ṬAHṬĀWĪ AND ARABIC LITERARY RENAISSANCE IN EGYPT

A

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TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Certified that Md. Emdadul Haque, an M.Phil Student of this Department, submitted his Dissertation entitled " Ṭahṭāwī and Arabic literary Renaissance in Egypt " under my supervision. The work is and original and entirely his own .

I wish him all success in life .

A.B.Siddique 31.8.91

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RIFĀ'A RĀFI' AL-ṬAHṬĀWĪ

(رفاعة رافع الطهطاوى)

PREFACE

Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī (1216-1290/1801-1873) has made a significant contribution in the process of Modernizing the Arabic language and literature in the middle of the 13th/19th century. In the renaissance period his creative writing as well as his translations into Arabic from other languages have embraced all the major aspects of modern Arabic literature specially in the field of poetry, prose, history, journalism, geography, biography, science and commerce. Through my study and research I have come to discover as many as 85 works ascribed to Ṭahṭāwī among which about 25 published and the rest are in manuscript form which are available in different libraries of the world.

Though there has been studies of Ṭahṭāwī's individual works in the form of editing, translating and compiling, no comprehensive study of the entire corpus of his literary and scientific output has been attempted till to-date. And to my mind this is sufficient justification for the attempt for an assimilation and an overall assessment of all the extent works of Ṭahṭāwī.

The topic of my research leading to M.Phil. degree, entitled "Ṭahṭāwī and Arabic Literary Renaissance in Egypt" has been approved by the Academic Council of the University in its meeting held on 06.01.1987.

In the preparation of my dissertation I received bountiful assistance, enlightened guidance and constant help from my Superviser Dr. M. Abu Baker Siddique, M.A. (Dhaka), Ph.D. (Aligarh), Associate Professor and Chairman, Department of Arabic,

University of Dhaka. I registered to him my deepest sense of gratitude and thankfulness for providing me with valuable suggestion and many books and manuscripts from his personal collection. In all phases of the work he extended utmost facilities which made the work see the light of the day.

For collection of materials for my dissertation I have been consulting various libraries of different Universities of Bangladesh. I am much thankful to the stuff of these libraries.

My thanks are also due to Dr. Syed Lutful Huq, Supernumerary teacher and Mr. A.T.M. Muslehuddin, Associate Professor, Department of Arabic, University of Dhaka for their valuable help and suggestions. I am thankful to Mr. Syed Anwarul Haque, Assistant Professor, Department of English, University of Dhaka who went through the manuscript.

I am very much grateful to the Authorities of the University of Dhaka for their generously granting me a scholarship which enable me to complete my research work.

August, 1991

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CHAPTER I

POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS OF EGYPT IN 13TH/19TH CENTURY

The Europeans returned to their own countries after their defeat in the Crusades. The light of Islamic civilization fascinated them and they took its key with them. Then they began to glean valuable thoughts from that civilization and picked up its light and acquired knowledge from their works. In this process, the following factors: geographical, historical, social and economic contributed a lot to present their civilization in a new manner. In fact they have changed their existing culture in the light of Islamic tradition. First they were dependent on free thinking and secondly on observation, experiment and experience. All this led them to new scientific discoveries that was the precursor of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries.[1]

While the Europeans were doing all these things, the people of the East engaged themselves in activities quite different from those of the Europeans. At this time Egypt was considered as the centre, store house of wealth and a strong fort for the Middle East. They struggled hard to drive out the Crusaders from Egypt and Syria. When they were at the door-step of victory, a more violent attack came from the Tartars, one after another, and they faced it with courage and defeated

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī (Egypt: Dār al- Maārif, n.d.), P.5.

them and saved themselves from their evils. Credit goes especially to Egypt and her Mamluk Rulers in inflicting a crushing defeat on these savage hords till they felt completely perplexed, and they took to their way— a different way which is beneficial to them, and they took with them a torch of light of Islām which ultimately made them a civilized people free from savagery.[1]

All these evil designs of the Crusaders and the Tartars were baffled by the strenuous efforts of Egypt and her Sulṭāns with their persons and wealth in order to get rid of these two dangers. For this reason there is nothing to wonder if we consider by way of comparison that the period of the second Mamlūks especially the later part of it is much weaker in strength and grandeur than the first Mamluks. Besides these, there was an important thing which the Egyptians did never forget at any time, and that was their patriotic consciousness about themselves, their beloved country Egypt and their glorious civilization throughout the ages. This impelled them always to their history, their kings, their judges, their scholars, their cities, the places of worship, their Nile, the festivals and the like.[2]

However, as a result of this continuous endevour, we have books on her land and their suppliments on history and biography, beginning with the "FUTŪḤ MIṢR" by Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥākam and ending with "AL-KHIṬAṬ AL-TAWFĪQUĪYA" by ʿAlī Mubārak,

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1 Ibid., PP. 5-6.

2 Ibid., P.6.

"TAQWĪM AL-NĪL" by Amīn Sāmī and "TĀRĪKH AL-ḤARKAT AL-QAWMĪYAH" by ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Rāfiʿī .

At the end of the ninth / fifteenth century Egypt found herself too weak to stand for long before the superior Ottoman power, which led to her submission for a while. The Egyptians now faced a grave danger. They struggled to gather in a strong competition throughout the 9th/15th century in order to collect various sciences that reached them and gather together a good number of books in big encyclopaedias. Hence there appeared in this century some luminous names, and we find Maqrizi wrote "al-Khiṭaṭ," "Ittiʿāẓ al-Ḥunafā," "al-Sulūk" and so on; Qalqashandi wrote "Ṣabḥ al- Aʿsha" and Ibn Khaldūn wrote his History in Egypt. Suyūtī wrote hundreds of books. Then came Sakhāwi who wrote biographies of them all and others who lived in this century in his book named: "al-Daw al-Lāmiʿ fī Aʿyān al-Qarn al-Tāsiʿ", following the style of his teacher Ibn Ḥajar in his "al-Durar al-Kāmina fī Aʿyān al-Miat al-Thāmina".

Egypt lost her independence after the victory of the Ottomans. There were three dominant powers in the Ottoman reign- the Pasha, the Diwan (government) and the Mamluk. This was the system that was introduced by Salīm I for the administration of Egypt, and for the preservation of Ottoman power for a long time possible. Each of these was involved in conflicts and was trying its best in order to achieve two objects: first to strengthen themselves and to make the other two powerless, secondly, to appropriate national wealth themselves as far as possible in order to become rich. As for the nation the country and their reformation and development, they totally ignored it

and history writes dark pages on this period, and Egypt became weak in every respect- weak militarily and economically, weak in the field of health and scientific studies, and darkness of inactivity and stagnancy pervaded the country for long three centuries.

Professor Muḥammad Shafīq Ghirbāl has successfully discussed the causes of this stagnancy in the preface of the book entitled "Al-Sharq al-Islāmī fī al-ʿAṣr al-ḥadīth " by Dr. Ḥusain Muʾnis. He rejected the openion of those who say that the stagnancy is due to Ottoman rulers, being conservate by nature, because the Ottomans were not a single tribe, and the term Ottoman only means that they are descendants of a group of rulers. Moreover the system of the early Ottomans and the plans of first Ottoman Kings in respect of warfare and administration of their Kingdom on a grand scale of agility and ability were ineffective. Then Professor Ghirbāl draws our attention to these drawbacks and diognised the cause of stagnancy as below: Stagnancy goes back to the fact that the Ottoman power turned about without maintaining any connection with the foreign civilizations in general and with the European civilization in particular.[1]

It is a fact that the relations between the East and the West were never disrupted- neither in peace nor in war time- since the promulgation of Islām. The Crusaders determined the nature of these relations. All the battles ended in driving out the Crusaders from the Islamic countries of the East, and they

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1 Ibid., P.8.

returned to their continent full of praise of the bravery of the East, its power and its superiority. The Europeans ever since engaged themselves for centuries in the development of their countries and internal communal wars; on the other hand the people of the East were engaged in their wars against the Mongols for sometime and among themselves for some other time. However, on account of all these events though relations gradually became weaker and weaker, but was never cut off totally. Ships continued trading during Mamluk period between the East and the West across Egypt and Syria. Those ships carried the western marchents to the ports of Egypt and Syria, and they began to establish their colonies in these ports, deputing consuls who used to look after the commercial benefits of their states. Commercial contracts and agreements used to be held between Mamluk rulers of Egypt and Syria and the Kings and dukes of European states. At last Egypt was very much eager to strengthen this trading relations throughout the Mamluk period, and this was the source of her accumulation of vast wealth, but as regards the exchange of science and education between Egypt and the West were not very much effective, because at that period Egypt had no new science which she could offer before them and communicate to them. Similarly, the European traders here had little interest in spreading knowledge here nor Europe had progressed much until the Ottoman conquest of Egypt in 923/1517 in the field of her development.[1]

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1 Ibid., PP.11-12.

After the Ottoman conquest the relation of Egypt and Eastern countries with Europe came to a half. At this time Europeans were fortunate to have discovered ways of a better future. So with the diversion trade relation the fortune of Egypt was also diverted. In this way the last thread of relation that bound Egypt and European countries together was cut off. So there dawned on Egypt an age of strange practices like monkery, sufism and dervishhood and these were augmented by the establishment a good number of Khanqas, monasteries, hospices and dargahs, and prevailed upon the minds of the people jugglers, sorcerers and false saints. Consequently there prevailed lagends and hoaxes, and to the people and also to the ulama, belief in these strange things took the place of belief in true religion. In this way all the factors of weakness gathered together in Egypt, while she was the leader of the East; she became weak militarily on account of her being in the Ottoman occupation, economically on account of her loss of trade, and scientifically and intellectually due to the influence of sufism and dervishism that pervaded the minds of her people.

Europe continued until the end of the eighteenth century to have her much respect for the Islamic East as she did not forget by then their bravery in the Crusades and the victory of the Turks. But later on, a number of travellers began to enter the East, who travelled widely in the countries of the East were astonished to think over their conditions. On their return they narrated to their people what they saw of the backwardness of the Islamic community and their extreme weakness. Then the Europeans began to have doubts in the power of the Islamic East and their fears vanished from their minds. So they began to think using

the sea route of the Mediterranean anew. There is an ample proof of this statement in what we have quoted before of volney. For this reason the European countries, particularly France, began to think anew to attack the weak East, and the result of this idea was the military expedition of Napoleon Bonaparte (1183-1237/1769-1821)[1] in Egypt in the year 1213/1798.[2]

The problem of the empire throughout the eighteenth century of its existence was: how to introduce into the body politic those changes in institutions and political morality which, in the modern world, were the sources of strength. There were distant provinces of the empire, however, where government was autonomus and the population homogeneous and where reform, posed great problems and had little success. Such was Egypt, to which the ideas of the French Revolution came embodied in a European army. The last great historian of the ancient tradition, al-Jabartī (1170-1241/1756-1825), was living in Egypt when Bonaparte's army landed, and in his description of the coming of the French we can see implicit the whole ambivalent relationship of modern Egypt and modern Europe. He describes how one day English ships arrived off Alexandria. A small boat was lowered and ten Englishmen came ashore. They met the notables of the city and told them they were searching for the French fleet. 'You will not', they said, 'be able to drive them off. We shall stay here with our fleet to defend your port, and we want nothing of you except water and food'.[3] But the notables replied: This is the sultan's country,

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1 Emperor of the French from 1219-31/1804-15, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia (U.S.A.: Laurence Urdang Associates Ltd., 1981) P.854.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Tahtāwī, PP.12-13.

3 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1939, (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), P.49.

neither the French nor any other people have any rights in it. Please go away'. Their defiant spirit was echoed by the Mamluk amirs when the news came to Cairo. They received it with indifference, saying 'Let all the Franks come, and we shall crush them beneath our horses' hooves'.[1]

Napolean Bonaparte issued a proclamation before his occupation of Alexandria. It began with the traditional Muslim invocation- 'In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate; there is no god but God, He has no offspring and no partner.' But the next phrase invoked a new principle: this proclamation, it declared, was issued by the French Government, which was built on the basis of freedom and equality.' It then proceeded to apply these principles to Egypt. In the eyes of God all men were equal, except in the intelligence and virtue. The Mamluks had neither intelligence nor virtue, and therefore, had no right to rule Egypt and control all that is good in it. They had ruined 'this best of countries,' destroyed the great cities and canals for which it was once famous. Now their rule was over, and henceforth nobody among the people of Egypt would be excluded from high position. The men of virtue and learning among them would direct affairs and the state of the umma be improved. The proclamation ends with a rousing peroration: 'God curse the Mamluks and improve the condition of the Egyptian umma'[2] Jabartī added in his great dīwān: "the Turks have ruined Egypt by their greed. Now the French nation have come forward to free Egypt from her persent state and give her people rest from the oppression of this government."

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1 Ibid., P. 49.

2 Ibid., PP. 49-50.

Jabartī has quoted the impression of Napolean Bonaparte saying, "I have only come to this country in order to destroy your religion. This is a clear lie; do not believe it. Say to the slanderers that I have come to rescue you from the hands of the oppressors. I worship God (may He be exalted) far more than the Mamluks do, and respect His Prophet and the glorious Qurʾān... O Shaykhs, judges and imams, officers and notables of the land, tell your people that the French also are sincere Muslims; the proof of it is that they have occupied great Rome and ruined the papal sea which was always urging the Christians to attack Islam, and from there they have gone to the island of Malta and expelled from it the knights of Malta who used to claim that God wanted them to fight the Muslims. At all times the French have been sincere friends of the Ottoman sultan and enemies of his enemies."

The Mamluk armies were defeated by the French. Their soldiers were scattered in different groups who took shelter in the East in Syria and in the south to distant places like Upper Egypt, Nubia and the Sudan. So we can see that the invasion was successful militarily, but this success was a temporary one, as it soon faced new difficulties- the most important of them was the fighting against the Egyptian nation. This invasion of France lasted for three years in the shape of a terrible battle until they became weak, yielded and left the country.[1] In 1192/1778, the British were able to conclude a treaty with the Mamluk ruler of Egypt to secure the Red sea shipping. The rivalry between Frence and Britain in the Middle East, as well as in India, was heightened

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.13.

by the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon. While the main scene of the struggle between France and England was in Europe, it was part of the grand scheme of Napoleon to harass Britain from all directions. Certainly the trade route to India was one of the most vulnerable ones. Perhaps he also had dreams of building a great empire or of spreading Western culture among the peoples of the Middle East. The fact that he took so many nonmilitary personnel with him shows that he was prepared to take advantage of every opportunity to win fame and popularity at home and in the world at large. His expedition was based on fairly accurate knowledge of the social and political situation in Egypt and he took with him scholars and scientists to learn more. In Egypt, Napoleon posed himself as the liberator of the masses from the tyranny of the Mamluks. He proclaimed himself as a friend of Islam and of the Ottoman Sulṭān. But Egypt belonged to the Ottomans and the Sublime Porte[1] did not like Napoleon's intrusion. The British were not slow to point this out and the Sultan sent an expedition which with the help of the British, forced the French army to surrender in 1216/1801.[2]

As a French, Napoleon Bonaparte may well have regarded Islām as being nearer to the religion of reason than was Christianity, and until the end of his life he kept his lively interest in it. Moreover in denouncing the Mamluks and professing respect for the 'men of virtue and learning', he was sketching out the policy he proposed to follow: to transfer local power from the Mamluk

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1 The chief office of the Ottoman government at Constantinople, so called from the Sublime Porte or High Gate, cf. Macdonald OBE, Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary (New Delhi:Allied Publishers Rt. Ltd., 1972) P.1045.

2 Yahya Armazani, Tr. Middle East Past and Present (New Jersey, London: Englewood Cliffs, 1970), PP.210-11.

amīrs to the 'ulamā', the popular leaders of Egypt and the only alternative ruling class. Even if his stay in Egypt had lasted longer, however, it is unlikely that he would have succeeded in ruling in partnership with them, for in the eyes of the 'ulamā' no benefits he could bring to Egypt would have outweighed his being a non-Muslim ruling a Muslim land in defiance of the sultan, and it is unlikely that any Muslim was taken in by his assurances. Jabartī was himself a Shaykh of the Azhar, and he begins his account of the French occupation by saying that this was the beginning of a reversal of the natural order and the corruption or destruction of all things. He does not hesitate, it is true, to give credit to the French when he sees things of which he can approve- the Institute with its pictures, maps and books, its scientific collections and experiments; the French savants with their enthusiasm for learning, and the warmth of their welcome to Muslim visitors shared a genuine interest in science. But he was always conscious of the danger to religion and morality inherent in non-Muslim rule: the arming and training of Christian soldiers, the powers given to Coptic tax- collectors, the 'pernicious innovations' introduced into the legal system, and the corruption of women- for even the daughter of the greatest religious notable, the Shaykh al-Bakrī, had mixed with the French and dressed like a French lady, and was executed for it when the Turks came back.[1]

Napoleon failed in his attempt to harass the British or even to increase his own fame. He had returned to France long before his army surrendered. Everything probably would have gone back to normal had it not been for two by-products of the

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1 Albert Hourani, Arabic thought in the liberal age. PP. 50-51.

Napoleonic expedition. One of these was the fact that the scholars who had accompanied Napoleon discovered the famous Rosetta Stone which furnished a key to the unraveling of the ancient Egyptian civilization. Napoleon's scholars also prepared a wealth of accurate information about the physical, human, and economic geography of Egypt. The second by- product was an accident for which Napoleon was not responsible. It so happened that in the expeditionary forces sent by the sulṭān to Egypt there was a young man, Muḥammad ʿAlī, who changed the history of Egypt. Napoleon's expedition revealed the might of Europe, but Muḥammad ʿAlī was one of the few who understood the source of that might and attempted to bring Egypt into the modern world by borrowing from the West.[1]

Muḥammad ʿAlī, however, did not become the puppet of the French. He was shrewd enough to see the supremacy of European arms, technical knowledge, and education. He asked the French to teach his followers. By bringing French naval and military experts to Egypt, he created a new army and navy with the latest weapons; opening schools on the French model, he also had French books translated into Arabic. He brought in agricultural experts and by 1231/1815 had monopolized trade in cotton, hemp, indigo and sesame. They built ships and harbors too. It may be surmised that he was not doing these things for the glory of Islam or for the uplifting of the Egyptian masses. There seems little doubt that his ambitions were for himself and his descendants. Muḥammad ʿAlī issued no proclamation of rights and made no attempt to reform the political institutions of the country. Apart from one large Advisory Council called in 1245/1829, he governed in the traditional way: decisions were made by him personally, after full and free

1 Yaḥya Armazani, Middle East Past and Present, P. 211.

discussion with his advisers. It was largely in the interest of his military policy that he opened professional schools, sent students to Europe and set them to translate technical works. When they returned, established a press to print the translations, and an official newspaper to publish the texts of his decrees and decisions, he needed artillery officers, doctors and engineers. It was not his intention that they should acquire more than a necessary skill: they were kept under control and when a group of students asked his permission to make a tour of France and acquire knowledge of French life, at first he refused it. But with new skills new ideas were bound to enter, and the schools and scholastic missions had an influence greater far than he could have intended. The first teachers in his schools were Italians, and Italian - then the lingua-franca of the Levant[1] was the first European language to be taught. But it was soon replaced by the French, and with the French there came in the ideas of Voltaire,[2] Rousseau[3] and Montesquieu.[4] As early as 1232/1816 their works were in the library of one of the schools. From 1242/1826 onwards organized missions were sent to France: They read French books and saw

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1 Lebanon, Syria and the Eastern Mediterranean and its shores, cf. Macdonald OBE, Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, P.756.

2 French philosopher, poet, dramatist, historian and sceptic (1106-1192/1694-1778), cf.Macdonald OBE, Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary, P. 1521.

3 Jean Jacques (1124-1192/1712-1778), Swiss Philosopher and litterateur, the most influential of all 18th century writers in the French language. His writings inspired the leaders of the French Revolution, cf. The Encyclopedia Americana (U.S.A.: Encyclopedia Americana Corporation, 1983) volume 23, P. 811.

4 A French writer and philosopher (1101-1169/1689-1755), cf.Munīr Ba'albakī, Al-Mawrid, A Modern English Arabic Dictionary (Bayrut: Dār el-'Ilm lil-Malayen, 1987), P.61 (Biographical name).

French life at one of those moments of revolution when the conflict of general ideas is embodied in the clash of opposing forces. Most of the students of the first schools and missions were Turks or Levantine Christians, but later the Egyptian element grew larger, and it was this element which to form the first intelligentsia of modern Egypt. Already in the 1246/1830's it was beginning to play a part in affairs: Its members were translating and publishing other than purely technical books; it worked closely with the Saint-Simonians[1] to bring about a reorganization of the schools, and from its ranks came the first considerable political thinker of modern Egypt, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī.[2]

Most of the Fertile Crescent were governed by the Ottomans, with the exception of Egypt, which was distinct both geographically and politically. The advent of Muḥammad ʿAlī and the subsequent history of Egypt widened the gap between the Egyptians and the peoples of the Fertile Crescent. Thus it was easier for the intellectual elite and the political activists of Egypt to think of themselves as a separate nation. The European contacts which the reforms of Muḥammad ʿAlī provided made it easier for them to adopt the European nationalism. The cry, "Egypt for the Egyptians", was raised in Egypt of 1300/1882, though there was no corresponding cry, "Syria for the Syrians", or "Iraq for the Iraqis". On the other hand, al-Azhar University in Cairo, as the largest centre of Islamic studies, was very influential and its teachers, like Afghani and ʿAbduh, were proclaiming the demands

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1 Saint Simonite (1174-1241/October 17, 1760-May 19, 1825)- A French social reformer of the early 19th Century. He attracted little attention during his lifetime, but after his death his disciples acquired considerable influence among European intellecruals, cf. The New Encyclopaedia Britannica (U.S.A: 1976), volume 16, P. 176.

2 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, PP.53-54.

of Islam. Furthermore, because of the fact that there was more freedom in Egypt than in the other parts of the Ottoman empire, many of the writers from Syria and Lebanon moved to Cairo and published their papers and books there. Hence, Egypt became the centre of all sorts of academic activities prevalent in the Ottoman empire. Pan-Islamists were there as well as pan-Arabs. There were the Muslim traditionalists as well as secularists. There were also Egyptians who thought of themselves as a "nation" and did not have anything to do with others, though they spoke Arabic or were Muslims or both. To make the picture more confusing was the fact that in each of the three groups, i.e., pan-Islamists, pan-Arabs and Egyptian nationalists, there were different degrees of relationships or loyalty to the Ottoman sulṭan.[1]

The economic collapse of Egypt and subsequent supremacy of foreign creditors brought different elements together in the national party ḥizb al-waṭaniyya, which resulted in the Urabi revolt. Even though ʿAbduh was not happy with the principles underlying the revolt, he nevertheless joined it. They were banned together not as Ottomans, or as Arabs, or even as Muslims, but as Egyptians. Later on, when the British won and established order, many joined the new civil service, while others, like ʿAbduh, devoted their time to the development of education and other reforms. A new generation came into being that had not known the condition of Egypt before the arrival of the British. To them Britain was not the savior of Egypt from bankruptcy, but a foreign power imposing its rule. It is quite likely that the British attitude goaded these young men into action. The British,

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1 Yahya Armazani, Tr. Middle East Past and Present, PP. 249-250.

through Lord Cromer and others, stated that Egypt was not a nation and consequently the idea of a patriot, whether a Muslim or not, was not capable of realization, On the other hand it was possible, said Cromer, for the diverse elements in Egypt to be fused together into "one self-governing body."[1]

Muṣṭafa Kāmil (1291-1326/1874-1908) believed that Egypt was a nation, but part of a larger whole which was at once Ottoman, Muslim, and eastern. For the time being, however, the last three had to wait until Egyptians had asserted their nationality. For a time he sought the aid of the French to oust the British and did not oppose the annexation of Algeria by the French. He and many other Egyptians denounced Arabism and especially disliked the Syrians. He believed that the basis for nationality was neither language nor religion nor tribal descent but land. Egypt would be a nation when the Egyptians could say, "Egypt my country".

At the beginning of the twentieth century, there were parties in Egypt. First was the peoples' Party to which belonged ʿAbduh and his friends, who, as pan-Islamists, were Muslims first, Egyptians second, and perhaps Ottomans and or Arabs third. The second was the Constitutional Reform Party, founded by the friends of the Khedive with the blessings of the British, for the safeguarding of the status quo. The third was the National Party led by Kāmil, for whom Egypt came first and Islam and Ottomanism took less significant positions. It was the spirit of the National Party which prevailed. Egyptianism was the driving

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1 Ibid ., P.250.

force of Egyptian nationalism until the second helf of the twentieth century.[1]

Arabic literature from pre-Islamic times to this day has its high and low periods. It reached its high watermark during the Abbāsid period (133-657/750-1258), touching its low period following the taking over of the Arab lands by the Turks. The years 923-1215/1517-1800 denote one of the most bleak periods in Arab history when Arabic literature ceased to be creative and in fact was a mere trickle, but the foundations of the language remained unshaken. The fact that Arabic language and literature survived the bleak period extending over three to four hundred years is due to the Qur'ān which occupies a central position both in the Islamic religion and Arabic literature. Arab intellectuals, by an elaborate system, preserved the Qur'ān's original form without a single change in the syllable or accent. Their whole emphasis was on the correct reading of the Qur'ānic text. For this purpose they devised teaching methods, which while helping in the understanding of the Holy Book, also assisted in keeping the base of classical Arabic alive. Because of this method the Qur'ān is read, understood and quoted by all who speak Arabic. In fact some of its passages form the first lessons at school.[2]

It is also no wonder that we find the educational movement becoming weak during fifteenth and sixteenth centuries- no new thinkers were born and no new institutions of such thinkers were

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1 Ibid., P.250.

2 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature 1900-1967, (Hyderabad: Dāirat al-Maārif Press, 1983), P.5.

established; attention was simply confined to the studies of religious sciences and philological subject and history in the University of al-Azhar, mosques and different educational institutions established by the Mamluk sultans. The 'Ulamā of Egypt confined their attention to the eulogy of sultan on his victory, and his life sketch on his death, or to writing commentaries foot-notes and epitomes of old original works of Fiqh, Tafsīr, Ḥadīth etc.[1]

Till 12th/18th century, the stagnancy put Egypt and her inhabitants to keeping themselves busy inside their country as does the snail within its shell, and this condition prolonged for Egypt and her inhabitants and consequently they became weak. Her condition was like, that of the sick was pass their days for a long time on beds in solitude. Hence there is nothing to wonder when we read the travel accounts of European travellers who visited Egypt. Syria and all other countries of the Ottoman Empire at the end of the 18th century like Savary, Volney and others. Volney gives an account of industrial and educational conditions of Egypt at that time: "Illiteracy was general in this country like the rest of the Turkish Empire, prevading all the strata of the society and glaring in all the constituents of literature and nature and also in fine arts including the handicrafts, which is in its worst condition. One will hardly find a watch-maker; and if at all found, he is a European. As for smithery, the number of smiths is more than that of Izmir and Aleppe, but they are illiterate. The Egyptians are good

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al Shayyāl, Rifāa Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.6.

weavers of silk cloths, although these are weaker and costlier than those made in Europe. As for the culture of knowledge, the al-Azhar University attracts students from the Islamic East.[1]

Even neither this education nor al-Azhar was in good condition in the 12th/18th century; but these were in stagnant and standstill condition. The Egyptian historian Sheikh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī mentioned in his book "ʿAjāʾib al-Āthār" what extent of stagnancy and inactivity the educational condition in Egypt prevailed. He says about Aḥmad Pāsha, the Turkish Governor of Egypt (1162-63/1749-50): "He was a well qualified man. He had great appitude for mathematics. When he arrived in Egypt and adopted the citadel as his residence a group of learned people of that time including Shaykh ʿAbd al-Shabrāwi, the Shaykh of al-Azhar University, Shaykh Sālim al-Nafrāwi and Shaykh Sulaimān al-Manṣūri called on him who talked with them and had a good discussion. When the governor talked with them about mathematics, they were silenced and said, 'We do not know these sciences, 'at this he became astonished and stopped further discussion.[2]

Then the historian says that Shaykh Shabrāwi went to the citadel on a Friday and "sought his permission and entered his court and had a talk with him, then the Pāsha said to him: We used to hear in the Roman countries that Egypt is the source of all virtues and sciences. So I had keen desire to visit Egypt, but when I came here I found it veritably what is said, "It is

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1 Ibid., PP.8-9.

2. Ibid.,P.9.

better for you to hear about Mu'aidi than you see him actually." Then the Shaikh told him, "Sir, indeed Egypt is the source of virtues and sciences as you have heard".[1]

The Governor said: "Where are these when you are the most learned people of it? I asked you about my desired sciences, but I got nothing in you, your utmost aim is to acquire the knowledge if Fiqh and intellectual subject and all sorts means have given up your aims and objects." He (Shaikh) said, "We are not the greatest of the learned people of Egypt, but we are only to reach their needs to the officers of the government and the state. Most of the people of al-Azhar do not engage themselves in mathematics except as is needed for the law of inheritance like arithmetic act. Then the Governor said, "The science of time is also one of the sciences related to the Sharī'a, which is a pre condition for the validity of religious services, as for example the knowledge of the appropriate time of prayer and the time of fasting and sighting of the moon, and so on.[2]

The Shaikh said, "Yes, it is a collective duty (farḍ al-Kifāya) to learn it; when a section of people learned it, others get free from the obligation. But these sciences require other necessaries, conditions, appliances, arts and crafts and many other things related to one's peculiar taste-like docile disposition, good form and appearance and other things related to fortune. But the people of Azhar had adverse of these qualities. Most of them are poor, belonging to a composite section of people who come from distant villages and far flung areas. So

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1 Ibid.,PP.9-10.

2 Ibid., P.10.

they lack in necessary qualifications for that. The Governor asked, "Where are these few?" He replied, "They are in their houses, people come to them".[1]

Then he apprised the governor about his father Shaykh Ḥasan al-Jabartī who was the best mathematician and astronomer. He introduced him and held a long discussion about him. Then Jabarti mentioned that the governor Pasha sent someone Shaikh Ḥasan al-Jabartī to call on him. He was pleased with him and was much delighted and used to meet him twice every week to satisfy his desire and continued his studies with him during the whole period of his governorship. He would say: "Had I not gained anything from Egypt save and except my association with this scholar, it would have been sufficient for me."[2]

At last Jabartī concludes the story of his father and the 'ulamā' of Egypt with the Pasha with a fine sentence containing sarcastic and biting criticism, and says: "Whenever the late Shaikh ʿAbd Allah al-Shibrāwi would meet my late father, he used to say: May Allah conceal your faults as you have concealed our faults from this Pasha. Had you not been there we would have all become asses..."[3]

The educational stagnancy in Egypt was removed soon after the invasion of the French general Napoleon in 1213/1798 and they stayed for three years there. After France left Egypt in 1216/1801, there was a struggle among the three powers- the Mamluks, the Turkish and the English which ended first when the English left

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1 Ibid., P.10.

2 Ibid., P.11.

3 Ibid., P.11.

Egypt and secondly when the Mamluk and the Turks became weak. There was another power behind the screen which remained hidden for nearly three countries, and which no began to expose itself on the stage, and establish its existence, after it was awakened by French invasion-it is the power of Egyptian nation. But a group of the invading people won a laudable victory in the important tasks that they shouldered. It was that a group of scholars accompanied the expedition, and fruitful result of their efforts was that voluminous great book which contains the gist of their researches and studies entitled Description de L'Egypte, which was published after they had left the country.[1]

The beginning of the 19th century saw the emergence of a host of writers, thinkers, scientists, journalists, poets, printers and translators. Some remainded in the Levant; others went to live in Egypt and other Arab countries. Later waves of Syro-Lebanese settled as far away as North and South America, mainly to seek livelihood, and also to escape the political sanctions imposed on them by the Turks. Wherever they went, they contributed to the renaissance of Arabic, especially in Egypt and the Americas.[2]

The French occupation of Egypt from 1213/1798 marks the next important phase of Arab revival. For the first time Egypt came in contact with European culture, its scienctific progress and materialism. Napoleon had brought with him a"battalion" of savants who established modern libraries and laboratories

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1 Ibid., P.13.

