations as representative of the translators' operations of reconstruction, addition and omission.

The original passage :	The Turkish translation:	The Arabic translation:
<p><i>Ensuite il s'entretenait avec Mentor de cette première puissance qui a formé le ciel et la terre; de cette lumière simple, infinie et immuable, qui se donne à tous sans se partager; de cette vérité souveraine et universelle</i></p>	<p><i>(Hazael) kâbil-i hikmet-i bâli'a ve kudret-i sâni'a-i Cenâb-ı Hâliku's-semâvât ve'l-'ard'dan bahs açub eşi'a-i âlem-efrûz-i âfütâb-ı cihângerdîn mevcûdât-ı kâinâta cilâ-bahşâ-yı feyz-zuhûr olduđu misillii</i></p>	<p>ثم تذاكر مع منظور فيما يخص الذات العلية التي ابتدعت بالقدرة جميع الكائنات و خلقت الارض والسموات و افاضت على العالمين الروح التي هي جوهر نوراني بسيط لا يقبل الشراكة و لا الانقسام منبث في سائر الاجسام منبعت شعاعه في العقول المنورة على الجميع</p>

³²² Fénelon, 164.

³²³ The Turkish translation reads: *Bak Telemak, bu seni medhûş ü ğaşy eden eser-i telâtum-ı bahr deđildir ancak iktizâ-yı hükm-i kazâ vü kaderdir. Zannetme ki bu türlü hâlât-ı hevl-nâk mücib-i helâk olur. Bu âlemde mukadderât-ı ilâhiyye her ne ise yerini bulur. Farazâ bahr-i bî-kenârın tahtında yâhud tabaka-i ulyâ-yı âsumânın fevkinde bulunsan bile yed-i kudret-i ilâhiyye ref' ü tenzîle muktedir ve böylece âlem-i kevn ü fesâdda tekevvün ü tahaddüs eden sa'b ü sehl umûr merbût-ı silsile-i meşiyet-i Cenâb-ı Rabb-ı Kâdir'dir.* Kâmil Pasha, 84-85.

³²⁴ The Arabic translation reads:

هل تعتقد يا تلميذك ان روحك الان في قبضة الامواج و انها تفارقك بدون ارادته تعالى في هذا العجاج فان هذه عقيدة فاسده فان الله هو الفاعل لكل شئ فلا تك جاحده فهو الذي يستحق ان يخاف منه دون الجار فانك لو كنت في اعلا شوامخ الجبال و اراد الله اهباطك في حضيض الهاوية لفعل فهو خالق الافعال.

al-Ṭahtâwî, 175.

<p>qui éclaire tous les esprits, comme le soleil éclaire tous les corps. 'Celui – ajoutait-il – qui n'a jamais vu cette <u>lumière pure</u> est aveugle comme un aveugle-né; il passe sa vie dans une profonde nuit, comme les peuples que le soleil n'éclaire point pendant plusieurs mois de l'année; il croit être sage, et il est insensé; il croit tout voir, et il ne voit rien; il meurt n'ayant jamais rien vu; tout au plus il aperçoit de sombres et fausses lueurs, de vaines ombres, des fantômes qui n'ont rien de réel. Ainsi sont tous les hommes entraînés par le plaisir des sens et par la charme de l'imagination. Il n'y a point sur la terre de véritables hommes, excepté ceux qui consultent, qui aiment, qui suivent cette <u>raison éternelle</u>; c'est elle qui nous inspire quand nous pensons mal. Nous ne tenons pas moins d'elle la raison que la vie. Elle est <u>comme un grand océan de lumière</u> : nos esprits sont comme de <u>petits ruisseaux qui en sortent et qui y retournent pour s'y</u></p>	<p><u>envâr-ı mukaddese-i ilâhiyyenin ukûl-ı insâniyye üzerine lutf-ı te'sîri ne büyük kudret ü azîmettir</u> deyinceden Mentor "bu nûr-ı hakîkîyi basar-ı basîretle görmeyenler şems-i münîr senede bir kaç mâhada bir kere tulu' ü tenvîr eylediği diyârda diûnyâyâ gelen evlâd yâhud nâ-bînây mâder-zâd gibi mâhiyyât-ı hakâik-i eşyâyı görmeyüb gördükleri evhâm u <u>hayâlât-ı suveriyye dâiresinde hâim ü hayrân ve min kabîl-i zill-i zâil olan huzûzât u şehvât-ı nefsâniyye şerâbıyla sekrân ü sergerdân olduklarından insân-ı hakîkî itlâkına şâyân olmayub asıl <u>insân-ı kâmil enhâr-ı ukûl-ı beşeriyye bahr-ı muhît-i zât-ı ehadiyyetten münşâ'ib ve dönüb dolaşub oraya âid ü muhtecib olduğunu idrâkle tasavvurât-ı efkâr-ı hayriyyeyi kulûb-ı ibâdîne ilhâm ve ef'âl-i seyvie-i teemmül ü icrâda muâhaze vü ithâm eden hazret-i Mâlikü'l-mülk ve'l-melekûtun kemâl-i izzet ü azametîne ilm ü vukûf-ı muhît ü şâmil olanlardır</u>" der idi.</u></p>	<p>بإفاضة المعارف في الأذهان كما ان الشمس تضي في ساير الاكوان فكل من حرم هذا النور الروحاني الخالص عن شوائب الديجور فهو اعمى و اكمه يقضى حياته في الظلمة كاهالي البلاد التي لا تطلع عليهم تلك الشمس عدة شهور من السنه فذلك المحروم يظن انه عاقل وهو حماد و عن حقايق الاشيا في غفلة وسنه يظن انه يبصر كل شى وهو فاقد البصر والبصيره و اذا مات كانه لم يشاهد من الحقايق خطيرة ولا حقيره و قصاري الامر و نهاية الحال انه يتصور اشيا مبهمه وقضايا معجمة. ليست من باب الحقايق بل من قبيل الوهم والخيال و هذا صفة الناس الذين تستميل الشهوات حواسهم الخمر و تجذبهم جوانب الجمالات الظاهرة الخيالية التي كانها اليوم لم تغن بالامس فلا يقال للرجال انهم ارباب حقيقة و كمال الا اذا كان لهم عقول لدنية لها يستشيرون والي اقتباس انواراويها يرجعون ولايقفون الا ما به عليهم حكمت العقول التي هي انوار ربانية اليها كل حكمة توول فالذات العلية المتصفة بصفة التدبير هي التي تلهمنا الخير و فعله و عليه تثيب و لا ترضى منا الشر وتواخذنا به في يوم عصيب وهي التي اوجدت فينا الحياة و العقل فهي في ازليتها ملتبسة بالمعما والخفا وفيما لايزال بحر انوار محيط باهل الصفا و عقولنا كالجداول والغدران تخرج من هذا البحر و ترجع اليه و هذا تمام مذاكرتهما بالبيان والتبيان.</p>
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<p><i>perdre.</i> <i>Quoique je ne comprisse point encore parfaitement la profonde sagesse de ces discours, je ne laissais pas d'y goûter je ne sais quoi de pur et de sublime; mon cœur en était échauffé et la vérité me semblait reluire dans toutes ces paroles. Ils continuèrent à parler de l'origine des dieux, des héros, des poètes, de l'âge d'or, du déluge, des premières histoires du genre humain, du fleuve d'oubli où se plongent les âmes des morts, des peines éternelles préparées aux impies dans le gouffre noir du Tartare, et de cette Champs Élysées, sans crainte de pouvoir la perdre.</i>³²⁵</p>	<p><i>Bu kelimât-ı dakâik gâyâtı her ne kadar tamâmen derk ü fehm edemez isem de sem' vü kalbime te'sîr-i acîbinden lezzet-yâb ve gâh bî-gâh rû-yi deryâda dehşet-efzâ-yı vukû' olan garâib-i hâlâta nazar-endâz-ı istiğrâb olub gider idik.</i>³²⁶</p>	<p>ولو اني ما فهمت حقيقة هذه المذاكرة العميقة ولا اتقنت سر حكمتها الدقيقة فقد ادركت انها احتوت على عقائد صحيحة رفيعة الشأن و ذكات في الالهيات حسان فداخل قلبي منها حماسة و شجاعة تصديق و ظهران الحقيقة ترجع الى تلك الكلمات بالتحقيق ثم استمر كل من منظور و جزائيل يبحثان عن حقايق الالوهية على راي اليونان و فحول الرجال و الشعرا المفلقين في ذلك الزمان و على زمن الهنا و ايام السعد في جاهلية الاغارقة البالغة في الراحة الحد و جرت المحادثة لذكر الطوفان الذي صارت به الدنيا في تلك الاحقاب الخالية غارقة و التواريخ الاولية من خليفة الانسان و ذكر برزخ الارواح و البعث و النشور و دخول اهل السعادة في دار السعادة و اهل الشقا في دار الشقا.³²⁷</p>
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The translators both rewrite this passage with Islamic terminology, where the Supreme Power, for example, becomes the Creator of the heavens and the earth (*Hâliku's-semâvât ve'l-'ard*) in Turkish and the Sublime Essence (*al-Dhât al-'Aliyya*) in Arabic; and the light becomes a spiritual substance (*jawhar*) or spiritual Light (*al-Nûr al-Rûhânî*) in Arabic. It is from that ocean of light that, for Fénelon, our souls issue and are a sort of rivulets that afterwards return to it, and are lost in its immensity. However, what the translators do with this passage is to put it into an Islamic mystical/philosophical discourse. The Turkish translation ends with Télémaque's words that although he could not

³²⁵ Fénelon, 134-135.

³²⁶ Kâmil Pasha, 61-62.

³²⁷ al-Ṭahtâwî, 128-129.

completely comprehend the wisdom of these words, his heart was warmed and drew sublime pleasure from it. His account of their talk about the origin of the gods, of heroes, poets, the golden age, the deluge, the first histories of mankind, the river of oblivion in which the souls of the dead are plunged, the eternal punishments prepared for the impious in the black gulf of Tartarus, and that happy peace which the just enjoy in the Elysian fields without any fear of forfeiting, is omitted. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's translation of this last point displays how he adapted the text for his potential readers. He renders, for example, "origin of gods" as "the truth of divinity according to the Greeks." While *Tartare* and *Champs Élysées* were omitted or altered, the last sentence is written according to Islamic belief. He writes that part of their talk was about the *barzakh* (according to Islamic belief, a place where the souls of the dead await the Day of Judgment), about spirits, resurrection, the entrance of the people of happiness into the abode of Happiness (*dâr al-Sa'âda* instead of *Champs Élysées*) and the people of impiety into the abode of Misery (*dâr al-Shaqâ* instead of *Tartare*).

Although al-Ṭaḥṭâwî earlier translated a book on Greek mythology and wrote a preface about mythology to the translation, in this text he consciously adapted the Greek deities in such a way that they fitted in with Islamic religious ideas, just like Kâmil Pasha did. The reason is obvious: they were translating this book for readers who were mostly Muslims who believed that their religion was the last and most perfect form of monotheist religion. There could be no question of translating Greek polytheist literature into their languages. After all, what kind of wisdom or morals could a pious Muslim learn from a book that spoke about pagan deities? The translators were well aware of this fact and, presumably, did not want this aspect of the book to hamper the message they wanted to convey with it.

It is true that the translators were concerned with artistic expression; however, their main concern was communicating the political thought expressed in the *Télémaque* to the widest possible audience of Arabic and Turkish readers. The book was seen both by the translators and readers as a *Nasîhat-nâme* or *Siyâset-nâme*, a genre that had a long history in the Islamic world and was also known under the titles *Naşîḥa al-Mulûk*, *Âdâb al-Mulûk*, *Tuhfa al-Mulûk*, or *Naşîḥa al-Sulṭân wa al-Wuzarâ*, corresponding to the genre of medieval European literature known as "Mirrors for Princes" or *Fürstenspiegel*. As a genre of classical Islamic literature, its origin goes back mostly to pre-Islamic Persian literature, if not even to Ancient Greek and Indian

literature. Yet, it was very thoroughly adapted into Islamic literature. The genre in Arabic was developed towards the end of the Umayyad period and retained an enduring interest for later generations. Written in Arabic, Persian and, later on, Turkish by a wide range of authors such as ministers, bureaucrats, philosophers, and historians, this genre consists, mainly, of advice to rulers and their administrators on politics and statecraft, the ruler's comportment towards God and his subjects, and general advice on ethics.³²⁸ The subject of politics and statecraft, which also includes ethics, was dealt with basically from three perspectives in the Islamic world. First, it was discussed from a philosophical or idealistic point of view. Second, the subject was examined from the Islamic perspective in the civil law section of jurisprudence literature. The third perspective was offered in these *nasîhatnâmes* written for the sultans, viziers or statesmen as a practical guide for statecraft and ethics, a very famous and influential example of which is Nizâmü'l-Mülk's *Siyâsetnâme*. To these, we should also add the Ottoman *Lâyihas* (memoranda), which were written upon the order of the sultan or viziers to analyze the causes of the decline in the administrative and social system, and to write their observations, diagnosis and proposals for remedies.³²⁹

What concerns us here is the genre of *Siyâsetnâme* or *Nasîhatnâme* which consists of advice on practical ethics, *akhlâq*, and of politics and statecraft embellished with verses from the Qur'ân, the sayings of the Prophet (*hadîth*), aphorisms and didactic tales of ancient kings, previous caliphs and sultans, and the personal experiences of its author. Most of these *Mirrors* were written by bureaucrats, administrators, or by government officials who were knowledgeable about the statecraft by experience. They were concerned with the practical aspect of the political action, rather than theoretical or philosophical aspects of politics. Their source of advice was religious and ethical principles besides their own experience.³³⁰

³²⁸ C. E. Bosworth, "Naşîhat al-Mulûk," *EI*, v.7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965): 984-988.

³²⁹ H. H. Adalıoğlu (trans. and ed.), *Sultana Öğütler: Alâeddin Keykubat'a Sunulan Siyâsetnâme* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınları, 2005): 12-54; C. H. Fleischer, "From Şeyhzade Korkud to Mustafa Âli: Cultural origins of the Ottoman *Nasihatname*," *Varia Turcica* XV (1990): 67-77.

³³⁰ A. Uğur, *Osmanlı Siyâset-nâmeleri*, 2nd ed., (Kayseri: Erciyes Üniversitesi Yayınları, 1987), 76; Bosworth, "Naşîhat al-Mulûk;" Fleischer. About the genre, see, also, A. S. Levent, "Siyaset-nameler," *Türk Dili Araştırmaları Yıllığı, Belleten* 217 (1962): 167-194; B. M. Tahir, *Siyâsete Müte'allik Âsâr-ı Islâmiyye* (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası, 1330) in Süleymaniye Library, İzmirli Hakkı-1805; B. Lewis, "Ottoman

The decline of the Empire and reforms were among the most common subjects treated by Ottoman authors in the late Ottoman period. Fénelon's *Télémaque* fitted perfectly into this genre and the translators meant it to be a manual of political conduct, textbook of ethics and of education. New ideas presented in the book would, thus, infiltrate Ottoman intellectual and political life. In the following we will investigate how these new ideas were appropriated into the Arabic and Turkish languages.

5. New ideas

The main topics of classical advice literature are: sovereigns are the beloved and blessed servants of God and their subjects are entrusted to them by Him; the basis of the sultanate is justice; the sovereign should show his gratitude to the people by administering with justice; the conditions of sovereignty and the expected habits of the sovereign; the essential virtues necessary for the sovereign; the articles of the religion and law; the situations that should be refrained from; the benefits of counseling; the boon companions of the sovereign; the appointment of competent people to the state affairs; observing the ranks; advice on finance, treasury, land, agriculture, trade and taxation; the conditions of the subjects; the attitude of the sovereign to viziers, judges and learned men; the relation of the sovereign with subjects and his listening to their complains; his conduct of the military service; the oppression of administrators; the conditions of the officials; the punishments of the *sharî'a*; international relations; what should be done against enemies; things to do during states of war and peace; obedience to the laws and customs; administrative duties; the condition of the court and the servants; the basic principles of the governance; the reasons of the decline of the state and the like.³³¹

observers of Ottoman decline," *Islamic Studies* I/1 (March 1962): 71-87; R. Murphey, "The Veliyyuddin Telhis: Notes on the sources and interrelations between Koçi Bey and contemporary writers of advice to kings," *Bellesten* 43/169-172 (1979): 547-571; P. Fodor, "State and society, crisis and reform, in 15th-17th century Ottoman mirror for princes," *AO Hungaricae* 40 (1986): 217-240; V. H. Aksan, "Ottoman political writing, 1768-1808," *IJMES* 25/1 (February, 1993): 53-69.

³³¹ Levent, "Siyaset-nameler." For the classical sources of *siyâsetnâmes*, see, H. H. Adalıoğlu, "Siyasetnâmeler'in klasik kaynakları," *Osmangazi Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 5/2 (Aralık 2004): 1-21. For the attributes of statesmen in

If we compare these topics with those of the *Télémaque*, they are very similar; however, the sources of this new “*siyâsetnâme*” would shift in its pages from revelation and Islamic culture to reason and experience, nature and simplicity, and French Enlightenment ideas; moreover, this time the subject would be treated in a new genre, that of romance. The translations had two important functions. Firstly, they described the necessary qualities and duties of a sovereign, and thus presented a kind of handbook for rulers. Secondly, as Mardin states, they were meant for “social mobilization,”³³² in the process of which people become acquainted with new patterns of modernization. While the previous advice literature was explicitly directed to sultans, viziers, or high officials, this new kind of “Mirror” was also directed to the public.

In one of his letters, Fénelon writes that “it is a fabulous narrative in the form of a heroic poem, like those written by Homer and Virgil, into which I incorporated the major lessons suitable for a prince who by virtue of his birth is destined to reign...”³³³ As Davis states, it is very evident from the episodic structure, descriptive details, didactic qualities, historical and geographical details of the romance that Fénelon turned to the works of many ancient authors, besides Homer and Virgil; in particular, those of Aristotle, Plato and Plutarch. To which one should add the seventeenth century adventure novels and the novelistic form of imaginary voyage.³³⁴ The Platonic view of the cardinal virtues, such as prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance, is presented by Fénelon as the most important qualities of the prospective ruler. He teaches his pupil that the great victory is the one obtained over one’s passions;³³⁵ the glory is to endure affliction and spurn pleasure with disdain. Shipwreck and death are less fatal than those pleasures that threaten virtue;³³⁶ belief in gods helps one to endure difficulties; one should endure any hardship, rather than lie, even if the only way to protect oneself is to lie.³³⁷

The themes of love of virtue and the fear of wounding religion were much appreciated by the translators. In a passage where they talk about vices, Fénelon teaches his pupil that the gross vice excites abhorrence, but modest

siyâsetnâmes, see, N. G. Ergan, “Siyasetnamelerimizde çizilen “Devlet Adamı” portresinin temel özellikleri,” *Bilig* 8 (Kış, 1999): 27-43.

³³² Mardin, 243.

³³³ Quoted from Davis, 90.

³³⁴ For the background and sources of Fénelon, see, Davis, 90-92.

³³⁵ Fénelon, 88.

³³⁶ Fénelon, 69-70.

³³⁷ Fénelon, 114-115.

beauty is much more dangerous: in loving it we imagine we love only virtue, and thus are inadvertently caught by the delusive bait of a passion of which we are seldom aware until it is too late to extinguish it.³³⁸ Whatever is contrary to virtue and to the will of the gods is worthless. Without liberty, virtue, and glory an immortal life is also pointless; for that life would only be so much more miserable, inasmuch as it would never end.³³⁹ All pleasure should be derived from wisdom. The pleasures to be indulged in are the ones that will relax the mind, yet leave one in possession of oneself. These should be calm and serene, which do not take reason from him and do not turn him into a savage brute.³⁴⁰ The freest man is the one who is subject only to the gods and to his reason.³⁴¹ The most wretched of all men is a king who thinks himself happy while making others miserable. He is doubly wretched. Because he is so blind that he cannot see his misery and the truth cannot reach him through such a crowd of flatterers.³⁴² Here, we would like to draw attention to the point that, as in all subjects of the book, the ethical principles are based on reason and experience. Notwithstanding the similarities or sometimes incontestable common points, there was a fundamental difference between the newly presented morals and the traditionally accepted ones. For the traditional ones were based on the tenets of Islamic belief, thus deriving their legitimacy from the revelation of God, whereas the the new ones would bring forth important questions about the origin of ethics.³⁴³

At the end of the description of the idyllic country, *La Bétique*, where the sages are indebted to simple nature alone for their wisdom, and the inhabitants are simple in their manners and happy in that simplicity,³⁴⁴ Fénelon writes: “Télémaque listened to Adoam with pleasure, and was very glad to find that there was yet a people on earth who, by following nature and right reason, were at the same time so wise and so happy.”³⁴⁵ The simplicity so agreeable to nature and giving away all the superfluities that are the inventions of vanity and luxury were much in tune with Islamic culture. However, the romantic concept of nature (*ṭabî‘a* and *fiṭra* in the Arabic translation or *tabî‘at* in the Turkish one)

³³⁸ Fénelon, 173.

³³⁹ Fénelon, 174-175.

³⁴⁰ Fénelon, 203.

³⁴¹ Fénelon, 150.

³⁴² Fénelon, 150-151.

³⁴³ For a critique of this aspect of the Turkish translation, see, the next chapter.

³⁴⁴ Fénelon, 205, 207.

³⁴⁵ Fénelon, 212.

together with reason would give rise to important discussions, particularly about religion and science, among the intelligentsia by the late nineteenth century.³⁴⁶ Moreover, whether the translators were aware of it or not, the alteration of the references from divine to human would, in the long turn, undermine the basics of Ottoman thought, state and society, which were founded on Islamic principles. Even if they were aware of the fact that modernization might lead to serious consequences for religion, they devoted their attention, like many other reformers, to political and administrative reforms. For, it was more vital to find concrete solutions for the existing problems of the state and society than to think of possible aftermaths that could be confronted in the long term.

Because of the maritime trade with the Venetians, Genoese, Dutch, English and French, and the land routes extending to Northern Europe, Ottomans had been in communication with the West since the very beginning of the fourteenth century.³⁴⁷ Besides commercial relations, travelers and European diplomats in Ottoman lands were also channels of contact between Ottomans and Europeans. The Ottomans followed new developments in Europe, though very selectively, especially in the fields of war technology, mining, clock-making, compass, geography, cartography, astronomy and medicine.³⁴⁸ However, Ottoman-European relations experienced a drastic change from the eighteenth century onwards. After its military defeats, the Ottoman state sent envoys to European countries, and asked them to report what they saw in these countries. Called *sefâretnâmes*, these reports became new doors opening to Europe.³⁴⁹ Moreover, some of these envoys shared their

³⁴⁶ Ahmed Midhat Efendi translated J. W. Draper's History of the Conflict Between Religion and Science from French (*Les conflits de la science et la religion*) under the name *Nizâ-ı İlm ve Dîn* between 1895 and 1900 in Istanbul. See, also, his article in the journal of *Dağarcık* about science "İlim ile Fen," 1 (1288): 26-29; A. Doğan, *Osmanlı Aydınları ve Sosyal Darwinizm* (Istanbul: İstanbul Bilgi Üniversitesi Yayınları, 2006). For the Arab world, see, for example, H. Sharabi, *Arab Intellectuals and the West: the Formative years (1875-1914)* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1970); M. Elshakry, "Darwin's Legacy in the Arab East: Science, Religion and Politics, 1870-1914," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 2003).

³⁴⁷ Karpat, *The Ottoman State and Its Place in World History*, 7.

³⁴⁸ İhsanoğlu, "Ottoman science," and his "Introduction of Western science."

³⁴⁹ F. R. Unat, *Osmanlı Sefirleri ve Sefaretnameleri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 1968). F. M. Göçek, "Encountering the West: French Embassy of Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi: 1720-1721," *Varia Turcica* XV (1990): 79-84. H. Korkut, *Osmanlı Eliçileri Gözü ile Avrupa* (Istanbul: Gökkuşbuğu, 2007).

knowledge with Ottoman intellectuals. For example, Yirmisekiz Mehmed Çelebi, who visited the Observatory in Paris in 1721, examined modern astronomical instruments and held discussions with Cassini, conveyed his impressions and observations to Ottoman astronomers.³⁵⁰ In 1793, Sultan Selim III decided to establish permanent diplomatic representation in certain European capitals. These permanent ambassadors would have a staff of young men in their entourage who would also learn foreign languages besides their duties. Thus, Ottoman officials began to study European languages and gain direct knowledge of Western culture.³⁵¹ This was the beginning of the representation of Europe in the eyes of Ottoman elite as a source of admiration. Although the Ottomans were eager to borrow only technical elements from Europe, especially in the field of military science, by the mid-nineteenth century onwards they would appreciate the adoption of Western forms in administration, law, education and even social customs.³⁵²

In the course of reorganization of the state and society, the best model had to be looked for in the West, which had the technical, the economic and thus the political power. For the two translators of the *Télémaque*, who served for the state in important posts and who were cognizant of both their own tradition and the power of the West, the remedy was in the West. The *Télémaque*, for them, was a kind of manifesto of the modern state organization. In Salente, Fénelon creates a utopia to show his pupil a model government and a society ruled by laws and regulations. His reforms include every detail related to statecraft, such as the implementation of laws, good governance, commerce, maritime, agriculture, ethics, public education, the regulation and control of dress and diet of the people, house furnishings, architecture, music and all kind of arts, reduction of everything to a noble simplicity and frugality, banishment from the country of everything that is subservient to pomp and luxury.³⁵³

The new Western state organization and the novel ideas related to it would be introduced with existing terminology, albeit loaded with new content. Even though one of these translations was done in the metropolis of the Empire and the other in an important province, they were both the product of the idea that reforms or reconstruction based on Western principles were inevitable.

³⁵⁰ İhsanoğlu, "Introduction of Western science."

³⁵¹ Findley, "The foundation of the Ottoman Foreign Ministry."

³⁵² H. İnalçık, "Some remarks on the Ottoman Turkey's modernization process," in *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, 49-57.

³⁵³ Fénelon, Book X.

a. The fatherland (*waṭan*) and patriotism

Both translators use the term *waṭan* (pl. *awṭân*), or *vatan* in Turkish, for the French *patrie*. The word *waṭan* does exist in the classical Arabic; however, it was not a political term, but denoted simply one's place of birth or residence. It was often used in the sense of "homeland" or "fatherland," and the love of the fatherland was a sign of belief in terms of religion.³⁵⁴ According to Lewis, the earliest examples of its use in a political sense occurred in the report of the Turkish ambassador to Paris after the French revolution.³⁵⁵ The introduction of the idea of *waṭan* by Ottoman officials spread into various parts of the Empire and became an integral concept of the political vocabulary of the Islamic world from the late nineteenth century onwards.³⁵⁶ The Arabic word *waṭaniyya*, used for nationalism and patriotism at the end of the nineteenth century, was also derived from the same root.³⁵⁷

Turning to the translations, the idea of *waṭan* (fatherland) and *ḥubb al-waṭan* (love of the fatherland or country) was the cornerstone of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's thought and all his endeavors, including the translation of the *Télémaque*. His introduction to the translation is also based on the idea of "love of the country." This country was no longer the Empire but, more specifically, Egypt with her pre-Islamic and Islamic history full of glorious episodes, territory, culture and values. With his patriotic poems in the introduction, he glorifies his *waṭan*, Egypt, and her rulers, as seen when Fénelon writes in a passage: "Mentor afterwards made me remark the joy and abundance that overspread the whole country of Egypt, in which he counted no less than two and twenty thousand cities. He admired the wise policy of those cities, the justice exercised in favor of the poor against the rich, the proper education of the children, who were accustomed to obedience, to labor, and sobriety, to the love of arts and literature; the precision with which all the ceremonies of religion were performed; the disinterestedness, the love of honor, the honesty in their dealings with men, and the reverence for the gods, which every father infused

³⁵⁴ U. Haarmann, "Waṭan" *EI*, v.11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002): 174-175; The Tradition reads: "*Ḥubb al-waṭan min al-îmân*" (Love of the homeland is a sign of belief).

³⁵⁵ B. Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 40-41.

³⁵⁶ Y. M. Choueiri, *Arab Nationalism: A History: Nation and State in the Arab World* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000), 71.

³⁵⁷ J. Couland, "Waṭaniyya" *EI*, v.11 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2002): 175-176.

into his children. There was no end of his admiring this excellent order.”³⁵⁸ Love of country was the new cement that would mobilize and hold together both the rulers and the people of the country. He was advertising *vatan* in the sense of the French *patrie*, and envisaging a new political system based on French models. This was entailing a restructuring in all spheres of the administration from law to education, agriculture, trade and so forth.

As for Kâmil Pasha, the term *vatan* did not hold any national connotations. For him the fatherland continued to denote the lands of Islam/Ottoman Empire, and thus Egypt was part of that *vatan*. The term was already in use by the mid-nineteenth century in this sense in the Turkish press. All the reforms executed in the metropolis would be useful for all the subjects of the sultan. They were Ottomans and their *Millet* was the religion of the Community to which they belonged, i.e., Muslim, Greek, Armenian or Jewish *Millets*. The term *Millet* comes from the Arabic word *milla*, meaning religion. Later on it implied a community of believers. The idea of nationality in the nineteenth-century European sense did not exist in the Ottoman Empire. It was only from the late nineteenth century onwards that this idea started to gain popularity among the Muslim subjects of the Empire.³⁵⁹ Interestingly, the term *millet* came to be used in modern Turkish for nation or people, *milliyet* for nationality and *milliyetçi* for nationalist. The religious connotations of both terms, *vatan* and *millet*, were dominated by secular meanings. In general, *vatan* referred to a certain territory and *millet* denoted the people, mostly based on ethnicity.³⁶⁰ Kâmil Pasha was, certainly, aware of the national movements and

³⁵⁸ Fénelon, 84. The English versions of the passages are quoted from P. Riley's translation: Fénelon, *Telemachus, son of Ulysses*, ed. by P. Riley, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

³⁵⁹ For the introduction of the idea of nationalism originated in Europe during the nineteenth century, see, for example, P.J. Vatikiotis and C.H. Dodd, "Kawmiyya, nationalism," *EI*, v.4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978): 781-784, 790-792.

³⁶⁰ F. Buhl, "Milla," *EI*, v.7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993): 61; M.O.H. Ursinus, "Millet," *EI*, v.7 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993): 61-64; For a critical discussion of the term *millet*, see, for example, B. Braude, "Foundation myths of the *Millet* system;" and for the relations between the *Millets* and nationality, see, K. H. Karpat, "Millets and nationality: The roots of the incongruity of nation and state in the post-Ottoman era," in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire: The functioning of a plural Society*, ed. by B. Braude and B. Lewis (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, 1982): 69-88, 141-169. Z. N. Zeine, *The Emergence of Arab Nationalism: With a background study of Arab-Turkish relations in the Near East* (Delmar, New York: Caravan Books, 1976),

how they could damage the Empire. For that reason, presumably, he saw the idea of *vatan* as a concept that could come to the rescue of the state.

b. The ruler: From *Zill Allâh* to Fatherhood

A ruler should love his subjects as his own children and enjoy the pleasure of being loved by them. He should behave in such a manner that whenever they experience peace or happiness they will remember that it is their good ruler to whom they owe these rich presents. In the following passage this wise ruler is depicted as a father to his subjects:

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Heureux – disait Mentor – le peuple qui est conduit par un sage roi! Il est dans l’abondance; il vit heureux, et aime celui à qui il doit tout son bonheur. C’est ainsi, ajoutait-il, Télémaque, que vous devez régner et faire la joie de vos peuples, si jamais les dieux vous font posséder le royaume de votre père. Aimez vos peuples comme vos enfants; goûtez le plaisir d’être aimé d’eux, et faites qu’ils ne puissent jamais sentir la paix et la joie sans se ressouvenir que c’est un bon roi qui leur</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English: When I asked “What do you say about the well-being of this people who live under the wise governance of a wise ruler?” He said: “Look Télémaque, when you attain the government of your father, love your subjects and make yourself be loved as a father loves his child and a child loves his father; and be careful to make them say that their riches and comfort are only obtained thanks to you.”³⁶²</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English: When he saw that, Mentor said “what a happy people who are ruled by a wise king, a just sultan; live in welfare, generosity and benevolence; are happy and comfortable under the permanence of his rule which is the reason for the peace.” O Télémaque, if the Omnipotence helps you to take over your father’s rule, you too must govern in this way; bring happiness to your subjects; be loved by</p>
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28-29; A. Ayalon, *Language and Change in the Arab Middle East: The Evolution of Modern Political Discourse* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), 19-21.

³⁶² The Turkish translation reads: “Bir hükümdâr-ı âkilin zîr-i hükümet-i hakîmânesinde bulunan ahâlînin şu sa’âdet hallerine ne dersiniz” dediğimde “bak Telemak, siz de pederinizin hükûmetine nâil olduğunuzda tebe’anızı vâlid veledi ve veled vâlidî severcesine seviüb ve zâtınızı sevdirmeye ve rif’at ü servet ü râhatları ancak sâyenizde husûl bulmuş olduğunu söyletirmeye dikkat etmelisiniz.” Kâmil Pasha, 21.

*a fait riches présents. Les rois qui ne songent qu'à se faire craindre et qu'à abattre leurs sujets pour les rendre plus soumis sont les fléaux du genre humain. Ils sont craints comme ils le veulent être ; mais ils sont haïs, détestés, et ils ont encore plus à craindre de leurs sujets que leurs sujets n'ont à craindre d'eux.*³⁶¹

them, and must love them as if they are the members of your family; treat them in the best way to make them understand that this is the result of your good rule which leads to comfort and love for them; and that you do this as a present which is necessitated by the love inherent in fatherhood. Those despotic kings who only are busy with frightening, terrifying and suppressing their subjects with the intention of providing obedience and preventing distrust, are like an infectious disease and a pest which exhaust people; and go for nothing. Yes, these kings become threatening authority; they are feared as they desire to be, yet, they become hated, detested and the ones whose subjects are afraid of them.³⁶³

³⁶¹ Fénelon, 83.

³⁶³ The Arabic translation reads:

فقال منظور حين رأى ذلك ما أسعد الأمة التي يحكمها ملك عاقل و سلطان عادل تعيش في الرخا والكرم والسخا وتكون سعيدة مرتاحة و تحب دوام ملكه اذ هو السبب في الراحة يا تليماك اذا ساعدتك المقادير بالتولية على ملك ابيك فاحكم هكذا وادخل السرور على الرعيه و احبهم كأنهم عيالک لتحظى بكونهم ايضا يحيونك وعاملهم حسن

While al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's translation is more faithful to the original, though in his own way, Kâmil Pasha is much freer in how he translates what he finds important and in how omits the last part which speaks about a despotic ruler. He, as he wrote in his introduction, wanted this translation to denote the features of a wise ruler. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, on the other hand, preferred to be as faithful to the original as possible and, presumably consciously, chose to include this part as a critique of despotism.

The analogy between father and monarch encapsulated in this short passage is a theme of political theory that also entails the loyalty and the filial devotion of a ruler's subjects, for a son cannot or should not injure his father if he aims to be a good son. At first, there seems to be nothing new or alien to the Ottoman world; yet, this critical transition, from *Zill Allâh fî al-Arḍ* (The shadow [in another way representative-caliph] of Allâh on earth) to fatherhood, signals one of the early conceptual and theoretical shifts between tradition and modernization. While the traditional theory was based on theological arguments, this new idea was referring to the socially-recognized paternal status. As a father, he was bound to care for the daily needs, education and just government of his children. This idea was most attractive to those who were unhappy with the traditional position of the ruler and who wanted to call upon him to be a better, more benevolent father, who would be a devoted father towards all his children, not a master towards his subjects but an ordinary man with a special function in society.

The word *peuple* (in other passages *citoyen*) was translated by al-Ṭaḥṭâwî as *ra'yya* (pl. *ra'âyâ*) referring to the subjects of the ruler throughout the text. The term *ra'yya* is derived from the Arabic *ra'â* (to shepherd). While the ruled subject was called *ra'yya*, the ruler was *râ'î* (a shepherd) in the metaphorical sense of government which perceives the ruler as the shepherd and the people as the flock. This image appears in legal, literary and religious writings including the "Mirrors for Princes" literature since the early times of Islam. However, it developed further and designated the mass of subjects, the

المعاملة بحيث يفهمون ان هذا بحسن تدبيرك ويقصد الراحة والمحبة لهم وان ما تفعله معهم كالهديفة التي اوجبتها المحبة الابوية فالملوك الطغاة التي لا تشغل الا بالتخويف والارهاب وهضم رعاياهم بقصد الاطاعة ومنع الارتياح هم كناية عن طاعون ووباء يهلك بهم الناس ويضيعون هيا نعم ان ملوكهم تصير مهابة يخشى منها السطوة ويحصل مرامهم باظهار القوة والشوكة الا انهم يصيرون مبعوضين ومنهم النفوس تنفر ويخشى عليهم من رعاياهم حيث بهم تنظر.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 51.

tax-paying common people, as opposed to the ruling military and learned classes. In Ottoman parlance, the plural *re'âyâ* was commonly used to denote the tax-paying subjects of the ruler excluding the ruling military (*seyfiye*), bureaucratic (*kalemiye*) and religious (*ilmiye*) classes. Although the term *re'âyâ* was sometimes used for all the subjects of the sultan, including townspeople and peasants, Muslims and non-Muslims, its most common usage was limited to those subjects who did not belong to the aforementioned groups.³⁶⁴

Instead of *re'âyâ*, Kâmil Pasha used the term *tebe'a*, coming from the Arabic *tabî'a* (subjugation) and derived from the root *taba'a* meaning, literally, to follow. The term *tebe'a* was used in classical Ottoman administrative language for Ottoman subjects and also in international treaties and correspondence for the subjects of foreign states.³⁶⁵ However, by the nineteenth century, *tebe'a* had acquired a new meaning with political connotations denoting all the subjects of the sultan in the sense of "nationality," regardless of their religious, social and ethnic differences.³⁶⁶ Notably, with the promulgation of the *Hatt-ı Şerîf* of Gülhâne in 1839, the legal status of the *re'âyâ* was abandoned and replaced by the term *tebe'a*.³⁶⁷ Nevertheless, up until the twentieth century, the Turkish term indicating the political status of the ruled was *tebe'a*, while the Arabic one was *ra'îyya*, both still meaning subjects – not citizens who participate in government. It was with the adaptation of Western political ideas that new terms were coined both in Arabic and Turkish in the twentieth century: the Arabic *muwâṭin* (pl. *muwâṭinîn*), and the Turkish *vatandeş*, both were derivatives of *vatan*, denoting compatriot or fellow-citizen with legal status and rights in a patriotic and nationalistic content, not subject.³⁶⁸ Other related words used in the translations such as *ahâlî* (people) or *jumhûr* (*cumhûr* in Turkish) (the public) did not have any political connotations.

Both translators give priority to change in the concept of the ruler, rather than of the ruled. It is from the ruler, in other words, from above, that reforms had to start, not the other way round. They propagated a ruler who would be successful by appropriating modern political ideas based on reason.

³⁶⁴ S. Faroqhi, "Ra'îyya," *EI*, v.8 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995): 403-406; M. Öz, "Reâyâ," *DİA*, v.34 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2007): 490-493; Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*, 61-62.

³⁶⁵ Ayalon, 141, n.4.

³⁶⁶ Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*, 62-63, 141, n.49.

³⁶⁷ Faroqhi.

³⁶⁸ Ayalon, 43-53; Lewis, *The Political Language of Islam*, 63-64; Couland.

