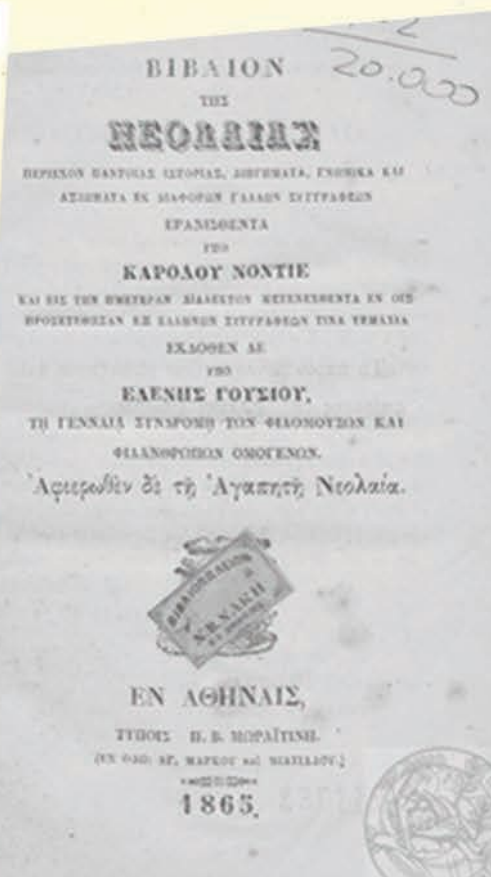
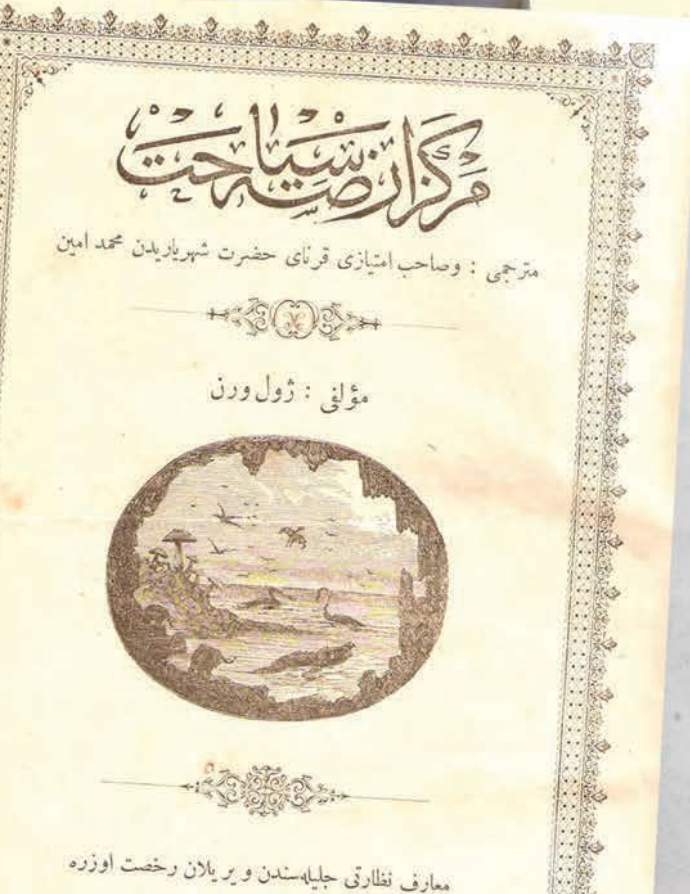


# MIGRATING TEXTS

CIRCULATING TRANSLATIONS  
AROUND THE  
OTTOMAN MEDITERRANEAN

EDITED BY MARILYN BOOTH





## **MIGRATING TEXTS**

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OTTOMAN MEDITERRANEAN*



*Edited by Marilyn Booth*

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*Marilyn Booth, Oxford, August 2018*

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## **Note on Translation and Transliteration**

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Due to considerations of space and complexity, not all texts are provided in their original languages in these chapters.

On transliteration, some discretion has been left to authors. For Ottoman texts, orthography depends on the source of the text: whether it has been referenced as an original Ottoman text or a transcription into modern Turkish; for Ottoman terms and names we generally follow conventions used in modern Turkish to represent the Ottoman language. Transliterations of Arabic generally preserve only the *‘ayn* and internal *hamza*. Because this is a book about translators and translations, sometimes works are referenced by the translator’s name as in effect author of the text. The choice has been left up to individual chapter authors.

# Introduction: Translation as Lateral Cosmopolitanism in the Ottoman Universe

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*Marilyn Booth*

In November 1873, the educational journal *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* (Egyptian schools' garden, Cairo, 1870–7), introduced a short translation:

We reproduce what was sent to *Rawda*'s office by one who is the substance and spirit of translation, abode of its virtue and doorway to its acquisition, Muhammad Efendi °Abd al-Raziq. He stripped his transported text [*manqulahu*] of the foreignness [*°ajama*] of French and endowed his words with the fine tonalities of Arabic. It embraces the rich blessings the Khedivial Hand has bestowed, especially new work to extend education to all by opening schools for girls. Peruse what follows and you will find an instructor on the topic, a guide along the best-considered pathway for men to share learning with women so that together they propagate knowledge more widely.<sup>1</sup>

Next came the translator's preface. Unusually for the time, it explained the text's origin precisely.

As I wandered through the gardens of the palm-fronds/newspapers [*jara'id*] of knowledge, my chest expansive with happiness at the delights blooming there to give minds good exercise, I stumbled on [an article] in the journal of political inquiry known as *al-Diba* [Le Débat], in French, published in Paris on Thursday [*yawm al-khamis*] in September 1873, equivalent to 3 Sh[ā]ban 1290. It praised . . . the Khedive's proposal . . . As it is amongst the most famous newspapers, its texts singularly truthful and useful, I got to work to Arabize and publish this, [wanting] to make it a serious testimony by which the erudite would find certainty enhanced, and the doubting, corroboration and hence compliance. For the witnesses given by the eminences of Europe on how good it is to initiate and pursue education of children in [all] countries – especially as they peruse news of all lands – are amongst the most reliable guides to sound thinking.<sup>2</sup>

Sure enough, an untitled article on the opening of the first state girls' school in Cairo appeared on page 3 of the Paris *Journal des débats politiques et économiques*, Thursday, 25 September 1873.

*Rawda's* preface to the translated article drew on a lexicon associated with Islamic religious practice, localising and implicitly lauding the translator's style as *tajwid*, a term most often denoting the exacting art of sonorous Qur'an recitation. The translation bears the marks of high Arabic style then: rhymed prose and near-synonym pairings, interspersed couplets of poetry to elaborate on points made in prose. Though the translator decided to render the French article because he found it 'eloquent beyond what I could envision saying on the subject', he translated according to what he saw as the tastes of his envisioned audience. 'I sweetened the sweetness of its attributes with metrical composition to enhance it for the reader, adding beauty to beauty'.<sup>3</sup>

The 'Khedive's proposal' that occasioned the article referred to the opening on 9 Jumada II 1290 (4 August 1873) of al-Suyufiyya School for Girls, an initiative *Journal des débats* praised, albeit in an Orientalist framing for French readers. Publishing an 'Arabization' of the article in *Rawda* could serve several interrelated purposes. It let readers know that institutional change in Egypt was a subject of discussion in France. Not only were Europeans noticing Egypt's educational progress: the item reminded readers that girls' education was a 'global' issue, a topic of debate in France as in Egypt. Perhaps the translator or this journal – as a government-sponsored organ – hoped to garner legitimacy for a rather controversial royal project through reproducing its celebratory reportage in a major European newspaper. Perhaps also this translation alerted readers to the representational significance of gender-management issues in Egypt's reputation abroad, even before the 1882 British invasion fuelled an ever-louder propagation by European pundits of 'women's status' as a justification for continued imperial occupation. At the same time, in the 1870s and thus before that occupation (and before France's occupation of Tunisia, if not of Algeria), perhaps it was a less sensitive matter than it would be later to highlight European approbation for such an event. Not least, the text and the translator's preface, with its reference to 'the erudite . . . and the doubting', might nudge reluctant parents amongst the reading elite, underlining the moral rightness, respectability and practical benefits of putting their daughters in school. Yet, the preface's suggestion that European polemics on education offered model guides for thought would not have been universally welcome amongst the educated in Egypt.

The translation itself localised the article in style and content, embellishing its praises for the Khedive's modernising efforts and shifting the



## Introduction

tone and emphases of the French noticeably, overwriting a rather patronising if positive report as more fully a celebratory, didactic, directive blueprint for local initiatives (though neither the Arabic nor the French mentioned that the *Suyufiyya* was funded by and under the patronage of Cheshmat Afat Hanim, consort of the Khedive). This feature appearing in an Arabic pedagogic magazine exemplifies translation's creative, interested, politically pivotal potential in a milieu of state-led institution building, in Egypt and throughout the Ottoman Empire, as state actors and intelligentsias connected with them negotiated and debated their places in the globalising arena of the nineteenth century.

The translation appeared almost three months after *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* had itself announced the school's opening, long before the French journal ran its report.<sup>4</sup> A fortnight before that – and ten days before the school's formal opening – *Rawda* featured excerpts from a translation-adaptation of Georges-Bernard Depping's (1784–1853) *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations* (1826).<sup>5</sup> Originally published in 1833 at the government press, this translation was by the recently deceased Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi (1801–73), a giant figure in the institutional and intellectual realms of Egyptian culture production, and notably of translation.<sup>6</sup> The selected excerpts presented Depping's discussion of stadial history, a European-Enlightenment discourse of teleological and hierarchised social progress through set economic-social-ecological stages, a fundamental element of which was the notion that a society's level of advancement could be ascertained from the status of 'its' women. It seems no accident that it was the section on women and societal development that the magazine (now edited by al-Tahtawi's son) chose to republish at this particular moment.<sup>7</sup> Through translation – of Depping, of *Journal des débats* – *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* signalled an agenda for gender management focused on girls' schooling, hinting its priority in the highest echelons of government.<sup>8</sup> Throughout the Ottoman Empire including Egypt, translation is one index to the importance and contours of debates on gender organisation, girls' education and gendered seclusion as local and global issues for modernising elites. Where this translation appeared, how it was framed by immediate paratexts and a longer context of translated reportage, and above all how it chose to render the French article as a statement or echo of local state policy offer a micro-historical study of how translation participated in policy-making and opinion management then, as well as the role it can play in our contemporary projects as scholars to elucidate fine-grained intellectual histories within and across national, linguistic and imperial boundaries.

At the time, *Rawda* was publishing translations in every fortnightly

issue. In 1872–5, there were (amongst other translated texts) excerpts from a work on ancient Egyptian language by Dutch Orientalist Heinrich Brugsch (1827–94, chair in Egyptology in Göttingen, employed by the Egyptian state to start an Egyptology School; he was on the board of *Rawdat al-madaris*). There were selections from works on agriculture; history of the ancient Greeks; customs across the world; the history of paper and writing; plus a romance called ‘The solitude’s solace in the story of Farid’; and the first part of *Peter Parley’s Universal History*.<sup>9</sup> Its translators were students at the Translation School and the Egyptology School, employees of translation bureaus attached to various government departments, newspaper editors, schoolteachers (especially of English and French) and educational administrators.<sup>10</sup> The journal also served readers (who were, ideally, students in the expanding government advanced education system) in offering installments of longer pedagogic works attached to each issue, for example translated engineering textbooks.

Exhibiting the pervasiveness of translation to culture production, polemics and pedagogy in 1870s Egypt, *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* is a microcosm of the broader field of activity our volume addresses. Translation was everywhere in the multilingual, multi-ethnic late-Ottoman Mediterranean world: new audiences demanded reading material and new presses sought it. As a set of practices, ‘translation’ embraced a range of adaptation and invention – of genres, themes, writing styles, concepts, lexica, narratorial voice – as translators worked between Middle Eastern languages and from European languages into them. As in so many times and places, translators were inventors and entrepreneurs, and translation was but one activity in their spectra of culture-production energies. In myriad ways, multi-tasking translators were authors of an age. Indeed, ‘translation’ bore such cultural cachet (and also might offer a protective scrim) that sometimes original works (especially fiction) were called translations on their title pages.

Across the nineteenth century, translation was a growth industry, if one that was often pursued as an individual project. Circuits of exchange were expanding and intensifying. With growing literacy across the region, cultural commodities proliferated; presses were founded; books, newspapers and magazines emerged in all languages of the Empire (including French) and circulated beyond it; theatres were built and improvised. Arabic works might be translated into Turkish and Persian and vice versa, while writings produced in Europe of salience to reformist, emergent nationalist and gender-activist groups were translated nearly simultaneously into Arabic, Turkish (in various community-specific scripts) and Persian as well as Greek, Armenian and other tongues. Through acts of translation, and the

## Introduction

genres selected for it, Ottoman readers were being made aware of connected histories and travelling legacies.

As a volume and as an ongoing project, *Migrating Texts* brings together scholars of translation, literature and intellectual history to investigate how circulations of key texts through linguistically differentiated rewritings facilitated – and possibly deterred, deflected or shifted – conversations around key issues for readers at the time. These include the meaning of ‘women’s rights’ and of masculinity/femininity, identity, personal autonomy and patriarchy; the sources of national efficacy and ‘self-help’ and their relationships to imperial presences; the nature and transferability of ‘morality’ and how best to train the young into ethical conduct; the optimal relations between rhetorical styles, familiar expressive forms, and public communication; indeed, the very meaning and import of ‘literature’ and the kinds of language(s) that a modern society entailed. Considering intersecting themes, emerging genres and circuits of exchange, and focusing on historical agents of change, our work connects with recent scholarly initiatives in global, transnational, and transregional intellectual history, attentive to ‘intermediating agents or modes of circulation . . . that allow for new conceptual movement or networking practices’.<sup>11</sup> While we examine movements in translation from Europe to the Ottoman region, this volume joins other recent research in challenging views of translation and text dissemination that centre ‘the West’ as privileged source of knowledge and societies in most of the world as belated, derivative or passive recipients. °Abd al-Raziq Efendi rendered the *Journal des débats* article for a local agenda as he perceived it, modifying the text substantially in the process. Implicitly, such work also asks what this discursive entity or symbol called ‘the West’ was for observers, and how they appropriated and challenged it through translation.

Politically resonant adaptations of canonical texts from Europe formed one element in this lateral cosmopolitanism, while another element comprised reworkings of European novels that some contemporary pundits scorned as decidedly non-canonical if not downright dangerous – while readers just went on buying, reading, hearing and enjoying them. A hovering question for those engaged in ‘official’ translation projects as well as individual initiatives was how to use translation productively as a social tool – as intellectuals were arguing over how best to confront and receive ‘Europe’ as a set of technologies, a set of cultures (often homogenised representationally), a political space with frightening *and* appealing implications.

The chapters collected here resulted from two workshops held at New York University Abu Dhabi and the University of Edinburgh in 2015,

stimulating an ongoing project on translation that takes the lands around the eastern Mediterranean Sea as hubs of linguistic and cultural exchange. Indeed, these are intercultural sites where ‘translation’ marked hybrid and variegated adaptation practices that – we have found consistently – cannot be taken for granted in their specific outcomes and proliferations, even if patterns might be discerned. As the project continues to study the eighteenth- to early-twentieth-century saliences of text transmission from western Europe (and North America) to the poly-linguistic Ottoman Empire, it critically scrutinises centre-periphery models of cultural diffusion by examining complexly circulating local-regional text migrations, or lateral and culturally ‘adjacent’ transmissions including to and from South Asian venues. The sites we study can be envisioned in terms of what Francesca Orsini has called ‘the multilingual local’, in a synchronic sense.<sup>12</sup> Diachronically, they represent the urbane historical trajectory of Ottoman letters as an intercultural space, in Saliha Paker’s formulation.<sup>13</sup> Although this is not the same as the ‘Islamic cosmopolis’ of co-existing languages and re-told texts united by a common (if internally various) religious outlook that Ronit Ricci has described for communities in south and south-east Asia, it does arguably bear affinities to that rich history, where multiple languages co-existed and shaped one another through acts of retelling.<sup>14</sup> Local (and evolving) cultures of translation might reflect (and reshape?) not so much a set of discrete monolingual identities in exchange as a polyvocal context in which languages and scripts sometimes overlapped;<sup>15</sup> where intellectuals working across these languages grappled with questions of how inherited languages ought to be retooled (or not) for contemporary purposes; and what the relationships were or ought to be between spoken and written idioms, particularly since texts were communicated orally and received aurally as well as through written manuscripts or printed books. Ottoman Turkish itself was already a formation dependent on earlier translations, borrowings and rewritings from and into Persian and Arabic, a broadly translational culture that Paker has argued should be conceptualised through the Ottoman Turkish term *terceme*.

As texts and their producers travelled amongst geographically and culturally adjacent languages, they fostered commonalities and recognitions. Perhaps they also nurtured distinctions at a time of emergent, differentiating political nationalisms or an ethno-linguistic self-consciousness that could itself be enhanced through translation as an act that highlighted the text’s new linguistic home. Yet, as we explore in our first section, ‘territory’ and ‘community’ – and their intersections with language and translation, attribution and product – could not in the Ottoman case be mapped

## Introduction

along clear boundaries. Acts of translation and the trajectories of named texts, when one looks closely, were productively blurring processes.

Whatever terms one chooses to label such circulations and reworkings, and however one highlights parallels and similarities, the point is to historicise translation processes and to situate translation products by looking closely at how works and concepts moved across space and time, in multiple directions, how their producers labelled and justified them, and how translation redefined text. What do the 'insides' of the text tell us about local concerns, understandings and initiatives? In other words, what does the *how* of the carried-across text tell us about the *why*? How does translation, sometimes, act as disguise? And how might translation (as a range of practices of retelling) and its associated paratexts blur, cross or remake genre boundaries? While the chapters herein adopt a range of approaches, and attend to *what* was translated (or not), we also explore *how* works were interpreted and conveyed by those who chose to voice them in new languages, how concepts of 'translation', 'adaptation', 'Arabization', and 'authorship' were practiced by writers and consumed by audiences.<sup>16</sup>

*Translation* has become a twenty-first century keyword, a shorthand for cultural exchange of all kinds, to the point that its operations and indeed its meanings sometimes appear lost in celebration. At the same time, numerous studies have opened up the field of translation as historical inquiry, tracing it as a set of routes that map the complexities of cultural exchange and cross-regional conversations. Some influential studies have upheld diffusionist models that re-centre 'the West' even as their work implicitly recognises that 'Europe' was in part made elsewhere.<sup>17</sup> Others have given primacy to local reworkings and the creativity of 'cultural translation' that is never simply interlingual; much of the focus has remained on transactions among European languages, although this has certainly been changing.<sup>18</sup> Scholars of medieval and early modern European cultures of translation suggest how much the ground has shifted historically in terms of attitudes to translation in 'Europe itself'.<sup>19</sup> Still others have approached historical translation as the locus for rewriting literary history. For the early history of the Arabic novel, Samah Selim argues that rubrics such as 'the age of translation' efface the creativity of fiction construction in the period by dismissing novels under the label of 'bad translations'.<sup>20</sup> For the multilingual Ottoman centre, Laurent Mignon highlights French-language works by Ottoman subjects as inter-social, intertextual critiques of Eurocentric representations that are part of a local, translingual creativity repressed in nationalist-orientated literary histories.<sup>21</sup> Our second section offers contributions to the study of novel adaptations, an area

of inquiry that calls out for more comparative study. Working across Ottoman linguistic territories with an eye to the novel elicits strong parallels: one aim of this project is to encourage comparative and collaborative work spanning Ottoman (and other) languages and geographies. When one considers the historical outlines of translation in the Empire (as this introduction goes on to do), the fact that many of us have lesser ability to move across languages than did those we study in the Ottoman Empire is a sad irony, but we can create scholarly conversations and shared projects that are as multilingual as our predecessors' work was.

The energetically innovative academic subfields of global intellectual history and conceptual history are also engaged in rethinking models and foci of translation, while concentrating less on the linguistic travels of discrete texts than on diverse and broad remakings of ideas, concepts and oeuvres. As new work in global intellectual history, conceptual history, 'untranslatables' and 'contact zones' provides theoretical sites for studying translation, it remains important to support macro-visions with micro-histories and textual magnifying glasses. Unweaving the internal fabrics of translations, focusing on lateral movements and local audiences, thinking about microscopic choices, may reveal animating forces behind the work that so many unsung women and men did to rewrite texts in other languages. After all, the choice of a work to translate is an act of reception: why this work and not another? What kind of legitimacy might its status as translation, and the name of its first author, bestow? Conversely, how might the suppression of its origin contribute to its efficacy? And how does translation-adaptation act as a local voice at a particular historical moment? Sif Rickhardsdottir's internal analysis of textual shifts that occurred in medieval translation activity between French, English and Norwegian reveals how a specific translation-adaptation scenario offers an archive of self-understandings in reading and listening communities now remote to us.<sup>22</sup> How do discrete translations contribute to, and emerge from, multi-sited engagements with new ideas and methodologies in dialectical relation with indigenous formulations? For example, how did 'cultural translation' work as an heuristic for the complicated operations through which early-twentieth-century Egyptians 'sought to negotiate *other* speaking positions from which to formulate the national modern', through adaptations of European social sciences, as Omnia El Shakry has forcefully shown?<sup>23</sup> Or how did thinkers translate the classical past, given interest across the Empire in local and adjacent ancient histories, in the context of European nationalist invocations of the local ancient, European-Enlightenment stadial history and women's status as marking civilisational advancement (which generated translation-adaptations of

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European works on ancient Egypt)?<sup>24</sup> Our third section explores that question, another area that would benefit from comparative work, considering the relatively few works from ancient Greece translated into Turkish or Arabic compared with their translation, often earlier, into other Ottoman languages such as Armenian.<sup>25</sup> These questions seem (and are) obvious, but the close, time-consuming, language-sensitive work needed to respond to them sometimes seems increasingly difficult to accomplish in the differently ‘translational’ world we live in now as scholars.

Beginning with this volume, our larger project moves beyond documenting what was translated to questions of *how*, *for whom* and *where* (in what publication venues, with what support and what responses, and silences) of our translations. This close focus on text production and dissemination remains aware of the broader political and conceptual canvas, at a key time – roughly the final century of the Ottoman Empire, and its immediate aftermath – for the crystallisation of ideological outlooks and political activism that continued to dominate the region. Such an approach transcends traditional area studies foci, reaching across geographical, disciplinary and linguistic boundaries, to study spaces in between and how they were created and maintained (or not). A longer-term agenda for such study involves both ongoing discussion historically about norms, conventions and expectations for translation (as in 1890s debates in the Turkish press, mentioned further below), and how translation practice occurred. Questions of local-regional dissemination and reception (blurbs, introductions, reviews, attacks, responses) elicit cultural networks of debate that relied on interlingual and intercultural work. How might knowledge transmission facilitate possibilities for cross-lingual community in the multi-ethnic and multi-confessional eastern Mediterranean region and areas to its east? How did text re/production articulate, rework, disseminate and/or erase resilient and emerging notions of what participating in a Muslim-majority, ‘worldly’ networking community meant? Who were the intermediaries, or brokers, who carried out such work and what were their interests and agendas?

More specifically, our ongoing research is guided by a set of questions that in turn raise further questions that we hope to highlight and keep in play as we consider inter-regional translations from the inside out.

- What does ‘translation’ mean in particular cases? If a work is labelled as an ‘adaptation’, what is ‘adapted’ and how? Are there translations across genres – for example, European novels adapted to become playscripts (as in Egypt)?
- What do our translations tell us about concepts of authorship and

imaginings of audience for these author-translators? In Arabic, what self-understandings are involved in the term *ta'rib*, 'Arabization', which clearly meant different things to different people or in different contexts?

- Do we find the same range of practices – condensation, abridgment, rewriting, transposing, metonymical or metaphorical translational practices – in different cultural centres? What about outright omissions?
- Are there patterns identifiable for translations *among* these 'adjacent' languages as opposed to translations from European languages? Is it possible to identify how translators and writers might have drawn on translations into lateral languages, either in their choices of what to translate or in the operations they carry out on the text?
- What do translators feel the need to explain further, through prefaces, footnotes, unmarked digressions, etc.? How does a paratextual apparatus 'sell' or justify or explain a translated, circulating work?
- How can we 'see' processes of translation, such as collective or collaborative or bureaucratic translations? Can we elicit networks of translation, such as the students trained at Cairo's School of Languages in the nineteenth century?
- What new imaginaries might recirculated texts enable? Does diffusion-translation facilitate new texts that 'speak back' to audiences in the source language(s)?
- How might such circuits of mobilisation relate to concepts of 'worlding' or 'the cosmopolitan', by 'thickening' networks and concepts across boundaries, inflecting local conversations in new ways? For example, did translation-adaptation foster conversations about gender politics across linguistic communities?

The scholars contributing to the workshops that generated this volume (and another one to come) work in and across Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian, Greek, Hebrew, Armenian, Karamanlidika, French, English and German (though not all of these languages appear here). We are literary specialists and intellectual historians, book-history enthusiasts and old-newspaper mavens. We work on novels and short stories, treatises and journal essays, playscripts and opera librettos, collections of narratives and homilies, sacred texts and encyclopedias, and epic and travelling concepts. We are fascinated by not only the celebrated intellectuals of the milieus in which we work but also of the unremembered (often anonymous) individuals who translated, adapted and rewrote, sometimes declaring their allegiances to communal agendas but also motivated by personal beliefs



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and perhaps by pecuniary concerns. Commercial, pedagogic, poetic and political factors are not easily or usually isolatable one from the other, although one or another might be highlighted by translators (and their adversaries). That translation was the subject of sometimes heated debate in print media helps us to define cultures and vectors of translation with some historical specificity, as do paratexts that give us clues as to how translators, editors and publishers positioned themselves and their work. Tensions between legibility, legitimacy, fidelity, authenticity – evident in °Abd al-Raziq’s transposition of the *Journal des Débats* article – can only be elicited by placing debates and other paratexts alongside painstaking studies of the translations themselves.

If we cannot ever know the local lives of these carried-across texts – how they were even selected for translation, and received by their first readerships, and indeed often what the source text or language was – we can think through and with the texts to query what readers encountered when they picked up a translated text. We know that the act of translation is never self-evident. We know that it is an act of interested reading, of interpretation, of creation, and that is what makes the study (and doing) of translation so exciting.

The ‘same’ text will speak differently in each new context, each new rewriting (not to mention each scene of consumption). If translation is not reproduction but production; and dissemination, in whatever direction it occurs, is re-creation, then studying the *how* as well as the *what* of translation is crucial. Rather than measuring ‘fidelity’ in a translated text, scholars now interrogate concepts or norms of ‘fidelity’ in specific milieus (and their absence, irrelevance or defensive invoking) as pathways into modular, local re-uses of texts from elsewhere. The notion of textual ‘fidelity’ is itself a historically and culturally variable norm: studying translations closely helps us to identify its salience and meaning in given times and places.

Indeed, we are looking at ranges of adaptation and transposition, and sometimes of incommensurability<sup>26</sup> out of which are produced new meanings. The rubric of ‘lateral cosmopolitanisms’ captures the multilingual, multi-sited contexts of our work: languages-to/from-languages circulation rather than more linear language-to-language transfer. In conversations across our individual and collaborative projects, it became evident that we were looking at complex situations of ongoing transfers, borrowings and conversations, and considering what Moyn and Sartori identify as ‘mediators and go-betweens who establish connections and traces that defy any preordained closure’ in their acts of cultural creation.<sup>27</sup> Such intermediaries reposition works and concepts not only by existing in ‘borderlands’

of translational exchange, but by making texts their own through creative transposition, often with unexpected results.

What follows is a synthetic overview of Ottoman translating landscapes, mapping general concerns raised above. Johann Strauss's chapter (next) also addresses the broad canvas of Ottoman translation; I focus more closely here on the predominantly Arabic-language translating scene in Egypt and Ottoman *bilad al-Sham* (the Syrian lands), as it ramified in the nineteenth century, while highlighting parallels and shared issues between that history and an Istanbul- or Smyrna-centred one. Of course, translators in Egypt and Ottoman Syria operated in a broader Ottoman context. In the Ottoman centre as well as in Egypt, movement between Turkish and Arabic was strong: sections of the elite in both centres moved between these languages, just as they moved between Cairo, Beirut and Istanbul. Texts moved between these languages and venues too. Translations made into Turkish earlier in the century were published at the Egyptian government press in Bulaq, Cairo. Some had been rendered from Arabic: approximately six years after al-Tahtawi published his account of French society in his native Arabic (1834) in Cairo, it was translated into Turkish. As time went on, translation from other languages into Turkish or Arabic (rather than between them) prevailed. Johann Strauss's and Peter Hill's chapters offer differently inflected overviews of translation in the Empire. It is hoped that my introduction and their chapters give our readers a sense of translation's extent in the Ottoman world, while recognising that much else was going on, in languages and language-script combinations that I cannot scrutinise in detail here: Armenian, Armeno-Turkish, Greek, Karamanlidika, Kurdish, Ladino, Syriac, Karshuni, Persian . . .

### ***Ottoman Polyphony, Ottoman Translation***

When we set the two majority host languages of the late Empire – Arabic and Ottoman Turkish – alongside one another, different translational trajectories become evident.<sup>28</sup> Nineteenth-century Arabophone intellectuals who engaged in translation were explicitly, polemically aware of the great translation movement from Arabic of centuries before, crucial in preserving ancient Greek scholarship for the world. On the other hand – unlike in the Turkish context – in Arabic, poetry was not a major area of interlingual transactions until the twentieth century when, as Yaseen Noorani shows us in his chapter, translator-critics drew on Arabic poetics in re-presenting classical Greek and modern French poetry within a world-historical framework.<sup>29</sup> In the hybrid language that became Ottoman Turkish, poetry

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*terceme* began at least in the thirteenth century. Thinking about Ottoman translation as an embedded cultural practice, Saliha Paker theorises an approach to this history of translation as one of an ‘Ottoman intercultural . . . as a hypothetical site where poet-translators operated in the overlap of Turkish, Persian and Arabic cultures’, not to be confused with ‘the generally held view of a “common Islamic culture”’.<sup>30</sup> In arguing for the deep and specific resonance of Ottoman terms for working between texts and languages, Paker situates translation as a set of expressive practices with a much longer history than the nineteenth-century focus we take here; in this deeper trajectory, the reception of European-language texts in Ottoman Turkish is but a late arrival. In both Arabic and Turkish, there was a long history of poetic composition rooted in appreciative echoing of, and sparing with, other poets’ compositions – a form of translation-adaptation more interlingual in the Turkish context, more intralingual for Arabic. Whether these practices influenced later attitudes to translation is an intriguing question, though one cannot extrapolate from practices specific to a tradition of interlingual poetic composition to translations of prose.

This perspective, emphasising a history of aesthetic exchange and hybridity in re-creation, challenges later (nationalist) notions of ‘contamination’ of Turkish by Persian and Arabic, as Paker notes, and complicates any notion of ‘national’ literature as monophonic. Everywhere, nationalist histories of translation have been bound up in identitarian notions of language shaped by and foundational to nationalist, ethnic and other communitarian projects; they have been central to both authoritarian and imperial regimes, and to reform projects focused on making and strengthening nation-state entities. But the unfolding of translation history moves in other directions – and often in several directions at once. Strauss points out that a novel composed in Karamanlidika (Turkish spoken within Ottoman Greek Orthodox communities, and written in Greek), published 1870–1 and later highlighted as ‘the first Turkish novel’ turned out to be an adaptation of a Greek work published in Athens in 1839, penned by an Ottoman Greek native of Istanbul. Unearthing a novel published in 1851 provided another ‘first’ – this time, in Armeno-Turkish (spoken by Ottoman Armenians and written in Armenian characters). This alerts us to the complexity of studying ‘Ottoman translation’, as it evinces the cosmopolitan makeup of Ottoman culture, the rich polyphony of writing, translating, publishing and reading across the Empire. The mid-nineteenth-century Ottoman capital was a multilingual publishing hub, ‘a cultural centre for Greeks and Bulgarians, Armenians, Sephardic Jews and . . . Arabs. The emergence of Modern Persian literature is also closely connected with the activity of Iranians in Istanbul.’<sup>31</sup>

From at least the seventeenth century, cosmopolitan complexity was evident in a different stream of translation energy: the interpretation work demanded by imperial connections. Strauss has traced the careful work that select Greek families engaged in as imperial go-betweens, while E. Nathalie Rothman's work on dragomans is another reminder of how assiduously people were travelling and relocating – and translating in many directions – along the length of the Mediterranean. Such interpreter-translators (dragomans) moved through multiple languages, translating from and into Ottoman Turkish, Greek, Italian and French. Interpreters were scholars and pundits – textual negotiators as well as negotiators in the halls of power – and they produced works that compiled, added or deleted material from source texts, reworking and highlighting according to their perceptions of audience. Significantly, some engaged in the translational production of dictionaries, a topic that would richly repay further research.<sup>32</sup>

Persian, Arabic and Ottoman Turkish texts on astronomy and other sciences had been transmitted to Europe partly by Greeks before and especially after the Ottoman conquest, and Ottoman Greeks studying in Europe translated scientific texts into Greek for use in Greek Orthodox schools in the Empire in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>33</sup> Though from the earliest Ottoman period sciences were taught in Arabic, it was the case that some Persian and Arabic scientific texts, mostly on medicine, were translated into Turkish from the fourteenth century on.<sup>34</sup> The sixteenth century saw translations of numerous works on veterinary medicine, specifically the care of horses: it was only after the Military School in Istanbul began offering veterinary classes in 1849 that a European work on the subject was translated.<sup>35</sup> Which sciences were translated into Turkish and which remained sourced in Arabic poses interesting questions of audience. From the sixteenth century, too, with more direct contacts with Europe and Jewish immigration to the Empire, translations of European works especially on medicine and cartography appeared. Ottoman officials began to translate and compile European works on geography and military sciences as well as medicine and history. A seventeenth-century eleven-volume Latin atlas was presented to the Sultan in 1668 by the Dutch ambassador to the Porte; its translation into Turkish took ten years, abridging it to nine volumes (!) while adding material on Asia Minor taken from 'Islamic' geographies.<sup>36</sup> Ottoman, Arabic and Persian works travelled to Europe, too; at both ends of the Mediterranean, hybrid works emerged – what we might see as acts of trans-compilation.

### *Arabic Translation in the Empire*

Local processes and other connections, meanwhile, had yielded translation projects into Arabic. The Arabic-language project known as the *nahda* (with parallels across other language communities in the Empire) has been variously translated, adaptably, as the knowledge movement, the political-cultural project of modernity, a renaissance, an awakening. An indigenous movement focused on the vitality of Arabic culture and the desire to expand it, the *nahda* was centred in Ottoman Syria and Egypt but increasingly involved Arabic communities elsewhere, notably across North Africa. Translation – in its many varieties and meanings – was an essential dimension of a shared multipolar, diverse and often individually pursued vision. Although as a crystallising movement or simultaneous, noticeable set of energies across geographies the *nahda* was a nineteenth-century presence, some of its actors recognised earlier roots, whether in the eighth- and ninth-century Abbasid-era translation movement pursued by a multi-confessional group of translators and based in Baghdad, vigorously supported by the Muslim *umma*'s rulers, or in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Mt Lebanon. There, some outstanding individuals trained as Maronite clergy produced works in Arabic including translations and commentaries intended to enliven local, Arabic-speaking Christian communities. Parallel work was happening in Aleppo and Rome; not only Maronites but Greek Catholics and European missionaries were involved, and one of the major presses publishing Arabic translations in the era was that of the Propaganda Fide in Rome.

Early presses produced religious texts that circulated more widely than manuscripts could do: in the nineteenth century, Coptic children in Egypt studied the Psalms in Arabic from a translation printed at a monastic press in Lebanon beginning in 1735 while also learning liturgy in Coptic, their teachers explaining it in Arabic.<sup>37</sup> Translating scripture from Syriac into Arabic, and writing Arabic grammars that 'translated' earlier, Islamically inflected Arabic manuals into terms more familiar for Arab Christians, clerically trained writers contributed to a language of renewal across geographies and confessional communities.<sup>38</sup> What Abdulrazzaq Patel calls 'the creation of an inter-religious cultural space' across liturgical and communal linguistic borders made it more possible to initiate – in different and shared spaces, from varied perspectives – a common but never centrally organised project.

Egypt and the Syrian lands both witnessed early-nineteenth-century translation initiatives, but the contexts and text selections diverged. In Syria-Lebanon, the earlier energies that had been focused on religious

material took a new turn with two translations of John Bunyan's (1628–88) *The Pilgrim's Progress* (1678), an enormously popular, widely translated work across many linguistic venues by the early nineteenth century, thanks in large part to the efforts of British and American missionaries.<sup>39</sup> Peter Hill's microscopic study of the Arabic translations is exemplary in showing how translations offer an archive of attitudinal change shaped by and inflected in intellectual production. The first Arabic *Pilgrim* was carried out for the British Anglican mission and press based at Malta, a prolific site of translation into Arabic and other Ottoman languages. The notable writer and journal founder Faris al-Shidyaq (later Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, 1804–87) worked on a Bible translation there in the 1830s. Indeed, Malta was a translational melting-pot: missionary translations into Armenian were centred there initially, though the operation moved to Smyrna in the early 1830s.<sup>40</sup> An Armenian *Pilgrim's Progress* for school use was available in the 1840s. Malta-based missionaries, British and American, translated into Maltese, Turkish, Turkish-Armenian, Italian and Greek, too.

A Greek Orthodox priest, °Isa Petro (d. 1834), described by contemporaries as a highly accomplished linguist and avid scholar, completed his translation of *Pilgrim* into Arabic in 1828 (probably from a Greek translation made by a missionary), and it was published in 1834. It was retranslated by an individual who would play a polymathic leading role in the *nahda*, Butrus al-Bustani (1819–83), at the behest of American Protestant missionaries in Beirut, and published in 1844. Hill shows how these very different renderings reflect shifting understandings about local audiences, from regarding them as passive recipients of Western Christian exhortation to active, engaged consumers responsive to texts that would speak to them in local and fluent terms: that is, in an idiomatic Arabic inclusive of intertextual gestures to classical Arabic works. Such an outlook (also the product of negotiations between often-divergent missionary and translator perceptions of the local scene) was buttressed by the use of print techniques suggestive of continuities with the scribal tradition, as Hala Auji shows in her work on the American Protestant missionaries' press in Beirut.<sup>41</sup>

Studying these translations elucidates internal developments within missionary projects, growing confidence and independence on the part of translators, readerly discrimination, and experimentation with language, incorporating references to local proverbs and Qur'an passages. Importantly, says Hill, this was not 'an attempt to appeal to Muslim readers . . . the work remained clearly a Christian one', but 'an exploitation of the resources of the Arabic language . . . a shift in emphasis away

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from a literal, Christian mode of translation, towards a more literary and “ecumenical” one’.<sup>42</sup> Al-Bustani worked with the missionaries on a new translation of the Bible in the 1840s–50s (first published in Beirut in 1860 – the New Testament – and 1865 – the Old Testament – and known ever since as the ‘Van Dyck Bible’). His translation of Daniel Defoe’s (1660–1731) *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), published in 1861 as *al-Tuhfa al-bustaniyya fi l-asfar al-karuziyya* (Bustani’s treasure on Crusoe’s travels), adhered to the original’s narrative and didactic cast, but inserted Arabic verse to drive home the moral messages while emphasising, Hill argues, a ‘general humanism’ rather than a specific, targeted Christian morality. This paralleled al-Bustani’s growing distance from the missionary project and his increasingly vocal insistence on the primacy of a territorially based patriotism (*wataniyya*). Furthermore, composed during the violence and tension of the 1850s–60s intercommunal strife in Lebanon-Syria that led al-Bustani to write one of his most famous works, the series of broadsheets known as *Nafir Suriya*, the translation inserted a reference to religious toleration.<sup>43</sup> Over time, rhetorics of translation went hand-in-hand with new political awarenesses, institutional initiatives, and visual and material negotiations that marked the *nahda*. Studying these translational texts – their negotiations amongst languages, references and contexts, their modes of address to specific publics, their aesthetics and materialities of production – offers nuanced archives of politics-in-community as relationships shifted within and amongst local communities over the nineteenth century.

Across the Mediterranean, in Egypt at the turn into the nineteenth century, a group of Arabic-speaking Christians – originally from the Syrian lands but their merchant families long resident in the port city of Damietta – had formed a readerly network that produced translations of European works, ‘the first substantial engagement with the Enlightenment in the Arabic-speaking world’.<sup>44</sup> The wealthy merchant Basili Fakhr (d. c. 1834), whose family had some interactions with the French scholars accompanying Napoleon Bonaparte during the brief French occupation of Egypt (1799–1801), and who became French consular agent for Damietta, was the guiding spirit of this project. °Isa Petro – at the time a Fakhr protégé – translated for the project (1808–18, before his work for the Malta missionaries).<sup>45</sup> That Greek texts (predominantly translations from French) were the source-texts in many cases might suggest links between this enterprise and the widespread Greek Enlightenment, perhaps via the other major ‘trading diaspora’ in Damietta, Greek merchants.<sup>46</sup> The works included histories, travel and geography works, treatises on astronomy and other natural sciences, and novels. Authors translated included Voltaire,

the Comte de Volney, Lalande, Greek poet Rigas Velestinlis, Marmontel and Fénelon. '[A]n unusually concerted effort' ambitious in its range of subjects, genres and the sheer number of texts, the products of this translation circle were not printed but multiple manuscript copies were circulated to a network of Syrian Christians in the Levant, and were also read in Europe.<sup>47</sup> The circulation and the multiple linguistic sources for this enterprise mounted by Orthodox Christians in an Egyptian port city – in particular its indebtedness to Greek cultural-intellectual activity and the writings of Greek Enlightenment figures such as Eugenis Voulgaris (1716–1806), historian, educator, and translator of Voltaire – reminds us that the translation and circulation of texts in and around the Ottoman Empire was a complexly connected affair, anything but a series of linguistically or culturally isolated moments. Myriad influences, confessional ties, travelling networks and polyphonic linguistic milieus around the Empire, as well as the emergence of an Arabic-speaking merchant-based middle class, and then increasingly a cohort of government-employed professionals, all played their part in fostering the production and reading of translations. As Hill observes, this early translation project and parallel activities in Constantinople, the Balkans and elsewhere show culture production – through translation – not as a Europe-to-Cairo (or Istanbul) one-way trajectory, but as 'a model of the transmission of knowledge which is diasporic . . . within networks that spanned the Mediterranean'.<sup>48</sup>

### *The State and Translation*

If the Ottoman Greeks known as Phanariots had been crucial to the Porte's translation needs into the early nineteenth century, after the Greek war of independence (1820–1), more Muslims became translators in the imperial centre (though some were Greek converts). These were the years when government-led reform efforts from both Istanbul and Cairo produced centrally organised, 'official' translation projects that focused tightly on state needs but had broader impact in fostering language study and encouraging translation. In Istanbul, a translation bureau was begun, the Terceme Odası (1832), which became formative to the outlooks of leading Ottoman intellectuals who were trained through their work there.<sup>49</sup> From 1851, learned societies formed and fostered translation: requirements for membership might include knowing at least one Ottoman language and one European language. These institutional milestones occurred as the Empire underwent a reform movement, known as the Tanzimat ([re]orderings), with its 1839 declaration of equal status for members of different millets (religiously defined communities), further institutionalised in 1856. This



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crystallised an outlook known as Ottomanism espoused and articulated by intellectuals across the Empire, amongst speakers of its many languages: a sense of shared, multi-community identity and participation. Surely this outlook encouraged translational thinking. In any case, the Tanzimat spurred state sponsorship for a broader range of translations, though military, scientific and geographical-cartographic works remained key. At the same time, there were continuities with eighteenth-century Turkish translations of works of history and statecraft, which had been commissioned not only by statesmen in the Porte but by an Ottoman governor of Egypt who in 1716 had requested a translation of Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti's (1445–1505) history of Egypt, written c. 1470–85.<sup>50</sup>

If Napoleon's fleeting occupation of Egypt – one spur to the Ottoman reform movement – entailed a modicum of translation and publishing activity, it was the subsequent rise to power by Muhammad °Ali (or Mehmed Ali), a Rumelian commander of Albanian troops in the Ottoman military, that led to Egypt's state-led translation project. Although occurring before and at this time, the Damietta project was not linked to the translation work that emerged from the 1820s in Cairo, generated from needs of governance. Much later, as *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* was publishing translations in the 1870s, it was advertising books for sale at the by-then well-established government press. Two titles in Turkish headed a list of twenty books advertised in March 1875. Two others were translations: maths for engineering students.<sup>51</sup> And indeed, half a century earlier, among the first books printed at Bulaq were translations of military-science works from French into Turkish that had been produced in Constantinople.<sup>52</sup>

It was this astute Ottoman commander, governor and then viceroy of Egypt, Muhammad °Ali (reg. 1805–48), and likely his advisors, who recognised that to found the modern society he envisioned, printing and translation must accompany institution-building, notably in education. Though he did not learn to read until fairly late in life, Muhammad °Ali himself was keen to consume translations as windows on the world, according to contemporaries.<sup>53</sup> But the windows might have been narrow: famously, having commanded a translation of Machiavelli's *Prince*, he told the translator to stop translating it, for 'I see clearly that I have nothing to learn from Machiavelli'.<sup>54</sup> The translation from Arabic of the fourteenth-century North African thinker Ibn Khaldun that Muhammad °Ali also requested apparently satisfied him much more. Yet, early on, he sought to amass a collection of European-language works, scientific and military but also, for his own consumption (in translation), biographies of leading European statesmen and works on statecraft.<sup>55</sup> His interest, and even more

his vision of the strong state, provided an impetus for translation and the accompanying publishing infrastructure. A decade after consolidating power, Muhammad °Ali was sending young men to Italy to learn printing, a prelude to that *amiri* (government) press at Bulaq, which issued government journals and scientific and technically oriented texts for use in the schools Muhammad °Ali ordered founded for purposes of training up an officer corps and cadre of professionals in medicine, engineering, and the like. Many of these training texts were translations or adaptations of European texts, translated first by Syrians resident in Egypt and then by young Egyptians or other Ottoman subjects who had been assigned to the educational missions that Muhammad °Ali continued dispatching to Europe, now predominantly France.<sup>56</sup> They were expected to produce translations of books they read for their studies, even before returning to Egypt – and then more translations the moment they disembarked, the works drawn from Muhammad °Ali’s newly acquired library.<sup>57</sup> That they had to undergo medical quarantine before rejoining their families was useful to the ruler: they were supposed to spend their time in quarantine translating. This exercise served as an examination of their studies and their readiness to serve in the bureaucracy or army, while providing a source of ‘quick’ translation.<sup>58</sup>

Initially, Muhammad °Ali seems to have encouraged translations from the Italian, but few were published,<sup>59</sup> even if the Bulaq press’s first publication (1822) might have been an Arabic-Italian dictionary.<sup>60</sup> As a source language, French took the lead by the end of the 1820s, especially in medical education and the trans-compilation of associated textbooks. In that decade, thirteen of the twenty-one books translated under the auspices of the Egyptian government were from French into Turkish or Arabic, three were Italian to Arabic, and six were to/from Arabic, Turkish or Greek. Turkish remained an important host language because the teachers at the new military academy (founded 1811) were Turkophones and refused to teach in Arabic; textbooks pertinent to military training were therefore rendered in Turkish. Similarly,

Muhammad °Ali tried to get French physicians hired to teach at the medical school to study Arabic but they refused, arguing that the aim of their coming to Egypt was to teach medical sciences, not to study the Arabic language; and they demanded that the translators appointed to the medical school enroll so that they could gain medical knowledge and understand the terminology.<sup>61</sup>

The teachers even set up a language unit within the school, so that medical students could pursue advanced study in French. Translators were kept busy at this school: not only did they translate medical books into Arabic,

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but every professor was assigned a translator who acted as interpreter, rendering lectures into Arabic and then having to back-translate the Arabic rendering into French to satisfy the professor of its accuracy, before reading it to the students. Question-and-answer sessions were similarly interlinguistic.<sup>62</sup> The compiled lectures became the printed textbook. While these were translations, as texts that were composed within and as part of the teaching process, for a particular local audience (Egyptian and [other] Ottoman students), in a sense they were ‘translations’ before they were even ‘translated’. Composed in French, they were not necessarily meant for publication in French. They existed in translation, originating in the oral negotiation of a difficultly interlingual teaching situation. In this, too, they link to a longer local history. At al-Azhar University, the venerable seat of Islamic learning, scholars’ Arabic-language lecture series became books, recorded in the notes of their listening students. These translations, then, produced out of the military-professional educational institutions that yielded Muhammad ‘Ali’s officer and bureaucratic corps, were at once ‘original’ and ‘translation’, written to be locally intelligible.

Initially, those who translated did not necessarily have the optimal range of skills or any training as translators. It was not long before a system was put in place to assure grammatical and stylistic fluency: religiously trained scholars from al-Azhar, with their highly attuned, deeply contextual knowledge of Arabic, would edit translations. This was something more than linguistic editing. Prefatorial narratives and colophons by the era’s editors or ‘correctors’ (*muharrir*, *musahhah*) make it clear that these translations were collaborative efforts: ‘translated with’ was a common attribution voiced by these individuals, formally subordinate in the institutional infrastructure of translation but crucial partners – and often the voices behind colophons and prefaces suggesting how the process worked. The translator might dictate in Arabic, reading from the French, to his colleague, who would suggest grammatical and stylistic emendations. The translation emerged through negotiation and conversation. It was often the editor who came up with the appropriate rhymed title, a hallmark of high Arabic prose. These texts went through multiple versions, edited by one scholar, corrected by another, sometimes scrutinised by a committee. Translation as a process paralleled the manuscript production process of collaboration and oral reading to assure accuracy, as Auji indicates also for the collaborative missionary-translator-redactor-printer production process in Beirut in the same period.<sup>63</sup>

These collaborators had to craft technical and professional vocabularies. The Azhar-trained shaykhs became lexical authorities, searching through much earlier Arabic scientific texts to come up with vocabulary

that was both indigenous and right for the times, exhuming old lexica while using terms in current circulation. The translation of dictionaries and compilation of massive glossaries resulted from, and facilitated, this translation activity, in Cairo as in Constantinople.

If only we had recordings of those dictations and conversations! What a source for intellectual history that would be: the collaborative pathways by which new terms were forged, appealing texts created. These early carried-over works – to the extent they are still available – deserve further study. It has sometimes been assumed that they were ‘mechanical’, superseded by later and more nuanced understandings of translation as communication between cultures. It has also been claimed that they were either more sensitive to a local readership or (and?) simply freer in their approach.<sup>64</sup> Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal’s analysis of passages from select early translations shows movement from word-for-word approaches to more fluid, meaning-sensitive renderings, and experimentation with the extent to which familiar Arabic rhetorical patterns were appropriate. Like translational work into Turkish, some of these works amalgamated European-provenance material with Arabic works on medicine, geography and history, creating local works resonant for the training and outlooks of young elite Turks and the Egyptians entering the bureaucracy and professions, and also adding locally useful material. Let us listen to one young graduate of a key mission to Paris who became an editor and translator, Shaykh Ahmad al-Rashidi:

Through the keen interest of His Eminence [the Khedive], I traveled and roamed and obtained much I had hoped for. I returned to my homeland safe and sound, in a state of gratitude, obligation and hope. To this day I remain in this School [of Medicine], wellspring of our noblest capacities . . . prepared to teach and to translate works, committed to the care and cure of the ill . . . [Having translated a book on geography] for a time I remained uncertain [of what to do next] until God made plain what was concealed to all but Him . . . that I would translate a book that makes people glad, one praised by all tongues, authored by the English surgeon Lawrence on diseases of the eye . . . To it I added a section from the book of the Austrian physician Wileer [Georg Josef Beer, 1763–1821] on the preparation and use of eye remedies. And I added a list of preparations used in Egypt, compounds including alcohol, salves, cooling agents, drops.<sup>65</sup>

In this government-sponsored context, the 1830s saw nearly five times the number of translations (102) compared to the previous decade. The 1830s also saw a broadening of language pairs, even if French and Arabic remained far ahead: Persian to Arabic, Hindi to Turkish, with English, Italian, Russian, German and Greek in the mix.<sup>66</sup> This leap in quantity and source-language variety was facilitated by an 1835 initiative to found

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a translation school, soon reorganised as Madrasat al-alsun – the School of Languages – with al-Tahtawi as director. Not only did he oversee the teaching; he assigned works for translation (and was a prolific translator himself).<sup>67</sup> Nearly seventy translators graduated in its first decade. In 1841 he formed a Translation Bureau.

Towards the end of Muhammad °Ali's tenure, as he lost military campaigns and the financing of his military-led administration became perilous, translation – and indeed, education – lost the priority they had enjoyed. When Muhammad °Ali's grandson °Abbas I (reg. 1849–54) took over, the higher-education infrastructure was already partially dismantled, though his administration maintained or reorganised some training programmes. The School of Languages ceased to exist; yet translation remained necessary, especially to the work of the court system. Al-Tahtawi, who had been reassigned to run a school in the Sudan, returned to Cairo in 1854. Back in favour with Sa°id's accession (reg. 1854–63), he managed to revive language and translation training in the guise of a new military school.<sup>68</sup> In the 1860s, requests by the new Khedive Isma°il (reg. 1863–79) to translate large sections of the Code Napoléon kept al-Tahtawi and his team busy, but the field of translation work at government behest had narrowed, even if *Rawda* attests to the continuing production by state employees of a range of translations. And the 'old graduates' of al-Tahtawi's school and bureau were there to pick up the story: al-Shayyal sees an ensuing reemergence of intellectual work through translation and compilation as the more lasting legacy of the Muhammad °Ali 'translation movement'.<sup>69</sup>

For in this period, if scientific and technical output continued, literary and historical works were increasingly translated. From Bulaq but also from privately initiated publishing houses and in the columns of new periodicals, works of European fiction and history appeared from at least the 1860s. Through the first half of the century, according to °Ayda Nusayr's statistics, pure and applied sciences accounted for 56 per cent of translations in Egypt, social sciences for 25 per cent, and humanities, 12 per cent. The next decades would show a steady increase in literary translations as well as works of history. Meanwhile, that Arabic replaced Turkish as the official language of government from 1869 encouraged translation, as did Khedive Isma°il's embrace of European technology, culture – and people.

In Ottoman Syria, and to a lesser extent in Egypt, missionary activity had continued to provide an impetus for translation. Hopes for conversion (mostly of local Christians to Protestantism or the Catholicism of Rome) had gradually given way to a more modest, practical focus on education – and that required Arabic textbooks. Muhammad °Ali had encouraged missionaries' translation and publication activities.<sup>70</sup> In Beirut, presses funded

by educational institutions founded by American Protestants and French Catholics published translated schoolbooks from at least mid-century. That they changed their languages of instruction in the 1870s to English and French may have lessened the institutional need for translation: but how did students feel? Did they need more translation, and what kinds of translation might have happened informally and locally? Could any of this activity have led students to consider the excitement of translating, to consider it as a career or an avocation?

Politics would shape linguistic vectors of translation. From the 1860s, Egypt's increasing indebtedness to western European creditors, the deposition of Isma'īl and the 1882 invasion and occupation of the country by Britain affected translation as it did every aspect of life. An influx of British bureaucrats and a campaign to have English become the language of instruction in government schools was accompanied by a greater preponderance of translations from English: in 1870s Egypt, Nusayr calculates, fifty-eight books were translated from French and eighteen from English; in the next decade, forty-five were rendered from French and forty-four from English, while in the 1890s, English moved ahead and the overall number of translations again leapt upward.<sup>71</sup>

### ***Community and Language, Translation and Identity***

Notions of cultural interaction were central to *nahda* rhetoric and its implementation. Writers and orators told audiences that knowledge acquisition required interaction with other peoples, as Butrus al-Bustani declared in an 1859 speech in Beirut<sup>72</sup> and the highly placed Egyptian educator and engineer 'Alī Mubarak (1823–93) enacted in his 1882 didactic novel-cum-travelogue *‘Alam al-din* published in Cairo. For both, translation was a key thematic. Narrating a history of learning in Arab-Islamic culture, al-Bustani noted that the Abbasid-era translation movement did not constitute imitation: ‘If they took many sciences and arts from the Greeks, Persians and Chaldeans through translation and borrowing [*al-tarjama wa-l-iqtibas*], we cannot submit that they were imitators and not inventors . . . they invented and made substantial additions.’<sup>73</sup> As contemporary culture producers recognised, now such interactions were becoming ever more possible, with intensifying communications networks: regular steamship service around the Mediterranean, telegraphy, the extension of railway lines and postal networks. It is not surprising that the venerable genre of *rihla* (travel) literature, spilling over into fiction, was a hallmark of *nahda* activity, one of several genres prominent in earlier Arabic letters reimagined for contemporary use. Meanwhile, editing and publishing

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older works, often with new prefaces, was also a prime element in *ihya'* (revival/remaking), a pillar of the cultural movement. *Rihla* accounts 'translated' other societies for readers at home: thus they also substantiated the other pillar, *iqtibas* (borrowing). *Rihla* was a bridge between the indigenous heritage and the foreign, a translational genre. When al-Tahtawi offered his account of France in Arabic, he found ways to make French society familiar, and he framed his narrative with citations from the Qur'an even as he worked to find new terms for unfamiliar practices, such as Parisian theatre.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, his rhetoric staged critical distance from certain features of French society, though this overtly wary approach has also been read as ultimately a tactic of submission to Europe as a cultural project.<sup>75</sup> Having requested a Turkish translation of al-Tahtawi's *rihla*, Muhammad 'Ali furnished copies of it to his administration's upper echelon: required reading for modern bureaucrats.

The looming 'presence' of Europe generated energy for change at home – and equally, pushback. Amongst the Arabophone intelligentsias of Ottoman cities, technologies of mobility and communication, educational initiatives and new publication venues, as well as, crucially, a shared sense of reformist political and cultural urgency, contributed to intense activity in language reform, framed in rhetoric on the need for it. The activity this required was prodigious: editing older dictionaries and writing new ones, providing grammars and school readers for students and lexical guides for journalists, modelling a new style fostering direct communication to an expanding audience in a range of genres – and translating. If translators often 'domesticated' by bringing works into the rhetorical world of nineteenth-century Arabic – 'Abd al-Raziq's 'adding beauty to beauty' in his article on girls' schooling – others used translation as a platform for testing a style that was thought to be more directly communicative and easier to digest, as was happening across the Ottoman world. Whether translating European novels or treatises, newspaper articles or engineering texts, new terms had to be rendered and explained. As Yves-Gonzalez Quijano notes, as al-Tahtawi's schooling and translation project bore fruit, one of the new strands of translation comprised inquiries on the nature of power and reform of governance: al-Tahtawi rendered or oversaw some of these, and they required terminological creativity.<sup>76</sup> Some critiques came in the form of novels, such as, famously, the Marquis de Fénelon's (1651–1715) *Aventures de Télémaque* (first published anonymously in 1699), initially translated into Arabic in 1812 by a Syrian Catholic in Istanbul, but better known in Arabic in its translation by al-Tahtawi during what was effectively his political exile in the Sudan, and then published only in 1867.<sup>77</sup> As discussed by Raphael Cormack in this volume, this work and

the rendering of Jacques Offenbach's (1819–80) *La Belle Hélène* (1864) required some cogitation about how to translate ancient Greek deities for a mostly Muslim audience.

More generally, translation generated reflection on language and tested the host language's capacities. We have seen the prodigious work that translation teams in Egypt did in lexicography. On another plane, translating imaginative works for the young might test one's lexical facility: *Peter Parley's Universal History on the Basis of Geography* (1859) opened with an invitation to the implied young reader to join an imaginary balloon journey: in *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya*, the translator rendered 'balloon' as *qubbat al-hawa*<sup>2</sup>, air (or atmospheric) dome. (A couple of decades later, language arbiter Ibrahim al-Yaziji [1847–1906], sternly warning journalists and translators about what he saw as sloppy Arabic style and over-enthusiastic vocabulary borrowing, suggested *minṭaad* as a classical equivalent, preferable to the also-used borrowed *balon*.) Awareness of language as maker of meaning went beyond the creative formulation of terms, modes of writing and transformations of text: Quijano, suggesting *tradaptation* as a 'vector and laboratory' for linguistic renewal, speaks of it as 'the instrument for renewing the collective imaginary through the propagation, certainly in a diffuse form, mediated by [acts of] Arabization, of new models of representing the world'.<sup>78</sup> At the same time, there were more mundane anxieties: if you translated what the world was reading, perhaps you could keep young readers from ditching their mother tongue.

Throughout the Ottoman Empire, translation was both vehicle and target of conflicting views on language and community. If, for much earlier poet-translators working between Persian and Turkish it had been a matter of possibly 'acknowledging certain pressures and tensions in a struggle for dominance between Turkish and Persian linguistic and cultural identities',<sup>79</sup> as the nineteenth century unfolded, it was about the perceived viability of older modes of expression to new audiences and pressing issues. It was partly through translation work that Turkish high style (*insha*) evolved towards a more direct, simple style; that modern Western Armenian became accepted as a supple literary language despite the resistance of those who upheld the ancient liturgical language (and translated into it); that what became modern Greek won the day; that new ways of writing Arabic tempered older rhetoric moulds. Arguments over language were entangled with questions of appropriate genres for and strategies of translation.

In late 1897, the energetic culture producer Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844–1913) – journal founder-editor, essayist, novelist, translator, mentor – called in his prominent newspaper *Tercüman-ı hakikat* for the



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translation of European ‘classics’ into Ottoman. Nine individuals contributed to what became known as ‘the Classics Debate’, bringing to the fore issues of translation, literary genre and appropriate literary idioms. The initiative of Ahmet Midhat (whom Paker calls ‘the most conspicuously active [Turkish] literary figure in the second half of the nineteenth century’)<sup>80</sup> reflected ongoing shifts of view in how ‘Europe’ should be translated, entailing divergent perspectives on late Ottoman literary creativity.<sup>81</sup> These questions arose from contestation over Romanticism as a viable literary outlook, following ‘the flood of translations of Hugo and other romantic writers’, by those espousing a realist perspective which, in turn, embraced notions of ‘scientific progress’ as the realm of literature.<sup>82</sup> Ahmet Midhat himself was a target: in the late 1880s, his recent translations of romance novels were criticised, in tandem with praise for his earlier translations and single-authored novels.<sup>83</sup> His rendering of Pierre Corneille’s (1606–84) *Le Cid* (1636) he called both ‘a summary’ and ‘a translation’, refashioning the content into prose and enframing it extensively in contextual information. In Paker’s words, his was a ‘permissive’ strategy of assimilation, calling on readers to regard such works as models while emphasising their transformation into a local idiom, an approach she links to the earlier Ottoman translational practices.<sup>84</sup> How cultural translation should occur, and what this meant for the future of Ottoman Turkish as a literary idiom, was at the heart of these literary-political debates. Ahmet Midhat espoused a more direct language (paralleling language-reform agendas amongst Arabophone intellectuals) but supported translating French neoclassical and Romantic writers. Against him were a group of writers espousing the creative models of French symbolist poets and realist novelists but yoking this to a linguistic practice privileging older Persian and Arabic rhetorical modes. Ahmet Midhat attacked them as ‘Decadents’ and worried about the moral effects of contemporary French works on the young. His opponents’ creative, selective appropriation of French theory and practice, and their ‘sophisticated, indigenous prose and poetry’<sup>85</sup> entailed a different approach not only to the selection of works, but also to translational practice embedded in what had evolved as a hybrid Ottoman language. In Paker’s tracing of the 1897 debate, translation and its languages are at the crux of competing notions about Ottoman selfhood and society, and the uses of the past, embedded in perceptions of intellectual and political crisis but also in confidence about the generative strength of Ottoman culture.

Ahmet Midhat’s influence as a translator and arbiter of translational taste reached far. In June 1894, the Beirut newspaper *Lisan al-hal* announced its upcoming serialisation of Octave Feuillet’s (1821–90) novel *Le roman*

*d'un jeune homme pauvre* (1858) – for ‘daily newspapers [of which it had recently become one] have no alternative but to publish serialised novels . . . to make readers more desirous, more attached to the issues of the newspaper’. Ahmet Midhat Efendi had translated this into Turkish and had seriously praised it, said *Lisan al-hal*, quoting his introduction to the Turkish translation at some length. The Beirut newspaper ‘finds nothing more appropriate than following the taste of the famous Ottoman writer’: it would offer an Arabic rendering of the Turkish rendering of this French novel.<sup>86</sup>

### ***Language and Languages***

Presumably, in most cases, authors write to be read; and translators are perhaps those authors who almost by definition attune themselves most finely to a reading public. Given the multiplicity of identities and languages amongst the Ottoman populace, translations into Armeno-Turkish and Karamanlidika, including of religious texts, were crucial. This was not simply a question of ‘transcription’, for different scripts were the province of different communities, their idioms modulated by particular communal vocabularies and ecologies, which makes translation amongst them a particularly fascinating topic. Karamanlidhes were Turkish-speaking Orthodox Christians originating in Anatolia. Stereotyped in Greek or Ottoman Turkish comedies as rural and unsophisticated, they had had translations from Greek into Turkish in the Greek alphabet since the eighteenth century, and were producing fiction, essays and conduct literature in the nineteenth century, much of it translated/adapted/compiled, from Greek predominantly (including Greek translations from French) at least until the 1860s.<sup>87</sup> Meanwhile, the existing corpus of Karamanlidika religious works had expanded through American and British missionary-sponsored translation work from the 1820s, garnering the Orthodox patriarchate’s approval for, among other things, the 1839 publication of their Bible translation. But the patriarchate exercised close scrutiny over what the missionaries were doing.<sup>88</sup>

For some Western Christian missionaries, possibly translation into Turkish written in ‘Christian’ scripts was also useful if they hoped ultimately to convert Muslim Turkish speakers: translations into Turkish hetero-scripts might later be handily produced in Arabic-script Ottoman Turkish itself. But if conversion was a pipe dream, Armeno-Turkish was also a convenient alternative given the Armenian patriarch’s resistance to having a Bible in modern (as opposed to ancient) Armenian.<sup>89</sup> There were ironies aplenty in the missionary translation efforts. One of the earliest

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productions of the Armenian-language printing press in Malta was a translation of an English grammar, the missionaries having realised that their best lure for young Armenian students was to offer English lessons. These were halted when it was perceived that takers (such as the Armenian translator of the aforesaid grammar) were not going to become Protestant pillars of the local community, but rather were emigrating to seek jobs elsewhere (he became a journalist in New York City).<sup>90</sup> For members of these speaking communities, it was about communication and community, but the routes were circuitous. Trying to contribute to the creation of a modern Armenian idiom, one compendium drawing material from many sources explained it was using recondite ancient Armenian vocabulary items – but that it would explain them for readers in footnotes couched in Turkish equivalents.<sup>91</sup> Another kind of circuitry was that of secondary translation, sometimes amongst languages of the Empire: the first Greek translation of Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's (1737–1814) ever-popular novel *Paul et Virginie* (1788) was accomplished by the Bulgarian-origin Nicolas Piccolos (1792–1865), published in Paris in 1824. When the first Bulgarian translation of the novel came out in Istanbul twenty-six years later, it was likely translated from the Greek.<sup>92</sup>

### *Periodicals*

Before and after *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya*, newspapers and magazines furnished key venues for translation of every sort. When it was decided that the new bilingual Egyptian-government organ *al-Waqa'ii' al-misriyya* (established 1828, with al-Tahtawi's mentor Hasan al-Attar [1766-1835] as editor) would feature international news, al-Tahtawi was brought on board to facilitate producing a stream of translated texts.<sup>93</sup> In the Ottoman capital, this began with *Ceride-i havadis*, founded in 1840 by William Churchill, a British subject. The 1860s–70s saw the founding of many more, in all the written languages of the Empire. The press was often associated with other institutions: for example, the Ottoman Scientific Society published a journal of science (1862–82) that translated and communicated news and scholarly material from elsewhere.<sup>94</sup> These institutions – societies and periodicals – were the individual and collective initiatives of intellectuals for whom translation was integral to culture production across genres. The pages of newspapers and magazines were also where the language debates most often unfolded, as in the example of Ahmed Midhat.

For Arabophone Ottomans, as for others, the growing periodicals sector afforded a regular venue for translation and adaptation, of fiction but also

of popular science, the political essay, and conduct or how-to literature.<sup>95</sup> *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya*, with its civil-servant contributors, was an early and quite restrained example. Popular science, social theory and descriptions of ‘universal’ exhibitions in Europe were notable areas for translation-adaptation, as were writings of ‘thinkers whose work touched the Arab region’, often controversially, such as Ernst Renan (1823–92) and Gustave Le Bon (1841–1931).<sup>96</sup> Such translations might themselves be controversial, sparking numerous local responses to the ‘original’ that had been translated and querying the translation itself, as when a leading nationalist newspaper’s Arabic translation of French politician Gabriel Hanotaux’s (1853–1944) denigrating essays on Islam and colonialism in the modern world (1900) not only sparked outrage at the source but also raised a furore about the translation.<sup>97</sup> In sum, newspapers in all languages in the Empire translated material constantly: whether it was an ‘officially’ translated feature, a Havas telegram, a news item taken from a French, English or American newspaper, or articles circulating between the Turkophone and Arabophone presses. As we shall see further, enterprising publisher-translators founded periodicals exclusively or prominently to publish translations of fiction and, less often, drama: an 1860 Armenian weekly produced by Smyrna’s Teteyan brothers announced an upcoming series of Shakespeare translations, noting that any language community in the modern world had to have its version of Shakespeare.

### ***Staging Translation***

The pedagogical potential of theatre across the Empire’s languages fuelled translation activity. In Armenian, Shakespeare translations were the site of competing language practices: what kind of Armenian to choose? How to communicate? When Aram Teteyan (*fl.* 1850s–90s) published modern Western Armenian renderings of *The Merchant of Venice* and other Shakespeare plays in his journal, he drew on Smyrna’s spoken language, as an equivalent to Shakespeare’s own lively idiom.<sup>98</sup> But competing journals chose other language policies. Language choices went along with politics of form. The Ottoman Greek Teodor Kasap (1835–97) – a rare Greek Ottoman who translated into Ottoman Turkish – produced adaptations of Molière comedies and a play by Alexandre Dumas  *fils* (1824–95), insisting that Turkish-language drama adaptation focus on reviving premodern Turkish dramatic form.<sup>99</sup>

Some early readers of al-Tahtawi’s travelogue on France would have found his description of Paris theatres somewhat familiar, for European drama companies were already performing in the cities of the Ottoman

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Empire. If ‘borrowing’ meant rethinking concepts and finding new terms (al-Tahtawi finding equivalents for ‘theatre’), it also entailed reworking themes and genres from elsewhere. As in Kasap’s case, adaptations of European plays incorporated echoes of earlier local performance forms and features attractive to local audiences, such as poetry and songs in entr’actes or within scenes.<sup>100</sup> As Myriam Salama-Carr has noted, Arabic drama is an understudied field from the perspective of historical translation studies. But the studies that have been done show how drama trans-adaptation shaped a genre. Creative grafting of ‘foreign’ and ‘local’, old and new, traditions of street performance and improvisation combined with European-type playscripts, produced a new aesthetic-political presence that became enormously popular. Drama’s primary context of reception made it a key space for competing linguistic practices that were at the heart of *nahda* arguments: should plays unfold in an idiom based in everyday speech, or in a modernised version of the high-literary language? In theatre, the range of terms generally used at the time for translational activity was perhaps especially fluid: from *ta‘rib* (Arabization) to *tamsir* (Egyptianization) to *tarjama* (translation), and the fourth ‘T’, *bi-l-tasarruf* (freely). But these terms were used sometimes interchangeably. Issues of language were no less pressing for theatre activists (who often combined translation and adaptation with directing, and sometimes acting) in other Ottoman languages.<sup>101</sup>

Lebanese native Marun al-Naqqash (1817–55) travelled to Europe as a merchant and returned to Ottoman Syria determined to propagate theatre arts there. He drew on Molière’s comedies, improvising a theatre in his own home, and then also on historical figures as narrated in Arabic popular tales, notably the Harun al-Rashid figure of the *Thousand and One Nights*. His nephew Salim al-Naqqash (1850–84) carried this legacy to Egypt, adapting Corneille. Ya‘qub Sannu‘ (1839–1912) and especially Muhammad ‘Uthman Jalal (1829–98) ‘Egyptianised’ works by Molière, Sheridan and Racine, bringing colloquial Arabic and stock characters known from oral epics and storytelling into playscripts. Monica Ruocco observes that Molière was especially translatable into a local idiom, with his archetypal characters and ‘captivating intrigues’.<sup>102</sup> (‘Uthman Jalal also translated La Fontaine’s *Fables* and Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s novel *Paul et Virginie*; his adaptation of Molière’s *Le médecin malgré lui* appeared in *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* in 1871.) Drama translation-adaptation might trace circuitous routes: the prolific adaptor Najib al-Haddad (1867–99) wrote a play about Saladin but adapted the plot from Walter Scott’s fiction.<sup>103</sup>

The era’s plays, whether or not they borrowed from European works, spoke to local concerns. In theatre as in fiction, arranged and coerced

marriages and the aspirations of the young were prevailing themes. If these were already issues infusing political debate, plays (translated, adapted, original) might also address the politics of rule directly, and sometimes that got their makers, including translators, into trouble, whatever language they employed. When Kasap published a Molière adaptation under the title 'Hamid the stingy' in 1873, the future sultan was furious, seeing it as a thinly veiled personalised satire. Becoming Sultan Abdülhamid II (reg. 1876–1909), he had Kasap's journals stopped and Kasap imprisoned for a time. Later on, Kasap was 'lured' from France back to the Ottoman capital with the promise of a post as an official court librarian, and found himself translating court reports and French crime novels into Turkish for the Sultan.<sup>104</sup>

With 'Hamid the stingy', perhaps Kasap thought translation or the imprimatur of a 'classic' author would provide a protective screen (on the other hand, perhaps he was using translation as a pointed weapon; or perhaps he did not care). Sometimes, translation did afford a useful way around blockages. Translating the Bible into Armeno-Turkish helpfully evaded the Ottoman government's resistance to rendering it in Ottoman Turkish (in Arabic characters).<sup>105</sup> Translation could provide an indirect means of critiquing authority, whether it be that of a sultan, a khedive, a shah, a missionary father, or a community patriarch. But sometimes it was not indirect enough. The Armenian intellectual Grigor Chilinkarian (1833–1923) found his ongoing translation of Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* banned by the Ottoman government in 1864, contributing to the demise of his periodical.<sup>106</sup> Others chose to publish their translations in Europe, or in the somewhat freer atmosphere of Cairo.<sup>107</sup>

Repression might have other effects on translation. Following Abdülhamid's ascension and mounting pressure on free movement and free speech (including press legislation in 1882), Syrian Ottoman intellectuals immigrated in greater numbers to Egypt, which already had a Syrian population; they benefited from the Egyptian government's institution-building, and their new home benefited from their journalistic, translational and other energies, though not everyone in Egypt saw it that way. Some Syrians were identifiably linked to the occupation authorities and their institutions, but others were critical or uninvolved. As many of these immigrants had been educated in missionary schools, they formed a ready source of translation from French and English.

But we must keep in mind that in a context of political sensitivity, and palpable anxiety in some quarters at what seemed to be the accelerating permeation of European cultural influence (not to mention economic and political clout), there was resistance to translation. That translation and its

possible dangers were discussed in the press suggests the issue's salience. And even some who publicly seemed opposed to it were more accepting in private and in practice, as Patel suggests for the Lebanese intellectual Sa'îd al-Shartuni (1849–1912). Criticism of existing translation practices or particular source cultures might go along with translational practices of adapting and assimilating content from the same source cultures, perhaps indirectly, forming intellectually and formally hybrid texts, as in al-Shartuni's letter-writing manual.<sup>108</sup> And much of the opposition to translation was more accurately a resistance to what were perceived as new fictional genres 'infecting' local culture from the West.

### ***Fiction***

The vogue for fiction, 'translated' and created across the Empire's languages, calls for comparative research, both quantitatively and cartographically (as Hill accomplishes in this volume), and in terms of specific translation strategies. How did Arthur Conan Doyle, or Walter Scott, or Marie Corelli, speak across and in these languages? And when? Working on Karamanlidika novels, Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek has noted that particular works often came out in that idiom or in Armeno-Turkish before they did in the majority language of Ottoman Turkish.<sup>109</sup> By what routes were they conveyed? 'Parallel' texts did not necessarily have parallel trajectories. French novels were sometimes translated from Greek translations, while English texts rendered in all Ottoman languages were often accessed through French versions. And those translating into Karamanlidika (for instance) had links with other Ottoman writers, as – following the Tanzimat – what had mostly been the production of religious books in Karamanlidika expanded enormously to include fiction and school textbooks, as Evangelia Balta has traced.<sup>110</sup> Analysing a Karamanlidika translation of a Turkish novel by the prolific Ahmet Midhat, itself inspired by French fiction, Şişmanoğlu Şimşek speculates that perhaps choosing Ahmet Midhat's creation as a text base – and the way it was reconfigured – offered a comfortably familiar step, a kind of mediatory presence, toward cosmopolitan appreciation of fiction as an apparatus of the modern world.<sup>111</sup> As A. Holly Shissler shows in her analysis of another novel by Ahmet Midhat Efendi in this volume, fiction 'translated' not only plots and characters, but structures, tropes and modes – in this case, the stuff of Victorian gothic. As we saw with reference to his participation in the *fin-de-siècle* 'classics debate', Ahmet Midhat's agenda included introducing readers to new horizons and providing a readable corpus of fiction as a painless method of teaching morals – much as his contemporary in

Egypt Jurji Zaydan (1861–1914) saw fiction’s role, intertwining lessons on social organisation and moral conduct with the teaching of Islamic history through fiction. As a translator, Ahmet Midhat aimed, as Paker puts it, for ‘acceptable’ (in the host culture) over ‘adequate’ (to the source text) renderings, concerned above all with providing suitable and appealing works.<sup>112</sup> Others chose different approaches: although in practice, as well as in polemics, ‘acceptable’, ‘adequate’ and ‘appealing’ were aims that might all shape a single translation venture.

As Ahmet Midhat’s example suggests, one cannot address the topic of fiction in translation without opening up the issue of the genesis of modern fiction in the languages of the Empire. I focus on the Arabic case here, but the parallels are many. Recent attention to translation as artful and artistic adaptation has strongly modified what was until fairly recently a remarkably persistent standard literary-historical narrative on the Arabic novel.<sup>113</sup> Although it was long asserted that no novels that could be considered indigenous and literarily worthy appeared in Arabic before the twentieth century, nineteenth-century Arabic fiction has been enjoying its own scholarly ‘renaissance’. The earliest published novels in Arabic, 1850s–70s, were contemporary with the earliest translations of European fiction. The later years of the century saw a proliferation of fiction – translated, adapted, made anew.

The earliest Arabic novels and fiction translations – some have already been mentioned – promoted moral edification and emphasised fiction’s efficacy as teacher and model. Butrus al-Bustani’s preface to his 1861 translation of *Robinson Crusoe* gestured to the need to provide edifying works for a growing audience.

Since this story’s contents are varied, its style artistic, the Arabic understandable, the lexicon familiar and the meanings charming, one does not fear that those who turn its pages will experience tedium; it is among the best books for reading in elementary schools to firm up students. That it is refined will enhance its reception among the audience of this era to whom the door of knowledge has been opened, including women, for whose benefit we must attend to cleaning up the poetry collections and . . . [other works] by [the ancient] Arabs, concerning inappropriate words and acts: desiring to protect [women], we will feel [otherwise] abashed to face them.<sup>114</sup>

That al-Bustani pointedly included females was no accident: he was an early supporter of girls’ schooling, delivering a lecture on its importance in 1849. As was the case with *Rawdat al-madaris*, translation and its paratexts offered another opportunity to make a point about gendered access to modern culture.



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Novelistic works of allegory and edification such as *Robinson Crusoe*, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, *Télémaque* or *Paul et Virginie* were translated more than once into Arabic and other Ottoman languages, as Peter Hill's chapter elaborates.<sup>115</sup> One mark of their appropriateness was how easily they could consort with the *rihla* genre: the searching, travelling individual male protagonist was a figure central to both early translations and early Arabic novelistic works, suggesting (along with the continued production of *rihla*) a shared sensibility, a *thematics* of cultural translation.<sup>116</sup> (Less remarked-on: many early Arabic novels by women featured restless, journeying young female characters.<sup>117</sup>)

As time went on, the 'social novel' with its focus on dilemmas of interaction and authority in a changing world prevailed and overlapped with the growing production of what has been labelled 'diversion' fiction, set in exotic elsewhere, turning on formulaic plots with little dialogue or character development.<sup>118</sup> The two categories cannot be neatly disassociated. In both cases, many individual instances were loose adaptations of European novels, or were simply inspired by the typecast genre of 'the French novel'. In the process, their producers created a local and enormously popular wealth of fiction that spoke to new concerns across the urban landscape, as such fiction did in European societies. Samah Selim's extensive study of popular fiction in the period persuasively argues for regarding it as a field of 'unauthorised' text production (as opposed to the government-sponsored translation project) that relentlessly borrowed, rewrote and created a vernacular fictional literature that was both new and connected to the indigenous past. Yet we must keep in mind that in the endlessly capacious vehicle of 'translation', boundaries were blurry between sponsored or officially sanctioned works, the side projects and avocations of those at the heart of government translation work, and the wealth of fictions produced under the banner of 'translations' (or not).<sup>119</sup> After all, prefaces claiming translation's moral utility spanned these categories.

So did shared techniques of writing. Forms of extreme domestication shaped 'official' translation projects as they did novel adaptations. Yet there are distinctions to be made: in her study of paratexts in translations done under official rubrics in early Republican Turkey, Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçağlar ponders the significance of translator self-identification within the legitimation provided by translators' prefaces and their professional identities (what they did when they were not translating). This contrasted with the strategic anonymity of 'dime-novel' series, where it was the named serial fictional hero who offered the salient identification to the reader.<sup>120</sup> But one reminder of translation's pervasive presence – and another facet that begs for further research – is that across branches of

government, and across territories, individuals with civil-service positions as translators capitalised on that to produce other works (yet another area ripe for research). On the title page of his 1872 Arabic fiction *Qissat Fu'ad wa-Rifqa mahbubatihi* (The story of Fu'ad and Rifqa his beloved, published in the Egyptian state press at Bulaq), Nakhla Salih told readers that he was a 'former translator for the Egyptian Railways Administration'.<sup>121</sup>

What is regarded as the first independent newspaper in Arabic, Khalil al-Khuri's (1836–1907) *Hadiqat al-akhbar* (Garden of news, Beirut, 1858–1911), was also first to feature serialised fiction. Basiliyus Bawardi argues that publishing translated fiction – specifically 'French Romance novels' – was a considered strategy and occurred 'without essentially changing the original texts', though 'adapted to an Arab cultural setting'.<sup>122</sup> In addition to a recognition of literary reading as significant to creating shared cultural-political awareness and promoting responsible subjecthood, al-Khuri's interest in publishing fiction was embedded in his perception of Arabic as requiring increased suppleness of expression in the modern world.<sup>123</sup> Bawardi names twelve French novels published serially in *Hadiqa* as translation-adaptations, from December 1858 through to December 1867. The concluding one was al-Tahtawi's translation of *Télémaque*; others were by Alphonse Karr, a Dumas, and Countess Dash.<sup>124</sup> The preface to the periodical's first translation introduced 'romance' as a genre appealing to the emotions and training the moral and aesthetic sense.<sup>125</sup> This is interesting because 'the French *roman*' would soon become shorthand for all that was degenerate, corruptive and particularly ill-suited to young female readers – a cross-societal, widely propagated view locally that emerged partly from the production of 'translated' texts and then also contributed to suspicions about the cultural worth of translation itself, a vicious circle that damned both fiction and translation, via each other.<sup>126</sup>

Al-Khuri appeared keenly interested in and sensitive to a female readership, perhaps selecting fictional works with this readership in view.<sup>127</sup> Al-Khuri's embrace of fiction translation is interesting in light of his own original novel, *Waay ana lastu bi-ifranji* (Alas, I am not a European), appearing from November 1859 through to April 1861 in the newspaper (and one candidate for 'first Arabic novel'). It was a sustained critique of what is represented as the Ottoman Arab urban bourgeoisie's penchant for imitation of European practices, described as the narrator travelled from city to city, another iteration of *rihla*. But clearly al-Khuri did not see translation as perilous imitation, at least not the translations his paper fostered. He seems to have felt that translation of carefully chosen European fiction could respond fruitfully to emerging readerships and perceived issues – such as changing expectations for middle-class women's social roles.

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Fiction became a staple in the periodical press. The al-Bustani family journal *al-Jinan* (founded 1870) published translated as well as original novels, as did *al-Ahram* in the years when it was becoming Egypt's leading newspaper. Women's magazines, edited by women, also published their translations, adaptations and original works. Alexandra Khuri Avierino (1872–1926), editor of *Anis al-jalis* (The sociable companion, 1898–1911), published her translation *Shaqa' al-ummahat* (Mothers' wretchedness) as a serialised annexe, not giving a source author or title. Her introduction to it suggested the importance of (translated) novels to the fortunes of periodicals:

The novel we publish now, annexed to every issue of the *Companion*, might amount to more [pages] than the issues themselves; twelve issues may not be enough to complete [publication]. But we will publish it all this year anyway, printing whatever remains at the end: the twelfth issue will be akin to a large volume, and this will become an annual gift to subscribers . . . If we continue to enjoy this receptivity we will make this magazine just like the great European magazines, in every sense.<sup>128</sup>

'Her' novel was soon available as a book, sold from the magazine's office: 'as it contains exemplary lessons (*'ibar*) we were glad it was well received'.<sup>129</sup> Labiba Hashim (c. 1880–1947) published translations in her journal *Fatat al-sharq* (Young woman of the east, 1906–39), some by herself.<sup>130</sup> She had published translated short stories in Beirut's *al-Diya'* (est. 1899). As women began to write and publish novels that were not said to be based on translations, from the late 1880s, they also put their names to at least seven translated novels before World War I, not to mention many short stories (and likely they produced some of the many unsigned ones).

Overall, at least seventy French novels appeared in translation in Egypt, 1870–1914; more slowly, English novels appeared.<sup>131</sup> As suggested, European novels in often very free translations were predominantly the stuff of sensation fiction and the new *policier*; specific ingredients were new to Arabophone readers but narrative elements of adventure, romance and violence would not have been foreign for audiences used to the orally consumed heroic epic popular among listeners of all strata and educational levels, which were often partially available in cheaply printed booklet form. Certain authors in translation were particularly popular. Works by Walter Scott appeared in the 1880s–90s; and there were about twenty-five translations of works by Dumas *père* in the period 1888–1910.<sup>132</sup> Jules Verne, Eugène Sue, Alphonse Karr and Marie Corelli were recurring source authors across the Empire's languages, as they were

in many other places, such as Japan.<sup>133</sup> The ‘borrowed’ heroes Arsène Lupin, Rocambole and Sherlock Holmes became local heroes, as they were elsewhere: transcultural, these ‘larger-than-life characters’ spoke to local presences in the urban landscape and increased anxieties about social order and individual behaviour (or at least increased articulations of anxiety).<sup>134</sup> Such novels were also popular in Turkish (and apparently the Sultan was a fan), though in Turkish Nat Pinkerton was at least as popular as Rocambole.<sup>135</sup> Lesser-known European authors and works appeared, including ‘global’ bestsellers forgotten now. There were at least seven translations into Arabic of works by a children’s author known throughout western Europe, the German Catholic priest Johann Christoph von Schmid (1768–1854), in whose stories religious themes were central. Appearing in Beirut under several imprints, including the Jesuit press, they were translated by various individuals working from French translations rather than the German originals. One translator introduced himself as a student at the Greek Orthodox patriarchate’s school in Beirut.<sup>136</sup> Von Schmid was translated into Turkish around the same time, as were others mentioned above; as in Arabic, it was in the late 1870s and the 1880s that novel-adaptations began to appear in significant numbers and to proliferate thereafter.<sup>137</sup>

We do not have publication or circulation figures but the popularity of novel-reading among Arabophone readers is suggested by the number of periodicals founded beginning in 1884 exclusively to publish fiction, mostly translated; for example, *Muntakhabat al-riwaya* (Selections from the novel, 1894) or *Musamarat al-sha‘b* (The people’s evening entertainments, 1904–11), sometimes founded by translators themselves.<sup>138</sup> But Khuri’s intervention warns us to be cautious about the claim that publishing novel translations was wholly a commercially fuelled pursuit. Serialised novels sold issues, but some of these authors and editors, too, emphasised educational and ‘moral’ benefits, sometimes rather defensively given the attitudes toward fiction mentioned above.<sup>139</sup> At the time and in scholarship ever since, emphasis on commercialism articulated disdain for the general run of fiction precisely as ‘derivative’ and corruptive. This had to do with the perceived focus on ‘romance fiction’, with attitudes of suspicion toward the novel in general, and with class-bound attitudes to the oral-popular expressive art on which, as already suggested, writers of fiction richly drew for plots, characters and language – and which would have made these ‘new’ fictions familiar to listening and reading audiences, as the Egyptian senior cleric and reformist educator Muhammad ‘Abduh (1849–1905) noted despairingly in an 1880 newspaper article in Egypt’s official gazette.<sup>140</sup>

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There were those who translated works of European social science but were implacably against fiction translations. Ahmad Fathi Zaghlul (1862–1914), who translated Edmond Demolins' (1852–1907) *A quoi tient la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons?* (1897) in 1899, as well as works by Gustave Le Bon and Herbert Spencer (1820–1903), sneeringly likened novels to a premodern Arabic category, *kutub al-mujun* ('books of shameless ribaldry').<sup>141</sup> Ya'qub Sarruf (1852–1927), publisher of the influential magazine *al-Muqtataf*, which drew much of its material from European sources, was clearly referring to adaptations of European fiction when he attacked 'love novels and love poetry' for their devastating impact on the psyche (at least) of the young.<sup>142</sup> Such attitudes were common across the Empire – as were the books to which readers flocked. American missionaries, who had been keen to see local translations of *Pilgrim's Progress*, were appalled by the proliferation of romance novels with their 'gilded vice', said one observer of the Armenian reading public in 1901.<sup>143</sup> This was a matter on which educators – Egyptian and Syrian, French or American, Armenian and Greek, Protestant or Catholic or Orthodox or Muslim – agreed. No doubt some of the *nahda* educators who had worked to build up new and broader reading audiences within their vision of cultural efflorescence were dismayed by what these audiences wanted. There was a gap between envisioned and addressed readers, and actual readers, who in the end were the important actors when it came to defining reading pleasure – and buying books.

In the face of disparagement from a Zaghlul or a Sarruf, translator-authors defended their work on pedagogic grounds, and not just in prefaces to what we would regard as canonical works. As the verses on the title page of one translation-adaptation into Arabic informed readers, everyone could learn something from a novel:

Stories are a treasure of benefit true:

The unlettered gain reason and the learned, decorum

Guard their truths well, let their wise words accrue –

Their secrets open doors to a worldly forum<sup>144</sup>

Similarly, historical novelist and magazine publisher Jurji Zaydan was sternly didactic in his attitude towards novel reading: historical novels (his, at least) were for education, not enjoyment. This he conjoined with a judgemental attitude towards other fictions. Zaydan reiterated the common view that most novels were predominantly 'amusement' and thus valueless. Yet he seemed equivocal on translation. In his 1914 history of Arabic literature, he compared Arabs' 'transmission' (*naql*) of 'modern stories or novels' to Abbasid-era importation of stories from Persia[n]. Some

novels, he said, were an intelligent replacement for ‘the stories widespread amongst the general populace, composed in the middle Islamic centuries’ – precisely the *siyar* and other tales that early novelists and translators drew on for motifs, episodes and language. Readers, he said, ‘found novels taken from the Europeans to be closer to what was rational and possible, in terms of the spirit of the age, and so they received them well’.<sup>145</sup>

Given the attention paid to girls’ education at the time, along with the repeated view that novels were particularly bad for girls, translators emphasised gender-specific didactic worth for their translations. Prefacing an ‘Arabization’ he published in *Musamarat al-sha‘b* in 1909, the prolific Niqula Rizqallah (d. 1915) introduced to readers the French writer Marcel Prévost’s (1862–1941) ‘two books that acquired enormous fame in Europe and have been translated into most languages of the world. We hope one day to translate them, that the eastern woman may benefit as her western sister has done’. These were *Lettres à Françoise* (1902) (‘Françoise being the daughter of the author’s brother’) and *Lettres à Françoise mariée* (1905). These advice books for girls indeed had found a ready audience in France.<sup>146</sup> They offered models, Rizqallah explained, for

the new girl and woman, in other words, the virgin who is secluded and the matron who has a husband. In them, Françoise – and all unmarried and married women who read the books – is trained to practice independence of mind and will, probity and success.