2 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, 1900-1967, P.7.

to carry out scientific and literary research. The Egyptians were impressed by the experiments in the laboratories which stimulated learning and their desire for knowledge.[1]

At last relations developed between the scholars of invasion and the scholars of Egypt, among whom were Shaikh ʿAbd al-Raḥman al-Jabartī, Shaikh Ismāʿīl al-Khashshāb and Shaikh Ḥasan al-ʿAttār. So there was established a bond of friendship between them and the orientalists of the invading force who visited frequently the home which these scholars made the seat of their institute, and the Egyptian scholars also visited French factories and their libraries, witnessed their experiences and researches, their printings and printing presses and they were astonished by the scientific achievement of the French, and these influenced all their arts. So the writings of al-Jabartī "in his history after the invasion were more subtle and more critical for the conduct of events and their personages than what they were before the invasion", as became the poetry of al-Khashshāb nice and facile. As for al-ʿAttār, he went a different way than that of the ʿUlamā of his period and left aside the religious and philological studies and paid good attention to the study of literature. Hence he established for this field of study a new school of which the students who followed in his foot-prints were the shaykh Ibrāhim al-Dasūqi, Muḥammad ʿIyad al-Ṭanṭawi, Muḥammad ʿUmar al-Tūnisī and Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, and this noble group will soon have their laudable efforts in the movement of translation and cultural

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1 Ibid., P.7.

life that pervaded the period of Muḥammad ʿAlī, the first half of the nineteenth century.[1]

The modernising trend was continued by Muḥammad ʿAlī who dominated Egypt's national life for half a century till 1266/1849. Muḥammad ʿAlī stressed the need for scientific and technological education. He invited foreign experts to train his people militarily and also to educate them in science and technology. Second, he sent Egyptian scholars to Europe. The first mission was deputed to Italy. Later missions were sent to France, which was to become the main training ground for generations of Egyptians not only in the restrictive military fields, but more significantly in European culture and literature.[2]

ʿAlī Mubārak says in his biography of al-ʿAttār:

"He mixed with some people of France and got acquainted with the current arts and crafts of their country and benefitted them with the knowledge of the Arabic language. He said: The condition of our country should be changed and its sciences and knowledge should be modernised. He became astonished at their sciences and education, their science and education, their writings, their huge number of books and their usefulness". ʿAttār lived till he became the Rector of al-Azhar and saw these changes of conditions and knowledge, which he had predicted, and mentioned these in his speech the meeting on the occasion of first examinations of the Medical School.[3]

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, PP.13-14.

2 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, 1900-1967, P.8.

3 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shahyyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.14.

In Egypt a new politics of reform in the shape of translation began. So books in European languages on various sciences were rendered into Arabic and schools and colleges were founded on European model. Later on, the Egyptians sent groups of students to different countries of Europe in order to acquire knowledge of modern sciences in their educational institutions, so that they could be appointed in places of foreigners engaged in different fields of reform. Among these students Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī was the only one who was sent to especialise in translation. We shall soon see in this biography of his that tried his best to be fit to bear those responsibilities which were put on his shoulders. He proved himself eminently worthy of the title, "The leader of cultural renaissance of Egypt in the nineteenth century, " which the historians gave him on account of his contributions in the field of culture.[1]

In Egypt, printing was introduced by Napoleon. In 1213/1798, the French Scientific Panel started printing the bulletin, Le Courrier de l' Egypte, once in five days and later thrice a month to inform Europe about Egyptian affairs. A scientific and literary magazine, Le Decade Egyptienne was also brought out. The first journalistic activity in Egypt did not make any impact locally, as the bulletins were published in French. Arabic was used only in 1237/1821, when Muḥammad 'Alī established the People's Press, later called al-Būlāq. It remained the only press in Egypt for forty years and was followed by the Coptic Press. Maṭba'at al-Ma'ārif was started in 1284/1867 and Maṭba'at Wādi al-Nīl in 1314/1896. The history of

1 Ibid., P.15.

Arab journalism really started from the time when Muḥammad ʿAlī initiated the official organ al-Waqāʾiʿ al-Miṣrīyya in 1244/1828. It was printed three times a week and edited by al-Ṭahṭāwī. As it was the official organ it did not reflect public opinion. Journalism continued to be in the hands of the government in the reign of Ismāʿīl, but when his policies became unpopular, political newspapers started appearing. Abu Nazara, edited by Yaʿqūb Sanuʾ, was the first political paper to be produced in the lighter vein and the first to criticize official policy, in this case the policy of Ismāʿīl.[1]

The political atmosphere of the Levant, which had witnessed the first activity of the press, was not conducive to sustained journalism. In the face of repeated closures, journalists migrated to Egypt, where they found a more liberated milieu for journalistic activity. The famous newspapers founded by the Syro-Lebanese emigres in Egypt included al-Ahrām in 1292/1875 by Salīm and Bishara Taqla in Alexandria. Later it was moved to Cairo and is today the most famous and respected daily in the Arab world. Fāris Namr and Yaʿqūb Ṣarūf started al-Muqatam in 1306/1888. The leading journals were al-Muqtaṭaf founded in 1293/1876 and al-Hilāl in 1310/1892 by Jurjī Zaydān.[2]

The early translations were rather deficient as Arabic prose was not fully developed. It was either pompus and extravagant or containing a lot of the colloquial idioms. Translations appeared artificial when rendered in the old rhetoric fashion.

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1 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, 1900-1967, PP.9-10.

2 Ibid., P.10.

Realizing the need for a plan and direct style,writers experimented with a mixture of classical and semi-classical journalistic styles including some colloquialisms. The main style to dominate was the journalistic which tends to be easy. The simplification of Arabic prose was one of the major contributions of the translators activities. The most important result of the translations was the impetus they gave to the birth and development of literary genres that were not prevalent in classical Arabic. The short story, novel and drama grew directly as a result of the translations and have become an integral part of modern literature.[1]

In the 13th/19th century Egypt and the Arab countries of near east changed from an age of transition to an age of modernism. They changed from the dark middle ages to the age of renaissance from a state under the Ottoman rule to an independent state. At that time, the social life of Egypt was different, eastern in all respects- in its shape, colour, light and shade. The aim of Ottoman administration was to remain aloof from a direct rule. So it did not prescribe a definite rule for education, agriculture or medicare, but left them to its people. But the responsibility of the solution of their problems remained with the people. Their loyalty was sufficient for them. The effects of this administrative method was very serious, the most significant of which as the sheer abandoning of the welfare of the state, as the Government did not have, as mentioned before, any set rules to be acted upon by different departments.[2]

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1 Ibid., P.13.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.16.

The power at that time was divided into different organs. Each of the organs tried to hold the power alone and to become strong by defeating others. The Governor or the Ottoman Pāsha stayed in the citadel, and in the provinces the Mamluk Begs were despotic, on the border valleys were stationed bands of Beduins and the welfare of the nation was spoilt by these powers. Therefore, the nation wanted to form different associations in order to look after their well-being and protect them from the oppression and despotism the ruling powers. As Dr. Aḥmad Izzat ʿAbd al-Karīm says the peasants "were controlled by the discipline formed by themselves, and the artisans engaged in different arts and crafts in the cities, were regulated by associations of their callings. The intelligentia and scholars association on who they totally depended and the Sufis had their own systems. And the armies were put in discipline who followed their leaders and commanders, and even the Bedouins were related to particular tribes. The government had no connection with any one of these groups except through their association. So the government did not recognize any individual except as a member of the association. Similarly people were not able to execute their activities and lead their life peacefully unless they belonged to a party or association to which they owe allegiance and get protection. Thus the nation was divided into different groups and every group had its foundation, followers and leaders, and it leads its followers to different organizations, culture and training.[1]

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1 Ibid., PP.16-17.

It was not possible for a member of a group to change for another. The custom was such that the son of a farmer should be a farmer, the son of a smith, a smith and the son of a scholar, a scholar. So nobody was inclined to move to the town from the village for the quest of earnings, and there was nothing attractive in the town for him and they were not able to become soldiers slaves or bedouins... etc. With all these, Egypt remained throughout the Ottoman rule depressed, confined to closed door and the relations between Egypt and the rest of the world specially Europe were cut off. If the guardian governments of Egypt had worked for its internal development during this period, its miseries would have been lightened. The calamities rather increased and rendered them inactive in all the internal affairs of Egypt in the fields of military, cultural, economical and social affairs.[1]

At the end of the eighteenth century, the countries of the east became weak on account of this isolation, so the Near East countries lagged behind, specially Egypt, and this European West did not try to help Egypt in order to put an end to this isolation and to open the doors and windows so that the light of new European civilization could enter and spread. But Egypt preferred to take the initiative to open these doors and windows and to take power of arms in their own hands. So they started fighting the colonial, selfish and exploiting power, which provoked the internal powers of opposition and the powers of external competetion. On account of this, the French armies

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1 Ibid., P.17.

were forced to leave Egypt after they occupied its territories for three years, during which they did not get opportunity to take rest for a single day.[1]

Thus Egypt awaked from a deep sleep of a long period of the past. But this awakening was not automatic and friendly, but it was forceful, sudden, and violent. The lights that the French brought in here i.e., the lights of arms, civilization, knowledge and new types of association- all these were about to dazzle the eyes of the Egyptians. A great scholar like the well known historian ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī had to observe when he visited the French, the libraries and institutes, saying: "They have therein excellent things and schemes which produces results which are even beyond our thinking." In the first few years of the nineteenth century Egypt faced severe clash among the three powers- the Turks, the Mamluks and the English. Each of them worked according to its own calculation preparing the way for its success and to dominate Egypt, her people and her affairs. In this thick fog and flying dust as a result of fighting, these three foreign powers, assumed a new power which was hidden for about three centuries- the power of Egyptian nation.[2]

Those who were on the Egyptian throne in the 13th/19th century, now felt that a new political reform was necessary in order to save Egypt from this chaos and devastation which was done during the long Ottoman period. They observed that the appropriate method of this reform is to follow the west to adopt their method and to follow their science and education.

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1 Ibid., P.18.

2 Ibid., P.18.

They adopted different steps to realise this political reform. So they began to utilize the services of the foreigners and take their assistance, secondly they sent Egyptians to Europe and thirdly they established new types of schools on the European model.

The social life of the Europeans was quite different from those of the Egyptians. While the Egyptians eat their food sitting together on the ground around a table or large dish on a raised base, with their hand from a single dish, the French sit on chairs and everybody has a plate and a glass of his own, and use forks and knives in stead of using their hands. As for their home, there was special arrangement for the ladies- they had a separate wing named "al-Ḥaramlak" allotted for them and for men a separate wing named "al-Salāmlik" (reception room) was allotted. The society did not allow men and women to mix freely, but most of the time women stayed inside their houses. When they wanted to go out of their houses, they did so with vails on. They were not allowed to attend meetings and academies not to participate with men in works or discussions. While these were the modestic and social conditions in Egypt, the domestic conditions in France were different - at home and in the society women had the first place. The males showed courtesy to the females and put her in the front while walking in the road and they did not sit before women. The women participated men equally in works, educational institutions, social functions and discussions.[1]

It is acknowledged that a country or city is civilized to the extent of its knowledge and its remoteness from a state of

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1 Ibid., P.19.

crudeness and wildness, European countries abound in various sorts of knowledge and arts which, as no man can deny, induce sociability and adorn civilization. It is recognized that the French people are outstanding among the European nations in their great attachment to arts and sciences. They are the greatest in literature and civilization.

Such a condition existed in the streets, gardens, parks, coffee houses, educational institutions- the pictures and systems were quite different which urged Ṭahṭāwī to draw the pictures that he saw in France in his travel book. Takhlīs al-Ibrīz and to put always a comparison between what he saw there and what he found here in Egypt, criticizing one time and supporting another time.[1]

The commercial towns are usually superior architecturally to the villages and hamlets, the major cities are superior to the other towns; and the capital is superior to the other cities of the kingdom. So it is not surprising that it should be said that Paris, the seat of the kings of France, is among the greatest cities of Europe in its buildings and architecture. Though its buildings may not be outstanding in their materials, none the less they are outstanding in design and construction. Moreover, it is sometimes said that their materials are excellent, apart from a deficiency in marble and certain other things. This is hardly surprising since their walls are made of stone chips, as also are other walls outside the houses. The internal walls are usually made of superior wood. The pillars are generally of

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1 Ibid., P.19.

brass, rarely of marble. The floors are paved with stone flags, and occasionally with black marble, interspersed with flag stones. The roads are always paved with square stones, the courtyards similarly, and the halls with baked bricks, or wood, or black marble with worked paving stones. The quality of stone or wood varies according to a man's means. The walls and floors of the rooms are of wood, as already mentioned. The wood is coated with varnish, and the walls are covered with protective paper, cleanly embossed. This is better than the custom of whitewashing walls. For compared with whitewash, not only does nothing come off the paper when one touches it, but it is easier to change and better to look at; in fact their rooms adorned with various types of furniture are more suitable. The French try to lighten the floor by fitting coloured curtains, especially green ones. The floors of their rooms are paved with wood or a sort of red brick. They polish these floors every day with a yellow wax which they call floorpolish. They have polishers on hire specially trained for the purpose. Under their beds, which are covered with eiderdowns and counterpanes, there are carpets on which they tread wearing slippers.[1]

Among the nice customs is that the palaces of the kind and his relatives are open (to the public) when the kind and his relatives go away every year to staty in the country for a few months. The rest of the people go in and walk around these palaces, to see the furniture and other notable things. But no

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1 Rifā'a Badawī Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī, Takhlīṣ al-Ibriz fi talkhīṣ Bārīz (Cairo: Shirka Maktaba wa Maṭba'a Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Halabī wa awlādihi, n.d.), PP.155-56.

one can enter without a piece of paper on which is printed an entry permit for one or two persons or more. Many people have these tickets; and if a man asks one of his acquaintances for one, he gives him it. Thus one will see in the palace a great crowd looking at everything in the apartments of the kind and his relatives. There are status indistinguishable from actual people, save that they cannot speak. There are also portraits of the kings of France and others, including all the members of the royal family, and pictures of every conceivable novelty. Most of the things in the royal apartments are of the very best quality, in everything, from their uniformly fine workmanship to their excellent materials. Thus all the furniture, such as chairs, beds-even royal thrones- have fine wickerwork, and are overlaid with gold. Yet one does not find many precious stones on them, as is the case in great princes' houses in our country. For all French affairs are based on elegance, not ornamentation, display of wealth, and ostentation.[1]

The women go away, travelling either on their own or accompanied by a man with whom they agree on the itinerary and on how long he is to travel with them. For women are also very fond of knowledge, learning, and curious to know the secrets of mankind. After all, some of them did not come from Europe to Egypt, to see its wonders such as the Pyramids and the ruined temples. They are like men in all that they do. One may even find among them young women who have an affair with a stranger

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1 Ibid., PP.156-57.

without being married. When they find themselves pregnant, and fear public disgrace, they go on a journey ostensibly simply as tourists, or on some other pretext, to have the child born. Then they put it with a foster-mother on payment, and have it brought up in a strange country. However, this is not universal; for, as they say, not every sword shines bright. Thus, among the women of France there are honourable women and the reverse. The latter predominate, since in France the art of love has taken hold of the hearts of the people of both sexes. Their love is unsound, because they cannot believe that it has any other purpose. It may take place between a young man and a girl, in which case it ends in marriage.[1]

There is one thing for which French women must be commended, and that is the cleanliness of their houses, which are free from all kinds of dirt - though they cannot hold a candle to the Flemings' houses. The Flemings surpass all nations in extarnal cleanliness, just as in ancient times the Egyptians surpassed all other nations in cleanliness. Their descendants, the Copts,[2] have not imitated them in this respect. Paris, being clean, is free from poisonous things, even insects. One never hears of anyone being bitten by a scorpion. The care of the French for cleanliness in their homes and in their clothing is astounding. Their houses are always cheerful, because of the many windows placed in excellent architectural settings to admit light and air. The window panes are invariably of glass, so that when they

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1 Ibid., PP. 157-58.

2 Qibt, the Copts of Egypt and Ethiopia, cf. Hornby, Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of Current English (London: Oxford University Press, 1974) P.190.

are closed the light is not obscured. Over them, rich and poor alike have curtains. In addition, net curtains are the order of the day for all Parisians.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī and other Egyptian representatives returned to Egypt and wanted to introduce in the Egyptian society some of the good conducts which they found there in Europe. In the same century a good number of Europeans arrived, whose services have been utilized by the Egyptian Government for reformation works, and among those Europeans there were some who came here in quest of their livelihood. These people brought with them the manners and customs of social life of the west, and their presence led the Egyptians to imitate them. At first the Egyptians disliked this social life and kept themselves aloof; but soon after the European way of life rushed on them in a way of development. So wide and new roads and highways were built in Cairo, Alexandria and other big towns; big buildings were constructed on the European model; schools and colleges, gardens, museums and academics of science on Western pattern; the Egyptians adopted the European method of taking food and drinking and dressing; the Egyptian ladies began to lighten their veil gradually; and Egypt became acquinted with newspapers, periodicals, the theaters and the printing presses.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī was rightly called the first to introduce female education not only in Egypt, but in the Arab countries of the East. Yaʿqūb Artin mentioned in his book on the education in Egypt that the committee of reform of Education in 1252/1836

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1 Ibid., PP. 158-59.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.20.

proposed to take active steps for female education in Egypt and Ṭahṭāwī was one of the members on that committee, but this proposal was not materialised, because the Egyptian society was not yet mentally prepared to accept that concept; they simply established a school of midwifery.

A new idea was formed in 1290/1873. Ṭahṭāwī was one of the greatest champions of this idea. In this year the first school for girls was founded in Egypt. One year before the establishment of this school Ṭahṭāwī published his book "Al-Murshid al-Amīn li al-Banāt wa al-Banīn," in which he made a clarion call to this idea and paved the way for its achievement saying: "It is necessary to pay our attention to the education of girls and boys together for a good conjugal life. Hence the girls will be qualified for reading, writing and arithmetic etc. Because this will help increase their wisdom and good manners, and will make them fit for knowledge and prepare them to participate with male in discussion and exchange of opinion. Consequently, their importance will increase in the minds of the males, and they will occupy a good position on account of their being free from fickleness and feeble-mindedness. On the other hand the association of an illiterate woman with another one will bring opposite results. It also will enable them, as and when necessary, to undertake professions that their males do, as much as they can. So women should be engaged in work which they can do themselves, and this will prevent them from evil doings, because when their hands are not engaged in a work, their tongues are busy talking nonsense, and their minds with whims and concocting baseless stories. Hence work protects women from undesirable things and makes them imitate good qualities etc.[1]

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1 Ibid., PP. 20-21.

In the nineteenth and twenteeth centuries some scholars appeared in Egypt, who were pioneers of reformation in the fields of social and intellectual life. They gained this qualification by their co-ordination of the western civilization of the West- the modern Europe with the original culture of the Arabs of the East. Ṭahṭāwī was the first among these pioneers, who in this respect is like Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afgānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduhu, Muṣṭafa ʿAbd al-Razzaq, Aḥmad Amīn and Ṭaha Ḥusain. The secret of greatness of all of ~~the~~ them lies in the fact that they all combined something from the culture of the East and something from the culture of the West.[1]

1 Ibid., P.21.

CHAPTER II

RENAISSANCE & LITERARY RENAISSANCE

The Arabic word Nahda (Renaissance) itself implies a different connotation from the European Renaissance. It has been pointed out that the Arabic Renaissance was rather a modernization of literary themes and techniques than a revival of classical Arabic culture. And-as is usually the case when modernization crops up in modern Arabic culture- it always meant some degree of westernization. It means not so much "rebirth" or a related notion, as "rising up". This makes it clear that to modern Arabs the activation of cultural life has been its main characteristics.[1] It is difficult to establish when the nahda began, the Arabs themselves are not in agreement about its origin. As far as Egypt is concerned, it is commonly believed that the nahda was the result of the invasion of Napoleon Bonaparte in 1213/1798.[2]

Most of the authors are uncertain about the duration of the nahda. Jurji Zaydān expressed the view that it was still going on and in the last part of his literary history in which he dealt with modern era, he wrote: "The nahda starts with the French invasion of Egypt and is still in progress."[3] Many Arab

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, (Layden: E.J. Brill, 1984), PP.9-10.

2 Ibid., P.10.

3 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P. 13.

authors feel that the nahḍa is not yet over, and hold the view that Arabic literature is still going through a preparatory phase of awakening, which ultimately will lead to a new literary culminating point. This is probably related to the peculiar need of stock-taking found in many Egyptian writers, who often explain how far Egyptian literature has progressed during the Renaissance and how much prose works have developed in comparison with poetry of the time.

The Arab literary Renaissance or Revival since 1215/1800 is usually known as the Nahḍa, from the verb nahaḍa (to rise from a sitting position - sometimes, to rise up against one's enemy). Another term used is iḥyā'(revitalizing, resuscitating). There is really no overall Arabic term for the word Renaissance in classical literature. The European word Kalasiki is used only of European culture and arts, particularly Graeco-Roman, but no Arab would ever use it in reference to his own civilization. In fact, the classical literature is usually designated by political eras: pre-Islamic as jāhilī; that of the,'Orthodox' Caliphs as Rāshidi; Umayyād as Umawī; and ʿAbbāsid as ʿAbbāsī.

The Arabs had three distinctive renaissance periods in their ancient history. The first - religious, and it started from Hejaz and was scattered to different direction with the advent and spread of Islam in the major part of the inhabited world. The second - national, and it is not very different from the first; moreover it appears in a distinctive form in the Umayyād period. In this period the Arabs had their great rule extending from the borders of India to Spain. To the Arabs here belonged the sovereign power and administration, protecting the

state with their swords and accumulating wealth in their treasuries. The third-linguistic and scientific. Its development began with the emergence of Islam and continued eversince till the golden age of Bagdad and other capital cities. By this we mean the works that the Arabic language undertook - translation of ancient science and their development, and also the development of its own sciences and literatures.[1]

The Muslim world was completely at a standstill until the forces of the West collided with it at the end of the 13th/18th century is no longer tenable. The stirrings of Wahhābism in Arabia and, somewhat later, of the Sanūsiyyah in north Africa are signs of vitality, of a desire for reform, which cannot be ascribed to outside stimulation. It is open to the polemicist, to contend that had it been allowed to take its own course Islam might have produced its own Renaissance.[2]

It is well known that the Arabs lost, after the Umayyads, their distinguished place in the East, and began, after the first ʿAbbāsid period, to change their mind about all those elements and they readily entered after the dismemberment of the two caliphates - the ʿAbbāsid and the Fātimid- in the rule of non-Arab dynasties. And the last of these dynasties is the Ottoman rule which extended from 922/1516 to the end of the First World War in 1337/1918:[3]

We do not find before the 13th/19th century any symptom of national awakening on the part of the Arabs; their national feeling was in deep slumber. We have already mentioned that the

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1 Anīs al-Maqdisī, Al-Ittizāhāt al-Adabiyya fī al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth (Bayrut; Dar al- Ālam lil-Malayyin, 1982) P.102.

2 Pierre Cachia, Taha Husayn (London: Luzac & Co. Ltd., 1956) P.3.

3 Anīs al-Maqdisī, Al-Ittizāhāt al-Adabiyya fī al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabi al-Ḥadīth, PP.102-3.

first who devoted himself in the task of their reawakening was Muḥammad ʿAlī the great or in a lesser degree his son Ibrāhīm Pāsha. It appears that their intention was to establish an Arab state having Cairo as its centre, but his scheme did not materialise. Nor it appears that the Arab countries whose history of modern literature we are writing (Egypt, Syria and Iraq) was influenced at that time anew by this scheme, or tried for its realization, but the seed was sown in the field and left it to the time to grow it.[1]

This condition continued to the last third of the nineteenth century, when Egypt got independence in its internal affairs from the Ottoman empire. At this time scientific renaissance began in Syria and Lebanon by some prominent rulers like Rashīd Pāsha and Midhat Pāsha and the like. From all these we not that a number of literary movement for the fulfilment of the Arab dreams and their national sentiments appeared and to this belong all poems, patriotic lectures which had their influence in civilizing their thoughts and alerting their national spirit.[2]

In the Arab world there is a general conviction that Arabic culture, and particularly literature - (always that Arabs' cultural expression par excellence- after ages of decline or inḥitāṭ) only experienced a renaissance (nahḍa) in modern times. In this view, the ninth and tenth centuries are regarded as the culminating points of Arabic culture, which were followed by a gradual decline that many modern Arabs, explicitly or implicitly,

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1 Ibid., P.103.

2 Anīs al-Maqdisī, Al-Ittizāhāt al-Adabiyya fī al-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, P.103.

ascribe to the domination of the Arabs by non-Arabs, the Mamluks or the Turks.

Naturally, a great deal can be asserted against this point of view. The last great poet, al-Ma'arrī, (449/1057), two centuries before the Mamluks started their rule in Egypt and Syria, and more than four centuries before the advent of the Turks: the decline set in much earlier than suggested in the Arab-nationalist view. Moreover, it is obvious that Arabic culture in its flowering period was sustained not only by ethnic Arabs, but also by other inhabitants of the Islamic realm who could speak or write Arabic: Persians and - for that matter-Egyptians. The Arab-nationalist notion of an Arab awakening after a long slumber is based on an identification of the Arabic speaking Muslim culture with the cultures of modern Arab countries that is simply not acceptable. However, this nationalistic interpretation, no matter how unscholarly it may be, has been a powerful stimulus to the Arabic nahda ; nor was it the first or last time that a nationalistic fiction has had a positive cultural effect.[1]

In yet another respect it is not quite appropriate to speak of an Arabic renaissance, a word that suggests an analogy with the European Renaissance. Although the nahda, as may become apparent from the following pages, ran parallel to a revival of interest in the highlights of classical Arabic culture, this revival was of a different nature than the revival of interest in classical culture in fourteenth - century Europe. The Greeks and Romans had in every respect further receded from the European

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP.8-9.

mind than the classical Arabic culture from the minds of the inhabitants of Arabic countries in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: unlike classical Greek in Europe, classical Arabic had remained at least their written language, and Islam was still the religion of the majority of the Arabs. On the other hand, the Graeco-Roman civilization has meant more for the flourishing of European culture than classical Arabic culture for the Arabic Renaissance. In retrospect it appears that modern Arabs have only been partly inspired by the ideas that were current in their classical culture. Modern writers may have seen in classical literature a greater expressiveness, a purer Arabic language, a larger possibility to involve reality in their works of art, but it was principally a matter of self - affirmation, of psychological satisfaction, an awareness that the Arabs, too, had generated a great culture.[1]

After the great classical poet al-Mutanabbī (d.357/967) had broken with his patron Sayf al-Dawlah in 346/957, he came to Cairo, but he never felt at home there. In his eyes Cairo was an insignificant provincial town as compared to the much more sophisticated Aleppo which he had to quit, Egypt, it is true, did not play an important cultural role in the Muslim world until much later. Only under the Ayyubids in the twelfth and in the first half of the thirteenth centuries the town achieved some prominence as a literary centre. Thanks to poets like Ibn Matruh (d.649/1251) and Bahā' al-Dīn Zuhayr (d.656/1258) for their great literary achievements. After the destruction of

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1 Ibid., P.9.

Bagdad by the Mongols in 656/1258 the power of the Mamluks in Egypt and Syria became the main bastion against the Mongols; it was only then that Cairo, as the capital of one of the most powerful states in the Muslim world, became the cultural centre of the Arab world. In a sense, it has retained this position until the present day.[1]

However, Cairo gained this position at a time when the impetus of the Muslim civilization had declined considerably. It became the capital of a culture which had passed its zenith some time before. Thus it could never play the role of Bagdad in the ninth and tenth centuries or even of minor centres like Basrah and Aleppo. In the centuries following the destruction of Baghdad by the Mongols, Egypt and Syria offered only a "Leidliche Heimstatt,"[2] as Brockelmann says, to Arabic literature. Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī (d.768/1366), Ibn Abi Ḥagalah (d.777/1375; particularly known for his anthology of love- poems Dīwān al-Ṣabābah), al-Ḳīrāṭī (d. 779/1377) and Ibn Makānis (d.795/1392) do indeed represent no more than a late flowering, however charming and elegant. Nor is it all clear whether one should regard the middle of the thirteenth century as the beginning of Egyptian literature or merely as the heart of the literary centre of the Arabic-speaking, and especially Arabic-writing world to Cairo. The writings of Ibn Nubātah al-Miṣrī or Ibn Makānis were as hardly typically Egyptian as French literature is typically Parisian. The authors living and working in Egypt never created their own genre—in contrast with the Hispano-Arabic writers'

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1 Ibid., P.1.

2 Ibid., P.1.

muwashshah. The most popular Arabic poet of this period-as well as of later centuries-, Ṣafīy al-Dīn al-Hīllī (d.750/1349) lived and worked at the court the Ortoqids in Iraq but scarcely differed from his Egyptian contemporaries. He did, however, make a journey to Cairo, which he obviously considered to be the cultural centre of the Muslim world.

The Mamluks, an army-corps which supplemented its ranks by purchasing soldiers abroad, mostly in the Caucasus, brought the invasion of the Mongols to a halt, but the rule of these "slaves" became a heavy burden to Egypt in the following centuries. The Mamluk Beys[1] governed the country militarily and in isolation from the population, with whom they had no ties whatsoever. Probably due to this poor government, the late flowering of literature in Egypt came to an end in the 9th/15th century -although admittedly, the literary level in other parts of the Muslim world, where the Mamluk were not in authority, was not much higher.[2]

In 922-23/1516-17, the Ottoman Turks, who already ruled the Balkans and Asia Minor (Anatolia) from their capital Istanbul , conquered Syria and Egypt.[3] Direct Turkish rule might have restored this fertile land, but as so often elsewhere the Turks entered into a compromise: the Mamluks were able to maintain their position as a kind of feudal "caste" under, and in many cases alongside, a Governor appointed by the Ottoman administration. This compromise resulted in a delicate balance which procured for the

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1 Bey or Beg, a Turkish title, "lord" used in a number of differen ways, cf. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, (Layden: E.J.Brill, 1986) Vol. I,P.1159.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the history of Modern Arabic Litt.P.

3 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970; P.26.

Sultans in Istanbul the advantage that any dynastic aspirations of their governors could easily be curbed.[1] The Sherif of Makka voluntarily surrendered the control of the Arabian Holy places (Makka and Madina) to the Sultan Selim I. The next sultan, Sulaiman the Magnificent, extended his empire to include North Africa and Iraq, and the whole Arab world was thus incorporated in the Ottoman Empire. An Egyptian literary historian refers to 'three centuries of misrule' which followed, during which Egypt and the rest of the Arab world were merely a source of wealth to the conquerors. All culture degenerated and the Arabic language decayed in face of the official language, Turkish. There seems to be an element of exaggeration in this statement. In the age of Depression, the decline in the literature was in quality rather than in quantity.[2]

It is to be noted that Arabic creative literature was sharply declining long before the Ottoman conquest. The literature of the Age of Depression was artificial and imitative, lacking in originality. In prose works rhyme abounded. As for poetry, much of which was eulogy, it was rhetorical in style and exaggerated in sentiment. Some poets included acrostics and chronograms in their poems. Such an example is found in the poet 'Abd al-Raḥmān Bahlūl (d.1163/1749). He was so poor that he had to walk all the way to Makka, earning his livelihood by working as a cameleer. When he found a patron at last, he stretched ingenuity to the

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.2.

