

An 18th-century Take on Ancient Greece: Mahmud Efendi and the Creation of the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*

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In 1974, Cengiz Orhonlu published an article entitled “Bir Türk Kadısının Yazdığı Atina Tarihi” [The history of Athens by a Turkish judge] to introduce a manuscript, *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema* [The history of the city of the sages], the single copy of which is preserved in the Topkapı Palace Library in Istanbul.¹ Since Orhonlu, no historian has focused on the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*, although there are some scarce references to it.² This might be attributed firstly to the text’s difficulty: the manuscript’s narrative is hard to comprehend because it concerns the ancient history of Athens combined with Islamic perceptions, requiring a reader specialized in both fields to decipher it. Second, as late 18th- and early 19th-century Ottoman intellectual history has received scant attention, the manuscript itself has aroused little interest. Third, and perhaps most importantly, as traditional Greek and Turkish historiography has been based on nationalist paradigms focusing on conflicts and wars, a history of Athens written by an Ottoman mufti (a jurist) may be considered bizarre. In this essay, I introduce the author and sources of this text and present its contents.

The Author of the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*

The *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*, the compilation of a mufti of Athens,³ was based among other things on anecdotes told during the friendly gatherings of Muhsinzade Mehmed Pasha, at the time of his

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¹ Orhonlu 1973–1974. Mahmud Efendi, *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*, Topkapı Sarayı Emanet Hazinesi, Istanbul, no. 1411 [hereafter TMH].

² Strauss 2002; Kiel 1991; Vryonis 2002, p. 54; Göyünç 1976.

³ The name of the author is not mentioned anywhere in the manuscript. Orhonlu found the name Mahmud Efendi in a document in the Başbakanlık Devlet Arşivi Genel Müdürlüğü [General Directorate of State Archives of the Prime Ministry of the Republic of Turkey], Istanbul, no. 7393. Göyünç (1976, p. 477) rejected this claim and argued that the author’s name must be Hüseyin, on the basis of another document in the Archive (Maliye Defter-

guardianship of the fortress of Nauplion in 1738.⁴ Mahmud Efendi was originally from south-central Greece; his relatives lived in Thebes and Athens, and on Euboea.⁵ He states that he left his homeland in 1682/3 for the sake of his education. After staying for 16 years in Istanbul, where he married, he was appointed as mufti of Athens in 1698/9. In 1710/11, he translated two books from Arabic into Ottoman Turkish, one on jurisprudence (Tuhfetü't-Tüccar) and another on the value of holy war (Tuhfetü'l-Guzat). Mahmud Efendi notes that he began to compile the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema* in 1715, which took years to complete, with the help of two “very profound” Greek abbots: Theophanes Kavallares and Gregorios Soteris. Their main source of inspiration was Georgios Kontares’s *Ἱστορίαι παλαιαὶ καὶ πᾶν ὠφέλιμοι τῆς περιφέρειας πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν* [Ancient and useful stories of the famous city of Athens].

On July 14, 1715,⁶ Mahmud Efendi met Damad Ali Pasha, a patron of scholars and a book collector,⁷ while preaching the Friday sermon to the Ottoman army stationed in Thebes. News of the conquest of the island of Tinos reached the soldiers while they were listening to Mahmud’s prayers in the mosque, and, according to tradition, he was rewarded with many gold coins. He informs us that, “The sultan ordered this humble person [Mahmud Efendi] to follow him [the Pasha] to the Peloponnese.”⁸ After reconquering Corinth, the army reached Nauplion, where Damad Ali Pasha appointed Mahmud Efendi as a preacher in the mosque that he had endowed, as a professor at the madrasa of his chamberlain, Ibrahim Aga, and as an overseer of these two charitable endowments with a daily wage of 120 akçe. Mahmud Efendi also retained his duties in Athens as mufti and professor, thus holding several positions at the same time.⁹

The Contents and Sources of the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*

The *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema* is a small manuscript, 195 x 122 mm, with 19 lines on each page, written in the Naskh calligraphic style. Of its 291 folios, the first 240 (fols. 1b – 240a) cover many centuries, starting with the foundation of the city of Athens in ancient times and ending with the expedition of the Ottomans to the Morea at the beginning of the 18th century. The manuscript does not have a conclusion and therefore appears to end abruptly.

One of the most notable aspects of the manuscript has to do with its sources. In the Ottoman tradition, authors very rarely informed their audience about the sources they employed, unless they were commissioned to translate a certain book, or considered certain treatises, especially of west European origin, pertinent to the intellectual concerns of the Ottomans. Extensive bibliographies

leri, no. 1360, p. 18), but the date of that document is 50 years later than the date of the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*. Thus, I concur with Orhonlu on the name of the author. I also found a small, late 17th-century tract in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (Ali Nihat Tarlan Collection, no. 144, between fols. 57b and 60a), that was translated by Atinalı Mahmud b. Hasan, in other words, Mahmud of Athens. Orhonlu wrongly characterized Mahmud Efendi as a judge [kadi], whereas Mahmud Efendi himself states that he was appointed as a mufti of Athens.

⁴ TMH, 2b. Here Mahmud Efendi calls Muhsinzade Mehmed Pasha a vizier; thus, it can be understood that he also witnessed Muhsinzade Mehmed Pasha later becoming a vizier, between 1765–1768 or 1771–1774.

⁵ TMH, 267a.

⁶ Ertaş 2007, p. 26.

⁷ In addition to reconquering the Morea, Damad Ali Pasha was widely known as a bibliophile. He prohibited the export of books from Istanbul and founded a library that bears his name. His books were confiscated after his death: see Erünsal 1987.

⁸ TMH, 273b.

