

# MYTHS AND REALITIES IN MUSLIM ALTERIST DISCOURSE: ARAB TRAVELLERS IN EUROPE IN THE AGE OF THE NAHDA (19<sup>th</sup> C.)

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## *Introduction*

When the French vessel *La Truite* docked in Alexandria on a sunny day in March 1826, its master was unaware of the changes that were afoot in Egypt and, more importantly, of the minor, yet instrumental part he would have in them. At the end of his brief stay in the country, its Rumelian-born ruler, Muhammad ‘Alī, asked him to take some passengers back to France. Among them was a young man, who would go on to play a crucial role in the intellectual life of his native country. His name was Rifā‘a Rāfi‘ al-Tahtāwī.

More importantly, however, he was the first Near Eastern Arab and Muslim to write an in-depth account of a visit to Europe<sup>2</sup>.

That is not to say that he was the first Muslim to set foot on European soil, nor that no Arabic accounts had been written about Europe. However, it was the first work to be written by a Muslim that dealt with all aspects of Europe in detail, and thus provides an invaluable insight into Arab (Muslim) contemporary perceptions of European society and culture.

Previously, few Arabic accounts had been written about Western Europe, which made its first appearance in classical Arabic geographical literature as early as the 9th century. The oldest extant first-hand

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<sup>2</sup> Unless otherwise specified, the term ‘Europe’ refers to the (north-)western area of the continent.

description of various European towns date back to the 10th century and was written by an Andalusian Jew, Ibrâhîm b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qûb al-Turtûshî. Most of the information on Europe in the Middle Ages is to be found in geographical works like those of al-Mas<sup>c</sup>ûdî (d. 956), Abû <sup>c</sup>Ubayd al-Bakrî (d. 1094), or Sharîf al-Idrîsî (d. 1166), none of whose authors actually spoke from experience. As a result, knowledge of the continent was descriptive and topographical, with the exception of <sup>c</sup>*ajâ'ib*, i.e. *mirabilia*, to be found there and which are mentioned by several geographers.

It would take until the 17th and 18th centuries before Arab Muslim travellers put pen to paper to describe their experiences in Western Europe. The authors were all Moroccan ambassadors sent to Europe — primarily Spain — on missions to buy back Muslim captives. In the same period, a few Levantine Christians also left accounts of visits to both Western and Eastern Europe (Newman 2000).

As far as the Muslim<sup>3</sup> travellers were concerned, it is important to stress the fact that none of them came of his own accord, to satisfy a *Wanderlust*, or a personal desire for knowledge or adventure. Their accounts are, first and foremost, official records of their missions, with their animosity towards the infidel Europeans being exacerbated by the purpose of their visits, i.e. to save coreligionists, and their destination, i.e. Spain, a territory once part of the 'House of Islam' (*Dâr al-Islâm*). Contrary to the 19th-century travellers, they showed little interest in the Europeans as a people, whose 'Otherness' appears solely through their 'Christianness'.

Yet, it is interesting to note that, in addition to the basic structure, many of the themes of the Moroccan accounts would reappear in 19th-century travel literature on Europe.

While the Christian West and Muslim East had increasing contacts — whether it be as a result of conflicts or trade — in the 15th-18th centuries, Muslims continued to show little desire to visit the peoples that lived across the Mediterranean. However, things would change dramatically when the infidel gained a foothold in Muslim territory.

<sup>3</sup> This term excludes Ottoman visitors as these fall outside the scope of this paper.

### *The advent of Europe*

After centuries of relative isolation and stagnation, several Ottoman vassal states were rudely awakened from their lull by the advent of Christian armies. This initially violent confrontation marked the start of a new dawn, a rebirth of sorts, which became known as the *Nahda* or Renaissance, which was at first primarily associated with Egypt.

The term has both cultural and political connotations. In the early period, it involved the rediscovery of classical literature, whereas later on it referred to the creation of new genres. Politically, it refers to the incipient political and social awareness of Arab populations in the face of increasing European encroachments, and the resultant reform movements around the ideas formulated by people like Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, Muhammad 'Abduh, and Rashîd Ridâ<sup>4</sup>. The *Nahda* was also the period during which a spate of European technological and scientific innovations were introduced into Muslim lands.

The man who is generally credited with jump-starting the entire process was Napoleon Bonaparte and his *Expédition d'Égypte*<sup>5</sup>. The *Armée de l'Orient* was accompanied by a 167-strong contingent of scholars and two printing presses<sup>6</sup>. The Egyptian ruler Muhammad 'Alî quickly saw the advantages of books and printing for the modernization of his state and purchased several presses in France and Italy<sup>7</sup>. In 1815, he sent the fifteen-year-old Syrian-born Niqûlâ Massâbikî (d. 1830) to Milan to learn the art of printing (Sâbât 1958:148-151; Heyworth-Dunne 1940:331; Louca 1970:34; Silvera 1980:7)<sup>8</sup>, and in

<sup>4</sup> On this aspect of the *Nahda* see Hourani 1989.

<sup>5</sup> The definitive account of the Egyptian campaign and its impact on Egypt is Laurens 1997.

<sup>6</sup> There was even a third press, which belonged to a French civilian called Marcel Aurel, whereas there were 22 professional printers to operate them. On printing and newspapers during the French occupation, see 'Abduh 1949; Wassef 1975.

<sup>7</sup> In 1831 there were reportedly eight presses in use in Egypt (J. Poujoulat, J. Michaud 1833-1835, VI:291).

<sup>8</sup> In 1821 another small Egyptian delegation was sent to Milan for training.

1822 the Egyptian Government Press at Bûlâq<sup>9</sup> printed its first book, viz. an Italian-Arabic dictionary by Râfâ'il Antûn Zâkhûr Râhib. The same year saw the birth of the first Arabic periodical — the *Jurnâl al-Khudhaywî* ('The Khedival Journal') — which was printed for the personal usage of the ruler (Ayalon 1995:14-15). Six years later, Muhammad 'Alî founded the bilingual Turkish-Arabic *al-Waqâ'ic al-Misriyya* ('Egyptian Events'), the first issue of which appeared on 20 November 1828<sup>10</sup>. This was the very first Arabic newspaper printed by non-Europeans<sup>11</sup>. The history of the Arab 'Awakening' would remain inextricably linked with Egypt, which became a cultural leader and a lightning rod for social and political change. To a large extent, this was thanks to the influence of many (Christian) intellectuals exiled from Lebanon.

However, it was not just foreign technology that Muslims were importing. The nineteenth century led to dramatic political, economic and social upheavals in Muslim societies. In addition to military interventions (Algeria, Tunisia, Egypt, Syria), European powers gradually tightened their grip on the economies of Muslim countries, whereas trade competition from Europe sent local industry in a downward spiral<sup>12</sup>. Slowly but surely, Muslim states were sucked into the world of international capitalism, which eventually led to political domination. As from the middle of the century, Turkey, Egypt, and Tunisia were increasingly squeezed by massive debts resulting from all too generous loans by European banks (Owen 1993:83ff)<sup>13</sup>.

The influence, whether direct or indirect, of Western superpowers on Muslim countries was all-pervasive and impacted on local politics

<sup>9</sup> See *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Bûlâq" (J. Jomier); Ridwân 1953. For the early output of the press, see: Reinaud 1831; Bianchi 1843.

<sup>10</sup> As from 1842, when al-Tahtâwî became editor, it was published only in Arabic. On this publication, see: 'Abduh 1948; di Tarrâzî 1913, I:49-50.

<sup>11</sup> It has been suggested that the first Arabic newspaper to be printed was *al-Tanbîh* (Alexandria, 1800); di Tarrâzî 1913, IV:314; Vatikiotis 1991:182 (note 6, 516); Zaydan 1857, IV/:17; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v.; "Djarida" (B. Lewis et al.); Ayalon 1995:12. However, to date it has proved impossible to locate even a single copy.

<sup>12</sup> For Tunisia, see, for instance, Ganiage 1959; for Egypt, Marlowe 1974.

<sup>13</sup> For the Ottoman debt crisis, see Blaisdell 1929; *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Mâliyye" (C. V. Findley). For Egypt, see Landes 1958. For Tunisia, see Ganiage 1959:287-312.

from Tunisia to Iran. The Ottoman empire — the last Muslim superpower — was in rapid decline and could do little else but stand by and watch things slowly disintegrate.

Egypt and Tunisia, in particular, had huge European communities, consisting of traders, or craftsmen and technicians recruited by the rulers for their modernization programmes. Most of Egypt's modern schools were run and staffed by Europeans<sup>14</sup>, who also held all senior positions on technological projects. By the late 1870s, the European community in Egypt counted nearly 70,000 people, and increased to over 90,000 in the first year of British control (Heyworth-Dunne 1939:343-44; Berque 1972:192ff.,293ff.,422ff.,474ff).

In Tunisia, which in the 19th century (until 1881) counted 1m-1.5m inhabitants<sup>15</sup>, the number of Europeans in the 1870s amounted to 40,000, half of whom lived in the capital, which had a total population of 100-150,000 (Bayram V 1884,I:122,127; Ganiage 1960).

In an attempt to assert his independence of the Ottoman sultan and vie with Egypt's Muhammad 'Alî, Tunisia's modernist ruler Ahmad Bey (1837-1855)<sup>16</sup> also hired huge numbers of European (mainly French) craftsmen and technicians to assist his grand modernization plans, whereas the Regency's international trade was entirely in the hands of European merchants.

Initially, Muslim rulers sought training and education in the practical sciences of modern warfare, agriculture, languages, etc. Military training was highest on the list of priorities — either to increase their defence capability (e.g. the Tunisian Beys Husayn and Ahmad), or to build a regional superpower (Muhammad 'Alî).

Europeans had been teaching Muslims at home since the early 18th century, when the Ottomans suffered overwhelming defeats at the hands of European armies. In 1734, count Claude-Alexandre de Bonneval (d. 1747)<sup>17</sup> founded the first school of geometry (*hendesehane*)

<sup>14</sup> See Steppat, in Polk & Chambers 1968:281-297.

<sup>15</sup> See e.g. Brown 1974:375-378; Valensi 1977:14ff.; Ganiage 1959:146ff.

<sup>16</sup> The definitive study of Ahmad bey's rule is Brown 1974. The main contemporary Tunisian source is Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf 1963-65. Also see Bayram V, 1884, I:136-145, II:6-9.

<sup>17</sup> On de Bonneval, see, for instance, Gorceix 1953.

in Constantinople (Goodwin 1994:193,195; de Tott 1748,II:78), while the famous Franco-Hungarian engineer baron de Tott (d. 1793) set up a technical college<sup>18</sup>. These institutes were followed by the Imperial Naval School (*Mühendishane-i bahri-i hümayun*)<sup>19</sup>, and the Military Engineering School (*Mühendishane-i hümayun*). The latter school, whose staff consisted for the most part of French military engineers, marked the first milestone in the introduction of European-style education<sup>20</sup>. It also gave a new impetus to the translation movement started under sultan Mustafa III (d. 1774), with many European (mainly French) military manuals being translated into Turkish<sup>21</sup>. Sultan Selim III in particular brought in European experts and army officers in order to train his New Army (*nizam-i cedid*), with a young Napoleon Bonaparte being put forward as head of the French military mission (Masson 1902: I, 96-7, 120-24; Laurens 1997:29-30)<sup>22</sup>.

Again, one may point to the similar paths being pursued in Egypt and Tunisia. The second college of higher education to be set up in Cairo after the school of Medicine (1827) — the brainchild of the French doctor Clot-Bey — was the Artillery School (*Madrasat al-Tôbjiya*) of 1833, while the first translations dealt with military-related subjects<sup>23</sup>. In the same decade, Ahmad Bey set up his own military school (1840)<sup>24</sup>, where some forty Arabic translations were made of European military manuals (Chenoufi 1974:57-62; Chenoufi 1976:64-65,81-85,111; al-Shibânî Binbilgith 1995:20ff.,99ff.).

The change in attitude on the part of the Ottomans towards Europe is best exemplified by Selim III's unprecedented decision to set up per-

<sup>18</sup> See Goodwin 1992:92,107; Hitzel in Panzac 1995:814.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Hitzel in Panzac 1995:816-817.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Hitzel in Panzac 1995:815, 816-817; Göcek 1986.

<sup>21</sup> Hitzel in Panzac 1995:820-822.

<sup>22</sup> On Selim III's modernizations, see S. J. Shaw 1971.

<sup>23</sup> On the early translation movement, see, for instance, al-Shayyâl 1951; Heyworth-Dunne 1940. In the first half of the century, more than half of the books published were scientific works, while in the second half, the humanities would predominate (66%); on average, translations accounted for a little under 8% of the total printing output throughout the century (Nusayr 1990).

<sup>24</sup> See Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf 1963-65, IV:36; Chenoufi 1976; Brown 1974:292-295; Marty 1935:317-338; Ibn 'Âshûr 1972:28ff.

manent embassies in various European capitals: London (1793), Vienna (1794), Berlin (1795), and Paris (1796). After the sultan's fall (1807) the system was suspended, with only the Vienna post remaining open, (Davison 1985) until the 1830s when it was restored by Mahmud II (Findley 1989:127-132; Kunalp in Batu 1986:305-313). Other Muslim states like Tunisia and Egypt soon followed suit and set up representative offices, though they employed Europeans to protect their interests. In practice, these representative offices and embassies served to boost the PR image of the motherland, which also included recruiting journalists to write favourable articles<sup>25</sup>. In the course of the century, Tunisia had some thirty-odd representatives (*wakîl*) abroad, twenty of whom in European cities (M. Smida 1991; D. Newman 1999).

The first Muslim ruler to send his subjects to Europe was Muhammad ʿAlî, many of whose military reforms related to his own New Army predated those of Turkey (D. Nicolle 1978). In 1809, he sent a Turk, ʿUthmân Nûr al-Dîn (d. 1834), to Europe to study engineering and military science. Following a brief spell in Switzerland and Germany, Nûr al-Dîn spent several years in Italy, after which he studied in Paris for a year (J. Tagher 1951; A. Louca 1970:34-35). It is no coincidence that the second envoy, the already-mentioned Massâbikî was also sent to Italy, since many of its nationals worked in Egypt as teachers, doctors, etc., and Italian was the *lingua franca* in the Near East. However, due to the laxness by Italian diplomats, combined with sustained efforts by Edme-François Jomard and the French consul, Bernardino Drovetti (himself of Italian descent), it was to France that Muhammad ʿAlî sent the very first educational mission, which arrived in Marseilles on 15 May 1826<sup>26</sup>. Interestingly enough, the majority of the 37-strong group were Turks and Armenians, while 18 of them had not even been born in Egypt. All came from leading Cairo families. After basic French instruction, the students went on to their chosen fields at various institutes (Silvera 1980; al-Tahtâwî [n.d.]:311-312).

<sup>25</sup> For Egypt see: Tagher 1948; Wiet 1948:91. For Turkey: Davison in Panzac 1995:593-603. For Tunisia: Smida 1991.

<sup>26</sup> On the first educational mission, see e.g. Silvera 1980; Louca 1970:31-74. On the missions and their results in general, see, for instance, Heyworth-Dunne 1939:157ff., 243ff.; Tûsûn 1934; Wielandt 1980:34ff.

Similar missions were later sent to England<sup>27</sup>, Italy and Austria. According to Prince ʿUmar Tûsûn, a total of 311 Egyptian students were sent to Europe between 1813 and 1849 (Tûsûn 1934:414.)<sup>28</sup>. In 1833, the Paris *École égyptienne* counted some 115 students (A. Louca 1970:46), whereas the Tunisian emigré al-Harâ'irî stated that in his day, the Muslim (Arab, Persian, and Turkish) student population of Paris hovered around the 300-mark (al-Harâ'irî 1862:1). Even Tunisia's Ahmad Bey sent students to the military academy of Saint-Cyr in France<sup>29</sup>.

France remained the major recipient of Muslim student missions until the second half of the century, and between 1844 and 1849 there was even an *École militaire égyptienne* at the rue du Regard. This school was the brainchild of Muhammad ʿAlî's French army advisor, Sulaymân Pasha (Colonel Sève). The first contingent was composed of sixty-two students, and included ʿAlî Mubâarak, Muhammad ʿAlî's sons Husayn and Halîm, as well as Ibrâhîm Pasha's sons Ahmad and the future Khedive Ismâ'îl (Louca 1970:75ff.).

In the second half of the century the Ottomans followed the Egyptian lead and set up the *École impériale ottomane* (*Mekteb-i Osmani*), at the rue Violet in Grenelle (1857-1864)<sup>30</sup>. Classes were organized by the French Ministry for Education<sup>31</sup>, and when the school

<sup>27</sup> This was the destination of the second mission of October 1829, and consisted of 15-20 students; Cf. Tûsûn 1934:104ff; al-Tahtâwî [n.d.] (hereinafter referred to as *Takhlîs*): 33.