2 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.26.

limit in a panegyric. He tells his patron that the poem consists of 80 'starry' and 9 'pearly' verses. The initial letters of these verses can be arranged to form two further verses, ending with the patron's name. Taking the numerical value of the letters in these two verses, each verse contains four chronograms-dates 'like bright torches'. Every verse of the main poem also contains two chronograms. This poet was the most skilled of his age in composing chronograms. In the introduction to the poem, in ornate rhymed prose, he admits that he may not equal the poetical geniuses of the past: yet he claims that the poem is a faithful description of his patron. He likens its rhetorical language to a smiling mouth which reveals beautiful meanings like flashing teeth.[1]

Much can be learned of the literary background of this era-especially in Egypt - from the history entitled ʿAjāʾib al-Aṯār by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1168-1241/1754-1825). This work is available in a French translation. It includes short biographies of many writers with extracts from their works.[2] The Arabic author of the Age of Depression had to write for a limited audience, being dependent on the patronage of governors and nobles, like his medieval predecessors. Louis Cheikho tells us that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, education in the Arab world was practically confined to a few primary schools, especially those attached to Christian monasteries. There were high schools only in big cities such as Damascus, Aleppo, Cairo and Alexandria - and their curricula were mostly restricted to Islamic religious

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1 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.27.

2 Ibid., P.27.

sciences and Arabic language. Books, being a yet still hand-written, were rare and expensive, and thus was only within the reach of a well- off minority. Arabic printing presses were located only in Bayrut (one press) and in Istanbul (where the emphasis was mainly on printing Ottoman Turkish books or religious texts).

Modern Arabic literature has developed during a period of violent political, social and intellectual upheavals in the Middle East. Hardly were the Arabs liberated from Turkish domination than they were subjected to Anglo- French control. Western technology was introduced; also, Western doubts and vices. The young educated Arab became sceptical of his own heritage.[1]
The previous pages have shown, it is hoped, that modern Arabic literature owes much to the past. Only drama was an absolutely new form imported directly from the West. In poetry, blank verse has not caught on; and verse libres, though inspired by Western models, has much in common with rhymed prose. Western ideas affected different authors to different extents, and at one time there was controversy between the 'modernists' and 'traditionalists'. But this is a thing, of the past, and the literature has a well-integrated character and considerable homogeneity - though it would be surprising if a Moroccan were to write like an Iraqi, or a Sudanese like a Syrian. The surprising thing, however, is not the differences, but the similarities. Despite Western influence, Arabic literature is still essentially Arab in spirit and expression. There can be no greater mistake in approaching it than to consider

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1 Ibid., P.23.

it as a rather exotic extension of European literature. And it is probably true that no amount of speaking to Arabs in English and visiting their countries can bring real understanding of the Arabs, without some contact with the modern literature.[1]

We first consider Egypt, where the Ottoman regime was anything but popular. In a work on literature, only a brief sketch can be given of the political background. The Ottoman Empire was divided into provinces, each governed by a wālī. Egypt was such a province. Under the wali were other officials of non-Arab origin—Turks, Albanians and the like. Only the junior officials were natives. In Egypt, the fertile land was parcelled out among foreigners, who were called Mamluks . Arabic mamlūk means 'owned,' 'possessed' and these men were descended from enfranchised slaves. The Egyptian population, though primarily Muslim, also included a Coptic Christian community, descended from the pre-Arab Hamitic population. Their numbers had declined gradually, through spasmodic persecution under the Fatimid and Mamluk regimes. The Copts were an educated minority who used the Coptic language in religion, but otherwise used Arabic. They have traditionally provided clerical and administrative staff in government and commerce. In this situation, only contact with another culture arouse Arabic literature from its torpor. That culture, by one of the accidents of history, was to be European - and at first, more particularly, French. The points of contact were Cairo, as a result of Napoleon's Egyptian Expedition of 1213/1798; and Bayrut, where the Maronite Church was in communion with the Roman Catholic Church.[2]

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1 Ibid., P.25.

2 Ibid., PP.29-30.

Egypt is not the only Arab country to have known a nahḍa. But even assuming that the Arab world as a whole went through a nahḍa, it must be granted that in the 13th/19th century the cultural revival was restricted to Egypt and the Lebanon, for the rest of the Arab world "awakened" much later, parts of it only well into the 14th/20th century. Whether this Arabic nahḍa manifested itself earlier in the Lebanon or in Egypt is still not determined. The Egyptian scholars who consider Bonaparte's invasion as the starting point for the nahḍa probably are inclined to favour the Egyptian priority. On the other hand, equally sound arguments may be offered for Lebanese origins of the Arabic nahḍa.[1]

It is indeed difficult to offer a final judgement as to the time and the region in which the nahḍa originated; it should be considered as a diffuse phenomenon of cultural revival rather than a well- defined movement, and as retrospective gloss on events that took place rather than a programme of which contemporaries were aware. It remains difficult to ascertain where the movement of literary revival was stronger or where it contributed more to modern Arabic literature. For the time being it would seem that the Syro-Lebanese were the most accessible among the Arabs to a literary revival, although one should definitely not overrate the modernity of the poems of, e.g., Naṣīf al-Yazījī. The Syro-Lebanese press is older than the Egyptian press, a fact, which, in view of the major influence of the press on the development of a new style and new literary techniques, is of grat importance.[2]

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.12.

2 Ibid., PP.12-13.

There is no doubt that the modern literary renaissance of the Arabs started in Syria and Lebanon and not in Egypt,[1] in prose rather than in poetry. The evolution of a genre that was able to explore to the full its great possibilities is relevant to this work from several points of view. Firstly, on a contemporary basis it was the only literary form that underwent a complete metamorphosis during that period. Secondly, the developments in 13th/19th century prose provided the basis for modern Arabic, a basis which affected the diction and idiom of poetry. Thirdly, some experiments in 13th/19th century Arabic prose led to a re-examination of the possibilities of the poetic medium and at a surprisingly early stage in the development of poetry, produced some superior literature of an original kind that would enrich not only the poetic form and content, but also the whole poetic sensibility of the following generations.[2]

Among the first generation of Lebanese writers, those whom Mārūn ʿAbbūd rightly called "Al-Ruwwād" (The Pioneers), three in particular performed for Arabic prose the services it vitally needed to become a living and powerful medium of expression. These were Naṣīf al Yazījī (1215-1301/1800-1883), Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1216-1305/1801-1887), and Butrus al-Bustānī (1235-1301/1819-1883). The first two, who were literary rivals, were working in two opposite spheres; their work proved vital and indispensable. Arabic prose in Lebanon at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, aside from the fact that it shared the

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1 Salma Khadra Jayyūsi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, (Layden: E.J. Brill, 1977) Vol.I,P.18.

2 Ibid., P.19.

general features of Arabic prose everywhere, suffered from two other shortcomings: firstly, it had threatened to decline into "a pale reflection of a culture (Western culture) foreign to its nature and traditions"[1] through the contacts which the educated in Lebanon had with the Western educational missionaries, and secondly, it was burdened with a diction which lacked a firm basis, as a result of the gradual and rather recent Arabization of the Lebanon. The Classical Arabic language in the mountains of Lebanon had not yet become strogly rooted in the Lebanese literary tradition, as a result, no doubt, of its having grown gradually among the people in an age of general literary and intellectual decline in the Arab world. It had not been given the opportunity, therefore, of producing any great work or works of literature in Arabic. No language can become really rooted in a people without the aid of good works of literature written in that language. It only becomes really theirs when they are able to express their emotional and aesthetic experiences and reflect the inner state of their consciousness. The early translations of the Bible were weak and grammatically incorrect, as a result of which the Christian Arabs had gradually acquired a bad reputation as writers of Arabic. In order to become strong and firmly rooted, the language in Lebanon had to link itself with the classics of Arabic literature, and had to relate itself to the Classical tradition. Nasīf al Yazījī was the traditionalist destined to fulfil this task. He followed the footsteps of the old Arab writers so closely that he was envied for his assimilation of traditional ways. Both a poet and a prose writer, his greatest

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1 Ibid., P.19.

service to the Arab literary revival was in prose. His poetry was in the spirit of the affected poetical fashions of the day, and although he greatly admired al - Mutanabbī and memorized a large part of his poetry, nevertheless, and contrary to what the Encyclopaedia of Islam says, he could not, in most of his poetry, break with the poetic traditions of his day and forge a true link with the best examples of Classical poetry. However, in prose he was the first master of Arabic in Lebanon. In his collection of sixty maqāmas entitled Majma' al-Baḥrain he was able to free himself from the Christian literary tradition both in style and thought and to forge a link with al-Ḥarīrī's style and diction, rendering at once a double service of the utmost importance: assisting a general revival of Arabic prose and diction, and creating a work of literature able to help establish the Arabic language in Lebanon as a medium of culture and self - expression on an artistic level.[1]

But traditionalism could not become a firmly established attitude in lebanese 13th/19th century prose. It was too remote in time and spirit to be able to take root. Prose does not carry the emotional and aesthetic weight of a national culture as does poetry. It is a more experimental vehicle of expression and the needs of the day force on it changes and development more quickly. Among those early Lebanese prose writers there was a natural freshness and an adventurous spirit as well as an actual awareness of the times which would have made any attempt at a long stay within the boundaries of the old literary sensibility quite

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1 Ibid., P.20.

impossible. Al-YazījĪ's attempt to create a new literature based on tradition was only possible because he had not had a Western education. The rest of the revivalists were all men who had come into direct contact with Western culture. A direct link with modern life had to be forged and the two men most responsible for this achievement were Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq and Butrus al-Bustānī.[1]

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq was a great revivalist and reformist, deeply sensitive to the needs to the age. He was an original mixture of 13th/19th century modernism, the Arab cultural spirit and Lebanese initiative and urge for adventure. His literary achievement was considerable when viewed against the background of his time. His explicit concern was first of all with the language and his mastery of it has been recognized by all the writers on the subject, a mastery surpassing his contemporaries, including al-Ṭahṭāwī. One could say that al-Shidyāq had a constant adventure with the Arabic language which lasted all his life; for he never ceased exploring its possibilities and exploiting its resources. His style, though heavy at times for the modern reader, is varied and interesting not lacking in sarcasm and abounding in wit and humour. There is no doubting its link with the best Classical Arabic prose. Only the fact of genius can explain how he could have achieved such a perfect linkage with a style long out of use, and such surprising freedom from the unwholesome traditions of nineteenth century prose, while discussing modern themes and introducting new ideas; and he could compare life

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1 Ibid., P.20.

wherever he went, bringing the culture of the East and the West face to face and moving freely between them. His contemporaries following one line or another of similar activity, never achieved his stylistic level. Mention is due here of al-Shidyāq's famous newspaper, Al-Jawā'ib, which was first published in Istanbul in 1277/1860. It was the first really important newspaper in the Arab world, "the first to circulate wherever Arabic was read, and to explain the issues of world politics."[1] In his Jawā'ib, in his books Al-Sāq ʿala al -Sāq Fīma Huwa al-Fariyāq, and Kashf al-Mukhabba, al-Shidyāq, besides his sometimes bitter attacks on society as a reformist repudiating its vile qualities, launched direct attacks on traditionalism in both poetry and prose, thus helping to pave the way to innovation.

Al-Bustānī's efforts to revive the language were in no way inferior in its result, though his literary style was plain and unpolished. Half his work, according to Hourani, concentrated on reviving the knowledge and love of the Arabic language:

"His Arabic disctionary, Al-Muhīt, his Arabic encyclopaedia, Dā'irat al-maʿārif, the periodicals which he edited, all contributed to the creation of modern Arabic expository prose."[2]

Language to him must have been capable of expressing the concepts of modern thought simply, directly and precisely, without deviating from its true past in grammar and idiom. Al-Bustānī was at the very heart of the movement of revivalism, and was surrounded by a circle of dilettantes and men of letters, all

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1 Ibid., P.21.

2 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, 1798-1934, PP.99-100.

of them his pupils, and among them sons and relatives of his who became the second generation of writers and poets in the 13th/19th century.[1]

The early pioneers of the Arab literary renaissance experimented and excelled mainly in the field of prose. Their attempts at poetry were limited and unsuccessful. This is perhaps a proof that poetry needs a longer time than prose to rid itself of any unwholesome traditions that have been infused in it over the years, even if attempts at revival should be made in prose and poetry simultaneously. For poetry, with its more rigid from, (its metres and rhythms, and in Arabic poetry the order of two hemistichs and the monorhyme) resists longer the attempts made at penetrating it, the unwholesome traditions becoming a part of the poetic art. The very rhythm of the verses evokes the old meanings and nuances which, repeated over and over again, produce the effect of a cell revolving around itself. Of course, the prose of the early 13th/19th century was also suffering from a rigidity of form, but form in prose is never so rigid. In a progressive era, it will have to find its way towards fulfilling its task as a vehicle of communication. Change is imposed on it more quickly from sheer necessity. Morever, poetry embodies the aesthetic and emotional experiences of a people, experiences which are more personal and slower to change.[2]

In the 13th/19th century, which saw only a limited poetic adventure, saw a tremendous evolution of Arabic prose- a great and daring exploration into its possibilities, into the latent

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1 Salma Khadra Jayyūsi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, Vol-I, P.22.

2 Ibid.,P.22.

elasticity of words and phrases, modes and rhythms. From the early Syro-Lebanese revivalists, we move to the second generation of Syro-Lebanese prose writers whose greatest representatives were ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (1266-1320/1849-1902), Francis Marrāsh (1252-1290/1836-73) and Adīb Isḥāq (1275-1303/1858-1885). These writers have left a deep impact on the intellectual and revolutionary thought of the 13th/14th century Arab world. They were men who had come into direct contact with Western liberal thoughts; their temperament, moreover, was invariably revolutionary and uncompromising.[1]

Adīb Isḥāq's style is regarded as unique for his time and a model for later generations of prose writers. He ardently sought to revive the Classical style, and a modern Arab cannot fail to recognize in the firm, well-proportioned and vigorous phrases a direct link with the healthier models of Classical prose. Al-Kawākibī's style is almost modern, clear and vigorous and very strongly woven. The direct and precise expression is an example of modernized Arabic prose based on the Muslim tradition in style, originating in the Qurʾān.

It is Francis Marrāsh, however, who has made the greatest contribution to the Christian tradition in the 13th/19th century Arabic prose. He is an original in the full meaning of the word His Ghābat al-Ḥaqq is an allegorical vision of events happening in a dream world and revolving around the question of establishing freedom and civilization. The significance of this work lies in the fantastic mixture of advanced European thought of his time with his own personal concept of the Christian belief in universal love. It also shows his ardent concern with the modernizing and

1 Ibid., P.22.

liberating process in the Arab world which was based on a patriotism free from religious considerations. In Marrāsh's writing a purely Christian element is liberated and subtly introduced into modern Arabic literature, but it was not the first creative expression of the Christian spirit in Arabic. Jirmānus Farḥāt had preceded Marrāsh a century earlier, and Marrāsh's contemporary and townsman, Rizk Allah Ḥassūn (1241-98/1825-80) wrote a good part of his poetry on purely Christian themes. But Marrāsh's work was perhaps the first important literary work to blend Christian themes with other ideas and ideals into a system of thought. From now on Christian ideas will leak slowly into Arabic literature and constantly merge with Islamic attitudes.[1]

The second important element in Marrāsh's writings is his style neither as sound nor as strongly woven as the style of either Isḥāq or al-Kawākibī, but at its best it is original, often romantic in tone, rising sometimes to poetic heights, declamatory, vivid, colourful and musical. It is the first example of poetic prose in modern Arabic literature. Hāwī has correctly established the influence of Marrāsh's style on that of Gibrān. There is no doubt that the primary source for poetic prose in modern Arabic literature is to be found in the work of the Christian Arab writers, who in turn derived their inspiration from the style of the Bible.

With these writers the link was completed with the modern Western thought of the Enlightenment, which was now directly introduced into modern Arabic thought, and stated over and over again in modern terms. The seeds of Western liberalism sown at this

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1 Ibid., P.23.

time were to give birth to many revolutions and upheavals in the 13th/19th and 14th/20th centuries, and to lay open the Arab world to the conflicting ideologies and doctrines disseminated by the great centres of world politics. Mention is due here to the illustrious group of Syro-Lebanese prose writers and journalists who emigrated to Egypt during the reign of Ismā'īl and afterwards, repelled by the coercive measures of the Ottoman authorities in Syria and Lebanon against free thought and attracted by the relative liberty granted to writers and journalists in Egypt. On the whole it can be said that during Ismā'īl's reign Arabic culture in Egypt reached a stage at which it became involved in a conscious and dynamic conflict with the culture of the west. Out of this conflict between the East and the West modern Arabic literature was born.[1] The newspapers and magazines they founded set the example for Egyptian journalists who were still struggling to overcome the clumsiness of rhymed prose as they applied it to modern themes. Ḥamza, with objective fairness, established the link between the aspiring Egyptian reformers and journalists and the enlightened journalism of the Syro-Lebanese writers and acknowledged the indebtedness of the former to the latter. He recognized that this encounter of Syrian and Egyptian minds was a great factor in the general revival of Egypt.[2]

There is no scope in this work for further discussion of the revival of Arabic prose in the 13th/19th century, which, by

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1 Md. Abu Baker Siddique, "Al-Barudi a Pioneer poet of the Neo-Classical Movements", The Dhaka University Studies, Part A, Vol.44, No.2, December 1987, P.89.

2 Salma Khadra Jayyūsi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, Vol.I, P.24.

the end of the centurey, was almost completely modernized. The movement of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1255-1315/1839-97) and his famour pupil Muḥammad ʿAbduh (1266-1323/1849-1905). their immense influence on Arab Islamic thought and on the movement of liberation, are only relevant to this work as part of the general intellectual and spiritual revival of the 13th/19th century. Muḥammad ʿAbduh, despite his concern with the renovaton of the Arabic language which he included in his programme,"did not produce any literary work-but this is not a cause for denying the important role he played; for as a result of his efforts the Muslims decided to adopt the attitude of change and innovation; and the power of the literary movement increased little by little, influencing the majority of Egyptians".[1]

Muḥammad ʿAbduh had opened men's minds to a new self-awareness, and thus returned to them a self-confidence which might otherwise have suffered a shock when confronted with modern Western civilization and its superiority.

There is ample evidence to show that the Napoleonic invasion of Egypt (1213-16/1798-1801) marked the beginning of the national renaissance of the country. The occupation by a European power came as an intellectual and social shock the rigidity and stagnation of 12th/18th century society in Egypt.[2]

The landing of Napoleon's forces in Egypt was not merely a military expedition, with it came some distinguished French scientists & orientalists and they brought to Egypt its first

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1 Ibid., P.24.

2 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, P.54.

Printing-Presses. With great energy and efficiency, they founded the Institut d'Egypte, formed a library out of the books they had brought with them and those they collected locally, created a Physics and Chemistry laboratory, launched into archaeological research, and studied the flora, fauna, mineralogy, and irrigation systems of Egypt. They also published a newspaper, Le Courrier d' Egypte. In the Institut d'Égypte there was no provision for the membership of non-Frenchmen; the research initiated left no unbroken line of descent in Egypt; apart from proclamations and a small treatise in Arabic on smallpox, the printing press turned out nothing of concern to the local population. The Orientalists-Jean-Michel Venture de Paradis, Louis Amédée Jaubert, and others— and some syrian linguists attached to them such as Ilyūs Buqṭur and Father Rufāʾīl Zakhūrah, seem to have had heavy duties as interpreters and translators of official documents, but they found time to collect, discuss, and even translate some local works.[1]

Despite the short period of their stay there, the French made a great impact and strirred up a considerable cultural activity. Throughout the rule which followed, that of the progressive Muḥammad ʿAlī (ruled 1220-66/1805-49), this activity extended to the political, industrial and military spheres, although somewhat limited by Muḥammad ʿAlī's personal and political ambitions and lack of real appreciation of liberal values. In the cultural sphere important events took place, such as the founding of the Būlāq Printing Press in 1238/1822, the publication

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1 Pierre Cachia, Taha Husayn, PP.5-6.

of the official newspaper, Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyya in 1244/1828, the eleven student missions to Europe between the years (1242-64/1826-47), and the founding of various educational institutes. Of these last the most famous was the "School of Languages" (Madrasat al-Alsun) founded by Muḥammad 'Alī in 1252/1836 on the advice of Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī (1216-90/1801-73) who became its first Principal. There was an active period of translation during the reigns of Muḥammad 'Alī and of Ismā'īl (1280-1297/1863-1879). In the twenty years between 1238/1822 and 1258/1842, for example, as many as 243 books were translated from European languages and published at the Būlāq Printing press. All these branches of cultural activity helped to bring about a general re-awakening of minds. It would be superfluous to repeat the details of the cultural revival in Egypt in the 13th/19th century, for they are to be found in the introductions to most histories of the Arabic literary renaissance. Most books written by Egyptian authors tend to overlook the great cultural activity in Syria and Lebanon in the 13th/19th century and the vital importance of the pioneer role played by the Syro-Lebanese writers in the Arab literary renaissance in general. However the aims are only to touch on the most outstanding contributions to 13th/19th century Arabic literature in order to trace the aesthetic and cultural roots of the contemporary poetic situation, and an attemp will be made at following some relevant trends downstream through the consecutive literary generations.[1]

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1 Salma Khadra Jayyūsi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, Vol.I, P.16.

The cultural activity in Egypt in the first half of the 13th/19th century, vital as it was to Egypt and to the Arab world on the whole, began to bear fruit in the literary sphere only towards the last decades of the century. Special mention is due here to Rifā'a Rāfi' al - Ṭahṭāwī, a unique figure, who may well be regarded as the first enlightened Shaikh of modern times in the Arab world.

The Syro-Lebanese writers who were more open to outside cultural currents had achieved considerable success in their experiments at modernizing prose, Egyptian prose writers did not arrive at a more modern sensibility until towards the end of the century. This may have been due firstly to the kind of revival that took place in Egypt during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī which laid stress on scientific studies and did not encourage literature or too much originality, and secondly to the nature of the cultural heritage in Egypt, carried, over from the 12th/18th century: centralized around al-Azhar,narrow, self-contained and very conventional. It is perfectly true that there was a general cultural degeneration throughout the Arab world, but the cultural situation in Egypt had been narrower than that in Syria and Lebanon. The learned Christians of Aleppo, where the Christian literary activity began, carried the flame of Arabic literature to Lebanon.[1]

Before the end of the 13th/18th century Syrian Christians had taken over the administration of the customs in Egypt, and when Muḥammad 'Alī succeeded the Mamluks he too made use of them

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1 Ibid., P.18.

in his financial control as well as his relations with the local rulers of Syria. These educated laymen were scholars as well as officials. In the early 12th/18th century a number of Christians in Aleppo set themselves to master the sciences of the Arabic language, acquiring them from the only group which possessed them at that time, the shaykhs of the Muslim religious hierarchy. Some of them wrote poetry and prose correctly and with love, and it was from them that the flame of Arabic literature was carried to Lebanon. Those who wished to be officials studied Arabic avidly as part of their professional training, and passed on what they had studied to their children. Whole families of men of letters grew up in this way, and it was from such families - Yazījī, Shidyaq, Bustānī-that there came, in the early 13th/19th century, the founders of the literary renaissance of the Arabs.[1]

The development of modern literature in Egypt took its time. One of the causes was perhaps the fact that the arabization of the dynasty took place only slowly and that the ruling classes for a long time continued to consist largely of non-autochthonous Egyptians, Turks, Albanians, Circassians and other non-Arabic speakers. As a result, there were few direct stimuli for a modern literature to develop, nor was literary progress much encouraged by the fact that economically Egypt was run like a hothouse, in which developments were hastened on a large scale by resorting to foreign experts. One of the most important obstacles to the birth of a modern literature was the pitiful state in which the knowledge of standard Arabic in Egypt found itself in the first

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1 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, P.56.

half of the 13th/19th century. Naturally, this was partly due to the fact that the upper classes for a long time had known little Arabic, whereas, on the other hand, the spoken Arabic of the lower levels of society quite strongly deviated from the written language. The latter was cultivated by the religious leaders, particularly by the Azhar scholars, who until Muḥammad ʿAlī came into power, had a mediating influence, but from their quarter no modernization was to be expected, while their knowledge of classical Arabic literature was often minimal.[1]

The role of newspaper press cannot be underestimated for the development of standard Arabic into a usable modern literary instrument. The establishment of newspapers and magazines brought about a major extension of the reading public, and extension which had already been promoted by the introduction of the printing press. Literary works could now reach a much larger number of readers than the handwritten copies of former days.[2] Napoleon took with him to Egypt not only an army, but two printing presses and a number of scholars. One of these presses belonged to a printer, Pierre Aurel.But it was later brought by the French military and like other press, came under the direction of the orientalist, Jean Joseph Marcel head of the Imprimerie National in Egypt. The presses had as their primary function the printing of proclamations and other official matter, though the chief language used was French, Arabic translations at times, even Greek and Turkish also-were provided. For example, after Napoleon left Egypt to return to France (1214/1799), General Kléber,

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P. 14.

2 Ibid., P.14.

whom he left in charge, was murdered (1215/June 1800). The official account of his assassin's trial was published in French, Arabic and Turkish languages.[1] The French never got round to printing an Arabic paper or magazine. On the Arabic printing press which they had indeed brought with them, they printed a number of minor Arabic works and some proclamations in rather awkward Arabic, but that was all. After the departure of the French none of these activities were continued. Only after a number of years, under Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule, there began to appear a kind of official newspaper, Jurnāl al-Khudaywī, which reported the most important events, but this was only intended for the wālī himself and not for a wider public.[2]

The French gave the Egyptians their first experience of a newspaper in the Courier de l' Egypte, which appeared- nominally at least - every five days, from 1213/29 August 1798 onwards. It was an official and military newspaper, but included some Cairo and provincial news, besides propaganda for French revolutionary principles. A scientific and literary magazine, La Decade Egyptienne, was published from 1213/November 1798, every ten days for Volume I- the first nine issues, then subsequently on a monthly basis. Its aim was to record the writings of the Institute d' Egypte founded by the French. Its contents were therefore largely scientific, including articles on agriculture, medicine and archaeology, even on the Cairo lunatic asylum. The contents were in French, but an Arabic ode in glorification of Napoleon's military might was included in one issue. Neither the Courier nor

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1 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature, P.30.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP.14-15.

the Décade survived the departure of the French. Baron Jacques Francois de Menou succeeded Kléber as general commander of the French expeditionary force. He was defeated by the British at Alexandria in 1217/March 1801, and his force were repatriated under the terms of the Treaty of Amiens of 1217/1802. Menou did plan to publish an Arabic newspaper, called al-Tanbīh, when he felt the need to strengthen the population's confidence in the French, but apparently this plan was never implemented. It may therefore be asked how the occupation can have been a factor working for the Literary Renaissance. Arab authors in particular have no doubts on that point. Salahiddine Boustany says: 'Had it not been for the press of Bonaparte, Muḥammad ʿAlī would have been unable to start Boulaq Press, and consequently Al-Waqāiʿal-Miṣrīyah as early as 1244/1828.'[1]

The Egyptian Government Press was established in 1235-36/1819-20, the result of Muḥammad ʿAlī's first mission to Europe. In 1244/1828 a start was made with the Egyptian Government Gazette, al-Waqāʾiʿ al-miṣrīyah, the first newspaper in the Arab world. It came out slightly irregularly, but it had the appearance of a periodical containing more than the proclamations, acts and decrees which usually fill a government gazette, It was typical of the linguistic situation in Muḥammad ʿAlī's Egypt that the gazette was published in two languages, Turkish and Arabic, in separate columns, Certainly in the beginning, the Arabic of al-Waqāʾiʿ al-miṣrīyah was no more than a translation of the Turkish text and anything but fluent. However, the basis had

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1 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature, P.31.

been laid. Later, numerous Egyptian writers would be employed as editors of this gazette. It thus became a direct influence on modern Egyptian literature.[1]

The literary Renaissance is inconceivable without a press, and at least the French showed Egyptians its potential. Further, by opening Egyptians eyes to French culture and European sciences, in however modest a way, the occupation made them aware of a civilization different from the Islamic civilization they shared with their Turkish masters, and made them receptive to foreign ideas. It was a first step towards ending that literary inbreeding which had long stultified Arab literary development.

One factor which made Cairo a suitable centre for the Renaissance was the presence of the Azhar. This was an institute of Islamic education founded by the Fatimids. Though preoccupied with the religious sciences, it was still the leading repository of knowledge of Arabic language and literature. Whatever stimulus might come from the West, any new Arabic literature would still need a solid foundation in the past. From this point of view, Cairo had a distinct advantage over Bayrut as a centre of revival.[2]

The modern Arabic literature is taken to mean the literature of the 13th/19th and 14th/20th centuries. Arab literary historians usually reckon their modern literature to have begun with Napoleon's invasion of Egypt in 1213/1798. A proper understanding of modern Arabic literature requires some knowledge not only of

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.15.

2 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature, PP.31-32.

the general background- political, religious, social and economic- but also of the classical literature. The Age of Depression that is the period between the end of the Middle Ages and 1215/1800, when practically no Arab literature of outstanding merit was written, a good number of books on literature certainly existed, dealing with the subject chronologically much in the manner used by the Arabs. For understanding of modern Arabic literature, we really need as our background an account dealing briefly with questions of form, style and language over the whole medieval period. A general conspectus of the development of the medieval poetry will assist in the understanding of the modern poetry. An account of medieval Arabic biographical, anecdotal and narrative literature will aid the understanding of modern fiction— and the like.[1]

In modern Arabic prose the question of language and style is very relevant. The 'maqama' provided the obvious model for the writers of the 13th/19th century, but there were snags. While the literary language remained virtually static since the seventh century, the spoken language had changed considerably. Inflection had disappeared, and certain grammatical usages had gone by the board. Numerous idioms had become obsolete or obsolescent, and much vocabulary was now known only to specialist students of the language. The old system of patronage by rulers, officials, and rich men, was on the decline, since ruling classes were Turkish. The language of government was Turkish- a language which, though then written in Arabic characters, belonged to a tolally different

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1 Ibid., PP.1-2.

language family. Thus it became less easy for an author to write for a small educated élite. True, some Turks, were sensible of the beauties of Arabic; and the autonomus Khedives of Egypt, as well as Christian institutions in the Lebanon, were ready to support some Arabic literary activity. But the patron's place was taken by the nascent Arabic press, which offered the budding author a livelihood. This, together with the spread of education, largely at a low level, indicated to writers the advantage of simplifying their language, to appeal to a wider audience, for whom the spoken language took priority over the written.[1]

The forms of modern Arabic prose literature nearly all have some roots in the classical literature: the outstanding exception is drama. The chief modern forms are novel, short story, essay, and drama. In addition, mention should be made of less creative forms, such as biography, autobiography, history, literary criticism and a large body of literature which for want of a better term, may be called 'polemical' or "Jadallī" (جَدَلِيّ) Into the latter category books on social reform go books calling on the Arabs to reform themselves and their institutions, to gain their proper place in the world, to revive their former glories. A good deal of such literature is, to our ears, vague and repetitive: but in so far as it aspires to recognition as creative literature by aiming at a high literary style, to make an emotional appeal to the reader, it is worthy of mention. In any case, the tremendous influence of some of the writers of this sort of

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1 Ibid., P.14.

literature makes it essential to refer to them, and even include some long extracts. On the other hand, we are not concerned here with a large quantity of published materials which make no pretence to literary worth- text books and scientific works. Scientific works are now being turned out in Arabic by the hundred, and there are scientific magazines, both popular and specialized. Yet it must be remarked that science has affected the more creative literature. Modern fiction owes a great deal to psychology imported from the west.

The evolution of modern essay style can be seen by comparing the maqalat and maqamat of the Lebanese Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1219-1305/1804-87), one of the great architects of the Nahḍa, with those of Yaʿqūb Ṣarūf, a co-founder of al-Muqtataf, who went to Cairo when that magazine was transferred there. A series of 80 articles which he wrote for the magazine were published in book form after his death. "Chapter on animal and plant life" (Cairo, 1350/1931).[1]

Arabic poetry as a vital part of literature has been influenced during the Renaissance period. The effect of Arabic translations of Western poetry on the development of modern Arabic poetry, from the rise of romanticism to the present day, has been enormous.[2] The revolt in modern Arabic poetry against the conventional rhyme and metre to free the poet from unnecessary restraints, was one of many aspects of the impact of the West on the Arab world.[3] This can be seen not only in the choice of themes and

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1 Ibid.,P P.14-15.