⁹ TMH, 285b.

are missing, and the information is rare. Several compilations exist, for which the sources have not been identified. Although reasons related to authorship might be at play here, the lack of a bibliography was common practice. The *Tarih-iMedinetü'l-Hukema* is of course no exception. Besides “Herodotus of Halicarnassus [...], Thucydides of Athens, Plutarch from the ruined castle of Chaironeia near Livadeia, and Diodorus from the island of Sicily,” Mahmud Efendi does not refer to any other source.¹⁰ However, he informs us that Theophanes Kavallares and Gregorios Soteris translated passages for him from French (the sources of which are unknown), and the “dead languages” (ancient Greek and Latin), which Mahmud Efendi then translated into Ottoman Turkish (sometimes with the intermediary help of another translator).¹¹

A closer look at the text suggests that Mahmud Efendi made extensive use of Georgios Kontares’s *Ἱστορίαι παλαιαὶ καὶ πᾶν ὠφέλιμοι τῆς περιφύμου πόλεως Ἀθήνης*, published in Venice in 1675.¹² Although a line-by-line comparison of Kontares’s book with the *Tarih-iMedinetü'l-Hukema* would be a commendable project, for the purposes of this essay the detailed tables of contents of the two books (see Appendix 1 and 2) are sufficient to establish the relationship between the two texts. A question that immediately arises is how Mahmud Efendi got hold of this book. He may have obtained it through his connection with Damad Ali Pasha or via a different network. Unfortunately, the information known about intellectual networks as well as book gifting and trading in the Ottoman Empire is limited, as there has been no extensive research on this topic. We could safely argue, however, that Mahmud Efendi, Theophanes Kavallares, and Gregorios Soteris belonged to such networks.

Theophanes Kavallares and Gregorios Soteris

Theophanes Kavallares was an eminent teacher of grammar, literature, and science. Like Gregorios Soteris, he was abbot of the monastery of Kaisariani, considered one of Attica’s most significant religious foundations. Kavallares came from a well-known Athenian aristocratic family,¹³ which in the late 16th century or early 17th had founded the church of St. Dimitrios in Athens.¹⁴ According to the historian Dimitrios Kambouroglou, Kavallares was one of the most highly educated abbots at Kaisariani¹⁵ and a prominent Athenian scholar.¹⁶ Kavallares taught in Athens from 1709. A year later, the metropolitan of Athens, Meletios, appointed him as a teacher (in the decree he is referred to as the wisest and most pious among monks, as well as a schoolmaster) paid from the bequest of Abbot Epiphanius in Venice. On September 18, 1712, Kavallares was elected by the Council of Forty of the Greek community of Venice as a schoolteacher in Athens under the guardianship of the abbot’s office.¹⁷ He was one of the first teachers recruited by Soteris at his Seminary of Greek Studies in Athens and continued lecturing until late 1728, when he was appointed as abbot of Kaisariani.¹⁸

¹⁰ TMH, 4a.

¹¹ At the end of the book, he identifies himself as “this humble translator” [bufakirmütercim]: TMH, 285b.

¹² I would like to thank Nikolas Pissis for directing me to Kontares and his work. Without his guidance and information about Kontares, I would not have realized the parallels that exist between the *Ἱστορίαι* and the *Tarih-iMedinetü'l-Hukema*.

¹³ Kambouroglou 1889–1892, vol. 1, p. 81.

¹⁴ Orlandos 1923, p. 145.

¹⁵ Kambouroglou 1889–1892, vol. 2, p. 202.

¹⁶ Kambouroglou 1889–1892, vol. 3, p. 197.

¹⁷ Hellenic Institute in Venice, Proceedings of the Council of Forty, September 18, 1712, AEIB, A’. Οργάνωση – λειτουργία, 3. Πρακτικά Συνεδριάσεων, Κατάστιχο 8, fols. 191v–196r, from their digitized archive: <http://eib.xanthi.ilsp.gr/gr/boundmaterials.asp?cursor=boundCategory&selectFieldValue=&vpage=7>.

¹⁸ Sicilianos 1960, p. 195.

Gregorios Soteris, or Soterianos, a monk from Athens, studied ancient Greek and Latin in Italy.¹⁹ Prompted by requests made by Athenians, he returned to his hometown in order to establish the first permanent school of the city. Around 1717, he bought an old house in the center of Athens, near the church of the Great Panagia, inside Hadrian's Library; there he constructed a significant, large school, called the Seminary of Greek Studies, where he offered his services as a teacher free of charge, and endowed it with a library of 600 volumes. When the number of students increased, he recruited other teachers, including Theophanes Kavallares (1722). Due to the great expense of the construction and furnishings of the school, no endowment was left to maintain the Seminary. The main revenue of the school was a mere 50 ducats per year, the proceeds of the bequest of Abbot Epiphanius from Venice. This amount was insufficient to cover even the salary of one teacher, which amounted to 200 ducats. Subsequently, the property of the school was seized, and eventually it merged with the school established in 1750 by Ioannis Dekas. Soteris was later appointed metropolitan of Monemvasia and Kalamata.

Georgios Kontares

Little is known about the life of Georgios Kontares. In his brief account of Kontares's life and work, Christos Patrinelis notes his importance for Kozani.²⁰ The earliest and fullest biographical notice of Kontares was written by Charisios Meidanis, a scholar and teacher from Kozani: in his book of 1820 about the school of Kozani, he devoted an extensive paragraph to Kontares, its first teacher:²¹

Kontares was born and raised in Servia [near Kozani] [... He] descended from illustrious ancestors who served as public officials during the reign of the Greco-Romans and who are mentioned in Byzantine history. They were dispersed in many places with political tasks both before and after the conquest of Constantinople. There were branches of this family in Kastoria, the Peloponnese, in Servia, and in Venice, where they served in the ministries of the [local] aristocracy. In 1540, as administrator of the Venetians in Nauplion, Alexandros Kontares handed the town over to the Turks following the peace treaty. Georgios went to Venice to his relatives there and was an expert in the Latin and Italian dialects. We do not have accurate information about his education in Greek, nor about his teachers. The one thing we do know is that he was an Aristotelian and was persuasive in speech, dignified in manner, had a venerable character, and preferred unmarried life. He taught in the school of Kozani for three years and then he went to Servia, his native town, to practice his profession. After the death of Dionysius, Bishop of Servia, he was ordained priest at the demand of the people of the province, and took the name Gregorios. He served as bishop in the see for four years. He still used the name Georgios when he wrote a History of Athens in our vernacular language, which was also published in Venice at the time. Because of the history that he wrote, the Athenians took action when their arch-

¹⁹ Vryonis 2002, p. 65.

²⁰ Patrinelis 1997; see also Legrand 1894, pp. 318–321.