Then this author wrote this story, ‘The corpulent woman’, in the manner of the aforementioned books, through it criticising women’s character and teaching them lofty lessons on how to live and comport themselves. Yet they are practical lessons that delight and do good. Thus we decided to summarise it especially for *Musamarat*’s female readers. We hope it obtains male readers’ approbation, too.<sup>147</sup>

In *fin-de-siècle* Europe, Prévost had become (in)famous for fictions that took up the deleterious effects of education on young female Parisians. His *Les demi-vierges* (1895) was amongst works that raised ‘social alarm about female purity’ in France – as did its translation in Italy – and sustained the ritual of *les rosières* whereby adolescent girls were rewarded for medical certificates affirming virginity, as well as ‘modest situation . . . and good attitude toward work’.<sup>148</sup> Rizqallah chose a different kind of work, and the frank and targeted gendered didacticism of his ‘summary’ captured (or created) a ‘Prévost’ suitable to his local agenda, one of many works in Arabic justified by author-translators as exemplary texts for teaching moral conduct. Across the waters, Prévost was being translated into Turkish. There, the translator Ali Kemal emphasised the translated author’s charm and sincerity, and his writing’s emotive impact on this

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reader-translator, prefacing his 1313 (1895/6) translation of *Lettres des femmes* (1892),<sup>149</sup> the first of a three-part epistolary series of allegedly private letters between women, speaking of their love affairs.<sup>150</sup> This was not the Prévost that Rizqallah produced for his targeted female audience! As Strauss reminds us in his chapter, audiences might have wildly divergent impressions of well-known European authors, from the ‘translations’ available to them.

The magazine issue featuring ‘The corpulent woman’ (or ‘Three letters to Françoise’ as the subtitle on the first page of text reads)<sup>151</sup> reminds us that what we see as different sorts of translation-adaptation operated side-by-side and readers would not necessarily see them as occupying different positions in literary-discursive space, or even different moral registers. Rizqallah’s rather prim rendering of Prévost appeared in *Musamarat al-sha‘b*, which predominantly featured crime and sensation fiction. The journal’s editor, Khalil Sadiq, was a well-connected text entrepreneur. In this issue, via an advertisement for a bookstore in Beirut, he advertised both his fiction journal and translations of Demolins and Le Bon rendered by his brother-in-law, Ahmad Fathi Zaghul (the anti-fiction commentator). The magazine advertised available back-issue fiction and reminded readers they could order *cartes de visite* and gold-embossed wedding invitations from Sadiq’s press. Advertising itself as the ‘biggest’ magazine for fiction, *Musamarat al-sha‘b* also called itself *ijtima‘iyya*, covering issues in society, for instance featuring articles on the Ottoman Empire and the much-mourned Egyptian nationalist leader Mustafa Kamil, lately deceased in this moment in 1909.

These fictions paralleled (other) polemics in the issues they addressed. Translated/adapted fictions might suggest to young local readers that life matters they struggled with – patriarchal authority, arranged marriages, stymied ambitions – were common to youth elsewhere. Both Avierino’s translation, mentioned earlier, and one by Adib Ishaq (1856–85) of *La belle Parisienne* (1864) by Comtesse Dash (Gabrielle Anna de Cisternes de Courtiras, 1804–72, a novelist popular in her native France, author of one novel translated in *Hadiqat al-akhbar*) could have conveyed this message.<sup>152</sup>

Venues of translation and source languages multiplied in the early twentieth century: for instance, Palestinians’ connections with the Russian Orthodox Church produced translations of Russian literature from the originals.<sup>153</sup> While, as we have seen, prominent intellectuals of the *nahda* – al-Tahtawi, al-Bustani, Hashim, Ishaq – translated, many others whose names are not readily remembered were also engaged in making texts from elsewhere available in Arabic, as were their peers across the Empire’s

many languages. As Quijano notes, these multitudes of ‘plumitifs, ecrivassiers, folliculaires’ (102) made of the *nahda* a fecund cultural movement in quantity as well as quality and kind; as Selim emphasises, their very mundanity has made them dismissable – and thus important to the actual history of the Arabic novel as a consumed form. Translation-adaptation was an arena in which those with lesser cultural capital or material resources – such as women – could thrive. Perhaps the anonymity of much translation in this period – in terms both of what was translated and who translated it – offered a kind of oblique cultural power. Mediators, culture workers, those who were not so well known but were occupying a new position, the professional writer-journalist-translator: many not only sought this kind of work, but announced a sense of responsibility to speak for and to society. It is important to keep in mind that translation was regarded as a highly valued activity (depending on your genre). We need to rethink our own presuppositions: if ‘only’ translators’ names appear on title pages, perhaps the translator was at least as important (to her- or himself, to the publisher, to readers) as was the ‘original’ author, if not more so.<sup>154</sup> The authority to rewrite texts that translators exercised in their practices and their prefaces should not surprise us. But there is so much more to think about. How did attitudes to translation intersect with changing socioeconomic identities and opportunities? Older patterns of patronage were fading; writers were increasingly part of a bourgeois market economy though one in transition – and differently inflected in different parts of the Empire. And they had to think about new groups of readers, such as women and the less well-off, with increasing socioeconomic differentiation and new educational opportunities.

The intertwined translational pathways that this overview traces suggest proliferating initiatives and multiple and overlapping strands of translation activity. On the one hand, we note the ‘authorised’, organised, programmatic ventures, attempts whether initiated by imperial governments (the Porte, the British in Egypt), later national/ist states (Egypt, Turkey, etc.), missionary-led transnational religious organisations (the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions or, rather differently, the Propaganda Fide), or locally rooted religious authorities (patriarchates and perhaps monasteries). By the same token, such institutions worked (by design or by the weight of institutional imperatives) not only to direct certain translation activities but to control or rein in others that from an institutional perspective were unauthorised and perhaps even anathema. Individuals, meanwhile, moved between as within these institutional spaces, learning and earning, and then perhaps initiating their own ventures and creating interstitial institutions that supported translation



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(newspapers, presses, schools). ‘Programmatic’ translation schemes might carve out unforeseen pathways and the lateral cosmopolitanism that translation could both foster and emerge from was perhaps partially conceived through the very channels that worked to restrict or shape it.<sup>155</sup>

As is true for the many languages of the Ottoman ‘centre’, Egypt’s and Ottoman Syria’s nineteenth-century Arabic translation scene, embedded in new ideas about community, the self and education; in missionary ventures and in the modernisation drive of Muhammad ‘Ali; and then, for Egypt, in the crucible of British imperial rule, has offered a site for thinking about translation as a range of transactions implicating questions of power, authority and autonomy, as well as aesthetic choices. Just as translation has been seen as key in the widespread efficacy of the European Enlightenment, scholars have recognised translation as central to the project of forming a new set of collective senses of (Arab) selfhood that was at the heart of the *nahda* and of reformist movements across the Empire. Scholars continue to differ about the precise role(s) translation played, and no doubt it played manifold roles. Were acts of translation creative assertions of critical autonomy?<sup>156</sup> Did textual and cultural translation become sites of resistance, or alternatively of calibrated appreciation, and do they suggest the limits of critical translatability?<sup>157</sup> Or was translation a space of seduction wherein the seeming authority of Arabic as a receiving language that filtered the foreign text masqued a surrender to the power of the foreign, an abject self-translation into the Other?<sup>158</sup> Like the translation-adaptation continuum itself, surely for individuals the relation of translating to autonomy or authority was a sliding or fluctuating one. The history of translation – studied from inside the text, from within the textual relationships between original and carried-over, juxtaposed with the paratexts translators offered to readers, and in comparatist dialogue with how the text proliferated in various languages and scripts, for particular envisioned audiences – might help us to perceive whether such fluctuations form patterns across time.

Fénelon, Offenbach and the Iliad in Arabic, *Robinson Crusoe* in Turkish, the Bible in Karamanlidika, excoriated French novels circulating through the Ottoman Empire in Greek, Arabic, Armenian and Turkish (as languages, as cross-over scripts): literary translation at the eastern end of the Mediterranean offered worldly vistas and new, hybrid genres to emerging literate and listening audiences. Whether to propagate ‘national’ language reform, circulate the Bible, help audiences understand European opera, argue for and simultaneously conscribe girls’ education, institute pan-Islamic conversations and new thinking about political authority and subjecthood, introduce sociopolitical concepts, share the Persian *Gulistan*

with Anglophone readers in Bengal, or provide racy fiction to schooled adolescents in Cairo, Smyrna, Sidon and Istanbul, translation was an essential tool. And of course it was more. It was itself a *lingua franca*, a mode of worlding the local and thinking about what ‘local’ meant – a polylingual, cosmopolitan local.

### Notes

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1. [Untitled preface], *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* 4: 17 (15 Ramadan 1290 [6 Nov 1873]): 3. All translations mine unless otherwise noted. For originals, see <EUP website>.
2. [Muhammad Efendi °Abd al-Raziq], ‘Shadhra farida wa-shihada mufida’ (A unique fragment, a useful testimony), *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* 4: 17 (15 Ramadan 1290 [6 Nov 1873]): 4–9.
3. °Abd al-Raziq, ‘Shadhra’, 4.
4. First except for an early nineteenth-century midwifery school, a rather different venture. [Untitled], *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* 4: 11 (15 Jumada II 1290 [10 August 1873]): 2. It announced the school had enrolled 180 pupils.
5. Georges-Bernard Depping, *Aperçu historique sur les moeurs et coutumes des nations* (Paris: Aux Bureaux de l’Encyclopédie portative, 1826).
6. *Qala’id al-mafakhir fi gharib °awa’id al-awa’il wa-l-awakhir* (Cairo/ Bulaq: al-Matba’a al-amiriyya, 1249/1833). On the translation see Rifa’a Rafi° al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in Paris by an Egyptian Cleric (1826–1831)*, ed. and trans. Daniel L. Newman, 2nd edn (London: Saqi, 2011), 144n. Newman says al-Tahtawi’s translation was completed only three years after the French work came out, in 1829 (144n).
7. ‘Nabdha fima yata°alliqu bi-l-kalam °ala al-nisa° min ta°ribat *Qala’id al-mafakhir fi gharib °awa’id al-awa’il wa-l-awakhir* bi-qalam al-marhum Rifa°a Bek’, *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* 4: 10 (30 Jumada I 1290 [26 July 1873]): 9–12; another installment appears in 4: 11 (15 Jumada II 1290 [10 August 1873]): 6–11. *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* was set up by °Ali Mubarak, who assigned al-Tahtawi the editorship towards the end of the latter’s life; his son °Ali Fahmi Rifa°a was editorial secretary. See Daniel Newman, ‘Introduction’, in Rifa°a Rafi° al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris*, 17–97; 63–4. At the end of Ramadan 1290, °Ali Fahmi Rifa°a is named in the journal as its head. In the previous issue, he noted that the journal had been inundated with elegies for his father.
8. It would also serially publish al-Tahtawi’s late work, *al-Murshid al-amin*

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- lil-banat wa-l-banin* (The faithful guide for girls and boys) (Cairo/Bulaq: al-Matba'at al-amiriyya, 1873), a school text that was simultaneously an extended argument for girls' education.
9. Peter Parley was the pen-name of the American Samuel Griswold Goodrich, who initiated a virtual industry of children's book writing; this volume was apparently penned by Elizabeth Manning Hawthorne.
  10. Examples gleaned from issues of *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya*. On Brugsch, see Donald Reid, *Whose Pharaohs? Archaeology, Museums, and Egyptian National Identity from Napoleon to World War I* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 112, 114; Brugsch's translator in *Rawda* was a graduate of the school who went on to work in the Antiquities Service (189).
  11. Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori, 'Approaches to global intellectual history', in Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori (eds), *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 3–30; 5.
  12. Francesca Orsini, 'The multi-lingual local in world literature', *Comparative Literature* 67: 4 (2015): 345–74.
  13. Saliha Paker, 'Translation as *terceme* and *nazire*: Culture-bound concepts and their implications for a conceptual framework for research on Ottoman translation history', in Theo Hermans (ed.), *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues* (London: Routledge, 2014; St Jerome Publishing, 2002), 120–43.
  14. Ronit Ricci, *Islam Translated: Literature, Conversion, and the Arabic Cosmopolis of South and Southeast Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011).
  15. On the complex multi-script situation and proliferation of languages see Johann Strauss, 'Who read what in the Ottoman Empire (19th–20th centuries)?', *Middle Eastern Literatures* 6: 1 (2003): 39–76; 40–2.
  16. It will be clear that our focus is more on the host or 'target' context than on the source-language context, in line with shifts in the study of translation over several decades and a greater focus on histories of translation and translations in history.
  17. Franco Moretti, *Atlas of the European Novel, 1800–1900* (New York: Verso, 1999); Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. Malcolm DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007); Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); Shaden Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
  18. Peter Burke and R. Po-chia Hsia (eds), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, Adaptations, and Variations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014); but see, for example, Ricci, *Islam Translated*. On the concept of cultural translation in Translation Studies, see, for example,

- Anthony Pym, 'Cultural Translation', in his *Exploring Translation Theories* (London: Routledge, 2009), 138–58.
19. For instance, Sif Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations and Cultural Discourse: The Movement of Texts in England, France and Scandinavia* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2012).
  20. Samah Selim, 'Translations and adaptations from the European novel, 1835–1925', in Wail Hassan (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Arab Novelistic Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 119–33; 'Pharaoh's revenge: Translation, literary history and colonial ambivalence', in Mona Baker (ed.), *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 2010), 319–36. One sign of this, she notes, is use of the term *tashwih* (disfigurement, mutilation) in scholarship on modern Arabic literature to describe 'translation practices that are not based on strict equivalence' (335n3).
  21. Laurent Mignon, 'French in Ottoman Turkey: "The language of the afflicted peoples"?'', in V. Rjéoutski, G. Argent and D. Offord (eds), *European Francophonie. The Social, Political and Cultural History of an International Prestige Language* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 405–34; 425–34.
  22. Rikhardsdottir, *Medieval Translations*.
  23. Omnia El Shakry, *The Great Social Laboratory: Subjects of Knowledge in Colonial and Postcolonial Egypt* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2007), 9. Italics in original.
  24. Marilyn Booth, *Classes of Ladies of Cloistered Spaces: Writing Feminist History Through Biography in Fin-de-Siècle Egypt* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), chap. 6.
  25. Strauss, 'Who read what . . .?', 48.
  26. Lydia H. Liu (ed.), *Tokens of Exchange: The Problem of Translation in Global Circulation* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).
  27. Moyn and Sartori, 'Approaches', 9.
  28. If space permitted, given the importance of Persian in the Empire, this overview would address translation into Persian. Parallel themes include: Qajar court translations and reasons of state; censorship and émigré translations (in the Indian subcontinent); the trans-compilation and trans-adaptation continuums. See Iraj Afshar, 'Book translations as a cultural activity in Iran 1806–1896', *Iran* 41 (2003): 279–89; Farzin Vejdani, *Making History in Iran: Education, Nationalism, and Print Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015), chap. 1.
  29. On the reasons, see Kadhim Jihad Hassan, *La part de l'étranger: la traduction de la poésie dans la culture arabe: Essai critique* (Paris: Actes sud/Sindbad, 2007), especially 122–35, 143–6, 153.
  30. Paker, 'Translation', 120, 121.
  31. Strauss, 'Who read what . . .?', 40.
  32. Johann Strauss, 'The *millets* and the Ottoman language: The contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman letters (19th–20th centuries)', *Die Welt des Islams*, new series, 35: 2 (November 1995): 189–249. E. Natalie Rothman,

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- 'Dragomans and "Turkish literature": The making of a field of inquiry', *Oriente Moderno*, new series, 93: 2 (2013): 390–421. On dictionaries, see Strauss, 192, 204n50, 206–8, 221–2, 227.
33. Efthymios Nicolaidis, 'Scientific exchanges between Hellenism and Europe: Translations into Greek, 1400–1700', in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 180–91.
  34. Feza Günergun, 'Ottoman encounters with European science: sixteenth- and seventeenth-century translations into Turkish', in Peter Burke and R. Po-Chia Hsia (eds), *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 192–211.
  35. Günergun, 'Ottoman encounters', 196.
  36. Günergun, 'Ottoman encounters', 205.
  37. J. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Egypt* (London: Luzac, n.d. [1938/9]), 86.
  38. On this history, see Abdulrazzak Patel, *The Arab Nahḍah: The Making of the Intellectual and Humanist Movement* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), chap. 2. As an example of both gesturing to and occluding the earlier period, he mentions Marun al-ʿAbbud's 1966 reference to the 'old pioneers' of the *nahḍa*, a reference he argues was then largely ignored (37).
  39. See Isabel Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim's Progress* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004). My discussion here is indebted to Peter Hill's fine study, 'Early translations of English fiction into Arabic: *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*', *Journal of Semitic Studies* LXII (Spring 2015): 177–212.
  40. Barbara J. Merguerian, 'The missionary Armenian-language press of Smyrna, 1833–1853', in Richard G. Hovannisian (ed.), *Armenian Smyrna/Izmir: The Aegean Communities* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2012), 127–52; 130–34. While Malta was the site of a British mission, American missions as entities under the protection of the British consul resorted to this British colony for periods as a relatively protected refuge from political turmoil in the Ottoman lands or resistance to their projects. The American missionaries based their Arabic press at Beirut while printing in Greek and Armeno-Turkish in Malta, but only for about a decade.
  41. Hala Aujī, *Printing Arab Modernity: Book Culture and the American Press in Nineteenth-century Beirut* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).
  42. Hill, 'Early translations', 191.
  43. Hill, 'Early translations', 201–8.
  44. Peter Hill, 'The first Arabic translations of Enlightenment literature: the Damietta Circle of the 1800s and 1810s', *Intellectual History Review* 25: 2 (2015): 209–33; 209.
  45. Hill, 'Early translations', 182–3; 'The first Arabic translations', 212–13.
  46. Hill, 'The first Arabic translations', 210. Hill traces the social context of this translation circle embedded in merchant families.

47. Hill, 'The first Arabic translations', 213–14; 214.
48. Hill, 'The first Arabic translations', 221.
49. Strauss, 'The millets', 210.
50. Akmal al-din Ihsanughli [as it appears in Arabic; Turkish, Ihsanoğlu], *al-Atrak fi Misr wa-turathuhum al-thaqafi*, trans. Salih Sa'adawi (Cairo: Dar al-shuruq, 2011), 172–3.
51. *Rawdat al-madaris al-misriyya* 6: 2 (30 Muharram 1292 [8 March 1875]): 3–4.
52. J. Heyworth-Dunne, 'Printing and translation under Muḥammad °Ali of Egypt: The foundation of modern Arabic', *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 3 (July 1940): 325–49; 333, 336.
53. °Ayda Ibrahim Nusayr, *Harakat nashr al-kutub fi Misr fi l-qarn al-tasi° °ashar* (Cairo: al-Hay°a al-misriyya al-°amma lil-kitab, 1994), 243, citing the English consul Bowring.
54. Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 183. Ihsanughli, *al-Atrak*, 174, citing Acerbi, the Austrian consul. Which translation did he read (or listen to)? An Arabic translation was made by Antun Rufa°il Zakhur, a Syrian cleric who had translated for the Bonaparte regime, spent some time in France and then was an early translator in Muḥammad °Ali's regime; on his life see Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, *Tarikh al-tarjama wa-l-haraka al-thaqafiyya fi °asr Muhammad °Ali* (Cairo: Dar al-fikr al-°arabi, 1951), 73–82. He assumes that a Turkish translation was made from Zakhur's translation (from a French translation of the Italian). Al-Shayyal's reproduction and close analysis of an excerpt from this text persuasively argues that its word-for-word method produced a text that is practically unintelligible (216–17). But Heyworth-Dunne (*An Introduction*, 183) says the Turkish was translated for Muḥammad °Ali – ten pages per day – by Artin Sikyas, a member of the 1826 educational mission to Paris and leading bureaucrat. If Zakhur's translation was a 'source' text, it seems understandable (to judge by al-Shayyal's excerpt) that Muḥammad °Ali would not have found it gripping!
55. Heyworth-Dunne, 'Printing', 328–9; al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 46–8. Numerous orders preserved in the Egyptian state archives demonstrate his personal interest in acquiring books, and European diplomats were quick to realise that this was a pleasing way to acquire his favour.
56. Al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, offers a detailed look at these groups of translators and their work (72–119).
57. Jak Tajir, *Harakat al-tarjama bi-Misr khilal al-qarn al-tasi° °ashar* (Cairo: Dar al-ma°arif, 1945), 28. On early translations, see also Richard Jacquemond, 'Translation and cultural hegemony: The case of French-Arabic translation', in Lawrence Venuti (ed.), *Rethinking Translation: Discourse, Subjectivity, Ideology* (London: Routledge, 1992), 139–58.
58. On this, see al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 9, 33–4, 93–4.
59. Nusayr, *Haraka*, 245.

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60. Richard N. Verdery, 'The publications of the Būlāq Press under Muḥammad °Alī of Egypt', *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91: 1 (1971), 129–32; 129; Heyworth-Dunne, 'Printing', 333; al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 77. Al-Shayyal (12) gives reasons why Italian was important – it was the most spoken European language in Egypt, due to the presence of an Italian community and long-time trading links; it was probably the first European language taught in an Egyptian school; Muhammad °Ali had personal contacts, sent his first educational mission there, and may have felt less threatened by Italy than by France or England; see also Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 105. Turkish translations of French military manuals may have actually been printed first, as noted above.
61. Nusayr, *Haraka*, 245. See Heyworth-Dunne, 'Printing', 339, citing government archival sources.
62. Al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 18–20, citing Clot Bek (head of the Medical School); Nusayr, *Haraka*, 245.
63. Auji, *Printing*.
64. Patel, *The Arab Naḥdah*, 166; Jacquemond, 'Translation'; Tageldin, *Disarming*.
65. Quoted in al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 106.
66. Nusayr, *Haraka*, 247–50, 252. See also al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*; Tajir, *Haraka*.
67. On his early translations, and the School, see al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 39–43; Newman, 'Introduction', 45–52; on his translation practice, Tageldin, *Disarming*.
68. Nusayr, *Haraka*, 259.
69. Al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 227–8; see also Heyworth-Dunne, *An Introduction*, 268–9.
70. Hill, 'Early translations', 198.
71. Nusayr, *Haraka*, 269–72.
72. Butrus al-Bustani, 'Ādāb al-°arab' (1859), in Fu°ad Ifram al-Bustani (ed.), *al-Mu°allim Butrus al-Bustani: Ta°lim al-nisa°, Ādāb al-°arab, Dars wa-muntakhabat* (Beirut: al-Matba°a al-kathilukiyya, 1929), 112–28; 112 (also separately paginated as 24–40; 24).
73. Al-Bustani, 'Ādāb', 116/28.
74. Kadhim Jihad Hassan, 'La naḥḍa par l'°ihyā°', in Boutros Hallaq and Heidi Toelle (eds), *Histoire de la littérature arabe moderne, vol I: 1800–1945* (Paris: Sindbad/Actes sud, 2007), 119–20.
75. Tageldin, *Disarming*, chap. 2. I admire and agree with much in Tageldin's text analysis but I do not think what she elicits from the text demonstrates her argument.
76. Yves-Gonzalez Quijano, 'La renaissance arabe au XIXe siècle: Médiuims, médiations et médiateurs', in Boutros Hallaq and Heidi Toelle (eds), *Histoire de la littérature arabe moderne, vol I: 1800–1945* (Paris: Sindbad/Actes sud, 2007), 92.
77. François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Les aventures de Télémaque*

- (Paris, 1696), translated by al-Tahtawi as *Mawaqif al-aflak fi waqa'i c Tilimak* (Cairo, 1867).
78. Quijano, 'La renaissance arabe', 95–6.
  79. Paker, 'Translation', 133.
  80. Saliha Paker, 'Ottoman conceptions of translation and its practice: The 1897 "Classics Debate" as a focus for examining change', in Theo Hermans (ed.), *Translating Others*, vol. 2 (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 2006), 325–48; 327.
  81. Paker, 'The "Classics Debate"', 327–9, citing Kâzim Yetiş. Paker calls attention to preceding exchanges on language and translation. Interestingly, such debates had started with translation from Arabic, specifically 'a partial translation of two Arabic classics, which had previously served as the foundation of Ottoman rhetoric' in 1867, followed by other works on theory and practice of rhetoric and literature which included discussion of comparative rhetoric, translation of European literary works, and translation equivalents in the Ottoman lexicon.
  82. Paker, 'The "Classics Debate"', 329.
  83. Paker, 'The "Classics Debate"', 330.
  84. Paker, 'The "Classics Debate"', 331–2.
  85. Paker, 'The "Classics Debate"', 333.
  86. 'Qissat al-fata al-faqir', *Lisan al-hal* 17: 1627 (22 June 1894): 4. Octave Feuillet, *Le roman d'un jeune homme pauvre* (Paris: Michel Lévy, 1858); this highly successful sentimental novel was adapted into play form by the author and first performed the same year the novel came out.
  87. Evangelia Balta, 'Translating books from Greek into Turkish for the Karamanlı Orthodox Christians of Anatolia (1718–1856)', *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 23: 1/2 (2017), 19–33.
  88. Balta, 'Translating'.
  89. Merguerian, 'The missionary', 132–3.
  90. Merguerian, 'The missionary', 136–7.
  91. Merguerian, 'The missionary', 139–40.
  92. Strauss, 'Who read what . . .?', 40–1, 66n15.
  93. Al-Shayyal, *Tarikh*, 139–40.
  94. Saliha Paker, 'The age of translation and adaptation: Turkey', in Robin Ostle (ed.), *Modern Literature in the Near and Middle East 1850–1970* (London: Routledge, 1991), 17–32; 19–20.
  95. Patel emphasises Syria-Lebanon as a post-1850 centre of translation; and particularly as the Beirut press emerged from the late 1850s, it provided fertile ground for translation. Yet, even with the 'dip' in translation activity in the 1850s–60s, Egypt was not out of the picture. Patel, *The Arab Nahdah*, 167–9.
  96. Quijano, 'La renaissance arabe', 93–5.
  97. Marilyn Booth, *Zaynab Fawwaz, feminist voice in 1890s Egypt* (in progress).
  98. Sona Seferian, 'Translators-enlighteners of Smyrna', in Richard G.



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- Hovannisian (ed), *Armenian Smyrna/Izmir: The Aegean Communities* (Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, 2012), 153–66; 159–64.
99. On this fascinating individual, see Strauss, ‘The millets’, 232–40.
100. See Monica Ruocco, ‘La *naḥḍa* par l’*iqtibās* (1): Naissance du théâtre arabe’, in Boutros Hallaq and Heidi Toelle (eds), *Histoire de la littérature arabe moderne, vol I: 1800–1945* (Paris: Sindbad/Actes sud, 2007), 151–91; P. C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century (1799–1882)* (Reading: Ithaca, 1996, 2007).
101. Myriam Salama-Carr, ‘Translation and the creation of genre: The theatre in nineteenth-century Egypt’, in Theo Hermans (ed.), *Translating Others*, vol. 2 (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 2006), 314–24. Carol Bardenstein, *Translation and Transformation in Modern Arabic Literature: The Indigenous Assertions of Muḥammad ‘Uthmān Jalāl* (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005).
102. Ruocco, ‘L’*iqtibās*’, 179.
103. Ruocco, ‘L’*iqtibās*’, 182.
104. Strauss, ‘The millets’, 237–8.
105. Merguerian, ‘The missionary’, 133.
106. Seferian, ‘Translators-enlighteners’, 157.
107. Jitka Malečková, ‘Ludwig Büchner versus Nat Pinkerton: Turkish translations from Western languages, 1880–1914’, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9: 1 (1994): 73–99; 90.
108. Patel, *The Arab Naḥḍah*, 169–74.
109. Şehnaz Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, ‘The *Yeniçeriler* of Ioannis Gavriilidis: A palimpsest in Karamanlidika’, in Evangelia Balta and Mehmet Ölmez (eds), *Between Religion and Language: Turkish-speaking Christians, Jews and Greek-speaking Muslims and Catholics in the Ottoman Empire* (Istanbul: Eren Yayıncılık Kitap Dağıtım Ltd. Şti, 2011), 245–75.
110. Balta, ‘Translating’.
111. Şişmanoğlu Şimşek, ‘The *Yeniçeriler*’, 256.
112. Paker, ‘Turkey’, 22–4.
113. Debate over the Arabic novel’s origins have been entangled with issues of canonisation and ‘literary merit’, which endowed the status of ‘first novel’ to Muhammad Haykal’s *Zaynab* (1913), with earlier fictions relegated to the status of ‘precursors’ or ‘entertainments’, a teleology instituted particularly by ‘Abd al-Muhsin Taha Badr, *Tatawwur al-riwaya al-‘arabiyya al-haditha fi Misr (1870–1938)* (Cairo: Dar al-ma‘arif, 2nd pr., 1968).
114. [Butrus al-Bustani], ‘Muqaddimat al-mutarjim’, *al-Tuhfa al-bustaniyya fi l-asfar al-karuziyya, aw Rihlat Rubinsun Kuruzi. Tarjamahu wa-hadh-dhabahu wa-nazara tab‘ahu al-mu‘allim Butrus al-Bustani ‘uḥfiya ‘anhu*, Part I (Beirut: al-Matba‘a al-amrikaniyya, 1861, unpaginated). This was the press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (of the Presbyterian denomination).
115. *Paul et Virginie* was rendered into Arabic by Salim Sa‘b (1864) who also

- translated Dumas père's *Count of Monte Cristo*; Muhammad °Uthman Jalal (1872); Farah Antun (1902); and Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti (1923), who knew no European languages but made imaginative renderings of European works. A translation of *Robinson Crusoe* was published in 1835 at the Malta press, possibly rendered by Faris al-Shidyaq.
116. Hill, 'Early translations', 210–11.
  117. Marilyn Booth, 'Women and the emergence of the Arabic novel', in Wail Hassan (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Arab Novelistic Traditions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 135–53.
  118. Yet, critics who have made such divisions do not always agree on which works to place in them.
  119. Selim, 'Translations', 119–20.
  120. Şehnaz Tahir-Gürçaglar, 'What texts don't tell: The uses of paratexts in translation research', in Theo Hermans (ed.), *Crosscultural Transgressions: Research Models in Translation Studies II: Historical and Ideological Issues* (London: Routledge, 2014 [2002]), 44–60.
  121. Nakhla Salih, *Qissat Fu'ad wa-Rifqa mahbubatihi* (Cairo/Bulaq: al-Matba' al-amiriyya, 1872), 2.
  122. Basiliyus Bawardi, 'First steps in writing Arabic narrative fiction: The case of *Ḥadīqat al-akhbār*', *Die Welt des Islams* 48 (2008): 170–95; 171.
  123. Bawardi, 'First steps', 176.
  124. *Télémaque* appeared 1861–7 with a hiatus April 1866–February 1867. Also mentioned are Mlle Mars and Mme Carolus Rieux (?); three carry no author's name. It is not clear which Dumas is featured; the work is called *Bulina Mulyan*. Bawardi, 'First steps', 178–9.
  125. Bawardi's translation, 'First steps', 182, which I have modified.
  126. Booth, 'Women'.
  127. Bawardi, 'First steps', 184–7.
  128. [Alexandra Avierino], 'Riwayat al-Anis', *Anis al-jalis* 2: 2 (28 February 1899): 81.
  129. 'Kutub', *Anis al-jalis* 3: 11 (30 November 1900): 434. On Avierino's life and magazine, see Marilyn Booth, *May Her Likes be Multiplied: Biography and Gender Politics in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 45–6, 75–6, 122–3, 174–5.
  130. Volume one featured her four-part *Shirin* and three short fictions, plus three stories composed or translated/adapted by others (two men, one woman, Salwa Butrus Salama). On Hashim, see Beth Baron, *The Women's Awakening in Egypt: Culture, Society and the Press* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994); Booth, *May Her Likes*.
  131. Muhammad Yusuf Najm, cited in Pierre Cachia, 'The age of translation and adaptation, 1850–1914', in Pierre Cachia, *An Overview of Modern Arabic Literature* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1990), 29–42; 32–3.
  132. Matti Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 2nd edn (Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1997), 103.

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133. On the most popular European fictionalists in Turkish at the time, see Maleçková, 'Ludwig Büchner', 75–6, 82–3. On Japan, see Christopher L. Hill, 'Conceptual universalizations in the transnational nineteenth century', in Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori (eds), *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 134–58. A 'Global Corelli' workshop, anyone?
134. Selim, 'Translations', 120.
135. Maleçková, 'Ludwig Büchner', 82. On Abdülhamid's penchant for crime fiction, especially Conan Doyle, see 86n.
136. Copies are held in the British Library's collection of early printed Arabic books. See Marilyn Booth, 'Writing and publishing in the nineteenth century', *Early Arabic Printed Books From the British Library* (Boston, MA: Cengage Learning (EMEA) Ltd, 2016).
137. Maleçková, 'Ludwig Büchner', 75–7, 82–4.
138. Taha Badr, *Tatawwur*, 121–2; Muhammad Yusuf Najm, *al-Qissa fi l-adab al-<sup>°</sup>arabi al-hadith, 1870–1914* (Beirut: Dar al-thaqafa, 1966), 20–1; for a list of early periodicals that published fiction, 15–17. Selim, 'Translations', 121–2.
139. Taha Badr takes a fully instrumentalist view of this phenomenon, saying that soon after Britain's 1882 occupation of Egypt 'the political struggle that had impelled readers to welcome these newspapers had calmed greatly . . . and they had to search for ways to attract readers. Amongst the most effective was to present a serialized novel' (*Tatawwur*, 120). He suggests this was the only recourse for journals focused on 'Western culture' which 'society was not ready to accept' (120).
140. Muhammad <sup>°</sup>Abduh, <sup>°</sup>al-Kutub al-<sup>°</sup>ilmiyya wa-ghayruha', *al-Waqa'<sup>°</sup>i<sup>°</sup> al-misriyya*, 11 May 1881; reproduced in *al-Fusul* 10: 1/2 (1991): 207–9.
141. Muhammad Sayyid <sup>°</sup>Abd al-Tawwab, *Nazariyyat al-riwaya al-<sup>°</sup>arabiyya: al-Muqaddimat al-ula min sanat 1858–1914* (Cairo: al-Hay'a al-<sup>°</sup>amma lil-kitab, 2010), 14–15. The Demolins translation is: *Sirr taqaddum al-inkiliz al-saksuniyyin* (Cairo: Matba<sup>°</sup>at al-jamaliyya, 1899). The work appeared in Turkish in 1914 and Persian in 1923. See Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 89–90, 347n75.
142. Ya<sup>°</sup>qub Sarruf, 'Darar al-riwayat wa-l-ash<sup>°</sup>ar al-hubbiyya', *al-Muqtataf* 7: 3 (August 1882): 174.
143. H. O. Dwight, quoted in Strauss, 'Who read what . . .?', 52, 118n42.
144. Shakir Shuqayr (*ta<sup>°</sup>rib*), *Riwayat makayid al-rijal* (Beirut: Matba<sup>°</sup>at al-Qiddis Jawurjiyus [St Georgius], 1886), title page. No source title or author is given.
145. Jurji Zaydan, *Tarikh adab al-lugha al-<sup>°</sup>arabiyya*, vol. 4, ed. Shawqi Dayf (Cairo: Dar al-Hilal, n.d.), 208.
146. <http://www.academie-francaise.fr/les-immortels/marcel-prevost> (accessed 23 October 2014).

147. Niqula Rizqallah, 'Muqaddima', °al-Sayyida al-badina: Riwaya akhlaqiyya adabiyya °asriyya', *Musamarat al-sha°b* 6 (1909): ?, 1–2 (story, 3–38). My copy is bound with issues of vol. 7 but missing the first page/masthead. It is bound preceding what seems to be the first issue of volume 7. On 40 appears an advert for subscriptions noting they would begin and end January–December 1910, suggesting this is prior to those dates. The story is not listed amongst the *Musamarat*'s fictions for vols 1–6 as listed in (I think) this issue. I have not located an original. On Rizqallah's translations, see Selim, 'Pharoah's revenge', 326.
148. Michela De Giorgio, 'The production of women, real and imagined: The Catholic model', trans. Joan Bond Sax, in Geneviève Fraisse and Michelle Perrot (eds), *A History of Women in the West: Emerging Feminism from Revolution to World War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 166–97; 188.
149. Malečková, 'Ludwig Büchner', 89.
150. Malečková, 'Ludwig Büchner', 89.
151. Raising the intriguing issue of whether the first title was chosen to 'grab' readers, who once 'inside' the issue found the rather more sober title.
152. Booth, 'Women'. Ishaq also translated plays; Salama-Carr discusses his rendering of Racine's *Andromaque*, where major plot changes gave the tragedy a melodramatic cast ('Translation', 321).
153. Moosa, *The Origins*, 100–2.
154. See also Malečková, 'Ludwig Büchner', 87.
155. I am grateful to Peter Hill for help with emphasising this point.
156. Jacquemond, 'Translation'; Bardenstein, *Translation*.
157. Peter Hill, 'Arguing with Europe: Eastern civilisation versus Orientalist exoticism', *PMLA* 132: 2 (2017): 405–12; Marilyn Booth, 'Peripheral visions: Translational polemics and feminist arguments in colonial Egypt', in Anna Ball and Karim Mattar (eds), *Edinburgh Companion to the Postcolonial Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 183–212.
158. Tageldin, *Disarming*; Mitchell, *Colonising*.

## PART I. TRANSLATION, TERRITORY, COMMUNITY

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The chapters in this section maintain the broad focus of the Introduction but each scrutinises an intercultural, interlinguistic field differently. In ‘What was (really) translated in the Ottoman Empire? Sleuthing nineteenth-century Ottoman translated literature’, Johann Strauss approaches the history of translation obliquely, through the ways translation happened but was mis-named, mis-identified or subsumed in massive projects of compilation. For instance, Şemseddin Sami’s encyclopedic *Kamusü l-a‘lam* (1889–98), an important conduit for knowledge transmission amongst late-nineteenth-century Ottomans, must be reconsidered as in large measure a translation, but from multiple sources. Although one could read these misattributions as a history of scholarly and cartographic ‘error’, they become a means by which to think about both what was translated and how texts and authors were presented to readers. And the scholar’s task becomes one of sleuthing: lurking in unexpected places, looking for odd clues. The ways that translation is *not* defined tells us about attitudes towards translation, as an act that was not necessarily regarded as secondary authorship. If the translator’s name is not mentioned, what does this mean? As Strauss argues, it is difficult to evaluate *Robinson Crusoe*’s reception among the Ottoman reading public if we do not establish which version was actually translated into Turkish. Without a closer look, we cannot gauge what these ‘translations’ actually conveyed about authors famous elsewhere. Strauss’s approach warns against premature conclusions about the contents and vectors of knowledge transmission, and explores points raised in the Introduction about the blurry boundaries of ‘translation’. How might a closer look at misattribution and misappropriation urge the revision of established canons of translated literature? And what might it tell us about studying translation historically, as sleuths and spies, examining our odd and incomplete archives by trying to put ourselves in the places of translators then?

Strauss's microscopic scrutiny of the Ottoman translation scene is followed by Peter Hill's telescopic gaze at translation across the world since the seventeenth century. 'Translation and the globalisation of the novel' reconnoiters the diffusionist model of literary translation made famous by Franco Moretti. Hill graphs the spread of some particularly 'best-translating' novels over the length and breadth of the Mediterranean coasts and far beyond. A 'distant reading' of how works such as Fénelon's *Télémaque* and Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* move from a north-west European 'core' through 'semi-peripheries' and 'peripheries', reveals regularities supporting Moretti's model. Yet as an approach designed for literatures of that 'core', its limitations are apparent when one looks from the 'peripheries'. Hill argues for a hybrid practice via mid-level generalisations; and he proposes testing the diffusionist model by looking at 'secondary' translation and diffusion from centres outside Moretti's 'core', the sort of lateral transmission that this project highlights.

Orit Bashkin's chapter focuses on a 'national' space in the early twentieth century only to interrogate assumptions about 'the national' as a concept and practice that forecloses multiplicity. 'On Eastern cultures: Transregionalism and multilingualism in Iraq' juxtaposes the journalistic works of Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani and the fiction of Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid to challenge a national narrative holding that the Iraqi state rejected the Ottoman past and its multilingual, multi-ethnic cultures. A study of these individuals' work counters the notion that Iraqi culture was typified by isolated and isolationist groups whose translation practices targeted specific sectarian groups, and it reminds us how tightly intertwined journalism and translation have been. Al-Shahrastani's journal *al-'Ilm* points to the multilingual and transnational milieu of 1910s Najaf, while al-Sayyid's later writings underscore the survival of transregional networks. Readers depended on publications coming from Istanbul, Teheran, Cairo, Beirut and the Indian subcontinent. Al-Shahrastani and al-Sayyid seem to reside in different worlds: a Shi'i *'alim*, a Sunni socialist writer of prose fiction. But both were shaped by Iraqi society's *mélange* of cultures and languages – and the ways translation was fundamental to creating shared conversations in the Arab-Ottoman print market on modernity, colonialism, constitutionalism, nationalism and reform.

## **What was (Really) Translated in the Ottoman Empire? Sleuthing Nineteenth-century Ottoman Translated Literature**

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*Johann Strauss*

In one of our major bibliographical sources for works published in Ottoman Turkish, Seyfettin Özege's catalogue of Turkish books printed in Arabic script,<sup>1</sup> numerous titles are listed as 'translated from . . . , translated by . . .' without giving any indication of the original work and its author because this information was not mentioned in the translation itself. But these are not the only problems of attribution encountered while studying translation in the nineteenth-century Ottoman Empire. Closer examination also reveals misidentifications, works whose 'authors' do not exist, and translations that have not been identified as 'translations'. There are also translations whose titles were altered consciously in order to avoid problems with censorship.<sup>2</sup> Inaccuracies and errors can be found not only in Özege's otherwise extremely valuable catalogue but also in other works dealing with translation activity among the Ottoman Turks, in works of Turkish literary or intellectual history.<sup>3</sup> To write the history of translation in the Ottoman Empire, one must be a bit of a sleuth and a spy, searching for clues wherever they might exist, listening through the keyholes of title pages and colophons and other texts, and at times making imaginative (if evidence-based!) connections. If translation by its nature is a rewriting, a possessing anew of a text already in the world, it is hardly surprising that writers and publishers might not always care to make the original known; or they might not know what that original is. This is a feature of the history of translation everywhere, but the present chapter narrates one scholar's attempts through the years to track and trace one instance of it: the sometimes elusive, often meandering, paths by which texts appeared in the Ottoman Empire. Such pathways may help us think historically about how writers (translators), readers and publishers thought about translation – and how the attempts since then at 'pinning down' sources, which have so often missed the mark, are perhaps missing an important

feature of translation itself, as a practice generating ‘the new’ without always needing to account for ‘the source’. But a great satisfaction of sleuthing is precisely solving the case: and here, we attempt to do just that.

Already at the end of the eighteenth century, we encounter the intriguing case of the *Tableau des nouveaux règlements de l’Empire ottoman* (1798), which is incidentally one of the very first books in a Western language printed in Turkey.<sup>4</sup> This key treatise on the ‘New Order’ (Nizam-ı Cedid), inaugurated by Sultan Selim III, was long considered as an original work written by the diplomat and statesman Mahmud Raif Efendi (d. 1807), who is known to have learnt French. Having accompanied the first Ottoman ambassador to London (1793), he had even composed the report of this embassy (*sefaretnâme*) in that language,<sup>5</sup> and probably also the modern geography of which only the Turkish translation (*El-Ucaletü l-coğrafiyye*; 1803) is extant.<sup>6</sup> But two Turkish historians have argued convincingly that the *Tableau* was in fact the translation of a work composed by the same Mahmud Raif in Turkish.<sup>7</sup> Its translator was probably the Greek dragoman Yakovaki Efendi (Iakovos Argyropoulos; 1774–1850), to whom we also owe the *Ucaletü l-coğrafiyye*.<sup>8</sup> Thus Raif Efendi was the author, but not in French.

Apart from misidentifications, this chapter discusses a variety of further issues. Which works were actually translated, and which versions were the ‘source’ texts: was it the original works or adaptations? From which language or version were they translated: French? Greek? How complete are the translations? This chapter highlights a few examples out of many possible ones. Not all are literary translations *stricto sensu*, but they are works that have been significant to the history of translation, as often pioneering works. They span the period when the first Turkish translations from ‘Western’ languages were being accomplished in the late eighteenth century and those printed in Egypt under the rule of Muhammad °Ali from the 1830s, all the way to works translated by Ottoman Greeks, Armenians and well-known Turkish writers such as Ziya Pasha (1829–80), Beşir Fuad (1852–87) or Şemseddin Sami (1850–1904) much later in the century. Occasionally, we shall spotlight translations from Arabic and other ‘eastern’ languages, although the main focus here is on translations from European languages.

Are these but minor issues? We have already suggested above that they might be quite important in signalling how, at certain historical moments, in particular places, translation was regarded. But there are more specific reasons to care about these issues. For example, it seems legitimate to ask whether we can evaluate the reception and impact of



## *What was (Really) Translated in the Ottoman Empire?*

*Robinson Crusoe* among the Ottoman reading public without establishing which version was actually translated into Turkish, or how it was translated. Without close scrutiny it is impossible to determine whether a ‘translation’ was able to introduce to readers a certain author as that author was known to his or her home readership, or to introduce a hitherto unknown genre such as the novel. The style and the method employed in translating Fénelon’s *Télémaque*, conventionally regarded as the first literary translation into Ottoman Turkish,<sup>9</sup> certainly did not give readers an adequate idea of what a novel was for readers in Europe, nor did the restrained renderings of Voltaire into Turkish induct readers into his style of political commentary.<sup>10</sup> Unfinished or partial translations had similar consequences. For example, as we will discuss here, no comprehensive history of the Crusades was available to Ottoman readers for this reason (with consequences for the degree to which Ottoman subjects could debate the historical impact of the Crusades, although that question is beyond our remit here). For similar reasons, most of Homer’s work remained unknown.<sup>11</sup>

### ***Translations That Have Not Been Identified As Such***

Among the early translations into Ottoman Turkish not identified as such is the ‘History of Alexander, son of Philip’, printed in Egypt in 1838.<sup>12</sup> No mention of an author of this work is made in the existing repertories and catalogues.<sup>13</sup> A study of the printed text has revealed that it is a translation of a text by Arrianus (96–180), *Anabasis Alexandrou* (Alexander’s expedition), the most important account of Alexander the Great that we possess. This becomes clear when one reads the introduction, which could not be the work of a contemporary writer or translator. Yet, the status of this work as a translation long went unnoticed.

‘Alexander’s expedition’ was meticulously translated by a Greek scholar, Georges Rhasis (Yorgaki Razizade, dates unknown), whose identity was known to several Ottoman Greek writers and was also the compiler of the catalogue of Turkish books in the Khedivial Library in Cairo<sup>14</sup> although his name figures neither on the title page nor in the colophon. Despite other remarkable achievements,<sup>15</sup> as a translator Rhasis remains more or less unknown to this day. The publishers’ reticence on author, translator and even the work itself caused this serious work on Alexander the Great to remain unnoticed. Apparently it did not stimulate others to follow Rhasis’s example, despite being the first translation of an ancient Greek historian into Ottoman Turkish to appear in print.

### ***Translations of Works Whose Author Has Not Been Indicated***

*Aretos ya'ni sevda* (Aretos, i.e. Love, 1873) is listed in Özege's repertory without naming an author.<sup>16</sup> Yet it is referred to as a translation and the translators are named. This is a particularly interesting case since *Aretos ya'ni sevda* is an adaptation of a major work of early modern Greek literature, the *Erotokritos*, composed around 1600.<sup>17</sup> The author, Vincenzo Cornaro, whose name is revealed at the end of the Greek text, is never mentioned in the Ottoman version, while protagonists' names are frequently mutilated and letters dropped, presumably because the printers did not know what to do with them or understand them.<sup>18</sup>

Perhaps the most 'popular' work of literature in modern Greek (particularly in Crete), the *Erotokritos* was long despised by intellectuals. Its reevaluation began in the 1880s,<sup>19</sup> a few years after the publication of the Ottoman version. Its translation into Ottoman Turkish highlights the potential of contacts between Greek popular and Muslim-Turkish literature. Unfortunately, it was to remain an isolated case.<sup>20</sup> The 'popular' language of the *Erotokritos* did not appear in the Ottoman version, and the stylistic level of the two versions is quite different: the original was composed in demotic Greek, but the translation (or adaptation) prefers a flowery style reminiscent of the *Telemak tercemesi* (translation of *Télémaque*). Whereas the original was versified, the adaptation is in prose,<sup>21</sup> unlike other works translated from Greek into Turkish, such as the above-mentioned 'Alexander's expedition', Lucian's 'Parasite' (*Dalkavukname*, 1870; translated by Vasilaki Voukas),<sup>22</sup> or the 'History of the Franco-German war' (see below). This one was not translated by Ottoman Greeks, but by Muslim Cretans whose mother tongue was Greek.<sup>23</sup>

### ***Translations with Misidentified Authors***

An author's identity might not be indicated because this information was not known, or it was not felt to be important or relevant, or perhaps it might even be sensitive? But even more intriguing are cases where an author is listed but is misidentified, an error that has often been perpetuated in later scholarly works. We find misidentifications of authors among the earliest printed translations, from the late eighteenth century. Among these is *Fenn-i harb* (Art of warfare), one of three translations of military works<sup>24</sup> made at the express order of the Sultan, and rendered by the Phanariot dragoman Constantine Ypsilanti (1726–1807), probably together with John Caradja (1754–1844)<sup>25</sup> and printed in 1207/1792–3.<sup>26</sup> The historian Joseph von Hammer identified it in his 'List of books in Istanbul printed

## *What was (Really) Translated in the Ottoman Empire?*

since the introduction of the printing press' (1831),<sup>27</sup> without specifying its title, as a work by the famous French engineer Bernard Forest de Bélidor (1698–1761), known for having published several works of military engineering. This error has been repeated in some works to this day.<sup>28</sup>

But *Fenn-i harb* is in fact the translation of a book, often published together with the two other military works referred to above, which were both authored by Vauban. This one is the *Traité de la guerre en général, comprenant: les qualitez & les devoirs des gens de guerre, depuis le général, jusqu'au soldat, et des règles sur les principales opérations militaires*. But its author, 'un officier de distinction', remains anonymous. The Turkish title likewise only speaks of 'a treatise on warfare by a knowledgeable person from Europe'.<sup>29</sup> Clearly, in this case, the original producer (translator? publisher?) did not feel the name was important to have, though the authority of the unnamed author was important to indicate ('knowledgeable'). It was a scholar rather than the translator or publisher who felt that attribution was important – and got it wrong.

### ***A Misidentified Turkish Translation from Egypt and its Extraordinary Success***

Among the first Turkish translations published in Egypt under Muhammad °Ali (or, in the Turkish context, Mehmed Ali Pasha) is one work still referred to in many sources as a Turkish version of the *Mémorial de Sainte Hélène*. That work is the account of Napoleon's conversations at St Helena recorded by Count Emmanuel Augustin de Las Cases (1766–1842) who accompanied the emperor voluntarily into exile. This identification goes back to the list of the books printed in Egypt published by the eminent Turkish scholar and former dragoman Thomas-Xavier Bianchi (1783–1864) in 1843 in the *Journal asiatique*.<sup>30</sup> Most of the translations seem to have been correctly identified but there are strange blunders, such as the misattribution of the *Mémorial*. This error was repeated by scholars<sup>31</sup> including, I must admit, myself,<sup>32</sup> until I first compared the *Mémorial* with its supposed Ottoman version. The original 1823 edition in French is composed of eight parts in four books, while the Ottoman 'version' consists of some fifty pages!

Published at the official printing house in Bulaq (Cairo) in 1247/1831, this work bears the title<sup>33</sup> *Äfrika cezayirinden Santa Elena nâm cezireden vâsil olub ol tarafda cezirebend olan Bonapartanın sergüzeştini şâmil franseviyyülibare bir kıt'a risalenin tercemesidir ki Bonapartanın kendüsi tarafından tahrir olunub bir takrîble tevariüd etmişdir*. That is: 'It is the translation of a treatise in French that has arrived from St Helena, one of

the African islands, containing the biography of Bonaparte who is exiled there. It was composed by Bonaparte himself and has arrived [here] by some means.'

Since this is said to be an autobiography, it cannot be the work of Las Cases. More important is the fact that the two texts bear no resemblance to each other. Further research revealed that it is an Ottoman version of a pseudo-autobiography of Napoleon Bonaparte which was published originally as *Manuscrit venu de Sainte H el ene d'une mani ere inconnue* in London in 1817. The expanded Ottoman title shows how many elements of the – very succinct – French title, at that early stage of the translation movement, required further, expansive explanation for an Ottoman readership. It is thus explained that the work is a translation (*terceme*); that the original text was in French (*franseviiyy  l-ibare*); that Saint Helena is an African island, thereby situating the site of production of the text and its setting; and finally, that the manuscript ('treatise'), which contains his biography, was written by Napoleon (better known as 'Bonaparta' in the Middle East) himself who was exiled on this island (*cezirebend*). Was this a kind of 'advertisement', meant to entice readers?

The work has been ascribed to various writers but it is commonly quoted as the work of Fr ed eric Lullin de Chateaufvieux, a Swiss agronomist in the circle of Madame de Sta el. He eventually revealed his authorship on his deathbed (1841). Napoleon, understandably, was both intrigued and impressed by this work. He even wrote forty-four notes in order to refute it and formally disavowed it in his will. But in the Ottoman context, it became highly successful. A second translation, with a new title, was published in Egypt,<sup>34</sup> and a slightly modernised version of the 1831 edition appeared in Istanbul in 1277/1860 under the title by which it had become familiar to the Ottomans: *Tezkire<sup>35</sup>-i Napolyon*.<sup>36</sup> It continued to be published in the Ottoman Empire, even when the identity of the author had already become known.

From a literary perspective, it is the first specimen of a translated autobiography in Ottoman Turkish – even if it was not authored by the subject at the centre of the text! At the same time, it belongs to a series of Ottoman *Napoleonica*<sup>37</sup> which have never enjoyed comprehensive scholarly treatment.

### ***Misunderstandings Concerning an Early Ottoman Voltaire Translation***

Errors have also been made concerning another early (and therefore historically important) translation. This one was published in 1853, preceding

the publication of the *Telemak tercemesi* by almost a decade. This lithographed book bears no title, and has been for some time identified as the 'History of Charles XII of Sweden'.<sup>38</sup> But the *Vorlage* of the Ottoman work in question is not Voltaire's famous *Histoire de Charles XII* (1731), as is assumed in several works.<sup>39</sup> A closer look reveals that this work is an adaptation of Voltaire's *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand* (1759).<sup>40</sup>

Although the Ottoman version follows exactly the division into chapters of the original, the rendering is highly selective, with many omissions. The method of translation resembles that of earlier attempts, such as Yakovaki Efendi's *Katerine Târihi* (a History of Catherine the Great), written some forty years earlier; it was first published in 1829.<sup>41</sup> It is composed in a rather elaborate *inşa*-style. Since ironic or sarcastic remarks that feature in the original are generally omitted, this rendering would not have given readers a reliable sense of Voltaire's landmark style. The *inşa*-style also allows the translator to overcome the quite delicate issue of what to do with certain sections in the *Histoire* concerning the Ottomans, where Voltaire is rather critical of 'the Turks', a phrase in itself that (like the term 'Turkey') would have been quite unthinkable to use in the Ottoman context of the time.

A misunderstanding led to identification of the book as 'Shovalof's History of Russia'.<sup>42</sup> But Count Ivan Ivanovich Shuvalov (1727–97), one of Empress Elizabeth's chamberlains,<sup>43</sup> was not the author of this work. Voltaire merely mentions Shuvalov's name in his *Préface historique* as one of the individuals who had supplied him with documents.<sup>44</sup> The Ottoman version speaks of 'some reliable writings and authentic documents by a person named Shuvalof, one of the chamberlains of Elizabeth, Peter the Great's daughter'.<sup>45</sup>

As was frequently the case in this early period of Ottoman translation, the translator was a non-Muslim Ottoman subject, the Armenian Sahag Abro(yan) (1825–1900). This remarkable figure has attracted relatively little attention in translation scholarship despite his pioneering and prolific work. Even his name continues to be misspelt (Ebru, Abru, etc.).<sup>46</sup> Sahag Abro was employed in the capital's Translation Bureau (Terceme Odası) and was also one of the most active members of the Ottoman Academy (Encümen-i Dâniş) founded in 1851.<sup>47</sup> Most of his works seem to have been written under the influence of this institution, such as his translation (or rather adaptation) of the *Catéchisme d'économie politique* by J. B. Say (1767–1832)<sup>48</sup> or his remarkable collection of biographies of contemporary European statesmen, of which only the first part appeared in print.<sup>49</sup> His translation of the *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand*

may be considered as the very first translation of a work by Voltaire into Ottoman Turkish to appear in print.<sup>50</sup>

### ***Ziya Pasha's 'History of the Inquisition' (Enkizisyon Târihi) and the Magazin Pittoresque***

Another historical work that has been identified inexactly is the 'History of the Inquisition' (1881),<sup>51</sup> a translation left by Ziya Pasha (1829–80). Amongst the most illustrious Ottoman men of letters in the nineteenth century,<sup>52</sup> Ziya Pasha's legacy includes (among other works) a translation of Molière's *Tartuffe*, published in 1881,<sup>53</sup> and one of Rousseau's *Emile*, which remained for the most part in manuscript form and of which only some extracts have been published posthumously. Ziya Pasha's most important contribution in the Ottoman intellectual context was his adaptation of the *Histoire des Arabes et des Mores d'Espagne* (2 vols, 1833) by Louis Viardot which allowed the Ottoman Turks to discover Muslim Spain.<sup>54</sup> This *Endülüs Târihi*, written before his stay in France and Switzerland, went through two editions (1859–63, 1886–8).<sup>55</sup> At the same time it is also among the earliest translations of the post-Tanzimat period.

It was in the nineteenth century that Ottoman writers learned of the Inquisition, together with the history of Muslim Spain; in that period as since, these histories have been at the heart of much Islamo-Christian debate, controversy and tension. But in the case of one well-known work, *Enkizisyon Târihi* (History of the Inquisition), the author of the work, and consequently also the work itself, have been wrongly identified. According to some, Ziya Pasha had translated 'a very small portion' of Joseph Lavallée's *Histoire des inquisitions religieuses d'Italie, d'Espagne et de Portugal, depuis leur origine jusqu'à la conquête de l'Espagne* (2 vols, Paris, 1809).<sup>56</sup>

But in his foreword, Ziya Pasha clearly mentions two authors, لواله and كروول, the first of which could indeed have referred to Lavallée.<sup>57</sup> In fact, Ziya Pasha had not used the *Histoire des inquisitions religieuses*, a voluminous work of some 800 pages. But he was familiar, as were so many others in the Ottoman world, with the *Univers pittoresque*,<sup>58</sup> a collection of sixty-seven volumes aiming to cover the '*Histoire et description de tous les peuples, de leurs religions, mœurs, coutumes* etc'. (Paris, 1834–56). Among these volumes is one on Spain (*Espagne*, 1844) by Joseph Lavallée (a grandson of the above-mentioned writer) and Adolphe Guérout. It is from this book that Ziya Pasha translated one mere short chapter, altogether seventeen pages,<sup>59</sup> which was then published posthumously under the somewhat pompous title 'History of the Inquisition'.

The *Univers pittoresque* enjoyed great popularity among the Ottomans. Various volumes from this collection were used by Süleyman Pasha (1838–92) for his (unfinished) ‘World History’ (*Târih-i Âlem*, 1876).<sup>60</sup> Ahmet Midhat Efendi visibly took from this work the inspiration for his *Kâinat* (‘Universe’), equally a series of histories of various, mainly European countries. Fifteen volumes of this series by the indefatigably prolific Ahmet Midhat appeared in the years 1871–82.

### ***Translations of Abridged Versions: Ibn Battuta’s Travels in Ottoman Turkish***

Ibn Battuta’s (1304–77) famous account in Arabic of his travels over twenty-seven years, *Tuhfat al-nuzzar fi ghara’ib al-amsar wa-‘aja’ib al-asfar*, commonly referred to as his *Rihla* (Travelogue),<sup>61</sup> also exists in Ottoman versions. Even after the Westernisation of their literature in the wake of the Tanzimat, the Ottomans continued to translate Arabic ‘classical’ authors, such as Ibn Khaldun,<sup>62</sup> and in some cases they also translated works of contemporary, ‘modern’ authors, of whom perhaps the most famous example is the nineteenth-century statesman and intellectual Khayr al-Din Pasha of Tunis.<sup>63</sup> Although these translations cannot compete, as to their number, with the huge amount of translations made from European languages during the same period, they deserve more comprehensive study. The anonymous ‘Translation of Sheykh Ibn Battuta’s travelogue’ published in 1874,<sup>64</sup> a book of 102 pages, only reproduces an abridged version of the *Rihla*. Such an abridged version had already been made by Muhammad b. Fathallah al-Bayluni (d. 1632) of Aleppo.<sup>65</sup> That version had also been used by the first European scholars and translators. Three such copies were acquired by the Swiss traveller Johann Burckhardt (1784–1817) and bequeathed to the University of Cambridge where they remained accessible for the public. The Arabic text was then translated into English by the Cambridge scholar Samuel Lee (1783–1852).<sup>66</sup>

A comparison shows that the Ottoman version must have been translated from more or less the same Arabic manuscripts as that used by Lee.<sup>67</sup> As to the reception of Ibn Battuta’s *Rihla* in the Islamic world, the Ottoman Turks can be considered as pioneers, having acted earlier than the Arabs themselves to produce a printed version.<sup>68</sup> Another translation – this time in three volumes – of the *Rihla* into Turkish by ‘Damad’ Mehmed Şerif Pasha [Çavdaroğlu] (1873–1958), was published half a century later, during World War I.<sup>69</sup> This time, it was based on the work of two French scholars, Ch. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, who had produced a critical edition of the complete Arabic text together with a translation into

French (4 vols, 1853–8).<sup>70</sup> The Ottoman translator was familiar with both languages. In the same period he translated Machiavelli's *Principe*, but from a French version.<sup>71</sup> This quite unique basis for a translation merits a closer look. To what extent did the translator rely on the French version, as opposed to the French critical edition of the Arabic?<sup>72</sup> What might a close study of this translation tell us about the practices and outlooks of those who produced so much of what the Ottoman elite read?

### ***The Mysterious Case of an Unknown German Playwright: 'K. F. Mor'***

The Turkish intellectual, writer and journalist Beşir Fuad (1852–87),<sup>73</sup> known as one of the first materialist thinkers in Turkey, left several translations of plays. What is perhaps most remarkable about this activity is that each one of them was made from a different language! From the French, Beşir Fuad translated *Les Deux b b s, com die en 1 acte* (1847), by Eug ne Grang  and Victor Bernard, under the title *İki Bebek* (Istanbul, 1300/1883). From English, he translated *The First Floor*, a farce in two acts, 1787, by James Cobb (1756–1818), under the title *Birinci kat* (*Mudhike, iki perde*, Istanbul, 1301/1884). A third comedy, which bears the Turkish title *Binbaşıyı davet* (The invitation of the major) was made from German,<sup>74</sup> a rather rare occurrence at that time. It is presented as the work of an author named 'K. F. Mor' in the repertories.<sup>75</sup> But no such author exists. The combination of the Arabic characters *mim – waw – ra* (مور) that appears on the title page could be read in many different ways in German: Mor, Mur, Mohr, Muhr, Moor, etc. But the author of this text was in fact none of the above. The names of the play's protagonists (Carbonel, his wife Elise, the Major, the painter Jules and the servant Louis) are those in a comedy by Gustav von Moser (1825–1903), *Ich werde mir den Major einladen*. The author's name on the title page consequently has to be read 'G[ustav]. f[on]. Mozer' instead of 'K. F. Mor': the *k f* has to be read as *g f*, whereas the *z*, due to a misprint, had got lost.

Curiously enough, this German play, first published in 1862,<sup>76</sup> is an adaptation of the French play *J'invite le colonel!* This was authored by Eug ne Labiche and Marc Michel. Today, the German writer is more or less forgotten, but at the time, his reputation was such that there was even an English version of his German adaptation of the French.<sup>77</sup> Textual travels between languages such as this one (or the case of the Turkish translation of Ibn Battuta's *Travels* which may have routed itself through the byways of the French), remind us that we cannot assume that linguistic itineraries are straightforward; in other words, that a translation was made



from the language of its own 'original'. And it reminds us that in the nineteenth century, the relative 'weight' and local purchase of languages were not necessarily the same as they are now.

### ***Guesswork: From Which Language Was This Work Translated?***

A characteristic feature of nineteenth-century translation activity in the Ottoman Empire was that most translations were made from the French, the only western European language that enjoyed wide popularity among the Ottoman Turks.<sup>78</sup> Major works of ancient authors (Greek, Latin) and of modern authors (Italians, English, Germans, etc.) were rendered accessible to an Ottoman readership through French versions, sometimes with far-reaching consequences for what Ottoman readers actually read. To give just one example, Aesop's fables were translated from a variety of French versions.<sup>79</sup> Xenophon's (partly fictional) biography of Cyrus the Great, the *Cyropaedia*, was translated as *Hüsrevnâme*<sup>80</sup> (1302/1885) by Ahmet Midhat Efendi from Dacier's French version (1777).<sup>81</sup> Shakespeare's *Othello* was translated from Ducis's French version (1792)<sup>82</sup> by Hasan Bedreddin and Mehmed Rif'at; and Shakespeare's name does not even appear on the title page of this translation!<sup>83</sup> The same occurs with *Gulliver's Travels*, which is presented as the travelogue of a writer named Gulliver.<sup>84</sup> Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe* was translated from Alexandre Dumas fils' French version, and it is the French title (*Intrigue et amour*) which appears on the title page. The Ottoman Turkish version of Silvio Pellico's *Le mie prigionie* (1832) is still known in Turkish as '*Meprizon*' (i.e. *Mes prisons*) *tercemesi*.<sup>85</sup> Canon Christoph von Schmid's extremely popular edifying stories were translated from a French collection of 190 stories,<sup>86</sup> and the translation includes the French preface.<sup>87</sup> This practice was not limited to literary works. Otto Hübner's (1818–77) work on political economy *Der kleine Volkswirth* (1852) was translated in 1869/1286 by one Mehmed Midhat from the French version by Charles Le Hardy de Beaulieu,<sup>88</sup> under the title *Fenn-i idare -Ekonomi tercemesi*.<sup>89</sup>

To be sure, there are a few notable exceptions to the rule, such as the first Turkish translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, which was made from the Arabic translation.<sup>90</sup> Its translator, Lutfî Efendi (Ahmed Lutfi, 1817–1907), who was by then corrector (*musahhih*) of printed texts at the State Press, is known as a historian, but he is not known as a writer proficient in Western languages. The Arabic version<sup>91</sup> (which may be regarded as the first specimen of a translated novel in Arabic!) had been prepared under the supervision, to some extent, of Europeans.<sup>92</sup> It departs significantly from Defoe's novel and is an abridged version. Both versions – Arabic

and Ottoman – end with Robinson’s return to England. A comparison of Ahmed Lutfî’s Ottoman Turkish *Hikâye-i Robinson* with the Arabic *Qissat Rubinsun Kruzi* demonstrates that the Ottoman translation is abridged from the Arabic version. Defoe’s novel did not fare much better in the following attempt by Şemseddin Sami (see below).

Translators able to translate from other languages than French were rare. One was the Bosnian Mehmed Tahir (1855–1903)<sup>93</sup> who left several translations made directly from German, although none of them were literary highlights, one must admit. Moreover, they again raise the question of linguistic meandering, for some were not the products of German authors. ‘My Uncle’s library’ (*Ammucamın kütübhanesi*, 1298/1883) was translated into Ottoman Turkish from a German version of Rodolphe Töpfer’s French *La Bibliothèque de mon oncle*. The ‘Biographies of famous commanders’ (*Meşhur kumandanların terceme-i ahvâli*, 1304/1887) was based on a German version of Cornelius Nepos’s *Vitae*.<sup>94</sup>

Another and perhaps even more remarkable figure was the Russian aristocrat, Ol’ga Lebedeva (1853–?), who published her Turkish works under the Turkish *nom de plume* ‘Gülнар Hanım’ but without any effort to conceal her real name.<sup>95</sup> Madame de Lebedeff<sup>96</sup>/Gülнар Hanım was the first to translate modern Russian classics directly from the Russian into Ottoman Turkish. She took on works by Pushkin, Lermontov and Tolstoy, although she did draw on the help of Ottoman writers whom she knew well. We cannot always know from our title pages what kinds of collaborative work went into translation, and who was involved: yet another aspect of partial information. In Lebedeva’s case, we know at least that it happened. The works she translated were in prose, with the exception of Lermontov’s *Demon*. This work was translated by Ol’ga Lebedeva on the basis of both the original poem and the libretto for Anton G. Rubinstein’s opera *Demon* (The demon, 1871).<sup>97</sup>

### ***A ‘History of the Franco-German War’ Translated from Greek***

A particularly curious case is a comprehensive ‘History of the Franco-German War’ of 1870 in Ottoman Turkish which appeared in 1289/1872 under the title *Fransa ve Prusya muharebesi târihi*. One would have expected the work to be translated from French or German. The Ottoman foreword actually says that it was translated from the German.<sup>98</sup> A colophon states that the translation was the work of Yanko Vatzides,<sup>99</sup> who is mentioned as first interpreter in the office of the customs administration (*rüsumat emaneti*).<sup>100</sup>

It is not possible to identify any of the works that were extant then

in German on the Franco-German war as the *Vorlage*. But there does exist a 'History of the Franco-German war 1870–1871' in Greek, and it was first published in Germany.<sup>101</sup> It was compiled by Constantine G. Stavrides from a variety of German texts.<sup>102</sup> The work is illustrated and most of its illustrations also appear in the Turkish edition. This translation holds an exceptional place in the history of early Turkish translation. It is apparently the only instance of a complete and comprehensive account of contemporary history translated from Western sources. Moreover, it was published just one year after the events. The modernity of the book also appears in the presence of numerous illustrations (mainly etchings), another rare occurrence at that time. But again, this work is a product of a wayward route: translated from a Greek work compiled from German sources.

### ***Translations from English: Ahmed Hilmi's Târih-i umumî***

We have already noted that only occasionally were works translated from English into Ottoman Turkish.<sup>103</sup> One of the first such translations was made in Egypt in 1858 under the then-reigning khedive, Sa'îd Pasha, of Robertson's *History of America* (1777).<sup>104</sup> It was translated by one Ahmed Rıza, a member of the ulama who admired the English. They were the only nation, he said, that 'had studied American History properly'.<sup>105</sup>

Another of the scarce works translated from English is the *Târih-i umumî* ('Universal history'), translated by Ahmed Hilmi (d. 1878).<sup>106</sup> Despite its significance as the first modern general history in Ottoman Turkish, it remains little known. It was chosen by the translator because 'among the historical works written in foreign languages, those written by English historians are, in terms of research (*tahkikatca*), stronger than the others'.<sup>107</sup> This is a relatively rare statement on the part of a translator, asserting a reason to prefer works in a particular language: perhaps defensively, as English was a minority language for translation into Turkish (and also we must remember that English even then did not occupy the hegemonic position it now holds). This text is presented as the work of 'Mister Chambers' (*Çenbers*), 'one of the famous historians'.<sup>108</sup>

This description is not closely accurate, however. The work in question was the product of the well-known brothers William (1800–83) and Robert Chambers (1802–71) in Edinburgh (who may not have been enthusiastic about being subsumed under the 'English', either). They had joined efforts to publish ambitious works for educational purposes. Among these were *Chambers' Historical Questions with Answers: Embracing Ancient and Modern History* (London and Edinburgh, 1865). Some have assumed this

as the *Vorlage* for Ahmed Hilmi's work.<sup>109</sup> But a comparison shows that this is not the case. The *Târih-i umumî* was translated from several volumes of Chambers' *Educational Course* on history, mostly *Ancient History* and *Medieval History*, first published in the 1850s. Hilmi's first two volumes are based on *Ancient History* (1851) by D. M. Masson (1822–1907). The third and fourth volumes are based on *Medieval History* and devoted to the history of the Middle Ages in Europe. The fourth volume deals with the different states of Europe, including Islamic Spain (*Endülüüs*; see below). And the fifth and sixth volumes are devoted to Islamic history and stem from other sources (see below). At first glance, the sixth volume seems to be the history of Tamerlane,<sup>110</sup> but it also deals with his successors, Karakoyunlus, Safavids, and so on. The chapter on the Crusades is also translated from the *Educational Course*.<sup>111</sup> There is also a chapter on the Turkish tribes,<sup>112</sup> rather a novelty in Ottoman historiography. In the *Educational Course*, Chingiz Khan is presented as a tolerant ruler, respectful of learned men. The Ottoman version nevertheless describes him in a more traditional way, as 'an atheist without religion and an infidel of perverse practice'.<sup>113</sup> Hülagü's ten-year rule is referred to as a 'period of robbery'.<sup>114</sup> We can regret that none of the volumes on modern history from the *Educational Course* was translated. We need also to ask why these were not translated. Were they perceived as irrelevant to the needs of Ottoman readers? Or, alternatively, as too politically suggestive?

These questions are relevant more broadly: how did translators handle European works on Muslim-majority societies, in the context of polemics locally and in/from European writers on 'Islam'? Ahmed Hilmi was one of those Ottoman translators who all had to cope with European historical works in which, more often than not, Islamic history was presented in a form unacceptable to Muslim readers. Therefore, these sections had to be taken from other sources, either Islamic sources or more dispassionate Western-origin works. In volume IV of the *Târih-i umumî* we read:

Only a very few Arabic books could be saved from the flames of the fire of fanaticism of the Christians in Spain. Those which did remain were of benefit to the Franks. Those which arrived in the East, and especially historical works, are almost nil.<sup>115</sup> In order to write a History of Spain worth reading, it was necessary to apply to some historians writing in European languages, but ones without the fanaticism of the Christian religion.<sup>116</sup>

According to the Turkish researcher Mükrimîn Halil Yinanç,<sup>117</sup> Ahmed Hilmi used the world chronicle of Müneccimbaşı<sup>118</sup> and a work on the history of Muslim Spain authored by José Antonio Conde (1766–1820).<sup>119</sup> The latter's *Historia de la Dominación de los Árabes en España* (1820–21)

## *What was (Really) Translated in the Ottoman Empire?*

became very popular and was still being reprinted at the start of the twentieth century, despite the prominent Orientalist Dozy's extremely critical appraisal.<sup>120</sup> This work was also translated into English,<sup>121</sup> and according to Yinanç it was this translation from which Ahmed Hilmi translated sections into Turkish. The result is a rather heterogeneous text. Whereas the part translated from English in the *Târih-i umumî* contains elements of analysis and critique, other parts concerning the Islamic states are largely limited to chronological surveys.<sup>122</sup>

This translator to whom the Ottoman readers owe their first modern general history was (like others we have encountered) a former member of the Ottoman Academy (Encümen-i Daniş). In late 1866<sup>123</sup> Ahmed Hilmi, by then a member of the Translation Bureau (Terceme Odası), published the first volume of his *Târih-i umumî*, for which he was rewarded by the Ministry of Public Education.<sup>124</sup> A few years later, he translated an immensely popular manual of political economy by Otto Hübner (1818–77), originally destined for schoolchildren<sup>125</sup> under the title *İlm-i tedbir-i servet* (1286/1869).<sup>126</sup> It was probably translated from the French, as probably was another version of the same work by one Mehmed Midhat, published in the same year (see below).

Ahmed Hilmi was also a member of the Translation Society (Terceme Cemiyeti) founded in 1865,<sup>127</sup> and his *Târih-i umumî* is probably the only work that has come out from this institution which had aimed to support ambitious projects. He is one of many energetic individuals whose careers deserve closer attention: these translation workers were the backbone of intellectual culture in the Ottoman capital, just as translators were elsewhere.

### ***Unfinished and Incomplete Translations***

But perhaps people's energies could not always match up to their aims. We do not know whether projects were abandoned for lack of interest, or support, or a sense that only part of the original work was relevant to the envisioned readership. What we do know is that incomplete versions show up quite frequently among nineteenth-century translations, for example in the case of several Turkish translations of historical works printed in Egypt.<sup>128</sup>

There were many reasons why translations could remain unfinished. In addition to the possibilities mentioned above, we could speculate on the translator's lack of competence, criticism from others, fear of censorship, economic reasons, disappointment with the source text, or even the death of the translator. It may be that sometimes, remaining parts of the

translation exist(ed) in manuscript, or that publication in instalments in periodicals was stopped in untimely fashion, for reasons having to do with the publishing venue. Yet it is curious that among those who left such incomplete translations are some leading figures of Ottoman translation activity.

A well-known case is the above-mentioned *Meprizon tercemesi*,<sup>129</sup> published in 1874 by the young writer Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem (1847–1914). It was stopped after fifty chapters (of 119) had appeared, due to a harsh criticism (*muahaze-nâme*) of both content and style, by the famous poet Namık Kemal (1840–88). Thankfully, the translator, who would become an outstanding figure in nineteenth-century Turkish literature, was not discouraged and continued his translation activity.<sup>130</sup>

From Ann Radcliffe's gothic novel *The Romance of the Forest* (1791),<sup>131</sup> a few spare pages, translated from the first chapter, appeared in print in Turkish in 1873.<sup>132</sup> The translator, Keçecizade Ergun Macid Bey, in his curious preface (much longer than the translated text!) spoke mainly of the deep impression made on him by the new railways built by the Ottoman state in its European provinces. Indeed, his translation was devoted to those railways, for such a dedication would not suit the sultan himself, 'since in our language "novel" is still a synonym for legend' (*lisanımızda hâlâ efsane ile müradif bulunan roman lafzı*', p. 19). After emphasising the necessity of prefaces (he compares them to the doors of houses), this translator explains his methodology of translation. It is not a literal translation, for it is equally a work of his imagination. Additions and embellishments were made, so that the translator also had his share in the work of writing.<sup>133</sup> If translators had always felt a certain latitude of practice – possibly including not mentioning the author of the original, and borrowing from various works – translators were starting to assert their authority but also to discuss what translation meant.

Muallim Naci (1850–93), a remarkable man of letters, had tried to translate Zola's *Thérèse Raquin*.<sup>134</sup> But his translation covers less than one-third of the original novel, while the translator felt obliged to cut some passages considered as 'too explicit' (*çok açık*).<sup>135</sup> But it is significant that he tells us this. Muallim Naci also left a number of translations from Arabic and Persian. A collection of them are assembled in his *Mütercem* (translated [texts], 1887) which also included some twenty translations of poems by French authors from Boileau to Zola. These translators were creating or at least proposing 'world-literature' canons for Ottoman readers, through their translation work. The selectivity of their choices merits further study. Perhaps sometimes, 'incomplete' was a deliberate choice.

A contemporary of Muallim Naci and one of the most important

Ottoman translators, Şemseddin Sami, also had to leave several translations unfinished. Şemseddin Sami started this activity at an early age, and produced his translations simultaneously with other literary works (novels and plays).<sup>136</sup> He later devoted himself almost exclusively to lexicographical and encyclopaedic works (such as the *Kamusü l-a'lâm*; see below) which earned him a reputation as one of the greatest Ottoman scholars of the nineteenth century.<sup>137</sup> The corpus of his translations is interesting in its breadth, and includes literary works (plays, ancient and modern, such as *Galathée* by Florian (1755–94),<sup>138</sup> *Le vieux caporal* (1853) by Philippe Dumanoir and Adolphe Philippe Dennery,<sup>139</sup> and novels such as *Les mémoires du Diable* by Frédéric Soulié<sup>140</sup> and *Les Misérables*<sup>141</sup> by Victor Hugo).

Sami also translated historical works, notably the ‘Concise history of France’ (*Târih-i mücmel-i Fransa*; 1289/1872). This was translated from *Histoire de France, depuis l’établissement de la monarchie jusqu’à nos jours*, an extremely popular textbook by Madame de St-Ouen (Joanne-Mathurine Ponctis de Boën; 1779–1838).<sup>142</sup> The Turkish title is misleading insofar as the translation is incomplete: it only contains the history of medieval France until the death of Charles IV, called the Fair (*‘Şarl bel’*), the last King of France of the Capetian dynasty, in 1328. Nevertheless, some have considered the *Târih-i mücmel-i Fransa* as the first Turkish work containing sustained historical information on France.<sup>143</sup> Şemseddin Sami also left unfinished his translation of Victor Hugo’s *Les Misérables*,<sup>144</sup> one of the most popular novels among an Ottoman readership. Its second part (translated by Hasan Bedreddin) would not appear until 1914. According to İsmail Habip, this was due to censorship, and a denunciation (*jurnal*) prevented the translator from finishing his work.<sup>145</sup> What did readers think? What kinds of conversations might have gone on around the sudden death of this translation?

Another important figure who left incomplete translations was Ahmed Vefik Pasha (1823–91), who is mainly known for his translations – or adaptations – of Molière’s comedies. These are complete, whereas his *Télémaque* translation<sup>146</sup> ends with Livre VI (the original *Télémaque* has eighteen chapters). It was published as a reaction to the first translation of this novel (1859) by Yusuf Kâmil Pasha, whose style was considered by then as obsolete. This first version, conventionally regarded as the starting point of literary translation in Turkey, belonged to the ‘summarising’ (*icmal*) type and was composed in the most pompous *inşa* style. In the light of these circumstances, it can be said that there was no really satisfying translation of this important work for the Ottoman Turks. How might this work have influenced Ottoman intellectuals had more chapters been

retranslated? But this also raises the question of cross-language reading: some Ottoman readers would have been able to read the Arabic translation.

Another highly original translation by Ahmed Vefik Pasha, that of Abulghazi's 'Genealogy of the Turks' (*Shajara-yi Turk*), is also incomplete in its printed version.<sup>147</sup> The translation of this historical work by Abulghazi Bahadır Khan of Khiva (1603–63), was one of the first attempts to translate from another Turkic language, Eastern Turkish (Chaghatay), into Ottoman Turkish.<sup>148</sup> The *Shajara-yi Turk* had been known among Western scholars for a long time already and it was widely read in eighteenth-century Europe.<sup>149</sup> In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, new editions and translations of the *Shajara-yi Turk* were published particularly for the benefit of scholars.<sup>150</sup> The first critical edition was published in Kazan in 1825.<sup>151</sup> But then it was superseded by a new edition and translation by Baron Desmays (1807–73), which appeared after Ahmed Vefik Pasha's version in St Petersburg (1871–4).<sup>152</sup> Ahmed Vefik Pasha's Ottoman version, published anonymously under the title *Uşal Şecere-i türki*,<sup>153</sup> had been made from the text published in Kazan, considered by Desmays as '*ne répondant plus aux exigences actuelles de la science*'.<sup>154</sup> Only three translated chapters (*bab*) of nine appeared in print.<sup>155</sup> The third chapter dealt with the life of Chinghiz Khan. The translated part ends with the sending of his sons to the conquest of Khorezm. But even this incomplete translation, which contains valuable information on Mongolian and Turkish tribes and mythology (such as the Ergenekon legend), aroused considerable interest, especially among the first Turkists, who used it as a reference in their writings: this included figures such as Necip Asım and Fuad Köprülü, who drew on this work until 1920, even after the Desmays's publication became available.<sup>156</sup> Eventually, a new and complete translation by Rıza Nur, published by the Ministry of Education, appeared in 1925.<sup>157</sup>

Another unfinished translation was that of Michaud's French-language 'History of the Crusades',<sup>158</sup> made during the reign of Sultan Abdülaziz (1861–76).<sup>159</sup> A collective translation, it was meant as a starting point for a more ambitious project. The translators were high-ranking government officials: Ali Fuad, son of the Grand-Vizier Aali Pasha, Edhem Pertev Pasha, an experienced translator,<sup>160</sup> and Ahmed Ârifî (1819–95), a future Grand Vizier. The published text ended with the first pages of the fourth chapter (from twenty-two altogether). Although, very interestingly, the preface alluded to the last chapter but one (*Livre vingtième: 1453–1590 'Croisade contre les Turcs'*) which would have been of considerable interest for the Ottomans,<sup>161</sup> this chapter therefore remained untranslated. Once more, Namık Kemal harshly criticised this translation project, which may



have had an impact. Given the topic and especially the way the Muslims ('Saracenes') often were represented in this work, the translation was an extremely delicate and sensitive task.

Several persons were also involved in the translation of the *Mille et un jours*, a collection of Oriental or 'Persian' tales 'translated' by the French dragoman and oriental scholar François Pétis de la Croix (1653–1713), and first published 1710–12.<sup>162</sup> This work had made its first appearance in Ottoman letters in the eighteenth century. It had inspired Ali Aziz Efendi (d. 1798), the author of the 'Imaginations' (*Muhayyelât*; 1268/1796; first printed in 1852), an innovative prose work, considered as a precursor of the novel or even the first literary translation in Turkish literature by some. Several sections of the *Muhayyelât* were adapted from the *Mille et un jours*.<sup>163</sup>

The new Ottoman version, first published between 1867 and 1870, bears the title *Elfü n-nehâr ve nehar*, which is reminiscent of the Arabic title of the *Arabian Nights* (*Alflayla wa-layla*).<sup>164</sup> The introduction informs readers that the original of this book was written in the 'Indian language'. It had been translated into French eighty years before<sup>165</sup> and the Indian style had been modified so that useless things likely to 'tire the reader' had been dropped in this French version from which it was translated into Turkish.<sup>166</sup> The first two volumes<sup>167</sup> were the work of Ahmed Raşid. In the translation of the stories contained in the third volume,<sup>168</sup> which ends with the translation of the 'Suite de l'histoire du roi Bedreddin et de son vizir',<sup>169</sup> Mustafa Hami Pasha (who also translated Perrault's fairy tales), Ahmed Şükri and also the young Ahmet Midhat Efendi were involved. This last part remained unfinished.<sup>170</sup> This translation is a particularly puzzling case, for it shows how an 'Oriental' work adapted by Europeans – and whose main source may have been Ottoman<sup>171</sup> – was re-adapted by Ottoman translators. But the adaptation was not consistent. On the one hand, changes were made, Oriental names in the French 'original' (as the source of this translation) were occasionally altered (e.g. when 'Togrul-bey' becomes '*Turan Bey*') and the sober style of the French text was sometimes embellished in the translation thanks to popular devices of Ottoman rhetorics, hendiadys and rhymed prose (*atf-ı tefsir, seci*). On the other hand, the Gallicised forms of Oriental names were retained even if these were transcriptions of well-known Oriental names: 'Calaf' became *Kalaf* in the Ottoman version (instead of *Halef*), and 'La Carizmie' (for *Khorezm*) *Karizmi*(!).

A similar case of an incomplete translation was Joseph von Hammer's 'History of the Ottoman Empire' (10 vols, 1827–35). A first attempt was made by Es'ad Cabir in his *Târih-i Devlet-i osmaniyye, 1300–1400*

(Istanbul, 1324/1908). He translated, as usual, from the French,<sup>172</sup> but his version covered only the first 256 pages of the first volume.<sup>173</sup> A more complete version, by Mehmed Ata (1856–1919) started publication three years later (1911–18). But he only got through the first five volumes – until 1656. An eleventh volume (carrying the history forward to 1676) of this translation appeared in 1947. As a consequence, none of the Turkish versions really can pretend to reflect Hammer’s views in a comprehensive manner.

Perhaps most deplorable is the fact that Homer’s *Iliad* was not rendered accessible to Ottoman readers in a suitable way. Both of the published Ottoman versions<sup>174</sup> comprise only the first book, whereas Sulayman al-Bustani’s remarkable Arabic version, composed at the same period, is not only complete but also includes a historical and literary commentary; a preface with an introduction on Homer and his poetry, as well as on the literature of Greeks and Arabs; and as an appendix, a general lexicon and indices.<sup>175</sup> However, both Ottoman translators were able to translate from the Greek original. Naim Frachery’s version was fairly literal and also contained an introduction of interest to readers and historians.<sup>176</sup> The second version, published thirteen years later, represented a curious rewriting in prose.<sup>177</sup> The Turkish poet Yahya Kemal (1884–1958), reading it for the first time, was unable to recognise it as a translation of the *Iliad*!<sup>178</sup>

### ***Textbook Versions Instead of Originals: The Case of Robinson Crusoe***

Even translations of major literary works were sometimes made not from ‘original originals’ but rather from textbooks for young people, which featured great works in abridged versions. In Şemseddin Sami’s case this included not only the ‘Concise history of France’ (see above) but also his *Robinson Crusoe*.<sup>179</sup> This is not a translation from Defoe’s original. Instead, the source is a work entitled *Robinson dans son île, ou Abrégé des aventures de Robinson destiné à servir de second livre de lecture dans les écoles primaires*, first published anonymously in 1832.<sup>180</sup> Its author, Baron Louis-Ambroise-Marie-Modeste Rendu (1778–1860)<sup>181</sup> was a French educator and translator. Şemseddin Sami’s choice is the more understandable since there was also a print of this book in Istanbul, in French but for the use of Turkish students.<sup>182</sup>

The importance of this translation is well known since it inaugurated a new style in translation.<sup>183</sup> But significantly, even as Şemseddin Sami was critical of the first translation (see above) and advocated a more literal practice of translation, he was not interested primarily in Defoe’s novel

for its own sake, but rather his concern was to facilitate local students' understanding of the French textbook.<sup>184</sup>

But perhaps also, Sami had other reasons for offering an abridged version. In that regard, let us remember that despite the edifying character of this work, the author was blamed by staunch Catholics for having quoted Rousseau in the preface, 'cet étrange sophiste', and for having penned a book 'où le *naturalisme* conduit presque nécessairement à l'impitié'.<sup>185</sup>

### ***Encyclopaedias as Adaptations: Şemseddin Sami's Kamusü l-a'lâm***

Şemseddin Sami's *Kamusü l-a'lâm* (6 vols, 1889–98) is considered as the most famous Ottoman encyclopaedia. Unlike other attempts that remained unfinished,<sup>186</sup> it was completed by the author. In fact, it is rather what the French call a '*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie*'. This term also appears on the title page of this work: '*Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie*' whereas the Ottoman title, following an ancient tradition for scholarly works, is in Arabic and suggests the traditional concept of the biographical dictionary (*qamus al-a'lâm*, 'dictionary of eminent personalities, or proper names'). But Şemseddin Sami's *Kamusü l-a'lâm* is particularly valuable for the entries concerning Ottoman history and geography, and what the author wrote about his native Albania.<sup>187</sup>

In his foreword,<sup>188</sup> Şemseddin Sami underlined the ancestry and the superiority of Islamic scholarship, and brought to light mainly Arab scholars in the fields of history, geography and biography.<sup>189</sup> But he could not deny the progress made in these fields by the Europeans either. He also hinted at a basic problem that particularly haunted the translators of historical works: 'There is a big difference between East and West, and especially between the world of Islam and the world of Christianity'. European works, he said, spoke in great detail about the European and Christian celebrities and countries, but they did not deal extensively with their Islamic counterparts. 'Therefore, our goal would not be attained with a translation from a European language: such a translation can by no means meet our needs.' One has to put the two types of sources together, he observes. And

the same way as the Europeans give more importance to matters concerning themselves, and put those concerning us to the second rank, it is natural that we also give more attention to our Islamic and Ottoman celebrities and countries, and leave those proper to the foreigners to the second rank.

But the *Kamusü l-a'lâm* was also to a great extent translated or adopted from Western works. This concerns nearly all entries on Western history

and geography. One of its principal sources was Nicolas Bouillet's *Dictionnaire universel d'histoire et de géographie*. This *Dictionnaire*, first published in 1842, had become the most popular reference work in the second half of the nineteenth century, including among the Ottoman Turks.<sup>190</sup> It had been revised several times (the twenty-eighth edition appeared in 1884).<sup>191</sup> The close relationship between the two *Dictionnaires* even appears in the subtitles with their striking parallelism: both works contain entries on (1) history (*târih*), (2) biography (*terceme-i hal*), (3) mythology (*esatir*), (4) modern and ancient geography (*coğrafya*). The comparison of certain entries in both works (e.g. 'Strasbourg' – *İstrasburg*) allows us to get a highly representative picture, not only of Şemseddin Sami's methods, but also of certain principles of Ottoman translation or adaptation practices in the nineteenth century, and the concerns of leading translators.

### ***Differing Perceptions of Quality in Works Chosen for Translation: The Case of Fatma Aliye's Meram***

Fatma Aliye (1862–1924), the daughter of the Ottoman historian and statesman Cevdet Pasha (who had remained unable to learn French despite trying), provoked a sensation with her translation of a French novel, published in 1889. The translator was only presented as *Bir kadın* ('A woman').<sup>192</sup> This was the starting point of Aliye's career as a female novelist, the first in the Islamic world according to some. The novel she translated was *Volonté* (Will) by Georges Ohnet (1848–1918). Why did she choose this work?

