

Translation Movements between Translators' Decisions and Rulers' Will: a Micro-historical, Anachronistic, Comparative Study of Refaa'ah at-Tahtaawiyy & Hunayn bin Ishaq

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**مسارحركات الترجمة بين المترجمين والحكام: دراسة تاريخية مقارنة بين
رفاعة الطهطاوي وحنين بن اسحق**

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1. Rationale of study

Narratives of the lives of translators across history have often been studied through biographies and autobiographies that usually zoom in the prime profession of the translator then deal with translation as his/her secondary job. With the cultural turn of translation studies in the late 20th century, the role of translators as cultural agents, literary writers and influential scientists have become subject to investigation through an objective micro- and macro-historical methodology. In short, there has been a rising tendency to bring the translator from behind the scenes. Translators' micro-histories are not meant to be extensive chronological biographies, nor are they targeted at an impressionistic over or understatement of a translator's career. Against the background of ruler-translator relations, socio-cultural factors, and based on archives, state documents, narratives by the translators' contemporaries, historians' records, the micro-historical analysis rather attempts to reach out to new aspects of the roles assumed by translators in the course of their movements or turns, i.e., to use the translators' micro-history as a lens to uncover new facts of history.

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When translation movements are subject to study, concern is usually paid to sponsors and translation outcome. However, the micro-historical study of the translators who truly pioneered the movements may lead to new insights about their cultural agency and to answer questions as why, for example, the scientific impact of a given movement is more emphasized than its literary or vice versa. The present study approaches the life and career details of two famous translators in history who contributed to two major translation movements; it horizontally explores broad cross sections of the lives of Refaa'ah at-Tahtaawiyy (b.1801 - d. 1873), the pioneer translator in Mohammad Ali's translation movement (1835- 1849) in Egypt, and Hunayn bin Ishaq (b. 808, d. 873), an icon of Greek- Arabic translation during the Abbasid rule initiated in the 8th c. and lasted till the 10thc.

2. Objectives of study

The present study attempts to:

- investigate selection of domains for translation as a decision made by translators and/or rulers,
- explore the impact of each movement on the cultural dominance of Arabic in as far as this concerns official languages of state, languages of science and the emergence of new literary genres,
- study the power of the Abbasids' and Mohammad Ali's translation movements between science and literature.

3. Review of literature

It was not until the early 2000's that translation history came to be

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studied as a distinct subject. Since then, there has been a tangible progress in the historical perspectives and methodologies adopted in translation research. Translation is approached as a historical fact that is influenced by and does impact the course of historical events; historical and historiographical approaches are applied to translation research: a large spectrum of translated texts and published translations are synchronically and diachronically studied through a macro-historical perspective as represented by the *Annales School* (Braudel, 1972; 2009). The lives and works of translators as cultural and translation agents are approached through the lens of *Microstoria* as set by Carlo Ginzburg (1980) and Giovanni Levi & Jacques Revel (2014). Minute details are zoomed in, reaching out to new findings that were undiscovered in the past, in what is known as the journey from the more specific to a recognized general. Both the synchronic and diachronic perspectives of historical translation studies are combined in a new approach, *Meso-history*, applied by the historians of l'histoire croisée (Werner & Zimmermann, 2006).

In the light of the above historical approaches major topics have been manifest in historical TS, e.g.: translation under dictator and totalitarian regimes with censorship as a central pivot of study (Rundle, 2011; 2012; 2018a; 2018b) ; there also appears the tendency to set the relation between translation history and descriptive translation study as exemplified in the work of the TRACE Project with its main focus on censored translations in Franco-Spain (Merino and Rabadan, 2002). Large constellations of translated texts are treated as diachronic bulks bearing properties and norms of translation at a given age or era which soon turn into a synchronic constellation in a chain of tracing translated texts across different historical

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eras (Venuti, 2005). Subjective interpretations of past translators' lives and affiliations are sought as a basis for an objective methodology of a humanized translation history in studying, for instance , the Hispanic medieval Arabic-Latin and Latin-vernacular translating communities (Pym, 2017). Translators, as influential agents across history, are the focus of the works by George Bastin and Paul Bandia (2006) and Sergia Adamo (2006); central areas of interest are: the investigated relation between translation, translators and power, patronage, politics, cultural dominance of languages, decision-making processes in translation movements.

Vantage points usually help define objectives of conducted studies. Among the aims sought by translation micro-historians is emphasizing the role of translators “as cultural agents in terms of cultural innovation and change” (Milton and Bandia, 2009, p.1) and exploring the influence that literary translators can have despite being ignored by literary scholars (Elder, 2006, p.226). Maria Tymoczko is after a cultural broadening of the definition of translation so as to “confer more power and relevance to translators and their agency” (Cronin, 2011, p.253). Translation macro-historians seek broader diachronic/synchronic routes of historical investigation: D'hulst's (2010) rationale is to understand past thinking, practices, and contexts in view of a historiographical framework according to past, not presentist, thought patterns. Howland (2003) views translation as

a translingual act of transcoding cultural material– a complex act of communication. In process, it has come to engage the fact of deep and problematic

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relationships amongst forms of writing, idiomatic uses of language, variants of register that alert one to markers of class and gender, and structures of thought that begin to give cultures their distinctive outlooks.
(pp.45-46)

Based on this view, Howland sees the value of translation history in studying European colonization, relations between the westerners, China and Japan particularly in mediating language differences with specific reference to introducing and mediating Christianity in the Far East. Rundle (2011; 2012) uses translation as a lens to study history and to reach out to new facts undiscovered before. From the number of publications, publishers' letters, quotas imposed throughout the fascist rule, English translation of American literature into Italian is utilized as a marker of cultural distinction and pretended idealism at the beginning, only to be censored later on, as it became a direct sign of political weakness and cultural reception.

3. Theoretical Framework

3.1. History, historiography and meta-historiography

Research in translation history explores areas where translation study can add new findings to historical research, more precisely, as Rundle (2012) puts it "translation as a lens to view history". On the other hand, such potentially explored areas cover, as well, what history can mean for the understanding of translation in its various forms as enumerated by D'hulst (2010): "process, product, institution, theory" (p.398). The present comparative, micro-historical translation study falls in between both

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viewpoints: firstly, it is a translation-oriented-to-history study in as far as it investigates reasons for the cultural dominance/ weakness of a language (Arabic in particular) during two set periods of history, and traces the impact of the two investigated translation movements on the history of science, Arabic as a lingua franca of science, and the newly emerging literary genres. Secondly, in a close interdependence, it is a history-oriented-to-translation study in its micro-historical detection of the impact of the translators' behavior, personal field of specialization, relations with the rulers and patrons of translation on the course of translation movements and decision-making of domain selections.

History, historiography, and meta-historiography in D'hulst's (2010) view while history and historiography in Rundle's (2018a, 2018b) theorizing are the levels of analysis for studying each angle of translation-oriented-to- history or history-oriented-to-translation, as elaborated above. D'hulst (2010) defines history as "the proper sequence of facts, ideas, discourses; it is understood in the oral or written modes of relating these facts." Historiography is "the history of histories"; it is the historical context where an intellectual practice as linguistics, literature, and science emerged; therefore it is regarded "as the mode of scholarly activity that combines historical concepts and the specific expertise that belongs to the specific domain under study." (p.398). Rundle follows D'hulst's definition of history, but prefers to combine both historiography and meta-historiography in one:

Historiography concerns the way in which the history of an area, in this case translating and interpreting, is written about from a theoretical and methodological point of

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view; in other words, the meta-discourse of translation history, what D'hulst has called 'meta-historiography' (2018a, p.1).

Relying on a blend of Rundle's and D'hulst theorizing and counting on historical facts, the study at hand attempts to reach out through a historiographical - and meta-histographical - analysis to objective conclusions about the two major translation movements under study.

3.2. Blend of D'hulst vertical parameters of historical analysis & Rundle's horizontal frames

Seeking objectivity of the translation historical analysis, D'hulst, Hayden White and Rundle follow a set of essential rules of study (Rundle, 2018a). There stands a close interrelation between D'hulst's (2010) verticality of identifying the historical object and the horizontal meta-historiographical parameters he sets, and Rundle's broader horizontal frames of historiographical study. D'hulst parameter of *Presupposition* - namely, the *Purpose of historical research* and *Time* are comprised within Rundle's frame of *Timescale* and sub-frame of *Periodization* of the historical research (2018 b). The more detailed classical taxonomy of the historical translation object set by D'hulst provides the basis for Rundle's Frames of *Timescale* and *Perspective, Synchrony & diachrony* in addition to the tools recognized by both scholars for historical research.

An identification of D'hulst's (2010) taxonomy and Rundle's (2018b) frames helps to further explain this integration. Meta-historiographical analysis by D'hulst's definition deals with *presuppositions*, that is, purposes of and scientific criteria for historical research. *Time* covers up issues of

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periodization as age, century, and period. *Space* defines the bordering of historical researching as national, regional ...etc. *Format* and *language* have to do with the way the historical object is presented and the language used for the historical description (D'hulst 2010, p.398).

Following Cicero and Quintilian, D'hulst (2010) sets a catalogue of circumstantial loci of the historical object as follows: *Quis, Who*: focuses on the translator or translation scholar "envisaged from different, intellectual and social backgrounds: training, gender, ideological and cultural profile", i.e., the translator's mediating role between cultures. This provides for the present study's micro-historical concern with the lives of Refaa'ah and Hunayn in an attempt to reach out to new conclusions about the status of science and literature in each movement. Micro-history revolves as a level of historical analysis in Rundle's broad frame of *Timescale*. Leaning more towards a somehow impersonal macro-historical perspective, Rundle's theorizing lends little concern to the *Quis*. *Quid, what*, directly corresponds to the tools of historical research: what has/has not been translated, what has been the selection criteria and procedure. *Quid* is thus essential for finding out about the motives for domain selections during Mohammad Ali's and the Abbasid translation movements by means of a comparison between literary and scientific works translated by each translator. Detection of translation bibliographies and publications is central to macro-historical case studies carried out by Rundle (2011; 2012); translated texts, mega texts are utilized in diachronic analysis and comparisons by Venuti (2005); Munday, as well, conducts a close linguistic analysis of the rough copies handwritten by translators (2013).

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Quibus auxiliis, Auxiliary factors, provides a direct focus on the relations between past or present translators and other agents of translation, more precisely between translators and rulers, the latter's conferred rewards or ordered punishments. Therefore, D'hulst further explains that these auxiliary factors involve "the sort of support to translators and other agents" with an inclusive possible reference to "effects on the recognition of translators and their work by patronship, ..." They may also refer to

the changing interference between censorship and translators and more generally to the issue of power relationships in translation communication processes and in translation institutions. (2010, p.401)

This translator-ruler relation is closely relevant to studying the impact of power relations on the course of both translation movements under study, domain selections and cultural dominance of selected target languages in each case.