²¹ Patrinelis 1997, p. 459.

bishop died, and he was transferred and became the archbishop of Athens. He was a very skillful embroiderer of sacred vestments with gold thread, and the Epitaphios of Christ the Lord which hangs opposite the archiepiscopal throne in the katholikon [church] of Kozani is a work of his hands, and shows his exceptional adroitness.²²

Teacher, writer, translator, collaborator at a publishing house in Venice, bibliophile, embroiderer, priest, and finally bishop of Servia and metropolitan of Smyrna,²³ Georgios Kontares was born in Servia, near Kozani, probably shortly before 1638. He is first attested in 1668 as a priest in Venice, where he had family. After losing his wife, he became a monk, assuming the name Gregorios. From 1668 to 1675 and again from 1683 to 1684, he served as supervisor at the Flanginian School in Venice.²⁴ During the period from 1675 to 1683 he probably taught in Kozani and Thessaloniki. According to a handwritten note he made on his personal copy of a work by Symeon of Thessaloniki, he was teaching in Thessaloniki in 1682.²⁵ Among the subjects that Kontares taught, Aristotle took first place.²⁶

In 1684 Kontares was ordained bishop of Servia. Some years later, he is thought to have been elected metropolitan of Athens, but his name does not appear on the lists of metropolitans of Athens for this period. The only explanation would be that he served for only a short time, around 1688, just after the Venetian occupation of Athens and the destruction of the Parthenon in 1687, when the Athenians had deserted the city. Indeed, a chronological gap in the records would warrant this theory.²⁷ In any event, in 1690, he was appointed bishop of Smyrna, where he died in 1698. His personal library, which he donated to the Evangelical School of Smyrna, formed the nucleus of the school's library.²⁸

Kontares's History

Almost a century later, the Swedish traveler J. J. Björnstaahl found Kontares's book in the monastery of Dousikou. He noted that, "On 24 May [1779] I read the history of Athens, written in koine[Modern Greek] by Georgios Kontares from Servia and published in Venice in 1675. It is remarkable. However, it is ridiculous to read about the wonders of ancient Athens in simple language, barbaric words in the mouth of Demosthenes, and about the great navy of Xerxes."²⁹ Dimitris Apostolopoulos has located copies of the book in Athens and Thessaloniki, and on Mt. Athos, as well as in libraries in Paris, Moscow, and Sofia.³⁰

Kontares dedicated his book to Petros Gaspari and Giannoulis Poulimenos. Gaspari was of Athenian origin; a merchant who resided in Venice, he was an especially prominent member of the city's Greek community, since he was elected governor of the Brotherhood of St. Nicholas on April 6,

²² Meidanis 1820, pp. 45–46.

²³ Patrinelis 1997, p. 460.

²⁴ Patrinelis 1997, pp. 462 and 464.

²⁵ "This book was written by me, the monk Georgios Kontares, [humble] teacher, in Thessaloniki, in the holy monastery of the Kamariotissa, on [3 February 1682]."

²⁶ Patrinelis 1997, p. 464.

²⁷ Patrinelis 1997, p. 465.

²⁸ Karanasios and Petsios 2004, pp. 103–104; Patrinelis 1997, p. 466.

²⁹ Patrinelis 1997, p. 469.

³⁰ Apostolopoulos 2005, p. 87.

1674.³¹ Gaspari helped the Venetians in the war for the Morea. During the Venetian interlude between 1687 and 1688, the Athenians had abandoned their city. While some went to Venetian-held Zakynthos and others to Nauplion or Salamis, most of them fled to Aegina under the leadership of Gaspari.³² Sicilianos says that some, led by Demetrios Gaspari, fled to Aegina, and others under the leadership of Petros Gaspari to Salamis.³³ He also states that Petros Gaspari had married the daughter of the Astrakaris family, one of the twelve archons of Athens.³⁴ Gaspari, leader of the Athenian volunteers, died from fever.³⁵ Significantly, Kontares drew a parallel between Theseus and Gaspari that fits into the Athenian “founder-hero” character of Theseus. In his prologue, Kontares wrote the following:

The ancient Greeks and our ancestors were never so eager for any other project as they were in rewarding greatly those who wanted to excel for their country. As was their custom, they sometimes dedicated great temples to them, for others they built bronze and marble statues, artfully made. And for others they displayed their images in public, as a way of rewarding their bravery. As we can see clearly in their stories, they dedicated many temples in the name of Theseus, they painted Themistocles, Aristides, Miltiades, and all the other generals in the public palace, they built statues in honor of Demetrios Phalireus in the agora and in public places, where people spent their day. And they also had this other habit, that they would honor those who did well for the country, not only with monetary honors, but also by praising them. This they did all together, even little children. This is what they did in the time of Theseus, who rebuilt Athens with his own money, that is what they did at the time of Konon, who rebuilt his city’s walls that had been destroyed by the Spartans, and the same they did for many others. Therefore, if they paid so many honors to those at these times, how many honors should we give to your excellency, Sir Petros Gaspari, you who showed similar love for your country. You have spared no expense, but have spent lavishly in order to help your country. Thus you have received honors from all, and I have wanted first to dedicate to you this History that I have begun. Your Grace resembles Theseus and, like him, you wanted to help your country and rebuild, like Theseus did, as is evident in the History, where his name and actions will be remembered forever. I have decided to give to you the same honor and to write this History also for your dear friend Giannoulis Poulimenos. Because Theseus went through all the labors alone, but shared the wealth and glory with his beloved friend Peirithous, for whom he endangered his life many times. Similarly, you gave your wealth alone, but received glory and eternal fame together with him. This is why I dedicate this book and give it to both your hands, and let me be pardoned for that. I have not met the honorable Giannoulis with my own eyes, but many truthful and honest people have told me that he is such a worthy man that even if I sought another with Diogenes’ lamp, I would not find someone better. Because the love and

³¹ Apostolopoulos 2005, p. 94.

³² Miller 1921, p. 413.

³³ Sicilianos 1960, p. 113.

³⁴ Sicilianos 1960, p. 226

³⁵ Sicilianos 1960, p. 414.

concord that exists between you shows clearly that there is no difference between you, but you are of one mind and soul in two bodies. So the family of Giannoulis should also accept this gift of his best and most beloved friend.