In the preface (*dibace*), Aliye wrote that this novel offered a fine illustration of human nature and that, furthermore, George Ohnet's works were well received everywhere in the world. Therefore she had chosen one of his works that had not been translated yet into Turkish, *Volonté*.<sup>193</sup> The fact that the novel was reprinted one hundred and two times within one year proved, she argued, that she was not wrong in her choice.<sup>194</sup> In a demonstration or elaboration of this (*tabsıra*), she commented on the moral teachings provided by 'Monsieur Georges Ohnet' in this novel. She gave an interpretation of the different male and female protagonists, in particular Clément de Thauziat. According to Fatma Aliye, this figure was capable of showing young people what true love (*aşk-ı hakikî*) was. Therefore, this figure from European literature reminded her of Qays in the venerable Arabic-provenant legend *Layla and Majnun*.

Aliye's choice might leave us perplexed today, not so much because Ohnet's works have not stood the test of time, but when we consider the

perception of Ohnet by his own contemporaries, such as Romain Rolland (1866–1944), whose judgement of this novel diverged completely from Aliye's. He first commented, with much irony, on the title and the seventy-three editions of *Volonté*. His devastating critique of its style and content culminated as follows:

J'ai lu 'Volonté', et j'ai d'abord été très malheureux. Il n'y a pas une page, pas une ligne, pas un mot, pas une syllabe de ce livre qui ne m'ait choqué, offensé, attristé. J'eus envie d'en pleurer avec toutes les Muses. Je n'avais jamais lu un livre aussi mauvais.<sup>195</sup>

Similar judgements on Ohnet's novels came from other well-known and more prestigious French writers. As noted, Ohnet, an extremely successful writer over a fairly long period, is more or less forgotten today.<sup>196</sup> In this way, he shares the destiny of so many French novelists, who attracted translators and became extremely popular among an Ottoman readership, in Turkish and also in other Ottoman tongues.<sup>197</sup> Yet, for obvious reasons that are not connected to the intrinsic value of the work, Fatma Aliye's translation is regarded as a literary monument. Indeed, a new edition of *Meram* was published in 2014.<sup>198</sup>

## **Conclusion**

This chapter demonstrates that the history of Ottoman translation during a crucial period remains in some respects insufficiently explored or documented. Even translations whose significance in the context of the translation movement seems to be evident continue to be falsely identified. But there are also other aspects. If we consider the translation movement as a process of transmitting knowledge, we have to determine more exactly what was actually transmitted, as well as the routes of transmission. It is not enough to quote just titles and names of supposed authors as is commonly done. More specific features of translations have to be taken into account, too. Many translations, for various reasons, gave only an inadequate idea of the work translated: the style chosen for the translation (or adaptation); the fact that an already adapted version was chosen for translation; or the fact that the translations remained incomplete. Further questions arise: What prevented translators from mentioning original titles and authors? How important were such indications for readers? How interested were they in learning more about the authors of the texts? And so forth.

Despite energetic research in recent years, much remains to be done in this respect. At any rate, such research reminds us to be cautious, and helps to avoid drawing premature conclusions about the transmission of

knowledge (even literary knowledge). It may even lead to significant revisions in the established canon of translated literature.

## Notes

1. Seyfettin Özege, *Eski harflerle basılmış Türkçe eserler kataloğu*, 5 vols (Istanbul: n.p., 1971–9).
2. Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844–1912) translated Charles Mérouvel's novel *Le Péché de la générale* under the title 'Gabrielle's sin' (*Gabriel'in günahı*, 1299/1882). Ahmed İhsan [Tokgöz; 1868–1942], in his first translation (made around 1883), changed the title of Alexandre Dumas *fil's* novel *Ce qu'on ne sait pas* into 'Hermine', after the female protagonist (*Hermin*, 1308/1892; cf. also Sevük, *Batı edebiyatı* 2: 408–9) (see note 3 below).
3. Books on which I have relied greatly and are therefore frequently referred to in this chapter include: İsmail Habip [Sevük], *Batı edebiyatı ve biz. Garpten tercümelere*, 2 vols (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1940–1); Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Son asır Türk edebiyatı* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1941); Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır Türk edebiyatı tarihi* (Istanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1988; first published 1949); Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *Histoire de la littérature turque du XIXe siècle*, trans. Faruk Bilici, Catherine Erkan, Ferda Fidan and Gül Mete-Yuva (Paris: Actes Sud, 2012); Şerif Mardin, *The Genesis of Young Ottoman Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962; Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000).
4. *Tableau des nouveaux règlements de l'Empire ottoman* composé par MAHMOUD RAYF ÊFËNDI. Imprimé dans la nouvelle Imprimerie du Génie. . . . A Constantinople, 1798. See [Turgut Kut and Fatma Türe (eds)], *Yazmadan basmaya. Müteferrika, Mühendishane, Üsküdar* (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi, 1996), 96–7.
5. Scholars do not agree on whether the *Journal du voyage de Mahmoud Raïf Efendi en Angleterre, écrit par luy-même* must be considered generically as a *sefaretname*. See Alaaddin Yalçınkaya, *The First Permanent Ottoman-Turkish Embassy in Europe: the Embassy of Yusuf Ağâh Efendi to London 1793–1797* (Istanbul: Isis, 2010).
6. Extracts in Johann Strauss, 'An den Ursprüngen des modernen politischen Wortschatzes des Osmanisch-Türkischen', in Radoslav Katičić (ed.), 'Herrschaft' und 'Staat'. *Untersuchungen zum Zivilisationswortschatz im südosteuropäischen Raum 1840–1870. Eine erste Bilanz* (Vienna: OAW, 2004), 195–256, esp. 210–32.
7. See Kemal Beydilli and İlhan Şahin, *Mahmud Râif Efendi ve Nizâm-ı Cedîde dâir eseri* (Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu, 2001), esp. 37–42.
8. See Johann Strauss, 'The millets and the Ottoman language. The contribution of Ottoman Greeks to Ottoman letters (19th–20th centuries)', *Die Welt des Islams* new series, 35: 2 (November 1995): 189–249. It should be noted that nearly all the translations from Western languages into Ottoman

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- Turkish printed before the early nineteenth century were made by converts (Ibrahim Müteferrika) or non-Muslims (Phanariot Greeks).
9. The *Terceme-i Telemak* was composed in 1859 and first published in 1862. First translations of European novels were made even before that date. In 1853 there appeared Vartan Pasha's Turkish version of Lesage's *Diabte boîteux*. This translation was printed in Armenian script, however.
  10. İsmail Habip rightfully considers the Ottoman version of Dumas's *Comte de Monte Cristo* (published in 1870) as the first 'real translation' (*hakikî tercüme*) from Western literature (Sevük, *Batı edebiyatı* 2: 237).
  11. See on these partial translations, n. 37 below.
  12. *Tarih-i İskender bin Filipos* (Bulaq, 1254/1838).
  13. Özege, *Eski harflerle* (4: no. 19837) lists it as *Tarih-i İskender bin Filipos* without any other indication. The same is true for Bianchi's list where it figures as *Tarykhi Iskenderi Roumi*; see T. X. Bianchi, 'Catalogue général des livres arabes, persans et turcs, imprimés à Boulac en Egypte depuis l'introduction de l'imprimerie dans ce pays', *Journal Asiatique*, série 4, vol. 1 (July–August 1843): 24–6; here no. 155.
  14. °Ali Hilmi al-Daghistani, *Al-kutub al-turkiyya al-mawjuda bi-l-kutubkhana al-khidiwiyya al-misriyya* (Cairo: al-Matba'at al-'uthmaniyya, 1306/1888–9), 166.
  15. He authored the first printed French-Turkish dictionary, and the first French grammar in Ottoman Turkish. See Johann Strauss, 'La tradition phanariote et l'art de la traduction', in Frédéric Hitzel (ed.), *Istanbul et les langues orientales* (Varia Turcica XXXI) (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 373–401.
  16. Cf. Özege, *Eski harflerle*, 1: 67, no. 910. Özege's catalogue does not indicate a publication date either. It could however be established thanks to indications on the back cover of the different instalments (*cüz*').
  17. The poem takes over the theme of the French poem *Paris et Vienne* (1432), itself translated from the Provençal. It recounts the frustrated love of a young couple, whose tenacity eventually leads to the triumph of love. In the *Erotokritos*, this love story is put in a Greek setting where knights, both Greek and foreign, come to joust in an imaginary pre-Christian Athens. For an English prose translation, see Vitsentzos Kornaros, *Erotokritos: A Translation with Introduction and Notes*, trans. Gavin Betts, Stathis Gauntlett and Thanasis Spiliadis, vol. 14 (Melbourne: Byzantina Australiensia, 2004).
  18. For example, *Polydhôros* becomes *Polidhis*, and *Aretos* eventually *Retokritos* (= Ρωτόκριτος).
  19. See Vintzentzos Kornaros, *Erotokritos*, trans. Denis Kohler (Carouge-Geneva: Edition Zoé, 2006), 309–12.
  20. İsmail Habip's comprehensive study of translations from Western literatures (cited n. 3) does not even contain a section on translations from Modern Greek.
  21. See Johann Strauss, '*Eratos ya'ni Sevdâ*. The 19th century Ottoman

- translation of the *Erotokritos*', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 16 (1992): 189–201.
22. See Strauss, 'The millets', 215–18.
  23. One of the translators, Rıf'at, from Candia, an aide-de-camp of the Sultan, probably also translated from the Greek Alexander Stamatades's (1838–91) 'Chios enslaved' (*Chios doulē*) under the title 'Women's error or The Slaves of Chios' (*Hata-yı nisvan yahud Sakız esirleri*; 1291/1874). This popular drama – and popular especially in Istanbul – was staged first in 1863, and twenty-three times from then until the end of the century.
  24. The two others are by Vauban, the *Traité des Mines* and the *Traité de l'attaque et de la défense des places*. See *Yazmadan basmaya* (cited n. 4), 81–7.
  25. 'Grâce à leur persévérance et à leurs connaissances profondes dans les langues orientales, Hysilanty et Caradza parvinrent à traduire Vauban, en trouvant les termes techniques qui existaient déjà, et en créant les autres soit en turc, soit en arabe, ou en persan'; Jacovacy Rizo-Néroulos, *Analyse raisonnée de l'ouvrage intitulé Charte Turque*, eds Bertrand Bouvier and Anastasia Danai Lazaridou (Athens: Morphōtiko Idryma Ethnikēs Trapezēs, 2013), 158.
  26. On the origin of these translations, see Rizo-Néroulos, *Analyse*, 188.
  27. Joseph von Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, vol. 7 (Pest, 1831), 583–95; 586.
  28. Hammer's identification was adopted by Franz Babinger in his *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, 1919), 24, and appears still in the modern Turkish translation (cf. F. Babinger, '18. Yüzyılda İstanbul'da kitabiyat', trans. Nedret Kuran-Burçoğlu, in *Müteferrika ve Osmanlı Matbaası* (Istanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2004), 1–62; 42). Cf. also Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu (ed.), *Osmanlı askerlik literatürü tarihi*, 2 vols (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2004), 1: 46; *Yazmadan basmaya*, 79.
  29. 'Avrupa'nın ashab-ı maarifinden birinin fenn-i harbe dair risalesi'.
  30. See n. 13.
  31. Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, *Tarikh al-tarjama wa-l-haraka al-thaqafiyya fi ʿasr Muhammad ʿAli* (Cairo: Dar al-fikr al-ʿarabi, 1951), appendix I, nr. 8; Bernard Lewis, 'The use by Muslim historians of non-Muslim sources', in Bernard Lewis and P. M. Holt (eds), *Historians of the Middle East* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), 180–92; 190; Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, *Mısır'da Türkler ve kültürel mirasları* (Istanbul: IRCICA, 2006), 386, no. 7; 539, no. 539.
  32. Johann Strauss, 'Türkische Übersetzungen zweier europäischer Geschichtswerke aus Muhammad ʿAli's Ägypten: Castéras *Histoire de Catherine II* und Bottas *Storia d'Italia*', in Einar von Schuler (ed.), *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 16. Bis 20. September 1985 in Würzburg. Ausgewählte Vorträge* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 1989), 244–58; 246.



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33. Cf. Özege, *Eski harflerle*, 1: no. 129.
34. *Kitab-ı Târih-i Bonaparte* (Bulaq 1260/1844).
35. Ottom. *tezkire* here: 'biographical memoir'.
36. See Johann Strauss, 'Turkish translations from Mehmed Ali's Egypt: A pioneering effort and its results', in Saliha Paker (ed.), *Translations: (Re) shaping of Literature and Culture* (Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 2002), 108–47; esp. 130–2.
37. These *Napoleonica* include (partial) translations of Carlo Botta's, *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814* and of the *Mémoires du Duc de Rovigo pour servir à l'histoire de l'Empereur Napoléon*. There is also an impressive original work in Ottoman Turkish, Vartan Pasha's *Târih-i Napolyon* (1868), based on some thirty works, which had been preceded by a monumental version in Armeno-Turkish of which two volumes were published 1855–6.
38. The Swedish king (1682–1718) was also well known as 'Iron-Head ('*Demirbaş*') Charles' in the Ottoman Empire.
39. Tanpınar, *Ondokuzuncu asır*, 145 (French version, 172). Also see Mardin, *Genesis*, 239, who calls him, slightly more correctly, 'Abro Sahak'.
40. In another of his works, a series of biographies of contemporary statesmen, the translator refers to it as Voltaire's 'History of Russia and Sweden': '*Volter'in tasnifatından terceme-kerde-i âcizi olan Rusya ve İsveç tarihi*' (Sahak Abro, *Avrupa'da meşhur ministroların terceme-i hallerinde dair risale* (Istanbul, 1271/1854), 158).
41. See on this translation of J. H. Castéra's *Histoire de Catherine II, impératrice de Russie* (1799), Strauss, 'La tradition phanariote', 396–8.
42. '*Şovalof'un Rus memleketi tarihi*' (Sevük, *Batı edebiyatı* 2: 599) which was also adopted in Özege's 'Catalogue' where it is listed as 'History of Russa' (*Rusya Tarihi*), '(translated from Shovalef' (*Şovalef'den*) (Özege, *Eski harflerle*, 4: 1498, no. 17170).
43. Shuvalof, a leading figure of the Russian Enlightenment, also maintained correspondence with other eminent French thinkers of the period.
44. 'Un comte de Shouvalof, chambellan de l'impératrice Elisabeth, l'homme de l'empire peut-être le plus instruit, voulut, en 1759, communiquer à l'historien de Pierre [i.e. Voltaire] les documents authentiques nécessaires, et on n'a écrit que d'après eux.' (*Préface historique*, paragraph I). Shuvalof was also instrumental in publishing the *Histoire de l'Empire de Russie sous Pierre le Grand* in Russia.
45. 'Büyük Petro'nun kızı Elizabeta'nin kurenasından Şuvalof nâm zatın ba'zı resail-i mevsuka ve senedat-ı sahiha'.
46. It is not the Turkish *ebru*, 'marbled paper', but (Armenian) *Abro*, an Armenian family well known since the seventeenth century. See article 'Abroyan, Sahak' (Aykan Candemir-Vağarşag Seropyan), in *Yaşamları ve yapıtlarıyla Osmanlılar ansiklopedisi* I (Istanbul: Yapı Kredi Yayınları, 1999): 78. This article cannot be regarded as reliable on Sahak Abro's translations. On Sahak Abro's political career, see Sezai Balcı, 'Bir Osmanlı-Ermeni aydın

- ve bürokrati: Sahak Abro', in İbrahim Erdal and Ahmet Karaçavuş (eds), *Osmanlı siyasal ve sosyal hayatında Ermeniler* (Istanbul: IQ Kültür Sanat Yayıncılık 2009), 105–38.
47. See Taceddin Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye'de tercüme müesseseleri* (Istanbul: Kitabevi, 1998), 115 n. 110–13.
48. *İlm-i tedbir-i menzil*, Istanbul, 1268/1852. See on this work Heidemarie Doganalp-Votzi, 'Aspekte der Rezeptionsgeschichte der Theorien der Moderne im Osmanischen: Das erste osmanische Werk zur Nationalökonomie: Şahak Abrus [sic!] Übersetzung des "Catéchisme d'économie politique" von Jean Baptiste Say', in *Herrschaft, Staat und Gesellschaft in Südosteuropa aus sprach- und kulturhistorischer Sicht: Erneuerung des Zivilisationswortschatzes im 19. Jahrhundert* (Vienna: VAOW, 2007), 239–56.
49. *Avrupa'da meşhur ministroların terceme-i hallerine dair risale* (Istanbul: 1271/1855).
50. The reception of Voltaire's works among the Ottomans started quite early. Edhem Eldem has discovered recently such a translation in Şanizade's (1771–1826) chronicle (*Şanizade Târihi*). In the preface to this *Târih*, the section 'on the rules of historical science and on the method to study historical books' (*El-Mukaddime fi kavaidi fenni ta'rih ve usuli mutala'ati t-tevarih*) was to a large extent based on a late version of Voltaire's article 'Histoire', written for Diderot's *Encyclopédie*. Edhem Eldem, 'Début des Lumières ou simple plagiat? La très voltairienne préface de l'*Histoire* de Şanizade Ataulлах Efendi', *Turcica* 45 (2014): 269–318.
51. *Enkizisyon Tarihi* (Istanbul, 1299/1881–2, 2nd edn 1888).
52. See on Ziya Pasha, Tanpınar, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, 379–431.
53. *Tartîf yahud Riyanın encamı* (Istanbul, 1298/1881, 2nd edn 1304/1887).
54. According to some, this translation was basically due to the vizier İbrahim Edhem Pasha (1818–93) who had left it to Ziya Pasha to finish. Said Pasha, *Gazeteci lisanı* (Istanbul, 1317/1899), 54–5.
55. Voir Zehra Gözütok, 'Ziya Paşa'nın Endülüs Tarihi', PhD diss., Marmara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü İlahiyat Fakültesi İslam Tarihi Anabilim dalı yüksek lisans tezi, Istanbul, 2008. There are two versions of *Endülüs Tarihi* in modern Turkish, the most recent one rendered by Yasemin Çiçek: Ziya Paşa, *Endülüs Tarihi* (Istanbul: Timaş Yayınları, 2012).
56. Tanpınar, *Histoire de la littérature turque*, 809 n. 309. This may go back to Mardin who indicates in his book as source just 'Lavallée's *History of the Inquisition*' (*Genesis*, 338)
57. 'Meclis-i mezkûrun suret-i vaz' ve icadına ve din nâmına icra ettiği kabayih ve seyri'atına dair pek çok kitablar yazılmış ise de cümlesinin muhtasar ve mu'temedi (Gerul) ile (Lavale)'nin İspanya ve enkizisyon hakkındaki eserler olduğundan, tahlis ve telfik tarihiyle lisanımıza naklı münasib görüldü.' (*Enkizisyon tâ'rihi* (Istanbul, 1299–1882), 4).
58. In this case, 'pittoresque' means that the publication was illustrated.

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59. *Espagne*, 453–70. It bears the title: ‘De l’Inquisition d’Espagne – de son origine et de son organisation – manière de procéder de l’inquisition – peines qu’elle prononçait contre les accusés.’
60. These were: Guillaume Pauthier, *Chine* (1837); Dubois de Jancigny, *Inde* (1845); Xavier Raymond, *Tartarie, Boutan et Népal* (1848) (cf. ‘Târih-i Âlemin cem<sup>o</sup> ü telifine me<sup>o</sup> haz olan kitablar’, *Târih-i Âlem* (Istanbul, 1293/1876), 1). Nearly the same volumes of the *Univers pittoresque* as those used by Süleyman Pasha also figure in the catalogue of the private library of Ahmed Vefik Pasha, but also *Japon et Indo-Chine* and *Arabie*. See *Catalogue de la Bibliothèque de feu Ahmed Vefyk Pacha – Ahmed Vefik Paşa Kütüphanesinin defteridir* (Constantinople: Typographie et lithographie K. Bagdadlian, 1893), 107 (most of the authors’ names are misspelt there).
61. For an English version, see Ross E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Battuta* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
62. A continuation of Pirîzade’s eighteenth-century translation by Ahmed Cevdet Pasha (*Mukaddime-i İbn-i Haldun’un fast-ı sâdisinin tercemesidir*) appeared in Istanbul in 1277/1860.
63. The introduction (*muqaddima*) to his seminal treatise *Aqwam al-masalik fi ma’rifat al-mamalik* (1868) was translated into Ottoman Turkish in 1878.
64. *Şeyh İbn-i Battuta Seyahatnamesi tercemesi*, 1291/1874 (also see Özege, *Eski harflerle*, 4: 1656, no. 18910). I was unable to locate another edition, listed in Özege’s catalogue (4: 1564, no. 17911) as *Seyahatname-i İbn Battuta*; Istanbul, 1262/1846, 91 pp. It may be the same version.
65. See Ralf Elger, ‘Die Reisen eines Reiseberichts – Ibn Battūta’s *Rihla* im Vorderen Orient des 17 und 18. Jahrhunderts’, in Tobias Heinzelmann and Henning Sievert (eds), *Buchkultur im Nahen Osten des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 53–98.
66. [Ibn Batuta], *The Travels of Ibn Batuta, translated from the abridged Arabic manuscript copies*, preserved in the Public Library of Cambridge, . . .’, trans. Samuel Lee (London 1829).
67. See also Elger, ‘Die Reisen’, 60 n. 12.
68. According to the Arab scholar Muhammed Mahmud al-Sayyad (cited in the article by A. Sait Aykut, ‘İbn Battuta’, *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 19 (Istanbul: ISAM/Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 1999), 361–8; 367).
69. *Tuhfetü n-nuzzâr fi garâibi l-emsâr ve’ acâibi l-esfâr* – *Seyahatname-i İbn-i Batuta* (2 vols, 1333/5–1335–1335/7 (1916/7–19); ‘Fihrist’, 1338–40). Şerif Pasha’s version was to be ‘simplified’ (i.e. translated into modern Turkish). See Mümin Çevik (ed.), *Ebu Abdallah Muhammed İbn Battuta et-Tancî, İbn Batuta Seyahatnamesi* (Istanbul: Bilge Kültür Sanat, 1983) where many mistakes are to be found: words are read incorrectly, and many pages of poems and explanations have been dropped.

70. Cf. [Ibn Batuta], *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1853–8).
71. 'Fransızca nüshasından lisan-ı osmanîye nakl etmiş idim'. Makyavel [Fr. Machiavel: Machiavelli], *Hükümdar* (Istanbul, 1335–8), 4. On Şerif Paşa and his works, also see İbnülemin Mahmut Kemal İnal, *Son Asır Türk Şairleri*, vol. 4, 3rd edn (Istanbul: Dergâh, 1988), 1828–30.
72. Such an influence has been detected and criticised, especially in the geographical index, where errors occur that seem to be due to the French version.
73. See Devrim Ulaş Arslan, 'Beşir Fuad as a self appointed agent of change: a microhistorical study', *Istanbul University Journal of Translation Studies* 8 (2014): 40–64.
74. *Binbaşıyı davet*, komedya bir perde 'eser-i K. F. Mor', Almandadan mütercimi Fuad, İstanbul, 1300; 1884.
75. For example. Özege, *Eski harflerle*, 1: 151, no. 2230. Özön, *Son asır*, 173, reads 'K. F. Moor'.
76. *Ich werde den Major einladen*. Lustspiel in 1 Aufzug, 4th edn (Leipzig, 1880).
77. *I shall invite the major*. A petite comedy in one act, liberally translated by Sydney Rosenthal (New York: de Witt, 1875). See Bayard Quincy Morgan, *A Critical Bibliography of German Literature in English Translation, 1481–1927*, 2nd edn, 'completely revised and greatly augmented' (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1938), 337.
78. This was however a new phenomenon. It had only started with the Tanzimat reforms, since until the 1830s Italian was the best-known European language in the Ottoman lands. Although it was mainly used in trade and commerce, as well as diplomacy, there were translations: the Catholic Armenians translated numerous works from Italian into Armeno-Turkish, and even in Muhammed Ali's Egypt, several works were still being translated from Italian into Arabic or Turkish, e.g. Botta's *Storia d'Italia dal 1789 al 1814* (only the first part). (See 'Introduction' to this volume.)
79. For instance, the *Menakıb-ı hayevân berayi teşhiz-i ezhân*, trans. Osman Rasih (1294/1877).
80. Ahmet Midhat identified Cyrus with king Kay-Khusraw (Ottom. *Key-Hüsrev*) in Firdawsî's *Shâhnâme*.
81. Bon-Joseph Dacier (trans.), *La Cyropédie, ou Histoire de Cyrus*, 2 vols (1777).
82. [Shakespeare], *Othello ou Le More de Venise*, trans. Jean-François Ducis (1792). See the new critical edition of the French text, with introduction, notes and bibliography: Shakespeare, *Othello ou Le More de Venise*, ed. Christopher Smith (Exeter: Exeter French Texts, 1991).
83. The subtitle speaks of an Italian opera that was transformed into a tragedy by Ducis ('İşbu oyun en evvel İtalya'da büyük opera olmak üzere tasvir olunmuş ba'dehü ("Düsi") ma'rifetiyle Fransızcaya terceme ve haileye tebdil olunmuşdur ki evlâd-i Arabdaki merdliğı musavvir olduğundan bilintihab

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- terceme edilmiştir'). [Shakespeare], *Otello*, trans. Hasan Bedreddin and Mehmed Rif'at (Istanbul, 1293/1876) (*Temaşa*, 2nd vol. Part 3). *Temaşa* ('spectacle') was a collection of plays, translated and original.
84. Mahmud Nedim (trans.), *Güliver nâm müellifin seyahatnamesi*, 2 vols (1289/1872).
  85. It was translated by Recaizade Mahmud Ekrem.
  86. 'terceme-i âciziye asıl ittihaz eylediğim Fransızca nüshası altıncı tertib olub . . . .'
  87. The *İberistan-ı Almanî* (1306–1304/1889; many reprints) translated by Mâcid Pasha [Keçicizade] goes back to the *Cent quatre-vingt-dix contes pour les enfants par le chanoine Schmid*, trans. André Van Hasselt, (Paris: Hachette et Cie, 1868).
  88. *Petit Manuel populaire d'économie politique* (1862).
  89. This very original translation was written in a sort of *öztürkçe*. There is also another translation of the same work by Ahmed Hilmi, probably also from French (see below).
  90. 'Takvimhane-i âmire musahhihi Ahmed Lutfi hikâye-i mezkûrenin nüsha-i müterceme-i arabiyyesini hoşâyende tâbirat ve tekellüm edası üzere açık ifadat u ibarat ile lisan-ı letafet-resan-ı osmanîye nakl u terceme . . .' (*Hikâye-i Robenson*, trans. Ahmed Lutfi, Takvimhane-i âmire, 1864/1280, preface; this translation was reprinted several times, latest in 1877, while it was also reprinted in Baghchesaray in 1889). At one stage, there were still readers in the Ottoman Empire who had to rely on Arabic translations in order to get acquainted with Western history and civilisation: see Johann Strauss, *The Egyptian Connection in Nineteenth-century Ottoman Literary and Intellectual History* (Beirut: n.p., 2000) (*Beyrouth Zokak El Blat(t)*, no. 20), 46ff.
  91. *Qissat Rubinsun Kruzi* (Malta, 1835). When Lutfi's translation appeared, a more complete version by Butrus al-Bustani had already been published in Beirut (1861). On Arabic translations of Robinson Crusoe, see Peter Hill, 'Early translations of English fiction into Arabic, *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *Robinson Crusoe*', *Journal of Semitic Studies* LXII (Spring 2015): 177–211.
  92. According to G. Roper, in his 'Arabic Printing in Malta, 1825–1845: Its history and its place in the development of print culture in the Arab Middle East', PhD diss., Durham University, 1988, 255 (Durham E-theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/1550/>), it was probably made by Christoph Schlienzy (1803–68) and/or 'Isa Rassam (1808–72). Roper rejects, for chronological reasons, the idea that it was the work of Faris al-Shidyaq, who had been engaged by American missionaries there in 1834 to help them in translating religious literature into Arabic. See Matti Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 2nd edn (Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1997), 97.
  93. See on Mehmed Tahir, 'Bosnalı Mehmed Tahir', *Mâlumat* 380 (27 Mart 1319/9 April 1903): 3362–3.

94. Several German translations were published under the title *Biographien berühmter Feldherren* in the collection of Reclam's *Universal-Bibliothek*.
95. See on Gülnar Hanım and her translations, Johann Strauss, 'Ol'ga Lebedeva (Gülnar Hanım) and her translations into Ottoman Turkish', in S. Prător and Christoph K. Neumann (eds), *Arts, Women and Scholars. Studies in Ottoman Society and Culture – Festschrift Hans Georg Majer*, 2 vols (Istanbul: Simurgh, 2002), 1: 287–314.
96. The French spelling of Lebedeva's name is inconsistent: it sometimes also appears as Lébédew, or even 'Labedeff' (as on the title page of her translation of Fatma Aliye's book). In Arabic script, it is clear that she introduced herself as 'de Lebedef(f)'
97. The libretto for this opera in three acts was written by Pavel Viskovatov (1842–1905), with Apollon Maikow. Viskovatov prepared the very first edition of Lermontov's works, and published this in St Petersburg in 1891.
98. *Almancadan lisan-ı letafet-beyân-ı türkîye nakl olunarak . . .*; 3.
99. 'eser-i terceme-i Yanko Vaçidi', *Fransa ve Prusya muharebesi târihi*, 512.
100. Also translator of a Greek play by Alexandre Stamatiades on the first Ottoman ruler: *Gazi Osman* (Istanbul, 1294/1877).
101. *Ιστορία του Γαλλογερμανικού Πολέμου 1870–1871* (Leipzig: Heinrich Matthes, 1872). (The preface was written in Leipzig, 25 December 1871.) I remember once in Istanbul seeing a copy of this work which had formerly belonged to the Translation Bureau (Terceme Odası).
102. 'Μεταφρασθείσα εκ γερμανικῶν κειμένων'. Named are the book by the Swiss colonel Wilhelm Rüstow, *Der Krieg um die Rheingrenze 1870[1], politisch und militärisch dargestellt* (Zurich, 1870–1) (the introductory part of the *Ιστορία* is translated from this source); Adam Pfaff, *La grande nation in ihren Reden und Thaten von Anfang bis Ende des Krieges verglichen mit den Reden und Thaten des deutschen Volkes 3 Abtheilungen* (Cassel: Kay, 1871/2); Wilhelm Angerstein, *Vollständige Geschichte des Deutschen Krieges gegen Frankreich in den Jahren 1870 und 1871. Eine übersichtliche und populäre Darstellung der Kriegs-Ereignisse, ihrer Ursachen und Folgen, nebst Mittheilungen über die Heeres=Einrichtungen und über die Bewaffung, als Gedenk=und Erinnerungsbuch* (Berlin, 1871); K. Winterfeld, *Geschichte des deutschen Krieges* (the latter could be one of two books and it is not clear which one). Newspapers and journals: *Staatsanzeiger*, *Kleiô*, *Hêmera*, etc.
103. The American missionaries translated or had translated edifying literature in English into Arabic, or into Armeno-Turkish and other languages of the non-Muslim minorities.
104. *Tarikh Amriqa mutarjam min al-inklizi* (1274/1858). See on this translation Johann Strauss, 'Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Americana', in Marios Hadjianastasis (ed.), *Frontiers of the Ottoman Imagination. Studies in Honour of Rhoads Murphey* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 259–81; 265–70.

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105. Another translation (from the French?) was published in 1880. It should have been composed at the same time (see Strauss, 'Nineteenth-Century Ottoman Americana', 271–3).
106. Ahmed Hilmi, *Târih-i umumî*, 6 vols (Istanbul, 1283/1866–1295/1878).
107. *Târih-i umumî* 1: 4.
108. 'İngiliz meşahîr-i mü'errihîninden'.
109. Bernard Lewis, 'Hilmî Efendi', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, new edn, s.v. Şerif Mardin had written: 'probably *Historical Questions*, London, 1865' (*Genesis*, 239).
110. It bears the title *Emir Timur Gürkânın ahvaline dairdir*.
111. *Târih-i umumî* 6 (1294/1878), 193: 'Bu fasl Şark tarihine yâni ehl-i islâm fütuhatiyle salib muharebatına dairdir' (chapters 224–65).
112. *Târih-i umumî* 6: 203ff.
113. *Târih-i umumî* 5 (1293/1877), 226: 've mumaileyh feth eylediği memalikde bir milleti diğer bir millet üzerine tercih eylemeyüb her dinin ulema ve fuzelasına ziyadesiyle ihtiram etmek politikasına aşırı dikkat eder ve kendüsü// ise mülhîd-i bîdin ve kâfir-i bed-ayin mesleğinde devam eyler imiş'.
114. *Târih-i umumî* 5: 235: 'Hülagü Han kırk sekiz yaşında helak olub müddet-i şekaveti on sene olmuşdur'. 'Helâk olmak' (to perish) is a less than respectful term for 'to die'.
115. *Târih-i umumî* 4: 189. Ziya Pasha in his introduction to the *Endülüs Târihi* had already noted that there were no works on the history of Muslim Spain kept in Ottoman libraries.
116. 'İşte İspanya'da Hristiyanların lehib-i nar-ı taassub halas olmuş kütüb-i arabiyye pek az kalmış ve baki kalanlardan Frenkler istifade edüb şark tarafına gelenler ve alelhusus tarihe dair olanlar yok mesabesinde dir Binaberin oldukça şayan-ı mutalaa olunacak bir İspanya tarihi yazmak için her halde Avrupa lisanında olan ve taassub-i din-i hristiyanîsi bulunmayan ba'z-ı müerrihlerin tarihlerine müracaat etmeğe mecburiyet olivermiştir.'
117. See Mükrimîn Halil Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan meşrutiyete kadar bizde tarihçilik', *Tanzimat I. Yüzcüncü yıldönümü münasebetile* (Istanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1940), 573–95.
118. This seventeenth-century Ottoman chronicler wrote a Universal History in Arabic (*Jami' al-tawarikh*) of which the sections concerning Ottoman history were translated into Turkish at the beginning of the eighteenth century.
119. Yinanç, 'Tanzimattan meşrutiyete', 578.
120. First in his *Recherches sur l'histoire politique et littéraire de l'Espagne pendant le Moyen Age* (1849).
121. *History of the Dominion of the Arabs in Spain*, 1854, translated by Mrs Jonathan Foster.
122. They are also clearly distinguishable because the sections translated from the *Educational Course* are numbered, the others not.

123. 11 Şaban 1283.
124. Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye’de tercüme müesseseleri*, 187.
125. *Der kleine Volkswirth. Ein Büchlein für den Elementarunterricht, mit einem Vorwort an die deutschen Lehrer* (1852).
126. Hübner’s extremely popular work had also been translated into Italian, French, Spanish and Portuguese. Ahmed Hilmi only writes: ‘Bu kalîlü l-bizaa Ahmed Hilmi kulları ekonomi politik ve istatistik ilimlerinde yed-i tulâsı olan (Otto Hübner) nâm müellifin âsârı olub Avrupada ve alelhusus bütün Almanya mekteblerine birinci derecede kıraat ve menafi-i kesîresi cümle tarafından itiraf olunan Tedbir-i servet kitabını lisan-ı azbü l-beyan-ı türkîye nakl ü terceme eyleyüb . . .’ (8).
127. Kayaoğlu, *Türkiye’de tercüme müesseseleri*, 130.
128. Only seven chapters of Botta’s *Storia d’Italia* and only the first volume of the translation of the Memoirs of the Duke of Rovigo appeared in print.
129. *Meprizon tercemesi*, Istanbul, 1291/1874. Also see on this translation, Sevük, *Batı edebiyatı 2*: 283f.
130. Mahmud Ekrem had already translated Chateaubriand’s *Atala* in 1872. On his translations, see Zeynep Kerman, ‘Recaizade Ekrem’in Batı edebiyatından yapmış olduğu tercüme’, *Edebiyat Fakültesi Araştırma Dergisi* 11 (Ahmed Caferoğlu Özel Sayısı, Fasikül 2) (Ankara, 1979), 442–50.
131. French title: *Les Mystères de la forêt – Adeline ou les malheurs de la vertu*.
132. *Sergüzeşt-i Adelin*. Rumeli demir yollarına takdime-i şevk u şükranıyetden, Istanbul, 1290. Özege, *Eski harflerle*, 4: no. 17789 does not name an author.
133. ‘İşbu terceme aynıyle terceme olmayub hayal-i şik[es]te-bal-ı âcizi eseri olarak ba’z-ı ilâvat u tezyinatı havî olduğu cihetle mütercimîn dahi zahmet-i telifde bir nezbe hissesi bulunmasından ilerü gelme bir şeydir’ (*Sergüzeşt-i Adelin*, 4).
134. *Terez Raken*, Istanbul, 1307/1890.
135. ‘müellifin meslek-i mârufu üzere pek açık yazmış olduğu ba’zı fıkârâtı tayy etdim’ (*İfade-i mahsusa*).
136. He started with a translation from Italian (but whose author was French!); his *Ta’aşşuk-i Tereza ve Cuzeb* (1290/1874) was translated from the Italian version, the *Amori di Teresa di S. Clair e di Giuseppe Gianfaldoni* (1816) by Nicolas Germain Léonard. See Zeynep Kerman, ‘Şemseddin Sami’nin bilinmiyen bir tercümesi’, in her *Yeni Türk Edebiyatı incelemeleri* (Istanbul: Akçağ Yayınları, 1998), 351–4.
137. On Şemseddin Sami (Sami Bey Frachery) and his works, see Agâh Sırrı Levend, *Şemseddin Sami* (Ankara: TDK, 1969).
138. *Galate*, 1290/1873. It is an adaptation of a pastoral novel by Cervantes, *La Galatea* (1585).
139. *İhtiyar Onbaşı*, 1290/1873. It was staged by Güllü Hagop at the *Osmanlı Tiyatrosu* in 1874.
140. *Şeytanın yadigârları*, Istanbul, 1295/1878.



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141. *Sefiller*, Istanbul, 1297/1880.
142. Her *Histoire de France* was first published in 1832, the last (31st) edition dates from 1880. See Johann Strauss, 'Kurûn-ı vusta : la découverte du "Moyen Âge" par les Ottomans', in François Geogron et Frédéric Hitzel (eds), *Les Ottomans et le temps* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), 205–40; 232sq.
143. 'Fransa hakkında türkçe eser olarak ilk malûmat veren bu kitap' (İsmail Habip Sevük, *Tanzimattan beri 1* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, 1944), 173). Also see on this translation, Strauss, 'Kurûn-ı vusta', 232–3.
144. The translation reaches chapter 22 of the 8th book: '245 sahifede bağırmaqda bulunan küçük çocuk' ('Le petit qui criait, au tome III' = end of Troisième partie 'Marius').
145. Sevük, *Tanzimattan beri 1*, 163.
146. *Telemak tercemesi*, Bursa, 1297/1880 (reprinted several times).
147. *Uşal şecere-i türkî*, 1863. The last (and unfinished) chapter is: *Çingiz Han'ın Cüci ve Ögeday Han ve Çağatay Hârezm üzerine tâyin kılındığının zikri* (149)
148. The translator speaks of 'Istanbul Turkish'.
149. A manuscript of the *Shajara-yi Turk* was purchased by Swedish officers detained in Russian captivity in Siberia. They first translated the book into Russian, and then it was retranslated into various other languages. A French translation was first published in Leiden in 1726 (*Historie généalogique des Tartars*), and served as an original for a Russian translation published 1768–74. In 1780 it was published in German and English.
150. See the new edition: Abulg'oziy, *Shajarayi turk*, edited by B. A. Ahmedov (Tashkent: Cho'lon, 1992).
151. *Abulghasi Bahadür Chani Historia Mongolorum et Tatarorum nunc primum tatarice edita*, edited by C. M. Fraehn (Casanii, 1825).
152. *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares par Aboul-Ghâzi Bèhâdour Khan* (St Petersburg, 1871–4) vol. I, text in Chaghatay; vol. II, French translation.
153. This was just the beginning of the Chaghatay title of the Kazan edition: *Ushal shajara-yi turkî nâm kitâb* . . . (tchaghatay: 'This book named Turkish genealogy . . .'). A misunderstanding of the first word has led to the reading of the title as 'Evşal-i şecere-i türkî' (Arabic *awshâl* plural of *washal*, 'dripping water, tears').
154. *Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares*, vol. 2; vol. 1.
155. They had appeared previously in instalments in the newspaper *Tasvir-i Efkar* between September 1863 and February 1864.
156. Aboul-Ghâzi Bèhâdour Khân: *Shajareh-ye Turk = Histoire des Mogols et des Tatares*, 2 vols (1, text; 2, translation), trans. and annotated by le Baron Desmaisons (St Petersburg: Imprimerie de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences, 1871–4; reprint Frankfurt am Main 1994).
157. *Türk şeceresi*, Istanbul, 1343/1925.
158. Joseph-François Michaud, *Histoire des croisades*, 7 vols (1812–22); the

- work was published in its final form in six volumes in 1840 under the editorship of Michaud's friend Poujoulat (9th edn, 1856).
159. *Emrũ l-acîb fî târihi ehli s-salîb*, c. 1288/1871.
  160. Edhem Pertev Pasha (1824–72) was a pioneer in the field of translations of Western poetry.
  161. 'tevarih-i islâmiyyeye umumen ve târih-i saltanat-i osmaniyyeye min vechin münasebeti derkâr olan ehl-i salîb tarihi' (*Emrũ l-acîb*, 5).
  162. François Pétis de la Croix, *Les Mille et un jours*, 'contes persans, texte établi, avec une introduction, des notices, une bibliographie, des jugements et une chronologie par Paul Sebbag' (Paris: Phébus, 2003). The 'Persian Tales' were also translated into English by Ambrose Philips (1674–1749) in 1714–15.
  163. See A. Tietze, 'Aziz Efendi's *Muhayyelât*', *Oriens* 1 (1948), 248–329.
  164. Turkish: *Binbir gece*.
  165. Presumably a reference to *Les Mille et un jours, contes persans*, traduits en français par M. Petis de La Croix, 2 vols (Geneva-Paris, 1786).
  166. 'Kütüb-i hikâyat-ı meşhureden işbu Elfü n-nehar ve nehar nâm kitab-ı müstetabın nüsha-i asliyyesi Hind lisanı üzere olub bundan seksen sene evvel Fransızcaya nakl olunmuş ve lisan-ı hindî şivesince bast u beyan olunan bir takım lüzum ve faidesiz ve mutalaa edenlerin sudâ' vü kasvetini mucibolacak suretde haşvîyat nev'inde olan şeyler tayy olunarak zübdesi ve asıl hisse alınacak mahaller alınmış olduğundan nadirü n-nüshah bir güzel kitab bulunduğ u ve her gecenin bir günü olduğ u gibi Elf Leyle ve Leyle kitabının bu da Bin bir günü olduğ undan Fransızcaya nakl olunmuş olan nüshasından bu def'a lisan-ı azbûlbeyan-ı türkiye terceme olunmuşdur'.
  167. *Elfü n-nehar ve n-nehar*, 2 vols (Istanbul, 1284/1867–1287/1870) (until the 43rd day).
  168. *Elfü n-nehar ve n-nehar yâni Bin bir gün*, vol. 3 (Istanbul, 1287/1870).
  169. 'Dimaşk şahı ile vezir-i mağmumun bakiye-i hikâyesi'.
  170. *İşbu hikâyenin tafsilî dördüncü cilde kalmışdır* (739). A new and apparently complete version (which I was unable to view) appeared in 1290/1874, as its translators are named as Mustafa Hami (Pasha), Ali Raşid, Ahmed Şükrü and Said Fehmi.
  171. The very popular Ottoman *El-Ferec ba'de ş-şidde*. See Ulrich Marzolph, *Relief after Hardship: the Ottoman Turkish Model for the Thousand and One Days* (Detroit: Wayne State Press, 2017).
  172. Ottoman writers used the French translation by J. J. Hellert, 18 vols (1835–43).
  173. See Tuğba İsmailoğlu Kacı, 'Hammer Tarihi' nin Türkçeye Çeviri Teşebbüsleri ve Çevirisi Üzerine', *Vakanüvis* 1: 1 (March 2016): 262–79.
  174. Naim Bey [Frasher], *İlyada eser-i Homer* (1303/1886); Selanikli Hilmi trans., *İlyas yahud Şair-i şehir-i Omiros* (1316/1898–9).
  175. *Ilyadat Humirus* (Cairo, 1904). See M. Kreuz, 'Sulaymân al-Bustânî's

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- Arabische *Ilias*: Ein Beispiel für Arabischen Philhellenismus im ausgehenden Osmanischen Reich', *Die Welt des Islams* 44 (2004): 155–94.
176. Sevük, *Batı edebiyatı* 1: 64.
177. See Süheyla Yüksel, 'Osmanlı'dan günümüze kültür ve dil politikaları çerçevesinde *İlyada* tercümeleleri', PhD Diss., Cumhuriyet Üniversitesi [Sivas] *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 40/2 (Aralık 2016), 32–52.
178. Yahya Kemal, *Çocukluğum, Gençliğim, Siyasi ve Edebî Hatıralarım*, 2nd edn (Istanbul, 1976), 100.
179. Cf. Özön, *Son asır*, 226 n. 3: 'Bu tercümeleler hep çocuklar için yapılan kısaltılmış metinlerin naklidir'.
180. See Francis Marcoin, *Librairie de jeunesse et littérature industrielle au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Champion, 2006), 162, 271.
181. And not 'Rando' as writes Ayşe Banu Karadağ, 'Religious ideology and the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* into [Ottoman and Modern] Turkish', in Micaela Muñoz-Calvo, Carmen Buesa-Gómez and M. Ángeles Ruiz-Monevap (eds), *New Trends in Translation and Cultural Identity* (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 195–216; 197.
182. Ambroise Rendu, *Robinson dans son île, ou Abrégé des aventures de Robinson à l'usage des écoles primaires* (Constantinople, 1849). See *The Turkish Legacy: An Exhibition of Books and Manuscripts to Mark the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Death of the Founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk: December 1988–March 1989* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 1988), 29ff.
183. In the preface, Şemseddin Sami pleads for literal translation, short sentences and a style of writing closer to the spoken language.
184. 'mevcud olan terceme – elyevm Fransa mekâtib-i ibtidaiyyesi programına dahil olub, bizde dahi lisan-ı fransevînin tahsili için okutdurulmakta olan – (Mösyö Ambruvaz Randü)nün eserine mutabık olmayub, diğer bir te<sup>o</sup>lifinin tercemesi olduđu anlaşıldığından, eser-i mezkûrün Fransızcasını okuyan şakirdana medar-ı sühulet olmak üzere, mekâtib-i müteaddide Fransızca muallimi bulunan a<sup>e</sup>izz-i ahibbamdan Mösyö (dö Varez)in ibram ve teşvikiyle, tercemesine mecbur oldum.'
185. See *Bibliographie Catholique*, vol. 11 (1851–2), 244.
186. On Ottoman encyclopaedic writing, see Jutta R. M. Çıkar, *Fortschritt durch Wissen: Osmanisch-türkische Enzyklopädien der Jahre 1870–1936* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004).
187. These entries have also been translated into Albanian in the edition of his collected works.
188. '*İfade-i meram*' (*Kamusü l-a'lâm*), vol. I (Istanbul, 1889), 7–15.
189. '*al-fadlu lil-mutaqaddim* hükmünce bunun icadı şerefi ulema-yı İslâma ve kavm-i Arab'a aid . . . (*İfade-i meram*, 12).
190. The same work ('*Mösyö Bulye'nin coğrafya ve târîh diksiyoneri*') was used, for example, by Süleyman Pasha for his 'World History' (quoted n. 60)

191. It had been continued by the author's nephew, Chassang, with the help of other scholars.
192. *Meram* (Istanbul, 1307/1891).
193. *Volonté* had appeared just one year earlier in France (1888).
194. 'Fenn-i edebde olan aczimi biraz olsun örtmek için terceme edeceğim romanın güzel bir eser olmasını arzu edecek hakikat-i halden çıkmaksızın insanların ahvâl-i fitriyyesini pek güzel tasvir eden ve şu zamanda dünyanın her tarafında eserlerinin gördüğü teveccüh ile romancılıkda bir mevki-i mümtaz eyliyen (Jorj One)nin âsârının okuyub türkceye terceme edilmemiş olanlardan (Volonte) nâm romanının intihab eyledim. Bu hususda yanılmamış olduğum şu eserin yazıldığında gördüğü rağbet üzerine bir sene zarfında yüz ikinci def'a olarak tab' etdirilmiş i temin ediyor.'
195. *La Vie littéraire*, série II (Paris, 1921), 59.
196. Among his numerous novels, only *Le Maître de forges* (The owner of the ironworks, 1882) is still known. Unsurprisingly, this novel was also translated into Ottoman Turkish and Arabic.
197. See on these, Johann Strauss, '*Romanlar ah! O Romanlar!* Les débuts de la lecture moderne dans l'Empire ottoman', *Turcica XXVI* (1994): 125–63; 151–61.
198. Fatma Aliye (trans.), *Meram*, eds Sadi Özgür and Samet Yalçın (Istanbul: Papersense, 2014).

## Translation and the Globalisation of the Novel: Relevance and Limits of a Diffusionist Model

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*Peter Hill*

### *Introduction*

In his two books *Atlas of the European Novel* and *Graphs, Maps, Trees*, Franco Moretti presented models for the ‘distant reading’ of world literature, including that of literary translation.<sup>1</sup> This chapter considers, first, the relevance of Moretti’s approach for understanding translation in the area between the Mediterranean and the Arabian Gulf, and how it fits into a wider global literary system. Secondly, it tests the limits of Moretti’s diffusionist model and considers some variants and alternatives. Elsewhere, I have shown how a relatively ‘close’ reading within a single literary tradition (Arabic) can be combined with a broader framework informed by distant reading, working with Arabic translations of Fénelon’s *Les aventures de Télémaque*.<sup>2</sup> This microfocus has led me to reflect more abstractly and broadly in the present chapter, surveying literary translations from the seventeenth century to the present. The texts presented are, following Moretti’s initial instance of Cervantes’ *Don Quixote*, all novels or proto-novels which became popular to varying degrees across the world – including the southwest Asian region, which is the focus of this volume.

My analysis begins from within Moretti’s diffusionist model, presenting the spread in translation of an initial set of novels from a north-west European ‘core’ through a set of ‘semi-peripheries’ and ‘peripheries’. This permits minor modifications of Moretti’s initial model derived from the case of *Don Quixote*, but more importantly, reveals its relevance through showing the regularities across a number of different cases. I then consider some of the difficulties and limitations of the model, principally derived from the fact that it argues from examples of the ‘core’ region, in a period in which a ‘literary system’ of distinct, commensurable, national languages with print literary traditions existed there. But when

these conditions do not apply – as in many ‘peripheral’ areas in the same historical period – the model loses its relevance. Nor is it possible to replace it with a single alternative ‘peripheral’ or ‘premodern’ model, since the languages and literatures in question are highly diverse, from largely oral traditions to ones based on an ancient literate but largely manuscript culture. A further complication is that translations of many of these proto-novels and novels into a given language can be taken as an index of that language’s integration into a Europe-centred modern literary ‘world-system’. Finally, I consider approaches which take account of these difficulties, such as Isabel Hofmeyr’s mid-level generalisations on African versions of Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, or my account of the Arabic transformations of *Télémaque*. But to these I add variants on the diffusionist model taking account of intermediary languages and alternative centres of diffusion.

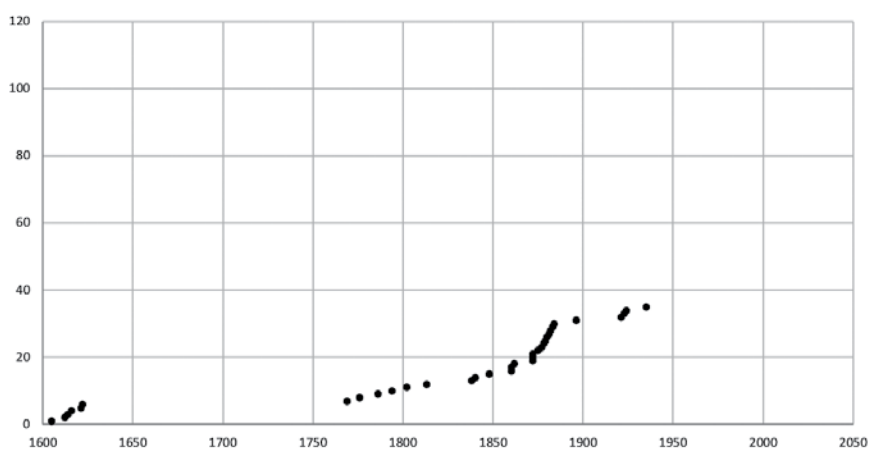
### ***Core-Periphery: The Diffusionist Model***

Beginning within the parameters of Moretti’s original diffusionist model, I examine a set of ‘translingual mass texts’, specifically novels. I scrutinise the first known print translation into a given language, along the lines of Moretti’s treatment of *Don Quixote*,<sup>3</sup> in order to test and refine Moretti’s model within its own terms.

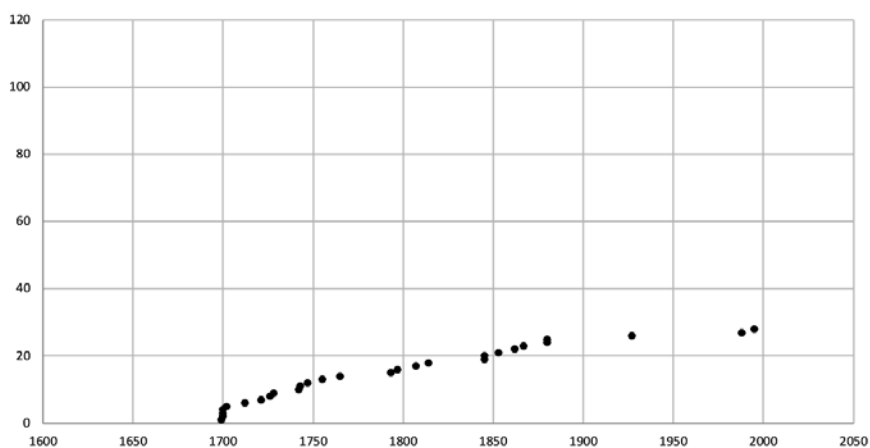
My examples include Moretti’s *Don Quixote*, and six others: the Marquis de Fénelon’s *Les aventures de Télémaque*, Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, Marmontel’s *Bélisaire*, Abbé Barthélemy’s *Le voyage du jeune Anacharsis en Grèce*, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre’s *Paul et Virginie* and Alexandre Dumas père’s *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*. These mainly French novels are selected as having been famously popular across the world, equally so in languages of the Ottoman Empire during the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> The data on first known print translations is largely derived from the online database worldcat.org, an aggregator of various library catalogues and bibliographic resources, supplemented where possible by other sources. (For *Don Quixote*, I use Moretti’s data, in his *Atlas*.) This resource facilitates a ‘distant’ reading of translations of a single title into a wide range of different languages.<sup>5</sup> The data obtained in worldcat probably contains many gaps; it is likely to be fuller and more accurate for languages closer to Moretti’s ‘core’ literary system than for the ‘periphery’, due to uneven coverage of library catalogues; and is no doubt open to criticism and correction on many other points of detail. Readers will decide whether this invalidates the broad conclusions I seek to draw. Better resources would enable a more accurate exercise, but it

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seems worth making the attempt. Chart 1 plots the year of the first print translations (and the original-language edition) against the total number of languages in which each novel existed. A different line of data-points represents each novel: *Don Quixote* (first published 1605), *Télémaque* (1699), *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *Bélisaire* (1767), *Anacharsis* and *Paul et Virginie* (both 1788), *Monte Cristo* (1846). For *Don Quixote*, Moretti's data-series stops in 1935; the others continue up to the latest translations recorded in worldcat, the most recent being in 2014. The line formed by the data-points for each novel represents the (changing) rate at which that novel was being translated into new languages.



**Chart 1** First print translations of *Don Quixote* (to 1935)



**Chart 2** First print translations of *Télémaque*

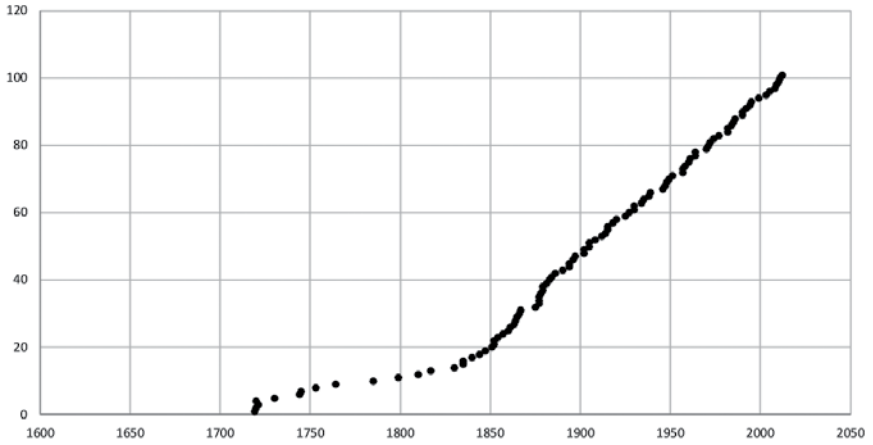


Chart 3 First print translations of *Robinson Crusoe*

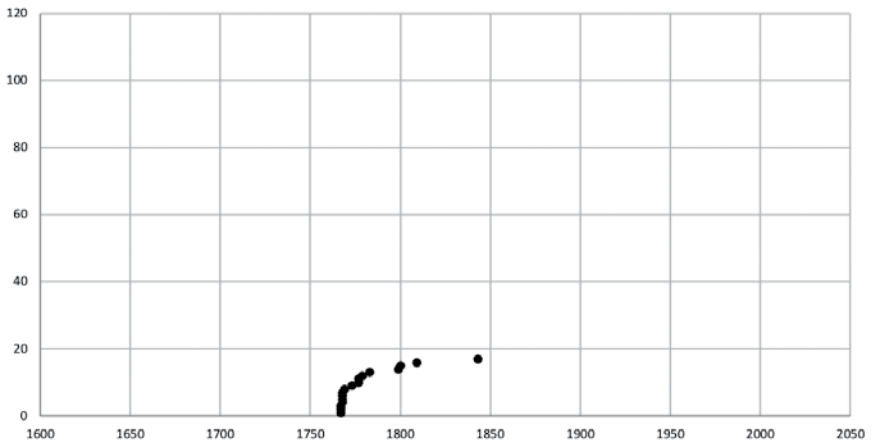


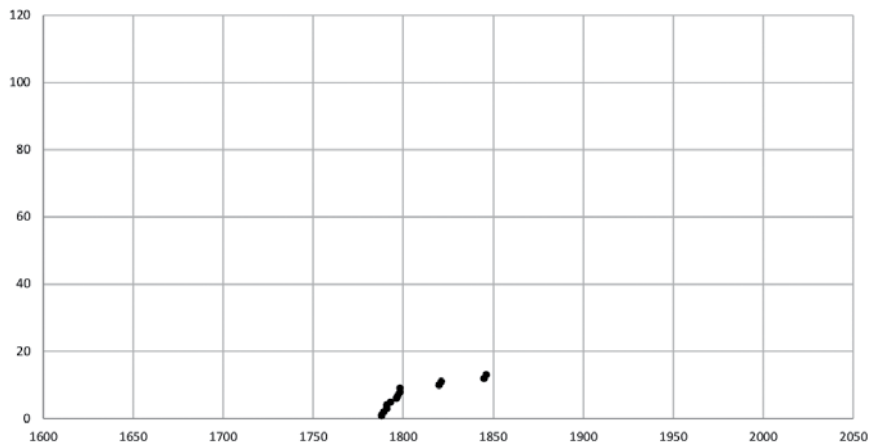
Chart 4 First print translations of *Bélisaire*

Plotting the data in this way enables us to see a number of common ways in which all seven novels ‘behaved’ in the translational world-system. We can divide the process of global translation into a series of fairly clear phases:

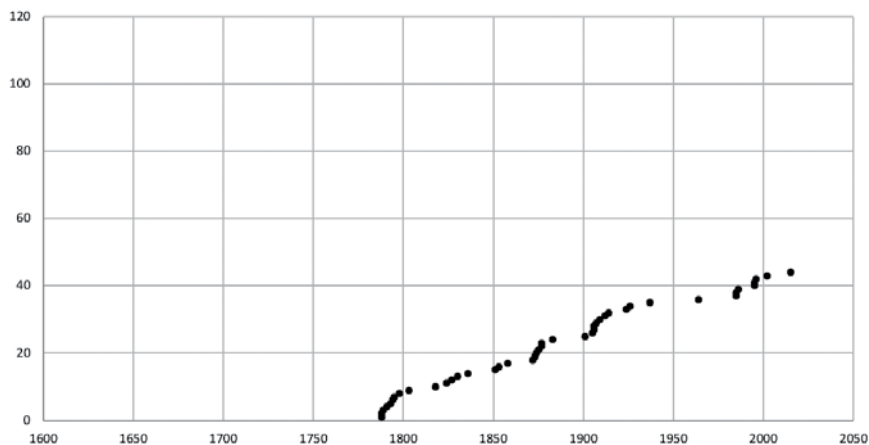
- Phase A began just after the novel’s original publication: it was translated rapidly into a narrow ‘inner core’ of mainly north-west European languages.
- Phase B extended from the end of Phase A to some point in the second



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**Chart 5** First print translations of *Anacharsis*



**Chart 6** First print translations of *Paul et Virginie*

half of the nineteenth century: this saw a slower set of translations into a larger ‘outer core’ of further-flung European languages, extending gradually across the Mediterranean.

- Phase C began in the second half of the nineteenth century and extended into the 1920s, and saw a resurgence of translation of the novel into new languages, far beyond Europe but also including ‘minor’ or ‘minority’ European languages.
- Phase D, from the 1920s to the 1980s, was a second ‘slack’ period of only occasional translations into new languages.



Chart 7 First print translations of *Monte Cristo*

- Phase E, from the 1980s to the 2010s, saw a less strongly marked but still visible resurgence in translations.

**Phase A** is best illustrated by the first four novels: *Don Quixote*, *Télémaque*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Bélisaire*. Here, the most clearly marked ‘inner core’ is represented by French, English, German and Dutch: *Télémaque* made it into these four languages over its first two years (1699–1700), and *Robinson Crusoe* did the same over its first three years (1719–21). A century earlier, *Don Quixote*’s ‘core’ had been slightly larger, including, in addition to these four, Italian and of course the original Spanish: but this wave took far longer (six languages in seventeen years, 1605–22). Later in the eighteenth century, *Bélisaire* made it into seven languages over its first two years (1767–8): the previously mentioned four were now joined by Russian, Italian and Danish. The following maps show these ‘core’ languages: Map 1 the ‘inner core’ of French, English, German and Dutch; and Map 2 the ‘outer core’ of Italian, Spanish, Russian and Danish. The placing of the languages on these and succeeding maps is somewhat artificial: it represents not the actual place of publication but where in my judgement (often a guess) the centre of the reading community of that language is likely to have been.

These translations were practically simultaneous with the original publication: the works had an instant literary reputation across a number of languages. There was a tendency over time for the initial wave of translation of a ‘bestseller’ to become more rapid, and to include more languages

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**Map 1** Inner core



**Map 2** Outer core

(from six languages in seventeen years in the early seventeenth century to seven in two years for works first published in the second half of the eighteenth).

**Phase B:** For each of these novels, the initial very rapid or fairly rapid wave of translations into the first ‘core’ was succeeded by a slack period, in which translations continued at a much-reduced rate, as witnessed by the flattening of the graph line in each case after the initial upward surge. The pattern is clearest in three. For *Télémaque* this phase covered the years 1721–1880; for *Robinson Crusoe*, 1730–1847; for *Bélisaire*, 1769–1843. The languages through which the novels proceeded in this phase belong to what we may call a ‘semi-periphery’, again of European languages. For *Télémaque* and *Robinson Crusoe* this includes Russian, Italian and Danish (which for *Bélisaire* had joined the ‘core’); but all three were also translated in this phase into Armenian, Spanish, Swedish, Polish, Portuguese and Serbian. Two out of the three were also translated into Greek, Hungarian, Romanian and Latin; and one into Welsh, Arabic, Finnish and Czech.

There were variations on this pattern: *Don Quixote* saw a complete hiatus in translations into new languages until the late eighteenth century. Then two waves of gradual translations took place, corresponding to the ‘slack’ period of the other novels: 1769–1802: Russian, Danish, Polish, Portuguese, Swedish; and 1813–63: Romanian, Yiddish, Greek, Ottoman Turkish, and three languages of the Habsburg territories, tentatively identified as Hungarian, Czech and Croatian.<sup>6</sup>

*Anacharsis* and *Paul et Virginie*, both first published in French in 1788 on the eve of the Revolution, were translated at a steady rate of nearly one language per year over the succeeding decade (by 1798, *Anacharsis* existed in nine languages, *Paul et Virginie* in eight). This initial ten-year ‘core’ looks similar to the ‘core’ plus part of the ‘semi-periphery’ of the other eighteenth-century novels: French, English, German, Italian, Russian (though not Dutch) – and also Swedish and Spanish (for both novels), Polish (*Paul et Virginie*), Greek and Danish (*Anacharsis*). The next maps represent the languages of the ‘semi-periphery’: Map 3 contains those into which over half of these six novels were translated during Phase B (this group overlaps with the ‘outer core’ described above); Map 4 contains those into which between one and three of the six had been translated over the same period.

This hierarchy is then a rigid one, as Moretti suggested of his original example of *Don Quixote*; and it is replicated across novels with original publication dates from 1605 to 1788. First, and very rapidly, the unified translational market of northwestern Europe (English, French,

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**Map 3** First semi-periphery



**Map 4** Second semi-periphery

Dutch and German); less frequently, languages of further north and south (Italian, Spanish, Danish and Russian). Then, far more slowly, a slightly wider set of languages, taking us further north, east and south within Europe: Portuguese, Armenian, Serbian, Polish, Swedish. In fewer cases this wave crosses the Mediterranean, to Ottoman Turkish and Arabic; it also begins to include European ‘minority’ languages (Welsh, Catalan, Yiddish), and those of ‘emerging’ nations (Bulgarian, Hungarian, Norwegian).

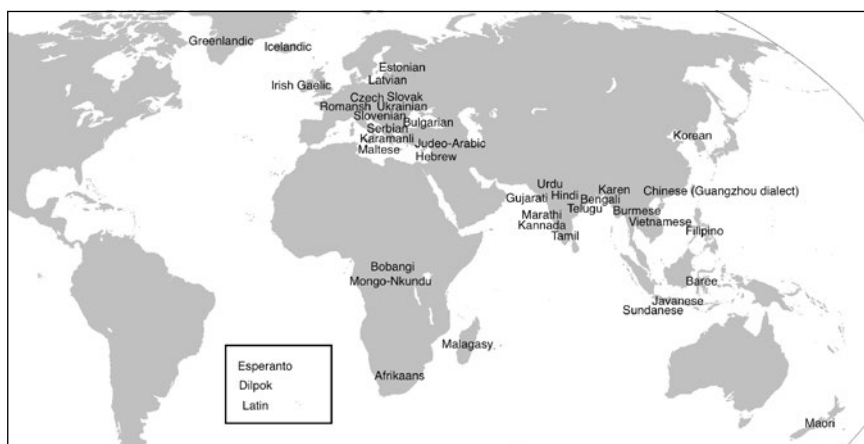
**Phase C:** Conditions change considerably in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the first place, some popular eighteenth-century novels effectively cease to be translated into new languages: this is the case for *Anacharsis*, *Bélisaire* and (barring a few cases) *Télémaque*. These novels also never made it beyond the Mediterranean, for it is only after 1850 that the truly global translation of novels begins – although of course novels in European languages had long been read in European colonies around the world. The other three novels, on the other hand, saw a renewed vogue: the rate of translation into new languages increased sharply compared with the preceding slack period. *Robinson Crusoe*’s began early, in 1851, and – exceptionally – has continued unabated into the 2010s. *Don Quixote* saw a sustained wave of new translations, 1872–84, followed by a few stragglers to 1935, when Moretti’s data stops. *Paul et Virginie* saw two distinct bursts of translation, 1872–83 and 1901–26. *Monte Cristo*’s original publication and initial burst of translations came just before *Robinson Crusoe*’s resurgence: it made it into six languages in its first two years (1846–7). It then experienced a slack period, apart from one exceptional year (1871) which saw three translations, followed by a sustained wave of new translations, 1897–1929. The next maps show the truly global reach of these novels, through two ‘peripheries’: first, in Map 5, those languages which saw translations of three or four out of the four novels (*Don Quixote*, *Robinson Crusoe*, *Paul et Virginie*, *Monte Cristo*) during this phase; then, in Map 6, those which saw only one or two of the four. (For both, I have not shown languages already encountered in the ‘core’ or ‘first semi-periphery’.)

**Phases D and E:** These phases are less clearly marked than the others, and I will not comment on them in great detail. For *Don Quixote*, this period is not covered by our graph, as Moretti’s data stops in 1935, but worldcat suggests that the novel saw many more translations after this date. For *Paul et Virginie* and *Monte Cristo*, there was a second period (Phase D) of infrequent translations into new languages, extending from the 1930s to the 1980s. For *Robinson Crusoe*, exceptionally, there was no such lull in translations: the narrative’s previous rate of translation

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**Map 5** First periphery (three or more out of four novels, 1850–1930)



**Map 6** Second periphery (one or two out of four novels, 1850–1930)

into new languages has continued unabated until 2012. For the others, however (and even to some degree for *Télémaque*, largely neglected since the nineteenth century), there was a minor resurgence of translation into new languages, 1980s–2010s (Phase E). The languages in question are, as we might expect, ever more widespread across the world's continents, and include an increasing number of 'minority' European languages, such as Basque, Frisian and Breton.

This analysis vindicates the usefulness of Moretti's model. A 'distant reading' of several novels in translation can reveal common features of the global 'system' of novelistic translation, which would remain invisible

if our analysis were limited to only one text in translation, or to a number of texts in only one language. There remain problems of interpretation. How do we explain the timing of these phases of translation, and the languages involved in the different phases? The explanation for Phase A seems fairly obvious: there was a unified literary market consisting mainly of north-west European languages, which ensured that a popular novel's first vogue in its original language was likely to be propagated into the others. (Note, though, the seven-year delay between the initial publication of *Don Quixote* in Spanish, outside the 'inner core' of this system, and its 'discovery' via translations into the core languages.) Phase B seems to follow clearly from Phase A: once a work's reputation was established in the core languages, translations were likely to follow, but at a more leisurely pace, into a set of semi-peripheral languages which were coming under the literary influence of the 'core'; hence translations into languages located largely further north, east, and south within Europe, and creeping across the Mediterranean. These phases, then, seem to map the limits of the European Enlightenment.

With Phase C, 1850s–1920s, we seem to enter a new dynamic. Irrespective of the length of time since their original publication, some of these popular narratives (not all) were taken up and translated rather quickly into new languages. And these were not only semi-peripheral European and Mediterranean languages already featuring in our translational history, but new ones. Peripheral or 'minority' languages of Europe were still central to the picture, now increasingly including those which had not had a major elite literary tradition in previous centuries, but had been largely languages of the peasantry (Czech, Norwegian, Ukrainian, Lithuanian). But we see also a strong trend of translations into languages of west, south and east Asia, and occasionally elsewhere: Africa, the Arctic, New Zealand. (We also see invented, artificial languages: Esperanto and Dilpok.) Phase C seems, then, to correspond to a new cultural situation: a phase of growing patriotic and cultural nationalist movements in languages across the world. This period, from the 1850s to the 1920s, was one in which increasing numbers of languages were being 'discovered' and offered as the basis of new nations, with concomitant attempts to elaborate national literatures and heritages. Our evidence suggests that – as with the earlier semi-peripheral phases – the translation of globally popular works of literature was an integral part of this process. New national literatures could be placed alongside and compared to other national literatures, within an overarching 'world literature'. This process was, I would argue, not a secondary one, to be entered into after the national literature had already been formed, but constitutive of the development of national



literature itself, taking place alongside and in dialogue with the formation of a 'national heritage' canon. The closeness of some translations in both time and place – the translation of *Robinson Crusoe* into two languages spoken in the Congo in 1927 and 1930, or into Malay in 1875 and both Sundanese and Javanese in 1879 – suggests emulation on a local scale: we will see more detailed examples later.

The absence of the subsequent wave of 1950s–60s national resurgences from our graph is perhaps due to the fact that the cultural-linguistic nationalist phases of these political nationalisms were often significantly older. Hence the first translations of 'global mass texts' into languages such as Arabic or Hindi had occurred long since. In the case of Arabic, this period saw an attempt to retranslate classic works of literature in accordance with more recent canons of style: hence new translations of *Télémaque* or the plays of Shakespeare appeared.<sup>7</sup> These do not, however, register on our graph of first print translations into a given language: instead we see only the lulls in translation of Phase D. Finally, Phase E presumably corresponds to a rising interest in nationalist or 'minority'-nationalist politics and cultures – for instance in the former USSR or in European regions such as Wales or Galicia – since the 1980s.

### ***Limits of the Diffusionist Model: Télémaque in the Ottoman World***

Having seen what Moretti's diffusionist model can show us, let us consider what it cannot show. This entails narrowing our scope from the 'distant reading' hitherto pursued, but not all the way to a traditional 'close reading'. Rather, I adopt a middling scope, a little narrower but similar in conception to that adopted by Isabel Hofmeyr in her survey of sub-Saharan African translations of *The Pilgrim's Progress*. I will investigate principally the spread of Fénelon's *Les aventures de Télémaque*, through central and eastern Europe, the Balkans, the Mediterranean, and the Near East, supplemented with occasional examples from elsewhere.

As previously stated, the 'distant reading' model I initially adopted is based on plotting onto a graph or a map the *first known print translation into a given language*. Each element of this definition is open to question, as becomes apparent when we proceed to a closer level of analysis. Need we privilege *print* over other kinds of translation? Why should the date of the *first* translation (print or otherwise) be taken as our yardstick, instead of, for instance, number or frequency of different translations, or their likely diffusion within the language? What counts as a *translation*, as distinct from an adaptation, imitation, and so on? How do we define our *given language*,

particularly for a period when ‘national’ languages were themselves works in progress? And finally, how do we deal with divergences in the quality or quantity of data available for different languages or forms of transmission, such as discrepancies between what is ‘known’ to us and the likely reality?

In at least five languages of the Balkans and Near East, *Télémaque* appeared in manuscript versions before it did in print. In some cases, these translations preceded by a significantly long time the first print versions, which have been recorded in the graphs and maps above. In Romanian, a manuscript translation was made in 1772, thirty-five years before the first print version in 1818; in Ottoman Turkish, a manuscript translation existed in the late eighteenth century, well over a half-century before the first print translation in 1862; in Arabic, two manuscript translations were made in the 1810s, about fifty years before the print version in 1861–67; in Persian a manuscript version exists from the eighteenth century, perhaps a century or more before the print version of 1879–80.<sup>8</sup> (For Serbian, however, the difference is probably fairly small: there is an undated version by a translator who lived 1766–1811; the other translator began work in 1809 and the work was printed in 1814.)<sup>9</sup> The versions which were later printed may have circulated in manuscript form for some years, as seems to have been the case with Rifa‘a al-Tahtawi’s Arabic version, of which part had been made in the 1840s and approved for publication, long before its actual printing in the 1860s; and as was the case with the first Russian translation, made in 1734 and ordered to be printed by Catherine the Great in 1747.<sup>10</sup> In 1949, a manuscript translation was even made into the liturgical language Syriac, which never saw a print version.<sup>11</sup> If manuscript translations – where they could be discovered, as they are harder to trace than print ones – were plotted on our maps and graphs, they might give a significantly different picture. This highlights the fact that literary contact between (for instance) Arabic, Ottoman and Persian preceded by many decades the major print publishing initiatives for non-religious books.

All of the Balkan, Mediterranean and West Asian languages with a print translation of *Télémaque* also had other versions. In fact, the only language of the region into which there was only a *single* translation of the novel was Syriac, the liturgical language: the others all had multiple print translations over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These retranslations involved shifts in genre as well as stylistic differences or abridgement – and, as we shall see, changing norms of what constituted the literary language. Translations into different kinds of verse were especially common across Europe, ‘responding to a need created all across Europe by the reading of *Télémaque* as an epic poem’.<sup>12</sup> Russian saw major competition between *Télémaque* translators in the late eighteenth

century, leading to at least five versions, including one in verse.<sup>13</sup> Italian saw thirteen different printed translations between 1702 and 1843, three of them into verse (two *ottava rima* and one ‘verso sciolto’, free verse), as well as an opera and a ballet.<sup>14</sup> Arabic saw four print versions from one published 1861–7 to 1912, one into rhyming prose (*sajʿ*), one into verse, one a dramatic adaptation, and only one (a rewriting of the *sajʿ* translation) in plain, unrhymed prose.<sup>15</sup> Of four Greek print translations 1742–1865, one was in hexameter verse.<sup>16</sup> This already makes it clear that *Télémaque*’s imprint on different literatures varied widely.

The variety of translations or versions of this one novel in so many different languages raises the issue of what actually constitutes a translation – and hence a data-point to be entered upon our graphs and maps. This is not a question answerable through a ‘distant reading’ alone, as it requires detailed study of the versions in question. It may well not be evident that a given work is in fact based on the novel – as with the performance of the dramatic version of *Télémaque* in Arabic, billed as *The Passion of the Ancients and the Love of Parents for their Children*.<sup>17</sup> When, as is the case with this play, the versions involved major cuts and additions with no basis in Fénelon’s original, are we dealing with something we can even record as a ‘translation’? How do we account for the vogue for imitations or responses to a popular text? Many imitations were made of *Télémaque*, not just in the original French but also, for instance, in Dutch; while in Polish the novel is credited with spawning a whole genre of ‘adventure’ stories.<sup>18</sup> An Ottoman Turkish writer was moved to write a ‘refutation’ of *Télémaque*, in which he offered traditional Islamic morals as an antidote to the European fashions propagated, as he saw it, by the novel.<sup>19</sup> In Spanish, eighteenth-century versions of *Télémaque* became bound up with the rediscovery of *Don Quixote* as a Spanish classic, and debates around both the nature of epic and Spanish literature.<sup>20</sup> The *rayonnement* of the novel in each of these languages was remarkable, but also unpredictable. These varied local receptions could not be read off from the sort of graph-map combination I offered previously – any more than the diverse receptions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* Hofmeyr reveals in different African languages could be read off from her tables of translations and dates.<sup>21</sup>

There are also difficulties in defining the parameters of a ‘language’: many of these translations were made while the process of constituting a modern, national literary language was still underway – and themselves formed important parts of that process. For *Télémaque*, we find translations into both classical and modern versions of Armenian and of Greek; and Romanian translations in both Roman and Cyrillic script. Alongside these we may place three Chinese translations of *Robinson*

*Crusoe*, into ‘Guangzhou dialect’, ‘Chinese’ and ‘Chinese (romanised)’; or one into Hindi and one into Urdu; or translations of *Monte Cristo* into both Ottoman Turkish (1871) and Karamanli (1882); or into Arabic (Cairo, 1871) and Judeo-Arabic (Tunis, 1889); or two into Norwegian, one of which (Kristiania, 1897) is listed as in literary ‘Bokmal’, the other (Chicago, 1891) not. In which cases do we count these as translations into distinct languages? I decided to count them as separate languages for the purposes of the graphs and maps, but this was an arbitrary choice.

Associated with this question of defining a language is that of attaching it to a particular territory. On the maps above I have generally placed each language roughly where a conventional relationship between a ‘nation’ and its ‘national’ language would dictate, or where (as far as I could judge or guess) the major community of speakers was located at the time. But while useful for establishing a basic relationship of core-periphery, along the lines of Moretti’s original map of *Don Quixote* in his *Atlas*, this does not necessarily represent very well the actual modes of book publication and circulation in the periods we are concerned with. Not only did translations in European languages circulate in the colonies;<sup>22</sup> publishing and educated readerships were also highly diasporic, perhaps particularly – though not exclusively – for ‘new’ national languages still in the process of being constituted. Many of *Télémaque*’s early French editions were, we may remember, printed outside France; and some were printed inside France but with false imprints – Brussels, the Hague, and so on – since they were banned by Louis XIV.<sup>23</sup> On Map 7 I have indicated the translations of *Télémaque* into languages of the Balkans and central-eastern Mediterranean, up to the 1870s (I have not counted reprints of existing translations, of which there were also many). It gives some idea of the diasporic nature of publishing in these languages.

The dozen Italian translations, apparently all different, were published not only in the different Italian regional centres but also in France, Germany and the Netherlands: the first was in Leiden. Serbian, Greek, Romanian, Bulgarian and Persian all received their first translations in centres of the diaspora: Venice and the Habsburg centres of Vienna and Buda(-Pest) were, it seems, especially important for publishing in Balkan languages (as also for other languages of central and eastern Europe).<sup>24</sup> The imperial capital Istanbul was also important. Only later do we see new translations issued in Greek and Romanian within their ‘national’ territories. Arabic was more centred on the Arabic-speaking world itself, with all the editions in this period appearing in Beirut – although the first, al-Tahtawi’s, had actually been made in Cairo and the Sudan. We might also recall the first Arabic translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, the product of a missionary



**Map 7** Print translations of *T  lemaque* into languages of the Balkans, Mediterranean and Near East, to 1880

press in Malta.<sup>25</sup> The Armenian translations were especially far-flung, as we might expect from a famously diasporic community: the first in New Nakhichevan (the Armenian suburb of Rostov-on-Don), the second and third in Venice, the fourth (with a parallel French text) in Paris. (The first Armenian translation of *B  lisaire*, in 1809, was printed in Madras.) Yet institutionally they were dominated by the Armenian churches, and especially the Catholic Mekhitarist Fathers, responsible not only for the Venice versions of *T  lemaque* but also the Paris one; the Rostov translation, on the other hand, was printed in an Armenian Apostolic (Orthodox), rather than a Catholic, monastery.

This diasporic picture, like the difficulty in distinguishing the borders of a ‘language’, serves to complicate the initial impression offered above of an orderly procession through a series of national languages linked to national territories. A further complication is offered by the fact the novel was sometimes translated via an intermediary language rather than directly from its original French. The first Romanian version and one of the Arabic manuscript ones were translated from the Italian; one Czech translation was made from the German.<sup>26</sup> Similar cases are recorded for

some of the other novels we have examined: the 1851 Bulgarian *Paul et Virginie*, translated from the Greek; the 1860 Hindi *Robinson Crusoe*, from the Bengali; the 1879 Javanese *Robinson Crusoe*, from the Malay (1875), which in turn was translated from the Dutch. In another way, though, this diasporic picture reinforces the diffusionist pattern we have seen: the expatriate publishing centres tended to be closer to the north-western European ‘core’ than the putatively ‘national’ territories.

What knowledge I have of (mainly Arabic) translations of four of the other novels mapped above – *Bélisaire*, *Anacharsis*, *Robinson Crusoe* and *Paul et Virginie* – suggests that behind the data on first print translations there are similarly complex histories of multiple, many-formed translation and adaptation. *Robinson Crusoe* was first translated into Arabic in manuscript by the orientalist John Lewis Burckhardt in 1815 in Damascus; an abridged translation was published by Church of England missionaries in Malta in 1835; and Butrus al-Bustani published his version, *al-Tuhfa al-Bustaniyya fi l-asfar al-Kuruziyya*, with some significant additions, in Beirut in 1861.<sup>27</sup> *Bélisaire* – though never printed in Arabic – was translated in manuscript from the Greek by the Damietta Circle, who made one of the two manuscript Arabic *Télémaque* translations, in the 1810s.<sup>28</sup> Though *Anacharsis* was again never printed in Arabic, a translation seems to have been at least begun by members of Mehmed Ali’s translation project (one of whose luminaries, al-Tahtawi, was responsible for the first published Arabic *Télémaque* translation).<sup>29</sup> *Paul et Virginie* was translated four times, once in what seems a fairly literal version by Salim Sa‘b (*Riwayat Bul wa-Firjini*, Beirut, 1864); then into Egyptian dialect by Muhammad ‘Uthman Jalal (*al-Amani wa-l-minna fi hadith Qabul wa-Ward Janna*, Cairo, 1873); in a free adaptation by Muhammad al-Manfaluti, who famously knew no French and relied on an Arabic version supplied by someone else (*al-Fadila aw Bul wa-Firjini*, Cairo, 1923); and again by Ilyas Abu Shabaka (Beirut, 1933). These versions might then spawn further ones in other languages: the Indonesian translation of *Paul et Virginie* (2002) is of Manfaluti’s Arabic. Joachim Heinrich Campe’s rewriting of Defoe, *Robinson der Jüngere* (1779–80), was extremely popular in translation: a few of the *Robinsons* recorded in the data used above may turn out, on closer examination, to be derived from Campe.

### ***The Interdependence of National and World Literature: Télémaque polyglotte***

The interaction between translation into individual languages and a kind of comparative ‘world literature’ is most visibly performed in the editions

of *Télémaque polyglotte*. They might be compared to similar celebrations of a text's translational reach, such as the missionary reports, periodicals and exhibitions in which translations of *The Pilgrim's Progress* (and other Protestant literature, including Scripture) were proudly quantified.<sup>30</sup> There were at least three attempts during the nineteenth century: in 1812 Fleury de Lécluse, a pupil of the great orientalist Silvestre de Sacy, published a prospectus and appeal for subscriptions for a proposed edition. An octavo version would contain the French, Greek, Italian, Spanish, English and German; a quarto version would contain, in addition, Dutch, Portuguese, Russian, Polish and 'Illyrien' (probably Croatian), along with an 'Asiatic language', Armenian. The attempt may have been inspired by the edition of *Télémaque* issued the previous year, with Jean-Félicissime Adry's prefatory essay detailing and celebrating its many translations into the world's languages, on which I have drawn for data.<sup>31</sup> In addition to Fleury's own polyglot abilities and connections, this project was enabled by two of his pupils in Paris, who were to provide the Polish and 'Illyrian' versions. A sample of a single passage printed in these languages (plus Latin and Classical Greek verses), on a fold-out table, was included with the prospectus, but apparently Fleury never got his required 200 subscribers, for the full editions were never published.<sup>32</sup>

Instead, in 1830 a Lille bookseller issued an edition with parallel texts in French, Latin, English and Dutch, and in 1837, an edition in 'the most commonly used European languages', French, English, German, Italian and Portuguese, in parallel columns, was produced by the Paris bookseller Baudry.<sup>33</sup> These probably reproduced previous translations and seem to have been speculative ventures by men who knew the book market. There were also more homespun versions of the same practice, like the manuscript album Abdolonyme Ubicini was shown by a Russian diplomat in Istanbul in the 1840s or 1850s, with translations of *Télémaque's* opening passage into 'seventeen or eighteen languages', of which he lists fourteen: Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Greek, Armenian, Kurdish, Georgian, Russian, Tatar, 'valaque' (Romanian?), Bulgarian, Albanian, 'syrienne' (Syriac?), Chaldean.<sup>34</sup> Translators' prefaces reference the range of other languages, especially neighbouring ones, into which *Télémaque* had been translated.<sup>35</sup> These examples demonstrate that the emergence of individual 'national' literary languages on the one hand, and of the notion of comparability and translation between languages within a kind of 'world literature' on the other, were not separate phenomena: rather they should be seen as intimately joined, each the conditions of the other's existence.

### ***Alternative Patterns: Translations of Jurji Zaydan and Qasim Amin***

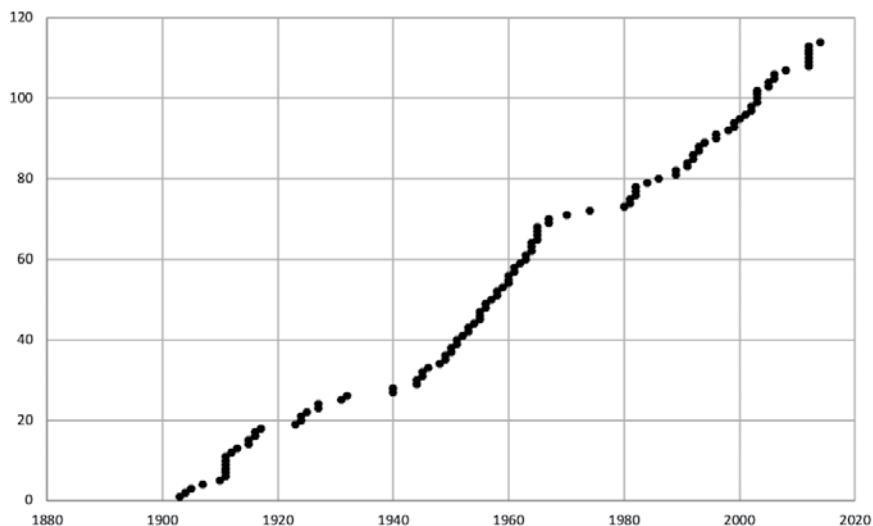
The models hitherto presented have been Eurocentric ones. But this may be to a large extent a result of our starting-points, which are after all novels originally published in languages of northwestern Europe. In this section I apply a similar diffusionist model to two sets of texts originally published in Arabic, in Egypt, around the turn of the twentieth century.

Qasim Amin's two famous feminist works, *Tahrir al-mar'a* (1899) and *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (1900) had an initial vogue in languages of the Islamic world. Their initial wave of translations, from 1900 to 1908, takes in Persian (both books, 1900 and 1901), Urdu (*Tahrir al-mar'a*, 1903), Ottoman Turkish (*Tahrir al-mar'a*, 1908), and Tatar (both books, 1908). Straggling slightly came a Russian translation of *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (1912) and a second Ottoman translation of *Tahrir al-mar'a* (1913–14), then German and Malay translations of *Tahrir al-mar'a* (1928, ?1930). The picture is clearly dominated by the five languages of mainly Muslim countries, with only two European ones. The texts had then to wait until the 1990s–2000s for a revival, with English translations of *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (1995) and *Tahrir al-mar'a* (2000), a Spanish translation of *al-Mar'a al-jadida* (2000) and an Indonesian one of the same text (2003). All translations of either text are plotted onto Chart 8 and Map 8.<sup>36</sup>

Zaydan's twenty-two historical novels were originally published in Arabic from 1891 to 1914: all their translations for which we have secure dates are plotted onto Chart 9.<sup>37</sup> Their initial vogue in translation, from 1903 to 1917, was again dominated by languages of the Muslim world, with either eight or eleven translations into Persian and three into Azeri Turkish in this period.<sup>38</sup> French and German are also present, but with only one translation each (1912, 1917), and another French one in 1924. Ottoman saw its first translation in 1911, but its vogue was really postwar, with three in the 1920s. Urdu also saw its first translation in 1923. Subsequently, Persian translations continued at an exceptionally high rate, with only slight lulls in the 1920s and 1970s, right up to 2008, bringing the total to fifty separate translations (ten are undated). There was a more general vogue of translations from the mid-1940s to the mid-1960s: Spanish saw two translations in the 1940s, Modern Turkish three 1944–51, Portuguese one in 1951, Malay four 1949–67, Javanese three 1953–65, Urdu a further three 1955–67, Indonesian no less than ten 1955–65, Kurdish one in 1957. There was something of a lull in the 1970s, though Russian saw one translation in 1970 and Ukrainian one in 1974; but this was followed by a resurgence from the 1980s, continuing to



## Translation and the Globalisation of the Novel



**Chart 8** Translations of Qasim Amin's *Tahrir al-mar'a* and *al-Mar'a al-jadida*



**Map 8** Translations of Qasim Amin's *Tahrir al-mar'a* and *al-Mar'a al-jadida*

the present: Uighur saw a wave of seven translations 1982–2000, Chinese six 1980–91, Malay two further translations in 1981 and 1982, Urdu a further translation in 1989, French a further two in the 2000s and Azeri and Kurdish each a further one, Turkish three 2001–14, Uzbek one in 2005 (plus a possible second) and English six in 2012 (a set sponsored by the Zaidan Foundation). Again, the picture is dominated by languages of

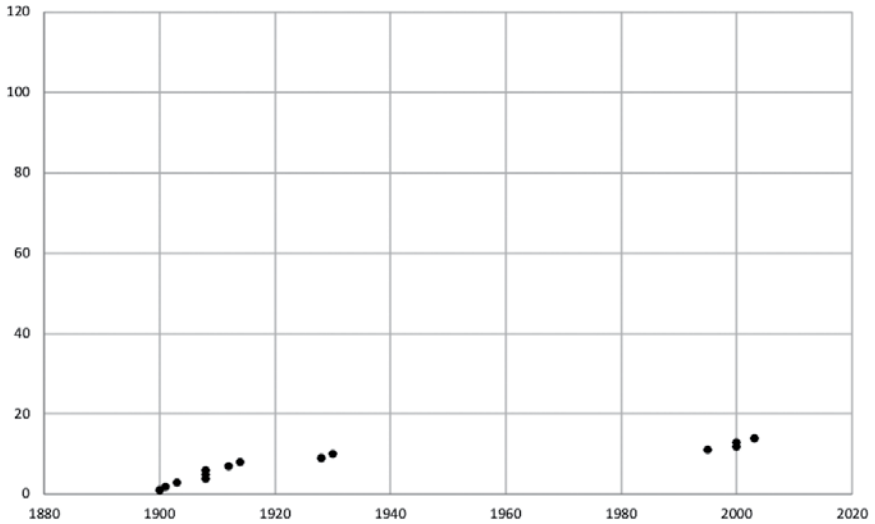
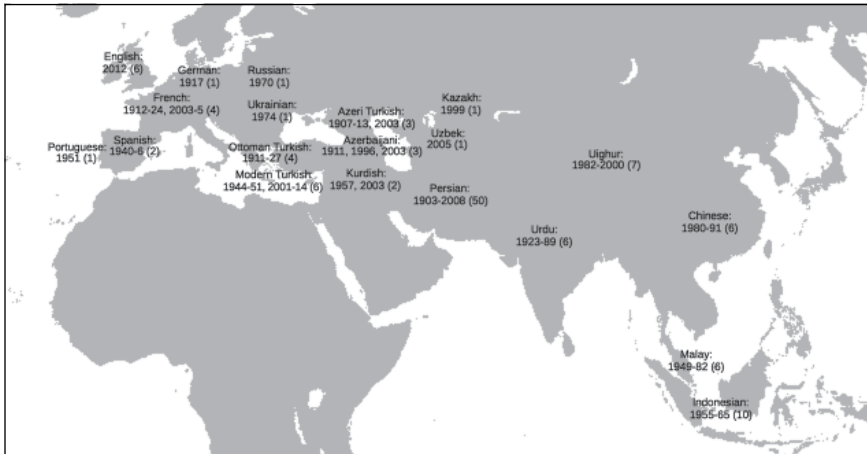


Chart 9 Translations of Jurji Zaydan's historical novels (excluding reprints)



Map 9 Translations of Jurji Zaydan's historical novels

mainly Muslim countries, above all Persian. All translations are listed by language under notional locations on Map 9.