Remaining aspects of D'hulst's definition fall directly into Rundle's macro-historical level of studying the *Timescale* frame. *Ubi, where* have translations been printed, published, and distributed? *Cur, why* do translations occur? That is, reasons for a historical analysis. *Quando* covers the origins of translation, translation bibliographies, translation chronological arrangements. Accordingly, *Quando* can safely be considered the basis for the broad parameter of *Periodization* in Rundle's *Perspective* frame; it also covers aspects of diachronic/synchronic categorization of the periods where translations belong, allowing thereby a study of the prevailing translation norms, tendencies, and the inevitable concept of

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Change across history. A comparison between the scientific, medical, geographical, social, educational, military translated works during Mohammad Ali's Translation Movement proves its inclusiveness. Sub-sections of the Translation Chamber, *Qalam at-Targamah*, an offshoot of the School of Languages, Al-Alsun, founded *at the hands* of Refaa'ah in 1842 and the number of its published translations provide evidence of the inclusive literary and scientific domain selections by Refaa'ah . Likewise, a close examination of the translated and authored works by a chief translator in the Abbasid Translation Movement, Hunayn bin Ishaq, exemplifies the strong scientific trend of the movement (8th century-10th century) .

Rundle's framing of historical study rests on a trilateral basis comprising Timescale, Perspective, Synchrony & Diachrony (2018 b). In terms of temporality, *Timescale* is subdivided into: short-term; i.e., everyday life; middle-range, i.e., human lifetime; long-term, i.e., the long historical development. Henceforth, *Timescale* provides an umbrella for three main approaches of study: *Longue durée* as represented by the Annales School and their adoption of macro-history (Braudel, 1972), *Microstoria scholars* with their proclaimed focus on the lives of ordinary people who help form history in an attempt to maverick away from the traditional orchestral mono-description of a history led by political leaders (Ginzburg, 1980), and finally, *Meso-history*, which is a combination of both the macro-and micro-historical approaches, it reaches midway between synchrony and diachrony in a cross history approach widely known as *l'histoire Croisée* (Werner & Zimmermann, 2006). Much of the work conducted at the present study belongs to the micro-historical approach, as explained below.

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Perspective is the second broad frame for approaching translation in history; it comprises Presentism/anachronism and Periodization. It means the perspective adopted by historians towards the historical object which involves both temporal and ideological dimensions (Rundle, 2018 b.). It determines the way a translation historian uses the available sources, allowing a macro- and micro-historical comparison of translators and translation throughout different periods of history. The dimension of objective (meta-) historiography is accordingly ascertained through *Perspective* by a postulation of the anachronistic approach to historical analyses; itself is a tendency to extract history and historiography away from being a mere subjective narrative, which can be considered a true reflection of D'hulst's definition of history as "the totality of scientific decisions aiming at discovery of historical facts" (2001, p. 23).

Presentism is to interpret the past in terms of the present with a view to understanding the role of translations and translators in cultural exchange. Though sincere and transparent (Rundle, 2018), the presentist view as exemplified in the works of Pym (1993, 1998, 2017), Tymoczko (Cronin, 2011), Wakabayashi (2012) inevitably involves a degree of subjective historical interpretation. *Anachronism* is an interpretation of facts according to the historical contexts where they emerge; it is a non-presentist reconstruction of the past" (Rundle, 2018 b, p.9). This paper attempts to apply an anachronistic perspective of investigating the roles played by Refaa'ah and Hunayn in the course of their translation movements as represented in:

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1. the impact Refaa'ah realized in asserting the supremacy of Arabic towards the mid of the 19th c. This influence continued to be realized up until the last decade of the 19th c., some few years after the recognition of English as the official language of education following the British colonization of Egypt in 1881;
2. the continuing literary impact of Refaa'ah's translated works on the re- emergence of an Arabic literary genre. Subject to observation, as well, is the subsequent attachment of translation to literature, and its detachment from science in Egypt since the beginning of the 20th c. This is due to the factual historical context of the 19th c and the early 20th ;
3. the role of Hunayn's personal field of specialization as a scientist, physician and ophthalmologist in ascertaining the medical and scientific stamp of his movement particularly in view of the Greek-Arabic translations. This is a recognized cultural exchange from Greek into Arabic in spite of Hunayn's non-interference in choosing the most common target language in his movement, Arabic.

Periodization interrelates with the *Timescale* as it requires an identification of the periods selected for study. Henceforth, a macro- or micro-historical approach of study has to be decided. In the periods presently under investigation (Mohammad Ali's reign: 1805-1848; Abbasid Rule since ar-Rashiid's reign in 786, to the end of al- Mutawwakel's in 878), outstanding similarities are monitored in:

1. the way rulers deal with prominent translators,
2. crises suffered by both translators mainly due to an abrupt

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suspension of their translation activities,

3. a subsequent impact of translators' crises on the course of their movements, particularly in Refaa'ah's case.

This is traced through the dwindling and even deceased scientific effect of Refaa'ah's movement, which was counterbalanced by a continued and preserved literary impact, and contrasted to the everlasting impact of the scientific translated then authored Abbasid Arabic theses following the Greco-Arabic massive translations. Differences are observed, as well, in the scholarly attitude adopted by both translators in terms of the distinction standing between the behavior by Shaikh Refaa'ah, a pioneering leader of an ordered all-out translation movement and founder of the oldest translation school in modern history, and Hunyan bin Ishaq, a brilliant professional motivator of a primarily scientific movement.

Facts under study, in the light of the above theorizing, are anachronistically scrutinized; reasons, factors and motivators of the historical context of each period are highlighted to micro-historically reflect translators as agents of history.

Synchrony and diachrony is Rundle's third frame (2018 b); however it emanates from and overlaps with *Timescale*. Translation here is regarded as a synchronic category that is historically studied either synchronically or diachronically. Again, the notion of broad horizontal frames of analysis stresses itself in Rundle's theorizing. If one or more vertical historical contexts are selected for studying translation- a category which is by default synchronic- then, this is a synchronic approach. But, if a group of different or similar historical contexts are selected for investigating

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translation, this stands for a diachronic approach to translation history. To drive this a bit clearer, Rundle provides the example of two volumes he has edited: *Translation under Fascism* (Rundle & Sturge, 2010) and *Translation under Communism* (in press). The present study is not a diachronic one; it is rather a comparative synchronic investigation of two translation movements.

3.3. Micro-history

Microstoria, is a historical approach known by its choice of timescale; its main focus lies on small communities, most often in the middle ages. Using their primary sources, and an anthropological approach, micro-historians reconstruct the lives of few individuals in a very small community (O'Sullivan, 2012; Rundle, 2018 b). Adamo (2006) further explains: "Micro-historians have privileged the study of marginal individual cases in their normal exceptional transgressions of what is commonly described as the mainstream continuity in the understanding of the past" (p.81). Henceforth, an attention to archives and documents previously neglected is redrawn, and a relationship with the past as a fragmentary dialogue has come to be redefined.

Obviously, the *quis, quando* and *quibus auxiliis* are essential to studies on translation in micro-history. There is a continuous desire in micro-historical translation to bring the translator out from behind the scenes (Rundle, 2018 b); therefore, the main topics of analysis are the cultural roles played by translators as sociopolitical agents, academics, scientists, writers, and men of letters. The major goal is to "highlight from different perspectives and with different specific aims the neglect of translation role

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as cultural practice and of translators as cultural agents” (Adamo, 2006, p.86). Case studies and translators' profiles are at the center of micro-historical translation; obscure or hidden clues that were traditionally ignored as insignificant are now uncovered; inevitable keys to the decision-making process in translation history varying between subjective narrativity and attempted objectivity through presentist/anachronist perspectives at either historical and/or meta-historiographical levels of analysis are sought by translation micro-historians in their authored or compiled works: Bastin and Bandia (2006); Milton and Bandia (2009); Footitt and Kelly(2012); Pym(2017, 1998, 1993), Delisle and Woodsworth (2012), to name only a few. In terms of timescale, perspective and objectives of study, this paper belongs to translation micro-history.

4. Methodology of analysis

Translation micro-historical analysis according to Rundle(2012) and D'hulst (2010) follows a search for the specific and the particular, acknowledges singularity of historical events to the extent of excluding possible specific similarities, and traces more possible generalized horizontal themes for purposes of comparative history. “Comparative history needs to be organized around more specific historical themes that should be informed by historical studies as well as translation studies” (Rundle, 2012, p.236). Unearthing the specific and seeking horizontal pivots of comparison between Refaa'ah and Hunayn are the basic rules for the present micro-historical analysis.

Added to the methods, tools of historical research are used as conclusive pieces of evidence on the newly unearthed facts. These are: first, the

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statistical data on translation such as the permitted number of translation publications at a certain period of time; second, archives as documents, rare manuscripts, and letters exchanged between the rulers and chief translators or missioned students. Such tools may assist in uncovering specific facts about target languages demanded by rulers; hence undoubted signs of cultural dominance. The case of Arabic and Turkish as main two target languages of the all-out translation movement launched in Egypt in the early 19th century provides a good example. Archives of royal decrees and letters often show the *Who* in the decision-making of domain selections for translation and reward-punishment relationship between translators and patrons of translation.

Refaa'ah-Hunayn micro-historical comparison draws on archives of royal decrees and letters, published versions of the official Egyptian gazette in the period between 1830's and 1860's, *al-Waqaai' al-misriyyah*, translators' memoirs directly accessed as primary sources or retold by contemporaries of both translators. This is in addition to biographical work conducted by their contemporaries and later historians, number of translated and authored works by each translator, and corpus data analysis. Hunayn's influence on the subsequent scientific writings by iconic Arab scientists is traced by means of KWIC search and word sketches of a corpus I have compiled via Sketch Engine Corpus Processor: Historical Arabic Scientific Corpus (HASC) (2018). The main two pivots of analysis are horizontally drawn to present an objective, anachronistic perspective through a comparative, micro-historical and synchronic timescale: 1. periodization: anachronistic analysis of impact of translators-rulers' relationship on cultural dominance of Arabic and domain selections, 2.

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anachronistic perspective: the personal field of specialization of each translator and its impact on the literary and/or scientific stamp of their movements.