No doubt, this ruler had to be religious; however, to reinforce the shaky state mechanism, the necessary ideas and tools should be looked for not in traditional thought, but in modern Western Europe. There, the ruler was not the shadow of God, but the father of all the subjects living in a certain territory, i.e., a fatherland. For the well-being of the fatherland and the people living in it, the rights and duties of this ruler had to be well-defined by laws.

c. The rule of Law

One of the most important ideas presented in the book was the rule of law. With this principle, no one could be above the law, including the ruler himself. In the following passage the place of law is depicted as being above everything else:

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Je lui demandai en quoi consistait l'autorité du roi; et il me répondit: "Il peut tout sur les peuples; mais les lois peuvent tout sur lui. Il a une puissance absolue pour faire le bien, et les mains liées dès qu'il veut faire le mal. Les lois lui confient les peuples comme le plus précieux de tous les dépôts, à condition qu'il sera le père de ses sujets."³⁶⁹</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>In his answer to my question about the responsibility of the sovereign: "knowing that he is a ruler in order to serve people for providing them with public order and security, the watchful sovereign, who executes his authority on the subjects (<i>berâyâ</i>) entrusted him by <i>Cenâb-ı Bârî</i> (one of the names of Allah), renders public interests, wills to manage works and affairs, refrains from the things that ruin the hearts of people, and submits himself to the judicial ordinances of the</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>I asked Mentor about the authority of the government (<i>al-ḥukûma</i>) and the power of the king and his known sultanate. He said that the king, who has the authority over subjects, executes on them his orders and accepted prohibitions. Yet, he is under the authority of the decrees (<i>aḥkâm</i>) of the country (<i>mamlaka</i>), its code (<i>qawânîn</i>), and its collection of laws (<i>sharâyi</i>); they can do anything to him, execute anything on him; and</p>
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³⁶⁹ Fénelon, 142-143.

	<p>law (<i>ahkâm-ı adliyye-i kânûn</i>).³⁷⁰</p>	<p>they are not easy. He is committed to the execution of the good deed and the implementation of the good affairs. If he wants to do the worst deed, his hands are tied up with chains and the handcuffs of the laws (<i>sharâyi</i>'), the most precious gift and trust, entrusted to him by the people, on condition that he be the father of his subjects in accordance with the laws (<i>sharâyi</i>') and wisdom.³⁷¹</p>
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In al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's translation, the position of the ruler under the law is much highlighted. He has an absolute power when working for the good, but his hands are restrained from doing wrong. The care of the people, the most important of all trusts, is committed to him by laws on condition that he be the father of his subjects. The Turkish rendering of the same passage, though very succinct, also emphasizes the point that the ruler should be bound by the law. The following lines of this passage that "the intention of the laws as one man's promoting the happiness of subjects and not the subjects' service to a single man," are not translated by Kâmil Pasha, though they are by al-Ṭaḥṭâwî.

³⁷⁰ The Turkish translation reads: *Vazîfe-i hükümdârî ne olmalıdır suâlîme cevâbında: "vedî'a-i Cenâb-ı Bârî olan berâyâ üzerine icrâ-yı nüfûz-ı iktidâr eden hükümdâr-ı hûş-yâr âsâyîş ü emniyyet-i halka hizmet hikmetine mebnî hâkim olduğunu bilerek menâfi'-i 'umûmiyyeyi istilzâm eder mesâlih ü umûru tervîce râğîb ve teşfît-i kulûb-ı nâsa sebep verir mevâddan mücânib olub zâtında ahkâm-ı adliyye-i kânûna inkıyâd."* Kâmil Pasha, 64.

³⁷¹ فسالت منظور عن كيفية شوكة الحكومة وبأس الملك وسلطنته المعلومه فقال ان الملك صاحب النفوذ في الرعيه تمشي عليهم او امره ونواهييه المرضيه واما احكام المملكة وقوانينها وشرايعها المدونه فانها بنفوذها تجري عليه وتحكمه وليست هينه فهو مرخص في اجراء العمل الصالح وتقيذ صالح المصالح فاذا اراد اساءة الاعمال فان يديه عن فعلها في سلاسل و اغلال فان الشرايع سلمت له الاهالي وديعة ومن اعظم الهبات والودايع بشرط ان يكون ابا الرعايا بموافقة الشرايع و الحكمة.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 135.

Moreover, al-Taḥṭāwī employs three terms in order to explain the term *les lois*, namely, *aḥkām*, *qawānīn* and *sharīʿa* (plurals of *ḥukm*, *qānūn* and *sharīʿa*).

Aḥkām, the plural of *ḥukm*, signifying decision or judgment, can denote the authority of the Islamic government, the judgment of a *qāḍī* on a concrete case, the positive law as opposed to legal theory or jurisprudence, judicial decisions or the application of legal rules to concrete cases.³⁷² *Qawānīn*, the plural of *qānūn*, the Arabic derivative from the Greek *κανών*, meant any straight rod, a measure or rule, and finally assessment for taxation, imperial taxes and tariff. The word was adopted into Arabic and preserved in Islamic states as a financial term belonging to the field of land-taxes, eventually acquiring the sense of code of regulations or state-law. During the Ottoman period, the term *qānūn* (in Turkish *kānūn*) came to be applied to matters in the domain of administrative, financial and penal law.³⁷³ During the nineteenth century, the term *qānūn* was employed for secular laws of all types based on European models. The activity of making *qānūns*, in conformity with the *sharīʿa*, was presented as being acceptable to religious law and essential for the well-being of *dīn* and *umma*, and often approved by the *ʿulamā*. However, during the reform period of the Ottoman Empire, bureaucrats found their inspiration in European laws, especially in the fields of administration, taxation, penal law, etc., which facilitated the alteration of family law in the early twentieth century and led to a secular legal system.³⁷⁴

Derived from the root *sharaʿa*, *sharīʿa* (pl. *sharāʿi*) designates a rule of law, or a system of laws, or the totality of the message of a particular prophet. In the sense of a system of laws it is synonymous with the word *sharʿ*, which is probably the more common word in juristic literature for divine law.³⁷⁵ From the mid nineteenth century onwards, with the predomination of European legal concepts, ideas and codes, the theological, philosophical and cultural structure of the traditional system underwent a tremendous change, and in the long run *qānūn* replaced *sharīʿa* as a legal term and the notions of *ḥuqūq* and *ʿadāla* underwent a semantic transference.

³⁷² J. Schacht, "Aḥkām," *EI*, v.1 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960): 17; H. Fleisch, "Ḥukm," *EI*, v.3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971): 549-551.

³⁷³ Y. L. de Bellefonds, "Qānūn, i.-Law," *EI*, v.4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978): 556-557.

³⁷⁴ H. İnalçık, "Qānūn, iii.-Financial and public administration," *EI*, v.4 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1978): 558-562; See, also, Lewis, *The political Language of Islam*, 114-115.

³⁷⁵ N. Calder, "Sharīʿa," *EI*, v.9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997): 321-326.

The term *hukûma*, government, is also of interest. Having first been used in early nineteenth-century Turkey, the term passed from Turkish into Arabic in the senses of rule, political authority, dominion, type of government and régime, replacing the Arabic terms such as *siyâda*, *amîriyya* or *tadbîr al-mamlaka*. Later on, following the European practice, a distinction appeared between the state (*dawla* or *devlet*) and the government (*hukûma* or *hükümet*) both in Arabic and Turkish.³⁷⁶ With the introduction of a modern European type of administration in the metropolis by Sultan Mahmûd II and in Egypt by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha, the traditional authority in all spheres of the Empire began to be eroded; and a new group of bureaucrats produced by the reformed or newly established institutions would become the champions of secular administration and modern government. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century, in almost all areas man-made law was pervasive, with the exception of matters of personal status that remained within the jurisdiction of the *Sharî‘a*.³⁷⁷ In another passage it is emphasized that the laws would signify nothing unless the ruler enforced them by his own example:

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>... mais le sage Mentor lui fit remarquer que les lois mêmes, quoique renouvelées, seraient inutiles, si l'exemple du roi ne leur donnait une autorité qui ne pouvait venir d'ailleurs.</i>³⁷⁸</p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Mentor “No, no, it is not like this. Even if you renew and reinforce the laws (<i>kânûn</i>), it will never have any effect and utility, unless you impose what they entail in practice on yourself. So, if you accept the way I explained, people will be pleased to imitate you.”³⁷⁹</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>The Master told him that “even if you renew the affairs in accordance with these decrees (<i>aḥkâm</i>), it means nothing, unless you apply them to yourself till the people follow you step by step; thus, the decrees (<i>aḥkâm</i>) are strengthened and the</p>
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³⁷⁶ B. Lewis, “Hukûma,” *EI*, v.3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971): 551-552.

³⁷⁷ See, F. Ahmad, “Hukûma, i.-Ottoman Empire,” *EI*, v.3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971): 552-554 and P. J. Vatikiotis, “Hukûma, iii.-Egypt and the Fertile Crescent,” *EI*, v.3 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1971): 556-561.

³⁷⁸ Fénelon, 279-280.

³⁷⁹ The Turkish translation reads: *Mentor* “*yok yok öyle değil kânûnu tecdîd ü teşdîd itmeniz de siz müktezâsıyla âmil olmadıkca kat’an te’sîr ve fâidesi olmayacağından dediğim sûreti kabûl etdiğinizde halk sizi taklîd ile hoşnûd olurlar.*” Kâmil Pasha, 181.

		codes (<i>qawânîn</i>) have the authority. ³⁸⁰
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Kâmil Pasha consistently uses *qânun* for *les lois*, while al-Ṭaḥṭâwî renders it alternatively with the terms *aḥkâm*, *qânûn* or *sharî'a*. The reforms in Istanbul from the proclamation of the *Hatt-ı Şerîf* of Gülhâne, the edict of 3 November 1839, and the *Hatt-ı Hümayûn* of 1856, and the Organic Law of 1837, *Qânûn al-Siyâsatnâma*, in Egypt, were significant steps towards modern administration in both centers, which were followed by the reception of European laws to a great extent. For example, in Istanbul, the Commercial Code of 1850, the Penal Code of 1858, the Code of Commercial Procedure in 1861 and the Code of Maritime Commerce in 1863 were particularly the translations of French codes. Almost the same thing happened in Egypt, for the Egyptian codes were on a large scale adopted from the Code Napoleon, in the translation of which al-Ṭaḥṭâwî played an important part.³⁸¹ The idea, however, of the application of man-made laws to the ruler himself was extremely new. Which laws had he to obey? Was it the written man-made laws that the ruler ought to obey? In book V, what we read is:

The original passage :	The Turkish translation rendered into English:	The Arabic translation rendered into English:
<i>C'est ce que Minos, le plus sage et le meilleur de tous les rois, avait compris. Tout ce que vous verrez de plus merveilleux dans cette île est le fruit de ses</i>	These are the admirable and just [points of] Minos' reputable work on law that declares and announces the accounts of public interest. In sum... consists of	This is the purpose of the point of Minos, who is the greatest of all kings known with his perfect reason and policy. The articles of his laws are kept and preserved;

³⁸⁰ The Arabic translation reads:

فقال له الأستاذ ولو جددت العمل على موجب هذه الاحكام فانه يكون كالعدم اذا لم تبدأ بنفسك حتى يسير الناس سيرك قدما بقدم فهذا تقوي الاحكام ويكون للقوانين نفوذ واحكام.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 358.

³⁸¹ About the law reform, see, for example, N. Anderson, *Law Reform in the Muslim World* (London: The Athlone Press, 1976); N. J. Coulson, *A History of Islamic Law* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001); R. H. Davison, "Tanzîmât," *EI*, v.10 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000): 201-209; G. Bozkurt, *Batı Hukukunun Türkiye'de Benimsenmesi: Osmanlı Devleti'nden Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'ne Resepsiyon Süreci (1839-1939)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1996); J. N. D. Anderson, "Law reform in Egypt: 1850-1950," in *Political and Social Change in Modern Egypt*, ed. by P. M. Holt, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968): 209-230.

<p>lois. [...] <i>Les grands biens des Crétois sont la santé, la force, le courage, la paix et l'union des familles, la liberté de tous les citoyens, l'abondance des choses nécessaires, le mépris des superflues, l'habitude du travail et l'horreur de l'oisiveté, l'émulation pour la vertu, la soumission aux lois, et la crainte des justes dieux.</i>³⁸²</p>	<p>designation of ranks, customs and admonitions such as esteem for earning one's living and preserving health care, showing respect for friendly union and for a decent liberty, abstaining from the evil of idleness and taking great care of one's body, constant submission to the laws, and the habit of fear and reverence towards <i>Cenâb-ı Hakk.</i>³⁸³</p>	<p>whatsoever amazing and striking thing you shall see here is the fruit of his code (<i>qawânîn</i>), decrees (<i>aḥkâm</i>) and the result of his collection of laws (<i>sharâyi'</i>) that he constructed and consolidated with his analysis and grip... The great goods of the Cretans consist in health, well being, strength, courage, peace, the union of tribes and clans with a genuine will, the liberty of the unattended people from slavery, the plenty of necessary things, a contempt of superfluties, a habit of continual industry and aversion of idleness, the love of emulation in virtue, submission to the statutes, the fear of Allâh and contemplation.³⁸⁴</p>
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³⁸² Fénelon, 141-142.

³⁸³ The Turkish translation reads: *İşte bunlar Minos ma'delet-me'nûsun esbâb-ı menfa'at-i âmmeyi beyân ü i'lân eden kânûn-ı mu'teberî eseridir ki hütlâsası... kesb-i şeref-i nefse ve muhâfaza-i sıhhat-i vücûda rağbet ittihâd-ı dostâne ve serbestî-i edîbâneye ri'âyet ve belâ-yı râhat-perestî vü ten-perverîden mübâ'adet ile dâimâ hükm-i kânûna inkıyâd ve Cenâb-ı Hakk'dan havf ü haşyeti i'tiyâd misillü ta'yîn-i derecât ve âdât ve tenbîhâtдан ibâretidir. Kâmil Pasha, 63-64.*

³⁸⁴ The Arabic translation reads:

و هذا مطمح نظر مینوس الذي هو اعظم ملك بكمال العقل و التدبير معروف و ناموس قانونه محفوظ ومحروس فكل ما يشاهد من العجايب والغرائب هنا فهو من ثمرات قوانينه واحكامه ومن نتائج شرايعه التي شيدها وايدھا بحله وابرامه... العظيمة عند اهالي كريد هي التمتع بالصحة والعافية والقوة والشجاعة والصلح و اتفاق العشائر والبطون بالنية الصافية وحرية الاهالي المجرد عن الاستعباد وكثرة الاشيا اللازمة واحتقار من عن الحاجة زاد و اعتياد الشغل و الكد مع المواظبه و بغض البطالة وحب التنافس في مكارم الاخلاق وامتنال الاحكام ومخافة الله والمراقبه.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 133, 135.

Again the three terms, *aḥkâm*, *qawânîn* and *sharâyi'* are used by al-Ṭaḥṭâwî in order to explain the term *les lois*. Yet, there is another point here, namely, that these laws were made by Minos, written and preserved meticulously. All the goods of the country and its citizens are the fruit of his laws. While translating this passage, neither al-Ṭaḥṭâwî nor Kâmil Pasha translates *les citoyens*. Instead of employing an Arabic equivalent for *les citoyens*, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî uses *ahâlî*, which means, in a broader sense, people, while Kâmil Pasha omits it altogether.

The Ottoman sultans could enact certain commands and edicts, and issue some regulations and laws in accordance with the principles of the Divine Law. The judicial system of the Ottoman Empire was based, essentially, on *Sharî'a*, the Divine Law of Islam, and the supreme legislator (*Shâri'*) was God himself. The ruler could not change the holy law by which he was as much bound as were his subjects. The novelty in the nineteenth century, under the impact of Western political thought, was that a new system of secular jurisdiction was introduced both in Istanbul and Cairo.

d. Election of the ruler

One of the early republican ideas found in Fénelon's *Télémaque* was that of election (*intikhâb*) of a ruler. This would have spoken to the desire of the Ottoman people to have an impact on the government. Although this was only to consist at first in an indirect election by a council of some sort, the important point was that it would operate in accordance with written laws. From the 1870s onwards Egypt would attain its independence from the Ottoman Empire in matters of administration of law and the judiciary, while in the metropolis the notions of equality before the law and representative government were beginning to prevail. Although it was still very early to talk about the election of the ruler, the idea had a start with the Provincial Law of 1864 which stipulated that administrative councils be formed on the basis of a limited electoral process; yet, it was the 1876 constitution which aimed at institutionalizing a constitutional monarchy and limiting the sultan's power, that truly gave promise of representative government and elections.³⁸⁵ The

³⁸⁵ About the elections in the Ottoman Empire, see, for example, H. Kayalı, "Elections and the electoral process in the Ottoman Empire, 1876-1919," *IJMES* 27/3 (August, 1995): 265-286.

passage about the representative government and elections according to law was translated as follows:

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<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Cependant les plus illustres et les plus sages d'entre les Crétois nous conduisirent dans un bois antique et sacré, reculé de la vue des hommes profanes, où les vieillards que Minos avait établis juges du peuple et gardes des lois nous assemblèrent. Nous étions les mêmes qui avions combattu dans les jeux; nul autre ne fut admis. Les sages ouvrirent le livre où toutes les lois de Minos sont recueillies... Le premier d'entre ces vieillards ouvrit le livre des lois de Minos. C'était un grand livre qu'on tenait d'ordinaire renfermé dans une cassette d'or avec des parfums. Tous ces vieillards le baisèrent avec respect; car ils disent qu'après les dieux, de qui les bonnes lois viennent, rien ne doit être si sacré aux hommes que les lois</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Upon this, the ones in charge of the preservation of Minos's laws (<i>kânûn</i>) and the deputies responsible to maintain the affairs took only the ones entered the examination before the council assembling in the depths of the forest where not everyone could go... They took out the law (<i>kânûn</i>), which was kept in a golden box, praised it that after the heavenly books there is no book more worthy of reverence than this and kissed it with veneration. From their saying, that to manage public affair does not pertain to the ruler and their explaining to people that the truth of the just ruler is a necessity of equable law, my body trembled; and I wished to get old and fortunate like them by being worthy of respect and reverence.³⁸⁷</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Then, we were conducted by the notable and wise men of the Cretans, who were the honest, wise and righteous people (<i>arbâb al-ḥall wa al-'aqd</i>) in the country's business, to the one of the sacred woods, said to be sanctified and secluded from the sight of public and inviolable, where the old men whom Minos had put in charge, ordained to be the guardians of the code (<i>qawânîn</i>) and the laws (<i>sharâi'</i>) and the judges of the people, took us into their sublime council. We were the ones who had been combating in the arenas and enhancing the competition and contest. No other one was admitted into their council except the ones who discussed, struggled, fought, combated and surpassed in the exam cases and</p>
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³⁸⁷ The Turkish translation reads: *Bunun üzerine Minos'un muhâfaza-i kânûnuna me'mûr ve müvekkil-i hall ü akd-i umûr olub herkesin duhûl edemeyeceği ormanın derûnunda akd olunur meclise yalnız meydân-ı imtihâna girenleri götürdüler... bir*

<p><i>destinées à les rendre bons, sages et heureux. Ceux qui ont dans leurs mains les lois pour gouverner les peuples doivent toujours se laisser gouverner eux-mêmes par les lois. C'est la loi, et non pas l'homme, qui doit régner.</i>³⁸⁶</p>		<p>experimental combats. The sages opened the page containing the laws (<i>sharâi</i> ') of Minos and his collected and written code (<i>qawânîn</i>) and his corpus with respect and reverence... The chief among these sages opened the book of Minos' laws (<i>sharâi</i> '). It was put in a golden box, with the most beautiful, genuine and unique perfumes. These sages kissed it and took it to their lips with the intent of blessing and veneration. They said that nothing has the grandeur and excellence as it is, which have the greatness and the veneration. The veneration is obligatory because of its being the book of laws (<i>sharâi</i> ') and decrees (<i>aḥkâm</i>). This is the book of glorious laws (<i>al-sharâi</i> ' <i>karîm</i>) which leads people to the straight path and the right way to attain good and happiness and to gain</p>
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altun sanduk dâhilinde hıfz olunan kânûnu çıkarub "Kütüb-i semâviyyeden sonra bundan büyük kitâb yokdur" sitâyişiyle takbîl ü ta'zîm ve fasl-ı du'âvi-i âmme kâr-fermâyân-ı cihân-bâne mahsûs olmayub hakikat-i hâkim-i âdil muktezâ-yı kânûn-ı mu'tedildir deyu halka tefhîm etmelerinden vücûdum ra'şedâr ve âh ben de bunlar gibi ri'âyet ü ihtirâma sezâ-vâr bahtiyâr ihtiyâr olsam temenniyâtı hâtur-güzâr olur idi. Kâmil Pasha, 69-70.

³⁸⁶ Fénelon, 149-150.

		<p>the best results and further. Those who have the book of ordinances, with which the cases of the people are solved, in their hands are the first ones ought to submit themselves to the law and make it to reign on themselves and ask to be enlightened with the lamp of its canon, the most brilliant lamp in their hands. It is the laws (<i>al-sharī'a</i>), not the man trustee of the domain that ought to reign.³⁸⁸</p>
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The translation technique of both translators is consistent. While al-Ṭaḥṭāwī translates with explanations, synonyms and long sentences, Kâmil Pasha tries to give the content in a succinct way while emphasizing the main ideas, which are, here, the election of the ruler by a council according to written laws. They are both consistent in their usage of the terms, such as Kâmil Pasha's use of *kânûn* and al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's employment of the aforementioned three terms for *les lois*. The expression of *arbâb al-ḥall wa al-'aqd* in al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's

³⁸⁸ The Arabic translation reads:

فعدن ذلك اخذنا اعيان الكريدلية وعقلا وهم من ارباب الحل والعقد في الامور البلدية وساروا بنا الى غايه من الغايات يتبركون بها ويقولون انها حرم التقديس وبعيدة عن اعين العامة لا يداخلها تدنيس و فيها شيوخ طعنوا في السن وقد كان مينوس رتيهم في المشارع والموارد والمشارع امنا على القوانين والشرائع وقضاة على الاهالي فادخلونا في مجلسهم العالي يعني مع من كان ينازل في الميادين المسابقة و يحسن المجارة والمسابقة فلم يدخل في مجلسهم احد غير من ناقش و ناضل وقائل ونازل وامتاز في الوقايح الامتحانية والحروب التجريبية ففتح الشيوخ الصحيفة التي فيها شرايع مينوس وقوانينه مدونة مكتوبة ومجموعه و بالتكريم والتعظيم مصحوبه [...] فاكبر هؤلاء الشيوخ فتح كتاب شرايع مينوس و كان موضوعا في تابوت مصوغ من الذهب الاكسير معطرا باطيب الروايح وازكاها شذا وعبير فقبله هؤلاء الشيوخ ولثموه قصد التبرك والاجلال وقالوا انه ليس بعد عظمه وعزته غير عظم وعزة ذي العظمة والاجلال لانه من كتبه وشرايعه واحكامه واجبه التعظيم فهذا كتاب في الشرايع كريم يرشد الناس الى سلوك الطريق القويم والصراط المستقيم لينالوا الخير والسعادة ويفوزوا بالحسنى وزياده والاكبر الذين بايديهي كتب الاحكام التي يكون بها فصل القضا بين الناس والابرار فهو اول من يحكم على نفسه بها ويجعلها هي الحاكمة عليه ويستضى بنيراس ناموسها الذي هو ابهى نيراس لديه فالشرعيه هي الحاكمة لا الانسان المتولي الملك هو الحاكم.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 147, 149.

translation is also of interest. For the word *arbâb* replaced *ahl* in the classical form of the expression (*ahl al-ḥall wa al-‘aqd*), which meant those qualified to elect or depose a caliph on behalf of Muslims. Whom should they elect as a ruler? They ought to choose the one who is the steadiest in the observance of laws.

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Vous devez choisir, non pas l'homme qui raisonne le mieux sur les lois, mais celui qui les pratique avec la plus constante vertu. Pour moi, je suis jeune, par conséquent sans expérience, exposé à la violence des passions, et plus en état de m'instruire en obéissant, pour commander un jour, que de commander maintenant. Ne cherchez donc pas un homme qui ait vaincu les autres dans ces jeux d'esprit et de corps, mais qui se soit vaincu lui-même; cherchez un homme qui ait vos lois écrites dans le fond de son cœur et dont toute la vie soit la pratique de ces lois; que ses actions, plutôt que ses paroles, vous le fassent choisir.</i>³⁸⁹</p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Nonetheless, the qualifications of the person to be elected should not be limited to his victory in the arena of wrestling with his physical power and sagacity or to his behavior inside the restricted circle of laws. You ought to look for, find and hand over the affairs to a man who overcomes his passions, whose action is always stronger than his words in the execution of law judgments (<i>ahkâm-ı kânûniyye</i>).³⁹⁰</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>It is not the man who succeeds in research and investigation in the books of methodology and rules, but he who is most steady in the observance of them with sturdiness and rules that you ought to choose for the country. Therefore, do not choose one like me, who defeated the others in the fields of rhetoric and bravery, in fact, he himself is defeated among the people. On the contrary, look for a man who has the laws (<i>sharâyi'</i>) engraved and drawn in his heart, who has worked with them through his whole life and made their operation known and understood in his hands, who is the sustainer of his designation and the essential reason of his strengthening, who</p>
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³⁸⁹ Fénelon, 156.

³⁹⁰ The Turkish translation reads: *Me‘a hâzâ intihâb olunacak zâtın sıfât-ı intihâbiyyesi meydân-ı musâra‘ada kuvvet-i bedeniyye vü ferâsetle galebesine ve yalnız dâire-i*

		works with what he knows, neither the one who only has experience nor the one who has the knowledge. ³⁹¹
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It was not enough that the ruler was aware of the fact that new man-made laws were needed for reforms; he had to make them a reality for the sake of his people. In another passage, a despotic ruler was criticized and the people's participation in the election of the ruler and their role in government were encouraged. The ruler had to acknowledge the people and even be aware of their power.

The original passage :	The Turkish translation rendered into English:	The Arabic translation rendered into English:
<i>Un homme – répondit-il – qui vous connaisse bien, puisqu'il faudra qu'il vous gouverne, et qui craigne de vous gouverner. Celui qui désire la royauté ne la connaît pas; et comment en remplira-t-il les devoirs, ne les connaissant point? Il la cherche pour lui, et vous devez désirer un homme qui ne l'accepte que pour l'amour de vous.</i> ³⁹²	It does not work in this way. You ought to choose among you the one who knows you and becomes ruler with the purpose of the love of serving people. ³⁹³	He answered them reasonably by benefiting from the written texts. There are specific tenets about it in its lawful pages. Choose (<i>intakhabû</i>) one who is known by all sages in order to govern you with this degree. Don't you know that it is very rare to find someone who knows how to sustain its burden [rulership], how to refrain from the

mahdûde-i kânûniyyenin dâhilinde hareket etmesine hasr olunmayub şehvât-ı nefsiyyesine galebe ile dâimâ ahkâm-ı kânûniyyeyi icrâda fi'li kavlınden kavî olan kimseyi arayub bulub tefvîz-i umûr etmelisiniz. Kâmil Pasha, 77.

³⁹¹ The Arabic translation reads:

فلا ينبغي لكم ان تنتخبوا للمملكة من بحسن البحث والتدقيق في كتب الاصول والاحكام ولكن رجلا يحسن المواظبة على اجرائها مع الاتقان والاحكام فبنا على ذلك لا تنتخبوا مثلي ممن غلب الباقين في ميدان الفصاحة والشجاعة وهو بنفسه مغلوب في الحقيقة بين الجماعه بل ابحتوا عن رجل تكون الشرايع في لوح قلبه منقوشة مرسومة ويكون اشغل بها مدة حياته وعملياتها لديه معلومة مفهومه فيكون الحامل على انتخابه والباعث على استصحابه عمله بما يعلم لامجرد عمله وتجربته للوقايح لامحض فهمه.

al-Tahtâwî, 162-163.

³⁹² Fénelon, 157-158.

		<p>disease of infectious pest [the desire of power] it brings and knows the way of loyalty among those who wants the power? How can a person conduct something that he does not know its manner and enforce the decrees according to their method? That person wants [the power] to execute his own objective and to find cure for his disease of the desire for power. As for you, you ought to call for someone who does not have his own objectives; if he does not love you, he counters you by turning away from you.³⁹⁴</p>
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Thus the ruler had to use power not for himself but for the people. Here the vision of a ruler who works for his people was significant. We see moreover how the term *millet* in the Turkish translation, normally meaning religion or religious community, is used here in the sense of people.

In a passage where, after a long discussion, a man among the Cretans accepts to rule upon three conditions, we find a criticism of monarchy. The

³⁹³ The Turkish translation reads: *Bu böyle olmaz içinizden sizi bilür ve muhabbet-i hidmet-i millet niyetiyle hükümdâr olur zâti intihâb etmeniz lâzım gelür.* Kâmil Pasha, 78.

³⁹⁴ The Arabic translation reads:

فاجابهم بما هو معقول مما هو منصوب وفي الصحف القانونية له مقال مخصوص انتخبوا رجلا تعرفونه كل العرفان بحيث يلزم ان يحكمكم بهذا العنوان اما تعلمون ان من يتطلب الملك قل ان يفهم حمل اعبائه وما يعود عليه من عدوى اوبائه ولا يعرف طريق وفائه فكيف يدبر ما لا يعرف مقامه وينفذ على وفق الاصول احكامه وانما يتطلب لتمام انفاذية غرضه وشفاء شهيبة مرضه واما انتم فعليكم ان تتطلبوا رجلا خليا عن الاغراض لولا حيكم لقابل اقبالكم عليه بالاعراض.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 164-165.

candidate refuses to rule for life, rejects living in luxury and insists that his children shall not be entitled to any rank, and after his death they shall be treated like all other citizens.

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<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Je n'y puis consentir qu'à trois conditions: la première, que je quitterai la royauté dans deux ans, si je ne vous rends meilleurs que vous n'êtes et si vous résistez aux lois; la seconde, que je serai libre de continuer une vie simple et frugale; la troisième, que mes enfants n'auront aucun rang et qu'après ma mort on les traitera sans distinction, selon leur mérite, comme le reste des citoyens.</i>³⁹⁵</p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>He set forth that he would accept [to rule] if they declared and accepted the three conditions as follows: (the first condition) if I cannot alter your present conditions into a better one within two years and see any defect in your submission to the judgments of law, I abandon the government. (The second condition) I would like to be free from the turmoil of splendour and to be in a simple way as you see now. (The third condition) After me, my children will not be successors or sit in a position of reverence in assemblages. They will be treated according to their skills and the others as one of the children of the people.³⁹⁶</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>He answered that he would accept [to rule] under three conditions. If the conditions are removed, the acceptance will be removed. First, the king will accept it for two years. He deserves to remain in his position after the indication of the period, if he makes the people happier and improves the country more than before, and executes the rules on which the country is based; otherwise, he goes out from the country's door he came in. Second, he should be free, accept to work as a poor man with satisfaction, and should not force people to provide him welfare and opulence; otherwise the authority ruins and the unity falls apart.</p>
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³⁹⁵ Fénelon, 160.

³⁹⁶ The Turkish translation reads: *Ber-vech-i âti şerâit-i selâseyi beyân ve kabulleri takdîrinde kabûl edeceğini dermiyân eyledi: (Şart-ı evvel) İki senede sizi bulunduğunuz hâlden daha hüsn-i hâle tahvîl edemeyüb hükm-i kânûna inkıyâdda kusûrunuzu görür isem terk-i gâile-i hükûmet ederim. (Şart-ı sâni) Dağdağa-i dârâtdan âzâde ve şu gördüğünüz sûretde sâde hâlde bulunmağı isterim. (Şart-ı sâlis) Benden sonra çocuklarım vâris ve mecâlisde mevki'-i ihtirâma câlis olmayub âdetâ evlâd-ı âhâd-ı*

		Third, his children should not have any rank in the country; after his death his children should be treated as an ordinary person according to their qualities, without excessive respect. ³⁹⁷
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The idea that the ruler had to be elected for a limited time was another republican idea. Although there was no direct opposition to the sultanate, the efforts towards the electoral process and constitutional government were the evidence of the impact of Western political ideas. These ideas, together with the conditions of the nineteenth century, would undermine the Ottoman imperial system and pave the way for the establishment of republics in the next century.

The translators were not the most influential intellectuals of their time; however, they played a significant role in legitimizing modernization because of their respected positions within the administrative institutions and society. They were, somehow, spokesmen for the idea that reforms were in conformity with Islam. It was not a coincidence that the translation of the *Télémaque* appeared in this period and was much appreciated by most of the bureaucrats and intellectuals of the time. For, in addition to the ideas encouraging reform policies, new ideas were being spread in the public sphere through translations. By the last quarter of the nineteenth century the transition from traditional/religious ideas to secular ones, particularly in the fields of law and education, was to a substantial degree the product of these early translation efforts.

ahâlî misillü kâbiliyyet ve dîgerlerine göre mu'âmele olunmasını taleb eylerim. Kâmil Pasha, 81-82.

³⁹⁷ The Arabic translation reads:

فاجاب بان يرضى ذلك بثلاثة شروط واذا ذهب الشرط ذهب المشروط الاول ان يقبل الملك بميعاد سنتين فان اسعد الرعية و عمر البلاد اكثر من الاول واجرى اصول المملكة التي عليها المعول استحق الإبقاء بعد ضرب الاجل والا فيخرج من باب المملكة من حيث دخل الثاني كونه حرا مرخصا في كونه يعيش عيشة المقل بالقناعة وان لا يجبر على الرفاهية والسعة والاخلع الملك وفات الجماعة الثالث ان لا يكون لاولاده في المملكة رتبة ولا مقام وبعد موته يعاملون على قدر معارفهم اسوة الاهالي بدون مزية ولا مزيد احترام.

al-Ṭahtâwî, 169-170.

e. How to rule

For the implementation of law and order, a ruler should first discover what he can properly and successfully do and how he can do these proper things with the utmost possible efficiency.

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<p>The original passage :</p> <p>- <i>Voyons - disait Mentor - combien vous avez d'hommes et dans la ville et dans la campagne voisine: faisons-en le dénombrement. Examinons aussi combien vous avez de laboureurs parmi ces hommes. Voyons combien vos terres portent, dans les années médiocres, de blé, de vin, d'huile, et des autres choses utiles: nous saurons par cette voie si la terre fournit de quoi nourrir tous ses habitants et si elle produit encore de quoi faire un commerce utile de son superflu avec les pays étrangers. Examinons aussi combien vous avez de vaisseaux et de matelots. C'est par là qu'il faut juger de votre puissance.</i>³⁹⁸</p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English: Mentor told the sovereign "Let's see the population both in the country and abroad and count it; and see how much of it is available for agriculture, how many sort of yields the existing land will produce to sustain the counted people and to provide for buying and selling from foreign countries in a year; and see how many troops of merchant ships and their crew you have to demonstrate your power whenever you are on the sea."³⁹⁹</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English: Mentor told him that we need to see the count and number of the people in the city and the neighboring to register them in a log; also we need to see the number of the farmers and cottars, and the average quantity of the product that the land yields in a year; that is to say, we need to know neither few nor more but the average amount of the product; the quantity of the wheat, grape, and olive; and apart from that, the amount of the products produced in the neighborhood and that of the shortage. With this method, we will know if the land is enough for its people and inhabitants to provide them with food and sustenance; and if it</p>
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³⁹⁸ Fénelon, 276.

³⁹⁹ The Turkish translation reads: *Mentor hükümdâra "bakalım melekette ve hâricde ne kadar nüfûs vardır ta'dâd edelim ve bunlardan ne mikdârı çiftçiliğe elvirecek ve arâzî-i mevcûde ahâlî-i ma'dûdeyi idâreye ve bilâd-i ecnebiyyeye irsâl ü bey'a yetiŕecek envâ'-i mahsûlâtдан sene-i mu'tedilede ne mikdâr şey verebilecekdir ve her sûya âmed ŕod ile*

		<p>is yielded enough products for foreign trade, after meeting the needs of domestic consumption without any loss. Let's see now, also, how many ships and sailors you have certainly. Thus, we know the measure of your royal authority (<i>shawka</i>), military and political power (<i>quwwa</i>).⁴⁰⁰</p>
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The census of the population and particularly of the laborers among them, the reckoning of annual produce, and the control and encouragement of agriculture and commerce were important steps in the state's economic resurgence. Similarly, naval or military power in general was vital to foreign affairs. In fact, these were for a long time the main concerns of bureaucrats and intelligentsia in the metropolis and in Egypt when it came to revitalizing the government. The reform efforts of Selîm III and Mahmûd II in Istanbul, and Muḥammad 'Alî Pasha in Cairo resulted in centralization and rationalization of the administrative system. In working towards a more rational administrative order, modern statistical methods were required, the earliest example of which was the census of 1830 in Istanbul. A land survey was also made in the same year. By 1864 the population bureaus were established; and it was in 1868 that

kuvvetinizi isbât eyleyecek kaç kıt'a ticâret sefinesi ve ne kadar tâifesi vardır” dedi. Kâmil Pasha, 177.

⁴⁰⁰ The Arabic translation reads:

فقال له منظور ولايد ان تنظر مقدار الناس وكميتهم في المدينة والضواحي المجاورة لئحصبهم عددا في جريدة حاصرة ولننظر ايضا مقدار عدة الفلاحين منهم والمزارعين وكميات محصول ارضيك باعتبار سنة واحدة من السنين حدا وسطا يعني متوسط الحال بين الدون والعال ومقدار ما توديه من الارزاق والاصناف من الحنطة والعب والزيت وغير ذلك من المحصولات الناقصة للخارج في الاطراف والاكناف في هذه الطريقة تعرف هل يمكن ان تكفي الارض اهاليها وسكانها قوتا و غذا وهل يتحصل منها للتجارة الخارجية قدرا كافيا بعد ما يفيض عن حاجة الداخل بدون ضرر ولا اذي و لننظر الان ايضا كم عندك باليقين من السفائن والبحريين في هذا نعرف مقايسة شوكتك الملوكية وقوتك العسكرية والسياسية.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 350-351.

the government first established an office of statistics.⁴⁰¹ In Egypt, during the rule of Muḥammad ‘Alī Pasha, the administration of the religious endowments, the postal service, quarantine, passports, the census, and building services were all made the responsibility of the Department of Civil Affairs, where Kâmil Pasha served as a director for a while. In 1869, five agricultural councils were formed to ascertain necessary supplies and obtain information about the number of villagers, the state of the land and the irrigation works.⁴⁰² In this way, both government and society could be reorganized according to the acquired data. Thus, by means of a literary work, the translators were spreading the idea that statistics was an important tool in a rational administrative system.

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>A ces mots, Idoménée s'écria: - Heureux le roi qui est soutenu par de sages conseils! Un ami sage et fidèle vaut mieux à un roi que des armées victorieuses. Mais doublement heureux le roi qui sent son bonheur et qui en sait profiter par le bon usage des sages conseils! Car souvent il arrive qu'on éloigne de sa confiance les hommes sages et vertueux, dont on craint la vertu, pour prêter l'oreille à des flatteurs,</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English: The sovereign told Mentor “the sovereign who holds in high esteem the word of a loyal counselor such as you is to be preferred to a sovereign who possesses a large army...”⁴⁰⁴</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English: At this moment, Idomeneus shouted for joy and pleasure with <i>takbîr</i> and <i>tahlîl</i> [said Allah is the greatest and there is no God but Allah]. What a happy king who is supported with your wise advices in all affairs. An intelligent companion is more favorable than a victorious army. A king, who knows how to achieve happiness for himself and seizes the opportunity of submission to the advice of intelligent people</p>
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⁴⁰¹ K. H. Karpat, “The Ottoman adoption of statistics from the West in the 19th century,” in *Transfer of Modern Science & Technology to the Muslim World*, 283-295. See, also, B. Lewis, *The Emergence of Modern Turkey* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), 88-89.

⁴⁰² F. R. Hunter, *Egypt Under the Khedive 1805-1879: From Household Government to Modern Bureaucracy* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1999), 19, 45.

<p><i>dont on ne craint point la trahison.</i>⁴⁰³</p>		<p>among his fellow men, is doubly happy and surrounded twice by happiness. For the king, in general, refrains from sitting with intelligent people; keeps away from the support of virtuous people and is afraid of their good manners and integrity among people; keeps flatterers and hypocrites close to himself, listens to their words, carries their burden of dispute and alliance, eventually, these attachments fall into mud and the friendship of this duty is experienced.⁴⁰⁵</p>
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To implement all necessary reforms, the ruler had to have wise and faithful counselors around him, not flatterers. While it was enough for Kâmil Pasha simply to translate the statement that a wise and faithful counselor was more serviceable to the ruler than victorious armies, al-Taḥṭâwî expands at length on how rulers are misled by those flatterers and hypocrites around them. The ruler, al-Taḥṭâwî writes, had to employ wise counselors chosen among his own people (*abnâ jinsihi*), not foreigners.⁴⁰⁶ Since the time of Muḥammad ‘Alî

⁴⁰⁴ The Turkish translation reads: *Hükümdâr Mentor’a “sizin gibi bir müsteşâr-ı sâdıkn kelâmını zîver-i sem ‘-i i ‘tibâr eden hükümdâr bir ordu-yı cesîme mâlik olan hükümdâr üzerine da‘va-yı rüchân ü galebeye lâyük ü sezâ-vâr olub...”* Kâmil Pasha, 169.