As is clear from the maps, this indicates a rather different kind of translational diffusion, in which European languages played a part, but one overshadowed by languages of a certain 'Muslim world'. This 'world' was, from the late nineteenth century onwards, constituted as a new kind of entity – as

Cemil Aydin has argued – by modern communications and media, travelling intellectuals and, as these examples make clear, translation.<sup>39</sup> Writings such as Jurji Zaydan's and Qasim Amin's were of interest to some Europeans, like the orientalist Oskar Rescher and Ignaty Krachkovsky (who made the German and Russian translations of Qasim Amin). The presence of Europe in this history reminds us that this 'Muslim world' existed within a wider world dominated in many ways by European capital, power and culture. But, as works offering a fictionalised account of Islamic civilisation (Zaydan's novels) and a paternalist feminism adapted to Muslim society (Amin's tracts), they clearly appealed far more to publics in Islamic countries undergoing revivalist and reformist movements similar to those in their land of origin, Egypt. The 'Muslim world' incarnated by these exchanges then gives a rather different picture of translational diffusion to that offered by the spread of western European novels. With only these two rather dissimilar examples, it is harder to draw as firm conclusions about the way this translational system functioned as was possible for the Eurocentric system. But the data on Charts 8 and 9 suggest that both sets of writings shared an initial vogue between 1900 and 1917, something of a revival in the 1920s–30s, and another (not unlike the revival of many European novels) in the 1980s–2000s. Only Zaydan's novels, however, enjoyed a really sustained vogue in the 1940s–60s, and then mainly in Persian.

### ***Conclusion***

This study has firstly demonstrated the relevance and usefulness of the 'distant reading' method pioneered by Franco Moretti for the study of literary translation. By forgoing a close reading of texts, stripping out much other important data, and simply plotting out the dates and languages of first known print translations of 'translingual mass texts', it is possible to see significant regularities in the way the literary translation system worked, for novels originating in northwestern Europe. The method can also be applied to a rather different translational system centred on a 'Muslim world', albeit with substantial European involvement: it is not a Eurocentric method *per se*, though it is probably best adapted to examining phenomena and data within Eurocentric systems. A somewhat closer analysis of one 'mass-text', *Télémaque*, in the Ottoman world broadly conceived – the Balkans, eastern Mediterranean and Near East – reveals some of the things that the initial method cannot account for. By drawing on a range of secondary literature on translations and adaptations, it becomes clear that behind the initial set of data-points lies a messy variety of different literary and linguistic situations, with languages and nations in

the process of formation, diasporic publishing, competing versions of the same text, and so on. This does not, I think, invalidate the insights derived from the more abstract initial model, but it does help to qualify them and to suggest further questions to ask of similar sets of data.

It remains to be seen to what extent the patterns revealed for these European novels, or for and Zaydan's and Amin's writing, are reproduced for other comparable sets of texts. Does the model hold up even for different examples of European novels over the same time-period? Does the pattern change somewhat (as the example of *Monte Cristo* tends to suggest) for works published from the mid-nineteenth century onwards? Analysis might also be pushed further back in time. If we are seeking the very first mass-texts to be printed in translation on a truly European or a global scale, we should probably look not at novels but at religious literature: both sacred writings and the tracts, devotional works, and prayer-books (as well as works like *The Pilgrim's Progress*) that make up Strauss's 'Christian "canon"' of works popular across Christian languages of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>40</sup> They should probably be divided, in fact, into separate Catholic and Protestant – and very probably Orthodox – canons, with substantial overlap. These works might in fact be easier to trace than novels because – unlike most of the texts dealt with here – their translations tended to be produced by a small number of centrally organised missionary and church organisations: the Propaganda Fide of Rome, the Mekhitarist order, the British and US Protestant missionary societies. These institutions, as well as state-run projects like Mehmed Ali's, offer the additional advantage of relatively good information on the sizes of print runs. This may give us at least some sense of the relative sizes of readerships, an element which I have not even attempted to factor in here due to the almost total lack of data.

As for further examples originally published in non-European languages, and taken up within largely non-Eurocentric translational systems, these represent perhaps the most interesting cases for study. Along with studies of the circulation of people and of course of manuscript writings, they could help us to define more precisely the contours of the 'Muslim world' of reforming or revivalist intellectuals, and obtain some sense of relative synchronicities, and of pathways and nodes. Were Cairo and Tabriz more tightly connected, for instance, than Jakarta and Bombay? Did links connecting them tend to run through particular mediating centres, such as the imperial capital Istanbul? Some kind of quantitative survey, of translations and if possible other connections, would go a long way towards answering these questions. The precise modalities of connection or disconnection, on the other hand, could only be revealed by detailed study of the texts and the milieus in which they moved.

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3. Moretti, *Atlas*, 171–4.
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6. The uncertainty is due to difficulty identifying which languages are represented by the position of dates on Moretti's map in the *Atlas*.
7. Hill, 'The Arabic adventures', 201; Margaret Litvin, *Hamlet's Arab Journey: Shakespeare's Prince and Nasser's Ghost* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 75–85.
8. Béla Köpeczi, 'Le *Télémaque* en Europe centrale et orientale', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature/ Revue Canadienne de Littérature Comparée* 4: 1 (1 January 1977): 1–18; 12–13 (Romanian); Arzu Meral, 'The Ottoman reception of Fénelon's *Télémaque*', in Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, Adaptations, and Variations* (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2014), 211–36 (Ottoman, Persian); Hill, 'The Arabic adventures', 176–81.

9. Biljana Stikić, 'La réception et l'utilisation des *Aventures de Télémaque* en Serbie', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 31 (1 December 2003): 65–76.
10. Jean-Félicissime Adry, 'Liste des principales éditions', in François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Les aventures de Télémaque*, vol. 1 (Paris: L. Duprat-Duverger, 1811), lxvii–cxvii, xcxvi.
11. Adam Carter McCollum, 'In Syriac: Les Aventures de Télémaque', *Hmmlorientalia* (blog), 20 March 2013, <https://hmmlorientalia.wordpress.com/2013/03/20/in-syriac-les-aventures-de-telemaque/>, accessed 1 November 2017.
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17. Hill, 'The Arabic adventures', 199.
18. Köpeczi, 'Le *Télémaque*', 15; Waldemar Janiec, 'Les *Aventures de Télémaque* de Fénelon au XVIIIe siècle en Pologne', *Kwartalnik neofilologiczny* 31: 2 (1984): 149–59; 158–9; Compare the Ladino and Ottoman 'imitations' of *Monte Cristo*: Strauss, 'Who read what', 51, 62.
19. Meral, 'The Ottoman reception', 221.
20. Juan Francisco García Bascañana, '*Télémaque* en Espagne (1699–1799). Réception, traductions, malentendus', *Documents pour l'histoire du français langue étrangère ou seconde* 31 (1 December 2003): 4, <https://dhfles.revues.org/1362> (accessed 31 July 2018).
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22. See, for instance, Patricia A. Ward, 'Fénelon and classical America', in Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, Adaptations, and Variations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 171–91; Márcia Abreu, 'The Adventures of Telemachus in the Luso-Brazilian world', in Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, adaptations, and variations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 193–209.

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28. Peter Hill, 'The first Arabic translations of Enlightenment literature: The Damietta circle of the 1800s and 1810s', *Intellectual History Review* 24: 2 (2015): 209–33.
29. See Jamal al-Din al-Shayyal, *Tarikh al-tarjama wa-l-haraka al-thaqafiyya fi 'asr Muhammad 'Ali* (History of translation and the cultural movement in the age of Muhammad Ali) (Cairo: Dar al-fikr al-'Arabi, 1951), appendix 3, 49 (no. 78); appendix 4, 52.
30. Hofmeyr, *The Portable Bunyan*, 65.
31. Adry, 'Liste des principales éditions'.
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38. The uncertainty is due to the ambiguity of some dates between Hijri and Shamsi.
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## On Eastern Cultures: Transregionalism and Multilingualism in Iraq, 1910–38

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*Orit Bashkin*

This chapter considers the journalistic works of Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani (1884–1969), who edited the journal *al-‘Ilm* (est. 1910 in the city of Najaf), and the short stories of Iraqi writer Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid (1904–37), in order to reflect on the politics of transregionalism, translation and multilingualism in Iraqi culture in the early twentieth century. I challenge a national narrative which held that the Iraqi state rejected the nation’s Ottoman past and its multilingual and multi-ethnic cultures. I likewise attempt to undo the notion that Iraqi culture was typified by isolated and isolationist groups, whose reading and translation practices were targeted at and limited to specific sectarian groups. *Al-‘Ilm*, I suggest, points to the multilingual and transnational milieu that existed in Najaf in the 1910s, while al-Sayyid’s works underscore the fact that transregional networks and multilingualism survived under the mandate, in a space where Arabic, Turkish, Hindi, Persian, French and German works informed the writings of key intellectuals.

In the 1910s and 1920s, and to a certain extent in the 1930s, the Iraqi reading public depended on publications coming from Istanbul, Teheran, Cairo and Beirut. Since many members of the Iraqi elite received their initial education in Ottoman schools, Ottoman Turkish was an essential language for Iraqi intellectuals, who read both original and translated works in Ottoman Turkish. Persian was a common language in the shrine cities of Najaf and Karbala, where many students from Iran resided, and where new literary and cultural texts originating from Iran circulated. Thus, while al-Shahrastani and al-Sayyid seem very different to each other – the former being a Shi‘i *‘alim* while the latter was a Sunni socialist writer of prose fiction – both were shaped by the fact that Iraqi society was characterised by a *mélange* of cultures, languages and translations. Moreover, the late Arab-Ottoman print market cultivated important dialogues between



Sunnis and Shi'is and inspired shared conversations relating to modernity, colonialism, constitutionalism, nationalism, and various kinds of reform (Islamic, social and cultural). Both authors, then, reflected on imperial and global affairs shaped by transregional intellectual and commercial networks connecting Iraq to the Ottoman Empire, Iran and India.

### ***Pan-Islamic Transregional Knowledge: al-‘Ilm***

The year 1910 saw the first appearance of an Arabic newspaper in the city of Najaf: it was titled *al-‘Ilm* (Knowledge, or Science) and was edited by one of the city's most original thinkers, Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani. Born in Samarra in 1884, al-Shahrastani studied with leading *mujtahids* in Najaf. In 1909, he published his book *Astronomy and Islam (Al-hay'a wa-l-islam)* in which he tried to establish that certain Qur'anic verses and prophetic traditions convey modern scientific knowledge about the solar system, and more generally, that a careful reinterpretation of the Muslim tradition could lead to harmonisation between science and religion. Significantly, the text referenced works of Sunni philosophers like Ibn Sina (d. 1037) and contemporary works on science by Lebanese Christian intellectuals Iskandar Ma'uf (1868–1956) and Butrus al-Bustani (1819–83), as well as articles published in the prestigious Lebanese (and later Egyptian) cultural magazine *al-Muqtataf*. Al-Shahrastani supported the Ottomans during World War I, which he saw as a pan-Islamic battle against imperialism. He was likewise involved in setting up pan-Islamic associations in the Middle East and India. He participated in the anti-British 1920 Iraqi Revolt and was consequently imprisoned and sentenced to death, but eventually released. Al-Shahrastani served as minister of education for a short time (1921–2) but resigned due to the government's pro-British policies. He later served in the Shi'i Court of Cassation (1923–34) and acted as the parliamentary deputy for Baghdad (1934–5).

Al-Shahrastani was one of the first Iraqi Shi'is to exploit the emerging Middle East print market. He read Ottoman, Persian and Arabic works, and published a variety of books on philosophy, theology, history and education. Throughout the Hashemite period, his intellectual milieu was not exclusively comprised of Shi'i *‘ulama* for it included also poets, journalists and writers from various sects.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Shahrastani's journal *al-‘Ilm* illustrated how ideas discussed by a variety of Sunni, Shi'i and Christian intellectuals, in a variety of languages, were adapted in the Shi'i and Najafi milieu. *Al-‘Ilm* was published in the years 1910–11. Its readers were mostly Shi'is from the two Shrine Cities, although we find letters and items written by Shi'is from Baghdad and

Lebanon, as well as ones written by Sunni Iraqis (mostly editors of newspapers). The journal's aims were to study history, literature, medicine and philosophy and to spread science and knowledge.<sup>2</sup> Al-Shahrastani argued that *al-ʿIlm* meant to demonstrate that religious knowledge correlated with scientific knowledge, to support Iran, to serve Islamic unity, and to enlighten the public in Najaf by presenting them with a wide array of Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Indian journals, and some books in European languages (although al-Shahrastani admitted that he did not know any European language himself). The journals in Persian and Turkish to which he had access, however, provided him with ample translated material from European works into other Middle Eastern languages.<sup>3</sup> Although the journal published items about themes relevant to the Shiʿi community, al-Shahrastani hoped that his publication would also strengthen the connections of Najaf to the rest of the Islamic world, and inform Muslims elsewhere about events in the Shrine City. He noted, in fact, that readers from Algeria were interested to learn more about the Family of the Prophet (*ahl al-bayt*), and that his journal might fill this void.<sup>4</sup>

*Al-ʿIlm* referenced and reprinted news-items and essays from a large number of journals and newspapers, such as *al-Ittihad al-ʿUthmani*, *al-Bashir*, *al-Iqbal* and *al-Haris* (from Beirut), *al-Manar*, *al-Muʿayyad*, *al-Hilal* and *al-Muqtataf* (from Cairo), *al-Hadara*, *al-Rabita* and *al-Kawkab al-ʿUthmani* (from Istanbul), *al-Athar* and *al-Muqtabas* (from Damascus) and *al-Zuhur*, *al-Raqib* and *Sada Babil* (from Baghdad), as well as the publications *al-Akhaʿ* (Hama), *Islah* (Bombay), *Iqaz* (Basra), *Habl-i metin* (Calcutta), *Majlis* (Taheran), *Abu Nuwas* (Tunis) and *al-Hind al-Hurra* (Paris). Al-Shahrastani thanked the editors of Arabic journals in Baghdad for assisting his own journal. Addressing his Iraqi fellow intellectuals and writers, he expressed his gratitude to all those who seek knowledge in the Iraqi land (*al-quṭr al-ʿiraqi*), and especially in Najaf, for their warm reception of *al-ʿIlm*. *Al-ʿIlm* also celebrated the activities of the publishing houses of *al-Manar* and *al-Hilal* as institutions promulgating knowledge and science.<sup>5</sup>

Arabic, Persian, Indian and Turkish newspapers were important mediums through which al-Shahrastani received new ideas about Islamic reform. He was keenly aware of the publications of contemporary religious reformers, in particular of the Egyptian Sunni reformer, Muhammad ʿAbduh (1849–1905) and his Syrian disciple, Rashid Rida (1865–1935).<sup>6</sup> Al-Shahrastani published articles in Rida's influential journal *al-Manar*, exchanged letters with ʿAbduh and Rida, and was attentive to their attempts to trace the roots of elected and constitutional governments in the practice of consultation.<sup>7</sup> ʿAbduh was mentioned a few times in *al-ʿIlm*.

An essay about the importance of purifying Islam from unwanted religious innovations (*bid'at*) and myths (*khurafa*) cited 'Abduh as a source of inspiration. The context of the essay was Iraqi and Najafi, since it portrayed superstitions and myths unique to Iraq, like the belief in a local demon called Tantal. Nonetheless, the essay's argument, namely, its call for religious reform based on harmonisation between reason and revelation, was unmistakably inspired by 'Abduh.<sup>8</sup> Rashid Rida was also considered as a man whose journal, *al-Manar*, demonstrated the vital connections between Islam and modern civilisation.<sup>9</sup> Although *al-'Ilm* appealed to the reading public in Najaf, whose members saw the Wahhabi backing of the salafi movement in very negative terms,<sup>10</sup> it quoted articles from *al-Manar* on a variety of occasions. *Al-Manar*, al-Shahrastani wrote, was a progressive Arabic journal, whose exegesis was well known, and whose editor, Rida, was a great *mujtahid* and reformer.<sup>11</sup> Similarly, the Egyptian national activist and journalist, Mustafa Kamil (1874–1908), was quoted in *al-'Ilm* as saying that the sultans and caliphs of Islam had always disapproved of violence and espoused justice, knowledge and culture.<sup>12</sup>

Not only Sunni intellectuals, but also Christian thinkers were discussed in the journal. Al-Shahrastani alluded to the works of Shibli Shumayyil (1850–1917) (to validate his conservative position that women were mentally and physically inferior to men)<sup>13</sup> and the works of historian and publisher Jurji Zaydan (1861–1914), who was noted for his great contribution to the study of Islamic civilisation. The journal's articles looked at Zaydan as a man whose works, especially his magnum opus, *The history of Islamic civilisation (Ta'rikh al-tamaddun al-Islami)*, were in service of the Islamic faith. *Al-'Ilm* also referenced the fact that Zaydan's historical studies could be purchased in Iran, the Ottoman Empire and Iraq. This item intimated that it was not only al-Shahrastani who benefited from the multilingual milieu of the early 1910s; it was in fact, the entire Islamic community.<sup>14</sup> The paper also noted that Arabic newspapers in Beirut assisted the nation with their useful articles, citing *al-Bashir*, a journal affiliated with the Jesuits, as an example.<sup>15</sup>

Even when readers did not agree with prominent Arab intellectuals they still felt the need to address their arguments. *Al-'Ilm*, for example, posted a review of the articles published in *al-Muqtataf* by a prominent Egyptian Coptic intellectual, the Fabian thinker Salama Musa (1887–1958). Musa, whom the review defined as an Egyptian philosopher, materialist and socialist, was criticised for propagating dangerous ideas which were disrespectful of the traditions of the East, denied religion its central role in public life, and ignored the Islamic responsibility to protect the rights of the weak and the needy. Pointing to his writings on the concept of the

superman, Musa was reproached for his adoration of power and for his lack of compassion for the sick and powerless. The author of the review was undoubtedly furious with Musa and wanted to deter readers from reading his works. Simultaneously, however, the piece indicates the significance of secondary translation published in *al-Muqtataf*; while it is doubtful that readers of *al-‘Ilm* had actually read Friedrich Nietzsche’s reflections on the *übermensch*, they learned about the *übermensch* from this review. At the same time, this review could be considered part of a greater body of pan-Islamic critique of Western materialism and secularism, here represented as antithetical to Islamic religious values which provided social stability and granted rights for the needy elements in society.<sup>16</sup> Similar to Rashid Rida and Muhammad ‘Abduh who attacked European materialism, *al-‘Ilm*’s review zoomed in on one Egyptian writer, Musa, in order to convey similar ideas and, while doing so, introduced to its readership new ideas about German philosophy, as channelled by Musa.

The list of journals and thinkers referenced in *al-‘Ilm* indicates that in the Iraqi era of (somewhat modest) mechanical reproduction, Shi‘i readers utilised the Arab, Ottoman and Persian presses as a venue to learn about Islamic reform. While scholars contended that the challenge of Wahhabism activated the Iraqi cultural domain of the time,<sup>17</sup> we see that developments in Istanbul, Teheran, Egypt and Syria were no less significant to the readers and writers of *al-‘Ilm*. In fact, Egypt was deemed so important that the works of a secular Copt, Musa, caused some alarm among the readership of a journal published in Najaf. Moreover, despite al-Shahrastani’s objections to materialism, positivism and social Darwinism, he was highly interested in the works of Christian secularists relating to science and technology.

The multilingual and translational outlook was connected to the politics of pan-Islam and the espousal of constitutional reforms. Al-Shahrastani believed in Islamic unity as a political and ideological tool to combat Western colonialism.<sup>18</sup> *Al-‘Ilm* promoted this pan-Islamic agenda. Stories about the Muslims of tsarist Russia, the Muslims of the Sudan and Egypt under British occupation, and the Muslims of North Africa under French occupation painted a gloomy picture of the current state of the Islamic community. Moreover, colonialism was repeatedly depicted as the most momentous threat to the Muslim world. England and Russia were consequently represented as two greedy empires whose aims were to deter the progress of Muslims, and as two powers imperiling both the Ottoman Empire and Iran, whose natural resources they coveted. Within this realm, the thinking of pan-Islamic thinker and activist Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838–97), an intellectual whose own sectarian affiliations are a matter of

much controversy, assumed great importance.<sup>19</sup> *Al-‘Ilm* praised Afghani’s activities, and printed his critique of the contemporary leadership of Muslim countries that neglected the rights of Muslims, while favouring British and Russian commercial interests.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, al-Shahrastani’s devotion to the ideas of pan-Islam and the anti-colonial struggle during his visit to India earned him the title of ‘Jamal al-Din al-Afghani the second’.<sup>21</sup>

The answer to colonialism was Islamic unity, a unity between Turks, Arabs, Iranians and Indians, as well as a condemnation of ethnic solidarity (*‘asabiyya*). Quoting Sunni Syrian writer Khayr al-Din al-Zirikli (1893–1976), *al-‘Ilm* alerted its readers that the Islamic community had reached a state of stagnation due to internal divisions between Arabs and Turks, Turks and Kurds, and Sunnis and Shi‘is.<sup>22</sup> For this reason, the paper called for safeguarding the independence of *both* Iran and the Ottoman Empire and preached for cooperation between the two political entities.<sup>23</sup> Quoting the Egyptian journal *al-Mufid*, *al-‘Ilm* likewise suggested that had the Muslims in India, Sunnis and Shi‘is alike, been united, the British could not have achieved their colonial goals in this land.<sup>24</sup>

One of the means by which *al-‘Ilm* attempted to demonstrate the purported great powers of a united Islamic community was by providing statistics on the numbers of Muslims in the world: in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Europe. The mere mentioning of numbers gave the impression that Islam, numerically, was a significant power, and thus, if the Muslims united, they would be able to confront their colonisers. *Al-‘Ilm* also printed stories about the lot of Muslims in various parts of the world. It reported on the effects of the Ottoman constitutional revolution within the Russian Muslim community, on Muslims in Africa, Japan and China, and on their societies and their schools. An immediate hazard to all Muslims came from missionary groups, although there was hardly any danger that these groups would ever be active in Najaf. The paper thus posted the denunciation printed by the Egyptian journal *al-Mu‘ayyad* of the missionaries in the Sudan, and championed the use of Muslim propaganda against them.<sup>25</sup> Al-Shahrastani, moreover, argued that since the colonisers employed religious societies, schools, libraries, publishing houses and journals to spread their faith, Muslim reformers could use the same means in order to raise interest in Islamic civilisation, and encourage discussions concerning reason, knowledge and culture.<sup>26</sup> Creating a Muslim public sphere, via the activities of societies for Islamic learning in a variety of languages, was subsequently deemed an essential aspect of the anti-colonial struggle.

Ahmad ‘Arif al-Zayn’s (1884–1960) cultural magazine *al-‘Irfan*, which was established in Beirut in 1909 and then moved to Saida the

following year, was far more important to Arabic-speaking Shi'is, because of its wide circulation and the intellectuals it attracted. *Al-<sup>c</sup>Irfan*, in fact, was probably the model for *al-<sup>c</sup>Ilm*, which referenced the former's items. *Al-<sup>c</sup>Ilm* was more Najafi in nature, since it allowed local writers to express local concerns pertinent to Iraq, without being fearful of Lebanese editors who might find these items not relevant to their border Arabic Shi'ic readership. At the same time, the nature of the paper's imagined community of readers was both Najafi/local and Islamic/global. Al-Shahrastani hoped that the paper's Shi'ic readership would realise that it was a part of an Islamic world, in which both Sunnis and Shi'is shared similar political and cultural concerns. The paper therefore referenced Iraq as a land to which readers belonged (*qutr*),<sup>27</sup> but also spoke of Iran and the Ottoman Empire as part of 'our country' (*biladuna al-<sup>c</sup>uthmaniyya wa-l-iraniyya*),<sup>28</sup> and wrote about 'our Islamic nation' (*watanuna al-islami*)<sup>29</sup> and the Muslim people, using a term normally used to signify national or ethnically defined polities (*sha<sup>c</sup>b*).<sup>30</sup> In other places, the Islamic community was seen as a national community (*qawmiyya*)<sup>31</sup> that ought to communicate similar social norms (*sunan ijtimaiyya islamiyya*).<sup>32</sup>

Al-Shahrastani's perception of Islam was very similar to its understanding within Sunni reformist circles, namely, as a system of beliefs in which reason and revelation coexisted in harmony. Our nation (*watan*) could progress, explicated one of *al-<sup>c</sup>Ilm*'s editorials, by the propagation of science and knowledge.<sup>33</sup> This notion was captured on *al-<sup>c</sup>Ilm*'s cover page which was decorated with prophetic traditions in praise of knowledge. Islam, according to many articles, was once a civilisation that treasured knowledge, science and learning and was capable of achieving great cultural accomplishments, which were later adopted by Europe. Al-Shahrastani's writings, however, also reflect on writings in European languages and his desire to know why Europeans study Arabic, Turkish and Persian and why they translate works from these languages into their own. He sought to assure readers that, despite Europeans' representations of Islam as an extremist religion, or a creed fitting the nature of the Easterner, Islam was a religion that had not lost its vitality.<sup>34</sup> In fact, he wrote, European Orientalists, who visit the East, take keen interest in Islamic writings, and upon their return to their homelands teach Islam in academic institutions of high repute.<sup>35</sup> Other Europeans, however, were anxious about the aptitude of Islam to attain knowledge and civilisation and wished to sabotage its powers.<sup>36</sup> Often, al-Shahrastani did not specify which of these European translations he was referring to, and yet the pan-Islamic press was very interested in translations of Islamic works into European languages and in acquisition of Islamic manuscripts by

European libraries. Al-Shahrastani knew the important Middle Eastern languages of his day, namely, Arabic, Ottoman Turkish and Persian. With the knowledge of these three languages he could have accessed translations of European works on Islam which pan-Islamic intellectuals like Jamal al-Din al-Afghani referenced in his journal *al-‘Urwa al-wuthqa*, and other works which appeared in journals like *al-Hilal* and *al-Muqtataf*. In other words, through Arabic newspapers and journals that integrated European works and secondary translations, *al-‘Ilm* presented its readers knowledge of the west, global politics and the Western representations of the Islamic world. Thus, despite the fact that *al-‘Ilm* hailed the spread of education, especially of Islamic education based on religious reform, as the most useful venue for the revival and progress of Islam and for the guidance of the community,<sup>37</sup> it still praised Germany and Japan for the great might of their educational institutions that promoted national cohesion and solidarity.<sup>38</sup> Articles about Japan’s successful reform circulated in *al-Muqtataf*, *al-Hilal* and *al-Manar*, following the Russian-Japanese war, and the Japanese victory. Japan was perceived as part of the East revolting against the anti-colonial West. These views now found their expression in *al-‘Ilm*.

As part of this reformist agenda, al-Shahrastani promoted the curbing of the power of autocratic rulers by constitutional means, especially after the constitutional revolutions in the Ottoman Empire (1908) and Iran (1905). *Al-‘Ilm* called for the limiting of the sovereign’s powers by constitutional reform and in consultation with the *‘ulama*. Consequently, the paper reported that Muslims all over the world received the constitutional revolutions in both Iran and the Ottoman Empire with great enthusiasm, as they saved the nation from a state of tyranny. Information about constitutional politics was thus to be found in newspapers in Persian and Ottoman Turkish, and al-Shahrastani relied on these newspapers to glean information about the most important constitutional challenges at the time.<sup>39</sup> His translations from Ottoman Turkish and Persian were intertwined into local discourses about the virtues of constitutionalism and coloured the Iraqi print media of the years 1908–9 following the Ottoman Constitutional Revolution. Al-Shahrastani himself earnestly supported the 1908 revolution and initially supported the Committee of Union and Progress in Najaf.<sup>40</sup>

*Al-‘Ilm*’s avid coverage of pan-Islamic and constructional themes teaches us much about Iraqi cultural politics during the early 1910s. Al-Shahrastani suggested that Iraqis, as Muslims and as Ottoman subjects, shared their cultural and political anxieties with other Muslims, and that vital connections existed between Iran and the Ottoman Empire. Later in his career, al-Shahrastani faulted the policy of the Young Turks for

privileging the Turkish subjects of the Empire over their fellow Arab Muslims. *Al-‘Ilm*, nonetheless, constantly advocated unity between Arabs, Turks, Kurds and Indians, regardless of their sectarian or ethnic identities. Al-Shahrastani’s attitude might have been shaped by his own background as a domiciled Iraqi resident of Persian origins.<sup>41</sup> In the Shi‘i context, al-Shahrastani argued that the questions of modernity, reform and the challenges of colonialism affected both Sunnis and Shi‘is, and that Shi‘is ought to seek the advice of Sunni reformers. The oft-quoted expression ‘selective borrowing’, which usually designates the cultural adaptation of certain Western ideas in Iran, the Ottoman Empire and its Arab provinces, could also be applied to the Shi‘i community, in which ideas from both the West *and* the Sunni world were adjusted to fit the needs of modern Shi‘is. Despite much attention to Iranian affairs, the paper’s articles about the Muslims of Russia mostly reflected an Ottoman discourse, while the writings on England were not limited to the Iranian context, and covered its politics in Egypt, Sudan and India. In spite of the fact that Najaf was not directly threatened by colonialism, we observe the centrality of the theme in *al-‘Ilm*. Al-Shahrastani’s sense of peril was a result of his reading of Arab, Iranian, Ottoman and Indian journals, and possibly also the outcome of the presence of Indians (mostly pilgrims) in the Shrine Cities themselves.

Al-Shahrastani’s views should not be understood as representing ‘*the Shi‘i community*’. Undoubtedly, the illiterate southern Shi‘i tribes were more interested in questions relating to taxation and conscription (or more precisely, in avoiding them both). Some of his reform-minded rulings were not even supported by fellow Shi‘i *mujtahids*. While *al-‘Ilm* was read and written by and for Shi‘is, it referenced articles written by Sunnis, especially in the Salafi press, and on many occasions, promoted a pan-Islamic worldview that was nonsectarian in nature. Through relying on secondary translations, and an Arabic, Turkish and Persian shared print market that grew during the *nahda*, *al-‘Ilm* advanced a localised vision of what it meant to be a modern Shi‘i in a globalised world. And while today the idea that Shi‘is and Salafis could be of the same intellectual network seems utterly impossible, for the small groups of educated Iraqi-Shi‘i readers that were interested in *al-‘Ilm*, al-Shahrastani’s views seemed to have made much sense. And they carried these views into the mandatory period.

### ***Iraqi Literature and World Literature***

References in Iraqi periodicals to Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Indian works did not cease in the 1920s, when Iraq was under a British



mandate or even in the 1930s, when it gained its independence. This is evident in the transregional and transnational character of the works of socialist intellectual Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid. Born in 1904 to an Arab father who worked as an *imam* in the mosque of Haydar-khana and a mother of Indian-Afghani origins, al-Sayyid travelled to India in 1919, where he was influenced by socialism and Marxist thought. His experiences were later on described in his novel, *Jalal khalid* (Eternal glory, 1929). During World War I, he supported, albeit not actively, the Arab revolt, but then turned his political and social interests leftwards, because of his friendship with the socialist Husayn al-Rahhal (1900–71), a son of an Arab trader turned Ottoman bureaucrat. Rahhal's father was stationed in Berlin in 1919, where he witnessed the communist *Spartakusband* revolution. In 1924, al-Rahhal, now a student in the Baghdad school of law, formed a group intended to promote progressive ideas. Al-Sayyid joined this group and contributed to its journal, *al-Sahifa* (The paper). They took inspiration from the British *Labour Monthly* and *L'Humanité* of the French Communist party. The paper presented what its writer perceived as modern and socialist objectives, such as the need to form a new social consciousness among the peasants and the working classes, the obligation of intellectuals to liberate Iraqi women and the necessity to reformulate a post-*shar'ci* rational legal mechanism. Although they met in an inner room of the Haydar-khana mosque in Baghdad, al-Sayyid's neighbourhood and the place where his father worked as an *imam*, the group was soon deemed heretic and sacrilegious by *'ulama*. In 1926 the group established *Nadi al-tadamun* (The solidarity club), which lasted for two years.<sup>42</sup> Al-Sayyid was a prolific writer and published several collections of short stories,<sup>43</sup> in addition to an earlier publication, which he termed *masrahiyya* (a play), titled *Fi sabil al-jawaz* (For the sake of marriage; Baghdad, 1921). He was similarly very active in the journalistic field and published essays, reviews and short stories in newspapers like *al-Istiqlal*, *al-Yaqin*, *al-Misbah* and *al-Hadith*. He is considered the first Iraqi ever to write novels in most studies on Iraqi literature published in Arabic; these are *Masir al-du'afa*<sup>7</sup> (The lot of the weak, 1922), focusing on the struggles of Arabs in the Ottomans in Iraq, and *Jalal khalid* (Eternal glory, 1929), an autobiographically based text, depicting the stay of a young Iraqi in India.<sup>44</sup>

Writing in an era where Iraq shifted from Ottoman to British imperial control required al-Sayyid to reformulate notions of world literature. Initially, al-Sayyid was impressed by the 'West' and deplored the fact that 'we do not imitate the West in our ethics, sciences, philosophies and art, and in our [definitions of] manhood'.<sup>45</sup> The remedy for Iraq's problems

was therefore to mimic the West and the Arab intellectuals who adopted the ways of Europe:

The Syrians and the Egyptians were the first amongst the Arabs to take the initial steps in the way towards progress, science and culture . . . they translated from the Western literature as much as they could, and summarised, as much as they could, from Western science and knowledge . . . We, the sons of Iraq, have remained in the rear, and could not follow their footsteps . . . Indeed, we are remote and faraway from the West.<sup>46</sup>

Nonetheless, in the mid-1920s, he conceptualised a new characterisation of the 'Western'. To him, the world was divided into two parts – of the colonised and of the colonisers. In consequence, attitudes to the masterpieces of English and French literature needed to be revisited.

Yes, we slur Gustave Le Bon, we disdain Shakespeare; we are contemptuous of Dante, despise Voltaire, and moreover, we disassociate ourselves from their world . . . They are the enemies of true humanity and the clerics of the horrendous school of imperialism.<sup>47</sup>

Al-Sayyid, therefore, showed no respect for the local intellectual elite who derived 'strange, wicked ideas and information . . . taken from some French philosophers' that reflected 'contempt for the East and the Eastern race'.<sup>48</sup> This European literature, alleged al-Sayyid, could not find ways to the hearts of Arab readers. 'After the war', he writes, 'there were modernists, from the Francophile school and from the Anglophile school, who did not feel any association with any nation or any ideology' although they monopolised the clubs and the literary salons.<sup>49</sup> Indeed, al-Sayyid regarded Gustave Le Bon as his most serious enemy. This was no easy decision, given Le Bon's significance in al-Sayyid's intellectual milieu.<sup>50</sup> Al-Sayyid was certain that a philosopher who produced such a trivial and one-dimensional description of the East could not be considered a true man of letters.

This book, on the secret of the progress of nations, was written by Gustave Le Bon, one of the most extreme French nationalists . . . Our friend equates the black and the Japanese! . . . Answer this, the petty philosophers of our country . . . Is it accurate . . . that no matter how much Japan had progressed and advanced it is still on the same level as the Africans because Japan is considered one of the nations of the East? . . . What awaits us, then, in the future? What is our goal in our lives, as we are sharing the same Eastern identity as Japan?<sup>51</sup>

The text, naturally, exposes al-Sayyid's own racism and his objection to be categorised in the same rubric as the blacks. Japan was a significant emblem to Arab and Muslim intellectuals, who took great interest in the Meiji restoration and the Japanese victory over Russia (1904–5),

which forced Russia to abandon its expansionist policy in the Far East. Japan, thus, became the first Asian power in modern times to defeat a European power. Japan's politics of restoration had stirred admiration throughout colonial Asia and the Middle East. Therefore, reports on Japan appeared in numerous Egyptian periodicals, such as *al-Manar*, *al-Hilal* and *al-Muqtataf*, which found their way into Iraq. In Iraq, the writer Taha al-Hashimi commented on Japan's willingness to transform itself into a modern nation state. In Egypt, the national intellectual Mustafa Kamil defined the Japanese nation as an Eastern nation and perceived its military triumphs as the perfect symbol of patriotism and loyalty to the motherland. Famous neoclassical Egyptian poet Ahmad Shawqi composed a *qasida* glorifying the reforms in the status of Japanese women. Syrian novelist Jurji Zaydan included the Meiji among his list of famed Eastern monarchies. Rashid Rida published articles concerning the likelihood of converting Japan into Islam. The Ottomans were preoccupied with the topic as well. The Ottoman poet Mehmed Akif wrote about the Islamic spirit of the Japanese warriors while the linguist Mehmed Zeki pondered on the possible conversion to Islam of the Meiji monarch.<sup>52</sup> Japan, then, became a familiar discursive touchstone in this region-wide Arabophone discourse, of which al-Sayyid was a part.

Al-Sayyid, however, adopted an entirely different view of the Africans, articulated in his critique of the movie 'The Daughter of the Moon' which was shown in Baghdad in 1922:

The pictures are moving. The music is playing. The people are clapping with happiness and wonder. Why are they clapping? Is it because the white is attacking the black? It is because the Western steps with his shoes on the Eastern. It is because an American officer ridicules an African ruler. This is the hero . . . This is the mode desired by the writer of the script and the company that produced the movie . . . But you, Easterners, how can you look and not understand? Why are you laughing at yourselves?

Disgusted by the response of his fellow Iraqis, al-Sayyid decides to go back to the cinema, now embracing a new technique of gazing. Instead of siding with the American officer, he would side with the Africans:

I came with two of my friends . . . we were silent when people cheered and cheered when silence took over . . . We clapped because those black Africans have fought against the last of the white men and defended their caves and their ruins till the last sparkle of life.<sup>53</sup>

This description is parallel to another description of watching Tarzan in a colonial setting, this time provided by Frantz Fanon, in *Black Skins, White Masks*:

Attend showings of a Tarzan film in the Antilles . . . and in Europe. In the Antilles, the young Negro identifies himself de facto with Tarzan against Negroes. This is much more difficult for him in a European theater, for the rest of the audience, which is white, automatically identifies him with the savages on the screen. It is a conclusive experience. The Negro learns that one is not black without problems. A documentary film on Africa produces similar reactions when it is shown in a French city and Fort-de-France . . . I will go farther and say that Bushmen and Zulus arouse even more laughter among the young Antilleans. It would be interesting to show how in this instance the reactional exaggeration betrays a hint of recognition. In France a Negro who sees this documentary is virtually petrified. There he has no more hope of flight: He is at once Antillean, Bushman, and Zulu.<sup>54</sup>

Al-Sayyid and Fanon begin with a similar assumption. The viewers in a colonised territory respond favourably to the distorted images of Africans projected to them by the film industry. Al-Sayyid is likewise aware of the institutions involved in the production of such images as the movie studios. Al-Sayyid, however, feels as if he is *already in the metropole*, primarily because the presence of the British in Baghdad obliges him to position himself against the white. He therefore decides to separate himself from the other audience members, in order to serve as an example of a subversive viewer who persistently tries to combat the images projected to him. He knows that his behaviour will attract attention, and prefers to focus attention on viewers and their responses than on the pictures shown on the screen.<sup>55</sup>

Films in Baghdad, and in the Middle East more generally, offered newer forms of translation. Iraq in the interwar period had no film industry of its own and its viewers relied on Indian and Egyptian films, which circulated in an Eastern movie market. At the same time, Baghdadi cinemagoers watched films from Hollywood, which were reviewed in the local Iraqi Arabic press. At times, films like *Tarzan* or *King Solomon's Mines* were based on English novels. Dubbing did not exist, and the Arabic subtitles, if they existed at all, for both talking and silent films, were produced locally in Baghdad and were rolled at each cinema separately. The cinema, then, became a source of information about the world, about novels (now seen as cinematic adaptations), and about the ways in which Europe perceived the East. And yet, if the cinema offered to its Arab audience an opportunity to resist Orientalism *collectively*, as moviegoers resented the images they saw, al-Sayyid had to develop different techniques for intellectuals to offer alternatives to French and English written texts, as he suggests here:

One of the duties, which our intellectuals should perform, is to offer us, the readers, by translation, summaries or interpretations, a sample of texts written

and published in world literature, and particularly, the eastern literatures, from Russia and Turkey and their neighboring countries. This is because such texts correlate with our taste, and the psyche of their heroes is not distant from the mentalities of our people, as it is the case with these French stories, [currently] being translated by silly authors.<sup>56</sup>

In his novel *Jalal khalid*, al-Sayyid lists a few names of writers, intellectuals and politicians the novel's hero learns to read and love: from Turkey, Abdullah Cevdet and Reshad Nuri as well as the journals *Thevret-i- funun* and *Ijtihad*; from Russia, Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment*, the works of Gorky 'the writer of the workers', and everything written by and about 'the most important Russian intellectual, the comrade Lenin'.<sup>57</sup> I have discussed the novel elsewhere, but it should be noted that these names are repeated in other stories, in addition to Ireland's Arthur Griffith. Al-Sayyid intended to publish a collection of Turkish stories he had translated, but he was never able to finish the project.<sup>58</sup>

Of all Russian writers, Tolstoy was taken as a supreme example of both a novelist and a social thinker because he depicted in his works a panorama of classes and places, and subsequently presented to his readers all the facets of 'the social life in the capital of the Tzar, the Caesar of the Oppressors'.<sup>59</sup> The idea of portraying every aspect of the community's life in literature was associated in al-Sayyid's mind with the works of Egyptian writer Mahmud Taymur, who chose his subjects from popular Egyptian milieus. To al-Sayyid, writing in a Tolstoy/Taymur fashion enabled writers to reflect social concerns in their prose as a way of championing a battle against oppression. Tolstoy conferred some hope to al-Sayyid, by suggesting that even in the most oppressed society writers can produce the greatest masterpieces. Moreover, the merit of Tolstoy's texts is not so much their content, but rather the influence they have upon readers. They can prompt anger, induce readers to reflect upon their own quandaries and to rebel. Even when al-Sayyid critiqued Tolstoy's writing, and especially his return to religion, he marvelled at his work, which he envisioned as part of an Eastern canon.

It was the very same Eastern canon that provided al-Sayyid with images of Tolstoy. Al-Sayyid did not read Russian, but translations of Tolstoy were available in English, and partly in Arabic. Intellectuals like Egyptian political theorist and journalist Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid (1872–1963) and the pan-Arab thinker Sati al-Husri (1880–1968) wrote about Tolstoy's works on the Russian peasantry, on social harmony and on education. Palestinian writer and novelist Khalil Baydas (1874–1949) engaged in translating Tolstoy's literary works into Arabic. Tolstoy himself corresponded with Muhammad 'Abduh in Egypt. In this sense, then, Tolstoy's

works were part of the print market al-Sayyid cherished and wanted to engage in. The circulation of Tolstoy in the Arab world meant, for al-Sayyid, that Tolstoy's writings could trigger revolution not only in Russia, but also in the Arab world and elsewhere, as its topics are pertinent to each of these bodies of readers. Arab and Iraqi intellectuals, subsequently, should follow this example.

Al-Sayyid, however, was not always faithful in his resolve to wholly avoid reading British and French writers as part of his anti-colonialist agenda, since he recurrently mentions his favourite philosopher Rousseau, the British writers Graham Wallas and Bernard Shaw<sup>60</sup> and especially the French novelist Émile Zola, 'the leader of Realism'.<sup>61</sup> He believed that one could not comprehend the Russian and Turkish realistic literature without understanding Zola. Furthermore, he argued that Zola, together with Balzac, Flaubert, Renan and Sand, should be emulated as a group of intellectuals and critics who had reformed their society. Al-Sayyid almost never used direct quotations from these writers and it seems that he often relied on translations. Those were indeed available in his print market. Émile Zola's works were covered in the Arab press. During the Dreyfus affair, for example, Arab socialist Farah Antun (1874–1922) hailed Zola's positions against anti-Semitism in his journal *al-Jami'a*. Jewish Palestinian writer Esther Azhari Moyal (1873–1948), who translated dozens of novels and short stories from French into Arabic, wrote Zola's biography in Arabic. Rousseau's works were reviewed and commented on by a number of writers. Earlier works were referenced and translated by Rifa'a al-Tahtawi (1801–73), but were also key to the political theories of Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid and, especially, Egyptian thinker Muhammad Husayn Haykal (1888–1956). Nevertheless, there is no comparison between the large number of translated Turkish works he published, which al-Sayyid did read in the original, and the relatively fewer essays written by al-Sayyid concerning French literature.

The formulation of this Iraqi version of 'third world literature', the creation of this world of the literary 'East' that was factually comprised of everything which was not British or French, enabled al-Sayyid to carve out a domain that allowed him to speak a language of modernity, by quoting from Lenin and Griffith, for example, and yet to claim anti-Western authenticity by falling back on Indian and Turkish writers. It is worthwhile to note here that such multiple cultural strategies were also espoused by al-Sayyid's interwar Shi'i colleagues, who were associated with the journals *al-Hatif* and *al-Irfan*. They aspired to create an Eastern philosophy that would be Islamic and at the same time would speak the language of the metropole: hence, they chose to read the

works of Kant in conjunction with the works of Muslim philosophers like al-Farabi.<sup>62</sup>

The need to know other languages and cultures, al-Sayyid suggested in other texts he composed, originated from the exilic location of many Iraqi intellectuals. Unable to live in Iraq under British rule, they were forced to leave; they had to learn about other languages and cultures, then, because staying in their homeland became impossible. 'I shall emigrate from Baghdad, in the same manner that the people of al-Andalus emigrated after it was conquered by the Christians', says the protagonist in al-Sayyid's short story 'al-Amal al-muhtim' (The doomed hope).<sup>63</sup> This compelling historical metaphor explains the necessity of immigration. Just as Arabs were forced to depart from the multicultural context of Muslim Spain, because it had ceased to be the tolerant land which combined the cultures of Muslims, Christians and Jews, Arab youngsters are presently forced to leave Iraq, because the land has irreversibly changed.

Iraqis suffered, many of al-Sayyid's stories suggested, because they belonged to a weak state. The notion that Middle East states were weak and therefore unable to fight for their rights in the world governed by British and French mandates was common at the time, but al-Sayyid made this into an existential problem. Like al-Shahrastani, he was interested in the definitions of strong and weak in society; and he turned to translations to reflect on the weak intellectual living in a weak state. He presented to his readers summaries of Friedrich Nietzsche's concept of the *Übermensch*, and compared Nietzsche's views to George Bernard Shaw's hypothesis that humanity is the latest stage in an eternal evolutionary movement of the 'life force' toward ever-higher life forms.<sup>64</sup> Like al-Shahrastani, however, he remained critical, negating the importance of survival, and elevated the weak to be the most useful components in society.

In some of his writings, al-Sayyid called on fellow writers to leave civilised spaces altogether. Abandoning civilisation was associated in al-Sayyid's mind with Rousseau's concept of the original man. Al-Sayyid maintained that he was one of the devotees of 'the philosophy of return to nature, championed by Jean Jacques Rousseau' and regarded himself as one of Rousseau's students. The vices of men, for Rousseau, begin when men form societies, protect their properties and engage in conflicts. Al-Sayyid's view of Rousseau originated from the transnational world of translations of which he was a part. He testified that he felt in awe of the Egyptian writer al-Manfaluti's (1876–1924) (abbreviated) adaptation of Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1788),<sup>65</sup> the story of two children whose love blossoms in an untouched natural island.<sup>66</sup> Let us consider again the chain of translations here: Manfaluti did

not know French and adapted *Paul et Virginie* into Arabic based on secondary translations. Al-Sayyid used the adaptation of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre by Manfaluti in order to learn more about Rousseau. Al-Sayyid, it appears, also adopted Rousseau's perception of property as the manufacturer of society's inequality given the various mechanisms men formulate for its protection. His representations of the weak intellectual, then, were not only an outcome of political discourses at this time about weak Arab nations, but also were deeply rooted in European romanticism and in romantic works that appeared in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish translations.

Al-Sayyid's image of Rousseau is interesting once compared with another intellectual who adopted Rousseau as a literary model, namely the novelist Muhammad Husayn Haykal. Like al-Sayyid, Haykal was impressed with Rousseau's call for social equality in opposition to the French conservative surroundings (*bi'a*). Akin to al-Sayyid, Haykal presented Rousseau as the abolitionist of private capital, a champion of simple, uncivilised life and the founder of a just, socialist community based upon natural instinct and inspiration. However, whereas Haykal accentuated Rousseau's notion of harmony and order to apply it to the Egyptian homeland, al-Sayyid adopted his idea of return to nature to highlight the benefits of exilic existence as an escape from a world governed by colonialism and capitalism.<sup>67</sup>

Within this romantic framework, al-Sayyid often tried to portray himself to reading audiences as a quixotic writer, borrowing from the vocabulary of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (*Die Leiden des jungen Werthers*, 1774), which had appeared in Arabic, translated by Ahmad Hasan al-Zayyat, in Egypt in 1920 (Zayyat translated the work from the French). Goethe's semi-autobiographical narrative of unreturned love enthused a host of imitators; it likewise appealed to al-Sayyid, whose own protagonists are often sensitive, young thinkers who do not find a place in society. One such romantic thinker is found in the story 'al-Daftar al-azraq' (The blue notebook). The character is a young socialist, committed to 'saying something significant about the social order [*al-nizam al-ijtima'i*']'. His efforts, nevertheless, end with a nervous breakdown 'due to tremendous and violent psychological efforts' as well as to mental illness inherited from his grandfather.<sup>68</sup> His intellectual friends would sometimes see him, on their visits to the mental hospital: 'if they remembered him at all, one of them would sadly say: See what the profession of literature does.' Others remarked, 'Our friend wanted to have a revolution with his poems, but he should have thought how to make a living first . . . this is our lot, the people of the East, the slaves of imagination and visions, we look at the stars and forget ourselves.'<sup>69</sup> Additionally, some heroes in



al-Sayyid's stories contemplate suicide (like Goethe's Werther). Suicide is both the ultimate outcome of staying in a society, which slowly kills its sensitive creators, as well as the ultimate form of exile and seclusion from civilisation.<sup>70</sup>

Al-Sayyid's romanticism also manifested itself in performative ways. Al-Sayyid marketed himself as the romantic, sad, rejected thinker. He would wear black clothes and refer to himself as 'the sad youth' (*al-fata al-ba'is*), and he refrained from laughter. Things became more serious when he told fellow Iraqi journalist Rafa'îl Butti that he had considered suicide himself because he could not bear living like this. Butti published the news in the Iraqi press, declaring that an Iraqi intellectual wished to commit suicide. Al-Sayyid was very angry about this incident. Nonetheless, the incident shows how this romantic image of the tormented intellectual also conflicted with the fact that the intellectual became somewhat of a celebrity in a national context in which Arabic print products circulated. But let us also admire this translational incident, noting how one local news item in the Baghdadi press could be inspired by an Iraqi intellectual who read an Egyptian translation of a German work which he deemed fitting to the mandatory era of the modern Middle East and to his own sufferings within that milieu.<sup>71</sup>

Sometimes, however, al-Sayyid indicated that knowing a mixture of languages, or rather pretending to know a few languages, was rather hazardous. His story 'Talib Effendi' begins in the spring of 1929, when °Abd al-Hamid returns from a long journey in the West. °Abd al-Hamid, who used to frequent coffee houses,<sup>72</sup> learns that a tribal shaykh, Talib, is staying in his hotel.

After two days, the night when our story begins, Talib took off his turban cloth (°*amama*) and wore the modern Iraqi hat (*sidara*); he felt the taste of wine in a nightclub that was not at all common (*baladi*) and he called himself effendi after he had been known as a *mulla*. A conservative man of ancient times, he was nowadays civilised; he had entered the world of the modernists (°*asriyyun*) and the Westernised, had become a member of the upper and the middle classes, on that night. The jazz music [in the hotel's nightclub] moved his heart . . . and he felt in his inner soul a beastly desire and anxiety.<sup>73</sup>

The story, then, frames the entry of the conservative shaykh into the middle classes and his becoming an effendi. The professional middle class (*afandiyya*) was the class to which al-Sayyid belonged and the class that consumed the multilingual print products al-Sayyid appreciated and produced. The shaykh seeks to be part of this world. The hotel also hosts, in addition to Talib and °Abd al-Hamid, an older Turkish-Christian dancer

(by which I take al-Sayyid to mean an Assyrian or Armenian refugee), who had never settled in one permanent place and whose speech ‘was a jumble of Arabic, Turkish and French’. She is about to be deported from Baghdad, and hence is determined to deceive Talib. Although Talib ‘used to think she was a dancer or a French tourist, since, actually, he saw no difference between the two’,<sup>74</sup> the dancer reveals to him that she is

a respectable woman, of honorable origins . . . of *shami* origins. She had traveled to Anatolia when she was twelve, with her father, General Akram Pasha, who was one of the great commanders of Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamid. Unfortunately, her father died in Istanbul, and she had been forced to return to Syria, after forgetting her mother tongue, the customs of her grandfathers and the traditions of her people. She married and was divorced, for she could not bear children. She now has come to Iraq to visit an Arab land.<sup>75</sup>

After spending the night with Talib, the dancer is taken by the police and exiled. Talib, regrettably, discovers that the noble Arab daughter was a prostitute. Concurrently, he discovers that his money is all gone.

Situating the rich albeit highly ignorant peasant in a sophisticated urban space is a well-known strategy in Arabic literature (as well as in European literature). It is brilliantly utilised, for example, in Muhammad al-Muwaylihi’s *Hadith ‘Isa ibn Hisham*.<sup>76</sup> Various urban charlatans and swindlers often dupe these urban peasants. Interestingly, the peasant in our story is duped not by an urbanite, but by a female refugee. Anxieties concerning female refugees entering into Iraq and fears about women’s sexuality and sexual powers, turn the qualities al-Sayyid once hailed – multilingualism, exchange of culture and ideas, and shared anticolonial battles – into something one ought to fear rather than celebrate. In other words, when a woman is multilingual, namely, when she is a refugee who knows how to speak (rather than write) in many languages, she can dupe and manipulate fellow men. Mastering a few Eastern languages and cultures, then, has turned into a mishmash, street talk, which typifies the way the dancer speaks. Al-Sayyid deplored the beastly atmosphere that characterised the Baghdadi nightclubs and censured the dancers and singers who found their living there, and the wine consumed by the nightclubs’ guests. Such places of desire signified to him the moral deficiencies that destroy the fabric of Iraqi society. His early works denounced such establishments and were part of what some Iraqi critics called ‘the campaign against prostitution [*al-hamla ‘ala al-bugha’*]’. His articles consequently dealt with hygiene and the dangers of wine, and in 1930, he even lamented the addiction of the youth to sad, primitive, *eastern* music. These gendered concerns, then, eliminated any concerns of multiculturalism and shared

Eastern cultures. Al-Sayyid was by no means unique here. The Egyptian, Syrian and Iraqi press published campaigns against moral corruption and printed articles discussing the concerns for the future of the heteronormative household endangered by nightclub-culture and prostitution, the effects of such nocturnal activities on the male body, and the ways in which such practices endangered the future of marriage and the very fabric of society. Iraq, however, witnessed the arrival of female refugees, Armenian and Assyrian in particular, after World War I, who survived the genocidal Ottoman campaigns against their communities. In addition to fears of female sexuality, the story therefore connotes fears of these female refugees, whose multilingualism was rooted in their experiences of exile, displacement and poverty.<sup>77</sup>

The story could also constitute a political observation about the leadership of Iraq since tribal shaykhs often acquired positions as representatives of their districts in the Iraqi parliament. The text, subsequently, echoes the contempt felt by urban intellectuals for such leaders, by alluding to their moral corruption and inability to handle the fraudulent urban sphere. The inability of the shaykh to fully understand these foreign languages, and the fact that the dancer has no real language, mark them both as outsiders in the eyes of al-Sayyid.

The anxieties regarding the inability to recognise one's true identity are also manifested in an eponymous short story about Safwat Effendi, a shady Arab who resides in London. His family is of unknown origins and therefore Safwat claimed, during the British military occupation of Iraq, that he was a Kurd. However, after being asked to provide documentation proving his origins, he denounced his Kurdishness. Soon after he chose to be an Iranian and an Aryan, since he esteemed the new Aryan revival (*nahda*) in Persia. Finally, he denied these origins, pretending to be a Caledonian admiring Iraq's pre-Islamic past under the influence of Egyptians who return to Pharaonism.<sup>78</sup>

This story parodies national discourses and national imaginations of golden ages, particularly the Iranian return to the Sassanian past and the Egyptian return to the Pharaonic past. These are reduced to mere inventions that deluded local men tell the colonisers in order to make themselves look Western and modern. As noted, al-Sayyid was dependent on Egyptian publications. In the early 1920s, he read Egyptian literature and published articles about the Egyptian character. Furthermore, al-Sayyid's publishing house al-Matba'at al-'asriyya (The contemporary press) gained co-sponsorship from an Egyptian publishing house to produce his novel *Masir al-du'afa'*, probably because no place in Iraq was willing to undertake the economic risk involved in publishing a novel. However, in response to an

article published in *al-Istiqlal* (no. 899, 31 November 1926) which praised the Egyptian intellectuals and novelists Taha Husayn, °Abbas Mahmud al-°Aqqad and Ibrahim °Abd al-Qadir al-Mazini, al-Sayyid unleashed a rather brutal attack on the three. As he perceived them to be emphasising the unique Egyptian past, he called them the enemies of Arabism. Rather than unity, then, the world of separated Arab states led to chaos, lies and deception. However, it was also the rise of more limiting forms of Arab nationalism in Iraq, in which Armenian and Assyrian women were perceived as dangerous to morality, which enabled al-Sayyid to mock the shifts from cultures and languages he so much admired as mere trickery used by unwanted elements in the homeland.<sup>79</sup>

### **Conclusion**

This chapter underlines the impossibility of looking at the Iraqi intellectual sphere as an isolated realm divided by sectarianism. While it is clear that in many cases both al-Shahrestani and al-Sayyid obtained abbreviated translations of a variety of texts, which appeared in *al-Hilal*, *al-Muqtataf* and the Persian and Ottoman press, let us not forget that both read and interpreted a variety of Islamic texts, which formulated their perceptions of society, and that thinkers like al-Farabi and Ibn Sina also shaped their worldviews. What makes the texts authored by al-Shahrestani and al-Sayyid so interesting, however, is that they come from different sources, translations and abbreviations. They are part of an Eastern, pan-Islamic and Arabic canon, where Iraqis both needed and wanted to read publications written in Eastern languages (Arabic, Ottoman Turkish, Persian and Urdu), which created new perspectives on the age of empires and offered new modes of resistance: from the writings of Jamal al-Din al-Afghani to the translations of al-Manfaluti. Many of these texts, then, were not merely simplified versions of Islamic or Marxist histories gathered eclectically. Rather they were works that deliberately reflected several traditions – European, Arab, Indian, Persian and Turkish. Both intellectuals authored extremely complex works, which echoed inner contradictions, tensions and the ambiguities characterising shifts between pan-Islamism and Eastern constitutionalism (in *al-°Ilm*) as well as the transitions between nationalism, socialism and third-world literature (in al-Sayyid’s fiction). Yet they remind us of the need to dig deeper, to go beyond European understandings of world literature, and not to limit the literatures and cultures of Iraq to one language, Arabic, cherished by the national elite, and to respect the profound and complex cultural choices of the intellectuals whose works we study.

## Notes

1. On al-Shahrastani, see Werner Ende, 'al-Shahrastani, Sayyid Muhammad °Ali al-Husayni, known as Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani', *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Brill Online: [www.encyislam.brill.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam\\_SIM-6770](http://www.encyislam.brill.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-6770); Orit Bashkin, 'The Iraqi Afghanis and °Abduhs: Debate over reform among Shi°ite and Sunni °ulama° in interwar Iraq', in Meir Hatina (ed.), *Guardians of Faith in Modern Times: °Ulama° in the Middle East* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 141–64; Orit Bashkin, *The Other Iraq: Intellectuals and Culture in Hashemite Iraq, 1921–1958* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 32–5, 59–60, 145; Muhammad Mahdi al-°Alawi, *Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani* (Baghdad: Matba°at al-adab, 1929); Baqir Ahmad al-Bahadili, *Al-Sayyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani: Atharuh al-fikriyya wa-mawaqifuh al-siyasiyya* (Beirut, Mu°assasat al-fikr al-islami, 2002); °Ali al-Khaqani, 'Hayat al-mu°allif al-Sayyid Muhammad °Ali Hibat al-Din al-Husayni al-shahir bi-l-Shahrastani', in Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani, *Nahdat al-Husayn* (Karbala°: Rabitat al-Nashr al-Islami, 1969), 8–28. See also Yitzhak Nakash, *The Shi°is of Iraq* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 193–7; °Udayy Hatim °Abd al-Zahra, *Al-Najaf al-ashraf wa-harakat al-tayyar al-islahi: 1908–1932* (Beirut: Dar al-qari°, 2005), 185–90; Meir Litvak, *Shi°i Scholars of Nineteenth-century Iraq: The °Ulama° of Najaf and Karbala* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1998), 110–11.
2. *Al-°Ilm* 1: 1 (1910): 6–11.
3. *Al-°Ilm* 1: 12 (1911): 577. This essay appears at the end of volume 1 in which al-Shahrastani sums up the aims of his journal.
4. *Al-°Ilm* 1: 12 (1911): 577.
5. *Al-°Ilm* 1: 6 (1910): 266–7.
6. On Rida, °Abduh and the *salafiyya*, see Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age* (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), 222–45; Malcolm Kerr, *Islamic Reform* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); David Dean Commins, *Islamic Reform: Politics and Social Change in Late Ottoman Syria* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).
7. On al-Shahrastani's publications in *al-Manar* and his relations with °Abduh and Rida, see Al-Bahadili, *Al-Sayyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani*, 80, 92, 98; Nakash, *The Shi°is*, 55, 57–8; Rainer Brunner, *Islamic Ecumenism in the 20th Century, the Azhar and Shiism Between Rapprochement and Restraint* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 59; on his participation in journals affiliated with al-Azhar, 195. On the ways in which the Islamic practice of *shura* was turned into a debate about electoral process in the reform literature of the period, see Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 6, 144, 234–5, 300; on the problematic reception of the idea of *shura* in the Shi°i context, which points to the uniqueness of al-Shahrastani's ideas, see Roswitha Badry, 'Marja°iyya and shura', in Rainer Brunner and Werner Ende (eds), *The Twelver Shia in Modern Times: Religious Culture and Political Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2001): 188–207.

8. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 2 (1910): 66–71.
9. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 10 (1911): 469–70.
10. See the reference to *al-‘Irfān* in *al-‘Ilm* 1: 10 (1911): 469–70.
11. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 11 (1911): 524–5.
12. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 5 (1910): 204–6.
13. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 11 (1911): 481.
14. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 11 (1911): 526.
15. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 9 (1910): 430.
16. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 12 (1911): 553. On Musa, see Vernon Egger, *A Fabian in Egypt: Salamah Musa and the Rise of the Professional Classes in Egypt* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1986).
17. In the Sunni context, see in particular Hala Fattah, ‘Wahhabi’ influences, Salafi responses: Shaikh Mahmud Shukri and the Iraqi Salafi movement, 1745–1930’, *Journal of Islamic Studies* 14: 2 (2003): 127–48; Basheer M. Nafi, ‘Abu al-Thana’ al-Alusi: An alim, Ottoman mufti, and exegete of the Qur’an’, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 34: 3 (2002): 465–94; Samer Traboulsi, ‘An early refutation of Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab’s reformist views’, *Die Welt des Islams* 42: 3 (2002): 373–415.
18. ‘Abd al-Zahra, *al-Najaf*, 95–107, 207, 232–4; Al-Bahadili, *Al-Sayyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani*, 131–40; Nakash, *The Shi‘is*, 55, 57–8; al-Khaqani, ‘Hayat al-mu‘allif’, 8–9. On the relationship between the Shrine cities, the Ottomans and the Hamidian regime, see Litvak, *Scholars*, 150–69.
19. Nikki R. Keddie, *Sayyid Jamal al-Din ‘al-Afghani’: A Political Biography* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).
20. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 8 (1910): 289.
21. ‘Abd al-Zahra, *al-Najaf*, 95–107, 207, 232–4; Al-Bahadili, *Al-Sayyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani*, 131–40, 57–8.
22. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 8 (1910): 374.
23. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 10 (1911): 434–6.
24. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 4 (1910): 180–1.
25. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 5 (1910): 208.
26. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 12 (1911): 577.
27. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 2 (1910): 137.
28. *Al-‘Ilm*, 1: 7 (1910): 336.
29. *Al-‘Ilm*, 1: 7 (1910): 336.
30. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 4 (1910): 146–7.
31. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 9 (1910): 395.
32. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 9 (1910): 395.
33. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 4 (1910): 146–7.
34. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 6 (1910): 250; *al-‘Ilm* 1: 2 (1910): 51–8.
35. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 2 (1910): 51–8.
36. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 4 (1910): 154.
37. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 4 (1910): 150.
38. *Al-‘Ilm* 1: 5 (1910): 234–6.

39. *al-‘Ilm* 1: 8 (1910): 298; *al-‘Ilm* 1: 10 (1911): 476; *al-‘Ilm* 1: 5 (1910): 194; *al-‘Ilm* 1: 6 (1910): 250.
40. On the debates about constitutionalism following 1908, see Al-Bahadili, *Al-Sayyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani*, 126–31; ‘Abd al-Zahra, *al-Najaf*, 46–58; Muhammad ‘Ali Kamal al-Din, *Al-Najaf fi rub‘ qarn mundhu sanat 1908: Haqa’iq wa-watha’iq wa-mudhakkarat min ta’rikh al-‘Iraq al-siyasi* (Beirut: Dar al-qari’, 2005), 139–53; 7–8, 23–7; Nakash, *The Shi‘is*, 50–5.
41. Al-Bahadili, *Al-Sayyid Hibat al-Din al-Shahrastani*, 237–9; ‘Abd al-Zahra, *al-Najaf*, 237–8.
42. On al-Sayyid, see ‘Ali Jawad al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid: Ra’id al-qissa al-haditha fi l-‘Iraq* (Beirut: Dar al-adab, 1969); Hanna Batatu, *The Old Social Classes and the Revolutionary Movements of Iraq* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 389–403; Ja‘far al-Khalili, *al-Qissa al-‘iraqiya, qadiman wa-hadithan* (Baghdad: Matba‘at al-ma‘arif, 1957), 186–92; ‘Abd al-Ilah Ahmad, *Nash‘at al-qissa wa-tatawwuruha fi l-‘Iraq* (Baghdad: Dar al-shu‘un al-thaqafiyya al-‘amma, 1986), 193–236; ‘Umar al-Talib, *Al-Fann al-qisasi fi l-‘Iraq al-hadith* (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Andalus, 1971), 195–6.
43. His collections of short stories include *Masir al-du‘afa’* (The lot of the weak) (Baghdad, 1922), *al-Nakabat* (The catastrophes) (Baghdad, 1922), *Hayakil al-jahl* (Temples of ignorance) (Baghdad, 1923), *al-Qalam al-maksur* (The broken pen) (Baghdad, 1923), *al-Tala’i‘* (The avant-guard) (Baghdad, 1929), *Fi sa‘a min al-zaman* (In an hour) (Baghdad, 1935).
44. All novels and collections of short stories were collected in 1978 in Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid, *al-A‘mal al-kamila li-Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, eds ‘Ali Jawad al-Tahir and ‘Abd Allah Ahmad (Baghdad: Dar al-hurriyya, 1978).
45. Al-Sayyid, ‘Qissat al-da‘if’ (The story of the weak), *al-A‘mal*, 160.
46. Al-Sayyid, ‘Qissat al-da‘if’, 160.
47. Al-Sayyid, ‘Bi wajah Shakespeare’ (In front of Shakespeare), *al-A‘mal*, 209.
48. Al-Sayyid, ‘al-Ma‘rak al-adabi’ (The literary campaign), *al-A‘mal*, 255.
49. Al-Sayyid, ‘al-Daftar al-azraq’ (The blue notebook), *al-A‘mal*, 488.
50. On Le Bon, see ‘Abd al-Hamid Rushdi, *Al-Zahawi: Dirasat wa-nusus* (Beirut: Dar maktabat al-hayah, 1966), 125; al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 121. On Le Bon in the Arab world, see also Timothy Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 3rd edn (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 122–5; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 173.
51. Al-Sayyid, ‘al-Ma‘rak al-adabi’, 255.
52. On Japan, see Mitchell, *Colonising Egypt*, 109–110; Michael F. Laffan, ‘Watan and Negeri: Mustafa Kamil’s *Rising Sun* in the Malay world’, *Indonesia Circle* 69 (1996): 156–75; Roxane Haag-Higuchi, ‘A Topos and its dissolution: Japan in some 20th-century Iranian texts’, *Iranian Studies* 29: 1–2 (1996): 71–83; Klaus Kreiser, ‘Der Japanische Sieg Über Russland (1905) und sein echo unter den Muslimen’, *Welt des Islams* 21: 1–4 (1981): 209–39.

53. Al-Sayyid, 'Riwayat bint al-qamar' (The narrative of the daughter of the moon), *al-A'ḥmal*, 230–1.
54. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968), 152–3.
55. Al-Tahir refers to the fact that al-Sayyid believed that cinematic narratives were artistically equal to written narratives as he called both genres *riwayat*. The popularity of the genre among young Iraqis in the inter-war period must have motivated al-Sayyid to publish this article. See al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 119–20.
56. Al-Sayyid, 'Ba'ḍ qisas turkiyya' (Some Turkish stories), *al-A'ḥmal*, 434. See also al-Khalili, *al-Qissa al-iraqiya*, 196.
57. Al-Sayyid, *Jalal khalid*, *al-A'ḥmal*, 306; Bashkin, *The Other Iraq*, 162.
58. Al-Khalili, *al-Qissa al-iraqiya*, 196; Bashkin, *The Other Iraq*, 162.
59. Al-Sayyid, 'Hadithan' (Two stories), *al-A'ḥmal*, 429.
60. Al-Sayyid, 'al-Daftar al-azraq', 484–9; al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 119–20, 146–7.
61. Al-Sayyid, *Jalal khalid*, *al-A'ḥmal*, 306.
62. On 'Eastern' and 'Western' philosophies, see Muhammad Sharara, 'The will of power and its impact in life', *al-ʿIrfan* 19: 3 (March 1930): 294–302; and Muhsin Sharara, 'The ideal community', *al-ʿIrfan* 19: 3 (March 1930): 312–19. These articles appeared in Arabic but the notes from which this material is drawn do not give those titles.
63. Al-Sayyid, 'al-Amal al-muhtim', *al-A'ḥmal*, 356.
64. Al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 84–6.
65. Mustafa Lutfi al-Manfaluti (trans./adaptor), *al-Fadila, aw, Bul wa-Firjini li-Barnardin di San Piyir (mulakkhkhassa)*, (Cairo: al-Matba'at al-rahmaniyya, 1923).
66. Al-Sayyid, *Jalal khalid*, *al-A'ḥmal*, 296.
67. Charles D. Smith, *Islam and the Search for Social Order in Modern Egypt: A Biography of Muhammad Husayn Haykal* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1983), 55–60. Al-Talib claims that his romanticism was influenced by the *mahjar* school of poetry. See al-Talib, *al-Fann al-qisasi*, 88.
68. Al-Sayyid, 'al-Daftar al-azraq', 484–9
69. Al-Sayyid, 'al-Daftar al-azraq', 488.
70. On al-Sayyid's views about suicide, see 'Awni's letter titled 'Fikrat al-intikhar' (The idea of suicide), *al-A'ḥmal*, 219.
71. Al-Khalili, *al-Qissa al-iraqiya*, 192.
72. Al-Sayyid, 'Talib Effendi', *al-A'ḥmal*, 523.
73. Al-Sayyid, 'Talib Effendi', 524.
74. Al-Sayyid, 'Talib Effendi', 525.
75. Al-Sayyid, 'Talib Effendi', 525.
76. Muhammad al-Muwaylihi, *Hadith ʿIsa ibn Hisham, aw fatra min al-zaman* (Cairo, Muhammad Sa'īd al-Rafi'i, 1923).
77. Al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 24–5, 148; al-Khalili, *al-Qissa*



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- al-‘iraqiya*, 191–2, Ahmad, *Nash’at al-qissa*, 224–8; Bashkin, *The Other Iraq*, 194.
78. Al-Sayyid, *al-A‘mal*, 545; *Masir al-Du‘afa*’s front page, *al-A‘mal*, 77; al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 75, 102–3.
79. Al-Sayyid, *Masir al-du‘afa*, *al-A‘mal*, 77; al-Tahir, *Mahmud Ahmad al-Sayyid*, 75, 102–3.



## PART II. TRANSLATION AND/AS FICTION

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The two chapters in this section focus on specific translators, mediators and fiction texts as they elaborate the exuberant production of fiction ‘in translation’ across the Ottoman lands, in which, to varying extents, ‘translation’ was in itself a fiction. Titika Dimitroulia and Alexander Kazamias investigate the hitherto unexamined work of Egyptian-Greek women translators active 1860s–80s, as members of the sizable Greek community in Egypt with its notable late-Ottoman, precolonial socio-economic, cultural and literary presence, a community well established before the 1882 British occupation of the country. Locating the work of Eleni Goussiou, Emilia Frangia and Eleni Argyridou in the wider intellectual milieu of feminine Egyptian-Greek writing since 1860, with its constructions of gendered diasporic identities and a programme of local reform, the chapter highlights connections between women’s translation activity in Egypt’s Greek community and diverse feminist currents developing at that time across Europe. The authors show how these translators pursued different strategies with discernible political and feminist effects, through text choice and internal intervention in key works of French fiction. They also provide the fullest bibliography to date of Egyptian-Greek translations, 1860s–1890, as crucial contextualisation for the writer-translators they highlight.

In ‘Haunting Ottoman middle-class sensibility: Ahmet Midhat Efendi’s Gothic’, A. Holly Shissler considers the work of the Turkish writer-journalist Ahmet Midhat Efendi, who published twenty-five narrative fictions in his series ‘Letaif-i Rivayat’ (Amusing Tales), 1874–90. Many were fully original works with Ottoman settings, but Shissler focuses on one with a European setting in which, she argues, Ahmet Midhat translated the Romantic Gothic style made popular in England by Ann Radcliffe and others. How did Ahmet Midhat use this subgenre in *The*

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*Haunted Inn* (Cinli Han) to produce a village story for his city readers? How did he employ imagery, plot elements and characters common to the Gothic to deliver concepts of self-help, productive morality, and women's aspirations?

## Gender and Diaspora in Late Ottoman Egypt: The Case of Greek Women Translators

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*Titika Dimitroulia and Alexander Kazamias*

Three Egyptian-Greek women translators, Eleni Goussiou, Eleni Argyridou and Emilia Frangia, translated French fiction into Greek in the period 1865–87. That they were members of Egypt’s most prominent foreign resident community, demands an approach that considers the interface between gender, diaspora and translation. Locating their translations in the wider intellectual milieu of Egyptian-Greek women’s writing 1860–90<sup>1</sup> we focus specifically on the cultural project of constructing a gendered notion of diaspora as inseparable from the acts and products of translation. By comparing their distinct cultural strategies, we highlight their common concerns *and* their contrasting approaches to translation, gender and notions of Egyptian-Greek identity. The chapter also explores how these translators interacted with influences from Europe, especially France; Greek sociocultural developments (including the emergence of a new gendered consciousness among Greek women); and the sparse yet important contacts with the Arab *nahda*. In contrast to prevalent scholarly views recently reaffirmed in studies on Greek women in the late Ottoman Empire, we contend that both Ottoman-Egyptian reformist policies and growing contacts with Europe encouraged the growth of an early feminist current in Egypt’s Greek community, especially in the interconnected fields of translation and literature. Moreover, we maintain that, far from ‘declining or being abandoned, since nationalist ideologies’ took hold in the 1870s, Greek Ottomanism survived in Egypt for another generation and throughout the period 1860–90 was linked to some of the most radical local feminist currents.<sup>2</sup> In this respect, clear parallels can be found with the development of Arab feminist thought at that time in Egypt.

A sizeable Greek community began to emerge in the Nile Valley from the 1820s. By the 1882 British occupation, it had developed into Egypt’s largest and possibly most influential foreign ethnic group. Official

censuses show that between 1871 and 1882, 34,000–38,000 Greeks were living in Egypt, but their real numbers were certainly higher, possibly by up to one third, as these figures did not include the Ottoman-Greeks and those holding non-Greek nationalities.<sup>3</sup> Contrary to some claims,<sup>4</sup> Egypt's Greek community was well-established before the advent of British colonialism and its demographics showed a strong upward trend. Consequently, this ethnic group should be conceptualised primarily as a pre-colonial, late Ottoman diaspora community similar to other flourishing Greek colonies across the Mediterranean and the Black Sea. Indeed, with the onset of formal British control, the capitulatory privileges enjoyed by many of its members were significantly curtailed, as Egypt's colonial authorities were determined to exercise firmer control over the country's local foreign residents.<sup>5</sup> In contrast to their clichéd image,<sup>6</sup> Egypt's Greeks were not merely a merchant diaspora community acting as a local agent of British imperialism. While an important section of its *haute bourgeoisie* and its supporters among the lower classes certainly did, beginning in the 1860s there was also a significant Egyptian-Greek working class, including thousands of islanders digging the Suez Canal alongside the indigenous *fellahin*.<sup>7</sup> Indeed, in the 1880s–90s, the community's mainstream expressed a vocal opposition to colonialism and its leading newspaper, *Tachydromos*, marked the ninth anniversary of the British bombardment of Alexandria with the headline 'When will Egypt get rid of the British Occupation?'<sup>8</sup>

Among the understudied aspects of this varied ethnic group is its cultural and literary production, which goes well beyond the celebrated case of C. P. Cavafy.<sup>9</sup> Notable, but virtually unknown, is the pioneering work of Egyptian-Greek women writers, including translators. In the two major histories of Egyptian-Greek literature, Manolis Yalourakis's *The History of Greek letters in Egypt* (1962) and Ioannis Chatzifotis's *Alexandrian Literature* (1967), there is hardly any reference to Maria Michanidou (c.1830–1901),<sup>10</sup> even though she is often considered the first female fiction writer in the Greek language with her Egyptian-themed novella *The Phantoms of Egypt* (1873).<sup>11</sup> Both histories make only brief mention of Penelope Delta (1874–1941), who is known as the most widely read Greek female writer to date.<sup>12</sup> Delta spent half of her life in Alexandria and based two of her children's books, *Mad Anthony* (1932) and *Mangas* (1935), on her own childhood memories from Egypt. Yalourakis and Chatzifotis have little to say about the blind poet and translator, Eleni Goussiou (b. 1840), whose collection *Small Bunch of Flowers* (1861) is heralded as the first work of Egyptian-Greek poetry, yet whose important contribution to translation in the 1860s is practically unknown.<sup>13</sup>

We conceptualise translation as transcultural mediation and negotiation which, on one hand, reflects relations in a given social context (in our case, the Greek community of Egypt) and, on the other hand, seeks to reshape these relations around a programme formulated by the agents of translation themselves, the translators. Following André Lefevere, we define translation as one of the most important forms of rewriting and literary manipulation. The notion of translation as ‘rewriting’, which refers to a variety of intra- or inter-lingual practices, involves processes of re-interpreting, altering or manipulating an original text. These forms of manipulation provide the translator with considerable power in informing the culture in which he/she operates, often creating different images of the same work or writer or even different literary, intellectual and social movements.<sup>14</sup>

The context in which this process takes place is a structured matrix of interconnected social positions which, following the sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (with whom Lefevere entered into dialogue), we regard as ‘a field’.<sup>15</sup> Internally, fields are marked by antagonistic relations among agents who compete for the acquisition and retention of power, domination and capital; and, externally, they interact with other fields to claim autonomy. On this basis, the Egyptian-Greek field is seen here as a social arena constituted around a common minority language, Greek, and whose underlying rules (*nomoi*) consist of constructing shared community relations and a collective diasporic identity. At the same time, Egypt’s Greek community interacted regularly with three other fields: (1) mainland and diaspora Greek culture and society; (2) Egyptian society and culture, including its Ottoman political and social institutions; (3) European modernity at the historical juncture of the French and British colonisation of the Middle East.<sup>16</sup>

### ***Gender and Literature in Egypt’s Greek Community, 1860–90***

From its rapid expansion during the cotton boom of the 1860s, Egypt’s Greek community became increasingly polarised around two sociocultural trends.<sup>17</sup> The first articulated a discourse that was critical of European individualism and colonialism and called instead for the construction of a communitarian Egyptian-Greek identity in the context of a multicultural Ottoman Empire. The second adopted an elitist discourse, which praised European modernity and colonialism, and dismissed Arab and Ottoman culture as backward and uncivilised. Although these trends sometimes overlapped (because many Egyptian-Greek notables and intellectuals chose to operate across them), in most cases their differences were tangible. This

tension was partly linked to an ongoing socio-political conflict between the old interior bourgeoisie, which drew much of its authority directly from the Ottoman Khedivial Court (Zizinia, Dranet Pasha, Rally, Averoff) and the comprador class of cotton merchants and financiers who arrived after 1860 and became aligned to British financial and political interests (Choremi-Benaki, Salvago, Goussios). This dispute continued into the period of the British occupation, when the mainstream of the Greek community, led by the old, so-called 'first-class families', resisted Cromer's policies, while the 'second-class families' and the Greek Consulate in Alexandria supported the local colonial authorities.<sup>18</sup>

Ever since Stratis Tsirkas's acclaimed study on Cavafy in 1958, it has become apparent that the social antagonisms within the Greek community after 1860 had a marked influence on its writers.<sup>19</sup> When we turn to the literature of Egyptian-Greek women, we find that this conclusion is no less valid. These influences usually emerged through an artistic or cultural desire to set a poem or novel in the landscape of contemporary Egypt, which formed the writer's immediate material environment. The cultural hybridity engendered in the process of presenting Egyptian themes in the Greek language gave rise to questions of diasporic identity, namely, what it meant to be a Greek living in Egypt. Such questions, in turn, drew these writers closer to intra-community cultural and political debates. Although this process was never linear, as it was usually mediated by strong European influences,<sup>20</sup> in the case of women authors it was further compounded by the additional concern of linking questions of diasporic identity with diverse gender issues. In this sense, the leading Egyptian-Greek women writers of this period seldom discussed the role of women in abstract, decontextualised terms. Usually, they raised such issues in the hybrid context of diaspora and, especially, the milieu of Egypt's Greek community.

All these tendencies were already developed in the first Egyptian-Greek literary work published by a woman, Eleni Goussiou, whose poetic collection *Small Bunch of Flowers* appeared in 1861. Born in 1840 on the Greek island of Naxos, Goussiou settled in Alexandria at the age of nine, when her father, a customs official for the Greek government, moved there 'in search of a job'. As an infant, Goussiou lost her eyesight and although she could not read or write, she started composing poems when she turned eighteen, with the help of her younger brother who wrote them down for her.<sup>21</sup> Of the twenty-one poems in *Small Bunch of Flowers*, at least nine focus strongly on gender-related themes, as could be inferred from their titles: 'Weeping mother'; 'Orphan woman'; 'Philostorgy'; 'Homage to Lady R.A.K.'; 'Woman lacking love'; 'Young



Spanish woman, or Betrayal'; 'Requiem to the Virgin Athina Tzoumou'; 'Women. A satire'; 'Abandoned young woman'. In a fashion reminiscent of the early feminism of Mary Wollstonecraft (whose work she might have known, given her familiarity with leading eighteenth-century French feminist writers), Goussiou treats gender and class as inextricable questions of social justice,<sup>22</sup> especially when she criticises Alexandria's bourgeois aristocracy. For example, her poem 'Women. A satire' is a counterpoint between an itinerant vendor who struggles to earn a living and an affluent woman of 'foolish ideas' who cares only about the latest Parisian fashions.

A woman's character, no matter how good  
Does not care a whit  
If I am running around under the sun or in the water.  
All she wants are crinolines and feathered hats  
She couldn't care less if I am selling cheese, oil and sardines  
All she wants are her scarfs and a pointed cap.

Her poem 'Railway' expresses admiration, but also scepticism, about the new Cairo-Alexandria rail link (inaugurated in 1859) because the train had 'gold plated engines and ashtrays' and the entire project cost too much. A mirror image of this critique is given in 'Homage to Lady R.A.K'., where the eponymous woman is praised for her classless qualities of 'beauty', 'spirit' and 'charm' which, we are told, are the envy of 'ladies' in the theatre audience.<sup>23</sup> In such poems, the feminine as a repository of moral and aesthetic values is contrasted with the material obsessions of Alexandrian high society.

More explicit connections between gender and diaspora can be found in her poems 'The most serene prince, Khedive Said' and 'The Square of Alexandria'. The former is an encomium to Egypt's ruler, who is praised for making Egypt attractive to immigrants with his liberal and modernising reforms:

You beautified the cities  
    everything is renewed  
From what I hear, through You  
    Egypt has been rescued.  
Your people enjoy  
    abundant freedom  
and everyone rushes here  
    for this reason.

The open Ottoman society described here is portrayed as a fitting environment for a thriving multiculturalism. The crossing of ethnic boundaries

encouraged by the Khedive is warmly welcomed in a verse that calls him 'the new Ptolemy'.<sup>24</sup> Besides drawing a historical parallel with the hybrid culture of Hellenistic Egypt (a commonplace in Egyptian-Greek literature well before Cavafy), the title 'new Ptolemy' also served as a cultural device linking Egypt's Ottoman court with a 'local' past that is dear to Greek nationalism, which dominated the official discourse of Egypt's Greek community.<sup>25</sup> The emphasis on Said's reforms and beautification projects is on full display in the poem 'The Square of Alexandria', which praises 'Said Pasha' for the recent renovation of the famous Place des Consuls. The poem describes how 'the waters of the Nile' sprang out of fountains built by the Greek marble sculptor Yakoumis who used 'white marble from Tinos'; it also refers to the marble seats 'from our friendly Italy' and marvels at the nearby buildings, headed by the mansion of the founder of Alexandria's Greek community, Mikhail Tositsas. In other words, the revamped Place des Consuls is portrayed as a genius of Ottoman multiculturalism, in which the local Greek community occupies centre stage. In a surprise twist, the poem's finale reveals the essence of this innovation for Goussiou, which is none other than the opening of a magnificent new public space suitable for women: 'In our splendid square, many people walk/Ladies and young women wander around at night'.<sup>26</sup> Here, the feminisation of social space is portrayed as the culmination of cosmopolitan modernity.

The same connections between diaspora, gender and Ottoman communitarianism were developed at that time in the prose of Michanidou, whose ideas are aptly summarised by Frangiski Abatzopoulou:

She is chiefly afraid of plutocracy, subservience to foreign ways of life, the big loan of . . . [Anglophile Prime Minister] Charilaos Trikoupis . . . An enemy of big capital and the banks, she emerges as a guardian of the poor, especially children . . . and seeks a new balance of forces between West and East, which she finds in a new alliance with the Sultan.<sup>27</sup>

Abatzopoulou also remarks that Michanidou believed women were intellectually inferior to men and points out that she disagreed with the leading Greek feminist of her time, Kalliroi Parren, who urged women to seek paid work outside the home.<sup>28</sup> However, it would be inappropriate to view Michanidou as nothing but a mere reactionary; her early writing displayed progressive elements in its treatment of gender issues. Also, her views on women's intellect appear to be more complex insofar as she believed, in the words of one of her heroines, that 'women are more cunning than men', meaning ingenious, resourceful, astute.<sup>29</sup>

Much of the above can be seen in her play *Extreme Poverty: Greek*

*Aristocracy and the Vampire* (1879), set in the Greek community of Marseille, which satirises the patriarchal plutocracy in charge of its affairs. The male notables are castigated for caring more about sponsoring a war to retake Istanbul from the Ottomans than about helping a destitute single mother of four, Margarita, who lives in their own community. The action soon turns into a comedy of manners when Margarita's friend, Clio, impersonates a French bourgeoisie, Mme d'Orient, to charm the Greek notables into offering her gifts that she could later sell to feed her friend's starving children. 'If they see that you are a Greek and a poor woman, they will not even speak to you'; but 'if they see you are wearing expensive clothes . . . and are French . . . even if you are the worst kind of woman . . . they will give you the best reception', says Clio. Predictably, the notables fall into her trap as the fictitious Mme d'Orient fascinates them with stories from her travels to Alexandria. There, she tells them, the local Greeks 'compete against each another about who will come across as more French'.<sup>30</sup> The interconnected issues of diaspora and patriarchy reappear in conversations between Margarita and Clio, in which the latter complains that all Greek notables abroad are the same. 'When I was in Alexandria, I heard that one of the disreputable ballerinas hooked up with a filthy rich pig and he bought her a country mansion in Italy . . . How, I wondered, could they sacrifice so much money . . . If he could give . . . for the fatherland . . . or . . . the widows and orphans, the hospitals, the schools', she complains. Interestingly, Margarita corrects her, stressing that, in contrast to those in Marseille, the Greek notables in Egypt are less inhuman because they have kept something of the communitarian spirit of 'the East'. 'At least in Alexandria, as well as in the rest of the East, if they spend on their vices, they also spend on many charities', she remarks.<sup>31</sup>

Michanidou's communitarian proto-feminism also features in the novella *Beautiful Ottoman Woman* (1888), set in the alleys of Fatimid Cairo. In what could be the first work of modern Greek fiction featuring an all-Muslim cast,<sup>32</sup> the story narrates the ploys of Eminé, an educated Turkish young woman, who succeeds in making handsome Mahmoud, an Egyptian merchant at Khan El-Khalili bazaar, leave his lover in order to marry her. Eminé falls in love with Mahmoud because she finds him physically attractive. She studies him 'from head to toe' and thinks 'a more handsome man could not exist'.<sup>33</sup> Eminé's father is an enlightened bey from Istanbul, who educated his daughter and gave her 'absolute power to choose the husband she likes'.<sup>34</sup> Michanidou, whose anti-Semitic views in her other works have been appropriately criticised,<sup>35</sup> is remarkably open-minded toward Islam. She quotes directly from the Qur'an, using the recent translation of the Alexandrian Gerassimos Pentakis, in an

interesting example of Egyptian-Greek intertextuality.<sup>36</sup> Overall, despite their striking differences, both Goussiou and Michanidou project a positive image of Ottoman multicultural communitarianism as an ideal environment for better gender relations. They praise ‘enlightened patriarchy’ as a modern institution capable of reforming the status of women in Egypt through encouraging their education, granting them choice in marriage and giving them greater access to public space.