5. Comparative, micro-historical, anachronistic analysis

5.1. Impact of translators-rulers' relationship on cultural dominance of Arabic and domain selections

5.1.1. Status of Arabic and Turkish languages during Ali's reign

Dictates of the language-power nexus entail a supremacy of the rulers' and colonizers', native tongue or first language to the language of the ruled or conquered people; many are the cases in point across history; Old English was forced into a language of the masses during the Norman Conquest (1066-1200); and was replaced by a northern Old Norse dialect of Old French, as the language of the royalties and ruling elites in England. In the history of modern Egypt, Mohammad Ali, the ruler who was selected by the Egyptian people representatives following a tumultuous period to replace the Ottoman *Waaali*, ruler, was an Albanian Turkish-speaking native who never spoke or wrote Arabic. Illiterate as he was till the age of forty five (ash-Shayyaal, 1951, p.222; Tager, 2014, pp.26,83), he was firmly determined to initiate an all-embracing educational movement and a multifaceted revival of Egypt after long decades of Ottoman dark dormant centuries. An all-out translation movement was one of the means at the hands of the machiavellian ruler to attain a full benefit of the European culture and sciences he had his heart set on as a supreme model to follow, in addition to his intuitive eagerness to learn more. He sought to summon French and Italian instructors at the beginning to educate selected Egyptian students (Tager, 2014, pp.24- 28) and sponsored a number of

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missions to Italy, France, and England (ash-Shayyal, 1951, pp. 34-44; ar-Raafi'iyy, 1989 [first published 1930], pp.407-423). The Turkish speaking ruler soon declared Turkish an official language of state side by side with Arabic, the mother tongue of the Egyptian Muslim nation he came to rule. Both Arabic and Turkish were approved as major target languages of translation. Military and state affairs used to be written or conveyed to Ali in Turkish by his own direct orders; soon, it became the language of top officials, military ranks and the intelligentsia (ash-Shayyaal, 1951, p.223; Heyworth-Dunne, 1940, pp.327-330). Historians admit that the distinguished official status Turkish language enjoyed during Ali's reign till cancelled by Khedive Ismaa'iil in 1866 to sever the remaining political and cultural bond with the Ottoman State in Istanbul (Tager, 2014, p.92) was unparalleled during the Ottoman Rule of Egypt. This is because during the Ottomans, the ruling power was shared between the Ottoman Turks and the Mamlukes; official documents, letters and decrees were in Arabic (ash-Shayyaal, 1951, p.223).

Archives provide ample evidence: books during the first decade of the translation movement (1822-1832) were demanded by Ali to be translated in Turkish (ash-Shayyaal, 1951, p.223; Heyworth-Dunne, 1940, pp.327). French and Italian school books translated early during the period between 1815 and 1830 were conveyed in Arabic and Turkish alike. The purpose was to provide the newly formed army with educated officers; Syrian and western translators were chosen for the job. There being a shortage of translators, Ali decided to reprint the Turkish technical books that had been translated in Istanbul, in the publishing and printing house he founded in Bulaaq to the northeast of Cairo (Heyworth-Dunne, 1940, p. 334. Tager,

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2014, pp.26-27; *Paris-based Asian Journal*, July and August 1843, List of Arabic, Turkish and Persian books published by Bulaaq, as cited in Tager 2014). In a letter dated 19th of Rabbi' Second 1243 h., 1827 a.d., sent to Ibraahiim Pasha staying in London, Ali ordered a Turkish translation of an English book on the construction and costs of the warships (Tager, 2014, p.25; 24 دفتر معية تركي رقم, Royal Archives, Daftar no.24 ; Heyworth-Dunne, 1940, pp.335-37) In response to the ruler's desire, Muhharram Bey, minister of the navy, translated an English book on the naval system into Turkish (Tager, 2014, p.51). Focus on military and naval domains of translation in the earlier period of Ali's rule is well explained in the sequence of wars he was involved into to meet his ambitious expansion of his state's spheres of influence, or to satisfy the Ottoman Sultan's desires: e.g., war at the Arab peninsula (1812-1816), Greece war known as al-Moura (1825-1828) and in the Levant in 1831. The Official Gazette, *al-Waqaai' al-misriyyah*, founded by Ali in 1828 used to be published in Turkish with an Arabic translation; a wider publishing space was dedicated to Turkish, a trend which continued until Refaa'ah was appointed an editor in chief.

5.1.2. Refaa'ah's cultural agency

The linguist, author, preacher, Imam, poet, and translator, Rifaa'ah Raafi' at-Tahtaawiyy¹ (b.1801 - d.1873), is the *quis* of the Egyptian translation movement starting in the second decade of Ali's rule (r. 1805-1848) and continuing in full bloom up to 1849. Intentionally or not, Refaa'ah as a translator, reviser, school instructor, head of the School of Languages, al-*Alsun*, to which a set of other high schools was annexed under his chairmanship, and a recognized contributor to the educational revival, managed to handle the Ruler's will and the rising dominance of

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his first language. Firstly, while still in Paris, after mastering French at the hands of a private tutor he sought and paid for, Refaa'ah translated the first Volume of Maltbrune's Geography into Arabic and sent it to be presented to the Ruler in Egypt (Magdi, 1960, pp. 31-32; ash-Shayyaal, 1951, p.138). This matched the Ruler's eagerness, as a military leader with conquering ambitions, to know more about the geographical concepts, in addition to his own learning desire.² It served as well to pave the way to an introduction of teaching the humanities at schools, and to insert history and geography later on as a core course in the first drafted bylaw of al-Alsun. Refaa'ah's record in *Takhliis al-Ibriiz* (authored 1830) of the decision he made to translate the book proves that it was his own domain selection and Ali did not send him direct orders of specific selections; itself is a proof of Ali's intended all-inclusiveness of the translation movement:

God willing, history, in its different aspects, is transferred to our beautiful language from French. All in all I have assigned myself with translating both history and geography by God's will and supported by the diligence of his excellency, the lover of science and art. (my translation).

وإن شاء الله — تعالى — يصير التاريخ على اختلافه منقولاً
من الفرنسية إلى لغتنا وبالجملة فقد تكفلنا بترجمة علمي
التاريخ والجغرافيا بمصر السعيدة بمشيئته تعالى وبهمة
صاحب السعادة محب العلوم والفنون حتى تعد دولته من
الأزمنة التي تؤرخ بها العلوم والمعارف المتجددة في
مصر مثل تجدها في زمن خلفاء بغداد.

at-Tahtaawiyy, 2012 [1830], *Takhliis al-*

(*Ibreez*, p.291

Secondly, the story of establishing a school for translation and languages provides further evidence. Three years after his return from Paris, and drawing on the trend of establishing new schools for medicine and engineering, Refaa'ah built on the overall educationally encouraging atmosphere and presented a proposal to the Ruler to found the new School for translation and languages. Though official documents read that al-

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Alusn, the new school for translation, was founded in response to “his royal will realizing one of his eminently unique novelties” (Tager, 2014, pp.33-34; *al-Waqaai' al-misriyyah* no. 590, 1251 h., 1835a.d.), Refaa'ah's contemporaries as Ali Mubaarak (1878), and later historians recording his biography as ar-Raafi'iyy (1989 p.440) and ash-Shayyaal(1951, p.39) ascertain that it was Refaa'ah who presented the foundation proposal to the Ruler (p.39). The aim, as cited in the proposal was to teach and qualify Egyptian graduates, “sons of the nation” to become specialized in languages and translation (pp.38-40; Tager 2014, p.33). Ali's Royal Turkish document, dated 28th of Rabbi' Second, 1251 h., 1835 a.d., does not stipulate Turkish as a major target language:

The report by the chairman of the Egyptian Royalty Council reads: under the kind auspices of the Khedivate Highness, a number of schools of outstanding benefit have been opened and founded. Therefore, his highness, the Khedive, believes that due to its necessity, a school for translating the French language into Arabic must be opened. Daftardar Bey's house has been selected as the new school premises which is expected to absorb fifty students who shall be fairly and evenly selected for school admission from upper and lower Egypt. Candidate students should be fit, able and willing with an age group ranging between 14-18 years old and a good knowledge of Arabic. It has been decided to deputize Refaa'ah accompanied by a physician, *hakeem* to select eligible students. Therefore the Council decided to request the Royal Diwan of the Khedive to notify directors and the two chief inspectors of upper and lower Egypt to provide the necessary help to .(Shaikh Refaa'ah .(my translation

ورد في الوثيقة المؤرخة ٢٨ ربيع الأول سنة ١٢٥١، الصادرة من مجلس الملكية المصرية إلى ديوان الخديو ما يأتي: «جاء في تقرير ناظر المجلس أنه بظلم الحضرة الخديوية صار فتح المدارس وتدرّس العلوم والفنون فأنت ثمرتها، وإن جناب الخديو رأى أنه يقتضي فتح مدرسة للترجمة من اللسان الفرنسي للسان العربي نظراً لأهمية ذلك، وأنه قد وقع الاختيار على سلامك سراي المرحوم الدفتردار بك؛ ليكون مدرسة تستوعب خمسين طالباً، تسمى مدرسة المترجمين، وأن يعهد برياستها للشيخ رفاعة، وأن ينتخب أولئك التلامذة مناصفة من القسمين: البحري، والقبلي ممن يقرأ ويكتب، بشرط أن يكون صحيح البنية، وسنه ما بين أربع عشرة سنة إلى ثمانية عشرة، وأن يكون عارفاً بلسانه الأصلي، وقد تقرر إرسال رفاعة ومعه حكيم لانتقاء التلامذة المطلوبين، فقرر المجلس أن يكتب لديوان الخديو لكي يكتب للمديرين بمعاونة الشيخ رفاعة على مهمته هذه، وأن يحاط مفتشاً الوجهين، القبلي والبحري، سليم باشا وعباس باشا، علماً بذلك.»

Figure1: Ali's Royal Arabic document ordering the foundation of al-Alsun, dated 28th of Rabbi' Second, 1251 h., 1835 a.d.

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Possibly, this can be attributed to Ali's prior awareness of the languages mastered by Refaa'ah and his intuitive realization that Turkish is an impossible target language for the native-Arabic speaking students who would be selected for al-Alsun School, as the document above stipulates. Reasons for ordaining French as the main source language of science and education to be translated from are commonly attributed, in Egypt's modern history, to the political friendly relations between Ali and France. This explains why most of the educational missions were sent to Paris between 1826 and 1844 (ar-Raafi'iyy, 1989, 412).