<sup>28</sup> Based on Tûsûn's data, Wielandt (1980:38) arrived at a total of 360. Mosharrafa, for his part, mentions 327 government grants in the period between 1813-1848 (Mosharrafa 1954,II:54).

<sup>29</sup> Originally, the Bey had asked for the admission of six Tunisian officers. Only two were accepted: Muhammad al-Mûrâlî (artillery) and ʿAlî Qâdirî (infantry) were at St Cyr between October 1862 and July 1864. See Marty 1935:329-330.

<sup>30</sup> The records of this establishment are kept at AN F<sup>17</sup>4146 (organization) and F<sup>17</sup>4147 (staff and students). Also see Chambers, in Polk & Chambers 1968.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. letter of resignation (dated 28/8/1860) from one of the teachers, Edouard Lebarbier (AN F<sup>17</sup> 4147). Naturally, there were some Turkish teachers, while the director was also Turkish; at first this was Ali Bey, who was succeeded by Esad Effendi (AN F<sup>17</sup> 4147). The curriculum comprised French, (Ottoman and French) history, Turkish, physics, chemistry, geography, mathematics, as well as topography and general military training.



closed its doors there were 29 bursars, 23 of whom were Muslims, with the remainder being predominantly Greeks<sup>32</sup>. The Turkish students also attended classes at prestigious Paris *lycées*. More than half of those studying at European institutes of higher learning went to Paris, while others went to German universities, as well as to Rome, Lvov and Brussels (Findley 1989:159-160).

Foremost among the very first Egyptian mission was a young Azhar-trained *imâm*, Rifâ'a al-Tahtâwî, who was added at the request of *shaykh* Hasan al-Attâr (d. 1835), his former teacher and mentor<sup>33</sup>. Al-Tahtâwî's perceptive account, entitled *Takhlîs al-ibrîz fî talkhîs Bârîz* ('The extraction of pure gold in the abridgement of Paris'), was based on his five-year stay in Paris and to a certain extent set the tone for those who would follow in his footsteps. It clearly stood out from the other literary works at the time in both subject matter and its straightforward prose and style. In terms of contents, al-Tahtâwî's major innovation was the fact that he was the first to provide a detailed discussion of European civilization and, particularly, its political concepts (e.g. the republic, democracy) and institutions (e.g. Parliament). At the same time, the book offers a unique perspective on the preconceptions and prior knowledge of Europe by Muslims of the day by the very things he included, such as the fact that in France people sit on chairs, or that they eat with knife and fork. Equally interesting is that the general view of the world in Muslim countries had not changed dramatically over the previous centuries, and some of the things in al-Tahtâwî's section on the location of countries are not that dissimilar from what one would find in, say, al-Idrîsî's work (al-Idrîsî 1919, Part I:47, 62)<sup>34</sup>.

Al-Tahtâwî himself explained the purpose behind his travelogue as follows:

<sup>32</sup> Kreiser in Panzac 1995:844. It has been suggested that a total of some 60 students attended the Paris school; Davison 1973:71 (note 64). It is however difficult to establish an exact number since the records only contain first names, many of which are of course identical. According to my own calculations, the total number would definitely exceed 60, since in February/March 1859 alone, I counted 28 students in the three sections, whereas there were 7 in June of 1860, 25 in 1861, and 27 in 1862 (AN F<sup>17</sup> 4147).

<sup>33</sup> On this figure, see *EI*<sup>1</sup> & *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. (H. A. R. Gibb); Delanoue 1982, II:344-357.

<sup>34</sup> *Takhlîs*:22ff. Also see al-Saffâr 1992:79ff.

“When ... I decided to go, some relatives and friends, especially our *shaykh al-‘Attâr*... told me to observe with great detail everything that would take place on this trip, everything I saw and encountered that was strange and wondrous, and to write it down so that it could serve to discover the face of this region, of which it is said that it is as beautiful as a fiancée, and in order for it to remain a guide for travellers wishing to go there.” (al-Tahtâwî [n.d.]: 6)

Muhammad ‘Alî immediately recognized the importance of this work and instructed that it should be distributed freely to his civil servants and the students at the new schools (S. Majdî 1958:62). A Turkish translation followed on the heels of the Arabic original and was sent to the ruler’s Turkish-speaking officials as well as to the sultan in Constantinople. Initially, the Turkish translation even had a much wider circulation than the Arabic original as a result of ‘*ulamâ*’ antipathy to al-Tahtâwî’s position at the court (Heyworth-Dunne 1939; *idem* 1940-42:401).

The subsequent fame of the book and its author was such that both are often quoted in 19th-century Europe-related literature<sup>35</sup>.

As a result of increased contacts with Europe, its ideas would begin to affect Muslim society and culture, with France playing a major role. Even the Arabic language, that most sacred of instruments, did not come out of the century unscathed, and experienced a *Nahda* of its own. The new sciences required new words, and a new readership, which no longer consisted of literati or grammarians but of technocrats, demanded a new post-classical (simplified) style and syntax in line with the new age. Even a belletrist like al-Shidyâq disavowed the traditional composition devices, stating that the constraints of rhymed prose (*saj‘*) can easily “lead an author away from the path he is pursuing”<sup>36</sup>.

To some, this development was an enrichment and proof of the

<sup>35</sup> e.g. Khayr al-Dîn 1867:69 (where al-Tahtâwî is referred to as *al-‘âlim al-bâri‘*); Ibn Abî ‘l-Diyâf 1963-65, III:169, IV:99; al-Shidyâq 1881:222, 272, 289; Ibn al-Khûja 1900:6; Ibn al-Khûja 1913 (introduction); al-Saffâr 1992:123; al-Sanûsî 1976, I:82-83; al-Sanûsî 1891-92:236.

<sup>36</sup> It should be remarked, however, that he did not exactly apply what he preached in his own works, which are characterized by a high-classical style and vocabulary.

resilience of the language, while others regarded the changes as nothing short of calumnious. Arabic began to disavow its heritage by accommodating itself to the new European-style media. First among these were the newspapers, which, according to Washington-Serruys lay at the basis of “la langue moderne” (1897:vi), whereas people like Ibrâhîm al-Yâzîjî were quick to point out the various ungrammaticalities of this new register.

Many of the linguistic innovations were influenced by European (esp. French) literature<sup>37</sup>, and sowed the seeds for new genres like modern drama, the novel (*riwâya*), and the short story (*qissa*).

The biggest influence undoubtedly came from the translation movement in Egypt, which gained impetus in the early half of the century, when the European-trained generation willy-nilly added a new non-literary (technical) register to the language, injecting it with a new vocabulary for the new scientific, social and political concepts. It is no coincidence that authors like Muhammad al-Muwaylihi and Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakrî, who most clearly expressed their opposition to Western influence on Muslim societies, chose to infuse their works with *saj*<sup>c</sup>, which thus symbolized an escape into a secure, forever unchanging past, and away from the new. In 19th-century accounts the stylistic register may thus be said to have marked the start of a ‘new’ linguistic style as a manifestation of modernity.

But just like their predecessors in previous centuries, 19th-century Muslim travellers had to grapple with grave religious issues, with prolonged stays in Europe forcing them to deal with disturbing questions regarding the observance of their religious duties on ‘heathen’ soil. Visits to Europe involved a great many practical dilemmas such as the permissibility of meat slaughtered by Christians, their head-dress, or the *tahâra* of European water (for the ablutions). All of these sparked fierce debate, with many travellers (al-Harâ’irî, M. ‘Abduh, Bayram V) joining in<sup>38</sup>. Another important issue, which had played a part in Muslims’ reluctance to travel to Western Europe in the past, were the quarantine regulations, which remained in force until the middle of the century<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> On European influences, see, for instance, Moreh 1976.

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. Ridâ 1931, I:560-599, 668-717 (‘Abduh); al-Qâsimî 1990:174 *et passim*.

<sup>39</sup> See *Takhlîs*:49-50; al-Salâwî 1956, V:183-184; Ibn Abî ‘l-Diyâf 1963-65, III:127-128.

However, there were much deeper matters involved. Nineteenth-century Muslim travellers were the very first to go to Europe by choice, rather than to reconquer land, or to save Muslims. Some of them (e.g. al-Tahtâwî, al-Harâ'irî) actually made it their home, and had thus voluntarily migrated to the 'House of War' (*Dâr al-harb*), as areas under non-Muslim control were called in Islamic jurisprudence. And while the pursuit of knowledge as a means of strengthening Muslim society gradually became an acceptable way out of the religious impasse, many authors felt it necessary to include self-deprecatory introductions (and endings) to their works. They carefully explained the reasons behind their visits to the lands of the Christians and/or adduced religious texts (esp. Qur. VI:11, XXIX:20) proving the lawfulness of travelling there for fear their perhaps too detailed and/or laudatory comments with regard to European society should raise suspicions about their having 'gone native', viz. *tafarnuj*. This was the case for al-Tahtâwî, the Moroccan ambassador al-Saffâr (1992:74-75), or the Tunisian *shaykhs* Bayram V (1884,I:4ff.) and al-Sanûsî (1891-92:3,4; 1976,I:39-58). One of the travelogues of the last author was for the same reasons entitled *Rihla Hijâziyya*, despite the fact that the bulk of it focused on his stay in Italy, presumably to obviate criticism that the pilgrimage was secondary to a visit to infidel lands!

Al-Tahtâwî justified his journey by quoting the *hadîth* on seeking knowledge as far as China (*utlub al-ilm wa law bi 'l-Sîn*) ([n.d.]: 17), and specified that of the things he would see he would "condone only that which does not run counter Muhammadan Law (*al-sharî'a al-Muhammadiyah*)" ([n.d.]:8) This also explains why he felt obliged to drop a delicate (though basically innocuous) passage on the turning of the earth and its (in)compatibility with the Scriptures<sup>40</sup>.

Al-Tahtâwî's mentor in France, Jomard, was also keenly aware of the problem and when he suggested the Egyptian translate Depping's *Aperçu historique sur les mœurs et coutumes des nations* (Paris, 1826), al-Tahtâwî reported that he also suggested to "leave out those things which were derogatory or defamatory to Islamic customs" (al-Tahtâwî 1833:3).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Caussin de Perceval 1833:251 (trans. 245-246). Also see al-Tahtâwî 1285/1868-69:230-231 for comments on Copernicus' system.

Naturally, as travel to the West became more common these waivers tended to disappear, and by the end of the century a journey to Europe had become ‘the done thing’ for a modern Muslim.

It stands to reason that the Christian travellers, all of whom came from the Levant, were not faced with any of the above religious impediments. Moreover, Christian clerics had been going to Europe throughout the early modern period, primarily for religious instruction, while several even settled there.

The arrival on European soil elicited very strong emotional responses in some of the 19th-century Christian travellers<sup>41</sup>. Their Europe was a metaphor for Christianity, welcoming its long-lost brethren with open arms. Equally interesting was the fact that Christian authors regularly showed pride in their Arab roots, emphasizing the *qawm* or *watan*, whereas Muslims tended to focus on the *umma*<sup>42</sup>. Indeed, the fact that Christian travellers were not hampered by religion also meant that “they could become more emotionally involved in and appreciative of the manifold aspects of European culture” (Zolondek 1971:32).

### ***The new continents: myths and realities***

The Europe of the Muslim travellers was a multi-layered one. First, there was the (semi-)mythical Europe of progress, industry and science. Second, and to some extent predicated on the previous, there was the Europe of ‘*ajâ’ib*, the strange, the foreign — exotic and threatening —, which became a proxy for locations or experiences in the traveller’s native country, or even in other Islamic countries (e.g. Paris/Damascus, Seine/Nile) as described by, for instance, classical poets. The collective Islamic consciousness and heritage intermixed with the real world the traveller had left behind. This approach was pushed to the limits by al-Bakrî in his *Sahârij al-lu’lu’*, in which the sights of Paris are reduced to

<sup>41</sup> See e.g. Marrâsh 1867:21. Also see Sharabi 1970:59ff.

<sup>42</sup> Cf. e.g. Bustrus 1856:61.

mere facsimiles or simulacra of a distant Islamic past (al-Bakrî 1906:304-310)<sup>43</sup>.

Indirectly, there was a connection with the third Europe, i.e. that of generality — a monodimensional Europe, whereby the specific was elevated to the universal. There were two synecdochic levels. On a supranational level, Europe as a continent was a macrocosm of the country of residence. For instance, France was often an epithet for the modern West, crystallizing all that was admired in Europe. As a result, *Ifranjiyyûn* was in many cases indistinguishable from, and used interchangeably with *Faransâwiyyûn* — particularly in the early accounts on Europe.

On a lower (national) level, the country of residence tended to blend in with individual cities. These were variously perceived as representative compounds of the nation, or indeed as the only concrete realizations of the latter, which was reduced to an abstract; most of the details on France and the French of the early authors were extrapolations of their experiences in the capital. That is not to say that the above can be applied to the same extent to all 19th-century travel literature. As both direct and indirect knowledge of Europe and its constituent components increased, so the picture became clearer, and there is a difference between the works of, say, an al-Tahtâwî and an Ibn al-Khûja (1900).

Finally, there was the Europe reduced to an underlying ‘objective’ reality, reified by quantifiable statistical data. At times, it is difficult to see the cities for the sheer cascade of figures. For instance, one may refer to the Paris of the Egyptian al-Bâjûrî (1892:24ff.), or the description of the Eiffel Tower by al-Sanûsî (1891-2:251) and Amîn Fikrî (1892: 214), both of whom even provide the number of bolts used in the construction of the edifice.

It cannot be overstressed that the importance of the travel accounts lies not just in how nineteenth-century Arabs saw Europe, viz. the perception of the Other, but also in the way Europe saw itself and the image it conveyed of itself to the outside world, i.e. the perception and projection of the Self. As a result, the Arab visitors aided and abetted the efforts by the West to convey an image of its superiority and, by implication, of the inferior position of non-European societies in

<sup>43</sup> Also see al-Muwaylihi n.d.:213; al-Sanûsî 1891-92:*passim*.

general, and those in Muslim states in particular. This is in marked contrast with the attitude of European travellers to the East. In the case of Egypt, their obsession with the mythical 'Orient' "was in apparent conflict with the desire and efforts of Egyptian rulers to bring about change in Egyptian constitutions and life-style"<sup>44</sup>.

While it is difficult to draw boundaries between these strata as they constantly intersect and overlap, one may adumbrate a number of different 'bidirectional' processes at work here.

The first stage within the travel experience involves the traveller being confronted with the new world, which throws up a conflict between competing cultural codes and prejudices. This results in a field of tension between, on the one hand, the coreferential, i.e. 'objective', truth of the traveller's observations, and, on the other hand, his Arab, Muslim identity and his allegiance to his own community and *Volk*. Hence, the travellers' perception of Europe is 'mythologized' and, more importantly, decontextualized, with the continent becoming a new, abstract and polarized construct, existing largely through binary oppositions which served as filters within the transmission (and reception) of values, and codes. Europe tends to be defined through its antithesis to the traveller's own society. This can be summarized in the following manner.

<b>Muslim Society</b>	<b>Europe</b>
backward	advanced
inert	dynamic
weak	strong
traditional	modern
unjust	just
insecurity	security
disunity	unity
moral	immoral
the True Path	straying
devout	unreligious
tolerance	intolerance

<sup>44</sup> Fahim in P. & J. Starkey eds. 1998:10.

The above reveals that while the perception of Muslim society through Western standards was clearly negative, the balance swung the other way when it came to more abstract, religious and moral features.

The most interesting aspect here is undoubtedly the ‘double filter’ process resulting from the multi-levelled Europe, whereas the picture painted is that of the traveller reducing Muslim society to prejudices as seen from without, and contrasting it with the perception of a ‘quintessential’ Europe based on observations in the place of residence. So, the Muslim traveller saw Europe as it presented itself to him refracted through the prism of his own preconceptions of the continent.

To a lesser or greater degree, the ‘schizophrenic’ relationship with Europe manifested itself in all travel accounts. This is perhaps best exemplified in *al-Sâq ‘alâ ‘l-sâq*, in which the apostate Lebanese Christian Fâris al-Shidyâq juxtaposed two poems on Paris, one praising it and one criticizing it (1881:295-300; 1919:395-400).

On the other side of the spectrum, we find the French collaborator Ibn Siyâm, or the samizdat polygraph James Sanua (Ya‘qûb Sanû‘) also known by his sobriquet and occasional *nom de plume* ‘the Man with the blue glasses’ (Abû Nazzâra Zarqâ’), who after merely a year in Paris had become so infatuated with his adoptive country and the Parisians, many of whom lionized him, that he was even roped in to promote France to Muslims at the 1889 and 1900 Paris World Exhibitions. In his hatred of the Khedives and the British occupation of his native Egypt, the Francophilia of this self-proclaimed ‘ami dévoué de la France’<sup>45</sup> went so far as to openly condone France’s occupation of Algeria and Tunisia, which he visited in 1890 by government invitation<sup>46</sup>.