2 Md.Abu Baker Siddique, "Al-Barudi a pioneer poet of the New-Classical Movements" The Dhaka University Studies, Part A, Vol.44, No.2, December 1987, P.89.

3 Moreh, Modern Arabic poetry 1800-1970,(Layden: E.J.Brill,1976)P.11.

attitudes but also in the diction and very language used. In Arabic poetry, as is common in literature, new ideas, ideals led to the introduction of new forms. Generally, in revolutions in any literature having a classical tradition, men of letters choose classical types no longer in vogue with which to carry out any revolt, or the imitation of other literatures in which there are common elements. Thus the maqāma and saj' were revived in an attempt to do in Arabic what was being done in Western fiction. Modern Arabic poetry is the result of two literary movements. (i) the development of muwashshah, musammaṭ, zajal, and other strophic forms; and (ii) the direct imitation of Western Poetry. We can see the main three types of verses in modern Arabic literature- i) Al-Shi'r al-maqṭū'a (strophic verse) ii) Al-Shi'r al-mursal (blank verse) and iii) Al-Shi'r al-ḥurr (free verse).

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1168-1241/1754-1825) in his comprehensive history of Egypt entitled 'Ajā'ib al-āthār fī al-tarājim wa al-akhbār (Composed between 1220/1805 and 1238/1822, and dealing with the period (1100-1237/1688-1821), preserves for us a clear picture of the state of poetry in the 11th/17th and 12th/18th centuries, and at the beginning of the 13th/19th century. Most of the poems he quotes are of classical qaṣīda form, and in many the last verse contains the date on which it was composed. There are also a few muwashshahs, and muzdawijas of five lines in rajaz metre or in rajaz couplets, forms which were still in use up to the beginning of the 13th/19th century. As far as we can now tell, the first contact in Egypt between Arabic poetry and Western literature took place during the French occupation. The links in this contact were the poets and

intimate friends of al-Jabartī, Ḥasan al-ʿAttār (1180-1251/1766-1835) and Ismāʿīl al Khashshāb (d.1231/1815).[1]

Strophic verse later became firmly established in modern Arabic poetry through the continuous endeavour of the Lebanese and Syrian poets in the Arab world and in America. However, many other poets tried to find new forms and music for the new themes of narrative, dramatic, and epic poetry which they attempted to introduce in order to enrich Arabic literature with new elements borrowed from the West but found that rhyme was an inseperable obstacle.[2]

It is obvious from statements of critics and philosophers interested in the Greek sciences that the fact regarding the writing of blank verse by the Greeks was know to the Arabs. However, they were all firm in their conviction that rhyme in Arabic poetry was as essential as metre. In his Kitāb al-Shiʿr al-Fārābī (260-339/873-950) observed that Homer used blank verse: 'It is clear from the work of Homer[3] (Awmīrūsh) the poet of the Greeks, that he does not keep the equal endings (of the lines), while the Arabs pay more attention to rhyme than do other nations: 'The Arabs pay more attention to the ending of the verses in poetry, than many nations with whose poetry we are acquainted.[4] Many critics tried to discover who had been the first Arab poet to use unrhymed verse in Modern Arabic literature. In an article written by Durrīnī Khashāba in al-Risāla entitled al-Shiʿr al-mursal and our poets who experimented with it; the writer said

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1 Ibid., P. 13.

2 Ibid., P. 127.

3 Greek epic poet of 8th century BC., presumed author of the 'Iliad' and 'Odyssey', cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.583.

4 Moreh, Modern Arabic Poetry 1800-1970, P.125

that he could not decide whether the first poet in Egypt and the Arab world to start writing in Shi'r mursal had been 'Abd al-Raḥman Shukrī or Muḥammad Farīd Abū Ḥadīd. In an article in his book Yas'alūnak al-Aqqād tried to answer this difficult question and emphasized that the three poets Tawfīq al-Bakrī (1287-1351/1870-1932) in his poem Dhāt al-qawāfī, Jamīl Ṣidqī al-Zahāwī in a poem in al-Mu'ayyad, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān Shukrī in his poems in al-Jarīda were the first to try their hand at it. But al-'Aqqād could not decide which of the three was the first. Ḥasan al-Ẓarīfī stated that al-Zahāwī was the first, while Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī and 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Dasūqī considered Shukrī to be the first poet to write blank verse in modern Arabic literature in Egypt, and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghafūr considered him to be the first who wrote blank verse in Arabic poetry. An anonymous writer of a letter said that Abū Ḥadīd was the first.[1]

The idea of free verse in Arabic literature came out of the growing impact of Western literature. Many poets, even the best neoclassical representatives searched for new media, and to copy or introduce techniques, themes, ideas and forms, from European poetry. In imitation Whitman's[2] free verse the major modern poets preferred to use a strophic or irregular stanza form with a change of rhyme. In 1323/1905, Amīn al-Rīḥānī, encouraged by Jurjī Zaydān, tried his hand al Shi'r manthūr, imitating Whitmanian free verse. Thus a large number of poets were deeply involved in a continuous effort to find a suitable medium, generally through direct imitation of Western forms and themes.

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1 Ibid., P.130 & Foot Note No. 26.

2 Whitman, an American major poet of the 20th century.

However, the first serious attempt in modern Arabic literature to write free verse based upon metric and not prose rhythm was that of Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī (1310-75/1892-1955). He was the most remarkable Arab poet to experiment with poetic forms, and was deeply influenced by English literature and a close student of the development of contemporary English and American poetry. He experimented in the muwashshaḥ and other forms of strophic verse including the English sonnet, and also in blank verse and English free verse. The question that arises here is which type of Western free verse Abū Shādī imitated and to what extent he was able to adopt its techniques. We know that Abū Shādī was acquainted with French vers libre, for in his article 'Modern French Poetry' he dealt with this form and quoted Gustave Kahn (1276-1355/1859-1936), one of the first French writers to experiment with vers libre, to the effect that it hardly observes metre and rhyme. Abū Shādī preferred free verse to blank verse because he found that the former is a better medium for epic, drama, and narrative poetry, since it is unrhymed and more flexible. It enables the poet to vary the rhythm according to the thought and emotion, and to use the exact expression to convey his intention. Abū Shādī attributed the introduction of blank verse and free verse into Modern Arabic poetry to the efforts of his master and friend Khalīl Muṭrān, saying somewhat exaggeratedly:

"The evolution of blank verse (al-shi'r al-mursal), free verse (al-Shi'r al-ḥurr), everything we have achieved through our liberation movement in versification, and the humanistic and universal subjects which we now deal with, are but a natural

development of the message of Muṭrān".[1]

Arab literary renaissance, particularly the Egyptian literary renaissance was an outcome of the Western cultural contact which was possible through the conquest of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte at the end of eighteenth century. So, Arabian cultural trends in Egypt were influenced by the French culture.

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1 Moreh, Modern Arabic Poetry, P.161.

CHAPTER III

PIONEERS OF LITERARY RENAISSANCE

The Arab renaissance was an outcome of the contributions of the men of letters of the Levant and Egypt and the leaders of important reform movement. It would be useful to notice first the contributions of the men of letters. In the Levant, scholars were either patronized by rulers or nurtured by the Church. The court of the Shihabi prince Bashir II of the Lebanon was the meeting place of the famous poets Nikūlā Yūsuf al-Turk (d.1244/1828), Butrus Ibrāhim Karāma (d.1278/1861), Amīn al-Jundī (d.1296/1878) and Naṣīf al-Yazījī (d.1288/1871); al-Yazījī besides being a court poet, was also a prose writer who played an important role in reviving the classical idioms. Al-Yazījī's book, Majma' al-Baḥrain (The Conjunction of the Two Seas), written in the traditional maqama style of al-Harīrī and al-Hamadani, shows his mastery over the Arabic language. Al-Yazījī also wrote important books on the Arabic language and grammar.[1]

'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (d.1238/1822), was the historian, an exception in this literary desert, who may be considered as belonging at least in part to the 12th/18th century. He was not a man of letters in the strict sense of the term, but his annals, the Ajā'ib al-āthār fī al-tarājim wa al-akhbār, are among the best writings in Arabic historiography. Particularly

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1 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, 1900-1967, PP.13-14.

because of their simple and direct style they are a refreshing relief amidst the affected and ornate prose characteristic of the time. Perhaps precisely because of this style, modern Egypt was long in appreciating his work.

Another pioneer of the renaissance, Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (d.1305/1887), was noted for his studies in lexicography. Al-Shidyāq called for a modern arrangement in Arabic dictionery, i.e, in the alphabetical order, instead of the traditional rhyme order based on the final root- letter. In his dictionary, Sirr al-Layāl (Secrets of the Nights), al-Shidyāq began with the gutturals to support the theory of the onomatopoeic origin of the language. He also treated two letteres anagrammatically, e.g. b-d with d-b and r-d with d-r. In this he was reverting to the theory of bilateral origin of Arabic roots which Khalīl bin Aḥmad had originated in the 2nd/8th century. A versatile scholar, al-Shidyāq assisted in the translation of the Bible, for which he travelled to England. He wrote about his travels abroad; al-Sāq-ʿalā al-Sāq fīmā huwa al-Fariyāq (Leg over leg concerning what Fariyāq is) is one of the earliest travelogues in the modern period.[1]

Now I would like to discuss separately the pioneers of Arabic literary renaissance in brief.

NAṢĪF AL-YAZĪJĪ (D. 1288/1871):

To the first half of the nineteenth century four important Lebanese writers belong- though three of them produced their best works during the third quarter of the century. All the four were

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1 Ibid., P.14.

Christians, though one- Shidyāq became a Muslim. Naṣīf al-Yazījī (1215-1288/1800-1871) and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (1220-1305/1805-1887) are famed for books antique in form and style: but by their brilliant manipulation of the Arabic language, they pointed the way to future possibilities. Mārūn Naqqāsh (1233-1272/1817-1855) was not a great writer, but the pioneered Arabic drama. Butrus al-Bustānī (1235-1301/1819-1883) was the literary patriarch who, though no primarily a creative writer himself, perhaps did more for the Nahḍa than any other single man in the 13th/19th century. With these writers we encounter a phenomenon peculiar, though not unique, to Lebanese literature: literary families each producing several writers of above- average attainment. At least half a dozen of the Yazījīs achieved distinction, a dozen of the Bustānīs and several Naqqāsh's, by the beginning of the present century. Other common family names involved are Khūrī and Dahdah.[1]

Naṣīf al-Yazījī was born in Kufr Shīmā on the coast near Bayrut. The family originated in the Byzantine community of Homs, some of them migrating to the Lebanon at the end of the 11th/17th century. One of them worked as a writer or clerk in Turkish government offices, and took the name of Yazījī-Turkish for'writer', and this became a recognized laqab (Patronymic) passed on from father to son. This of the family was converted to Roman Catholicism at the beginning of 13th A.H. and towards the end of 18th A.D., along with several other Lebanese families. Our author's father was some sort of a doctor. Cheikho says merely that he studied medicine under a monk, did well, and practised as a doctor.

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1 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.43.

Others describe him as a doctor of the Avicenna school. All agree that he had literary tastes, which he passed on to his son, and even wrote some poetry. Naṣīf was educated in language and literature, and also medicine, by his father, and then by a Maronite monk. He continued his studies by reading avidly in monastery libraries, and displayed scholarly leanings and a love for Arabic. For Example, he is said to have learned by heart not only the whole of the poetry of Mutanabbī and various other poets, but also the Qurʾān and unusual accomplishment for a Christian. He was quite precocious, and composed a good deal of ghajal (popular poetry) in his youth, most of it as yet unpublished, the very idea of which seems to conflict with the image of his maturity. He worked for a time as clerk to the Maronite Patriarch. But he became known to poets at the court of Bashir II, such as al-Turk and Karama, and they in their turn recommended him to the Prince. So in 1243/1827, Bashīr made him his confidential secretary, and he remained in his service till the prince's exile in 1256/1840. Then Yazījī moved down to Bayrut, to reside there for the rest of his life, dividing his time between writing and teaching.[1]

He contacted American missionaries, and assisted them as proofreader with their publications, especially with the Arabic translation of the Bible. He taught successively in Butrus al-Bustānī's National School, the 'Patriarchal School' founded by the Maronites, and lastly the Syrian English College, which later became the American University in Bayrut (the 'AUB'). By the end of his life he had become famous. European orientalists corresponded with him; and he was one of the most distinguished members

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1 Ibid., P.44.

of the Syrian Academy, a learned body founded in Damascus in 1265/1848, presumably on the model of the Académie Francaise. During the last two years of his life he suffered from paralysis of the right side. He bore this disability with fortitude, until his eldest son died suddenly in the prime of manhood. Not long afterwards he died of a stroke.

Yazījī's principal works come under three categories, apart from miscellaneous writings on such subjects as medicine, logic and history: linguistic text-books, poetry and art-prose.

He was noted for his works on grammar and rhetoric, which ran through several editions. His abridged grammar, Faṣl al-Khiṭāb, first published in Malta in 1252/1836, is still studied in the Arabic department of at least one Western University. Yazījī's work filled a need, and must have seemed a welcome substitute for medieval masterpieces. Some writers see his poetry as an exercise in imitation of classical poetry in general and Mutanabbī in particular. It can be said of Yazījī in general that he appears to have set out to emulate the classical writers in those fields which interested him- on the basis, no doubt, that "anything they could do, I could do almost as well". It is an oversimplification to suggest that his poetry is merely pseudo- Mutanabbī. But his main trouble was his devotion to learning. He did not show any other burning enthusiasm which could direct his poetry to new themes of current interest in the Arab world.

Yazījī had a passion for manipulating verses and hemistiches in various ways, including chronograms a sure sign of his antique tastes.[1]

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1 Ibid.,pp.45-46.

The third category of Yazījī's work is his art prose-rhymed prose, of which his collection of sixty 'maqāmāt' known as Majmaʿ al-Baḥrain is the chief example. It is said that the encouragement of the French Consul in Bayrut helped to stimulate him to write these 'maqāmāt', which were composed over several years, and published in 1272/1855. Others think that the edition of Harīrī's Maqāmat by the great French orientalist de Sacy, about which he wrote a critical letter, may have helped to encourage Yazījī's interest in the 'maqāma' form. In any case, it was obvious that sajʿ suited his taste, and he was brilliantly successful in it. He proved that the language was as expressive as it had ever been.[1]

None the less, Yazījī was antiquarian here, no less than in his poetry, and he displayed the same preoccupation with language rather than thought. In his short introduction, in medieval rhymed prose, he describes himself as a Christian of Jebel Lebanon, who has poached on the preserves of Arab literary men by composing stories under the title of maqāmat, because of their resemblance to that form. His aim is to provide profit and pleasure, with the strange and unusual, morals and maxims, stories coming trippingly from the tongue to charm the reader, stylistic beauties, and rare constructions and words found only after diligent search. None the less, he realizes that it may all be rather redundant, in view of the fame of former masters of the form (Ḥarīrī and Hamadani). Yet he is trespassing in this field, with the ambition of producing the first light of the new day though it might be as worthless bric-a-brac. So he begs his readers to

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1 Ibid., P. 48.

pardon him, as forbearance from blaming others is a mark of nobility.[1]

'The first light of the new day!' Surely Yazījī was, consciously or unconsciously, summing up his whole position in the Arab Literary Renaissance. But, to return to the Majma'al-Bahrain: anyone who has read Ḥarīrī will be familiar with the pattern of Yazījī's work. The latter's 'stories' are, on the whole, shorter, but not inferior in quality. They contain some of his neatest poetry too (The title of the work means 'the conjunction of the two seas'- a metaphorical reference to prose and poetry).[2]

Like Ḥarīrī and Hamadani before him, Yazījī gives many of his maqamat place- names as titles- Yemenite, Baghdadi, Upper Egyptian, Allepan, and so on. But they are particular neither to these places in any but a casual sense, not to the time at which the author wrote. The overall theme is the hero's virtuosity (and therefore the author's too), sometimes in recondite knowledge, but fundamentally in the manipulation of language, in rhymed prose or verse. Rare words abound, hence there are abundant footnotes to explain them, as many as fifty for a single maqama. Every device of rhetoric is displayed; while the verse reaches a limit of ingenuity which makes mere chronograms seem like lower- form schoolboy exercises.[3]

Despite the large number of maqamat written since Ḥarīrī's time, including many in the 13th/19th century, only Yazījī's have been considered worthy to be mentioned in the same breath.

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1 Ibid., P.49.

2 Ibid., P.49.

3 Ibid., P.50.

Indeed, modern literary historians and University courses alike bracket Yazījī with Hamaḍani and Harīrī in the trio of outstanding maqama writers. University students in Syria and the Lebanon are expected to be able to compare the merits of Majma'al-Baḥrain with those of the other two collections. At the same time, Yazījī is generally considered inferior to the other two, primarily because of his greater preoccupation with language and lack of variety.[1]

Yazījī has been considered at some length because, however backward- looking and imitative, he was the first genius- or near- genius of the Nahḍa. It is difficult to make a proper assessment of his literary merits. It may be suspected that few Western orientalists have read his maqāmat; while Arabs, at first adulterous have begun to place him in the museum of literary history. The time will come when nobody save a few specialists will read him. Gabrieli sees him, beyond his imitation of Mutanabbī, bringing purity and elegance to a barbarized culture. Wiet speaks of him as purifying the language of neologisms borrowed from foreign languages. It would be interisting to know which neologisms were current in the Lebanon when Yazījī wrote. Wiet calls him also an attardé volontaire, retiring into the past, and refusing every contact with European literature. He is presumably referring here to his ignorance of foreign languages. 'Abd-al-Jalīl describes him as being interested, above all, in language. His poems imitate those of the great classical poets, especially al-Mutanabbī. He wrote maqāmat, which testify to his real mastery of the Arabic language.'

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1 Ibid., P.52.

As far as poetry was concerned, Arabic needed a Shelley[1] or a Byron;[2] but first and foremost it needed a Wordsworth,[3] who could say worthwhile things in simple language, classically acceptable, but near to the colloquial, and relevant to the contemporary scene. In prose, too, the need was similar. Yazījī was no Wordsworth. But he proved the language's flexibility, and showed that it was not divided by religion- though anyone familiar with the poetry of Ibn al-Rūmī (3rd/9th century) needed no reminding of this.[4]

AḤMAD FĀRIS AL-SHIDYĀQ:

Shidyāq was born in a village north of Bayrut, the fifth of five sons of a Maronite employed as a taxation officer. All five had literary talent. The father unfortunately became involved in Druze politics, supporting a party with a view to ousting a local amir. When the attempt failed, the leaders fled to Damascus. Aḥmad Fāris' father was one of them, and he died in Damascus in 1236/1820. Aḥmad Fāris received his secondary education in the Maronite school of 'Ain Waraqa, learning Syriac, French and English. There is something picaresque about him— the name Fāris even means 'Knight'. It is perhaps uncharitable to say that his love of language was kept in check by an even greater love, that of Shidyāq. His very name Shidyāq is so un-Arabic as to be easily remembered: it is from the Greek, and means a sub-deacon or chorister. On leaving school he found difficulties in settling

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1 Percy Bysshe Shelley (1207-1238/1792-1822) British poet, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P. 1105.

2 A British poet (1203-1240/1788-1824), born with deformed ankles and a clubfoot, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.207.

3 William Wordsworth (1184-1267/1770-1850), British poet, born in Cumberland, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P. 1312.

4 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, PP.52-53.

down- a problem which plagued him all his life. He tells us in his autobiographical al-Sāq ʿalā al-Sāq of several attempts to work as a copyist, interspersed with excursions into commerce. At one stage he bought a donkey and became a pedlar. He tried tutoring the children of the rich in their homes, but became involved in more than teaching with the daughter of an amir. His life was changed by the death of his brother Asʿad (1213-1246/1798-1830). The latter had been employed by American missionaries, teaching them Arabic, and had become a Protestant. He was imprisoned by the Maronite Patriarch, and according to Hourani, 'done to death'. Shidyāq apparently contacted the Americans in Bayrut, and, like his brother, became a Protestant. He went to Egypt, to work, it is believed, as a translator for the Americans. While there, he contacted distinguished scholars, and improved his grasp of Arabic language and literature. He entered journalism, writing for al-Waqāiʿ al-Miṣriyya, succeeding Ṭahṭāwī as editor. He married a Syrian woman, and was blessed with two sons.[1]

In 1250/1834 the American missionaries sent him to Malta. He spent 14 years working in their press there, supervising Arabic publications, editing, translating and writing. He wrote his book referred to in Chapter I, al-Wasīta fī Maʿrifa Malta. In 1265/1848 he was invited to England by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to assist Samuel Lee in translating the Bible into Arabic. He spent some time in Cambridge, Oxford and London, as well as Royston, where the lack of amusements drove him to extreme

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1 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, PP.53-54.

boredom. Though not entirely happy in England, he took out British nationality.[1]

He next went to Paris, where he ingratiated himself with the visiting Bey of Tunis by writing in his honour a eulogistic ode known as his Lāmiyya, because the rhyme was the letter lām (=l), on the lines of the 'Lāmiyya' of Ka'b ibn Zubair, a contemporary of the Prophet Muḥammad. The grateful Bey invited him to Tunis, where he made him editor of his official newspaper, al-Rā'id al-Tūnisī, the first newspaper to appear in Tunis. Shidyāq also became a Muslim. In 1274/1857 the Sultan invited him to Istanbul to work as translator and proof-reader in the state press. In 1279/1862 he founded his weekly newspaper, al-Jawā'ib. It was the first Arabic newspaper to have a wide circulation throughout the Arab world. At first the Turkish State Press published it: then Shidyāq founded his own printing house, Maṭba'al-Jawā'ib, technically the most up-to-date in the Ottoman Empire. Not only did it publish this newspaper, but many literary works from the numerous manuscripts in Istanbul libraries. Contemporary works, too, were published from all parts of the Islamic world. For example, several compilations by Siddiq Hasan Khan (1248-1308/1832-1890), Nawab Consort of Bhopal in India, were printed there. Shidyāq was generously subsidized by the Sultan-doubtless for his support for the idea of the Sultan, as Caliph, being the head of the Islamic world. He was likewise subsidized by the Bey of Tunis and the Khedive of Egypt. With the tendency towards independance in Ottoman peripheral provinces, such joint patronage could easily lead to

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1 Ibid., P.54.

strains. In 1297/1879 al-Jawā'ib was banned for six months, because the editor refused to publish an article attacking the Khedive Ismā'īl. Later, in 1300/1882, Shidyāq had to support the Sultan during the reign of Khedive Taufīq by publishing the Turkish declaration condemning Arabic Pasha's revolt, which resulted in the British shelling in Alexandria.[1]

In 1301/1883 the paper was moved to Cairo under Shidyāq's son Salīm, and it ceased to exist in its previous from under its old name. Shidyāq remained in Istanbul , no longer popular with the authorities. He died in 1305/1887, and in accordance with his wish his remains were taken to the Lebanon. He was buried at the junction of the roads to 'Alay and al-Hadath. He had been at school at the later village. Some say that he became a Christian once again on his deathbed. According to one story, he sent for a priest of the Armenian Uniate (Catholic) Church, and made his confession of faith and repentance. He was mourned throughout the Islamic world and among those in the West with a knowledge of and on interest in the Middle East.[2]

His poetry is of little significance. He could deal with up-to-date themes. He wrote a poem on the Franco-Prussian War of 1287/1870, for instance. The expression falls far short of Yazījī's despite similar indulgence in rhetoric. The wise saws and homespun philosophizings are there, but he lacked the sincerity to rise above the trite.[3]

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1 Ibid.,PP.54-55.

2 Ibid., P.55.

3 Ibid., P.55.

The subject of much of his writing is himself. But the subordinate themes are not antique, like Yazījī's, but modern. Again, he had a great sense of humour, humour often piercing and satirical. One may dislike the man and his work, but one can never ignore them. His prose works may be divided into philological and (broadly) autobiographical, the latter taking in a good deal of travel talk. His philological works ranged from grammars of French and English for Arabs, to complex works on Arabic lexicography. These weighty works are important in the history of Arabic dictionary writing. Shidyāq was a pioneer of modern Arabic lexicography. He had a knowledge of the language both wide and deep, and some sound ideas mixed with eccentric ones. Thus his Jāsūs ʿAlā al-Qāmūs (Spy on the Qāmūs) is a criticism of the best-known medieval dictionary; in it he called for dictionaries arranged in the modern alphabetical order, instead of the rhyme-order, based on final root letters, which had held sway for centuries. When he came to compile a dictionary himself, however, Sirr al-Layāl, he introduced a novel alphabetical order of his own beginning with the gutturals, to support the theory of the onomatopoeic origion of language. It is also based on a theory of the bilateral origin of Arabic roots, treating any two letters anagrammatically, thus b-d with d-b, r-d with d-r and so on. Here there is a strange mixture of medieval Arab and modern European ideas.[1]

Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq as a writer has many points of resemblance with Yazījī. He, too, was greatly interested in language, wrote linguistic books, and he had a great passion for rhymed

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1 Ibid., P.56.

prose and rhetoric. On the other hand, unlike Yazījī, he did visit foreign countries, including Malta, Britain, France and Tunis, and he knew foreign languages. He was also a pioneer of Arab journalism. Above all, he was a 'romantic'- not to say eccentric figure, as his religious connexions reveal. A Christian and Bible translator, he turned Muslim, and, perhaps, died a Christian. Shidyāq's lexicographical interests are clear also in his autobiographical travel works, in his love for rare words, and for groups of two or three near-synonyms. His books, like Yazījī, require copious footnotes and a readiness in the reader to use a dictionary as he reads. No wonder Arab admiration for him is largely theoretical!

His autobiographical travel books are the one on Malta already mentioned; his Kashf al-Mukhabba'an Funūn Urūbā (A Revelation of the secrets of the arts of Europe); and above all his brilliant, discursive and ill-shaped autobiography, al-Sāq 'alā al-Sāq fīmā huwa al-Fāriyāq (Leg over leg concerning what Fāriyāq is). It is doubtful whether the first two are ever read today, and neither they nor his lexicographical works would have perpetuated his name. Practically all Shidyāq did was purposeful in its planning, disorganized in its execution. Hourani, in referring to his descriptions of England and France, describes him as less perceptive than Ṭahṭāwī. This is true: but he is more personal and individual and gives us many interesting sidehights.[1]

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1 Ibid., P. 56.

ʿALĪ MUBĀRAK PĀSHĀ:

ʿAlī Mubārak Pāshā was born in the town of Birinbāl in the Egyptian Daqhalīyah province in 1239-40/1823-4, of a distinguished family, members of which occupied positions as judge (qāḍī), legal scholar (faqīh, in practice the village theologian) and preacher (Khaṭīb), but which obviously had become impoverished. Having run away from home several times, in 1251-52/1835-36 he gained admission to the Qaṣr al-ʿAynī school, one of the semi-military secondary schools established by Muḥammad ʿAlī. In 1255-56/1839-40 he was sent to the technical college (muhandiskhānah) which was also semi-military. When in 1260-61/1844-45 Muḥammad ʿAlī decided to send some of his descendants (angāl) to Paris for their education, Mubārak was selected as a member of this mission (baʿthah), one of the few autochthonous Egyptians in this circle otherwise dominated by Turks and Circassians. Not without difficulties he managed to learn French in Paris and he passed the final examination as one of the first three; he then went on to Metz, where he spent some time at the artillery school. In short, his education had a distinct military slant, with a special emphasis on the sciences, which was fully in accordance with Muḥammad ʿAlī's cultural policy which primarily stressed the acquisition of military and scientific skills, not the study of the humanist or literary aspects of civilization.[1]

In 1265/1848 the wālī ʿAbbās the First came into power. His rule was characterized by economizing measures and by restrictions on the Western, chiefly French, cultural influence in Egypt, as a

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.65.

consequence of which the Egyptian ba'thah in Paris was dissolved and the students were recalled. However we learn from his memories, that Mubārak soon found grace in the eyes of the new wālī. He became principal of the technical school (muhandiskhānah), and took the first steps in the reorganization of Egyptian education, in which he was to remain actively involved for the rest of his life. At some stage, he was dispatched with the Egyptian corps to Turkey to assist the Ottoman Empire in its fight against Russia during the Crimean War, but it is not clear from his autobiography whether he was indeed at the front or only served with the supply troops in Anatolia. Afterwards, however, he was to hold only administrative posts, especially in the field of education.[1]

This mixture of military and administrative tasks was nothing unusual in Egypt in the 13th/19th and in the beginning of the 14th/20th centuries and it became quite common again after the revolution of 1372/1952 when the army came to power. Perhaps Mubārak was made to pay for the patronage of 'Abbās the First by being somewhat slighted by his successor Sa'īd (1271/1854), during whose rule al-Ṭahṭāwī's star was in the ascendant again. Not until Ismā'īl's reign (1280-97/1863-79) could Mubārak's talents find full scope. He was immediately employed in the wālī's household (ma'īyah) and was quickly promoted in the administrative ranks from director (nāzir) of the dams of Cairo to director of the railway company, of public works and of the religious foundations (waqfs), a succession and combination of jobs indicative of a fair amount

1 Ibid., P.66.

of versatility on his part but also of the relative simplicity of the Egyptian civil service in the 13th/19th century.[1]

In 1287/1870 he took the initiative for the foundation of the National Library of Egypt, initially known as al-Kutubkhānah al-Khudaywīyah (usually al-Khidīwīyah) and later as Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīyah. In his capacity as director of the waqfs he was able to concentrate in this extensive library many of the Egyptian collections of manuscripts and books, which mostly belonged to the mosques and other religious foundations under the aegis of his department. His activities here may have been inspired by the library collections he had seen in Paris. In the same year he established the school Dār al-ʿUlūm, which was to offer other subjects than the traditional ones taugh at the Azhar. Both initiatives were most important for the cultural life of the country in the second half of the 13th/19th century. The Dār al-ʿUlūm- intended, as appears from the name, to be much more than the school or faculty of Arabic language and literature which it was later to become- was one of the first modern Egyptian educational institutions of academic stature. Next to al-Azhar and more technically oriented schools like the muhandis-khānah, it became a centre of cultural innovation, certainly at that time.[2]

Also in 1287/1870, Mubārak established the periodical Rawḍat al-madāris, which was intended as a magazine for primary and secondary- school teachers, but in fact, became one of the first semi-literary magazines in Egypt, with al-Ṭahṭāwī as

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1 Ibid., P.66.

2 Ibid., P.66.

editor-in-chief.

After the rebellion of 1300/1882 of al-ʿUrābī pāshā, for which Mubārk felt little sympathy, we learn from his memories Khiṭaṭ, that he became Minister of Education under Riyāḍ Pāshā. He died in Cairo in 1311/1893.[1]

Mubārak's main work al-Khiṭaṭ al-jadīdah that renamed as al-Khiṭaṭ al-Tawfīqīyah al-jadīdah in course of its publication (1304-6/1886-88) is generally considered to be monumental. This work, obviously set up as a second Maqrīzī, is an elaborate topography of Egypt in twenty volumes, with many digressions on her history as well as numerous biographical notes. Under his native town Birinbāl, Mubārak also included his own biography. The work is written in a simple, and factual style of the time. This learned and many- sided work is, however, not really a contribution to Egyptian belles letters; the equally voluminous ʿAlam al-Dīn, which was published a few years earlier (1299/1881-2) should be regarded as Mubārak's main literary achievement.[2]

Its style is clearly a conscious imitation of the maqāmah, but the work shows much more unity than the classical maqāmah. It does not consist, as is usual in the early maqāmah's, of a series of episodes connected only by the main character (and narrator), but it is a more or less continuous account of the adventures of a young Azhar sheikh, who is asked by an English traveller to help with the publication of a long Arabic dictionary. Together they travel through Egypt, whereupon the Englishman in

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1 Ibid., P.67.