By the Ruler's decree, as cited above, Refaa'ah was in direct responsibility for the academic and administrative management of the school. This literally meant a selection of disciplines for study, of core courses in modern terms, and of books to be translated by the school students, graduates and graduate professional translators at Qalam at-targamah. Selection of books for translation, by presentist and anachronistic standards, means a selection of domains. He used to supervise the ongoing translation process and edit the translated works, himself and selected books necessary for an educational revival (ash-Shayyaal, 1951, p.41). Refaa'ah used to teach foreign law, world literature, Arabic and French languages and supported by his educational background while studying at al-Azhar, he taught Islamic Shari'ah, too (Ali Mubaarak, V.13, p.254). Two factors within the circumstantial loci of al-Alsun helped Refaa'ah in the intentional or unintentional restriction of Turkish dominance: young students selected by Refaa'ah from lower and upper Egypt were native speakers of Arabic who never knew or mastered Turkish; hence, an inevitable status of Arabic as a major target language at al-Alsun and Qalam at-targamah (Magdi 1960, p.37; Tager 2014, p.33; ash-Shayyal, 1951, p.39) "It was impossible for the government at that time to find or qualify trilingual students who could master three languages: Arabic, Turkish and French" as recorded by Abdul Kareem (1948, p.333), and reasserted by ash-Shayyaal (1951,

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p. 40). The number of teachers assigned for teaching each of the three languages stipulated in the first bylaw, which Refaa'ah contributed to draft if not drafting it all, show a higher concern lent to Arabic and French, history, geography and math than to Turkish as Figure 2 shows below:

<p><i>School teachers: as stipulated by the School Bylaw, the teaching staff comprises</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- 1 School headmaster- 2 teaching mentors- 2 Arabic teachers- 1 Turkish teacher- 3 French teachers <p>(my translation)</p>	<p>أما اللغة التركية فكانت العناية بها ضعيفة للأسباب السابقة ، ولأنه كان من الصعب بمكان أن تجد الحكومة متزجاً يحذف اللغات العربية والتركية والفرنسية جميعاً^(١) .</p> <p><u>مدرسو المدرسة</u> : ذكر في لائحة المدرسة أن هيئة التدريس بها تتكون من :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">١ - مديرها .٢ - مرابطين للدراسة .٣ - أستاذين للغة العربية من الدرجة الأولى .٤ - أستاذ للغة التركية من الدرجة الأولى .٥ - ثلاثة أساتذة لتدريس اللغة الفرنسية والرياضة والتاريخ والجغرافيا^(٢) . <p>أما مدير المدرسة فوزعهم النهضة العلمية في عصر محمد علي ، العالم الكبير رفاعة رافع الطهطاوي ، يستترجم له ترجمة واسعة في الفصل الخاص بالترجمين ، ويمكن أن نعرف هنا :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">١ - أنه كان يشرف على المدرسة من التاحسين الفنية والإدارية^(٣) .٢ - كان يدرس للتلاميذ الأدب والشرائع الإسلامية والغربية .
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Figure2: Number of teachers as stipulated by al-Asun first bylaw as recorded by ash-Shayaaal (1951, p.40) and reasserted by Tager (2014, pp.36-37)

Refaa'ah's cultural agency in minimizing the Turkish impact was further ascertained as he was appointed an editor in chief of *al-Waqaai' al-misriyyah* in 1842. A prime concern was given to Arabic editing and arrangement of news stories, central font spaces on the right hand-side of the four-page-newspaper were dedicated to Arabic with Turkish pushed to narrower spaces on the left. Arabic came to be the source language and Turkish was turned into a target language of minimized topics prepared for publication. Refaa'ah deliberately altered the newspaper in form and content, replacing the long-standing, void, hyperbolized praises of the Ruler with political and literary news stories and reviews. To further guarantee perfect Arabic press writing, Refaa'ah relied on native Arabic writers and editors as Ahmad ash-Shedyaaq, and Sayyed Shihaab ad-diin (ash-Shayaaal, 1951, p.140; Abdou, 1942, p.47-49).

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Refaa'ah's manipulation of the cultural dominance of Turkish influence as emphasized by the non-Arab Ruler was counterbalanced by his full adoption of Ali's domain selections for an all-inclusive translation movement. An azhari Shaikh, who excelled in the study of literature, poetry, history, geography, language, grammar, law and Shari'ah as he was, his translations included books on the rudiments of geometry and math that contained basics for school books for the rest of the 19th c. and early 20th c. He further re-edited books of different technical and scientific domains at the departments of Qalam at-targamah and scholarly enhanced a more precise editing and revision of translated scientific books. These were translated by competent tenured physicians and engineers assisted by al-Alsun graduates, as Mohammad Bayuoumy for the Department of sciences and engineering, and Mustafaa al-Waaty, originally a physician and an instructor at the School of Medicine for the Department of natural and medical sciences (ash-Shayyaal, 1951, 43).

5.1.3. Cultural agency and translation suspended by rulers' punishment

However, Refaa'ah's soft cultural manipulation of ruler's desires in terms of language and translation was soon abruptly suspended. During Ibrahiim Pasha's acting rule (March 1848 - November 1848), while the Father Ruler, Ali, was still alive, but digested, a khedivate decree was passed and published in *al-Waqaa'i' al-misriyyah* (edition.127) on the 26th of Dul-Qi'da, 1264 h, 1848 a.d. to modify the subdivisions of Qalam at-targamah into two instead of four, minimizing them into Turkish and Arabic translation departments, and allowing supremacy to the Turkish department headed by Kaani Bey, a famous Turkish translator, who now by royal orders came to supervise the work of the founding father and former head of the Chamber, Refaa'ah (ar-Raafi'iyy1989, 444-445; ash-Shayyaal 1951, p.44) . No doubt, a direct blow of fate! The episode of tense translator-ruler relation continued during the rule of Abbaas Helmi

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I (r. 1848-1854); School of Languages, al-Asun, was shut down in November 1849, after 15 years of full bloom; Qalam at-targamah soon lost the mainstay that used to equip it with the required clever, energetic young graduate translators. Furthermore, when the founding father was exiled to the Sudan in 1267 h, 1850 a.d. by Abbaas Helmi's direct orders to found a primary school there, Qalam at-targamah soon went through an inevitable dispersion of its member translators.

5.1.4. Hunayn: a chief translator in the Caliphs' movement

Following rulers' domain selections had also been an earlier practice by translators during the Abbasid translation movement. The Abbasid Caliphate ruled most of the Muslim world and lasted from 750 to 1258 a.d. The capital was moved from Damascus to Baghdad; their ruling power centered in what is now Iran and Iraq. Following the Persian tradition, the Abbasids, particularly the ruling elites including influential dignitaries, viziers and the Caliphs themselves, sponsored scholars, scientists, artists and translators who were assigned to transfer a huge intake from a vast array of neighboring and remote civilizations. Their zealous quest for science and knowledge was inspired by a firm belief ascertained by Qur'anic teachings and Prophetic tradition in the value of science and knowledge. During their rule the Muslim world became a beacon of culture where disciplines of philosophy, science and knowledge from the ancient Roman, Chinese, Indian, Persian, Egyptian, North African, Greek and Byzantine civilizations were translated, collected, re-edited, corrected and even developed with new advancements. Adopting a non-biased attitude towards the non-Arab and non-Muslim ethnic communities was a leading factor to the Golden Age of science and culture, marking the Abbasid Caliphate, and a prime motivator for the emergence of multilingual communities speaking Persian, Syriac, and Greek alongside Arabic.

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Khizaanatu l-hikmah, a huge library of books, was founded by Caliph Haaron ar-Rashiid (r. 786-809) to collect the invaluable books, promote the acquisition of sciences and preserve the rare manuscripts, valuable origins and their translations conducted during his forerunner, al-Mansour. Ar-Rashiid was widely known for his love for science and learning that he used to accept books instead of money for *jiziah*, money duly paid by the kitabis living on the Abbasid lands. Khizaanatu l-hikmah was developed later on into Baytu l-hikmah, House of Wisdom, the most important institute of higher learning in Islam founded by al-Ma'muun (r. 813-833) in 830, where both Muslim and non-Muslim scholars, under the patronage of the Caliphs, sought to translate the world knowledge into ARABIC. House of Wisdom continued to flourish under the successive Caliphs (Baker, 1998, p. 318; Kunitzsche 2007, p.4; Runciman, pp.15- 16). Willing to find the origins of sciences, al-Ma'muun sent a think tank of his most learned men to Byzantium, it is thought that Hunayn was on this expedition. Well known by now for his medical translations from Greek, particularly Galen's books and treatises, into Syriac and Arabic, Hunayn bin Ishaq (b. 808, d. 873) was recommended for al-Ma'muun to be appointed Head of Baytu l-hikmah where he worked with al-Khwarizmiyy, al-Kindiyy and al-Hajjaj, the first translator of Euclid. (Ki'daan & Mahrouseh, 2018, p.15).

5.1.5. al-Asun and Baytu l-hikmah

By comparison, al-Asun was its Chief Translator's idea and suggestion, he arranged for, selected its students, chose books for translation and contributed to, if not the chief contributor, to setting its bylaw, and received approval, support and sponsorship from a non-native Ruler. But, Baytu l-hikmah was holistically the making of Rulers, native Arab Muslim Abbasid Caliphs. The all-out translation campaign was a decision made by the Ruler of Egypt as a strategy to achieve an accelerated armament

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of his army and navy and a revival of a poor and illiterate nation he came to rule. Following his reign, the zeal for translation faded to the extent of being utterly suspended during Ali's successor, Abbaas Helmi I (r.1848- 1854), then narrowly revived during Sa'iid Pasha (r. 1854- 1863). Conversely, translation of sciences went on as a tradition of a whole era during the Abbasid reign since the eighth century continuing into the tenth c. Furthermore, it was the Caliphs who decided the main domains for the translation movement. As agreed by ancient Arab historians, it was the Omayyad Emir Khaled bin Yaziid who first ordered Greek books in the fields of medicine, astronomy and chemistry to be translated into Arabic (Badawiyy, 1981, p.18; Meftaah, 2013, p.3). Omayyad Caliph, Omar bin Abdul Aziz (r.681- 720), ordered a Jewish physician to translate a book on medicine from Syriac into Arabic. The same tradition was maintained by the Abbasid Caliph al-Mansour (r. 714-775), famous for his continued concern in astronomy; during his reign, Classical Greek books on astronomy by Euclid, Aristotle, Ptolemy were translated into Arabic. Trend of domain selections at Caliphs' hands partly explains focus of Abbasid translation movement on Greek sciences and medicine and a minimal transfer of foreign literature into Arabic; in as far as literature was concerned, the blooming Abbasid Arabic literature used to be the source for translations. Hunayn, as explained below, followed the same trend of his rulers in terms of selected domains and target language. Therefore, Refaa'ah's role as a cultural agent and a father of a translation movement surpasses by far that of Hunayn.

5.1.6. Hunayn's cultural mediation conforming to Caliphs' desires

Christians, particularly Nestorian Christians, foremost among whom was Hunayn, his son Ishaq, nephew, Hubaysh, and a thread of other translators and scholars he taught and trained, and Sabians as Thaabet bin Qurra (b. 836, d.901) contributed to the vast quest for knowledge by

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translating Greek philosophers and scientists. Their translations were often conducted into Syriac, the Nestorian mother tongue, then into, or directly into Arabic, the dominant prevailing language of the Caliphs, ruling elites, and Arab majority, the official language of state, and by now was the formidable well established lingua franca of science. Hunayn travelled to search for Greek manuscripts across Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Egypt. He only found half of the manuscripts in Damascus (Kunitzsche, 2007, p.4; Ki'daan *et al*, 2018, pp.5-10; Meftaah, 2013, p.2; Burnett 2002, p.1). It is worth noting that counter to the equal official status of Arabic and Turkish maintained by Ali and his dynasty in Egypt until the beginning of Isma'iil's reign in 1863, the Abbasid Caliphs passed a caliphate decree ordaining Arabic as the state official language, and an agreed target language of the innumerable translations carried out. By anachronistic and presentist standards this resolution is of a far reaching impact for the chosen target language, namely, a proclaimed and consolidated cultural and scientific dominance. As a cultural agent, Refaa'ah helped support the official status of Arabic vs. Turkish, but Hunayn dealt with the cultural dominance of Arabic as a stated fact.