⁴⁰³ Fénelon, 268.

⁴⁰⁵ The Arabic translation reads:

فصاح عند ذلك ايدومينوس صباح فرح وسرور وتكبير وتهليل وحيور ما اسعد الملك المعضد بنصايحك الحكيمه في جميع الامور فالمصاحب العاقل خير للملك من الجيش المنصور فالملك الذي يعرف تحصيل سعادة نفسه ويحسن ان يفتنم فرصتها بالانقياد لنصايح العقلا من ابنا جنسه هو سعيد مرتين ومحفوف بسعادتين لان الملك غالبا يتجنب مجالسة العقلا ولا يتقرب من مواسه الفضلا ويخشى من حسن سلوكهم واستقامتهم بين الملا ويدني ارباب الملوق والنفاق ويسمع مقالهم ويجمل افعالهم في الخلاف والوفاق.

al-Taḥṭâwî, 333.

⁴⁰⁶ In 1866, the Consultative Chamber of Delegates was established in Egypt to advise the ruler in matter of administration. Hunter, 51.

Pasha, the high officials were mostly Turks in Egypt; however, from the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the number of Egyptian officials increased and the bureaucratic elite became less Turkish. By the time of Khedive Ismâ'îl, Egyptians were almost everywhere in the government, besides Turks, Armenians and Europeans.⁴⁰⁷ This was, in part, due to a new concept developed in Egyptian intellectual circles, which included al-Ṭaḥṭâwî. This concept was “Egypt,” or being Egyptian, which later would become the core of national identity.⁴⁰⁸ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî was, presumably, referring to this idea when adding to his translation that the advisors had to be chosen from indigenous elements, rather than outsiders such as Turks or Europeans. Another important principle for good governance was that the ruler had to relinquish the judiciary to judges:

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>- Décidez - lui répondait Mentor - toutes les questions nouvelles qui vont à établir des maximes générales de jurisprudence et à interpréter les lois; mais ne vous chargez jamais de juger les causes particulières. Elles viendraient toutes en foule vous assiéger: vous seriez l'unique juge de tout votre peuple; tous les autres juges qui sont sous vous deviendraient inutiles; vous seriez accablé, et les petites affaires vous déroberaient aux</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>When you decide to solve individual conflicts yourself, the people will inundate you and not allow you to examine the essential things, besides the courts and the councils will be futile; accordingly, you should never deal with details but assign them to the law.⁴¹⁰</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Mentor said: about recent events, decide yourself by analogy with what is found in the general law. Your decision about these problems, will, then, become a general law in comparison to which other problems will be solved. The execution will happen according to this base. You will issue general principles which will be the code of the acts. This will be either with your independent interpretation (<i>ijtihâd</i>) or by analogy (<i>qiyâs</i>) and interpretation with an</p>
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⁴⁰⁷ Hunter, 52, 83.

⁴⁰⁸ Hunter, 114.

⁴¹⁰ The Turkish translation reads: *Münâza'ât-i şahsiyyeyi bizzât görmeyi kabûl eylediğinizde halk etrâfınızı sarub başlıca şeyleri mütâla'aya meydân vermeyeceklerinden başka mahâkim ü mecâlis abes hükmünde kalacaklarından müfredât-ı umûr ile kat'â uğraşmayub kânûna havâle eylemelidir. Kâmil Pasha, 294.*

<p><i>grandes, sans que vous puissiez suffire à régler le détail des petites. Gardez-vous donc bien de vous jeter dans cet embarras; renvoyez les affaires des particuliers aux juges ordinaires; ne faites que ce que nul autre ne peut faire pour vous soulager: vous ferez alors les véritables fonctions de roi.</i>⁴⁰⁹</p>		<p>existing verdict. But, do not seek for a conclusion about particular problems; do not give a detailed explanation on each case emerging from the debates among the subjects, do not write the decision and details. This is because both the common people and the upper classes flock to your door and put pressure on you to be a judge to all. In the end you become exhausted; and the judges, charged with jurisdiction, under the rule of you and the virtuous ones will be futile. You undertake the burden of rulership, which is very heavy, yourself; you lose your time with worthless cases and neglect the problems of essential affairs and they get out of your sight and do not occur to your mind. On the contrary, you do not have enough time for particular affairs. Details damage the overview. Oh king! Refrain from opening a gate to such a thing that brings up you congestion and closes the doors of many profits and this, in the end, causes the loss</p>
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⁴⁰⁹ Fénelon, 471-472.

		<p>of objective. Rather, what you need to do is to leave the decision on particular affairs to assigned judges. You only hear the cases about which people assigned to judicial affairs are incapable of. Thus, you reduce your burden, facilitate affairs, and give yourself the opportunity to fulfill the royal duties. This will entail the implementation of essential principles as laws for labor and a code for judgments to maintain public well-being based on sound bases.⁴¹¹</p>
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Here, Ottoman readers were encountering the forerunner of the idea of separation of powers, though it is not fully spelled out. The ruler is merely encouraged to decide on new questions which tend to establish general maxims of jurisprudence, and is warned not to charge himself with judging particular cases. This was the duty of judges. He should look after the decisions that they are unable to make. The ruler, as an executor, was responsible for reflecting,

⁴¹¹ The Arabic translation reads:

فقال له منظور احكم بنفسك في وقائع الاحوال ما دام سبق لها في القنون العمومي قياس وتمثال فحكمك فيها يصير قانونا عموميا يقاس عليه فيما بعد ويجري الامر على هذا المنوال فيتجدد عندك ضوابط كلية ليكون عليها دستور الاعمال وذلك اما باجتهدك المطلق او بالحمل والقياس على حكم محقق ولكن لا تثبت بالحكم في الوقائع الجزئية ولا تفصل المنازعات الواقعة بين افراد الرعيه في كل قضية احكامها مسطوره وفروعها منشوره فانه يزدحم على ابوابك الخاصة والعامه ويتقلون عليك حتى تصير قاضيا لعموم الناس فتكون متاعبك تامه ويكون من هوا تحت احكامك من القضاة والحكام الافاضل توظيفهم بالوظيفة لا فائدة فيه ولا تحته طائل فتتحمل اعباء الملك وحدك وهي ثقيله ويضيع الوقت في القضايا التافهة وتهمل قضايا المصالح الجليله ولا تبدو نصب عينيك ولا تخطر لك على بال بل اوقاتك ليست كافية لمحقرات المصالح المتفرعة فيضر التفاصيل بالاجمال فاحذر ايها الملك ان ترتكب ذلك الامر الذي يفتح عليك ابواب الازدحام و يسد عليك ابواب المنافع الكثيرة لفوات القصد والمرام بل عليك باحالة الحكم في الجزئيات على الحكام الموظفين ولا تباشر من الاحكام الا ما يعجز عنه غيرك من المستخدمين المشرفين فبهذا تخفف على نفسك وتهون عليها الامور وتتحقق من نفسك القيام بالوظائف الملوكية التي ينتج من اجرا كلياتها ان تصير قوانين للعمل وللاحكام دستور لتجري على القواعد المثبتة مصالح الجمهور.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 727-728.

planning great designs, and choosing the proper persons to execute them under him. The perfect government consists in governing those who govern. So the ruler should not concern himself with every detail. That would be the duty of those who are subordinate to him.

The reform policies gradually would lead to the separation of executive and judiciary powers. This was the inevitable consequence of the process of rationalization of government; and the proponents of the reforms, including Kâmil Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, were in support of this transformation. With the translation or adoption of civil codes and the establishment of new courts, the judiciary would become secular and separate from the executive by the second half of the century. According to Fénelon, the religious affairs and the secular ones are to be independent of each other, but to afford mutual support. In a passage where Mentor asks the king not to concern himself with sacred things and to leave the decision on them to skilled and qualified people, the idea of secularization of government becomes more explicit.

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>-Pourquoi - lui répondit Mentor - vous mêleriez-vous des choses sacrées? Laissez-en la décision aux Étruriens, qui ont la tradition des plus anciens oracles et qui sont inspirés pour être les interprètes des dieux: employez seulement votre autorité à étouffer ces disputes dès leur naissance. Ne montrez ni partialité, ni prévention; contentez-vous d'appuyer la décision quand elle sera faite: souvenez-vous qu'un roi doit être soumis à la religion et qu'il ne doit jamais entreprendre de la</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English: Why are you involved in these sacred and spiritual matters (<i>umûr-ı takdîsiyye vü rûhâniyye</i>)? If the government intervenes in the amending and organizing of religious affairs (<i>diyânet</i>) because of its sublimity, instead of guarding it, it makes it a tool of malice, which is illicit. The sovereign should be religious. He should refer the termination of quarrels between sects (<i>mezâhib</i>) to the skilled and qualified people. Without supporting any opponent of the parties, he should ensure the</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English: Mentor told him that there is no point to your intervening in religious affairs (<i>al-qaḍâyâ al-diyâniyya</i>). Rather, resolve the opposition [among the people] and clear up their problems through the ones employed for this purpose. For on these issues, they have the old knowledge and accounts reported from their predecessors. They are the experts on prophecy, astrology and deducing from the occult. The state of oracles is known to them. Oh king! What you should do is to try to eradicate conflict and to</p>
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<p><i>régler. La religion vient des dieux, elle est au-dessus des rois. Si les rois se mêlent de la religion, au lieu de la protéger, ils la mettront en servitude. Les rois sont si puissants, et les autres hommes sont si faibles, que tout sera en péril d'être altéré au gré des rois, si on les fait entrer dans les questions qui regardent les choses sacrées. Laissez donc en pleine liberté la décision aux amis des dieux, et bornez-vous à réprimer ceux qui n'obéiraient pas à leur jugement quand il aura été prononcé.</i>⁴¹²</p>	<p>enforcement of the ultimate decision.⁴¹³</p>	<p>decide on it with what emerges from the experts with justice, reason and without inertia. Do not show favor to a group against the other or to a tribe against the other. Rather, you should execute the decision taken by the experts; to force the party who does not obey what it necessitates; and to execute it in an admissible and conventional way. Know that oh king! A king like you, who has the strong authority, should cling to the rules of his people and be the protector of the divine law (<i>Sharî'a</i>). While doing this, he should utterly submit himself to it without intervening to its order and arrangement; this is peculiar to the representatives of the religion who are the base and dignitaries. If the kings are allowed to intervene in religious decisions (<i>aḥkâm al-shar'īyya</i>); if they direct</p>
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⁴¹² Fénelon, 471.

⁴¹³ The Turkish translation reads: *Bu makûle umûr-ı takdîsiyye vü rûhâniyyeye niçün karıştıyorsunuz. Diyânetin ulviyyeti hasebiyle islâh ü tanzîmine hükûmet müdâhale eder ise styânet edecek yerde garazına âlet eder ki bu câiz değildir. Hükümdâr mütedeyyin olup kat'ı nizâ'-ı mezâhibi ehl ü erbâbına havâle ile cânibeyn mu'ârizeynden hiç birini iltizâm etmeyerek nihâyetü'n-nihâye verilecek karârı halelden vikâye etmelidir. Kâmil Pasha, 293-294.*

		<p>their attention to the principles of current ordinances and set forth that they help religion, it results in leaving religion unsupported and to trample it in an unpleasant way; and they get the ones who knows all the divine law (<i>sharâi'</i>) and the divine ordinances (<i>al-aḥkâm al-dîniyya</i>), which is a trust according to them, as servants. That is to say the kings are the owners of strong power and grandeur, the ones among the people who oppose them are weak and impotent to bear the burden of this authority. Thus, the ordinances (<i>al-aḥkâm</i>) are subjected to alteration, replacement and reformulation with new interpretation and explanation and thereby distorted and exerted according to the kings' instant desire and intent. If the kings intervene into any decision and themselves enter into religious matters, the system is absolutely destroyed. So the religious law (<i>al-Sharâi'</i>) is exposed to a very big threat because of this interpretation and explanation, and, as in</p>
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		<p>other cases, to the violation of its esteem. Legitimate and illegitimate are replaced by another. Oh king! Leave the religious affairs to the representatives of the religion, which is a trust before them. In this way, religious affairs are protected and preserved in your country. You need only be careful to chastise the ones who do not cling to concise ordinances and who are opponents of their sects' decided view.⁴¹⁴</p>
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Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī carefully explains this crucial point at length. Such a separation would limit the possibility of arbitrary excesses by the ruler. However, this was in opposition to the traditional/Islamic theory of politics, according to which there can be no legislative power in the state, since God

⁴¹⁴ The Arabic translation reads:

فقال له منظور لا معنى في تداخلك القضايا الديانية بل فصل خصومتها وحل مشكلها بناط بامة الاطوريه فانهم عندهم في شانها اخبار قديمة وروايات عن اسلافهم اوليه فهم ارباب الخبرة بما يتعلق بالكهانة واحكام النجوم واستخراج المغيبات فامر الكهنوت عندهم معلوم وانما عليك ايها الملك ان تجتهد في خصم مادة الاختلاف وتقطع فيها بما يصدر في شانها من ارباب الخبرة بالعدل والانصاف وبدون اطالة ولاتاجيل ولا ان تظهر التحامل لمذهب دون اخر ولا لقبيل دون قبيل بل عليك ان تنفذ الحكم بما قضى به ارباب الوقوف وتجبر من يتوقف فيه على الاطاعة وتجريه على الوجه المقبول المألوف واعلم ايها الملك ان مثلك من الملوك ارباب السطوة المنبعة يجب عليه ان يمتثل لاحكام ملته وان يكون حامي الشريعة مدعنا لها كل الادعان بدون ان يتداخل في ترتيبها وتنظيمها بل هذا مخصوص بامنا الدين الذين هم دعايم واران فان الملوك اذا جاز تداخلهم في الاحكام الشريعه وصرقوا همتهم في قواعد الاحكام المرعيه وتعللوا بانهم ينصرونها نصرة عليه فهذا عين خذ لانهم لها يدوسها تحت الارجل بصورة غير مرضية وينتج منه انهم يستعبدون جملة الشرايع وامنا الاحكام الدينية التي هي عندهم من جملة الودائع وذلك لان الملوك ارباب سطوة شديده وشوكة قوية اكيد ومن عاداهم من الرعايا فهو عديم القوة عاجز عن ان يتحمل ثقل هذه السطوة فهذا تكون الاحكام عرضة للتعبير والتبديل والتشكيل بانواع التفسير والتاويل وصرق الاحكام عن معانيها الحقيقية وتطبيقها على اهواء الملوك واغراضهم الوقتية فقل ان يتدخلوا في شي من الاحكام وان يدخلوا انفسهم في قضايا الديانات الا ويختل الانتظام فتصير الشرايع بهذه المثابة من التبديل والتغيير على خطر عظيم ويدخلها هتك الحرمة كغيرها ويختلف الحل والتحرير فدع ايها الملك قضايا الديانه لامناء الدين فهي عندهم وديعه وامانه لتكون الشرايع محفوظة ببلدتك ومصانهه ولا تنتهك الا بتاديب من لا يمتثل للمجمل عليه من الاحكام والمخالف لراي مذهبه الذي انحط عليه القرار مما لا نقض فيه ولا ابرام.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, 725-727.

alone was the legislator. What was proposed now was that state affairs should be administered according to man-made law; thus, Ottoman society would be subject to new civil codes, not to the *sharī'a*. This, in turn, would exclude the *'ulamâ* from the judicial system and administration.

The government of a kingdom requires a certain harmony, and thus the formal division of responsibility, the authority and status had to be distributed among civil servants. The ruler could not see everything nor do everything himself, which is why he had to look only at matters of importance:

<p>The original passage:</p> <p><i>Idoménee - continuait Mentor - est sage et éclairé; mais il s'applique trop au détail et ne médite pas assez le gros de ses affaires pour former des plans. L'habileté d'un roi, qui est au-dessus des autres hommes, ne consiste pas à faire tout par lui-même: c'est une vanité grossière que d'espérer d'en venir à bout ou de vouloir persuader au monde qu'on en est capable. Un roi doit gouverner en choisissant et en conduisant ceux qui gouvernent sous lui; il ne faut pas qu'il fasse le détail, car c'est faire la fonction de ceux qui ont à travailler sous lui: il doit seulement s'en faire rendre compte et en savoir assez pour entrer dans ce compte avec discernement. C'est merveilleusement</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>He is dealing with details a lot and not considering the major affairs that need accurate judgment as much as any other. Nevertheless, the role of the sovereign is not to do everything himself; rather, this exalted person who is above everything, should examine and choose ministers of state who administer general affairs, and in the course of events, according to their effort and languor he should promote or lower their ranks and extend to them either reward or punishment. Otherwise, the mind, which gets tired by dealing with details, becomes like the lees of wine, which have no function or taste; and cannot think about primary</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Yes, no one can disclaim that this king is an intelligent, a wise and a learned man. But, he has an attribute that violates position of kingship; that is, he occupies himself with the details of affairs. To solve these problems he exerts his successful thought, his perfect mind; but he is not thinking about them as a whole. However, he could do this by bringing them together under a general law and by envisaging a general principle encompassing all details. He is not putting them into a general form of order before dealing with them. As it is well known, the mastery of</p>
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<p><i>gouverner que de choisir et d'appliquer selon leurs talents les gens qui gouvernement. Le suprême et le parfait gouvernement consiste à gouverner ceux qui gouvernement: il faut les observer, les éprouver, les modérer, les corriger, les animer, les élever, les rabaisser, les changer de places, et les tenir toujours dans la main. Vouloir examiner tout par soi-même, c'est défiance, c'est petitesse, c'est une jalousie pour les détails médiocres qui consomment le temps et la liberté d'esprit nécessaires pour les grandes choses. Pour former de grands desseins, il faut avoir l'esprit libre et reposé; il faut penser à son aise, dans un entier dégageant de toutes les expéditions d'affaires épineuses. Un esprit épuisé par le détail est comme la lie du vin, qui n'a plus ni force ni délicatesse. Ceux qui</i></p>	<p>matters.⁴¹⁶</p>	<p>governance, one of the hardest masteries of human beings, does not consist only of dealing with all affairs himself without looking for individuals. For this is something like abject vanity. One of the obvious aberrations is to believe that a person can oneself be cognizant of details and consequences of affairs. This is not possible. It seems like he wants to give an impression to the hearts of the common people and the notables that he can do everything concerning the governance of kingdom and that he is not in need of anyone's help for order and arrangement (<i>tartīb wa nizâm</i>). One of the attributes of a king, who is good in politics (<i>al-siyâsa</i>) and judgments</p>
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⁴¹⁶ The Turkish translation reads: *Müfredât-ı umûr ile çok uğraşub muhtâc-ı re'yi sahîh olan mesâlih-i cesîmeyi dîgeri derecesinde düşünmüyor. Halbu ki vazîfe-i hükümdârî her şeyi kendi görmekten ibâret olmayub böyle fevka'l-küll bulunan zât-ı mu'allâ cenâb-ı idâre-i umûr eden vükelâyı imtihan ü intihâb edub alâ vechi'l-umûm cereyân-i masâlihde gayret ü rehâvetlerine göre terfî' ü tenzîl-i derecât ve mükâfât ü mücâzât ile çalışdırmaktır. Yohsa mevâdd-ı cüz'îyye ile yorulan zihin kuvvet ü lezzeti olmayan dürd-i şerâba dönüb mülâhaza-i mesâlih-i mühimme edemez. Kâmil Pasha, 288-289.*

*gouvernement par le détail sont toujours déterminés par le présent, sans étendre leurs vues sur un avenir éloigné: ils sont toujours entraînés par l'affaire du jour où ils sont, et, cette affaire étant seule à les occuper, elle les frappe trop, elle rétrécit leur esprit; car on ne juge sainement des affaires que quand on les compare toutes ensemble et qu'on les place toutes dans un certain ordre, afin qu'elles aient de la suite et de la proportion.*⁴¹⁵

(*al-ahkâm*), is to know how to choose good chiefs for major affairs; in other words, he should know how to manage the chiefs of major affairs and their activities and work on a broad administrative level. He does not have to deal with the administration of the details of the works, because this is the duty of the chiefs of the people (*ruasâ al-jumhûr*). What is expected from them is to give him an account of their work; in this way the king knows about them and investigates if they are consistent with the system and law; and thus the works done are agreeable to him. One of his attributes is to have enough knowledge to investigate and discuss the works of his royal administrators. To be distinguished with this attribute is one of the requisites; for this is the most beneficial point

⁴¹⁵ Fénelon, 463-466.

		<p>concerning choosing. If the king knows how to choose the one who has competence for administration and appoints him to a post in order to execute the established orders in a best way, he is the one who rules his country in the best way; he, then, is a great head (<i>raîs</i>), an exalted commander (<i>amîr</i>). The most exalted, the most virtuous, the best and the most perfect level of governance is the king's handling of the qualified people of politics and administration under his authority. This means to choose them for service, work and headship; accordingly, to watch all their doings, observe their conduct in administration and test what they do publicly and secretly. Besides, he should reward, encourage, embellish, conduct, discipline and train in accordance with inquiry and inspection. One of the responsibilities of the</p>
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		<p>king is to revivify, exalt, lower, change and alter the hearts to follow one another in duties and services, and the appearance of the favor of direction and organization. Thus, all of these chiefs become under the authority of the kingdom and entire submission to the sultanate becomes true. As for the king's dealing with all details of the affairs, this is the sign of mistrust in his chiefs, and not putting them in order on the basis of their self-confidence and fortitude. As it is, also, evidence of his attachment to worthless things that do not behoove to the ones endowed with blessing, and that of his inferior determination. A king's desire to deal with details is nothing other than spending his time with worthless things and causing his mind to be busy with worthless things. So the necessary activity and intellectual awareness to think of</p>
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		<p>great affairs exhausted. The intellect loses its luster and weakens; the mirror of the mind rusts, and the truth does not reflect in [this mirror], on the contrary, [this mirror] does not accept the truth. When the king intends to do something astonishing, he should present this to the mirror of pure mind and to the abundant, sufficient and bright platform of the thought. Intellect and thought can contemplate; when one is calm, his mind is far away from tension and his essential concerns, the intellectual ones. The intellect tired and busy with details is like the lees of wine, there is no function in it. There is no taste in the lees of insipid drink taken in a hard time; rather, the taste is in other drinks. The king, who administers detailed works, conducts simple cases and investigates them to the utmost during his term, in fact, views only present</p>
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		<p>situation. His view does not reach at remote future the secrets of which is hidden and unknown. This king views and talks at a time and hour he lives in, cares for the concrete case in his hands, for others, he is not watchful and prudent. This and that case is the one concerns him and makes his intellect busy, but not the others. This concrete case completely overrules him, enters into his thought, and thus, there remains no place in his thought for other things. Because one cannot arrive at a sound decision on objects, without envisaging them before affirmation, organizing them all in order and putting them in a form made up well chosen conclusions.⁴¹⁷</p>
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⁴¹⁷ The Arabic translation reads:

نعم لا ينكر ان هذا الملك عاقل صاحب معرفة ومعلومية ولكن فيه خاصمة تخل بالمناصب الملوكية وهو انه يشغل نفسه كثيرا بجزئيات المصالح ومفرداتها ويصرف فيها فكره الناجح وعقله الكامل الراجح ولا يتفكر في كلياتها مجملاتها بان يستحضرها بقانون عام و يتصورها بمعيار كلي يستوعب فروعها الاستيعاب التام ولا يفرغها قبل فعلها باجمال في قالب الانتظام و من المعلوم ان مهارة الملك التي هي اقوى من مهارة الاحاد ليست العبارة عن كونه ينظر الى كليات المصالح بنفسه بدون نظر الى الافراد لان هذا من قبيل الغرور الفاضح ومن الضلال الواضح ان يعتقد الانسان انه يقتدر ان يقف وحده على جزئيات الامور ونهاياتها مما هو ليس من المقدور فكانه

The ruler has to think through the whole governing process like a maestro or an architect; for, those who govern in detail are always determined by the present, never extending their views to a distant future. At such a decisive moment in the history of the Empire, the rulers had to think of the malaises of the government and find remedies for them. What the translators were suggesting through this book of advice was the restructuring of administration based on sound principles. The emphasis on intellect or reason in al-Ṭaḥṭāwî's translation is significant, since it reflects a cognitive shift in political thought already by the late nineteenth century.

يريد ان يلقى في قلوب الخواص والعوام انه مقتدر على فعل كل شي في ادارة الملك وغير مقتدر الى من يعاون في ترتيب ونظام وانما من خواص الملك الذي يحسن السياسة والاحكام ان يعرف انتخاب الروسا العظام للمصالح الجسم اي ان يعرف ان يسوس روسا المصالح الجسيمة وان يدبر اشغالهم ويجري اعمالهم على صورة ادارة عظيمة فلا يجب عليه ان يشتغل بادارة مفصلات الامور لان هذه هي وظيفة روسا الجمهور وانما يطلب منهم صورة ما فعلوه ليطلع عليه ويبحث عن موافقته للاصول والقوانين حتى يصير مقبولا لديه فمن واجباته ان يكون عنده مقدار كاف من المعلوماتية فيما يخص البحث والمناظرة عن افعال وكلائه الملكية فاتصافه بهذا التمييز معدود من الواجبات لانه انفع ما يكون بمادة الانتخابات فالملك اذا عرف انتخاب من فيه صلاحية للاحكام ووضعه في مرتبة ليجري الاصول المربوطة على وجه الاحسان والاحكام فهو ملك مدبر مملكته باعجب تدبير وهو رئيس عظيم وامير جليل خطير فاعلى درجات الحكم وفضلها واجلها واجملها واكملها هو ان يحكم الملك من تحته من ارباب الحكومة والسياسة اي يختارهم للتولية والعمل والرياسة فيجب عليه ملاحظة جميع اطوارهم ومناظرة حركاتهم في الادارة وتجريب جهرهم واسرارهم كما يجب عليه بذل التلطيف والتشويق وتهذيب الاخلاق والتأديب والتربية على وجه التحقيق والتدقيق ومن وظائفه احياء القلوب والرفع والخفض والتغيير والتبديل ليتعاقب ويتناوب على الوظائف والمناصب لتظهر بمظاهر التوجيه والتشكيل وان يكون جميع هولاء الروسا تحت القبضة الملوكية والطاعة الكاملة السلطانية واما كون الملك يتصدى لجميع مفردات المصالح الجزئية فهذا دليل على انه غير موثمن لروسائه ولا انه ناظمهم في عقد الثقة بهم والثبات كما ان ذلك ايضا دليل على دناء الهمة والتعلق بسفاسف الامور ومحرفاتهم التي لا تليق باوليا النعمة فرغبة الملوك في ادارة الامور الجزئية ليست الاضياح الوقت في المحرقات واشتغال الفكر بالامور الدنية حتى لا يكون للفكر في المصالح الجسيمة النشاط اللازم والانتباه فيخمد الذهن ويكل وتصدى امرأة العقل فلا ينطبع فيها الحق بل تأباه فان الملك اذا نوى نية عجيبة فلا بد ان يعرضها على امرأة الذهن الصافي وعلى محظوظية الفكر المصقول الوافر الوافي فهلا يسوغ له ان يتفكر الا في حالة سكونه ونعومة باله وتجرد عقله عن بلابل الاشغالات الفكرية التي جعلها عمدة اشغاله فمثل العقل الكليل المشغول بالمفصلات كثفالة الخمر لاقوة فيها ولا لذة في عكارة الشراب التافة الطعم المضطردون باقي المشروبات فان من يحكم في مفصلات الامور من الملوك وينظر في الاحكام للوقايح الجزئية ويستقصيها بتنازله في السلوك فهو في الحقيقة غير ناظر الا الى الحالة الراهنة فلا يمتد نظره الى المستقبل البعيد الذي خفاياه في مستكنة وكامنة بل ينظر فقال للوقت الذي هو فيه والساعة التي هو فيها والى عين الواقعة التي بين يديه فلا يكون في غيرها نبيلاً ولا نبيا فحيث ان واقعة كذا وكذا هي مطمح نظر هذا الامير وشاغلة لعقله دون غيرها فهي تؤثر فيه كمال التأثير وتتمكن من فكره فيها عن غيرها يضيق لان الانسان لا يحكم في الاشيا حكما صحيحا الا اذا تصوره قبل التصديق ورتبه كله في مراتب ومقدمات وشكله في اشكال منتخبة نتایج صحيحة التنسيبات.

al-Ṭaḥṭāwî, 704-707.

f. Public Education

Student missions sent to Europe for education were an important aspect of the reforms in education. We do not have accurate information about the early student mission to Europe, but we do know that the first students were sent to Italy by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha in 1809 to study military science, shipbuilding, printing and engineering. Some students were sent to England in 1818. Until that year, the total number of students that had been sent to Europe was twenty-eight.⁴¹⁸ Among them was ‘Uthmân Nûr al-Dîn, who later became the first director of the Bûlâq press. He spent five years in Italy, then went on to Paris and returned to Egypt in 1817 with the Pasha’s orders for books on technical subjects. In 1826, the first large education mission, forty-four students of Turks, Armenians, Albanians, Circassians and Egyptians, was sent to Paris by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha. In 1826, the *École Egyptienne* was established in Paris in order to provide education for Egyptian students, forty of whom were Muslims and four Armenian Christians.⁴¹⁹ The most successful student of this mission was al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, who would become an active reformer of Egypt.

The education missions from Istanbul saw four students, Hüseyin, Ahmed, Abdüllatif and Edhem, sent to Europe in 1830 during the reign of Sultan Mahmûd II. By the time of the proclamation of the first *Tanzîmât* reforms in 1839, thirty-six students had been sent to Europe. In 1840, eleven more students were sent to France, two of them Muslims and the others non-Muslims (Armenians, Greeks or Bulgarians). Some of these students studied in the *École Egyptienne*. This group was followed by thirty-two students sent between the years 1847 and 1856. Of these, twenty-four students were Muslims and eight were non-Muslims. In 1857, during the reign of Sultan Abdülmecîd, the Ottoman School, *Mekteb-i Osmânî*, was opened in Paris for Ottoman students.⁴²⁰ Between 1857 and 1864, thirty-eight Muslim and twenty-three non-Muslim students were sent to France. The years between 1864 and 1876

⁴¹⁸ Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 105.

⁴¹⁹ Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 157-170; A. Silvera, “The first Egyptian student mission to France under Muhammed Ali,” *MES* 16/2 (May 1980): 1-22. See, also, ‘U. Tûsûn al-Bu‘thât al-‘Ilmiyya (Cairo: Maktabat al-Âdâb, 2008).

⁴²⁰ R. L. Chambers, “Notes on the *Mekteb-i Osmanî* in Paris 1857-1874,” in *Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East: the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by W. R. Polk, R. L. Chambers (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968): 313-329.

witnessed a total of ninety-three Ottoman students being sent to France.⁴²¹ The students sent to different countries of Europe, especially France, would on their return be employed in factories or serve as officers, government officials, teachers, instructors, directors in new schools, doctors, jurists, engineers, artists, interpreters, translators, journalists and intellectuals with a direct knowledge of Europe.

The establishment of the printing press was another component of educational reforms and thus of modernization. The first printing press in Istanbul was established by Jewish refugees from Spain in 1491. They were followed by Armenians in 1567 and Greeks in 1627. In 1727 the first Turkish printing press, *Matbaa-i Âmire*, was established in Istanbul by İbrahim Müteferrika (1674-1745).⁴²² It was later re-opened in the School of Engineering (*Mühendishâne*) in 1797, and then moved to Üsküdar in 1803 where it was called *Dârüttübâ'ati'l-Cedîde*.⁴²³ The Jewish printer Gershom B. Eliezer Soncino published two books in Egypt with the printing tools brought by him from Istanbul. This printing press operated until 1562. Another printing press in Egypt was established by Abraham B. Moses in 1740.⁴²⁴ The first printing press

⁴²¹ A. Şişman, *Tanzimat Döneminde Fransa'ya Gönderilen Osmanlı Öğrencileri (1839-1876)* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 2004). See, also, M. Arai, "Tanzimat'tan sonra Batı'ya gönderilen Türk öğrencileri ve bunlar üzerinde yapılacak araştırmaların önemi," in *150. Yılında Tanzimat*, ed. by H. D. Yıldız, (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Yayınları, 1992): 281-285.

⁴²² For printing press, see, A. Refik (Altınay), "İstanbul'da ilk matbaa," *Müteferrika* 3 (Yaz 1994): 211-213. "Matba'a (printing)," *El*, v.6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1991): 794-807; "Matbaa," *DİA*, v.28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003): 105-115; T. Kut, "Dârüttübâa," *DİA*, v.9 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1994): 10-11. About İbrahim Müteferrika and his printing press, see, O. Ersoy, *Türkiye'ye Matbaanın Girişi ve İlk Basılan Eserler* (Ankara: AÜDTCF, 1959); N. Berkes, "İlk Türk matbaası kurucusunun dinî ve fikrî kimliği," *Bellekten* XXXVI/104 (1962): 715-737; F. Babinger, *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası*, trans. and prepared by N. Kuran – Burçoğlu (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004); O. Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da İlk Osmanlı Matbaa Serüveni (1726-1746)* (Istanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006). For the Arabic and Turkish books published in Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, see, Y. Erdem, "Avrupa'da Arap harfleriyle basılan Arapça ve Türkçe Kitaplar (1514-1700)," and M. H. Şakiroğlu, "Batı ülkelerinde yapılan Arap harfli basımın kaynağı ve etkisi," *Kebikeç* 2 (1995): 173-218, 219-223.

⁴²³ Its first name was *Dârüttübâ'ati'l-Ma'mûre*. Later on it was also called in official documents and in different sources: *Basmahâne*, *Tab'hâne*, *Kârhâne-i Basma*, *Dârüttübâ'ati'l-Âmire*, *Tabhâne-i Hümayûn*, *Tabhâne-i Âmire*, *Dârüttübâ'ati's-Sultâniyye*, *Millî Matbaa* and *Devlet Matbaası*. See, Kut; Beydilli, 99-145.

⁴²⁴ İhsanoğlu, *Mısır'da Türkler*, 329.

with Arabic letters was brought to Egypt by Napoleon with the French Army in 1798. It was closed when the French army withdrew from Egypt. The first indigenous Arabic printing press, at Bûlâq, was established in around 1822 by Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha.⁴²⁵

The first publications both in the metropolis and the province include a range of subjects such as the military, administration, medical sciences, mathematics, chemistry, mineralogy, botany, agriculture, language, geography, mechanics, literature, religion and so forth.⁴²⁶ Both in Istanbul and Cairo the first purpose of the printing press was to provide textbooks, most of which were translations from Western languages, for the new schools of military education. However, Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha’s modernization process gained such speed that Egypt turned into a rival for Istanbul.⁴²⁷

Educational reforms, which were one of the most important elements of the modernization of the Empire from the late eighteenth century onwards, gained even more impetus during the second half of the next century and took on an important role in social change. One of the remarkable differences between Fénelon’s *Télémaque* and the classical “Mirrors for Princes” was the

⁴²⁵ J. Heyworth-Dunne, “Printing and translations under M. ‘Ali of Egypt: the foundation of modern Arabic,” *JRAS* 2-3 (July-1940):328-9. P. J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1969): 165-175. M. A. Geiss, “Histoire de l’imprimerie en Égypte: Les imprimeries françaises de 1798 à 1801,” and “Histoire de l’imprimerie en Égypte: l’établissement typographique du Pacha, les débuts de l’Imprimerie de Boulac,” *Bulletin de l’Institut Égyptien* 5/I (1907):133-157, 5/II (1908):195-220. M. A. Perron, “Lettre sur les écoles et l’imprimerie du pacha d’Égypte,” *Journal Asiatique*, 4/II (Juillet-Aout 1843): 5-23. For the first publications, see also, J. Hammer, *Histoire de l’Empire Ottoman depuis son origine jusqu’à nos jours*, v.14, 16 (Paris: Bellizard, 1939): 492-507, 409-414. T. X. Bianchi, “Catalogue General des Livres Arabes, Persans et Turcs, Imprimés a Boulac en Égypte depuis l’Introduction de l’Imprimerie dans ce pays,” *Journal Asiatique* 4/2 (July-August 1843): 24-61. See, also, İhsanoğlu, *Mısır’da Türkler*, 329-334. Abû al-Futûh Ridwân, *Târîkh Maṭba‘a Bûlâq* (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-Amîriyya, 1953). R. N. Verdery, “The Publications of the Bûlâq Press Under Muhammad ‘Alî of Egypt,” *JAOS* 91/1 (January-March 1971): 129-132.

⁴²⁶ For the first *Bûlâq* publications see, for example, Cheng-Hsiang Hsu, “A survey of Arabic-character publications printed in Egypt during the period of 1238-1267 (1822-1851),” in *History of Printing and Publishing in the Languages of the Middle East*, ed. by Philip Sadgrove, (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2004): 1-16.

⁴²⁷ Heyworth-Dunne, “Printing and translations.” J. Strauss, “Turkish translations from Mehmed Ali’s Egypt: a pioneering effort and its results,” in *Translations: (re)shaping of literature and culture*, ed. by S. Peker (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002): 108- 147; see, also his article “Who read what.”

emphasis placed by the former on public education. In the following passage Fénelon writes that reading and love of science have to be cultivated in the hearts of youth.

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The original passage :

Pour mieux supporter l'ennui de la captivité et de la solitude, je cherchai des livres, et j'étais accablé d'ennui, faute de quelque instruction qui pût nourrir mon esprit et le soutenir. "Heureux – disais-je – ceux qui se dégoûtent des plaisirs violents et qui savent se contenter des douceurs d'une vie innocente! Heureux ceux qui se divertissent en s'instruisant et qui se plaisent à cultiver leur esprit par les sciences! En quelque endroit que la fortune ennemie les jette, ils portent toujours avec eux de quoi s'entretenir, et l'ennui, qui dévore les autres hommes au milieu même des délices, est inconnu à ceux qui savent s'occuper par quelque lecture. Heureux ceux qui aiment à lire et qui ne sont point, comme

The Turkish translation rendered into English:

Meanwhile, with regret for my being deprived of information (*ma'lûmât*), which could be means of consolation to the mind; how estimable are the men who prefer to acquire (*kesb*) knowledge (*'ilm*) and perfection (*kemâl*) [rather than accede] to their fleshly desires; when they happen to be in such an unbearable situation, they entertain themselves with their stock of acquired knowledge (*ma'lûmât-ı müktesebe*). By saying, ah, if only I could find a book and in so doing I could read (*okuyabilsem*), I was thinking...⁴²⁹

The Arabic translation rendered into English:

I tried to look for something in books to help me carry the heavy burden of servitude and solitude; and wished myself to obtain them [books]. The way of doing this is something difficult to achieve and not a thing that one can reach when he wishes to. I am sorry to miss the [opportunity] of reading (*qirâa*) by which the spirit (*rûh*) is nourished and the intellect (*'aql*) becomes perfect with reaching the level of comprehension. I said, what a happy person he is that refrains from condemned desires and who is satisfied with praised and exalted tastes. What a beautiful people they are who educate their intellect (*'uqûl*) by study (*dirâsa*), who enjoy science (*'ilm*) and establish its basics. Wherever time sends them, learning (*ma'ârif*) becomes their friend; and

<p><i>moi, privés de la lecture.</i>"⁴²⁸</p>		<p>they read books as if they converse at night to console their sadness. He who reads a book does not know what sorrow is; on the contrary, recovers with its warm breeze. What a happy person he is who reads (<i>muṭâla'a</i>) well, adorns his intellect and heart with reading, knows its value and desires it. What a happy person he is who is not devoid of reading like me by losing his papers and treatises, who fulfills his happiness when the conditions and facilities are abundant.⁴³⁰</p>
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Here, the usage of the term *'ilm* for *les sciences* is of significance. Rosenthal writes “*’Ilm* is one of those concepts that have dominated Islam and given Muslim civilization its distinctive shape and complexion. In fact, there is no other concept that has been operative as a determinant of Muslim

⁴²⁹ The Turkish translation reads: *Bu aralıkda medâr-ı tesellî-i hâtır olur ma'lûmâtдан mahrûmiyyetime te'essüf ile kesb-i ilm ü kemâli hevâ-yı nefsânîyyesine takdîm edenler ne muhterem âdemlerdir ki böyle bir hâl-i tâkat-fersâya uğradıklarında kendülerini sermâye-i ma'lûmât-ı müktesebeleriyle eğlendirirler âh bir kitâb bulsam ben de okuyabilsem deyu mülâhaza eder... Kâmil Pasha, 27.*

⁴²⁸ Fénelon, 89.