It is a work sanctioned by God (with the help of Petrakis Gaspari) to labor for the common good of our brothers in faith, especially at the present time since they do not have their freedom or what is necessary for education, to work in order to give them a helping hand, not only through advice, the lives of the saints, and holy scripture, but also through ancient history. Because the wisdom of God wished to bring light through truth and knowledge to people who lacked not only His word and advice, but also knowledge of ancient and useful history from the beginning of the world [...] The Holy Scripture teaches us that it is God's will to try and save what of the old stories is worthy of narration, that is, the lives of famous men and cities. So we will begin writing the history of Athens, not by using rhetorical praise or excessive words (because that should be avoided, according to Lucian), because it is not the work of a historian to mix narrative with poetry and rhetoric. Thus, we will narrate the facts simply, without exaggeration, how I found them in old Greek and Italian books, which I translated into the common language. And we have not left anything out, nor added our own words.³⁶

As Apostolopoulos notes, it would have been natural for the two Greeks, Petros Gaspari and Kontares, to meet in Venice, but “If we want to find the deeper reason for this cooperation, we must look at the purpose that the book meant to serve and explain why the sponsor was persuaded to undertake the expense of its publication.”³⁷ By narrating the history of ancient Athens from the time of Cecrops to the arrival of the Apostle Paul in Athens, Kontares wanted to highlight and stimulate historical memory among the “New Greeks.” Additionally, by presenting infidels and merciless tyrants, he forced young Greeks to realize their origin and their history, and to imitate their ancestors in learning, wisdom, and bravery.³⁸ Apostolopoulos concludes that the strong anti-Turkish (pro-Venetian) tone, which dominates Kontares's book, reflects the sponsor's ideology rather than that of the author.³⁹

Observations

More than a century after the completion of the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*, Kambouroglou stated,

[...] the voice of the muezzin, coming from the Acropolis and heard around it, in the place where the most sacred memories of ancient and Christian Athens are to be found, marked for the Athenians the beginning of a new phase in their life. But in the areas around the Acropolis, where the voices of Pericles, of Demosthenes, of

³⁶ Kontares 1675 (translation by Dr. Vera Andriopoulou and Dr. Stefanie Kennell). It is difficult to assign page numbers for Kontares's *Ἱστορίαι* (see the note in Appendix 2). This passage is located in the “prologue,” after the index, which is at the beginning of the book.

³⁷ Apostolopoulos 2005, pp. 94–95.

³⁸ Apostolopoulos 2005, p. 96.

³⁹ Apostolopoulos 2005, p. 98.

Plato, and of St Paul were once heard, there is no place for the voice of the imam, which represents the negation of the political, patriotic and moral principles advocated by them. Shadows of the creators of the great feats of humanity, do not be sad; the Koran's principles cannot grow roots in the soil of Attica. The kind of dust of the people who are buried in it would resist them, since, even if barbarism absorbs every strength, one day the breath of freedom will uproot it [...]⁴⁰

Mahmud Efendi's manuscript has the important historiographical distinction of being the only work completely devoted to the history of Athens written in Ottoman Turkish. As the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema* stands against such segregationist approaches, his narrative about Athens raises many questions, most of which are outside the scope of this essay. To address them would require delving deeper into its contents. What I would like to stress here, however, is what this text suggests about "the Greek connection"⁴¹ of Ottoman intellectual life, and intellectual realities in general.

Among its various features, the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema* attests to the "shared world" Molly Greene has eloquently described in her book on trade in the 16th-century eastern Mediterranean. To quote her, "[...] from the time of the Fourth Crusade in 1204 onward, the eastern Mediterranean was the point of intersection for not two but three enduring civilizations—namely, Latin Christianity, Eastern Orthodoxy, and Islam."⁴² Although it is a common place today to make sense of the eastern Mediterranean as a shared world, the fields of intellectual and cultural history remain bound to those particularities that entertain the existence of strict barriers between ethnic and religious groups. This is not to say that particularities play no role; it is to challenge formations that ascribe culture a strict essence. A quick look at Greek and Turkish history textbooks makes it evident that they assume no interaction or communication between the two "cultures," as if the Greek and Turkish spheres had somehow survived without any contact in the past.⁴³ Such textbooks offer a stable and homogeneous understanding of culture rather than of the reciprocal cultural influences that lead to hybridization.⁴⁴ Mahmud Efendi's text, on the contrary, demonstrates the existence of cultural cooperation: that he wrote his text by collaborating with two Greek abbots is conclusive proof of this interaction. Although they helped him with translations of books on the history of Athens, it should be borne in mind that the Hellenism of Mahmud Efendi and that of the three Greek intellectuals differed from each other. The mufti appears to have internalized the story of Athens, but his images of ancient Athens and those on the mental maps of Kavallares, Soteris, and Kontares are quite different.

Every book is a product of its time, of course. The manner in which Mahmud Efendi reads the city as a "signifier" and composes a history for 18th-century Ottomans allows me to argue that his cultural context served as a meaning-generating framework. The perception and the understanding of the relatively unknown have always been formed by the projection of the well-known, whereby the unknown becomes familiar to us. Every understanding of the unknown occurs through its integration into the already known, in other words through its domestication into the known culture. So,

⁴⁰ Translated and quoted by Hamilakis (2009, p. 61).

⁴¹ For a detailed study on the issue, see Strauss 2003.

⁴² Greene 2000, p. 4.

⁴³ Soysal and Antoniou 2002, 2004.

⁴⁴ Welsch 1999, p. 198. For the problematics of different terminology concerning cultural interactions, such as "hybridization," "borrowing," "melting pot," "creolization," "glocalization," and "interculturality," see Stockhammer 2012, p. 46.

appropriation occurs.⁴⁵ As Burke remarks, “If the past is a foreign country, it follows that even the most monoglot of historians is a translator. Historians mediate between the past and the present and face the same dilemmas as other translators, serving two masters and attempting to reconcile fidelity to the original with intelligibility to their readers.”⁴⁶