Abbasid world provides the *quis, quid, quando, quibus auxiliis, ubi* where Hunayn was born, brought up and educated. He is the young Nestorian who mastered Syriac, the mother language of his Nestorian Church in Hira south of Kufa in south-central Iraq, where his Arab tribe used to live for long years. Born to a pharmacist, Hunayn tended to follow his father's profession, excelled in pharmaceutical substances and studied Persian and medicine at the Jondishapur Academy, first founded by the Persian King, Shapur in the early fourth century. (al-Bayhaqiyy, died 565 h, 1170 a.d., 1996, p.16). Where and how Hunayn mastered his Arabic is subject to a historical debate; some stress that he studied Arabic at the hands of al-Khaliil bin Ahmad in Basra, while others maintain that he studied it in Persia. However, his excellent mastery of Arabic is well testified by

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historians (Ibn Juljul, [book authored 377h., 987 a.d.], 1985, p.69 ; Ibn Abi Ausaybe'ah, [died 668 h., 1269 a.d.], 1996, p.262) Thus, Arabic was not Hunayn's mother tongue, rather a first language he mastered like a native. The same is told about his Greek, he is ascertained to have lived in Greece for five years where he learned and mastered the language to an extent that, on his return to Baghdad, he was once heard chanting some verses of Homer's epics (Kunitzsche, 2007, p.4; Ibn Juljul, p. 69; al-Bayhaqiyy, p.16). Back to Baghdad in 826, Hunayn was a tenured physician, well learned in the Persian and Hellenistic cultures and an eloquently fluent quadrilingual translator. During al-Mu'tassim (r.833-842), al-Ma'mun's successor, Hunayn translated 13 treatises by Galen including the main medical rudiments utilized later on by Ibn Sina, Avicenna (born 980-died1037), in authoring his Arabic *The Canon of Medicine*, *al-Qaanuun fi t-tibb* and the *Book of Healing*, *Kitaab ash-shifaa'*. *The Canon*, continued to be a major reference of medicine in Europe till the 17th c. and was reprinted in New York in 1937. Hunayn used to attend and participate in scientific and philosophical debates attended by Caliph al-Waathiq (r. 842-847); he authored, by Caliph's assignment, his books on the difference between food and medication, Physical tools, and Medical Issues (Ki'daan *et al*, p. 16; al-Qaftiyy, p.133). His post as Chief Physician of Court ordained by Caliph al-Mutawakil (r. 847- 861) marked Hunayn's top fame as a scientist and translator, and gained him a remarkable reward, typical scholarly rivalry and unforgettable rulers' punishment.

5.1.7. Refaa'ah and Hunayn in juxtaposition

Unlike Shaikh Refaa'ah who translated miscellaneous domains of math, geometry, geography, history, law, French novels and authored a set of educational and legal works in addition to his poetry and literary works, a close scrutiny of Hunayn's translations and authored works proves his focus on pure science, medicine and ophthalmology; his role as a cultural

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mediator between the four cultures he mastered their languages followed the rulers' assigned domains for both translation and authorship, alike. He trained his students at Baytu-l-hikmah on new translation rules spelt in precision of scientific terminology translated from Greek, coining new Arabic equivalent terms, and accurate delivery of meaning. Refaa'ah, by anachronistic comparison, had his heart set on achieving a sound translation movement, a dream he sought from the perspective of an Educator and a cultural Revivalist. He was an academic mystro of an entire translation movement who manipulated his ruler's desires by selecting domains that served to meet the ruler's ambition and desires, and, at the same time, provide the required basis for the planned educational and school revival in Egypt, encouraged of course by the ruler; translation for him was more a labor of love than a profession; he is told by ar-Raafi'iyy quoting Ali Mubaarak to have remained on his feet teaching at al-Asun up until very late hours during the night (ar-Raafi'iyy,1989, p. 441 ; Magdi, 1960, p.36 -37). Refaa'ah truly received ample rewards from Ali and his son Ibraahiim, but more than often this was for books he chose to author or translate; e.g., *Takhliis al-Ibriiz*(1830), known as *Paris Profile*, or *L'Ordre de Paris*, was authored while he was still in Paris expecting no reward at all (ash-Shayaal, 1951, p.131). Refaa'ah decided to translate the first volume of *Maltebrune's Geography*, while still in Paris, too. He resumed translating another volume of the same book, while seeking a shelter in his home village in upper Egypt, as an epidemic prevailed in Cairo, whereupon he was promoted to the military rank of brigadier, *emiralaay*, in 1846 and eventually bore the title of *Bey* (ash-Shayaal, 1951, p. 141; ar-Raafi'iyy, 1989, pp.441,487; Magdi, 1960, p.36). The expansion of al-Asun itself, as ordained by Ali in 1841 upon tracing its true impact on education, came as an unexpected reward to Refaa'ah encouraging him to further develop, promote and introduce new methods and encourage his students to produce more translations (ash-Shayyal,1951, p.42). Hunayn

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was a chief Gear in a translation movement wheeled, planned, mapped and sponsored by the Learned Caliphs. He swam along the tide of Arabic dominance. Translation for the brilliant and skilled Syriac physician was a profession in return for which he used to receive gold matching the weight of *target* books he produced; he is well agreed by historians (Kunitzsche, 2007, Baker 1998) to have chosen the heaviest paper to write on and thickest ink.

5.2. Perspective: Relation between translators' field of specialization and the Scientific/literary stamp of their movements

5.2.1. Refaa'ah's educational background and al-Asun bylaw

Educational background and the field of specialization are two compelling factors shaping the role assumed by translators in stamping the movements or contexts where they belong. Refaa'ah's early talent for learning showed itself when he was still a child, memorizing the Holy Qur'an and some courses that used to be taught at al-Azhar; he eventually joined al-Azhar religious educational institution at the age of 16 in 1817, roughly at the beginning of the second decade of Ali's rule. His talented tendency towards literary studies soon grew stronger; he excelled in the forms of Arabic literature, particularly poetry with an apparent zeal for knowledge and learning. The quest for gaining knowledge of natural sciences as history, geography, astronomy and medicine alongside religious and literary studies was the direct impact Refa'ah readily gained from his mentor, Shaikh Hasan al-'Attar, Shaikh of al-Azhar and an eminent scholar of his age. Following four years of study at al-Azhar, and showing an outstanding ability for teaching which impressed his teachers, Refaa'ah received *Ijazahs*, permissions from Shaikhs to teach their courses; in 1821, he started to lecture at al-Azhar *hadith*, prophetic tradition, rhetoric, poetry and prosody courses; he composed at least two didactic poems on geometry and *hadith*. His close field of specialization was thus shaped

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as early as the age of twenty one as a talented, eloquent and well-versed instructor of language, poetry, and *fiqh*; his teaching sessions whether in Tahta, his native town, or lectures at al-Azhar used to team with attendants (Magdi,1960 pp.27-32; ar-Raafi'iyy 1989, pp.427-428; ash-Shayaal, 1951, pp.131-135; Newman, 2008). These distinguished teaching skills continued to shape his career for the years to come. He kept on self-learning translation during his mission in Paris, and chose to translate books on history and geography as above cited. His translations bore the sprouts for introducing both disciplines as major school courses during Ali's and his successors' reigns in the mid19th century.

A close examination of the first bylaw set for the School of Languages, al-Alsun, (Figure 2) shows a direct reflection of Refaa'ah's favorite subjects and teaching courses: 1- Arabic and French were the main two languages he mastered, 2- history and geography were his favorite courses, 3- elementary rules of math were essential to ensure mathematical literacy. Ar-Raafi'iyy(1989) historicizes that al-Alsun principally targeted teaching Arabic, French, Turkish and Persian, then Italian and English literature with a view to linking eastern and western cultures, in addition to history, geography, and Islamic Shari'ah (p.440), again part of Refaa'ah's educational background:

كانت مدرسة الألسن عبارة عن كلية تدرس فيها آداب اللغة العربية واللغات الأجنبية وخاصة الفرنسية والتركية والفارسية ثم الإيطالية والإنجليزية ، وعلوم التاريخ والجغرافية ، والشريعة الإسلامية ، والشرائع الأجنبية ، فهي أشبه ما تكون بكلية للآداب والحقوق فلا غرو أن كانت أكبر معهد لنشر الثقافة في مصر.

(ar-Raafi'iyy,1989, p.440)

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Daniel Newman (2008), in his introduction to *An Imam in Paris*, further ascertains this fact: “the choice of books clearly reflected both the latter’s (Refaa‘ah) predilections (with a clear dominance of historical works) and French training inasmuch as it involved works he had read in Paris”. The School continued to be a beacon of culture and literature as agreed by historians. Refaa‘ah’s close field of specialization reverberated in al-Alsun bylaw when it was reopened in 1952, and when developed into a faculty by presidential decree in 1957. The faculty courses went along the same track drawn by the founding father comprising Arabic and the main foreign language literature, philology, language studies and translation courses. In the contemporary bylaw of al-Alsun, last updated in 2005, Arabic is a core course, the first foreign language study still relies on an extensive literary study, more teaching hours are dedicated to contemporary translation studies. Henceforth, the basics laid by Refaa‘ah early in 1835 are still preserved. Article 4 of the 2005 Bylaw of the Faculty of al-Alsun stipulates:

<p>:Article 4</p> <p>Study at the faculty departments includes :core courses on</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none">1.1 Linguistics1.2 Essay writing1.3 Listening & Conversation1.4 Literary History & Culture1.5 Literary Genres and criticism1.6 Research <ol style="list-style-type: none">2. Into/From Arabic translation3. Arabic Studies [or the first foreign language in the department of Arabic] (Undergraduate Bylaw of the Fac. of al-Alsun, 2005, my translation).	<p>مادة رقم (٤) تتضمن الدراسة بجميع أقسام الكلية ما يلي:</p> <p>أولاً: لغة التخصص وتشتمل على:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">- دراسات لغوية- مطالعات ومقال- استماع ومحادثات- تاريخ أدب وحضارة- نصوص ونقد- قاعة بحث <p>ثانياً: الترجمة من العربية وإليها.</p> <p>ثالثاً: اللغة العربية لأقسام اللغات. (أونظيرتها لقسم اللغة العربية).</p> <p>(لائحة كلية الألسن- جامعة عين شمس (٢٠٠٥)</p>
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One direct shortcoming of the influence of the chief translator's field of specialization was the limitation of scientific translation skills observed in al-Alsun School graduates' performance; in 1841, as Tager (2014) documents (p.35), The Educational Development Commission observed that al-Alsun had been founded to serve two main purposes:1- a high language and translation school to qualify and license the graduation of specialized translators, 2- a preparatory language school to qualify students to join other high schools as those of Medicine and Engineering. But the second purpose had not been duly fulfilled; the Commission's report further added that "the School graduates are most capable of translating history, geography and literature, but, they are not qualified enough to translate scientific and technical texts rich in relevant terminology." Henceforth, the Commission agreed to restore the preparatory school to help as an intermediary stage of language education prior to joining the specialized schools.