⁴³⁰ The Arabic translation reads:

ولاجل تحمل اصر العبوديه والوحدة في هذه البريه حاولت البحث عن شي من الكتب قليلها وجليلها وتمنيت النفس بتحصيلها وهذا شي عز مسلكه وليس ما يتمنى المرء يدركه حيث كنت محزوننا لفقد القراءة التي بها تغتذي الروح التعليم وبها يكمل العقل ببلوغ التفهيم فقلت ما اسعد الانسان الذي يتجنب الشهوات الذميمة ويقنع باللذات الممدوحة العظيمة وما احسن الذين يرضون عقولهم بالدراسة وينوقون لذة العلم ويشيدون اساسه فاذا رماهم الدهر في اي مكان صاحبته المعارف وطالعوا الكتب كانهم يسامرونها لتسلية الاحزان فمن بقرا الكتب لا يعرف الهموم بل يتداوى بها من حر السموم فطوبى ثم طوبى لمن يحسن المطالعة ويزين بها عقله ولبه ويعرف فائدتها ويرغب فيها كل الرغبة وما اسعد من لم يحرم القراءة مثلي لفقد الاوراق والرسائل او ليس انه يكمل سعده اذا توفرت عنده الشروط والوسائل.

al-Ṭahtâwî, 60.

civilization in all its aspects to the same extent as *'ilm.*'⁴³¹ Translated into English as "knowledge," the term *'ilm* (pl. *'ulûm*) could denote both religious and secular knowledge, though the religious sense had predominated since the early years of Islam.⁴³² Over time, the term and its plural *'ulûm* came to be used to denote a discipline or all fields of knowledge. According to the classification of knowledge in classical Islamic literature, knowledge (*'ulûm*) was divided mainly into two categories: *naqlî* (religious) and *aqlî* (rational) knowledge.⁴³³ However, with the introduction of modern sciences into the Ottoman Empire through modern schools, translations from Western languages, foreign instructors and new textbooks, the domain of the religious sciences was reduced and the concept of knowledge secularized.⁴³⁴ Both of our translators were popularizing the idea of modern education, which would consist of the teaching of modern sciences, not the classical Islamic ones. For public education, it was necessary to erect new schools in which youth might be taught to be fearful of God, to love their country, to respect the laws, and to prefer honor to pleasure and even to life itself.

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>D'ailleurs il faut faire garder inviolablement les lois de Minos pour l'éducation des enfants. Il faut établir des écoles publiques, où l'on enseigne la crainte des dieux, l'amour de la patrie, le respect des lois, la préférence de l'honneur aux plaisirs et à la vie même.</i>⁴³⁵</p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Regarding the education (<i>ta'allüm</i>) and discipline (<i>terbiye</i>) of the children, schools (<i>mektebler</i>) must be built and opened...⁴³⁶</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>Also, you should cling to Minos' laws (<i>qawânîn</i>) and preserve its method (<i>uşûl</i>) and ordinances (<i>aḥkâm</i>); because these are about the careful and rigorous education and disciplining of servants. You should establish local schools to teach divine creed; so that all</p>
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⁴³¹ F. Rosenthal, *Knowledge Triumphant: The Concept of Knowledge in Medieval Islam* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 2.

⁴³² For the definitions of *'ilm*, see, for example, Rosenthal, 52-69.

⁴³³ İ. Kutluer, "İlim," *DİA*, v.22 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2000): 109-114.

⁴³⁴ About the perception of the terms *ulûm*, *fünûn* and *sanat* during the period of modernization in Turkey, see, for example, İ. Kara, "Modernleşme dönemi Türkiye'si'nde "ulûm, funûn ve sanat" kavramlarının algılanışı üzerine birkaç not," *Kutadgubilig* 2 (Ekim, 2002): 249-278.

⁴³⁵ Fénelon, 287.

		<p>get used to being afraid of Allah and so that the [principle of] “the first wisdom is the fear of Allah” be engraved into the tablet of their hearts. Likewise, in these schools, they learn the love of country (<i>Ḥubb al-Waṭan</i>), and of clinging to ordinances (<i>aḥkâm</i>), divine rules (<i>sharâiʿ</i>), religious duties (<i>farâiḍ</i>), and the traditions (<i>sunan</i>); [they come to] understand the current laws and methods which are the sources of the king’s and people’s pride. In these schools, [they learn that] protection of dignity, honor and devotion are preferred to bodily desires and pleasures; moreover, honor is preferred to assets, oneself and lives; and this is the most dignified kind of preference.⁴³⁷</p>
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⁴³⁶ The Turkish translation reads: *Çocukların ta'allüm ü terbiyeleri bâbında mektebler inşâ vü küşâd etdirub...* Kâmil Pasha, 188.

⁴³⁷ The Arabic translation reads:

وايضاً يجب عليك ان تتمسك بقوانين مبنوس وتحفظ الاصول منها والاحكام فيها يتعلق بتربية الغلمان وتاديبهم بالدقة والاهتمام فترتب مكاتب اهلية لتعليم العقائد الالهية حتى يتعود الجميع علي الخوف من الاله ويتنقش في الواح قلوبهم ان راس الحكمة مخافة الله وكذا يتعلمون فيها حب الوطن والتمسك بالاحكام والشرايع والفرايض والسنن ويفهمون القوانين والاصول المرعية التي عليها مدار فخار الملك والرعيه وبها انتار حفظ الشرف والعرض والحمية على الحظوظ والشهوات النفسانية بل وانتار العرض على الاموال والنفوس والاعمار وهذا اشرف انواع الانتار.

al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 373.

Kâmil Pasha selects and translates from the passage only the part that speaks about the idea that schools must be built for the education of children and omits the rest. It was the word *maktab* but not *medrese* that he chose to render *des écoles*. This is because the new sciences would be taught in the newly established *mektebs*, not in the *medreses* where the religious sciences continued to prevail. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, on the other hand, is more faithful to the original passage, though, again in his own way. For example, the fear of the gods, *la crainte des dieux*, which would be taught in these new schools, was translated as “to teach the divine creed; so that all get used to be afraid of Allah and the [principle of] ‘the first wisdom is the fear of Allah’ be engraved into the tablet of their hearts.” The last “principle” was a tradition (*ḥadīth*), a saying of the Prophet. The love of one’s country, *l’amour de la patrie*, was translated as *ḥubb al-waṭan* exactly in the same spirit as the French one, which was the core of his whole intellectual effort; while the respect for laws, *le respect des lois*, was translated (with explanations in his habitual manner) as clinging to ordinances (*aḥkâm*), divine rules (*sharâi’*), religious duties (*farâiḍ*), and the traditions (*sunan*). Here, we see another didactic aspect of the novel. The love of reading and science had to be inculcated into the minds of young people and they had to be encouraged to study. One of the most important differences of this advice book was its concern with the education of people. For this purpose new regulations and laws had to be promulgated and patronized by the government and new public schools had to be opened.

Until the mid-nineteenth century, the education policy of both centers was primarily directed towards training officials for government service.⁴³⁸ Public education was not yet on the agenda. It was only by the second half of the century that the idea of a new schooling system for public education came to be seen as an important vehicle for the modernization of society. These new schools, however, brought the added problem of dual educational institutions, i.e., government schools and *madrāsas*, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The schools envisioned by our translators were definitely not the classical *madrāsas*, but the new government schools. At the beginning, the reformers were not against religious education; yet, in the new system of

⁴³⁸ G. N. Saqib, *Modernization of Muslim Education in Egypt, Pakistan and Turkey: A Comparative Study* (Lahore: Islamic Book Service, 1983), 81-83; Williamson, 59; S. A. Somel, *The Modernization of Public Education in the Ottoman Empire 1839-1908: Islamization, Autocracy and Discipline* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2001), 15.

education, the authority of the 'ulamâ would have to revert to the government.⁴³⁹

Fénelon writes that children belong not so much to their parents as to the commonwealth; they are the children of the state, its hope and strength. Since the king is the father of all his people and particularly of youth, he must watch over their education. To serve the good of their country, noble maxims have to be instilled into the minds of youth in newly established public schools with the help of music; and they had also to be made accustomed there to bodily exercises and variety of games in order to render their bodies supple and strong.

<p>The original passage :</p> <p><i>Les deux principales choses qu'on examina furent l'éducation des enfants et la manière de vivre pendant la paix. Pour les enfants, Mentor disait:</i></p> <p><i>- Ils appartiennent moins à leurs parents qu'à la république; ils sont les enfants du peuple, ils en sont l'espérance et la force; il n'est pas temps de les corriger quand ils se sont corrompus. C'est peu que de les exclure des emplois, lorsqu'on voit qu'ils s'en sont rendus indignes; il vaut bien mieux prévenir le mal que d'être réduit à le punir. Le roi, ajoutait-il, qui est le père de tout son peuple, est encore plus particulièrement le père de toute la jeunesse, qui</i></p>	<p>The Turkish translation rendered into English:</p> <p>By going to him very often, the sovereign and Mentor were talking over strengthening government (<i>takviyet-i hükûmet</i>) and organizing and promulgating of beneficial laws (<i>kavânîn-i nâfi'a</i>) which involve the comfort of the public (<i>ahâlî</i>): "The growth and development of the children is necessary for the nation (<i>millet</i>), more than for their families. Rather than dealing with the trouble and boredom of the dismissal and replacement of the children who were at the civil service without education, they should be given the necessary</p>	<p>The Arabic translation rendered into English:</p> <p>The subject of conversation with this virtuous person was about the views on two important things that are held by virtuous people. They are: the education of children (<i>tarbiya al-şibyân</i>) and the way of life during the time of concord, peace and security. Mentor said: as for the children, on whom are based the comfort and the happiness of the country, the truth is that the children of the happy country do not only belong to their parents but also to the government (<i>al-hukûma</i>) and people (<i>al-jumhûr</i>) This is the only view on this subject. The children in the country</p>
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⁴³⁹ Saqib, 82.

<p><i>est la fleur de toute la nation. C'est dans la fleur qu'il faut préparer les fruits: que le roi ne dédaigne donc pas de veiller et de faire veiller sur l'éducation qu'on donne aux enfants. Qu'il tienne ferme pour faire observer les lois de Minos, qui ordonnent qu'on élève les enfants dans le mépris de la douleur et de la mort; qu'on mette l'honneur à fuir les délices et les richesses; que l'injustice, le mensonge, l'ingratitude et la mollesse passent pour des vices infâmes; qu'on leur apprenne, dès leur tendre enfance, à chanter les louanges de héros qui ont été aimés des dieux, qui ont fait des actions généreuses pour leurs patries et qui ont fait éclater leur courage dans les combats. Que le charme de la musique saisisse leurs âmes pour rendre leurs mœurs douces et pures; qu'ils apprennent à être tendres pour leurs amis, fidèles à</i></p>	<p>education required to start work with the continuous care of the sovereign, who is in the position of a father to the public (<i>eb-i umûm makâmında</i>). To make them abstain from luxury, debauchery, misdeeds, lies, deceit and bad manners; to love their homeland (<i>vatanlarına muhabbet</i>) and become familiar with the glory of the previous warriors; to be loving and fair to their friends and be moderate even to their enemies; to teach them that to do someone harm is more severe than the brutality of the conditions of life and the dread of the conditions of death; [and to ensure that] schools (<i>mektebler</i>) and wide arenas and courts (<i>meydân ü mahaller</i>) be built to play a variety of games (<i>la'b</i>), which will be a physical training. The winners of the games should be awarded with gifts to encourage them.⁴⁴¹</p>	<p>(<i>al-ḥukûma</i>) belong to the government and country (<i>abnâ' al-ḥukûma wa al-waṭan</i>) as it is understood. They are the hope and goal of the country (<i>al-waṭan</i>) in general. Their education and the manner of disciplining them are left to the government (<i>al-ḥukûma</i>); and this task is laid on the country's (<i>mamlaka</i>) shoulders. If they are neglected, their order is destroyed and their condition stagnates. After it is too late to do something, there is neither a way to improve them nor time to correct them. For the time is up. It is very simple and obvious that they are deprived of posts and suspended from position and payment when their condition is ruined due to the lack of education and extreme negligence with the passing of the years. But, to prevent harm before it occurs and to be farseeing to avoid it is better and more favorable than</p>
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⁴⁴¹The Turkish translation reads: *Hükümdâr ve Mentor ekseriyâ yanına giderek takviyet-i hükûmeti ve râhat-ı ahâlîyi istilzâm eden kavânîn-i nâfi'a tanzîm ü neşrine dâir müzâkerât ile "neşv ü nemâları familyalarından ziyâde millete lâ-büdd ü lâzım olan etfâl terbiyesiz kalub mansıba geçdikden sonra azl ü tebdîlleri mihen ü meşâkkıyla uğraşılmakdan ise ser-i kâra geçecek kâbiliyyeti verecek terbiye-i muktaziyelerine eb-i umûm makâmında bulunan hükümdârın takayyüdât-ı mütemâdiyyesiyle zevk ü sefâhat ü*

<p><i>leurs alliés, équitables pour tous les hommes, même pour leurs plus cruels ennemis; qu'ils craignent moins la mort et les tourments que le moindre reproche de leurs consciences. Si, de bonne heure, on remplit les enfants de ces grandes maximes et qu'on les fasse entrer dans leur cœur par la douceur du chant, il y en aura peu qui ne s'enflamment de l'amour de la gloire et de la vertu.</i></p> <p><i>Mentor ajoutait qu'il était capital d'établir des écoles publiques pour accoutumer la jeunesse aux plus rudes exercices du corps et pour éviter la mollesse et l'oisiveté, qui corrompent les plus beaux naturels; il voulait une grande variété de jeux et de spectacles qui animassent tout le peuple, mais surtout qui exerçassent les corps pour les rendre adroits, souples et vigoureux: il ajoutait des prix pour</i></p>		<p>waiting for them to fall into a terrible condition. It is better than to be judged after falling into it. As it is known, the king, in general, is the father of the subjects (<i>abû al-ra'yya</i>). He is also, in particular, father of the young who are the fruits and flowers of the subjects. It is a crucial responsibility that he shoulders to improve them. No doubt that when the tree blossoms and appears to flourish, it becomes ready to bear fruit; and its fruit is cut off and gathered to be of use for the prudent ones. The king himself or his deputies refrain from inspecting the ones, who are responsible for the education of children and youth on the basis of decided and stated principles of the government, is not acceptable. He should order the observance and protection of Minos' methods on this issue. These methods entail the</p>
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kabâhatden ve kizb ü tezvîr ü fazâhatden kaçunub vatanlarına muhabbet ve ceng-âverân-ı güzeşte-gânın sitâyîşlerine ülfet ederek dostları hakkında muhibb ü âdil ve düşmanları aleyhinde bile mu'tedil olmalarıyla bir kimseye kötülük etmek vahşet-i ahvâl-i hayâtiyye ve dehşet-i ahvâl-i memâtiyyeden eşedd olduğunu gûş-ı hûşlarına doldurmak için mektebler ve riyâzat-ı bedeniyyeyi müeddâ olur envâ'-ı la'bın icrâsı zımında vüs'atli meydân ü mahaller yapıdırılıb oyunlarda akrânına fâik olanlarına bâdî-i şevk ü heves olacak ba'zı tuhaf ü taraf ihdâ..." Kâmil Pasha, 211-212.

<p><i>exciter une noble émulation.</i>⁴⁴⁰</p>		<p>education of children ideally and in accordance with the law. The purpose is to accustom them to face sorrows and death more easily in a dangerous state; to ignore the attacks of the treacherous so as to reach the goal; to understand that constant happiness is in refraining from evil and acquiring property; to see that wicked shame, filthiness, vanity, cruelty, lie, ingratitude, cowardice, deficient attributes in words and deeds are the biggest destroyers and sins. Obviously, they should refrain from and get rid of them through education and training. The youth should be accustomed very early to reading the poems praising heroes, telling the life stories of heroes and the brave, who are fighting for the sake of Allah, love Him, defend the country (<i>waṭan</i>) and religion (<i>al-dīn</i>) and who are compassionate to the servants of Him, in a musical form. Besides, they should be</p>
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⁴⁴⁰ Fénelon, 318-319.

		<p>trained and practiced to listen to good sounds and melodies so that these melodies impress upon their hearts and make them ready for the delicacy praised by these melodies; and to tolerate sorrows. Among them there should be sound character and delicacy, and roundness and trouble be far away from them. They should be accustomed to love their brethrens, to keep themselves from breaking their oaths and faiths, and to say the truth everybody whether opponent or in agreement. They should be just and merciful to the addressees, to the ones they converse and to everybody even they are enemies and opponents. They should be accustomed to rebuke and reproach the regretful self (<i>al-nafs al-lawwâma</i>) and the one committing sins to the utmost, to the frightening from death, punishment in the grave and being judged in the Day of Judgment. If the youth learn these good sermons and the wisdom from their early years, embrace them and be</p>
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		<p>steady on them, besides adding them moderated morals by listening to likeable songs and beautiful melodies, disappointment about the given education lessens. On the contrary, they become prolific, creative, passionate and fond of the country (<i>waṭan</i>); not looseness and immorality but the love of glory and virtue revive in them. Then Mentor also said: another requirement as necessary as the rules is the establishment of local schools (<i>makâtib ahliyya</i>) and public high schools (<i>madâris ‘umûmiyya</i>) for the increase of variety of knowledge (<i>al-‘irfân</i>). In these schools, youth will receive education and children will receive training. In particular, they will make sports to keep away from cowardice, sluggishness and killing time, for they corrupt the creative nature and instinctive moral temperament. Another necessary thing is the arrangement of various games (<i>al‘âb</i>) and construction of public squares (<i>mayâdîn</i>) where people</p>
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		<p>could promenade and watch invented things and agreeable innovations. Thus their endeavor and vividness regenerates and their taste of happiness and relief is born; the best cradle is prepared for the vivification of their hearts and the most beautiful rug is laid out for the growing of individuals, particularly, the attention for the games which relax the parts of the body. These games give the parts of the body shape, firmness and flexibility; increase the force and remove ills. [The king] should arrange a finish line and gifts for the successful ones. This is for the winner the best of his fellows in the arenas. This will result in, besides previous endeavors, competition, contest, effort and vigor.⁴⁴²</p>
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⁴⁴² The Arabic translation reads:

وكان مدار المداولة مع هذا الانسان الفاضل في النظر في شينين مهمين هما مطمح نظر الافاضل وهما تربية الصبيان وطريقة العيشة في زمن الصلح والسلام والامان. فقال منظور اما ما يخص الاولاد الذين عليهم مدار الراحة والسعادة للبلاد ان الحق في ابناء المملكة السعيدة انما هو للمملكة والجمهور والسواد الاعظم لالابائهم فقط فهذه هي المذاهب الفريدة فالاولاد في الحكومة انما هم ابنا الحكومة والوطن كما هو مفهوم ففيهم للوطن الامل والرجا على العموم فامر تربيتهم وطريق تاديبهم الى الحكومة موكل وعلى كاهل المملكة محمول واذا صار اهمالهم حتى فسد امرهم وكسد حالهم فلا سبيل الى اصلاحهم بعد فوات الاوان ولا زمان لتهديبهم وقد مضى الزمان واما حرمانهم من المناصب وابعادهم عن الوظائف والمراتب اذا فسد حالهم وكانوا متأهلين لعدم تربيتهم وشدة التفريط في فوات السنين فهذا شي هين وامر بين ولكن تدارك الشر قبل الحصول والتبصر في ابعاده خير واولى من انتظار الوقوع فيه على امر مهول واحسن من المعاقبة عليه بعد

After translating the passage saying that new laws had to be promulgated for public benefit, Kâmil Pasha emphasized the need for the establishment of new schools for the education of children. This had to be done by the ruler, who was in the position of the father of his people. Kâmil Pasha skipped over music, while he translated sports and games which were part of modern education. The children had to love their *vatan*; but, Kâmil Pasha was not as ideological on this point as al-Ṭahtâwî. The latter also felt the need for explaining the elements of modern education, music, sport and games. Interestingly, both translators add to the text that besides new schools, squares and arenas had to be built; and al-Ṭahtâwî explains what would take place in these squares. He, again, emphasized that all these things should be done for the sake and love of *waṭan*. While doing this, he does not abstain from adding indigenous or religious elements to his translation. The first purpose of public

الوقوف والنزول ومعلوم ان الملك هو ابو الرعية على العموم فهو ايضا بالخصوص ابو الشبان الذين هم ثمرات الرعايا وازهارها فتعهدهم بالاصلاح واجب محتوم ولاشك انه متى ازهر الشجر وبدا صلاحه تجهز للاثمار فيجتني ويقتطف للمنافع عند اولى الاستبصار فلا ينبغي للملك ان يستنكف ان يلاحظ بنفسه او بوكيله من يباشر تربية الاطفال والغلمان طبق ترتيب الحكومة المقرر بالبيان وان يامر بالتمسك والمحافظة على ذلك بمقتضى اصول مبنوس المقتن التي توجب تربية الاطفال على وجه حسن وقانون بين ليتعودوا على استسهال الالام والموت عند الاخطار وعدم المبالاة باقتحام المهالك ببلوغ الاوطار وليعلموا ان السعادة الدائمة في اجتناب الشعم واقتنا الاموال وان العار القبيح والندس والخسة قرينة الظلم والكذب وكفران النعم والجبن وصفات النقص في الاقوال والافعال فهذه اكبر الموبقات والكباير فلا بد من اجتنابها والتخلص منها بالتعليم والترقية كما هو ظاهر وينبغي للغلمان ان يتعودوا من حادثة سنهم على انشاد مديح فحول الرجال والتغني بسيرة الشجعان والابطال الذين جاهدوا في الله حق جهاده واحبوا الله تعالى وذبو عن الوطن والدين وشفقوا على عيابه ولا بد ايضا من تربيهم وتمريهم على سماع الاصوات الحسنة والانغام لتأخذ بمجبا مع قلوبهم وتجهذ بها الى اللطف الممروح وتلطيف الالام وتوجد فيهم سلامة الطبع والرقة وتبعد عنهم خشونة الطبيعة والمشقة وينبغي ان يتعودوا على محبة الاخوان وان يحفظوا انفسهم من الحنث في الاقسام والايامن وان يصدقوا مع المحالفين والمعاهدين وان يتصفوا بالعدل والانصاف مع المحادئين والمنادمين ومع جميع العالمين ولو مع المعادين والمخاصمين وان يكون هندهم العود على النفس اللوامة وعلى الذمة المرتكبة للآثام بغاية التوبيخ والملامة وبالتخويف من الموت وعذاب القبر والحساب يوم القيامة فاذا تعلم الغلمان هذه المواعظ الحسنة والحكم من زمن الحداثة وتمكنت منهم وكانوا فيها على صدق قدم وانضم ذلك الى تلطيف اخلاقهم بسماع الاغاني المباحة وحسن النغم فقل ان تخيب فيهم التربية بل تكون منتجة منجبة وللغيرة والحماس على الوطن موجبة ويتجدد فيهم حب الفخار والفضيلة وبغض الخمول والرنيله.

ثم قال منظور ايضا من الواجب وجوب الاركان ان ترتب مكاتب اهلية ومدارس عمومية لتكثير انواع العرفان تتعلم فيها الغلمان ويتربض فيها الصبيان لاسيما بالتعود على حركات الابدان لابعاد الجبن والارتخاب والبطالة وضياح الزمان مما يفسد الطباع التوليديه والجبالات الخلقية الغريزية ومما ينبغي ايضا ايجاده ترتيب الالعب المتنوعة وانشا ميادين ينزه فيها الناس وينفرجون على الامور المخترعه والمستحسنات المبتدعة لينتعض جميع الالهالي ويتجدد فيهم الهمة والنشاط وتتولد عندهم لذة المسرة والانبساط ويتمهد لهم من احبا القلوب احسن مهاد ويفرش لهم لرعة النفوس اجمل بساط لاسيما الاعتنا بالالعب التي بها لين اعضا الاجسام التي تورثها الاصابة والصلابة والمطاوعة وتزيد القوة وتزيل الاسقام وينبغي ان يرتب لها قصب السبق والجوايز ليحرز حيازة ذلك من هو للفوقان حازر وفي حلبة الميدان على الاقران متمايز حتى تحصل المنافسة والمسابقة والغيرة والهمة زيادة على الهمة السابقة.

al-Ṭahtâwî, 436-439.

education for al-Ṭaḥṭâwî seems to be the construction of a new identity for the rising generation of the country. They were the children of the country (*abnâ' al-waṭan*). Kâmil Pasha, on the other hand, not only avoids adding new things to the text but also omits some passages which seemed to him pointless or adapt some elements into the culture of his readers. He acted as a statesman who tries to transmit the “necessary things” in a concise way, while al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, so to speak, acted as a social engineer. For him, education had to be wrested from the monopoly of *'ulamâ*, and modern sciences would be taught in the new schools for the sake of *waṭan* and people; a fact that indicates a serious shift in the survey of Islamic thought.

The common point of Fénelon, Kâmil Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî was that they were all dissatisfied with the course of events in their countries and struggled to change those conditions; they also saw literature as a tool to express their ideas. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, presumably became acquainted with Fénelon and his *Télémaque* during his stay in Paris. He is reported to have appreciated the *Télémaque* so much that he took it to the Sudan when he was exiled there. As for Kâmil Pasha, he may have come to know about the book while he was in Cairo. Kâmil Pasha stayed there between 1833 and 1849, almost sixteen years. So he could have heard about the book from al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, or from students returned from Paris, or while he was studying French in Cairo. Interestingly, both started to translate the book at approximately the same time, which indicates that they both selected the book because they believed in the necessity of changes in their country. They probably wanted to express new philosophical ideas in a literary genre so that everyone could understand them; and in this way, they also might avoid political pressure. The *Télémaque* would be more comprehensible and digestible to their audience than a more radical philosophical or political work. Furthermore, as we already showed, by “Islamicizing” the content of the book regarding the religious or mythological elements, they adapted the book to the religious and cultural values of their readers. They had a serious purpose in mind, namely presenting new ideas and concepts in a terminology current in Arabic and Turkish. Our comparison of the translations has demonstrated that concepts such as fatherland, the ruler, law, knowledge and education were loaded with entirely new meanings. If we bring those concepts together, they virtually constitute the essential components of modern secular nations. Thus they transferred new ideas to their culture by means of a literary translation, and in this way contributed to changes of language, thought and, thus society. The

most striking difference of these translations was that al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, as we illustrated, frequently explains concepts at length with synonyms or with sentences reminding one of the classical Arabic tradition to use glosses, “*sharḥ*.”

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By dealing with the most prominent ideas in the translations of the *Télémaque*, we have tried to show the role of a particular translation in the introduction of new political ideas to the Ottoman Empire. It virtually represented a new version of a classical *nasīhatnâme*, and thus was a kind of handbook for the modernization of the state. Moreover, it was a vehicle for the transmission and reconstruction of political ideas in the public sphere. Certainly, as we frequently pointed out, the translation of the *Télémaque* was not the only channel through which these ideas were disseminated. However, because of its rich content, the genre it was written in, and the translation techniques of the translators, it was read more widely than other texts and thus played an important role in the dissemination of new ideas. At a time when the Empire was being threatened by many factors, this new *Mirror* was proposing a new political system based on a territorially defined country ruled by a patriarch, selected by a council of some sort according to man-made laws. In this system, civil servants would be appointed on the basis of their competence and a new central administration would be established. Furthermore, public education would undergo structural and administrative transformation in order to produce civil servants for the government and inculcate modern sciences and ideas into the minds of the youth. Thereby, education would become an important factor in the modernization and control of the society. In the next chapter we will investigate the reception and impact of these ideas and show how translations played an important role in the transformation of traditional ideas.

Chapter III: Reception of the *Télémaque*

In 1890, İbrâhîm Fehîm and İsmâîl Hakkı published a book entitled *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhîr* (Selections from Famous Translations). It consisted of translated excerpts from French language works accompanied by the original French texts on the same page. Some passages from the *Télémaque* translations of Kâmil and Ahmed Vefik Pasha were among these excerpts.⁴⁴³ They wrote in their introduction that they aimed at contributing to intellectual activity by compiling these translations; besides, readers would be exposed in this way to new ideas about politics and sciences.⁴⁴⁴ The Chief of the Court of Appeal of the Council of State, Saîd Bey Efendi, wrote a foreword to the work in which he describes what “translation” meant to his generation: “[it is] what conveys to us the continual advancements of the West; what equips our military with new information; what completes the reason of becoming civilized; what informs our people of new events; what informs the public by relating the telegraphs into our language; what improves the conditions of the state and country by disseminating the tools of modern sciences and arts in the country; what inclines our people to politics, sciences and arts is the whole Translation.” Ninety percent of the news and subjects of the newspapers, he states, was the product of translators, who were trained in the Translation Office and became the founders of modern Turkish literature. For him, this work made clear the differences in translation techniques between the first graduates of the Translation Office, which he calls the Academy of the Sublime Porte (*Bâb-ı Âlî Akademi*), and their students.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ İbrâhîm Fehîm, İsmâîl Hakkı, *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhîr* (Istanbul : Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası, 1307/1889): 51-59.

⁴⁴⁴ İbrâhîm Fehîm, İsmâîl Hakkı, 6.

⁴⁴⁵ See his foreword to the *Müntehabât-ı Terâcim-i Meşâhîr*, 3-5.

This foreword shows the importance accorded to “translation,” various aspects of which we tried to depict in the first chapter of this dissertation. In this chapter we will attempt to show the reception and impact of a literary translation on the dissemination of new ideas. Questions to be answered are: How were the translations received? Were these translations sold in Bazaars? Who read these texts? Were they quoted in later works? How did these texts contribute to the change of ideas? How did the reception of the text and reactions to it contribute to the reform movement? To answer these questions, we will begin by scrutinizing the reception of the *Télémaque* translations by Ottomans. While doing this, we will show the channels through which the translations were propagated. These channels were important in themselves, for each was in and of itself a pillar of modernization. The role of journals, printing and press, in particular, is incontestable. The lexicons and encyclopedic works compiled during the period served to the standardization of modern knowledge. Literature on its own was regarded as a tool for expressing and spreading new political and philosophical ideas. Naturally there existed objections to the translations from Western languages. We will touch on a couple of these examples regarding the *Télémaque*; however, they also are evidence of the fact that translations were influential even on their opponents. We will then look at the later translations of the *Télémaque* and the interest they aroused in other works by Fénelon. We will, then, trace the impact of Fénelon’s thought on certain texts written by Münif Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî in order to illustrate how new ideas appropriated and naturalized and became part of another intellectual tradition.

A. Channels of propagation

The new journals, newspapers, magazines, libraries, *salons*, encyclopedias and literary circles were among the novelties of nineteenth century Ottoman culture. They represented a new kind of public sphere for debate, exchange of ideas and opinion forming. Here, we will try to show how the *Télémaque* translations disseminated in public sphere through these new channels and how Ottomans reacted to the translations. This will help us understand how translations were received on the one hand, and how new ideas percolated into Ottoman minds on the other.

1. The new instrument of modernization: periodicals

From the 1860s onwards, the periodicals were one of the most powerful agents of cultural and intellectual change both in the metropolis and provinces of the Ottoman Empire. They publicized new ideas and knowledge, books, discoveries and scientific advances; and endeavored to shift the attention of their readers away from traditional structures of authority and knowledge to what was “new.” Most of them devoted pages to translations from European languages and facilitated the reception of new books and their evaluation, thus encouraging people to read and debate them. The translations of the *Télémaque* were introduced by leading journals and newspapers of the period and enjoyed their support to reach more people.

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After the first publication of Kâmil Pasha’s translation, Münif Pasha welcomed the translation with a *takrîz* (word of praise) in his journal, *Mecmû‘a-i Fünûn* (The Journal of Science);⁴⁴⁶ and summarized some of its didactic parts in five issues under the title *Mevâdd-ı hikemiyye-i Télémaque* (Philosophical sections of the *Télémaque*) in 1862.⁴⁴⁷ He writes in his *takrîz* that the translation of Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha, the chief of the Supreme Council of Judicial Ordinances (*Meclis-i Vâlâ-yı Ahkâm-ı Adliyye*), is a philosophical book which has an eloquent and expressive style. Reading it would bestow countless benefits with regard to science and literature.

To explain the effect of the novel on a new culture, he compares the philosophical and ethical status of Sa‘dî’s famous *Gulistân* in the Islamic world with that of the *Télémaque* in Europe, and writes that, while originally written in French, the book was much appreciated in western countries and translated into other European languages. Then he states that there had long been a desire for it to be rendered into Turkish, but that it was not an easy task to make a fair translation. With this translation, Kâmil Pasha had added a rare work of science and excellence to Turkish literature. Since the increase and dissemination of this kind of valuable works was suitable to the objectives of the Ottoman Scientific Society (*Cem‘iyyet-i İlmiyye-i Osmâniyye*), he wanted to express appreciation and thanks to the translator. Münif Pasha then gives a brief

⁴⁴⁶ Münif, “Takrîz-i Terceme-i Télémaque,” *Mecmû‘a-i Fünûn* I/3 (Rebîü’l-evvel 1279/ September 1862): 94-97.

⁴⁴⁷ “Mevâdd-ı Hikemiyye-i Télémaque,” *Mecmû‘a-i Fünûn* I/4-5, 7, 10, 12 (Rebîü’l-âhir, Cemâziye’l-evvel, Receb, Şevvâl, Zi’l-hicce 1279 / 1862-1863): 157-166, 197-205, 285-289, 413-418, 488-495.

account of Fénelon's life and his book, the *Télémaque*. He adds in the last paragraph that the book does not consist only of imaginary stories. On the contrary, it relates the details of events that took place during the journeys of Télémaque and his master in search of Télémaque's father. Certainly, he writes, the writer added and embellished these events.⁴⁴⁸

If we look at the excerpts serialized in five issues, such topics as morals, the characteristics of a just ruler, the rule of law, the love of country, how to rule, trade, education, elections, the construction of public facilities, keeping peace and refraining from war are the most noticeable, providing almost a handbook for a good governance. The excerpts were fragmentary; but they propagated new ideas presented in the translation and contributed to a more articulated phase of modernization.

The serialized summary was later on compiled by one of the Young Ottomans, Ebuzziya Tevfik, and published under the title *Cümel-i Hikemiyye-i Telemak* in book form in the 1880s. It must have been very popular with Ottoman readers for it to have been reprinted so many times, the last being in 1892.⁴⁴⁹ Ebuzziya was a well-known journalist, publisher, printer and a member of the Society of New Ottomans (*Yeni Osmanlılar Cem'iyeti*), founded in 1865.⁴⁵⁰ His publishing business had an important role in the dissemination of new ideas. The Young Ottomans were pleased with the translation of the *Télémaque*; for most of them had already read it in French and were influenced by the new ideas expressed in it.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁴⁸ Münif, "Takrîz-i Terceme-i Télémaque."

⁴⁴⁹ Ebuzziya Tevfik, *Cümel-i Hikemiyye-i Telemak*, trans. by Yûsuf Kâmil Paşa, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya, 1307/1889).

⁴⁵⁰ F. Abdullah, "Ebüzziya Tevfik," *EI*, v.II (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1965): 682-683.

⁴⁵¹ About the influence of the work on Young Ottomans, see, for example, Mardin, 241-244.

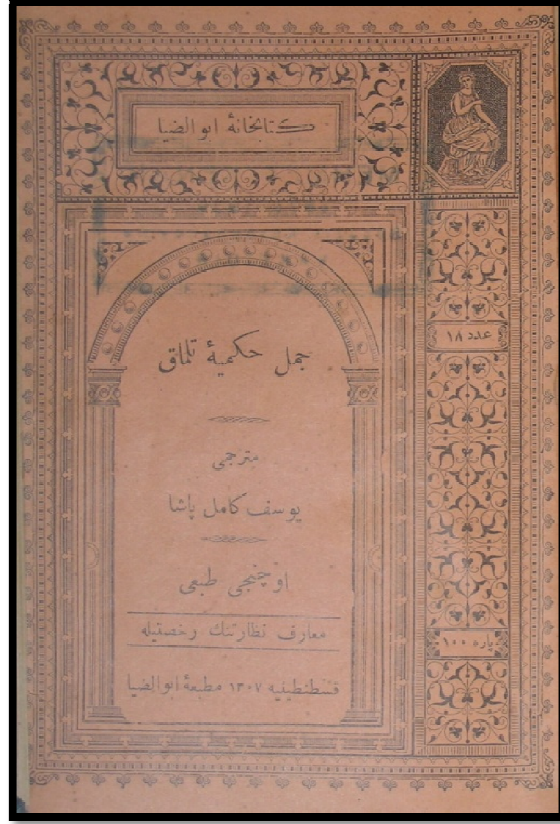


Figure 12: The cover of the *Cümel-i Hikemiyye-i Télémaque*, 3rd ed. (Istanbul: Matbaa-i EbuZZiya, 1307)

When Kâmil Pasha was appointed Grand Vizier, the translation was published a second time on the printing press of the *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* newspaper. There are even advertisements in many issues for the translation mentioning the reprint and the price and the places where it could be bought.⁴⁵² In 1863, Şinasi Efendi wrote in his review of the translation that, “although the philosophical work of the famous French author, Fénelon, entitled *Adventures of Télémaque*, seems like a romance; it is, in fact, a philosophical law (*kânûn-ı hikmet*) which

⁴⁵² See, for example, *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 10 (1279/1862): 4, 70 (8 Ramazan 1279/1863): 4, 169 (1 Ramazan 1280/1864): 3-4, 399 (1283/1866): 4, 740 (1286/1869): 4. See, also, H. Koç, “Cultural Repertoire as a Network of Translated Texts: The New Literature after the Tanzimat Period (1830-1870),” (M.A. thesis, Boğaziçi University, 2004): 144, 189.

consists of the arts of government that aim at fulfilling justice and the happiness of the people.”⁴⁵³ Having worked as an official, journalist, writer and poet, Şinâsi was very impressed by French writers including Fénelon during his stay in Paris. He was the first person to translate poems from French into Turkish. In addition to those poems he had translated a section from the first book of the *Télémaque* in verse form prior even to the publication of Kâmil Pasha’s translation. The review, however, indicates how pro-reform Ottomans regarded the translation as a new kind of “Mirrors for Princes,” and how much they emphasized the term “law,” in the sense of man-made, not divine, law. In time, quotations from the *Télémaque* translations and other works of Fénelon appeared in various journals.⁴⁵⁴

The first news about the Arabic translation of the *Télémaque* appeared in the semiweekly newspaper *Wâdî al-Nîl* (The Nile Valley), the first private newspaper founded by ‘Abd Allâh Abû al-Sû‘ûd (1821-1878) in Cairo in 1867. He was a graduate of the School of Languages, a pupil of al-Tahtâwî, a translator in the state service, a writer of school text-books, a poet, and one of Ismâ‘îl’s protégés. He was also a teacher of history at the Egyptian Teachers’ College and a teacher of translation at the School of Languages. The periodical, which included materials on politics, commerce, science, literature and history, ceased publication in 1874, to be replaced by *Rawḍat al-Akḥbâr*, which disappeared with the death of ‘Abd Allâh Abû al-Sû‘ûd.⁴⁵⁵ In 1869, it announced in its advertisement section that “*Waqâ’i’ Télémaque*, the translation of Rifâ‘a Bey,” could be bought for 15 Fr in Cairo and Alexandria from certain shops.⁴⁵⁶ By publicizing the translations, the journals proved to be one of the most powerful agents shaping and propagating reform movements both in the metropolis and provinces.

⁴⁵³ Şinâsi, “Pây-i Taht,” *Tasvîr-i Efkâr* 68 (2 Ramazan 1279/21 February 1863): 1.

⁴⁵⁴ Özgül explores various journals in which some excerpts from Kâmil Pasha’s translation and other works of Fénelon were quoted or referred to. See, p. 202, n. 22, 23.