However, one should not be too quick to condemn this contradictory approach to colonialism and colonizers as being peculiarly Arab, since as far as Algeria was concerned most European liberal intellectuals tended to shove aside their beliefs in the freedom and rights of populations. Even Alexis de Tocqueville — the great champion of democracy and anti-slavery campaigner — showed his more imperialist

<sup>45</sup> These words appear in a dedication in the *Album d’Abou Naddara* (1886), which I have in my possession. For a detailed discussion of Sanua’s time in France, see Louca 1970:157-178.

<sup>46</sup> *al-Hâdira*, n° 79, 28/01/1890, p. 3.



and jingoist side when it came to Algeria and the Arabs, as witnessed by his famous statement that to leave Algeria would be “a sure sign of French decadence”, whereas “la colonisation sans domination sera toujours ... une œuvre incomplète et précaire” (1988:57,65).

Finally, it is interesting to note, that, contrary to European travellers to the Orient in the period, the Arab (Muslim) visitors are consistently absent from the equation as individuals; the author appears primarily as a Muslim and witness rather than as an author-adventurer-hero. Europe is seen not as a world to be explored for personal gratification; rather, it exists primarily through its sciences and industries, just as the traveller exists through his native Muslim society and its attendant preconceptions, expectations, prejudices, etc.

As for the Christian travellers, it is important to point out that, while the religion-related group of the above contrastive sets are absent from their works, they too show a Europe in which myth and reality overlap, intertwine, and, finally, merge.

### *The travellers and their works*

The list at the end of the article comprises bibliographical details on all 19th-century Arabic accounts on Europe in chronological order of publication, as well as essential biographical information on the authors (dates, country of origin, religion). There are separate headings for works that have remained in manuscript form, appeared in magazines or other works, and those that were published in the 20th century.

The table below provides a summary of both the published and non-published works.

There are a number of points that merit closer attention. First, the nationality of the travellers; of the twenty-five authors whose works were published in the century, twelve were Egyptian, two Algerian, five Tunisian, three Lebanese, and three Syrian<sup>47</sup>. If we add the authors

<sup>47</sup> The terms ‘Lebanese’, ‘Syrian’, and ‘Palestinian’, are, of course, anachronisms inasmuch as these are 20th-century political constructs. However, they are used here in preference to the historically more accurate ‘Greater Syria’ (or *Bilād al-Shām*) to provide more geographical exactness and are based on the authors’ birthplaces.

whose works did not reach the bookstores, the total figure goes up by another seventeen; five Egyptians, five Moroccans, three Tunisians, one Palestinian, one Syrian, and two Lebanese. If we break it down according to the date of publication, the picture changes drastically. Of the twenty-nine works — or twenty-eight if one counts the two travelogues by al-Shidyâq that were published together in one volume as one —, only four (one by an Egyptian, one by an Algerian and two by Lebanese) appeared in the first half of the century (up to 1860), and four (two by Lebanese, two by Tunisians) between 1860 and 1870, whereas the latter quarter of the century (1870-1900) witnessed an astronomical rise with the publication of no fewer than nineteen travelogues with regard to Europe; three by Tunisians, thirteen (!) by Egyptians, two by Syrians, one by an Algerian, and one by a Lebanese. This figure would continue to climb in the first quarter of the twentieth century, with over thirty accounts of journeys to Europe (Pérès 1935-40:191ff.).

Five of the authors even wrote more than one book on their experiences in Europe; one (al-Shidyâq) even went up to three (one on Malta, and two in which the focus is on France and England).

Author nationality	Works published (1800-1900)	Unpublished works (1800-1900)
Algeria	2	-
Egypt	12	5
Lebanon	3	2
Morocco	-	5
Palestine	-	1
Syria	3	1
Tunisia	5	3
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>17</b>

*Tab. 1: Published and unpublished accounts on Europe*

Egyptian domination becomes evident not only from the number of authors, but also from the fact that many of the non-Egyptians (six) had their works published in Cairo<sup>48</sup>.

Turning to the religion of the travellers, we find that of the 42 that wrote an account based on their stay(s) in Europe, only six were Christians — all of them hailing from the *Bilâd al-Shâm*. It is interesting to note that despite the above-mentioned affinity and continued links between Levantine Christians and Europe, Christian authors only wrote about their experiences in the second half of the century. The odd one out here is James Sanua, who was Jewish, which however in no way manifested itself in his writings, and his affinities lay, if anywhere, with the Muslims (he was a close friend of both Muhammad ‘Abduh and al-Afghânî).

Several of the works were bestsellers. Al-Tahtâwî’s *Takhlîs* saw a second (revised) edition during the author’s lifetime (1849); Ahmad Zakî Pâshâ’s *al-Safar ilâ ‘l-mu’tamar* (‘Journey to the Congress’) was reprinted the year after it first appeared, while al-Shidyâq’s *al-Wâsita...* was re-edited in Constantinople by his own publishing house *al-Jawâ’ib* fifteen years after its first publication. Although Khayr al-Dîn’s *Aqwam* was never republished in its entirety, the introduction saw numerous re-releases (1868, 1876, 1881). Furthermore, the introduction is also the only Arabic work dealing with Europe that was translated into European languages. The author himself revised the French translation, whose timing (it appeared a year after the original) provides a clear indication of the importance the statesman attached to European public opinion. The French translation was also republished several times (1868, 1875), whereas an English translation appeared in Athens in 1874.

<sup>48</sup> In light of this, it is extraordinary to find the following comment on Egyptian travel literature by Heyworth-Dunne: “the Egyptians lack that spirit of observations and curiosity about foreign countries; at least, that kind that lends itself to books. They have been travelling to Europe ever since the early decades of the nineteenth century, yet there are very few accounts of individual experiences and reminiscences, and it is only recently that one or two mediocre accounts have appeared” (Heyworth-Dunne 1940-42:401).

Many of the travellers who spent long periods in Europe were also compelled to earn a living there, and several of them became Arabic teachers: al-Khâlidî, al-Harâ'irî, and Muhammad Sharîf Salîm at the *École des langues orientales* in Paris; Hasan Tawfiq al-<sup>c</sup>Adl in Berlin; al-Tantâwî at the St Petersburg *Institut des langues orientales*; and al-Shidyâq at the St Julian College in Malta (with private tuition later on in England and Paris). Besides these 'official' lecturers, there was the maverick Abû Nazzâra — socialite extraordinaire —, whose teaching was, to say the least, eclectic as the subjects ranged from mathematics to French, Turkish, Greek, Spanish and English — all "at moderate prices". The extraordinary quality of his instruction becomes clear from the puffs which appeared in several issues of his magazines, reminding readers that he could "faire parler et comprendre l'arabe, quel que soit le dialecte, en trente leçons"!

Several of these expatriate teachers wrote grammars for Arabic (al-Tantâwî<sup>49</sup>, M. Sabbâgh<sup>50</sup>, al-Shidyâq<sup>51</sup>), while producing the first Arabic grammars for European languages (e.g. French<sup>52</sup>, English)<sup>53</sup>. Muhammad Amîn Fikrî, though he never actually resided in Europe, produced the first Italian manual for Arabic-speakers<sup>54</sup>. Together with al-Tantâwî, Ahmad Zakî was the only Muslim traveller to be recognized as a full, rather than token member of the international scholarly community, as witnessed by, for instance, his contributions to European publications, and invitations by European scientific academies (Zakî 1893:420).

<sup>49</sup> *Traité de langue vulgaire. Collection de textes, d'expression et de phrases avec traduction en Français*, Leipzig, 1848 (in collaboration with P. I. Desmaisons).

<sup>50</sup> *Al-Risâla al-tâmma fî kalâm al-<sup>c</sup>âmma wa 'l-manâhij fî ahwâl al-kalâm al-dârij. Grammatik der arabischen Umgangssprache in Syrien und Agypten*, ed. H. Thorbecke, Strasbourg, 1886.

<sup>51</sup> *A practical grammar of the Arabic language. With interlineal reading lessons, dialogues and vocabulary*, London, 1856; *Ghaniyyat al-tâlib wa maniyyat al-râghib*, Constantinople (*al-Jawâ'ib*), 1871 (1888).

<sup>52</sup> al-Harâ'irî 1857, *Nahw faransâwî*, Paris (a translation of Lhomond's grammar); al-Shidyâq 1843, *al-Sanad al-râwî fî 'l-sarf al-faransâwî*, Paris (with G. Dujat).

<sup>53</sup> al-Shidyâq 1836, *al-Bâkûra al-shahiyya fî 'l-lugha al-inkliziyya*, Malta; al-Shidyâq 1840, *al-Mutawara al-insâniyya fî 'l-lughatayn al-inkliziyya wa 'l-<sup>c</sup>arabiyya*, Malta.

<sup>54</sup> Fikrî 1875, *al-Tuhfa al-turjumâniyya fî 'l-lugha al-talyâniyya*, Bûlâq; Nusayr 1990:163 (n° 4/1060).

### *Destinations*

The next question is, of course, where all these travellers were going, i.e. their destinations, which also provides a revealing picture.

	1800-1870	1870-1890	1890-1900	Total 19th c.
France	11	8	19	38
Britain	2	3	4	9
Spain		2	2	4
Italy		3	2	5
Other	2	7	7	16

Tab. 2: *Destinations*

The table clearly shows the predominance of France as a destination throughout the century. This can be explained by a number of reasons.

Very early on in the 19th century, Paris became a haven for exiles and intellectuals of various nationalities. No account of a journey to Europe was considered complete without a visit to the metropolis, about which travellers waxed lyrical<sup>55</sup>. The fact that France was on every itinerary, combined with the links between France and Egypt — the leader in the *Nahda* — made it the least foreign of European countries to Muslims. The connection can be traced to Napoleon's *Expédition d'Égypte*, after which French troops were accompanied home by several hundred Egyptians who were forced into exile. For the most part these were members of the so-called Coptic legion, organized under Mu<sup>c</sup>allim Ya<sup>c</sup>qûb, and their families (A. Silvera 1980: 4; G. Delanoue 1982: I, 86-90). Some of the members of this first contingent would go on to play an important role as intermediaries between the East and their adoptive France. Among them, we find people like

<sup>55</sup> See e.g. Marrâsh 1867:28ff.; Fikri 1897:110; Zaki 1893:86; Zaki 1900:60ff.; Bayram 1884, III:66; Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf 1963-65, IV:99.

Mikhâ'il b. Niqûlâ al-Sabbâgh<sup>56</sup>, Elliouss Bocthor (Ilyâs Buqtur al-Asyûti)<sup>57</sup> — the century's first Arab lexicographer —, and Joanny Pharaon<sup>58</sup>. The most famous of these Egyptian expatriates was Joseph Agoub (Ya<sup>c</sup> qûb)<sup>59</sup>, who was one of the first teachers of the Egyptian student mission at the prestigious Paris *lycée* Louis-le-Grand. In addition, Agoub was a well-known poet and society figure. The translation by R. al-Tahtâwî of his *La lyre brisée* (1825) was the very first French — or indeed European — literary text to be translated into Arabic. It was published, at Jomard's recommendation, by the same publishing house as that of the original French, Dondé-Dupré (1827).

As a result of Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, France was also seen as the political powerhouse of Europe. Throughout the century, the country continued to have a high profile in the Muslim world, not least because of the powerful French trading communities that could be found in North Africa and the Levant, but also because it was the first European country to have effectively taken control of a Muslim state (Algeria).

Another important factor was the Paris intellectual climate. It was seen as the centre of European learning, with its literary *salons*<sup>60</sup>, and the presence of famous Orientalists like Caussin de Perceval, or Sylvestre de Sacy, who, as much as anyone, confirmed the reputation of the country and its capital as the centre of European culture. And then there were, of course, the Paris-held Expositions Universelles, the ultimate symbols of industrial and scientific progress.

As a place of exile, Paris became a base for organizing resistance to oppressive forces at home for political activists like the Young Ottoman group around Namik Kemal<sup>61</sup>, or the Egyptian shaykh Muhammad

<sup>56</sup> On this Akka-born Christian (1784-1816), see Shaykhû 1991:22-23, 34-35; Graf 1944-53, III:249-251; Sarkis 1928:1192-1194; *GAL*, II, 479, *GALS*, II, 728.

<sup>57</sup> On this scholar and lecturer at the *École des langues orientales* (1784-1821), see: Louca 1953.

<sup>58</sup> See Silvera 1980:11; *Bibl. Nat., Catalogue*, CXXXV, 879-880.

<sup>59</sup> See *Takhlîs*:94-95; Louca 1958b; Silvera 1980:10-11.

<sup>60</sup> e.g. those around Juliette Lamber Adam, Mme Dufresnoy (to whom Agoub dedicated his *Lyre brisée*). The definitive work on the role and activities of these salons is Rièse 1962.

<sup>61</sup> Among his compatriots (and co-conspirators), we find such leading Turkish intellectuals as Ziya Pasa, Ibrahim 'inasi, and Ali Suavi. See Lewis 1969:136ff.

‘Abduh, and his mentor, the Afghan reformer and mystic Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî. It was also in Paris that many of the century’s political and cultural Muslim Arabic periodicals were born, starting with *Birjîs Barîs* (1859)<sup>62</sup>, which was followed by a multitude of others (dî Tarrâzî 1913, I:ii;246ff.; II:iv,373ff.). The most famous and influential of them all was *al-‘Urwa al-Wuthqâ* (‘The unbreakable handle’)<sup>63</sup>, which was founded by ‘Abduh and al-Afghânî.

The prestige France enjoyed among Muslim states meant that even rulers chose Paris as a visiting place. The first one to do so was the Tunisian ruler Ahmad Bey, in December of 1846<sup>64</sup>. Not counting the self-imposed exile (1613-1618) of the Druze emir Fakhr al-Dîn II, this was the first time a Muslim ruler paid an official visit to a (Christian) European country. It was only at the 1867 Paris World Fair that Europe was able to welcome other Muslim rulers when the Ottoman Sultan Abdülaziz, the Egyptian Khedive Ismâ‘îl, and the Persian Nâsir al-Dîn Shâh paid much-publicized visits. At least as far as the Egyptian ruler was concerned, the timing was no coincidence since shortly before Egypt had sent a battalion to fight on the side of the French in Mexico (Hill & Hogg 1995).

The love of all things French on the part of these rulers nearly equalled the Egyptomania that enthralled Europe at the time, and they set out recreating Paris at home, with luxuriant gardens, boulevards, and *maisons de maître* being transposed to Cairo<sup>65</sup>, whereas in Tunisia Ahmad Bey’s Muhammadiyya palace complex was inspired by Versailles (Ibn Abî ‘l-Diyâf 1963-65: IV, 69-72; Brown 1974:317-318).

That is not to say that Arab travellers were not interested in, or did

<sup>62</sup> This journal was founded by the Tunisian al-Harâ‘îrî and the French priest François Bourgade. See Chenoufi 1974:117, 183; Dâghir 1972, II:350, III/2:306; *GALS*, II, 769. Shaykhû 1991:103, 186, 269; dî Tarrâzî, 1913, IV:372.

<sup>63</sup> The name of the magazine, which first appeared weekly and then bi-monthly, refers to Qur. II:257 and XXXI:21. The French title was *Le lien indissoluble*. In all, 18 issues were published (13/03/1884-16/10/1884), which were later collected (2 vols, Beirut, 1910; Cairo, 1927; Cairo, 1933).

<sup>64</sup> For the full account, see Ibn Abî ‘l-Diyâf 1963-65, IV:96-10. For background and details on the trip, see e.g. al-Wartâni 1936:300-333; Mzali 1976:99-131; Brown 1974:325-334.

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, Abu-Lughod 1971:103-113.

not explore other parts of Europe (though none went away without at least stopping over in France). England remained a favourite, for many of the reasons that France was, i.e. education and political power. The attraction of Italy was based on the close historical links with many Arab countries and the presence of large Italian(-speaking) communities there (e.g. in Tunisia, Egypt, the Levant). Spain, the third most 'popular' destination, was visited exclusively by Muslim travellers — mainly from the West — whose interest was focused on traces of its Muslim history and heritage — not least because it was a powerful symbol of the defeat over Christianity in the golden age of Islam.