### ***Translation in the Emerging Literary Field of Egypt’s Greek Community, 1860–90***

Besides Goussiou, Frangia and Argyridou, whose translations will be analysed extensively below, the Egyptian-Greek literary field in this period was marked by a strong male presence. Between 1863 and 1890, at least thirty-eight translations were published by Egyptian-Greek men and another thirteen by anonymous translators,<sup>37</sup> not to mention dictionaries, language learning manuals<sup>38</sup> and translations from Ancient Greek. Of those fifty-one titles, twenty-nine or thirty were translations from French, eighteen from Italian, two from German, one from Arabic (and, interestingly, none from English).<sup>39</sup> This intense activity, which for the 1860s and 1870s was proportionately five times greater than the average production of Greek translations worldwide,<sup>40</sup> is typical of both diaspora communities and newly formed literary systems.<sup>41</sup> Clear connections with Egyptian-Greek themes can be found in S. K. Pantelidis’s 1868 translation of Alexandre Soumet’s play, *Cléopâtre*, Miltiadis Lants’ *Aigyptiakóí Kódikes* (1880) (Egyptian codes, from French) and, from German, *The Most Ancient Merchant of Alexandria* (1888) by an anonymous translator.<sup>42</sup> Other evidence also shows that Egypt’s Greek translators formed a kind of literary community through which they learned from one another and encouraged each other’s work. For example, in the list of pre-ordered copies of N. A. Abbet’s 1869 translation of Jean-Henri Ferdinand Lamartelière’s *Robert, chef de brigands*, we find the names of almost all the leading Alexandrian translators of that period: Pentakis, Pantelidis, Argyridou and the prolific poet and lawyer Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos.<sup>43</sup> Some, like Theodoulos Orphanidis and Livathinopoulos, had been publishing translation since the early 1860s in major Athenian periodicals.<sup>44</sup>

The leading Egyptian-Greek translator of that period was Pentakis. According to Tsirkas, his work from Arabic was ‘the most serious, if not the first serious attempt at a Greek-Egyptian *rapprochement*’.<sup>45</sup> Pentakis made his debut in 1863, with a translation from Italian into Greek of Carlo Rotti’s *Bianca e Fernando alla tomba di Carlo IV, duca di Agrigento*,

published by the first Greek publishing house in Egypt, O Neilos (The Nile).<sup>46</sup> Pentakis was the chief interpreter of the Greek Consulate at Alexandria and in 1860 he began working on his Greek-Arabic dictionary. By 1867, he published in Alexandria his *Short Greek-Arabic Dictionary* in a 144-page pocket edition and in 1878 his famous translation of the Qur'an appeared.<sup>47</sup> In 1885, an expanded version (243 pages) of his *Greek-Arabic Dictionary* was published, with three interesting supplements on Egypt's 'cities and monuments', 'national and religious holidays' and the 'manners, customs, beliefs and superstitions of the Arabs'.<sup>48</sup> Pentakis's cultural programme can be inferred from his focus on Arabic and his choice of foundational projects like the dictionary and the translation of the Qur'an. Two political events offer additional clues. First, he was knighted with the Order of the Medjidie, which was awarded to individuals for distinguished services to the Ottoman Empire. Second, he was a self-proclaimed enemy of the Greek Vice-Consul, Nicolaos Skotides, a staunch advocate of British colonialism and author of a book defending the Trikoupis Government for supporting the British invasion of Egypt in 1882.<sup>49</sup> Their enmity led Pentakis to resign from the Consulate in December 1881 and later he accused Skotides of 'shamelessly lying' about the incident.<sup>50</sup>

The choice to translate the Qur'an and his anthropological observations in the *Dictionary* supplement on the 'customs' and 'superstitions' of the Arabs,<sup>51</sup> suggests that Pentakis sought to portray Egypt as a highly traditional society.<sup>52</sup> At the same time, his commentary conveys strong sympathies and, sometimes, admiration for some Egyptian cultural practices, such as the decoration of Egyptian mosques: 'The nights of Ramadan, especially in Cairo, are very lively; all the minarets are lit up to their highest gallery. The city viewed from the rooftops presents a magical view', he says. Elsewhere, he offers a colourful depiction of the Mahmal Litany, detailing the role of the Khedive, the cavalry, the gunfire from the Citadel, the flags, the music, and the sea of Muslim pilgrims. A telling example of his scepticism toward European modernity – which he knew well – can be found in his views on women. In his dictionary entry on 'the harem', he claims that 'advanced Egyptian women' (presumably meaning cultured/urbane) are 'lustful', but 'because they have no relations with men, cannot partake in amorous affairs, and hence the husbands' honour in the East is much better protected than in Europe'. He also explains in a footnote that he prefers Egyptian to European patriarchy: 'Modern civilisation wanted to make woman a rational being, but was misled', he wrote.<sup>53</sup>

### ***The Impact of French Language and Culture***

It is not surprising that the first Egyptian-Greek women translators turned to French literature, whose major influence worldwide went back a couple of centuries. Although each individual had different motives, there are strong shared contextual factors.

The key influence of French culture in late Ottoman Egypt is well documented as a phenomenon dating back to Napoleon's invasion in 1798–1801 and Muhammad °Ali's extensive programme of state-funded scholarships to France.<sup>54</sup> From the 1840s, French missionary schools began to proliferate,<sup>55</sup> and a culture of 'Francomania' developed under Sa'id (reg. 1854–63) and especially his successor, Isma'°il (reg. 1863–79).<sup>56</sup> French influence on the culture of the nascent Greek state was equally pronounced and translation played a major part in shaping Greek romantic literature in the nineteenth century. In 1894, the celebrated novelist Grigorios Xenopoulos (also credited for having 'discovered' Cavafy nine years later) famously remarked that 'in terms of literature, we [in Greece] are a province of France'.<sup>57</sup> According to Charles Issawi, these developments reflected the global hegemony of the French language in the nineteenth century, which was particularly strong in the eastern Mediterranean.<sup>58</sup> Among Egypt's burgeoning foreign resident communities, French was adopted as a transcultural linguistic medium and, given these communities' dominant socio-economic role, it became the language of business, shopping, sports clubs, the theatre and a sizeable section of the local press. For example, since 1873, a leading Egyptian newspaper was *Le Phare d'Alexandrie*, edited by the Greek lawyer Nikolaos Haicalis Bey, while the British colonial authorities after 1882 used Francophone newspapers as their mouthpieces in Egypt, like *Le Progrès* (edited by another Greek, Eteoklis Kyriakopoulos).<sup>59</sup> Beginning in the 1860s, street names in Alexandria were signposted in both Arabic and French.<sup>60</sup>

Historians have suggested that French became 'the language of women' in nineteenth-century Egypt because it enabled them 'to fight for their emancipation'.<sup>61</sup> Although in some cases this argument is partially valid, in general it is rather misleading and imbued with elitist and Eurocentric bias.<sup>62</sup> First, according to generous estimates, from 1850 to 1900, '3 to 4 percent used the French language in an Arab/French bilingualism'.<sup>63</sup> For the overwhelming majority of Egyptian women French was not 'their language', but that of a tiny, privileged elite. Second, the impression that French was 'chosen', overlooks the hegemonic status of this language and its close connections with French colonialism (if not in Egypt after Napoleon, then across much of the Ottoman Empire). Third,

French instruction for girls was usually linked in Egypt to a new type of Europeanised patriarchy that guardedly promoted women's education and increased social presence (e.g. through charity) in order to serve the demands of modern urbanisation and embourgeoisement.<sup>64</sup> Finally, other languages besides French functioned as equally important means of female liberation in Egypt, whether as conduits for discussion of issues of gender reform or as agents of freer socialisation between women and men. For instance, Egypt's leading feminist, Huda Sha<sup>c</sup>rawi, recalled that she started believing 'women could be the equals of men' when she saw that the poet Sayyida Khadija al-Maghribiyya could 'sit with the men and discuss literary and cultural matters', because she spoke excellent Arabic. Sha<sup>c</sup>rawi's Greek contemporary in Alexandria, Penelope Delta, later recalled in her memoirs (often written in perfect French!) that she was falling into depression because of the highly patriarchal attitude of her parents, although they provided her with an excellent tuition in French.<sup>65</sup>

The close connection between a modernised patriarchy and French instruction for girls was at the heart of the Greek community's politics and institutional organisation in Egypt. Since the foundation of the Tositza Girls' School in Alexandria in 1855, French was taught as a core provision, while the Greek Community of Cairo Girls' School, founded in 1873, also taught French since the first form as the only foreign language. In 1887, from a total of twenty-six teachers at both the Averoff Boys' and Tositza Girls' Schools in Alexandria, three taught French (two French nationals and one Greek), another French tutor taught handicrafts for girls and only one teacher (a Greek) taught Arabic.<sup>66</sup> The obvious impact of this education structure was to isolate the Greek community's children, and especially its female population, from any deeper contact with Egyptian society and culture. To grasp how decisive school education was in shaping Egyptian-Greek translation at that time, it suffices to say that, except for Pentakis's translation of the Qur<sup>3</sup>an and two translations from German, all the other fifty-two known Egyptian-Greek translations 1863–90 were from Italian or French, the two foreign languages taught properly in the Greek community schools.<sup>67</sup> A further confirmation of this almost absolute correlation is that all eighteen translations from Italian, which amounted to a third of the total (save three whose translators are anonymous), were carried out by men,<sup>68</sup> as Italian was taught systematically only in the boys' schools.

This was not just about language. The conscious manner in which Egypt's Greek community promoted a modern type of patriarchy can be seen in the publication of the pamphlet *Woman: The Barometer of Progress and Civilisation* (1894), by Georgios Kipiadis, the Community of Alexandria

lawyer and semi-official historian. Without referring to the famous debate between the French orientalist, Duc d' Harcourt, and the Egyptian lawyer Qasim Amin in 1893–4,<sup>69</sup> but possibly in response to the former's critique of the status of women in Egypt, Kipiadis defended the Greek community's record of educating girls on the familiar grounds of making them, as Marilyn Booth put it in a similar context, 'better mothers to baby nationalist men'.<sup>70</sup> In so doing, Kipiadis reiterated an older discourse which Greek reformers, like G. G. Papadopoulos and others had advocated in earlier decades, although his tract held a more critical view of European modernity.<sup>71</sup> As an advocate of the diasporic nationalism embraced by the President of the Community of Alexandria, George Avéroff (from 1885 to 1899), Kipiadis proposed a middle-of-the-road approach that was both Francophile and critical of Western imperialism, a common combination at that time, especially among critics of British colonialism in Egypt. Drawing on examples of famous women from Greek and French history, Kipiadis stressed the community's mission of 'educating Greek mothers in a properly Hellenic ethos and instruction, so that all . . . Greeks in the East . . . are elevated'. At the same time, he warned that this should be done 'not through the degenerate and foreign [morals] of frivolity and pseudo-civilisation'.<sup>72</sup>

In this context, French language became a contested nexus in the Egyptian-Greek field. On one hand, it was warmly embraced by the community's leadership as a source of influence over the rest of Egyptian society and a vehicle of internally reforming the community around a modernised version of patriarchy that served Greek nationalist aspirations. On the other hand, French was also viewed among educated Egyptian-Greek women (but also across other privileged female groups in Egypt) as a window to the modern world and an instrument of gender emancipation through its portrayal of more independent roles for women. Nineteenth-century French literature showed women who outsmarted men in politics, exceeded them in bravery and courage, and freely chose their husbands and lovers. In reality, the boundaries between these contrasting sociocultural positions were not always clear. Partly because of the constraints imposed by the Greek community's patriarchal hierarchy and partly because of the influence of less radical strands of feminism in mid-nineteenth-century France, the first Egyptian-Greek female translators ultimately settled for a programme of gender reform whose radicalism was limited. What is important, however, is that they proposed one.



***Feminist Translation as Flaunted Rewriting: The Case of Eleni Goussiou***

Four years after the appearance of her 1861 poetry collection, Goussiou produced a translation of Charles Nodier's anthology, *Le livre des jeunes personnes* under the *Vivlón tis Neolaías*.<sup>73</sup> The book features an autobiographical preface in which the translator, referring to herself as 'hapless Eleni', reminds her readers that she had published her 1861 poetic collection to gather funds to travel to Europe to cure her blindness. When her efforts failed, she returned to Alexandria and tried to recover from depression through learning to play the piano. Soon, however, she fell into despondency when her music teacher left the city, because no method of teaching music to the blind was known then in Egypt. Goussiou's translation must be read in this context of physical disability and deep emotional distress. The effects of her disability and continuous battles with it are evident throughout the text. They are obvious in various misspellings of names and titles (which must be attributed to the person to whom she was dictating, most probably her younger brother).<sup>74</sup> But they are equally apparent in the last excerpt of her anthology, a translation of Confucius's fable of 'The blind man and the lame [man]' (from a French adaptation by Jean-Pierre Claris de Florian) which is not included in Nodier's original.<sup>75</sup>

Goussiou's disability was not the only contextual factor influencing her translation. Besides her autobiographical introduction, a range of other paratextual elements inform us about her 'progressive' worldview and clear gender perspective. *Vivlón tis Neolaías* starts off with a message addressed to those she calls 'My dear young people', in which she justifies her choice of text as driven by the aims of providing 'knowledge', 'amusement', 'ethical instruction' and 'Your Progress to the better'.<sup>76</sup> Goussiou's clear gender perspective is projected in the book in various ways, beginning with her adaptation of the title of Nodier's introduction from 'Aux jeunes personnes' (to young people) to 'Πρός τάς Δεσποίνας' (to the young ladies). Although it later becomes apparent that Nodier actually addresses the 'Mesdemoiselles', Goussiou's title refers from the outset to 'ladies/madames' and, because she is a woman herself, this intervention casts the entire book in a new light. Furthermore, *Vivlón tis Neolaías* contains translations of several texts written either by women or dealing directly with gender issues which are not included in Nodier's original.<sup>77</sup> Among the former, we find excerpts from Mme de Montespan, Mme de Staël, Félicité de Genlis, Sophie Gay and letters by Mme de Maintenon and Empress Maria Theresa. In the second category, there are texts titled 'The virtues of women' (by Janit-Prospér), 'Atheism among

women' (by Chateaubriand) and 'Maldonata or the grateful lioness' (by Raynal).<sup>78</sup>

Most of Goussiou's *Vivlón tis Neolaías* bears little connection to Nodier's original. While not always clearly indicated, the vast majority of its 76 readings were chosen by her from other sources. These exogenous excerpts include not only prose, but also several poems which Goussiou translated into Greek, noting each time (as befits a true poet) that they were 'translated in verse' by her. Equally importantly, *Vivlón tis Neolaías* contains several original passages in prose written by Goussiou herself, which appear in the section 'Anecdotes', part of the main text and not her 'translator's notes'.<sup>79</sup> This practice requires some authorial confidence, although it is partly emulated from Nodier's anthology. But it is also partly intended as a method of localising the translation, as Goussiou writes about Egypt and Arab culture. The title page makes it clear from the outset that hers is not a conventional translation, but a rewriting of Nodier's original with additional excerpts from 'Greek writers':

Book of Youth: Containing all kinds of stories, sayings and maxims by a variety of French writers / selected by Charles Nodier and transferred to our own dialect with additions of certain excerpts by Greek writers; edited by Eleni Goussiou.<sup>80</sup>

Ultimately, the only Greek writers who feature with original texts are the Greek Enlightenment reformer Constantine Koumas (1777–1836), who advocated education for girls in his *Constitution of Philosophy* (1818/20); and Goussiou herself, through numerous interventions which are almost always explicit. If translation, as we have argued, always involves an element of rewriting, prominent theorists of gender, like Luise Von Flotow and Barbara Godard, contend that the strategy of explicitly manipulating the original text and making extensive use of paratextual elements (introductions, translator's notes, commentaries) constitute the hallmarks of a feminist approach to translation. According to Godard, 'the feminist translator, affirming her critical difference, her delight in interminable re-reading and rewriting, flaunts the signs of her manipulation of the text'.<sup>81</sup> Such a practice appears germane to Goussiou's book, what she says about it, and the ways she has made it her own.

A further manifestation of this feminist approach can be seen in Goussiou's subversive attitude toward the common practice of that era to either omit or print in smaller font the translator's name, especially if she happened to be a woman.<sup>82</sup> Such conventions are demonstratively overturned in *Vivlón tis Neolaías*. Goussiou's name on the cover appears in the same type style and font size as Nodier's, while in the subordinate

title (quoted above), it features both a translator and an ‘editor’ of the anthology. Also, in an unusual editorial decision for Greek books in that period, Goussiou uses the first page as a copyright page to claim full ownership of the book in a sentence that reads both as a legal statement and a declaration of intellectual authority: ‘The current book is an inalienable property of Eleni Goussiou’.<sup>83</sup> As Sherry Simon remarks, through such interventions, female translators have long engaged in a struggle over gender politics to claim a proper position in the world of letters and gain an independent space in the public sphere.<sup>84</sup>

Goussiou’s own original texts in the anthology are mostly anecdotes about Muslims, Ottomans and contemporary Egyptians. What is remarkable about these excerpts is not only the positive manner in which they portray Egypt’s Arab and Ottoman heritage, but the defiant style in which they do so, almost as though they are written in response to the rife Eurocentric and Islamophobic prejudices of her time. For instance, Goussiou provides a partly translated story about the meaning of happiness according to the tenth-century Umayyad Caliph of Cordoba, °Abd al-Rahman III, which ends with the daring remark: ‘Oh, how many Christian Caliphs need this lesson from the Muslim Caliph’. The next story is a translated anecdote about the Caliph’s son, al-Hakam II, and how he yielded to the opinion of a judge to correct an injustice he had committed against a poor woman. In a ‘translator’s note’ at the end, Goussiou makes a reference to nineteenth-century Egypt: ‘How many such Qadis and Caliphs, such Ottomans, we Christians are in need of!’ The third story eulogises the famous twelfth-century geographer Muhammad al-Idrisi, stressing in a deliberately anti-Eurocentric remark, ‘for almost 350 years the geographers of Europe confined themselves to copying [his geography] with a few trivial adjustments’. Further on, a satirical story about a recent Muslim convert to Christianity who could not take his new faith seriously, ends with the warning: ‘Much of that happens when we recklessly and carelessly strive to increase the number of Christians, when there is no need’. Finally, another anecdote recalls Khedive Sa°id, the ‘new Ptolemy’ from *Small Bunch of Flowers*, who had died between the publication of Goussiou’s two works. As a kind of eulogy, this anecdote describes the peaceful scenery of the Nile Barrage at the Qanatir al-khayriyya, where Sa°id reputedly wanted to be buried. The story ends with the enigmatic irony that his successor, Isma°il, ignored his wish and buried his body next to his mother’s, in the neighbourhood of al-°Attarin, Alexandria.<sup>85</sup>

Despite her fleeting presence in Greek letters as a young woman, Goussiou has been acknowledged as a ‘talented poet’, a forerunner of Egyptian-Greek literature and a pioneer of the so-called ‘awakening of

female consciousness' in the Greek world.<sup>86</sup> Yet, her poetry remains unstudied and her translation of Nodier has eluded most critics (and was never previously discussed), while her significance to early feminism in Egypt remains unremarked. Although evidence of contacts with Egyptian women writers could not be found, it is likely that Goussiou knew about the first Greek women's periodical, *Kypséli*, published in 1845 in Istanbul by the poet Efrosyni Samartzidou (1820–77). Her views strongly echoed the cosmopolitan Ottomanism of Samartzidou, who inaugurated the first issue of *Kypséli* with a letter to 'the Much Beloved' Sultan's mother, asking her to support 'the unfortunate female sex' among the 'Faithful and innocent People of the East' to earn the 'right to a moral life' through 'education'.<sup>87</sup> Despite its brevity, Goussiou's work seems as important as Samartzidou's famous contribution, for its pioneering feminism and its non-Eurocentric multiculturalism. It is foundational in setting the parameters of a distinct Egyptian-Greek literary and cultural identity. This was achieved through the bold mixing of Greek and Egyptian themes, the establishment of historical parallels with the Ptolemaic past, the frequent use of Arabic words and names and the construction of an imaginary (and real) Alexandrian literary space.

### ***French Christian Feminism: The Case of Eleni Argyridou***

In 1871, Eleni Argyridou published a translation of a novel of manners, *Sophie Belfond*, by the contemporary French female writer, Louise Diard. Virtually nothing is known about Argyridou's life, except that she was born c. 1845–50 and lived in Alexandria at least until the early 1870s.<sup>88</sup> The novel she translated typifies what historians of nineteenth-century France call 'Christian feminism', a conservative current that stresses 'women's distinctiveness' and 'socio-political contribution as mothers'.<sup>89</sup> This is attributed by James McMillan to a current of nineteenth-century French feminism associated with writers like Mme Guizot, who held that 'women's superior moral worth, latent in the language of domesticity, encouraged the belief that feminine virtue could be harnessed to the project of moralising society . . . and legitimated female attempts to expand their role from the private to the public sphere'.<sup>90</sup> Diard was a prolific novelist well known for her contributions to gender debates and youth literature in the context of French Catholicism. In her translator's introduction, Argyridou presents her choice as purely her own, made in acknowledgement of her debt to her schoolteacher, K. E. Theologi, for instilling in her the values of virtue and piety, which she regarded as the fundamentals of good motherhood. Argyridou stresses the female identity of her chosen

author. She 'belongs to our own sex', she says, thus establishing a bond that is typical of female sisterhood in the early stages of gender consciousness formation, often developed in homosocial relations such as those formed in girls' schools.<sup>91</sup> The translator underlines Diard's interest in women's issues, which she relates to the notions of domesticity (linked to duty) and aesthetics (linked to leisure). Besides choosing a novel whose heroine is a model teacher, Argyridou's dedication of the book to her own teacher further underlines the theme of women's education and signifies her desire to continue the task of educating beyond schooling, through literature. In this way, she indicates that her work is intended as a social intervention in the public sphere, especially the Egyptian-Greek field. Her introduction dedicates the book to the 'knowledge-loving pupils of the Tossitza Girls' School', Alexandria's main educational establishment for Greek girls at that time. This is reinforced when she addresses her readers as 'my dear female friends', an appellation that sets a clear and tangible framework of gendered dialogue.<sup>92</sup>

The novella tells the story of a young orphan teacher, Sophie, who supports and cares for her elderly grandmother. Bullied by two affluent fee-paying students, Ernestine and Julie, she is forced to resign from her job and sinks dramatically into poverty. Her Christian piousness ultimately saves her when a priest discovers the stolen fortune of her grandmother. As a result, both women evade eviction from their rented room and Sophie is morally vindicated in her former school. The thematisation of her profession follows a realist perspective, insofar as we are dealing with a fallen aristocrat who is forced to earn her living after the traditional model of female domesticity breaks down. Sophie is not married and her only brother was killed in war. Equally realistic is the portrayal of the harsh conditions linked to the teaching profession, both on the material and psychological levels, while the role of the educator is presented ultimately as a mission. Of particular interest in the story is the treatment of a young and defenceless working woman caught up in the volatility of modern society, despite the fact that she is ultimately protected by God because of her virtuous character.

If these features appear typical of women's (and some men's) fiction in Egypt and elsewhere, they take on added significance when we realise that Argyridou adopted a translation strategy that is labelled by Lawrence Venuti as 'domestication'. In so doing, she followed the norm of 'acceptability', which was prevalent at that time in both Egypt and Greece, an approach that gave the translator the entitlement to make greater or lesser interventions to the original text to make it familiar to the target audience.<sup>93</sup> However, an important distinction with Goussiou's approach is that in this case we still have a translation that is close to the original and manipulation

takes place in an undeclared and subtle manner. A careful comparison with the French original reveals a relatively free approach on several levels. One example is a dialogue between Ernestine and Julie, the two affluent pupils who bully their teacher, Sophie: '*Sa bourse était légère, sans doute, elle menait une existence famélique, et elle est tombée parmi nous, en quête d'un morceau de pain*'. In Greek this is translated as: 'She had an empty purse, an empty stomach, she landed upon us for a loaf of bread, *for charity, as they say*' (the italicised words are not in the original).<sup>94</sup> In the same dialogue, the line '*il faut prendre les gens comme ils sont*' (one must take people as they are) is translated using the Greek slang idiom 'πρέπει να λέγη τις την σκάφην σκάφην και τα σύκα σύκα' (one must call a spade a spade).<sup>95</sup> Elsewhere, new words are added for emphasis or dramatic effect. In one dialogue, Ernestine's father, who is a moneylender, says: '*Avec des centimes on fait un franc, et le franc ajouté à lui-même fait des centaines, des millions, des millions de francs.*' To underline the father's avarice, this is translated into: 'When you double a franc, triple it and multiply it many times, you have one hundred francs, thousands, millions, you hear? Millions, my daughter.'<sup>96</sup> When Sophie is with her grandmother, everything becomes beautified. For example, her 'straw hat festooned with ribbons' ('*d'un chapeau de paille orné de quelques rubans*') is translated into 'a hat of fine straw, craftily decorated, charmingly adjusted to the pretty braids of her head'.<sup>97</sup> In one scene in the original, Sophie 'extends her forehead and her grandmother kisses it repeatedly'; in the Greek translation this becomes 'she throws herself in her arms' and descriptions of hugs are added at different points which do not exist in the original. The French '*Enfin nous voilà réunies!*' (at last, we are here reunited) becomes 'Glory to God the most merciful, my child, who reunited us again', and so on.<sup>98</sup>

From the above, we can draw at least three conclusions. First, Argyridou intervenes, supplementing the honorific of Sophie's acts, mainly to emphasise her positive character. Second, in dialogues between negative characters, she edits down the text to stress their malevolent attitude. Here, the translator also alters the dialect of these characters, tinting it with colloquialisms. For example, the words '*net*' (clear/net/sharp) and '*franchement*' (frankly) are both translated into 'σκέττα' (flatly/cut and dried), '*argent*' (money) is translated into 'χαρτζηλήκι' (pocket money) and '*bijou*' (jewellery) into 'τεφαρίκι' (finery).<sup>99</sup> This technique is more radical than it first appears. Argyridou here is making an ideological choice, namely to underline the negative attributes of some characters through the use of demotic/popular Greek language. Although she is influenced on many other levels by the conservative current of her time, her linguistic choices display an innovative approach. She writes in

‘pure’ Greek (*katharévousa*), following the norm for prose writing at that time, but she does not hesitate to punctuate her dialogues with words from colloquial (demotic) Greek, thus anticipating a model later established by major writers, like George Vizyinos and Alexandros Papadiamantis.

A defining element in Diard’s novella is the revelation of the deeper causes of Sophie’s tragedy. The ordeal which she and her grandmother go through began when Sophie’s brother, Charles, a patriotic army officer, was killed in the colonisation wars in Algeria. Over several pages, the novel discusses ‘the war declared in 1830 against the Algerian pirates’ and Charles’ letters from North Africa, in typical orientalist fashion, describe Algeria as a ‘prosperous and beautiful country that is unfortunately inhabited by those barbaric and uncivilised people’.<sup>100</sup> Although Algeria in the novel, like Egypt which Argyridou inhabits, is an Arab province of the Ottoman Empire, here the translation resorts to a strategy of domestication for Greek readers. Argyridou accentuates the racist overtones of Diard’s words, so that, when she describes the Algerians as ‘pirates’ and ‘insolent forbans’ (with ‘forbans’ denoting both pirates and criminals more widely), she translates ‘insolents’ as ‘άθλιοι’ (wretched) and the noun ‘forbans’ as ‘λυμῶνες της ανθρωπότητας’ (destroyers of humanity). Similarly, when she translates the portrayal of Algeria as ‘a country closed to civilisation where the barbarians do not know how to exploit its fertility’, she sharpens the tone through calling the Algerians ‘uncivilised’ before the word ‘barbarians’. She also adds the adjective ‘beautiful’ before ‘fertility’, together with the adverb ‘unfortunately’, to drive a sharper division between the land and its Arab inhabitants.

That Argyridou signs the translation with her full name and adds her own preface to the novella attests to her confidence as a translator, her awareness of the power of words and her determination as a woman and translator to find her place in the public sphere. Using two practices which Luise Von Flotow describes as ‘feminist’, namely ‘prefacing’ and ‘hijacking’,<sup>101</sup> she sets her text as an intermediate space of negotiation for both her gender and her diasporic identity. Her nuanced command of French and creative usage of Greek display a strong education and systematic contact with literature. Also, we must not forget that her translation bears another distinction: it is thought to be the first work by an Egyptian-Greek woman to be printed in Egypt.<sup>102</sup>

### ***The Translations of Emilia Frangia***

In the same year, Emilia Frangia started publishing multi-volume translations from French, namely Dumas’s *Les deux Diane*, under the title *Oi*

*dúo Artémides* (1871–2), and Verne's *La Jangada, huit cents lieues sur l'Amazone*, under the title *I sxedía. Oktakósiai lévgai epí tou Amazoníou* (1886–7).<sup>103</sup> Little is known about her life, except that she contributed to the first Greek family magazine, *Pallas*, published by Nikolaos Votiras in the 1870s, initially in the island town of Ermoupoli, Syros, where her translations of *Les deux Diane* and *La Jangada* were also first published.<sup>104</sup> The appearance of an 1895 edition of the former in Cairo suggests that she lived in the Egyptian capital around that period.<sup>105</sup> Her choice of novels shows that, at least in part, she was motivated by gender-conscious ideas. *Les deux Diane* tells the story of the Renaissance courtesan, Diane de Poitiers, and her adopted daughter, Diane de Castro. The former was a politically influential woman, who advised King Francis I and his son, King Henry II, and is often depicted as an early feminist. The latter features in Pierre de Bourdeille Brantôme's sixteenth-century book, *Famous women*, and is praised by Dumas as the most 'dashing and fearless' equestrian of her time.<sup>106</sup> *La Jangada* was probably chosen for its author's popularity, but Frangia also saw it from the perspective of the ethics of motherhood. This is evident in her few but informative translator's notes, which provide encyclopaedic details that most adult readers would consider familiar or trivial: 'The capacity of a demijohn varies from 15 to 25 litres' or the *réis* 'equals 6 percent of a franc'.<sup>107</sup> Verne's novel is also about domesticity, insofar as it discusses the organisation of family life on Joam Garral's giant raft, but above all it is a story of 'enlightened patriarchy', as Joam is ready to give his life to defend his daughter's right to marry the man she loves. When the swindler Torres asks to marry his daughter (who is engaged to Manuel Valdez) in exchange for not reporting him as a fugitive from an old murder case, Joam says: '*Je refuse!*'<sup>108</sup>

As a translator, Frangia is more commercially oriented than either Goussiou or Argyridou. This is apparent both in her choice of highly popular contemporary authors and in her limited use of paratext. In contrast to Goussiou and Argyridou, she does not provide a translator's introduction, while her footnotes are noticeably limited.<sup>109</sup> She is clearly interested in novels of romance, adventure and mystery, which tended to dominate Greek, Egyptian and Egyptian-Greek translation at that time, a trend that provoked fierce moralistic attacks against all translations from French fiction.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, it would be erroneous to think of her as driven purely by commercial concerns or as someone without an educational and cultural reform programme – indeed she is a good example that the two aims could coexist. As we saw, Frangia had contacts in influential intellectual circles, like Votiras and the contributors of *Pallas* magazine, while her language and interventions reveal high literary and cultural aspirations.



Frangia's dual agenda is reflected in the mixed strategy she adopts as a translator. On balance, she adheres to the norm which Toury calls 'adequacy' (as opposed to 'accessibility')<sup>111</sup> and mainly adopts a strategy of 'foreignisation'. In *Les deux Diane*, her attempts to 'domesticate' her translation are limited to various subtle techniques intended to overcome linguistic differences between French and Greek, for example, the substitution of 'sûreté' (safety/certainty) with 'επιδεξιότητα' (skill/dexterity) to describe how the king carried his lance or 'Le Balafre' (the scarred) as 'ο τραυματίας' (the wounded).<sup>112</sup> These interventions were conscious and intentional and show an unusual grasp of cultural difference and the hermeneutics of translation. For example, in the chapter on the famous story of Martin Guerre (which captured Dumas's imagination also in *Crimes célèbres*) the title 'Un double fripon' (a double rascal) is translated as 'a double thief', to remove the connotations of impostor and usurper.<sup>113</sup> The same approach is used to moderate sexual allusions throughout. For example, when Queen Catherine de' Medici tries to seduce young Gabriel, calling him 'ardent' and referring to his ostensible 'affection' toward her, these words are respectively translated as 'πλήρης αισθημάτων' (full of emotion) and 'αφοσίωση' (dedication). The gender implications here are significant, as Catherine's royal power is toned down from its masculinised portrayal by Dumas and her interest in Gabriel is sanitised into a platonic, almost maternal love. Consequently, where Catherine demeans her erotic rival, Diane, as a 'poupée' (doll), Frangia opts for the more dignified 'παιδάριον' (little child) and where she describes her own heart as 'viril et puissant' (virile and powerful) this is rendered as 'ευσταθούς και δυνατής' (stable and strong). A page later, her explicit question 'qui aura aimé en moi la femme et non pas la reine?' (who will love in me the woman and not the queen?) is completely removed.<sup>114</sup> Overall, these interventions are always hidden under an approach that seems to reject visible manipulation. Although it is unclear under what constraints Frangia had to work, it is obvious that she was subjected to the social, editorial and institutional pressures which produce what Lawrence Venuti calls 'the translator's invisibility'.<sup>115</sup> This is further confirmed by the fact that her name on the book cover was printed in smaller font than Dumas', while in the case of *La Jangada* this was reduced simply to her initials: 'Α.Ι.Φ'.

In contrast to her strategy in *Les deux Diane*, Frangia adopts a more interventionist approach in *La Jangada*. There, we begin to see stronger evidence of 'domestication', greater (albeit still limited) paratextual elements and, generally, a more creative approach. A typical example is the novel's famous 'cryptogram', which proves Joam's innocence in court. Judge Jarriquez speculates momentarily that the cryptogram is written

in a mixture of Swahili, English and Greek. However, Frangia's translation completely removes all reference to African names and expands the section that is supposedly Greek, adding four full sentences of her own. Verne's original reads as follows:

Et d'abord, au début, je vois le mot *phy* . . . plus loin, le mot *gas* . . . Tiens! . . . *ujugi* . . . Ne dirait-on pas le nom de cette ville Africaine sur les bords du Tanganaïka? Que vient faire cette cité dans tout cela? . . . Plus loin, voilà le mot *ypo*. Est-ce donc du grec? Ensuite, c'est *rym* . . . *puy* . . . *yor* . . . *phetoz* . . . *juggay* . . . *suz* . . . *gruz* . . . Et, auparavant, *red* . . . *let* . . . Bon! voilà deux mots anglais! . . .

Frangia's translation of this passage, however, is this:

And here for example almost at the beginning I see the word *μικω* . . . and further on the word *γωθ* . . . Ah! Here *αλφ* . . . And below *εχλεύ* . . . and there *εμφ* . . . Is it perhaps Greek? Then *ψυξ* . . . *συγφουκ* . . . Here also *hooth* and *hey*. These look English.<sup>116</sup>

The removal of African words from the translation of the cryptogram falls under a wider strategy aimed at toning down Verne's colonialist views. In so doing, Frangia sought to make the novel more acceptable to a target audience that included many Egyptian-Greeks who opposed British colonialism in Egypt.<sup>117</sup> This is evident in the paragraph where Verne extols the supposed virtues of colonialism, including its capacity to obliterate the Arabs:

C'est la loi du progrès. Les Indiens disparaîtront. Devant la race anglo-saxonne, Australiens et Tasmaniens se sont évanouis. Devant les conquérants du Far-West s'effacent les Indiens du Nord-Amérique. Un jour, peut-être, les Arabes se seront anéantis devant la colonisation française.<sup>118</sup>

W. J. Gordon's English translation of 1882 gives the last line as follows: 'One day perhaps the Arabs will be annihilated by the colonisation of the French'.<sup>119</sup> Frangia, however, translates '*colonisation française*' as '*γαλλική μετανάστασις*' ('French migration')<sup>120</sup> despite the fact that, in a different context, she uses the word '*αποικία*' (colonies). Her choice seeks to partially sanitise Verne's text and thereby minimise mainstream nineteenth-century French literature's imperialist jingoism.

Further conclusions about Frangia can be drawn through a number of comparative observations. Dumas and Verne were the first and eighth most widely translated authors into Greek in the nineteenth century.<sup>121</sup> Moreover, *Les deux Diane* was also translated into Arabic by Kaiser Ziniyya in 1881 and between 1875 and 1894 four Verne novels also appeared in Arabic, not including *Le Jangada*. Matti Moosa remarks that

these Arabic translations were motivated by commercial gain as they were ‘badly printed on inferior paper and priced low’.<sup>122</sup> By contrast, Frangia’s translations were printed on good paper and *Les deux Diane* first appeared in a hardcover edition. In 1874, it was sold in Athens for 12 drachmas, when commercial translations of Dumas’s *La Capitaine Pamphile* (Athens, 1849), *Othon l’archer* (Patra, 1858), *Le collier de la reine* (Athens, 1861) and *Les trois mousquetaires* (Istanbul, 1874) were sold for 1.50, 2.50, 3 and 4 drachmas respectively. Its price was therefore comparable to the luxury editions of *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (Athens, 1860), *Les Mohicans de Paris* (Athens, 1864) and *La Dame de Monsoreau* (Athens, 1867–70), which were priced at 22, 20 and 20 drachmas respectively.<sup>123</sup> Moreover, a list of readers who bought pre-ordered copies was printed at the end of the book (a Greek publishing convention at that time) and this featured some well-known family names who, in all likelihood, could read Dumas in French. However, their interest in Frangia’s translation suggests that her work was received as a Greek cultural event in its own right. Interestingly, the list contained many women’s names, which appeared under a separate section, before the men’s names. Considering that divisions along gender lines were highly unusual in these so-called ‘subscribers’ lists’, this editorial decision suggests that women’s participation was an issue that the author or publishers were keen to highlight.

### ***Greek Female Translators in Late Ottoman Egypt: A Comparative Assessment***

An overall evaluation of the contributions of Goussiou, Argyridou and Frangia allows several useful conclusions to emerge. Initially, because of their combined work, translation became established as a key branch of modern Egyptian-Greek literature, almost since its birth. Although Pentakis’s first translation from Italian appeared in 1863 and S. K. Pantelidis, N. A. Abbet and S. E. Kokollis also translated French literature in 1868–71, the work of these women from 1865 to 1872 contributed in making translation a central facet of the Greek community’s cultural production from early on. The fact that a poet like Goussiou treated translation with the same care and creativity with which she approached her own original work, contributed further to confirming translation as an important sphere of Egyptian-Greek literary writing.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, the juxtaposition of translated texts with original text in her *Vivlïon tis Neótitos* inaugurated a practice of intra-communal intertextual dialogue between original and translated literature that was later repeated by Michanidou,

in a different way, in her citation of Qur<sup>ʿ</sup>anic verses in *Beautiful Ottoman Woman* from Pentakis's translation.

One essential aspect of this phenomenon is that, despite the patriarchal milieu of Egypt's Greek community, some educated women were able to establish themselves from early on as important writers and translators. In structural terms, this was partly the outcome of the community's own evolution, especially through the efforts of its male-dominated aristocracy to embrace a modern type of patriarchy that imparted a nationalist education to girls through the Greek Community's schooling system from the mid-1850s onwards. Consequently, the fact that Goussiou, Argyridou and Frangia translated exclusively from French, the foreign language most systematically taught in the Greek Community girls' schools (and through private tuition), reflected the influence of the community's new patriarchal structures on their education and writing. At the same time, these women were not passive agents who simply performed the institutional demands placed upon them by their community's elites nor did they appear torn or confused over how to assert their own perceptions of their different social roles in this tightly structured environment. To a greater or lesser extent, all three translators consciously used their education as a means of either radically challenging or reforming traditional writing practices – and perhaps more quietly, conventional gender roles – within the field of their diasporic community and beyond.

To some extent, the notable contribution of Egyptian-Greek women to translation fits a familiar historical pattern. According to Peter Burke, cultural historians of translation have found that migrant communities tend to produce 'prolific translations' insofar as they consist of 'cultural brokers' who operate as 'skilled negotiators between languages and between cultures'.<sup>125</sup> Quantitative data gathered by Sofia Denisi shows that between 1850 and 1880, twenty-six Greek translations were published in total by women and, of those, three (or 12 per cent) came from Egypt alone. Considering that this diaspora group barely exceeded 1 per cent of the Greek population worldwide, this share constitutes a striking overrepresentation.<sup>126</sup> However, the case of early Egyptian-Greek women translators challenges the phenomenological hypothesis that their distinction in this field was linked to their role as 'cultural brokers' between Egypt and Greece, as none translated any texts from Arabic. The second part of Burke's argument, however, is relevant to their case as Egyptian-Greek women were indeed 'skilled negotiators' between different languages and were regularly exposed to diverse multicultural stimuli which their female counterparts in Greece seldom encountered.<sup>127</sup> More importantly, sharp contrasts existed with respect to their access to

education. In 1870, only 6 per cent of women in Greece were literate and by 1879 this figure still stood at only 7 per cent,<sup>128</sup> while in Alexandria and Cairo (where four-fifths of Egypt's Greek community lived) free schooling, including intensive French instruction, was provided to almost all Greek girls.<sup>129</sup>

If we compare them to one another, the respective approaches of Goussiou, Argyridou and Frangia could not have been more different. At one end of the spectrum, Goussiou adopted a radical approach that juxtaposed translated and original text in an anthology that owes more to her own editorial work than to the French original on which it was based. Drawing on what has been called in a much later context 'a feminist approach' to translation, she 'transformed' a male text through 'flauntingly manipulating' it to give it a 'polymorphic quality'.<sup>130</sup> At the opposite end, Frangia deployed a strategy based on inconspicuous interventions to create the effect of the so-called 'transparent' translation.<sup>131</sup> In this respect, her gender-conscious approach turned primarily to the choice of literary themes, like the projection of historically influential women such as de Poitier, de Castro and their love affairs or of enlightened patriarchs like Joam Garral. Of the three, Argyridou was the only translator who chose a novel written by a woman. Although less radical than Goussiou, her translation strategy still managed to produce what Susanne Lamy terms a 'polymorphic' linguistic effect, that is, a text accentuating the confrontational encounter between the different elements of heteroglossia to challenge the uniformity of a centrally imposed national language. This form of dual writing (*'écriture à deux'*) is a familiar topos in feminist translation insofar as it uses what some scholars see as the anarchic effect of women's verbal communication (including gossip) to cut through the homogeneity of dominant male discourse.<sup>132</sup>

The foregoing analysis has drawn on a clear contrast between Goussiou's non-Eurocentric, multicultural outlook and the Arabophobic statements in the translations of Argyridou and Frangia. In the case of the former, the non-stereotypical portrayal of Arab and Muslim culture (both in her poetry and translation) was closely related to her holistic feminist perspective which linked gender emancipation to wider questions of social justice and multicultural diversity. By contrast, Argyridou and Frangia were motivated by narrower gender conceptions which resulted in what Joyce Zonana has called 'feminist orientalism', namely 'a rhetorical strategy (and form of thought) by which a speaker or writer neutralises the threat inherent in feminist demands and makes them palatable to an audience that wishes to affirm its occidental superiority'.<sup>133</sup> In the case of Argyridou, feminist orientalism took the form of a narrow-minded

endorsement of the French conquest of Algeria through a language that was often more militarist and racist than Diard's own imperialist depiction. By contrast, Frangia showed some unease with Verne's colonialist views about the Arabs, but ultimately adhered to a strategy of domestication to make his chauvinism less offensive to her readers. In both cases, feminist orientalism took a different variety to that described by Zonana. Instead of mainly emphasising 'occidental superiority', it relied mostly on a negative strategy of denigrating the Arabs as 'barbaric' and potentially 'extinct' in order to rule out any alternative for Greek women except the emulation of gender roles from 'civilised' Europe.

A corollary of this approach was the limited interaction between Egypt's female Greek translators and the Arab *nahda*, which was developing around them at that time. According to a recent study by Manolis Marangoulis, it was not until the 1920s that the first Egyptian-Greek intellectuals began to formally acknowledge the Egyptian feminist movement in their writings and, even then, much of their focus was on the problematic ideas of Qasim Amin.<sup>134</sup> Yet, cultural and intellectual contacts with the *nahda* actually went much further back. For instance, in February 1874, Egypt's Education Minister, Mustafa Riaz Pasha, attended the 'start of exams' ceremony at the Greek Girls' School in Cairo and spoke about 'the need to nurture and educate the female sex'. Speaking in Turkish (which was later translated into Greek by the local Greek press), he outlined before his mostly female audience a religious communitarian vision which strongly echoed the views of a leading *nahda* reformer, Rifa'a al-Tahtawi. Two years earlier, in response to a request by the Ministry of Education, Tahtawi had published his influential book *al-Murshid al-amin lil-banat wa-l-banin* (The faithful guide to the education of girls and boys, 1872/3), in which he stressed the ethical and social benefits of women's education, defining those as 'love' inside the family and 'public amity' toward the religious community (not the nation).<sup>135</sup> In a similar vein, in his speech to the Greek Girls' School in Cairo, Riaz Pasha emphasised that a future mother 'will be taught the precepts of ethics and religion and will instil in the tender heart of the child the fear of God, love for fellow humans and generally a noble affection for everything good and brave'.<sup>136</sup> In such ways, Egyptian-Greek girls were able to come into contact with the ideas of the Arab *nahda* and its programme on the education of women and their new social role.<sup>137</sup> But it is unclear to what extent these contacts influenced their thinking, especially since there were barriers to communication between Egyptian-Greek women and Egyptian female intellectuals at that time.

## **Conclusion**

The history of Greek women translators in nineteenth-century Egypt suggests that the process of cross-cultural mediation is more intricate than the scholarship usually assumes. The dominant hypothesis that, in diasporic contexts, translation functions as a process of cultural brokerage between the country of origin and the host society is too simplistic for the complexities of Egyptian-Greek female writing. Above all, this view overlooks the major impact of the hegemonic world culture and its decisive role in fashioning the interaction between peripheral societies. The fact that all four of the known Egyptian-Greek translations carried out by women 1860–90 were exclusively from French (and none from Arabic) is an eloquent reminder of the overpowering effect of world-hegemonic literature on peripheral cross-cultural relations. Indeed, the same pattern was reflected across the other fifty-one known Egyptian-Greek translations of that period by men or anonymous translators, of which approximately two-thirds were from French and one third from Italian (the dominant European language in the Levant in the early nineteenth century). This cultural hegemony, as we saw, was exercised chiefly through the Greek Community educational establishments, whose curriculum (set by its patriarchal *haute bourgeoisie* of notables and benefactors) focused on French as the main foreign language for girls and French/Italian for boys. A further proof of this strong correlation is that all the named Egyptian-Greek translations from Italian in this period were carried out exclusively by men.<sup>138</sup>

Concerning the translations by Egyptian-Greek women, broadly speaking, the central role of French literature had a dual effect. On one hand, it enabled writers like Argyridou and Frangia to present more independent gender roles to wide female audiences, stressing the possibility of greater women's participation in public life on terms that went beyond the nationalist programme of modernised patriarchy sponsored by the official Greek Community. On the other hand, their translations also accepted a pronounced orientalist outlook which rejected Arab society through racist representations that widened the gap between Greeks and Egyptians and accentuated the Islamophobic myth that gender emancipation was somehow incompatible with the norms of Arab and Ottoman culture. In other words, the translations of Argyridou and Frangia internalised what the postcolonial critic Gayatri Spivak has called in a similar context 'the dynamic nineteenth-century topos of feminism-in-imperialism'.<sup>139</sup> By contrast, partly perhaps because her physical disability kept her detached from the formal Community schooling system, Goussiou was able to

break decisively with this trend. Not only did she exclude French orientalist texts from her anthology, but through a mixture of carefully selected excerpts, translator's notes and original texts of her own, she managed to construct a positive image of Arab and Ottoman culture that was purposefully targeted against the Eurocentric assumptions of her time. This crucial choice, whose implications on bringing the Greek community closer to Egypt was significant, was a corollary of her radical gender views. Goussiou's feminist translation perspective, especially her readiness to patently edit Nodier's anthology beyond recognition, was a prerequisite to adding a contrapuntal Arabo-Ottoman counter-narrative to the Eurocentric bias of the original. Overall, her case is an instructive exemplar of how a critical and eclectic approach to European culture could provide modernising alternatives with greater relevance to Egypt's local conditions than the conventional practices of emulation or concealed 'domestication'.

In the wider contexts of nineteenth-century Egypt and Greece, the impact of these translators was highly uneven. In Egypt, there is little evidence that their work was noticed by Arab intellectuals. One or two Arabic names appear among the readers who pre-ordered copies, but the language barrier seems to have been a major obstacle against attracting wider non-Greek audiences. Meanwhile, the existence of informal links between these translators and female Egyptian intellectuals must not be totally ruled out, especially since the latter shared very similar concerns about questions of gender and translation around the same time. By contrast, in the Egyptian-Greek field, Goussiou, Argyridou and Frangia pioneered a gendered perspective on society and culture which certainly captured the attention of mainstream opinion. Especially Goussiou's translation sold almost 650 pre-ordered copies in Egypt alone, of which more than half were purchased by women, including many from the most influential Alexandrian families, such as Mrs Synadinou, Mmes Rodokanaki, Mrs Zervoudaki, Mrs Ralli, Mrs Antoniadis, Mmes Kassaveti and Mrs Cavafy, the famous poet's mother.<sup>140</sup> Further evidence, like the publication of Goussiou's and Frangia's works in Athens and Ermoupoli and their appearance in high profile Athenian publicity material, suggests that they played a part, albeit moderately, in the development of women's writing in Greece. Overall, despite their limited impact on patriarchal attitudes in Egypt or Greece, all three contributed critically to the establishment of a distinct Egyptian-Greek and, to a lesser extent, Greek female readership and the development of an advanced gender consciousness around it.



**Appendix: Bibliography of Translated Books by Egyptian-Greek Translators, 1863–90<sup>141</sup>**

1. Gerasimos Pentakis (1863), *Viánki kai Fernándos eis ton táfon tou Karólou tou D'*, *Doukós tou Agrigentíou* (Alexandria: Neilos), [Carlo Rotti, *Bianca e Fernando alla tomba di Carlo IV, duca di Agrigento*].
2. Eleni Goussiou (1865), *Vivlíon tis Neolaías: Periéchon pantoías istorías, gnomiká kai axiómata ek diafóron Gállon syggraféon eranisthénta upó Karólou Nodié kai eis tin imetéran diálekton met-enechthénta en ois prosetéthisan ex Ellínon syggraféon tina temáchia, ekdothén de upó Elénis Goussiou* (Athens: Moraitinis), [Charles Nodier, *Le Livre des Jeunes Personnes. Extraits de prose et de vers*].
3. S. K. Pantelidis (1868), *Cleopátra: Tragodía eis práxeis pénte* (Alexandria: Arkadion), [Alexandre Soumet, *Cléopâtre: tragédie en cinq actes et en vers*].
4. N. A. Abbet (1869), *O archilistís Rovértos: Dráma eis práxeis pénte* (Alexandria: Icho), [Jean-Henri Ferdinand Lamartelière, *Robert, chef de brigands*].
5. Eleni Argyridou (1871), *Sofía Velfóndou* (Alexandria: publisher unknown), [Louise Diard, *Sophie Belfond*].
6. S. E. Kokollis (1871), *Tría istoriká diígimata* (Alexandria: Nomikos), [from French, original unknown].
7. Anonymous (1871), *Athalía (tragodía Rakína)* (Alexandria: Triantafyllidis), [Racine, *Athalie*].
8. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1871), *Periliptikaí biografíai ton diasimotéron stratigón tis A' Gallikís Autokratorías* (Athens: Ilissos), [from Italian, original unknown].
9. Emilia Frangia (1871–2), *Ai dyo Artemides*, 3 vols, (Ermoupoli, Patrida), [Alexander Dumas, *Les deux Diane*].
10. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1872), *O katá ton erastón diogmós: mythistoría didaktikótati* (Athens: Ilissos), [Carlo di Bernard, *La caccia agli amanti*].
11. V. I. Anastasiadis (1872), *O dolofónos tis Alvertínis Renoúf* (Alexandria: Nomikos), [Henri Rivière, *Le meurtrier d'Albertine Renouf*].
12. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1872), *Ta Mnímata* (Athens: Ermou), [Ippolito Pindemonte, *Dei Sepolcri*].
13. Gerasimos Pentakis (1873), *Félix Orsínis í ta kata ton víon kai tin díkin autoú* (Alexandria: Nomikos), [*Vita e memorie di Felice Orsini*].
14. A. and G. (1874), *Apomnimonévmata parthénou* (Alexandria: Typois Alexandrias) [from French, original unknown].

15. Leonidas Dapontes (1875), *O fysikós nómos í fysikaí tis ithikís archaí* (Cairo: Nomikos), [Constantin-François Vohney, *La loi naturelle ou catéchisme du citoyen*].
16. I. Pestimaltzoglou (1876), *Ta apókryfa ton Indión* (Alexandria: Elpis), [from French, original unknown].
17. P. Kazotos and S. Sapountzakis (1877), *O apokefalistís* (Alexandria: Kourmouzis), [Louis Noire, *Le coupeur de têtes*].
18. I. D. Makris (1877), *O trachús tous trópous evergetikós: komodía eis treis práxeis* (Kefalonia: Icho), [Carlo Goldoni, *Il burbero benefico*].
19. Gerassimos Pentakis (1878), *Koránion* (Alexandria: Kourmouzi), [*Al-Qur'an*, from Arabic].
20. E. Orphanidis (1879), *Thiresía Dounayé* (Alexandria: Saltis), [Eugène Sue, *Thérèse Dunoyer*].
21. Miltiadis Lants (1880), *Aigyptiakóí Kódikes* (Alexandria: Saltis), [Egyptian Codes, translated from French].
22. Studios Diaspora Greeks (1880), *Orèstis* (Alexandria: Saltis), [Alfieri, *Oreste*].
23. Anonymous (1880), *Istoría ton fulakón tis Gallías* (Alexandria: publisher unknown), [from French, original unknown].
24. Aristeidis Vambas (1882), *O kómis Mònte Chrístos* (Alexandria: 'Alexandria' Newspaper Press), [Alexandre Dumas, *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo*].
25. Th. Orphanidis (1882), *Filisophía tou gámou, ítoi melétai epí tou érotos, tis eutuchías, tis suzigikís písteos, tis zilotypías, tis moicheías, tou diazugíou kai tis agamías* (Alexandria: Saltis), [August Debay, *Philosophie du mariage: études sur l'amour, le bonheur, la fidélité, les sympathies et les antipathies conjugales, etc.*].
26. Anonymous (1883), *Víos Mirabó* (Alexandria: Elpis), [Cesare Campú, 'Mirabau' from *Vite parallele di Mirabeau e Washington*].
27. Gerasimos Pentakis (1883), *I monachí tis Krakovías í istoría tis Varváras Ouvrík, exachtísa ek Polonikóú tinós chirográfou* (Alexandria: Vitalis), [Busnelli Valerio, *La monaca di Cracovia Barbara Ubrik*].
28. K. M. Kaloumenos (1883), *To árma tou diabólou* (Alexandria: Serapeion-Saltis), [Fortuné du Boisgobey, *L'équipage du diable*].
29. P. A. B. (1883), *To mageméno kapélo* (Alexandria: Saltis), [from German, original unknown].
30. A. G. T. (1884), *To mythistórima tis gynaikós, ítoi apókryfa tou gynaikeíou fúlou* (Alexandria: Saltis), [Alexandre Dumas fils, *Le roman d'une femme*].
31. Nikolaos Pilavakis (1885), *O táfos tou Márkou Bótsari* (Alexandria:

- Omonia), [Camille Paganel, *Le Tombeau de Marcos Botzaris*].
32. Theodoulos Konstantinidis (1885), *Ektós tou skótous* (Alexandria: Saltis), [from French, Hugh Conway, *Called Back*].
  33. Anonymous (1885), *Periodía tis gis eis ogdoíkonta iméras* (Alexandria: Omonia), [Jules Verne, *Le tour du monde en quatre-vingts jours*].
  34. Anonymous (1885), *O Lykoyiannis*, (Alexandria: Saltis, first published in Istanbul, 1883), [Emile Richebourg, *Jean Loup. L'enfant du malheur*].
  35. Emilia Frangia (1886–7), *I schedía. Oktakósiai Lévgai epí tou Amazoníou*, 2 vols (Ermoupoli: Patrída), [Jules Verne, *La jangada. Huit cents lieues sur l'Amazonie*].
  36. Georgios Lambropoulos (1887), *O oneirokrítis* (Alexandria: Omonia), [from French, original unknown].
  37. A. B. G. (1887), *Dúo gámoi ta mesánychta* (Alexandria: Saltis), [from Italian, original unknown].
  38. S. Stavrou (1887), *I synthiki tou aímatos* (Alexandria: Omonia), [Pierre Alexis Ponson du Terrail, *Le pacte de sang*].
  39. A. G. T. (1887), *O kakoúrgos iereús Mengerátos* (Alexandria: publisher unknown), [possibly Madame \*\*\*, *Précis historique sur Mingrat*].
  40. A. Pouridis and A. Foskolos (eds) (1887), *O árchon tou Kósmou. Sunécheia tou mythistorímatos o Kómis Mónte Chrístos* (Alexandria/ Cairo: Mazarakis), [attributed to Alexandre Dumas, unclear from what language, *Lord of the World. Sequel to the novel The Count of Monte-Cristo*; a similar edition appeared in Karamanlidika, as *Meshoúr Mónte-Chrísto hikiayesinín Zeilí Lord Hope*, (Constantinople: Nikolaidis, 1884)].
  41. Anonymous (1888), *O archaióteros émporos tis Alexándreias* (Alexandria: Omonia), [from German, original unknown].
  42. Pantazis Depastas (1888), *Poios plirónei ta chréi mou?* (Alexandria: Tarpochtsis-Vitalis and Manousakis), [Brazier, Theaulon, De-Comcy, *Chi paga i mei debiti?*].
  43. Socratis Konstantinidis (1888), *I Antigóni* (Cairo: Stavrou-Mazarakis), [*Antigone*, translated from French].
  44. B. Tagis and G. Manousakis (1888), *O stratós tou egklímatos, í ta katorthómata tis Chrysomaloúsis* (Alexandria: Omonia), [Camille Dayre, *L'Armée du crime; les exploits de la rousse*].
  45. Anonymous (1888–9), *O nóthos tou Moleón*, 3 vols (Alexandria: Omonia), [Alexandre Dumas, *Le bâtard de Mauléon*].
  46. Ioannis Pappas (1889), *Thiresía, í i orfaní tis Genévis* (Alexandria:

- Lagoudakis), [Victor Ducange, *Thérèse, ou l'orpheline de Genève*].
47. G. M. Kaloumenos (1889), *I up' arithmón 113 dikografía* (Alexandria: Lagoudakis), [Émile Gaboriau, *Le dossier No 113*].
  48. Stefanos Tapochtzis (1889), *I pistí filía* (Alexandria: Tilegrafos), [from French, original unknown].
  49. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1889), *Ellás kai Italía* (Alexandria: Omonia) [from Italian, original unknown, anonymous author].
  50. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1890), *I alithís pápissa Ioánna* (Alexandria: Tinios, 1890), [Giovanni Battista Casti, *La papessa Giovanna*].
  51. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1890), *Éros chorikoú kai komíssis: mythistoría* (Alexandria: Omonia), [from Italian, original unknown].
  52. Avgoustinos Livathinopoulos (1890), *O vasileús tis Korínthou* (Alexandria: Manousakis-Omonia), [from Italian, original unknown].
  53. I. A. Vretos (1890), *I katiraméni kóri* (Cairo: Stavrou), [Émile Richebourg, *La fille maudite*].
  54. Georgios Vallas (1890), *I psychí tou Pétrou* (Alexandria: Omonia), [Georges Ohnet, *L'âme de Pierre*].
  55. A. N. Lianos and K. Theologitis (1890), *O adikithís Rogíros* (Alexandria: Omonia), [Jules Mary, *Roger-la-Honte*].

## Notes

1. The start date marks the completion of Goussiou's *Small Bunch of Flowers*, the first known Egyptian-Greek literary work by a woman (published a year later). The end date roughly corresponds to the emergence of an organised Greek feminist movement (with the appearance of Kalliroi Parren's *Efimeris ton Kyrion* since 1887) and the outbreak of a public debate on gender issues in Egypt around that time. Eleni Goussiou, *I mikrá anthodésmi í poiímata autoschédia* (Athens: Philon, 1861).
2. Katerina Dalakoura, *I ekpaídeusi ton gynaikón stis ellinikés koinótites tis Othomanikís Autokratorías: Koinonikopoísi sta prótupa tis patriarchías kai tou ethnikismoú* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2008), 260–4, 316–17, 342–5; quote from Aikaterini Dalakoura, Sidiroula Ziogou Karastergiou, *I ekpaídeusi ton gynaikón. Oi gynáikes stin ekpaídeusi* (Athens: University of Crete Study Guide, 2015) 46. See <http://hdl.handle.net/11419/2587>.
3. Mahmud Sulayman, *al-°Ajanib fi Misr: Dirasa fi tarikh Misr al-ijtima°i* (Cairo: °Ayn, 1996), 57.
4. Sayyid °Ashmawi, *al-Yunaniyyun fi Misr* (Cairo: °Ayn, 1997), 46; Sulayman, *al-°Ajanib*, 142; Nikos Psyroukis, *To neoellinikó paroikiakó fainómeno* (Athens: Epikerotita, 1974), 176–7.
5. Alexander Kazamias, 'Cromer's assault on "internationalism": British

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- colonialism and the Greeks of Egypt, 1882–1907’, in Marilyn Booth and Anthony Gorman (eds), *The Long 1890s in Egypt. Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 253–83.
6. Albert Hourani, *Minorities in the Middle East* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947); 25; Psyroukis, *To neoellinikó*, 62; Marius Deeb, ‘The socio-economic role of the local foreign minorities in modern Egypt, 1805–1961’, *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 9: 1 (February 1978): 11–22; 16; Michael Reimer, *Colonial Bridgehead: Government and Society in Alexandria, 1807–1882* (Cairo: American University in Cairo, 1997), 192.
  7. Alexander Kazamias, ‘Between language, land and empire: Humanist and Orientalist perspectives on Egyptian-Greek identity’, in D. Tziouvas (ed.), *Greek Diaspora and Migration Since 1700: Society, Politics and Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 177–91.
  8. ‘Póte i Aígyptos th’ apallagí tis Agglíkís katochís?’, *Tachydromos*, 12 July 1891, 1.
  9. Kazamias, ‘Between language’, 180–1.
  10. Sofia Denisi, *Anichnévontas tin aóрати grafí. Gunaíkes kai grafí sta xrónia tou ellinkoú Diafotismoú-Romantismoú* (Athens: Nefeli, 2014), 283–9.
  11. Ioannis Chatziphotis, *IAlexandriní logotechnía* (Athens: publisher unknown, 1971 [1967]), 43; Manolis Yalourakis, *I istoría ton ellinikón grammáton stin Aígypto* (Athens: n.p., 1962), 91–102, gives no reference; Denisi, *Anichnévontas*, 370–4, 376–8, 283–9; Frangiski Abatzopoulou, “‘Dia ton fónon ton Ioudaíon’: paidoktonía, kannivalismós kai émfylos lógos. Éna senário gia tí María Michanidou’, in Mary Mike, Miltos Pechlivanos and Lizy Tsirimokou (eds), *O lógos tis Parousías. Timitikós tómos gia ton Pan. Moullá* (Athens: Sokolis, 2005), 25–43; 26. Abatzopoulou argues that Michanidou should not be classed as an Egyptian-Greek writer; cf. Ioannis Chatziphotis, *Alexandria: Oi dyo aiónes tou neóterou Ellinismou, 19os–20os aiónes* (Athens, Ellinika Grammata, 1999), 199, 534, who maintains that Michanidou is Egyptian-Greek. Irrespective of where she was raised, we contend that much of her work belongs to the canon of Egyptian-Greek literature because it deals with Egyptian themes from a local perspective. Also, *Ta fásmata tis Aigýptou* appeared in 1873, not in 1874 (or 1875) as often stated (see copy in University of Crete Library).
  12. Peter Mackridge, ‘Macedonia and Macedonians in *Sta mystika tou Valtou* (1937) by P. S. Delta’, in D. Ricks and M. Trapp (eds), *Dialogos: Hellenic Studies Review*, vol. 7 (New York and Abingdon: Routledge, 2001, 2013), 41–55; 41; Yalourakis, *Istoría*, 91–102, gives no reference; Chatziphotis, *Alexandriní logotechnía*, 141; Chatziphotis, *Alexandria*, 75.
  13. Yalourakis, *Istoría*, 28; Manolis Yalourakis, *I Aígyptos ton Ellínon* (Athens: Metropolis, 1966), 604; Chatziphotis, *Alexandriní logotechnía*, 42; Chatziphotis, *Alexandria*, 199.

14. André Lefevere, *Translation, Rewriting, and the Manipulation of Literary Fame* (London and New York: Routledge, 1992). On the cultural turn in Translation Studies, see Susan Bassnett, 'The translation turn in Cultural Studies', in Susan Bassnett and A. Lefevere, *Constructing Cultures* (Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 1998), 123–40.
15. Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays in Art and Literature*, trans. Randal Johnson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), 29.
16. Kazamias, 'Between language', 179–81.
17. Stratis Tsirkas, *O Kaváfis kai i epochí tou* (Athens: Kedros, 1958), 186–94; Alexander Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt, 1919–1937: Ethnicity and Class* (London: Ithaca, 1989), 39–40; Efthymios Souloyannis, *I Ellinikí Koinótita Alexandreías, 1843–1993* (Athens: ELIA, 1994), 297; Kazamias, 'Cromer's assault', 255, 260.
18. Tsirkas, *O Kaváfis*, 93–119; Kitroeff, *The Greeks in Egypt*, 39–40; Katerina Trimi-Kirou, 'Quel cosmopolitisme à l'ère des nationalismes? La colonie grècque alexandrine (1882–1922)', *Cahiers de la Méditerranée* 67 (2003), 177–99; 184–6.
19. Tsirkas, *O Kaváfis*; Stratis Tsirkas, *O Politikós Kaváfis* (Athens: Kedros, 1971).
20. Yalourakis, *Istoría*, 36–7; Kazamias, 'Between language', 178–81.
21. Goussiou, *Mikrá anthodésmi*, 5–10.
22. Virginiaapiro, *A Vindication of Political Virtue: The Political Theory of Mary Wollstonecraft* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 90–2.
23. Goussiou, *Mikrá anthodésmi*, 26, 27–8, 18–19.
24. Goussiou, *Mikrá anthodésmi*, 29–30.
25. Trimi-Kirou, 'Quel cosmopolitisme?', 186, 191–2; Kazamias, 'Cromer's assault', 276.
26. Goussiou, *Mikrá anthodésmi*, 27.
27. Abatzopoulou, 'Dia ton fóvon ton Ioudaíon', 40.
28. Abatzopoulou, 'Dia ton fóvon ton Ioudaíon', 3.
29. Maria Michanidou, *I oraía Othomanís. Anatolikón protótypon dígima* (Athens: Kollarakis and Triandafyllou, 1888), 49.
30. Maria Michanidou, *I echáti éndia. I ellinikí aristokratía kai o vrykólakas* (Alexandria: Kourmouzi Bros, 1879), 71–2, 91, 73.
31. Michanidou, *I echáti éndia*, 113–14.
32. According to the traditional view, interest in the life of the Egyptians by Egyptian-Greek writers started much later. The literary critic Manolis Yalourakis, in *I Aígyptos ton Ellínon. Synoptikí istoría tou ellinismoú tis Aegíptou* (Athens: Mitropolis, 1967), 628, says that George Vrisimitzakis' poetic collection *Ta tragoúdia tou felláchou* (1920) [The songs of the fellah], 'are the first Greek songs which take their inspiration from the fellahs'. This is inaccurate, as earlier Egyptian-Greek writers and poets, like Maria Michanidou, Ioannis Gikas and C. P. Cavafy had written about the lives of ordinary Egyptians and the *fellahin* since the 1880s and 1890s.

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33. Michanidou, *I oraía Othomanís*, 6, 47.
34. Michanidou, *I oraía Othomanís*, 47.
35. Abatzopoulou, 'Dia ton fóvon ton Ioudaíon', 26.
36. Michanidou, *I oraía Othomanís*, 14; cf. Gerassimos Pentakis, *To Koránion*, 2nd edn (Athens: Constantinidis, 1886), 476–7.
37. See Appendix.
38. Gerassimos Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón (epítomon)* (Alexandria: I. P. Zanglis and F. F. Oddi, 1867); Alexandros Parodis, *Diálogoi Ellino-Aravikoí* (Alexandria: Nomikos, 1875); G. Papanikolaou, *Neotáti Méthodos Ellino-Aravikí* (Cairo: Nomikos, 1880), pts 1–2; Panagiotis Gritsanis, *Diálogoi Ellinogallikoí kai Onomastikón* (Alexandria: Saltis, 1882) [based on Percy Sadler and Charles Gillette, *Petit cours de versions*, 1868]; N. Mouzes, *Diálogoi Ellino-Italo-Aravikoí kai Onomastikón ton apolútos anagkaiotéron léxeon, syntachthéntes dia grammáton kathólou Ellinikón* (Alexandria: Saltis, 1883); Gerassimos Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón* (Alexandria: Phoenix, 1885); the anonymously published *Didáskalos tis Gallikís, ítoi sunítheis diálogoi Ellino-Gallikoí pros autodídakton ekmáthisin tis Gallikís glóssis en diástimati ex minón* (I. P. Zanglis: Alexandria, 1887); Efthymios Eleftheropoulos, *Téleios odigós tou thélontos na didachtheí tin Aravikín kai Italikín* (Alexandria: Metarrythmisis, 1890).
39. See Appendix; however, in 1885 Theodoulos Constantinidis translated Hugh Conway's *Called Back* (1839), but from a French translation; and Pouridis and Foskolos translated a sequel possibly attributed to Dumas's *Le Comte de Monte-Cristo* (1844–6), but it is unclear from what language. Dates of translations are provided in the Appendix.
40. According to Sofia Denisi ('Oi lógies Ellinídes sta chrónia tou ellinikoú romantismoú (1830–1880)', *Diavázo* 339 (1994): 9–17; 11–12), 410 Greek translations appeared in the period 1860–80. In this period, at least twenty-three were produced by Egyptian-Greek translators, when their community numbered 1 per cent of the Greek population worldwide.
41. Itamar Even-Zohar, 'The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem', in Lawrence Venuti (ed.), *The Translation Studies Reader*, 2nd edn (New York: Routledge, 2000), 192–7; Philippe Codde, 'Polysystem theory revisited: A new comparative introduction', *Poetics Today* 24: 1 (Spring 2003): 91–126.
42. See Appendix.
43. N. A. Abbet, *O archilistís Rovértos: Dráma eis práxeis pénte* (Alexandria: Icho, 1869), appendix, 1–5.
44. Avgoustinos Livatinopoulos, 'O ek diathíkis gámos', *Cryssallis* 2: 38 (30 July 1864), 436–9; Th. G. Orphanidis, 'I móusa psomozitís', *Cryssallis* 1: 3 (1 February 1863), 84–5.
45. Tsirkas, *O Kavafís*, 181.
46. Gerassimos Pentakis, *Viánki kai Fernándos eis ton táfon tou Karólou tou D', Doukós tou Agrigentíou* (Alexandria: Neilos, 1863).

47. Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón (epítomon)*, 1–144; Gerassimos Pentakis, *Koránon* (Alexandria: Kourmouzi, 1878), 1–665.
48. Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón*, i.
49. Nicolaos Skotidis, *I en Aigýpto krisis en etei 1881 kai 1882* (Athens: Parnassos, 1883); N. Scotidis, *L'Égypte contemporaine et Arabi Pasha* (Paris: Marpon et Flammarion, 1888); cf. George Kehayiolou, 'The discontinuity of Greek literary responses to the Arab world (18th–20th centuries)', *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 7: 1 (1989): 65–76; 70, which implies that Pentakis's translation of the Qur'an is 'orientalist'.
50. Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón*, viii, fn.1.
51. Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón*, i.
52. Pentakis's target audience, as the preface to his *Dictionary* implies, was Egypt's Greek community. After failing to find a publisher, he says he thought about financing it through subscriptions, but abandoned the idea because 'in Egypt' this is seen as 'a major compromise'. His *Dictionary* was finally published when the publisher Sarantis asked him in 1881 to write a dictionary, using Arabic transliterated in Greek. Pentakis refused, but proposed the idea of a 'supplement' as a compromise: *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón*, viii–ix.
53. Pentakis, *Lexikón Ellino-Aravikón*, 293, 297, 312.
54. Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798–1939* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983 [1962]), 53–4.
55. Irène Fenoglio, 'Le Français désigné comme "langue de femmes" en Egypte', *Éducation et Sociétés Plurilingues*, 2 (July 1997): 3, [on-line: file:///C:/Users/HP/AppData/Local/Temp/esp002\_12\_fenoglio-1.pdf].
56. Jean Kerisel, *The Nile and its Masters: Past, Present, Future: Source of Hope and Anger* (Rotterdam: A. A. Balkema, 2001), 114.
57. K. Th. Dimaras, *Neoellinikós Romantismós* (Athens: Ermis, 1994 [1982]), 22, 433; K. Th. Dimaras, 'A jubilee', *To Vima*, 28 January 1950, 2; K. Th. Dimaras, 'I morfí tis Gallías', *To Vima*, 15 July 1950, 1–2; Marianthi-Elisavet Mastora, 'I epídrasi tis gallikís glóssas kai tou politismoú tis Gallías sta ekpaideutíria tis filekpaideutikís etaireías apó tis idrúseós tis (1836) éos tis arches tou 20oú aióna', PhD diss., University of Athens, 2006, see <https://goo.gl/2yooZJ>; quote from Grigorios Xenopoulos, 'Brykólakes' xorís skinothéti (1894)', *Nea Estia* 561, 15 November 1950, 1476.
58. Charles Issawi, 'Language: The struggle for linguistic hegemony, 1780–1980', *The American Scholar* 50: 3 (1981): 382–7.
59. K. F. Skokos, 'Nikólaos Chaikális', *Imerológion 1894* 9: 0 (1894): 319–22; Tsirkas, *O Politikós Kaváfis*, 117–18; Sofianos Chrysostomidis, Interview with A. Kazamias, 27 May 2011.
60. Élodie Gaden, 'Ecrits littéraires de femmes en Egypte francophone: la femme "nouvelle" de 1897–1961', PhD diss., University of Grenoble, 2013, 56.
61. Fenoglio, 'Le Français', 1.



62. On the role of French liberal ideas as a vehicle of cultural hegemony and the symbolic capital of French culture for the upper social strata, see Louis Porcher, *Champs et signes. États de la diffusion du français langue étrangère* (Paris: Didier-Crédif, 1987), 21, 23–4.
63. Fenoglio, 'Le Français', 4.
64. James McMillan, *France and Women, 1789–1914: Gender, Society and Politics* (London: Routledge, 2000), 52, 55.
65. Huda Shaarawi, *Harem Years: The Memoirs of an Egyptian Feminist*, trans. Margot Badran (New York: Feminist Press, 1987), 42; Penelope Delta, *Prótes Enthymíseis* (Athens: Ermis, 2000 [1980]), 200; Penelope Delta, *Anamníseis 1899*, trans. Voula Louvrou, 2nd edn (Athens: Ermis, 1994), 4–7, 8.
66. Georgios Kipiadis, *Éllines en Aigýpto, I sygchrónou ellinismou ékátástasis kaí kathidrímata ethnika (1766–1892)* (Alexandria: Lagoudakis, 1892), 40–41; Athanasios Politis, *O Ellinismós kai i neotéra Aígyptos*, vol. 1 (Alexandria: Grammata, 1928), 245, 359; Souloyannis, *I Ellinikí Koinótita Alexandreías*, 130, 132–3; Rados Radopoulos, *Eisagogí eis tin Istorían tis Ellinikís Koinótitos Alexandreías, 1830–1927* (Alexandria: Kassimatis, 1928), 39; Efthymios Souloyannis, *I Ellinikí Koinóta tou Kaírou, 1856–2001* (Athens: Kotinos, 2001), 90. The Greek Girls' School in Cairo started with 400 pupils and the Khedive's wife attended its second inaugural ceremony, see *Káiron* 39, 21 September/3 October 1874, 3.
67. Since 1844, the Tositza Boys' School taught French and Italian for one hour every day from the first form. Since the late eighteenth century, French and Italian were proclaimed dominant languages in a tract on children's education by the leading Greek Enlightenment reformer, Iossipos Missiodax, *Pragmateía perí paidon agogís í paidagogía* (Venice: Nikolaos Glykis, 1779), 157–8. French, but also Italian, were the main foreign languages taught across the Greek schools. According to Hourani, Italian was the main foreign language used in the Levant in that period, essentially as the language of commerce (*Arabic Thought*, 54). The same point is made in K. Th. Dimaras, *Neoellinikós Diafotismós* (Athens: Ermis, 1989 [1977]), 7.
68. See Appendix.
69. Le Duc d'Harcourt, *L'Égypte et les Égyptiens* (Paris: Librairie Plon, 1893); Qasim Amin, *Les Égyptiens; réponse à M. le duc d'Harcourt* (Cairo: Barbier, 1894); Leila Ahmed, *A Quiet Revolution: The Veil's Resurgence, From the Middle East to America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 24; Qasim Amin, *Qasim Amin: al-A<sup>3</sup>mal al-kamila*, ed. Mohammad 'Imara, 2nd edn (Cairo: Dar al-shuruq, 1989), 90, 95.
70. Marilyn Booth, 'Before Qasim Amin: Writing women's history in 1890s Egypt', in Marilyn Booth and Anthony Gorman (eds), *The Long 1890s in Egypt: Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 365–98; 365.

71. G. G. Papadopoulos, 'Perí gynaikós kai Ellinídos', part 1, *Pandora* 388 (1866): 81–8; 87–8; part 2, *Pandora* 389 (1866): 109–12; 110–12.
72. Georgios Kipiadis, *I gyní. To varómetron tis proódou kai tou politismoú* (Alexandria: Lagoudakis, 1894), 19, 20, 21, 24–5, 28.
73. Charles Nodier, *Le livre des jeunes personnes. Extraits de prose et de vers* (Paris: Bureau du Journal des jeunes personnes, 1838).
74. Biographical data from introductions of Goussiou, *Mikrá anthodésmi*, 4–10, id., *Vivlón tis Neolaías*, π. 5–7; Denisi, *Anichnévontas*, 206–7.
75. Eleni Goussiou, *Vivlón tis Neolaías: Periéchon pantoías istorías, gnomiká kai axiómata ek diafóron Gállon syggraféon/ eranisthénta ypó Karólou Nodié kai eis tin imetéran didálekton metenechthénta en ois prosetéthisan ex Ellínon syggraféon tiná temáchia, ekdothén de ypó Elénis Goussiou* (Athens: Moraitinis, 1865), 5–7, 220–1.
76. Goussiou, *Vivlón tis Neolaías*, 3. 'Progress' is capitalised in the original Greek.
77. Nodier's anthology contains texts by two of these writers, Mme de Staël and Mme de Maintenon, but Goussiou chose to translate different texts.
78. Nodier, *Le livre*, 185–90, 191–3, 31–3, 158–64, 143–6, 43–4, 48–50, 175–7, 177–9.
79. Nodier, *Le livre*, 65–73, 105–6.
80. Nodier, *Le livre*, 1.
81. Barbara Godard, 'Theorizing feminist discourse/translation', *Tessera* 6 (1989): 42–53; 50; Luise Von Flotow, 'Feminist translation: Contexts, practices and theories', *Traduction, Terminologie, Rédaction* 4: 2 (1991), 69–84.
82. Sherry Simon, *Gender in Translation. Cultural Identity and the Politics of Transmission* (London: Routledge, 1996), 41–2.
83. Goussiou, *Vivlón tis Neolaías*, 1–2.
84. Simon, *Gender in Translation*, 39–41.
85. Goussiou, *Vivlón tis Neolaías*, 65–7, 71–2.
86. Yalourakis, *I Aígyptos ton Ellínon*, 604. [Note by A. Kazamias: Based on insufficient research, I also misguidedly presented Goussiou as a poet who was detached from her Egyptian context.] Kazamias, 'Between language', 179.
87. Efrosyni Samartzidou, 'Afiérosis pros tin Efkleestátin kai chariestátin Soultánan tin Vasilomítora', *Kypseli* 1: 1 (May 1845): γ–ζ (3–7); στ (6). Capitalisations appear in the original.
88. This information is inferred from the introduction to her translation. Eleni Argyridou, *Sofía Velfóndou* (Alexandria: publisher unknown, 1871), 5–6. In 1869 her name appears as a resident of Alexandria in Abbet, *O archilistís Rovértos*, appendix, 4. We assume that she continued to live in the city at least until the publication of her translation in Alexandria two years later.

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89. Karen Offen, 'Defining feminism: A comparative historical approach', *Signs* 14: 1 (Autumn 1988): 119–57; 138–40.
90. McMillan, *France and Women*, 52.
91. Carol Smith-Rosenberg, 'The female world of love and ritual: Relations between women in nineteenth-century America', *Signs* 1: 1 (1975): 1–29.
92. Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 5–6.
93. Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), 56–7.
94. Louise Diard, *Sophie Belfond* (Tours: Alfred Mame et fils, 1865), 32; Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 29. 'Είχε κενόν τον βαλάντιον, κενόν δε και τον στόμαχον μας εφορτώθη λοιπόν αντί ενός τεμαχίου άρτου, διά ψυχικόν, ως λέγουν'
95. Diard, *Sophie Belfond*, 38; Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 33.
96. Diard, *Sophie Belfond*, 49; Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 41 'Το φράγκον διπλασιαζόμενον, τριπλασιαζόμενον και πολλάκις πολλαπλασιαζόμενον γίνονται τα εκατόν φράγκα, αι χιλιάδες, τα εκατομμύρια, ακούεις; - τα εκατομμύρια κόρη μου'.
97. Diard, *Sophie Belfond*, 59; Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 49 'πίλον εκ λεπτής ψιάθου, τεχνηέντως διακεκοσμημένον, προσαρμόσασα επιχαρίτως επί της ευπλοκάμου κεφαλής της'.
98. Diard, *Sophie Belfond*, 61; Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 50 'Άς έχη δόξα ο πανάγαθος Θεός, τέκνον μου, όστις και πάλι μας συνήνωσε'.
99. Diard, *Sophie Belfond*, 118, 48, 45; Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 91, 41, 39.
100. Argyridou, *Sofia Velfondou*, 57–58. 'Algerian pirates . . . those wretched plunderers of humanity'.
101. Von Flotow, 'Feminist translation', 74; Luise von Flotow, *Translation and gender: Translating in the 'Era of Feminism'* (Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 1997), 35 sq.; Simon, *Gender in Translation*, 13–15 (quoting von Flotow).
102. Apostolos Constantinidis, *Dianoóúmenes Ellinídes tin Aigýpto (1861–1966)* (Athens: Bolaris, 1966), 11.
103. In his history of Egyptian-Greek female intellectuals, Constantinidis mentions Frangia's translation of *Les deux Diane*, but only the 1895 Cairo edition. He quotes Eugene Michailidis, editor of the supposedly definitive bibliography of Egyptian-Greek works: Eugene Michailidis (ed.), *Vivliografía ton Ellínon Aigyptiotón (1863–1966)*, 2nd edn (Alexandria: Kentro Ellinikon Spoudon, 1965–6). Michailidis spoke of the 'praiseworthy translation endurance of a 1895 woman'; see Constantinidis, *Dianoóúmenes Ellinídes*, 12. Both sources are unaware of the first edition of Emilia Frangia, *Ai dyo Artemides*, 3 vols (Ermoupoli: Patrída, 1871–2) and of her translation of *La Jangada*.
104. A PhD dissertation on the translations of Dumas into Greek claims that the '1894' Cairo edition of *Ai dyo Artemides* omits 'the translator's notes' from the 1871–2 edition and that Emilia was married to the journalist Ioannis

- Frangias from Syros: Anastasia Stryfon-Kyriakidou, 'O mythistoriográfos Aléxandros Doumás-patéras kai I parousía tou sta elliniká grámmata ton 19o aióna', PhD diss., University of Athens, 1998, 82, 135. However, such notes were not found in the 1871–2 copy kept at the Greek Literary and Historical Archive (ELIA), while the Cairo edition is everywhere else dated '1895'. Also, Frangia had the same surname when she was still signing as 'Miss'; Denisi, *Anichnévontas*, 259, fn 23.
105. Emilia Frangia, *Ai dyo Artemides*, 3 vols (Cairo: Proodos, 1895), 1–638.
  106. English quotations from Alexander Dumas, *The Two Dianas* [trans. George B. Ives], 3 vols (Boston: Little, Brown, 1891), 62.
  107. Jules Verne, *I schedía. Oktakósiai Lévgai epí tou Amazoníou*, trans. Emilia Frangia, vol. 1 (Ermoupoli: Patrída, 1886), 108, 115.
  108. Jules Verne, *La jangada. Huit cents lieues sur l'Amazone* (Paris: Hetzel, 1881), 275.
  109. In *Les deux Diane* she used only one footnote to translate the title of chapter LVI, 'obscuri sola sub nocte . . .', which she kept in Latin in the main text; Frangia, *Ai dyo Artémides*, 2: 168.
  110. Efi Allamani *et al.*, *Istoría tou Ellinikou Éthnous*, vol. 13 (Athens: Ekdotiki Athinon, 1977), 465; Mastora, 'I epídrasi tis gallikís glóssas', 699, fn. 23; Ioanna Petropoulou, 'From West to East: The translation bridge. An approach from a western perspective', in Anna Frangoudaki and Caglar Keyder (eds), *Ways to Modernity in Greece and Turkey: Encounters with Europe, 1850–1950* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2007), 91–111; 95.
  111. Toury, *Descriptive Translation*, 56.
  112. Alexandre Dumas, *Les deux Diane* (Montréal: Le Joyeux Roger, 2007), vol. 1, 71; vol. 2, 64; 72; Frangia, *Ai dyo Artémides*, 1: 72, 2: 217. In the case of 'Balafre', the translation is followed by the original French in brackets.
  113. Dumas, *Les deux Diane*, 1: 103; Frangia, *Ai dyo Artémides*, 1: 106.
  114. Dumas, *Les deux Diane*, 1: 131–2; Frangia, *Ai dyo Artémides*, 1: 136–7.
  115. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation*, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2008), 1–8.
  116. Verne, *La jangada*, pt 2, 119–20; Jules Verne, *I schedía. Oktakósiai Lévgai epí tou Amazoníou*, trans. Emilia Frangia, vol. 2 (Ermoupoli: Patrída, 1887), 102–3.
  117. Tsirkas, *O Kaváfis*, 93–119; 'Ashmawi, *al-Yunaniyyun*, 126–31; Kazamias, 'Cromer's assault', 268–72.
  118. Verne, *La jangada*, pt 1, 70.
  119. Jules Verne, *The Giant Raft. Eight Hundred Leagues on the Amazon*, trans. W. J. Gordon, vol. 1 (New York: Scribner's, 1881), 62.
  120. Verne, *I schedía*, 1: 61.
  121. According to Kassinis, there were 249 Greek translations of Dumas in the nineteenth century: K. G. Kassinis, *Bibliografía ton ellhnikón metafráseon tis xénis logotechnías, 19os–20os aiónas*, vol. 1, 1801–1900 (Athens: Syllogos pros diadosin ofelimon vivlion, 2006), xxvix; C. Th. Dimaras,

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- 'Réalisme et naturalisme en Grèce. L'offre et la demande', *Synthesis II* (1975): 259–63; 259.
122. Matti Moosa, *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 2nd edn (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1997), 103.
123. *Efimerís ton Vivliofílon* 1: 11 (16 November 1874), 42; 1: 12 (23 November 1874), 45.
124. A somewhat similar approach was adopted by her contemporary, poet and lawyer, Livathinopoulos.
125. Peter Burke, *Lost (and Found) in Translation: A Cultural History of Translators and Translating in Early Modern Europe* (Wassenaar: Netherlands Institute for Advanced Study, 2005), 11.
126. Denisi, 'Oi lógies Ellinídes', 10–12.
127. Vangelis Skouvaras, preface in Constantinidis, *Dianooúmenes Ellinídes*, 3, 4.
128. Constantine Tsoukalas, *Exártisi kai Anapagogí. O koinonikós rólos ton ekpaideftikón michanizmón stin Elláda (1830–1922)* (Athens: Themelio, 1987), 393.
129. For example, in 1887, an equal number of boys and girls (approximately 600) attended Alexandria's Greek Community schools (Kípiadis, *Èllines en Aigýpto*, 40.)
130. Von Flotow, 'Feminist translation', 80–1; Godard, 'Theorizing feminist discourse', 44, 46, 50; Kathy Mezei, 'Transformations of Barbara Godard', in Agnes Whitfield (ed.), *Writing Between the Lines: Portraits of Canadian Anglophone Translators* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2006), 203–24; 212.
131. Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1–8.
132. Suzanne Lamy, *D'elles* (Montréal: L'Hexagone, 1979), 39, 45; Godard, 'Theorizing feminist discourse', 44.
133. Joyce Zonana, 'The Sultan and the slave: Feminist Orientalism and the structure of "Jane Eyre"', *Signs* 18: 3 (Spring 1993): 592–617; 594.
134. Manolis Marangoulis, '*Kairós na synchronisthómen*'. *I Aígyptos kai i aigyptiótiki dianóisi (1919–1939)* (Athens: Gutenberg, 2011), 201–17. Besides °Amin, the contribution of Malak Hifni Nassef was also praised.
135. Rifa°a al-Tahtawi, *al-Murshid al-amin lil-banat wa-l-banin* (Cairo: Dar al-kitab al-masri, 2012 [1872]), 143–6; 443–74, 781–7, quote from 592; Hourani, *Arabic Thought*, 77–9.
136. 'Ai exetáseis' and 'Diáfora', *Káiron* A: 8 (4 February 1874): 2–3; [untitled], *Káiron* A: 9 (11/22 February 1874): 2.
137. Similar practices were encouraged across the Ottoman Empire. At the opening of a girls' school in Larissa in 1856, attended by the Governor of Thessaly, Hussein Pasha, the headmistress Aikaterini Kontaxiadou praised 'the zeal of the Thrice Revered Sultan Abdul Mejid for education' and spoke about 'the saving spirit of female education, which was disseminated

lately like an electric liquid [sic] from the West, having arrived a few years ago to the East, and as a fermenting seedbed is being transplanted across the vast Ottoman Empire'. She mentioned examples of Greek girls' schools in 'Smyrna, Lesbos, Chios, Rhodes, Adrianople, and many others', *Elpis*, 20: 871, Athens, 29 September 1856, 3532; Mastora, 'I epídrasi tis galikís glóssas', 125; Dalakoura, *I ekpaídeusi ton gynaikón*, 33–41; Pantelis Kiprianos, *Syngritíki istoría tis ellinikís ekpaídeusis*, 3rd edn (Athens: Vivliorama, 2015), 166–8.

138. See Appendix.
139. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, 'Three women's texts and a critique of imperialism', *Critical Inquiry* 12: 1 (Autumn 1985): 243–61; 259.
140. Pentakis also pre-ordered one copy; Goussiou, *Vivlion tis Neolaias*, 223–6.
141. This is a more comprehensive bibliography than Michailidis, *Vivliografía*, and the list of translators in Ioannis Chatziphotis, *I Alexandriní logotechnía*, 2nd edn (Athens, 1971). However, it is based on both.