⁴⁵⁵ ‘Abd al-Laṭîf Hamza, *al-Şaḥâfa al-‘Arabiyya fî Mişr*, 2nd ed., (Cairo: Dâr al-Fikr al-‘Arabî, 1985): 62-63; Ayalon, 41-42; P. C. Sadgrove, “Wâdî al-Nîl (1867-78),” *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, v.II, 801.

⁴⁵⁶ It is said that books mentioned in the advertisement could be bought from *Maḥall Sharika Unsî wa Mûrîs bi’l-Mûskî* in Cairo and *Dukkân Ḥabîb al-Gharzûzî bi-Jiwârî Qahwa Ūrubbâ* in Alexandria. This advertisement continued to be appearing from the 9th issue to the 15th one.

In 1881, Muḥammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905) wrote an article, “Scientific and other books,” about the most popular books of his time. It was published in the government’s official gazette, *Waqâ’i’ al-Miṣriyya*, of which he was the editor.⁴⁵⁷ He divides the most read books in Egypt at that time into five categories: religious books, philosophical books, literary books, books about mendacious events which distort historical facts, and mythological books. Then he explains the recent decision of the government to prohibit the publication of books falling into the last two categories. He maintains that literary books are the ones that enlighten thought and improve morals. Among these are books of history, ethics and romance (*rûmâniyyât*), which is an invention for the purpose of education. The genre of romance describes the conditions of other peoples and encourages lofty attributes while disapproving base ones. He includes in those romances *Kalîla wa Dimna*, the *Télémaque*, and *The Count of Monte Cristo* serialized in *al-Ahrâm*. He states, next, that the books in this category are in wide circulation both in cities and towns and the number of people who are reading and studying these kinds of books among Egyptians is increasing.⁴⁵⁸

The journals or newspapers mentioned above were the leading periodicals of the period printed in Istanbul and Cairo. They were not only read in those capitals but in other important centers of the Empire by a wide range of people. Hence these periodicals had an immense impact on the introduction and dissemination of translations and thus new ideas into Ottoman minds.

2. Standardization of knowledge: encyclopedic works

Encyclopedic works, dictionaries, and lexicons of the late nineteenth century were another of the manifestations of Ottoman intellectual transformation. They yielded expert summaries of wide range of new and older knowledge. Anyone, particularly scholars, officials, diplomats, professionals, and students had access to them to acquire knowledge about European society and culture. Information on new ideas, science, technology and recent research were summarized and discussed in varying levels of detail in these works.

⁴⁵⁷ Moosa writes that this article was published in *al-Ahrâm*, Moosa, 16. According to M. ‘Imâra’s *al-‘Amâl al-Kâmila li’l-Imâm al-Shaykh Muḥammad ‘Abduh*, v.III (Cairo: Dâr al-Shurûq, 1993): 53-56, the article was published in *al-Waqâ’i’ al-Miṣriyya*: M. Abduh, “al-Kutub al-‘ilmiyya wa ghayruhâ,” *al-Waqâ’i’ al-Miṣriyya* 1109 (11 May 1881 / 12 Jamâdî al-Thâniya 1298).

⁴⁵⁸ Abduh.

Fénelon and Télémaque were among those subjects with entries in encyclopedic works. For example, in Şemseddîn Sâmî's dictionary of history and geography, entitled *Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm*, we find two articles under the titles "Fénelon" and "Télémaque."⁴⁵⁹

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Between 1876 and 1882, the Lebanese linguist, lexicographer, translator and journalist, Buṭrus al-Bustânî,⁴⁶⁰ published the first volumes of the first Arabic encyclopedia, *Kitâb Dâirat al-Ma'ârif*. Hourani writes about the encyclopedia that "it is an attempt to bring the whole of European civilization into the Arabic language, and by so doing to take the 'people of the Arabic language' and their inherited culture into the new world created by modern Europe. Arab and Muslim history becomes a part of world-history, and not even a privileged part, but one to be thought and written about it in the same way as anything else, and judged by the same criteria, freedom (*hurriyya*) and civilization (*tamaddun*). Thus the encyclopedia symbolizes an opening of the Arabic language to the modern world, and an opening of the modern world's culture to Arabic and Islamic themes. It is also an opening in a third sense. For the Bustânîs, Arabic belongs equally to all those who use it, and so does what it expressed in it. For the first time perhaps, Arabic-speaking Christians are writing about Islamic themes in the same tone of voice as about others. *Dâ'irat al-Ma'ârif* marked a stage in the process by which they tried to appropriate Muslim history and culture as their own, and 'entrer dans l'histoire arabe par la grande porte'."⁴⁶¹

The encyclopedia included an entry for "Télémaque." After introducing the Greek background of the story, it is stated that "the events that befell Télémaque were good themes of education and morals about which the French scholar (*al-'allâma*) Fénelon wrote a famous and valuable book. It was translated into Arabic by Rifâ'a Bey. It is a remarkable (*mu'tabara*) translation and was published in Beirut."⁴⁶² Thus encyclopedic works were an appreciable factor in enhancing awareness of new ideas. While providing a guide to European thought, the content of these works revealed the extent of the impact

⁴⁵⁹ Şemseddin Sâmî, "Fénelon," "Télémaque," in *Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm*, v.III, V (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası, 1306, 1314/1888, 1896): 1667, 3437.

⁴⁶⁰ About Buṭrus al-Bustânî, see, for example, P. C. Sadgrove, "al-Bustânî, Buṭrus (1819-83)," *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature*, v.I, 164; J. Abdel-Nour, "al-Bustânî," *EI, Supplement*, 1-6 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980): 159-162.

⁴⁶¹ A. Hourani, "Bustânî's Encyclopedia," *Journal of Islamic Studies* 1 (1990): 111-119.

⁴⁶² Buṭrus al-Bustânî, *Kitâb Dâirat al-Ma'ârif*, v.6 (Beirut: Dâr al-Ma'ârif, 1883): 208.

of European thought on late Islamic society and culture. The inclusion of the *Télémaque* and its author Fénelon in such works was important; for this constitutes a good example of how new ideas could infiltrate another intellectual tradition and be spread in the public sphere. This fact also illustrates how older ideas and scholarship started to be disparaged in the late phase of the Ottoman intellectual tradition.

3. Not only entertainment: literature

The usage of Kâmil Pasha's translation in literature classes in *idâdi mektebs* (high schools) as an example of high literary art,⁴⁶³ and its being quoted in books on rhetoric were important indications of the popularity of the *Télémaque*. Although some reformist intelligentsia criticized the translation because of its artistic style, they were nevertheless impressed by its content.⁴⁶⁴

In his detailed article, Özgül explores an interesting work called *Sergüzeşt-i Sâib-nihâd-ı Hindî* by a certain Fâik, published in Erzurum in 1865. According to Özgül, this was a new translation, in fact, an adaptation of the *Télémaque* placing it in the context of the Indian subcontinent. It covers only the first three chapters of the original text of the *Télémaque*, setting the adventures in India and domesticating the characters. *Télémaque*, for example, became *Sâib-nihâd*, Mentor *Dâniş-şinâs*, Odysseus *Zafer-küşâ*, and Calypso *Sünbül-tıraz*. Özgül also indicates that his style was more ornate and bombastic than that of Kâmil Pasha.⁴⁶⁵ The translator writes in his introduction that he translated this book during his education. The book, for him, had lots of benefits and unheard-of advantages. It narrated the reason behind the power and lifestyle of the European states and the necessity of welfare and prosperity. It was a stimulating book, especially in terms of political affairs. He admits that he translated it "from the easy flowing French into the beautiful expressive language of the Ottomans, without being capable of it." He also added some verses and issues from his favorite books in order to adorn it.⁴⁶⁶ Özgül also

⁴⁶³ M. Nihat, *Türkçe'de Roman Hakkında Bir Deneme* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, n.d.), 147.

⁴⁶⁴ For the critiques of Nâmık Kemâl, Recâizâde Mahmûd Ekrem and Kanlıcalı Nihad Bey regarding Kâmil Pasha's style, see, Özgül.

⁴⁶⁵ Özgül. Fâik, *Sergüzeşt-i Sâib-nihâd-ı Hindî*, v.I, prepared by Mustafa Reşid Efendi, (Erzurum: Dördüncü Ordu-yı Hümâyûn Litografya Tezgahtı, Receb 1282/1865), 212p.

⁴⁶⁶ Koç, 148-149, 191.

points to Yenişehirli Hüseyin Avnî Bey's unpublished translation called *İntak*. This was said to be translated from Greek; however, Özgül maintains that it was yet another adaptation of the *Télémaque*, in which Télémaque became *İntak*, Mentor *Nestor*, and Ulysses *Selfikos*.⁴⁶⁷

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The impact of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's translation was perceivable in literary circles in terms of the introduction of a new genre, namely the novel, to Arabic literature. The first example of this impact was 'Alî Pasha Mubârak's (1823-1893) *'Alam al-Dîn*. There are many parallels both in the lives and writings of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî and 'Alî Pasha Mubârak, another proponent of education in Egypt. Like al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, coming from a peasant family, he studied at al-Azhar and later on in France and tried to combine Islamic and modern education in his country. He was an educator, engineer, administrator, officer, statesman, scholar, and a prolific writer.⁴⁶⁸ The best way to serve the country, for Mubârak, was to teach Egypt's youth. In 1872, he established the Egyptian Teachers' College (*Dâr al-'Ulûm*) to provide future teachers for the new schools. Natural sciences, social sciences, and mathematics were taught in the College besides traditional religious and philological subjects. He also established the Khedivial Library, which housed new and old books, and founded the journal *Rawḍat al-Madâris*, the editor of which was al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, to spread scientific and technical knowledge.⁴⁶⁹ The first and foremost aim of Mubârak was to spread knowledge among his people. To emphasize the importance of education he employed fiction and wrote the four-volume novel *'Alam al-Dîn*. Published in 1882 in Alexandria, *'Alam al-Dîn* consists of the travels in the course of which a traditionally educated Muslim intellectual, Shaykh 'Alam al-Dîn, and a British orientalist discuss in great detail the positive and negative aspects of the two civilizations.⁴⁷⁰

This literary genre, "Mirrors for Princes," was well known in Islamic literature and had a long tradition, as was mentioned in the second chapter. The new ideas presented in a literary genre familiar to Ottomans made it more appealing, so that literature became a potent way to express new ideas. The number of literary works translated from European languages into Turkish or Arabic is further proof of this fact. One could say that the novel was one of the

⁴⁶⁷ Özgül, MS, *Yenişehirli Şâir Avnî'nin Basılmamış Eseri*, Provincial Public Library of Adnan Ötüken, No: 1011.

⁴⁶⁸ Badr, 73-82.

⁴⁶⁹ Moosa, 8-9.

⁴⁷⁰ Crabbs, 112-115; About *'Alam al-Dîn*, see, Wadad al-Qadi, "East and West in 'Ali Mubarak's 'Alamuddin," in *Intellectual Life in the Arab East, 1890-1939*, ed. by M. R. Buheiry, (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1981): 21-37.

fundamental tools for the modernization of the state and that it had a lasting impact even on developments in the twentieth century.

4. Objection: stick to our own culture!

The translations were welcomed and praised by many; however, there were also reactions to translations from European languages. For them those translations would undermine the structures of traditional authorities and knowledge. Among them was Sarıyerli Mehmed Sâdık Efendi (d. 1873).

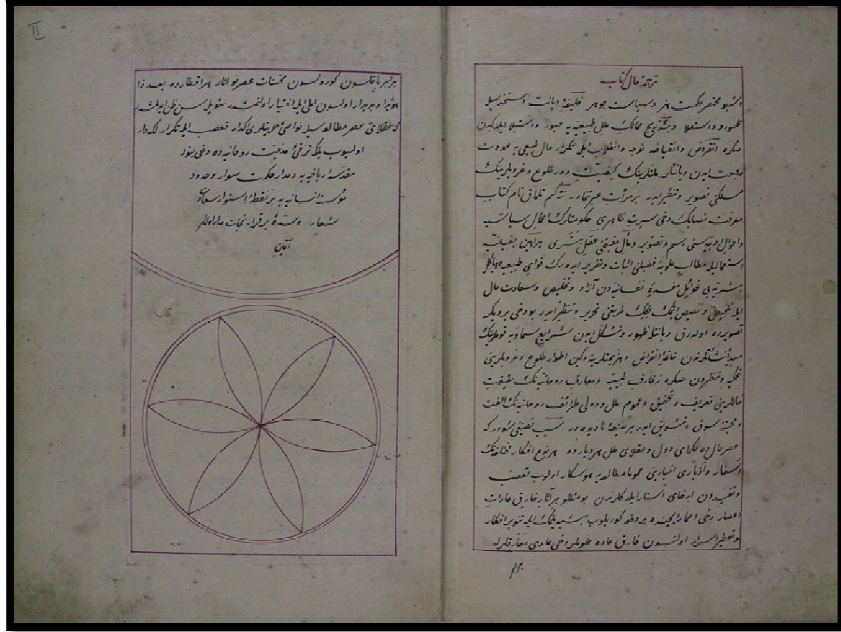


Figure 13: The first folio of Mehmed Sâdık's *Tanzîr-i Têlêmaque* (1869-1871) (MS, Süleymaniye Library, Ali Nihat Tarlan, 96)

Sâdık Efendi wrote a *nazîre* (imitation) to Kâmil Pasha's translation under the title *Tanzîr-i Telemak* between 1869 and 1871, while he was in exile, in Acre.⁴⁷¹ Rather than being a *nazîre* to the *Têlêmaque*, it was a completely

⁴⁷¹ Mehmed Sâdık, *Tanzîr-i Telemak*, MS, Süleymaniye Library, Ali Nihat Tarlan, 96; M. Kaplan, *Türk Edebiyatı Üzerine Araştırmalar I* (Istanbul: Dergah Yayınları, 1976): 275-286.

different type of work. It was written in the form of dialogues on religious, social and political issues between two heroes, a religious philosopher and a peasant.⁴⁷² The aim of the *Télémaque*, the author writes in his introduction, was to illustrate and describe the political duties of governments and the situation of morality. Employing certain proofs of the human intellect, it tries to demonstrate and explain high values and principles. It also shows how to keep the natural power and the body of human beings from evils of the self and how to maintain the state of happiness. As for *Tanzîr*, he asserts that it is a rare piece of art which surveys the rise and fall of religious nations.⁴⁷³ As an opponent of the reformers, he deals with social and political issues from the religious point of view and claims that the more the Empire is westernized the more she is doomed to collapse. Western civilization, which dignifies nature and instincts, is also doomed to perish. According to him, the salvation of the humanity lays in religion, precisely in Islam, and the men of the religion.⁴⁷⁴ Civilization was the product of religion and the proof of this was the examples of the rise of the Islamic states and the Ottoman Empire. In time, however, religious beliefs were corrupted and the reformers rejected the guidance of Islam. Since the proclamation of the *Tanzîmât* Rescript, he states, no problems have been solved; on the contrary, new ones were occurring in all spheres of life while the authority of the religious scholars, *'ulamâ*, was uprooted.⁴⁷⁵ The aim of the *Tanzîr* was to criticize reforms and to propose an ideal society presided over by *Sharî'a*. Modernization, for him, was a movement against religion and the *'ulamâ*, and its supporters were the ones keen on their own ambitions. The only way to save the Empire was to cling to religion and turn one's back on the high principles of ethics. As a member of the *'ulamâ*, Sâdık Efendi provides us with an interesting record of the position of the *'ulamâ* against the Ottoman reforms of the period.⁴⁷⁶

Along the same lines, Özgül points to another work written by Ferâizcizâde Mehmed Şâkir Efendi (1853-1911), entitled *Âyine-i İskender*. It was serialized in his journal *Nilüfer*, the first literary journal published in Bursa between 1885 and 1891. Mehmed Şâkir Efendi was complaining that the

⁴⁷² Kaplan.

⁴⁷³ Mehmed Sâdık, *Tanzîr-i Telemak* "Terceme hâl-i kitâb," Ila-b.

⁴⁷⁴ Kaplan.

⁴⁷⁵ Mardin, 200-201.

⁴⁷⁶ Kaplan. About Mehmed Sâdık, see, Bursalı Mehmed Tâhir, "Sâdık Efendi," in *Osmanlı Müellifleri*, v.I (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire, 1333): 342-344.

Télémaque was being read as a treatise on morals. As an alternative to the *Télémaque*, he writes of his desire to produce an indigenous book to prevent the introduction of European manners and morals into the Ottoman world: "... for a long time, our men of letters have been translating European works either for displaying Europe or teaching what kind of plots are taking among them or informing Ottomans about their marvelous sciences and technology. While doing this, they say that our people already know and should know that they should not follow them in their morals. As an instance of this, the treatise of the *Télémaque*, written by Fénelon one-hundred-fifty years ago and the adventures of which are well known among the Ottomans, was translated for the ones who did not know French. Surprisingly, the translation of this treatise was sometimes read in schools as a work to be practiced by the Ottomans in their manners and morals. Our youth is still trying to read and regard it from time to time as an essential and historical story to improve their morals."⁴⁷⁷ According to Mehmed Şâkir Efendi, Fénelon had written his work from the perspective of paganism, which was not in accordance with the ethical norms of the Ottomans. He gives some examples to explain that the morality of Westerners was rooted in reason, while that of the Ottomans was rooted in Islam. For this reason, morals should be taught to youth with works written by Ottomans, not with translations from Western languages. Certainly, all translated works, including the *Télémaque*, could be read to learn about the moral and political ideas of other peoples; however, the important point for him was to produce original works compatible with the values of Ottomans.⁴⁷⁸ For this purpose, he put pen to paper.

⁴⁷⁷ Mehmed Şâkir, "İstanbul'dan mektub," *Nilüfer* 2/9 (1 Receb 1305/1888): 66-67; Özgül.

⁴⁷⁸ Mehmed Şâkir.

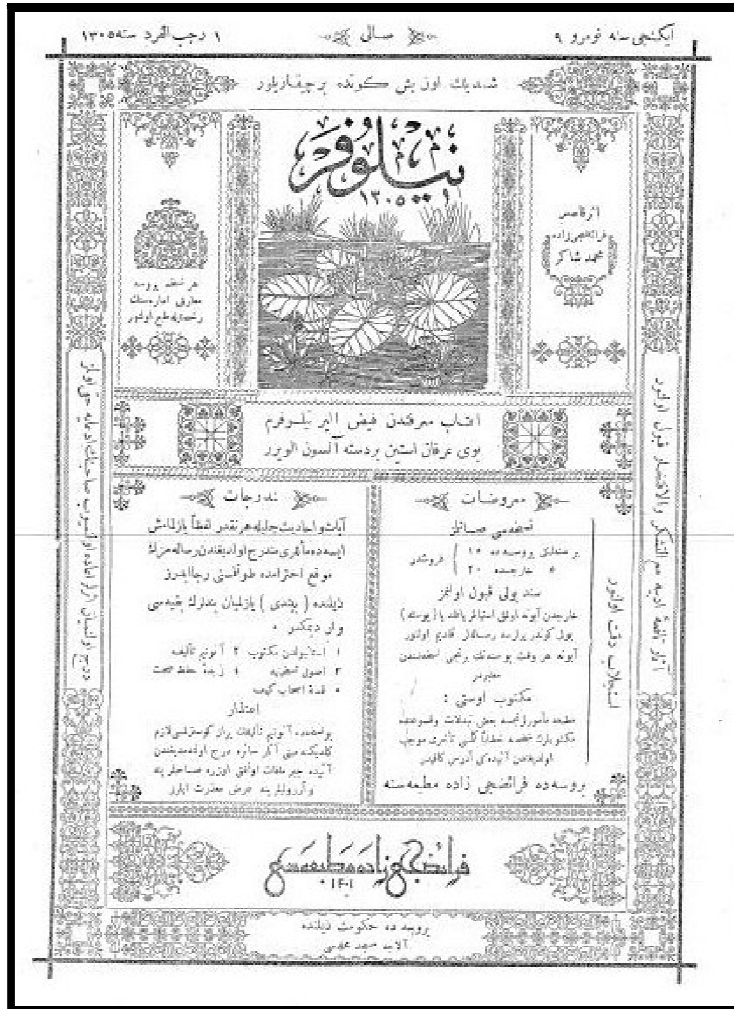


Figure 14: The first page of the Turkish journal Nilüfer 2/9 (1305)

5. More translations

The second Turkish translation of the *Télémaque* was done by Ahmed Vefik Pasha. Coming from a family of translators, Ahmed Vefik Pasha received his education in France. He served, among other governmental duties, as ambassador in Paris (1860), twice as Grand Vizier, as chairman of the first Ottoman Parliament and as governor of Bursa. He was a statesman, translator and one of the initiators of the modern theatre in Turkey. He is also considered to be the first Turcologist and Turkist of the Ottomans. He had a wide knowledge of Europe and European thought; yet, he was against total modernization.⁴⁷⁹ Henry Layard describes him thus: “to the opponents of Reshid Pasha may be added a small body of able, enlightened, thoughtful, and honest men of which Ahmed Vefyk [sic] Efendi became the type, who whilst anxious that the corrupt and incapable administration of public affairs should be reformed and purified, were of the opinion that the necessary reforms could only be safely and effectually accomplished upon Turkish and Mussulman lines, and great prudence and caution were required in putting them into execution.... They maintained at the same time, that the ancient Turkish political system and institutions and the Mussulman religion contained the elements of progress, civilization and good and just government, if they were only honestly and justly developed.”⁴⁸⁰

Contrary to popular belief, however, Ahmed Vefik Pasha’s translation was not a complete one. It included only the first six chapters of the *Télémaque*. It was published in 1879 in Bursa and was reprinted three times in six years. In his introduction to the translation, Ahmed Vefik Pasha indicates the popularity of the genre of story/novel in world literature, especially in France and England. These stories, with their wide range of topics, he writes, render an

⁴⁷⁹ Sir Henry Layard writes about Ahmed Vefik Pasha: “We read together the best English classics – amongst them the works of Gibbon, Robertson and Hume – and studied political economy in those of Adam Smith and Ricardo. My friend Longworth had strong Protectionist views. I was an ardent free-trader. We spent many an hour in fierce argument in which the effendi [Ahmed Vefik] joined in great vigour and spirit... He was a perfect store of information on all manner of subjects... and ... a smattering of scientific knowledge, which he afterwards considerably extended.” Sir Henry Layard, *Autobiography and Letters*, v.II (London: Murray, 1903), 89. Mardin, 209-210. About Ahmed Vefik Pasha, see, for example, Berk, 77-86; J. Deny, “Aḥmad Wafik Pasha,” *EI*, v.I (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1960): 298.

⁴⁸⁰ Quoted in Mardin, 249.

important service to the progress of knowledge and to the mental development of children. The famous book *Télémaque* was but one such example of this kind of literature, containing advice on governance and ethics. As a reaction to the ornate prose of Kâmil Pasha, he asserts to make a correct, word-for-word, smooth and decorated translation. This translation would teach its readers a new type of writing style, and at the same time, show the richness of the Turkish language. Then, he mentions other translations from Western languages into Ottoman Turkish as examples of this style: *Gil Blas*, *Candide*, *Paul et Virginie*, *Heloise*, *Corinne*, *Mauprat*, *Robinson*, *Tom Jones*, *Roderick Random*, *Tristram Shandy*, *Gullivers Travels*, *Guy Mannering*, *The Last of the Mohicans*, *Werther*, *Don Quixote*, and *The Decameron*.⁴⁸¹ It is true that Ahmed Vefik Pasha's language and style was simpler than that of Kâmil Pasha; however, his translation, as with all his translations/adaptations, was not a word-for-word translation. He was very consciously translating the text for a Muslim audience and thus replacing the mythological elements of the book with Islamic discourse as Kâmil Pasha did. This, in fact, shows us the common translation technique of the period. Another important feature of the period was that the content of the text was more important than its literary qualities. The didactic value of literary texts was always well to the fore as in the case of the *Télémaque*. Ahmed Vefik Pasha's translation with a simpler Turkish, however, did not enjoy the popularity of the previous one. This might be because of the fact that it was not completed or that the canonized established forms were still enjoyed much more than new types of writing forms.

Three years after the publication of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's translation, a verse adaptation of the *Télémaque* in Arabic appeared in Beirut in 1870 under the title *Riwâyat Télémaque*. It was done by Sa'd Allâh al-Bustânî (d. ca.1897).⁴⁸² The full name of the translator is given in the introduction as Sa'd Allâh bin 'Îd bin Shiblî bin Nâdir al-Bustânî.

Sa'd Allâh al-Bustânî writes in the introduction that he composed this work in the National School (*al-Madrasa al-Waṭaniyya*), where he was a teacher of French language. The National School had been founded by Buṭrus al-Bustânî (1819-1883) in 1863 in Beirut for students from all communities and sects. It is said that a year after its foundation the school had one-hundred-fifty

⁴⁸¹ Ahmed Vefik Pasha, "Télémaque Tercemesi," (Bursa: Matbaa-i Hüdâvendigâr, 1297/1879): 2-3.

⁴⁸² 'Umar Rizâ Kakhâla, "Sa'd Allâh (Efendi)," *Mu'jam al-Muallifîn: Tarâjim Muṣannifî al-Kutub al-'Arabiyya*, v.4, (Beirut: Maktabat al-Muthannâ, 1957): 216.

students and a boarding section accomodating students from Syria, Iraq and Egypt. The aim of the school was to teach love of *waṭan* and diffusion of knowledge through the medium of Arabic language. Turkish was also taught along with French and English; however, for Buṭrus al-Bustânî, Arabic was the basis of national identity.⁴⁸³ Considering the patriotic ideas presented in the *Télémaque*, it is not surprising that the book was so appealing for the teachers and students of the National School. Sa‘d Allâh al-Bustânî translated it in an abridged form (*mulakkhaṣatan*). He takes care to state at the outset that some names of gods and other mythological elements of the book are part of history. Who relates these things cannot be accused of unbelief. The most benevolent nation is the one that questions itself. All of us, he concludes, are exposed to both deficiency and perfection.⁴⁸⁴

The book was reprinted in Cairo in 1897 on the printing press of *al-Hindiyya*. It was also printed on the press of the weekly newspaper *al-Jawâ‘ib* in Istanbul.⁴⁸⁵ The newspaper *al-Jawâ‘ib* had been launched in 1861 by the Lebanese convert to Islam, Aḥmad Fâris al-Shidyâq (1805-1887), an authority on Arabic literature and grammar. The paper and the printing press of *al-Jawâ‘ib* were backed by the Porte and Khedive Ismâ‘îl and became one of the most influential Arabic papers of the century,⁴⁸⁶ responsible in large part for the dissemination of new ideas throughout the Empire.⁴⁸⁷

⁴⁸³ Butrus Abu-Manneh, “The Christians between Ottomanism and Syrian nationalism: the ideas of Butrus al-Bustani,” *IJMES* 11/3 (1980): 287-304.

⁴⁸⁴ Sa‘d Allâh al-Bustânî, *Riwâyat Télémaque* (Beirut: Maṭba‘at al-Ma‘ârif, 1870), 2-3.

⁴⁸⁵ Strauss, “Who read what.”

⁴⁸⁶ Ayalon, 30-31.

⁴⁸⁷ J. R. I. Cole, *Colonialism and Revolution in the Middle East: Revolution, Nationalism, Colonialism and Arab Middle Class* (Princeton: Princeton University, 1993): 121-122; For Aḥmad Fâris al-Shidyâq, see, Luwîs ‘Awaḍ, *Târîkh al-Fikr al-Miṣrî al-Ḥadîth* (Cairo: Dâr al-Hilâl, 1994): 298-358; Jurjî Zaydân, *Tarâjim Mashâhîr al-Sharq fî al-Qarn al-Tâsi‘ ‘Ashar*, v.II (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Hilâl, 1902): 81-92. About the paper, see, Y. Civelek, “*Ahmed Faris eş-Şidyâk: Edebî Şahsiyeti ve Cevâib Gazetesi*,” (Ph.D. diss., Erzurum Atatürk Üniversitesi, 1997).

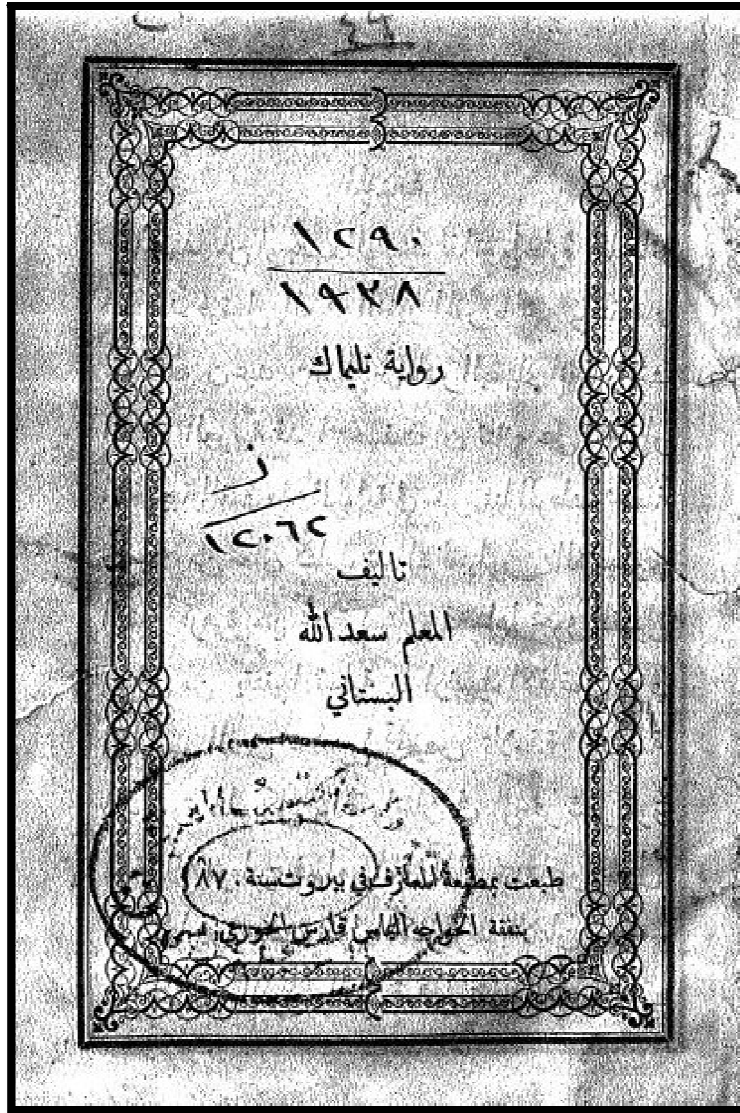


Figure 15: The cover of Sa'd Allâh al-Bustânî's *Riwâyat Télémaque* (Beirut, 1870)

In 1885, another Arabic translation of the *Télémaque* by Shâhîn ‘Aṭiyya (1835-1913) was printed in Beirut under the title *Kitâb Waqâ’i‘ Télémaque*. ‘Aṭiyya was one of the masters of the Arabic language in Lebanon. He contributed to the Arabic theatre both as a writer and performer. He was also the father of Jurjî Shâhîn ‘Aṭiyya (d. 1946), an educator, linguist and journalist.⁴⁸⁸ Although it is not mentioned, the translation was a new version of al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s translation. Even al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s preface (*dibâja*) to his translation was summarized and took its place as an introduction to the new “translation.” In fact, what ‘Aṭiyya did was to revise al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s translation and detach it from the old literary style as much as possible, rendering it instead in a simpler Arabic. The book for ‘Aṭiyya, as it was for al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, was full of advice for rulers as well as for common people.⁴⁸⁹ It is said that two more Arabic translations of the *Télémaque* were printed in Beirut, which we were unable to trace. One of them is said to have been done by Ḥabîb al-Yâzîjî (1833-1870),⁴⁹⁰ while the second one, a verse adaptation was brought out by Wadî‘ al-Khûrî, the second publisher of the newspaper *Ḥadiqat al-Akhhâr*, in 1912.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁸ Yûsuf Es‘ad Dâghir, *Maşâdir al-Dirâsa al-Adabiyya*, v.3, (Beirut: Manshûrât al-Jâmi‘a al-Lubnâniyya, 1972): 841-842.

⁴⁸⁹ Shâhîn ‘Aṭiyya, *Kitâb Waqâ’i‘ Télémaque* (Beirut: Maṭba‘at al-Lubnâniyya, 1885): 2-3.

⁴⁹⁰ Yûsuf Ilyân Sarkîs, “al-Yâzîjî (al-Shaykh) Ḥabîb,” *Mu‘jam al-Maṭbû‘ât al-‘Arabiyya wa al-Mu‘arraba*, v.2 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Sarkîs, 1928): 1931-1932.

⁴⁹¹ Yûsuf Ilyân Sarkîs, “al-Khûrî (Wadî‘),” *Mu‘jam al-Maṭbû‘ât al-‘Arabiyya wa al-Mu‘arraba*, v.1 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Sarkîs, 1928): 850; See, also, Sâlim al-‘Îs, *al-Tarjama fî Khidma al-Thaqâfiyya al-Jamâhîriyya* (Damascus: Manshûrât Ittihâd al-Kitâb al-‘Arab, 1999): 253.

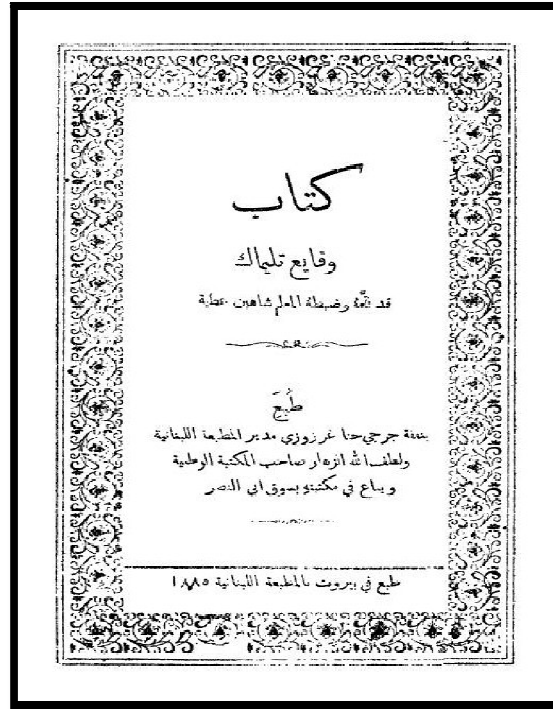


Figure 16: The cover of Shâhin ‘Aṭiyya’s *Waqâ’i’ Têlêmaque* (Beirut, 1885)

The *Têlêmaque* translations awakened interest in many of the other works of Fénelon. In 1888, Fâik Reşad (1851-1914) translated *Les aventures d’Aristonoüs*, which had appeared as an appendix to the French *Têlêmaque* editions since 1705, into Turkish under the title *Hikâye-i Aristonoüs*. It had never previously been translated into either Arabic or Turkish. In his introduction to the translation, Reşad writes that it was a concise ethical book written with the same purpose by the sage (*hakîm*) author of the *Têlêmaque*, Fénelon.⁴⁹² The introduction is followed by a brief account of Fénelon’s life and some of his works. The success achieved by the translation of the *Têlêmaque* as a book of morals and politics rather than simply as a novel is again indicated in the introduction.

⁴⁹² Fâik Reşad, *Hikâye-i Aristonoüs* (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1306/1888): 2-3.



Figure 17: The cover of the *Hikâye-i Aristonous* (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası, 1306)

In 1909, Fénelon's pedagogical work *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (Treatise on the Education of Girls) was translated by a man of letters, Şâlih Hamdî Hammâd (1863-1913)⁴⁹³, into Arabic under the title *Tarbiyat al-Banât* and published in Cairo. A quotation from al-Ṭaḥṭâwî is placed under the title of the book on its cover page, which can be rendered in English as “good manners (*adab*) in woman do not need beauty, yet, beauty fails without good manners.” The translation is preceded by a long presentation about the original book and its writer Fénelon, which is itself followed by a foreword written by al-Shaykh Ṭaṇṭâwî Jawharî. Next, Hammâd writes an introduction to the translation in which he praises the eloquent style of its author, “the writer of the *Télémaque*,” and the way he translated the text. He states that by summarizing some parts

⁴⁹³ About Şâlih Hamdî Hammâd and his works, see, ‘Umar Rizâ Kakhâla, “Şâlih Hammâd,” *Mu‘jam al-Muallifin: Tarâjim Muşannifi al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyya*, v.5 (Beirut: Maktabat al-Muthannâ, 1957): 6; Yûsuf Ilyân Sarkîs, “Şâlih (Bey) Hamdî Hammâd,” *Mu‘jam al-Maṭbû‘ât al-‘Arabiyya wa al-Mu‘arraba*, v.2 (Cairo: Maṭba‘at Sarkîs, 1928): 1175-1176.

and domesticating other parts he tried to make it more palatable for Egyptian readers.⁴⁹⁴ Nevertheless, it seems from an article originally published in *Waqâ'i' al-Miṣriyya* (and quoted in *Rawḍat al-Madâris*) that Egyptian intellectuals were acquainted with Fénelon's treatise on the education of girls before this translation. For in the article, which is about the schools for girls, the author refers to Fénelon's treatise to support his argument for the education of girls.⁴⁹⁵

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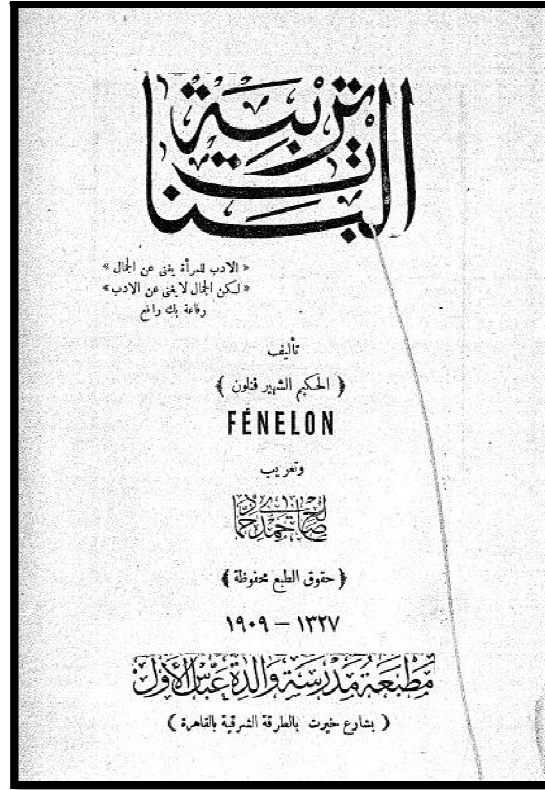


Figure 18: The cover of Ṣâliḥ Ḥamdî Ḥammâd's *Tarbiyat al-Banât* (Cairo, 1909)

⁴⁹⁴ Ṣâliḥ Ḥamdî Ḥammâd, *Tarbiyat al-Banât* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Madrasat Wâlida 'Abbâs al-Awwal, 1909): i-ii.

⁴⁹⁵ *Rawḍat al-Madâris*, 7/1 (15 Muḥarram 1292/20 February 1875): 4-7.

A collection of selected fables from Fénelon was published under the title *al-Nukhba min Amthâl Fénelon* in Aleppo in 1910. This Arabic translation was done by Jurjis Shilhut al-Suryânî al-Ḥalabî (1868-1928) and dedicated to Fath Allâh Efendi, a famous tailor of the city. Shilhut was born in Aleppo and lived in Lebanon, Syria and Egypt. He was a monk, a poet, an educator, and a journalist.⁴⁹⁶ The translation was done in verse form. Shilhut writes that he had sent some of these fables to Ibrâhîm al-Yazijî (1847-1906), a Lebanese linguist and journalist, for review.⁴⁹⁷ The letter written by Shilhut in response to al-Yazijî's review in 1902 is quoted at the beginning of the translation. It is followed by a short introduction about the translation in which he gives some examples of fable writers such as Baydaba, Lukmân al-Ḥakîm, Aesop, and La Fontaine. The translated fables, he explains, are from the writings of "the author of the *Télémaque*, Fénelon."⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ Qusṭâkî al-Ḥimsî, *Udabâ' Ḥalab Zav al-Athar fî al-Qarn al-Tâsi'a 'Ashar* (Aleppo: al-Maṭba'a al-Mârûniyya bi-Ḥalab, 1925): 121-123;

⁴⁹⁷ About Ibrâhîm al-Yazijî, see, for example, Jurjî Zaydân, *Târîkh Adab al-Lugha al-'Arabiyya*, 2nd ed., v.IV (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Hilâl, 1937): 229-231.