While the century marked the rediscovery of the Outside World in the shape of geographical compendia like those of Khayr al-Dîn and Bayram V, the knowledge of areas outside Europe remained scanty at best and epitomized "Arab initial selective interest in the outside world, and its gradual transformation into unconditioned openness towards the end of the nineteenth century" (Ayalon 1984:5). Of interest is also the fact that for the first time the U.S.A. became part of the Arab perception of the West, with several authors (Khalîl Sarkîs, Adwâr Ilyâs) reporting on their journey there<sup>66</sup>. Al-Sanûsî was the first author to convey the concept of a 'Technological West' (alongside the 'Geographical West') in which the United States merged with Western Europe into the industrialized world of *al-bilâd al-Ûrûbâwîyya wa 'l-Amrikâniyya* (al-Sanûsî 1891:92).

Among the other Arab globetrotters to venture across the Atlantic in the 19th century, we find the priest Luwîs Sâbunjî, who embarked on a world tour which lasted for over three years, whereas 'Abd al-Rahmân al-Baghdâdî (d. 1298/1880-81) left an account of a journey to Brazil (1865), entitled *Musalliyat al-gharîb*<sup>67</sup>, and later even went to India (1876-77).

<sup>66</sup> Also see Ayalon 1984.

<sup>67</sup> The Arabic text was never published, but a Turkish translation appeared in 1288/1871-72, entitled *Tercüme-i Seyahatname-i Brezilya*. See Ormos 1995; Bayram 1884:I,89.



### *Purpose of travel*

While the first Muslim travellers came to Europe with the clear aim of receiving instruction, several of their successors in the last quarter of the century came to quench a personal thirst for knowledge and/or in search of new horizons. In some cases the motive was trade. This was true for, for instance, S. Bustrus, whereas the historian and publicist ʿAbd Allâh Marrâsh (Fransîs' brother) spent the better part of his adult life in Europe as a trader in Paris, Manchester and Marseilles. Some, like Khayr al-Dîn or Bayram V, went to Europe to get treatment at its modern hospitals (Bayram 1884:I,96-103).

And then there were what may conveniently be called 'cultural embassies' to the World Fairs, with travellers often being sent by their governments either as representatives, or to report on the western inventions on display. The popularity of France becomes apparent here, too, since all of the Expo-related accounts are on those held in Paris: 1867 (one), 1889 (four) and 1900 (two). For some authors, the Exhibition was the sole purpose, whereas for others it was just one stop on a more extensive European tour.

Towards the end of the century, the International Congresses of Orientalists also attracted a number of Eastern travellers. The first Arab to present a paper at such a Congress was the Syrian Christian Ilyâs b. ʿAbduh Qudsî at the VIth Congress in Leiden (1883)<sup>68</sup>. The first Muslim to attend one of these gatherings was the Egyptian Hamza Fath Allâh at the VIIth Congress in Vienna (1886). At the VIIIth conference (Stockholm, 1889) there was a veritable Arab delegation including the Moroccan (Mauritanian) al-Shinqîti, and the Egyptians al-Bâjûri, ʿAbd Allâh Fikrî, and Fath Allâh. In 1892, Ahmad Zakî Pâshâ attended the IXth Congress in London, whereas for the Xth Congress in Geneva (1894), the 'Orientals' could hardly have wished for a better representative than the poet Ahmad Shawqî, who read out his epic poem *al-Nîl*. Muhammad Rûhî al-Khâlidî was the only eastern Muslim Arab

<sup>68</sup> His paper on Damascene craftsmen's guilds was edited by C. Landberg (1883). On Qudsî (1850-1926), see Sarkîs 1928:1496-1497; Kahhâla n.d., II:315; GAL, II, 496; GALS, II, 771-772.

traveller to participate in the XIth Congress in Paris (1897), at which North Africa, in the guise of a Tunisian delegation, made its debut, albeit as a French protectorate. Unsurprisingly, Egypt once again led the scholarly field.

With the prominence of *talab al-‘ilm*, the purpose of travel may be said to be the main distinguishing factor between the earlier Muslim travellers and those of the 19th century. The latter were attracted by the Europe of new technologies and sciences, of wondrous novelties, all of which were encapsulated by France, or Paris to be more precise, which became the equivalent to the shrine in the *rihla hijâziyya*. An entirely new set of reference points was constructed, and just as the *Hajj* journey included a number of obligatory stops, so this modern pilgrimage also had its own itinerary, its own sights and destination. The notables whose company the travellers sought were no longer *faqîhs*, but European scholars, artists, reformers. The pilgrimage metaphor can be taken even further, since very soon a European stay (preferably with some education) became the sole criterion or credentials for the modern Muslim.

The main purpose of journeys to Europe in earlier times, i.e. official delegations to rulers, was hardly relevant in the 19th century. The only examples are accounts written by Moroccans (see e.g. al-Kardûdî, al-Saffâr, al-Salâwî), who, it seems, still needed some kind of official reason to go to Europe. Another aspect which set the Moroccans apart from the other travellers is the inordinate interest in Europe's military capability. This is particularly true for al-Kardûdî, whose *rihla* is tantamount to an intelligence-gathering mission.

The main innovation in 19th-century travel literature was the emergence of tourism-based travelogues — i.e. driven by leisure and a pursuit of adventure — on both Europe and Islamic countries<sup>69</sup>. For the first time, *siyâha* was being used in the European sense, with what may loosely be called tourist accounts appearing as from the 1880s.

Another salient feature in 19th-century works, particularly the early examples, was the strong emphasis on the informative and the

<sup>69</sup> See e.g. works by Ibn ‘Umar al-Tûnisi (cf. Hamîda 1969:260ff.), ‘A. Bey Sâmî (Nusayr 1991:242, n° 9/160).

didactic. Starting with al-Tahtâwî, many authors clearly stated the pedagogic intent of their works, and were well aware of their role as both intermediaries and teachers. The educational aspect of writing on European civilization continued to be explicitly stated until the end of the century, as witnessed by, for instance, the introduction to ‘Alî Mubûrak’s *‘Alam al-Dîn* (1882), while it is telling that the ‘*Rihla Thâniyya*’ to Europe was added to the fourth edition of al-Muwaylihî’s *Hadîth ‘Îsâ b. Hishâm* (1927) when the book was adopted for use in Egyptian schools. Yet, one could argue that this, too, was in some way a throwback to medieval times when authors had a clear informative intent in that their works were intended to serve as manuals for future travellers, albeit at a more practical level (Newman 2000).

In al-Muwaylihî’s book, ‘the friend’ of the eponymous hero ‘Îsâ subdivided 19th-century Egyptian travel literature into several categories: youths who went there to study and did not look further than the gaudy exterior; tourists seeking entertainment and recreation (*al-nuzha wa ’l-istirâh*) and who only wanted to see for themselves what others had written about, or to impress their compatriots with the wonders they had seen there; government officials, who had also studied there and spent one or two months there on holiday; and travellers seeking knowledge and who made a careful examination of things (but unfortunately ended up being ‘turned’ by the West) (al-Muwaylihî n.d. [1984], 216-217; *ibid.* 102 (trans. 229), 103 (trans. 230). More than anything, the author felt that the travelling of his compatriots was keeping them from more noble and intellectual pursuits (al-Muwaylihî n.d.:103 (trans. 229-230).

One may in fact distinguish several strands in terms of the purpose of travel. The first is that of the account serving as a critique, either of the West (al-Muwaylihî, ‘Alî Mubârak), or of the traveller’s native society, and in some cases the discussion of the West served as a spur for reform at home (Khayr al-Dîn, Bayram). The former often went hand in hand with an apologia of the traditional values of Muslim society against what travellers perceived as *tafarnuj*. In this respect, one should warn against a ‘decontextualization’ of the travellers’ accounts. An example of a ‘double-edged’ discourse is the use and references of (classical) Arab and Islamic sources which in many accounts serves to

affirm the identity of the traveller both as an Arab and a Muslim. In the case of those coming from newly colonized territories, particularly Tunisians in the early days of the Protectorate, these cultural references appear as a legitimatization of European, or French to be more precise, culture and its domination at home. In other words, the message conveyed by the travellers was clearly linked to the political vicissitudes in their own countries. For instance, the travelogue by the Algerian Sulaymân Ibn Siyâm, who went to Paris to receive the *Légion d'Honneur* from the hands of Napoleon III, was commissioned by the French governor in Algeria, Randon. Sulaymân al-Harâ'irî's booklet on the 1867 Paris Exhibition was written for Jules de Lesseps — the brother of Fernand — by order of the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs with the clear aim of promoting the Exhibition, and by extension its host, to an Arab audience. Finally, the Tunisians al-Sanûsî and Ibn al-Khûja were the official guests of the French government for the Exhibitions of 1889 and 1900, respectively. The first tangible indication that descriptions of all aspects of French society and culture were recognized as a means of propaganda can be found in Ahmad Ibn Abî al-Diyâf's account of the Tunisian Bey's visit to France in 1846. The chronicler reported that the king's interpreter, the famous Orientalist Desgranges, was under orders to translate even the plays the Muslim visitors attended 'so that you can write it down in your *rihla*' (Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf 1963:IV,103).

### *Literary genres*

At this stage it is worth underlining that the list in no way implies that the accounts form a uniform corpus. Indeed, despite the fact that the majority of works continued the classical *rihla* tradition, others displayed substantial differences in format or surface text type.

On the one end of the spectrum, we have the rhymed prose of al-Bakrî's travel *qasîda*. On the other, there is the encyclopaedic approach of Khayr al-Dîn's historical-cum-philosophical manual on European civilization. In between, there are what may loosely be called travel diaries, which constitute the majority and are often mixed with autobiographical elements and human geography. Others, perhaps influenced

by European literature, took a more experimental path. First, there is Fâris al-Shidyâq's picaresque novel *al-Sâq* 'alâ 'l-Sâq, which deals with the peregrinations of the author's alter ego, Fâryâq, in a Rabelaisian style and pace with dazzling verbal virtuosity. Not unlike modern travellers, the Egyptian Ahmad Shawqî composed a number of poems on some of the sights he visited in Europe (Shawqî 1898), whereas the Mauritanian Ibn al-Talâmîd al-Turkuzî al-Shinqîti wrote some emotionally charged poems relating to his visit to Spain in 1887 (Pérès 1937:55-61).

In a more pedagogic vein, there is 'Alî Mubârak's account of an imaginary journey to France by an Egyptian shaykh, 'Alam al-Dîn, and his son, Burhân al-Dîn, who are accompanied by an English scholar, which was allegedly based on the relationship between the Egyptian scholar Ibrâhîm al-Dasûqî and the English Arabist E. W. Lane, on whom the English orientalist is said to be modelled (Alleaume 1982; Roper, in Starkey 1998:248-249; Starkey in Starkey 1998:283-84). Although 'Alam al-Dîn and *Takhlîs al-Ibrîz fî talkhîs Bârîz* share a number of themes, the conclusion that the former was based on al-Tahtâwî's work (Starkey 1998:283) seems rather tenuous. Firstly, Mubârak, himself, had also spent five years in France (1844-1849), and would thus have had no need for recourse to second-hand information. Second, the same themes can also be found in most travel works of the century. Finally, one should refer to the bad blood that existed between Mubârak and al-Tahtâwî, with the latter being rebuked by the former's eponymous hero for talking about things he had not experienced first-hand ('A. Mubârak 1882:IV,1334).

During their trip, the characters engage in conversations on different topics, which turn the work into a sort of 'Beginner's guide to Modern Sciences and the West', and "one of the earliest critiques of European Orientalism" (Vatikiotis 1991:110).

A second fictional jaunt is *al-Rihla al-thâniyya* in the 1927 edition of al-Muwaylihî's *Hadîth 'Îsâ b. Hishâm*, which has often been called the 'first Arabic novel'. In this 'Second journey', al-Muwaylihî (who himself visited the 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle) has his protagonists — the eponymous narrator, 'Îsâ b. Hishâm, and the Pasha — travel to the same Exposition, accompanied by a French orientalist.

And then there was the emigré al-Harâ'rî, the first Tunisian to experience modern Western civilization as a result of an extended period of residence in Europe. His works dealt with practical issues facing Muslims who find themselves in the *Dâr al-Kufr* such as the lawfulness of European food, the wearing of European clothes, or roast coffee, whereas he also produced the century's first Arabic work on a World Fair (1866).

As a result, the denomination travel literature is too narrow for our purposes and should be replaced by the more appropriate Alterist literature, which term refers to works that are directly based on journeys or stays in Europe and which deal with one or more aspects of the new continent, and the perceptions and responses to it by the traveller-author.

As mentioned above, most authors, starting with al-Tahtâwî, emulated the factual descriptive approach of classical travel and geographical literature. In the 19th-century *rihlat*, there was also continued use of some of the conventional devices and phrases (e.g. *mâ a<sup>c</sup>jabnâ/al-a<sup>c</sup>jab mâ ra'aytu*), whereas the authors "still followed the genre of the *ajâ'ib* books, that is, they over-emphasized the element of the unknown and the unusual which they had encountered abroad." (Landau 1970). Just like in the past, the amount of *ajâ'ib* would increase if it involved things the author had not witnessed first-hand.

The references to earlier authors by a number of travellers provides further proof that they saw themselves as part of a tradition. Finally, many of the titles of 19th-century works are clearly redolent of classical literature, both in terms of theme and format, whereas one may refer to the high incidence of *ijnâs*. Some even go back to the very dawn of Arabic geographical literature and the genre of the *Kitâb al-masâlik wa 'l-mamâlik*. The wheel in a way comes full circle with the Tunisian Ibn al-Khûja, the title of whose *rihla* — *Sulûk al-ibrîz fî masâlik Bârîz* — of his journey to the 1900 exhibition is a reference not only to classical times, but also to his precursor in the 19th century, i.e. al-Tahtâwî.

In terms of structure, the 19th-century *rihlât* displayed a number of features that were already present in previous centuries. Firstly, the coherence in the surface text through linear narrative continuity corresponds to a journey along a linear temporal and spatial continuum, with

the traveller appearing as an individual who acts upon his environment, while he is also perceived to be acted upon by it.

Secondly, the account of the journey may be subdivided into a number of stages. The introduction includes extensive details on the preparations, and as the infidel Europe is the destination, the motives and purpose of the trip are clearly stated. As a result, the reader catches a first glimpse of the incipient alienation of the traveller, who is about to leave his world and enter another, unknown universe. The second stage is that of the actual journey, and in many cases the travellers were already confronted with the new universe as the ships on which they sailed were invariably run by Europeans. The early parts of the journey are discussed in great detail, and the reader is prepared slowly but surely to make his own descent into the new world together with the traveller who visibly intervenes as an individual. In this respect one should also point to the travellers' experiences with the sea, which are every bit as disconcerting as that of their predecessors. The description of the rough seas and travellers' ill health may be said to reveal the palpable sense of alienation, and in more ways than one, the sea becomes a metaphor for the unknown and unsettling<sup>70</sup>.

The alienation reaches its first climax upon landing on European soil, whereas the third component continues with the journey to the end destination and a description of the stay. The fourth, and final stage is that of the return journey and the arrival home.

Among the other classical genres that re-emerged in the 19th century we find the imaginary *rihlât*, which were reinvented as *fictional rihlât*, with the weird and wonderful creatures of yore making way for a more subtle literary, rather than geographical, genre of European inspiration.

Another throwback to classical geographical literature were revamped *Taqwîms*, with *rihla* elements being mixed with the traditional encyclopaedic and historical approach (e.g. Bayram V).

In fact, the 19th century marked somewhat of a general revival of

<sup>70</sup> See e.g. Bayram V 1884,III:3,IV:21,135; al-Sanûsi 1891:7; Ibn al-Khûja 1900:8; *Takhlîs*:42.

the *rihla* genre, as witnessed by the number of *rihla hijâziyya* that were also published during the period<sup>71</sup>.

The themes of the 19th-century travelogues are also close to the earlier exponents of the genre. Besides the sea and rivers, they include transport; trade and commerce; women, sexual mores and relationships between the sexes; natural resources; taxes; entertainments; and architecture. Some themes (e.g. science and technology, education, the press, theatre) were added while others (e.g. politics, foreign customs and traditions) received a much greater focus. Below we shall examine some of the key themes: politics; European sciences and advance; European society; European culture; and women.

### *European politics and justice*

Before the publication of al-Tahtâwî's *Takhlîs*, Muslims had hardly any idea of European political structures and institutions. Throughout the century, Muslim travellers tended to be impressed with the workings and underlying ideas of European politics, just as al-Tahtâwî had been. Indeed, for many authors the way in which democracy was seen to operate in Europe came to be considered a panacea of sorts<sup>72</sup>. For instance, there was no doubt in Khayr al-Dîn's mind that the gap between the two worlds could only be narrowed by political reforms, patterned on those of Europe. The fundamental contradiction in this type of approach was that he and his fellow reformist thinkers (e.g. Bayram V) considered the concept of the Ottoman caliphate unassailable. That is not to say that all authors subscribed to this view.