## Haunting Ottoman Middle-class Sensibility: Ahmet Midhat Efendi's Gothic

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A. Holly Shissler

Ahmet Midhat Efendi (1844–1912) was one of the most important literary, journalistic and intellectual figures of the Ottoman nineteenth century. He played many significant roles: editor of the long-running daily newspaper *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* (The interpreter of truth, 1878–1924)<sup>1</sup>; author of innumerable novels and short stories, including the iconic 1875 novel *Felâton Bey ile Râkim Efendi* (Felâton Bey and Râkim Efendi); polemicist; religious apologist; language reformer; commentator on economic questions. Inseparable from these activities was his work as a prolific translator and adapter.<sup>2</sup> He is known to have produced Ottoman Turkish versions of the works of Émile Richbourg, Émile Augier, Alexandre Dumas, Ann Radcliffe, Georges Pradel, Émile Gobariau, Octave Feuillet, Charles Merouvel (Charles Chartier), Léon de Tinseau, Hector Malot, Voltaire, Paul de Cock and Corneille.<sup>3</sup> For these works, *version* is the operative word. In his thorough and stimulating 2005 dissertation ‘From discourse to practice: Rethinking “translation” (*terceme*) and related practices of text production in the Late Ottoman literary tradition’, Cemal Demircioğlu points out that in the nineteenth century a range of practices was encompassed within our modern term ‘translation’.<sup>4</sup> These included texts we would readily characterise as ‘translation’, meaning reasonably recognisable transfers of a text from one language to another, with setting, characters, narrative structure, and – to the extent possible – style, recreated in the target language. Other practices might fall less easily within what we term translation, and might include condensed or summarised translations; adaptations in which the action and setting were translated to a different cultural environment; and borrowing, where the author was moved to compose a story on the basis of something encountered in another language. Ahmet Midhat Efendi engaged in all of these practices. Not only that: he openly discussed them, often in short prefatory notes to

specific fictions. His introduction to *İki Huda'kar* (Two frauds), one of the stories published in the series *Letaif-i Rivayat* (Amusing tales), thoughtfully describes his various approaches:

The basis of the present little novel entitled *İki Huda'kar* consists of a little anecdote that I read seven or eight months ago in a French newspaper. But, as I have acquired the honor of veteran status after so many years in the service of writing, my readers know that even when in 'translation' (*tercüme*) mode, I am always carrying out a fair bit of modification on the novels that I take from Europe, and afterwards I recommend them to our shared Ottoman morals. For well have I learned that of the things that come from Europe, the rotten ones are far more numerous than the sound, and the bad number many more than the good. But anyway, when it comes to borrowing (*iktibas*) I take the idea of modification even further . . . From them [the stories] I merely take an idea and then I take up my pen and write an entirely new work based on it . . .<sup>5</sup>

The novella I analyse here clearly falls within the category of borrowing (*iktibas*); more than that, it constitutes cultural adaptation in the widest sense. It is not, as far as I have been able to ascertain, an adaptation of an existing novel rendered suitable for an Ottoman audience, nor even a story inspired by another tale (Ahmet Midhat Efendi claims that *Cinli Han* is based on an anecdote, but the true value of such a claim is perhaps questionable). Rather it is an adaptation in a much broader sense; it takes up the European-origin Gothic Romance genre to suit Ahmet Midhat Efendi's notion of what he needed to communicate to an Ottoman audience. *Cinli Han* or 'The haunted inn' appeared in *Letaif-i Rivayat* volume 12, 1302 AH (1886). It was 160 pages long in the original edition and its preface gave this account of its inspiration:

One Friday as I was going from the bridge [Galata Bridge] to Beykoz, I heard the essentials of this strange story on the ferryboat from a friend, and since I found the kernel of the story truly strange and amusing in a degree that would be worthy of presentation to my readers, I supplied its deficiencies from the point of view of the novelist's art and I took courage to present and offer it in the following form to my dear readers.<sup>6</sup>

*Letaif-i Rivayat* itself was a series of fictions – short stories, novellas and one play – that Ahmet Midhat Efendi wrote and published between 1870 and 1894. The series comprised thirty pieces published in twenty-five instalments, amounting, in its complete 2001 edition, compiled and transliterated into modern Turkish by Fazıl Gökçek and Sabahattin Çağın, to 851 pages of text. The series constituted an important event in the history of Ottoman literature and print culture. Ahmet Midhat Efendi began publishing these stories shortly after his return to Istanbul, having



resigned his government post in the Ottoman province of Baghdad where he had been serving under his patron Midhat Paşa, governor of the province. These stories were part of a distinctly commercial effort on his part, for he needed to generate income from his various printing and publishing ventures in order to support himself. Thus, however didactic they might be, their popularity and marketability were always a fundamental consideration for Ahmet Midhat Efendi. The works were printed as what we might think of as fascicules (*cüz*), that is, the whole series was published under a common title or heading, but no individual work was published serially. Each fascicule was printed by Ahmet Midhat Efendi's own press, and distributed through a network that included reading rooms and booksellers, as well as water-sellers, tobacconists, and so forth. It is claimed that initially he intended to produce only three fascicules, but when they proved very successful, he just kept on writing, expanding the number of works that appeared under the common rubric.<sup>7</sup> These tended to be short stories or novellas, whereas the longer novels often appeared in serialised form in periodicals like *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* and were subsequently re-issued in book form. Publication of *Letaif-i Rivayat* continued even while Ahmet Midhat Efendi was being held in internal exile on Rhodes (1873–6), and indeed continued after his release and reconciliation with the regime and the founding of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*. *Cinli Han* is one of the pieces produced after his return from Rhodes. Based on Demircioğlu's research, we may say that of the thirty pieces in the series, nine (that is, just under one third) fell in some broad way into the variety of translation, adaptation and inspiration practices described above.

### **The Haunted Inn**

*Cinli Han* is not one of Ahmet Midhat Efendi's more remarked works. In fact, in the 2001 edition of *Letaif-i Rivayat*, editor Fazıl Gökçek sums up the novella thus: 'This story has no characteristics worthy of attention, aside from [a certain] fluency attained in terms of the adventure (*macera*) and element of suspense.'<sup>8</sup> I would argue, however, that *Cinli Han* has significant features to attract our attention above and beyond the fluency of the storytelling. *Cinli Han* is a Gothic Romance set in rural France, with protagonists who are ordinary village folk. At the time it was written, Gothic Romance does not seem to have been a widely disseminated form in the Ottoman Empire despite the genre's great popularity in Europe and North America. Nor were stories about ordinary villagers common.<sup>9</sup> The unusual confluence of these two forms (Gothic Romance and village story) gives Ahmet Midhat Efendi the opportunity to achieve a variety

of effects and cover some interesting ground in terms of didactic themes that were of perennial importance to him. Before discussing these points further, however, a detailed plot synopsis may prove useful.

The story revolves around two young villagers, Josephine and her beau, Grégoire Salpet. They are both serious and virtuous, with not a hint of frivolity. They fall in love and promise one another to wait and marry on Salpet's return from his military service. He vows to become rich for her sake while he is away. He betters himself, saving his money and spending his free time not with his fellow conscripts, but with those who can offer him improvement, and thus slowly rises through the ranks to sergeant of the line. Early on he becomes literate so that he can communicate with his father and his beloved. Josephine is inspired to act accordingly for Salpet: she takes in sewing and laundry, makes socks, grows vegetables in her garden, buys chickens, then goats, then cows. In this way she begins to build up a tidy nest egg. She also learns to read and write.

Meanwhile, a man named de La Rouche comes to the village. De La Rouche is a friend of the local priest, Father Prasil, a somewhat reclusive cleric with a reputation for charity and compassion. De La Rouche hears of Josephine's accomplishments and is determined to marry her. He makes a peremptory proposal based on his superior social standing, at the same time assuring Josephine that Salpet has already forgotten her and will never come back. She vehemently refuses him and throws him out of her cottage. De La Rouche returns to Father Prasil and complains that he is now obsessed with Josephine, who has rejected him. It is revealed that de La Rouche and the priest are old associates; that they are really thieves and gangsters; and that de La Rouche is secretly active in a gang of bandits (*haydut*). Father Prasil suggests to de La Rouche that he can have Josephine if he gives up the idea of marriage. He advises de La Rouche simply to kidnap her and have his way with her; everyone will assume she has eloped. With the priest's help, de La Rouche drugs and kidnaps Josephine. She defends her honour, threatening suicide if he violates her. More than a year goes by with Josephine confined in the bandits' hideout – the eponymous haunted inn, an old waystation located in a remote rural area. The inn has a bad reputation for being visited by ghosts and spirits.

In all of this, Salpet returns from military service. Though offered promotion, he cannot stay away from his beloved any longer. He discovers that Josephine is missing and all the local folk assume she has run off with someone. He searches and searches for her, facilitating his search by using his military background to get himself appointed to the area gendarmerie, even seeking a lower rank than he could normally have expected, because the lower rank allows him to range over the countryside. But he finds no

trace of Josephine. One night, riding through a remote area searching for bandits who have been troubling the neighbourhood, he is caught in a terrible storm and takes refuge in the only nearby structure, the ruins of the haunted inn. In the course of the night, several apparitions try to frighten him off, but he bravely faces them down with his musket and sword, and in the end he discovers that they are illusions created with shadows and puppets by a very human man, whom he captures. Under pressure this individual reveals that he is one of the bandits and this is their hideout. Accidentally he reveals that a woman is being held in the basement of the ruins. Realising that this must be Josephine, Salpet rushes to her. They are reunited and return to the village of Prieri, leaving the captured bandit behind to guard all the loot stored there. But upon their return, a villager approaches them with a letter from Father Prasil telling them not to look for him or his associates. Salpet realises that the bandit they left behind has sent ahead to warn Father Prasil. The guilty parties and all their ill-gotten riches are gone. Salpet and Josephine, no longer wanting to live in Prieri, settle in the renamed inn, now converted to a gendarmerie post.

### ***Critiquing the Ottoman Countryside***

What can we make of such a story? First of all, I would argue that it shows that Ahmet Midhat Efendi was concerned with the state of the countryside and ordinary country folk as a part of his vision for the revivification of Ottoman society. Yet he knew that the audience for stories about village folk was limited in the Ottoman Empire. The French setting thus provides some additional interest to draw an Ottoman readership. In this story, peasants take the lead under cover of adventure and romance. However, having set the stage for such a tale of adventure and romance, Ahmet Midhat Efendi deviates to describe at some length the conditions of village life and Josephine's efforts at self-improvement. As he describes Salpet setting off for his military service, Ahmet Midhat Efendi comments, in the ironic tone so typical of him, that this novella is not one of those fictions that dwell on the adventures of a young soldier.

As a matter of fact, a novel does fit well in the ambit of these things [barracks, soldiers, weapons, etc.], and, even more, a very nice novel can be constructed in that milieu, as we have noted previously, on the basis of the relations among a group of women and soldiers. But in this story of ours, we are not now going to send our attention and concern chasing after Salpet all the way to the world of military service, because the share of events pertaining to that world is not significant [to this story]. Rather, we are going to return to the village together with its old folks.<sup>10</sup>

He does this even though, as he remarks, ‘Possibly our readers would not take any pleasure from such details [how the peasant heroine built up her fortunes] of a villager’s reality’.<sup>11</sup>

At the same time, *Cinli Han* is supremely melodramatic, after the manner of the Gothic Romance, and this holds the readers’ interest despite the village setting. Ahmet Midhat Efendi was well aware of the overheated quality of his story and, just as he commented in his prefaces about his translation and adaptation practices, so too in the body of his texts he overtly and humorously gestured towards the genres that influenced him. It is often said of Ahmet Midhat Efendi that the *meddah* or oral storytelling tradition is evident in his narrative style, and he seems to point to this when he comments of M. de La Roche, ‘just like the son of the Yemeni Padishah about whom it is related in some fairy tales that he fell in love with the daughter of the Indian King after only hearing a few accolades about her, so he too fell in love with Josephine after hearing only few words about her’.<sup>12</sup> Likewise, the opening lines of *Cinli Han* point in a somewhat deprecating way to the Gothic and its preoccupations with the sublime and the picturesque.

Our story transpires in France, in the province of Lyon in the village of Prieri. We can’t get into descriptions here in the way that is customary for most novelists, such as ‘The village of Preri is beautiful in this way, charming in that way, if you find yourself there in such and such a season, thus and such a view is recommended . . ., or if you were in such and such a location, here is how it would look . . .’ As a matter of fact, while descriptions of this kind can be among the things that give the most zest to novels, the author should see the place with his own eyes or, by means of his having studied and analysed maps, plans, and photographs, he ought to know the place as if he had actually seen it, and so be able to describe it. When these conditions are not in place, poetical descriptions which have been learned by heart lack value.<sup>13</sup>

This remark seems pointed indeed. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794) one of the most successful Gothic novels ever written, and one which was widely translated and adapted for the stage, was especially famous for its descriptions of locations and scenery.<sup>14</sup> In fact, its author, Ann Radcliffe (1764–1823), had never seen any of the things she described. Ahmet Midhat Efendi surely owed much to Radcliffe in his construction of *Cinli Han*: the mountain fastness, the ruined castle, the nobleman who is also a bandit. All have their place in *Udolpho*. And we know that Ahmet Midhat Efendi was familiar with Radcliffe’s novel, which had been translated into French not long after its original English-language publication, because he himself translated it into Ottoman in 1891. But perhaps these gestures to his stylistic and genre inspirations also make a sharper point:

critics argue that Radcliffe's novels, with all their overheated emotion and sensibility, may have been aimed at revealing the dangers of an excess of sentiment that would overrule reason. In this respect, de La Rouché's obsession can be compared with another Ottoman character, the poet's sudden passion in İbrahim Şinasi's (1826–71) play of 1860, *Şair Evlenmesi* (The poet's wedding): the misfortune that nearly overtakes the poet is partly due to the mercenary trickery of the matchmaker, but is at least as much a function of his own foolishness in falling for a wholly inappropriate young girl whom he has never met, but merely seen by chance in passing.<sup>15</sup>

Further, that staple of *Udolpho*, and of the Gothic more generally, 'the mysterious or supernatural explained', is present in a charming scene in *Cinli Han* when Salpet discovers that the apparitions haunting the ruins are actually puppets and shadows employed by the bandits to frighten local shepherds. In this climactic episode, the description of the forest, the storm, the ruins, and the haunting song that Salpet sings to himself, are strongly atmospheric, but as the apparitions make their first appearance the tone gradually becomes more humorous and satirical. In the end, through a combination of courage and reason, Salpet overcomes his fear, discovers the truth, and gets the girl.

### ***The Gothic and the Victorian***

Within its Gothic wrapping, however, *Cinli Han* is a paean to self-help not entirely different from the governing theme in Ahmet Midhat Efendi's *Felâtnun Bey ile Râkım Efendi*, except that it takes place in a French and rural setting.<sup>16</sup> Salpet teaches himself to read, rises to the rank of sergeant of the line, becomes an officer of the local gendarmerie, saves his money, and generally shows lots of initiative. Ahmet Midhat Efendi describes young Salpet's progress once he learns to read and write:

Our man Salpet had even achieved the rank of sergeant of the line. His friends loved him. His officers loved him. Wherever he was and whomever he interacted with there, loved him . . . Military service can be a profligate time . . . [the soldier] holds nothing back in order to benefit not only himself but his friends. He will eat and drink not merely to the limits of his means, but indeed beyond those limits, and he will provide food and drink to others . . . But our Salpet basically cannot be compared to his friends who were doing their military service. So far from going with the other men from his unit to taverns and the like, he did not squander his friendship on such base characters. He always tried to find a way to converse with those who were greater and smarter than himself, that is, with officers. And thanks to this, so far from suffering poverty in the

military, because he managed to get by on his rations, he was even successful in saving eighty per cent of his pay.<sup>17</sup>

That would all have sounded very familiar to Ahmet Midhat Efendi's readers. One immediately thinks of Râkim Efendi learning French, taking on translation assignments and teaching private language classes, carefully saving up his money, and moving towards happy conjugal life. What is less familiar and stands out much more is Josephine's self-help story.

Motivated by Salpet's love and his declaration that he would come back 'rich for her sake', Josephine decides to improve her fortunes too. When he learns to read and write, straight away she does the same. Though the range of opportunities in the village is small, Josephine is determined and makes the most of them:

With what can a villager become rich? Not by putting capital at interest or by garnering profits or rent revenues eh! To become rich through the pen or the paint brush or through intelligence and cleverness also will not come easily to him. There is no doubt that a villager's getting rich is garnered through fields or [poultry] coops or stables. Though she did not have enough money to obtain a stable, Josephine made it her priority to become a tireless gardener, cultivating whatever vegetables possible in the garden around her house, and likewise she was able to raise chickens, geese, and ducks in a coop she prepared from twigs and branches. In the evenings she passed her time making socks or sewing. She resolved that, just as by this means she was on her way to increasing her earnings, by also curtailing her spending on every side, she would arrive at obtaining a couple of cows and seven or eight goats by the time her beloved returned from his military service.<sup>18</sup>

A striking feature of *Cinli Han* is that the young woman has a very active role in the story, much more so than she does in Ahmet Midhat Efendi's domestic novels and stories. In *Felâatun Bey ile Râkim Efendi*, Canan becomes a true partner to Râkim by becoming more educated and more aware of the world and the possibilities it could offer her, but at no point is she portrayed as a partner in the family's earnings (save only as knowing how to run a household on a tight budget) or as Râkim's equal in ambition. But Josephine is offered here as fully Salpet's equal in enterprising spirit, and indeed as his equal in fidelity, courage and cunning. Even Father Prasil says, in his letter to Salpet at the conclusion of the novella, 'Well done, both of you! However brave a man you have been, Josephine has been an equally incorruptible and heroic young woman.'<sup>19</sup>

Here I think we must take note of the way the genre of Gothic Romance offers opportunities for such a portrayal. First and foremost, a heroine plays a central role. The plot and many of the more colourful elements

of *Cinli Han* can be understood as in some ways a 'mash-up' of famous eighteenth-century works in the Gothic and Romance veins. The country setting and the theme of the relentlessly pursuing nobleman *cum* bandit are strongly reminiscent of Ann Radcliffe's *The Mysteries of Udolpho*, as is the trope of the ruined castle as bandit hideout, with the loot stored in the cellars. Most obviously, the drugging and kidnapping of a girl of modest origins by a man of superior social station, followed by her extended resistance to his 'seduction' are straight out of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela* (1740).<sup>20</sup> Like Pamela, Josephine defends her honour from the marauding 'gentleman' by threatening to commit suicide if he rapes her. But in *Cinli Han* the story of *Pamela* is turned on its head; it is de La Rouche, not Josephine, who is seeking marriage. The progression of Josephine's rejection of him is interesting to notice. In the first instance he assumes that his superior social and economic standing mean that she will scramble to accept his condescension in proposing, but she says her heart is already engaged. Then he tries to convince her that Salpet is never coming back: this she responds to with fury (and tears, for she cannot avoid some doubt in her heart, if not in her actions). De La Rouche then drugs and kidnaps her, luring her into danger through her spirit of enterprise – she is asked to the priest's house to fit some clothes he has asked her to tailor, and accepts a glass of doctored wine that is pressed upon her there. Next, she is urged by the coachman who is helping to spirit her away to accept her circumstances and even see them as fortunate. Instead she threatens to kill herself if de La Rouche violates her. Finally, Josephine realises that she needs to find some way of stringing de La Rouche along, or ultimately he will lose patience and have his way with her, suicide or not. She comes up with the stratagem of asking for a year of 'mourning' for Salpet, who is not dead, but who is lost to her. She promises to marry de La Rouche once that period is finished. It is this cunning manoeuvre that allows her the time needed for Salpet to find her hidden away at the haunted inn. By comparison to characters like Canan in *Felâtn bey ile Râkim Efendi*, Josephine is active and worldly, and as enterprising as the hero, taking a hand in shaping her own destiny. By comparison with Pamela, she is on a different level of emotional independence. She has *chosen* a man who is really suitable to her by age and by temperament, and no amount of force, no offer of social standing and wealth, can move her or subjugate her.

Josephine is as strong as Salpet, and just as much the protagonist of *Cinli Han*. She is energetic and capable as an earner. She is also clever and courageous in defending her honour and achieving *her own ends* in the face of danger and opposition. Salpet and she have mutually chosen each other, and she is able to hold out for him despite adversity. Her stratagem

for delaying and blocking de La Rouche once she is in his hands is really worthy of Shahrazad, yet she does not hope to snare him, but rather to be free of him. This story is not about the taming of the rake, as it were. It is about companionate marriage, but a companionate marriage where the woman is far more equal in formal terms, far more part of the world, than is the case in Ahmet Midhat Efendi's domestic novels. Though deep characterisation is not one of the features of this novella, Josephine in *Cinli Han* is much more of a person than is Canan. The abduction is precisely the location where Ahmet Midhat Efendi can display the difference in position, and therefore character, between the domestic heroine who is utterly dependent, physically and economically, on a male protector, and the French peasant girl, who not only supports herself, but also supports her mother, and is making her own way along the road to amassing a comfortable subsistence.

The dramatic tension of *Cinli Han* revolves around de La Rouche's decision to kidnap Josephine and take her to his forest hideout. The priest suggests it, the coachman encourages her to accept it, and the villagers assume she has run off. But Salpet knows better, knows Josephine has not eloped, and is horrified by the suggestion that such a thing could happen and could be deemed acceptable and unremarkable. On his return to the village he asks an elderly peasant woman of his village where Josephine is:

The sour-faced wife answered. 'Josephine? You mean your Josephine?

Ohhooo! Cold winds blow through Josephine's place!'

'For the love of God! Did she also die?'

'No! But she got lost, she disappeared.'

'She fell into the river or into the hands of murderers or something like that?'

'No, no my boy, don't worry. She was simply snatched up and carried off.'

'My dear, what are you talking about? Are we living in the olden days that someone can just snatch a girl and carry her off?'

'My child! In the olden days they used to snatch a girl and carry her off whether she wanted it or not; nowadays, before a girl is snatched and carried off she herself gives consent to the men saying: If you want to snatch me and carry me off, I will pick myself up and run [into your arms] on my own. And *then* they snatch her and carry her off. You act as if you know nothing of girls, and I am reminded that I always thought that you were a naïve fellow.'

The old woman's harsh laughter yanked Salpet's head out of even greater suffering. With utter passion he asked,

'Good mother, take pity! Who carried Josephine off? What happened? Have you not heard any explanation?'

'My boy, as you ought to know, Josephine is a girl who keeps her own counsel.

Who know what she did or who she loved?'<sup>21</sup>



The passage is used to poke a little fun at the Gothic Romance genre – the improbability of such a kidnapping in the modern world is pointed out – but also to display the cold-heartedness and ignorance of the villagers, who really do not care what has happened to Josephine, and who are happy to think the worst *of* her without seeing the evil of such a fate *for* her. They also do not understand Salpet's distress. Let him find another girl as most of the returning soldiers do, they think. But this passage is also part of a larger reflection on consent. The village crone in this passage tells Salpet that today's abductions are with consent, unlike those in the past. This is patently untrue in Josephine's case, but either way the old crone seems unconcerned. Likewise, when Father Prasil is urging de La Rouche to solve his problem by making Josephine his 'mistress' through kidnapping, he says, 'But when it comes to what is necessary to make the girl your mistress [as opposed to your wife], there is no longer any need for her consent, for her 'yes' or any such thing'.<sup>22</sup> After her abduction, while she is resisting de La Rouche's advances, the coachman urgently advises her not to persist in her resistance. If instead of fearing subjugation by him she will accept de La Rouche's offer and put herself under his protection, she might even find happiness. But if she persists in her opposition, she should know that de La Rouche is capable of killing a girl with no more concern than he would feel about slaughtering a bird. However, if she were to succeed in making him happy, she could live like a princess; all the treasure, all the jewels, all the ornaments in the world could be hers. Whereas if she ended up the wife of another man, even the soldier she was in love with, well he was nothing but a villager, was he? If she were to marry that fellow, how happy could he really make her?<sup>23</sup> The notion that material security is all that a woman requires, and that either real feeling or consent on her part are superfluous, is held up here for sharp criticism. Interestingly, the attitude the author displays in *Cinli Han* is different from the one he displays towards the institution of 'carrying off the bride' in his domestic works. In *Henüz 17 Yaşında* (Just seventeen) for example, Yümni Bey, a Muslim, falls for Kalyopi, a young Christian girl.<sup>24</sup> He declares his passion for her and promises honorable marriage, then carries her off. She is shown as potentially ready to be quite happy with him, until the Greek community interferes, demanding her return for religious reasons. From the break-up of that marriage she falls into prostitution, and here the contrast between a young woman, Josephine, who can earn her own living in honorable fashion, and Kalyopi, who cannot, is striking. In the French setting, a heroine, though lacking a male 'protector', earns her living, finds a suitable match, and defends her right to it in the face of ridicule, rumour and slander, and ultimately force. In Ahmet Midhat

Efendi's domestic novels, it is the young men who find, or at times create – Pygmalion like – suitable companions.

However, as in the domestic novels, so too in *Cinli Han*: the fundamental building block for happiness and success remains the family unit, understood as loving, not in the sense of a passionate crush or obsession, but in the sense of a suitable, serious, and stable relationship based on shared values and trust. So, the way forward is love, not sex; love, not self-interest; love, not the commodification of human beings. In fact, despite all the emphasis on thrift and boot-strapping and self-improvement, here, as in many of Ahmet Midhat Efendi's other works, a great point is made of the fact that the successful efforts of the young protagonists are a function of *love*. Salpet promises Josephine, as he leaves to do his military service, that he will come back rich *for her*. He learns to write so that he can write *to her*. All her subsequent efforts to make money and build up a small nest egg, to learn to read and write, stem from her desire to demonstrate a love that is no less than his, to reciprocate in kind. It is love that motivates them and provides the solid emotional basis for their partnership, a partnership that leads to prosperity and establishes their happiness. De La Rouche could never be a suitable mate for Josephine and would never stimulate such devoted efforts on her part, not only because she did not love him, not only because he was unworthy of her love (his self-regarding character and the fact that his wealth derived not from hard work, but from criminality mean that his 'passion' for Josephine stirred him to violence and not to constructive hard work), but because *he* did not *love* her. Rather, de La Rouche is obsessed with her. He hears the old women of the village speculating about Josephine, criticising her private manner, which they take to be secretive, implying that she must be up to something: otherwise, how did she put together the money to buy goats and cows? Hearing all of this, he is taken by her remarkable enterprise. He decides she is worthy of a man like him, suitable to be the mother of his future children, and he must have her. But in seeing her qualities in purely self-referential terms, de La Rouche misses the point. Josephine and Salpet love each other because of their character traits; their love reinforces those positive aspects of character and nourishes the qualities that produce their happiness and prosperity, and make them upright members of society. In fact, de La Rouche does not really 'see' Josephine at all, a point Ahmet Midhat Efendi makes crystal clear when he has de La Rouche exclaim, in response to Frather Prasil's observation that the girl does not want him, 'Well and good, but I want the girl! This business is going to be [worked out] not as she wants but as I want, of course. If she wanted me and I didn't want her, that wouldn't be an issue. But once I want her, it's a huge issue.'<sup>25</sup>

The failings of the urban (de La Rouche) or educated (Father Prasil) elite in the village are glaring. While de La Rouche is consumed by selfish and mercenary desires, and is afflicted by a passionate obsession, the priest – theoretically abstinent – is in fact a womaniser and, while supposedly a pillar of the charitable community, is actually retaining most of what is supposed to be distributed to the poor, for his own use. If de La Rouche suffers from an irrational passion, it is Father Prasil who argues for total immorality, asking de La Rouche why he cannot give up the idea of the girl as a wife and the mother of his children and just have his way with her. Father Prasil affirms that he, a priest and celibate in theory, has had hundreds, indeed thousands, of women, and he thus reduces all relations between the sexes to sex. His sexual-emotional bankruptcy is embodied in his removal from and rejection of the family life that is the cornerstone of society, and is played out in criminal activities from defrauding the poor to involvement with bandits. The salacious and corrupt, not to say cruel, cleric was a fixture of the Gothic, most famously in Matthew Lewis's novel *The Monk*. Likewise, late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Ottoman Turkish writing has a strong anti-clerical whiff, with the figure of the corrupt *ahund* or *molla* an important element in calls for religious modernisation. In *Cinli Han*, a particular sign that this cleric is a blight on the community is his desire not to really be a part of it. His nominally celibate status, his rejection of the very idea of a helpmate, his lack of desire to found a family, are both the causes and the indicators of his anti-social behaviour. His ostensibly hermit-like living arrangements on the outskirts of town, supposedly a mark of his piety, are really a cover for illicit activities, and his removal from social interaction is symbolic of what is wrong with him.

But a lack of constancy and a mercenary attitude towards others are not only the problems of the supposed upper classes in this story. If the priest is corrupt and de La Rouche, the sophisticated city dweller come a-visiting, is obsessive and ruthless, the villagers are portrayed as cruel, ignorant, mesquin and also fundamentally 'light', that is, lacking in any seriousness of purpose or deep sense of commitment. They ridicule Josephine, and to a lesser degree Salpet, for their enterprise and ambition; they treat their literacy as evidence of being 'jumped up', not as something laudable. When Josephine learns to read, the village youth loudly guffaw:

Josephine has learned to read and write. Who knows how great she is going to become? Word is, M. Salpet has also learned to read and write while a soldier. Tomorrow you may see him as Colonel Salpet and she may be Madam La Colonel.<sup>26</sup>

And it is no accident that this attitude is intermingled with scorn for the young couple's seriousness of purpose and physical restraint. The villagers treat Josephine and Salpet's sexual virtue, restraint and reserve as evidence of bloodlessness and maybe even a sign of a certain moronic quality. With superior little smiles they joke that those two could not have made each other any promises before Salpet mustered in, because he was clearly either too arrogant or lacked the get-up-and-go to make any promises. Yet the villagers in the end take their own affections lightly, and quickly move on to other lovers and husbands once the young men have left for the army. That Josephine is a reserved young woman who does not flirt and does not talk about her relationship with Salpet, makes her an object of suspicion. When Josephine begins to get ahead economically, the villagers are filled with envy and cannot accept that this is due to her hard work and determination. Rather, they eagerly insinuate that in some way or other she has been 'up to no good'. Though previously they taxed her with being cold and passionless, once she disappears they quickly accept the idea that Josephine has been carrying on with someone. In short, the villagers are narrow and ignorant, and once Salpet and Josephine's adventure is over and they have been reunited, they choose not to live in Prieri. Though they stay in the countryside, with Salpet stationed at the inn-turned-gendarmerie-post, village life has no space for up-and-coming young people like them. Salpet, we are told, had no desire to further subject Josephine to the wagging tongues of the village.

### **Conclusion**

Ahmet Midhat Efendi was a key figure in shaping a new middle-class morality in the Ottoman Empire, through journalism, non-fiction writing and translation, and fiction writing. He viewed the development of an energetic, educated, civically minded, and moral populace as essential to the survival and revival of the Empire, and he saw a certain type of family life as the cornerstone of that new society. His domestic novels and stories constantly dealt with these themes, but almost always in urban settings in ways that showed the protagonist struggling with questions of a mistaken modernity, sometimes embodied by the figure of the highly Europeanised and feckless dandy, sometimes portrayed as the monetisation of human relationships. But stories like *Cinli Han*, while displaying many of the same themes, allowed Ahmet Midhat Efendi, through their foreign setting and genre, to show his concern for the evils that beset the countryside. These included ignorance, callousness, envy and a lack of seriousness on the part of the peasants themselves, but also their vulnerability to deceit

and corruption practiced by those who were supposed to be their social betters, namely the urban educated classes and the clerical class. And finally, the French setting and Gothic Romance genre permitted Ahmet Midhat Efendi to extoll the merits of a virtuous woman who was nevertheless a self-supporting woman and a woman of action. It was possible in this French setting to propose men and women as real helpmeets to one another, and to engage much more fully with the idea of mutuality and consent.

## *Notes*

1. There is some debate in the scholarship about when the last issue of *Tercüman-ı Hakikat* appeared. I am here following Mehmet Tekin, *Tercüman-ı Hakikat*, in *İslam Asiklopedisi* vol. 40 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2011), 497–8.
2. Accounts of Ahmet Midhat Efendi's life can be found in numerous publications. Among the most detailed are the following: Mustafa Nihat Özön, *Türkçede Roman Hakkında bir Deneme* (Istanbul: Remzi Kitabevi, n.d.), and İhsan Sungu, 'Ahmet Mithat Efendi'nin Hayatı Üzerine', in Münir Süleyman Çapanoğlu (ed.), *İdeal Gazeteci Efendi Babamız Ahmet Mithat* (Istanbul: Gazeteci Cemiyeti Yayınları, 1964).
3. Nesime Ceyhan, 'Ahmet Midhat Efendi'nin Tercümeciliği', in Mustafa Armağan (ed.), *Ahmet Midhat Efendi Kitabı* (Istanbul: Beykoz Belediyesi Kültür Yayınları 5, 2007), 198–9.
4. Cemal Demircioğlu, 'From discourse to practice: Rethinking "translation" (*Terceme*) and related practices of text production in the late Ottoman literary tradition', PhD diss., Boğaziçi University, 2005.
5. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'İki Huda'kar', in *Letaif-i Rivayat*, eds Fazıl Gökçek and Sabahattin Çağın (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2001), 703.
6. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', in *Letaif-i Rivayat*, eds Fazıl Gökçek and Sabahattin Çağın (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2001), 338.
7. Fazıl Gökçek, 'Letaif-i Rivayat Hakkında', in *Letaif-i Rivayat*, eds Fazıl Gökçek and Sabahattin Çağın (Istanbul: Çağrı Yayınları, 2001), ix.
8. Gökçek, 'Letaif-i Rivayat Hakkında', xxii.
9. Indeed, Ahmet Midhat Efendi's 1885 *Bahtiyarlık*, published in number 11 of *Letaif-i Rivayat*, is generally said to be the first village novel in Turkish literature. A discussion of this can be found in Orhan Okay, 'Türk Romanında Köy Mevzuunun Girişinde Unutulan bir İsim: Ahmet Midhat Efendi', in *Birinci Milli Türkoloji Kongresi: İstanbul 6–9 Şubat 1978* (Istanbul: Kervan Yayınları, 1980), 169–76.
10. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 342–3.
11. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 344.
12. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 346.

13. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 338.
14. *The Mysteries of Udolpho* appeared in French translation in 1797 (issued multiple times, as well as followed by other French translations); in German in 1795; in Italian in 1816. Stage adaptations appeared in English (1803) and French (two in 1798 and two more in 1799), with Alexandre Duval's 1798 play produced a second time and printed in 1813. There was also an operatic version in English in 1808. Ahmet Midhat Efendi's own translation, *Uldolfhusari*, appeared in 1307 AH (1891/2 CE) from Kırk Ambar Matbaası. The most complete bibliography of works of Ann Radcliffe, as well as the editions and adaptations thereof, is Deborah D. Rogers, *Ann Radcliffe: A Bio-Bibliography* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1996).
15. *Şair Evlenmesi* was written as a single act play and first appeared in 1860 in the famous Tanzimat journal, *Tercüman-ı Ahval* (The interpreter of events). Subsequently it was printed in freestanding edition in Ottoman Turkish. It is a humorous work reminiscent of Molière's comedies, but in its own day it was also compared to popular folk tales or fables. Long viewed as the earliest instance of a Western-style stage play in Ottoman Turkish, it has been printed numerous times in modern Turkish editions. For a discussion of the play, its importance and Ottoman-era publication history, see Âlim Kahraman, 'Şinasi', in *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 39 (Istanbul: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2010), 166–9. There is also an English translation: İbrahim Şinâsi, *The Wedding of a Poet*, trans. Edward Allworth (Whitestone: Griffon House Publications, 1981).
16. For a discussion of *Felâatun Bey ile Râkim Efendi* and its self-help content see my [Shissler] 'The harem as the seat of middle-class industry and morality: The fiction of Ahmet Midhat Efendi', in Marilyn Booth (ed.), *Harem Histories: Envisioning Places and Living Spaces* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 319–41. For a wider discussion of economic thinking and self-help in nineteenth-century Ottoman society, including the work of Ahmet Midhat Efendi, see Deniz T. Kılınçoğlu, *Economics and Capitalism in the Ottoman Empire* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).
17. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 355.
18. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 343–4.
19. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 382.
20. Ann Radcliffe, *The Mysteries of Udolpho: a Romance*, ed. Jacqueline Howard (London: Penguin Books, 2001 [1799]). *Pamela* was the first novel of Samuel Richardson (1689–1761) – *Pamela; or Virtue Rewarded*, ed. Albert J. Rivero (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011 [1740]). It was an enormous sensation when it appeared, and was rapidly translated into French, as well as adapted for the stage, both theatre and opera. A detailed discussion of the novel's French life can be found in Franco Piva, *Pamela in Francia*, vol. 1 (Fasano, Italy: Schena Editore, 2011). For a discussion of the adaptation of *Pamela* for the Italian opera by Carlo Goldoni, see Stefano Castelveccchi, *Sentimental Opera: Questions of Genre in the Age of Bourgeois Drama*

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), especially chapter 1, 'Pamela goes to the Opera.'

21. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 356-7.
22. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 353.
23. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 379.
24. Ahmet Midhat Efendi's novel *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* (Just seventeen) was first published serially in *Tercüman-i Hakkikat*, and subsequently released in book form in 1882. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, *Henüz On Yedi Yaşında* (Istanbul: s.n., 1882).
25. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 350.
26. Ahmet Midhat Efendi, 'Cinli Han', 345.





## PART III. ‘CLASSICAL’ INTERVENTIONS, ‘EUROPEAN’ INFLECTIONS: TRANSLATION AS/AND ADAPTATION

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The recovery and re-purposing of local ancient pasts through translation, republication and adaptation including writing histories for new audiences and turning the past into instructive entertainment (as Jurji Zaydan’s historical novels did for Islamic history) focused much *fin-de-siècle* intellectual energy. Amongst these available pasts was the presence of Greeks in Egypt as well as north of the Mediterranean; how should contemporary Ottomans, including Egyptians, think about that adjacent heritage? In ‘Lords or idols? Translating the Greek gods into Arabic in nineteenth-century Egypt’, Raphael Cormack scrutinises a more recently rediscovered text of Offenbach’s *La Belle Hélène*, the first playscript to be published in Arabic in Egypt (on 31 December 1868/1 January 1869). He proposes that it was in part designed to be used as a translation-libretto for the audience of the 4 January 1869 French performance of *La Belle Hélène* in Cairo. If so, this alerts historians of theatre to a new linguistic dimension concerning foreign plays performed in Egypt then: perhaps these performances were not intended solely for audiences who spoke European languages. (Literate) speakers of Arabic could also understand the plays, through the furnished libretto. But what does the translation itself tell us? The chapter compares the celebrated translator-educator-writer al-Tahtawi’s translation of Fénelon’s novel *Télémaque* with that of *La Belle Hélène* with regards to the varying translation strategies for handling the Greek mythology present in both texts, as a way to gauge translators’ senses of audience, public sensibility and sensitivities, and in that context, best practice

Translating ‘European’ classics offered a channel for rethinking the Arabic literary heritage as part of a ‘universal’ system, as Yaseen Noorani argues in ‘Translating world literature into Arabic and Arabic into world literature: Sulayman al-Bustani’s *al-Ilyâdha* and Ruhi al-Khalidi’s Arabic

rendition of Victor Hugo'. Translation also afforded, and partly was, a discourse on the formation of a modern standard Arabic language, partly through elements seen as interchangeable with European equivalents. If intellectuals such as al-Bustani and al-Khalidi emphasised the Arabic language's distinctiveness, through translational work they strove to make Arabic the 'equal' of its European counterparts in communicative tasks and capacities partly through integrating the Arabic literary heritage into a world order of literature made up of universal literary genres and national literatures. Sulayman al-Bustani's translation of the *Iliad* into Arabic was a celebrated event when it came out in 1904. Noorani argues that the memory of this event inheres in al-Bustani's work to assimilate the Arabic literary heritage to world literature in his massive introduction, offering a literary history and generic framework tantamount to those of European literatures through transforming that history's categories, a paratextual act of translation. Al-Khalidi's presentation of Hugo via a comparative literary history, meanwhile, argued for the Arabic poetic tradition's foundational role in the formation of European lyrical traditions. Perhaps ironically, both translator-critics universalised Arabic literary history in the interests of creating a 'national' literary tradition in the framework of world literature.

My chapter studies two transformations of another kind of classic, the seventeenth-century French bishop and educator Fénelon's treatise *De l'éducation des filles* as it entered debates over girls' education and the significance of gender management to aspirations for a modern Egyptian state and society. Two translations, published in 1901 and 1909 respectively, read Fénelon's text differently, and the different readings together offer a historical microscope on translational plurality as a factor in how 'borrowed' works contributed to a fraught local debate. Translation practices and paratextual elements show divergent translations managing different agendas and interests. First, the work became an Arab/ic secular work of masculine-reformist *nahda* rhetoric; second, a primer for (some) Egyptian parents, modelling a modernist Islamic pedagogy as the key to an indigenous modernity that defined itself both against and through European political and social structures.

In the centuries following its completion in AD 1258, the *Gulistan*, a work of prose-poetic homilies and entertaining narratives authored by Shaykh Sa°di Shirazi, accrued renown as what Franklin Lewis terms the 'single most influential work of prose in the Persian tradition'. As Kamran Rastegar shows in our final chapter, beyond the Persian context the *Gulistan* found audiences in non-Persian speaking societies across the Islamicate world, one of a select group of Persian and Arabic texts that

*Part III: 'Classical' Interventions, 'European' Inflections*

achieved a degree of common currency, as canonical to diverse social and linguistic settings, from Cairo to Calcutta to Istanbul and beyond. Rastegar contrasts the proliferating translation history of the *Gulistan* into European languages – and traces the attitudes towards translation and ‘fidelity’ as well as toward the colonised other – with its untranslated circulation in the Islamic world, arguing that in the latter, early-modern context, we observe an operative principle of untranslatability, a category encompassing properly theological texts but also other texts of a comparably sacred nature, even if worldly in their orientation. With the later institutionalisation of Arabic literature we find the erosion of this category, replaced by a sense of untranslatability as inadequacy amidst the cultural demands of a modern nation.



## Lords or Idols? Translating the Greek Gods into Arabic in Nineteenth-century Egypt

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*Raphael Cormack*

In 2015, Dr Sayyid °Ali Isma°il published a new edition of the text of a long-lost Arabic translation of Offenbach’s (1818–80) opera *La Belle Hélène*. His subtitle described it as ‘the first play published in Arabic in Egypt, in 1868’. He added, in the book’s title, that it was ‘an unknown literary work by Shaykh Rifa°a al-Tahtawi’.<sup>1</sup> The history and circumstances of the original publication and the role al-Tahtawi (1801–73) played in its translation, which is probably more complicated than Isma°il allows, reveal much about the workings of literary translation in the mid-nineteenth century in Egypt. These issues can also help us answer some of the more difficult questions raised by the translation itself. It also brings us to the larger issue that this chapter addresses: the possibility of cultural translation from ancient Greek texts into Egypt in an era when European culture, and the relations of that to classical Greece, were already objects of interest to members of the Egyptian intelligentsia.

Most of the canonical works of ancient Greek literature were not translated into Arabic until the early twentieth century. Sulayman al-Bustani’s (1856–1925) translation of the *Iliad* was published in 1904 and Farah Antun’s (1874–1922) translation of Sophocles’ *Oedipus Tyrannus* was first performed in 1912. However, from the mid nineteenth century, the translation of European literature into Arabic in Egypt was fast accelerating. With this literature came Greek myth and Greek gods. One question, which has not received wide-reaching discussion or acknowledgement of its complexity, is that of how writers dealt with the difficulties of translating ancient Greek and Roman polytheism, which infuses much European literature, into Arabic. It was through works like *La Belle Hélène*, not ancient works themselves, that the gods were first confronted in Arabic literature, so this is a good place to begin to address this problem.

We should not, of course, imagine that Arabic translators, when translating these European texts, were facing up to an authentic or unmediated Greek religion, but rather to one that was filtered through (most often) French works. Nonetheless, the translation of this play can help highlight the difficulties that writers faced in trying to render this new and unusual thing – Greek polytheism – into Arabic literature. Whereas Greek works of philosophy had been translated before, literature had not. In the writing of philosophers like Aristotle, the gods can be rationalised away; in literature the gods were characters in the plot and agents of action and thus harder to avoid. Translators had to navigate between the status that gods were given in these texts and suspicions about polytheism and idolatry that Arabic had carried ever since the revelation of the Qur'an and the suppression of polytheism in the Arabian peninsula. The result is a complex, and sometimes confusing, patchwork of words and terms. The words that this translation and others use to talk about ancient Greek gods, both collectively and in the singular, are far from fixed; one finds an enormous range of different options and practices as translators tried to navigate between the original text and the contemporary Arabic-Egyptian context.

As well as the translation of *La Belle Hélène*, I go on to look al-Tahtawi's earlier translation of François Fénelon's (1651–1715) *Les Aventures de Télémaque*. In this late seventeenth-century French epic based on the life of Telemachus, son of Ulysses, and whose translation was certainly the work of al-Tahtawi alone, the question of how to write about the gods in Arabic was again an important one. Drawing on insights from a close reading of the translation of *La Belle Hélène*, this chapter highlights contradictions inherent in al-Tahtawi's translation. What productive conclusions can we draw from looking at the two translations together?

### ***The Text of La Belle Hélène***

It was during the academic year 2013–14, as Sayyid Ali Isma'îl was lecturing at Helwan University south of Cairo, that he mentioned al-Tahtawi's translation of Offenbach's *La Belle Hélène* to his class. Under the title *Hilāna al-jamīla*, he said that this was the first play published in Arabic in Egypt. In an earlier article on German theatre in Egypt, Isma'îl had noted that there was a record of this book in the catalogue of Egypt's national library but the text was unfortunately missing. This copy in the national library was the only one that Isma'îl knew about but he speculated that there could be others and said that whoever got their hands on a full version of this translation would have found a 'valuable treasure' (*al-kanz al-thamin*) of Egyptian literary history.<sup>2</sup>

## *Translating the Greek Gods into Arabic*

Before the end of that academic year, courtesy of one of his students – Amani Gamal Ibrahim – he had a copy of the elusive play. In 2015, he published a copy of it with an introduction on the history of the text. The version that he republished was derived from a copy that had belonged to Prince Ibrahim Hilmi Pasha (1860–1927). This suggests that it came from the central library of Cairo University, which houses a large part of Ibrahim Hilmi’s library.<sup>3</sup>

*La Belle Hélène* was originally performed in 1864 in Paris, with a libretto written by Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy and music by Offenbach. It is a comic opera loosely based around the events of the ancient Greek story of Paris’ abduction of Helen that led to the start of the Trojan War. Paris arrives in Sparta, guided by Venus to claim the most beautiful woman in the world, who is his prize after choosing Venus in the famous contest between her, Juno and Minerva. Paris tries a number of schemes to separate Helen from her husband Menelaus, none of which prove entirely successful. The central one revolves around Paris appearing in Helen’s bedroom late at night and trying to convince her that she is having a dream. However, Menelaus bursts in before Paris’s scheme can be brought to fruition. In the final act, when the Greek kings are all on holiday, a priest of Venus comes to take Helen to the goddess’s temple to make up for her near act of infidelity in the night with Paris. Reluctantly, Helen accompanies the priest. In a twist at the end, it is revealed that this is not, in fact, a priest of Venus but none other than Paris abducting Helen to Troy.

*Hélène* is an example of the Opera Bouffe genre, a kind of comic opera which took its name from the Théâtre Bouffes-Parisiens. The performance featured jokes of varying degrees of quality and several comic anachronisms such as umbrellas, modern systems of time and locomotives. Its first performances in Paris were very popular with audiences but were criticised by many high-minded critics on the grounds that they were ‘licentious’ and ‘a desecration of antiquity’, or for their camp aesthetics.<sup>4</sup> Despite all this, there was no denying that it was a hit and it soon became the favourite Opera Bouffe of the Khedive Isma‘il (1830–95).<sup>5</sup>

Less than five years after it was first performed in Paris, this Arabic translation was published in Egypt to accompany a French performance of the opera in Cairo. Proposed dates for the details of publication and performance differ, though only slightly. Its date of publication was certainly 17 Ramadan 1285, which means it was either published the night of 31 December 1868 or the day of 1 January 1869. Isma‘il, in his title, opts for 1868. Philip Sadgrove, who also identified this as the ‘first Arabic dramatic work published in Egypt’, also devoted some discussion to it

and gave the date as 1869.<sup>6</sup> They also disagree on the date that the play was performed (in French) first. Isma'îl speculates it was 17 January.<sup>7</sup> Sadgrove, on the other hand, using Georges Douin's *Histoire du Règne du Khédive Ismail*, isolates the performance date to 4 January.<sup>8</sup>

The precise dates are not central to my argument but the timing of publication versus performance is germane. Crucially, the text was published shortly before the performance – only three days earlier, if we follow Sadgrove. This gives us a clue to what this text was and how it was used. An Arabic translation of the play needed to be produced *before* the French performance; it must have been, in part, produced to help people whose French was not sufficiently fluent to navigate the action. The practice of using libretti like this one in nineteenth-century Egypt to help understand theatrical performances has been well-documented. There were even some members of the audience who hired people to stand beside them simultaneously translating for them during the performance, but there is no suggestion that this was seen as the ideal way to engage with the opera and it must have been a frustrating experience for all involved, including nearby audience members.<sup>9</sup>

Whether one was supposed to get the libretto in Arabic before the opera and read it in preparation or use it during the performance to follow the action is unclear. The date of publication, at least a few days before the performance, allows for both possibilities. Sayyid 'Ali Isma'îl argues that it was for use during the opera. In his introduction to the reprinted text, he discusses a document in the Egyptian archives which records the Khedive Isma'îl's funding of the printing of 1,500 copies of an unnamed play in Arabic and Turkish. He infers that this unnamed play is *La Belle Hélène* and that it was circulated to the audience at the performance.<sup>10</sup>

There are also secondary sources that suggest that there was a rush to translate this particular libretto in time for the January production in French. One account, cited by Sadgrove, tells of how

practically all government work was suspended, owing to the fact that Ismail had engaged the service of almost every clerk who could speak French, in order that he might achieve some sort of translation into Arabic of 'Œil Grevé', the 'Belle Hélène', the 'Mariée de Mardi Gras', and other works of Offenbach which he desired his court and *Harîm* to appreciate.<sup>11</sup>

In short, in January 1869, *La Belle Hélène* was performed in French at the opening of the Théâtre de la Comédie (sometimes known as the Théâtre Français). All preparations were in place by 1 January, including the important libretto, which Sayyid 'Ali Isma'îl's edition makes available. It is likely that the attempts to publish the play in time for the



performance were extremely rushed. This must have affected the text itself. With little time to do the translation, let alone revise or correct it, there was room for error and inconsistency.

### ***The Arabic Translation of La Belle Hélène***

On al-Tahtawi's specific role in the translation Isma'îl and Sadgrove differ again. Sadgrove argues that it was published 'under the supervision of al-Tahtawi', presumably with a team of the French speaking-clerks mentioned by Weigall.<sup>12</sup> Isma'îl disputes this and argues that al-Tahtawi was not merely a supervisor but was, himself, the translator ('*huwa nafsuahu al-mutarjim*').<sup>13</sup>

Both of them use the same article from the official newspaper, *Wadi al-Nil*, on 6 January 1871, which discusses the translation. It says of that play that '*i'tana bi-ta'ribiha bi-amr al-hadra al-khidiwiyya . . . al-adib al-shahir wa-l-ustadh al-kabir hadrat Rifā'a Bak afandi*'. Sadgrove translates this as 'by order of the Khedive, the famous man of letters and the great teacher, Rifā'a Bey Effendi [al-Tahtawi], took charge of the translation'.<sup>14</sup> He interprets this to mean that al-Tahtawi was perhaps in charge of a larger team of translators but was not the translator, strictly speaking. He is using the meaning of *i'tana bi-* which translates as 'take care of', 'look after' or 'devote one's attention to' but not extending it to mean that it was solely his doing. Isma'îl, on the other hand uses this same article to argue that it was al-Tahtawi who translated the whole thing himself, presumably relying on a stronger meaning of *i'tana*. One problem that Isma'îl needs to confront in his desire to attribute this translation to al-Tahtawi, probably the biggest and most well-known figure in nineteenth-century Egyptian translation, is that the text itself does not mention his name anywhere. He offers two possible explanations for this.<sup>15</sup>

The first is one on which he is reluctant to put too much store but he presents for the reader to consider. There is a possibility, he says, that there was a title page bearing al-Tahtawi's name that has been lost since it was printed. However, Isma'îl does not think this to be likely. If, as he thinks the document he found in the archives suggests, there were 1,500 copies of this text with al-Tahtawi's name attached, then this translation would have been more well known and readily attributed to al-Tahtawi earlier. I can also confirm, having seen the copy of this text that is in the American University of Beirut's library, that this version has no extra front page.

The second reason that Isma'îl proposes for the non-appearance of al-Tahtawi's name is that al-Tahtawi must have requested that his name not be printed on the text or be tied to it. Isma'îl speculates that he did

not want to be associated with the frivolities or even immoralities of the theatre, such as dancing women.

Other than these two options there is, of course, the possibility that al-Tahtawi was not the sole translator and that he might have, as Sadgrove would have it, headed a team of translators who worked on the text together. In this eventuality, his name would presumably not appear on the text as the translator because he was only one in a team. There is much within the text itself to support this theory of how the translation was put together; apparent inconsistencies throughout point to the work of more than one hand.

We have already seen circumstantial evidence to suggest that this was rushed out for the 4 January performance but there are several textual clues too. One case of this is translation of the singing parts of the libretto. The first choral ode, for instance, is not translated but simply rendered as ‘the singers sing’, without giving us any idea what they sing.<sup>16</sup> Other scenes deal with the songs differently. Sometimes the first two or three lines of a song are translated and then a summary of the content is given.<sup>17</sup> Other times, if a song is particularly short, it is fully translated for the reader.<sup>18</sup> Longer sections of poetry, which would have taken longer to translate, are also summarised rather than translated.<sup>19</sup> This kind of abridgement is not an unprecedented practice in translations of the period. However, its unpredictable and varying natures and the fact that summarising only characterises the rendering of songs and poems might suggest that the translator(s) needed to cut corners to get the translation out on time and that these were the parts that could easily be left aside. This strategy might be connected to the translation’s intended function: as this libretto was likely used to accompany the performance, the singing parts are the most dispensable in a translation. Whilst people would want to follow the action of the dramatic sections closely, it was sufficient during the arias and choral parts just to know the basic flavour of what was being said.

Other aspects of the translation also suggest a hurried process. Generally speaking, the text is written in *fusha* or formal Arabic. However, at times the language strays into colloquialism. For instance, as two characters are discussing the priest Calchas, the first, Parthénis, says that ‘he is a good man’ (*innahu tayyib[un]*) and Léæna adds, in particularly colloquial style, ‘*tayyib[un] ʿawi*’ (very good).<sup>20</sup> And as well as peppering the script with colloquialisms, the *fusha* is often far from grammatically perfect. In the first note telling the reader that there is a song the Arabic reads ‘*thumma yughannūn al-mughanniyyūn* [sic]’ which has almost as many grammatical errors as words.<sup>21</sup> These errors and colloquialisms are consistent with everything we already know about the production of the libretto.

## *Translating the Greek Gods into Arabic*

The translation of certain French terms into Arabic suggests not only a hurried production but the presence of multiple translators. One example of this, noted by Sayyid °Ali Isma°il, is the words used in Arabic for dramatic terminology. Whereas the word for ‘act’ (*acte* in French) in Arabic is consistently translated as *al-la°ba*, the word for ‘scene’ (*scène* in French) is less fixed. Isma°il notes that sometimes he used *al-mal°ab* and sometimes *al-mal°ub*, roughly translatable as ‘place of playing’ and ‘what is played’.<sup>22</sup> If we look closer at the way these terms are used we can see even more inconsistency, as there are three distinct ways of signifying a scene in the text: sometimes the word *sura* (picture/image) is added before the word for scene. To mark scene two, for example, we could write: *al-mal°ab al-thani*, *al-mal°ub al-thani* or *surat al-mal°ab al-thani*.

One could argue that these inconsistencies, along with the mistakes and colloquialisms in the Arabic, point to an extremely rushed job by one man (al-Tahtawi). However, a more appealing – and more logical – explanation is that this text was the work of several different people. This also explains the manner in which these inconsistencies appear. The different translation options for ‘scene’, for instance, are not just used randomly. From Act 1 Scene 1 to Act 1 Scene 7 the translator uses *surat al-mal°ab al- . . .* to mark the beginning of a new scene.<sup>23</sup> For the rest of Act 1 and almost the entirety of Act 2 the simple *al-mal°ab al- . . .* is used.<sup>24</sup> There is one exception where in Act 2 Scene 10 *al-mal°ub al-°ashir* is used, but otherwise the pattern is uniform. Then, in the final act, scenes are always referred to as *al-mal°ub al- . . .*<sup>25</sup> If we ignore the one exception from above, the translation seems not to suggest one hurried translator but three different styles of translations done by (at least) three different people. If a translator has come up with one way to translate a word, particularly a term that has a fairly fixed meaning and context of usage, it seems strange that the same translator would switch to another translation suddenly within the same piece of work.

## ***Translating the Greek Gods in La Belle Hélène***

One aspect of the opera that confronted any Arabic translator was what to do with the pagan, polytheistic gods. Here, too, in places where there is not a clearly defined precedent to fall back on, we see numerous inconsistencies. Choosing appropriate Arabic words was an issue both when it came to translating the names of individual gods and ‘the gods’ (*les dieux*) as a collective. For a language that, since the Qur°an, had been used in a largely monotheistic context, there were few established ways of dealing with this question. *La Belle Hélène* was not the first translation to

be confronted with this difficulty. The epic *Les Aventures de Télémaque* by François Fénelon, which is based on ancient Greek myth and features the gods at several points, had been translated into Arabic a number of times. The first two translations were done in 1812 and 1815 in Istanbul and Damietta respectively and survive in manuscript form.<sup>26</sup> In the 1850s al-Tahtawi worked on his own version of the epic, which was published in the 1860s and will be discussed below. However, the Arabic translation of the operetta, in part *because* of the hurriedness of its production and its inconsistencies, exposes much more clearly the different options open to a translator and the issues at play. Looking at *La Belle Hélène* first will allow us to propose a model for addressing other nineteenth-century translations of Greek mythology.

Before the nineteenth century, the only previous works that translators would have had to consult were manuscripts of Arabic translations of Greek philosophy. Al-Tahtawi, in his other discussions of translating the Greek gods, does not put himself in the tradition of those translators and it does not seem productive to construct him as a direct successor to these people working many centuries before him. In translating literary texts, he was doing something very different. Theoretical and philosophical works are much easier to fit into a monotheistic mould than works of literature that feature the machinations of the gods so centrally as this.

There is, certainly, a possibility that the translators were unconsciously picking up on parts of the language developed by these earlier translators. However, looking at specific philosophical works shows that there was little, if any, direct influence. Overwhelmingly, the most common words used for a god in translations of Greek philosophy done in the classical period are either *Allah* or the simple Arabic word for a god: *ilah*/pl. *aliha*.<sup>27</sup> Nineteenth-century translations of Greek literature never use this word that is so common in the earlier translated philosophical texts, and seldom use compounds of it such as *ilahi* (divine). We do not have an explanation for any of the choices the translators made, but we could speculate that they were wary of religious implications of discussing the Greek gods so plainly in the context of this play. There are several references to *les dieux* in the French which are never rendered in the most obvious way and it seems reasonable to suppose that the translators were consciously avoiding doing so.

Instead of the general, though obviously not total, uniformity of the medieval texts, these nineteenth-century texts use several different translations in a highly inconsistent manner. Sometimes, as we shall see, words with precedence in philosophical texts are used, such as *ruhani* (spiritual

beings),<sup>28</sup> and sometimes the translator(s) seems to be making a decision on the spot, taking a word from anywhere available.

The first mention of the gods in the Arabic text of *La Belle Hélène* comes in the second scene at the end of a speech by the priest Calchas that laments the state of sacrifices these days and suggests they do not please the gods. He ends by saying twice '*Les dieux s'en vont*' (the gods are gone).<sup>29</sup> In Arabic, this is rendered as '*rahat al-asnam bilash, rahat al-asnam bilash, harabat min huna*' (the gods/idols have come to nothing, they have fled from here).<sup>30</sup>

The first time that *les dieux* is translated, we can see that it is rendered as *al-asnam*. This is a word, meaning idols, that is closely associated with polytheistic religious rituals which are seen as antithetical to Islamic monotheism. In the Qur'an (4:35), Abraham asks God to keep him and his sons away from the worship of idols (*al-asnam*). Since the word does appear first within the context of a pagan sacrifice, this is a translation that makes sense, but it also sets an important tone for how the reader should see the gods. Making no attempt to disguise the paganism of the world we are in, using the word *asnam* puts the audience into a world of polytheism from the beginning, albeit one that is hostile to polytheistic beliefs and implicitly denies the divinity of these so-called 'gods'.

Yet, as the translation continues, the construction of the world and the audience's reaction becomes less easy to categorise. The next use of the word for gods comes on the next page when Jupiter (*al-mushtari*) is described as *le père des dieux et des hommes* in French. The Arabic rendering of this is *abu al-arbab wa-kabir al-asnam*. Again, the word for 'idols' is used but the picture is being complicated as a new word for gods, *al-arbab* or 'lords/masters' is introduced. This is a translation that makes it harder to say that the gods are just being 'paganised' in the translation. In the singular, the word *rabb* is frequently used to refer to the monotheistic God. In fact, Lane's dictionary says that 'with the article ٱ it is [properly] applied *only* to God' and he gives the example also of the phrase *rabb al-arbab* (lord of lords) as a designation for God.<sup>31</sup> In the Qur'anic verse cited above (4:35) in which Abraham calls on God to save him and his son from idol worship he refers to God as *rabb*. So now, with the introduction of this different word into this translation, pagan vocabulary is starting to become mixed with monotheistic terminology.<sup>32</sup>

Although the translator(s) seems reluctant to use the words *ilah* or *aliha*, this habit of using the word *rabb* continues throughout the translation. In the French text when the gods are mentioned they are only given their proper names, with no further descriptions. In the Arabic text, presumably aimed at an audience who would not know what the different

gods represented, extra details about the deities are added. For instance, Venus (*al-zuhra*) is described as *rabbat al-jamal* ('the mistress of beauty') and Bacchus (*bākhūṣ*) is *rabb al-mudam* ('lord of wine'). Within a few pages of the original use of *al-asnam* the translator(s) seems to be favouring the term *rabb* and its feminine equivalent. When Helen describes the contest on Mount Ida between the three goddesses she calls them '*ces trois déesses*', which is translated as *al-rabbat al-thalatha*.<sup>33</sup>

It is extremely difficult to attempt to arrive at any rules that the uses of divine vocabulary might be adhering to. Although, as we have noted, the translation does not use the word *ilah/alaha*, there are, nevertheless, times when the text adds the adjective *ilahi* (divine) as part of a translation for *dieux*. For instance, when Calchas says that '*les dieux ne l'ont pas voulu*' (The gods did not want [Calchas to become a man of pleasure not a priest])<sup>34</sup>, then it is translated as *iqṭadat al-irada al-ilahiyya khalaf dhalik* ('Divine will decreed against this').<sup>35</sup> Sometimes the translation even adds references to gods which are not present in the original. When describing the forest in which the three goddesses have their competition for Paris, the Arabic says, '*fha ʿajaʿib al-uluhiyya*' ('in it are the wonders of divine power'), although there appears not to be a phrase in the French that this directly translates.<sup>36</sup>

All of these different approaches to the gods appear within the first seven scenes of the play. As we move to different sections of the script, the approach to the gods changes hugely, adding more evidence to the proposition that the text was the work of more than one translator. After the eighth scene of Act One, the text begins to signal scene changes differently, using the two words *al-malʿab al-* . . . rather than the longer *surat al-malʿab al-* . . . It is at this point that the words used to translate gods also change. In this section the term *rūḥanī* now becomes a common word to use for the gods either in the form *al-ruhaniyyat al-ʿulwiyya* (the spiritual being on high) or *al-ruhaniyyun* (the spiritual beings).<sup>37</sup> The word *al-ruhaniyyun* recurs again shortly after as a translation for the French *les dieux immortels*.<sup>38</sup> This approach to translating the gods – maintaining their spiritual nature but not quite calling them divine or giving them divine power – occurs only in the second half of the first act (although the word *al-arwah* (spirits) is used later on).<sup>39</sup> It is, therefore, tempting to conclude that this was the choice of one particular translator who worked only on this section, and this is the reason that this particular translation of the gods is not repeated later on in the text.

In the second act, we have another example of an innovative solution to this translational problem which only appears a few times and then is no longer used. In Act 2 Scene 5, as the other characters are playing a

game, Calchas says ‘*il est bon d’invoquer les dieux*’. *Invoquer les dieux* is translated into Arabic as *atadarra<sup>c</sup> bi-l-du<sup>a</sup>’ fihī ila dhawī al-asrar*.<sup>40</sup> The Arabic keeps that language of prayer (*du<sup>a</sup>*) that is implied in the original but the gods are translated using the attribution ‘the possessors of secrets’ (*dhawī al-asrar*). Like *ruhāniyyun/lat* this description allows them some supernatural power but stops short of calling them gods. As before, this word is repeated again soon after (93) but is not used again in the libretto.<sup>41</sup>

These varying approaches to translating the gods and the close correspondence between the changing words used for the gods and the changing ways of referring to a scene suggests that this libretto was the work of more than one translator, each approaching different sections in subtly but identifiably different ways. The grammatical errors and colloquialisms also point to a hurried production, potentially under the supervision of al-Tahtawi, which had to deal with the thorny question of translating polytheistic deities in very quick time.

When we look at the newly rediscovered text of *La Belle Hélène* we can see the many different ways the translator(s) dealt with the translational difficulties of the gods. It was necessary to choose between three possibilities: maintaining the pagan and polytheistic character of the gods, incorporating them into an Islamic language and worldview, or remaining somewhere in between by preserving their supernatural nature but not saying directly that they were ‘gods’. This play seems to do all three at different times. The product is a sometimes-confusing amalgamation of polytheistic and monotheistic, Greek and Abrahamic. The complex translational process might be one of the reasons for this inconsistency. However, we cannot expect the audience to see this libretto as the work of many translators. They receive it as one text and, if it was the result of a team, the nature of its production is not signalled anywhere on the text. Looking at this text and its relationship to the Greek gods as a complex, compound *whole* can shed light on the broader reception of Greek gods in nineteenth-century Egypt. By looking at a different translation, one that we can be sure was done by al-Tahtawi alone, his version of *Télémaque*, we can build on our insights in relation to *La Belle Hélène*, developing them in a broader context.

### ***Al-Tahtawi’s Les Aventures de Télémaque in Arabic***

Before working – in whatever capacity he did – on the translation of *La Belle Hélène* al-Tahtawi had already done a translation of a text that was steeped in ancient Greek religion: François Fénelon’s *Les Aventures*

*de Télémaque*. It was first published in full in Beirut in 1867, though was serialised earlier in the 1860s and was written even earlier, when al-Tahtawi was in Sudan 1850–4.<sup>42</sup> Fénelon's work is a moralistic epic which follows Telemachus, son of Ulysses (Odysseus), around the ancient Greek world in search of his father. Due to the nature of the plot and the presence of gods and divinities, al-Tahtawi was forced to think seriously here too about how to render the polytheism in his translation. As a text that is widely available and can be definitely attributed to al-Tahtawi, one of the most important figures of nineteenth-century translation, this work has been studied much more widely than *La Belle Hélène*. The question of how al-Tahtawi deals with the gods has elicited many answers, some of which seem contradictory. However, by looking at this text alongside the libretto of *La Belle Hélène*, we can work through, if not fully resolve, these contradictions.

An early work to examine closely al-Tahtawi's choices when translating the gods is by Shehu Ahmed Galadanci.<sup>43</sup> In order to look at how he deals with these polytheistic deities, Galadanci turns to al-Tahtawi's statement in his introduction that, in his translation, he was obliged to 'follow the syntactical rules of the Arabic language and its accepted beliefs [*'aqa'id*]'.<sup>44</sup> For Galadanci, this obligation to follow 'accepted beliefs', meant that al-Tahtawi was forced to alter references in the original to pagan gods and make them fit a monotheistic conception of the world:

As the original text of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* is full of Greek mythology neither acceptable [to] nor understood by al-Taḥṭāwī's readers he thought it necessary to change all the Olympian gods and other supernatural beings mentioned in the book . . . So, he substituted God as understood by his readers for the [Greek] celestial beings.<sup>45</sup>

This urge to change the polytheistic references and fit them into a monotheistic worldview is also something we saw in parts of the translation of *La Belle Hélène*, where the action of 'the gods' is turned into a more general and palatable 'divine will', for instance. In order to demonstrate how this works in the case of *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, Galadanci analyses one specific passage, pointing out all the ways that the translation had been Islamised. To demonstrate, let us look at the first paragraph out of the three that he uses:

Jupiter, au milieu de toutes les divinités célestes, regardait du haut de l'Olympe ce carnage des alliés. En même temps il consultait les immuables destinées et voyait tous les chefs dont la trame devait ce jour-là être tranchée par le ciseau de la Parque. Chacun des dieux était attentif pour découvrir sur le visage de



## *Translating the Greek Gods into Arabic*

Jupiter quelle serait sa volonté. Mais le père des dieux et des hommes leur dit d'une voix douce et majestueuse: . . .<sup>46</sup>

This is a passage about Jupiter looking over the field of battle and consulting the fates about the outcome. It refers to other gods in the polytheistic pantheon several times or shows them trying to decipher what Jupiter is going to accomplish. The French text is not compatible with a monotheistic worldview as it stands. Therefore, as Galadanci points out, in al-Tahtawi's translation 'the polytheistic idea in the original text has been removed'.<sup>47</sup>

In the Arabic, the references to the other gods have been totally removed. Even the description of Jupiter as '*le père des dieux et des hommes*', which was translated in *La Belle Hélène* as *abu l-arbab wakabir al-asnam* is not rendered at all in Arabic here. Instead, al-Tahtawi begins the section by equating Jupiter with the one monotheistic god. He calls him 'the lord of lords [*mawla al-mawali*]' who 'manifests himself clearly to his worshipers [*yatajalla 'ala 'ibadihi*]'. Putting this section clearly in a monotheistic universe, he goes on to say 'there is no god but him [*la ilaha siwah*]'. Al-Tahtawi maintains the sense of this passage, which is about predestination in a battle and destiny, but he does not talk about the embodied 'fates' of Greek myth. Rather, he speaks more broadly about the idea of fate in the world, saying that 'every creature is under the pendulum [*urjuha*] of fate and surrounded by [*buhbuha*] destiny'. Although he maintains the same basic message of this paragraph, it is notable that he removes it from its polytheistic context and puts it firmly in a monotheistic world, with Jupiter being translated into the one God.<sup>48</sup>

Using this example and others, Galadanci argues that the whole translation is an attempt to Islamicise the text's polytheism. However, other passages in the text seem best suited to the opposite interpretation. Elsewhere in the text, al-Tahtawi does not efface the language of polytheism but translates the Greek gods into Arabic. For instance, at the beginning of Book 9, we see Venus angered that Telemachus was not seduced by Calypso (whom Venus had been helping). Affronted by this slight to her power to influence the hearts of mortals she goes up to Olympus to talk with the other gods. The French reads:

Elle monte vers l'éclatant Olympe, où les dieux étaient assemblés auprès du trône de Jupiter. De ce lieu, ils aperçoivent les astres qui roulent sous leurs pieds; ils voient le globe de la terre comme un petit amas de boue; les mers immenses ne leur paraissent que comme des gouttes d'eau dont ce morceau de boue est un peu détrempe: les plus grands royaumes ne sont à leurs yeux qu'un peu de sable, qui couvre la surface de cette boue; les peuples innombrables et les plus puissantes armées ne sont que comme des fourmis qui se disputent les

uns aux autres un brin d’herbe sur ce morceau de boue. Les immortels rient des affaires les plus sérieuses qui agitent les faibles mortels, et elles leur paraissent des jeux d’enfants. Ce que les hommes appellent grandeur, gloire, puissance, profonde politique, ne paraît à ces suprêmes divinités que misère et faiblesse.<sup>49</sup>

This paragraph explicitly talks about the gods, their plans for humans and their disdain for human ability. It does not fit easily into an Abrahamic, monotheistic conception of the world, but this time al-Tahtawi does not try to translate it into a more modern idiom. He leaves it, more or less, as it is in the French. Jupiter is translated as *al-mushtari* (as the planet is) not as the one God as before and is referred to as ‘*sahib al-tali<sup>c</sup> al-kabir*’ (ruler of the great planet). The other gods are kept in the narrative and given various different names. The first time ‘*les dieux*’ are mentioned they are translated as ‘*arbab wa-rabbat al-tadbir*’ (the masters and mistresses of management). This has similarities with the terms *al-arbab* and *al-rabbat* that were used in *La Belle Hélène*.

Al-Tahtawi then goes on to use other words that are similar – though not identical – to words we have already seen used in the libretto discussed in the previous section. ‘*Les immortels*’ in Arabic is translated as ‘*al-mudabbirun al-ruhaniyyun wa-l-jawahir al-<sup>c</sup>ulwiyyun*’ (which could be translated into English as ‘the spiritual planners and lofty essences’).<sup>50</sup> The similarities in usage between this translation and that of *La Belle Hélène* support the view that he was involved in translating the play. However, there are also enough differences, such as his frequent use of the word *mudabbirun*, which does not feature in the later translation, to argue that he was not the sole translator of *La Belle Hélène*.

Al-Tahtawi does not go as far as to directly translate *les dieux* as ‘gods’ (*ilah* or *aliha*). Still, he does make sure to show that the gods are distinct from humans and have powers that humans do not have. As the French says, the gods ‘*rient des affaires les plus sérieuses qui agitent les faibles mortels*’ (laugh at the most serious affairs with which weak mortals are agitated). Al-Tahtawi maintains this phrase, which distinguishes clearly between divinities and mortals, saying that the divine beings (*al-mudabbirun al-ruhaniyyun wa-l-jawahir al-<sup>c</sup>ulwiyyun*) ‘*yaskharun min al-umur al-jadd illati yaftan bani adam al-du<sup>c</sup>af*’ (mock the serious matters that enthrall weak humans).<sup>51</sup>

The text also seems to offer the opportunity to read al-Tahtawi’s translation of the gods in the opposite way to Galadanci’s. A recent article by Shaden Tageldin gives us a reading of the translation as retaining the polytheism of the original, rather than introducing an Islamic interpretation, as Galadanci proposes. In order to show how al-Tahtawi used polytheism in

his translation, Tageldin first turns to his introduction.<sup>52</sup> In it, al-Tahtawi deals specifically with the question of polytheism in the text, splitting it into allegorical (or 'hidden', as Tageldin translates it: *al-bawatin*) and literal (*al-zawahir*) meanings.<sup>53</sup>

Al-Tahtawi had an explanation for the literal manifestations of Greek polytheism, that is, idol worship; in his view, this came from the Greek's lack of intellectual development. Monotheism, for him, was a later step along the journey of human civilisation. He traced a path from a worship of the stars and planets in ancient Greece to a more comprehensive, systematised religion. This can be seen in his translation of the gods using the same name as the planets (such as *al-mushtari* for Jupiter and *al-zuhra* for Venus). However, al-Tahtawi saw nothing unusual or unique in the Greek gods. He argued that it was characteristic of all early societies, noting that when the Europeans discovered America they also found paganism in this so-called 'primitive' society. Using arguments that later scholars like Muhammad °Abduh would take up, he reasoned that since there was no serious risk of 'primitive' pagan religion taking hold again in Egypt 'it is not necessary for anyone to try to get rid of it, nor to correct it, nor to extinguish its weak light, it has no substance, nor does its mention engender worry or grief'.<sup>54</sup>

But it is in his analysis of the 'hidden' meanings (*al-bawatin*) that Tageldin finds a way to interpret his translation of the Greek gods. The 'hidden' meanings, for al-Tahtawi, are the broader ideas that lie behind the stories and conceptions of the Greek gods, rather than the simple acts of religious worship. So, al-Tahtawi can use the bases of Greek myths to make comparisons between Greek stories and the Islamic tradition. For instance, the children who are the product of one divine and one mortal parent, such as the semi-divine Hercules, can be compared to those, in the Islamic tradition, of children born of jinn or angels like °Amr ibn al-Yarbu°, Jurhum, Bilqis and Alexander the Great. He also compares stories of gods descending to earth in the Greek tradition to the Qur°anic story of Harut and Marut doing the same. As Tageldin explains, these comparisons are very important because they offer possibilities for interpreting the *true* underpinnings of the falsities of polytheism.<sup>55</sup> The Greeks did not understand what they were doing in the correct terms but they were reaching for similar things that Islamic texts had shown to be true:

He reconstructs the world of Fénelon's *Télémaque* as a believable narrative world that *at once solicits and does not solicit belief*. This world is believable because the gods, goddesses, and demigods of Greek myth and Fénelon's neoclassical prose are 'like' jinn and angels: beings in which any orthodox Muslim must believe, for (though not always seen, not always subject to human

verifiability) they are part of God's design and verified by the word of God, hence *real*.<sup>56</sup>

So, al-Tahtawi can criticise the manifestations of Greek religion and say that they should not be calling their heavenly beings *rabb* or *ilah*, confusing them with God.<sup>57</sup> But, he still uses the word *rabb* himself and maintains much of the polytheistic imagery in his Arabic translation. He allows himself to do this by giving these polytheistic surfaces a depth that is grounded in Islamic orthodoxy and thus diffusing their paganism. His reader, he hopes, will see the Islamic truth behind the ancient tales.

We should be careful, however, not to assume that the text fits totally neatly into this pattern; several parts do something slightly different, and even jar slightly with Tageldin's interpretation as they did with Galadanci's. Some of al-Tahtawi's explanations of the depths or hidden aspects (*al-bawatin*) of the stories are not justified in Islamising ways. For instance, al-Tahtawi gives the example of a myth in which Saturn (or *Kronos*, the Greek for time) tries to eat his children. He presents this story as an allegorical way of saying that time destroys everything. Thus its paganism is explained away, not by giving it an Islamic back story but by seeing this myth as a parable of time. Likewise, there are times when he simply lets the polytheistic surfaces stand as example of old, false beliefs with no connection to anything deeper. For example, when the text talks about the practice of swearing an oath on running water he describes it simply as 'one of the beliefs of that ignorant age'. When he talks about the moon and its religious significance he notes that 'it resembles . . . the goddess [*rabba*] of chastity for the Arabs' and that 'the Greeks say it is the lord of woodlands and call it Diana'.<sup>58</sup>

Any attempts to find one model of translating the Greek gods, even in this text, soon fall apart. In fact, I can identify three distinct responses to the problem of translating Greek polytheism in an Islamic context in this work alone. The first approach is simply to subsume everything into a monotheistic universe by not translating the polytheism in the original. This is shown in the example that Galadanci analyses. Another option, on which Tageldin focuses, is to present polytheism but explain how it is a misinterpretation of certain Islamic tenets and that a correct interpretation can be found hidden inside it. The third response, which is briefly mentioned in Tageldin's article but not focused on, is simply to say that polytheism is a primitive belief system that we have moved beyond. We can present it to an audience and this should not be considered a problem at all nor a risk of diverting people from monotheism. In this translation,

al-Tahtawi seems to take all three approaches across the course of the book.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the translation of Greek gods was still a relatively new endeavour, so it should not necessarily surprise us that al-Tahtawi might have experimented with different ways to approach the subject. We can see in the libretto to *La Belle Hélène* too that a single approach had not been agreed on. In fact, the inconsistency of the translation of *Les Aventures de Télémaque* could even give some support to the idea that the libretto of *La Belle Hélène* was the work of one man. For the reasons given above, I would not come to that conclusion. However, what both translations give us, in the end, is a complex – even contradictory – template, through which to look at the gods.

### ***Islamising Paganism or Paganising Islam?***

The two texts which this chapter addresses were published in the same decade and were both translations of French works that have Greek polytheistic myth at their centres. This chapter has argued that they were produced under very different circumstances and for different purposes. The translation of *La Belle Hélène* appears to have been produced quickly for a specific performance and by a team of translators. It ought, therefore, to be more concerned with helping the audience understand the action than being a literary text in its own right. Al-Tahtawi's translation of *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, on the other hand, was the four-year-long labour of one man, produced to be read alone, not alongside the original.

However, they are united in aspects of their approach to the translation of the ancient Greek gods. We can see, in both, the several different possibilities available to the translator(s) and the several strategies attempted, in the search for ways either to describe the gods in Arabic or to incorporate them into a monotheistic idiom. These texts therefore offer a way to look at traces of the decision-making that was in progress as Arabic literature started to come across the Greek gods more frequently.

Lawrence Venuti has famously argued that there is a basic choice to be made in translation, between 'domestication' and 'foreignisation'. Domestication is 'an inscription [of the source text] with cultural and political values that currently prevail in the domestic situation'. It is an attempt to diffuse the foreign and uncomfortable elements of a text in the course of a translation, rendering the whole act of translation invisible. On the other hand, 'foreignising translation signifies the difference of the foreign text, yet only by disrupting the cultural codes that prevail

in the target language'. These two techniques are mutually exclusive for Venuti. One cannot both domesticate and foreignise at the same time. However, these two translations, when it comes to the pagan gods, appear to challenge this view, or at least to offer an exception. These texts do both foreignise and domesticate at different times within one text, which creates a strange experience when considering each work as a whole.<sup>59</sup>

In the context of religion, these contradictory approaches have a strange but powerful effect. The translations seem to be juggling competing desires to maintain a distance from polytheism on one hand and to incorporate it into an Islamic universe on the other hand. This mix means that the borders between a polytheistic universe and a monotheistic one become blurred. If there was any attempt to cleanse these myths of their pagan religion, it was an incomplete one, for these translations maintain some of the polytheism of the original. Yet, this polytheism is an Islamicised one that makes for a confusing world.

Concluding her article on al-Tahtawi, Tageldin asks, 'If al-Ṭaḥṭāwī's jinn triumph – in name – over Fénelon's gods, does the substance of those gods win?'<sup>60</sup> In other words, we can never be sure if, in these translations, an Islamic cosmology is exerting its power on a pagan one or if it is the other way around. Tageldin builds here on the arguments of her book *Disarming Words* (2011) where she argued that Arabic translators who translated European works into Arabic, no matter how hard they tried to resist, were seduced by the message they carried with them. In fact, the more translators changed the texts to make them agree with their traditions – the more they are domesticated – the easier the translators are seduced.<sup>61</sup> Tageldin, here, is clearly suggesting that the pagan gods could triumph over al-Tahtawi's attempts to Islamise them. In her construction of this work that sees it as an attempt by al-Tahtawi to explain the pagan gods in an Islamic way, this is a pressing question.

In a broader construction that sees this text as a nexus of different approaches to translation, some that maintain the polytheism and some that make it monotheistic, the question becomes even more important but trickier. Both of these texts offer a hybrid universe where it is difficult to know whether we are supposed to think of divine beings as jinn or gods. So, the terms of the debate become even more confusing. The gods are sometimes Islamised and sometimes left to stand. If we cannot even tell what are al-Tahtawi's jinn and what are Fénelon's (or Offenbach's) gods, how can we know who wins and who loses?

Notes

1. Sayyid °Ali Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila: Awwal masrahiyya manshura bi-l-°arabiyya fi Misr sanat 1868: Athar adabi majhul lil-Shaykh Rifa°a al-Tahtawi* (Cairo: General Egyptian Book Organization, 2015).
2. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 25; Sayyid °Ali Isma°il, °al-Masrah al-almani°. *Kawalis* 31 (2012), 86–93 n. 2. Accessed electronically (without page numbers), see <http://kenanaonline.com/users/sayed-esmail/posts/456328>.
3. In fact, another copy of the text exists: in Muhammad Yusuf Najm’s library, recently acquired by the American University of Beirut. Other researchers have told me that they managed to see a copy of the play at the National Library of Egypt. Like Isma°il, I was not able to do so.
4. Alexander Faris, *Jacques Offenbach* (London: Faber and Faber, 1980), 111–16.
5. Georges Douin, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismaïl*, 6 vols (Roma: Stampata nell’Istituto poligrafico dello stato per la Reale società di geografia d’Egitto, 1933–41), 2: 104.
6. P. C. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre in the Nineteenth Century (1799–1882)* (Reading: Ithaca, 2007 [1996]), 48.
7. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 27–8; 5–7.
8. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre*, 46; Douin, *Histoire du règne du khédive Ismaïl*, 2: 104.
9. Sadgrove. *The Egyptian Theatre*, 58–63.
10. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 19.
11. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre*, 48–9 n. 106. Arthur E. Brome Weigall, *A History of Events in Egypt from 1796 to 1914* (London: W. Blackwood, 1915), 96.
12. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre*, 6.
13. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 20–1.
14. Sadgrove, *The Egyptian Theatre*, 61.
15. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 28.
16. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 43.
17. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 64.
18. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 71.
19. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 115–16.
20. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 52.
21. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 43. During our 2015 workshop, Yaseen Noorani categorised this sentence as ‘barely even Arabic’.
22. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 26.
23. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 43–55.
24. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 59–101.
25. Isma°il, *Hilana al-jamila*, 105–23.
26. Peter Hill, ‘The first Arabic translations of Enlightenment literature: The Damietta Circle of the 1800s and 1810s’, *Intellectual History Review* 25:

- 2 (2015): 209–33, esp. 208. There is certainly work to be done on these manuscripts and their engagement with the gods but it is beyond the scope of this paper. I am grateful for Peter Hill's discussion of these translations and for showing me a draft of an article on *Télémaque* in Arabic.
27. E.g. Themistius, *The Arabic Translation of Themistius' Commentary on Aristoteles de Anima*, ed. M. C. Lyons, trans. Ishaq b. Hunayn (Thetford: Bruno Cassirer, 1973), 345–6; Aristotle, *Aristotle's Ars Rhetorica: The Arabic Version*, ed. M. C. Lyons (Cambridge: Pembroke Arabic Texts, 1982), pt 2, 74; Hans Daiber, *Neuplatonische Pythagorica in Arabischen Gewande* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1995), 38–40.
  28. Soheil Afnan, *A Philosophical Lexicon in Persian and Arabic* (Beirut: Dar El-Mashreq, 1969), 114–15.
  29. Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy, *Théâtre complet. Vol. 1: La Belle Hélène* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1901), 182.
  30. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 43. Notice, again, the colloquial construction *rāhat . . . bilāsh*.
  31. Edward William Lane and Stanley Lane-Poole, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 1 vol. in 8 parts (London: Williams and Norgate, 1863), 1003.
  32. There is perhaps a reluctance to call Jupiter both the father of the gods and of men and link the divine and mortal worlds. However, a few pages later Helen is referred to as the daughter of Jupiter (48).
  33. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 44, 47.
  34. Meilhac and Halévy, *Théâtre complet*, 196.
  35. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 54.
  36. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 47.
  37. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 61.
  38. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 66; Meilhac and Halévy, *Théâtre complet*, 211.
  39. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 117.
  40. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 89; Meilhac and Halévy, *Théâtre complet*, 244.
  41. Isma'īl, *Hilana al-jamila*, 93.
  42. Eve Troutt-Powell, *A Different Shade of Colonialism: Egypt, Great Britain and the Mastery of the Sudan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 47–55.
  43. Shehu Aḥmad Galadanci, 'Rifā'ah Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī (1801–1873) and the cultural impact of France', PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1969. See esp. 107–27.
  44. Rifa'a al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqī' al-aflak fī waqa'i' Tilimak* (Beirut: al-Matba'a al-suriyya, 1867), 23.
  45. Galadanci, 'Rifā'ah Rāfi' al-Ṭaḥṭāwī', 190.
  46. François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon, *Les aventures de Télémaque: Fils d'Ulysse* (Philadelphia: Haswell, Barrington & Haswell, 1839), 279. There are several different editions of the epic which have different book divisions. I am using this edition because it has the same divisions that al-Tahtawi uses. I also give translations from François de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénelon,



## Translating the Greek Gods into Arabic

ed. and trans. Patrick Riley, *Telemachus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The section here occurs at page 224: ‘Jupiter, in the midst of the whole assembly of the gods on the summit of Olympus, beheld this slaughter of the allies. At the same time, consulting the immutable destinies, he saw all the chiefs, the thread of whose life was that day to be cut by the scissors of the Fates. Each of the gods was attentive to discover on the countenance of Jupiter what his will would be. But the father of the gods and men, with a mild majestic voice, declared: . . .’

47. Galadanci, Rifā<sup>c</sup>ah Rāfi<sup>c</sup> al-Ṭahtāwī, 112–19.
48. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 505.
49. Fénelon, *Aventures de Télémaque*, 152. Fénelon, *Telemachus*, 115–16: ‘She ascends towards the bright Olympus, where the gods were assembled about the throne of Jupiter. From thence they perceived the stars revolving under their feet; they saw the globe of the earth as no bigger than a little heap of mud; the immense seas seemed to them only some splashes of water with which this piece of mud is slightly soaked: the largest kingdoms are but as grains of sand upon the surface of this mud; and the vastest multitudes, and most numerous armies, appear but as ants contending about a blade of grass on this piece of mud. The immortal gods laugh at the most serious affairs with which weak mortals are agitated, and count them no better than children’s play. What men call grandeur, glory, power, and deep policy, in the eye of these supreme divinities is nothing more than misery and weakness.’
50. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 250.
51. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 250.
52. Shaden M. Tageldin, ‘Fénelon’s gods, al-Ṭahtāwī’s jinn’, *Philological Encounters* 2: 1–2 (2017): 139–58; 151–4.
53. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 26.
54. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 25–7. Tageldin translates the beginning of the sentence (*la yanbaghi li-fadil<sup>3</sup>an yadhkul fi-takhrijihā wa-ta<sup>c</sup>diliha*) as ‘so a virtuous person should not enter into analysing or adapting these’ (‘Fénelon’s gods’, 151). She renders it as an instruction rather than the dismissal that I interpret it to be. Her translation is certainly a possible reading; however, the rest of the sentence, which Tageldin does not include, suggests to me that my translation is closer to the intended sense.
55. Tageldin, ‘Fénelon’s gods’, 147–50; al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 24–5.
56. Tageldin, ‘Fénelon’s gods’, 143. Emphasis in the original.
57. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 25.
58. Al-Tahtawi, *Mawaqi<sup>c</sup> al-aflak*, 27; 541; 543.
59. Lawrence Venuti, *The Scandals of Translation: Towards an Ethics of Difference* (London: Routledge, 1998), 115; Lawrence Venuti, *The Translator’s Invisibility: A History of Translation* (London: Routledge, 1995), 20.
60. Tageldin, ‘Fénelon’s gods’, 156.
61. Shaden Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 1–32.

**Translating World Literature into Arabic  
and Arabic into World Literature: Sulayman  
al-Bustani's *al-Ilyadha* and Ruhi al-Khalidi's  
Arabic Rendition of Victor Hugo**

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*Yaseen Noorani*

During the late nineteenth century the Arabic public sphere in Egypt and the Levant and the Arab language underwent increasing integration into the European-dominated world order of nations and national cultures. In conjunction with this process, a struggle took form over the relevance of European literary canons for Arabic literary, and particularly poetic, practice. Literary modernisers initially took a conciliatory course, seeking to present European literary principles as already embedded in the Arabic literary tradition. In doing so they initiated attempts to align the Arabic literary heritage of the previous fourteen centuries with a European-instituted world order of literature made up of universal literary genres and national literatures. This can be seen in the first works describing themselves as 'histories of Arabic literature', in the 1890s and 1900s, which explicitly proposed to redefine the Arabic term *adab* so as to correspond to European concepts of 'literature', and which presented the Arabic literary heritage as a national literature following an organic historical development.<sup>1</sup> The translation of European literary works into Arabic, both modern works and ancient 'classics', also played a major role in the effort to recast the Arabic literary heritage in simultaneously national and universal terms. Sulayman al-Bustani's monumental translation of the *Iliad*, with its extensive introduction and commentary, and Ruhi al-Khalidi's historical critical work with extensive translations, entitled 'The history of the science of literature among the Europeans, the Arabs, and Victor Hugo', both published in 1904 in Cairo, illustrate the ancient and modern poles of the process of translation that brought Arabic into world literature by bringing world literature into Arabic.<sup>2</sup> These works, in their effort to circumvent the translation barrier resulting from the distance of the Arabic literary heritage from modern European aesthetic principles, devised strategies for demonstrating the kinship of European and Arabic

poetry for their Arabophone audiences. As a result they have long been considered pioneering studies of comparative literature in Arabic.<sup>3</sup> Both works sought to configure the Arabic literary heritage as a national literature by endowing Arabic poetry with a key function or position in the genres and historical phases understood as pertaining to all national literatures. Translation, direct as well as indirect, becomes the means in these works of authenticating modern literary values and forms for a resistant Arabophone audience by finding an origin for them within the Arabic literary heritage, and thus placing Arabic in a central position within the world literary order. The object of translation – the European work or author of eminent world literary status – turns out to be not a foreign entity, but the repository of an estranged Arab national literary identity. Translation in these works, presented as a means of self-discovery, gives rise to a parallel but altered version of the European framework of world literature, in which concepts and categories rooted in the Arabic literary tradition acquire a world literary significance.

This chapter argues, then, that incorporation into world literature of a premodern literary heritage through direct and indirect practices of translation served as a procedure for restructuring this heritage as a national literature. The chapter proceeds by outlining the role played by the concept and practices of world literature for literary modernisers seeking to abolish the aesthetic distance separating Arabic poetic practice from bourgeois or post-Romantic European literary principles. Arabic literary modernisers like the dramatist Najib al-Haddad, who is discussed in the following section of the chapter, sought to legitimise the adoption of European literary genres and rectify the perceived deficiencies of the Arabic literary heritage by aligning Arabic and European literatures in a manner that gives Arabic a position of primacy. Sulayman al-Bustani's translation project, to which the chapter turns next, carries this strategy much further through its sustained effort to universalise the concept of the *jāhiliyya*, the name of the pre-Islamic period of Arabian history, as the basis of a linkage between Arabic and Homeric poetry that is more profound than any enjoyed by modern European literatures. On this premise al-Bustani's work presents a history of Arabic literature as a national literature with universal significance. The chapter turns finally to Ruhi al-Khalidi's work, which seeks to place Arabic lyrical poetry at the origin of European lyrical poetry and its historical development that reaches its modern pinnacle with the Romanticism of Victor Hugo. Al-Khalidi presents an Arabic national literary history, as well as an extensive French and European literary history, which owe their existence to the poetic forms of Islamic Spain. In al-Khalidi's work as well as al-Bustani's, the

universal positionality accorded to Arabic poetry in the framework of world literature and literariness establishes its unimpeachable credentials as a national literature.