2 Ibid., P.67.

his turn takes the sheikh to Europe. The work is divided into musāmarat, which may originally have been intended as dialogues, but here clearly serve as chapters, offering often highly detailed discussions of varying subjects, such as an elaborate description of the steam engine in the musāmarah about the railway. The narrative element in this work is still limited and the connection between the chapters is sometimes hardly discernible. The literary value of the work is not great, but the story form, despite the lack of continuity, and in particular the lively style of the work make for the same vitality that characterizes the Khiṭaṭ. Undoubtedly, later maqāmah writers, like Hāfiẓ and especially the great al-Muwayliḥī, were inspired by this work to begin their own experiments which, from a literary point of view, were to be more successful.[1]

ʿAlī Mubārak Pāshā (1239-1311/1823-1893) played an influential role in the cultural life of Egypt in the middle of the 13th/19th century. Like al-Ṭahṭāwī, he was a celebrated man in the fields of administration and education and he became famous for his contributions to the historiography of his country; his literary prose has not been without significance for modern Egyptian literature.

ʿABDULLĀH FIKRĪ:

The typical representative of the traditionalist movement in Egyptian prose of the second half of the 13th/19th century ʿAbdullāh Fikrī was born in Makka in 1250/1834, where his father was posted as an officer of the corps of engineers of the occupation army of Muḥammad ʿAlī. His grand father had been

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1 Ibid., P.68.

taught at the Azhar and here the young ʿAbdullāh was also sent to study. He entered government service, giving up a potentially brilliant career as a lecturer at the Azhar. He made his career in the civil service: in 1268/1851 he was appointed in the Turkish department of the Dīwān of the Katkhudā, subsequently in the Governorate (muḥāfaẓah) and Ministry of the Interior. During the reign of the wālī Saʿīd (1271-1280/1854-1863) he was included in the latter's household (maʿīyah), and in 1280/1863 he accompanied the new Khedive Ismāʿīl (1280-1297/1863-1879) on his traditional inauguration visit to Istanbul, probably also because he knew Turkish. In 1282-3/1865-6 Fikrī was given the title of Bey of the second rate. In 1284-5/1867-8 the Khedive charged him with the education of his son, the later Khedive Tawfīq.[1] After having served in some other posts, ʿAbdullāh Fakrī in 1288/1871 became deputy director of the Directorate of Education (dīwān al-makātib al-ahlīyah) under ʿAlī Mubārak with whom he had collaborated on the foundation of the National Library, later the Dār al-Kutub al-miṣrīyah. In 1294/1877 this directorate was given greater status and converted into a ministry (niẓārah). Fikrī's cooperation with Mubārak lasted for a long time. Fikrī also published several contributions in Mubārak's magazine Rawḍat al-madāris.[2]

Fikrī became Minister of Education in the cabinet of al-Bārūdī in the early 1300/1882, which though not actually leading the rebellion of that year, did find favour with the rebels. During the rebellion Fikrī did not play an important role, probably the

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.77.

2 Ibid., P.77.

reason why, after the rebellion had been crushed by armed British intervention, he was tried but acquitted. After his acquittal he wrote a long and obsequious poem in praise of his former pupil, the Khedive. Thereupon his pension was restored, which called forth another panegyric, again very lengthy, at first, but shortened at the advice of his friends. Although after this unfortunate intermezzo he seems to have been taken back into favour, Fikrī was not to hold any more important positions. He went on pilgrimage to Makka, and afterwards he made journeys to Syria, Palestine and Lebanon. In 1307/1889 he headed the Egyptian delegation to the congress of orientalists in Stockholm. He died in Cairo in 1308/1890. However, he is chiefly remembered for his services to education and he devoted himself to improving syllabi and text-books. Many of his literary works were collected and published by his son 1316/1898.[1]

'Abdullāh Fikrī's contributions to the cause of Egyptian education are generally recognized, although he may only have been a faithful assistant to the very dynamic 'Alī Mubārak. Fikri was not a statesman-author like the latter but rather the type of courtier poet (prosewriter), that for centuries had played a standard role in Arabic literature. It is true that al-Ṭahṭāwī wrote less elaborate and less pretentious prose and did more for the development of a modern prose style than this celebrated adīb, a man of letters in the old style, but he did not hold an official position like Fikrī, who thereby could add new lustre

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1 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970. P.82.

to literary prose. Fikrī also wrote prose; some in maqāma style, some less ornate. Fikrī imitated 4th/10th century poets.[1] Among ʿAbdullāh Fikrī's maqāmah's the best known is al-Maqāmah al-fikrīyah fil mamlakah al-bāṭinīyah, which was popular enough to go through several reprints. This work is not his own creation, however; we have it on his own authority that he translated his maqāmah from a Turkish version which originally came from yet another language. It is a literary allegory describing the fantastic journey of "Imagination, the son of Thought" (al-Khayāl b. Khātir) who wonders why Passion (al-Hawā) sometimes get the better of Insight (al-Basīrah) and Reason (al-ʿAql). Next, Imagination makes a journey through the Inner Realm (al-Mamlakah al-bātinīyah) and after a battle against bad counsellors Reason finally triumphs. The maqāmah is written, or translated, in a sometimes irritating rhyming prose (sajʿ) and is continually interrupted by quotations from Arabic poets, possibly an addition by Fikrī himself. Despite its undeniable stiffness, the maqāmah compares favourably with the highly flowery style of his letters. In Fikrī's collected works two other maqāmah's have been included, the one a kind of fairytale, Maqāmah ḥusn al-wafā' originally published in the periodical Rawḍat al-madāris; of the other only a fragment is printed.[2] The maqāmah's form only a minor portion of ʿAbdullāh Fikrī's work and they are totally without topicality. The prose part of the collected works, published by his son, Amīn Fikrī, consists chiefly of letters, rasā'il, for which Fikrī obviously

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1 Ibid., P.82.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP.78-79.

drew his inspiration from the great letter writers of the ʿAbbāsid flowering period, such as al-Ṣāḥib b. ʿAbbād and especially al-Khwārizmī. Like their ʿAbbāsid examples, his letters are characterized by an excessive use of rare words and expressions and by a consistently maintained rhyming prose (saj'). In this respect Fikrī still was the real Kātib, the man of letters writing for other men of letters. In addition, Fikrī's collected works contain a number of writings without literary pretensions, including a number of "pearls of wisdom" (ḥikam) and some proverbs (amthāl).[1] Fikrī fell into disfavour, through suspicion of being implicated in the Arabic rising. He was pardoned, partly because of a complaining ode addressed to Ismāʿīl. Such complaining poetry-termed ʿAtb-is reminiscent of ʿAbbāsid days. Incidentally, he called the Khedive in his verse mulaiki (my little king)- an apt nickname for the Khedive- though the diminutive used here is also used affectionately, an in bunayya (my little son) Fikrī's elegant prose was early and widely appreciated.[2]

Fikrī is the only contemporary prose writer discussed in Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī's well-known lectures on Arabic literature, al-Wasīlah al-adabīyah. Here he is even compared with the great classical maqāmah writers, al-Ḥamadanī , strangely enough not in connection with Fikrī's own attempts at the maqāmah but only with regard to his letters. It may have been al-Marṣafī's influence and prestige which induced later critics to ascribe a little too much importance to Fikrī's significance and influence. The critic Muḥammad Mandūr compares Fikrī's role in the development of prose with that of al-Bārūdī in poetry and even calls

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1 Ibid., P.79.

2 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.82.

him the "pioneer of the prose renaissance" (rā'id al-ba'th al-nathrī), a qalification which seems slightly exaggerated. Aḥmad Amīn considered him together with 'Alī Mubārak and al-Ṭahṭāwī as the "Knights"(fursān) of the Egyptian renaissance. Even so, 'Abdallāh Fikrī, both as a writer&stylist and as a stimulator of a cultural revival, was definitely the least important of these three.[1]

AL-BĀRŪDĪ:

The remarkable Egyptian neoclassicist Maḥmud Sāmī-al-Bārūdī made important departures in the study and writing of poetry. He was born in a prominent Mamluk (Egyptian- Circassian) family in Cairo in 1421/1838, which traced its origin back to a brother of the Mamluk sultan Barsbāy Ḳara al-Muḥammadī (1421/1838), though in some quarters doubt has been thrown upon this descent al-Bārūdī's ancestors had been maltazims, a kind of hereditary tax-farmers, holding a rather feudal position during the Ottoman rule in Egypt. Their property lay in the distant Buḥayrah province. Al-Bārūdī's father was an artillery officer in the army of Muḥammad 'Alī, where the officers were almost exclusively Circassians or Turks. He rose in the government service, a usual phenomenon in Muḥammad 'Alī's days when military and civilian positions were not clearly separate, and finally became governor of the Sudanese Donqola province after Muḥammad 'Alī's troops had conquered the Sudan.[2]

When Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī was seven years old, his father died and the boy was sent back to Egypt. In accordance with the

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.79.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.28.

family tradition he was educated at a military academy. It is not entirely certain exactly which school he attended but in 1271/1854-5 he graduated, after which- still at a tender age- he was sent to Istanbul to work in the service of the Sublime Porte. In view of his age, he probably worked there as a trainee. We are not sure whether he spoke Arabic at home but he must have learned fluent Turkish- and possibly persian- in Istanbul. This traineeship in proof of the continuation of certain ties between Egypt and the Ottoman administration despite the far-reaching autonomy of the country under Muḥammad ʿAlī's dynasty. In any case, al-Bārūdī's background was entirely Eastern, although during his training he may have come into contact with some Western military instructors and teachers. He seems to have been sent to Europe only once to attend military manoevers.[1]

On his return from Istanbul he obtained an army commission. He served in Crete[2] and the Crimea,[3] and reached the rank of Brigadier.[4] When in 1280/1863 the wālī saʿīd (1271/1854) was succeeded by Ismāʿīl (1280-1297/1863-79) the new Khedive set off for the traditional visit of homage to the Sultan in Istanbul and al-Bārūdī joined him on his return to Egypt. If the dates of his principal biographer are correct, this would mean that he spent the whole period of Saʿīd's rule in Istanbul, which seems hardly accidental and could indicate a conflict between the deceased

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1 Ibid., PP. 28-29.

2 The largest of the Greek island in the East Mediterranean Sea, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.325.

3 A peninsula and autonomous region in the Ukrainian SSR, in the South West Soviet Union, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.326.

4 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.83.

wālī and al-Bārūdī's relatives. In any event, the still youthful al-Bārūdī rapidly rose in the service of the Egyptian government. In 1282/1865 he served in the Egyptian army corps fighting on the Turkish side on Crete, an experience which he later mentioned in his poetry.[1] He also wrote a poem about the Turco-Russian Balkan War in 1294/1877 during which he fought in an Egyptian corps on the side of the Turks, where he did well and was rewarded with the title of Major General. In this phase al-Bārūdī revealed a close connection with the Turks: he was clearly one of those who personally embodied the Turco-Egyptian ties. Like his father's al-Bārūdī's career did not remain restricted to the military ranks. In 1295/1878 he was appointed governor of the Sharqīyah province then of Cairo, by today's standards one of the highest positions in the civil service, he was a Minister in the Ministry of Education and Awqāf in 1298/1879.[2]

Bārūdī's connections with the Khedivial family attenuated when, in 1297/1879, the Khedive Ismāīl was deposed and succeeded by his son Tawfīq (1297-1310/1879-92). In 1299/1881 al-Bārūdī was put up the rebelling officers as a candidate for the post of Minister of War. His popularity with the rebels was confirmed when he became Prime Minister once the rebellion was out in the open and well under way. Although he resigned as Prime Minister before the rebellion developed into a military conflict with the British troops, who in 1300/1882 came to the aid of Tawfīq's

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.29.

2 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.83.

wavering regime, he showed his loyalty to the rebellious officers by fighting on their side after the leader of the rebels, colonel ʿUrābī had taken over the premiership. After ʿUrābī's defeat at al-Tall al-Kabīr on 1300/September 13,1882, al-Bārūdī was tried and subsequently exiled to Ceylone where he spent seventeen years. During his exile both his daughter Sumira and his wife Adila Yakūn died, and he nearly lost his eyesight. He was allowed to return to Egypt only in 1318/1900, when he was already a wreck, four years before his death. He died on 1322/September 12,1904.[1]

This very brief account of the main happenings in Bārūdī's very eventful life is of some importance in the study of his poetry, for the used events of his life as material for his poems to a remarkable degree. He was an exceedingly ambitious man, to the extent that some people think he secretly aspired to the throne of Egypt. His ambition, no less than his intelligence, was commented by English observers like Wilfred S.Blunt and Alexander M.Broadby. He was also very proud. He knew his own worth and was never tired of making a point of displaying his own merits. His poems are full of descriptions of the various battles in which he fought and of the different landscapes in the countries he visited in the course of his wide travels. Likewise many of his poems deal with the great vicissitudes of his life, with the extreme changes of fortune he underwent from the pleasures of great power and authority to the humiliation of defeat. Much of his poetry is inspired by the sorrows of exile, the homesickness

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.29.

and the longing for scenes and places in an idealized Egypt.[1]

In al-Bārūdī's life the most remarkable feature is the fact that, despite his Circassian background and his connection with the Khedivial family and the Ottoman Empire, he took the side of the Officers of Egyptian descent, who were opposing their Circassian colleagues during the rebellion and whose action was clearly directed against the Khedive. It is of course possible that al-Bārūdī, having built up his career under Ismā'īl- who, under pressure of the Great Power, had been deposed by the Sultan and replaced by Tawfīq- could not transfer his loyalty to Ismā'īl's successor, who in many respects was indeed a stooge for the Great Powers. The same motives may have made it difficult for him to preserve his respect for the Ottoman Sultan who also turned out to be a willing instrument of the Great Powers. It is clear that al-Bārūdī evolved into an Egyptian nationalist- 'Urābī's rebellion definitely showed nationalistic features- who put his loyalty to the modern nation state before that to a ruling dynasty or to his own clan. In this sense, he was well ahead of many of his contemporaries.[2] He might be described as a dilettante of genius-perhaps held back by his application to poetry of that discipline he had learned in the army. There was idealism: he was proud of his virtues, and shunned pleasures and women.[3]

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1 Badawī, A Critical Introduction to Modern Arabic Poetry, PP.16-7; M.Yūsuf Kūkn , A'lām al-Nathr wa-al-Shi'r fī al-'Aṣr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth (Madras: Dār Ḥāfiẓa li al-Ṭabā'a wa al-Nashr, n.d.,), vol. I, PP. 132-76; cf. Mounah A. Khouri, Poetry and the Making of Modern Egypt, P.15. For Bārūdī's poetical art and theme, see, Shawqi Ḍayf, al-Bārūdī Rā'id al-Shi'r al-Ḥadith (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1977), PP.97-165.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.30.

3 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.83.

al-Bārūdī did not attend al-Azhar and nothing is known about his contacts with men of letters of his day. He called himself an ʿarīq in the art of poetry, a term by which he probably meant a naturally gifted poet.[1] The philologist al-Marṣafī also assessed him in this direction when he wrote that "he (al-Bārūdī) had never read a book about any of the branches of Arabic philology (fann min funūn al- ʿarabīyah) but when he had reached the age of discretion he felt a natural inclination towards reading and writing poetry. In a short time he then acquainted himself with the structure of Arabic (hayʾat al-tarākīb al-ʿarabīyah) and learned to read without any mistakes."[2] By the funūn of Arabic one apparently is to understand Arabic rhetoric, prosody and tropology-techniques which, until al-Bārūdī's time, had indeed been indispensable to the prevailing mannered style. al-Bārūdī's own words, as well as al-Marṣafī's description of him, show that both the poet and the philologist were aware of the fact that al-Bārūdī's poetry went against the existing style. In fact, his poems show hardly any of the ingenuities common until then. Chronograms, for a long time indispensable, are not to be found among them.[3]

From al-Marṣafī's words we also learn that al-Bārūdī was not a poet who was mainly or exclusively inspired by his own feelings. With him, the writing of poetry apparently followed naturally upon his reading, particularly of the poets of the bloom of classical Arabic literature, whom he studied assiduously. He collected a large anthology of classical poets in his voluminous al-Mukhtārāt

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.30.

2 Ibid., P.30.

3 Ibid., P.30.

(printed after his death), which of course was a greater achievement at the time than it would be today, now that these poets have been printed in many editions. This does not mean that al-Bārūdī did not have any feelings of his own or excluded them when writing poetry. But he did not aim at expressing these personal emotions by means of poetry; his verse originated in his reading and in his memories of the classical examples. This also is manifested in his introduction to the dīwān, a highly affected piece of prose, in which he describes poetry in general as "a reflection of the imagination, whose lustre is shining in the firmament of thought and whose beams are cast on the surface of the heart."[1] Despite these rather cryptic mode of expression, it is clear that his inspiration was to a great extent intellectual, or at any rate had to be assimilated by the intellect (al-Fikr) before it could reach the heart (al-qalb). This is also the conclusion of the Egyptian philosopher and critic Zakī Najīb Maḥmūd, who after analysing several of his poems, states that one should look for al-Bārūdī's inspiration in the classical examples, and not in the poet's personal experiences. The fact that most critics in Egypt are of the openion that al-Bārūdī did express personal experience in his poetry may be explained by the romantic view of poetry and of art in general, which has gained ground since the rise of the neoromantics at the beginning of this century.[2]

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1 Ibid., P.31.

2 Ibid., P.31.

Al-Bārūdī's artistic mission was therefore to revive the Classical style of poetry. The change was revolutionary in his time, for it meant a rejection of the present and a return to a style his contemporaries were not familiar with. Their taste and style had become outdated and they could neither understand nor appreciate the beauty of classical compositions.[1]

A man of taste, al-Bārūdī chose his words carefully, yet we sense that he often felt what he wrote. Though he praised the Khedive Tawfīq, he was not a poet of patronage, but of patriotism- therein lies his strength. He found the means of expressing this patriotism within the classical qaṣīda form and in ḥamāsa poetry. His personal pride and ambition are themselves classical. He has been likened to Mutanabbī- but the resemblance with ḥamāsa poetry is clearer.[2]

al-Bārūdī's faithfulness to his reading is expressed partly in his use of classical genres like hunting- poems, and wine-poems, in which he applied cliché's so freely that Zakī Najīb Mahmūd could reproach him for having it rain in Egypt during an east wind (ṣabā), a metereological impossibility. Cliché's also abound in al-Bārūdī's love poems, Even when he describes his experiences during the Turco-Russian War, he does so in a manner which reminds one more of al-Mutanabbī's terminology on related themes than of a recreation of personal impressions and feelings. He must have been sensitive to nature, but his numerous descriptions of nature often are straight rawdīyāt, another classical genre.[3]

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1 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, P.20.

2 Haywood. Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.83.

3 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt P.31.

No less important for the renewal of interest in poetry was al-Bārūdī's attempt to compile an anthology on ʿAbbāsid poetry. He selected the works of their poets with Ibn al-Rūmī (d.896/1490) and al-Buhturī (821-897/1418-1491) heading the list, when the general consensus was to give al-Mutanabbī was placed seventh in al-Bārūdī's list. The anthology was also important for projecting the poems of al-Maʾarrī (973-1057/1565-1647) who had nearly been forgotten. Al-Bārūdī began his anthology in an unconventional way. He placed ethical and moral subjects in the beginning and occassional poetry like eulogy and elegy later, indicating a shift in emphasis from a formalised to a more free and personal selection.[1]

al-Bārūdī has practised the muʿāraḍah poems with the same metre and rhyme as famous examples from classical literature and on related subjects. Examples are his muʿāraḍah of Abū Nawās and that of the "Rūmiyāt" by Abū Firās al-Ḥamdānī. He imitated the famous "Burdah" by al-Būṣīrī.[2]

Al-Bārūdī's acquaintance with contemporary literatures such a Persian, Turkish and English and his visit to England widened his horizon and set him apart from other poets who had no contact with other cultures. He spoke from personal experience too, having taken an active part in the 'Orabī revolt.[3] There is no poet in the history of modern Arabic poetry to whom Eliot's

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1 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, P.20.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.32.

3 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, P.21.

thesis in the celebrated essay on Tradition and Individual Talent applies more aptly. Bārūdī writes not only with his own generation in his bones', in Eliots[1] words, but with a feeling that the whole corpus of Arabic poetry of the past has a simultaneous existence and composes a simultaneous order.[2]

The Dīwān of al-Bārūdī appeared posthumously in 1334/1915. Before his death, however, he had written a preface to his Dīwān, which is a critical document of great importance. It sheds much light on his poetry and helps explain why he occupies a crucial position in the development of modern Arabic poetry. In his preface Bārūdī expresses his serious view about the poetry. Poetry is regarded as a serious art with a serious aim. His definition is diametrically opposed to the purely formal definition, which has been current for so long, namely that it is "rhyming metrical speech." For the first time in modern Arabic we have a poet like Bārūdī who is fully aware of the engagement of the whole personality in the creative process and of the living effect poetry has upon the reader. He says,

"poetry is an imaginative spark that radiates in the mind, sending forth its rays to the heart, which then overflows, with a light that reaches the tip of the tongue. The tongue then utters all manners of wisdom which dispersed darkness and guides the wayfarer."[3]

Bārūdī says, the best poetry, is that which is not only marked by the harmony of words and brilliance of ideas, or which

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1 T.S.Eliot (1306-1385/1888-1965) was an Anglo-American poet,critic, and dramatist, born in Missouri,cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia,P.407.

2 Md. Abu Baker Siddique, "Al-Barudi a Pioneer poet of the Neo-Classical Movements." The Dhaka University Studies, Part A, Vol.44, No.2, December 1987, P.93.

3 Ibid., P.93.

is at once clear and profound, but which is also free from the taint of artificiality. To him poetry is the perfect example of a man's mind and the best verse is that when it is recited, the people will say, "how true!"[1] In his own poems he deals with the main themes of classical Arabic poetry such as boastfulness, satire and elegies, together with bucolic, amatory,hunting and war themes and descriptive, gnomic, moralistic, didactic and traditionally pious subjects, including the praise of the Prophet.[2] Bārūdī went directly to the early poets and completely immersed himself in reading their great works. In this he is a perfect example in Arabic literature of the application of the well-known Horatian (and subsequently neoclassical) precept on literary formation.[3] Bārūdī was a substantial innovator in Arabic poetry. There was something new about his poetry, something vital and of his age. He represents the first state of the literary renaissance in poetry- the stage in which subject-matter is modern, but forms and language are traditional.[4]

al-Bārūdī's poetry is not colourless nor it is lifeless imitation. In comparison with the work of the Lebanese neoclassicist Nāṣīf al-Yazījī, which is often a pure pastiche of al-Mutanabbī and sometimes looks like a mere lexicological exercise, al-Bārūdī's work is full of life. The fact that he found his means of expression exclusively in the classics he admired so much, in no way meant that he stepped away from himself or from his own times. Many of

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1 Ibid., P.94.

2 Ibid., P.95.

3 Ibid., P.93.

4 Haywood. Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970. P.84.

his poems are highly topical, for instance his admonitions to the people of Egypt during the reign of Ismāʿīl and his complaint about his exile, which despite its clichés, is personal enough.[1]

Bārūdī's significance in the eyes of his contemporaries is demonstrated by the fact that he was the only contemporary poet to be included in the poetic collective work of the philologist al-Marṣafī, al-Wasīlah al-adabiyah. Consequently, many critics, for instance Muḥammad Mandūr, have viewed al-Bārūdī as the beginning of the nahḍa. Others have used even stronger terms: the well-known modernist Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā felt that al-Bārūdī's poetry is no less than a rajʿah, a resurrection, a term with a strong religious connotation; and according to the ʿIrāqī al-Badrī he was a miracle, muʿjizah, likewise a term laden with religious meaning. The Egyptian literary historian Shawqī Ḍayf described him as the "unique figure (fadhdh) for whom the Arab countries had been waiting since al-Mutanabbī and al-Sharīf al-Raḍī," thereby putting him on a level with these two great writers of the Abbasid flowering.[2] Bārūdī was preceded by al-Ṭahṭāwī, he exercised an influence on succeeding neo-classical poets desirous of being regarded as modern, like his great admirer Hāfiẓ Ibrāhim (d.1351/1932).[3] It is only rarely that his contribution to modern Arabic literature is considered insignificant.[4]

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.32.

2 Ibid., PP.32-33.

3 Md. Abu Baker Siddique, "Al-Barudi a Pioneer poet of the Neo-Classical Movements." The Dhaka University studies , Part A Vol.44 No.2, December, 1987, P.100.

4 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.33.

al-Bārūdī did not know any Western languages and there is no trace of any influence of Western literature in his works. In this respect, he is a clear example of the first characteristic of the Egyptian literary nahda, the renewed interest in the classical Arabic writings. It is indeed impossible to conceive of an Egyptian literary renaissance without al-Bārūdī. His tone and style are characteristic of Egyptian poetry at the beginning of the 14th/20th century.[1]

ISMĀĪL SABRĪ:

Though not as much popular as al-Bārūdī, Ismāīl Sabrī is still noted for his contribution to neo-classicism.[2]

Sabrī was born in an aristocratic family of Cairo, and with the help of Khedive he studied law in Aix-en-Provence, after his return he pursued a career in the civil service. His posts included that of governor of Alexandria and he ended his career as Under-Secretary of State (wakīl) in the department of Justice. In 1325/1907 he retired but he continued to write poetry and published regularly in the magazine al-Zuhūr. To a ripe old age he remained in touch with the authors of his time. He was a regular guest at the Tuesday night Salon held by Mayy (Marie) Ziyādah, a writer herself, attended by most major authors, certainly in the period immediately after the First World War. He died on 1342/March 21, 1923 in Cairo.[3]

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1 Ibid., P.33.

2 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, P.23.

3 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.34.

Although Sabrī had studied in France and mixed a lot with Europeans, especially in Alexandria, which for a long time was a semi-European city, there is hardly a trace of European influence in his poetry: he apparently managed to keep these two worlds apart.[1] Ismāʿīl Sabrī describes his beloved as angelic and depicts the burning ardour of his love, its pain and anguish. Love is not something trivial. It is sorrow, a denying and separation saturated with remembrances. In this Sabrī reveals the influence of French romanticism which he absorbed during his studies in France.[2] He started off in a highly traditional style with occasional poems in the magazine Rawḍat al-madāris in 1288/1871, at the age of sixteen. His early poems still show the usual rhetorical devices such as the pun (tawriyah) and the chronogram (ta'rīkh). Occasional verse always remained his forte and his dīwān consists largely of valedictions (tahniʾahs), elegies and verses on political occasions. But he also wrote some remarkably personal poems which, however traditional they may seem from a technical point of view, are actually a preparation for the lyrics of the neo-romantics of the beginning of the twentieth century.[3]

Unlike several other neoclassicists, Sabrī was not an outspoken nationalistic poet, perhaps on account of his high positions in the civil service which prevented him from expressing himself openly on this delicate matter. At the time of the incident of Dinshawāy (1324/1906), which triggered off a vehement reaction

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1 Ibid., P.34.

2 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, P.24.

3 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.34.

to the British tutelage over Egypt, Sabrī, who was then Under-Secretary of State in the Department of Justice, kept silent. Only after his retirement did he dare to speak his mind more freely. In 1326/1908, after the Khedive ʿAbbās the Second granted amnesty to the surviving convicts of this incident he gave vent to a moderate measure of nationalism in a well-known poem addressed to the Khedive.[1]

Love, death and nationalism were his main themes but he was also noted for his descriptive powers and philosophizing rhymes.[2] But his nationalism was never clearly defined. In one poem he encouraged his fellow countrymen to restore their former glory using a Pharaoh[3] as his spokesman. On the other hand, he kept himself informed on the weal and woe of Turkey, and after the 1330/1911 incidents, when a general conflict between the Muslims and Christian minority was imminent, he addressed some friendly words to his Christian compatriots. In this respect too, Ismāʿīl Sabrī was a typical transitional figure in the evolution from panislamism to Egyptian nationalism which was to take place in Egypt in the first quarter of the 14th/20th century.[4]

Ismāʿīl Sabrī would write, rewrite and polish a poem until he felt it was fit to be recited in public. His own dīwān, published in 1357/1938, was modest in bulk-probably less than 2000 verses/lines, generously set out in 200-odd pages.

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1 Ibid., P.35.

2 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature 1800-1970, P.85.

3 The title of ancient Egyptian rulers. The word derives via Hebrew from the Egyptian for great house. There were various symbols of kingship, Pharaoh represented Ra reigning on earth. The first dynasty, or line of Pharaohs, was founded about 3200 BC., cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.947.

4 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.35.

His verse achieved fame rather beyond its intrinsic merit, though he was qualified enough. He followed the idealism of the Egyptian Sūfi poets al-Bahā Zuhair (d.1258/1842) and Ibn al-Fārid (d.1235/1819), who wrote symbolically of love and women and their appeal to the mind.[1] He was a music-lover who knew the leading Egyptian singers and instrumentalists of his day.[2] Apart from his poetry in standard Arabic, Sabrī also wrote a number of dawrs,stanzic poems in the vernacular, often set to music. These have been included in the edition of his complete works which appeared posthumously.[3]

Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī (1216-1290/1801-1873): Al-Ṭahṭāwī was an Arab litterateur of the 13th/19th century who revived the Arabic literature by his unique genius. The scholar under reviewed brought a new form, shape and manner from the Western literature. Among his contemporaries, he was able to flourish himself as the greatest forerunner in the field of modern Arabic literature. The bulk of Arabic literature was enriched with his own work and the works of translation from European literature.

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1 Ismat Mahdi, Modern Arabic Literature, P.23.

2 Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature, 1800-1970, P.85.

3 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.35.

CHAPTER IV

ṬAHṬĀWĪ'S LIFE

Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī was born in Ṭahṭā[1] a town of al- Ṣa'īd[2] (Upper Egypt) in the province of Jurjā[3] in 1216/ 1801 of a poor family which apparently prided itself on a distinguished background. In one of his poems al-Ṭahṭāwī describes himself as Ḥusaynī al-sulālah.[4] His genealogy goes back to Muḥammad al- Bākir b.'Alī Zayn Al-'Ābidin b.al-Ḥasan b. Fātimah, the daughter of the prophet Muḥammad,[5] and his mother was related to the Anṣār and Khazrajiyah of Madina.[6] His ancestors had been well-to-do and most of them were posted in judicial ranks in Egypt, but when Ṭahṭāwī was born, his parents were in great pecuniary

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.18; J.Heyworth Denne, Rifa'ah Badawī Rāfi' at-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist" Bulletin School of Oriental Studies (London, 1937-39) vol. IX, P.961.

2 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, A'lām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fī al-'Aṣr al-'Arabī al-Hadīth, P.38. al-Ṣa'īd i.e. Upper Egypt cf. Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.18; Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, P.69; J.A. Haywood, Modern Arabic Literature, P.32.

3 The Egyptian pronanciation is Girga. Cf. Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, A'lām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fī al- 'Aṣr al- 'Arabī al-Hadīth Vol.I,P.38; J. Heyworth-Dunne , "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' at-Ṭahṭawī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. IX, (1937-39), P.961.

4 حَسَبِيْنِيَّ السُّلَالَةِ ، قَاسِمِيَّ بطهطا مَعْشَرِى، وبها بِهادِى

Collected by Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifā'ah Rāfi'al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.89.

5 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi'at-Ṭahṭawī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol-IX (1937-39) P.61.