⁴⁹⁸ Jurjis Shilhut al-Suryânî al-Ḥalabî, *al-Nukhba min Amthâl Fénelon* (Aleppo: al-Maṭba'a al-Mârûniyya, 1910), 8.

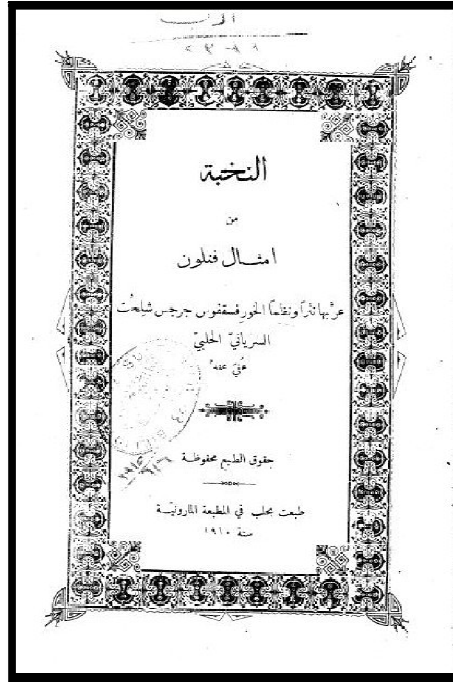


Figure 19: The cover of Jurjîs Shilḥut al-Suryânî al-Ḥalabî's *al-Nuhkba min Amthâl Fénelon* (Aleppo, 1910)

A new Turkish translation of the *Télémaque* in 1920 confirms the fact that Fénelon and his *Télémaque* had appealed to the Ottoman reading public for a considerable time. Almost sixty years after the first publication of Kâmil Pasha's translation, a new translation began to be serialized in the journal *Mahfel* in 1920 under the title *Yeni Télémaque Tercemesi* (New *Télémaque* Translation). In the introduction to the journal, it is stated that "the story, which was written to make the prospective prince love his subjects and teach him the functions and requisites of governance, has recently begun to be translated by a certain person. It is translated as much as possible in accordance with the original and with the present Turkish language. Since we were pleased with the style of the translation, we devoted the last page of the *Mahfel* to it. We will continue to serialize the parts sent us, which is only the translation of the first part [of the *Télémaque*]. If the translator translates the rest of the book, we will try to publish it."⁴⁹⁹ To introduce the author, then, they quote the article from

⁴⁹⁹ "Yeni Télémaque tercemesi ve Fénelon," *Mahfel* 19 (1338/1920) : 123.

Kâmûsu'l-A'lâm about Fénelon. However, the translation was serialized for only three issues. The most striking feature of this uncompleted translation was the fact of its being the most faithful Turkish translation of the *Télémaque*. Another important aspect is the translator's explanations in the footnotes, as in the case of introducing the functions of the gods. Its language, writing and translation style, as well as the usage of punctuation marks, all displayed the features of flourishing modern Turkish literature at the beginning of the twentieth century.



Figure 20: The first page of the Turkish journal *Mahfel* 19 (1338)

We have tried to demonstrate that the *Télémaque* translations were received with great interest, particularly by the proponents of reforms in Istanbul, Cairo and Beirut. However, the Turkish translation gained more attention than the Arabic one. It seems that no other Western literary work was translated, imitated or excerpted in the Ottoman Empire as much as the *Télémaque* during the late nineteenth century. Arguments and advertisements about the translations roused interest in other works of Fénelon and translations of them were also begun, as we pointed out. The book and its author were regarded as so important that articles were devoted to them in new encyclopedias, which made them part of another intellectual tradition. In fact, as Özgül rightly notes, neither Fénelon nor the translators thought of themselves as composing or translating a literary work. It was basically considered as a “political treatise” or, more precisely, a guide book for political reformers, comparable to the medieval *Mirrors for Princes*. As we have tried to demonstrate, the *Télémaque* was not only of interest in the metropolis/center of the Caliphate, but also of interest in the periphery. This, in fact, constitutes a good example of how intellectuals throughout the Empire were part of an active network created by new channels of communication, namely printing and press, and that all activities in the metropolis were followed closely and with a great interest in the provinces. In the following pages, we will discuss how this famous book did contribute to the change of ideas, and try to discover whether it had any impact on certain intellectuals or on reform policies.

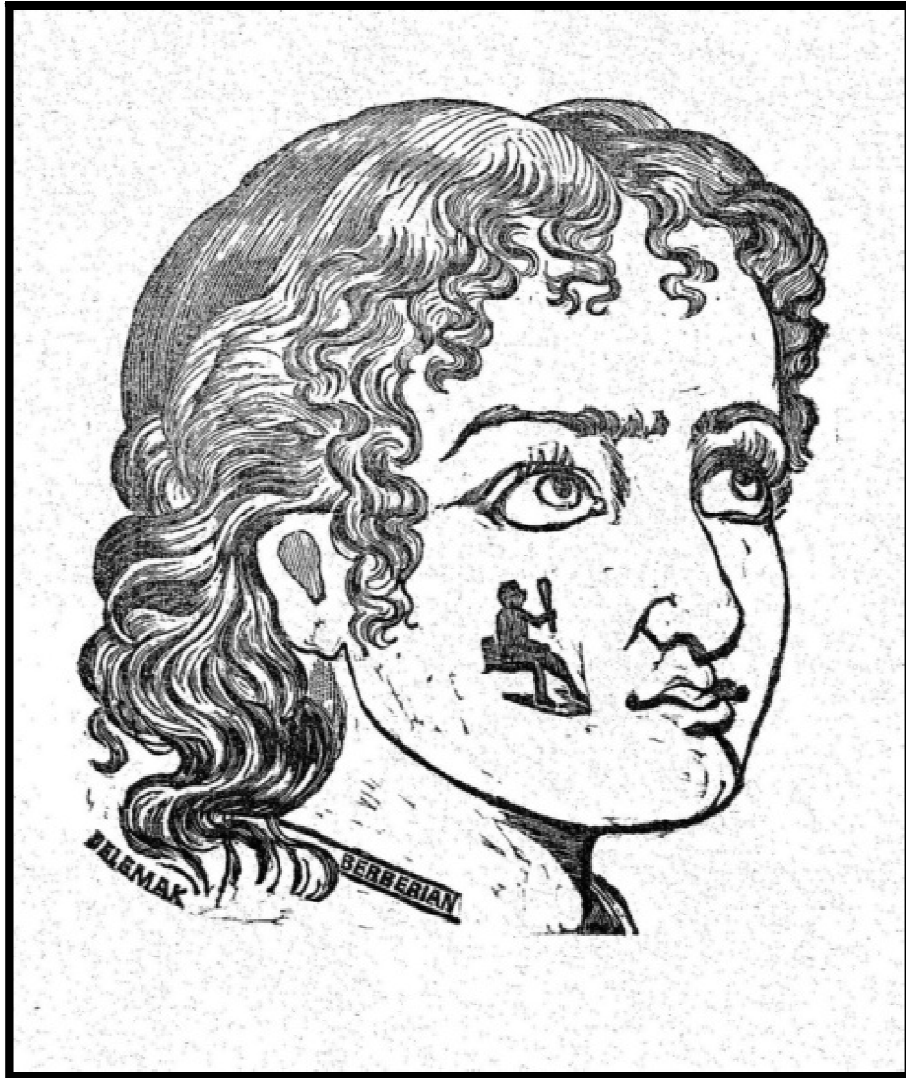


Figure 21: Portrait of Télémaque drawn by Berberyan
The Turkish journal *Dolab* 14 (1290/1873)

B. New ideas naturalized in original texts

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Translated texts/ideas were not only read and argued over by many, but they also became a source of inspiration for some intellectuals who were looking for solutions to the problems of their country. Our purpose in this part of the study is to analyze how new ideas, presented in the translations of the *Télémaque*, were appropriated and naturalized in certain Arabic and Turkish texts and became part of another intellectual milieu. To do so, we will examine the memorandum (*lâyiha*) of Münif Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's *Manâhij*, while indicating some other authors in the works of whom the ideas of Fénelon are traceable. We hope in this way to highlight the role of translations in the intellectual and institutional transformation of a given culture.

1. Münif Pasha's memorandum (*lâyiha*) from Tehran

Münif Pasha, a writer, poet, translator, journalist, educator and statesman, was born in 1830 in Ayıntab.⁵⁰⁰ He received his primary education in the Nûruosmâniye School in Ayıntab. His father Abdünnâfî Efendi was taken by İbrâhîm Pasha to Cairo as a Persian teacher for his sons.⁵⁰¹ Later on the family of Abdünnâfî Efendi also moved to Cairo. During their stay in Cairo, Münif Pasha continued his education in the Qaşr al-‘Âlî school. He began to study the French language in Cairo, where he became acquainted with the modernization project of Muḥammad ‘Alî Pasha. By the end of 1849, Münif Pasha and his family left Cairo because of ‘Abbâs I's policies and went to Damascus. While Münif Pasha stayed there to continue his education, his family went back to Ayıntab.⁵⁰² After a year he started to work as a civil servant in Damascus, but then resigned in 1852 and moved to Istanbul. There he entered the Translation Office as an Arabic and Persian translator. When Kemâl Efendi was appointed ambassador to Berlin, he took Münif Pasha with him. In 1855 a new era began in Münif Pasha's life. He not only worked in the embassy but also learned the German language and studied at Berlin University. After

⁵⁰⁰ A. Budak, *Batılılaşma Sürecinde Çok Yönlü Bir Osmanlı Aydını: Münif Paşa* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 2004), 3.

⁵⁰¹ Budak, 7.

⁵⁰² Budak, 15-19.

three years he returned to Istanbul.⁵⁰³ He was interested in various fields from Turkish language, literature, philosophy, law, economy, history to science and education. He worked in the service of the state as translator, head of the Grand Commission of Education, ambassador, and minister of education. He was appointed ambassador to Tehran in 1872, and it was there that he wrote a memorandum (*lâyiha*) addressed to the Grand Vizier Şîrvânîzâde Mehmed Rüşdü (1811-1882). He was, so to speak, drawing a roadmap to be followed in order to attain the goal of a civilized society. The *lâyiha* echoes the teachings of Fénelon in the *Télémaque*. By giving an English translation of the *lâyiha* here we will try to display the ideas of Fénelon naturalized in an Ottoman text by a pro-reform Turkish intellectual.

The copy of the memorandum (lâyiha) I sent from Tehran to the late Şîrvânîzâde Mehmed Rüşdü while he was Grand Vizier:

[1] So as it is not a secret, in our time obtaining internal welfare and prosperity and external power and strength depends by all means on the promulgation and generalization of sciences and education. Therefore, these beneficial points are the first and most important of all measures of amendment. For the efforts so far put forward for this purpose by the Ottoman government are far from a satisfactory level. It is the utmost hope of the well-wishers of the country that they should be brought to the proper level.

The law and court procedures which are necessary for all kinds of new courts (*mehâkim-i nizâmiye*) are unavailable or imperfect. [These courts] truly have few efficient personnel. A school of law has to be established immediately in order to supply necessary laws on the one hand, and to produce urgently knowledgeable personnel in the art of law on the other.

The assignment of military service only to Muslims is a heavy burden, which is mostly not endurable. [2] Because of the exemption of non-Muslims from this service, their population is increasing every single day. So it is obvious that the general gap that will occur between the

⁵⁰³ Budak, 23.

numbers of each [parties], will have serious consequences on Muslims. In the circular of military service, the danger is observed, yet, the restriction [of the service] to Muslims is fixed. Since I believe that the ones who want the survival of the Ottoman state should not allow this situation to continue, I would particularly like to draw your exalted attention to this fact.

Up to this time, agriculture, industry and commerce have been neglected in the Ottoman dominion. The government did not properly pay attention to their expansion and improvement. Although we have a Ministry of Commerce, its responsibility is only to supervise commercial courts. An actual Ministry of Commerce, as in other countries, has to be constituted. Through it, the expansion and improvement of the three aforementioned sources of wealth, and particularly agriculture, which is very important in our view, is expected to be endeavored.

There must be many disadvantages and corruptions in the prevailing method regarding the imposition, partition and ways of collecting all kinds of tax and duties. It should be agreed that the above-mentioned method be revised and remodeled for the benefit of the treasury and the advantages of the people, [3] and arranged in conformity with the rules of the scientific regulation of the country.

The financial affairs of the Ottoman government have come to a threatening point. It is obvious that by supplying a budget deficit always with a new loan has serious consequences, and it cannot be continued for long time. Henceforth, this situation, whatsoever measures or devotion it requires, ought to be terminated as soon as possible. Because if it is neglected any longer, the situations that we can regard as discretionary today, naturally, will occur more compellingly in the future. It is also a point of consideration that financial straits will cause some internal and external disturbances and difficulties and will oblige us to endure some state of affairs which are contrary to the glory and advantages of the Ottoman government.

Since our policy towards European countries remains passive, it is enough to be aware of their intentions and operations. However, the favor of England, France, German and Austria should be solicited and the path of peaceful relations had to be followed with Russia.

The states of Iran and Greece can always bring us disturbances and difficulties; [4] therefore, we should, beyond the purpose, be vigilant and watchful of them. That being said, our position is available to adopt an active policy in these two countries. Accordingly, ambassadors have to be chosen from among our most competent men for Tehran and Athens; and the Sublime Porte should be more careful in handling the affairs of these [countries] than of others.

Since the distinguished provinces, particularly, the two countries [Wallachia and Moldavia], Serbia and Montenegro can cause the biggest disturbances and dangers to the Ottoman State, the most vigilant approach must be taken with regard to them. The Sublime Porte always has to be aware of the situations and affairs of these places. Most particularly, it should endeavor to attain the means of advocating the advantages and objectives of the Ottoman state. It is remarkable that while they have official agents, dedicated journals and who knows how many secret agents in Istanbul, the Sublime Porte does not even look at the contents of their official gazettes.

It is astonishing that, while all Muslim nations in other countries tend to this side [Ottoman State] by recognizing the supreme authority of the greatest caliphate, the Ottoman state turns away from or ignores them. Contrarily, although there are every kind of conflicts between the mentioned groups and European states, they [European states] try to associate with them. To establish friendly relationships with the governments of the mentioned groups like Morocco, Muscat, [5] Zanzibar, Java, Achin, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Bukhara, Kashgar and others, who are all independent today, necessitates politically great advantages for Muslims in general and for the Ottoman State in particular.

The construction of a railroad from Trabzon or from another suitable point to Erzurum and of country roads in vital districts of Anatolia is very important for the purpose of maintaining our commercial relations with Iran and to be useful in case of a probable war with Russia. Besides, for mostly no vehicles were used in country roads constructed in the provinces up to the present, required benefit cannot be produced. They are even not properly protected. It is evident that they will be ruined soon and all the labor and expenses put forth for them will be wasted. It is necessary to endeavor to obtain the required means, whether by establishing a company of vehicles or another way, to make people benefit from the mentioned roads properly and protect the roads from rack and ruin.

For positions in embassies and consulates a specific method had to be applied. In particular, many talented chief clerks and officials need to be available in the street of embassies. They should be trained by intermittent transfers from one place to another. [6] The employment of Muslims in these positions is mostly preferable in all respects.

To obviate the potential depredations of Arab, Kurdish and Turkmen tribes who live in desert regions within the Ottoman dominion, the government should provide them with more benefits. In order to do so, effective measures should be looked for and realized. For instance, sending skilled teachers and books in their native tongue to them, or inviting a group of their children each year to Istanbul or other available centers of great provinces to be educated and trained and then returning them to their homes will no doubt have a positive impact.

Our exalted predecessors mostly occupied themselves with details of the affairs and did not have time to reflect on matters like the aforementioned ones. Some ordinary and detailed affairs can be arranged directly in the department they belong to, on condition that they take over the responsibility; others, however, can easily be included for examination under general principles. In that case, the Grand Vizier's preoccupation with important matters becomes practicable, and the aforesaid universal objectives may be obtained. In

this respect to command [belongs unto Him to whom all commanding belongs].⁵⁰⁴

Münif Pasha worked almost fifteen years in the service of the state for the improvement of education. His article about the importance of child education was regarded as the first Turkish work on modern pedagogy.⁵⁰⁵ According to Münif Pasha, the only way for the welfare and power of the country to be ensured was to spread scientific knowledge and provide public education. For him, as for Fénelon, it was the responsibility of the ruler, who was the father of his subjects, to establish schools and spread knowledge among the people.⁵⁰⁶ Education was regarded as a vehicle for progress and civilization.

He complained about the insufficiency of codes and court personnel, one of the most important tools of modernization. For this purpose he proposes the idea that a school of law be established for a new generation of personnel equipped with necessary knowledge. Münif Pasha studied law and philosophy of law at Berlin University and was very much influenced by German and French enlightenment philosophers. After his return from Berlin, he was one of the pioneers of the idea of “natural law” in Istanbul. When a school of law was established in Istanbul in 1874, he was one of the lecturers in this school. His lectures were later on compiled and became one of the first textbooks in modern law.⁵⁰⁷ He regarded law reform as a part of the modernization process of the state.

The government, he wrote, had to exert much effort for the improvement of industry, commerce and particularly agriculture.⁵⁰⁸ To do so, the Ministry of Commerce had to be reconstituted and a new method be adopted for collecting tax. He recognized the foreign policy of the Ottoman state towards European states, while advising an active policy towards Iran and Greece. From constructing roads throughout the country and establishing good relations with other Muslims to supporting the idea of citizenship being above the idea of brotherhood in religion or ethnicity, Münif Pasha touched on many issues and wrote almost a new *Mirror for Princes*. The *lâyiha* ended with

⁵⁰⁴ BOA, Y. EE. 91-38.

⁵⁰⁵ Budak, 571. For the article, see, “Ehemmiyyet-i Terbiye-i Sıbyan,” *Mecmû‘a-i Fünûn* 5 (Cemâziye’l-Evvel, 1279 / November 1862): 176-185.

⁵⁰⁶ Budak, 582. Cf., Fénelon, 117, 318-319.

⁵⁰⁷ Budak, 418-427.

⁵⁰⁸ Cf., for example, Fénelon, 282-283.

advice that seems to come from the mouth of Fénelon: “Those who govern in detail are always determined by present, never extending their views to a distant future.”⁵⁰⁹ In Egypt, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî was the forerunner of these new ideas and an important activist of the period. In the following we will discuss his last writings regarding the impact of Fénelon’s ideas.

2. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s *Manâhij*

The ideas of the French Enlightenment in general and that of Fénelon in particular left a permanent mark on al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s thought.⁵¹⁰ Here, we will just point out some ideas of Fénelon that were appropriated and naturalized in al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s⁵¹¹ *Manâhij al-Albâb al-Miṣriyya fî Mabâhij al-Âdâb al-‘Aṣriyya* (The Paths of Egyptian Minds to the Joys of Modern Manners, 1869),⁵¹² which was written to provide reading for the students in the newly established schools. In the *Manâhij*, so to speak, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî sounds like Mentor who is advising his pupil Télémaque, with the small difference that Mentor is no longer a god but a Muslim patriot. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî made appeal at every point to the Quranic verses, to the sayings and practice of the Prophet and his Companions and to some classics of the Islamic intellectual tradition. He referred to the sayings and practice of Western philosophers and rulers as well.⁵¹³

The work was a kind of map that Egypt had to follow to become a civilized nation. The ideas presented in the book were a synthesis of traditional Islamic views and European enlightenment ideas. Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî neither rejected his Islamic identity nor suggested a total westernization, but supported modernization in all spheres of the society. Religion for him, as it was for Fénelon, was a necessary component of a civilization. All he tried to make is a new synthesis with an emphasis on being Egyptian, not Arab nor Ottoman.

The *Manâhij* consists of an introduction (*muqaddima*), seven chapters and an epilogue (*khâtima*). The introduction begins with the explanation of a new term, namely, civilization (*tamaddun*), one of the key terms of nineteenth-

⁵⁰⁹ Fénelon, 464. Also, Cf., Fénelon, 463-466, 471-472.

⁵¹⁰ A. Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age (1798-1939)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 69-70.

⁵¹¹ For al-Ṭaḥṭâwî’s political ideas, see, for example, G. Delanoue, *Moralistes et politiques Musulmans dans l’Egypte du XIXe siècle (1798-1882)*, v.II (Le Caire : Institut français d’archéologie orientale du Caire, 1982): 416-487.

⁵¹² We used the 2nd edition of the *Manâhij*, published in 1912.

⁵¹³ Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 72-73.

century European politics. The term, in fact, had entered both the Arabic and the Turkish languages before him. What he did was to expound it.⁵¹⁴ Civilization, he wrote, had two components: moral elements (*tamaddun ma'nawî*), which were based on Islamic ethics; and material elements (*tamaddun mâdî*), that lead to the well-being of the people.⁵¹⁵ He devoted the first chapter of his work to the principles of *tamaddun*.

While trying to harmonize divine revelation with human reason, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî attached as much possible value to human reason. For him, human reason was the essential principle of civilization. Reason, in fact, was a light granted by God and it was valued as much as the divine revelation. Likewise, natural law, on which the codes of Europe were based, was created by God and it was not in contradiction with the divine law. The European civil codes had to be considered as branches of jurisprudence (*furû' al-fîqh*); but, the *sharî'a*, for him, was superior to all. It was legitimate and necessary to adapt jurisprudence to modern needs. To support his arguments he exploited the ideas of many scholars, from the time of Ancient Egypt to modern Europe, among who were Fénelon and Montesquieu.⁵¹⁶ He did not suggest a radical revision of jurisprudence, but he paved the way for the discussion of innovation (*tajdîd*), and the place of reason by a later generation.⁵¹⁷ Thus, he presented a civilizational project, based on reason and man-made laws, for his country, *waṭan*. For the sake of *waṭan*, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî tried to reconcile divine revelation with human reason, or *sharî'a* with man-made laws, though they contained many problems.

This *waṭan*, as we mentioned earlier, was Egypt. The discoveries of Egyptologists, some of whom he met in Paris, no doubt had a deep influence on the development of his patriotism. Inspired also by Fénelon, who made use of ancient Greek literature, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî frequently referred to the ancient history of Egypt. His patriotic ideas led him to shift from the consciousness of universal Islamic community to a particular national consciousness. Although his patriotic ideas can be seen throughout his writings, the third chapter of his *Manâhij* was completely devoted to the idea of *waṭan*. This idea was not only an article of faith, but also incumbent on humans. To support his argument he made use of the sayings of the Prophet, his love for Makka, Arabic poetry or

⁵¹⁴ Delanoue, 417-422; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 77.

⁵¹⁵ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 7-10; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 82.

⁵¹⁶ Delanoue, 429-435.

⁵¹⁷ Delanoue, 435-440, 445-446.

even anecdotes from Roman history.⁵¹⁸ Loyalty to the nation would replace loyalty to the religious community. For him national fraternity (*ukhuwwa waṭaniyya*) was over and above brotherhood in religion.⁵¹⁹ He recognized and praised the role of Arabs in the history of Islam and the Arabic language was very important for him. He attached importance to the editing and printing of classical Arabic works, and even supervised the choice of works to be published in the government press. He asked them to be read in al-Azhar and other schools as well; however, he never advocated Arabism.⁵²⁰ What he supported was an Egyptian territorial patriotism.

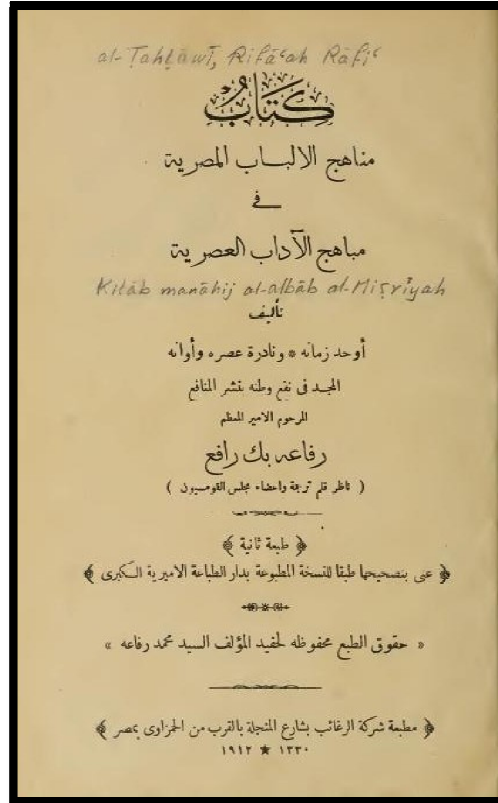


Figure 22: The cover of the *Manâhij*, 2nd ed. (1912)

⁵¹⁸ Delanoue, 451-452.

⁵¹⁹ Al-Taḥṭāwī, *Manâhij*, 98-99; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 77-78.

⁵²⁰ Delanoue, 453-454.

Those who lived in the land of Egypt shared National fraternity. Egypt for him was the legitimate descendant of the land of the Pharaohs. Ancient Egypt had both the moral and material elements of civilization, so, the modern inhabitants of Egypt could regain all those achievements by working all together.⁵²¹ Minorities (*ahl al-dhimma*) had the right to be employed in the same positions as Muslims and to enjoy freedom of religion, for they all shared the same *waṭan* and had to work together.⁵²² Once again, he makes a reference to Fénelon here. He mentions that the king of England, Georges II, once visited France and there paid a visit to Fénelon, the author of the *Télémaque*. Fénelon, he writes, advised the king not to oppress his Catholic people to force them to change their sect or religious principles. This would only increase the tension in his *waṭan* and damage freedom (*hurriyya*).⁵²³

Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî devotes a section to the relations with other countries' rulers and foreign people living in the land of Egypt,⁵²⁴ which again reflects the ideas of Fénelon. He says that foreigners have to be received with affability, for Egypt could always learn something useful from them about the customs and manners of other countries.⁵²⁵ He was the first thinker who saw Egypt from ancient times down into his time as a continuous civilization and a nation.⁵²⁶

Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî divided the people of the country (*ahl al-waṭan*) into four classes (*tabaqât*) in his epilogue to the *Manâhij*, which reminds one of Fénelon's similar attitude in his utopian country, Salente.⁵²⁷ The four classes of

⁵²¹ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 170-206; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 79; Delanoue, 453-456.

⁵²² Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 403-405; See, also, Delanoue, 456-459.

⁵²³ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 406.

⁵²⁴ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 188-194.

⁵²⁵ Cf., Fénelon, 85 : "Pour les étrangers, il les recevait avec bonté, et voulait les voir, parce qu'il croyait qu'on apprenait toujours quelque chose d'utile en s'instruisant des mœurs et des manières des peuples éloignés."

⁵²⁶ Delanoue, 453.

⁵²⁷ Cf., Fénelon, 278-279: "Réglez les conditions par la naissance. Mettez au premier rang ceux qui ont une noblesse plus ancienne et plus éclatante. Ceux qui auront le mérite et l'autorité des emplois seront assez contents de venir après ces anciennes et illustres familles, qui sont dans une si longue possession des premiers honneurs. Les hommes qui n'ont pas la même noblesse leur céderont sans peine, pourvu que vous ne les accoutumiez point à se méconnaître dans une trop prompte et trop haute fortune et que vous donniez des louanges à la modération de ceux qui seront modestes dans la prospérité. La distinction la moins exposée à l'envie est celle qui vient d'une longue suite d'ancêtres. Pour la vertu, elle sera assez excitée et on aura assez d'empressement à servir l'Etat, pourvu que vous donniez des couronnes et des statues aux belles actions et que ce soit un commencement de noblesse pour les enfants de ceux qui les auront faites.

the society were: the ruler(s) (*wulât al-umûr*), the men of religion (*al-‘ulamâ’ wa al-qudâ’ wa amnâ’ al-dîn*), soldiers (*al-ghuzâ*) and those engaged in economic activities like agriculture, commerce and industry (*ahl al-zirâ’a wa al-tijâra wa al-şinâ’a*).⁵²⁸ The ruler, for al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, as it was for Fénelon, was the shepherd of his people responsible first and foremost for the establishment and protection of justice.⁵²⁹ He should be like a father to his people, love them and make himself loved by them,⁵³⁰ and pay due attention to the education of his people. The people should obey their ruler, yet, they also should learn the laws of their country and know their rights and duties.⁵³¹ Fear of God and the opinion of his people will compel the ruler do justice and good actions.⁵³²

Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî had great admiration for Muḥammad ‘Ali Pasha, who established a modern army, a navy, and new schools. He also sent students to Europe for education. He devotes a long chapter to him and his political achievements, and compares him with Alexander the Great.⁵³³ He is not concerned with Egypt’s status in relation to the Sublime Porte. For him Muḥammad ‘Ali Pasha and his successors were the legitimate heirs of Pharaohs, trying to revive the glories of Egypt.⁵³⁴ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî accepted the authority of the ruler; yet, he tried to limit his absolute power with moral norms and more importantly with laws. For this purpose he maintained the separation of powers.⁵³⁵

The ruler should respect the ‘ulamâ and take their advice. According to al-Ṭaḥṭâwî the ‘ulamâ were not simply the guardians of the *sharî’a*, which was a most dignified task, but also the ones who had to collaborate with the ruler in

Les personnes du premier rang après vous seront vêtues de blanc, avec une frange d’or au bas de leurs habits. Ils auront au doigt un anneau d’or, et au cou une médaille d’or avec votre portrait. Ceux du second rang seront vêtus de bleu: ils porteront une frange d’argent, avec l’anneau, et point de médaille; les troisièmes, de vert, sans anneau et sans frange, mais avec la médaille; les quatrièmes, d’un jaune d’aurore; les cinquièmes, d’un rouge pâle ou de rose; les sixièmes, de gris-de-lin; et les septièmes, qui seront les derniers du peuple, d’une couleur mêlée de jaune et de blanc. Voilà les habits de sept conditions différentes pour les hommes libres. Tous les esclaves seront vêtus de gris-brun.”

⁵²⁸ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 348.

⁵²⁹ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 356. Cf., Fénelon, 84.

⁵³⁰ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 352, 358. Cf., Fénelon, 83.

⁵³¹ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 350.

⁵³² Cf., Fénelon, 142-143, 173,

⁵³³ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 212-214.

⁵³⁴ Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 81.

⁵³⁵ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 249. Cf., Fénelon, 471-472.

government.⁵³⁶ Even more important, he suggests that in order to interpret the *sharî'a* in the light of modern needs, the *'ulamâ* had to study rational sciences developed in Europe.⁵³⁷ In fact, modern sciences were not something foreign, he wrote. They had once been Islamic sciences. There was no problem in taking them back, especially since this had to be done for the sake of *waṭan*.⁵³⁸

He begins the section about the third class of society, soldiers, with the examples of the Prophet and his Companions and the heroes of Islamic history.⁵³⁹ The section is notable because of a long quotation from al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's *Télémaque* translation.⁵⁴⁰ He writes that, although the wars, during which

⁵³⁶ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 370. Cf., Fénelon, 85.

⁵³⁷ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 370-372.

⁵³⁸ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 373. See, also, Delanoue, 471-475; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 81.

⁵³⁹ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 407-432.

⁵⁴⁰ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 421-425. For the same passage in al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's *Télémaque* translation, see, pp. 336-340. Cf., Fénelon, 269-271: "Allez - disait Mentor - au milieu des plus grands périls, toutes les fois qu'il sera utile que vous y alliez. Un prince se déshonore encore plus en évitant les dangers dans les combats qu'en n'allant jamais à la guerre. Il ne faut point que le courage de celui qui commande aux autres puisse être douteux. S'il est nécessaire à un peuple de conserver son chef ou son roi, il lui est encore plus nécessaire de ne le voir point dans une réputation douteuse sur la valeur. Souvenez-vous que celui qui commande doit être le modèle de tous les autres; son exemple doit animer toute l'armée. Ne craignez donc aucun danger, ô Télémaque, et périssez dans les combats plutôt que de faire douter de votre courage. Les flatteurs qui auront le plus d'empressement pour vous empêcher de vous exposer au péril dans les occasions nécessaires seront les premiers à dire en secret que vous manquez de cœur, s'ils vous trouvent facile à arrêter dans ces occasions.

Mais aussi n'allez pas chercher les périls sans utilité. La valeur ne peut être une vertu qu'autant qu'elle est réglée par la prudence: autrement, c'est un mépris insensé de la vie et une ardeur brutale. La valeur emportée n'a rien de sûr: celui qui ne se possède point dans les dangers est plutôt fougueux que brave; il a besoin d'être hors de lui pour se mettre au-dessus de la crainte, parce qu'il ne peut la surmonter par la situation naturelle de son cœur. En cet état, s'il ne fuit pas, du moins il se trouble; il perd la liberté de son esprit, qui lui serait nécessaire pour donner de bons ordres, pour profiter des occasions, pour renverser les ennemis, et pour servir sa patrie. S'il a toute l'ardeur d'un soldat, il n'a point le discernement d'un capitaine. Encore même n'a-t-il pas le vrai courage d'un simple soldat; car le soldat doit conserver dans le combat la présence d'esprit et la modération nécessaire pour obéir. Celui qui s'expose témérairement trouble l'ordre et la discipline des troupes, donne un exemple de témérité et expose souvent l'armée entière à de grands malheurs. Ceux qui préfèrent leur vaine ambition à la sûreté de la cause commune méritent des châtiments, et non des récompenses.

Gardez-vous donc bien, mon cher fils, de chercher la gloire avec impatience. Le vrai moyen de la trouver est d'attendre tranquillement l'occasion favorable. La vertu se fait

Mentor advised his pupil about the courage of a ruler, were imaginary, the message they convey is true and worth to mention to be an example for all rulers.⁵⁴¹ The passage for him was depicting one aspect of a ruler, namely a courageous commander, which was essential to serving his country.

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The last class of the society was composed of those who engaged in economic activities, the material elements of civilization: agriculture, commerce and industry. He devotes the second chapter of the *Manâhij* to the discussion of this subject.⁵⁴² It was, particularly for Egypt, agriculture that had to be carried out to perfection.⁵⁴³ Wealth had to be encouraged, for it was good and even necessary for progress. But al-Ṭaḥṭâwî attached, as did Fénelon, a moral principle to the economic activities that richness should not bring luxury or corrupt the manners of either the ruler or his subjects.⁵⁴⁴ The government should encourage and support commerce as well. The liberty of commerce and all merchants, who would open a new trade between Egypt and other nations, had to be protected.⁵⁴⁵

d'autant plus révéler, qu'elle se montre plus simple, plus modeste, plus ennemie de tout faste. C'est à mesure que la nécessité de s'exposer au péril augmente, qu'il faut aussi de nouvelles ressources de prévoyance et de courage qui aillent toujours croissant. Au reste, souvenez-vous qu'il ne faut s'attirer l'envie de personne. De votre côté, ne soyez point jaloux du succès des autres. Louez-les pour tout ce qui mérite quelque louange; mais louez avec discernement; disant le bien avec plaisir, cachez le mal, et n'y pensez qu'avec douleur. Ne décidez point devant ces anciens capitaines qui ont toute l'expérience que vous ne pouvez avoir: écoutez-les avec déférence; consultez-les, priez les plus habiles de vous instruire, et n'ayez point de honte d'attribuer à leurs instructions tout ce que vous ferez de meilleur. Enfin n'écoutez jamais les discours par lesquels on voudra exciter votre défiance ou votre jalousie contre les autres chefs. Parlez-leur avec confiance et ingénuité. Si vous croyez qu'ils aient manqué à votre égard, ouvrez-leur votre cœur, expliquez-leur toutes vos raisons. S'ils sont capables de sentir la noblesse de cette conduite, vous les charmerez et vous tirerez d'eux tout ce que vous aurez sujet d'en attendre. Si au contraire ils ne sont pas assez raisonnables pour entrer dans vos sentiments, vous serez instruit par vous-même de ce qu'il y aura en eux d'injuste à souffrir; vous prendrez vos mesures pour ne vous plus commettre jusqu'à ce que la guerre finisse, et vous n'aurez rien à vous reprocher. Mais surtout ne dites jamais à certains flatteurs, qui sèment la division, les sujets de peine que vous croirez avoir contre les chefs de l'armée où vous serez."

⁵⁴¹ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 421.

⁵⁴² Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 129-169.

⁵⁴³ Cf., Fénelon, 282-283.

⁵⁴⁴ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 39-40. Cf., Fénelon, 285.

⁵⁴⁵ Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, *Manâhij*, 133-134. Cf., Fénelon, 110-112, 276-277.

How did these new ideas that modern sciences had to be taught, that the people should participate in the process of government, that laws must change according to circumstances, that economic activities must be expanded, etc., come into being? Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's answer was through Education. For a progressive country based on fidelity to religion and patriotism, public education both for girls and boys was an imperative. The *Dîwân al-Madâris* asked him to write a book which would be equally suitable for teaching boys and girls. al-Ṭaḥṭāwī took this opportunity to proclaim his ideas about education and wrote *al-Murshid al-Amîn li'l-Banât wa al-Banîn* (The Honest Guide for Girls and Boys, 1872).⁵⁴⁶ In this work he seems to be influenced considerably by Fénelon's treatise on the education of girls (*Traité de l'éducation des filles*). The title of the book itself is an indication of this influence. It was, most probably, the first time that "girls" preceded "boys" in a title in the long tradition of Islamic intellectual history.

Al-Murshid consists of an introduction on the meaning of education; seven chapters on the essence of human beings, learning and teaching, the *waṭan* and making it civilized, marriage, education of girls and their role at home, motherhood and relations among relatives; and an epilogue on health. It is considered as the first treatise of its kind in modern Arabic literature.⁵⁴⁷ Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī asserts in *al-Murshid* that primary education had to be universal both for girls and boys.⁵⁴⁸ He places special emphasis on the education of girls. He refers to the sayings of the Prophet and also to the lives of famous women rulers both from east and west to support his view. Among those western rulers were Cleopatra, certain queens of France, England and Sweden.⁵⁴⁹ It was only through public education that a personality could be formed; the importance of bodily health, of the family and its duties, of friendship and above all of the love of country, could be inculcated into the minds of youth; while the duties of citizens towards their country could be taught.⁵⁵⁰ Like Fénelon, al-Ṭaḥṭāwī regarded the future of his country in education.

These new ideas were later on developed and argued further by Egyptian intellectuals. Muḥammad 'Abduh, for instance, discussed the changes in the law in accordance with the conditions of the nations and importance of

⁵⁴⁶ Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *al-Murshid*, 4.

⁵⁴⁷ Delanoue, 482.

⁵⁴⁸ Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *al-Murshid*, 6, 62-63.

⁵⁴⁹ Al-Ṭaḥṭāwī, *al-Murshid*, 104-124.

⁵⁵⁰ Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 78; Cf., Fénelon, 287, 318-319

education.⁵⁵¹ Qâsim Amîn (1863-1908) examined and discussed the status of women in Egyptian society.⁵⁵² The ideas that modern public education was the reason of Western progress and that the rule of law was the most important component of modern society were the most argued ideas of the century both in Cairo and Istanbul. For example, in his textbook of ethics for high schools, Mehmed Sa'îd (d. 1918) portrayed a patriarchal society where its ruler was like a father to his subjects. It was, for him, the father who had to protect his children, look after their welfare and provide the means for their education.⁵⁵³ He wrote that one of the most important elements of the European progress was public education. Even the state, he said, adopted the most advanced technology; it was pointless without public education.⁵⁵⁴ Mehmed Murad Bey (1854-1917) would also discuss the necessity of the rule of law and public education in his newspaper *Mîzân* published in Istanbul, Cairo and Europe (Paris and Geneva) between 1886 and 1908.⁵⁵⁵

The two texts and their authors we discussed above are significant from various aspects. First of all they illustrate the impact of Fénelon's ideas on certain intellectuals. Yet, it was more important to see for whom and for what reason those texts were composed. While Münif Pasha wrote his memorandum to the Grand vizier, al-Ṭaḥṭâwî wrote his works for the Department of Schools in Egypt. So they addressed primarily the highest people and institutions of the state. Both Münif Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî served in important positions of the state and were always close to the government. Münif Pasha served as a Head of the Grand Commission of Education, three times as a Minister of Education, as an ambassador, etc. During the years of his service at the Ministry of Education, he engaged in the establishment of the schools of civil service, law, the commerce and a high school for girls. He did not only work as a teacher in schools but also served as a tutor to the sultan in political economy. Likewise,

⁵⁵¹ See, for example, "Muhammad 'Abduh: Laws should change in accordance with the conditions of nations and The Theology of Unity," in *Modernist Islam 1840-1940: A Sourcebook*, ed. by C. Kurzman, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002): 50-60.