The argument I will present here can be delineated further with reference to two recent valuable articles that focus on al-Bustani's and al-Khalidi's work respectively, while attributing to their subjects antithetical relations to Western colonial domination.<sup>4</sup> Evelyn Richardson's study of al-Bustani's *al-Ilyadha* highlights, as I do here, al-Bustani's deployment of the Arabic category of *jahiliyya* for the alignment of the *Iliad* and its putative civilisation generating capacity with Arabic poetry at the expense of its exclusive incorporation into European literature. Richardson argues that in this way al-Bustani upends the discursive positioning of Europe as world hegemon on the basis of European ownership of civilisation. Certainly, this argument brings out the necessity of decentring and displacing Europe for any national project. Another aspect of the story, as I argue here, is that al-Bustani's placement of Arabic at the foundation of world literature decentres Europe only by Arabicizing it, a procedure that promotes among an Arab audience the establishment of an Arabic national literature founded on modern literary aesthetic principles. In contrast to Richardson's anti-colonial take on al-Bustani, Haifa Saud Alfaisal argues that Ruhi al-Khalidi sought to domesticate the French concept of liberty by assimilating the Arabic literary heritage to modern European literary principles, thereby internalising both modernity and French colonialism, since the two cannot be separated. This point is a cogent one insofar as an alleged incapacity for freedom, supposedly evidenced by the absence of modern literary values, has served as a justification for colonialism, a viewpoint accepted by al-Khalidi in principle. Alfaisal, however, overlooks and does not account for the intensive, systematic endeavour of al-Khalidi to situate Arabic at the origin of French freedom, European poetry and Romantic literary aesthetics. Al-Khalidi illustrates a second, historical strategy for converting the Arabic poetic heritage into a national literature through the Arabicization of European literatures along with the concept of the 'literary'. The Arab colonisation of Europe made literary modernity possible, in al-Khalidi's account, and it is this sort of account that made Arabic literary modernity possible. I argue then that Europe is both displaced *and* internalised in a proliferation of frameworks of world literature that are parallel, yet distinct, and universal, yet in a manner that produces the national.

### ***Literary Modernity and the Arabic Literary Heritage***

The initiatives of al-Bustani and al-Khalidi come to the task of redefining *adab* and recasting the Arabic literary heritage as literature in the modern sense in two distinct yet parallel and complementary manners, revealing the necessity in this process of merging the literary heritage both with the classics of world literature and the cutting edge works of modern literature. We can think of world literature in this regard in two inter-related senses: the normative notion famously formulated by Goethe but widespread by the early nineteenth century, designating the assemblage of national, ancient and non-European literatures, regarded as consisting primarily of poetry, fiction and drama; and world literature as an institution in terms of centres of literary prestige and valuation of national and international works, and practices of reading, publishing and translation.<sup>5</sup> The normative notion was and remains anchored in bourgeois Romantic notions of literary expression, aestheticism and national culture. As an institution, world literature was dominated by the two most prestigious national literatures, French and English, and their respective literary establishments. In both senses, a world literary order came to be organised in nineteenth-century Europe in relation to two poles of literary value: works regarded as founding classics, such as the *Iliad*, and the most 'advanced' styles of literary expression, such as Romanticism and Naturalism.

In Pascale Casanova's account of the formation and power dynamics of this system, which she calls 'the world republic of letters', France occupies the central and definitive position as a result of the precedence of its national literary liberation from Latin. German and subsequent national literatures take form and enter the system under the auspices of Herderian notions of national popular culture.<sup>6</sup> As Aamir Mufti points out, Casanova's account overlooks the role of Orientalist scholarship, through its translation and appropriation of non-Western texts, in the formation of the world literature framework.<sup>7</sup> This oversight allows Casanova to disregard the decisive function of modern, bourgeois, aesthetically defined concepts of literature in the coalescence of the new world order and to focus exclusively on literary seniority:

The temporal law of the world of letters may be stated thus: *it is necessary to be old in order to have any chance of being modern or of decreeing what is modern.* In other words, having a long national past is the condition of being able to claim a literary existence that is fully recognized in the present.<sup>8</sup>

Clearly, this law did not apply in the case of 'oriental' literatures, inasmuch as they were closed off from the present as inspiring (when properly

assessed by European discernment) but defunct or self-contained expressions of the human spirit.

The challenge confronting those who sought entry to world literature without casting aside their non-Western literary traditions, but rather on the basis of the nationalisation and integration of these literary traditions, lay in breaking out of the oriental ghetto by establishing a productive literary relation between the lettered heritage and contemporary canons of the literary. As Casanova puts it, the 'geography' of the world republic of letters 'is based on the opposition between a capital, on the one hand, and peripheral dependencies whose relationship to this center is defined by their aesthetic distance from it'.<sup>9</sup> Although certain 'oriental' works were accorded literary value, those that could be appreciated in some way as exhibiting Romantic aesthetic features, the literary traditions of such works were not accorded national literary recognition on par with European literatures. The Arabic literary tradition, for example, was not animated by Romantic aesthetic principles and its writings did not aim to fulfil the functions of national self-expression. Arabic literary modernisers felt this as a deficiency that was not originally present in Arabic poetry but overcame literary writing over the centuries. Instead of starting from scratch with the collection of folk poetry and narratives, the modernisers sought to recoup the prestige of the literary heritage by aligning it with the existing system of world literature. They attempted to neutralise the problem of the aesthetic distance of the Orient by aesthetically transferring their non-Western literary tradition into Europe, as it were, by inscribing it in the genealogy of modern literary aesthetic values.

This operation, however, was conducted more for the sake of winning over the practitioners and audiences of nationalising literary traditions than toward swaying the arbiters of international literary opinion. The translation projects undertaken by al-Bustani and al-Khalidi work to present Romantic aesthetic values to the literate Arab public in a palatable and familiar manner. They seek to circumvent and ultimately eliminate the translation barrier that prevented direct translation from conveying the aesthetic excellence they ascribed to the great works of world literature. Their strategies, which supplement and often take the place of direct translation, are designed to persuade the Arabophone public of this excellence so as to bring about the homogenisation of literary tastes and practices that will do away with the translation barrier in the future.<sup>10</sup> Translation in this instance performs the hegemonic function of establishing a specific set of universal values and a specific version of nationality through the articulation of the cultural heritage to this universality. The result, however, is that

the meaning of the universal categories and framework is altered, at the same time that the national is born within them.

### ***Aligning Arabic with European Literature: Najib al-Haddad***

The techniques of world literary incorporation developed by al-Bustani and al-Khalidi were prefigured in an earlier work, an article published in 1897 entitled 'A comparison of Arabic poetry and European poetry', by the journalist, dramatist and translator Najib al-Haddad (1867–99).<sup>11</sup> A nephew of the eminent language reformer Ibrahim al-Yaziji (1847–1906), al-Haddad composed and translated more than twenty plays during his brief lifespan. His article, a theoretical supplement to his activity as a translator of both the genre of drama into Arabic and of specific dramas, is often considered the earliest work of comparative literature in Arabic.<sup>12</sup> Al-Haddad, like the other writers of the period, draws a fundamental distinction between Arabic poetry and the poetry of the 'Ifranj' – Europeans. Through the French language al-Haddad was able to read a great deal of European poetry, because European languages, he asserts, are similar in syntax and expressions and thus easily intertranslatable, whereas Arabic is dissimilar. The same holds for poetic themes, styles and tastes. Al-Haddad points here not only to the distance of Arabic from world literature, but its distance from the developed commonalities of European national languages, which language reformers of the period began intensively to remedy.<sup>13</sup> To explain the history and nature of European poetry, al-Haddad turns to Victor Hugo's well-known preface to his play *Cromwell* (1827), in which Hugo presents a theory of the historical stages of European society and poetry and the culminating role of drama therein. Arabic poetry, however, according to al-Haddad, did not experience historical epochs of the kind described by Hugo, but underwent a progression from simplicity, truth and accordance with nature in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods, to an increase in fancy (*khayal*) and distance from reality in later ages. Early Arabic poetry, as expressed in the medieval dictum that the best poetry is the most truthful, closely resembled modern European poetry in aesthetic principles.<sup>14</sup> Anyone who compares early Arabic poetry with contemporary European poetry will find them alike

in simplicity of expression, truthfulness of comparisons, and accuracy of description, and will be astonished at how the perfection of poetry among the Europeans during the acme of their civilised life resembles the beginnings of poetry among the Arabs during their *jahiliyya* and coarse Bedouin life.<sup>15</sup>

In taking simplicity of expression and truthfulness as his axis of aligning Arabic poetry with European literature, al-Haddad prefigures al-Bustani's notion of *jahiliyya*. Aside from this concordance between the two poetic traditions, al-Haddad cites a number of differences: Arabic poetry went on to cultivate fanciful and ornate tropes and conceits, turning to the dictum that the best poetry is the most untruthful, while European poetry did not explore this avenue; European poetry is less constrained by requirements of meter and rhyme; Arabic poetry is superior in description of entities, while European poetry is superior in description of events; European poetry has drama, the highest form of poetry, while Arabic poetry has only recently adopted this genre. His conclusion, that European poetry enjoys a single advantage, while Arabic poetry enjoys a number of advantages, has been recognised in recent studies of his article as a palliative gloss of Arabic triumph disguising an actual message of European superiority.<sup>16</sup> The article intimates that the historical absence of drama in Arabic poetry is an essential deficiency, while attempting to compensate for acquiescence to this evaluation with a make-shift assertion of national distinctiveness and universality. Ruhi al-Khalidi and particularly Sulayman al-Bustani achieved, in their much more ambitious projects, a more seamless unity of restitution and compensation.

### ***The Iliad and Arabophone World Literature: Sulayman al-Bustani***

Whereas Najib al-Haddad garnered a certain notoriety among the intelligentsia for his cavalier methods of translative adaptation, Sulayman al-Bustani (1856–1925) earned the highest literary accolades for his scholarly rendition of the *Iliad*.<sup>17</sup> The publication of this translation was a momentous event in Arabic letters, and continues to be remembered as such, because of the enormous distance this project traversed in assimilating the Arabic literary heritage to world literature. The actual translation of the Homeric verses, an estimable achievement in itself, is only one portion of the massive undertaking al-Bustani took upon himself and on which he laboured for seventeen years. The poem is accompanied by an extensive introduction of nearly 200 pages, copious explanatory notes that dwarf the poetic text, numerous illustrations, two indices, and three glossaries. The introduction and notes deal as much with the history, genres and lore of the Arabic literary heritage as they do with information necessary for understanding the ancient Greek poem, bringing in over 1,000 verses of Arabic poetry from some 200 poets. The introduction constructs a detailed history of Arabic poetry that incorporates this poetry into the universal



literary framework alongside European literatures. The explanatory notes familiarise the world of the *Iliad* through its continuous comparison to the pre-Islamic period of the Arabs. The work as a whole alters the European universalist framework of world literature to make a place for Arabic in its foundation, by presenting a great classic of this framework to the Arabic reading public as a repository of national self-discovery.

Born in 1856 in Lebanon, al-Bustani was a nephew of the great lexicographer Butrus al-Bustani (1819–83), with whom Sulayman worked on the ambitious encyclopedia project undertaken by Butrus and his sons.<sup>18</sup> Sulayman, having mastered Turkish, Persian, English and French in his school years, worked on three early newspapers in Lebanon before taking up residence in Iraq, in Basra and Baghdad, where he established a school and became a leading merchant and Ottoman official. Al-Bustani engaged in extensive and nearly continuous travels to many parts of the Arab world and beyond, including to the Chicago World Fair as the representative of the Ottoman government. He was elected as a representative of Beirut to the 1908 Ottoman parliament, resulting in his appointment as Minister of Commerce, and published a book on the Ottoman constitution.<sup>19</sup> In the introduction to *al-Ilyadha*, al-Bustani tells us that he was enamoured of narrative poetry and ancient mythology from an early age, culminating in his reading of *Paradise Lost*.<sup>20</sup> While living in Cairo in 1887 he tried his hand at composing verse translations of parts of the *Iliad* on the basis of English, French and Italian translations, and was encouraged by his literary associates. He began learning ancient Greek with a Jesuit priest. After years of travel and work on his uncle's encyclopedia, during which time he turned to the project only intermittently, he finally finished the translation while living in Istanbul with the aid of two Greek associates, in 1895.<sup>21</sup> It took him a further nine years to complete the introduction and explanatory apparatus. The work was published in Cairo by the Dar al-Hilal Press of Jurji Zaydan, and celebrated with a banquet at the Shepherd Hotel attended by the leading intellectual figures of the time and covered widely in the press.<sup>22</sup>

For al-Bustani and many of his contemporaries, the translation of the *Iliad* into Arabic rectifies a deficit in the history of Arabic literature. In this regard, he reports Jamal al-Din al-Afghani's (1838–97) endorsement of his project, quoting the renowned intellectual activist as saying,

It brings us great joy that you are undertaking today what the Arabs should have undertaken more than a thousand years ago. Would that the writers brought together by al-Ma'mun had from the very first taken up the translation of the *Iliad*, even had that held them back from translating the entire body of Greek philosophy.<sup>23</sup>

This statement reveals the kind of value that al-Bustani suggests was lost to Arabic culture and civilisation, for which the translation movement sponsored by the Abbasid Caliph al-Ma'mun (r. 813–33) had come to be regarded by al-Bustani's contemporaries as a formative undertaking. The need to translate Homer's poem is much more pressing for modern Arabs: 'it has become a necessity of the present age to clothe [the *Iliad*] in Arabic finery so that our language may keep pace with the languages of civilised peoples'.<sup>24</sup> The suggestion here is that any language that does not host this seminal composition cannot be modern. Although al-Bustani opens and closes his introduction with discussion of the past and potential development of the Arabic language, he does not fully explain the relationship between his translation, rendered in archaic pre-Islamic language and styles, and the modernisation of Arabic. The importance of the *Iliad* for linguistic modernity seems to lie more in its generative power for modern languages. In his presentation of the literary values that it embodies – particularly truth, simplicity and adherence to nature – which make of it 'the pearl of the necklace of all that poets have ever composed, in every age and country', al-Bustani indicates that the *Iliad* serves as a major resource for the renewal and growth of European literatures.<sup>25</sup> He associates the *Iliad*'s power with the formative cultural stage in which it was produced and which it encapsulates, for which he uses the Arabic term that refers to pre-Islamic Arabia. *Jahiliyya* becomes for al-Bustani a literary and mythological period accounting equally for pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and the Homeric epics. He strives to demonstrate that the modern Arabic language excels modern European languages by virtue of its continued closeness to the *jahiliyya*, the world of the *Iliad* and the origin of world literature, which is at the same time the formative period of Arab national identity. The linguistic sisterhood of Arabic with Homeric Greek enables the restitution of the absence in Arabic literature of narrative poetry through lossless translation of the *Iliad*. Al-Bustani's assimilation of *jahiliyya* to such European notions as the 'archaic' and the 'naïve' and investment of it with aesthetic values attributed to Homeric epics affirms and establishes the framework of world literature through a fundamental literary category that is simultaneously universal and national. His introduction and commentary therefore have a two-fold task of introducing and explaining the *Iliad* to the Arabic public through the *jahiliyya* while reacquainting the Arabic public with their *jahiliyya*, the source of their national identity, through the *Iliad*.

The broader framework for al-Bustani's massive endeavour derives from the linguistic reform projects undertaken by a number of al-Bustani's contemporaries, including members of his own family. Al-Bustani states in

the opening comments of his introduction that among his aims in translating the *Iliad* is to show the original copiousness of the Arabic language and the methods employed to enable its growth in the early centuries of Islamic civilisation, as well as to explain why Arabic has so far failed to keep up lexically with the current advance of modern life. This theme, to which al-Bustani returns a number of times during the course of his introduction and to which he devotes a substantial closing disquisition,<sup>26</sup> recapitulates points made more intensively by contemporary linguistic reformers like Butrus al-Bustani, Ibrahim al-Yaziji and Jurji Zaydan, among others.<sup>27</sup> These writers sought to bring Arabic into line with European languages by making it capable of all of the communicative and expressive functions required by a national public sphere. They promoted a self-generating concept of language in which languages are like biological organisms that continuously grow and develop, and in so doing reflect the condition of the nation which should also grow and develop in the same manner.<sup>28</sup> Although these reformers couched their appeals in terms of the distinctiveness of the Arabic language, their methods in practice were aimed at adapting Arabic lexically, structurally and practically to English and French and making it more and more translatable with these languages, a process that was substantially accomplished by this very generation of writers.<sup>29</sup> Al-Bustani's translation of the *Iliad* not only presents itself in terms of precisely this linguistic project, but situates the revitalisation of Arabic literature as a component of this project with similar structure and purposes. The translation of the *Iliad* is meant to play a key role in the fashioning of a national public sphere and the means of public expression necessary for it.

Al-Bustani's key argument that pre-Islamic poetry is the epic equivalent of the *Iliad* in every way but for its non-narrative nature serves both to legitimise the generic category 'epic' for Arabic audiences as well as to present palatably the pressing need for translating Homer's poem. Al-Bustani takes pains to ward off any suggestions that the Arabic literary heritage suffers any deficiency in its literary forms. Nevertheless, his discussion gives the sense that the translation of the *Iliad* aims to rectify a lack in Arab literature, one which prevents Arabic from attaining the status of European national literatures, namely, the absence in Arabic of narrative poetry, and particularly epic, for which al-Bustani chooses the term *malḥama*.<sup>30</sup> Introducing the European division of poetry into lyric, epic and drama, al-Bustani asserts that it is an exaggeration to claim that the Arabs had only lyric poetry and no narrative. This kind of defensive caveat was also enunciated by the speakers at his celebratory banquet.<sup>31</sup> Al-Bustani is nonetheless occupied with the absence of an Arabic verse

epic, suggesting that it is not necessary for all nations to have the same types of poetry, making it possible for beauty to emerge in all of its various forms (150). He argues however that although there are no long epic poems attributable to early Arabic culture, many pre-Islamic poems combine definitive elements of epics with features of lyric poetry. Going through the ninth-century *Jamharat ash‘ar al-‘arab*, a compilation of early Arabic poetry, he cites a number of poems that should be regarded as epic fragments. These poems, according to al-Bustani, are the true Arabic equivalent of the *Iliad* and the basis for his identification of pre-Islamic Arabia with Homeric Greece. Association of pre-Islamic poetry with the *Iliad* has remained a touchstone for comparative literary studies in Arabic.<sup>32</sup> In addition to this focus on pre-Islamic poetry, al-Bustani covers at length different literary forms that he classifies as epic, including prose *maqamat* and popular tales, as well as oral epics that combine prose and poetry. While he acknowledges that none of these forms takes the place of narrative epic poetry, his invocation of them serves to demonstrate that epic poetry may be admitted as an authentic Arabic form alongside them. Al-Bustani even entertains the conjecture of Biblical scholars that the Book of Job is of Arabic origin and therefore the first Arabic epic, though ultimately discounting its relevance to the Arabic literary heritage.<sup>33</sup>

The relation that al-Bustani puts forward between the *Iliad* and pre-Islamic poetry is fundamental to the aim of authenticating this classic of world literature for Arabic readers and paves the way for al-Bustani’s translation of the *Iliad* into the language and motifs of pre-Islamic poetry. To establish this relation, al-Bustani relies on the concept of *jahiliyya*.<sup>34</sup> From the outset, it is the concept of *jahiliyya* that uniquely links Greek and Arabic, making Arabic more worthy of hosting the *Iliad* than other languages:

How suited is our Arabic language for the redaction of this singular pearl. Arabic is indeed more worthy of it than those of the civilised nations who have translated it, for European poetry and languages do not have the means to present it in as a beautiful a manner as is possible through the resources of our language. Greek poetry is in a language close to nature as is our language, and the subject is the *jahiliyya* of a nation that is like our *jahiliyya*. The poets of no other nation have motifs corresponding more closely to the *Iliad*’s motifs of wisdom and poetic description than do our early poets.<sup>35</sup>

Al-Bustani argues that modern European languages are far removed from the cultural world of the *Iliad* and the linguistic usages of this world. Arabic, on the other hand, because it has been preserved in its classical form, remains immersed in this world. Therefore Arabic, unlike modern

European languages, can host a translation of the *Iliad* that preserves the content, imagery and spirit of the *Iliad* in a nearly total manner. In this way the Arabic translation of the *Iliad* allows Arabs direct access to the source of world literature while at the same time reconnecting them with the origin of Arab identity. To show this, al-Bustani not only compares Homer's poem with Arabic poetry, but compares what he calls 'the two *jahiliyyas*, the *jahiliyya* of the Arabs and the *jahiliyya* of the Greeks' (10). He engages in a systematic uncovering of parallels between the topics that come up in his discussion of Homer and the *Iliad*, and phenomena present in early Arabic poetry and lore. For example, Homer's muses are compared to the demonic spirits said to inspire Arabic poets (148). Features of weapons, dress and lifestyle are compared throughout. Characters in the *Iliad* are systematically paired with Arabic counterparts, particularly Achilles and °Antara. Al-Bustani cites customs, poetic motifs, images, tropes, political institutions, omens, proverbs, and other phenomena throughout his extensive commentary and glossaries.

Aside from these parallels in lifestyle and material culture, al-Bustani also points to parallels in language. He argues that both Homeric Greek and classical Arabic are °close to nature', a feature retained to a significant extent by modern Arabic. He gives as an example the use of animal epithets or similes for human characters that are repugnant to modern European tastes. Some of these are still acceptable for Arabic speakers, while others can be retained in the Arabic translation but disguised through recourse to the plethora of animal terms in Arabic that are unfamiliar to modern readers. The closeness of Arabic to Homeric Greek, as well as the lexical copiousness of Arabic, enable fully accurate translation while European languages must resort to periphrastic expressions.<sup>36</sup> It should also be noted that al-Bustani's desire to create a verse translation of the *Iliad* is deeply connected with the axial role of the *jahiliyya*. The verse translation enables al-Bustani to render the *Iliad* into motifs, diction and expressions characteristic of or derived from early Islamic poetry. Moreover, the translation does not take the form of unrhymed, continuous and metrically homogeneous verse, like the original, but each book of the *Iliad* appears as multiple poems with different rhyme schemes, strophic forms and meters. Al-Bustani made these choices, it would seem, in order to present the *Iliad* in as authentically Arabic a form as possible. It can be argued, however, that this attempt is responsible for what some critics have regarded the stiff and pedantic feel of the translation, which prevented it from achieving a wide readership as a poetic text.<sup>37</sup>

*Jahiliyya* as a concept is central for al-Bustani's universalising aims, but for this reason is modified in its meaning in order to take up its new

function. *Jahiliyya* must now become a literary and cultural epoch, the formative stage of a people and their civilisational and moral development. It must take on the senses of the 'archaic' and the 'naïve' that had been attributed to Homer and used to explain the ethos of his poems. In the poetic context, the term *jahiliyya* had already been linked with related meanings by Abbasid-period poetic enthusiasts. A pastoral heroic ethos is discernable in much of the lore of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods collected by Abbasid scholars.<sup>38</sup> A similar set of literary themes were taken up in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries by European thinkers and associated with the childhood of humanity, a stage of unconscious communion with nature and moral authenticity. On this basis, al-Bustani attempted to conduct the same procedure with regard to the term *jahiliyya*. He asserts that the primary features that define the Greek as well as the Arab *jahiliyya* are an 'innate, natural condition of life', 'simplicity of character', and '*jahili* freedom'.<sup>39</sup> He identifies pre-Islamic verse with the aesthetic features of the Romantic idea of natural poetry: 'it is characterised by simplicity and spontaneity, adhering to the nature of things, embodying truth in depicting nature, so that in all of this it is superior to later Arabic poetry, and not outdone by any poetry of the ancients of other nations including the Greeks and Romans'.<sup>40</sup> In his periodisation of Arabic literature, al-Bustani closely associates the early Islamic period with the *jahiliyya* in terms of ethos in order to include the entire body of pastoral heroic lore in its purview. He identifies Homer as a '*jahili*' poet and defines the characteristics of '*jahili*' poetry that early Arabic poets share with him.

They trained their speech on the heart of truth and did not miss it. They composed poetry out of living feeling and did not transgress beyond the visible and the intelligible. As a result, their poetry is a truthful representation of their Bedouin as well as their civilised life. If it had happened that no information remained of them but a portion of their poetry, scholars would still be able easily to extract a full account of their way of life, just as scholars have done for the Greek *jahiliyya* with the poetry of Homer.<sup>41</sup>

Al-Bustani focuses also on what he calls 'full poetic description' as a definitive characteristic of poetry of the *jahiliyya*, giving examples of extended similes and descriptive digressions found in pre-Islamic poetry and the *Iliad*. All of these characteristics he sees as fading in later Arabic poetry, although he credits the poetry of the Umayyad and early Abbasid periods with greater refinement, artistic innovation and intellectual expansiveness.

Al-Bustani is not only able to draw on nostalgic associations of the term *jahiliyya* to bring the concept in line with European notions of the

primitive and naïve, but also attempts to employ and alter the religious sense of the term for this purpose. The root meaning of the term, which comes from the Qur'an (3:154; 5:50; 33:33; 48:26), implies 'ignorance', and the usual translation of *jahiliyya* is 'the age of ignorance', dispelled by the coming of Islam and monotheism. Al-Bustani argues that the sense of the term is not ignorance *per se* but the practice of idolatry.<sup>42</sup> Polytheism of course serves as the primary parallel with ancient Greece but in this modified sense inaugurates, for the Arabic context, the mythologisation of pagan deities, the understanding of them as belonging to a primitive, imaginative, proto-literary form of thought that is religiously neutralised but of great aesthetic and psychological value.<sup>43</sup> In the context of *al-Ilyadha*, we see here another way in which the modification of the concept *jahiliyya* provides an entry into the categories of world literature and the secular national public sphere.

This is seen more directly in the manner in which *al-Ilyadha* aims to play a role in bringing Arab nationality into being by establishing a font of Arab national identity that is universal in nature. We see here an essential procedure in the establishment and representation of nationality. Al-Bustani seeks to depict the *jahiliyya* as a shared cultural phase significant to human history as a whole, and at the same time as the origin and repository of Arab values and identity. *Al-Ilyadha* therefore takes up the task of reacquainting its readers with their universal national identity, and this is stated to be the primary motivation of the work's extensive commentary.

I decided to append a commentary to [the translation] taking up a new and unprecedented style with the aim of attracting the Arab reader by reviewing the morals of his nation in its *jahiliyya* and a part of its civilisation; its famous legends and rituals; the best of its manners and customs; the practices of its poets and writers; the deeds of its kings, commanders, rulers and leaders . . . and all that is connected with description of the condition of the Arabs, their language, and their society. All of this [I undertook] through comparison and juxtaposition with that which is similar in ancient nations, particularly the nations of ancient Greece.<sup>44</sup>

The translation of world literature serves in this way as an episode of self-discovery. The universal values of pre-Islamic poetry, its connection with human nature, its lack of artifice and connection with truth, give rise to the distinctively Arab moral virtues associated with the *jahiliyya*, as well as to the aesthetic values that make Arabic poetry part of world literature. It is also of significance that *jahiliyya*, as a result of its religious neutrality, can become a national concept shared by all Arabs rather than the preserve

of Muslims or Christians. This does not mean, however, that al-Bustani elevates the pre-Islamic period at the expense of the later periods of high civilisation. Indeed, he credits the Qur<sup>3</sup>an with the preservation of the Arabic language and with raising the level of eloquence of poetic style from the sublime yet coarse expression of the desert poets (98–100). The *jahiliyya* does not displace the grandeur of Abbasid civilisation, as conceived by al-Bustani's fellow intellectuals, but provides an axis of literary alignment with world history that supplements the scientific and intellectual axis already in place. It is noteworthy as well in regard to the national literary function of *al-Ilyadha* that the celebratory soiree held in honour of its publication, noted in the press as the first of its kind, was organised by prominent Levantine journalists and intellectuals in Cairo, and a major theme of the event was Syrian-Egyptian fraternity.<sup>45</sup> The national function that is so prominent in *al-Ilyadha* led the orientalist Gustave von Grunebaum to assert that the work was acclaimed in this way by the Arab intelligentsia because it is nationalist and anti-Western in orientation, a turn to ancient Greece in defiance of modern Europe.<sup>46</sup> Von Grunebaum is certainly incorrect insofar as al-Bustani's aim is to join the Eurocentric club of world literature rather than to defy it. Yet there is an element of truth in his claim, to the extent that any claim to universality on the part of non-European literatures necessarily contravened European exclusivity over such claims.

Al-Bustani follows through with his underlying purpose of bringing the Arabic literary heritage into world literature as a national literature by devoting a considerable part of his introduction to fashioning a history and periodisation of Arabic poetry, one of the earliest of its kind. Jurji Zaydan published a 'History of Arabic Literature' ('Tārīkh Ādāb al-°Arab') in a series of articles beginning in 1894 in his journal *al-Hilal*, which was later expanded into his multi-volume work published from 1911 to 1914.<sup>47</sup> This work, however, although the first of its kind, covers all forms of writing, like the works of this nature that Zaydan was seeking to emulate.<sup>48</sup> The scholar Muhammad Diyab, inspired by hearing from his friend Hasan al-°Adl of European histories of Arabic literature, published his own in 1900.<sup>49</sup> This work, although it divides Arabic poetry into periods, makes no effort to historicise these periods in the manner of modern literary history, and does not introduce a fully modern notion of literature. Hasan al-°Adl himself, who spent a number of years studying and teaching in Germany and England, did produce a historicist periodisation of Arabic poetry, which formed the basis of his teaching at the Dar al-°ulum institute in Cairo.<sup>50</sup> Therefore he is considered by a number of literary historians to be the first Arabic writer to introduce a modern, historicising framework



for the history of Arabic literature on the basis of a modern conception of literature.<sup>51</sup> Like al-Bustani he takes up some period terms from the literary heritage but attempts to redefine these on the basis of characterising historical development in each period and identifying distinguishing features of the poetry. His book was not published until 1906 however, in incomplete form due to his untimely death. Ruhi al-Khalidi (1864–1913), whose work is discussed below, also presents a periodised history of Arabic literature. For all of these pioneering works that provide historicising literary histories, the generative principle is the nationalisation of the Arabic literary heritage and linkage of it with world literature. The works that seek to establish Arabic poetry as the centre of a modern national literature (al-<sup>ʿ</sup>Adl, al-Bustani and al-Khalidi) associate pre-Islamic poetry with truth, nature and simplicity, as a primitive, yet ideal human stage.<sup>52</sup> For al-Bustani, Homer and the *jahiliyya* serve as a touchstone for characterising the periods of Arabic poetry, even though he does not insist on the preeminence of the pre-Islamic. For example, he describes a famously long panegyric poem of the Abbasid poet Ibn al-Rumi (d. 896), which includes a large number of poetic topics, as following the method of Homer to such a degree, but for the lack of narrative, that it could be a portion of the *Iliad*.<sup>53</sup> Similarly, al-Bustani enumerates the faults of Abbasid poetry, which eventually led to the age of decline, in contradistinction to the excellences of Homeric verse. These faults include truncation of descriptions, preventing them from attaining truth and nature, as opposed to the full description of Homeric poetry; reduction of panegyric poetry to a means of livelihood at the expense of truthfulness; artificiality of love poetry, as it becomes merely ornamental and fails to inspire the emotions; and the spread of obscenity and reference to homosexuality, unlike the *Iliad*, which ‘even a virgin girl’ may be permitted to read (126–30). Al-Bustani’s introduction also includes an extensive discussion of Arabic meters and types of rhyme and the moods and topics to which they are suited, which had a significant impact on subsequent Arabic criticism.<sup>54</sup>

Nationalising the Arabic literary heritage in *al-Ilyadha* enacts a universalising process and aspiration in regard to language as well as to literature, and it is indeed the European-made universal framework of world literature that mediates the translation of the *Iliad* and is conveyed through this translation in an Arabised form. The world historical significance of the *Iliad* for European scholarship, its instantiation of the universal literary genre of the epic, and its embodiment of universal literary values as judged by Romantic aestheticians, are the features invoked by al-Bustani in laying out the pressing need for its translation. The fusing in *al-Ilyadha* of these universal literary attributes with pre-Islamic poetry

and the *jahiliyya* endows these with universal significance alongside the *Iliad* within the same framework. Al-Bustani can suggest, on this basis, that all civilised nations have their *jahiliyya*, thus creating an Arabocentric universal category in the European-made universal literary framework. At the same time, he introduces and adopts the universal categories of lyric, narrative and dramatic poetry as his framework for interpreting the nature and history of Arabic poetry, placing the conventional Arabic thematic classifications of poems in a subordinate position.

We may consider in this regard al-Bustani's discussion of the lack of a medieval Arabic translation of the *Iliad* and the obstacles behind it. Al-Bustani identifies these as religious, in respect to the unpalatability of the pagan gods of the *Iliad*, and practical, in respect to the lack of individuals who knew Greek and were capable of versifying in Arabic.<sup>55</sup> It should be noted, however, that the absence of a medieval Arabic translation of the *Iliad* cannot be regarded as merely the result of such obstacles. What was lacking was a shared framework that would have allowed Greek poetic works to have prestige and meaning for Arabic readers. The idea that great poetic works across the world, on the basis of their intrinsic value as expressions of the human spirit, constitute a universal cultural legacy that should be translated into every literary language was not present, and poetic works were seldom translated into Arabic.<sup>56</sup> Such a framework did not emerge among Arabic-speaking intellectuals until the late nineteenth century, with the universalising conception of human history and human development within which the literary and artistic expression of innate humanity forms a major dimension. In this framework, any seminal monument of literary expression, such as the *Iliad*, is indispensable to human culture. *Al-Ilyadha* constitutes a major step in the Arabic adoption of this framework and integration of the Arabic literary heritage into it.

### ***Ruhi al-Khalidi: The Arab Origins of Victor Hugo, Romanticism and World Literature***

Al-Bustani's translation of the *Iliad* seeks to make of the indigenous notion of *jahiliyya* a universal category that permits the reconstruction of the Arabic literary heritage as a privileged component of world literature. His contemporary, Ruhi al-Khalidi, sought to achieve a similar end through more straightforward and for that reason more audacious means: by placing Arabic poetry at the origin of European poetry in a literal manner. Like al-Bustani, al-Khalidi was not a literary scholar by vocation, but as a result of patriotism and dedication. Born in Jerusalem in 1864, al-Khalidi studied law and political science in Istanbul and Paris.<sup>57</sup> He

was appointed Consul General in Bordeaux by the Ottoman government and resided for much of his life in France. Like al-Bustani, al-Khalidi was elected to the Ottoman parliament in 1908 and also wrote a book on Ottoman governance.<sup>58</sup> He composed the work under consideration here during the centenary celebrations in honour of Victor Hugo in France. This work began appearing in installments in the journal *al-Hilal* in 1902 and was published in book form in 1904.<sup>59</sup> The installments, as well as the book, appeared originally without the name of the author. The author's name appeared on the second edition in 1912, and the book has been subsequently republished numerous times.

The aim of al-Khalidi's work, as judged from the content, is to present Victor Hugo (1802–85) to the Arab public as a literary genius, and the leading figure of modern poetry and Romanticism, whose poetic practice and principles can enable Arabic poetry to make up for the deficiencies of its literary heritage. Yet at the same time the work casts Hugo himself as a product of the Arabic literary heritage, which al-Khalidi strives to establish as the origin of European lyrical poetry. The first half of the book discusses the history of Arabic poetry and literature, outlining its excellences as well as its flaws, then moves to a history of France and the Frankish Empires, Islamic Spain and southern France, the origins of the French language, Provençal poetry, Spanish and French literary history, Classicism and Romanticism, Victor Hugo's biography and literary significance. The second half of the book provides detailed descriptions and summaries of most of Hugo's works, including volumes of lyric poetry, plays and novels, with translations or paraphrases of a number of his prefaces, including the preface to *Cromwell*, and prose translations of a number of poems. Al-Khalidi does not make any claims about direct influence of Arabic poetry on Hugo, explaining that while Hugo frequently invokes Greek, Latin and even Persian literature in his works, he does not refer to Arabic writings due to 'his ignorance . . . of the eloquence of Arabs, the inimitability of the Qur'an, and Islamic civilisation'.<sup>60</sup> In his presentation of Hugo's works, al-Khalidi takes a dismissive attitude towards the collection *Les Orientales*, which was published in 1829 and inspired by the Greek war of independence from Ottoman rule. Al-Khalidi attributes its negative depictions of Muslim subjects to Hugo's 'bias and blind prejudice' as well as to the fact that 'he had never seen the East with his own eyes but knew it only from study of books' and perusal of works of poetry (215).<sup>61</sup> He excepts from this judgement the section of the work on Spain and provides a translation of the poem 'Grenade' ('Granada'), which he effusively characterises as 'licit magic' (216).

Otherwise, al-Khalidi shows utmost admiration for Hugo's works and makes much effort to convey their excellences. In his presentation of them, al-Khalidi includes many digressions on Arabic literature, and quotes much Arabic poetry. For instance, as a supplement to his prose translation of 'Grenade' (216–18), al-Khalidi adds a precis of the city and description of its Arabic monuments. He then cites eleven passages of Arabic poetry from nearly the same number of poets on Granada and other cities, along with pertinent historical anecdotes (219–24). The connection is that these are poems addressed to Granada, or that mention cities, and so resemble Hugo's poem. It appears that al-Khalidi, cognisant of his inability to make good his claims of Hugo's poetic brilliance through his prose translations, provides instead tenuously related quotations from Arabic poetry and the Qur'an that will stir the reader in a manner evocative of the power of Hugo's verses. The effect of this practice is to link Hugo further to Arabic literature, but at the same time vitiates al-Khalidi's effort to convey the nature of Romantic poetry and its difference from Arabic literary tastes. The reader can never get anything more than a vague and abstract sense of Hugo's poetic style. Al-Khalidi's work as a whole can be seen as a massive effort to compensate for the inadequacy and futility of translation, for if al-Khalidi could translate Hugo's poetry in a way that captured the brilliance and revolutionary nature that al-Khalidi attributes to it, the book as it stands would be unnecessary. In an article published in 1900, 'Eloquence among the Arabs and the Europeans', the Egyptian poet Ahmad Kamil had quoted translations of poems by Kipling and Hugo and dismissed the poets as failing to reach even a minimal degree of eloquence.<sup>62</sup> Those who attempted to refute Kamil gave arguments as to why European poetry could not be successfully translated into Arabic, but had no means of directly demonstrating the eloquence of the European poets.<sup>63</sup> The strategies of al-Khalidi attempt in different ways to overcome this problem, which arose only in part from the intrinsic limits of translation. The greater obstacle to successful translation was precisely the one that writers like al-Bustani and al-Khalidi were working to dismantle by adapting Arabic literary tastes and practices to the aesthetic values enshrined in the European order of world literature.<sup>64</sup>

The primary message of al-Khalidi's work may be understood as follows: the Arabic literary tradition has for the most part valorised words at the expense of meaning, which ought to be the true aim of literature. Verbal finery, tropes and word play are like the makeup and jewellery of the bride, which do not indicate the beauty and excellence of the bride herself. Arab poetic tastes fail to be moved by the simple and direct expression of truths of existence and the feelings they evoke (63).<sup>65</sup> This may be

remedied by attendance to other literatures of the world, particularly the works of Victor Hugo, the greatest French poet and heir of the Arabic influence on European literature (66). Victor Hugo's poetic principles, known as Romanticism, the nature of the lyrical poetry that he composed, and the genre of drama in which he produced great works, are all founded on valuing meaning as the ultimate aim of literature. The upshot is that contrary to the notion that there is an Arab standard of eloquence that is different from European notions of eloquence, as expressed for example in the article of Ahmad Kamil cited above, there ought to be a single standard of eloquence since European poetry is not ultimately foreign to the Arabs.

As a result of this outlook, al-Khalidi takes an ambivalent attitude towards Arabic poetry and prose literature throughout his work, including in his historical sketch of Arabic literature. Although he extolls pre-Islamic poetry for its precise description of natural phenomena, Bedouin life, and personal feeling and perception (73), he criticises it for excessive constraints of rhyme and meter (76) and regards it as ultimately guilty of the same flaw of valuing words over meaning (95). Continuing his literary history, he covers the famous poets and writers of the Umayyad and Abbasid periods and enumerates their accomplishments. He is especially keen on the Abbasid translation movement and openness to works from multiple languages. He is disappointed, however, by the failure to translate foreign poetry, particularly Homer (87, 99), and critical of the literary conservatism that caused critics to exclude al-Mutanabbi (d. 965) and Abu al-°Ala° al-Ma°arri (973–1057) from the ranks of the true poets on account of their deviation from conventional style. 'Style in their usage is the mold that poetry is emptied into or the pattern that is followed' (89). Andalusian poetry, the precursor of European poetry in al-Khalidi's presentation, is praised for producing new prosodic forms and for evincing greater concern with meaning, and would have achieved results superior even to the works of Victor Hugo had tyranny and political dissolution not intervened (98). Al-Khalidi brings in the relation between political freedom and literary excellence in connection with the only work that he cites as subordinating words to meaning, the Qur°an, which achieves the highest level of literary expression and at the same time condemns tyranny and injustice in many of its verses (76–80).<sup>66</sup> Later in Islamic history, when foreign despotic dynasties came to power, Arabic literature succumbed fully to the dictum that 'the best poetry is the most false' (91), illustrating the 'complete correlation between liberty and the advancement of the Arabic language' (93). The relation between liberty and poetry comes up later as a primary aspect of Victor Hugo's greatness. In contrasting the Arabic taste for words with the French emphasis on meaning, al-Khalidi

points to the difference between the *maqamat* genre, which subordinates narrative to verbal artistry, and the plays of Molière and Hugo, which ‘speak to the heart’. Widespread reference to homosexuality is a further symptom of Arabic literary weakness (96). As a means of contrasting the Arabic approach to poetry with Romanticism, al-Khalidi quotes an Arabic love poem (*ghazal*) and goes over in detail its focus on external description, conventional images and attributes, occupation with verbal plays, and lack of narrative and emotion (203–4), a kind of exercise that became commonplace in subsequent years.<sup>67</sup>

A major part of al-Khalidi’s work sets forth the argument that the Arabic poetry of Islamic Spain gave rise to the Provençal poetry of the troubadours and that other types of Arabic writing influenced Spanish, French and European literature more broadly. The centrepiece of this argument is the claim that European poetry before the ninth century relied on assonance rather than rhyme, and that rhyme and strophic forms came into European poetry through the influence of Hispano-Arabic poetry and remained a staple thereafter. This claim is taken by al-Khalidi from Philippe Khazen (Filib Qa<sup>o</sup>dan al-Khazin), the editor of the Lebanese newspaper *al-Arz*, who discovered in Rome a manuscript of Hispano-Arabic strophic poems of the *zajal* and *muwashshah* genres, which he edited and published in 1902.<sup>68</sup> In his own version of the argument, al-Khalidi focuses on the Provençal troubadour poets as the medium of transmission. ‘Experts agree that rhyme first appeared in Provençal poetry and was adopted from Arabic poetry.’ Arabic poetry, he claims, was popular on account of its musicality even in France where it was not understood. ‘The poor in the eleventh century would chant Arabic poems when begging at doors and in the street and people would give money to them not because they understood what was said but because they were moved by the tunes and melodies and ringing rhymes’ (126). Through the troubadour poets rhyme and strophic forms, as well as the major themes of Arabic poetry, spread to other European languages (153). Transmission to French occurred through the trover poets in the thirteenth century (127). In this way, Hispano-Arabic poetry stands as the origin of European lyrical poetry as a whole. The claim of Hispano-Arabic influence subsequently remained important to comparative literary studies in Arabic – the doyen of the field, Muhammad Ghunaymi Hilal, makes it the cornerstone of his discussion of the genre of lyric poetry, and Tahir Ahmad Makki includes the claim as well.<sup>69</sup>

In support of his argument, al-Khalidi provides a detailed history of the Carolingian and Merovingian Empires, the Islamic conquest of Spain and southern France, and the Islamic occupation of southern France and

its influences on contemporary and subsequent history, as well as detailed discussion of the development of Romance languages, and French literature from the Middle Ages to Victor Hugo, including summaries of Corneille, Racine and Molière plays, and in-depth discussions of Boileau and the principles of classicism (*'al-tariqa al-madrasiyya'*). In his discussion of Romanticism (*'al-tariqa al-rumaniyya'*) al-Khalidi covers Shakespeare and some of his plays, and Goethe, providing a summary of *Faust*. Al-Khalidi mentions and in many cases discusses dozens of canonical European literary authors as well as philosophers such as Descartes and Hegel. In support of his claims about the impact of Islamic Spain, al-Khalidi sketches the biography of the Pope Sylvester II, whom he credits with bringing an influx of Andalusian academic influence into Europe (126, 135). All of this begins with and culminates with Victor Hugo, who was born in Besançon, a town of Spanish heritage, as he himself famously proclaimed, due to an influx of Spanish immigrants during the reign of Charles V (66). Through this history of Europe and European literature, al-Khalidi furnishes an account of world literature that contraverts Casanova's account. For Casanova, the French break from Latin inaugurated the world republic of letters with France at the centre.<sup>70</sup> Al-Khalidi makes Arabic poetry and its prosodic forms the actual origin of this break with Latin.

A key supplementary dimension of al-Khalidi's presentation lies in the numerous parallels that he posits between Arabic and European literary works, implying in many cases some degree of influence. He cites the similarity of the hero of *The Song of Roland* to the Arab hero °Antara, and points to resemblance between the *Risalat al-Ghufran* of al-Ma°arri and Dante's *Divine Comedy* (137, 166), a topic that has remained controversial to the present, and still retains an important place in Arabic studies of comparative literature.<sup>71</sup> What stands out most, however, are the parallels that al-Khalidi draws between certain Arabic poems, particularly passages taken from Abu al-°Ala° al-Ma°arri, and samples illustrative of Romanticism by Victor Hugo. Al-Khalidi does not try to claim that Romanticism existed in Arabic poetry prior to its emergence in Europe, but seems more intent on familiarising and authenticating Romanticism through the associations that he creates. He regards the prosodic innovation of Hispano-Arabic poetry as similar to Hugo's overturning of French prosodic conventions (93–4). The thematic innovations of al-Mutanabbi and al-Ma°arri prefigure the revolutionary assault of Romanticism on the rules of Classicism, as does their taking of 'natural taste and sensation' as their poetic guide (163, 183). Al-Ma°arri's concern with topics like death and their metaphysical and existential aspects and perplexity regarding

them resemble Romantic perplexity regarding the nature of the self and death (187, 189). Al-Ma<sup>c</sup>arri is also similar to Hugo in his scornful condemnations of tyranny (254–5). It can be said, therefore, that ‘the soul of al-Ma<sup>c</sup>arri and the soul of Hugo are close to each other’, with the difference being Hugo’s sightedness (al-Ma<sup>c</sup>arri was blind) which enabled his descriptive powers, and Hugo’s widened horizons and perceptions as a result of living in the modern age (238). These parallels serve as the basis for the quotation of scores of Arabic verses in support of the descriptions of Hugo’s poems, often in place of translations of these poems.

Despite the assertion of so many parallels between Arabic literature and the poems of Victor Hugo, the overall thrust of al-Khalidi’s exposition brings out significant deficiencies in the former. Arabic poetry comes up lacking in the three forms of poetry of world literature, which al-Khalidi, like al-Bustani, introduces – lyrical, because meaning is subordinated to words, as well as epic and drama, which are wholly lacking. Drama is depicted as embodying truths of human character and action that are wholly beyond Arabic literature and contemporary Arab powers of appreciation (263), except as regarding the Qur<sup>’</sup>an (137), and al-Khalidi laments the historical failure to translate literary works from Greek and Latin.<sup>72</sup> The Arabic role in the founding of European literature, therefore, and the numerous parallels, provide an impetus for the adoption of European styles, genres and poetic principles, rather than providing a rationale for spurning Europe and maintaining current literary ideals. The position of Arabic in world literature compensates for the current literary isolation of Arabic, removes it from Oriental exile, and recoups the literary prestige of its heritage, while making reintegration into world literature the necessary means of self-rediscovery.

The work of al-Khalidi as well as that of al-Bustani provides insight into the strategies of authenticating and Arabicizing world literature, the means of facing and circumventing the translation barrier, and the process of national emergence through the defining of national identity in a universalising manner. Translation during this historical moment was less and more than the direct translation of texts – less, because the non-adapted Arabic literary language and receptive capacities could not convey and appreciate what the translators sought to convey, and more, because this barrier necessitated periphrastic strategies for convincing readers of the brilliance of the translated works. The result of these strategies was the adoption but also modification of universal categories and frameworks of world literature in a manner that showed them to be produced by the Arabic literary heritage. The nation must be demonstrated as lying outside the system in order to justify its position within the system. One may see



this as amounting to a betrayal of the Arabic literary heritage through the provision of a face-saving means of accepting submission to European standards. To do so, however, would be to define bourgeois aesthetic ideals as inherently European in nature rather than as the values pertaining to a new social order embraced by many Arab intellectuals. The nationally tuned universal categories that came out of this process served as a kind of scaffolding for reconstructing Arabic literary practices and tastes.<sup>73</sup> Over time the Arabo-centric universals become progressively closer to global standards. Terms like *'jahiliyya'* remain untranslatable, in the sense intended by Cassin and Apter, due to their unique semantic histories, but are displaced for universal usage by specially coined, homogenised terms like *bada'i* ('primitive'). Arabo-centric modifications of world literary history may be attenuated once the canons of world literature are the only game in town. The traces of the nation's externality to the national system, however, can never disappear entirely, and so its universal categories and its world literature, while globalised, can never fully be global.

## Notes

1. These works, by Jurji Zaydan and Hasan al-<sup>c</sup>Adl, are discussed below.
2. Albert Hourani observes a similar phenomenon in regard to the encyclopedia entitled *Da'irat al-ma'arif* edited by Sulayman al-Bustani's uncle, Butrus al-Bustani, and to which Sulayman contributed: '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'. Albert Hourani, *Islam in European Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 173.
3. See, for example, Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 1: 65–6; H. Al-Khateeb, 'Rūḥī Al-Khālidi: A pioneer of comparative literature in Arabic', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 18 (1987): 81–7; Wajih Fanus, 'Sulaymān al-Bustānī and comparative literary studies in Arabic', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 17 (1986): 105–19; Hashim Yaghi, *al-Naqd al-adabi al-hadith fi Lubnan* (Cairo: Dar al-ma'arif, 1968), 271–308; <sup>c</sup>Isam Bahi, *Tala'ic al-muqarana fi l-adab al-<sup>c</sup>Arabi al-hadith* (Cairo: Dar al-nashr lil-jami'at, 1996), which devotes a chapter to each work.
4. Evelyn Richardson, 'Bustānī's Iliad and imperialism in the Middle East', in E. Boehmer (ed.), *The Global Histories of Books* (Cham: Springer, 2017), 243–69; Haifa Saud Alfaisal, 'Liberty and the literary: Coloniality and Nahdawist comparative criticism of Rūḥī Al-Khālidi's *History of the Science of Literature with the Franks, the Arabs, and Victor Hugo* (1904)', *Modern Language Quarterly* 77: 4 (December 2016): 523–46.

5. On Goethe's concept, see Erich Auerbach, Maire Said and Edward Said, 'Philology and "Weltliteratur"', *The Centennial Review* 13: 1 (1969): 1–17, and Fritz Strich, *Goethe and World Literature* (New York: Hafner, 1949). On world literature as an institution, see Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. Malcolm DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), and Mads Rosendahl Thomsen, *Mapping World Literature: International Canonization and Transnational Literatures* (London: Continuum, 2010).
6. Casanova, *The World Republic*, 75–81.
7. Aamir R. Mufti, *Forget English!: Orientalisms and World Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016), 57–8.
8. Casanova, *The World Republic*, 90. Italics in original.
9. Casanova, *The World Republic*, 12.
10. The translation barrier to which I am referring is not an inherent property of human languages, as in the notion of 'the untranslatable' encountered in the work of Barbara Cassin and Emily Apter. See Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (London: Verso, 2013). I refer rather to the barriers created by the separate literary worlds of different literary traditions of the past. These literary worlds have become increasingly homogenised over the last two centuries, as have written languages, resulting in the progressive diminishment of the translation barrier.
11. Najib al-Haddad, 'Muqabala bayn al-shi'r al-<sup>o</sup>Arabi wa-l-shi'r al-ifranji', *Fusul* 4: 2 (1984): 257–71. The original article appeared over the course of three issues of the journal *al-Bayan*, nos. 7, 8, 9 (1897).
12. Jayyusi, *Trends*, 65–6; Geert Jan van Gelder, 'Najib Al-Haddad's essay on the comparison of Arabic and European poetry', in J. R. Smart (ed.), *Tradition and Modernity in Arabic Language and Literature* (London: Curzon, 1996), 144–52; Bahi, *Tala'ic*, 65–79.
13. On this process, see Yaseen Noorani, 'Hard and soft multilingualism', *Critical Multilingualism Studies* 1: 2 (2013): 7–28.
14. Al-Haddad invokes the medieval critical debate as to whether 'the sweetest poetry' is the most truthful or the most untruthful. This notion of 'truth', however, differed from Romantic canons of poetic truth.
15. Al-Haddad, 'Muqabala', 268.
16. See van Gelder, 'Najib al-Haddad', 151; Bahi, *Tala'ic*, 78.
17. On Najib al-Haddad's popular but critically assailed adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, see Mark Bayer, 'The martyrs of love and the emergence of the Arab cultural consumer', *Critical Survey* 19: 3 (1 December 2007): 6–26; Muhammad Yusuf Najm, *Al-Masrahiyya fi l-adab al-<sup>o</sup>arabi al-hadith, 1847–1914* (Beirut: Dar al-thaqafa, 1967), 227–9.
18. On *Da'irat al-ma'arif* see Hourani, 'Bustani's encyclopedia', in *Islam in European Thought*, 164–73; Marilyn Booth, *Classes of Ladies of Cloistered Spaces: Writing Feminist History Through Biography in Fin-de-siècle Egypt* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), chap. 5. On al-Bustani's

- life, see Hourani, 'Sulaiman al-Bustani and the *Iliad*', in *Islam in European Thought*; Jurj Ghurayyib, *Sulayman al-Bustani fi muqaddimat al-Ilyadha* (Beirut: Dar al-thaqafa, 1966); Munif Musa, *Sulayman al-Bustani fi hayatih wa-fikrih wa-adabih* (Beirut: Dar al-fikr al-Lubnani, 1984).
19. Sulayman Khattar al-Bustani, *ʿIbra wa-dhikra, aw, al-dawla al-ʿuthmanyaya qabla al-dustur wa-baʿdah* (Cairo: Matbaʿat al-akhbar, 1908).
  20. Sulayman al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', in Homer, *Al-Ilyadha*, trans. Sulayman al-Bustani (Cairo: Muʿassasat al-Hindawi, 2012), 9–183; 59–60.
  21. For the translations of the *Iliad* from which al-Bustani may have benefited, see Richardson, 'Bustānī's *Iliad*', 245.
  22. On this reception and its attendees, see Hourani, *Islam in European Thought*, 174–87; 179–80. For contemporary reports and details of speeches, see 'al-Ihtifal bi-mutarjim al-Ilyadha', *al-Muqtataf* 29: 7 (1 July 1904): 669–79; 'Walimat al-Bustani aw ihtifal al-umma bi-l-Ilyadha al-ʿArabiyya', *al-Hilal* 12: 18 (1 July 1904): 575–7; Rashid Rida, 'al-Ihtifal bi-muʿarrib al-Ilyadha', *al-Manar* 7: 7 (15 June 1904): 273–6.
  23. Homer, *Al-Ilyadha*, 25. Rashid Rida, a speaker at the banquet in honour of al-Bustani, took an opposing position, arguing that the Arabs had no pressing reason to translate the *Iliad* in the Abbasid period, but that it is a worthwhile task in the present. See the article in *al-Manar* cited above.
  24. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 59.
  25. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 28.
  26. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 174–8.
  27. See Noorani, 'Hard and soft multilingualism', 18–26.
  28. Note, for example, the title of Jurji Zaydan's work, *al-Lugha al-ʿarabiyya kaʿin hayy* ('the Arabic language is a living being').
  29. Jaroslav Stetkevych documents the adaptation of written Arabic to European lexical, syntactic and stylistic forms, in *The Modern Arabic Literary Language: Lexical and Stylistic Developments* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2006). For more on this process, see Joshua Blau, *The Renaissance of Modern Hebrew and Modern Standard Arabic: Parallels and Differences in the Revival of Two Semitic Languages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), chapter 4; Adrian Gully, 'The changing face of modern written Arabic: An update', *al-ʿArabiyya* 26 (1993): 19–59; and Clive Holes, *Modern Arabic: Structures, Functions, and Varieties* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 2004), 46–7.
  30. He explains his choice of this term on page 143.
  31. See the speech of Yaʿqub Sarruf given in the *al-Muqtataf* article cited above, which cites the 'Sirat ʿAntara b. Shaddad' as the Arabic equivalent of the *Iliad*.
  32. The major Egyptian scholar of comparative literature, Tahir Ahmad Makki, emphasises this point of literary contact and cites the French orientalist Caussin de Perceval's description of the odes known as the *muʿallaqat* as the *Iliad* of the Arabs in support. See Tahir Ahmad Makki, *Al-Adab*

- al-muqaran: Usuluh wa-tatawwuruh wa-manahijuh* (Cairo: Dar al-ma'arif, 1987), 454–5.
33. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 147.
  34. See Richardson, 'Bustānī's Iliad', 257–9.
  35. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 60.
  36. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 173–6.
  37. For evaluations of the quality of *al-Ilyadha* as poetry and as translation, see Jayyusi, *Trends*, 66, and Andras Hamori, 'Reality and convention in Book Six of Bustani's "Iliad"', *Journal of Semitic Studies* 23 (1 January 1978): 95–101. See also Richardson, 'Bustānī's Iliad', 255–6, for an analysis supporting Bustani's success in capturing the original.
  38. See Yaseen Noorani, 'Estrangement and selfhood in the classical concept of watan', *Journal of Arabic Literature* 47: 1–2 (2016): 16–42.
  39. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 148.
  40. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 112.
  41. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 107.
  42. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 112.
  43. On the role of mythology in secular thought, see Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular: Christianity, Islam, Modernity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), chapter 1. The rapid establishment of this attitude in Arabic literary circles can be seen in the formation of the Apollo group of poets in Cairo and the publication of their journal *Apollo* (1932–4) in which the leading writers of the day participated.
  44. Al-Bustani, 'Muqaddima', 63.
  45. The cards placed at each table setting showed an image of Mount Lebanon and Lebanese cedars together with the pyramids and the Sphinx. Speeches given at the event, particularly Sulayman al-Bustani's own remarks, dwelt on the topic of Syrian-Egyptian connections. See the article in *al-Muqtataf*, cited above.
  46. Gustave Edmund Von Grunebaum, *Modern Islam: The Search for Cultural Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 231–2. For a refutation of his view, see Mounah Khouri, *Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt (1882–1922)* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 156–7.
  47. This work appeared in installments in *al-Hilal* from the 1 January 1894 issue through to the 1 April 1895 issue. For a discussion of this work and its role in incorporating Arabic into world history, see Michael Allan, *In the Shadow of World Literature* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), chap. 4.
  48. See the first installment, which discusses European histories of literature and explains the choice of the word *ādāb* as an approximate translation for the term 'literature'. Jurji Zaydan, 'Tarikh al-adab al-ʿArabiyya min aqdam azmaniha ila hadha al-yawm', *al-Hilal* 2: 9 (1 January 1894): 260–65; 260.
  49. Muhammad Diyab, *Tarikh adab al-lugha al-ʿarabiyya*, ed. Mustafa Bayyumi ʿAbd al-Salam (Cairo: al-Majlis al-aʿla lil-thaqafa, 2003), 13. For a discus-

- sion of this work and its significance in the history of literary criticism in Egypt, see °Abd al-°Aziz al-Dusuqi, *Tatawwur al-naqd al-°arabi al-hadith fi Misr*, ser. al-Maktaba al-°arabiyya (Cairo: al-Hay°a al-Misriyya al-°amma lil-kitab, 1977), 176–82.
50. Hasan Tawfiq al-°Adl, *Tarikh adab al-lugha al-°arabiyya*, ed. Walid Mahmud Tawfiq (United Arab Emirates: W. M. Khalis, 1992).
  51. For some examples of this judgement, see al-Dusuqi, *Tatawwur*, 183–6; Makki, *Al-Adab al-muqaran*, 173; al-°Adl, *Tarikh*, 27.
  52. See al-°Adl, *Tarikh*, 49, 68–9, and for al-Khalidi see below.
  53. Al-Bustani, ‘Muqaddima’, 137.
  54. Al-Bustani, ‘Muqaddima’, 78–85. See for example, Muhammad Mandur, *Muhadarat °an masrahiyyat Shawqi: Hayatuh wa-shi°ruh* (Cairo: Jami°at al-duwal al-°arabiyya; Ma°had al-dirasat al-°arabiyya al-°aliyya, 1955), 38.
  55. Al-Bustani, ‘Muqaddima’, 56.
  56. A rare exception is the prose Arabic translation by al-Bundari of the Persian epic *Shahnama*, which was made in 1227 CE. This translation, however, paraphrases the narration, leaving out poetic imagery and details. It aims to convey the content of the stories rather than capture what would later be regarded as the literary genius of the poem. See Firdawsī, *Al-Shahnama*, trans. al-Fath Ibn °Ali al-Bundari, ed. °Abd al-Wahhab °Azzam (Cairo: Dar al-kutub al-misriyya, 1932).
  57. On al-Khalidi’s life, see Al-Khateeb, ‘Rūhī Al-Khālidi’, and Jihad Salih, *Ruhi al-Khalidi (1864–1912): Ra°id al-bahth al-tarikhi wa-l-adab al-muqaran* (Ramallah: Manshurat al-Ittihad al-°amm lil-kuttab wa-l-udaba° al-filastiniyyin, 2010).
  58. Muhammad Ruhi al-Khalidi, *Asbab al-inqilab al-°uthmani wa-Turkiyya al-Fatat: Asdaq tarikh li-a°zam inqilab* (Cairo: Matba°at al-Manar, 1908).
  59. The first installment: ‘Victor Hugo wa-°ilm al-adab °inda al-Ifranj wa-l-°Arab’, *al-Hilal* 11: 4 (15 November 1902): 103–8. The first book edition was: Ruhi al-Khalidi, *Tarikh °ilm al-adab °inda al-Ifranj wa-al-°Arab wa-Fiktur Huku* (Cairo: Matba°at al-Hilal, 1904); a second edition was published by the same press in 1912. The edition cited here is: Ruhi al-Khalidi, *Tarikh °ilm al-adab °inda al-Ifranj wa-l-°Arab wa-Fiktur Huku* (Damascus: Al-Ittihad al-°amm lil-kuttab wa-l-suhufiyyin al-Filastiniyyin, 1984).
  60. Al-Khalidi discusses with approval the efforts of contemporary orientalists such as Goldziher and Renan but does not mention orientalists of the earlier nineteenth century (*Tarikh*, 183–4).
  61. The latter point is made by Edward Said as well in his *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1994 [1978]), 168. Al-Khalidi makes no mention of one of the notes appended to Hugo’s volume, in which Hugo reproduces extracts from pre-Islamic Arabic poems translated by Ernest Fouinet (1799–1845). On this topic, see Pierre Larcher, ‘Autour des *Orientales*: Victor Hugo, Ernest Fouinet et la poésie arabe archaïque’, *Bulletin d’études orientales* LXII: 1 (26 June 2014): 99–123.

62. Ahmad Kamil, 'Balaghat al-<sup>o</sup>Arab wa-l-Ifranj', *al-Muqtataf* 24: 1 (1 January 1900): 38–47.
63. Khalil Thabit, 'Balaghat al-<sup>o</sup>Arab wa-l-Ifranj', *al-Muqtataf* 24: 3 (1 March 1900): 213–18; Niqula Fayad, 'Balaghat al-<sup>o</sup>Arab wa-l-Ifranj', *al-Muqtataf* 24: 4 (1 April 1900): 291–5.
64. Taha Husayn, in the 1920s, discussed the translation problem in an article in which he attempted to demonstrate the poetic brilliance of Baudelaire and Sully Prudhomme. 'In foreign poetry particularly, and in foreign literature generally, there are images that are extremely difficult to transfer into the Arabic language, so that when they are transferred, we find them unpalatable and disconcerting to the mind and ear. Yet they delight us and fully satisfy us when we encounter them in their original language.' Taha Husayn, *Hafiz wa-Shawqi* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Khanji, 1963), 45–6. The solution to this problem, according to Taha Husayn, is to keep translating these images into Arabic and imitating them until Arabic taste becomes accustomed to them.
65. All references to al-Khalidi's book, by page number, are to the following edition: Ruhi al-Khalidi, *Tarikh 'ilm al-adab 'inda al-Ifranj wa-l-<sup>o</sup>Arab wa-Fiktur Huku* (Damascus: Al-Itihad al-<sup>o</sup>amm lil-kuttab wa-l-suhufiyyin al-Filastiniyyin, 1984).
66. On the importance of the Qur'an in al-Khalidi's exposition, see Alfaisal, 'Liberty', 534.
67. Although his observation 'the body of the beloved in their convention is a garden in which all flowers, fruits, trees, rivers, hills, dales, grottoes are present. It is as if all of natural creation is manifested in this body' (203) could have served as the basis for a more penetrating inquiry.
68. See Filib al-Khazin, *Al-<sup>o</sup>Adhara al-ma'isat fi l-<sup>o</sup>azjal wa-l-muwashshahat* (Beirut: Dar al-thaqafa, 2000). Al-Khazin cites a certain bishop whom I am not able to identify as the scholarly backing for his claim. Al-Khalidi discusses the article he read about al-Khazin's work on page 100. On the manuscript edited by al-Khazin, see Dwight Reynolds, 'Lost virgins found: The Arabic songbook genre and an early North African exemplar', *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 7 (2012): 69–105.
69. Muhammad Ghunaymi Hilal, *Al-Adab al-muqarin* (Cairo: Maktabat al-Anjlu al-Misriyya, 1970), 270–84; Makki, *Al-Adab al-muqaran*, 464–5. For an argument against poetic influence in either direction, see J. A. Abu-Haidar, *Hispano-Arabic Literature and the Early Provençal Lyrics* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001).
70. Casanova, *World Republic*, 58–64.
71. Al-Khalidi refers to a paper on this topic given by Abd al-Rahim Ahmad in 1897 at the Eleventh International Conference of Orientalists in Paris (166). Tahir Makki foregrounds Arabic influence on Spanish picaresque novels as well as on Dante in the context of comparative literature. See *al-Adab al-muqaran*, 215–19.

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72. Al-Khalidi twice mentions the forthcoming translation of the *Iliad* with approbation (65, 166).
73. On the exclusionary consequences of the Arabic entrance into world literature, see Allan, *In the Shadow*.

**Girlhood Translated? Fénelon's *Traité de l'éducation des filles* (1687) as a Text of Egyptian Modernity (1901, 1909)**

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*Marilyn Booth*

In Cairo in 1901, the creative transmission of borrowed texts had been feeding into local debates over the meanings of modernity for decades. No topic was more central than that of customary gendered practices and the theological and social-spatial ramifications of altering them. The era saw an outpouring of practically focused, didactic texts aimed at disciplining the young in gender-specific ways. While their origins were often local, translational practices contributed to this material production that arose from and helped to shape shifting understandings, habits and architectures. As critical as many intellectuals were of 'Western' practices concerning gender relations and the behaviour of the young, borrowed texts could also lend authority. Among such texts that derived polemical and pedagogic weight from translation are two versions of a seventeenth-century French work that had already travelled far in translation.

Around 1677, in the environs of Paris, the Duchesse de Beauvillier (Henriette-Louise Colbert, 1660–1733) asked her friend and spiritual counsellor François Fénelon for advice. How should she raise a daughter? (The *duchesse* and her *duc* had nine daughters, so this was no idle question.) The outcome was a short treatise that Fénelon wrote seemingly without publication in mind. But *Traité de l'éducation des filles* has had many afterlives in print.

François Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon (1651–1715) is remembered for his opposition to the harsh treatment of Huguenots following Louis XIV's revocation of the Edict of Nantes which had protected them; for his novel *Les aventures de Télémaque, fils d'Ulysse* (1699), possibly the first world-literature bestseller, widely translated and interpreted as a critique of monarchic absolutism; and for a theological quarrel with his mentor Bossuet over Quietism (1696–99), resulting in Fénelon's banishment from court and the end to his position as tutor to the heir apparent. But this was



all in the future for the twenty-six-year-old Fénelon when the treatise on education began to circulate in manuscript form. As his first published book, in 1687 (a decade after the duchess posed her question), it initiated his rise to fame.

Two centuries later, *L'Éducation* appeared twice in Arabic within a single decade, in 1901 and 1909, in Cairo. By then, the fiercest debates in Arab intellectual circles over *whether* girls should be educated had waned. But the contents and venues of girls' education remained contentious. In the context of the British occupation of Egypt (1882) and the growing presence of Europeans locally along with their consumer practices and technologies, the purchase of cultural authenticity was strong, especially when it came to gendered behaviours and practices. Yet, Fénelon's treatise was repositioned – twice – as a culturally authentic and didactically useful text for a locally meaningful modernity. What kinds of vernacularisation did its migration demand, in order to be locally useable? If we consider translation to be an interested reading of a text – one with some sort of political intention behind it, even if we cannot know precisely what that was – then diverse translations suggest a range of contextually specific positions the text could inhabit. There is no evidence that the second translator knew of the earlier translation: these appear to have been entirely independent ventures. Reading both translations against the original French text and reading each text for its distinctive translation method and paratextual framing, I show how this seventeenth-century French Catholic work could be appropriated for competing responses to the awkward question of women's and girls' proper places in an aspirationally modern Egypt.

In 1901 *L'Éducation* becomes a secularised (or at least de-religionised) work of masculinist-reformist rhetoric aimed at disciplining females as mothers and daughters. It appears as an explicitly gendered conduct literature is emerging in Egypt, furnishing the new sector of locally founded girls' schools with curricula.<sup>1</sup> In 1909, it resurfaces as a primer for Egyptian parents – positioned by the text explicitly as Muslims – which models a modernist Islamic pedagogy. In both, the French text is localised as part of a new conduct literature and in echoing much earlier Islamic-Arabic discourses on ethics, home management, and the complex of cultural refinement and proper comportment known as *adab*. The 'same' text comes to speak in Arabic for differently inflected reform agendas at a time when an internally differentiated range of views about nation-building, with diverse ideas about 'change', were taking shape. It is important not to dichotomise these different approaches, to recognise that they were not necessarily in competition and that each was internally

heterogeneous. Yet, the translations themselves suggest distinct speaking positions, reminding us that translation is a contingent act, politically modulated. Tracing the divergent translational strategies that differently positioned culture workers operated on the same text can help us think through the range of political expectations and rhetorical aspirations that these participants in national dialogue carried, and communicated.

### *Fénelon and the Call for Girls' Education*

In late seventeenth-century France *Traité de l'éducation des filles* was bold in calling for a new approach to educating girl children. In the twentieth and twenty-first centuries it has been read as conservative, essentialist, even misogynist. Yet, some scholars have cautiously recuperated it for a more woman-friendly outlook. For one thing, much of its focus is not girls' education but rather the nature and needs of the young child, facilitating a reading which emphasises girls' and boys' equal capacities for intellectual development.

Indeed, *L'Éducation* may have become so widely salient – translated across Europe and beyond – because its amalgam of features and digressive, conversational structure allowed a range of readings. As Sabine Melchior-Bonnet has remarked, the treatise was not a manual. Its casual style suggests it may not have been intended for publication, but its penchant for practical observations and personal, lively tone are the very qualities that give it appeal.<sup>2</sup> Patricia Touboul has observed that as a work written for a friend in need rather than as a systematic treatise, its digressive organisation frequently collapses 'what ought to be' with 'what is', a confusion that can lead readers to mistake critique of the present for a misogynistic outlook on the future.<sup>3</sup> As Claire Boulard Jouslin notes, studying its reception in eighteenth-century England, 'Although Fénelon's text was systematically depicted as a reformer's document, its content, which mixes both progressive and conservative ideas on education, could serve widely differing purposes.'<sup>4</sup>

But how can Fénelon's book be read both as misogynist and as women-friendly? In its opening focus on early childhood, *L'Éducation* does not assign fixed natures to sexed bodies. Yet some behaviours it highlights as 'feminine' constitute 'themes of traditional misogyny', as Melchior-Bonnet has observed.<sup>5</sup> These include exhibiting extreme affect (being moved to tears constantly, for instance); mistaking *bel esprit* for sound judgement; absorption in bodily appearance and self-adornment practices; and extensive novel-reading. Such themes were easily transferable to nineteenth-century reform agendas the world over. Egyptian

reformer-writers targeted, sometimes obsessively, feminine adornment and novel consumption as the preoccupations (they said) of elite Arab girls. (In one of the Arabic translations, fancy clothes and novels loom larger than they do in the original, while in the second, a preface highlights them as key issues.)

But in the original, Fénelon does not essentialise these practices as ‘naturally’ feminine. He sees them as arising from parents’ problematic attitudes and careless approaches to girls’ training. He posits unrestrained emotionality as the common habitude of small children, boys and girls, which must be redirected through sensitive education. That training happens for boys, while girls are left in an eternal childhood.<sup>6</sup>

Thus, Fénelon’s descriptions of young females as emotionally undisciplined, judgementally unsound and obsessively concerned with personal appearance are contextualised within prevailing modes of girls’ training. That the book is addressed to a woman as a competent, caring, spiritually self-aware, and knowledgeable being carries its own message of respect.<sup>7</sup> Yet, when Fénelon moves from the unfixed nature of the child to prescription of an educational programme, girls are ascribed some fixity: ‘the notion that women were weak and that, as a result, their instruction must be contained within strict limits, was integral’ to his book.<sup>8</sup> Fénelon affirms the home as women’s ideal space of action and site of education: ideally, as the space where females both educate and are educated as future homemakers. But throughout, he insists on the rightness of giving girls serious and ample training. His reasoning would have made sense to reformist intellectuals in Egypt. And in both seventeenth-century France and early twentieth-century Egypt, the assumed objects of this training are elite girls, spatially sequestered by virtue of class status as much as gender assignment.

*L’Éducation* appears a very modern text, with its focus on the child’s physical and psychological development and emphasis on the educator as facilitator, sensitive to children’s individual needs. Octave Gréard (1828–1904), whose own book on girls’ education had recently been re-issued when he published a new edition of Fénelon’s work in 1885, highlighted this feature in his preface.<sup>9</sup> Outlining Fénelon’s pedagogic principles, stressing his insistence on helping the child understand the aims of learning and finding ways to make it enjoyable, Gréard concludes that ‘this is none other than what we demand today’. That a prominent educator and writer of pedagogical works would edit this work, introducing it with an eighty-three-page introduction, demonstrates the text’s continuing relevance in late nineteenth-century France.<sup>10</sup> Gréard enthused that the work’s defense of girls’ education ‘could have been written yesterday’.<sup>11</sup> Indeed, the book was influential as girls’ education expanded in France: ‘at least

twenty-nine new editions were published between 1810 and 1870', notes Christina de Bellaigue, and its emphases on a controlled domestically oriented pedagogy and strict limits to what and how much girls should read – and the overall message that 'for women, instruction was seen as the foundation of moral improvement, rather than intellectual growth' – were evident in educationalists' work.<sup>12</sup> The text was a coevally resonant one for Gréard in Paris and his contemporaries in Cairo. *L'Éducation* may not have been 'the same' text in Paris as it was in Cairo, but it could speak simultaneously to shared outlooks and concerns of audiences in both capitals.

### *The Arabic Translations*

If Fénelon's *Télémaque* was translated quickly into many languages and multiple editions, *L'Éducation* was not far behind. In English, it appeared in many translations, from 1699 on, published in England, Scotland and the United States, sometimes with supplemental 'improvements' that enterprising translators advertised. Across Europe, it was translated, adapted and incorporated into other works. Throughout the nineteenth century it popped up in contexts of aspirational post-imperial nation-formation, when pedagogy as a national project and 'the condition of women' were seen to be of vital and intersecting importance. This diffusion of Fénelon's ideas and works through translation, adaptation and commentary has been seen as important to circulating Enlightenment ideals across Europe.<sup>13</sup> That his works formed a part of the nineteenth-century movement for cultural-social reinvigoration known as the *nahda* in the Ottoman Empire, including Egypt, is not surprising.

Although in Arabophone circles Fénelon was likely known first for *Télémaque* (published in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish in the 1860s), *L'Éducation* was known to some Arab writers and readers long before its translation. In 1875, an article from Egypt's official newspaper *al-Waqa'i al-misriyya* was quoted in the pedagogical journal *Rawdat al-madaris*, citing Fénelon's treatise to support an argument for girls' education.<sup>14</sup> The journal's editor was the renowned writer, translator, educator and senior government official Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi (1801–73), an early supporter of girls' education who had spent time in France. It has been suggested that *L'Éducation* was the basis for al-Tahtawi's own pedagogical manual-cum-school reader (1872/3).<sup>15</sup>

*L'Éducation* continued to receive sporadic mention. An article in *al-Muqtataf*, a journal that popularised European thought, was cited in 1891 by Shaykh Hamza Fathallah (1849–1918), a religious scholar turned

commentator on ‘what women are due’. In his book on the topic, he told readers that the French had ‘mistreated’ women, but Fénelon and other reformers tried to rectify that.<sup>16</sup>

### ***1901: Secularising Fénelon in an Islamically Identified Journal***

The first Arabic rendering of *L'Éducation* appeared in the context of responses to a controversial work on the politics of gender with a provocative title, *Tahrir al-mar'ā* (Emancipation of Women, 1899), and then its sequel, *al-Mar'ā al-jadida* (The New Woman, 1900/01), authored by lawyer Qasim Amin (1863–1908). Amin touched upon the sensitive issues of middle- and upper-class urban women’s visibility and mobility, calling for an end to extreme gender segregation and full-face veiling in the interests of forming a national womanhood more conducive to the lifestyle and outlook of modernist men. He went too far for some, and his books generated a wealth of responses from enthusiastic to vituperative. His 1900/1 response to critics dwelt on the importance of women’s educational and professional engagements to the success of European and North American societies, and amongst texts he quoted – maintaining also the centrality of females’ domestic work – was Fénelon’s preface.<sup>17</sup> The appearance of the first Arabic version of *L'Éducation* at this precise moment and in this particular venue positions it (somewhat ironically) as a more cautious ‘local’ voice in an ongoing debate that Amin’s works intensified (they were by no means the first to raise issues of girls’ education and mobility).

The translation appeared in a journal founded explicitly in response to the furore Amin’s books unleashed. *Al-Mar'ā fi l-Islam* (Woman in Islam) was founded in 1901 and lasted for fourteen issues published over seven and one-half months. The founder-editor, Ibrahim Ramzi (1867–1924), was an enterprising intellectual from the Fayyum oasis south of Cairo who founded a local newspaper there and authored a novel and a local history. He came to Cairo after a few months in Paris and frequented the reform circles of modernising shaykhs at al-Azhar University. He intended his journal as a forum for men concerned about the condition of women. I have argued that this journal was less about the much discussed ‘condition of women’ than it was concerned with the more silently present condition of (elite) men.<sup>18</sup> This is evident in the journal’s politics of address. It might seem to speak to women as subjects of concern. Yet women are not the addressees: as is also the case in Amin’s books, women and girls are the objects of debate, the potential targets of reforms chosen and engineered by men. Men are constructed as ‘you’ and ‘we’, whilst women are almost always ‘they’. As literate men were far more numerous than literate

women, and occupied public and professional positions as women did not, one might explain this pattern of address as a practical politics. But it is also an outcome and motor of hierarchies of authority which incorporate and assume the male as guardian and instructor, sustaining a patriarchal gender hierarchy that is modernised (at least discursively) but not dismantled. Such a politics of address is a significant technology in maintaining an ideology of gender hierarchy.<sup>19</sup> Ramzi was apparently closely associated with Amin.<sup>20</sup> Was he partly inspired to feature Fénelon's text because Amin had quoted him? In any case, Fénelon's treatise suited the outlook and approach of both men.

Ramzi's journal highlighted not visibility or mobility but a particular kind of education: *tarbiya*. This verbal noun connotes 'upbringing' or 'training' and by extension, 'moral education' or 'building character', as opposed to *ta'lim*, academic learning.<sup>21</sup> *Tarbiya* was the pivot of Ramzi's editorials and other writings he featured. Ramzi's big concern was the *tarbiya* of females as it shaped the *tarbiya* of Egyptian children, whom he imagined as 'boys and future mothers'.<sup>22</sup> Mothers' alleged inability to properly raise sons was to blame, Ramzi intimated, for those sons' lacunae as adult workers for the nation.<sup>23</sup> He was not alone in this view: it suited a reformist discourse that seemed to support and respect female members of the nation by arguing for their schooling, yet framed this in a language of objectification that privileged critique, blame and lack. (The extent to which its proponents qualified this critique by ascribing the situation to the historical treatment of women and not to fixed sexed natures varied from one commentator to another and within individual corpuses.)

In one article, Ramzi went so far as to attribute the British occupation of Egypt to Egyptians' failure to educate girls.<sup>24</sup> Ramzi regularly criticised European presences and European authority in Egypt, and framed his reformist programme in Islamic sources and decidedly not through European thought. Interestingly, the authorship and provenance of *L'Éducation* are muted when it appears in Ramzi's journal: Fénelon is mentioned only in a terse footnote to the first installment: 'Arabized with modifications from Fénelon's book'. But it is not surprising that Ramzi would feature Fénelon's treatise in his reform-oriented journal. His view of social organisation incorporated ideas about marriage and family formation that paralleled prevailing views in Europe. Like others, he distinguished 'Western progress' from what he saw as local youths' degenerate versions of it.<sup>25</sup> It is not difficult to read *L'Éducation* in a way that converges with Ramzi's emphasis (like Amin's) on women as both victimisers and victims.

Located in different eras, locales and ideological systems, but equally

in strongly patriarchal systems with elite authoritarian social management, both Ramzi and Fénelon articulated a largely instrumentalist view of girls' education, as preparation for domestic futures.<sup>26</sup> Both criticised what they saw as the superficial and deleterious nature of girls' training predominant in each one's milieu.

'Tarbiyat al-banat' appeared in eight installments beginning in *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam*'s July 1901 issue. It was said to be 'translated with modifications' (*bi-tasarruf*) though readers were not advised what those modifications were.<sup>27</sup> Ramzi was fluent in French as well as Turkish but he was not Fénelon's translator. We only find out who the translator is at the end of the final installment.<sup>28</sup> Most installments of the translation are followed immediately by excerpts from a soon-to-be-published book on home management by one Fransis Mikha'il, and he turns out to be Fénelon's translator: 'Arabizer of the book of Fénelon'.<sup>29</sup> By 1901, Ramzi had known Mikha'il for at least six years: as head of the Coptic School in the Fayyum, Mikha'il had been treasurer of the Literary Awakening Society there (founded c. 1892), of which Ramzi was president.<sup>30</sup>

Mikha'il was to become the author of several self-help books on modern domesticity aimed at an emerging readership of girls and young women, but also at husbands and fathers. These included *al-Tadbir al-manzili lil-banat* (Home Management for Girls, 1901? and many later editions; it was still being published in 1933). This was the work published in *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam*. When he came out with *al-Qisas al-nisa'iyya li-ma'rifat al-shu'un al-manziliyya* (Women's stories for learning household matters, Pt. 1, Cairo 1921), Mikha'il was defined on the title page as 'a specialist in the art and technique [*fann*] of home management and the founder-head of the Home Management Schools Project [*sahib mashru' madaris al-tadbir al-manzili*]. Mikha'il's preoccupations as a household-management expert are evident in his translation.<sup>31</sup>

To translate Fénelon's title as 'Tarbiyat al-banat' gave the work immediate vernacular resonance. *Éducation* is translated throughout as *tarbiya*, not as *ta'lim*. This made sense given both *éducation*'s semantic field in French and Fénelon's focus on character formation and the 'training' of the infant and very young child. But it also perfectly suited the agenda of Egypt's reform-minded intelligentsia and their attitude to girls' education. They emphasised moral training: 'al-Tarbiya wa-l-adab' (moral training and polished manners) was the title of Ramzi's regular magazine column. Ramzi's gendered educational agenda highlighted home management skills and deemphasised scholarship for females, while including basic reading, writing and maths. *Tarbiya* as conveyed 'from' Fénelon 'to' these Arabic texts drew both on notions of moral education and childhood

training in France and on a history of this concept in Arabic and Islamic texts. Its seamlessness in this sense, in a text like Fénelon's in Arabic, suggests what Christopher Hill has elaborated as 'conceptual universalisations' in a transnational nineteenth-century context, where terms are not simply 'translated' but have undergone sufficient travel, abstraction and popularisation in different contexts to be assumed as universally applicable. *Tarbiya* with its local roots is not a simple instance of such travel, given its long indigenous history. But its presence in Fénelon's title exemplifies how concepts with long histories in more than one place and language might converge and 'work on' one another, mediating their local pertinence in discrete sites.<sup>32</sup> Hill suggests that

national or international histories of translation lose sight of the source of the normative power of concepts in circulation in the nineteenth century, which was not the creation of equivalents, or the concepts' 'Western' origin, but the assertion that they applied in all places at all times.<sup>33</sup>

Yet this 'assertion' might obscure local importance (or conversely, might demonstrate the 'universal' salience of a *local* term). Such concepts as *tarbiya* retained their own 'national' history and this was what made them powerful as tools for appropriating texts from elsewhere into their own cultural ambit.

The text's opening sentence would work as well in 1901 Cairo as in 1687 Paris (or 1901 Paris, for that matter). 'Rien n'est plus négligé que l'éducation des filles' (nothing is more neglected than the education of girls), states Fénelon immediately. Reproducing this general statement, Mikha'il localises the text immediately by making explicit what was perhaps implicitly local in the French, by adding *ladayna* (among us). The next sentence is equally at home in the era's Arabic discourse: 'La coutume et le caprice des mères y décident souvent de tout'. ('Custom and the caprices of mothers often decide the whole matter'.)<sup>34</sup> Mikha'il turns this into a categorical, universalised statement by omitting *souvent*, while addition of the qualifier *wahid* (sole) shifts blame from 'custom' or society in general to women's practices and natures: 'The customs and natures of mothers are the sole reason for this neglect'. *Caprice* (whims), which Fénelon later suggests is a feminine trait but not a natural or unchangeable one (otherwise there would be no point in education), becomes 'natures' (*tiba<sup>c</sup>*) in the Arabic. Mikha'il reiterates the theme of 'neglect' by repeating the word *ihmal*, which the French does not do. Mikha'il's wording shifts blame for this 'neglect' to women, alerting us to a consistent feature of this translation: it fixes and essentialises feminine subjecthood in ways that the French text did not. It does this by omitting some qualifiers and



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adding others, deleting the entire discussion of young children's shared qualities, and expanding the content in certain consistent directions.

An example of both compression and expansion occurs almost immediately. A close English translation of the French reads as follows:

A woman's intellect is normally more feeble and her curiosity greater than those of a man; also it is undesirable to set her to studies which may turn her head. Women should not govern the state or make war or enter the sacred ministry. Thus they can dispense with some of the more difficult branches of knowledge . . . They are made for exercise in moderation. Their bodies as well as their minds are less strong and robust than those of men. On the other hand, nature has given them as a recompense industry, neatness, and economy, so as to keep them quietly occupied in their homes.<sup>35</sup>

And the Arabic:

Since nature created the gentle sex with less intellect [*‘aql*] than males, it compensated with other advantageous attributes [*mazaya*] that males do not have. Women are more cognizant of economy, good order and organisation, and of managing and cleaning the home. Nature gave that sex all of this in order to divert [females] away from what is outside and confine [them] in homes without vexation or restlessness.<sup>36</sup>

The Arabic rewrites the French, omitting qualifiers such as 'ordinarily', all reference to extra-domestic work, and 'moderate exercise'. It expands the focus on domestic work through explicitation and concretisation, such as the added reference to cleaning the home. The articulation of women's relation to home space acquires more force through its subtle localisation, signifying elite seclusionary practices. A woman is to remain 'confined' to home rather than being 'kept quietly occupied there'. Mikha'il uses the Arabic verb *qayyada*, to restrict but also to bind or fetter, or to stipulate or fix (as in law). Rather than 'quietly occupied', a woman is to remain at home without *al-dajr* (vexation or annoyance) or *al-tamalmul* (restlessness or grumbling). This is stronger and more negative language than in the French. What can be read as a descriptive text in the French shades toward prescriptive in the Arabic.

Throughout, the Arabic text is more directive than the French in detailing women's obligations, and harsher in characterising women's and girls' alleged behaviours and then condemning them and warning of their consequences.<sup>37</sup> In his preface, French editor Gréard highlighted a passage that could have been written by any number of reformist men in Egypt: 'But can men hope for any sweetness in life for themselves if their closest association – marriage – turns to bitterness? And the children, who will later comprise the entire human species, what will they become,

if the mothers spoil them from their first years?’<sup>38</sup> In the Arabic, this becomes:

How can a man hope for felicity and well-being in his life as long as he is bound to a woman with no training or refinement [*tarbiya, tahdhib*], not to mention that his progeny will become morally corrupt, with savage natures [*fasidat al-akhlaq wahshiyat al-tiba*], because of the bad upbringing their mothers give them when they are children. For when the woman is ignorant, her sons grow up more ignorant than she, because she propagates fairy tales and lies in their minds [*al-khurafat wa-l-akadhib*] and does not deflect them from vices.<sup>39</sup>

Educated professional men in Egypt, France, and elsewhere had personal as well as nationalistically inflected and reformist reasons for attending to female education: it is no wonder that Gréard had heralded Fénelon’s contemporaneity as he highlighted the bishop’s comments on the marital state. Companionate marriage was becoming an ideal of Egypt’s rising bourgeois elite,<sup>40</sup> fueling much of the support for girls’ education. It is difficult to avoid suspecting that arguments such as the above surfaced partly as an antidote to professional men’s frustrations, blaming ‘uneducated women’ for men’s unhappiness as well as for the entire past and future fate of the human species. It is more the use made of Fénelon by men such as Gréard and Mikha’il than it is Fénelon’s work itself that foregrounds this agenda, Gréard through his paratextual selections and Mikha’il by turning Fénelon’s brief reference to marriage into a much more directed attack on women as seeding ‘corruption’ in the family.

As noted earlier, polemics on ‘the woman question’ were buttressed, explored and sometimes contested by an emerging literature of conduct. Although Fénelon’s treatise does not fall into the category of conduct manual, under Mikha’il’s pen this is exactly what it becomes. Mothers – as the endpoint consumers of the text even if not presupposed as its immediate readers – are given detailed home- and body-management instructions that Mikha’il attaches to Fénelon’s more general precepts. I noted that in every issue of *Woman in Islam*, the ‘translation’ is followed immediately by ‘Selections from *Home Management for Girls*’ by none other than Francis Efendi Mikha’il. Fénelon almost acts as a warm-up act for Mikha’il’s own book! (The effect is enhanced since we learn the identity of the translator only at the very end – the work is signed ‘Francis Mikha’il, Arabizer of Fénelon’s book’ – and that it is even a translation only from the footnote at the start.)<sup>41</sup>

Mikha’il’s Arabic text omits much that lies at the heart of Fénelon’s project: his discussion on the state of the brain in infancy, the importance of early impressions, and so forth, which the original sets out in impressive

detail, producing a prescient work on child psychology. The Arabic is more concretely instructional, akin to Mikha<sup>3</sup>il's own authored books, and more focused on educating mothers than on considering children's characters and needs. Where Fénelon asks, 'Are not they [women] the ones who ruin or sustain homes?', Mikha<sup>3</sup>il, turning this into a more forceful question, precedes it with a materially specific notation of duty: 'Is not woman delegated to prepare our food, which is the basis of life? Is she not the single factor in destroying or raising our homes?'<sup>42</sup> This marked focus on the duties of the wife and the mother surfaces not only in the Arabic's greater level of detail on home management and stronger focus on women's alleged flaws but also in its linguistic gender politics. Where the French implies a guardian or educator who could be male or female, even if mothers are implicitly very much in the picture, the Arabic explicitly references mothers as those most appropriate to the task of *tarbiya*. Of course, Fénelon wrote his text in response to a specific mother's question, and so the figure of the mother remains contextually present, but it is a context missing in the Arabic text. Yet, even if 'commissioned' by a woman, Fénelon's treatise does not speak directly to women but rather to all who are concerned with childrearing. Mikha<sup>3</sup>il stages the mother centrally and adds a passage explaining why those who think fathers are in charge of *tarbiya* are in error.<sup>43</sup> For Fénelon, the mother is interlocutor and the child is central; in Mikha<sup>3</sup>il's reworking, men are the major implied addressees but mothers as child educators and homemakers are the central and quite fiercely targeted object.

Given this emphasis on mothers, that the father, and more generally the male addressee, appears at select moments offers Mikha<sup>3</sup>il an opportunity to confirm his blueprint for a modern authoritarian patriarchy. A striking instance of this is his reworking of Fénelon's example of how to model behaviour through indirect instructions communicated through performance, a pedagogy 'not wearisome as are set lessons and reproaches'.

Someone might ask someone else in their [the children's] hearing 'Why are you doing that?' The other might answer 'I am doing it for such and such a reason'. For example: 'Why did you acknowledge your fault?' 'Because I should have committed a greater one if I had denied it like a coward by telling a lie; and nothing is more excellent than saying frankly "I was in the wrong".' After that the first person could praise the other who had thus accused himself.<sup>44</sup>

Mikha<sup>3</sup>il turns the pedagogical point into a criticism of 'books on teaching our girls comportment and virtues' (interesting, since he wrote them) because 'knowledge without action is futile'. He advocates stories,

maxims and examples. His example follows Fénelon's – except in one crucial feature.