5.2.2. Why Refaa'ah's social and literary production outnumbered his scientific translations?

Due to the self-imposing close specialization, Refaa'ah's literary and social translations and writings outnumbered his scientific production; his translation of the French Constitution and his comments and explanations elaborated in *Takhliis al-Ibriiz* reflect his inborn talent for political sciences and show early sprouts of a liberal democratic attitude. According to the latest scans, the total number of his works reaches 24 books and theses: 9 authored works and 15 translations; scientific and geometrical translations are 5, this is including the medical treatise he has been told to have translated, but the original copy was not found

(ar-Raafi'iyy,1989, pp.462-464; Tager, 2014, pp.55-56). Saaleh Magdi, Refaa'ah's own student, refers to the scarcity of Refaa'ah's translated medical output on mentioning that he could not reach the sole medical

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treatise which Refaa'ah had been told to have translated (Magdi, 1960, p.13). Ash-Shayaaal ascertains, as well, that Refaa'ah spent two years as a translator at the School of Medicine soon after his return from Paris, but most of the time he worked as a reviser rather than a translator (ash-Shayaaal's Introduction to Magdi's *Hulyat az-zaman*, p.35, footnote)

Periodization and the circumstantial loci help explain this further; part of the reason why Refaa'ah's scientific translations were fewer than his literary and social works can also be attributed to his prior awareness that most medical authorship and translations had already been in full gear at the hands of the French Physician, Clot Bey, the pioneer of medicine during Ali's reign, dean and founder of the School of Medicine. French acquired the role of the language of science and medicine due to the educational context of the learning missions sent to France and a resort to French professors to teach at the School of Medicine. As told by ar-Raafi'iyy, during the early period after the foundation of the School of Medicine in 1827, Arabic was designated as the language for learning; with the French professors facing a problem of communication due to their ignorance of Arabic, interpreters were assigned to repeat French lectures in Arabic; teachers of French were also hired to teach French to students. Soon French replaced Arabic as a language of science and education at the Schools of Medicine and Engineering (pp.401, 410- 420).³ Most of Clot Bey's authored French books of medicine were translated into Arabic by the graduates of the School of Medicine as Mohammad Heiba, Abdul Fataah an-Nabaraawiyy, and Ahmad Hasan ar-Rashiidiyy (ar-Raafi'iyy 1989, p.402, 472-474⁴ ;Tager, 2014, pp.47,48,51,59). Produced medical translations used to be revised by al-Azhar shaikhs for their known distinguished mastery of Arabic (ash-Shayyaal,1951, p.209). At Qalam at-targamah, specialized physicians were assigned as heads of the science department. Likewise, major mathematical and engineering books were reproduced from French into Arabic by Mohammad Baiyoumy, a

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chief engineer, and a tenured professor at the School of Engineering, *MuhandesKhaanah*, first established by Ali in 1820 with Italian then French as languages of education (ar-Raafi'iyy,1989, pp.466). Baiyoumy worked with Refaa'ah in Qalam at-targamah as head of and chief reviser at the scientific and engineering department (Tager, 2014, pp.57-58); he used to be a close friend of Refaa'ah; they were exiled together to the Sudan in 1850 by Abbaas Helmi I's orders. Baiyoumy's death there added severe pain to Refaa'ah's stalemate in exile. So, it possibly goes without saying that Refaa'ah was quite reassured that required scientific translations, if truly beyond his specialization, were already taken up by specialists of the field. However, he translated some elementary books on geometry and engineering, *Principals of Engineering*, published in 1843 (ar-Raafi'iyy1989,p.463). Even though it is disagreed by historians whether it was Refaa'ah who planned for the internal specialized subdivisions of this translation chamber or the State Higher Educational Commission assigned by Ali,⁵ it is Refaa'ah's scholarly recognition of the specialized domains in translation that made him readily collaborate with the competent heads of the departments of Qalam at-targamah. His academic management contributed, as well, to the chamber's prolific production reaching almost 2000 books at the hands of al-Alsun graduates, as registered by ar-Raafi'iyy (1989, pp.439, 440, 441), Abdul Kariim, supported by 'Aabidiin documents (1948, p.341) , and ash-Shayyaal (1951, pp.43-44). Some balance was thus achieved between the scientific, social and literary works; which was really, by anachronistic standards unique to its age.

Such compartmentalized translation chamber, well equipped with academic supervision and revision, annexed to a civil faculty of languages and translation where young graduates are hired, is lacking at our present time,

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It is worth mentioning that the military, naval, medical and veterinary medical translations outweighed the literary and social books translated into Arabic during 1820's, 1830's and 1840's. Statistical and categorized scans of the books translated into Arabic or Turkish during Ali's reign reflect a supremacy of the number of military, naval and scientific books compared to the literary and social works. 191 books is the scan documented by ash-Shayyaal (1951, Appendix1, p.39): 111books for the military, 34 for medicine, 24 for veterinary medicine and 34 for engineering and math, 14 for social sciences, mostly history books. This partly includes the production by Qalam at-targamah, first established in 1842. As above explained and documented, the three departments of Qalam at-targamah produced 2000 books in different fields of knowledge; Arabic used to be a major target language.

5.2.3. A synchronic abrupt dwindling of Arabic status as a language of science and education

A question remains, if such a balance was achieved between the literary and scientific domains in Refaa'ah's movement, and given the declaration of Arabic as the official language of state in 1866 by Khedive Ismaa'iil, why has the direct Arabic impact of the movement been traced in literature, particularly in the revival of the Arabic novel more than it was in natural sciences? A synchronic power-related abrupt slope of the status of Arabic as the language of education and learning at schools and high schools took place as of the end of Khedive Ismaa'iil's reign in 1879. With political disruption prevailing and foreign interference in the internal affairs of Egypt continuing during Khedives Tawfiq and Abbaas II (r.1879- 1892; 1892-1914), a consistently stable system of language teaching and translation was lacking; translation schools and departments were no more regularly founded, though both rulers were keen to encourage established translators to produce books for teaching and pedagogical purposes. In 1881, Egypt

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was declared a British colony, the usual language-power reshuffle of L_1 , the conquered nation's language and L_2 , the conqueror's language, soon followed. Jurji Zaydaan, a historical novelist and a historian of Arabic literature, documents:

By the beginning of the British colonization of Egypt, an educational downfall took place; al-Asun was shut down, missions to Europe were suspended, free education stopped, English and/or French came to replace Arabic as the language of education in the primary, preparatory and specialized high schools. Teaching hours dedicated to Arabic were minimized to the least that Arabic learning and status soon weakened. (Zaydaan, 2013, p.1201; my translation)

Earlier in 1880, the attitude towards a preferred supremacy of the foreign languages to Arabic was frankly outspoken by ministers of education. In a proposal submitted to the prime minister to build at-Tawfiqiyyah School, the minister of education, Ali Pasha Ibraahiim, called for an improved teaching of the foreign languages to teachers and to get Qalam at-targamah annexed to the ministry of education *with a view to translating Arabic school books into the European languages, mainly English or French. A striking reversal of Refaa'ah's translation and educational revival!*¹⁶ A lack of English or French mastery was soon regarded as an individual's social deficiency. In 1888, another report was submitted by the ministry of education to the royal highness of the Khedivate requesting an increase of the teaching hours dedicated to foreign languages and *to convert the Arabic study of history, geography and natural science courses taught at the primary and secondary schools into an English /or French study* (full report is documented in Amiin Samy's *at-ta'lim fi misr* as qtd.in

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Tager, 2014, p.114).⁷ It follows that Arabic was dropped from the primary and secondary schools in Egypt as a language of science. *There also followed an entire exclusion of Arabic as a language of learning in the School of Medicine.* Since first established in 1827, it had been known for reliable Arabic medical authored books and translations carried out by its tenured professors individually and as contributions through Qalam at-targamah. Now things were entirely altered; in 1897 new amendments were ordered, new equipment imported, a new British director invited to head the School, new courses introduced- all were in English that came to be imposed as the one and only language for learning. With the new hospital annexed, the School in Cairo came to be a typical replica of the School of Medicine in London. Since then English continued to be the language of science and education at the School of medicine.

The language-power nexus prevented the impact of Arabic scientific writings and translations accomplished in the first half of the 19th c. by Refaa'ah and his fellow professors, scholars and graduate students from bearing into the century's closing decades and suspended it completely from the 20th; this was particularly ascertained in the light of the ongoing recognition of English as the lingua franca of science worldwide. ⁸ However, the personal stamp of the chief translator stood the test of time reviving a new genre long deserted in Arabic literature.

5.2.4. Revival of the Arabic novel

Refaa'ah's masterpiece, *Takhliis al-Ibriiz*, and his Arabic version of Fenelon's *Les Aventures de Télémaque*, he translated between 1851 and 1854 during his years in exile, are recognized by historians of Arabic literature

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to have laid the sprouts of the emergence of the Arabic didactic novel and revived this literary genre (Badr, 1963, p.70). Refaa'ah's eloquent and refined Arabic style is testified by historians and contemporary professors of Arabic literature. He is recognized by Salaah Fadl to have observed precision and integrity in his translation of the political and didactic novel, *Mawaaqi' al-Aflaaq fi Mughamaraat Télémaque* (Introduction to the second edition of *mawaaqi' al aflaaq*, Fadl, 2002). Ar-Raafi'iyy acknowledges that his style had helped to promote the way Arabic literature and poetry was written and composed. Thus, Refaa'ah contributed to introduce new generic features of literary Arabic that can be studied as newly introduced synchronic textual features of Arabic literature.

Accordingly, the thorough historiographical examination shows a close relation between Refaa'ah's educational background, favorite subjects and teaching courses, and drafting the first bylaw of al-Asun School. Essential bylaw setting is still preserved in today's al-Asun. His literary and social specialization had a direct shortcoming: the offshoot graduates of the school were found by the Educational Commission to be unqualified enough for scientific translations. Reasons why his literary and social translations outnumbered his scientific are elaborated. Dwindling of the impact of Arabic as a language of science and education is attributed to the power-language nexus and the long standing conquered L_1 and conqueror's L_2 switch of cultural roles.