In those coming from Eastern lands, the political changes and shifting power balance in the course of the century, combined with the multinational composition of the Ottoman heartlands, led to one of several reactions: 'pan-Islamism' (exemplified by, for instance, al-Afghânî), nationalism (Egypt, Greater Syria), and Ottomanism.

<sup>71</sup> See, for instance, those by Muhammad al-Sâdiq Bâshâ (*GALS*, II, 749; Nusayr 1991:94, n° 2247-250), or M. Salîm al-Makhzûmî (Nusayr 1990:241, n° 9/114).

<sup>72</sup> For an overview of reactions to European political thought, see Hourani 1989.



The early writers readily and wholeheartedly embraced Khaldûnian notions about the perfect state; well-organized, unified under one ruler and supported by a strong military machine. This was felt to be particularly true for France, the military strength of which many of our travellers had witnessed first-hand in their native lands. It is also against this backdrop that one should view the admiration on the part of Muslim visitors for Napoleon, whose tomb was an obligatory stop for many<sup>73</sup>.

The early travellers felt an urge and even a duty to inform and educate their compatriots, and like European travellers to the East, many provided detailed descriptions of the history, administration, government, military, justice system, economy, religion of the countries they visited<sup>74</sup>.

A case in point is that of al-Tahtâwî, who included a lengthy discussion of French government and its constituent components<sup>75</sup>, as well as a translation and commentary of the entire French constitutional Charter of 1814<sup>76</sup>, and the rights of the French people after the 1830 amendment of the Charter<sup>77</sup>.

Most travellers shared al-Tahtâwî's enthusiasm for the principles of the French revolution. Some, however, did not<sup>78</sup>. Al-Shidyâq, for instance, did not exactly applaud the revolution, which he translated as *fitna* — thus adding a heretical connotation since it also denotes the first schism in Islam (Ayalon 1987; Lewis 1985; Zolondek 1967). Classifying it as a period of chaos and riots, al-Shidyâq stated that “it

<sup>73</sup> See e.g. Ibn Abi 'l-Diyâf 1963-65, IV:104; al-Shidyâq 1881:248; al-Bakrî 1906:60ff.; Ibn al-Khûja 1900:30. Napoleon was greatly loved in Arab countries, not least in Egypt, and very early on he was praised in literature by people like Niqûlâ al-Turk and Haydar al-Shihâbi (Wielandt 1982:32). The love affair with the famous Corsican continued well past the 19th century, with the famous poet Khalil Matrân (d. 1949), for instance, composing several poems on his idol.

<sup>74</sup> e.g. al-Shidyâq 1881:259ff.; Fikrî 1892:60ff.,110ff.; Bayram V 1884:*passim*; Zaki 1893:419ff.

<sup>75</sup> *Takhlîs*:97-119.

<sup>76</sup> *Takhlîs*:102ff. Later on in his career al-Tahtâwî would also translate the French commercial code (Bûlâq 1285/1868) and part of the civil code (Bûlâq 1283/1866).

<sup>77</sup> *Takhlîs*:116ff.

<sup>78</sup> For a brief overview, see Yared 1996:36-39.

changed the character of this generation”, who became less friendly and hospitable (1881:275).

Yet, this did not stop him from recognizing the benefits of the Revolution such as state-funded education and the fact that it had done away with some of the class differences, all of which contributed to the French being a more prosperous people than the British (al-Shidyâq 1881:272ff.,342,343). It is interesting to compare these comments with those made by al-Jabartî some fifty years earlier. Also referring to the 1789 Revolution as *al-fitna al-Faransâwiyya*, he thought the French theories about equality for all men, and their emphasis on reason (*‘aql*), virtues and sciences were yet more proof that they were a people (*tâ’ifa*) without any religion (Jabartî 1880: III, 117; *idem* 1969:31-35)<sup>79</sup>, a view which was shared by his contemporary ‘Abd Allâh al-Sharqâwî (1281/1864-5:182).

Al-Tahtâwî also devoted a great deal of attention to the trial of de Polignac and other ministers after the 1830 revolution and admired the effectiveness and inherent impartiality of the rule of law and the rights of each citizen to a fair legal process (al-Tahtâwî n.d.:270ff.), despite the fact that “their legal judgements are not based on divine books” (al-Tahtâwî n.d.:119).

Later on in the century, the French legal system also received a great deal of attention from authors like Bayram V and al-Sanûsî, who included detailed descriptions of the various courts, their jurisdiction, tasks, etc.

It is interesting to point out that European justice was one of the first things praised by Arab chroniclers. The first to do so was Niqûlâ al-Turk (1839:72), whereas even the fiercely anti-French al-Jabartî was impressed by the trial of general Kléber’s assassin, Sulaymân al-Halabî, and included an account of the proceedings in his work (Jabartî 1880:III,116ff.; Pérès 1957:127-28). This was indeed a far cry from the rather disdainful way in which medieval authors like Ibn Munqidh saw European justice.

Finally, one should draw attention to the absence in 19th-century Muslim alterist writings of one of the cornerstones of European democ-

<sup>79</sup> Also see Wielandt 1980:25ff.

racy and power, i.e. the importance of the nation-state. Muslim travellers tended to emphasize the *umma*, within which the state, i.e. government, is subsumed.

One can, nevertheless, observe a clear development here in the course of the century with some interesting semantic shifts. Although al-Tahtâwî was the first to use *watan* in the European sense of 'homeland' (when talking about Corsica being Napoleon's *watan*)<sup>80</sup>, his only affinity was with the *umma* (though this would change radically in his later writings). It would, in fact, be up to the statesman Khayr al-Dîn to take things further and to address this issue in earnest<sup>81</sup>. Faced with the dilemma of translating inherently European concepts like 'nation' and 'state', he expanded *umma* (which in some cases lost its religious connotation and became a translation of the French 'nation')<sup>82</sup>, while narrowing down *watan*<sup>83</sup>.

By the end of the century, the 'naturalization' process seems to have been complete, and patriotism as allegiance to the nation-state emerged as the linchpin of any modern state, and indeed a precondition for progress, as witnessed by, for instance, comments made by an Ibn al-Khûja (1900:50-51).

Yet, none of the accounts by Muslim travellers contains any 'nationalist' bias; indeed, words like *qawm* — used by al-Shidyâq to denote the common people (1881:275) — or *sha<sup>c</sup>b* are rare, whereas al-Afghânî's coinage *qawmiyya*<sup>84</sup>, which today means 'nationalism', does not appear in any of the works.

### *European Sciences and Advance*

All Muslim visitors were confronted with the issue of the technological and scientific achievements and advance of Western nations,

<sup>80</sup> *Takhlis*:49.

<sup>81</sup> For an excellent discussion, see Orany 1983.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. e.g. *Aqwam*, 6, 19, 44, 73, 86.

<sup>83</sup> For more details, see Newman 1998:297ff.

<sup>84</sup> Also see *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. 'Kawm' (A. J. Wensinck). For al-Afghânî's views on nationalism, see Ridâ 1931,II:194ff.; Badawi 1978:41-42.

which, by implication, forced them to address, if not explicitly at least implicitly, the issue of the backwardness of Muslim states<sup>85</sup>.

The next step, which was not necessarily taken by all travellers, was what, if anything, could be done to reduce the gap. The answers to this question varied between 'Muslim reformism', 'Muslim secularism', and outright 'westernization'.

Tunisian travellers were in the vanguard in this respect. Although al-Jabartî had already discussed European advance<sup>86</sup>, the first philosophical treatise on the 'North-South' gap by an Arab author was al-Harâ'irî's *Guide de l'Afrique et de l'Orient*<sup>87</sup>, whereas Khayr al-Dîn is unique inasmuch as he was the only author to produce a comprehensive historical survey-cum-critique of European civilization. In addition, he is the only 19th-century statesman to have left a personal account of his political thought. Finally, Bayram V also contributed important elements to the discussion.

Interestingly enough, the depth and nature of the issues reveal a closer affinity to Turkish intellectuals of the day than to their Eastern Arab brethren.

There were also religious factors that had to be faced. Essentially, these boiled down to the problem of *bid'a*. The word denotes a practice not known in the time of the Prophet and the early disciples, and which is thus inherently heretical. Need being the mother of invention, it was the Ottomans who first dealt with this issue since it would have put short shrift to Mehmed II's military reforms. In order to bypass the problem of *bid'a*, and thus legitimize the adoption of European military know-how, jurists developed two principles. The first was that of 'reciprocation', (*al-muqâbala bi 'l-mithl*), which may be loosely translated as 'to fight like with like'. In this context, Qur. IX:36, in which the believer is encouraged to "fight the believers totally even as they fight you totally", was reinterpreted to mean that when it comes to destroying the infidels the means (even if these were of Christian origin) justified the end. By distin-

<sup>85</sup> Also see Yared 1996:61ff.

<sup>86</sup> See Delanoue 1982:I, 76-83; Pérès 1957:122ff.

<sup>87</sup> This served as the introduction to the author's translation of Lhomond's French grammar (1857), and was subsequently edited twice separately (1857, 1861).

guishing between good and bad, praiseworthy and objectionable *bid'as*, the door was opened for European inventions that were deemed useful to the empire (Heyd 1961:74-77; Lewis 1953; Rispler 1991).

When explaining European progress, early travellers like al-Tahtâwî stressed the importance in Europe of justice and freedom (with many references to French philosophers like Montesquieu<sup>88</sup>, Rousseau<sup>89</sup> and Voltaire<sup>90</sup>), and of education, which was considered a natural consequence of the first two elements<sup>91</sup>. Others, like the Moroccans al-Saffâr and al-Kardûdî, attributed it solely to the military might of the Europeans, whereas al-Harâ'irî focused exclusively on (French) education.

Although all schools of thought agreed that the Muslim nation could catch up with and even overtake the West, the ways in which this should be done differed dramatically. The 'reformists' — among whom we find Bayram V — agreed with the ideas of a Jamâl al-Dîn al-Afghânî, and believed that Islam had to be reformed from within, whereas the remedy lay with a return to fundamental values, to a pure Islam. When it came to modern inventions, adherents of this school stressed the utilitarian aspects for the *umma*.

The second group, which included Khayr al-Dîn, was closely akin to the first but for one rather substantial difference; while they supported their calls to adopt modern technologies by stressing Muslim origins<sup>92</sup>, their primary concern was not one of religious but of *political* reform. Indeed, the authors in this group were convinced that Europe's prosperity and advance was largely attributable to its political system based on justice and consultation, another area in which Islam had led the way in the past. Naturally, the two viewpoints were closely linked as politics and religion were closely intertwined in Islam. Both the Muslim secularists and reformists believed that the end justified the means though some (e.g. Bayram V, Khayr al-Dîn, M. 'Abduh) were

<sup>88</sup> See e.g. Khayr al-Dîn 1867:58, 88; *Takhlîs*:233.

<sup>89</sup> e.g. Khayr al-Dîn 1867:59; *Takhlîs*:232,233.

<sup>90</sup> e.g. Khayr al-Dîn 1867:59; *Takhlîs*:232 (where al-Tahtâwî wrongly credits him with being the author of the *Lettres persanes (al-murâsilât al-Fârsiyya)*).

<sup>91</sup> Also see Zolondek 1964.

<sup>92</sup> e.g. Amîn Fikrî 1897:57-58, 131ff., 169; Zakî 1893:41, 167ff.; Marrâsh 1867:49; al-Shidyâq 1881:145ff., 151.

opposed to a pure transference of knowledge and technology to a different society and culture.

The ‘westernization’ category, which included members of the first generation of European-educated intellectuals, were in favour of an almost indiscriminate copying of the West. It was this approach which also exerted a great attraction to Levantine Christians as it was completely shorn of any religious bias. But even the ‘westernizers’ were faced with the dilemma which is best summed up by M. al-Muwaylihî through his protagonist ‘Îsâ b. Hishâm when he states that his contemporaries “find themselves in a movement which is neither Western nor Eastern”<sup>93</sup>.

None of the Muslim travellers — not even the pragmatist Khayr al-Dîn — was able to come up with a practical and practicable plan in order to bring about the necessary changes in their own societies. And while an al-Tahtâwî could be forgiven for not being able adequately to address such issues as he was too busy taking in the new and foreign world, those that came after him had no such excuse. It is in fact extraordinary to find that as the century wore on, the problem became ever more muddled and intractable.

At this point it is important to underscore that there were not only differences between Arab Christian and Muslim travellers to Europe, but also between those hailing from the East and those from North Africa. Muslim visitors from the East increasingly vented their ambiguous attitude towards Europe, which was criticized for its expansionist and imperialist tendencies. In North Africa, however, things took a rather different turn. While the Moroccan travellers’ view of Europe was as monodimensional as that of their 17/18th-century predecessors, the situation in Tunisia, the only western Muslim territory where a substantial number of accounts on Europe were produced, was much more complex.

Tunisian travellers in the early colonial period (al-Sanûsî, Ibn al-Khûja) in a way went back in time and returned to descriptions of a superficial Europe of wonders and novelties, whereas their works were entirely devoid of the kinds of questions regarding Europe with which their Eastern coreligionists were grappling. This difference may have been due to a number of reasons. Firstly, despite the fact that both Egypt

<sup>93</sup> al-Muwaylihi [n.d.]:102 (trans. 229).

and Tunisia had passed in the hands of Europeans at almost the same time, the nature of European rule varied considerably. In Tunisia, the French went for an all-out colonization in which the very fabric of Tunisian society was affected, whereas British policy in Egypt was far less profound. Secondly, there was the stimulating intellectual climate that existed in Egypt, which had become a haven for Levantine dissident intellectuals and a crucible for reformist thought. The close contacts with the Ottoman empire meant that the Egypt-based intelligentsia found themselves in the vanguard of new ideas and ideologies, with nationalism becoming a powerful force towards the end of the century.

That nationality in itself was not a determining factor may be shown by the case of Bayram V, who wrote in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Despite the fact that he was Tunisian and came from very much the same background as Ibn al-Khúja and al-Sanúsî, many of the views in his *Safwat al-i<sup>c</sup> tibâr bi-mustawda<sup>c</sup> al-amsâr wa 'l-aqtâr* were inspired by the ideas that were prevalent in the East at the time as a result of his exile in Constantinople and Cairo.

As we have seen, Muslim authors from both East and West also found solace in Islam. As the historical source of inventions, Islam became proof of Muslim superiority, which was a natural reaction to the feelings of inferiority to which all travellers to some extent or another fell prey when visiting Europe. It is against this background that one should view the travellers' focus on all physical aspects of Muslim culture that they found in Europe, whether it was architecture, customs, or art and literature (e.g. Arabic books and manuscripts in European libraries). At times this exacerbated feelings of inadequacy, with authors bemoaning the loss of Islamic treasures to Europe.

For some authors (e.g. Khayr al-Dîn), the debt European civilization owed to past Islamic achievements served to support the lawfulness of European inventions and thus to remove any impediments in religion against their introduction. In doing so, they also adduced European sources, as well as Arab ones, with the historical works by Duruy, Le Bon, Sédillot, and Guizot being particular favourites<sup>94</sup>. Sédillot, in par-

<sup>94</sup> e.g. Khayr al-Dîn 1867:22-31; Ibn al-Khúja 1900:50-1; al-Wardâni 1889 (n° 42); Hamza Fath Allâh 1890:62; Mubârak 1882.

ticular, quickly gained currency as the definitive source for the Muslim legacy to European culture, with none other than ʿAlī Mubârak publishing an abridged translation of the *Histoire des Arabes* shortly before his death (1891).

Like the 17th/18th-century Moroccan ambassadors, 19th-century travellers felt a need to defend Islam in the face of misconceptions and prejudices that existed towards it among Europeans because of its alleged intolerance, and propensity towards despotism and injustice. The fact that they did so to a Muslim audience is not as paradoxical as it may appear, since many were struggling with a number of dilemmas regarding the relationship with Europe, its culture, scientific advance, etc. On a psychological level, authors underscored the differences in morality between the two worlds and the Western habits and customs deemed unacceptable in Islamic society, whose traditional virtues and those of the early Arabs were extolled. To a large extent this may be considered a natural compensatory mechanism in the face of a materially, scientifically and technologically superior Europe.

Among the inventions and wonders of the West to catch the eye of the early visitors, we find the railways, museums, parks, Paris omnibuses, river steamers, tunnels, etc. And like their predecessors in the 17th and 18th centuries, Muslim official delegations in France were taken on set sightseeing tours which included stops at landmarks like the Jardin des Plantes, the Louvre, the Tuileries or Versailles, as well as evenings at the theatre or the opera, and educational visits to the Gobelins carpet works, the Hôtel des Invalides or the Observatory<sup>95</sup>. The tours were a combination of arts and entertainment with the hosts clearly going out of their way to impress their Muslim guests.