This statement is true for Mahmud Efendi, who was also a translator. Being both a translator and a historian, he mediated between the ancient past and the Ottoman present. Even by looking at the tables of contents of the two books, the original and its “translation,” what Mahmud Efendi did when he confronted the “foreign country” in question is very important to understanding the strategies he followed, such as the Ottomanization of Theseus;⁴⁷ when he provides information about the ancient rulers, he employs Ottoman terminology for titles such as padishah, sultan, and bey anachronistically. In addition, he retrojects such concepts as poll tax [cizye], traditional agricultural tax [öşür], and excise and special taxes [rusumat] as if they had existed in ancient Athens, even though they belonged to the Ottoman administrative system. In the same vein, he also uses terms that are connected with the Ottoman political system—preserve public order [nizam-ı memleket], justice [adalet], and tyranny [zulm]—at various points in the *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema*. Along the same lines, he refers to Solon as Süleyman Hakim. The word “Süleyman” is used here as an attribute meaning “lawmaker.”⁴⁸ What is also interesting is that in the depiction of this King Süleyman—Solon—entering the city, the components of the welcoming ceremony are predominantly Ottoman; they are called New Year’s celebrations [nevruz].⁴⁹ In a different description, an incident of misbehavior is explained in terms borrowed from the Qur’an and widely used by the Sufi tradition as the soul that incites evil [nefs-iemare].⁵⁰ Moreover, for the Spartans at the Battle of Thermopylae (480 B.C.), by using the term *serdengeçti*,⁵¹ meaning a soldier who, in the Ottoman context, puts himself in the front line and so becomes a martyr, he attempts a transcultural comparison. He also compares the Boeotians led by the Thebans at the Battle of Leuctra against the Spartans to Rustam, a famous Persian hero from the *Shahnamah* of Firdawsi.⁵² When he describes Aristotle and Plato, he mentions their views on faith in one god.⁵³ He identifies Socrates as one “enlightened with the light of the Unity of God” [nur-itevhidilemücella].⁵⁴ Furthermore, in explaining some events, he enriches the story with short Qur’anic verses, hadiths, and Ottoman idioms.⁵⁵ While writing about philosophers, he mentions the three, the seven, and the forty saints [üçler, yediler, and kırklar] as they appear in various forms in Alevi, Bektashi, and Sufi literature.⁵⁶ In another example, while describing the time of Pericles, Mahmud Efendi devotes 20 pages to the Parthenon. He mentions

⁴⁵ On the appropriation of ancient Athens by Mahmud Efendi, the definition by Willem Frijhoff (quoted from Marcel Barnard’s translation [Barnard 2009, p. 11]) is worth noting: “[...] appropriation is a process of giving meaning, in which groups or individuals attribute their own meaning to the object presented, imposed or prescribed by others, and thus make it acceptable, liveable, bearable or humane to themselves. It is cultural recreation.”

⁴⁶ Burke 2007, p. 7.

⁴⁷ Tunalı 2013b. Mahmud Efendi also narrates the story of Cleobis and Biton in the same way as he treats Theseus: see TMH, 64a – 65a.

⁴⁸ As Darling (2008, p. 515) put it, “Süleyman acquired the epithet ‘lawgiver’ because he presided over the harmonization of dynastic law and Islamic law, and because his courts exercised a justice like that of the biblical Solomon.”

⁴⁹ TMH, 54a. For the celebration of the New Year in the Ottoman context, see And 1982.

⁵⁰ TMH, 32a, 33a, 36b, 67b, 68b, 136a. For the stages of the soul according to Imam Ali b. Abi Talib, the summit of all of the chains of Islamic spirituality, see Kazemi 2007.

⁵¹ TMH, 85b.

⁵² TMH, 183b.

⁵³ TMH, 149a – 150b. Similar trends may be seen in early translations of Aristotle and Plato from Greek into Arabic. For a detailed discussion of the translation of names of Greek deities into Arabic, see Walbridge 1998, p. 389.

⁵⁴ TMH, 116b.

⁵⁵ TMH, 61b, 17b.

⁵⁶ TMH, 132a, 133b. For an explanation, see Schimmel 1975, pp. 200–203.

Pericles in the section on the building of the Parthenon with terminology specific to Ottoman culture and narrates the story of the Parthenon as if it had been built not in ancient Athens but in any Ottoman city, starting with Pericles' words to the Athenian assembly explaining the reason for building an endowment [hayrat].⁵⁷

Conclusion

Mahmud Efendi's curiosity about Antiquity differs from the later Tanzimat interest in Hellenism, which was woven into the Westernization process of all spheres of life, including mythological elements from the ancient world.⁵⁸ Thus, although his *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema* has many pioneering and distinctive features, Mahmud Efendi's style of "reading" the ancient world had almost no effect on the intellectual world of the Ottomans and no repercussions among the Ottoman literati. Perhaps if all the right socio-economic and cultural circumstances had been present in the 19th century, as Dimitri Gutas has shown so well for the Greco-Arabic translation movement in the early Middle Ages, it would be possible to discuss some kind of Greco-Ottoman translation movement at that time.⁵⁹ The Tulip Era (1718-1730) did not produce such a movement, however, so Mahmud Efendi stands alone, as does the scholar Esad Efendi from Ioannina (d. 1731).⁶⁰ Over a century later, in the Tanzimat period, the Ottomans seemed to accept that to be European and civilized, people had to know ancient history and literature, create museums and preserve ruins to show the ancient glory of their land.⁶¹ Nevertheless, Mahmud Efendi tried to dress up in Ottoman and Islamic garments what he had learnt from his Greek contacts about the history of Athens. To succeed in his attempt to "Ottomanize" foreign cultural units, first Ottoman institutions, customs, traditions, and titles were projected onto the elements of ancient Greece, then the phrasing was set up by a particular process of Ottomanization, using local linguistic elements, such as proverbs and idioms. In these aspects his approach diverges from his contemporary Greek connections, but also from Tanzimat-period intellectuals, making him appear absolutely *suigeneris*.

⁵⁷ TMH, 124b – 126a. See also the essay by Fowden herein, pp. 67–95.

⁵⁸ See Strauss 1992, 2003.

⁵⁹ Gutas 1998.

⁶⁰ Kūçuk 2013.

⁶¹ Considering the symbolic role of antiquities in Europe and in Greece, Shaw (2003) questions the Ottoman Empire's interest and profits from the Hellenistic collections and antiquities within its own territory.