5.2.5. Specificity of Hunayn's translated and authored writings

Except for a book he wrote about the Greek grammar, the Jondishapur tenured physician, who eloquently mastered four languages, did not go

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beyond his close field of specialization, i.e., branches of medical science. In a letter Hunayn wrote to one of his fellows, Ali bin Yahia, Hunayn lists his translations. The reason for the letter was that Hunayn had his entire library destroyed at the hands of Caliph al- Mutawakil's men in a second and a fatal round of the Caliph's punishment against Hunayn; bin Yahia had asked him more than once about his Galen's translations and authored works. Hunayn named all the Greek, particularly Galen's and Hippocrates' books, treatises and articles he translated into Syriac then Arabic, or directly into Arabic. The letter in full is documented by the contemporary Egyptian historian, Abdul Rahman Badawiyy (1981), and the titles of works re-edited and itemized by Ki'daan *et al* (2018). The total scan of Hunayn's translations from Greek into Syriac and Arabic reaches 112, covering various branches of medicine including: pulsing system, muscles, nerves, psychological states of the human body, diseases and symptoms, gastric diseases, types of fever, healing, five treatises by Hippocrates and Aristotle on the anatomy of live and dead bodies, fertility, medicaments, eye diseases, gastro-intestinal fullness, tumours, shivering and convulsions, poisons, in addition to 20 medical treatises by Hippocrates. Figure 4 shows an excerpt of Hunayn's letter

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كتابه في العضل. هذا الكتاب مقالة واحدة ولم يعنونه جالينوس الى المتعلمين لكن أهل إسكندرية أدخلوه في عداد كتبه الى المتعلمين، وذلك أنهم جمعوا الى هاتين المقالتين ثلاث مقالات أخر كتبها جالينوس الى المتعلمين. واحدة في تشريح العصب وواحدة في تشريح العروق غير الضوارب وواحدة في تشريح العروق الضوارب وجعلوه كأنه كتاب واحد ذو خمس مقالات وعنونوه في التشريح الى المتعلمين وغرض جالينوس فيه إن يصف أمر جميع العضل الذي في كل واحد من الاعضاء كم هي وأي العضل هي ومن أين يتبدى كل واحد منها وما فعلها بغاية الاستقصاء . وكل ما وصفته لك في كتاب العظام من أمر جالينوس وأمر سرجس وأمرى فافهمه عني في هذا الكتاب خلا أني أترجمه الى العربية الى هذه الغاية وقد ترجمه حبيش بن الحسن لمحمد بن موسى بن موسى الى العربية .

كتابه في العصب. هذا الكتاب أيضاً مقالة واحدة كتبها الى المتعلمين فغرضه فيها أن يصف كم زوجاً من العصب تبتت من الدماغ والنخاع وأي الأعصاب هي وكيف وأين ينقسم كل واحد منها وما فعله. والقصة في هذا الكتاب كالقصة في كتاب العضل.

Figure 4: Excerpt of Hunyan's letter (Badawiyy, 1981, p.153)

Roughly, the same number of translations had been documented earlier by al-Qaftiyy (d.646 h., 1248a.d.) in *Akhbaar al-Hukamaa'* (2005) and in *Tabaqaat al-Atibaa'* by Ibn Abi Osaiybi'ah (b. 600 h,1201 a.d.; d. 668 h., 1269 a.d.) where Hunayn is recognized to have translated 95 of Galen's books into Syriac and 39 into Arabic. As listed by Ibn an-Nadeem in *al-Fehrist* (originally written in 337 h., 948 a.d., as mentioned in the introduction to the book published in Egypt by at-taymouriyyah Library and provided by Bibliotheca Alexandrina) and re-edited by Ki'daan *et al* (2018), Hunyan authored 30 medical books and treatises including about 6 books on ophthalmology (Figure 5). The sole non-medical book is his explanation of the Greek Grammar.

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16-كتاب السبب الذي صارت مياه البحر له مالحة مقالة	1- كتاب أحكام الإعراب على مذاهب اليونانيين، مقالتان
17-كتاب الألوان	2- كتاب المسائل في الطب للمتعلمين مقالة
18-كتاب البول، وهو على طريق المسألة والجواب مقالة	3- كتاب الحمام مقالة
19-كتاب المولودين لثمانية أشهر مقالة، لأم ولد المتوكل	4- كتاب اللبن
120-كتاب الترياق مقالتان	5- كتاب الأغذية ثلاث مقالات
21-كتاب العين – وهو على طريق المسألة والجواب ثلاث مقالات	6- كتاب علاج العين
22-كتاب ذكر مترجم من الكتب مقالتان	7- كتاب تقاسيم علل العين
23-كتاب قاطليغورياس على رأس تامسطيوس مقالة	8- كتاب اختبار أنوية العين
24-كتاب رسالته إلى الطيفوري في قرص الورد	9- كتاب علاج أمراض العين بالحديد مقالة
25-كتاب القروح وتولده مقالة	10- كتاب آلات الغذاء ثلاث مقالات
26-كتاب الأجال مقالة	11- كتاب الأسنان واللثة
27-كتاب تولد النار من الحجرين مقالة	12- كتاب الباه
28-كتاب تولد الحصاة مقالة	13- كتاب تدبير الناقه
29-كتاب اختبار الأنوية المحرقة مقالة	14-كتاب معرفة أوجاع المعدة : وعلاجها مقالتان
30-كتاب ابن المنجم في استخراج كتبه كتب جالينوس	15-كتاب المد والجزر مقالة

Figure 5: list of Hunayn's authored works (Ki'daan et al, 2018).

No reasoning has been provided by historians why Hunayn maintained a practice of producing most of his translations into Syriac then into Arabic. Possibly, being a native speaker of Syriac, that practice used to be his personal preference. Worth to highlight is the tradition of translation sponsorship prevailing during the Abbasid rule; in his letter to Ibn Yahia, Hunayn names the one whom he translated or revised the book or treatise for, i.e., the one who recruited him to translate.⁹ Caliphs, viziers, and celebrities used to pay due care to scientists and physicians and confer ample rewards for the translation of books they requested translators to carry out for them. Accordingly, translation sponsorship was part of the circumstantial loci where Hunayn lived; he, son of a trading family, knew how to skillfully master the game of this tradition. This is an anachronistic point of difference between Hunayn and Refaa'ah; the first used to be recruited for the job; whereas in almost all cases Refaa'ah chose the books for translation since his early days in Paris through his foundation

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of the translation school until the establishment of the translation chamber. Hunayn's work team comprised his son, Ishaq, who excelled in the Syriac translations, and his nephew, Hubaysh, who excelled in Arabic. He used to revise their translations or retranslate Ishaq's Syriac translations into Arabic. Refaa'ah's work team was much broader comprising his colleagues, students and al-Asun graduates.

5.2.6. Influence of Hunayn's translations

The direct impact of Hunayn's translations is traced in his newly introduced equivalence technique of into-Arabic scientific and medical translation well spelt into an organized summarizing of Galen's books as registered by Ibn Juljul, precision of meaning, transliteration of Greek terms, and coining new Arabic equivalent terms. To ensure verification and precision, he used to seek more than one original copy of the work to be translated, which explains why he went on long travels to Alexandria, Byzantium, Aleppo, and Palestine. Hunayn died in 880 leaving behind a prolific medical translated and authored production. It is commonly acknowledged that Greek/Arabic medical and scientific translations by Hunyan, Thaabit bin Qurrah, Ibn al-Bitriiq and the Arab philosopher and scientist, al-Kindiyy during the Abbasid translation movement, continuously maintained since 8th to the 10th c., led to a second phase of authoring major classical Arabic core treatises in the fields of medicine, mathematics, astronomy, physics. To mention an example, Avicenna produced his magisteral *Canon, al Qanuun fi T-Tibb*, in the late 10th c. drawing on the Arabic translations of Galen and Hippocrates. A Sketch Engine search result of the word 'Galen', /galinuus/ in the Arabic four

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volumes of *al-Qaanuun, the Canon*, shows 338 occurrences and other 262 mentions in the original Arabic book of *al-Hawee fi t-tib ar-Raazee*. Another KWIC search for the word, *hunayn*, in the Historical Arabic Scientific Corpus (HASC) comprising the original Arabic books of the *Canon, al-haawee*, and Ibn al-Haytham's *al-Manaather*, shared via Sketch Engine Corpus processor (Abdel Maqsoud, 2018), shows 124 occurrences; the word sketch further proves that all of them meant Hunayn bin Ishaq. This shows how far Arab scientists and physicians relied on Hunayn's translated and authored works, alike.¹⁰

Long-term influence of Hunayn's translations is part of tracing the influence of Arab sciences on medieval Europe, a topic which has been central to numerous Orientalist and historical studies and is by all standards beyond the limits of the present study. However, it is worth to mention only a few; Prof. Burnett (2006), a contemporary historian at the University of Leeds confirms that these early translations of Greek science by Hunayn and Ibn al-Bitriiq were continuously developed, upgraded with new insertions added by a subsequent rich generation of Arab scientists. More significantly, he asserts that the western translators in the middle ages were aiming in the first place to restore the original works by Euclid, Ptolemy, Aristotle, Galen, and Hippocrates, they were aware that these works survived amongst the Greek and the Arabs, and they *could* find the original texts and sources in Greek just as the scholars in Baghdad did in the 9th century,

But among the Arabs, the Latins could and did find more than the texts: they were also confronted with the results of a tradition of

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scholarship which had not only absorbed new elements from other cultures, particularly those of India and Persia, but had also developed, refined, and changed the learning of the ancients. (p.4).

Arab scholars continued to refine and amend Greek works that Avicenna recasted the whole of Aristotle's philosophy in a "new and uptodate form". More substantial came "the replacement of the original works of Galen by new texts on medicine, each generation of Arabic doctors trying to improve on the work of their predecessors."(p.4). It was hard to distinguish Muslim from Greek thought in the 11th c. onwards, the latter was continuously refined and enriched by the Muslim thought, asserts Sir Runciman (p.17)

As the Caliph's chief physician, translator, and reviser, Hunayn's role is essential to the Abbasid translation movement. His career continued to unfold as a scientist who maintained the prevailing trend of scientific and medical translations. He pragmatically mastered his translation profession and excelled in translating his close field of specialization. By comparison, the educational background, scholarly aptitude, qibiis auxiliis and the circumstatial loci gained Refaa'ah a central and a leading role in Mohammad Ali's translation movement, as a founder of a new school with a long thread of students, a chief translator and head of Qalam at-targamah. Refaa'ah was responsible for an entire educational reform and Hunyan was a pillar of a rich movement.