### *European Culture*

Western culture tended to be less high on the list of priorities of the

<sup>95</sup> It is striking to find, for instance, that the itineraries of the Tunisian embassies of 1728 (Plantet 1893:II,225-229) and of 1743 (Grandchamp 1931) are remarkably similar not just to each other, but to that of other official visits (cf. e.g. Ibn Abî ʿl-Diyâf 1963-65:IV, 96ff.).



travellers, and on the whole, they were only interested in the (im)moral aspects of European art, or those which revealed a Muslim connection. To some extent this would change in the latter half of the century as more Arab travellers received a European education, and the sheer number of visitors increased. Many stayed for long periods of time, and the continent became less exotic.

Barring a few exceptions like the Tunisian Ibn al-Khûja — the only one to include a translation of a French literary author (1900:29) —, Fâris al-Shidyâq<sup>96</sup> or Khayr al-Dîn (1867:58,59), travellers paid scant attention to European belles-lettres. In some cases, however, contact with French literature had some profound and long-lasting effects. In addition to translating Lamartine's *Le lac*, the poet Ahmad Shawqî wrote fables modelled on La Fontaine's, whereas his tragedy *‘Alî Bey al-kabîr* was also inspired by the French tragedies he had read during his stay in France (Louca 1970:242). His more flamboyant compatriot, Abû Nazzâra, for his part, tried his hand at several European literary genres, both in French and Arabic, while playing a crucial role in the introduction of European theatre in Egypt.

Nearly all Muslim travellers praised the great libraries of the West. But while they were in awe of the holdings of Arabic books and manuscripts, they very often lamented the fact that the finest examples of their own heritage should be found in Europe rather than in the lands of Islam. Not everyone was impressed, though, by the cultural penchant of Europeans, and, like his compatriots of earlier times, the Moroccan al-Saffâr<sup>97</sup> was disgusted at seeing the infidel handling valuable Qur'âns.

European performing arts had always held a great attraction for Muslim travellers, and those of the 19th century, starting with al-Tahtâwî, were no exception. However, there was a great deal of ambiguity, prompted by concerns about the lawfulness of the theatre, which was considered *bid‘a* (see *supra*). This would remain a problem until the end of the century, as witnessed by the *fîrmân* ordering the closure

<sup>96</sup> e.g. al-Shidyâq 1881:169 (reference to O. Goldsmith).

<sup>97</sup> al-Saffâr in Gilson 1992:188. Also see al-Jabartî 1969:32-33; al-Sharqâwî 1281/1864:183.

of Qabbânî's Damascus theatre (Najm 1956:67-68). Interestingly enough, the otherwise neophobic al-Jabartî, who was the first 19th-century Muslim author to mention the theatre as he attended a performance put on for French soldiers in Egypt, could not see anything wrong with it, and was rather amused by the whole experience<sup>98</sup>.

In Europe, too, the purpose and moral benefits of the theatre had been a highly controversial (if not religious) subject of debate until the late 18th century, and one may refer, for instance, to Rousseau's *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* and his letter to Alembert on the establishment of a *Théâtre de Comédie* in the philosopher's native Geneva.

Many authors recognized the benefits of the theatre, and stated that it serves to educate the people through stories on the advantages of moral rectitude, of the good management of the house or of civil responsibilities, and on the nation's ancient and modern history. Al-Sanûsî (1889:45) explained that the theatre had been known to increase courage in times of war, and happiness in times of sadness. And though some of the stories deal with love affairs, most are character building and teach moral lessons regarding courage, cleanliness, the keeping of secrets and the virtue of proper behaviour towards others. Nevertheless, the Tunisian traveller was keenly aware of the possible dangers as he noted the censure to which plays (*riwâyât*) were subject when they dealt with political themes critical of the state.

Al-Tahtâwî, for his part, subscribed to the Greek *kátharsis* idea:

“their (sc. French) entertainment sessions (*majâlis al-malâhî*) are held in places like the theatre, ... and the *spectacles*. There, they enact the imitation of everything that has happened. In truth, these games deal with serious things through jest, because people learn wonderful lessons. Indeed, they see good and bad actions, whereby the former are praised and the latter condemned, so that the French say that it (sc. the theatre) punishes and improves people's morals.” ([n.d.]:134].

<sup>98</sup> al-Jabartî 1958,V:200 (11 Sha<sup>c</sup>bân 1215).

The crucial element here, which was subsequently taken over by many others, is, of course, the religious endorsement of the genre by a thinly veiled reference to the famous Qur'anic praise (IX:112) for “those who bid to honour and forbid honour (those who keep God's bonds)”<sup>99</sup>.

Ahmad Zakî (1893:391), who made a point of seeing several plays during his stay in Madrid, also saw the theatre as a school of morals and of customs, as did al-Shidyâq (1881:308), Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf (1963:IV,102), Mârûn al-Naqqâsh (1869:15-16)<sup>100</sup>, 'Alî Mubârak (1882), and Bayram V (1884:III,82). The last author was also one of the few — together with 'Abd Allâh Nadîm (1319/1901:II,63-64)<sup>101</sup> and al-Shidyâq (1881:306) — to consider the theatre a place of learning (e.g. for history, eloquence or music), while equally stressing its role as a political forum. In support of this he related the famous incident when an actor on the stage called for the resignation of MacMahon after the latter had dissolved Parliament (1884:III,83).

Khayr al-Dîn stressed the role of the theatre in civilized society when he defined it as “poetic compositions which are suitable to be recited in gatherings — and which are — intended for the refinement of manners (*tahdhîb al-akhlâq*)” (1867:54). Ya'qûb Sanû', the self-acclaimed ‘Egyptian Molière’, took a more modern stance, suggesting that theatre should dramatize life and people<sup>102</sup>.

Together with Amîn Fikrî, al-Shidyâq was one of the few travellers to examine the theatre from an *artistic*, rather than a purely *moral* point of view. Although he traced the art to Euripides (al-Shidyâq 1881:308) the Islamic heritage was never far, and he drew parallels with the *qasîdas* of Imru' 'l-Qays and the poetry recitals at 'Ukâz. Furthermore, he confidently stated that ‘there is no doubt that the Greeks’ conception of the theatre was very similar to these gatherings at 'Ukâz.’ (al-Shidyâq 1881:306,307,310).

<sup>99</sup> Also see Qur. IX:67.

<sup>100</sup> al-Naqqâsh even maintained that plays had a positive influence on the policies of kings.

<sup>101</sup> Quoted in Pérès 1969:40-41.

<sup>102</sup> Cf. his play *Molière Misr wa mâ yuqâsîhî* (‘The Egyptian Molière and what he has to endure’); Moosa 1974:428.

As far as criticism of the theatre is concerned, this tended to be centred on a number of themes, the most prominent of which was the role of women. Al-Sanûsî, for instance, in his account of another (earlier) journey to Europe unequivocally stated that

“if we look at it as a meeting place only for women and youths as players and spectators, and we see that it is a pagan activity in origin and a Christian one at present, then our religious law forbids it beyond dispute!” (1976:I,159).

He reserved the same judgement for what he perceived to be variants, viz. sleight of hand (*sha<sup>c</sup>badha*) and soothsaying, both of which are “forbidden sciences”<sup>103</sup>. This kind of view had in fact predominated since the middle Ages, and as S. Moreh concluded with regard to the Mamluk period in Egypt:

“playwriting (*sic*) did not attain the status of a principal genre of Arabic cultural life. It remained on the level of low popular farce, composed either in colloquial or semi-colloquial Arabic, portraying jest, impudence, folly and “confessions of loyalty” to Satan, and the violation of all religious and moral values.”(Moreh 1990:329).

Others, like Ahmad Zakî (1893: chap. 11; 1900:97)<sup>104</sup>, Amîn Fikrî (1892:251-252), al-Muwaylihî<sup>105</sup>, or Bayram V (1884,III:83) also had religious reservations about the prominence of women and the theme of love in European theatre.

The ambiguity surrounding the theatre is best summed up in M. al-Muwaylihî’s *Hadîth ‘Îsâ b. Hishâm*, where there is a lengthy exchange on the subject among the protagonists, viz. the Pasha, ‘Îsâ, and the Friend<sup>106</sup>. The arguments against are given by the first (the symbol of

<sup>103</sup> al-Shidyâq 1881:160. Ibn Khaldûn also held this view; *The Muqaddima*, I:206, III:159,169.

<sup>104</sup> Also see Louca 1970:213.

<sup>105</sup> al-Muwaylihî n.d.:203-204 (trans., 371).

<sup>106</sup> n.d.:201ff. (3rd ed. 1923:449ff.; trans. 370ff.).

traditional values), for whom the theatre is a den of iniquity. The eponymous hero (who represents modernity) vigorously defends the theatre, which for the Europeans is a natural accompaniment of newspapers; “it is a source of virtue because it imposes that which is good and forbids what is objectionable.”(al-Muwaylihi n.d.:201.)<sup>107</sup> ‘Îsâ stresses the wholesome features of drama, which “shows you laudable deeds and qualities”<sup>108</sup>. Interestingly enough, a similar explanation is given with regard to newspapers<sup>109</sup>!

Al-Muwaylihi’s sympathies probably lay with the Friend, who points out that “it is not because something is beneficial to Westerners that it will be so for Easterners”, and in their present state, Muslims in particular might actually suffer real harm. But even in Western society, the theatre causes more problems than it solves;

“(...) vices and desires are depicted in front of those who are already subject to them..., as a result of which they sink deeper into their depravity as they are strengthened in their conviction that these things are good”<sup>110</sup>.

Finally, it is worth adding that accusations of *tafarnuj* were not restricted to Muslim lands, with a number of European observers criticizing what was perceived to be Muslim visitors’ inordinate attention for the more frivolous aspects of the new world. Prisse d’Avennes, for instance, despondently noted the following about some of the members of the first Egyptian educational mission:

“chaque conversation les (sc. the students) ramenait au souvenir de nos charmantes grisettes, à nos danses, à nos yeux, à nos spectacles”<sup>111</sup>.

<sup>107</sup> The use of this phrase by both al-Thatâwi and al-Muwaylihi does not necessarily denote an influence by the former on the latter; rather, it reflects the strong religious bias of the phrase, with variants being found in the Qur’ân (e.g. V:100,VIII:37).

<sup>108</sup> al-Muwaylihi n.d.:trans., 371).

<sup>109</sup> al-Muwaylihi n.d.:28 (trans. 136-137).

<sup>110</sup> al-Muwaylihi n.d.:204 (trans. 374).

<sup>111</sup> Quoted by Louca 1970:52. Á. Vámbéry made a similar comment regarding Turkish students in Paris, who spent more time in the *café chantants* than in their lectures (Vámbéry 1876:196-197).

### *European Society*

Generally speaking, the conditions of the common people — whether Muslim or European — fell outside the purview of most intellectuals in both Eastern and Western Islamic lands. The travellers were no exception and showed little interest in, or concern for the lower social classes in the European countries they visited. And those who did were as prone to generalization and prejudice as their European counterparts were with regard to Arabs (Hollenbach 1972). Throughout the century, the cliché of a continent of milk and honey where everyone was zealous and prosperous was confirmed in the travelogues, whose authors showered praise on the high literacy rates, the French modern social and health care provisions (hospitals, hostels for the poor, the disabled, etc.). The French and Parisians in particular were extolled for their virtuous and clean living, their intelligence as well as their diligence<sup>112</sup>. According to al-Shidyâq, this last aspect was particularly important for the English, who “have some ten synonyms to denote work (*shughl*)”<sup>113</sup>, and whose preoccupation with it is embedded in the greeting ‘How do you do?’ (*hû dû yû dû*), which he translated as “*kayfa ta<sup>c</sup> malûna antum ta<sup>c</sup> malûna*”<sup>114</sup>.

Among the few to break through the myth we find Bayram V, al-Wardânî, as well as al-Shidyâq who at least recognized the existence of a European underclass and the fact that not every segment of society enjoyed the benefits of industrial progress. Though praising the rights of citizens (*huqûq bashariyya*) in England<sup>115</sup>, al-Shidyâq commented on the fact that London was much filthier than Paris, whereas “one of the duties of London policemen is to clamp down on begging and to chase homeless people from doorways”<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>112</sup> *Takhlîs*:6,157,159,160; Ibn Siyâm 1852:11-12; Marrâsh 1867:21,69. Also see Louca 1958a. The odd one out among the travellers is al-Shidyâq, whose opinion on the French and French society is on the whole negative [e.g. 1919:374ff.; 1881:255ff.].

<sup>113</sup> al-Shidyâq 1881:140-141.

<sup>114</sup> al-Shidyâq 1881:140 (‘... *wa huwa sîma tubnî’u<sup>c</sup> an mazîd maylihim wa tawaqânihim ilâ<sup>c</sup> ’l-<sup>c</sup>aml’*).

<sup>115</sup> al-Shidyâq 1919:336ff.; al-Shidyâq 1881:272.

<sup>116</sup> al-Shidyâq 1881:204. Also see ‘Abd al-Nûr 1975-76 for an interesting discussion of the differences in perception of European social relations between al-Tahtâwî and al-Shidyâq.

Though recognizing the role of mosques as centres of learning in the past (Bayram 1884:IV,85), Bayram V was intrigued by the teaching methods used in, for instance, al-Azhar (Bayram 1884:IV,127), and stressed the role of Europe as a centre of education. He praised Muslim rulers who sent students to Europe, and was pleasantly surprised at the number of Egyptian students in Geneva, Paris, and London. He explicitly stated that the progress of science and knowledge in Egypt was largely the result of these exchanges (Bayram 1884,I:65,IV:128).

By the same token, Bayram V was not as starry-eyed as some of his fellow travellers when it came to Europe, and we are told that despite European scientific and educational advance, the continent contains many ignorant and stupid people. By way of example, he recounts the following story that took place in 1880 in France:

“A labourer who worked in Paris had a son who worked in the Bordeaux area. The latter did not have money to buy shoes, and wrote to his father to complain about this and to ask him to buy him some shoes. The father did as he was asked (...) but wondered how he was going to get the shoes to his son. As he was pondering the issue, it suddenly dawned on him that he could send them by telegraph (*al-silk al-kahrabâ'iyya*) ... and when he came to a telegraph pole, he hung the shoes from the wire ... to send them to his son. He went away all happy that he had not spent any money at the telegraph office. When he returned the following day, he saw that the shoes were still in the same place ..., upon which he remarked: “my son is truly smart. He sent me the old shoes and has kept the new ones! (...)” (Bayram 1884,III:141).

Bayram subsequently exposes the inherent prejudice in Europe by adding that if this story had been told by an Orientalist about Eastern people, it would have been proof of their “barbarity and lack of education and upbringing.” (Bayram 1884,III:141). And for all their love of the sciences, French troops stole books from al-Azhar when Napoleon withdrew from Egypt (Bayram 1884,IV:85-86).

Furthermore, it is not as if education gives rise to a greater openness to new things, and Bayram was visibly shocked to see the reactions to his Arab garb by people in Europe (1884,III:17-18).

The question that needs to be addressed here is, of course, why the average man in the modern European world should have remained obscure. In some cases this was undoubtedly linked to the authors' own privileged or elitist social background and/or position, as a result of which they had little or no affinity with or indeed knowledge about the masses, either at home or abroad. At the same time, it reflected a tradition in contemporary literature in which the common man was generally disregarded.

It is no coincidence that those few authors who did devote attention to the condition of the masses in Europe themselves fell outside the above pattern. Al-Wardânî, for instance, came from a poor rural background, whereas al-Shidyâq was an impoverished exile. Bayram V was the odd one out here as he may be considered to have been endowed with a social conscience which was not linked to background, though his roaming existence as an exile in later years undoubtedly had an impact as well.

But even Bayram V could not conceive of the common man as a full social and political partner; like his mentor, Khayr al-Dîn, he advocated the need for consultation in government in compliance with Islamic precepts. Neither author, however, considered taking this to its logical and practical conclusion by suggesting a western-style democratic process. Quite the contrary. Their idea of power sharing was through an elite, of which they were obviously part and it is no surprise that in doing so they directed their attention to a classic concept like the *ahl al-hall wa 'l-'aqd*<sup>117</sup>. Indeed, none of the travellers fully subscribed to democratic principles when it came to Muslim states.

Related to this is the fact that very few, if any, of the Arab travellers had a real grasp of the workings of the capitalist system. The prevailing view throughout the century that economic supremacy was to some extent both a natural side-effect and result of military supremacy (which, in turn, ensued from political institutions based on freedom and justice) resulted in a one-sided approach of the production process

<sup>117</sup> See Bayram V 1884, III:43-44; Bayram V 1898:22; Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf 1963-65, I:6, 28-31; Khayr al-Din 1867:13,32,75. Also see al-Husry n.d.:88, 137; Badawi 1978:124ff. Also see *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Ahl al-hall wa 'l-'aqd".



in which one of the crucial factors — labour — was entirely absent. Attention for the common man within a broader socialist ideology would only appear in the last quarter of the century with Christian intellectuals in the East like Jurjî Zaydân (d. 1944), Ya<sup>c</sup>qûb Sarrûf (d. 1927), Shibli Shumayyil (d. 1916) and Farah Antûn (d. 1922).