⁵⁵² See, "Qasim Amin: The Emancipation of woman and The New Woman," in *Modernist Islam*, 61- 69.

⁵⁵³ M. Sa'îd, *Ahlâk-ı Hamîde* (Istanbul: el-Cevâib Matbaası, 1297/1879), 79.

⁵⁵⁴ Sa'îd, 9.

⁵⁵⁵ About Mehmed Murad Bey and his newspaper, see, G. Karakuş, "Osmanlı Siyasî Düşüncesinde Yeni Üslûp Arayışları: *Mîzan Gazetesi Örneği*," (M.A. thesis, Marmara University, 2007).

al-Taḥṭāwī was a prominent figure in Egypt from the time of Muḥammad ‘Alī Pasha to that of Ismā‘īl, excluding the time of ‘Abbās I. As a permanent member of the Department of Schools, he took an important role in the establishment of new schools and in the determination of their curriculum, in the education of girls, and in the implementation of several reforms in Egypt. On the other hand, with their writings, translations, teaching activities, and contributions to journalism, they undertook a role in the spread of modern sciences and ideas among people. They were both intellectuals and activists; consequently, they did not only contribute to the translation and dissemination of ideas with their intellectual efforts but also to the institutional reforms of their country. The lives of both give us ample material to shed light on the role of translations in the transformation of both ideas and institutions.

By examining the reception and impact of a certain translation, we have attempted to demonstrate that translation was not perceived as passing on certain texts/ideas from one language to another, but as a new civilizational project. By including Istanbul and Cairo-based translation activity and the Arabic and Turkish translations of the *Télémaque* in one case study, we have also attempted to show that the developments in these two centers (and this might be true of other provinces as well) were similarly interrelated, parallel and in some cases overlapping. Although national perspectives can offer us quite important advantages, any study of Ottoman history or modern Islamic thought that does not take into consideration the links between the metropolis and the provinces during the Ottoman period will be incomplete.

Conclusion

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By transposing texts from one language into another, translators not only enrich their native language and culture by introducing new words and ideas, but sometimes, reluctantly or not, contribute to subverting them. The translation movement during the late Ottoman period is a pertinent example of this phenomenon. It represented the second such movement in the history of Islamic civilization since the Graeco-Arabic translation effort of the tenth century. Yet while the earlier movement has been studied from various aspects by many scholars, the latter with its rich legacy and complex structure has hardly been tackled. The examination of translations produced in this later period, in fact, sheds light both on the transformation of late Ottoman intellectual history and on the formative phase of modern Arabic and Turkish language and thought.

In this dissertation we have tried to demonstrate that the nineteenth century translation movement, which took place in two important centers of the Ottoman Empire, namely Istanbul and Cairo, was a significant factor in the transformation of language, thought and thus society. We have not only made a survey of translation institutions, translations and translators, but also analyzed one of the early translations in Arabic and Turkish, examined the translation techniques employed in these translations, elaborated these texts in terms of their literary forms and vocabulary in detail, investigated the channels through which these translations were advertised, shown how new ideas presented in these translations were received and appropriated, and delineated their impact on certain intellectuals.

We have also explained that the translation activity was of significance to the Ottomans from the early years of the Empire on and pointed out the role of translators in the service of the state for diplomatic and commercial negotiations with foreign states. The employment of translators in foreign embassies and consulates throughout the Empire was also important in that it offered various perspectives from which the translation activity might be approached. The nature of this official translation activity and the identities of the translators employed in various institutions are of importance in terms of

the history of minorities as well as their role in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Our investigation showed that the individual translations from Western languages during this early period were mostly in the fields of medicine and geography. The study of these translations in comparison with their original source could only serve to increase our knowledge about the development of Ottoman scientific language and thought. By bringing in all these institutional features of translation activity and the individual translations produced during that period, we have tried to provide a broader scale for the critical study of translation activity and display the state policies on translation, thereby contributing to the existing literature on this significant activity in the Ottoman Empire.

During the late eighteenth century, state-sponsored translation activity, particularly in the military field, was regarded as an important tool in reinstating the power of the Empire. We pointed out that after its initial steps, the translation activity progressed apace in Istanbul and Cairo in the following century and was institutionalized by state policies. The previous self-confident attitude of the Ottomans changed radically. Most of them had come to regard European civilization as superior to their own and saw the path to be followed in the transmission of the technical elements of that civilization to the Ottoman world, in the process of which translation took a crucial role. The newly established institutions for translation were themselves a proof of the fact that translation was regarded as a vital project by the Ottomans. By contextualizing the translation activity within a socio-historical setting, which has scarcely been done in the existing literature, the dissertation has offered a new perspective on translation activity in late Ottoman culture.

Our survey of the institutional history of translation and the kinds of works selected for translation in those institutions demonstrated the changing patterns of translation activity during the nineteenth century. The translations that appeared in this period cover a wide range of subjects and had significant implications for the history of late Ottoman culture. Most of the translators of the century were also proponents of reform and worked in the service of the state both in Istanbul and Cairo. They were at the same time journalists, educators and writers; and thus became the propagators and implementers of reforms. Our inventory of this activity led us to the conclusion that the story of the translation movement by the late eighteenth century onwards contains important aspects of both the gradual breakdown of traditional thought and the gradual construction of modern Islamic thought.

Our investigation of the history of translation activity shows that the nature of the works selected for translation and the translation techniques used by the translators are interrelated. Surveying the institutional history of a particular translation movement and documenting the translations produced by it are just a preliminary step for understanding the role which translations played in the transformation of ideas in a given culture. To that purpose, translated texts need to be elaborated on in connection with the political and socio-historical conditions of the period, which has been attempted for the first time in this dissertation.

The foregoing examination of the Turkish and Arabic translations of Fénelon's *Télémaque* as a case study showed that the *Télémaque* reminded Ottomans of classical Islamic advice literature and the translators studied in this dissertation were very conscious in their choice of work for translation. With these traditional guide books for good governance in mind, they looked for something new which would also point the way to the renovation of some institutions and the reestablishment of others. They found guidelines in a modern, *Mirror*-like work written in Europe, the center of modern civilization. Then they translated this work, adapting its contents and style to the taste and sensitivities of their audience in order to make it acceptable.

The scrutiny of the translation techniques of the translators showed that they first of all indigenized the French text by putting mythological or religious passages into Islamic discourse. *Les dieux*, for example, became *Cenâb-ı Hakk* in Turkish or *Allâh* in Arabic; *la déesse* became *peri* in Turkish and *malika* in Arabic; *les nymphes* became *duhterân-ı sîmberân* in Turkish and *al-ḥisân al-khâdimât* in Arabic. We have tried to point out the details of their indigenizing techniques, as well as illustrate and analyze the specific ways through which the French text was Turkified and Arabicized. These indigenizing techniques both in Turkish and Arabic texts and some other translations that we consulted during our research reflect the broader translation techniques used in that particular period of Ottoman culture. By adapting the references to the polytheist religion of ancient Greece in the *Télémaque* to the religion of their readers, in a sense, the translators were trying to palliate the foreignness of the book and to indigenize it. This was relatively easy compared to their other task, namely providing existing terminology with new meanings conveying the new political ideas presented in the book.

The term *watan*, for example, simply denoting one's place of birth or residence, gained a political meaning in these translations, in the sense of

French *patrie*. Later on, the development of other concepts in relation to *waṭan*, such as *muwâṭin*, *vatandaş*, *millet*, *milliyet*, *milliyetçi*, etc., constituted the basic terms of nationalist thought both in Turkish and Arabic. Instead of the well-being of a universal *umma*, it was now time to concern oneself with the future of national communities. The work was particularly concerned with good governance and thus with the ruler. In this case, however, the ruler was not the shadow of God, but the father of his people. He had to adapt new Western political ideas and institutions in such a way that they would bring about the well-being of his country and people.

The rule of law was among the other new ideas that we discussed in the dissertation. The term *les lois* was rendered into Turkish as *kânûn*, whereas it was explained by al-Ṭaḥṭâwî with terms like *aḥkâm*, *qawânîn* and *sharâyi*. These terms did not refer particularly to religious law but rather to man-made or, more specifically, modern European codes. The election of the ruler by a council of some sort in accordance with written laws was the forerunner of the idea of representative government and elections. Furthermore, the work was propounding the idea of the separation of powers; of rationalization and secularization of the government.

Another important idea of the book that we analyzed was its emphasis on knowledge and public education. In this context the usage of the term *ilm* for *les sciences* is of significance. Denoting both religious and secular knowledge, the meaning of the term was narrowed down to modern sciences. These new sciences would not be taught in *madrâsas* but in newly established schools. Hence, these translators were not passive mediators between the two cultural spheres, but were crucial actors involved in refashioning their respective native language and culture. They were cultural operators who accelerated cultural modernization by assigning new meanings to old terms.

The vocabulary of a language is not an inert mass but a dynamic organism that continuously generates new words. The role of translation in this process is undeniable. However, as we tried to demonstrate in our detailed study of the translations of the *Télémaque*, rather than generating new words or concepts for new ideas, the translators preferred to load up existing terminology with new meanings. This semantic transference would also cause a break in traditional thought. Translation was not always a channel through which new ideas could be transferred into another language and culture, but sometimes part of attempts to shore up or undermine another language and culture.

Investigation of more translated texts may throw light on changing patterns of modern Arabic and Turkish languages and culture.

218 To present these new ideas all together in that period was not an easy task. Thus the translators preferred to propound them in a literary genre and in a classical writing style familiar to their readers. In comparison to Kâmil Pasha's translation, al-Tahtâwî's translation was more expansive because of his long explanations in the style of "*sharh*" (gloss) and because of his inclusion of fragments from the Qur'ân, sayings of the Prophet and Arabic sayings. The reason behind this may have been that it might prevent the harsh opposition of those who disagreed with these new ideas and of those whose monopoly and power would be threatened. However, it is pointed out that new ideas inevitably tend to pass into another culture through translations and come to inhabit existing forms, sometimes by narrowing those forms, sometimes by broadening them, and at other times by subverting them.

Certainly translations are not made in a vacuum. All new ideas presented in the translations had relevance and meaning for Ottoman culture. They hold a central role within political, social and cultural transformation in a turning point of Ottoman history. We pointed out that through these translations, the translators advertised and brought into discussion the idea that survival laid in territorial patriotism, not in religious brotherhood; in the rule of man-made law, not in *sharî'a*; in the election of the ruler, not in absolutism; and in modern administration and public education. These were the basis of European power and progress and they had to be adapted in order to reach a modern civilization. The translators disseminated modern political ideas through these literary translations and, in a sense, criticized the existing political system. Therefore, translations served as a vehicle in the transmission and reconstruction of political ideas in the late Ottoman period.

The last chapter also revealed an understudied aspect of translation activity; that is the reception, propagation, and impact of translated texts in late Ottoman culture. Our investigation of the reception of these translations showed how these new ideas were discussed and disseminated among Turkish and Arab literati not only in Istanbul and Cairo but also in other centers of the Empire such as Beirut and Aleppo. By adopting an integral and comparative approach to the translation activities in Istanbul and Cairo, we showed how the structure of links between the center and periphery were interrelated. We pointed out that the translations were quoted in various journals; that they were read by the students of the newly established schools; that arguments were

made for and against the ideas presented in the translations; that they were reprinted several times; that new translations appeared one after another both in Turkish and Arabic; and that other works of Fénelon were also translated into these languages. Probably the *Télémaque* translations were the motor behind these later translations. While displaying the reception and later translations of Fénelon's works, we have pointed out that the periodicals, encyclopedic works, and literary circles were the channels through which these translations reached many people.

Moreover, the ideas of Fénelon had a remarkable impact both on readers and translators of the translations. By showing this impact on Münif Pasha and al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, we tried to illustrate how certain ideas introduced into a given culture through translations can be appropriated and naturalized and thus become part of that culture. We examined Münif Pasha's memorandum and showed how it reflects the ideas of Fénelon. In this memorandum, Münif Pasha applied the ideas of Fénelon to the problems of his country and acted as a kind of mouthpiece for new ideas regarding many subjects from education, law, agriculture, commerce to foreign affairs in general terms. He proposed, first and foremost, the idea of public education. For him the essential part of reforms were the establishment of new schools and the spread of modern knowledge and sciences. He did not only propose new ideas, but also, by taking an active part in education and administration, contributed to the transformation of institutions as well.

Al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, on the other hand, did not regard the translation of the *Télémaque* as sufficient to introduce new ideas, and wrote another book, inspired by the ideas presented in the translation, to be used as a guide for the future development of Egypt. It is demonstrated above that in the *Manâhij*, which was built upon the idea of *waṭan*, he frequently referred to the ideas of Fénelon, sometimes with long quotations from the translation. In this work, he discussed many subjects regarding good governance, from education, commerce, and agriculture to the classification of the society. Among those subjects, for him, education was the key to the future of his country, as it was for Münif Pasha and Fénelon. We also pointed out the impact of Fénelon's treatise on the education of girls, *Traité de l'éducation des filles*, on al-Ṭaḥṭâwî's latest work on education, *al-Murshid*. Furthermore, we discussed that al-Ṭaḥṭâwî was not only a translator/writer but also an activist. He worked throughout his life in educational institutions and thus found the opportunity to put these ideas into practice.

Consequently, both Münif Pasha and al-Tahtâwî were the prominent figures of the century in the introduction, dissemination and institutionalization of new ideas. The analysis of their other translations may help us to explore their contribution to the other spheres of cultural transformations. Although this is a case study of a certain translation and its impact on particular people, it reflects the broader impact of translations on late Ottoman culture. No doubt, more translated texts and the context they emerged have to be studied in order to map out the late Ottoman intellectual history and broader political and cultural issues of the period.

Last but not least, it is true that the interest in translation from Western works was tremendous during the nineteenth century; however, there were also counter reactions to the movement. Some of the antagonists of the movement set forth the idea that the intellectual history of Islam was full of inspiration and that the only path for revival was in that legacy. For this reason many Arabic and Persian works were translated into Turkish and printed in Istanbul, and classical Arabic works and some Arabic translations of Persian and Turkish works were printed in Cairo. It would be inaccurate to assert a complete picture of the nineteenth century translation movement, and thus the intellectual atmosphere, without describing and making a detailed study of the translations from Eastern languages. Nevertheless, the legacy of translations from Western languages during the nineteenth century is rich and manifold and it constitutes an important component of modern Islamic thought. On many points, no doubt, the present study is incomplete; however, it represents a modest contribution to a better understanding of the transformation of ideas through translations from Western languages in late Ottoman intellectual history.

Appendices

Appendix I: List of European literary and philosophical works translated into Turkish

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The list consists of works translated in Istanbul between the years 1800-1882, the period covered in the dissertation. The list is not exhaustive, but provides preliminary data to be developed. The translations are cited in chronological order. The editions of the translations are mentioned. If another work of an author was translated later on, it is cited in the same entry.

1. 1834 Machiavelli, *Terceme-i Prens* (Il Principe), trans. by İshak, (Istanbul: ?).
2. 1851 [1268] Jean-Baptiste Say, *İlm-i Tedbîr-i Menzil*, trans. by Sahak [Abru], (Istanbul: Mühendisioğlu Tabhânesi).
3. 1853 [1270] Ferdinand-Philippe d'Orléans, *Şeşhâneci Tâlimnâmesi*, trans. by Hüseyin Avni, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).
4. 1859 [1276] Voltaire, Fénelon, Fontenelle, *Muhâverât-ı Hikemiyye*, trans. by Münif Pasha, (Istanbul: Cerîdehâne Matbaası).
5. 1859 [1276] Schreber, *Risâle-i Hulâsa-i Zübdetü'l-Akâid*, trans. by Mustafa Hâmi Pasha, (Istanbul: Takvimhâne-i Âmire).
6. 1860 [1277] Pasquale Galuppi, *Miftâhu'l-Fünûn*, trans. by Ohannes (?), (Istanbul: Takvimhâne-i Âmire).
1872 [1289] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).
7. 1862 [1279] Fénelon, *Terceme-i Telemak (Les aventures de Télémaque)*, trans. by Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha, (Istanbul: Tabhâne-i Âmire).
1863 [1279] (Istanbul: Tasvîr-i Efkâr Matbaası).
1867 [1283] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).
1870 [1286] (Istanbul: Tasvîr-i Efkâr Matbaası).
1871 [1287] (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanâyi Matbaası).
1877 [1294] (Istanbul: Şeyh Yahya Efendi Matbaası).
1880 (1297) ?
1881 [1299] (Istanbul: Ahter Matbaası).
? (Istanbul: Hacı Hüseyin Efendi Matbaası).
1885 [1302] Fénelon, *Telemak Tercemesi*, trans. by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, 3rd ed., (Istanbul: Civelekyan Matbaası).

1888 [1306] Fénelon, *Hikâye-i Aristonoüs*, trans. by Reşad, (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası).

1890 [1307] Fénelon, *Cümel-i Hikemiyye-i Telemak*, trans. by Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya).

8. 1863 [1280] Daniel Defoe, *Hikâye-i Robenson*, trans. (from Arabic) by Ahmed Lütfi, (Istanbul: Takvimhâne-i Âmire).

1870 [1287] (Istanbul, ?).

1877 [1294] (Istanbul, ?).

1866 [1283] Daniel Defoe, *Terceme-i Hikâye-i Robenson*, trans. by Ahmed Lutfi, 2nd ed., (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).

1869 [1286] (Istanbul: Muhib Matbaası).

1874 [1291] Daniel Defoe, *Terceme-i Robenson*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Latürki Matbaası).

1884 [1302] Daniel Defoe, *Robenson*, trans. by Ş. Sâmi, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).

1913 [1332] Daniel Defoe, *Robenson Krüzoe Hâlî Adada*, trans. by Halil Hamid, (Istanbul: Necm-i İstikbâl Matbaası).

1923 Daniel Defoe, *Robenson Krüzoe*, trans. by Şükrü Kaya, (Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası).

1927 Daniel Defoe, *Robenson Krüzoe*. trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Resimli Ay Matbaası Türk Limited Şirketi).

? Daniel Defoe, *Robenson Issız Adada*, trans. by Mehmed Ali, (Istanbul: ?)

9. 1864 [1281] Georges-Luis Leclerc de Buffon, *Târîh-i Tabî'i (Histoire naturelle générale et particulière)*, trans. by Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet, 2 vols., (Istanbul: Tasvîr-i Efkâr Matbaası).

10. 1868 [1285] Lamartine, *Terceme-i Hikâye-i Jöneviev*, trans. by Memduh Pasha, (Istanbul: Tatyos Dividciyan Matbaası).

1878 [1296] Lamartine, *Graziella*, trans. by Yusuf Neyyir, (Istanbul: Kırkanbar Matbaası).

1901 [1319] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı).

1885 [1303] Lamartine, *Jeniviyev (Geneviève): Bir Hizmetçi Kızın Sergüzeşti*, trans. by Halil Edib, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya).

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1893 [1311] Lamartine, *Rafael*, trans. by İsmail Hakkı [Eldem], (Istanbul: Nişan Berberyian Matbaası).

1896 [1314] trans. by M.S. and A.L. (?), (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı).

1897 [1315] trans. by M. Nuri Şeyda, (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası).

1898 [1316] trans. by İsmet Müstecâbizâde and İskender Freri, (Istanbul: Tâhir Bey Matbaası).

1911 [1329] Lamartine, *Garbdan Şarka Evsâf-ı Celîle-i Muhammedî*, trans. by İbrahim Haydârîzâde, (Istanbul: Hilâl Matbaası).

11. 1869 [1286] Otto Hübner, *Ekonomi Tercemesi: Fenn-i İdâre*, trans. by Mehmed Midhat, (Istanbul: Cem'iyet-i İlmiyye Matbaası).

1869 [1286] Otto Hübner, *İlm-i Tedbîr-i Servet*, trans. by Ahmed Hilmi, (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Harbiye-i Şâhâne Matbaası).

12. 1869 [1286] B. Franklin, *Tarîk-i Servet ez Hikmet-i Rikardos*, trans. by Bedros Hocasaryan, (Istanbul: Mühendisioğlu Matbaası).

13. 1869 Molière, *Zorâki Tabîb*, trans. by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).

1927 (Istanbul: Cihan Matbaası).

1869 [1286] Molière, *Zor Nikâhu*, trans. by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).

1920-1923 [1339/1341] (Istanbul: Teşebbüs Matbaası).

1873 [1290] Molière, *Pinti Hamid*, trans. by Teodor Kasab, (Istanbul: Çingiraklı Tatar Matbaası).

1874 [1291] Molière, *İşkilli Memo*, trans. by Teodor Kasab, (Istanbul: Hayal Matbaası).

1906 [1324] (Istanbul: ?).

1879 [1297] Molière, *Yirmi Çocuklu Bir Adam yâhud Fettan Zeman İnsana Neler Yapmaz*, trans. by Mehmed Hilmi, (Istanbul: Mektebi Sanâyi ve Şâhâne Matbaası).

1880 [1298] Molière, *Riyânın Encâmı*, trans. by Ziya Pasha, (Istanbul: Darü't-Tibâatü'l-Âmire).

1927 Molière, *Burjuva Jantiyyom*, trans. by Serâceddin, (Istanbul: Devlet Matbaası).

? Molière, *Kıskanç Herif*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Latürki Matbaası).

14. 1870 [1287] Clas (?), *Câvidân-ı Osmânî*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Terakkî Gazetesi Matbaası).

15. 1870 [1287] Lucian, *Dalkavuknâme*, trans. by Vasilaki, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Âmire).

16. 1870 [1287] Ségur, *Kişver-i Derûn*, trans. by Sahak Ebru, (Istanbul: ?).

17. 1870 [1287] F. Pouchet, *Medrese-i Arab*, trans. by Hüseyin, (Istanbul: Terakkî Matbaası).

18. 1870 [1287] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Monte Kristo*, trans. by Teodor Kasab, (Istanbul: Ahmed Midhat'ın Matbaası).

1872-1874 [1289-1290] (Istanbul: Çingiraklı Tatar Matbaası).

1909-1910 [1327-1328] Alexandre Dumas, *Monte Kristo*, trans. by Mehmed Süleyman Avanzâde, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Jirâyır ve Keteon).

1910 [1328] (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Keteon Bedrosyan).

1871 [1288] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Polin*, trans. by Minas, (Istanbul: Ahmed Midhat'ın Matbaası).

1873 [1290] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Şerobino ve Selestini*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Zartaryan Matbaası).

1875 [1292] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Mohikan dö Pari*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Mekteb-i Sanâyi Matbaası).

1875 [1292] Alexandre Dumas Pére, *Antoni yâhud İkmâl-i Nâmus*, trans. by Hasan Bedreddin and Mehmed Rıfat, (Istanbul: Kırkanbar Matbaası).

1876 [1293] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Üç Silahşör*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Sâhibinin Matbaası).

1878 [1296] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Pol Jön*, trans. by M. Kâmil, (Istanbul: Sariyan Matbaası).

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1878 [1296] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Vicdan*, trans. by Hasan Bedreddin and Mehmed Rifat [Manastırlı], (Istanbul: ?).

1880 [1298] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Bin Bir Hayâl*, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Esad).

1880 [1298] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Kadınlar Muharebesi*, trans. by Ahmed [Atâ], (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Esad).

1911 [1330] (Istanbul: Tevsî-i Tıbâat Matbaası).

1884 [1302] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Fransuva Piko*, trans. by Ahmed Nuri, (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası).

1885 [1303] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Amori [Amaury]*, trans. by Ali Nihad, (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası).

1890 [1308] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Meçhul Bir Gemi*, trans. by Mehmed İhsan, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya).

1890 [1308] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Sevdânın Meyûsiyeti yâhud İnkişâf-ı Esrâr*, trans. by Süleyman Nazif, (Istanbul: İstepan Matbaası).

1893 [1311] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Tesâdüf*, trans. by D. Karakin [Deveciyan], (Istanbul: İstepan Matbaası).

1904 [1322] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Sir Vilyam'ın Muâşakası*, trans. by Faik Sabri [Duran], (Istanbul: Hanımlara Mahsus Gazete Matbaası).

1910 [1328] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Haramon Gönüllüleri*, trans. by (Mustafa) Refik, (Istanbul: Necm-i İstikbâl Matbaası).

1910 [1328] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Kraliçe Margo*, trans. by Hüseyin Şükrü, (Istanbul: Tanin Matbaası).

1910 [1328] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Kraliçenin Gerdanlığı*, trans. by Süleyman Tevfik el-Hüseyîni, (Istanbul: Tevhîd-i Anâsır Matbaası).

1912 [1331] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Kraliçenin İdâmı*, trans. by K. Nezih, (Istanbul: Keteon Bedrosyan Matbaası).

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? Alexandre Dumas Père, *Kanlı İntikam*, trans. by Mehmed Süleyman Avanzâde, (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası).

1909 [1327] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Josef Balsamo*, trans. by Süleyman Tevfik el-Hüseyîni, (Istanbul: Tevhid-i Anâsır Matbaası).

19. 1871 [1288] Chateaubriand, *Atala*, trans. by Mahmud Ekrem Recaizade, (Istanbul: Terakkî Matbaası).

1873 [1290] Chateaubriand, *Atala yâhud Amerika Vahşîleri*, trans. by Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem, (Istanbul: Camlı Han Matbaa-i Fehmi).

20. 1871 [1288] Voltaire, *Hikâye-i Hikemiyye-i Mikromega*, trans. by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, (Istanbul: Bâb-ı Âlî karşısında 57 numaralı matbaa).

1890 [1308] Voltaire, *Küremizde Seyahat*, trans. by İbnü'l-Kâmil, (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası).

1908 [1326] Voltaire, *Yıldızdan Yıldıza Yolculuk ve Kuyruklu Yıldızlara Seyahat*, trans. by Süleyman Tevfik el-Hüseyîni, (Istanbul: A. Asaduryan ve Mahdumları Matbaası).

21. 1871 [1288] Volney, *Tedmür Harâbeleri (Les ruines de Palmyre)*, trans. four times by Suphi Paşazâde, Ziya Pasha, Recâizâde Ekrem, and Seyfi Râşid, (Istanbul: ?).

1884 [1302] Volney, *Cümel-i Hikemiyye-i Ecnebiyye*, trans. by Ahmed Râsim and Halil Edib, (Istanbul: Şirket-i Mürettibiyye Matbaası).

22. 1872 [1289] Swift, *Güliver Nâm Müellifin Seyahatnâmesi*, trans. by Mahmud Nedim Efendi, (Istanbul: Camlı Han Matbaası).

1911 [1329] Swift, *Güliver'in Seyahatnâmesi: Cüceler Memleketinde*, (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası).

? Swift, *Devler Memleketinde: Küliver'in Seyahatnâmesi*, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Hayriye ve Şürekâsı).

23. 1873 [1290] Longus, *Dafni ile Kloe (Daphnis et Chloé) nin Hikâye-i Taaşşuklarıdır*, trans. by Mehmed Kâmil, (Istanbul: Tasvîr-i Efkâr Matbaası).
24. 1873 [1290] Paul de Kock, *Evlenmek İster Bir Adam*, trans. by Âli, (Istanbul: Zatoryan fabrikası).
1897 [1315] (Istanbul: Asır Matbaası).
- 1877 [1294] Paul de Kock, *Üç Yüzlü Bir Karı*, trans. by Tefvik Ebuzziya, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).
- 1877 [1294] Paul de Kock, *Güstav*, trans. by P. H. (?), (Istanbul: Süleyman Efendi Matbaası).
- 1878 [1295] Paul de Kock, *Madam Blakizkof yâhud Fitne-i Cihân*, trans. by Mehmed Atâ, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).
- 1881 [1299] Paul de Kock, *Loranten yâhud Saâdet Yüzünden Felâket*, trans. by Mehmed Fahri, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Esad İzzet).
1886 [1303] (Istanbul: Karabet ve Kasbar Matbaası).
- 1885 [1303] Paul de Kock, *Kamere Âşık*, trans. by Ahmed Midhat, (Istanbul: Tercümân-ı Hakikat Matbaası).
- 1886 [1303] Paul de Kock, *Dostum Firar*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).
- 1888 [1306] Paul de Kock, *Hemşire An*, trans. by Hafî, (Istanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası).
- 1888 [1306] Paul de Kock, *Profesör Fişklak*, trans. by Memduh, (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası).
- 1889 [1307] Paul de Kock, *Kaybolmuş Bir Zevce*, trans. by D. M. Tefvik, (Istanbul: İstepan Matbaası).
- 1889 [1307] Paul de Kock, *Tuhaf bir Hâne*, trans. by Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz], (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası Ahmed İhsan ve Şürekâsı).
1905 [1323] (Istanbul: Asır Matbaası).

1890 [1308] Paul de Kock, *İşret, Kumar, Nisvan Belâsı*, trans. by Mehmed Atâ, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).

1890 [1308] Paul de Kock, *Sütçü Kızı*, trans. by Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz], (Istanbul: Servet Matbaası).

1891 [1309] Paul de Kock, *Edmon ve Nişanlısı*, trans. by İsmail Hakkı, (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası).

1897 [1315] Paul de Kock, *Komşum Raymon*, trans. by Süleyman Tevfik, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).

1901 [1319] Paul de Kock, *Biçâre Bakkal*, trans. by Hüseyin Rahmi [Gürpınar], (Istanbul: İkdam Matbaası).

1904 [1322] Paul de Kock, *Köylü*, trans. by Fâik Sabri [Duran], (Istanbul: Asır Matbaası).

1907-1910 [1325/1327] Paul de Kock, *Madam Pantalon*, trans. by Fuad and Selim, (Istanbul: Uhuvvet Matbaası).

1908 [1326] Paul de Kock, *Üç Etekli Kız*, trans. by Mehmed Ali, (Istanbul: Şems Matbaası).

1909 [1327] Paul de Kock, *Muallim Matyas*, trans. by Midhat Rebil, (Istanbul: Bekir Efendi Matbaası).

1911 [1329] Paul de Kock, *Eriklik*, trans. by Midhat Rebîi, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya).

1912 [1330] Paul de Kock, *Adem-i İktidârı Omletle Tedavi*, trans. by T. R. (?), (Istanbul: Necm-i Terakkî Matbaası).

1919 [1335] Paul de Kock, *Bir Akşam Yemeğinin Hikâyesi*, trans. by Halil Necati, (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası).

1916-1918 [1335/1337] Paul de Kock, *Çapkın*, trans. by Nusret Hilmi, (Istanbul: Necm-i İstikbâl Matbaası).

1919 [1338] Paul de Kock, *Boşeno'nun Sergüzeşti*, trans. by Süleyman Tevfik, (Istanbul: Orhâniye Matbaası).

1921 [1340] Paul de Kock, *Aşk-ı Mesûd*, trans. by Râgıb Rıfki [Özgürel], (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası).

1921 [1340] Paul de Kock, *Çapkın Güstav*, trans. by Râgıb Rıfki [Özgürel], (Istanbul: Kader Matbaası).

25. 1873 [1290] Florian, *Galate*, trans. by (?), (Istanbul: Zartaryan Matbaası).

26. 1873 [1290] Walter Scott, *Mis Lüsi yâhud Lamermor Nişanlısı*, trans. by Hamid, (Istanbul: Zartanyan Matbaası).

27. 1873 [1290] Liyonar (?), *Taaşşuk-ı Talat ve Fitnat*, trans. by Ş. Sâmi, (Istanbul: Hadîka Matbaası).

28. 1873 [1290] Léonard de Vinci, *Taaşşuk-i Terze ve Cozep*, trans. by Ş. Sâmi, (Istanbul: Hadîka Matbaası).

29. 1874 [1291] Victor Hugo, *Ancelo Mali Piyeri yâhud Venedik Barbarı*, trans. by Ahmed Bedreddin, (Istanbul: Hayâl Matbaası).

1874 [1291] Victor Hugo, *Ernani (Hernani)*, trans. by Ahmed S.(?), (Istanbul: ?).

1874 [1291] Victor Hugo, *Habîbe yâhud Semahât-i Aşk*, trans. by Ebuzziya Tefik, (Istanbul: Hayâl Matbaası).

1875 [1292] Victor Hugo, *Garib Nine*, trans. by Azize, (Istanbul: Basîret Matbaası).

1878 [1296] Victor Hugo, *Derebeyleri*, trans. by A. M. (?), (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası).

1879 [1297] Victor Hugo, *Sefiller*, trans. by Ş. Sâmi and Hasan Bedreddin, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).

1914 (Istanbul: Kanaat Matbaası).

1909-1910 [1327-1328] Victor Hugo, *Sefiller*, trans. by Mehmed Süleyman Avanzâde, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Jirâyır ve Keteon).

1885 [1303] Victor Hugo, *Bir Mahkûmun Son Günü*, trans. by Ali Nihad, (Istanbul: Mihran Matbaası).

1885 [1303] Victor Hugo, *Klod Gö yani Obur Klod*, trans. by Tevfik Selânikli, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Ebuzziya).

1885 [1303] Victor Hugo, *Nağamât-ı Kalb*, trans. by Ş. Mazhar, (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası).

1889 [1307] Victor Hugo, *Victor Hugo'nun Bir Nutku*, trans. by Dikran Sebuhyan, (Istanbul: Âlem Matbaası).

1907 [1325] Victor Hugo, *Beşeriyet Düşmanlarından Han Disland*, trans. by M. Âsaf Esad, (Istanbul: İtidâl Matbaası).

1909 [1327] (Istanbul: Metin Matbaası).

1908-1911 [1326/1329] Victor Hugo, *Lükreçya Borjiya*, trans. by Kemâl Emin [Baran], (Istanbul: Matbaa-i Kader).

1910 [1328] Victor Hugo, *93 İhtilâli*, trans. by Süleyman Tevfik el-Hüseyni, (Istanbul: Şems Matbaası).

1912 [1331] Victor Hugo, *Kanlı Taç*, trans. by Abdurrahman Behçet Eburrifat, (Istanbul: Asır Matbaası).

? Victor Hugo, *Vazîfe Aşka Galebe Eder mi? yâhud İkmâl-i Nâmus için Sehven Kerîmesini Katl Etdiren Kanbur Bir Peder*, trans. by B. Ş. F. (?), (Istanbul: Vatan Matbaası).

30. 1874 [1291] Ghislanzoni, *Ayda İsmiyle Yâd Olunan Operanın* tercümesidir, trans. by (?) (Istanbul: Şirket-i Sahafiyye Matbaası).

31. 1874 [1291] Xavier de Montépin, *Esrâr-ı Hind*, trans. by Süleyman Vehbi and Manuk Gümüşciyan, (Istanbul: Kırk Anbar Matbaası).

1879 [1297] Xavier de Montépin, *Paris Batakhâneleri*, trans. by Mehmed Hilmi, (Istanbul: Matbaa-i İzzet Esad).

1886 [1304] Xavier de Montépin, *Esrâr-ı Sarây-ı Kırâlî*, trans. by Ahmed Subhi, (Istanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası).

1888 [1306] Xavier de Montépin, *Emekçi Kadın*, trans. by Ahmed İhsan, (Istanbul: A. Asaduryan Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası).

1888 [1306] Xavier de Montépin, *Elmas Tüccarı*, trans. by Ali Rıza, (Istanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası).

1888 [1306] Xavier de Montépin, *Çingene Kızı*, 2 vols., trans. by K. S. (?) and Ali Rıza, (Istanbul: Cemal Efendi Matbaası).

1888 [1306] Xavier de Montépin, *Kızıl Sihirbaz*, trans. by A. Alik, (Istanbul: Cerîde-i Şarkıyye Gazetesi Matbaası).

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1894 [1312] Georges Ohnet, *Piyer'in Rûhu*, trans. by Tevfik, (Istanbul: A. Asaduryan Şirket-i Mürettibiye Matbaası).

1894 [1312] Georges Ohnet, *Tasvîr*, trans. by Mehmed Süleyman Avanzâde, (Istanbul: Kasbar Matbaası).

60. 1882[1300] A. Griboiédov, *Akıldan Belâ*, trans. by Mehmed Murad, (Istanbul: Mahmud Bey Matbaası).

Appendix II: List of European literary and philosophical works translated into Arabic

The list consists of works translated in Cairo between the years 1800-1882, the period covered in the dissertation. The list is not exhaustive, but provides preliminary data to be developed. The translations are cited in chronological order. The editions of the translations are mentioned. If another work of an author was translated later on, it is cited in the same entry.

1. 1823-1824 [1239-1240] Machiavelli, *al-Amîr fî 'Ilm al-Târikh wa al-Siyâsa wa al-Tadbîr (Il Principe)*, trans. by al-Ab Anṭûn Rafâ'îl Zâkhûr, (Preserved in Dâr al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, MS no: 435, *Târikh*).
1912 Machiavelli, *Kitâb al-Amîr*, trans. by Muḥammad Luṭfî Jum'â, (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Ma'ârif).
2. 1833 [1249] Debingh and others, *Qalâid al-Mafâkhîr fî Gharîb 'Awâid al-Awâil*, trans. by Rifâ'a R. al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, 2 vols., (Cairo: Bûlâq).
3. 1836 [1252] ? *Târikh al-Falâsifa al-Yûnânîyyûn, aw, Mukhtaṣar Tarâjim Mashâhîr Qudamâ' al-Falâsifa (Histoire des anciens philosophes)*, trans. Rifâ'a R. al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, (Cairo: Bûlâq).

1836 [1252] ? *Mukhtaṣar Tarjama Mashâhîr Qudamâ' al-Falâsifa*, trans. by Abdullâh b. Ḥusayn al-Miṣrî (Cairo: Bûlâq).
1904 (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Tamaddun).
1910 [1328] (Cairo: ?)
4. 1837 [1253] Antion Barthelemy Clot, *Nabza fî Uṣûl al-Falsafa al-Ṭabî'iyya Tashtamilu 'alâ Sitta Mabâḥith*, trans. by Ibrâhîm al-Nabrâwî, (Cairo: ?).

1844 [1260] Antion Barthelemy Clot, *Tarbiyat al-Aṭfâl*, trans. by Muṣṭafâ Rasmî al-Jarkasî, (Cairo: ?).
5. 1838 [1254] Dumarsais, *Tanwîr al-Mashriq bi-'Ilm al-Manṭiq*, trans. by Khalîfa [Bey] bin Maḥmûd al-Miṣrî and Rifâ'a R. al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, (Cairo: Bûlâq).

1843 Dumarsais, *al-Mashriq: 'Ilm al-Mantiq*, trans. by H. al-Jubaylî, (Cairo: ?).

6. 1838 [1254] ? *Bidâya al-Qudamâ' wa Hidâya al-Hukamâ'*, trans. by Muştafâ al-Zarrâbî, Abû al-Su'ûd and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Râziq, (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Amîriyya).
1855 [1272] (Cairo: ?).
1865 [1282] (Cairo: Bûlâq).
7. 1841 [1257] Voltaire, *Maṭâli' Shumûs al-Siyar fî Waqâ'i' Karlûs al-Thâni 'Ashar (Histoire de Charles XII, Roi de Suède)*, trans. by Muḥammad Muştafâ al-Bayâ', (Cairo: Bûlâq).

1849 [1266] Voltaire, *al-Rawḍ al-Azhar fî Târîkh Butrus al-Akbar (Imbarâtûr Muskû) (Histoire de l'empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand)*, trans. by Aḥmad 'Abîd al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, (Cairo: Bûlâq).
1859 (Cairo: ?).
1870 (Cairo: ?).
1878(Cairo: ?).
8. 1842 [1258] William Robertson, *Ithâf al-Mulûk al-Albâ bi-Taqqaddum al-Jam'iyât fî Bilâd Ūrubbâ*, trans. by Khalîfa Maḥmûd, (Cairo: Bûlâq).
1844 [1260] (Cairo: ?).
1845 [1262] (Cairo: ?).
1849 [1266] (Cairo: ?).