If it is evident that the child is lying, the mother and father must agree on narrating a story in front of their child which illustrates lying, its harms and its results. For example, the father comes to the mother and asks her: Why did you do such-and-such? She responds: I did it for such-and-such a reason. [He asks:] And how is it that you acknowledge this error of yours? The mother answers: Because I am not accustomed to lying; it is the worst of traits. There is nothing better than speaking truthfully and frankly . . . And then the father praises the mother for her truthfulness and promises her a gift . . . for she acknowledged her made-up error.<sup>45</sup>

Mikha'íl sets up a gendered hierarchy where the mother is put in the position of acknowledging error; the father is the 'confessor', authority and source of rewards. What would this teach a child about marital relations and gender hierarchy, not to mention women's 'natures'? Might it even shore up a persistent misogynist popular belief that women were 'wily' by nature? The scene and its implications contrast noticeably with Fénelon's ungendered equivalent.

In its publication context – Ramzi's journal – the translation is already framed by the editor's framing of the male reader as instructor. And if the Arabic text targets mothers, Mikha'íl's most explicit addressee is a homosocial masculine community within which he places himself and which is echoed in the enactment of hierarchical gender relations elaborated above. When the French text observes that women's duties are no less important than men's, Mikha'íl changes this to read: 'these are a woman's duties to society and so we must be as concerned with her *tarbiya wa-ta'lim* as we are with our own'.<sup>46</sup> The hailed community of reader-narrator-author (as for Ibrahim Ramzi) appears to be male. The Duchess as direct interlocutor has dropped out. Mikha'íl's specified learning public (mothers) is subsumed within a masculine didactic framework (author, translator, readers) through the homosocial structure of his dominant mode of address. But when he treats specific areas of comportment, he shifts the terms of address, establishing a rhetoric of direct address to women and girls, using the feminine singular and plural second person. (Fénelon does use direct address sometimes, but this appears aimed at parents whether male or female.)

Fénelon's short section on dress advances the 'noble simplicity' of Classical Greek and Roman statuary – with hair in a bun and simple draping robes – as a model guide for girls' apparel, with girls in the third person (the listening Duchess is the implicit addressee). He notes the

futility of trying to keep up with quickly changing fashions and calls for 'Christian modesty'.<sup>47</sup> The Arabic expands, localises and addresses the young woman directly.

As for your clothing, it must be appropriate to your body and person . . . Stay away from all artificial finery and rubbish ornamentation. You have a cautionary lesson before you, in the daughters of the Bedouin [Arab] and their wives [or women] who are very beautiful and utterly simple in their dress. Know that God created clothing for us to protect us from the heat of summer and the cold of winter; He did not create it as adornment for girls or women. You know that fashion [Italian *moda*, a common Arabic loanword] was created by the mistresses of debauchery and the women of frivolity and fickleness, who in their extravagance do not know the value of the dirham or the toil and exhaustion that go into acquiring it.<sup>48</sup>

Fénelon's reference to 'Christian modesty' becomes an expanded exhortation on God's intentions that damns contemporary women's practices through direct address to their daughters but does not link this to religious belief – only to men's hard work, gaining livelihoods for the family.<sup>49</sup>

In fact, Mikha<sup>3</sup>il consistently omits Fénelon's references to religious figures beginning in the first chapter when the Arabic omits a reference to Jesus and his crucifixion.<sup>50</sup> Fénelon quotes St Augustine several times, and the selected aphorisms are generally not specifically religious. Yet in the Arabic, St Augustine never appears. Mikha<sup>3</sup>il omits Fénelon's section on the benefits of sacred stories as teaching texts and leaves out Chapter Seven, on inculcating the first principles of religion in the child's mind, and Chapter Eight, 'Instruction in the Decalogue, sacraments and prayer'. In the original, these two chapters comprise thirty-eight pages out of 140, fully 27 per cent of the work.

Why did Mikha<sup>3</sup>il – whose name indicates Christian origin, and who headed the Fayyum's Coptic School in the mid-1890s – de-sacralise his text? Perhaps he was a thoroughly secular individual, at least in his intellectual-professional self. Conversely, he might have felt that as a Christian with a markedly Coptic name, he needed to avoid the possible accusation that he was advancing Christian values (and in a journal called *Woman in Islam!*), and so he sought to compensate for his name (even if readers only learned it at the end) by omitting Fénelon's religious content.<sup>51</sup> Perhaps Ramzi suggested this methodology to Mikha<sup>3</sup>il or edited out religious references himself. Or maybe Mikha<sup>3</sup>il was a Coptic Orthodox or convert to Protestantism who wanted nothing to do with the text's Catholicism.<sup>52</sup> Or he simply had a different agenda: putting mothers in their place, attacking a 'corrupt' local configuration of gendered behaviour and new expectations

that had nothing particularly to do with religion, and advertising his own domestic education industriousness. In any case, Mikha<sup>3</sup>il made Fénelon's book his own, a companion text to his authored work on homemaking published first in the same venue. He localised the work through a gender politics that was easily grafted onto Fénelon's seventeenth-century aristocratic French views and smoothly responded to a new market in Egypt for middle-class conduct literature.

I cannot resist mentioning that Mikha<sup>3</sup>il also localised through occasional additions of even autobiographical and topical Egyptian material. Discussing the importance of parental knowledge in handling children's questions, he acknowledged that children come up with difficult ones.

The proof is that my son, at no more than five, is always asking me questions that stump me, but I answer him quickly, since I am anxious to benefit him and also I fear that otherwise his estimation of my knowledge will plunge . . . Once he asked, Papa, does eating make everyone grow bigger? Yes, I said. *Ummal inta ma tikbarsh layh?* [Then why aren't you getting bigger? – in Egyptian colloquial].<sup>53</sup>

Clearly, these are not the words, and this is not the life, of Fénelon the Catholic bishop!

Mikha<sup>3</sup>il's version does include one generalised, non-denominational reference to 'faith' (*din*) and 'God' (*Allah*). At the end of his thirteenth and penultimate chapter, Mikhail writes:

We must train her to disincline to false and useless fairy tales and fancies [*khurafat wa-awham batila*], to proceed solely as her Lord commanded in his book, and to avoid other imitations [*taqlidat*]. We give her the spirit of religion [*ruh al-din*] in a simple manner, devoid of all superstition and falsehood. We must give her the rights she is due . . . As long as she is well trained we can have confidence. This makes our felicity complete, and we can look forward to our ascension to the best culture [*hadara*] and finest level of modern civilisation [*darajat al-tamaddun al-hadith*].<sup>54</sup>

This conclusion conforms to Ramzi's agenda and more generally that of Egypt's ethnically and religiously varied male reformist *nahdawi* elite. This modern and localised finale – with its very general gesture to monotheistic belief and its linking of a strongly directive, domestic education for females to cultural 'ascension' in modernity – has no equivalent in the French text.

### **1909: Islamising French Catholicism**

In 1909, the press attached to the Mother of (Khedive) Abbas I School in Cairo published *Tarbiyat al-banat*, by 'the famous wise man [*al-hakim*

*al-shahir*] Fénelon'. This time, the first author's name was not only prominent but also appeared in both Arabic and Latin characters. The translator, also announced on the cover, was Salih Hamdi Hammad (1863 or 1865–1913).<sup>55</sup> That the book was published by a press associated with a school endowed by the mother of a former Khedive raises a question: was the work intended as a prescribed school text, as al-Tahtawi's *Murshid* had been, some forty years before? Hammad, who attained the rank of Bek and described himself in one preface as son of a Pasha, was an energetic translator and compiler, producing at least nine volumes 1905–13, some going into second editions, and all focused in some way on self-formation, ethics, 'contemporary social etiquette' (the subtitle of one work) and gendered training. In 1910 he published a novel, *al-Amira Yara*<sup>c</sup> (Princess Reed-Pen), in a three-volume work of loosely interrelated fictions. Announcing it, *al-Muqtataf* suggested the author's preoccupations.

*Princess Yaraa* by the well-known writer on social issues Salih Bek Hamdi Hammad contains many studies on society . . . A princess delivers lectures to a meeting [*majlis*] full of scholars and literary men, speeches that refine morals and cultivate minds . . . The novel has become a book of *adab* and philosophy'.<sup>56</sup>

Indeed, the novel and companion fictions were thinly disguised conduct manuals focused on the training and behaviour of elite girls, and heavily based on French sources, in particular Paul Janet's (1823–99) *Philosophie du bonheur* (1863; rev. 4th edn 1873). Like Mikha'il, Hammad was one of many culture workers – most of them largely unrecognised now – who made Egypt's modern public sphere through text production and the mediative role of translation-adaptation, often along circuitous routes. Hammad produced an Arabic version of University of Edinburgh Classics Professor John Stuart Blackie's *On Self-Culture, Intellectual, Physical and Moral* (1874) by translating the French translation of it.<sup>57</sup> Translating Fénelon was one aspect of his self-conceived mission as a moral pedagogue.

The same year that Hammad's translation came out saw a series of lectures for women at the newly established Egyptian University. Mlle Adolphine Couvreur, a teacher at the Lycée Racine in Paris, was invited by the university's board after women complained about being excluded from this new national initiative. From mid December 1909 through to mid May 1910, she delivered forty lectures in French on 'Woman across historical periods' to a select audience of Egyptian, Ottoman and European women. In her nineteenth lecture (21 February 1910), she spoke about Fénelon, comparing him favourably to Mme de Maintenon for having 'more air, more light' in his views of girls' education. With his dedication

to the classical legacy, she said, he ‘could not resolve to deprive girls of poetry’.<sup>58</sup> No feminist but a dedicated educator, Couvreur clearly felt that *L’Éducation* still carried a usable message for the early twentieth century at a time when the push for girls’ education was everywhere evident, including in Egypt and Turkey, she noted.<sup>59</sup> Hammad’s translation was on the market by the time she gave her final lectures.

Hammad’s rendering differs enormously from Mikha<sup>2</sup>il’s, though a common theme is sounded in its epigram, which immediately localises the text, under the aegis of one of Egypt’s most famous reformers, already mentioned: ‘For woman, *adab* dispenses with the need for beauty, but beauty does not dispense with the need for *adab*. – Rifa<sup>c</sup>a Bek Rafi<sup>c</sup> [al-Tahtawi]’. The presence of al-Tahtawi (translator of *Télémaque*) on the title page acts as a legitimating as well as localising blurb.

Published as a book, Hammad’s did not have the earlier translation’s paratextual surround: Ramzi’s journal with its discourse on Qasim Amin and Islamic *tarbiya*, and Mikha<sup>2</sup>il’s domestic manual. But this version was framed in an extensive and mostly locally produced apparatus focused on the text itself and more attendant to its status as a translation. First comes a translation of a preface described as a summary of a preface to an early biography of Fénelon.<sup>60</sup> The mark of the translator appears in a reference to his methodology. He translates a sentence in this preface as follows: ‘Fénelon wanted women to have a share of religious education equal to men’s, on the soundest basis and devoid of illusions and superstition, by which I mean the Holy Book [that is, the Qur<sup>2</sup>an] and the sound and true Sunna [*al-kitab wa-l-sunna al-sahiha*]’.<sup>61</sup> Of course, this is not what Fénelon would have ‘wanted’, nor is it what the biographer, Bausset, said. The translator inserts a footnote here. ‘In the original’, he says, this reads ‘the gospel and the teachings of the Church’ [*al-injil wa-ta<sup>c</sup>alim al-kanisa*]. I have Arabized this as you see, just as I have omitted or replaced all that concerns faith [*din*], for the reason I explain in the opening [*fatiha*] to this translation, such that it is suitable to our situation.’

This is fascinating in light of what actually happens in the text, and in contrast to the near complete and unannounced erasure of *din* in Mikha<sup>2</sup>il’s earlier translation. And this translator has not ‘Arabized’ the phrase linguistically, except in his gloss of the French original. He has ‘Islamised’ the text. Of course, this reminds us that by ‘Arabizing’ this generation often meant ‘localising’ as well as ‘turning into Arabic’.

Let us bracket the second preface for now and move to the third, Hammad’s ‘Translator’s Preface’, referred to in the ‘borrowed’ preface as a ‘*fatiha*’ (opening), a commonly used term for prefaces but also the rubric



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for the Qur'an's opening chapter. Hammad begins conventionally with a religious invocation modulated according to the topic at hand:

Prayers for our prophet who brought a *shar'* [Way, or Law] commanding the training of boys and girls [*tarbiyat al-banin wa-l-banat*] and urging our care and shepherding of the sex of weak women [*jins al-nisa' al-da'ifat*.] We are charged with their care, for they are the mistresses of homes [*rabbat al-buyut*].<sup>62</sup>

His rhetoric is Islamic and homosocially addressed, sanctioning education for both genders religiously while maintaining a gender hierarchy and notion of gender-assigned naturally endowed attributes. These respond to Fénelon's ascription of fixity to the female. Women are 'weak' (Fénelon's *foible*) yet they are 'mistresses of homes'; their lives and occupations are set within domestic space, under the tutelage of the Muslim masculine collective subject that includes this author-translator. Having experienced the original work's 'elevated ideas and fine style', the translator remarks, 'I could not but translate it as service to the children of the homeland [*bani al-watan*] and for [all] speakers of Arabic'. So his first public is Egyptian but includes Arabophone readers everywhere, while the large-font *bas-mallah* over the preface foreshadows his politics of translation. He returns to the methodology question:

I acted freely in it [*qad tasarraftu fiha*], especially in the two chapters on religious education, which I made into one chapter to suitably benefit our audience and the great majority of our *umma* [nation or the Muslim collectivity]. Even if correct transmission [*naql*] rejects [such free] practice, my justification lies in the utility that I – and those who have perused the changes I made to suit our conditions – see in them. I aimed to serve this audience of Egyptians thirsty for wisdom, but to do so with content that does not contravene their traditions, and that does match their sense of propriety.

Paraphrasing Jean-Jacques Rousseau on his translation practice, Hammad sums up, 'And likewise, in the changes I made, I took care to provide "what it would have been correct for the wise Fénelon to say had he been an Egyptian Muslim". Cairo, 1 Muharram 1326'.<sup>63</sup>

From the late nineteenth century, as the translation business boomed, untethered translation practices abounded.<sup>64</sup> Not always did translators explain what they were doing or why. Hammad is exemplary in taking responsibility for the changes he makes and in justifying them according to his target public's perceived needs and sensitivities. In making the French author into an Egyptian Muslim of the early twentieth century, and in signing with an Islamic date, despite referring to 'all readers of Arabic', Hammad presents the text as addressed to Muslims specifically.

But with this Muslim audience invoked, Hammad retains much more of the Christian content than did Mikha'il. He renders this content in such a way that it becomes a text for Muslims – perhaps even an Islamic text.

Like Mikha'il, Hammad localises the discourse immediately by inserting *'indana* (with/among us; here). Yet, just as quickly we see the text adhering more closely to the original when he translates 'caprice' as *awham* (fancies, illusions, caprices) rather than Mikha'il's *tiba'*, natures. Nor does this text turn 'often' into 'always'.

Hammad does not attach home management content to Fénelon's exposition nor does he intensify the text's gendered hierarchy of authority.<sup>65</sup> The reader soon encounters Hammad's self-admitted *tasarruf* (freedom of action) in the case of religious references. But his operations on the text turn out much less *tasarruf*-ish than Mikha'il's, which erased religiously inflected passages and whole chapters. In Fénelon's first religious reference, alluded to earlier, the bishop writes: 'let us add that virtue is the possession no less of women than of men: regardless of the good or the bad they can do to the public, they [fem.] are half of the human species redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ and destined for eternal life'.<sup>66</sup> Mikha'il leaves this out entirely. Hammad translates: 'Virtue is of no less benefit to women than to men, notwithstanding whatever good or bad they can do to the public. For they [women] are half the human species which God most High has honoured and singled out for eternal life.' The Christian reference is reworded as a statement of monotheistic belief.

Unlike Mikha'il, Hammad does not silence St Augustine but turns him into 'the wise Augustine', just as on the cover, the author is 'the wise Fénelon'.<sup>67</sup> But Hammad modulates for local sensitivities. Where Fénelon has Augustine's mother Monica speaking of being scolded as a girl by a servant for drinking wine, Hammad mentions neither her name nor the wine; she was scolded 'because of something she was doing'.<sup>68</sup>

When we come to Fénelon's urging of stories as educational tools, which Mikha'il omitted entirely, Hammad finds locally resonant equivalents although his language is occasionally more prescriptive. Fénelon's *fables paiennes* (pagan fables) become 'legends and anecdotes with corruptive consequences' (*al-khurafat wa-l-nawadir al-fasidat al-mughza*). Says Fénelon: 'a girl will be happy to ignore them all her life because they are impure and full of impious absurdities'. Says Hammad: 'girls must ignore them [stories], especially for the ruination [*fasad*] and reprehensible things they contain'.<sup>69</sup> The French urges,

You must try to give [children] more taste for sacred stories [*histoires saintes*] than for others, not by telling them that these are more attractive, which perhaps

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they would not believe, but in making them sense it without saying it. Get them to notice how important, unique, marvelous, natural and alive they are.

Hammad's Arabic rendering localises by means of lexis alluding to Islamic piety, a virtuous heritage, and allusions to the Islamic biographical tradition:

You must strive [*tajtahidu*] to make most preferable in the minds of children, history and the lives of the prophets, peace and prayers be upon them, and of the pious, not by insisting or going into great detail, which might cause aversion, but by getting them to understand the virtues and benefits . . . phrased sweetly, so that they sense this themselves and their hearts fill with the awareness of the virtues, good qualities, glorious feats, legacies, celestial wonders, divine Laws, and prophetic wisdoms these pure biographies might hold.<sup>70</sup>

Fénelon gives a list of appropriate Bible stories: 'the creation, Adam's fall, the flood, Abraham's vocation and Isaac's sacrifice, Joseph's adventures as already mentioned, Moses' birth and flight – these are good not only in awakening children's curiosity. By revealing the origin of religion, they implant its foundations in their minds'. Hammad enumerates a similar list – but with important shifts and additions:

the creation, the fall of Adam and Eve to earth, the story of Noah and the flood, the life of Ibrahim with his Lord and Ishaq and his sacrifice, of Isma'īl [Ishmael] and the prophetic lineage, of Jacob and his sons Yusuf [Joseph] and his brothers, Moses and the Law [*al-shari'a*], 'Isa (Jesus) and his wonders [*'aja'ib*, not *mu'jizat*, miracles] (and Muhammad and what came down to him of the Qur'an and *shar'*).<sup>71</sup>

Hammad's list gives more emphasis to the personae – the prophets – than the events, while inserting those with specifically Islamic significance and signalling Moses as a precursor to Muhammad by use of the term *al-shari'a*. The parentheses signal that the final phrase is the translator's addition. But from the inclusions of Eve and Ishmael to the 'wonders' of Jesus, the entire original passage is included but modulated for a local audience. Fénelon's next two pages concern God's pedagogic wisdom; teaching the Trinity to the very young; and St Augustine's method of teaching eternal truths. The Arabic replaces these pages with a simple statement:

Let your speech with children be in a clear, charming style that explains the issues, establishing them in the minds of the young so they become fully aware of the matters and precepts of the faith. This they would not get from terse religious books that abridge and summarise their material.<sup>72</sup>

Thus, Hammad preserves the gist and much of the detail of Fénelon's child-centred religious pedagogy with its recognition of the value of entertainment (in contrast to Mikha'il's rather humourless approach and excised text). Our 1909 version repurposed Fénelon's religious content, using more or less the same chronological trajectory and narrative tradition for an Islamic didactic programme. Of course, the Qur'an's perspective on the earlier monotheistic faiths and their prophets facilitates this. To make the text Islamic, Hammad had merely to drop Fénelon's fairly concentrated references to Catholic doctrine and then graft onto the text the seal of the prophets.

Since the translator does note his localising practice in a footnote in the borrowed preface, followed by a longer explanation in his own translator's preface, would this transposition of sacred tradition have been recognised by local readers? Let us return to the second paratextual layer, a third preface which is titled 'A Word on the Training of Girls', equally translatable as 'A Word on the book *L'Éducation des filles*', by Shaykh Tantawi Jawhari.

'Sages of nations and princes of peoples concerned themselves greatly with the matter of *tarbiya*', Jawhari begins,

and the Arab nation [*ummat al-<sup>c</sup>arab*] embraced their share, as we see in the books of their sages . . . There followed in their footsteps the later Europeans, and today we study their sciences and weigh their utterances . . . using our minds to judge whether or not to accept a particular idea.<sup>73</sup>

*Tarbiya* becomes a shared historical enterprise between the ancients and the medieval Arab thinkers. Valorising the legacies of a 'local' past, making it part of a global and local present and an indigenously engineered modernity, was a common pursuit amongst Arab intellectuals of this era, Muslim, Christian and Jewish. Al-Jawhari names Islamic thinkers of the distant past but only refers collectively to the ancient Greek or later European 'sages' of *tarbiya*. Introducing *L'Éducation* within this long history of cross-pollination, he appears initially sceptical of Europe's contribution. But his wariness sets up his rhetorical frame for praising the work.

One of the most useful works to be translated in this era is Fénelon's French-language book, rendered by our friend . . . Before reading it I did not know that in the lands of the west [*al-bilad al-gharbiyya*] were men who had gone so deeply into studying the truths of *tarbiya* that they would achieve what Fénelon achieved. I did not believe that among them were those who sought to understand the very core of religion, its truths; who would not be satisfied with their outer trappings and appearances.<sup>74</sup>

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Jawhari praises Fénelon for urging the use of prophetic histories – Moses and Abraham – to instruct children to value the inner and essential over ‘appearances’. ‘On my word, we had seen this only in the recesses of books by our great scholars and sages’. But, Jawhari goes on to say,

in their books, they spoke in symbols and withheld them from the ignorant classes – for they considered them secrets – lest knowledge fall into the hands of anyone but its own folk . . . Yes, this was among us. And then, this ‘*alim*’ brought it out into the open for the people, and that, they say, is why he was oppressed by the men of religion.<sup>75</sup>

Is Jawhari borrowing Fénelon’s religious storytelling to critique what he sees as a wrongly exclusive attitude toward religious knowledge in his own society? It appears that he is; but where does Fénelon’s Paris end and Jawhari’s Cairo begin? It is a fascinatingly ambiguous moment of cultural translation. It was Fénelon’s Quietism and support for the ‘pure love’ doctrine espoused by the mystic and writer Jeanne Marie Guyon de Chesnoy which led to his banishment from court. It was not about sharing the stories of pre-Islamic prophets. What Jawhari distills from the French pedagogue’s life is a popular, non-exploitative perspective on religious knowledge, and this is significant to the outlook of Jawhari himself, as we shall see.<sup>76</sup>

Jawhari approves Fénelon’s attacks on a different kind of ‘popular’ – that is, popular-secular literature and modes of self-presentation, often linked in Jawhari’s milieu to negative rhetoric on the activities of elite young women. It was easy enough to suit Fénelon’s rhetoric to the local scene: girls’ reading and self-adornment practices always become targets when anxieties about gendered comportment, education and national needs intersect. Says Jawhari, ‘The author heaped scorn on the romance novels [*riwayat ghuramiyya*] that today our young men translate from the French people, and he forbade girls to display their external ornaments and their hidden ones – as they do to shore up their conceit.’<sup>77</sup>

For Jawhari, this translation acts as a corrective that, he confesses, has made him see European ways in a new light.

Oh people! We thought the education of girls today really did follow the European model. We were convinced of it – but this turns out to be mere imagination. Read this book and you will see definitively in its pages that in transmission, the image of *tarbiya* has been deformed and turned inside-out. It has been falsely transformed twice over: first, in their schools<sup>78</sup> where they contravened their own sages and followed their personal whims; second, in our conversion of an already deformed image, imitating them [in appearance] but not in spirit.<sup>79</sup>

Via Fénelon's work as rendered by Hammad, Jawhari criticises what he sees as a prevailing kind of 'popular' cultural translation occurring locally to produce ideas about 'European education', summed up in flashy clothing, French novels and piano playing. *That* cultural translation he sees as reprehensible and dangerous. But now, he says to readers, here is a book, translated from the French, which tells us we have been 'translating' French culture wrongly. 'By God!' Jawhari exclaims. 'Fénelon sounded the same tune as our sages – Ibn Sina, al-Ghazali and their likes'.<sup>80</sup>

The cultural *mistranslation* represented by 'French novels' extends to embrace European women themselves, collapsing the difference between the page and the body, both dressed in seductive garb, both 'stripping' the vulnerable Egyptian girl of her modesty and honour.

I was pleased that the author deals with girls reading stories of the imagination which give concrete images to [their] fantasies . . . The novels widespread among us today strike a mortal blow at modesty and honour, stripping some female readers of moral protection [*siyana*] and the adornment of virtue. Before reading this book, I did not know that among the West's learned men were any who warned against these novels . . . Do not be seduced, O reader [m.] by what you see of the showy self-display [*al-tabarruj*] of some European women, or how they cast off restraint. They are of the lowest order, who have rebelled against their own '*ulama*' [religious scholars] and contravened their *hukama*' [wise men]. Virtue is not constant in the human species. A lady – one of those women of theirs who have studied the morals of east and west assiduously – told me: Do not be seduced by what your tourists in Europe say [when they come back], for they meet only the women of the basest classes . . . If they mixed in the upper classes they would see paragons of modesty . . . And she said: Novels of debauchery have corrupted the girls of your upper classes, who are like the girls of the lower classes in France.<sup>81</sup>

While nineteenth-century French educationalists used Fénelon's work to call for strict controls over girls' reading,<sup>82</sup> Jawhari added a further layer through his 'developmentalist' narrative, which uses class and East-West differentiation to collapse novel reading into 'debauched' behaviour, allowing him to attack spatial and behavioural configurations that he deplores and attributes to the contemporary young Egyptian woman as the vessel of social degeneration (not helped by 'young men's' scandalous translations!).

'But let us return to describing the book at hand', he says, highlighting the 'letter to a fine lady' that ends Fénelon's volume and both translations. He characterises it as an injunction against girls' leaving their parental homes.

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There is an entire section on whether it is better to educate the girl in the home or at school. His definitive judgement rests on the mother's suitability [*kafa'at*] or lack of it. If she is able, then keep the girl in her father's home and in her mother's charge. For how dangerous it would be for her to be taken out into people [']s company] even one time, to be dazzled by the beauty of the world and the trifling finery of earthly life, deceived by adulterated images and thus bitten by the vipers of the soft life who [fem.] carry perdition in their fangs. Dazzled by the sudden blaze of superficial beauty, she will find that the antidote provided by her prior acquisition of knowledge is not sufficient to repel it. And so the writer advised those in charge of girls [*al-qawwamuna 'ala al-fatat*] to warn them away from these fatal poisons; to train them to resist the self and fight lower appetites, and to steer them onto the course of [proper] sociability, harmony, and comportment in this world.<sup>83</sup>

This is the note on which Jawhari ends. What Fénelon actually conveys in this letter is a different emphasis: If you had a lot of daughters I would say: Find a good convent; but you have only one, so it is better to do it yourself.<sup>84</sup>

Enthused about Fénelon's method and content of teaching religion (as conveyed by Hammad's text), Jawhari sees it as an excellent pedagogy for young Muslims. Describing Fénelon's instructions for girls' religious devotions, Jawhari comments, 'the writer went on at such length that I reckoned him a shaykh, one of the true and established shaykhs of Sufism [*shaykh min muhaqqaqi shuyukh al-sufiyya*]'.<sup>85</sup>

Fénelon believed, in Andrew Mansfield's words, 'that in order for the individual to comprehend God's law they must be Catholic. Full understanding was attained through the idea of tradition; a tradition that Catholicism had transmitted from the beginning of history through the Jews, Christ, and the Apostles to the present time'.<sup>85</sup> One wonders how Fénelon would have liked hearing a Muslim shaykh embrace him as a fellow Sufi.

Tantawi Jawhari (1862–1940) is remembered as a modernist theologian, trained at al-Azhar and the teachers' college Dar al-<sup>u</sup>lum. He was a prolific populist writer, producing a twenty-six-volume Qur'an commentary (1923–35). Jawhari's approach tried to 'show how the teachings of Islam and . . . contents of the Kur'an, were in accordance with human nature, and with method, theory and findings of Western modern . . . science'.<sup>86</sup> His 'natural supernaturalism' drew fire from conservative <sup>u</sup>lama'. His exegesis meshed science with a cosmological approach, and his style was 'informal and anecdotal'.<sup>87</sup> We can detect this outlook in his own 'translation' of the person and thought of Fénelon constructed from his reading of Hammad's translation, through the affective and intellectual lenses of his own social and political preoccupations.

Jawhari's celebration of Fénelon's 'research [into] the essences of religions and their truths' seems ironic applied to a work saturated in High Church Catholicism and authored by a figure known to be a staunch Catholic who worked hard to convert Huguenots. True, Fénelon preferred methods of persuasion over those of violence, but he was not ecumenical. Yet one can see how Fénelon's book, with its emphasis on stories from the religious tradition as pedagogic tools, on piety and sober personhood as an aim of education, and on child-raising as dependent on an understanding of psychology and physiology, would appeal to Jawhari. It is intriguing nevertheless – and despite Jawhari's having a nationalist background and connections with the Muslim Brotherhood<sup>88</sup> – that cultural translation could bring Fénelon into the embrace of a Qur'an exegete who delivers him to readers as a fellow shaykh and Sufi, not to mention a descendent of Ibn Sina.

Perhaps also this suggests how well our translator has done his job, turning *L'Éducation* into a text for Muslims. By translating so closely, this version exposes the malleability and eclectic usability of Fénelon's text far more than does Mikha'il's freer version with its many omissions and additions. What is preserved from the seventeenth-century text all the way to *both* Arabic versions is a strongly defined, gender-specific notion of *tarbiya*. Attitudes toward girls' education and a concept of the ideal woman span a religious divide, two centuries of history, and considerable geographical expanse.

### **Conclusion**

Clearly Fénelon touched a local chord that reached its loudest point in Jawhari's long preface, but which surfaced also in Hammad's Islamisation and earlier and very differently in Mikha'il's conduct book version. But the text's local resonance emerged through radically divergent translational and paratextual strategies. The first, more a how-to manual inspired by Fénelon's work than a close translation (though there are passages of close translation), excises all references to religion and most to child psychology, and turns direct-address rhetoric exhorting parents into a first-person-plural hailing a community of masculine expertise. It is a patronising and rather misogynistic manual for mothers and daughters that assumes many of them will receive its instructions at second hand, via husbands or fathers. The translator is a Copt who erases Fénelon's Christianity. Thus, the first translation emerges as a work of secularly pitched gendered conduct literature albeit in an Islamically focused journal.



The second remix appears in book form mediated by Jawhari's preface, marvelling at how Fénelon could be al-Ghazali. In this Islamised version, what stands out is how easily Fénelon's catholic programme is adapted to an Egyptian and Muslim modernist sensibility. The bishop's Christian embeddedness becomes a modern gendered and Muslim pedagogy. This version follows the original more closely and is less misogynistic in tone, creating a different discursive politics of gender than did Mikha'il's.

Using Pascale Casanova's concept of 'consecration', Shaden Tageldin has argued in her study of translation in Egypt that 'subaltern translators' from colonised 'peripheries' confirm and even enhance the dominance of colonial centres by assuming that acts of translation are neutral when in fact they simply 'transact' a false universal. The assumption that translation is neutral, says Tageldin, 'encourages the subaltern translator . . . to believe in the depoliticised fantasy of pure exchangeability'.<sup>89</sup> I agree with Tageldin in emphasising the agential role of the translator, who 'refracts and forges . . . anew' the consecrating act of the centre.<sup>90</sup> But I disagree that the translator working in the colonised site necessarily contributes to the centre's dominance. In their own ways, Mikha'il, Hammad and Jawhari appropriate and rework *L'Éducation* to become a local and salient text that does not simply re-centre the centre: not only the recasting of the text suggests this, but also the repositioning of Fénelon himself. That Fénelon as authorial figure is alternatively de-emphasised (Mikha'il), celebrated as a universal sage (Hammad), and made into a 'local' shaykh (Jawhari) suggests that the question of authority and consecration is a complex one, with unpredictable outcomes. Tageldin's emphasis on emulation as a kind of 'love' that binds the Arab translator to Europe does not seem inevitable. For Jawhari – as a reader and interpreter of the translated Fénelon – a 'love' of the text is predicated not on translating the self toward Europe but on translating Europe toward the self: Fénelon must become a Sufi shaykh in order to be 'loved'. Attraction does not always entail seduction: attraction might instead impel a critical recalibration of a text.

We cannot know the intentions of translators in the choices they make as they opt to translate certain works and then adopt diverse translational strategies. Yet, these translators' respective oeuvres do offer clues, for they produced clearly definable bodies of work. Mikha'il focused on home management and domestically centred education as appropriate to defining feminine social roles and spaces for a modern, religiously diverse Egypt. Hammad's translations and compilations focused on ethics and self-formation within an Islamic piety context. Their presentations of *L'Éducation* reflect these broader emphases. Both borrowed Fénelon's – and French culture's – pedagogic authority but turned it to their local

purposes. Both drew Fénelon into a local debate, a circulation of ideas about modernity and nation-building in Muslim-majority societies grappling with the power differentials that had brought European lifeways and governments into their midst. That this text was so translatable in British-occupied and previously French-occupied Egypt reminds us of the common purchase of some ideas, for some people across societies and borders, however rewritten these texts, ideas and people might be in translation. Above all, does it not remind us of how intensely translatable patriarchy has proven to be?

### Notes

1. Marilyn Booth, "'Go directly home with decorum": Conduct books for Egypt's young, c. 1912', in Joseph E. Lowry and Shawkat M. Toorawa (eds), *Mind, Body and Soul: Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honour of Everett K. Rowson* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 393–415.
2. Sabine Melchior-Bonnet, *Fénelon* (Paris: Perrin, 2008), 110. All translations of secondary literature are mine, as are all translations from the Arabic.
3. Patricia Touboul, 'Le Statut des femmes: Nature et condition sociale dans le traité *De l'éducation des filles* de Fénelon', *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 104: 2 (2004): 325–42.
4. Claire Boulard Jouslin, 'Conservative or reformer?: The history and fortune of Fénelon's *Traité de l'éducation des filles* in eighteenth-century England', *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 12: 4 (Fall 2012), 48–77; 53.
5. Melchior-Bonnet, *Fénelon*, 114.
6. Touboul, 'Le Statut', 331–2.
7. Fénelon was writing in a milieu where women's spiritual capacities and their contribution to social order were increasingly valorised in a discourse and practice of 'devout humanism'. See Paul A. Chilton, '1609: François de Sales publishes his *Introduction à la vie dévoté*: Devout humanism', in Denis Hollier (ed.), *A New History of French Literature* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 253–8.
8. Christina De Bellaigue, *Educating Women: Schooling and Identity in England and France 1800–1867* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 196.
9. Octave Gréard, *Memoire sur l'Enseignement secondaire des filles*, 3rd edn (Paris: Delalain, 1883). François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Éducation des filles de Fénelon*, ed. Octave Gréard (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1890), ser. Bibliothèque des Dames (edition apparently first published 1885).
10. Octave Gréard, 'Introduction', *Éducation des filles de Fénelon*, ed. Octave Gréard (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1890), ser. Bibliothèque des Dames, i–lxxxiii; xli.
11. Gréard, 'Introduction', i, iii.
12. De Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, 195, 197.

13. Contributors to *Fénelon in the Enlightenment* consider his works through concepts of cultural transfer and reception theory, but they rarely address internalities of translation. Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, Adaptations, and Variations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014).
14. Arzu Meral, 'The Ottoman reception of Fénelon's *Télémaque*', in Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, Adaptations, and Variations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 211–35; 232–4. But this must have been *Rawdat al-madaris* 6: 1, not 7: 1 as Meral says. Meral mentions the second Arabic translation but not the first.
15. Rifa'ā Rafi' al-Tahtawi, *al-Murshid al-amin lil-banat wa-l-banin* (Cairo: Matba'at al-madaris al-milkiyya, 1289 AH [1872/3]). This is suggested by Daniel Newman, 'Introduction', in Rifa'ā Rafi' al-Tahtawi, *An Imam in Paris: Account of a Stay in Paris by an Egyptian Cleric (1826–1831)*, ed. and trans. Daniel L. Newman, 2nd edn (London: Saqi, 2011), 17–97; 56. If so, it seems that Fénelon's attention to both genders in a book 'on girls' is materialised in the title of al-Tahtawi's work.
16. Marilyn Booth, 'Before Qasim Amin: Writing women's history in 1890s Egypt', in Marilyn Booth and Anthony Gorman (eds), *The Long 1890s in Egypt: Colonial Quiescence, Subterranean Resistance* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 365–98; 387.
17. In Qasim Amin, *Qasim Amin: al-A'ḥmal al-kamila*, ed. Muhammad 'Ammara, 2nd edn (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1989), 474. Amin paraphrases/quotes partially a passage occurring on p. 2 of the original. Both Arabic translations discussed below translate the passage more closely to the original, though with some freedom (Hammad, 2; al-Mar'ā fi l-Islam, 106).
18. Marilyn Booth, 'Woman in Islam: Men and the "women's press" in turn-of-the-century Egypt', *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 33: 2 (2001): 171–201.
19. On gendered structures of address, Marilyn Booth, 'Liberal thought and the "problem" of women', in Jens Hanssen and Max Weiss (eds), *Arabic Thought Beyond the Liberal Age, 1780s–1940s: Towards an Intellectual History of the Nahda* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 187–213; Booth, "'Go directly home"'.  
20. See [*al-Hilal*], 'Qasim Amin, nasir al-mar'ā al-muslima wa-l-da'ī ila islah al-<sup>ḥ</sup>a'ila, wulida 1865 wa-tawaffa 1908', in Qasim Bek Amin, *Asbab wa-nata'ij, wa-akhlaq wa-mawa'iz* (Alexandria: Matba'at Jurji Gharzuzi, 1913), 2–18; 15.
21. *Rabba*, to raise; <sup>ḥ</sup>*allama*, to teach: *tarbiya* connotes 'moral training', 'trained upbringing', 'ethical training'. Related terms include *ta'dib*, from *addaba*, to discipline, but partly in the sense of 'making polite', and *tahdhib*, refining; both appear frequently in discussions of education.
22. Booth, 'Woman in Islam'.

23. Booth, 'Woman in Islam', 180.
24. [Ibrahim Ramzi], 'Tanazu<sup>c</sup> al-baqa<sup>3</sup> wa-ta<sup>c</sup>lim al-nisa<sup>3</sup>', *al-Mar<sup>3</sup>a fi l-Islam* 1: 2 (15 April 1901): 17–20. This is not a simple echo of imperial arguments linking women's 'debasement' to an argument that Egyptians (or other colonised peoples) were not fit to govern themselves.
25. Booth, 'Woman in Islam', 189.
26. Arguably, in both contexts, polemics on boys' education were also instrumentalist, though differently so.
27. 'Tarbiyat al-banat' first appeared in *al-Mar<sup>3</sup>a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 105–8. It ran through to 1: 14, the journal's last extant issue; one issue does not contain an installment. The full publication record is: Fénelon [Finilun] [François Salignac de La Mothe-], 'Tarbiyat al-banat' (trans. [ta<sup>c</sup>rib] Fransis Mikha<sup>3</sup>il), *al-Mar<sup>3</sup>a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 105–8; 1: 8 (15 July 1901): 119–22; 1: 9 (1 August 1901): 137–9; 1: 10 (15 August 1901): 153–4; 1: 11 (1 September 1901): 168–70; 1: 13 (1 October 1901): 201–3; 1: 14 (1 November 1901): 213–15.
28. [François de la Mothe-Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar<sup>3</sup>a fi l-Islam* 1: 14 (1 November 1901): 213–15. This final instalment comprises the end of the book and Fénelon's letter to 'a woman of quality' advising her on the education of her daughter; Gréard's edition, 141–55.
29. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', 1: 14 (1 November 1901): 213–15; 215.
30. 'Jam<sup>c</sup>diyyat al-nahda al-adabiyya fi l-Fayyum', *al-Taqqaddum al-misri* 2: 2 (7 April 1894): 48.
31. See also Booth, 'Go directly home'. Mona Russell discusses Mikha<sup>3</sup>il's books briefly but dates this text to 1910–11. She notes Mikha<sup>3</sup>il's greater detail on home management compared to another book she analyses (148); this is akin to his practice in translating Fénelon. Mona Russell, *Creating the New Egyptian Woman: Consumerism, Education, and National Identity, 1863–1922* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 145–50.
32. Christopher L. Hill, 'Conceptual universalizations in the transnational nineteenth century', in Samuel Moyn and Andrew Sartori (eds), *Global Intellectual History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 134–58.
33. Hill, 'Conceptual', 143.
34. I use Gréard's edition (1890) as a reasonably contemporaneous one reliant on the 1696 edition (the last under Fénelon's watch). We do not know what edition either translator used; possibly Mikha<sup>3</sup>il relied on an English translation, but I have been unable to trace this. *Éducation des filles de Fénelon*, ed. Octave Gréard (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles, 1890 [1885]), ser. Bibliothèque des Dames, 1 (hereafter referenced as Fénelon, *L'Éducation*); the Arabic: [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar<sup>3</sup>a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 105. When I quote an English translation it is H. C. Barnard's: François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénelon, *Fénelon on Education: A translation of the 'Traité de l'Éducation des filles' and other documents illustrating Fénelon's educational theories and practice, together with an introduction and notes*,

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- ed. and trans. H. C. Barnard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966), 1. When no reference to this translation is given, the translation is my own.
35. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 2; Fénelon, *Fénelon on Education*, 1.
  36. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 106.
  37. One of many possible examples: when Fénelon warns that lack of exercise and education may lead girls to privilege 'diverting entertainments and spectacles, the very things that excite an indiscreet and insatiable curiosity', Mikha'il translates as 'from these she reaps only corruption, vice, and bad morals'. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 8; [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 107.
  38. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 3–4.
  39. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 106. This is the Arabic's second use of *khurafat*, with no parallel in the French text. Earlier discussion of prevailing attitudes to girls' education ended: 'After all of which one believes it right to blindly abandon girls to the guidance of ignorant, indiscreet mothers' (Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 2). Mikha'il explicitises this and shifts the focus from 'girls' to 'mothers' partly by using the masculine (or 'gender-blind') term for children: 'it is clearly wrong to delegate the upbringing of our children [*tarbiyat awladina*] to mothers or childminders whom ignorance has blinded so that they behave poorly and hold on to superstitions and idle fibbing talk [*khurafat wa-khuz'abalat*]: [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 105–6.
  40. Kenneth M. Cuno, *Modernizing Marriage: Family, Ideology, and Law in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-century Egypt* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2015).
  41. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 14 (1 November 1901), 215; [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 105.
  42. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 3; Fénelon, *Fénelon on Education*, 2; [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 106.
  43. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 108.
  44. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 23; Fénelon, *Fénelon on Education*, 14–15.
  45. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 8 (15 July 1901): 119–22; 121.
  46. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 4; [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 106.
  47. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 105–7.
  48. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 11 (1 September 1901): 168–70; 169.
  49. This addition echoes a popular critique at the time of women's consumption practices.
  50. Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 4; [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Mar'a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901), 106.
  51. Christians were a small percentage of Egypt's population, whether Egyptian

- Christians or immigrants, but a larger proportion of Christian than of Muslim females was schooled, partly due to the presence of Christian missionary schools in Ottoman Syria and Egypt.
52. Surely a reminder that identitarian labels cannot be presumed to identify intellectual or political perspectives as they materialise in print, a tendency that seems to be dying hard in the study of the Middle East.
  53. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Marʿa fi l-Islam* 1: 8 (15 July 1901), 122. In the next installment, where he again notes the importance of answering questions and – for the older child – of asking them, he gives examples of the latter starting with a local one: 'questions that benefit him in his future, such as, what is the name of the Khedive? [ruler of Egypt]'. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Marʿa fi l-Islam* 1: 9 (1 August 1901): 137–9; 137.
  54. [Fénelon], 'Tarbiyat al-banat', *al-Marʿa fi l-Islam* 1: 13 (1 October 1901): 201–3; 203. I translate *khurafa* first as 'fairy tale' and second as 'superstition' since it denotes both (as well as 'legend'): a story that propagates 'superstitious' beliefs. It was used frequently and always negatively, especially in relation to 'women's talk'.
  55. *Tarbiyat al-banat* by 'the famous wise man [*al-hakim al-shahir*] Fénelon', trans. [*taʿrib*] Salih Hamdi Hammad (Cairo: Matbaʿat Madrasat walidat ʿAbbas al-awwal, 1327/1909). Hereafter, Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*.
  56. 'Al-Taqriz wa-l-intiqad: Riwayat *al-Amira Yaraʿa*', *al-Muqtataf* 37: 2 (August 1910): 812–13. One wonders if Princess Nazli, who held a renowned salon that elite men attended and which may have inspired Qasim Amin, might be the model here. Salih Hamdi Hammad, *Ahsan al-qisas, I: al-Amira Yaraʿa* (Cairo: Matbaʿat Madrasat walidat ʿAbbas al-awwal, 1328/1910). Matti Moosa discusses Hammad's novels in *The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction*, 2nd edn (Boulder: Lynne Reiner, 1997), 259–62. His corpus forms part of my material in a current research project on Arabic conduct literature.
  57. I am grateful to Alison Morrison-Low for helping me identify this work. Other works he penned or adapted include Salih Hamdi Hammad, *Tarbiyat al-marʿa wa-l-hijab lil-banat* (Cairo: Matbaʿat al-Manar, 2nd printing 1323 AH [1905/6]); *Nahmu wa-l-ruqiyy* (Cairo: Matbaʿat Madrasat walidat ʿAbbas al-awwal, 1324/1906); and *Hayatuna al-adabiyya: Mujaz fi ʿilm al-adab al-ijtimaʿi al-ʿasri* (Cairo: Matbaʿat Madrasat walidat ʿAbbas al-awwal, 1325/1907). The second edition (Cairo: Matbaʿat Hindiyya, 1913) included translations of Cicero on human obligation and Volney on natural law, both from the French.
  58. Mlle A. Couvreur, *La femmes aux différentes époques de l'histoire: Conférences faites aux dames égyptiennes* (Le Caire: Université Egyptienne et Librairie Diemer; Le Puy: Imprimerie Peyriller, Rouchon et Gamon, 1910), 330. The Lycée Racine opened in 1886, the second lycée for girls in Paris – the first was the Lycée Fénelon! For more on Adolphine Couvreur and this volume, see Marilyn Booth, 'Peripheral visions: Translational polemics and feminist arguments in colonial Egypt', in Anna Ball and Karim Mattar

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- (eds), *Edinburgh Companion to the Postcolonial Middle East* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), 183–212.
59. Couvreur, *La femmes*, 634.
  60. ‘Summarised from what was written by Cardinal Bausset compiler of the life of Fénelon and Bossuet’. °Al-Ta°rif bi sha°n kitab *Tarbiyat al-banat li-Fanalón*’, page jim. This refers to Cardinal Bausset’s *Vie de Fénelon* (1808), which was revised and expanded by the Abbé Gosselin, 1850.
  61. *Khurafa*, as ‘legend’ and ‘superstition’, translated according to what seems most appropriate in each case. For Mikha°il, it particularly connotes ‘superstition’; for Hammad, the same, but also ‘legend’ as supernatural belief contrary to religiously sanctioned belief.
  62. Salih Hamdi Hammad, ‘Muqaddima’, in [François de la Mothe-Fénelon,], *Tarbiyat al-banat bi-qalam al-hakim al-shahir Finilun°*, trans. [ta°rib] Salih Hamdi Hammad (Cairo: Matba°at Madrasat walidat °Abbas al-awwal. 1327/1909), unpaginated [1–2]; [1].
  63. Hammad, ‘Muqaddima’, [2].
  64. See Samah Selim, ‘Pharaoh’s revenge: Translation, literary history, and colonial ambivalence’, in Mona Baker (ed.), *Critical Readings in Translation Studies* (London: Routledge, 2010), 319–36; Samah Selim, ‘The *Nahda*, popular fiction and the politics of translation’, *MIT Electronic Journal of Middle East Studies* 4 (Fall 2004): 71–90.
  65. Where Mikha°il turned the acting-out of error and confession into a gender-heirarchised marital exchange, Hammad renders Fénelon more closely with a *mu°allim* (teacher) also called *murabbi* (child-raiser), both in masculine ‘ungendered’ form, speaking to *shakhsan akhar*, ‘another person’. Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 17. Hammad follows Fénelon’s uses of the imperative and direct address as opposed to Mikha°il’s ‘man-to-man’ address (‘our women’), which echoes Ramzi’s practice, with interjected direct address to girls.
  66. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 4; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 3.
  67. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 11; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 7. Mikha°il left both references out: [Fénelon], ‘*Tarbiyat al-banat*’, *al-Mar°a fi l-Islam* 1: 7 (1 July 1901).
  68. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 44; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 33–4.
  69. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 50; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 38.
  70. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 52; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 39–40.
  71. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 52–3; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 40. What I translate as ‘prophetic lineage’ is literally ‘household’ or ‘family’ (*al-bayt*), referring to Ishmael as ancestor of the Prophet, or of Quraysh, or the Muslims in general.
  72. Fénelon, *L’Éducation*, 53–5; Fénelon, *Tarbiyat al-banat*, 40.
  73. Tantawi Jawhari, ‘Kalima fi tarbiyat al-banat’, in [François de la Mothe-Fénelon,], *Tarbiyat al-banat bi-qalam al-hakim al-shahir Finilun°*, trans. [ta°rib] Salih Hamdi Hammad (Cairo: Matba°at Madrasat walidat °Abbas al-awwal, 1327/1909), ta°-mim; ta°.

74. Jawhari, 'Kalima', ta°.
75. Jawhari, 'Kalima', ta°-ya. (The lettered page numbering is out of alphabetical order.)
76. Published between the two translations, Jawhari's book *al-Nizam wa-l-Islam* emphasises scholars' responsibilities to society. He was Arabic instructor at the Khedivial School at the time. Tantawi Jawhari, *al-Nizam wa-l-Islam* (Cairo: Matba'at al-jumhur, 1321 AH [1903–4]).
77. Jawhari, 'Kalima', ya. He uses the verb *tabarraja*, common in polemics of the time connoting self-display, flashy dress and seductive behaviour. Hammad uses the verbal noun in his translation (*al-tabarruj*, 59). *Riwayat* could also refer to plays.
78. Possibly referring to European-founded missionary schools in Egypt.
79. Jawhari, 'Kalima', ya.
80. Jawhari, 'Kalima', kaf.
81. Jawhari, 'Kalima', lam.
82. De Bellaigue, *Educating Women*, 196–7.
83. Jawhari, 'Kalima', mim. There is a typo: space + *wa* for *aw* connecting 'home' and 'school'.
84. 'Avis de M. de Fénelon archevêque de Cambrai, a une dame de qualité sur l'éducation de mademoiselle s fille', in Fénelon, *L'Éducation*, 141–55; 141. Moreover, the author singles out his interlocutor as unusual or even unique amongst 'mothers' in her dedication to 'serving God'; furthermore, this acts as a critique of convent education, partly because it is claimed that girls there will 'hear the world spoken of as a place of enchantment' (142). 'Thus, I fear a worldly convent more than I do the world itself' (143). The letter is well suited to discourse in Egypt on the importance of maternal vigilance and education, and on the 'dangers' of servants, for it also cautions the mother-interlocutor against leaving her daughter with 'femmes d'un esprit léger, mal réglé et indiscret' (144) who among other things may seed 'superstitions' (145). In Hammad's translation 'convent' turns into 'school for girls' and the discourse is easily localised into a warning against schools and the pupils there, using scare-discourse often seen in the press, and praise of home education with the daughter never out of the mother's sight.
85. Andrew Mansfield, 'Fénelon's cuckoo', in Christoph Schmitt-Maaß, Stefanie Stockhorst and Doohwan Ahn (eds), *Fénelon in the Enlightenment: Traditions, Adaptations, and Variations* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014), 77–97; 94–5. Mansfield is describing Ramsay's 1723 *Vie de Fénelon* but this seems a reasonable summary of Fénelon's outlook.
86. Frederic De Jong, 'Djawhari, Tantawi', EI2, BrillOnline.com (accessed 3 August 2015).
87. Marwa Elshakry, *Reading Darwin in Arabic, 1860–1950* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2013), 312.
88. Elshakry, *Reading Darwin*, 313.
89. Shaden M. Tageldin, *Disarming Words: Empire and the Seductions of*



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- Translation in Egypt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 119; emphasis in original. Pascale Casanova, *The World Republic of Letters*, trans. M. B. DeBevoise (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).
90. Tageldin, *Disarming Words*, 120.

## ***Gulistan*: Sublimity and the Colonial Credo of Translatability**

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*Kamran Rastegar*

In the centuries following its completion in AD 1258, the *Gulistan*, a work of prose-poetic homilies and entertaining narratives authored by Shaykh Sa'di Shirazi (1210–91/2 CE), came to gain renown as what Franklin Lewis terms the ‘single most influential work of prose in the Persian tradition’.<sup>1</sup> Beyond the Persian context, the *Gulistan* also quickly found audiences in non-Persian-speaking societies, especially in Arabic-speaking societies and elsewhere in the Islamic world. Across the Ottoman Empire, in the fifteenth century to the eighteenth, the *Gulistan* was widely circulated. It was commented upon not only as a work of ethics but also for its style and poetics. In the same period in Mughal India, the work was read perhaps for its literary value but also as an instructive text for the study of Persian, a court language. Thus, the *Gulistan* came to be one of a finite number of texts both in Persian and in Arabic (and perhaps some other regional languages) that over the course of those three centuries achieved a degree of common currency as a canonical presence in diverse social and linguistic settings, from Cairo to Calcutta to Istanbul and beyond.

Yet, in the five hundred years before the eighteenth century, the *Gulistan* was very rarely translated into any of the other languages of the Islamic world. The existence of an odd number of monolingual translations – for example, one fourteenth-century Mamluk edition in Kipchak Turkish dialect<sup>2</sup> – proves rather than disproves the rule that is at the centre of this study: before the colonial period, the *Gulistan* was a work set outside and perhaps beyond the sphere of translation in its Islamicate home. Colonialism brought with it a new ideology concerning translation – what I will shorthand here as the ‘credo of translation’, a belief that translation is a positive, apolitical and effective form of intercultural mediation and that faithfulness to the original text is the object of translation. The *Gulistan*’s translation is directly an outcome of the ascendancy

of new ideological formations, catalysed by colonial relations, pertaining to translation: the emergence of a new credo of translatability.

The spread of print technologies in Islamicate societies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries affirms the centrality of the *Gulistan* to various literary cultures, from Egypt to Istanbul to India. While still subject to dispute, some scholars have argued that the *Gulistan* was the first book printed in Persian inside Iran, in an edition produced in Tabriz in 1822, edited by one Mirza Jaʿfar.<sup>3</sup> However, the earliest printed edition was not issued in Iran, but rather in Calcutta, in 1809<sup>4</sup> although this was preceded by an 1806 bilingual Persian-English edition translated and edited by Francis Gladwin. The appearance of the Iranian print edition coincides closely with the publication of editions in Cairo and Istanbul. The Cairo Bulaq press, in particular, produced several editions of the *Gulistan*, all entirely in Persian with very little contextual material, from the 1830s through to the 1870s.<sup>5</sup> A variety of presses in Istanbul also produced lithographic editions in the same mid-century period.<sup>6</sup> Dozens of editions were published in the subcontinent over the course of the nineteenth century.<sup>7</sup> These eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions speak to Arab, Ottoman, Indian and other readerships that presumably were drawn to ownership of the text by virtue of their own multilingual training, given that Persian remained a widely acknowledged *lingua franca* of poesis (much as Arabic retained status as the idiom of theology and jurisprudence).

However, another new audience for the text was to be crafted roughly over this same period through its various translations into European languages – especially into English. The first published translation, however incomplete, was Stephen Sullivan’s 1773 edition. The first complete translation of the work into English dates to 1806, the aforementioned work of Gladwin, shortly followed a year later by Dumoulin’s Calcutta translation. The work was to be retranslated several more times over the course of the century, with multiple editions of some English translations produced over the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Near the end of that century, in 1888, Richard Burton’s Kama Shastra Society printed a translation of the *Gulistan* by Edward Rehatsek which was advertised as unexpurgated, and this then formed the basis for many further commercial editions.

During this period of the late-eighteenth century through to the early-twentieth century, in which the *Gulistan* was translated and circulated in new European editions, in the Mughal, Arabic and Ottoman Turkish contexts, the text was, as far as I have been able to ascertain, very rarely translated into any of the indigenous languages of these regions. There was one translation each into Ottoman, Hindustani (Urdu) and Arabic in

the nineteenth century, each of which was far outnumbered in terms of volume by Persian editions published in Istanbul, Calcutta and Cairo.<sup>8</sup> For example, in the subcontinent, per the Pakistani scholar Sayyed Arif Naushahi, over 300 different print editions, all in Persian, were produced over the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.<sup>9</sup> Rather than translating the work, more commonly an older tradition was continued: the production of editions that provided commentary and analysis in the second language, in the form of a marginal text, or as an intralineal gloss. In other cases, works of *sharh* or exegesis formed separate volumes to which a reader could refer, while reading the original. These metatextual strategies constituted a series of careful and deliberate approaches to engaging a foreign-language text. These approaches are categorically – and as I will argue, ideologically – distinct from that of translation.

As already noted, in nineteenth-century Cairo, the *Gulistan* joined a larger body of Persian-language works published by the Bulaq Press, a list that included the poetry of Hafiz and Jami. The translation of the text simply appears not to be of any concern for nineteenth-century readers of the Bulaq Press editions, who may have included some Iranian expatriates living in Cairo, but were more likely well-educated Egyptians and other Arabs with training or interest in reading Persian literature. I find important the distinction between what I have already termed a new credo of translatability, and older forms of interlinguistic mediation that were especially applied to works viewed as exemplary or sublime – and the un-problematised notion of translatability between European and non-European languages that constitutes an ideological positioning from at least the nineteenth century. Why was it that the *Gulistan*, which was seen to have high literary and cultural value in a variety of West and South Asian social settings, was not translated into any of the regional languages for centuries, while appearing in multiple translations in English and French between the late-eighteenth and early-twentieth centuries? Certain insufficient answers to this question initially rise to mind: for example, the tradition of multilingualism in education and erudition across West Asian and South Asian societies within which, during the period in question, literary Persian occupied a prestige position. Or, of course, the colonial dimensions to the encounter within which the *Gulistan* was appropriated to European discourse – either as an exemplary text for the understanding of Muslim social mores, or alternatively as a work of humanism that illustrated underlying commonalities across European and Islamic societies.

However, these explanations only go so far. I will here suggest a different way to think about the asymmetries between the ideologies of translation as practiced by colonial European cultures and those that persisted

in west and south Asia until at least the mid-twentieth century, when we do find Arabic, Turkish, Urdu and other translations of the *Gulistan* appearing.

### ***World Literature and the Credo of Translatability***

We will return to the *Gulistan* shortly, but it is useful first to address the question of world literature as a currently rising paradigm for framing discussion of comparative literary work, and as an aspirational category for the integration of non-Western literary traditions into the study of 'Literature'. While world literature remains a somewhat contested category, David Damrosch's proposal that it be identified or defined as 'writing that gains in translation' has come to be one of the most cited definitions of the field.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, Damrosch makes clear that his conception of world literature rests very significantly upon the notion of translatability, even if he views the work of translation as rightly delimited by pragmatic concerns. Arguing that these concerns must not interfere with the idealisation of translatability, Damrosch argues that 'translation can never really succeed if a work's meaning is taken to reside essentially in the local verbal texture of its original phrasing'.<sup>11</sup> This translational approach to world literature situates itself as affording new opportunities for cross-cultural understanding, and in its most idealised form presumes the possibility of open and free literary relations across the globe, even while recognising an unevenness of context. It is in this spirit that Damrosch provocatively ends his definition of world literature by proposing that it is 'not a set canon of texts, but a mode of reading, a detached engagement with a world beyond our own'.<sup>12</sup> By moving from a social practice of translation to an individuated practice of reading, we find in this new articulation of world literature an idealism of personal transformation. Through training as well as personal discipline, a new mode of reading and a uniquely detached mode of engagement allows the ideal global reader to aspire to new relations with literary works from 'a world beyond our own'.

The credo of translatability has found widespread purchase within the scholarly community. For example, Alberto Manguel has argued that

translation proposes a sort of parallel universe, another space and time in which the text reveals other, extraordinary possible meanings. For these meanings, however, there are no words, since they exist in the intuitive no-man's-land between the language of the original and the language of the translator.<sup>13</sup>

The metaphorical framing of Manguel's statement: a 'parallel universe', 'another space and time', and most fertile, a 'no-man's-land', all situate

the act of translation as an alternative to or as in a liminal positioning of the separate national spheres through which the text ‘travels’. But this movement is strangely free of other connotations held within these metaphorical framings. In the first two, we find translation opening a sort of science-fictional alternate reality, which is innocent of the cold problematics of our world. The third image, of a no-mans-land, evokes a border zone, perhaps caught between two fighting lines, bereft of cultural context or positioning.

I find myself more sympathetic to the metaphorical language employed by Valerie Henitiuk when she argues that

literary globalization is a value-added act, a creative process that allows various aspects of the original to reach new audiences, and also allows that original to reveal exciting new readings prompted by the receptor culture as a sort of co-creator of the world literature text.<sup>14</sup>

This economic conception of translation, which maps onto Damrosch’s phrase ‘writing that gains’, envisages textual transferences as a mode of exchange with value added. In my own work I have suggested that these cross-cultural exchanges may be theorised as transactions. However, what distinguishes my thinking on this matter from the language adopted by Damrosch and Henitiuk is that I insist that these exchanges nearly always involve loss as well as gain. The notion of translation as ‘value-added’ or ‘writing that gains’ mirrors the ‘ideology-free’ conceits of discourse on free-market economies (rather than neoliberal capitalism) – and bears the hollow ring of corporatist ‘win-win’ ideas of politics and economics. If translation can add value to a text, so too can it involve forms of loss, and this exchange is subject to various institutional, governmental or other oversights – as exemplified most disturbingly in the form of laws prohibiting material support for terrorism, or as proscribed activities in geopolitical sanctions regimes.

Despite the stated aspirations for the ascendant model of world literature to undo the traditions of Eurocentrism that have marked comparative literature, there is little in this new form of literary study that appears to acknowledge its dependence upon what Emily Apter has termed ‘a translatability assumption’.<sup>15</sup> Apter links this disposition to its emergence within neoliberal economic globalisation. Similarly Jeffrey Sacks speaks of translation using metaphors of mechanical industrialisation, speaking of a ‘translation machine’. He suggests that ‘the translation machine at work in Schmitt and Agamben, and in Hegel and Paul, if also in Hobbes, commands translation as the discriminating and managed institution of separations’.<sup>16</sup> The image evoked by Sacks is one far from that of

value-adding exchanges, much less the imaginistic creation of alternate worlds and universes – translation here is proposed as an automated managing process, one that works to discriminate between and separate cultural forms, expressions and locations. This, to my mind, speaks more accurately of the context of the *Gulistan*, where the credo of translatability undoes a longer history of untranslatability to render the text available to this new form of translation, a form that denotes fidelity and mastery.

The *Gulistan* further illustrates how the credo of translatability has roots in the colonial encounter, which only later then echoes and finds new valences within the neoliberal structures of a globalised world. With a translation-based definition of world literatures, where an ontology of faithful transference supersedes a careful consideration of the social and political dynamics and inequities that often define the act of translation in such contexts, translation itself becomes an ideological formation that originates in colonialism and now haunts the edifices of world literature.

### ***Suspicious or Faithful Mediators***

In July 1787, reports from the Old Bailey in London record the trial of an ‘Indian Black’ by the given name of George Horn on the charge of theft.<sup>17</sup> While noting his proper name, the records also indicate that Horn, a domestic servant in the household of one Stephen Sullivan, was called ‘Sadi’ (perhaps informally so) by the family, who had first employed him while living in India, later on bringing him back to England with them. It may not have been unusual for families to rename servants brought back from stays in colonial India, but this gesture – renaming an individual with an apparent ‘Christian’ name with one of Arabic origin – does appear somewhat odd on the surface of things.

The Old Bailey’s report does not include any detail for explaining Horn’s *nom de travail*, but his employer Stephen Sullivan was the translator of the earliest published English edition of a substantial part of Sa°di’s *Gulistan*, a work that was first issued in 1773 and reprinted several more times over subsequent years. Sullivan seems to have renamed his servant after the poet whose works he had translated. Unlike the glory attributed to the poet, the hapless servant ‘Sadi’ (aka Horn) was found guilty of pilfering two bank notes after being dismissed from the employ of the Sullivan household. From India, he came to London only to end up in prison after falling out of the trust of the Sulivans. The presence of this Sadi-named ‘Black Indian’ servant in Sullivan’s home, and the rather unfortunate end to the relationship between Sullivan and Horn, invites many questions about Sullivan’s relationship with his literary interlocutor, Sa°di of Shiraz,

and given a relative paucity of information about Sullivan himself I find myself attached to this story, a turn in the lives of both Sullivan and Sadi/Horn, as a window to the figure of the late eighteenth-century English translator of the *Gulistan*. For Sullivan's innovation – that of translating the *Gulistan* in a mode that sought fidelity in transmission – was indeed a groundbreaking moment that would redefine the place of the *Gulistan* in the world, as I hope to illustrate here. What the record of Sadi/Horn's crime intimates is that the imaginary surrounding the *Gulistan* was quickly steeped into areas of English colonial culture, and serves as a peculiar allegory of the problematic relationship between translators like Sullivan and the cultural materials they were beginning to render in copious volumes from Persian, Arabic and other languages associated with the colonial endeavour. Sullivan apparently felt comfortable in assuming full authority and superiority over not only his servant, but also his namesake, the poet Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>di.

Regardless of the fate of Horn, whose story vanishes in the archives beyond the record of the Old Bailey, Sullivan's translation of the *Gulistan* – incomplete though it was – inaugurated the entry of this work into the colonial machine of translation, and its embrace by the credo of translatability. In the introductions to the earliest of the English translations of the *Gulistan* – that of Sullivan, for example – one does not find assertive claims about the fidelity or accuracy of translation, but in other ways through their manifest links to colonial institutions and prerogatives we can trace their adoption of the credo of translatability. Sullivan's introduction frames the work as having 'excited my curiosity' through its having been mentioned 'in very high terms' by 'a Gentleman of acknowledged abilities and universal talents, in his Introduction to the Persian Grammar'.<sup>18</sup> The coyness around naming the 'Gentleman' in question is likely due to the fact that Sir William Jones assumed such a towering proportion for any student or scholar of 'the East' as not to have to be named at all. The excitement of curiosity that Sullivan notes stands in some contrast to the veneration for the text among Indian scholars and teachers that brought the text first to the attention of British colonial officials.

The picture that is formed is one of a man whose life is absolutely formed by his associations with the British colonial project in India. Beyond his acknowledgement of Jones' influence, Sullivan dedicates his translation to another man, a 'Mr Savage' – likely Henry Savage who served for a period as the 'Chief of the Company's factory in Persia' as well as becoming a company Director.<sup>19</sup> Stephen was the son of Laurence Sullivan, one of the most storied directors of the East India Company,<sup>20</sup> and eventually gained some notoriety for his role as Personal Secretary



for William Hastings, a later company Director who was himself a strong advocate for the study of Arabic and Persian.<sup>21</sup> This relationship in part fed the impeachment of Hastings (the younger Sullivan's name is cited repeatedly in Parliamentary records pertaining to the case for impeachment for his involvement in a scheme trading a monopoly in the trade of opium, which enriched Sullivan nearly overnight).<sup>22</sup> Regardless of these intrigues, little of detail is known about Stephen beyond the fact that the position that perhaps was closest to his heart and which made best use of his talents was that of Persian Translator at the East India Company's Fort St George offices, in Chennai.<sup>23</sup> While lacking in either the ambition or calculation of his father in matters relating to trade and politics, Stephen followed in the footsteps of other British families with firm links to India, by studying oriental languages while a young man, although the setting for his studies remains obscure, as he precedes the generation of 'Orientalists' who popularised the academic study of Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic and Hindi/Urdu in the early nineteenth century. His edition of the *Gulistan* was a reflection of his formation as an ideal colonial figure in that earlier stage of British interest in India, when colonialism was more a mercantile affair than one of nationalist imperialism (as it became after 1857). Sullivan was thus fundamentally a colonial entrepreneur whose connections to the upper echelons of the East India Company ensured his dubious accumulation of wealth, while he continued to entertain a degree of pretension to higher aesthetic interests, as reflected in his translation of the *Gulistan*.

Sullivan's peculiar mix of literary ambition and colonial entrepreneurship was not to be found in later editions, which presented a much more applied and pedagogical intention. For example, James Dumoulin's 1807 translation, produced and printed in Calcutta, is dedicated to the Indian court jurist J. H. Harington. The translator indicates first the social function of his labours in his brief dedication, stating: 'Impressed with a conviction that a translation of the Goolistan would meet your patronage, I have taken the liberty of dedicating this to you'.<sup>24</sup> He goes on to offer hopes that his work 'be a monument of your desire to promote the acquisition of the Persian language, so essentially necessary to the adequate discharge of the public duties, with the administration of justice in this Government'.<sup>25</sup> In this, Dumoulin affirms that the primary value of the act of translation here is as a contribution to the 'discharge of public duties' and 'administration of justice' by the colonial government in India, through availing the text to those who wish to learn this language, presumably primarily British colonial agents, but perhaps also natives. Later in his introduction, Dumoulin continues by admitting that 'I had frequently heard an opinion,

that however excellent [Sa<sup>°</sup>di's] writings, particularly the *Goolistan*, were in Persian, yet that they would not bear an English translation'.<sup>26</sup> However, the problem was not deemed one of a text too sublime to be sullied with the degradations of early Victorian English idioms. Quite the opposite: Dumoulin suggests that in a contemporary English rendering, 'the sentiments would appear puerile and insignificant'. Nonetheless, Dumoulin joined his contemporary Gladwin in determining to overcome this obstacle in one way or another, through translation:

I resolved to make an attempt, not less with a view to convince that through want of assiduity, the investigation of equivalent idioms is too hastily abandoned by the majority, than to present to the public, a work, esteemed by teachers of Persian language, rudimental; and consequently always put into the hands of beginners, as furnishing all kinds of grammatical and logical examples in prose and verse.<sup>27</sup>

Dumoulin's pedagogical intentions for his translation (which was published in a bilingual Persian and English edition) mapped along the development of curricula for the training of Persian in colonial colleges in India, in particular the College of Fort William in Lucknow, the annals of which show the centrality of the *Gulistan* in the language curriculum for Persian. The college had published a primer in 1809 which included 'portions of the *Goolistan* and *Bostan*',<sup>28</sup> and in 1823, James Ross published a translation of the *Gulistan* 'as used in the East-India company's colleges', with a dedication to James Pattison and William Wigram, respectively the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the East India Company.<sup>29</sup> What becomes manifestly clear in this history is the close filiation of an ideology of pure translatability to the entire project of colonialism. In the earlier years of the East India Company's presence in the subcontinent, gaining a Civil Service appointment was contingent upon being appointed by a director of the Company, and required no particular qualifications. However, given that this approach was destined to invite nepotism and other corruptions, in 1855 a system of examinations was introduced by which candidates for work in the Indian Civil Service were to be measured.

The Test of Qualification for entering the Bengal Civil Service required students to 'constru[e] with readiness and accuracy from' two Persian texts: 'the Anwari Soheilee (first three Chapters) and the *Gulistan*'. The Test of High Proficiency required displaying a comprehension of the latter two texts as well as a third, Sa<sup>°</sup>di's *Bustan*.<sup>30</sup> In the eighty-or-so-year period spanning Sullivan's study of Persian, in the 1770s, and the introduction of the system of examinations for prospective Civil Service members, the colonial college system had become institutionalised, complete with a

formalised curriculum in which the study of Persian held a place of some privilege. The Dumoulin translation firmly moves the *Gulistan* from the realms of colonial enterprise with pretensions to cultural acclaim (Sullivan) to the more practical and rigorous domain of colonial administration and education.

The continuum upon which we may place Sullivan and Dumoulin's efforts to translate the *Gulistan*, illustrates shifts in register and ideological orientation (as well as purpose) in the assimilation of the *Gulistan* to the English language. Over the course of the nineteenth century, this bifurcation – between the colonial aesthete and that of the colonial educator – would define the rationale of further translations, such as those of Francis Gladwin (1809, reprinted 1822, 1827, 1833, 1834, 1865), James Ross (1823, 1890), Edward Eastwick (1850, 1852, 1880), John Platts (1873, 1874) and Samuel Robinson (1876). In these efforts, very generally speaking, the translation is justified in paratextual materials (introductions and reviews) through its usefulness for the colonial project, primarily as a pedagogical tool.

By the end of the century, the continuum would be stretched further. In the brief introduction composed to the 1888 Kama Shastra Society edition of the *Gulistan*, the translator immodestly proposes that 'the present work has been ably and faithfully translated. It will repay perusal, not once only, but several times.'<sup>31</sup> The title page of the book also reads, in what seems possibly an excessive touch, 'faithfully translated into English'. The Kama Shastra Society was, as has been well explored elsewhere, little more than a subterfuge through which Burton and his closest accomplices Edward Rehatsek and F. F. Arbuthnot were able to issue translations of Oriental works – chiefly Arabic and Persian – without censorial intervention.<sup>32</sup> Rehatsek almost certainly translated the *Gulistan*, and it is his (or is it Burton's? – the introduction is unsigned) claim of translational fidelity as it appears in both introduction and title page. But before we discuss this claim, it is worth following the story of this translation a little further. Somewhat ironically, the Kama Shastra edition of the *Gulistan* was eventually bowdlerised and made anodyne in the 1928 Philip Alan & Co. edition, which not only redacted certain more sexually risqué tales (in particular, references to homosexuality), but also then attributed the formerly anonymously translated work to Richard Burton himself. Sa°di's modern biographer J. D. Yohannan has effectively argued that this posthumous attribution, and the censorial omissions within the text, are most likely due to the intervention of Lady Isabel Burton, who spent so many of the years after the death of her husband attempting to expurgate the scandalous translations with which he was associated (most famous of

these is of course his translation of the *Arabian Nights*).<sup>33</sup> A translation that claimed fidelity and value by virtue of the labours of its anonymous translator came to be reworked into a most infidelious text while misattributing the work of translation altogether.

By the end of the nineteenth century, to most readers of these English translations, the substantiation of the credo of translatability was no longer necessary. Even edited and abridged editions were viewed as showing total fidelity to the original. What the peculiar circumstances around the Rehatsek/Burton edition of the *Gulistan* reveals is the degree to which the nineteenth-century translations of non-Western texts were framed within an emergent ideology of translation, which in some measure naturally grew out of the capitalist economy within which ‘literature’ was to emerge as a form of property, but which more substantially was a product of colonialist needs – the need to learn, teach and administer in the languages of the natives. This ideology developed alongside the institutional apparatus of colonial expansion, articulating a claim of total translatability and transaction. One may even say that in this period, the economy of translation comes to mirror that of the emerging world system of free market trade, and like this system was dependent upon the masking of the hierarchies of exploitation and appropriation that governed it.

### ***Gulistan: Overcoming Untranslatability***

In exploring the principle by which an implicit prohibition of translation of the *Gulistan* prevailed in Arab, Ottoman and South Asian contexts, as I have already noted, utilitarian explanations do not suffice – by which I mean to say, it is not convincing to seek an explanation for this question purely in either a social claim of multilingualism, or in a pedagogical claim of the text’s use as a primer for the study of Persian. Instead it seems to me it is necessary to also think more substantively about the cultural framing of translation activities within West and South Asian contexts in this period.

To understand this cultural framing, we may begin with a consideration of the specific social value accorded to the *Gulistan* in this period. Jan Assmann has illustrated how often in realms of religious translation, in particular, in the translation of names of gods, ‘cultural (un)translatability’ has offered aporias of understanding where intercultural activity is concerned.<sup>34</sup> Apter terms this ‘sacral’ or ‘theological untranslatability’, which defines texts that are beyond the scope of translation due to their position as divine word, and thus above the quotidian fluidities of social discourse.<sup>35</sup> Given that translation is always self-consciously an act of

social marking, it is possible for texts to be beyond translatability, in that the authorial intrusions that translation bring are irreconcilable with the sublimity of the text. Of course, religious works such as the Qur'an are exemplary of this category of text, but it is possible to add to these ostensibly 'sacred' texts ones that are seen as having achieved a degree of transcendence from the rough-scrabble terrain of humanist discourse. It is in this sense that I would argue we must understand the hesitation of non-Persian speaking non-Western literati to engage in translations of this text into their own languages. Instead, by producing 'commentaries' (*sharh*) of the text – numerous of these texts appear in languages as disparate as Bosnian, Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and Urdu, from the fifteenth through to the twentieth centuries – we may discern a cultural prohibition of translation of the text, one that may itself be ideological in nature.

This, of course, is not due to the *Gulistan* performing any formally religious duties in its social contexts. Rather I would suggest the presence of a category of humanist discourse within the broader umbrella of the Islamic humanities that has come to be viewed as a mode of secular sublimity. This category of sublimity has marked various texts as untranslatable, and has invited instead other translinguistic vehicles for the work's circulation outside of its primary cultural and linguistic domain. Undeniably, the category of the sublime is mutable, and I would not wish to obscure the fact that with modernity, the *Gulistan* has come under reconsideration and new debate within Persian-speaking contexts. By the early twentieth century, the humanist and universalist claims that are adduced to Sa<sup>°</sup>di, and in particular the *Gulistan*, came to be challenged by Iranian modernist intellectuals such as Ahmad Kasravi. In direct distinction to the evaluation of the text by British and American enthusiasts, Kasravi views Sa<sup>°</sup>di as an example of pieties of a flaccid and ineffectual society, more appropriate as marking the values of pre-modernity. As Jazayeri notes,

Sa<sup>°</sup>di's poetry and prose, in Kasravi's analysis, contains all kinds of evil teachings. He persistently encourages fatalism. He presents, approvingly, the Sufi ideas on the worthlessness of life and the world. He preaches cowardice and hypocrisy. He is a shameless flatterer of the powerful and the wealthy. And he sometimes contradicts himself.<sup>36</sup>

In all of these ways, Kasravi argues, Sa<sup>°</sup>di (and other pre-modern Persian poets such as Hafiz and Jami) must be desacralised and in effect cleansed from modern literature.

It is with these shifts in the general discourse around both Sa<sup>°</sup>di and translational fidelity that we begin to see new attitudes to the *Gulistan* emerge within the Islamicate cultural sphere. A short piece published

in the Arabic literary scientific journal *al-Muqtataf* in 1924 offers some insights into changing views on the translatability of the *Gulistan*. This entry, written by the bilingual Najafi-born Iranian cultural figure °Abbas Mirza al-Khalili, argues for the merits of the *Gulistan* in terms of its translations, but gives evidence of some anxiety over its translatability in a possibly apocryphal anecdote about the book:

This book has been translated into many languages, and foreigners marvel at it and estimate it as it deserves. I have been told that the director of *al-Jawa'ib* [newspaper and press house], Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, read this book in French and said that in Arabic we have many examples like it, and he could write a work similar to it or even better than it. And if this is truly what he said, he did not do what he said [i.e. ever complete a work better than the *Gulistan*], and it must be that the translation that he read did not do service to either the book or its author.<sup>37</sup>

Al-Khalili begins by indexing the value of the *Gulistan* in terms of its circulation in translation. However, his anecdote, which places a rather negative assessment of the work in the mouth of one of the foremost Arab literary figures of the mid-nineteenth century, then exposes an anxiety around its reception in translation. That al-Shidyaq is said to have dismissed the work offhandedly as unexceptional – to the extent that he himself could produce a work of equal or superior value – was for al-Khalili no doubt due to some shortcoming in the translation. (All of this aside of the fact that there is little evidence for al-Shidyaq's high fluency in French – if he read a translation of the *Gulistan*, it was much more likely in English.) Clearly, here, al-Khalili is relying on the possible infidelity of the French translation that al-Shidyaq was said to have read, and in so doing evokes a continuing sentiment of the untranslatability of the work and the necessity for a multilingual engagement with it, something that he himself, by virtue of his medial identity between Iran and the Arab world, exemplified, even as he recognises the increasing centrality of a credo of translatability as central to the estimation of a work like the *Gulistan*.

### ***Dissipating Anxieties of Translation***

During the *nahda* period, with the increasing institutionalisation of Arabic literature, we find the erosion of former commitments to sacral untranslatability and an increasing sense of anxiety over what came to be perceived as an inadequacy in the history of translation in Arabic. This rise of translational anxiety may be viewed in the critical discourse of *nahdawi* authors who viewed the category of untranslatable texts as a sort of burden

upon the tradition of Arabic literature to which they were dedicated as revivalists. Sulayman al-Bustani's magnum opus, an Arabic translation of the *Iliad*, is introduced at length by the translator, who begins his comments with the following observation:

We possess no indication in the annals of Arabic that Homer's works [*diwan*] were ever transmitted [*nuqila* – lit, 'carried'] into the Arabic language, and so certainly [*bila rayb*] they were not translated into Arabic [*lam yu<sup>c</sup>rib*] and they were only known to the elites of the educated [*khassat al-<sup>c</sup>ulama<sup>2</sup>*], and as for his poems, it is absolute [*thabit*] that they were not translated.<sup>38</sup>

Al-Bustani here expresses his concern over the discovery that with certainty the works of Homer escaped the translational interests of Arabic-speaking literati of the first translation movement. However, he notes, it was known to specialists from among the learned classes who thus presumably accessed the text through some form of untranslated mediation. The picture accords somewhat to the principal of untranslatability I have already noted, as it appears that the *Iliad*, while known to literati of the premodern period, was never placed within the rubric of translatable works, and was approached and experienced through other means – despite many other works of Greek antiquity having been translated into Arabic. Al-Bustani's introduction assumes an apologetic tone in his admission that the classical period – a period of great inspiration to him and other *nahdawi* authors – did not produce a translation of the *Iliad*. His regret is in proportion to the expectations that these figures adopted by virtue of the ascendancy of an ideology of translatability that found no value in the principle of untranslatability.

By the mid-twentieth century two Arabic translations of the *Gulistan* would be carried out. The second of these, the work of Muhammad al-Furati (1890–1978), a notable Syrian intellectual whose training brought him from the madrasas of Dayr al-Zur, to studies in al-Azhar during British rule, to joining the anti-Ottoman 'Arab revolt' as a confidant of Faysal, and subsequent anti-French uprisings in Syria. His translation of *Gulistan*, published in 1961, was part of his duties as a translator with the Syrian ministry of culture, during the heights of the pan-Arab movement, a time during which Arab nationalism and Persian nationalism brought new antipathies to bear that created divides between the linguistic domains of Arabic and Persian. His translation therefore can be viewed as a bridging gesture at odds with the dominant ideological trends of his time, or rather may be also understood as an appropriative act that consolidated notions of linguistic mastery and fidelity central to Arab nationalist thought.

Al-Furati was celebrated by many in Syria in his later years, not least for his achievement as a translator, but also for his poetry. °Abd al-Salam al-°Ujayli describes a letter from the Iranian ambassador to Syria, Mahmud Malayeri, to the Syrian minister of culture in 1962, after learning of the translation of the *Gulistan* carried out by al-Furati.

And in those days, in which the relations between our country and that of Iran [*bilad al-furs*] were characterised by animosity and distrust, it is clear that the ambassador of that country [Iran] was able to see in the work of *ustadh* al-Furati and in the dependence of the ministry of culture and education upon him, evidence of the cultural connections and the brotherly relationship between Syria and Iran . . . He [the Iranian ambassador] recognised the sincerity of the ministry of culture and national guidance in printing selections from the best of Persian poetry, from Jalal al-Din al-Rumi, and the Shirazis Hafez and Sa°di, pleased that this effort would have a deep effect in strengthening the bonds of friendship and brotherhood between the two countries that share in many ancient and valuable connections.<sup>39</sup>

Clearly, by the 1960s the state of literary relations between Arabic and Persian domains had changed fairly significantly from that which is evident as recently as half a century prior. Where the *Gulistan* earlier served as a migrating text encountered through multilinguistic glosses and commentaries, by the mid-twentieth century the text had come to find its place in a new order, defined by an ideology of translation, as recognised institutionally through cultural ministries and ambassadorial letters. Further to this, near the end of his life, al-Furati led the Syrian delegation to the Pahlavi regime's ostentatious 1975 celebration in Shiraz, putatively of 2500 years of kingly rule in Iran. How far had we come from al-Bustani's apologetic introduction, hesitantly deigning to impose a flawed translation of Homer to an expanding Arabic readership! In the rubble of the reconfigurations of intracultural relationships that nationalisms imposed upon the domains of Arabic and Persianate cultures, instead of a multilingual, non-translatable but still interpenetrated space in which Arabic and Persian literary works encountered one another, al-Furati's presence in Shiraz in 1975 marks the ascendance of a new cultural order – of separate, competing and self-policing literary domains that only encountered one another through translation.

As I have attempted to show – in a manner that is more illustrative than exhaustive – the nineteenth century brought the *Gulistan* into a new ideological economy that approached the translation of the text as not only possible, but as necessary, even inevitable. The prohibitions that largely treated the work as representing a sublime transcendence akin to that of a sacred text were no match for the appropriate energies of the



global systems that colonialism instituted. While over the course of the nineteenth century the European translations of the work are framed by claims of mastery, fidelity and, eventually, submission, we find in West and South Asian contexts a continuing resistance to the notion of the text's translatability. Yet, at the same time we may observe the adoption by Arab and other regional literati of the ideology of translatability – as I have briefly attempted to illustrate through my brief digressions through Sulayman al-Bustani and Muhammad al-Furati. What this case helps to illustrate, and how it contributes to current debates on world literature, is the degree to which aspirations for pure translation, which lie at the heart of definitions of this mode of literary study, represent a continuation of a colonial credo on translatability.

### Notes

1. Franklin Lewis, 'Golestan', *Encyclopedia Iranica*, <http://www.iranica.com> (accessed 1 October 2018).
2. On this translation, see A. Bodrogligeti, 'Notes on the Turkish Literature at the Mamluke Court', *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 14: 3 (1962): 273–82.
3. Yahya Arinpur, *Az Saba ta Nima: Tarikh-i sad u pansad sal-i adab-i Farsi* (Tehran: Intisharat-i Zivar, 1993), 230–1.
4. Arif Naushahi, *Fihrist-i chapha-yi asar-i Sa<sup>c</sup>di dar shibhi gharh* (Islamabad: Institute for Persian Studies, 1984), 73.
5. These include but are not limited to an 1845 edition issued in Cairo without publisher's information, and Bulaq editions published in 1831, 1832, 1844, 1864 and 1874.
6. These include, among others, 1839, 1862, 1872 and 1882 editions that lack publisher's information, an 1874 edition edited with intralinear translation by Mehmet Sait, two 1874 editions – one published by Dar al-Satnihi and another edited by Mehmet Said, an 1882 edition published by Kantar Biraderler Matbaasi (edited with commentary by Tayyar), an 1889 edition from Matbaayi Amire (possibly a reproduction of the Tayyar edition), an 1890 edition published by Der-i Saadat, an 1894 edition of selections from the Gulistan for secondary schools published by Maarif Nezarat-i Celilesinin Ruhsatile, and an 1895 edition published by Haci Huseyin Efendinin Matbaasi.
7. These include the aforementioned Calcutta editions from 1806 (Gladwin's) and 1809, as well as 1832 and 1840 editions from Calcutta lacking further publisher's information, a Bombay edition from 1844, a Calcutta edition from 1851 edited by A. Sprenger, an 1853 edition published by Muhammadi in Kanpur, 1865, 1869, 1871, 1880, 1881 and 1896 editions published by Navil Kishore in Lucknow, an 1866 edition published by Mustafai in Lucknow, an

1870 edition published in Aligarh by Aligarh Press, 1890 editions published in Bombay by Fath al-Karim and in Lucknow by Vali Muhammad, and an 1897 edition by Mustafai in Lahore, among others. None of this can address the production of manuscripts in the same period, which is a matter for another study, but which my research shows does not deviate from the general trends noted here.

8. The Ottoman edition, titled *Gülistan kitabın tercümesi* was published without publishing details but is probably from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. A 'Hindoostani' translation was published in Calcutta in 1801 and edited by J. B. Gilchrist for use in Fort William College for teaching Persian to Indian students in the college. For more on Gilchrist and his edition, see Nazir Ahmad, 'A Scottish Orientalist and his works', *Libri* 28: 1 (1978), 196–204. The Arabic translation was carried out by Jira'il Yusuf Mukhalla' and published by the Bulaq press in 1847.
9. Naushahi, *Fihrist-i chapha-yi asar-i Sa'adi*, 74.
10. David Damrosch, *What is World Literature?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 291.
11. Damrosch, *What is World Literature?*, 291.
12. Damrosch, *What is World Literature?*, 297.
13. Manguel, cited in Valerie Henitiuk, 'The single, shared text? Translation and world literature', *World Literature Today* 86: 1 (2012): 30–4; 31.
14. Henitiuk, 'The single', 32.
15. Emily Apter, *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability* (London: Verso, 2013), 3.
16. Jeffrey Sacks, 'Untranslatability, or Mourning translation (Darwish with Schmitt and Agamben)', *Modern Language Notes* 126: 5 (2011): 1083–122; 1100.
17. The court's report is reprinted in: J. W. Von Archenholz, *The British Mercury, or Annals of History, Politics, Manners, Literature, Arts, etc. of the British Empire*, vol. 2 for 1787 (Hamburgh: B. G. Hoffman, 1787), 343–6.
18. Sa'adi, *Gulistan, Or the Bed of Roses*, trans. Stephen Sullivan (London: J. Ridley, 1774), iv.
19. Some details of Savage's life may be found in his obituary: 'Obituary of considerable persons; with biographical anecdotes', *The Gentleman's Magazine* (London) 55: 1 (1785): 325. Henry Savage was a close associate of Stephen Sullivan's father. See George McGilvary, *Guardian of the East India Company: The Life of Laurence Sullivan* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2005), 11.
20. For more on Sullivan, see McGilvary's biography, *Guardian of the East India Company*.
21. Thomas Babington Macaulay observed that Hastings 'conceived that the cultivation of Persian literature might with advantage be made part of the liberal education of an English gentleman.' Thomas Babington Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays, in five volumes*, vol. 4 (London: J. M. Dent, 1850), 240. However, Macaulay (notorious for his *Minute on Indian Education*,

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- in which he argued forcefully against colonial education in indigenous languages) did not view this disposition with favour: 'Perhaps the fondness of Hastings for Persian literature may have tended to corrupt his taste.' (323)
22. These allegations are spelled out in detail by Edmund Burke in his *Article of Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors Against Warren Hastings, Esq.* (London: J. Debrett, 1786).
  23. See *List of the Private Secretaries to the Governor-General and Viceroy from 1774–1908, with Biographical Sketches* (Calcutta: Superintendent Printing, 1908), 91–2.
  24. Sa<sup>°</sup>di, *The Goolistan of the Celebrated Musleh-<sup>°</sup>ud-Din of Shirauz, Surnamed Sheikh Sadi, with an English Translation*, trans. James Dumoulin (Calcutta: Patrick Creighton, Mirror Press, 1807), n.p. (opening page dedication).
  25. Sa<sup>°</sup>di, *The Goolistan*, 1807, n.p. (opening page dedication).
  26. Sa<sup>°</sup>di, *The Goolistan*, 1807, i.
  27. Sa<sup>°</sup>di, *The Goolistan*, 1807, i.
  28. Thomas Roebuck, *The Annals of the College of Fort William from the Period of its Foundation* (Calcutta: The Hindoostanee Press, 1819), 39.
  29. Sa<sup>°</sup>di, *The Gulistan, or Flower-Garden of Shaik Sadi of Shiraz*, trans. James Ross (London: J. Richardson Press, 1823), title page.
  30. *Fort Williams College: Guide to Examinations* (London: Williams and Norgate, 1860), v–a.
  31. Sa<sup>°</sup>di, *The Gulistan or Rose Garden of Sa<sup>°</sup>di, Faithfully Translated into English*, trans. Edward Rehatsek (Benares: Kama Shastra Society (for private subscribers only), 1888), title page.
  32. See Mary Lovell, *A Rage to Live: A Biography of Richard and Isabel Burton* (New York: Norton, 1998), 675–704.
  33. J. D. Yohannan, 'Did Sir Richard Burton translate Sadi's *Gulistan*?', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (October 1950): 185–8.
  34. Jan Assmann, 'Translating gods: Religion as a factor of cultural (un)translatability', in Sanford Budick and Wolfgang Iser (eds), *Translatability of Cultures: Figurations of the Space Between* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 25–36.
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