Another area in which the authors failed to see the inherent contradictions in their thought, or indeed in their perception of the West was that despite an emphasis on personal freedom, justice, and consultation, or references to authors like Rousseau or Montesquieu, none of them discussed the institution of slavery in Islamic lands, and the lack of freedom of the populations<sup>118</sup>.

The subject of religion was also dealt with, but here few travellers took an objective stance, and in many cases it consisted of an attack on secular society, or priests and the priesthood, with al-Tahtâwî, for instance, ridiculing celibate, and certain church practices ([n.d.]:185-188), whereas al-Wardânî commented on the missionary zeal of the members of the cloth he met in Spain<sup>119</sup>. Bayram, for his part, warned that the European views of science were concomitant with a negative view of religion, with European scholars showing a complete lack of interest in religions since they limited themselves to the mind (1884,III:45-46).

Finally, it is worth noting that although several travellers referred to Protestantism and Catholicism, none seemed to have a real grasp of the differences between them.

### *European Women*

When it came to European women and their virtue, opinions were equally divided. Whereas an al-Jabartî (1969:33) or al-Sharqâwî (1864-65:182-83) commented on the depravity of both French men and

<sup>118</sup> Also see Yared 1996:24ff. Bayram V was the odd one out in some respects, such as slavery; cf. his "al-Tahqîq fî mas'alat al-raîq", in *al-I'lâm*, 1887, n° 313 (see al-Qâsimî 1990:68,172).

<sup>119</sup> al-Wardânî 1890 (*al-Hâdira*, n° 91:4).

women, most of the travellers were charmed by European women, especially those from France<sup>120</sup>. The odd one out was al-Shidyâq<sup>121</sup>, who clearly preferred English women<sup>122</sup> — perhaps because the latter accepted the superior position of men, while French women believed in the “equality of the sexes” (1881:107,252), or because in Paris “it is accepted for women to live in sin (*‘aysh al-mut‘a*), even when there are children.” (1881:254).

The rather ‘loose’ and ‘forward’ public behaviour by European women was often regarded as shocking. Whether it was the fact that they travelled alone unaccompanied by their menfolk (R. al-Tahtâwî [n.d.]:125), had no qualms in addressing the travellers first (Ibn al-Khûja 1900:52), or that a woman in the company of her husband and children could let herself be kissed by other men as a form of greeting (al-Shidyâq 1881:306). Hamza Fath Allâh linked the lack of chastity on the part of French women to the exorbitant adultery and divorce rates in Europe (Fath Allâh 1890).

Some visitors, however, were more conservative than others. The Tunisian *‘âlim* Bayram V objected strongly to the dressing up of European women, and criticized the fact that in Europe men and women could dance together, or that unmarried men and women could talk and laugh with each other in the presence of the girl’s father. In Italy, he was shocked to find that even high officials brought their daughters to dance halls to dance with strange men, who had their arms around their waist and neck! He also refuted claims by European men that Muslim men force Muslim women to wear veils because they are jealous, out of hypocrisy and because they want to keep them secluded. While stating that “the wearing of the *hijâb* is for most women a natural thing” he warned that simple things can lead to serious problems: first it is the uncovering of the face, then it is dancing with strange men, followed by the drinking of wine and who knows what other mischief! (Bayram 1884,III:46).

<sup>120</sup> *Takhlîs*:79, 80, 83, 125; Ibn Siyâm 1852:10; al-Saffâr 1992:160,161; al-Wardâni 1890 (*al-Hâdira*, n° 91:4).

<sup>121</sup> al-Shidyâq 1881:236,240,245,249,251,254ff.; 1919:297ff.,303,342,366,368ff.,384,385.

<sup>122</sup> al-Shidyâq 1919:371ff.; 1881:107ff.,112.

The relationship between European men and women was a constant source of amazement to Arab travellers, who observed on the fact that women dominated their men (R. al-Tahtâwî [n.d.]:79), with European etiquette even requiring that the woman of the house should be greeted first (al-Salâwî 1956,IV:229), while the status of women was linked to their beauty (al-Tahtâwî [n.d.]:84).

Interestingly enough, al-Tahtâwî was the first and only author to comment on the concept of 'love' in Western society ([n.d.:125).

January 1999

## 19TH-CENTURY ARABIC ACCOUNTS ON EUROPE

### 1. *Published Works*

#### 1800-1850

[1] **1834.** Rifâ<sup>°</sup>a Râfi<sup>°</sup> al-Tahtâwî (1801-1873) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Takhlîs al-ibrîz fî talkhîs Bârîz* ('The extraction of pure gold in the abridgement of Paris'), Bûlâq, 210p. Later editions of this book appeared in 1265/1849 (Bûlâq, 236p.), 1295/1878 (Cairo, n. p., 239p.), 1323/1905 (Cairo, Dâr al- Taqaddum), 1378/1958 (ed. M. °Allâm, A. A. Badawî, & A. Lûqâ, Cairo, Mustafâ al-Bâbî al-Halabî), 1973 (in *al-A<sup>°</sup>mâl al-kâmila li Rifâ<sup>°</sup>a al-Tahtâwî*, Beirut, al-Mu'assasa al-°Arabiyya li 'l-Dirâsât wa 'l-Nashr, II, 7-266), 1975 (in Mahmûd Fahmî Hijâzî ed., *Usûl al-fikr al-°Arabî al-hadîth °ind al-Tahtâwî*, Cairo, al-Hay'a al-Misriyya li 'l-Kitâb, 139-413), [1982] (Cairo, Maktabat al-Kulliyyât al-Azhariyya/Beirut, Dâr Ibn Zaydûn, 337p.), 1993 (Cairo, General Egyptian Book Organization). Turkish trans. Rustum Efendi Basim, *Sefârat nâme-ye Rifâ<sup>°</sup>at Bey*, Bûlâq, 1255/1839; abridged French trans. A. Louca, *L'or de Paris*, Paris (Sindbad), 1988, 342p.; German trans. K. Stowasser, *Ein Muslim entdeckt Europa. Die Reise eines Ägypters im 19. Jahrhundert nach Paris*, Munich (C. H. Beck Verlag), 1989, 234p.; English trans. D. Newman, *Streets Paved with Gold: Account of a Stay in Paris by a Nineteenth-Century Imam*, London (Saqi Books), 2002<sup>123</sup>.

#### 1850-1860

[2] **1852.** Sulaymân Ibn Siyâm (Sliman Ben Siam) (1817-1898) [Algeria - Muslim]: *Kitâb al-rihla ilâ bilâd Faransâ. Relation du voyage en France de Si Sliman-Ben-Siam*, Algiers (Matba<sup>°</sup>at al-Dawla/Imprimerie du Gouvernement), 29/32p<sup>124</sup>.

<sup>123</sup> Pérès 1935-40:188; Nusayr 1990:242, n° 9/156-159; Sarkis 1928:943-944. For an analysis of this work see Louca 1970:33-74.

<sup>124</sup> Pérès 1935-40:188 (with no of pages incorrectly at 38).

[3] **1855.** Ahmad Fâris (b. Yûsuf) al-Shidyâq (1804-1887) [Lebanon - Muslim]: *al-Sâq °alâ 'l-sâq fimâ huwa al-Fâryâq, aw ayyâm wa shuhûr wa 'a°wâm fî °ajam al-fiArab wa 'l-a°jâm. La vie et les aventures de Fariac. Relation de ses voyages avec ses observations critiques sur les Arabes et sur les autres peuples*, Paris (Benjamin Duprat), 712pp. Later editions are: 1919 (Cairo, Maktabat al-fiArab, 117/439/23p.); 1920 (Cairo, al-Maktaba al-Tijâriyya); 1922 (Beirut, Dâr Maktabat al-Hayât); 1966 (ed. Nasîb Wahîba al-Khâzân, Beirut, Dâr al-Hayât, 742p.), 1982 (abridged ed. °I. Sulh, *I°tirâfât al-Shidyâq fî kitâb al-sâq °alâ 'l-sâq*, Beirut, Dâr al-Râ'id al-°Arabî)<sup>125</sup>. French trans. R. Khawam, *La jambe sur la jambe*, Paris, (Phébus), 1991, 742p.

[4] **1856.** Salîm Ibn Mûsâ Bustrus al-Bayrûtî (1839-1883) [Lebanon - Christian]: *al-Nuzha al-shâhiyya fî 'l-rihla al-salîmiyya* ('Salîm's delightful excursion'), Beirut (al-Matba°a al-Sûriyya), 132p<sup>126</sup>.

### 1860-1870

[5] –[6] **1866-67.** Ahmad Fâris al-Shidyâq: *al-Wâsita fî ma°rifat ahwal Mâlta* ('The means for knowledge of the state of Malta'); *Kashf al-mukhabba' fî funûn 'ûrubâ* ('Unveiling the Arts of Europe') in Tunis in 1283/1866-1867 (al-Matba°a al-Rasmiyya, 386pp.); 2nd ed. Constantinople (Matba°at al-Jawâ'ib), 1299/1881, 361p.)<sup>127</sup>.

[7] **1866.** Sulaymân al-Harâiri (1824-1875) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *°Ard al-badâ'î° al-°âmm* ('The General Exhibition of Goods'), Paris (G. Lousset, Clet et Cie), 6p. French trans.: *Exposition universelle de Paris. Année 1867* (Imprimerie V. Goupy), 1866<sup>128</sup>.

<sup>125</sup> Pérès 1935-40:188; Cf. Wielandt 1980:77-90; Ewald 1851; Peled 1985; Peled 1991.

<sup>126</sup> GAL, II, 757; Sarkis 1928:563; Van Dyke 1897:415; *al-Hilâl*, VII, 514-515; Kakhâla n.d., IV:250; Shaykhu 1991:255-256; Zaydân 1957, IV:286; Zaydân 1922:145-48; Graf 1944-53, IV:303.

<sup>127</sup> *EI*<sup>1</sup>, *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Fâris al-Shidyâq" (C. Brockelmann; A. G. Karam); Pérès 1935-40:188; Quémeneur 1962:152; Van Dyke 1897:406. On *al-Wâsita*, see Wielandt 1980:90-98; Cachia 1962-1963.

<sup>128</sup> See Newman 1998:88ff.

[8] 1867. Fransîs (b. Fath Allâh b. Nasr Allâh) Marrâsh al-Halabî (1836-1873) [Syria – Christian]: *Kitâb rihlat Bârîs* ('A trip to Paris'), Beirut (al-Matba<sup>c</sup>a al-Sharqiyya), 72p<sup>129</sup>.

[9] 1867. Khayr al-Dîn al-Tûnisî (1810-1890) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *Aqwam al-masâlik fi ma<sup>c</sup>rifat ahwâl al-mamâlik* ('The surest path to knowledge of the state of kingdoms'), Tunis (al-Matba<sup>c</sup>a al-Rasmiyya), 468/50p. The introduction (pp. 2-89) has been reprinted several times: 1285/1868 (Cairo, n.p.); 1876 (Constantinople, Matba<sup>c</sup>at al-Jawâ'ib); 1299/1881-1882 (Alexandria, n.p., 96p.); 1972 (M. al-Shanûfi ed., Tunis, MTE, 331p.); 1978 (M. Ziyâda ed., Beirut, Dâr al-Tali<sup>c</sup>a, 231p.); 1985 (Beirut). To date, only the introduction has been translated: (part.) French trans. supervised by the author, *Réformes nécessaires aux États musulmans. Essai formant la première partie de l'ouvrage politique et statistique intitulé: La plus sûre direction pour connaître l'état des nations*, Paris (P. Dupont), 1868, 79p. This was reprinted in 1875 (Saint-Omer, typogr. H. d'Homont, 74p.; Paris, P. Dupont, 79p.) and re-edited in 1987 (M. Morsy, Aix-en-Provence, Edisud, 155p.), with extracts appearing in the *Revue Tunisienne* (no 12, 1896, 501-522). Turkish trans. Ismâ<sup>c</sup>îl Haqqî, *Mukaddime-i Akvâm el-masâlik fi marifet ul-ahvâl al-memâlik*, Constantinople (Matba<sup>c</sup>at al-Jawâ'ib), 1296/1878; English trans., *Necessary reforms of the musulman states. Essay which forms the first part of the political and statistical work entitled 'The surest way to know the state of nations'*, Athens, 1874; L. C. Brown, *The surest path. The political treatise of a nineteenth-century Muslim statesman*, Cambridge Mass. (Harvard University Press), 1967, 182p<sup>130</sup>.

### 1870-1880

[10] 1876. Nakhla Sâlikh (al-Armanî) (d. 1899) [Syria - Christian]:

<sup>129</sup> Wielandt 1980:98ff.; Pérès 1935-40:189; Pérès 1969:9; Dâghir 1972-83, II:668-670; Van Dyke 1897:483; Graf 1944-53, IV:313-315; Shaykhû 1924:188 (n° 727). *EI*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Marrâsh" (N. Tomiche); *GAL*, II, 493-494, *GALS*, II, 755-756.

<sup>130</sup> See Newman 1998:272ff.

*al-Kanz al-mukhabba' li 'l-siyâha fi Urubbâ* ('The hidden treasure of a trip to Europe'), Cairo (lithogr.), 168p<sup>131</sup>.

[11] 1878. Ahmad al-Qâdî (Si Ahmad Ould Kadi) (1845-1951) [Algeria - Muslim]: *al-Rihla al-qâdiyya fi madh Firansâ wa tabsîr ahl al-bâdiyya. Impressions de voyage à Paris*, Algiers, 46/IV/ 46p<sup>132</sup>.

### 1880-1890

[12] 1882. 'Alî (Bâshâ) Mubâarak (1824-1893) [Egypt - Muslim]: *'Alam al-Dîn*, 4 vols, Alexandria (Matba'at al-Mahrûsa)<sup>133</sup>.

[13] 1884-1893. Muhammad Bayram al-Khâmis al-Tûnisî (1840-1889) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *Safwat al-i'tibâr bi-mustawda' al-amsâr wa 'l-aqtâr* ('The best consideration in the location of countries and regions'), 5 vols, Cairo (al-Matba'at al-I'lâmiyya), 156/148/166/168p<sup>134</sup>.

[14] 1887-1889. Hasan Tawfîq Ibn 'Abd al-Rahmân al-'Adl (1862-1904) [Egypt - Muslim]: *al-Rihla al-birlîniyya* ('Journey to Berlin'), Cairo (Nazârat al-Ma'ârif), 13 fascicles<sup>135</sup>.

[15] 1888-1890. Muhammad Sharîf Salîm (1861-1925) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Rihla ilâ 'Ûrûbâ'* ('A trip to Europe'), Cairo, 6 fasc. (82p.)<sup>136</sup>.

<sup>131</sup> GALS, II, 749, GALS, III, 378; Kahhâla n.d., XIII:83; Nusayr 1990:242, (9/151); Pérès 1935-40:189; Sarkis 1928:1189.

<sup>132</sup> Pérès 1935-40:189. Cf. AN LH19/64. Also see AN, Dép. d'Outre-Mer (former *Archives du Gouvernement général de l'Algérie*), 10 H 40, 34 JJ 25, 1 JJ 395, 1 J 170-72.

<sup>133</sup> Delanoue 1982:526ff; *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "'Alî Mubâarak" (K. Vollers); Sarkis 1928:1367-69; Shaykhû 1991:223; Dâghir 1972-83, III/2:869-872; Nusayr 1990:222 (No. 8/960). On 'Alî Mubâarak's views on Europe, see: Louca 1970:84-100.

<sup>134</sup> Pérès 1935-40:189; Van Dyke 1897:414; *EI*<sup>1</sup> s.v. (M. Bencheneb); Nusayr 1990:241; 'Abd al-Salâm 1986:156-160; Abdesselem 1975:396-404; al-Qâsimî 1990; Newman 1998:350ff.

<sup>135</sup> Sarkis 1928:756-757; Kahhâla n.d., III:95; Dâghir 1972-83, III/1:312-313; Nusayr 1990:241 (Nos. 9/101 and 9/102); Pérès 1935-40:190.

<sup>136</sup> Pérès 1935-40:190; Kahhâla n.d., X:67; Sarkis 1928:1665; al-Zirikli 1954-59, V:29; Louca 1970:104-107.

[16] 1890. Hasan Tawfiq Ibn ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-ʿAdl: *Rasâ'il al-bushrâ fi 'l-siyâha bi Almâniyâ wa Suwîsarâ sanat 1889* ('Glad tidings in the trip to Germany and Switzerland in the year 1889'), Cairo, 55p. (2nd ed. Bûlâq, 1891)<sup>137</sup>.