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6. Conclusion

Testing horizontal sections of the lives and careers of Refaa'ah and Hunayn against the sociocultural context where each belongs, and drawing on the historiography of their contemporaries, the horizontally carried microhistorical and anachronistic analysis managed to objectively prove: 1. Refaa'ah, as an influential cultural agent through his work as a translator and editor and a head of a newly founded school, managed to resist the cultural dominance of Turkish language, though a ruler's native tongue, and asserted the supremacy of Arabic; he thus could find some way to manipulate the ruler's will. Cultural agency on Hunayn's part was more limited, he dealt with the Caliphs' ordainment of Arabic as the official language of the Caliphate and a main target language, as a given and stated fact. 2. Ruler-translators' relation fatally affected both translators' career when each suffered the rulers' punishment: a detrimental exile in Refaa'ah's case and an imprisonment and destruction of a rare library in Hunayn's. 3. Refaa'ah's educational background and personal competence obviously reflected into al-Alsun bylaw of 1835. His outstanding scholarly management of teaching language and translation at al-Alsun School and translation practice at Qalam at-targamah allowed a broad scope of specialized medical, mathematical translations under his supervision, though beyond his close competence. 4. Impact of the numerous into-Arabic translations steered by Refaa'ah in the first half of the 19th c. was abruptly suspended due to the colonizer's influence, yet, the literary influence continued allowing a re-emergence of the Arabic didactic novel. 5. Field of specialization enclosed Hunayn in a whirlpool of a prolific medical translated and authored production. His translations

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of the Classical Greek medical writings outlived him, forming rudiments for a second rich phase of authoring Arab sciences.

Further study

Drawing on the interrelations between macro- and micro- historical translation studies and using corpus translation studies, evaluative comparisons can be drawn between the developed linguistic style used by Refaa'ah in his literary writing and translations as *Paris profile* and *Télémaque*, and the first editions of the Arabic novels published at the beginning of the 20th c.; similarly, the original translations by Hunayn can be compared to the original authored Arabic scientific treatises as the *Canon* and *al-Haawii*. The target is to trace the linguistic and textual influence of translated work on the later emerging authored texts, and register particular linguistic features of a given genre peculiar of Arabic at a given period of time, synchronically or diachronically.

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Translation Movements between Translators' Decisions and Rulers' Will: a Micro-historical, Anachronistic, Comparative Study of Refaa'ah at-Tahtaawiyy & Hunayn bin Ishaq

Abstract

Translation history has gained increasing concern since the beginning of the 21st century. The present micro-historical study attempts to explore horizontal cross-sections of the lives of two famous translators in history, Refaa'ah at-Tahtaawiyy (b.1801 - d.1873), the pioneer translator in Mohammad Ali's translation movement (1835- 1849) in Egypt, and Hunayn bin Ishaq (b. 808, d. 873), an icon of Greek-Arabic translation during the Abbasid rule initiated in the 8th c. till the 10thc. Translator-ruler relationship, cultural dominance and/or recession of the target language in each movement, close field of specialization and educational background are areas of study selected for the comparative micro-historical anachronistic analysis. Theoretical framework of the study draws on the Interrelation between Christopher Rundle's (2018) approach to translation history and D'hulst's (2010) theorizing. D'hulst's vertical classical taxonomy of the historical object, his horizontal historiographical parameters of presupposition and timescale, integrate with Rundle's frames of timescale, perspective and synchrony/diachrony. The study aims to investigate whether translation domain selection is a decision made by translators and/or rulers, explore the impact of each movement on the cultural dominance of Arabic as an official language of state, education and science, find reasons for a suspension of the scientific impact of Refaa'ah's movement, and provide evidenced clues for the short and

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long term scientific influence of Hunayn's translated and authored works. Analysis tools are archives of state documents (e.g. Ali's and his dynasty's Turkish royal documents), editions of the official gazette, school bylaws, translators' biographies retold by their contemporaries and later historians, number of translators' authored and translated works, translators' letters, corpus KWIC search and word sketches to investigate Hunayn's scientific influence . Conclusions reached through objective data analysis are: 1. By means of a soft manipulation of the ruler's will, Refaa'ah's role as a cultural agent is proved to have asserted the Arabic cultural dominance against the Turkish, though one of the declared official languages of state and a ruler's native tongue; in this concern he surpasses Hunayn's cultural mediation in his acknowledgment of Arabic as a major target language of his movement. 2. Al-Asun bylaw of 1835 is evidenced to be formulated according to Refaa'ah's close scholarly and academic competence and to reverberate in the contemporary version of the Faculty's bylaw of 2005, whereas Baytu-l-Hikmah is shown to be a making of the learned Caliphs not the appointed Dean, Hunayn. 3. Sketch Engine corpus analysis is used to show occurrences of the token "*Hunayn*" in a historical Arabic scientific corpus. 4. Reasons for a late 19th c. abrupt synchronic dwindling of the scientific impact of Arabic and the re-emergence of the Arabic genre of the didactic novel are explained

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Endnotes

- i. Due to the fact that names as *at-Tahtaawiyy*, *Hunayn*, *Mohammad Ali*, *ash-Shayyaal* are written without a resort to the use of Arabic symbols in English history books, IPA is not used in this study to transliterate Arabic names.
- ii. Mohammad Ali is told to have been quite zealous to read and learn particularly when he came to learn how to read and write. Once, a book on geography was presented to him by a European King. He ordered a translator to ask him how much time he would need to translate the book; on getting the answer, "three months", Ali took out his sword, subdivided the book into three and ordered three translators to get it completed within a single month. A second confirmed relation about his eagerness for knowledge is when Ali used to detain mission students at his Castle on their return until each completes a translation of a book relevant to his field of specialization (Tager, 2014, p.24).
- iii. Missions to learn architecture and engineering tools and astronomical apparatus were sent to England as well but on a narrower scale (ar-Raafi'iyy, 1989, pp.410-420).
- iv. For a full list of an-Nabaarawiyy and ar-Rashiidiyy's translated works see ar-Raafi'iyy 1989, pp. 472-474).
- v. Ar-Raafi'iyy tells that it was Refaa'ah who formed, subdivided Qalam at-targamah when the first batch of students at al-Alsun graduated in 1842, and supervised and edited a considerable number of books at this chamber ; he was rewarded by Ali for his achievement with conferring the military rank of colonel, *qaa'im- maqaam* (p.441). Ash-Shayyaal, quoting Ezzat Abdul Kareem's view documented in 'Aabidiin royal documents, records that Qalam at-targamah was formed upon a resolution adopted by the Educational Organizing Commission in 1841 to the effect that tracing the immense benefit of the books being translated by the School students, seeking to make his royal achievements everlasting, and recognizing that translation is not confined to a mastery of language, rather to the scientific and artistic disciplines subject to transfer, it has been agreed to form a translation chamber with four specialized departments: translation of scientific and mathematical books, scientific and medical books, social sciences, and Turkish translation (1951, p. 43).
- vi. A bold and italic font is sometimes used by the researcher to mark an emphasis and to highlight observations and conclusions based on the given premises.
- vii. Part of the 1888 Report by the Ministry of education to increase the teaching hours dedicated to foreign languages and to use them as the language of education instead of Arabic for teaching natural sciences, history and geography at primary and secondary

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schools reads as follows :

إن تعليم اللغات الأجنبية التي لها في هذا العصر من الأهمية ما لا يخفى بمصر خاصة، لم يأت إلى الآن في مدارسنا بالنتائج المطلوبة، وليس ذلك لتقصير من المعلمين، أو فتور في همتهم، فإنهم في الواقع أهل لما عهد إليهم من الوظائف، غير أن الوقت المخصص لتعليم هذه اللغات غير كافٍ، حتى تكتسب التلامذة ملكة استعمال اللغة، ويسهل عليهم التكلم بها، وهو أمر لا يمكن الحصول عليه إلا بعد تمرين طويل مستمر. فلتلافي هذا الأمر بقدر الإمكان، تقرر أن موارد العلوم الجارية تدريسها لئلا باللغة العربية تعلم من الآن فصاعداً بمعرفة مدرسي اللغة الأجنبية، إما باللغة الفرنسية، وإما باللغة الإنجليزية. فإذا درس التاريخ والجغرافية والعلوم الطبيعية بلغاتٍ أجنبية، وضم هذا إلى تعليم اللغة المقصودة بالذات سهل نيل المقصود للأسباب الآتية:

١. لاشتمال هذه العلوم على التمرينات التي تقوى بها التلاميذ في اللغة

٢. لزيادة الزمن المعين لتعليم اللغات الأجنبية بجعله ساعتين في اليوم، بعد أن كان ساعة

واحدة. (Tager, 2014, pp.114-115)

viii. This status of English as the one and only language of science is recognized by Gordin (2015) in his book, *Scientific Bable : How Science Was Done Before and After Global English*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Translation sponsorship as referred to by Hunayn in his letter to Ali bin Yahia, (Documented in Badawiyy, 1981, p.155). At the end of each paragraph Hunayn names the one he translated the book for, namely the sponsor who asked him to translate it.

تولد في بطن الأرض إنما تركيبها من أربعة أركان وهي الأرض والماء والهواء والنار وأن هذه هي الأركان الأول البعيدة لبدن الإنسان وأما الأركان الثواني القريبة التي منها قوام بدن الإنسان وسائر ما له دم من الحيوان فهي الأخلاط الأربعة أعني الدم والبلغم والمزج. وهذا الكتاب من الكتب التي يجب ضرورة أن تُقرأ قبل قراءة كتاب حيلة البرء . وقد كان سبقني إلى ترجمته سرجس إلا أنه لم يفهمه فأفسده ثم إنني ترجمته إلى السريانية لبخنيشوع بن جبريل بعناية واستقصاء وكانت ترجمتي له وجب ما ترجمته لهذا الرجل في وقت منتهى شبابه على تلك السبيل، ثم ترجمته إلى العربية لأبي الحسن علي بن يحيى .

كتابه في المزاج. هذا الكتاب جعله جالينوس في ثلث مقالات وصف في المقالين الأولين أصناف مزاج أبدان الحيوان فينبى كم هي وأبى الأصناف هي ووصف الدلائل التي تدل على كل واحد منها وذكر في المقالة الثالثة منه أصناف مزاج الأدوية وبين كيف تُخبر وتعرف وتلك المقالة تنصل بكتاب قوى الأدوية الذي أنا ذاكره فيها بعد. وهذا الكتاب أيضاً من الكتب التي يجب قراءتها ضرورة قبل كتاب حيلة البرء . وقد كان ترجم هذا الكتاب سرجس وترجمته إلى السريانية مع كتاب الأركان ثم ترجمته بعد ذلك إلى العربية لإسحق بن سليمان.

ix.

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KEY WORDS

Translation micro-history, cultural dominance, domain selection, cultural agency, anachronism.