Appendix 1

Detailed Table of Contents of Mahmud Efendi's *Tarih-i Medinetü'l-Hukema**

1b – 2a: Arabic invocations (basmala, hamdala, salwala) and the reason for compiling and translating the manuscript	the sea
2a – 2b: Two Greek abbots presented as sources; the date the task was started	16a – 16b: Theseus defeats Cercyon in wrestling, slays Procrustes, and arrives in Athens
2b – 3a: The role of Muhsinzade Mehmed Pasha in composing the text	16b – 17a: His stepmother, Medea, wants to poison him
3a – 4a: The difficulty that was experienced; appeal to the readers to forgive potential faults	17a – 17b: Theseus recognized by Aegeus while eating
4a – 4b: The names of the historians of the written sources	18a – 20a: Medea warns Theseus' rivals, nephews of Aegeus, of the danger to the throne; they fight with Theseus
4b – 6a: The topography of Athens	20a – 20b: Theseus wins and asks to go to Crete with the third delegation of tribute to the Minotaur
6a – 6b: The government of Athens	20b – 21b: Aegeus demurs, but Theseus persuades him
6b – 7a: The areas under Athenian rule	21b – 23a: Theseus wrestles with the Minotaur and overcomes him
7a – 7b: The rulers of Athens	23a – 23b: Theseus asks that the tribute of seven girls and seven boys be abolished
7b – 8a: Sultan Mehmed II the Conqueror	23b – 24a: The king of Crete wants his daughter to marry Theseus; they marry
8a – 8b: Athens under Ottoman rule	24a – 25a: Theseus and his bride depart from Crete, but the captain forgets to hoist white sails in place of black ones on the Athenians' return from Crete
8b – 9a: Athens from Adam to Cecrops I	25a – 25b: Aegeus throws himself into the sea believing that Theseus is dead; Theseus laments his father for 40 days
9a – 9b: Athens after Noah	25b – 26a: Theseus succeeds to the sovereignty of Athens
9b–10a: The people of Athens; their hair adorned with riveted cicadas of gold, silver, and copper	26a – 29a: Theseus accompanies Hercules on his campaign against the women warriors (Amazons)
10a – 10b: The question of Athens' name	29a – 29b: Theseus wins battles against the Amazons and takes Hippolyte away as his concubine
10b – 11a: Athena	29b – 30a: Theseus' friendship with Pirithous
11a – 11b: The stratum system in Athens and the reigns of Cranaus and Amphictyon	30a – 32a: Theseus fights with the "soldiers of
11b – 12a: The reigns of Erichthonius and Pandion	
12a – 12b: The reigns of Thrace, Erechtheus, and Cecrops II	
12b – 13a: The king of Crete	
13a – 13b: The Minotaur and Aegeus	
13b – 14a: Aegeus, his wife, and Theseus	
14b – 15a: Theseus slays Periphetes	
15a – 15b: Theseus slays the robber Sinis at the Isthmus of Corinth	
15b–16a: Theseus kills the Pinebender, destroys the sow of Crommyon, and hurls Sciron into	

* Translated for me by Dr. Vera Andriopoulou. (This note was wrongly appeared here in the hard copy in fact it belongs to Appendix 2. As it is known, the transcription and translation of *Tarih* belongs to me.)

Candavro” (the Centaurs) at the wedding of Pirithous, then returns to Athens with Helen

32a – 33a: Theseus’ fame increases; he builds a palace and begins to live in luxury. His character changes; he demands the daughters of the rulers of other city-states, sometimes by force

33a – 34a: Theseus demands the daughter of the king of Sparta; the king refuses. With the assistance of Pirithous, he carries Helen off to Aphidnae, where his mother Aethra lives; because Helen is so young, he leaves her with Aethra for safekeeping

34a – 34b: Theseus wants the daughter of the king of the Molossians

34b – 35a: Theseus and Pirithous are held

prisoner 35a – 35b: Pirithous is killed in prison by the dog Cerberus

35b – 36a: Theseus is rescued by Hercules

36a – 36b: The soldiers of Helen’s father, the king of Sparta, loot the city of Athens

36b – 37b: The notables of Athens gather to talk about Theseus’ deeds

37b – 38a: Menestheus is appointed ruler by the notables of Athens

38a – 38b: Theseus goes to Euboea with his family and slaves

39b – 40a: Theseus is killed by Lycomedes while hunting a bird; his bones are brought back from Skyros to Athens by Cimon

40a – 41a: The Sanctuary of Theseus

41a – 45a: Helen’s affair (with Paris); the war against Troy

45a – 48a: People come from Troy to Padua by ship

48a – 49a: Foundation of the city of Venice

49a – 49b: The reign of Menestheus

49b – 50a: The reigns of Demophon, Oxyntes, Apheidas, and Thymoites

50a – 51a: The reign of Codrus

51a – 51b: The age of rulers for life begins

51b – 52a: The reigns of Medon, Akastos, Arkhippos, Thersippos, Phorbas, Megacles, Diognetos, Pherekles, Aripbron, Thespius, Agamestor, Ais-

chylos, and Alkmaion

52a – 52b: Decision to limit the term of rule to ten years

52b – 53a: Drakon

53a – 62b: Solon

62b – 65b: Solon’s visit to Cyprus; Croesus in the Golden Age

67b – 68a: The sons of Solon

68a – 68b: The murder of Hipparchus

68b – 69a: The overthrow of Hippias

69a – 69b: Hippias flees to Sardis (Anatolia) to the court of the Persian Artaphernes and promises the Persians control of Athens if they help restore him 69b – 70a: The victories of Miltiades

70a – 71a: Persian victories in the Aegean Islands

71a – 71b: The Persians arrive on Euboea in mid-summer; they march to the coast of Attica en route to completing the final objective of their campaign, the punishment of Athens

71b – 72a: Battle of Marathon; Themistocles, Callimachus, Miltiades, and Aristides

72a – 72b: The Persian soldiers, unable to find food and water, flee to the sea. After three days, the battle ends when the Persian center breaks; they flee in panic towards their ships, pursued by the Greeks

72b – 73a: The heroism of the Athenian commanders; Callimachus murdered during the battle

73a – 73b: Herodotus records that 6,400 Persian bodies were counted on the battlefield and the Athenians lost 192 men

73b – 74a: The Persian naval forces are too exhausted to invade again

74a – 74b: The Persians return home

75b – 76a: Miltiades leads an Athenian expedition of 70 ships against Greek-inhabited islands deemed to have supported the Persians; he attacks the Cyclades, which the Persians had recently added to their empire

76a – 76b: Charged with treason, Miltiades is sentenced to death, but the sentence is converted to a fine of 50 talents