6 'Umar al-Dasuqī, Fī al-Adab al-Hadīth (Cairo: Dār al-Fikr, 1973), Vol.-I, P.32.

difficulties. They were apparently affected by the confiscations by Muḥammad ʿAlī of the tax-farms (iltizamāt) during the early part of his reign. Ṭahṭāwī's father was compelled to go from one place to another seeking hospitality. At one time the family stayed with relations at Mansha'at an-Nīdah, near the town of Jurjā, they also stayed with relations at Kena and later at Farshnt. During these peregrinations, the young Ṭahṭāwī began to memorize the holy Qurān under the care of his father. The family eventually returned to Ṭahṭā where Ṭahṭāwī completed memorizing the Qurān and began to learn the various compendiums (mutun) in use in the mosque of al-Azhar. Among his mother's relatives there seems to have been several men of learning. He appears to have been several men of learning. He appears to have carried out these studies under the care of his maternal uncles who were all ʿulamā'. Ṭahṭāwī's father died in 1233/1817 and shortly afterwards he was sent to al-Azhar for higher studies; for a year or two he appears to have found it difficult to settle down, for he made several journeys to Ṭahṭā. When he finally made up his mind to take to his studies seriously, he made rapid progress under the best teachers of his time. Under al-Faḍḍālī (d.1236-7/1820-1) he read al-Bukhārī; under Ḥasan al-Kuwaisnī (d. 1225/1810) he read the Mashāriq al-Anwār. Shaikh Aḥmad al-Damhūji (d.1246/1830), Rector of al-Azhar for a year, taught him al-Ashmūnī, al-Najjārī taught him al-Hikam, under ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Dimyātī, he read the commentary al-Jalālain on the Qurān. Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Baijūrī (d.1277/1860), Rector of al-Azhar from 1263-77/1846-60, who was one of his favourite teachers, taught him works including the commentary on al-Ashmūnī and the Jalālain commentary. He read the Mughnī al-Labīb and the Jamʿal-Jawāmaʿ

under Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥubaish (d.1269/1852) and under Shaykh al-Damanhūrī (d.1286/1869), he read the commentary of Ibn ʿAqīl on the Alfiyah.[1] Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿAttār (d.1250/1834) was his intimate friend and teacher and appears to have had most influence over him during this period. Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār was one of the great scholars of the age, and twenty years earlier ʿAṭṭār had been one of the Egyptians who had visited Bonaparte's Institut d'Egypte and seen there something of the new sciences of Europe.[2] Ṭahṭāwī may have learnet something of them from him. Through his friendship with al-ʿAttār, Ṭahṭāwī began to learn something about geography, history and literature, subjects which were not included in the curriculum of al-Azhar.[3]

As a student Ṭahṭāwī began to show great promise, he had established contact with the best kind of teachers and he soon began to make a name for himself as a teacher in Azharī circles. He first practised teaching in his grandfather's mosque in Ṭahṭā during his visits to his native town; his teaching attracted some attention and encouraged him to begin to teach in al-Azhar. This need not have been very difficult for him from a social point of view as he had many relations who were ʿulamā who would have supported him in his attempts to assert himself as a teacher in the system which then prevailed in al-Azhar. Ṭahṭāwī's student and his biographer Ṣāleh Majdī says:

"He, may Allah show mercy to him,was fair-spoken, so much so that everybody who studied under him used to be benefitted by

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1 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ at-Ṭahṭāwī; The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol.IX (1937-39) PP.961-62.

2 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, P.69.

3 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawi Rāfiʿat-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol.IX, P.962.

his teaching. In al-Azhar University he used to teach different books on Ḥadīth, Logic, Rhetoric, Metaphor, and Prosodey etc. His class marked by huge attendance of students and everyone would be benefitted from him. Besides these he knew good style, easy explanation, accepted and exact analysis of teaching. He could speak a meaning in different ways, as if youngers and elders can understand his lesson obviously".[1]

Ṭahṭāwī soon became quite a popular teacher, even with men who were his seniors in years. During this period he was very needy; his mother had sold her jewellery and what little property she had possessed in order to keep her son while he was studying. Ṭahṭāwī was able to earn a little money by giving private lessons to the sons of the well-to-do[2] and, through the influence of his maternal uncle, got the opportunity of teaching in a madrasa built by Muḥammad Lāẓughlī. The new regime under Muḥammad ʿAlī gave him an opening and through the influence of Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār, he was chosen as an ʾimām in 1240/1824 to one of the recently formed regiments. This meant a grat change in the life of the Azhari shaykh; he now abandoned the madrasa life to come into cantact with new military organization which was controlled by Turks and where Europeans had already begun to assert their influence through the demands made on them for the "new learning". By 1240/1824,numbers of European instructors (taʿlīmjīs) had arrived in Egypt, including Sève, Dussap, Marie, Tarle and many others. A military mission had been sent from France under General Boyer and several military schools

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.22.

2 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ at-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist" BSOS Vol.IX,P.962.

had been opened. The Būlāk printing press had been set up in 1238/1822 and a number of books had been printed in Arabic and Turkish. It must have been quite obvious to such men as al-ʿAṭṭār that the "new learning" had to be taken seriously and it was through al-ʿAṭṭār that Ṭahṭāwī took an interest in all these new things. The fact that poverty forced such men as al-ʿAṭṭār and Ṭahṭāwī to pocket their pride and to seek employment in the new institutions must not be overlooked. Al-ʿAṭṭār used to visit the new schools and give speeches to the students in order to show that Muḥammad ʿAlī was a progressive Muslim ruler and that his reforms were not against the faith.[1]

Muḥammad ʿAlī sent a mission of forty-four men to Paris to take up various studies in French schools and he asked al-ʿAṭṭār to select some Shaikhs as imāms to the mission. Quite naturally, al-ʿAṭṭār's choice included Ṭahṭāwī. He was not sent as a student and most of the members were non-Egyptians; they included Turks, Circassians, and Armenians. Only five members of the mission were Egyptians and four of them were imāms. These men were sent to study military science, agriculture, engineering, administration and medicine.[2] In the month of Ramaḍān 1241/24th April 1826 on Thursday Ṭahṭāwī started for his mission with his members by ship from Alexandria and arrived Marseille (Seaport in South East France) on 9th of Shawwāl. Ṭahṭāwī began to learn French language as soon as he put his steps at this town. He says in his story of journey: "We have learned the knowledge of letters for thirty days". All the students of this mission stayed one year in Paris.

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1 Ibid., PP.962-63.

2 Ibid., P.963.

They lived in a body in a boarding-house and together they started taking their lessons. Ṭahṭāwī says, "We used to study the history in the morning, after the prayer of Ẓuhr we practised our usual studies. Then we learned the language of France, and learned Mathematics and Geometry three days in a week".[1]

The system of learning jointly brought no good result for the students of the mission, rather their purpose was about to be jeopardised. Because, the language of those lessons was in French and there was no way to understand these. Even some of the members could not afford to pay for the special coaching for the learning of French. The members of this mission understood this problem and their investigators felt it too. Therefore they divided the members into different institutions. The group of two, three or one member was included with the natives in every boarding -house. They were sent to special boarding -houses under the care of special teachers according to their financial ability for accommodation and food. The Egyptian students of that boarding-house received their lessons day and night. They were not allowed to walk outside of the boarding-house except on Saturdays or after Ẓuhr prayer on Thursdays or on the holydays of France. Sometimes someone was allowed to go out after the prayer of ʿIshā if he was found to be free.[2]

Among the members Ṭahṭāwī was most sincere to his own duty and was very responsible to acquire knowledge. He would never misuse the time during the day; he used most of the time at night in reading the books and translations. At last his left eye was affected

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.25.

2 Ibid.,P. 26.

with disease. The doctor advised him to take rest and to refrain from studies at night. But he did not listen to the advice of the doctor, lest his progress should be interrupted. Ṭahṭāwī could not be satisfied with the books which he bought by his allowance. So he took steps to buy more books at his own cost. Besides, he realised that there were no teachers who could teach him more and appropriately, therefore he applied to the authority to allow him special teachers with his own cost for acquiring more knowledge.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī went to France as a leader of the mission and with the passing of time, he became more and more eager to study, gaining efficiency in translation. The Azharian culture was not rich in Arabic language. So he faced much difficulties in learning the French. This was one of the tough tasks, because it was endless. The then government of France came forward for translation of all subjects, such as Engineering, Medicine, Military science, History and Geography etc. A hard duty was imposed on Ṭahṭāwī to study these subjects and be experienced in translating them. But Ṭahṭāwī's ambition was higher. So he paved the hard way for the easier and finally he succeeded to become an experienced translator.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī mentioned about the knowledge and sciences he learned in France in his book of journey. He mentioned the names of those books which he read and translated, and the books which he began to translate in France. It proved that he was a man of culture. He studied many books on different subjects to the teacher and many books he studied himself. This effort helped him greatly to translate different books with his own accord. Ṭahṭāwī's view was to translate these new sciences for the Egyptians in order to bring about

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1 Ibid., P.26.

2 Ibid., P.26.

renaissance in Egypt, following the European tradition. But there was no time to translate all these books. Inspite of all these difficulties he had translated many books and many chapters from small and large books. He completed those books in Egypt which were incomplete in France. His effort as well as time was limited. An Institution of language was founded by Ṭahṭāwī as soon as he returned to Egypt. As a result, the movement of his translation, became wider. Ṭahṭāwī got a chance to realize most of his aspirations. Those who passed from his Institution of language, helped the translation of those large books which Ṭahṭāwī studied in Paris and he himself hoped for translation.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī passed one year in Paris. At the end of the year he and his friend appeared in the examination. When his successful result came out, Masiu Chumār, the director of the mission awarded him with the book "Riḥla al-ankharsis ilā bilād al-Yunān "consisting of seven volumes, (bound by gold) and endowed him with all kinds of title as a gift of his successful efforts. The second examination was held in the next year. In this examination he was as successful as in the previous year. He gained two large volumes: al-Anis al-Mufīd li al-Ṭālib al-Mustafbid and Jāmi' al-Shadhur min manzūm wa manthur written by Di Sāsi as a reward.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī came in contact with the great scholars of France. Specially"Bisalafistir di Sāsī"and"Kūsāndī Barsīqāl" -these two scholars with whom Ṭahṭāwī made friendship. Both of them evaluated his dignity of labour and knowledge. He had much intimacy with these friends, which he mentioned in the story of journey. Ṭahṭāwī

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1 Ibid., P.27.

2 Ibid., P.27.

apprised them about the manuscript of his story of journey before his return. They became astonished and both of them wrote letters in appreciation of him and sent a letter to the director of the mission, praising his books in different titles. The final examination of Ṭahṭāwī was held after five years. Chumār convened a large meeting, the object of which was to introduce the works of translation performed by Ṭahṭāwī during his stay in France. He placed the sum and substance of his translation to the board of examination. He translated twelve Risālas (Periodicals) from French into Arabic and placed these to the Board of Examination. These are:

1. A part from history of the great Alexandria taken from the ancient history.
2. A book of the mineral principles.
3. Almanac 1244/1828, written by "Masīu Chumār" for the use of Egypt and Syria, included in two tiny portions of knowledge and education.
4. A principal book of knowledge in the character of the general people and their manners.
5. Emendation of natural geographical introduction on "Masīu Dahanbalad".
6. A part of geography from the book of "Malte Brun".
7. Three articles from the book "Li-Handaẓ" on Engineering.
8. An article from the worldy astronomy.
9. A portion from procedure of chief army officer.
10. Fundamental rights of the natives with regard to France.
11. A portion from the Mythology-that is ignorance of the Greeks and their fairy tales.
12. An article of political science.[1]

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1 Ibid., PP. 28-29.

Thus, Ṭahṭāwī placed the manuscript of his journey to Paris to the Board of Examination. The subject matter of this manuscript was not a journey as a whole, but most of the portion was on different sciences and other branches of knowledge. The Board of the Examination was not satisfied with the effort of his writings. The board also examined the quality of his translations. On this purpose they placed some books to him which was printed from Būlāq. Some portion of this book was translated by Ṭahṭāwī and printed in "Kaziṭa" a printing press of Egypt at Būlāq:[1]

From this book Ṭahṭāwī read to them the events of Egypt in details in the language of France. Ṭahṭāwī succeeded with highest credit in this examination. The board acknowledged his unparalled excellence. He took the main theme of translation without any alteration and addition. They commented on the book that he sometimes used technical term of Arabic language and used a metaphor instead of another one, therefore there was no change of the desired meaning. Somebody brought a complaint against his translation that it often differed from the text. For example, he mentioned the same thing again and again, and sometimes he translated one sentence in different ways, and sometimes he translated a word into a sentence. Inspite of these, he was always careful and ever custodian of the original meaning.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī succeeded in the examination held after his five years studies in France. During these years he was engaged in studying and acquiring knowledge like a curious and glorious student. In these years he read different books on different subjects, and

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1 Ibid., P.29.

2 Ibid., P.29.

also translated many books; but he was very much curious of the knowledge of history and geography. He engaged himself in translation of these two subjects. He says at the end of his story of journey, "Allah willing.....History will be translated into our Arabic language from the French..... I shall carry on my study about the works of translation into Arabic on history and geography after my return to Egypt with Allah's willing."[1]

Ṭahṭāwī was ambitious, curious to knowledge and desirous of study. So he was very much eager to learn the knowledge and sciences just after his departure from Egypt and came back as a man full of knowledge. He was able to fulfil his desire. He gained vast knowledge from France, and became the most qualified member of the mission. Then he became the leader of renaissance in the field of knowledge of his time. This is the will of Allah. Late professor Aḥmad Amīn says, "He is the leader of renaissance in Egypt as Imām leads in the prayer (Ṣalāt)."[2]

The young students went to their venerable teacher for knowledge, advice and guidance. The teacher blessed his students and advised them to write down the story of his journey. The students realised his purpose. He began to write the story as soon as he departed from Alexandria. Entitled the story as "Takhlīṣ al-Ibraiz fī Talkhīṣ Bāriz" he placed to his teacher Al-ʿAṭṭār. He read it and became astonished. At last he ordered to translate it into Turkish language and publish it from Būlāq printing press both in Arabic and Turkish language. Later on, it was published.[3] In Paris he read and already started his translations of French

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1 Ibid., PP.29-30.

2 Ibid., P.24.

3 Ibid., P.24.

works into Arabic, which were to bring him fame later on. He met several French orientalists, among others Jomard, who had been a member of Bonaparte's Egyptian expedition and who was a kind of mentor to the Egyptian students, and Sylvestre de Sacy.[1] These French scholars appreciated him as an Arabic scholar and landed his interest in French literature. They undoubtedly foresaw that his enthusiasm would make of him a carrier of French culture and ideas in his own country and that he would serve as a far more effective instrument than many Frenchmen who were employed by the Pasha.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī lived for about five years in France, but French life and manners hardly affected his behaviour; Majdī, his biographer, states that he never neglected to perform his religious duties, his prayers, and fastings, he never ate or drank that which was forbidden by Muslim law. He continued to study and to recite the holy Qurān and to read other religious works.[3] He returned from Paris in the month of Ramaḍān, 1246/1830.

On his return to Egypt in 1247/1831 he was employed as a translator in the School of Medicine (Madrasa al-ṭibb) at Abū Za'bal with Shaikh 'Umar al-Tunlal and the Syrian 'Anḥūrī. 'Anḥūrī thought a great deal of Ṭahṭāwī and even suggested that he should be allowed to take the post as Head Translator in the School of Medicine instead of himself. There is little evidence, however, that Ṭahṭāwī did anything extraordinary during the two years he

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP.18-19.

2 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifa'ah Badawī Rāfi' at-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS, Vol. IX (1937-39), P.964.

3 Ibid,, P.964; Muḥammad Yūsuf kūkn, A'lām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fī al-'Asr al-'Arabī al-Hadīth, Vol.I, P.40.

was employed there.[1] No more translations except short essays (small Risāla) were done by Ṭahṭāwī in Paris on medicine; but now he had the proficiency to write on the nature of correction of the book "Al-Taudih li Alfāẓ al-Tashriḥ" on veterinary medicine, which was translated by Yūsuf Firoun and corrected by al-Shaikh Muṣṭafa Ḥasan Khashshāb.[2]

In 1249/1833 Ṭahṭāwī was transferred to the School of Artillery in order to translate works on geometry and military science. In the following year there was a serious outbreak of the plague and he travelled to Ṭahṭā without leave, where he stayed until it was over. He stayed for six months and met his family and other relatives, he took no rest but completed a part of the translation of Malte Brun's work on geography and on his return to Cairo, Presented it to Muḥammad ʿAlī who promoted him to Ṣāghaqūl Aghāsī as a reward.[3]

The then cultured people demanded awakening of a new culture in the country, in order to improve the existing rules and regulations of the administration. The first step was taken to establish the royal administration school in the month of Jamādi al-awāl of 1250/1834. For this purpose thirty students were selected from different educational centres of the state. Artīn Shukrī and Astāfan Rasmī were appointed for teaching. They were among the representatives who went to France, and were specialized only for the school of the royal administration.[4]

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1 Heyworth Dunne "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ at-Ṭahṭāwī; The Egyptian Revivalist, BSOS., Vol.IX, P.964.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.30.

3 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ at-Ṭahṭāwī; The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. IX.PP.964-65.

4 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifaʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.31.

Some rules and regulations were imposed on students of translation regarding political training. Because "the object of the school was to train the translators for different official departments of Egypt. Therefore, this project published a book of history in easy process for the students after the training of French language and would translate chapter wise from these books. When these were completely translated and corrected, it was then allowed to be published. As a result, two copies were placed before the project highlighting the incidents of Egypt for the Egyptian reforms which was translated for the students in the shape of European journals". This institution did not last for a long period. It was vanished after few days and the students of this institution was transferred to the Language Institution at the end of 1251/1836.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī suddenly came to the fore front in 1252/1836 in connection with the reorganization of the Schools Administration which until that time, had been a department of the Dīwān al-Jihādiyah (War Department). He was deliberately chosen as one of the permanent members of the Council, possibly on account of his acknowledged abilities as a translator and writer, but more probably because he had been a member of the education mission to France and was on friendly terms with the French group which was sympathetic to these "new men". There were two schools of French thought in Egypt at the time. The strongest was the Saint Simonite party under Père Enfantin, who had a large number of French followers with him in the country; he was also supported by a few Turks in high positions such as Adham,

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1 Ibid., PP.31-32.

who was employed in the War Department. The strongest supporter of this group was Sulaiman Pāshā (Sève) who encouraged the "new men" to push forward their claims in the face of the opposition of the old Turkish die-hards and against those Frenchmen and others who were antagonistic to Sulaiman and the Saint Simonites. It is significant to note that Ṭahṭāwī stayed for a very short while with Clot Bey at the School of Medicine and he was certainly discontented at the School of Artillery. Both Clot Bey and Seguera (the head of the latter school) disliked the Saint-Simonite group, and it is highly probable that Ṭahṭāwī took part in the intrigues that were going on at the time and his support of the new party headed by Mukhtār resulted in his being chosen as a member of the Council of the new Schools Administration. He was the only Egyptian on the Council, the other members were Turks and Franch.[1]

The school of History and Geography was founded in 1250/1834 and enrolled with school of artillery which Ṭahṭāwī was the only director and teacher. The aim of the foundation of this institution was to train a number of teachers of geography for different military schools, but these institutions withdrew as soon as the School of Languages was founded. As a matter of fact, these two institutions were founded as pre-preparation for the School of Languages.[2] Ṭahṭāwī is generally credited with having been the founder of the famous School of Translation which was founded at the early of 1251/1835, later called the School of Languages, but this is not true. The School was opened in 1252/June 1836, in the

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1 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifāʿah Bᵃdawī Rāfiʿ at-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist," BSOS, Vol. IX, P.965.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.32.

place of Alfī Bey in the Azbakiyah quarter under a certain Ibrahim Efendī, where the old Shibrad hotel situated. This institution was founded by the proposal of Ṭahṭāwī. The Council reorganized the schools in 1252-3/1836-7, and Ṭahṭāwī was appointed director of the School of Translation in 1253/1837. It was now called the School of Languages, but it would be misleading to think of this institution merely as a place where languages were taught. Ṭahṭāwī now at the head of an independent school, proceeded to show his countrymen what he could do. He brought together a number of students from Upper Egypt. At first there were eighty students of this school, later he managed students from different institutions of the country. The students of the Schools Administration were included with them, at last the number of students increased upto 150. Then the students were divided into two groups and teachers were appointed for both the groups, and had a staff consisting of Europeans and natives. These teachers taught French, English, Italian, Turkish, Arabic, Mathematics, History and Geography.[1]

This syllabus suggests that Ṭahṭāwī's school was the only one in which the studies were arranged so that the students could acquire a general education not necessarily dependent on military requirements. In 1258/1842, after certain retrenchments had been made by the ruler and some of the schools had been closed, Ṭahṭāwī's sphere of activity was extended. A school of Islamic Law and Jurisprudence was added to his charge and, a little later a School of Accountancy was established. All these Schools were amalgamated and called the School of Languages and Accountancy.

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1 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' at-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist" BSOS, Vol.IX, PP.965-66; and Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifā'a Rāfi' al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.33.

Here, for the first time, a useful combination of subjects was taught whereby the students could learn both Islamic and European branches of learning. The advantage was obvious; a student could still learn French, History, and Mathematics without losing touch with his own culture. The greatest drawback of modern education in Muslim countries is the fact that the curricula of Western Schools have been slavishly copied and the native learning and culture have been allowed to drop into the background. Ṭahṭāwī appears to have considered this aspect of modern education in Egypt.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī employed several well-known Azharites on his staff, including Muḥammad al-Damanhūrī, ʿAlī al-Farghalī al-Anṣārī, Ḥasanain al-Ghamrāwī, Muḥammad Kuṭṭah al-ʿIdwī Aḥmad ʿAbd al-Raḥīm al-Ṭahṭāwī, ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Girgāwī, Naṣr al- Hūrīnī, Muḥammad al-Marṣafī, Muḥammad al-Manṣūrī, and Khalīl al-Rashīdī. They taught grammar, prosody, language and law. The results of this experiment proved the success of the institution as Majdī preserves the names of his students; they include ʿAbd al-Sūūd Efendī, the editor of the Wādī al-Nīl, Ibrāhīm Marzūq, a poet; Shaḥātah ʿIsā, a well-known administrator; Ṣāliḥ Majdī, poet, writer, translator and teacher; Ismāīl Sirrī and Murād Mukhtār, famous calligraphists; ʿUthmān Jalīl, a writer and translator of importance, and Muḥammad Qadrī, a first-class teacher and a pioneer worker in the reform of the legal system. There were many others who formed the new teachers and translators cadres in the government schools and administrations. Ṭahṭāwī's work had thus

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1 Heyworth Dunne "Rifāáh Badawī Rāfiʿat-Ṭahṭāwī, The Egyptian Revivalist," BSOS., Vol.IX, P.966.

a far more permanent and beneficial effect on the country than that done by his colleagues who were employed in the ephemeral military schools. That his services were appreciated by Muḥammad ʿAlī can be proved by the fact that he promoted him to the rank of "Qā'im-Maqām" in 1260/1844 and again to "Amīr Ālaī" two years later and from this time, he became known as "Rifāʿa Bey" instead of "Shaikh Rifāʿa.."[1]

The duration of the session of this institution was from five to six years. This School functioned properly in 1255/1839, and there were five groups. The first group of the students completed their course and passed out. They translated many books of history and literature, which was corrected by Ṭahṭāwī, who was the teacher and director of that Institution and those copies were sent to the printing press for printing and publication as a book for the teachers and the students. Besides, there were arrangements of training for more than one language from this School of Languages in the same way. Particularly there were more chances to receive training in Arabic and French language. Because most of the students of that School were Egyptians and they knew Arabic well, but they did not know the Turkish. Ṭahṭāwī the only teacher and director of that School who was expert on these two languages. On the other hand, English was often taught there. But there were little chances for training the language of Turkish.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī was given the following responsibilities by the board of education. The duties were:

1. To develop this institution of education and administration.

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1 Ibid., PP.966-67.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.33.

2. To teach Islamic and Western Sharī'a and literature to the students.

3. To select those books which were necessary for translation and to distribute them to the Translation Bureau. He would verify their proficiency in translation and guide them, then he would correct them after the translation was done. Ṭahṭāwī performed his duty as long as he was there. Every year Ṭahṭāwī took the examination from the students who came from different institutions. He used to walk by the side of the Nile with the students and there he examined them. Those who succeeded in that examination were allowed to be admitted into the School of Languages.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī's sincere devotion and restless work enriched the dignity of education. Sometimes he would continue his teaching for three or four hours until he himself would be satisfied or his students understood him well. 'Alī Mubārak says, "It was the habit of Ṭahṭāwī who in the School of Languages would select those books for the students which he himself liked to translate and edit. He did not misuse the time at night and at day. He would teach the students after the prayer of 'Ishā' and sometimes he would teach them at the ending part of the night and continue this study upto three or four hours on several subjects. Besides, he never lagged behind in the task of translation and compilation of prose and poetry. No examination would be held except him."[2]

Those who successfully qualified from that School in 1255/1839 were appointed as teachers in Arabic and French languages in that School and in Madrasa al-Muhandiskhāna. When the Translation

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1 Ibid., P.34.

2 Ibid., P.34.

Bureau was founded in 1258/1841, they joined there. No certificate was issued to anybody unless anyone of them could complete the translation of a book. Later on most of them would join in other professions or teachers in different educational institutions.

This School developed rapidly. Al-Madrasa al-Tajhīziyah (School preparing for college) was included with it, and new departments were opened for judges and for different professionals. As a result there was a heavy rush of students in that institution. Therefore, separate rooms were constructed for sitting arrangements of the students. Ṭahṭāwī arranged a particular room for each of the periods to maintain a system of the institution.

Ṭahṭāwī established Translation Bureau in the early of 1258/1841 by the order of the Board of Education. In consideration of the proper and appropriate translation, the board constructed a separate translation room for the translators to facilitate proper translation of different scientific and educational books. This translation room was divided into four parts, these were:

1. Translation Bureau for the books of science and mathematics.
2. Translation Bureau for the books of physics and medicine.
3. Translation Bureau for the books of literature and social science such as, history, geography, logic, philosophy law and story.
4. Translation Bureau for Turkish language.

Then this department was allowtted for copying the translations and to send those fair copies to the register. The copies which were approved by the register, were sent to the printing press for publication.[1]

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1 Ibid., P.35.

The School of Languages existed for twenty five years. The institution was started for the expansion of culture in Egypt and it developed the science, knowledge and education in full swing. When the first ʿAbbās came to the throne, some people including Ṭahṭāwī became his victim of rage. So he began to abolish these cultural institutions and started his programme with abolishing the department of law. Secondly, the students were classified and they were divided into different classes. In the last month of 1265/October 1849 an order was passed to transfer the Institution of Languages into Nasīriyah Junior High School. Later on, in the month of Muḥarram 1266/November 1849 this institution was fully abolished. Before abolishing the Institution the students joined in the Madrasa al-Tajhīziyah. At the end of 1266/1849 Ṭahṭāwī was exiled in Khartum. There he was appointed as a teacher and inspector of Khartum Junior High School. When Ibrahim Pasha al-Hakam ascended to the throne of Egypt, he revived the Bureau of Translation and within few months gave it a new life. At that time it was divided into two new sections- Translation Bureau of Turkish, which was directed by "Kani Bek" and Translation Bureau of Arabic, which was directed by Rifāʿa Bek al-Ṭahṭāwī. Besides, the Institution of Languages was abolished at the first period of ʿAbbās and the Translation Bureau was fully rooted out just after the departure of Ṭahṭāwī to Sudan.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī was the director and teacher of that Institution of Languages for 16 years. He has done his duty in the Translation Bureau by proof-reading the books which were translated by his

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1 Ibid., P.36.

students. So, the members among his mission who have done the works of translation requested him to proof read their translated books. When he was the director of the Institution of Languages, he proof read and verified different books of geography, mathematics and medicine. For example, we mention a few of them below.

"Nuzha al-Maḥāfil fī Ma'rifat al-Mafāṣil," the book which was translated by Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ.

"Tuḥfa al-Qalam fī Amrāḍ al-Qadam" which he himself translated.

"Al-Dirāsa al-Awliyah fī al-Jighrāfiyah al-Ṭabiiʿyah," Which was translated by Aḥmad al-Rashīd.

"Al-Aqwāl al-Marḍiyah fī ʿIlm Baniya al-Kurat al-Arḍiyah" which was translated by Aḥmad Fāyed.[1]

Ibrāhim bin Muḥammad ʿAlī died in 13th Dhu al-Ḥajj 1264/10th November 1848. The first ʿAbbās ascended to the throne on the 27th of that month. ʿAbbās did not show his venture to bring a change of the ancient writings till Muḥammad ʿAlī was alive suffering from diseases. Muḥammad ʿAlī died in 12th Ramaḍān 1265/2nd August 1849 and ʿAbbās seized the power. ʿAbbās was not like his grand father and uncle, perhaps he was in contrast with them in several matters.[2] The picture of an arch- reactionary ʿAbbās succeeding his progressive father may be slightly exaggerated, but the new pāshā did apparently feel little sympathey for the enlightened views of al-Ṭahṭāwī. Perhaps ʿAbbās wished to diminish the French influence in Egypt and was dissatisfied with this propaganda for French culture. However, the firing of al-Ṭahṭāwī may simply have

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1 Ibid., P.37.

2 Ibid., P.39.

been due to a desire to economize, for ʿAbbās considerably reduced the expenses for education which were actually very large. In any case, the school of Languages (madrasa al-alsun) was closed in 1266/1849.[1]

It is to be noted that neither Ṭahṭāwī nor the contemporary historians give the main cause of this bad relations from which Ṭahṭāwī suffered. But the historians gave individual opinion about it. According to Ustādh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿ the cause was- Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz written by Ṭahṭāwī which was published in 1265/ 1848 during the first period of ʿAbbās. Because there were such opinions in this book which no tyrannic ruler could tolerate. On the contrary the first ʿAbbās was a great tyrant. Therefore ʿAbbās could not accept the opinion of the book written by Ṭahṭāwī. For the cause of this writing, a decision was taken to exile him in Khartum, the capital of Sudan. According to Dr.ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm there were two causes. One was- the effort of ʿAlī Mubārak, who returned from Europe with high hopes and would grudge Ṭahṭāwī's high position. Moreover he was nearer to ʿAbbās. Therefore the tyrant exiled Ṭahṭāwī. At last, when Saʿīd came to the power, Ṭahṭāwī came in close contact with him and ʿAlī Mubārak was exiled. Another reason was that he incurred the wrath of his rivals as he could not agree with some of them regarding doctrines of Fiqh (Jurisprudence in Islam) and Sharīʿa (Law of Islam).[2]

All of these interpretations are acceptable in accordance with the events of history. But according a writer, Ṭahṭāwī mentioned the following words on the way to his journey to Sudan:"Some rulers

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.19.

2 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, PP.39-40.

sent me for a confidential reason, misnomering, to manage the Madrasha in Khartum". He did not mention the name of the rulers in it and did not explain the reasons of that confidential matter. When he returned from Sudan, he wrote some poems indicating that confidential matter.

As a matter of fact, the real cause was in the month of Rajab 1266/1849 'Abbās convened a special meeting and decided that School (Madrasa) would be set up at different places in Sudan for removing the curse of illiteracy of the Sudanese and to develop the conditions of education for the children of Sudan. Ṭahṭāwī was selected for the establishment and direction of these educational institutions. Muḥammad Afendī Buyūmī was selected for his aid, who was experienced in modern science and education at that period. He was the teacher of Mathematics in Muhandiskhāna and one of the members of Translation Bureau. This was the remarkable side of 'Abbāsid period that they took steps to establish Egyptian educational institutions in Sudan, and if these institutions would work sincerely for the welfare of the Sudanese children if would bring them prosperity.[1]

As a matter of fact the real things were different. There was no necessary to select Ṭahṭāwī and Buyūmī, the two renowned personalities of scientific and educational renaissance in Egypt for founding a primary educational institution in Khartum. Ṭahṭāwī stayed for three years in Sudan 1267-70/1850-53 devoting

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1 Ibid., PP.40-41.

himself fully in his work. But he was in deplorable conditions in Sudan. He himself syas:[1]

نحن غصنان ضمنا عاطف الوجـ ـد جميعًا فى الحب ضم النطاق

فى جبين الزمان منك ومنى غرة كوكبية الانفلاق

We are two branches of cheerful countenance, in friendship of close ties;

In the forehead of time, there is starry blaze of dawn from me and you.