[17] 1890. Hamza Fath Allâh (al-Misrî) (1849-1918) [Egypt-Muslim]: *Bâkûrat al-kalâm a'la 'l-huqûq al-nisâ' fi 'l-Islâm* ('Earliest discourse on the rights of women in Islam'), Bûlâq, 107p<sup>138</sup>.

### 1890-1900

[18] 1891. Mahmûd ʿUmar al-Bâjûrî (d. 1905) [Egypt - Muslim]: *al-Durar al-bahiyya fi 'l-rihla al-ûrubâwiyya* ('The beautiful pearls in the trip to Europe'), Cairo (Matbaʿat Muhammad Mustafâ ), 96p<sup>139</sup>.

[19] 1891. Dîmitri (b.) Naʿimat Allâh Khallât al-Tarâbulsî (d. 1934) [Lebanon - Christian]: *Sifr al-safar ilâ maʿrad al-hadar* ('Book of the journey to the Exhibition of the civilized'), Cairo (Matbaʿat al-Muqtataf), 282p<sup>140</sup>.

[20] 1891. Yaʿqûb Sanûʿ/Abû Nazzâra (Zarqâ') (1813-1912) [Egypt - Jew]: *Mahâmid al-Faransîs wa wasf Bârîs* ('The admirable qualities of the French and the description of Paris'), Paris (Impr. Lefebvre), 46p<sup>141</sup>.

[21] 1892. Muhammad Amîn Fikrî (1856-1900) [Egypt - Muslim]:

<sup>137</sup> Sarkis 1928:757; Dâghir 1972-83,III/1:312; Kahhâla n.d.,III:95; Nusayr 1990:242 (No. 9/155); Pérès 1935-40:190.

<sup>138</sup> Louca 1970:203-209; Nusayr 1990:129 (n° 3/800); Pérès 1935-40:190; Sarkis 1928:795-797; Dâghir 1972-83,III/1:339-340; GALS, II, 725; Shaykhû 1991:354.

<sup>139</sup> Pérès 1935-40:190; Kahhâla n.d.,XII:184-185; al-Zirikli 1954-59,VIII:56-57; Sarkis 1928:510-511; Nusayr 1990:242 (Nos. 9/149, 9/150); Louca 1970:206-208; GALS, II, 727.

<sup>140</sup> Sarkis 1928:832; Kahhâla n.d.,IV:146; Nusayr 1990:242 (9/146); Pérès 1935-40:190; Graf 1944-53, IV:303.

<sup>141</sup> Pérès 1935-40:189; Louca 1970:168-169.



*Irshâd al-alibbâ' ilâ mahâsin Ūrubbâ'* ('The intelligent men's guide to the beauties of Europe'), Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup>at al-Muqtataf), 821p<sup>142</sup>.

[22] 1892. Muhammad al-Sanûsî (1850-1900) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *al-Istitlâ<sup>c</sup>ât al-bârîsiyya fî ma<sup>c</sup>rad sanat 1889* ('Parisian curiosities at the 1889 Exhibition'), Tunis (al-Matba<sup>c</sup>a al-Rasmiyya), 279p<sup>143</sup>.

[23] 1893. Khalîl Sarkîs (1842-1910) [Lebanon - Christian]: *Rihlat mudîr al-Lisân (Khalîl Sarkîs) ilâ al-'Âsitâna wa 'Urubbâ wa Amrîkâ* ('Trip by the Language Director (Khalîl Sarkîs) to Constantinople, Europe and America'), Cairo (al-Matba<sup>c</sup>a al-Adabiyya), 141p<sup>144</sup>.

[24] 1893. Ahmad Zakî Pâshâ (1867-1934) [Egypt - Muslim]: *al-Safar ilâ 'l-mu'tamar* ('The trip to the Conference'), Bûlâq, 400p. (2nd ed. Bûlâq, 1894, 400p.)<sup>145</sup>.

[25] 1895. Ahmad Shawqî (1868-1932) [Egypt - Muslim]: *A<sup>c</sup>mâlî fî 'l-mu'tamar* ('My activities at the Conference'), Bûlâq, 69p<sup>146</sup>.

[26] 1900. 'Alî Pâshâ Abû 'l-Futûh (1876-1913) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Siyâhat misrî fî 'Ūrubbâ sanat 1900* ('An Egyptian's tourist journey to Europe in 1900'), Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup>at al-Mawsû<sup>c</sup>ât), 88p<sup>147</sup>.

[27] 1900. Ahmad Zakî Pâshâ: *al-Dunyâ fî Bârîz. L'Univers à Paris*, Bûlâq, 272/8/8p<sup>148</sup>.

<sup>142</sup> Pérès 1935-40:190; Van Dyke 1897:414; Sarkîs 1928:1455; Nusayr 1990:253 (n° 9/472, 9/473); *EI*<sup>1</sup>, *EJ*<sup>2</sup>, s.v. "Fikrî" (J. Jomier); Shaykhû 1991:222-223; Zaydân 1957,IV:264; Zaydân 1922:272-278; Louca 1970:197-202.

<sup>143</sup> See Newman 1998:132ff.

<sup>144</sup> Dâghîr 1972-83, III/1:532-34; Pérès 1935-40:191; *GAL*, II, 496, *GALS*, II, 771; Sarkîs 1928:1020-1021; Shaykhû 1924:227 (n° 897); Shaykhû 1991:378.

<sup>145</sup> Pérès 1935-40:191; Pérès 1937:72-87; Louca 1970:209-221; Paradela Alonso 1993:139-51; Sarkîs 1928:971; Nusayr 1990:242 (n° 9/152 and 9/153); Van Dyke 1897:417; *GALS*, III, 281-283. The section of the *rihla* dealing with Spain appeared separately under the title *Rihla ilâ 'l-Andalus* (ed. M. Kâmil al-Jatîb, Damascus, 1990).

<sup>146</sup> Cf. Nusayr 1990:4 (n° 0/112); Pérès 1935-40:191; Sarkîs 1928:1158-1160.

<sup>147</sup> Pérès 1935-40:191; Kahhâla n.d.,VII:22.

<sup>148</sup> Pérès 1935-40:191; Nusayr 1990:242 (n° 9/154).

[28] 1900. Adwâr Ilyâs [Egypt - Muslim]: *Kitâb mashâhid 'Urubbâ wa 'Amrikâ* ('Views on Europe and America'), Cairo (Matba'at al-Muqtataf), 512p<sup>149</sup>.

[29] 1900. Muhammad Ibn al-Khûja (d. 1325/1907-8) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *Sulûk al-ibrîz fî masâlik Bârîz* ('The behaviour of pure gold in the routes of Paris'), Tunis (al-Matba'a al-Rasmiyya), 89p<sup>150</sup>.

## 2. *Travelogues not separately published*

(The dates in square brackets [ ] refer to the date of the trip).

**1888-1890 [1887].** 'Alî b. Salîm al-Wardânî al-Tûnisî (1861-1915) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *al-Rihla al-andalusiyya* ('The trip to Spain'), in *al-Hâdira*, n° 3-9, 11, 26-28, 30, 33-34, 37, 40-43, 53, 61-62, 76, 90-91, 94<sup>151</sup>.

**1894.** Ahmad b. Khâlid al-Nâsirî al-Salâwî (1835-1895) [Morocco - Muslim]: *Kitâb al-istiqsâ li-akhbâr duwal al-Maghrib al-aqsâ* ('The book containing a thorough investigation of the events of the states of the Far Maghrib'), IV, Cairo (Matba'at Muhammad Mustafâ 1312/1894, 229 (IX, Casablanca, 1956, 116). French trans. E. Fumey: *Chronique de la dynastie alaouite du Maroc (1631-1894)*, *Archives Marocaines*, vol IX, tome II, 1907, pp. 260-263<sup>152</sup>.

**1895 [1894].** Muhammad Rûhî al-Khâlidî (1864-1913) [Palestine - Muslim]: *Rihla al-khâlidiyya ilâ markaz al-madaniyya* ('al-Khâlidî's journey to the centre of civilization'), in *al-Tawaddud* (ed. Abû Nazzâra)<sup>153</sup>.

<sup>149</sup> Sarkis 1928:418.

<sup>150</sup> See Newman 1998:214ff.

<sup>151</sup> See Newman 1998:238ff.; al-Qafsi 1982-83. A printed (facsimile) edition of the *rihla* appeared in 1984 (Tunis), ed. 'Abd al-Yabbâr al-Sharif.

<sup>152</sup> Pérès 1935-40:189; *GAL*, II, 510; *GALS*, II, 888-889; *EI*<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "al-Slâwî" (E. Lévi-Provençal) Dâghir 1972-83:III/1, 559; Zaydân 1957,IV:264; Sarkis 1928:1040; al-Zirikli 1954-59,I:118; Ibn Sûda 1950:43.

<sup>153</sup> Louca 1970:169-171. Also see *supra*.

**1898 [1890].** Ahmad Shawqî: *al-Shawqiyyât*, Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup> at al-Âdâb wa 'l-Mu'ayyad)<sup>154</sup>.

### 3. Manuscripts

**[1895?].** Muhammad Rûhî al-Khâlidî: *Rihla ilâ al-Andalus* ('The trip to Spain')<sup>155</sup>.

**[1871-1874].** Luwîs b. Ya<sup>c</sup>qûb b. Ibrâhîm al-Sâbunjî (1833-1931) [Syria - Christian]: *al-Rihla al-nahliyya* ('The trip of the Bee')<sup>156</sup>.

**1854<sup>157</sup> [1853].** Captain (*sâghqûl aghâsi*) Murâd [Tunisia - Muslim]: *Rihla*<sup>158</sup>.

**[1845-1846].** Muhammad al-Saffâr (d. 1881) [Morocco - Muslim]: *Rihla*<sup>159</sup>.

**[1900].** Muhammad Ibn 'Uthmân al-Hashâ'ishî (1855-1912) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *Wasf ma<sup>c</sup>rad Bâris* ('Description of the Paris Exhibition).

**[1876?].** Yûsuf Habîb Bâkhûs (1845-1882) [Lebanon - Christian]: *'Ishrûn yawm fî Rûmâ* ('Twenty days in Rome')<sup>160</sup>.

<sup>154</sup> See Louca 1970:242-243, 264-265; Pérès 1935-1940:190; Nusayr 1990:206 (n° 8/425). For a translation of Shawqî's introduction, in which he recounts his first journey to France (1890), see Pérès 1936.

<sup>155</sup> Cf. Dâghir 1972-83,II:326; Chejne 1962:212-213; Shaykhû 1991:356; Sarkis 1928:813-814; al-Zirikli 1954-59,III:64.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. *El<sup>2</sup>*, s.v. "Sâbundjî" (J. Fontaine); Dâghir 1972-83, II:511-514; Sarkis 1928:1177; Shaykhû 1991:458; di Tarrâzi 1913-14,II:47,52,IV:340-341. Parts of this world trip were published in Constantinople in 1874.

<sup>157</sup> This denotes the date of completion of the manuscript.

<sup>158</sup> Cf. Mokadem 1946. Also see Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf 1963-65,IV:143.

<sup>159</sup> Bibliothèque Générale, Rabat, n° 113. See al-Khattâb 1987. The work was edited and translated into English by Gilson Miller (1992).

<sup>160</sup> Kahhâla n.d.,XIII:287 ("*'Ishrûn yawm fî Rûma*"); Dâghir 1972-83,II:157-158; Shaykhû 1924:51 (n° 165); Shaykhû 1991:254-255.

#### 4. Works published in the 20th century

**1901 [1900].** Nasîm Khallât (1833-1901) [Lebanon - Christian]: *Siyâha fî gharbî Ūrûbbâ* ('A trip to Western Europe'), Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup> at al-Muqtataf), 170p<sup>161</sup>.

**1901 [1900].** Muhammad Labîb al-Batanûnî (d. 1938) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Rihlat al-sayf ilâ Ūrûbbâ* ('A summer trip to Europe'), Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup> at al-Liwâ'), 262p<sup>162</sup>.

**1906 [1900].** Muhammad Tawfiq al-Bakrî (1870-1932) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Sahârîj al-lu'lu'* ('Cisterns of pearls'), Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup> at al-Hilâl), 388p. (2nd ed. 1917)<sup>163</sup>.

**1923 [1887-1891].** Ahmad Shawqî: *Karmat Ibn Hâni'* (ed. T. al-Râ<sup>c</sup>î), Cairo (al-Matba<sup>c</sup> a al-Rahmâniyya), [pp. 9-13]<sup>164</sup>.

**1927 [1900].** Muhammad al-Muwaylihî (1858-1930) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Hadîth 'Îsâ b. Hishâm aw fatra min al-zaman* ('The story of 'Îsâ b. Hishâm, or a period of time'), 4th ed., Cairo (Matba<sup>c</sup> at Misr), pp. 375-462 ("*al-Rihla al-Thâniyya*", 'The second trip')<sup>165</sup>.

**1963 [1846].** Ahmad Ibn Abî 'l-Diyâf (d. 1874) [Tunisia - Muslim]: *Ithâf ahl al-zamân bi akhbâr mulûk Tûnis wa 'ahd al-amân* ('Gift to contemporaries on the history of the kings of Tunis and on the 'Fundamental Pact'), ed. M. Mzali, IV, Tunis, pp. 96-110 (2nd ed. Muhammad Shammâmî, Tunis, 1989, IV, 139-151); ed. 'A. 'Abd al-Salâm, *Chapitre VI. Chronique du règne d'Ahmad Bey*, Tunis, 1971, pp. 136-150<sup>166</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> Pérès 1935-40:191; Sarkîs 1928:832.

<sup>162</sup> Pérès 1935-40:191; *GALS*, II, 749; Kakhâla n.d., XI:165; Sarkîs 1928:524-525; al-Ziriklî 1954-59, VII:237-238.

<sup>163</sup> Louca 1970:222-225.

<sup>164</sup> Pérès 1935-40:190; Sarkîs 1928:1158; Dâghir 1972-83, II:492.

<sup>165</sup> Cf. Louca 1970:225-237; Pérès 1935-40:191.

<sup>166</sup> See Abdesslem 1975:332-382; Brown 1974:325-334.

**1967 [1860].** Abû Muhammad ʿAbd Allâh Muhammad al-Tâhir b. ʿAbd al-Rahmân al-Fâsî al-Fihri (1830-1870) [Morocco - Muslim]: *al-Rihla al-ibrîziyya li-diyâr al-inklîziyya* ('Trip to the Land of the English'), ed. Muhammad al-Fâsî, Fès<sup>167</sup>.

**1963 [1885].** Abû 'l-ʿAbbâs Ahmad b. Muhammad b. ʿAbd al-Qâdir al-Kilânî, known as al-Kardûdî (1840-1898) [Morocco - Muslim]: *al-Tuhfa al-saniyya li 'l-hadra al-sharîfa al-hasaniyya bi 'l-mamlaka al-isbanyûliyya* ('The splendid gift for his Excellency Sharîf Hasan in the kingdom of Spain'), ed. ʿAbd al-Wahâb b. Mansûr, Rabat<sup>168</sup>.

**1976-1981 [1882-1883].** Muhammad al-Sanûsî: *al-Rihla al-hijâziyya* ('The trip to the Hijâz'), ed. ʿAlî al-Shannûfî, 3 vols, Tunis.

**1989 [1860].** Idrîs b. al-Wazîr al-ʿAmrâwî (d. 1878) [Morocco - Muslim]: *Tuhfat al-malik al-ʿazîz bi-mamlakat Bârîz* ('Gift from the well-loved ruler in the kingdom of Paris'), ed. Zakî Mubâarak, Rabat<sup>169</sup>.

**1992 [1850].** Muhammad al-Tantâwî (1810-1861) [Egypt - Muslim]: *Tuhfat al-adhkiyâ' bi akhbâr bilâd Rûsiyâ* ('Gift of the intelligent person on news about Russia'), ed. Muhammad al-Sâlihiyya, Beirut<sup>170</sup>.

<sup>167</sup> Cf. Ibn Sûda 1950:393 (n° 1218).

<sup>168</sup> Paradela Alonso 1993:123-26. Pérès 1935-40:189; Pérès 1937:42-51; Kaddouri 1991:129-130, 133-134.

<sup>169</sup> Ibn Sûda 1950:376-377 (n° 1153). French trans. Zakî 1989, *Idriss Ben Idriss Lamraoui, Ambassadeur marocain à Paris en 1860. La société française sous Napoléon III*, Rabat.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. EI<sup>1</sup>, s.v. "al-Tantâwî" (Ign. Krachkovsky); GAL, II, 479; Shaykhû 1991:189; Pérès 1935-40:188; Dâghir 1972-83, III/1:727-728; Kakhâla n.d., XI:100-101; Fikrî 1892:609-610.

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