76b – 77a: Miltiades is sent to prison and dies there
 77a – 77b: Miltiades' debt is later paid by his son, Metiochos
 77b – 78a: Darius' death; his son, Xerxes [Darius b. Behmen], kills Darius b. Darab
 78a – 78b: The Persian army crosses the Hellespont and marches through Thrace, Mt. Athos, Macedonia, and Thessaly
 79a – 79b: The Persian king demands earth and water in Thessaly. Darius sends emissaries to all the Greek city-states, demanding gifts of earth and water in token of their submission to him
 79b – 80a: The Athenians believe their only way out is death
 80a – 80b: The Athenians kill the Persian envoy; the king is furious
 82a – 82b: A massive fleet is created under the leadership of the politician Themistocles to fight the Persians
 83b – 84a: Inhabitants of the Peloponnesian cities make backup plans for the defense of the Isthmus of Corinth
 84b – 85a: Ephialtes, a Greek from the route of the Persians' march, betrays the Greeks by showing the Persians a small path leading behind Greek lines
 85a – 85b: General Demophilos refuses to leave and commits himself to fight with 700 Thespians
 85b – 86a: The Greeks fight with spears until all are shattered, then switch to short swords; the death of the Spartan king Leonidas at Thermopylae
 86a – 86b: Recovery of Leonidas' body by the Persians; Xerxes orders his head to be cut off and his body crucified
 86b – 91b: Greco-Persian wars
 92a – 92b: The Persians indicate that they lack food
 92b – 93a: The Persian king returns home due to the political situation in India; a small number of soldiers remains in Athens and the Peloponnese
 93a – 93b: Famine in Athens
 93b – 94a: The Persian soldiers complain about Athens; after the soldiers withdraw, Athens

progresses
 94a – 94b: Spartan envy of the Athenians; Themistocles is sent as envoy to the Peloponnese
 94b – 95a: The Spartans threaten Themistocles and Athens
 95a – 95b: Themistocles excites pity for the conditions in Athens and tells the Spartans that they should send an envoy to Athens to see for himself
 96a – 96b: Spartan envoys observe that Themistocles is right; this dispels the Spartans' envy and hostility
 96b – 97a: Spartans and Athenians cooperate to reconquer the islands that had been taken by the Persian king
 97a – 97b: Themistocles wins over the islands with soft words, the Spartans by force
 97b – 98a: Aristides
 98a – 98b: Athens prospers because war and sickness are absent
 98b – 99a: The Spartan commander is not courteous or smooth-talking; the Athenians want to teach him a lesson
 99a – 99b: The Athenians ask the Spartans to build a tower on the island of Mykonos and to institute tithes and cleruchs
 99b – 100a: The Spartans accept the Athenian offer and erect buildings
 100a – 100b: They appoint a garrison and cleruchs to the island and accumulate property for ten years
 100b – 101a: The Panathenaic Stadium in Athens
 101a – 101b: The buildings of Athens
 101b – 102a: Athens becomes a place of pilgrimage; the eastern part has barracks for soldiers
 102a – 102b: The artisans' workshops around the barracks
 102b – 103a: Shops associated with the navy around the port of Piraeus and the military
 103a – 103b: Schools in the southern section of Athens; the shops associated with them, such as bookbinders; courts also present there
 106a – 106b: The Persian king fights for 15 years

around India and Transoxiana, but Athens and Sparta are always in his thoughts

106b – 107b: The king sends gifts and letters to the military commanders of Athens and Sparta in order to bring them over to his side; the Spartan Pausanias' letters to Xerxes

107b – 108a: Pausanias' death

108a – 108b: Themistocles leaves Athens for Argos

108b – 109a: Themistocles cuts down trees in the Black Sea region and builds ships; a huge navy is created

109a – 110a: Themistocles' death by poison; Athenians grieve deeply as they read his letter

110a – 110b: The navy sails from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean and conquers Cyprus and Rhodes

110b – 111a: The Athenians take the treasure from Cyprus because the Persians will come and take it; the Spartans claim that if Pausanias had been alive, the Athenians would not have dared to do it

111a – 111b: The Persian navy encounters Athenian ships off the coast of Rhodes; since the Athenian ships are smaller, they escape easily to Egyptian waters

111b – 112a: Running continues, and the Persian navy progresses slowly

112a – 112b: The Persian ships are split off into a rocky area by a storm; Athenian forces enslave the Persian soldiers

116a – 116b: They return to Athens and organize celebrations; birth of Socrates

116b – 117a: Socrates gives lectures on wisdom and philosophy; he owns four schools, each with 7,000 students

117a – 117b: At this time, nine wise philosophers rule Athens

117b – 118a: There are 500 philosophers divided into ten sections; they choose seven, seven choose three, and three choose the one

118a – 118b: There is also a Board of Forty, and the Areopagus court has a place on it

121a – 122a: Miltiades is killed; Cimon takes his place

122a: Pericles

124a – 129b: Physical description of the Acropolis 129b – 132b: The sculpture and cult of Athena 132b – 134a: The mosque inside the Parthenon; its bombardment

134a – 138b: The operation of the law courts

138b – 143a: The Tower of the Winds described in detail

143a – 147a: The debts of Pericles due to the building of the Parthenon

147a – 148b: Socrates and the philosophers

148b – 150a: How the Athenians worshipped deities

150a – 151a: The philosophers' faith in one god; Socrates tries to hide their beliefs from the Athenians

151a – 155a: Alcibiades

155b – 157b: Pericles and Nicias

157a – 157b: An oracle

157b – 158a: Ravens at Delphi peck at the golden head of an idol in the form of a girl, a bad omen for the mission to Sicily; Alcibiades nevertheless insists on the expedition and kisses Socrates' hand before they march away; Socrates advises him not to display belief in one god

158a – 158b: Alcibiades conquers Sicily and displays his belief in one god

158b – 159a: Due to his belief in one god, Alcibiades is discharged from office by the Athenians; the Spartans help the Sicilians and they defeat the Athenian navy

159a – 159b: Accordingly they know of Socrates' belief in one god and plan to kill him

159b – 160a: The Athenians ask Socrates how he wishes to be killed; he replies with poison; Plato tries to prevent his death

160a – 163a: Socrates' death; his funeral and tomb

163a – 163b: Alcibiades' life at the Spartan court; his relationship with Timaea, wife of King Agis II 163b – 164a: Other women complain to Agis II 164a – 164b: Agis II wants to punish his wife, Timaea

164b – 165a: Timaea's relatives tell Agis II that he

should protect his wife and other women; he decides to remove Alcibiades from his territories

165a – 165b: Alcibiades escapes from Sparta and takes refuge with the Persian satrap Tissaphernes

165b – 166a: The Spartans learn that Alcibiades has taken refuge at the court of Tissaphernes; they become sad and send letters inviting him back

166a – 167a: Alcibiades is recalled by the

Athenians 167a – 168a: The Athenians capture the Persians' horses near Istanbul and bring them to Athens 168a – 168b: Alcibiades returns to Athens, deeply resentful of the Athenians' killing of Socrates, and is welcomed by a large crowd

168b – 169a: The Athenians try their best to smooth Alcibiades' way

169a – 169b: The Spartans become envious of his situation; the women, in particular, force their husbands and men to mount an expedition against Athens since "the fire of envy burned their livers too much"