His views about Sudan were the cause of his agony. He was inflicted with sorrows and sufferings, disease and death of his bosom friends, Particularly he was very much shocked at the death of Buyūmī Afendī who was his dearest friend in times of sufferings and struggles for knowledge in Paris and Egypt. Besides, he stayed there with patience and 'Īmān (Faith on Allah) and he managed most remarkably the responsibilities of the school which was founded in Khartum. Some brilliant scholars of Egypt and Sudan were produced by him. His complaints came out excellently in his Qaṣīda rather than in poetry. However he did not forget the task of translation which he sincerely loved. So at leisure he would engage in translation of "Télémaque" which later on, one of his students published from Bayrut in the title "Mawāqi' al-Aflāk fī Waqāi' Telemaque". In the introduction of this book he expressed the feelings, sorrows and sufferings which he had from the laborious work of the translation of that book. He says,

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1 Ibid., PP.41-42.

"I reached Sudan which was not the decision of Allah, I stayed there with difficulties and barehanded and in a courageless condition. Even I was about to get burnt with severe hot of that place and I was about to be swallowed by the trunk of ferocious elephant of Sudan. Through that situation I find no peace except the translation of "Télémaque" into Arabic.[1]

On 20th Shawwāl 1270/June 1854 Muḥammad Saʿīd Pāshā ascended to the throne in Egypt.[2] He immediately recalled Ṭahṭāwī and gave him the post of director of the European Department of the Cairo Governorate under his old friend, Adhām. Saʿīd founded "Dīwān al-Madāris" On 10th Rabiʿ al-Awwāl 1271/1854 as soon as he ascended the throne. Ṭahṭāwī started his work with a vast project and planned for a large scheme. In the mean time he wrote many Qaṣīda in praise of Saʿīd. Ibrāhīm Adhām, the then greatest educationist and the superintendent of "Dīwān al-Madāris" was with him. He took a project in his hand, which was named "Makātib al-Millat" at the end of the period of Muḥammad ʿAlī in order to extend the light of education to the general people in Egypt. Adham had been ousted from Egypt like the others when the first ʿAbbās came to power. Ibrāhīm Adhām again started his work of the project during the period of Saʿīd. Ṭahṭāwī also recruited him for his help. Then this project was presented to the governor Saʿīd Pāshā and was approved by him. As Dr. ʿIzzat ʿAbd al-Karīm says," Ṭahṭāwī was appointed as an Inspector of this Makātib, so that translators may be collected for completion of the translation of "Maltebrun", a few parts of its translation was finished during Muḥammad ʿAlī's period."[3]

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1 Ibid., P.42.
2 Ibid., P.42.
3 Ibid., P.43.

But Saʿīd did not have confidence regarding the benefit of this project; rather he was then engaged in a more important projects than Makātib al-Millah; such as the Suez canal, Militery reform and to found the fort of Saʿīdiyya. So Ṭahṭāwī waited for another task. Days and months passed away, by this time Ṭahṭāwī felt exhausted both mentally and physically. At last he applied to the government mentioning the option to engage him and his former disciple Maḥmud in any work of reform. Saʿīd was engaged in different reformative works. On the other hand, there was a lack of unity among the soldiers in different places in Egypt. Therefore, he could not pay attention to their application.[1]

Saʿīd was very much careful to his armies. So he put Solaiman Pasha al-Faransāwi a charge to found a new Military School at the first part in 1272/1855. Solaiman founded a Military School and Ṭahṭāwī took over the charge of the Military School in the Ḥauḍ al-Marṣūd. After a few days, Solaimān applied to take rest from his service, and later he was made director of the new military school in the Citadel. This School, however, was far more than a military school as it included a department for Accountancy, another for Translation, another for Civil Engineering, and still another for Architecture. Ṭahṭāwī was experienced in both Arabic and French languages. It was his character to engage himself in the works of translation. He formed a group of translators with those who passed from the School of Languages. He had a desire to gain the permission to work in the School of Languages during Saʿīd's period and to start his work gathering the students once again

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1 Ibid., P.43.

and translate the store of sciences of the west into Arabic; but the duties of the superintendent of Military School became the barriar of his desire.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī had former relations with Military School from the time when he was selected as translator of Artillery School after his return from Paris. He started his work in collaboration with army, and new schools were founded in imitation of the model schools of towns. He introduced his desired method in the field of education in which he himself was skilled. He made Arabic as a compulsory language for all, and made it optional to learn any one of the languages of the west, such as French or Turkish, English or German.[2]

As a matter of fact, Ṭahṭāwī wanted to revive the plan of his old educational institution "Madrasa al-Alsun" through these activities. After the first step he added another department of Mathematics in this new Madrasa. His former student, who was skilled in translation of the books of military and mathematics, added the bureau of translation with it headed by Syed Ṣāleh Majdī. Ṭahṭāwī was satisfied with his new Centre. He introduced the method of education according to his own plan. After few days another work form the old plan was handed over him. He was appointed to the government engineering school. Then he observed that it was not adequate to depend upon the translation for the renaissance of sciences and education. It is necessary to expand the ancient writings. So he continued his effort in this direction. ʿAlī Mubārak says, "He collected the ancient Arabic books from Azhar,

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1 Ibid., P.44.

2 Ibid., P.44.

different places of the state and different educational institutions and printed them. Among these the "Tafsīr Maʿā hid al-Tanṣīṣ wa Khazāna al-Adab" of Fakhar al-Rāzī and Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī are remarkable, these were rare books.[1]

Thus Ṭahṭāwī became the founder of two foundations of modern cultural renaissance; one was translation and the other was publication. Then he founded the third foundation and that is writing (compiling). Saʿīd Pāshā was probably very keen on encouraging Ṭahṭāwī to run his new school on the same lines as he had run his old School of Languages, but unfortunately it was closed in 1277/1860 and, there were no other schools open at the time. Ṭahṭāwī abstained himself from doing government service from 1278/ 7th March 1861 when the Military School of the fort was abolished. He was in this condition till Ismāʿīl's ascendant to the throne and waited for a new thing to begin in this period. Ṭahṭāwī remained unemployed until the reign of Ismāʿīl Pasha, who recognized the Schools of Administration and reopened the Translation Department which he put under the control of Ṭahṭāwī.[2]

Ismāʿīl paid his attention to constitutional reforms in Egypt just after his ascendant to the throne so that he may be successful and benefitted from the divided provinces. So he started this task with the reform of translation project, the first step of which was the constitution of France. For this purpose those who contributed to the field of reforms were appointed to this post from the Egyptians. New Translation Bureau was founded for the translation of the

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1 Ibid., PP.44-45.

2 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ at-Tahtawi: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol.IX, P.967.

constitution. New Institution of Languages was founded for training of the judges.[1]

New Translation Bureau was founded at the first period of Ismāʿīl's reign. Ṭahṭāwī was appointed inspector of this Bureau. A group of students were selected for the cooperation of his work who were trained from the old Institution of Languages. They were: ʿAbd Allāh al-Sayeed, Ṣālih Majdī, Muḥammad Qadrī, Muḥammad Lāz, ʿAbd Allāh Abu al-Suʿūd. The work of this Bureau was started in an office room of educational institution. This was introduced with the translation of the constitution of France. Everybody participated in the works of translation at the leadership of Ṭahṭāwī. This translation was printed in many volumes from Būlāq printing press during 1283-85/1866-68.[2]

This was the main inspirating work of the new Translation Bureau and therefore we find no literary works except the constitution from this Bureau. Besides there were huge interruptions of progress of this Bureau. The political leaders took away the translators of this Bureau and engaged them in other works. Ṭahṭāwī had mourned and complained in it. The volume of works of the Bureau increased. The translators worked for the translation of the constitution of France. Besides, they also translated the constitution of Ottoman, military newspaper, and the accountence of Egyptian mission which was sent to Paris: Such as a translator translated the book "Tārīkh Miṣr" of Ṭahṭāwī in Turkish language.[3]

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.46.

2 Ibid., P.46.

3 Ibid., PP.46-47.

There were five translators except Ṭahṭāwī for this purpose. Ṭahṭāwī was invited for finishing the translation of geography of Malte Brun which was incomplete before. At last there were only three persons in the Bureau of Translation. They were: Abū al-Suʿūd, Sālih Majdī and Ḥasan al-Jabilī. There were many reasons for the downfall of Ṭahṭāwī's hope. There were two important causes: one of them was to translate the constitution of France for political reform. The grant of government decreased for this Bureau after the translation of this constitution had been completed. The other, which was more appropriate because of the fact that there were no educational institutions except the new Translation Bureau from where some good and competent translators may be trained up. As a result the condition of this institution was like the conditions prevailing in Muḥammad ʿAlī's period. As a matter of fact, the Institution of Languages were formed during Ismāʿīl's period, but it was rather too late.[1]

The Bureau of Translation was founded in 1280/1863 in the period of Ismāʿīl and the Institution of Languages was founded in 1285/1868. The name of this institution was "Madrasa al-ʾIdāra wa Alsun". The main object for the foundation of this institution was to teach law and jurisprudence, to train justice and members of law, but there were no object to make translators. This was the cause of its dawnfall. Therefore, it remained as "Madrasa al-Ḥuqūq (School of law). The government, therefore, felt the necessity to found the special educational institution for preparing translators; as a result this institution was founded in 1296/1878 as

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1 Ibid., P.47.

Madrasa al-Alsun. This was done at the end of Ismāʿīl's period. In course of time it became a famous school after five years of Ṭahṭāwī's death.[1]

Ṣāleh Majdī says while describing his teacher Ṭahṭāwī that he was short structured with wide forehead, his limbs were well arranged. He was brown coloured, constant figured, smart, courageous, daring and he possessed a quality of leadership. He had a great knowledge about political matters, he was prompt to duty, his behavour was praiseworthy and his conduct was excellent. He added that he had additional qualities, which were his geneorsity, noble- mindedness and modesty. He was much conventional, and he had profound love for the good. His courtesy would increase his dignity to his friends, whenever he was nominated in any post. He did not adorn himself with worldy decoration. Ṭahṭāwī had in him excessive qualities of nobility and generosity, very eloquent and modest, having good manners, and a tour of benevolent works. He used to sleep very little and kept himself always writing and translating books, so much so that he paid little attention to his dress.[2]

These were the external pictures of Ṭahṭāwī. One of his students says about his manners that he was very close to the people always cooperating with them. As a matter of fact, this was the real picture of a moral and wise person who lived for education and knowledge and died for knowledge. He earned the characteristics of a learned person through education. He possessed the qualities of

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1 Ibid., P.47.

2 Ibid., P.48.

the philanthropist. He always remained aloof from decorating the worldly life and its beauty.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī was endowed with the title "Bek" or "Pāshā" and these titles have not came from the relevation of Sufī and mystic inspiration. Such as Abū al-Anwār, Abū al-Wafā', Abū al-Barakāt, Abū al-Khayr. The wise people came to meet Shaikh Rifā'a al-Ṭahṭāwī, they became charmed at his personality and sincerely looked at him and told him: you are the father of determination and you were like that, this was his appropirate surname and that is why he is more prominent as al-Shaikh Rifā'a for his qualities. Among the qualities of Ṭahṭāwī, determination was a remarkable one and it was strong and never vicillating. We cannot think how a man can be so cheerful and energetic in every stage of life. This quality and characteristic of Ṭahṭāwī remained upto the last moment of his life. We can understand that the Translation Bureau failed to satisfy him. So his energetic attitude and eagerness turned to the other side which was related to the education and its reform, and also related to the writing (composition) and translation.[2]

By this time Ṭahṭāwī became a life member of "Qawmisiūn al-Madāris". It was a high political organization for the development of education, which prepared plans, laws, rules and regulation for the teachers. Only Ṭahṭāwī was the life member of al-Qawmisiūn and the other member was the inspector of high school. Ṭahṭāwī's effort is praiseworthy for the system of the teaching of Arabic

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1 Ibid., P.48.

2 Ibid., P.49.

language. He palyed an important role for rectifying the system of education. He would appoint teachers from the wise theologians through examinations every year.[1]

For the appointment of such teachers Ṭahṭāwī himself supervised the examinations to ensure their true qualities. Then he used to deliver a speech to them advising the best methods of teaching for Arabic language which they should follow in their practical life. It related to types of educational institutions, ages of students and duration of study etc. After such experimental inspection Ṭahṭāwī observed that the books which were possessed to the students were not fit for them. Therefore he himself began to write some books. This was the first step on the way to renaissance in our history of education. Ṭahṭāwī took as his model. The system of teaching in France which he learned during his stay in France.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī started this task with the book of Syntax and observed that the old Azharian books which the students used were not useful. They were not appropriate for the modern period. Therefore, he wrote a new book entitled- "al-Tuḥfa al-Maktabiyah fī al-Qawā'id wa al-Aḥkām wa al-Naḥwiyah bi Tarīqati murḍiyah" Major part of the book dealt with the rules of Syntax and he inserted a few curriculum as an example, so that it may be easy for understanding and committing to memory for the students. Ṭahṭāwī also observed that there were no books available to the students to increase their general knowledge and he wrote a rare book entitled "Mabāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah fī Manāhij al-Ādāb al-'Aṣriyah". At first he described elaborately the country and its patriotism,

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1 Ibid., PP.49-50.

2 Ibid., P.50.

he put the name of this portion as "al-Manāfiʿ al-ʿĀmah." He followed the tradition of the West and the East in this discussion. Islamic culture and the culture of France helped him prepare this book and he finished the book with an essential chapter, "Li al-watan al-Sharīf ʿalā ʾAbnāʾihī min al-ʾUmūr al-Mustaḥsanah."[1]

It is to be noted that in this second step, Ṭahṭāwī devoted more to original writing than mere translation and his writing was not only confined in text books, he began the writings of large history of Egypt from early life to his period. He was able to publish the first part of it, which was entitled "ʾAnwār Tawfīq al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tawthīq Banī Ismāʿīl". This volume contains the ancient history of Egypt and pre-Islamic history of Arabs. His students and contemporary historian Sāleh Majdī told that he also had completed the second volume; but it is not yet available to us. Ṭahṭāwī wrote another history on the biography of our Prophet entitled "Nihāyah al-ʾIjāz fī Sīrah Sākin al-Ḥijāz," which was published in several copies of" Rawḍa al-Madāris ".[2]

Therefore ʿAlī Mubārak decided to publish educational review so that he may include the discussion of Arabic language. Ṭahṭāwī's assignment was the leading source for the publication of this periodical. His son ʿAlī Fahmī Rifāʿa, the teacher of the Institution of Languages at that time helped him in this venture. "Rawḍah al-Madāris" was the first periodical of Egypt. The first copy of that periodical was published on the 15th Muḥarram 1287/1870, that

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1 Ibid., P.51.

2 Ibid., P.52.

is, three years before Ṭahṭāwī's death. The greatest scholars of the earlier period in Egypt were involved in the publication of that periodical. Among them the most renowned were, ʿAlī Mubārak, ʿAbd Allah Fikrī, Shaikh Ḥusain al-Marsufī, Muḥammad Qadrī, Maḥmud al-Falakī, Ismāʿīl al-Falakī, Masīu Barwaksh, Inspector of the Institute of Languages of ancient Egypt, Aḥmad Nadā al-ʿĀlam al-Nabātī al-Kabīr, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, ʿAbd Allāh Abū al-Suʿūd, al-Shaikh Ḥasuna al-Nawāwī, al-Shaikh ʿAbd al-Hadi Najā al-Ibyārī, al-Shaikh Ḥamzah Fatḥ Allāh and so on.[1]

The subjects which were discussed in this periodical included history, sociology jurisprudence, literature, culture and different branches of education. Sometimes some portion from poetry was also included and published, particularly the inspiring poetry of Ismāʿīl Afendī Sabrī was published who was the student of Madrasa al-Idāra. Ṭahṭāwī took over the charge of "Rawḍat al-Madāris from the very begining of its publication upto his death, since he became the editor of this bi-monthly magazine, ʿAlī Bek Fahmī, the son of Ṭahṭāwī took over the charge of this periodical after his death.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī faced much difficulties in his life, particularly in the years of exile in Sudan and bore these difficulties with patience. He was a dignified person. The aim of Egyptian government and their policy at the first end of 13th/19th century was to import the science of western countries through copying

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1 Ibid.,PP.52-53.

2 Ibid., P.53.

books and to found Egypt in a new model, so that the western countries may follow Egypt. Ṭahṭāwī was a norm of an ideal politician and was an ideal personality for those who liked to realise this idea in politics. He acquired knowledge of sciences both of the East and the West. Ṭahṭāwī obliged his students to follow his ideology. Therefore, they grew up as ideal persons like him. They became masters on Arabic language and its sciences as well as they became experts on non-Arabic languages and its sciences.[1]

The followers of Ṭahṭāwī called him "al-Shaikh Rifāʿa." When he travelled to Paris his French friends and the Eastern friends called him "al-Masīu Rifāʿa". When he returned to Egypt and founded new educational institute, the government called him "Rifāʿa Afendī", when Ṭahṭāwī emerged as a great writer, his title was "Rifāʿa Bek" at last when he worked in military school, his title was "Amīr al-ʿĀlāya". Ṭahṭāwī was an untiring worker, vigorously active, vastly intellectual and amazingly productive. In spite of these, Ṭahṭāwī was never called "al Bashūwiyah" (the Pasha) in his life and had not reached the dignity of "al-Naẓẓār" like others; which astonished many. Ustādh ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Rāfiʿ referred to Ṭahṭāwī as the pride of the nation and says, "it is impossible to explain his quality and experience from all sides, because the qualities of Ṭahṭāwī were unparalled. His achievement is well known to all. So it is not amazing that he was "the inspector of translation bureau" and not a minister. Those who occupied the

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1 Ibid., P.53.

higher posts in the state and society were not so qualified like Ṭahṭāwī. So it was possible for Ṭahṭāwī to perform the activities of the state and society, but it was impossible for the political and social leaders to perform the task of Ṭahṭāwī at all.[1]

Patriotism was no of the remarkable qualities of Ṭahṭāwī who to the Egyptians was a symbol of patriotism in modern period. Ṭahṭāwī had deep passion for his country and loved his country more than his own life. This quality came out through his works and activities. He himself wrote many partiotic songs. He wrote elaborately about the country and patriotism in his different books. Ṭahṭāwī's best contributions and his cultural influences which he earned from paris during his stay and studies there, encouraged the patriotic forces who worked for the country. Ṭahṭāwī witnessed the revolution of France in 1246/1830. He also saw how the French sacrificed their lives for the love of their motherland and for the freedom of the country. Ṭahṭāwī derived inspiration from this to cause a similar movement in Egypt, ushering in her cultural and economic renaissance.[2]

The poetry of Ṭahṭāwī could not surpass the poetry of renowned poets like Shawqī of that period. Nevertheless his poetry had a great influence that period. Although his poetry was not written in tradition in his era, he wrote patriotic poems of Egypt, but he did not write panegyric, elegy, history and lyric poetry. Ṭahṭāwī's poems were scattered in his different writings and in the books of translation. His poetry was not compiled specially.[3]

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1 Ibid.,PP.53-54.
2 Ibid., PP.54-55.
3 Ibid., P.55.

Ṭahṭāwī is sometimes regarded as the first consciously nationalist Egyptian and indeed he devotedly worked for his motherland. But his nationalism should be seen rather as a public spirit than a political ideology. In his poems on the subject, the waṭanīyāt, he is a patriot rather than a conscious nationalist, and wherever he shows signs of nationalism, the country he refers to is always Egypt and not the Arab world. Nor does the work show traces of pan-Islamism, the nondescript form of Islamic nationalism which became popular around the turn of the century. His nationalism could remain free from the xenophobic features that were to become typical of the Egyptian nationalism of Urābī, whose "revolution" was indeed partially directed against increasing foreign influences and was consequently subdued by British armed intervention.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī was the pioneer and leader of these qualities. He spent all his time in the development of knowledge and sciences and he lived on this inspiration and eagerness upto the last moment of his life. When he was 75 years old, he died due to his old age in Rabī' al-thānī 1290/29th May 1873. All the Egyptians mourned his death. 'Alī Bek Fahmī, the son of Ṭahṭāwī published in details the news of Ṭahṭāwī's death in the Magazine "Rawḍah al-Madāris", in seventh copy of fourth year. The writer got no chance to visit his funeral. Late Ustadh Aḥmad Amīn says, "the whole of the Egypt mourned his death, thousands of litterateurs, poets, state leaders, teachers and the students of educational institutions joined his funeral prayer. Roads and highways were

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.21.

blocked with people as they assembled to pay respect to their departing friend. The teachers and students of al-Azhar mentioned that they were his sons. The students of the town said that he was their father. The French said that he was their brother. All the Egyptian described him as a pioneer of their renaissance. All the teachers and students waited for his coffin. When it was carried out of the house to be taken to the town, they participated at his funeral prayer. Then his coffin was placed before everybody for paying the last tribute of the nation to him. The high officials of the nation bewailed for him and delivered speeches. Then his dead body was carried at "Bustān al-ʿUlamā" (garden of the scholars) where they burried him. The contribution which he made to the nation will remain for ever. May Allāh show mercy to him.[1]

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, PP.55-56.

CHAPTER V

RIFĀ'A ṬAHṬĀWĪ AS A LITTERATEUR

Ṭahṭāwī is the first writer in modern Arabic literature to have attempted to write on entirely new subjects and to have attempted to follow European models.[1] From a literary point of view, al-Ṭahṭāwī was important mainly for the development of a modern Arabic prose style.[2] Ṭahṭāwī can be compared with his predecessors such as al-Jabartī, al-Khashshāb and al-Sharkāwī, the last of that school of degenerate writers who wrote in a style usually described by modern Arabic writers as rakīk, a term which covers a multitude of sins. These old writers used saj' (rhymed prose) to the extent of boredom, and when they were obliged to forego their saj' clichés to describe some simple fact or event, it was with some difficulty that they achieved their modest aim. The pre-Ṭahṭāwī prose writers used colloquialisms extensively, especially Turkish words or Arabic words with Turkish meanings. Perhaps their greatest defect was their lack of vigour, imagination, and inspiration; their prose was but a reflection of the period in which they were living. Ṭahṭāwī did not give up saj', he could not have done so, it would have been the mustaḥīl al-rābi', but he used it with some discretion, such as at the beginning of a work or a chapter, or when he was appealing to his Egyptian reader, or when he wished to emphasize some point.[3]

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1 Heyworth Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist," BSOS., Vol.X., 1939-42, P.406.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.21.

3 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist" BSOS, Vol.X, P.406.

The style which Ṭahṭāwī used are simple, vigorous, expressive, and very readable; to some extent it is affected by his constant reading of French works, but more probably by the fact that he always made written translations of the works he read. He knew that his reading public was limited to students and a few officials whose standard of culture was low and who were certainly unfamiliar with the West and its culture. He repeats in his works that he is trying to write in a simple way in order that the ordinary public could understand him.[1]

The language of Ṭahṭāwī will be considered here only so far it is affected by the use of loan-words, a problem which has never been satisfactorily studied, and, in this respect, Ṭahṭāwī's works present us with a suitable field for preliminary investigations as far as Modern Arabic is concerned. By reading some half-dozen of his works, particularly with a view to the study of loan-words, the following tentative classification has been arrived at:-

(1) The use of existing borrowed words, particularly of-

(a) Turkish words, many of which had been re-imported into Arabic; and

(b) Italian and French words, which came into Arabic through the medium of Turkish, for example:-[2]

(a) اجزاخانة pharmacy.

اوضة room; has now become اودة and pronown in construct case أُتّ

بغاز بوغاز strait, also مضيق بنجه beetroot.

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1 Ibid., PP.406-7.

2 Ibid., P.407.

تحفخانة museum

تسرخانة arsenal, also ترسانه

سر عسكر general. Nearly all military terms were Turkish until a few months ago.

ضابط officer, pron. ضابط

عرضحال petition

قرقول police station or post; note also قرقول شرف guard of honour.

قشلاق barracks; the Arabic word ثكنات is not often used at this time, although we occasionally find it in the official documents in 'Abdīn Palace.

قهوجى cafétier

محاسبجى accountant or book - keeper.

نوبتجى one on duty; sentinel.

ولاية used synonymously with عمالة مأمورية and اقليم with the meaning of province of département.[1]

(b) ترمبه Italian tromba.

جرنال جورنال from Italian giornale with specialized meaning of Governor's report or bulletin. At the time of the Turks he borrowed this word, they had not yet started to use these words in newspapers.

طاولة from Italian tavola.

وابور from Italian vapore; initial, has v sound in Turkish but w in Arabic, which eventually became ب . From a sound feminine plural, a broken plural بوابير was developed.[2]

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1 Ibid., PP.407-8.

2 Ibid.,P.408.

(2) The second classification includes Egyptian colloquial words which were in common use amongst writers:-

برانيّة	external.
جمعه	week.
جوانية	internal
عالمه ج عوالم	a female singer of a special Egyptian type, but Ṭahṭāwī also uses the word for describing European singers.
عيلة	family
عيال	children
فلوس	money
وسطانيّة	central.[1]

(3) Under this heading, we might include geographical and personal names as they have their own interesting peculiarities of spelling:

ازدرهان استرخان استرقان	Astrakhan.
اسياتية	Asiatique.
امريكة امريقة	Amerique.
كلبر كلهبير	Kleber.
قبنهاق كوبنهاغ كپنهاغ	Copenhage.
قلوين	Calvin (Turkish v)

1 Ibid., P.408.

لوربول Liverpool (Turkish v)

نورماندی Normandie.[1]

(4) Here we have a very large number of words which could conveniently be classified as the initial borrowings of this period. The actual foreign word is used in Arabic, and when there was a large number of them, some translators made a point of arranging them alphabetically either at the beginning or the end of the translation as a glossary. This was particularly the case with books on chemistry, physics, medicine and botany. As in the case of geographical and personal names, there were some orthographical difficulties; the meaning of the word was limited and there was no attempt made to develop scatter, such extensions being normally made by periphrastic expressions.[2]

ابنوماتیقیه pneumatique

الاتیمومتر thermometre

الارتوپیدی orthopedie

الاردواز ardoise

اقدمه
اکدمه academie
اکدمیه

اقطبر اقطوبر Octobre. Both spellings now obsolete.
اکتوبر used instead.

الامنیبوسه omnibus.

الانتیموت antimoine, instead of the Arabic کحل

انسطیطوت institut

الاوقیانوسیا
الاقیانوس Ocean.
الاقیانوسیة

1 Ibid., P. 409.

2 Ibid., P. 409.

الإيتازونيا	Etats Unis
الباراتونيرة	paratonnerre.
بورو	bureau.
بوليتيقة البوليتيقية	politique
البيان	piano (omission of final و).[1]
بير	pair
جرنال ج جرنالات وجرانيل	from French journal and independent of the Italian giornale above.
خورنولوجيا	chronologie, which he also explains as معرفة الازمان
دسمبر	Decembre, now ديسمبر
سبطمبر	Septembre, now سبتمبر
الكاثدرالة كاتدرائية	cathedrale
كازيطات	gazettes
القاثوليقية	catholique
قمبانية	compagnie, this most likely came in through the Italian compagnia.
فبريقات	fabriques
فبرية	Fevrier, now obsolete, written فبراير
ورشة ج ورش وورشات	workshop, factory, yard; generally looked upto as a borrowing from the English word workshop, probably introduced by Maltese workmen.

(5) A very common form of borrowing was by way of periphrasis due mainly to the fact that the writer or translator could find

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1 Ibid., PP.409-10.

no suitable Arabic word which could express the idea contained in the French word or expression.[1]

In such expressions as:-

أرض	سياسة اهل الارض	political geography.
	تأريخ الارض	historical geography.
	اديان اهل الارض	religious geography
	آداب اهل الارض	cultural geography.
	طبيعة الكرة الارضية	physical geography.
دبر	العلوم التدابيرية	administrative sciences.
حسب	حساب مدخول البلاد ومخرجاتها	budget.
خطط	الحمير المخططة	zebras (although the Arabic word زرد is common).
	علم هيئة الدنيا	geography
دان	الديون الميرية	national debts.
رسل	رسل الدول	ambassadors.
رقق	نوع من الرقّ	a kind of slavery (Ṭahṭāwī is trying to express the idea of serfdom in Russia).
سقى	السقى الصناعى	irrigation.
سوق	سراية سوق المعاملة	Stock Exchange.
شرك	الشركا فى الضمانة	Insurance Company.
شاخ	شيخ مدينة باريس	Mayor of Paris
شار	التليغراف وهى الاشارة	telegraph.
صحف	صحيفة خبرية	newspaper
صرف	المصاريف البرانية والجوانية	national expenditure.

1 Ibid., P.412.

ضرب	تضرب القرعة	to vote.
	اناء القرعة	ballot box
طبب	طبّ البهائم	veterinary medicine.
عمل	معامل الاسلحة	arsenals.
	معامل السبك	foundries.
فاض	فيضان صناعي مديد	irrigation
قدس	كانوا يقدسون فيها السلاطين بعد توليتهم	"they used to sanctify their kings (sultans) in it (the cathedral) after their accession". The verb توّج is used now to express the idea of coronation.
ملك	ملك مطلق التصرف	absolute monarch
نزل	نزلاتهم اي قبائلهم الموجودة بامريقة	settlements, encampments.
ورق	اوراق غير مكتوبة	blank forms, the word استمارة is now used.
	ورقة انكار	proclamation
	اوراق الوقائع اليومية	newspapers.
	الورقات اليومية	
وطأ	اوطأ من مياه البحر عند المدّ والفيضان	below sea-level.
وفر	علوم توفير المصاريف	economics.
وكل	وكلاء	Deputes.[1]

(6) The next type of borrowing is one of the most important ones, although not during the Ṭahṭāwī's period, as Egyptian writers appear to have failed to understand the possibilities of the development of Modern Arabic. This refers to the extension

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1 Ibid., PP. 412-13.

of the application of existing words which Egyptians made great use of during the second wave of cultural Renaissance under Ismāīl Pāshā and is a subject worthy of special study, for it includes the use of neo-Arabic formations, the revival of obsolete forms, and the interesting problem of calque.
The following is a list of Ṭahṭāwī's words under the first heading:-[1]

اقليم
مأمورية
ولاية
عمالة — all used for political and geographical divisions with additional meanings to describe certain European countries where the system of government was different from that of the Turkish Empire.

حريّة — used to describe liberté and independence; the word استقلال was not yet used with the latter meaning.

حكم — used in a variety of expressions, such as—

حكم الدياني — religious power.
حكم مطلق — absolute power.
حكم وقتي — temporal power.

This root is one of the best examples which could be used to show the growth of Modern Arabic.[2]

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1 Ibid., PP. 413-14.

2 Ibid., P.414.

حقوق العقلية	spiritual rights.
حقوق القانونية	legal rights.
حقوق البشرية	human rights.
حمامات سوقية	public baths.
	The adjective public is treated quite differently in Modern Arabic.
مشارطة	Treaty
مظلات	umbrellas.
عرصة	fender.
عمارة	colony.
نوّاب	Deputes.
ورقة	paper, newspapers etc.
اليومات	daily newspaper.