1850 William Robertson, *Ithâf Mulûk al-Zamân bi-Târîkh al-Imbarâtûr Shârlkân*, trans. by Khalîfa Maḥmûd, (Cairo: Bûlâq).
9. 1847 Joseph Robin, *Macmu' al-Gharar fî Siyâsa al-Baqar*, trans. by 'Aṭiyya, (Cairo: al-Maṭba'a al-Amîriyya).
10. 1850 Felix Racun, *al-Maşâbîḥ al-Munîra fî Tawârîkh al-Qurûn al-Akhîra*, trans. by Ḥanafî bin Hind bin Ismâ'îl, (Cairo: Bûlâq).
1859 (Cairo: ?).
11. 1871 Verdi, *'Âyida (Aida)*, trans. by 'Abdullâh Abû al-Su'ûd, (Cairo : ?).
12. 1871 [1288] Alexandre Dumas Père, *Riwâya al-Kûnt di Mûnt Kirîstû (Le Conte de Monte-Cristo)*, trans. by Bashâra Shadîd, (Cairo : Maṭba'a Wâdî al-Nîl).
1887 (Cairo: Maṭba'a Wâdî al-Nîl).

1888 Alexandre Dumas, *Raja'a mâ Inqata'a*, trans. by Najîb bin Sulaymân al-Ḥaddâd, (Cairo: Maṭba'at al-Ahrâm).

1888 Alexandre Dumas, *Al-Fursân al-Thalâtha (Les trois mousquetaires)*, trans. by Najîb bin Sulaymân al-Ḥaddâd, 3 vols., (Cairo : ?).

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1913 (Cairo: ?).

1892 Alexandre Dumas, *al-Silsila al-Durriyya fî Fukâhât al-Târikhiyya*, trans. by Tawfiq Dûbriya, 2 vols., (Cairo: ?).

1898 Alexandre Dumas, *Fâtina Bârîs*, trans. by (?), (Cairo: ?).

1899 (Cairo: ?).

1899 Alexandre Dumas Père, *Shiqâ' al-Gharâm, aw, Lâdâm di Mûnûrû (La Dame de Monsoreau)*, trans. by Ṭânyûs 'Abdûh, (Cairo: ?).

1903 Alexandre Dumas, *al-Mayyit al-Ḥayy*, trans. by Muḥammad Labîb Abî al-Su'ûd, (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Nîl).

1905 Alexandre Dumas, *Maṭâmi' Nâbulyûn*, trans. by Iskandar Kan'ân Şabbâgh, (Cairo: ?).

1907 Alexandre Dumas, *Ḥadâtha Hanrî al-Râbi' Malik Faransâ*, trans. by Najîb Ibrâhîm Ṭirâd, (Cairo: Maṭba'a Jurjî Gharzûzî).

1911 Alexandre Dumas, *al-Mayyit al-Ḥayy (Mapolean et Louis XVI)*, (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Işlâh).

1916 Alexandre Dumas, *al-Jarîmah wa al-Intiqâm*, trans. by Muḥammad 'Abdullâh 'Inân, (Cairo: Maṭba'a Muammad Maṭar).

1920 Alexandre Dumas, *Margrit, aw, Ghâda al-Kâmilyâ (La dame aux Camelias)*, trans. by Aḥmad Zakî, (Cairo: Lajnat al-Ta'lîf wa al-Tarjama wa al-Nashr).

1926 Alexandre Dumas, *Târikh al-Hawâ*, trans. by Aḥmad Jamâl al-Dîn, (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Shabâb).

1926 Alexandre Dumas, *Nâbilyûn wa Lûis al-Sâdis 'Ashar*, trans. by Aḥmad Jamâl al-Dîn, (Cairo: Maṭba'a al-Shabâb).

? Alexandre Dumas, *Fî Sabîl al-Majd*, trans. by Muḥammad Labîb, (Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-Taqaddum).

? Alexandre Dumas, *al-Qabtân Bûl (Le capitaine Paul)*, trans. by (?), (Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-Tawfîq).

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13. 1872 Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, *al-Amânî wa al-Minna fî Ḥadîth Qabûl wa Ward Janna (Paul et Virginie)*, trans. by Muḥammad ‘Uthmân Jalâl, (Cairo: ?).

14. 1873 [1290] Molière, *al-Shaykh Matlûf (Tartuffe)*, trans. by Muḥammad ‘Uthmân Jalâl, (Cairo: Maṭba‘a Wâdî al-Nîl).
1889-1890 (Cairo: ?).
1912 (Cairo: ?).

1889-1890 Molière, *Madrasat al-Nisâ’ (L’Ecole des femmes)*, trans. by Muḥammad ‘Uthmân Jalâl, (Cairo: ?).

1889-1890 Molière, *Madrasat al-Azwâj (L’Ecole des Maris)*, trans. by Muḥammad ‘Uthmân Jalâl, (Cairo: ?).

1889-1890 Molière, *al-Nisâ’ al-‘Âlimât (Les Femmes savantes)*, trans. by Muḥammad ‘Uthmân Jalâl, (Cairo: ?).

1896-1897 Molière, *al-Thuqalâ’ (Les Fâcheux)*, trans. by Muḥammad ‘Uthmân Jalâl, (Cairo: ?).

15. 1876 Montesquieu, *Burhân al-Bayân wa Bayân al-Burhân fî Istikmâl wa Ikhtilâf Dawla al-Rûmân (Considération sur les causes de la grandeur des Romains et de leur decadence)*, trans. by Ḥasan al-Jubaylî bin ‘Alî, (Cairo: Maṭba‘a al-Mudarris).

1891 Montesquieu, *‘Uṣûl al-Nawâmîs wa al-Sharâi’*, trans. by Âṣâf Yûsuf (Efendi) bin Himâm, (Cairo: al-Maṭba‘a al-‘Umûmiyya).

1892 [1310]

? Montesquieu, *Tarjuma Mûntîskîyu*, trans. by Rifâ‘ah R. al-Ṭaḥṭâwî, (Cairo: ?).

16. 1878 Miral Dubinya, *Târîkh al-Iṣlâḥ fî al-Qarn al-Sâdis ‘Ashar*, trans. by Kornîlyûs Vinidîk, 2 vols., (Cairo: ?).

17. 1897 Fénelon, *Riwayat Tilimak*, trans. by Sa‘d Allâh al-Bustânî, (Cairo: Maṭba‘at al-Hindiyya).

1909 [1327] Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-Banât*, trans. by Şâlih Ḥamdî Ḥammâd, (Cairo: Madrasa Wâlide ‘Abbâs al-Awwal).

Appendix III: List of the translators of the Imperial Dîvân (Dîvân-ı Hümâyûn Tercümanları)

The list is not exhaustive and the dates are at variance, but it still is important for future researches.

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1. Ali Bey (1502)
2. Yunus Bey (1541-1550)
3. Ahmed Bey (Heinz Tulman)
4. İbrahim Bey (1550)
5. Hürrem (Oram) Bey
6. Mustafa Bey
7. Murad Bey (1553)
8. Mahmud Bey (1573-1575)
9. Osman Ağa
10. Zülfikâr Bey (1657)
11. Mamucca della Torre (1667)
12. Ali Ufkî Efendi Bobowski (1673)
13. Panayiotakis Nikousis (1661-1673)
14. İskerletzâde Alexander Mavrocordato (1673-1683), (1685-1698)
15. Sefer Ağa (John Antoine) (1683-1685)
16. Nicholas Mavrocordato (1698-1709)
17. John Mavrocordato (1709-1716)
18. Gregoire Ghika (1716-1726)
19. Alexander Ghika (1726-1741)
20. John Callimachis (1741-1751), (1752-1758)
21. Matthew Ghika (1751-1752)
22. Gregoire Alexander Ghika (1758-1764)
23. George (Gregory) Caradja (1764-1765)
24. Scarlatos Caradja (1765-1768), (1770-1774)
25. Nicholas Soutzos (1768-1769)
26. Michael Racovitza (1769-1770)
27. Alexander Ypsilantis (1774)
28. Constantine Mourouzis (1774-1777)
29. Nicholas Caradja (1777-1782)
30. Michael Constantine Soutzos (1782-1783)
31. Alexander Mavrocordato (1783-1785)
32. Alexander Callimachis (1785-1788), (1794-1795)
33. Constantine Ralettos (1788)
34. Emmanuel Caradja (1788-1790)
35. Alexander Constantine Mourouzis (1790-1792)
36. George Constantine Mourouzis (1792-1794)

37. George Mourouzis (1795-1796)
38. Constantine Alexander Ypsilantis (1796-1799)
39. Alexander Nicholas Soutzos (1799-1802)
40. Alexander Michael Soutzos (1802-1806)
41. John (George) Caradja (1806-1808), (1812)
42. John Nicholas Caradja (1808)
43. Dimitrios Mourouzis (1808-1812)
44. Iacovaki Argyropoulos (1812-1815)
45. Michael Soutzos (1815-1818)
46. John Callimachis (1818-1821)
47. Constantine Mourouzis (1821)
48. Stavraki Aristarchis (1821)

Appendix IV: List of translators in Istanbul

The list is not exhaustive, but provides preliminary data to be developed. The names are arranged in alphabetical order. We tried to fix the date of birth and death of the translator if his full name is given.

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1. Abdullah Cevdet [Karlıdağ] (1869-1932)
2. Abdurrahman Sâmi Paşazâde Abdülhalîm
3. Âgah Efendi (1832-1885)
4. Ahmed Ârifî [Pasha] (1830-1895)
5. Ahmed Atâ Bey
6. Ahmed Aziz
7. Ahmed Bedreddin
8. Ahmed Hamdi
9. Ahmed Hidâyet
10. Ahmed Hikmet Sezâizâde
11. Ahmed Hilmi [Şehbenderzâde] (1865-1914)
12. Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz] (1867-1942)
13. Ahmed Mesud
14. Ahmed Midhat Efendi (1844-1912)
15. Ahmed Midhat Ritatof
16. Ahmed Münif
17. Ahmed Naim [Babanzâde] (1872-1934)
18. Ahmet Nebil
19. Ahmed Neyyir
20. Ahmed Nuri
21. Ahmed Râsim (1865-1932)
22. Ahmed Refik [Altınay] (1880-1937)
23. Ahmed Reşid
24. Ahmed Sâib Efendi (d.1887)
25. Ahmed Sâki
26. Ahmed Salahaddîn
27. Ahmed Sânih
28. Ahmed Şuayb (1876-1910)
29. Ahmed Tefvik [Pasha] (1845-1936)
30. Ahmed Vefik [Pasha] (1823-1891)
31. Âli Bey [Direktör] (1844-1899)
32. Ali Fuad
33. Ali Haydar Bey (1836-1914)
34. Ali Kâmi
35. Ali Muzaffer Bey (d.1911)
36. Ali Münif Adanalı

37. Ali Nihad
38. Ali Nizâmî
39. Ali Nusret
40. Ali Reşad (1877-1929)
41. Ali Rıza Efendi (d.1903)
42. Ali Salahaddîn
43. Antranik Kirçikyan
44. Artin Kantarcıyan
45. Arzuman
46. Âsaf Esad
47. Âsaf Şerefüddîn
48. Âsaf Tugay
49. Âsım Tevfik
50. Baha Tevfik (1884-1914)
51. Bedros Hocasaryan
52. Beşir Fuad (1852-1887)
53. Bogos Parnasyan
54. Bohor İsrail
55. Cemâl Efendi
56. Cemâl Fâzıl
57. Diran Kelekyan
58. Ebuzziya Tevfik (1849-1913)
59. Emin [Pasha]
60. Fâik Reşad (1851-1914)
61. Fâik Sabri [Duran]
62. Fatma Aliye Hamm (1862-1936)
63. Gâlib Atâ
64. Hâbil Âdem
65. Hâlid Ziya [Uşaklıgil] (1865-1945)
66. Halil Edib Bey (1863-1912)
67. Halil Necâti
68. Hasan Bedreddin [Pasha] (1850-1914)
69. Hasan Fehmi Zâimzâde
70. Hasan Vasfi [Menteş]
71. Hasan Sırrı [Örikağasızâde] (1861-1933)
72. Hayreddin Leskovikli [Hayreddin Nedim Göçen] (1867-1942)
73. Hekimbaşı Mustafa Behçet (1774-1834)
74. Hoca İshak Efendi (d.1836)
75. Hüseyin Avni Bey
76. Hüseyin Cahid [Yalçın] (1875-1957)
77. Hüseyin Nâzım
78. Hüseyin Rahmi [Gürpınar] (1864-1944)

79. Hüseyin Şükrü
80. Hüseyin Tayfur
81. Hüseyin Vassaf
82. Hüseyin Zeki
83. İbn Kâmil Abdurrahman
84. İbnü'l-Kâmil
85. İbrahim Aşkî [Tanık]
86. İbrahim Edhem Mesud [Dirvana]
87. İbrahim Şem'î
88. İbrahim Şevki
89. İbrahim Şinasi (1826-1871)
90. İsmail Âsım
91. İsmail Hakkî [Alişanzâde]
92. İstevan Efendi
93. Kadriye Hüseyin
94. Karakin [Deveciyan]
95. Kemal Emin [Baran]
96. Kirkor Efendi
97. Kostaki Efendi
98. Mahmud Celâleddin Efendi
99. Mahmud Esad Efendi (1855-1918)
100. Mahmud Kenan
101. Mahmud Nedim Efendi
102. Mahmud Sâdık (1864-1930)
103. Mahmud Şevket [Pasha] (1856-1913)
104. Manuk Gümüşciyan
105. Mehmed Ali
106. Mehmed Ali [Aynî] (1868-1945)
107. Mehmed Ali Tevfik
108. Mehmed Atâ
109. Mehmed Bahâeddin
110. Mehmed Cemâl
111. Mehmed Fâik
112. Mehmed Fahri (1860-1932)
113. Mehmed Fatih el-Kerîmî
114. Mehmed Gâlib
115. Mehmed Hilmi
116. Mehmed İhsan
117. Mehmed İzzet (1891-1930)
118. Mehmed Midhat
119. Mehmed Murad Bey (1854-1917)
120. Mehmed Münir [Ertegün] (1883-1944)

121. Mehmed Nüzhet Efendi
122. Mehmed Rauf (1875-1931)
123. Mehmed Reşid
124. Mehmed Rıfat [Manastırlı] (1851-1907)
125. Mehmed Rüşdü
126. Mahmud Sâdık
127. Mehmed Sedad
128. Mehmed Süleyman Avanzâde (1871-1922)
129. Mehmed Şâkir
130. Mehmed Şekib Rufâizâde
131. Mehmed Tâhir (1864-1909)
132. Memduh Mehmed [Pasha] (1839-1925)
133. Memduh Süleyman
134. Midhat Rebil
135. Mihalaki Efendi
136. Mihran M. Boyacıyan Efendi
137. Minas Efendi
138. Muallim Nâci (1849-1893)
139. Mustafa Hâmi Paşa
140. Mustafa Hayrullah [Diker] (1875-1950)
141. Mustafa Hulûsi Giridli
142. Mustafa Rahmi [Balaban]
143. Mustafa Refik (1866-1913)
144. Mustafa Subhi
145. Muzaffer Gıyâseddin
146. Münif [Pasha] (1830-1910)
147. Nâmık Kemâl (1840-1888)
148. Niyazi Rıfki
149. Nuri Şeyda
150. Nuri Yağcızâde
151. Nusret Hilmi
152. Ohannes Efendi
153. Osman Kâzım
154. Osman Rasih
155. Ragıb Rıfki [Özgürel]
156. Râşid Edhem
157. Râşid Girâdî Alemdarzâde
158. Râtib Efendi
159. Recâizâde Mahmud Ekrem (1847-1914)
160. Rûhuddîn Mehmed Efendi
161. Sahak Ebru
162. Said Kemâlpaşazâde (d.1921)

163. Said Sâmi
164. Sâlih Zeki Bey (1864-1921)
165. Sarafen
166. Seyfi Râşid
167. Sîret Tefvik
168. Subhi Paşazâde Âyetullah Bey
169. Süleyman Nazif (1869-1927)
170. Süleyman Tefvik (1861-1939)
171. Süleyman Tefvik el-Hüseynî (d.1939)
172. Süleyman Vehbi
173. Şanizâde Mehmed Atâullâh Efendi (d.1826)
174. Şehâbeddin Süleyman (1885-1921)
175. Şemseddin Sâmi (1850-1904)
176. Şevketî Eşref Efendizâde
177. Tamanlı Hüseyin Efendi (d.1816)
178. Teodor Kasab (1835-1905)
179. Tefvik Selânikli
180. Vasilaki Efendi (1845-1907)
181. Veli Bülendzâde
182. Vidinli Tefvik Pasha (1832-1893)
183. Vuliç Efendi
184. Yahyâ Nâci Efendi (d.1824)
185. Yâkub Vasfî
186. Yusuf Bahâeddin Ziver Paşazâde
187. Yusuf Kâmil [Pasha] (1808-1876)
188. Yusuf Neyyir
189. Yusuf Besim Bey (d. ca.1888)
190. Yusuf Rıza Bey
191. Yusuf Ziya [Pasha] (1826-1882)
192. Zenob (d. ca.1840)
193. Ziya Paşa (1825-1880)

Appendix V: List of translators in Cairo

The list is not exhaustive, but provides preliminary data to be developed. The names are arranged in alphabetical order. We tried to fix the date of birth and death of the translator if his full name is given.

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1. al-Ab Anṭûn Rafâ‘îl Zâkhûr (1759-1831)
2. ‘Abbâs Sâmi ‘Abd al-Raḥîm
3. ‘Abd Allâh Abû al-Su‘ûd Bey (1821-1878)
4. ‘Abd Allâh bin Husayn (d. ca.1836)
5. ‘Abd Allah Fikrî al-Miṣrî [Pasha] (1834-1889)
6. ‘Abd Allâh Yûsuf Efendi
7. ‘Abd al-Azîz Maḥmûd (d. ca.1889)
8. ‘Abd al-Ḥamîd Bey al-Diyârbakirlî
9. ‘Abd al-Jalîl Bey
10. ‘Abd al-Raḥmân Aḥmad Efendi
11. ‘Abd al-Raḥmân ‘Alî Bey
12. ‘Abd al-Salâm Shâmî Efendi
13. ‘Abd al-Samî‘ ‘Abd al-Raḥîm
14. Adîb Ishaq al-Dimashqî (1856-1885)
15. ‘Affa al-Dimashqiyya
16. Aḥmad ‘Abîd al-Ṭaḥṭâwî Bey
17. Aḥmad Daqla Efendi
18. Aḥmad Fakhrî
19. Aḥmad Fâris al-Shidyâq (1804-1887)
20. Aḥmad Fâyid [Pasha] (d. 1882)
21. Aḥmad Ḥamdî (1843-1899)
22. Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Rashîdî (d. 1865)
23. Aḥmad ‘Iyâd Efendi
24. Aḥmad Khalîl Efendi
25. Aḥmad Khayr Allâh Efendi
26. Aḥmad Maḥmûd
27. Aḥmad Najîb (d. ca. 1897)
28. Aḥmad Nidâ Bey (d. 1877)
29. Aḥmad Şâfi al-Dîn Efendi (1860-1940)
30. Aḥmad Ṭâyil Efendi
31. Aḥmad Zakî [Pasha] (1867-1934)
32. ‘Alî Hîba
33. ‘Alî Salâma Efendi
34. ‘Alî Shukrî Efendi
35. ‘Alî Jîza
36. ‘Alî Mubârak (1823-1893)

37. Amîn al-Ḥaddâd (1870-1912)
38. Artîn Bey
39. ‘Aṭiyya Ridwân Efendi
40. ‘Azîz Khânkî Bey
41. ‘Azîz Yûsuf
42. Bahr Aḥmad Efendi
43. Bashshâra Shadîd
44. Bâsilî Fakhr
45. Faraj Anṭûn (1874-1922)
46. Fathî Zaghlûl [Pasha] (1863-1914)
47. Fîlîb Jallâd Bey (1857-1914)
48. Georges Vidal
49. Ḥâfîz Ibrâhîm (1872-1932)
50. Ḥanâ As‘ad Fahmî (1820-1897)
51. Ḥasan ‘Abd al-Raḥmân Bey (d. 1875)
52. Ḥasan ‘Âṣî
53. Ḥasan al-Jubaylî Efendi
54. Ḥasan Fahmî Efendi (d. ca.1872)
55. Ḥasan Maḥmûd [Pasha] (1847-1906)
56. Ḥasan Maẓhar (d. ca.1867)
57. Ḥasan Qâsim Efendi
58. Ḥusayn ‘Alî al-Dîk
59. Ḥusayn Khâkî al-Kirîdî Efendi
60. Ḥusayn Ni‘mat Allâh al-Khûrî
61. Ḥusayn Ghânîm al-Rashîdî (d. ca.1854)
62. Ḥusayn Ḥusnâ [Pasha] (d. 1886)
63. Ḥusayn Zakî Efendi (d. ca.1892)
64. Ibrâhîm al-Nabrâwî (d. 1862)
65. Ibrâhîm Matî
66. Ibrâhîm Muṣṭafâ al-Bayyâ‘ al-Saghîr
67. Ibrâhîm Ramaḍân Efendi (d. ca.1853)
68. Ibrâhîm Sâmi Mazhar
69. Ibrâhîm Zayn al-Dîn
70. Ibrâhîm Zakî (d. ca.1903)
71. Ilyâs Fayyâd (1872-1930)
72. Imâm Efendi
73. ‘Îsâ Nadûr
74. ‘Îsawî al-Naḥrâwî (d. ca.1883)
75. Ismâ‘îl Muṣṭafâ al-Falakî [Pasha] (1825-1900)
76. Ismâ‘îl Sîrrî Efendi (1861-1937)
77. Iṣṭafân Efendi
78. Jarkas Maḥmûd Qabûdân

79. Jûrj Faydâl
80. Jurjis bin Hilyâ
81. Jurjis Mâltî
82. Jûrjî Zaydân (1861-1914)
83. Kânî Bey
84. Khâlîd Hamsî
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103. Muḥammad Anasî
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108. Muḥammad Diyâ’
109. Muḥammad Diyâb (1852-1921)
110. Muḥammad al-Ḥalwânî Efendi
111. Muḥammad Hîba
112. Muḥammad ‘Iffat
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124. Muḥammad al-Qûṣî
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126. Muḥammad Şafwat (d. 1890)
127. Muḥammad al-Shâfi‘î Bey (d. ca.1877)
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137. Muḥammad Zîwar Efendi
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140. Muṣṭafâ Abû Zayd Efendi (d. 1898)
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147. Muṣṭafâ al-Sabkî Bey (d. 1860)
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166. Sa‘d Majdî Efendi
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169. Sa‘îd ‘Amûn
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171. Samûyal Yanî (1865-1919)
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Door het vertalen van teksten verrijken vertalers, althans wanneer zij zich genoodzaakt zien nieuwe woorden en termen te bedenken, de taal waarin zij vertalen en daarmee ook de cultuur waarin die taal functioneert. Daarmee creëren zij vaak ook nieuwe ideeën die vervolgens courant kunnen worden in hun cultuurgebied en daarmee de potentie hebben bestaande, traditionele ideeën te ondermijnen. Zo'n cultureel transformatieproces vond plaats tijdens de negentiende eeuw in het Osmaanse Rijk toen er op grote schaal vertalingen van Westerse boeken werden gepubliceerd. Dit was de tweede keer dat zo iets gebeurde in de geschiedenis van de islamitische beschaving. De eerste vond plaats in de negende eeuw toen er op grote schaal werken uit het Grieks in het Arabisch werden vertaald. Deze laatste gebeurtenis is uitgebreid bestudeerd door de wetenschap, maar de eerstgenoemde eigenlijk nauwelijks. Wanneer men de negentiende-eeuwse vertalingen analyseert en hun effect op de maatschappij waarin zij tot stand kwamen bestudeert, komt men al gauw tot het inzicht dat deze een enorme invloed hadden op het intellectuele leven van de Osmanen en, in de eerste plaats, op het Arabisch en het Turks, welke talen diensgevolge een proces van verandering ondergingen.

In deze dissertatie heb ik willen laten zien hoe de negentiende-eeuwse vertalingen, die vooral tot stand kwamen in de belangrijke stedelijke centra Istanbul en Cairo, het literaire Turks en Arabisch beïnvloedden en daarmee ook het denken en de maatschappij. Daartoe heb ik een inventarisatie gemaakt van vertalingen, vertalers, en de instituties waarbinnen het meeste vertaalwerk werd verricht. Aan de hand van een vroege vertaling van een bekend Frans werk, namelijk Fénelon's *Télémaque*, in zowel het Arabisch en het Turks heb ik bovendien het gebruikte vocabulaire en de stilistische elementen die bij deze vertalingen een rol speelden in detail geanalyseerd. Daarnaast heb ik bekeken welke nieuwe ideeën deze vertalingen introduceerden welk effect deze vertalingen hadden op het denken van Osmaanse intellectuelen die met deze vertalingen in aanraking kwamen.

De negentiende-eeuwse hausse aan vertalingen stond overigens niet op zichzelf. Zij had een voorgeschiedenis. Van het begin af aan waren vertalingen in het Osmaanse Rijk belangrijk. In deze dissertatie wordt gewezen op de rol die vroegmoderne vertalers in dienst van de staat speelden als tussenpersonen bij diplomatieke onderhandelingen met Europese mogendheden. Deze

mogendheden stelden overigens ook zelf vertalers aan op hun ambassades en consulaten. Dit alles leidde ertoe dat zowel in de Osmaanse bureaucratie als in de Europese diplomatieke dienst mensen kwamen te werken die vaak, vooral in de beginperiode, behoorden tot de Osmaanse minderheden. In deze vroege periode kwamen daarnaast ook de eerste vertalingen uit Westerse talen van wetenschappelijke werken tot stand, met name op het gebied van de geneeskunde en de geografie. Ook deze vertalingen droegen, zo heb ik willen aantonen, in hun tijd bij tot de verrijking van het Osmaanse gedachtegoed en van de in dat kader gebruikte talen. Speciaal het wetenschappelijk jargon werd door de vertalingen sterk uitgebreid.

Aan het eind van de achttiende eeuw werd het stimuleren van vertaalwerk in eerste instantie door de staat als een instrument beschouwd om de kennis van de Europese militaire technologie in eigen kring op te vijzelen en daarmee tot een herstel te komen van het Rijk als een belangrijke speler op het Europese politieke toneel. Vervolgens beschrijf ik hoe na deze eerste stappen de activiteiten op vertaalgebied zowel in Istanbul als Cairo in de volgende periode sterk toenamen, met name in instellingen die door de Osmaanse regering werden opgericht en gefinancierd. In tegenstelling tot voorafgaande eeuwen kenmerkte zich deze hele periode door een gevoel van minderwaardigheid ten opzichte van Europa. Om die te compenseren streefden de Osmanen er in eerste instantie naar om hun technologische achterstand in te halen. Zij beseften heel wel dat het vertalen van publicaties waaruit kennis omtrent de modernste ontwikkelingen in de Westerse technologie geput kon worden in dat verband cruciaal was.

Het bleef overigens niet bij technologie. In mijn dissertatie beschrijven beschrijf ik hoe het vertaalproject zich ontwikkelde en daarbij veranderde in de loop van de negentiende eeuw. De vertalers richtten zich op een steeds breder scala aan onderwerpen, kennisgebieden en literaire genres met als gevolg een groeiende impuls voor de ontwikkeling en transformatie van de Osmaanse cultuur. Niet toevallig waren de meeste vertalers zelf voorstanders van hervormingen in Westerse zin en betrof het, zowel in Istanbul als Cairo, veelal mensen die in dienst stonden van de staat. Velen waren tegelijkertijd ook actief als journalisten, opvoedkundigen en schrijvers. Dientengevolge werden zij tegelijkertijd tot propagandisten en uitvoerders van de hervormingsagenda. Globaal gezien was dit de periode waarin de basis werd gelegd voor het moderne islamitische denken. In het eerste hoofdstuk van deze dissertatie heb

ik getracht zowel deze transformatie als de historische omstandigheden waaronder deze plaatsvond te schetsen.

288 Het tweede hoofdstuk betreft een *case study* die is gewijd aan de vertalingen door Yûsuf Kâmil Pasha (1808-76) in het Turks en Rifâ'a at-Tahtâwî (1801-73) in het Arabisch van het eerder aangeduide Franse werk. Het betreft hier *Les aventures de Télémaque* van François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651-1715), een beroemd boek in het genre van de vorstenspiegel opgedragen aan een jonge prins, de hertog van Bourgogne. Het werk pretendeerde de didactische tradities van de klassieke, Grieks-Romeinse, literatuur voort te zetten. Het werk werd kort na verschijning in diverse Europese talen vertaald. Het genre van de vorstenspiegel, vooral bedoeld om goed bestuur door het staatshoofd te bevorderen, had een lange traditie in de islamitische literaturen en het was misschien geen toeval dat het boek daarom als een van de eerste niet-wetenschappelijk teksten werd gekozen door verschillende Arabische en Osmaanse vertalers. Het bood hen de gelegenheid een oud en vertrouwd genre nieuw, of liever gezegd, westers, leven in te blazen. Hierbij gingen de twee genoemde vertalers overigens voorzichtig te werk; de vertalingen waren tot op zekere hoogte een herinterpretatie van het traditionele gedachtegoed waarbij rekening gehouden werd met de smaak en de gevoeligheden van potentiële lezers.

Wat de vertalers op dit punt deden, zo heb ik getracht aan te tonen, was dat zij mythologische en religieus gekleurde passages aanpasten aan het islamitische discours. *Les dieux* (de goden), bij voorbeeld, werd in de vertaling *Cenâb-ı Hakk* (de Here God) in het Turks en *Allâh* (God) in het Arabisch – hiermee werd het taboe in de islam op veelgoderij vermeden –; *déesse* (godin) werd *peri* (fee) in het Turks en *malika* (engel) in het Arabisch; *nymphes* (nimfen) werden *duhterân-ı simberân* (zilverborstige meisjes) in het Turks en *al-hisân al-khâdimât* (dienstmaagden) in het Arabisch. In mijn analyse heb ik zowel aandacht geschonken aan dergelijke details op het niveau van de woordenschat als ook aan de manier waarop de Franse tekst als geheel in het Turks en Arabisch werd weergegeven, waarbij de vertalers, zo blijkt, zo veel mogelijk aanknoopten bij de bestaande stilistische tradities van, onder andere, het dominante rijmproza. Net als vele andere vertalers veroorloofden onze vertalers zich ook hier grote vrijheden.

Moeilijker was het om met bestaande termen de nieuw te introduceren termen begrippen weer te geven. Voor het woord *patrie* (vaderland) werd zowel in het Arabisch als Turks *watan* gebruikt, hoewel dat oorspronkelijk simpelweg

de plaats aanduidde waar men was geboren of woonde. Dit woord, maar ook verwante begrippen als *vatandaş* (Turks: landgenoot) en *millet* (natie) en afleidingen van dit woord, bijvoorbeeld *milliyetçi* (Turks: nationalist), die we in de vertalingen vinden, gingen mettertijd het vocabulaire van het opkomende nationalistische discours verrijken. De traditionele *umma* (de islamitische gemeenschap), kortom, maakte in het politieke denken plaats voor de nationale staat. In *Télémaque* stond de figuur van de heerser centraal. Deze werd echter niet beschreven als de ‘schaduw van God op aarde’, zoals het epitheton van de Osmaanse sultan luidde, maar als ‘vader van zijn volk’. Deze heerser werd bovendien gekozen door een raad van wijzen – meer radicale intellectuelen zouden in dit gegeven zelfs als een primitieve vorm van een gekozen staatshoofd kunnen zien. Een en ander betekende dat de vertalers er niet omheen konden hier en daar af te stappen van traditionele begrippen en nieuwe te introduceren. Het begrip *les lois* (wetten) in de Franse tekst kon niet simpelweg met de islamitische wet (*sharī‘a*) worden gelijkgesteld. De Turkse vertaling spreekt daarom ook niet van *şeriat* (in Turkse spelling van het eerder genoemde begrip), maar adopteerde de seculaire variant (en aan het Grieks ontleende) *kânûn*. At-Ṭahṭâwî gebruikte dat woord ook, maar dan in het meervoud (*qawânîn*), naast *aḥkâm* (rechtsregels) en *sharâ‘i‘* (wetsbepalingen). Deze termen werden niet, althans niet in eerste instantie, met het religieuze recht maar met het wereldlijk recht in Europese zin geassocieerd dat zich naast de *şeriat* in het Osmaanse Rijk tijdens de periode van hervormingen (*Tanzîmât*) ontwikkelde.

Een ander belangrijk thema in *Télémaque* was dat van het vergaren van kennis en openbaar onderwijs. In dit verband werd het Franse *sciences* (wetenschappen) vertaald met ‘ilm, hoewel dit woord in de klassieke islamitische traditie zowel metafysische als wereldse kennis aanduidde en de Franse term exclusief verwijst naar de moderne, seculiere wetenschap. Deze laatste wetenschap werd uiteraard niet in de traditionele *madrassa*’s onderwezen, maar in nieuw op te richten scholen. Aan deze voorbeelden is te zien dat de vertalers geen passieve middelaars waren tussen de talen en de culturen die zij vertegenwoordigden maar zich actief opstelden in het herscheppen van hun taal en cultuur en zo fungeerden als katalisatoren in het maatschappelijke moderniseringsproces. De belangrijkste moderne begrippen die op deze wijze in het Osmaanse Rijk geïntroduceerd werden waren: patriottisme en nationalisme (tegenover de traditionele religieuze saamhorigheid) religieuze saamhorigheid); het primaat van door mensen

opgestelde wetten (tegenover het islamitische recht); de gekozen heerser (tegenover het traditionele absolutisme); transparant bestuur en openbaar onderwijs. Al deze nieuwe elementen, zo realiseerde de Osmaanse intelligentsia zich, hadden aan de basis gestaan van de Europese macht en het succesvolle vooruitgangdenken. Een moderne, beschaafde staat kon niet zonder.

Er waren overigens verschillen in benadering tussen Kâmil Pasha en at-Tahtâwî. De laatste paste bij het vertalen een meer expansieve methode toe die daaruit bestond dat hij bepaalde passages in de oorspronkelijk tekst van uitgebreid commentaar (*sharḥ*) voorzag. Hij aarzelde daarbij niet teksten uit de Koran, uitspraken van de Profeet en Arabische spreekwoorden te citeren. Dit kan misschien tevens gezien worden als een tactische zet om ideologische tegenstanders en kritisch gestemde machthebbers de wind uit de zeilen te nemen.

Het derde en laatste hoofdstuk gaat over de receptie van de *Télémaque*-vertalingen, en, in meer algemene zin, over de wijze waarop vertalingen de Osmaanse cultuur beïnvloedden. Dat zij invloed hadden, is zonder meer duidelijk. Vertalingen van westerse werken vonden verspreiding in kringen van Osmaanse, waaronder Arabische, *literati*, niet alleen in Istanbul en Cairo, maar ook in provinciale steden zoals Aleppo en Beiroet, en werden door hen bediscussieerd. Het is interessant te zien hoe er zo een wisselwerking tot stand kwam tussen de twee Osmaanse centra en de periferie. In navolging van *Télémaque* zagen ook vertalingen van andere werken van Fénelon het licht. Aansluitend daarop kwam er een continue reeks van vertalingen van het werk van andere auteurs op gang en sommige hiervan konden zich verheugen in een reeks herdrukken. Deze vertalingen werden besproken en aangehaald in diverse tijdschriften, waardoor een levendig debat op gang kwam tussen voor- en tegenstanders van de in deze teksten naar voren gebrachte ideeën. Het discours vond niet alleen plaats in de kolommen van tijdschriften, maar ook in lokale salons. Studenten van de nieuw opgerichte openbare scholen maakten kennis met het gedachtegoed van de vertalingen, en ook vond het zijn weg naar encyclopedische werken die voor een brede verspreiding van deze ideeën zorgden.

Het waren bovenal de ideeën van Fénelon die van grote invloed bleken te zijn. Men vindt ze terug in het invloedrijke memorandum van 1872 van de Osmaanse staatsman en hervormer Münif Pasha, dat gericht was aan de regerende grootvizier waarin hij, duidelijk geïnspireerd door de ideeën van Fénelon, een programma ontvouwde op grond waarvan het Osmaanse Rijk zich

tot een beschaafd land zou moeten ontwikkelen. Onderwerpen die aan de orde werden gesteld waren het schoolstelsel, wetgeving, landbouw, handel en buitenlandse betrekkingen. Het onderwijs speelde daarin een cruciale rol als verspreider van moderne wetenschappelijke ideeën. Als staatsman liet hij het niet bij het formuleren van een programma, maar werkte hij actief aan de realisering van het nieuwe schoolsysteem.

In Egypte was het at-Ṭaḥṭâwî zelf die bijdroeg tot de verspreiding van het reformistische gedachtegoed. Daartoe publiceerde hij in 1869 een gezaghebbend boek, *Manâhij al-Albâb al-Miṣriyya fi Mabâhij al-Âdâb al-‘Aṣriyya* (“Wegen van de Egyptische Denkers naar de Genietingen van Moderne Gebruiken en Gewoonten”), dat als gids fungeerde voor de toekomstige ontwikkeling van zijn land. Het eerder genoemde begrip *waṭan* staat centraal in het boek. At-Ṭaḥṭâwî haalt in zijn betoog regelmatig zijn eigen vertaling van Fénelon’s *Télémaque* aan. Onderwerpen die hij verder ter sprake brengt zijn goed bestuur, handel en nijverheid, landbouw en de ideale sociale geleiding van de maatschappij. Ook bij at-Ṭaḥṭâwî neemt het onderwijs een centrale plaats in.

At-Ṭaḥṭâwî liet zich niet alleen inspireren door Fénelon’s *Télémaque*, maar ook door diens *Traité de l’éducation des filles*. Dat blijkt uit zijn in 1872 verschenen boek over pedagogie en onderwijs, *al-Murshid al-Amîn li’l-Banât wa’l-Banîn* (“De Vertrouwde Gids voor Meisjes en Jongens”). Het onderwijs ging at-Ṭaḥṭâwî zeer ter harte, en omdat hij als ambtenaar aan verschillende onderwijsinstellingen was verbonden kon hij zich actief inzetten voor de verwezenlijking van zijn ideeën.

Naast Münif Pasha en at-Ṭaḥṭâwî waren er nog vele anderen die, in de eerste plaats als vertalers, bijdroegen tot het hervormingsprogramma en daarbij een belangrijke rol speelden in de Osmaanse cultuurgeschiedenis. Om een beter en vollediger beeld van deze ontwikkeling te verkrijgen, is het gewenst dat dit terrein meer aandacht krijgt van onderzoekers dan totnogtoe het geval is geweest. Daarbij dient men zich niet te beperken tot vertalingen uit Europese talen. Het hervormingsprogramma met haar nadruk op progressieve, westerse ideeën, riep namelijk ook weerstand op. Vertegenwoordigers van deze tegenstroming legden de nadruk op de islamitische traditie en streefden ernaar die traditie te doen herleven. Een instrument hiertoe was de vertaling van Arabische en Perzische werken in het Turks alsmede Perzische en Turkse werken in het Arabisch, die respectievelijk in Istanbul en Cairo gepubliceerd werden. Voor een goed begrip van het nog steeds actuele conflict tussen het

Western ideas percolating into Ottoman minds

seculiere, progressieve gedachtegoed enerzijds en het religieuze, behoudende dan wel reactionaire wereldbeeld anderzijds is het van essentieel belang om ook deze vertalingen te bestuderen.

Curriculum Vitae

Arzu Meral was born on April 30, 1975 in Istanbul, Turkey. She graduated from *Kadıköy Anadolu Meslek Lisesi*/Lycee in Istanbul, in June 1992. She obtained her B.A. degree in Islamic theology and philosophy at Marmara University, Istanbul, in June 2002. She subsequently obtained her M.A. degree in Islamic philosophy at the Institute of Islamic Studies of the McGill University in Montreal in October 2005. In her M.A. thesis entitled “An Ontological Inquiry in Early Quran Commentaries,” she studied the influence of Quranic teachings on the development of Islamic philosophy and the position of Quran commentaries in the intellectual history of Islam under the supervision of Prof. Robert Wisnovsky. Since 2006, she has been conducting her Ph.D. research at Leiden University under the supervisions of Prof. Remke Kruk and Dr. Jan Schmidt. Her Ph.D. dissertation is on late Ottoman intellectual history from the perspective of its confrontation with Western ideas through translations in two important centers of the Empire, namely, Istanbul and Cairo. Since her undergraduate studies she spent some time in Syria, Jordan and Egypt to study Arabic language and culture. Her research and teaching interests focus on Ottoman intellectual history, Ottoman modernization, Intellectual history of nineteenth century Egypt, and Sufism.