169b – 170a: The Battle of Abydos; the Athenians ask Alcibiades to be their commander

170b – 171a: He appoints Thrasyboulos to the Athenian fleet

171a – 171b: Spartan victory; Alcibiades flees to the Persian king

171b – 172a: The soldiers complain that Alcibiades ordered them not to attack; the Athenians' love for Alcibiades turns to hate

172a – 172b: They ask the Persian king for Alcibiades to submit to them

172b – 174a: The Athenian envoys explain Alcibiades' actions in detail

174a – 174b: They corner Alcibiades and fire on the castle in which he has taken shelter

175a – 175b: The Athenians cooperate with Thebes against the Spartans

175b – 176a: The Spartans pay tribute to the Athenians

176a – 176b: Demosthenes and his fortification of Athens

176b – 179b: About the wall; the Spartans ask Demosthenes why he built the wall and arrest

him, then envoys come; ultimately Demosthenes is freed

179b – 180a: The Spartans try to contravene the treaty between Thebes and Athens

180a – 180b: They start preparing to attack

Thebes 180b – 183a: War between Thebes and the Spartans; the Battle of Leuctra

183a – 184a: Praise of the Thebans' courage

184a – 185a: The Spartans return home wounded; their fear of the Thebans; the Athenians find ease thanks to the people of Thebes

188b – 189b: Iphikrates

189b – 190a: The Thebans and the Athenians live in pride, hedonism, and arrogance because of their conquests; the Theban hegemony consequently ends early

190a – 192b: Philip the Macedonian emerges and makes an expedition towards Thebes; a bloody war takes place; the Third Sacred War

192b – 195b: Alexander advises his father about the Thebans and tries to convince him to make peace with them; Philip finds the Thebans excessively brave and audacious

195b – 196a: The Athenians invite Aristotle to Athens

196b – 197a: The Athenians host Alexander the Great and his tutors

197a – 197b: Alexander stays 40 days in Athens, then returns to Philip

197b – 198b: Philip's expeditions

198b – 199a: Darius wins the battle and rapes Philip's wife; peace agreement held concerning 300 golden eggs

199a – 199b: Alexander is born; Philip's wife does not tell him the true identity of the child's father 199b – 200a: Philip dies; Darius

demands 900 eggs from Alexander for the

previous three years 200a – 200b: In response, Alexander sends two symbolic military vessels

201a – 202a: The main difference between Alexander and Darius: Alexander treats his soldiers well

202a – 202b: Darius is killed

202b – 203b: Darius' last demand from Alexander;
his advice

203b – 204a: Alexander's Eastern campaigns

204a – 204b: The difference between Alexander
the Great and Dhu'l-Qarnain, the prophet who is
mentioned in the Qur'an (Sura 18:83–101)

204b – 207b: Dhu'l-Qarnain according to Islamic
scholars; confusion regarding his identity

207b: Alexander and Dhu'l-Qarnain not the same
person

207b – 208a: Alexander's death

208b – 214b: Antipater; Demosthenes; Cassander;
Phokion; Antigonus Gonatas; Demetrios

214b – 217a: Battle of Pydna

217b – 218a: The Roman Emperor Augustus

218a – 220a: The Apostle Paul comes to Athens
and tries to teach Christianity

220a – 222a: Hadrian and his deeds in Athens

222b – 225a: Constantine the Great

225a – 231a: The legends of Hagia Sophia

232a – 233b: Hercules in the time of the Prophet
Muhammad

233b – 234a: Julian II

234a: Venice and Mehmed II

234a – 240a: Mehmed II's expedition to the
Morea and visit to Athens

[The final 51 folios are not listed here, because
they concern Ottoman expeditions held in the
Morea and are outside the scope of this essay.]

Appendix 2

Detailed Table of Contents of Georgios Kontares's *Ἱστορία παλαιὰ καὶ πάλιν ὠφέλιμοι τῆς περιφήμου πόλεως Ἀθῆνης*

It should be noted that the contents section of Kontares's book appears to be in alphabetical order, rather than in page-number order, more like an index than a table of contents. Dr. Vera Andriopoulou has tried to decipher the Greek page numbers, and I have arranged them in a "modern" order. The contents page in fact begins with Α and page number 175 [ροε].

- | | |
|--|--|
| p. 3: How Athens obtained its power | p. 19: The democracy of Theseus; festivals in Athens |
| p. 3: The first king of Athens | p. 20: The Amazons attack Greece |
| p. 4: Origin of the names Athena (Athens) and Attis (Attica) | p. 20: Theseus expands Attica's borders; he defeats the Amazons |
| p. 4: Cecrops, the first king of Athens; his death | p. 21: The wisdom of Hippolytos |
| p. 5: The Athenians began to sow grain for the first time | p. 21: The deceit of Phaedra |
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| p. 8: The death of Theseus | p. 22: Hippolytos is accused of adultery |
| p. 10: The first money in Athens | p. 22: Hippolytos' death |
| p. 11: Who were the Pallantides | p. 23: The friendship of Pirithoos and Theseus |
| p. 11: Theseus draws his bow against the Pallantides | p. 23: The wedding of Pirithoos |
| p. 12: Theseus kills the Pallantides | p. 24: Theseus tames the hippocentaurs |
| p. 12: Theseus tames the bull of Marathon | p. 24: Theseus abducts Helen |
| p. 13: Gifts for the Minotaur | p. 24: The nature of hippocentaurs; how Theseus tamed them |
| p. 14: Request of Minos to the Athenians | p. 25: Cerberus; what it was |
| p. 14: Mass kidnapping of children in Athens | p. 25: Theseus hated by Menestheus |
| p. 14: Youth of Athens on Crete as gifts to the Minotaur | p. 25: The cruelty of the Centaurs to Theseus and Pirithous |
| p. 15: Goodwill of Theseus | p. 26: Menestheus' shrewdness |
| p. 16: Theseus defeats the Minotaur | p. 26: The brothers of Helen in Athens |
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| p. 18: The ship | p. 32: How an eagle indicated Theseus' remains and they were brought to Athens |
| p. 19: Athens is rebuilt by Theseus | p. 32: Codrus, king of Athens |
| p. 19: The prytaneion is founded by Theseus | p. 34: The rule of Solon |
| p. 19: Theseus institutes democracy, the prytaneis, and the festivals; he divides the people into tribes | p. 35: The Athenians fight the Megarians |
| | p. 35: Solon's prudence; his laws |

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