(7) A number of the above expressions and wrods have fallen out of use in Modern Egyptian Arabic; the following were used by Ṭahṭāwī and are now of uncommon occurrence with the meanings given below:

مخبر = بصاص	detective or secret agent.
عاصمة = تخت	capital (of a country).
ادوار = طبقات	storeys.
سوق = قصبة	market.[1]

The first thing which strikes the students of the Arabic literature of this period is the remarkable number of works attributed to Ṭahṭāwī, but in reality, there is nothing new or startling about the quantity, for the eighteenth century provides us with the names of many Egyptian scholars who produced long

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1 Ibid., PP.414-15.

lists of works on all the subjects in which the learned were interested and for which there was a constant demand in scholastic circles. Ṭahṭāwī had a gift for writing which was encouraged by the exceptional circumstances in which he found himself once he had become absorbed into the military system created by Muḥammad ʿAlī. What is so pleasing about Ṭahṭāwī is the variety of his literary interests, and he must be credited with having been the principal actor in laying the foundations of the "new" literature. His verses, too, were admired by his contemporaries; as a student in the mosque of al-Azhar, he wrote an urjūzah on tauhīd which attracted the attention of one of his teachers, Shaikh al-Faḍḍālī, but it was never published.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī was especially good at Wataniyyāt (Patriotic songs) a new genre in Arabic literature; he seems to have been the first to have composed Wataniyyat and was probably inspired by French models; the following is an excellent example of this type of verse:-

These simple lines contain a great amount of vigour and colour and there are many more on the Egyptian Army and the Egyptian as a fighting race Ṭahṭāwī often put French poetry into Arabic verse to illustrate a point in the text. His pupil, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, was also a very good writer and poet, imitated his master particularly in the art of composing Wataniyyāt and translating French poems, many of which have been published. The better type of Azharī in those days had no difficulty in writing verse of a

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1 Ibid., P.399.

kind, he probably acquired the habit of versification from having to memorize the numerous compendiums, some of them rather lengthy, which were written in the form of verse, one of the first and most important being the Alfiyah of Ibn Mālik. A great deal of attention used to be paid to the study of ʿarūḍ (prosody) and Kāfiyah (Rhyme Kaf at the end of a verse).

Rifāʿa al-Ṭahṭāwī was also a poet. He raised his voice for the country and patriotism; he praised for the glory of Egypt and her past and present conditions. In one of his patriotic poems, he wrote the glory of noble origin:[1]

أبناء مصر نحن موطننا أصيل

حسب عريق زانه مَجدٌ أثيل

وفخارنا في الكونِ جَلَّ عن المثيل

لرحابنا تُطوى المِهامِهُ بالطِّلاح

"We are the sons of Egypt, our homeland is pure;
Our noble birth is centuries old, which has been
adorned by deep rooted honour;
Our boasting in the world is unparalleled;
For our country vast countries are travelled
on camels, which become lean on account
of long journey."

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1 Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl, Rifāʿa Rāfiʿ al-Ṭahṭāwī, P.77.

Ṭahṭāwī's another patriotic poem:[1]

يا صاح حُبّ الوَطَنِ حِلْيَةُ كل فَطِنِ

محبة الأوطانِ من شُعَبِ الإيمانِ

في أفخرِ الأديانِ آيةُ كُلِّ مُؤمِنِ

"Oh my companion love for country
is the ornament of every intelligent man;
Love for countries is a branch of faith;
In the major religions, which is the sign
of every believer.".

His another verses:[2]

ليسَ اللَّبيبُ ذُو الفِطَن إلاَّ المحِبُّ للوَطَن

و موضع به قَطَن لَدَيه أسمى موضِعِ

"The possessor of intelligence is not a wiseman,
but the wise is the lover of his native country;
And the place where he dwells is the highest
place to him".

Among Ṭahṭāwī's patriotic poems there are some poems on the bravery of Egyptian army. Such as:[3]

نتظّمُ جندنا نظما عجيباً يعجز الفَهما

بأسدٍ تُرعِبُ الخَصما فمن يَقوى بنا ضِلْنا

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1 Ibid., P.78.

2 Ibid., P.81.

3. Ibid.,P.82.

"We arrange our army in a wonderful manner-
it astonishes the intellects;
With lions who terrify the enemy, so who
can dare to fight us."

Ṭahṭāwī wrote descriptive poems too. The number of Ṭahṭāwī's descriptive poems are very few. One such poem is in the description of a locomotive:[1]

العَقلُ فی الوابورِ حار نَبغِی الجَوابَ فلا یُحیر
فإذا أُردتَ الإختبار عِلمًا به، فاسأَل خَبیر

"Intellect is perplexed about the locomotive;
we want an answer that is may not be perplexed;
So, if you want to have knowledge about it,
you ask one who possesses good knowledge about it."

Ṭahṭāwī also wrote about the upbrining of the children:[2]

فی برِّ والدیك بالِغ تَغْنَم لاسیَّما فی العید اوفی الموسِم
وإن تَرُم سُرورَ أُمٍّ أوأَبٍ یومًا، فکَسبُ العِلمِ خیرمَکسَبِ

"You try your utmost to have your parents well,
specially in the festivals and fastive occasions
and you will be successful in it;
If you intend to acquire the pleasure of your
father or mother on a certain day,

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1 Ibid., P.83.

2 Ibid., P.86.

so acquiring knowledge is the best earning."

Lyrical poem:

Ṭahṭāwī wrote lyrical poems. One of his lyrical poems is-[1]

أَلا نادِعُ الذى ترجوونادٍ يجبكَ، وإن تكن فى أىّ نادِ

فَمَن غَرَسَ الرّجا فى قلبِ حُرٍّ أصاب جَنَى النجاغِبَّ الحصاد

"Lo ! you call upon the person whom you
want to call and address, he will respond
to you, in whatever club you be;
Whoever sows the seed of hope in the heart
of a gentlemen he will get the fruit of
success after the harvest."

We find different types of views in Ṭahṭāwī's works; Such as his idea on society and state, rulers and the ruled, Islamic law, education and patriotism etc.

Ṭahṭāwī's patriotism was a warm personal feeling, not just a deduction from the principles of political philosophy. There is no mistaking his pride in the past greatness of Egypt, his concern for her future. He wrote a number of patriotic poems, in which, mixed with praise of the ruling family, there is praise of ancient Egypt and also of the Egyptian army. But he is said also to have translated the Marseillaise, and this is significant. When he uses the term watan, it is clearly the equivalent of

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1 Ibid., P. 88.

the French patrie, and the patrie of the French Revolution was not the self-regarding, self— worshipping nation of modern ideologies, it was the servant of the universal. For Ṭahṭāwī too the new Egypt could serve something beyond herself, the modern sciences, which were bringing in a new age and changing the lives of the communities of the East.[1]

There is indeed some shadowy idea of Arabism, in Ṭahṭāwī's thought, but it belongs to the old rather than to the new element in it. He praises and defends the part played by the Arabs in the history of Islam, when he talks of patriotism, however, he does not mean the feeling shared by all who speak Arabic, but that shared by those who live in the land of Egypt. Egypt for him is something distinct, and also something historically continuous. Modern Egypt is the legitimate descendant of the land of the Pharaohs. His imagination indeed was filled with the glories of ancient Egypt, first seen, by a paradox, during his years in France. He wrote poems in praise of the Pharaohs, and it is characteristic of his style of thought that, when writing of the vice of idleness, he should first quote the hadith and other Islamic texts, and then go on to talk of the way in which people are depicted in the art of ancient Egypt. But the ancient Egypt for him was more than a source of pride; it had both the constituent elements of civilization, social morality and economic prosperity, and what it had possessed modern Egypt could regain, for the physical constitution of the people of these times is exactly that of the peoples of times, past, and their disposition is one and the same.[2]

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1 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, PP.80-81

2 Ibid, P. 79.

The aim of education should be to form a personality, not simply to transmit a body of knowledge, it should inculcate the importance of bodily health, of the family and its duties, of friendship and above all of partiotism- hubb al-watan, the love of country, the main motive which leads men to try to build up a civilized community. In the Manāhij, as in the book on education, the word watan and the phrase hubb al-watan occur again and again. The duties of citizens towards their country are enumerated: unity, submission to law, sacrifice. So too are their rights, above all the right to freedom, for freedom alone can create a real community and a strong patriotism. Sometimes when Ṭahṭāwī uses the term he seems to be doing no more than teaching in general terms the rights and duties of members of any community; hubb-al-watan then has the same meaning as ʿaṣabiyya (tribalism) in the doctrine of Ibn Khaldūn- the sense of solidarity which binds together those who live in the same community and is the basis of social strength. But at other times he is using it in a more restricted and a new sense. The emphasis is no longer on the passive duty of the subject to accept authority, it is on the active role of the citizen in building a truly civilized society; it is no longer exclusively on the mutual duties of members of the Islamic umma, but also of those who live in the same country. Hubb al-watan thus acquires the specific meaning of territorial patriotism in the modern sense, and the mother country- 'la Patrie'-becomes the focus of those duties which, for Islamic jurists, bound together members of the umma and that natural feeling which, for Ibn Khaldūn, existed between men related to each other by blood.[1]

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1 Ibid., PP.78-79.

The transition to this new way of thought can be seen in a passage of the Manāhij. Ṭahṭāwī is talking of brotherhood in religion. He quotes the hadīth, 'the Muslim is brother of the Muslim,' and then he adds from the book 'Manāhij', "and all that is binding on a believer in regard to his fellow believers is binding also on members of the same watan in their mutual rights. For there is a national brotherhood between them over and above the brotherhood in religion. There is a moral obligation on those who share the same watan to work together to improve it and perfect its organization in all that concerns its honour and greatness and wealth.[1]

The characteristic of Ṭahṭāwī's thought to insist that national wealth is a product of virtue. When the social virtues have been strong Egypt has been prosperous; and the key to virtue is education. Most of his life was spent as a teacher and organizer of schools, and he had a clear view of what should be done. He put forward his deals in his book on education. Teaching, he asserts, must be linked with the nature and problems of society; it should aim at 'nourishing in the hearts of the young the feelings and principles which are current in their country. Primary education should be universal and the same for all, secondary education should be of high quality and the taste for it encouraged. Girls must be educated as much as boys, and on the same footing: in saying this he was reflecting the new interest and policy of Ismāʿīl's time, and indeed the cause of his writing the book was

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1 Ibid., P.79.

an order from the Ministry of Education to write something which would be equally suitable for teaching the boys and girls. The teaching of girls was necessary for three reasons: for harmonious marriages and the good upbringing of children; so that women could work, as men do within the limits of their capacity; and to save them from the emptiness of a life of gossip in the harem. He does not seem to suggest that they should come out of seclusion and take part in public life, although there is a suggestive chapter on famous women rulers, including Cleopatra,[1] but he wishes them to be better treated in the family. Polygamy is not forbidden, he maintains, but Islam only allows it if the husband is capable of doing justice between his wives. This point was taken up by later writers and turned into a virtual prohibition on having more than one wife.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī emphasizes that the 'ulamā' should have a modern education and all citizens should have a political education, he is implying that the nature of society and the function of government were different from what they had been in the past. He would no doubt have accepted in principle the Islamic idea of political stability, of the function of the government as being to regulate the different orders of society and keep them within the Sharī'a. But we can see breaking on him a new idea, of change as a principle of social life, and government as the necessary instrument of change. In his book on Paris he records, as one of strange aspects of French character, the desire of each man to go

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1 Queen of Egypt in 69-30 BC., famous as the mistress of Julius Caesar and then of Mark Antony, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.285.

2 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, PP.77-78.

further than his ancestors: 'Everyone who is master of a craft wishes to invent something which was not known before, or to complete something which has already been invented.[1]

In the writings of Ṭahṭāwī we come for the first time on many themes later to be familiar in Arabic and Islamic thought: that, within the universal umma, there are national communities demanding the loyalty of their subjects; that the object of government is human welfare in this world as well as the next; that human welfare consists in the creation of civilization, which is the final worldly end of government; that modern Europe, and specifically France, provides the norm of civilization; that the secret of European strength and greatness lies in the cultivation of the rational sciences; that the Muslims, who had themselves studied the rational sciences in the past, had neglected them and fallen behind because of the domination of Turks and Mamlukes; and that they could and should enter the main stream of modern civilization, by adopting the European sciences and their fruits. All these ideas were to become the commonplaces of later thinkers, but some thinkers at least were to see that they contained problems, not perhaps insoluble but at least needing to be considered. How to reconcile the claims of divine revelation with those of a human reason proclaiming itself the only adequate path to knowledge; or those of the Sharīʿa with those of modern codes of law springing from quite other principles; or the idea that the Sharīʿa was sovereign with the claims of governments to be sovereign, and to decide freely in the light of expediency and human welfare; or

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1 Ibid, PP.76-77.

loyalty to the religious community with loyalty to the nation?[1]

Ṭahṭāwī lived and worked in a happy interlude of history, when the religious tension between Islam and Christendom was being relaxed and had not yet been replaced by the new political tension of east and west. He was in France at the time of the occupation of Algiers, and wrote about it in his book on Paris, but in his thought there is no sense of Europe's being a political danger. France and Europe stood not for political power and expansion but for science and material progress. His was an age of great inventions, and he wrote of them with admiration; the Suez Canal, the plan for a Panama Canal, the trans-continental railways in America. He seems indeed to have been practically struck by the changes in communications, and wrote a poem in praise of the steam engine. Such novelties, he thought, marked the beginning of a process which would continue, and must in the end lead to the coming together of peoples and their living together in peace. Egypt must adopt the modern sciences and the innovations to which they would lead, and she could do so without danger to her religion. For the sciences, spreading now in Europe had once been Islamic sciences: Europe had taken them from the Arabs, and in taking them back, Egypt would only be claiming what was her own. The best way to do so was through easy intercourse with foreigners and good treatment of them. They should be encouraged to settle in Egypt and teach whatever they had to teach. Once more, Ṭahṭāwī uses an analogy from ancient Egypt: had not

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1 Ibid., PP.82-83.

Psammtek I encouraged Greeks to settle in Egypt and treated them as if they were Egyptians? Once more, he sees in Muḥammad ʿAlī and his successors the legitimate heirs of the Pharaohs, trying to revive the glories of Egypt by following the same principles; they too have given equality to all, subjects and foreigners alike.[1]

Among the works of Ṭahṭāwī's later years, his two volumes on the history of Egypt have been mentioned. They were intended to be the first two of a series, which in the event his son finished after his death, and to be a work of national education, a summary of what the modern Egyptian should know about his watan. It illustrates the blend of elements in his thought that the first volume is a history of ancient Egypt, based on modern European sources, while the second is a life of the Prophet, drawn from the traditional Muslim sources, used intelligently and not uncritically. In the modern western fashion, he divides history into two main categories, ancient and modern; but as a Muslim, his dividing line is not the fall of the Roman Empire but the rise of Islam. He regards this as the most important event in history, but he still believes pre-Islamic history to be worthy of study. Egypt is a part of the Islamic umma, but she has also been a separate umma, in ancient and modern times alike, and as such is a distinct object of historical thought. Although Muslim, she is not exclusively so, for all who live in Egypt are part of the national community. Once more, while the conclusion is modern, the train of thought is traditional: it begins with the Islamic concept of Christians and Jews as 'protected peoples', ahl al-dhimma, and argues for the

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1 Ibid., P.81.

most liberal attitude towards them. They should be allowed full religious freedom, and it is legitimate for Muslims to frequent their company.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī's ideas about society and the state are neither a mere restatement of a traditional view nor a simple reflection of the ideas he had learnt in Paris. The way in which his ideas are formulated is on the whole traditional: at every point he makes appeal to the example of the Prophet and his Companions, and his conceptions of political authority are within the tradition of Islamic thought. But at points he gives them a new and significant development.[2]

In spite of what he has seen in Paris, his view of the State is not that of a liberal of the 13th/19th century. It is a conventional Islamic view. The ruler possesses absolute executive power, but his use of it should be tempered by respect for the law and those who preserve it. That government should be in the hands of 'the people' was an idea familiar to him from his reading and experience in France: he had witnessed the revolution of 1246/1830, and gives a long description of it in his book on Paris. But was not, he thought, an idea which was relevant to the problems of Egypt. His country was ruled by a Muslim autocrat, and the only hope of effective reform was that the autocrat should use his powers properly. The ups and downs of his own career showed what a difference the character and intentions of the ruler could make. He felt much gratitude to Muḥammad ʿAlī, who had sent

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1 Ibid., P.80.

2 Ibid., P.73.

him to Paris, and after his return, followed his career with undoubted personal interest; and also great admiration for the man who had freed Egypt from the grip of the Mamluks and set her on the path of progress. He called him the second Macedonian; Muḥammad ʿAlī himself indeed was aware of the parallel with Alexander, whose life he used to read with pleasure.[1]

If Ṭahṭāwī accepted the authority of the ruler, he laid emphasis too on the limits imposed on him by the existence of moral norms. To explain the Islamic idea of the Sharīʿa as standing above the ruler, he refers to Montesquieu's distinction of the 'three powers' and the idea of restraints on the monarch's absolute power and that was certainly strengthened by what he saw in France: in writing of the revolution of 1246/1830, he gives a clear definition of limited monarchy and the republic. But in the Manahij his argument for limits on the exercise of authority starts from a traditional idea, that of the division of society into 'orders' or 'estates' each with a specific function and status. Following a principle long established, he distinguished four estates: the ruler, the men of religion and law, soldiers, and those engaged in economic production. He gives special attention to the second of these and its role in the State. The ruler should respect and honour the ulama; he should treat them as his helpers in the task of government. This is a theme common to Islamic jurists, and perhaps for Ṭahṭāwī, as for them, it had 'nationalist' undertones, for under Muḥammad ʿAlī, as under

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1 Ibid., P.73.

Mamluks and Ottomans, power lay in Turkish or Caucasian hand, and the body of 'ulama' formed the only institution through which the indigenous population of Egypt could take an active part in public affairs. By this time, however, a new educated group was arising, and it is in reflection of this that Ṭahṭāwī gives a new turn to the idea of the 'ulama'. In his view, they are not simply guardians of a fixed and established tradition. Himself well-versed in the religious law, a Shafī'ī by legal rite, he believed it was necessary to adapt the Sharī'a to new circumstances and that it was legitimate to do so. The 'door of ijtihād' had been closed, according to the traditional saying, and it was for a later generation than his to push it open, but he took the first step in that direction. There was not much difference, he suggested, between the principles of Islamic law and those principles of 'natural law' on which the codes of modern Europe were based. This suggestion implied that Islamic law could be reinterpreted in the direction of conformity with modern needs, and he suggested a principle which could be used to justify this: that it is legitimate for a believer, in certain circumstances, to accept an interpretation of the law drawn from a legal code other than his own. Taken up by later writers, this suggestion was made use of in the creation of a modern and uniform system of Islamic law in Egypt and elsewhere.[1]

If the ulama are to interpret the Sharī'a in the light of modern needs, they must know what the modern world is. They must study the sciences created by human reason. Ṭahṭāwī quotes from

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1 Ibid., PP.74-75.

the intellectual autobiography of a shaykh to show that the tradition of philosophy and the rational sciences had been alive in the Muslim world until recently; but it had died, and the Azhar in the present age did not accept the new sciences which were necessary for the welfare of the nation. The ʿulamā must come to terms with the new learning; and the specialists of that learning should have the same social position as the ʿulamā. Doctors, engineers, all who had mastered sciences which were useful to the State, should be honoured and consulted by the ruler. In other words, the traditional idea of a partnership between ruler and ʿulamā has been brought up to date, and the idea of the ʿulamā reinterpreted in terms of Saint- Simon's 'priesthood' of scientists.[1]

Beyond rulers and ʿulamā alike lay something else, the community as a whole. For Ṭahṭāwī as for other Muslim thinkers there was a sharp distinction between the function of ruling and that of obeying. The ruler was God's representative, answerable to God alone, and under God his own conscience was his only judge; his subjects owned him absolute obedience. But sharply distinguished as they were in function, rulers and ruled were closely linked to each other by rights and duties. The subject should obey, but the ruler should try to please his subjects within the limits imposed by his obedience to God. Fear of God could impel the ruler into good actions, but so too could fear of public opinion, and in the modern world opinion played an active part in the life of the State. In the past, government had been a secret activity of the ruler,

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1 Ibid., PP.75-76.

but in the modern age it must be based on 'good relations between the rulers and the ruled.' There must therefore, be universal political education. Officials should be properly trained, for even to be the headman of a village needed training, and the ordinary citizen who did not serve the State directly should still understand its laws and know his rights and duties.[1]

The thought of the French Englightenment left a permanent mark on Ṭahṭāwī, and through him on the Egyptian mind. Some of its leading ideas would not indeed have been strange to one brought up in the tradition of Islamic political thought: that man fulfils himself as a member of the society, that the good society is directed by a principle of justice, that the purpose of government is the welfare of the ruled. Rousseau's conception of the legislator, the man who has the intellectual ability to conceive good laws and is able to express them in the religious symbols which the generality of people can understand and recognize as valid, has some affinity with the ideas of the Muslim philosophers about the nature and function of the Prophet. But there were new ideas as well, of which the influence can be seen throughout Ṭahṭāwī's writings: that the people could and should participate actively in the process of government; that they should be educated for this purpose; that laws must change according to circumstances, and those which are good at one time and place, may not be so at others. The 'spirit' of the nation, and that the love of country is the basis of the political virtues. These were more than abstract ideas for Ṭahṭāwī. At the same time as he was becoming

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1 Ibid., P.76.

acquainted with them, his experience in Paris was suggesting how they could be relevant to his own society. The idea of ancient Egypt filled his mind and was to contribute an important element to his thought.[1]

Towards the end of Ṭahṭāwī's book about France he apparently feels obliged to say something about literature in general, in connection with some remarks on rhetoric, but strangely enough he does not say a word about French literature. Instead, he simply quotes a few Arabic poems, clearly because, like his contemporaries, he regards poetry as a rhetorical exercise. As far as rhetoric is concerned he is convinced that it is more advanced in Arabic than elsewhere, particularly tropology (ʿilm al-badīʿ), which belonged to the special features of Arabic, whereas it was poorly developed in the European languages. He realizes that some similes and metaphors usual in Arabic poetry cannot be used in other languages and that the metres— which he traditionally restricts to the usual sixteen of Arabic prosody- belong to the 'special nature' (Khuṣūs) of Arabic. The rest of the literary chapter of this work about France consists of quotations from poets, entirely in the style of an old-fashioned ʾādāb work.[2]

This makes it all the more remarkable that al-Ṭahṭāwī's own purely literary works, particularly his poems, can hardly be called innovative. Apparently, the maqāma— to be cultivated by Egyptian prose-writers till long after his time- did not agree with him, but he did write poems, most of which were still highly

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1 Ibid., P.70.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt. P.23.

traditional. On the other hand, some of his poems display a social commitment unusual for this time, such as the four national odes Manzūmāt misrīyah, each in the strophic form of the muwashshah with a set refrain, which he apparently wrote during the Crimean War in which an Egyptian regiment had fought on the Turkish side. Besides, he seems to have used the strophic form in his translations of French Poetry into Arabic.[1]

Especially in recent years, al-Ṭahṭāwī is greatly appreciated in Egypt and often considered as the great revivalist of the 13th/19th century, as is shown by the re-editions of his works and by many studies published about him. Jurjī Zaidān already mentioned him in his series about great men from the East, Mashāhīr al-sharq, and many others have followed his example.[2]

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1 Ibid., P.22.

2 Ibid., P.24.

CHAPTER VI

AN EVALUATION OF ṬAHṬĀWĪ'S LITERATURE

The impact of the Western civilization on the Middle East can be seen in all spheres of life, in culture, manners and social patterns, Professor Dr. A.K. Julius Germanus has made an analytical survey of the recent literary developments in this part of the globe. His view is that European-styled novels, essays and shrot stories are a new phenomenon in the Near East literature. This literature not only imitated the style from the West, but conveyed the Western thoughts and ideas.[1] These cultural changes influenced Arabic literature in Egypt and this revival is known as Arabic literary renaissance in the 13th/19th century. Rifāʿa Ṭahṭāwī was one of the most profund Arab minds to come into contact with Western liberal thoughts. The ideas of the French enlightenment left a permanent mark on him and throught him on the Egyptians. He is well- known for being among the first Egyptian of modern times to take upon himself the task of translation into Arabic from a European language.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī's literary output began in France and can be divided into two periods, the first ending in 1257/1841 and the second beginning with Saʿīd (d.1271/1854) and ending thirty years later. It is to be remembered that he was in disfavour with ʿAbbās I, and for the period 1257-66/1841-9 there was no demand for educational

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1 Julius Germanus "Some New Arab Navelists" The Islamic Quartly (Lahore: April 1969) Vol. 15, No.4, P.25.

2 Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, Vol.1, P.17.

works, for which we can see that it required the stimulus of an official position and an energetic chief to get the best out of Ṭahṭāwī, although he does not appear to have been altogether unoccupied with literary work while he was in exile in the Sudan.[1] Rifāʿa Ṭahṭāwī, in fact, spent his whole life struggling with his medium, prose, but could not achieve even at the end a style flexible enought to be able to set the model for other Egyptian prose writers. In most of his original writings, he was unable to avoid using the rhymed endings to sentences (sajʿ) or the parallelisms. embellishments and rhetorical figures which characterized the prose of his time. However, he managed to avoid them in writing on completely new topics, or in translations.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī contributed a great to Arabic literature by his plain and lucid expressions. His unparalled writings came out through his works. He wrote many books, and became an editor of a number of famous journals of Egypt, in which he played an important role for the reformation of his motherland.

The Egyptian Government Gazettee, al-Waqāʾi' al-Miṣrīyah, the first newspaper in the Arab world was started in 1244/1828. The Egyptian Government Press was established in 1235-36/1819-20, the result of Muḥammad ʿAlī's first mission to Europe. At first the Gazettee came out slightly irregularly, but it had the appearance of a periodical and contained more than the proclamations, acts and decrees which usually fill a government gazettee.

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1 Heyworth-Dunne "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿaṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. X, P.400.

2 Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, P.17.

It was typical of the linguistic situation in Muḥammad ʿAlī's Egypt that the gazettee was published in two languages, Turkish and Arabic, in separate colums. Certainly in the beginning, the Arabic of al-Waqāiʿ al-Miṣriyah was no more than a translation of the Turkish text and anything but fluent. However, the basis had been laid. Later, numerous Egyptian writers would be employed as editors of this gazettee. It thus became a direct influence on modern Egyptian literature.[1]

Al-Ṭahṭāwī contributed greatly to the development of Egyptian journalism, also through his work for al-Waqāiʿ al Miṣrīyah and for the magazine Rawḍat al Madāris. It is not surprising that he should have described as the first Egyptian to write maqāl (an article) in Arabic.[2]

Ṭahṭāwī took over the charge of an editor of al-Waqāiʿ al-Miṣriyyah on 11th January 1258/1842, which started its publication from 3rd December 1244/1828. He spent all his efforts to develop this journal and published it anew, so that the journal may be accepted to all as the best one. Between the two languages the Turkish language was to the right side of this journal and Arabic was to the left. Ṭahṭāwī reversed it in honour of Arabic language after he had taken over the charge of it. He allotted Arabic to the right side of the journal and the Turkish language to the left. For this reason everybody admired Ṭahṭāwī and it contributed to the development of the spirit of nationalism.[3]

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, P.15.

2 Ibid., P.22.

3 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, ʿĀlām al-Nathr wa al-Shiʿr fī al-ʿAṣr al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, P.42.

From the beginning the original news of this newspaper was in Turkish, then it was translated into Arabic. Ṭahṭāwī changed this manner, he published the original news in Arabic and translted it into Turkish language. Ṭahṭāwī played an important role for this newspaper, particularly by giving importance to Egyptian news over foreign news. The great writer like Ṭahṭāwī has converted the hollow diction of this newspaper into an important one, so that the whole of the Egyptians can be benefitted from it. At first Ṭahṭāwī initiated critical writing through this newspaper, such as the rules and regulations of the state, duties of the state, Islamic system of government, European countries and criticism of the government etc. Khediv Muḥammad ʿAlī helped him for these critical works.[1]

He opened a new column of literature the theme of which he would collect from the ancient Arabic literature for the readers of al-Waqāiʿ al-Miṣriyyah. For example, the 'Muqaddama' of Ibn Khaldun etc. Dr. Ibrāhīm ʿAbduhu commented in his book about the history of al-Waqāiʿ al-Miṣriyyah that the edition of this newspaper have enhanced Ṭahṭāwī's dignity and honour. The place of Arabic language has raised the dignity of this newspaper to the higher position. Al-Waqāiʿ al-Miṣriyyah was published as a weekly journal. There were huge changes in al-Waqāiʿ from the beginning of the reign of ʿAbbās the I. News on political and economical issues seldom got places in it and internal news' was covered with more importance than that of the external news.[2]

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1 Ibid., P.42.

2 Ibid., P.45.

The description of Ṭahṭāwī's important works are as below:

1. Al-Taʿrībāt al-Shāfiyya li Murīd al-Jughrāfīyya (or Satisfactory Arabic translation for the learner of geography):

Ṭahṭāwī in the preface of this book says "When the government advised me to open a school for teaching on the sciences of geography and history, I chose a number of students for this noble task. I therefore, made up my mind to teach them with enthusiasm. But I had no Arabic book on geography which may include the chapterizations and arrangement according to the manners found in the French books. So, I undertook writing a book on this subject which can be a subject-matter for the schools of fundamental sciences of Paris. Therefore, I began to translate it from one lesson to another. This book written by Ṭahṭāwī's own hand was preserved in his library of Sohaj (a city in central Egypt, on the Nile), which still remains unpublished. The book was arranged by him into a preface and three chapters."[1]

2. Anwār Tawfīq al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tawthīq banī Ismāʿīl (or The light of Tawfīq al-Jalīl in the annals of Egypt and strengthening the family of Ismāʿīl):

In this book Ṭahṭāwī discussed about ancient history of Egypt. He specially discussed in the first part of this book about the history of Egypt from the periods of Pharaoh, Batālima[2] and Romans down to the victory of the Arabs. He presented this volume to Khediv Ismāʿīl. This volume was published in "Būlāq" in 1285/1868.

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1 Ibid., P.45

2 Ptolemy I (367-283 B.C)King of Egypt (323-285 B.C) was one of the leaders of Macedonian Alexandria, and after his death there established the empire of al-Batālima in Egypt, cf. Munīr Baʿalbaki, Al-Mawrid, P.71 (Biographical names).

The book shows that Ṭahṭāwī was the first Egyptian historiographer who was practically acquainted with the ancient history of Egypt on the basis of reality and selected statements which no contemporary European historiographers could do.[1]

3. Nihāyat al-'Ijāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Ḥijaz (or A complete abridgement on the character of the inhabitants of al-Ḥijaz):

The book deals with the biography of the Prophet Muḥammad (s). Ṭahṭāwī followed in this book the life of the Prophet (s), from his birth till his death. So, the author narrated the life of the Prophet (s), dealing with incidents of his childhood, boyhood, youth and old age. The special characteristic of this book is the last section which Ṭahṭāwī separated for discussing about the administration of the Islamic state during lifetime of the Prophet (s). He arranged the book in a new system and collected in it a number of different and scattered books found in other biographical books. He arranged it in a new manner, and wrote from it a research study which proved that the Islamic forms of government was established in different ways which prevailed in the period of the Prophet (s). Ṭahṭāwī began to write his lectures for publication in the magazine "Rawḍa al-Madāris". Son of Ṭahṭāwī, 'Alī Fahmi Rifā'a completed the rest as it was incomplete by Ṭahṭāwī and was published in 1291/1873.

4. Mabāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah fī Manāhij al-'Ādāb al-'Aṣriyah (Magnificence of the Egyptian intellects in the ways of modern literatures):

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1 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, 'Ālām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fī al-'Aṣr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth PP.45-46.

This book published in 1286/1869, is one of Ṭahṭāwī's best works. Its object was to give his readers a general cultural guide of the time, and it is full of interesting materials both for the Egyptian readers and the scholars interested in Egypt of this time, as it gives an indication of the cultural interests of the educated classes. It must have been popular for a long time as there was a reprint in 1329/1911.[1]

Manāhij al-Albāb contains al-Ṭahṭāwīs views on Egypt's future, her nature and destiny, as well as a whole theory of politics.[2] Al-Ṭahṭāwī's contemporaries probably were more interested in a work of a much later date, Manāhij al-Albāb, according to the Sudanese Jamāl Mohammed Aḥmed in essence a treatise on national progress. In this book he added a traditional panegyric on the prophet, a takhmīs of the well-known poem by al-Barī. Al-Ṭahṭāwī wrote his takhmīs, which according to his biographer al-Majdī was to remain popular for a long time, during his "exile" in Khartum, a fact which may explain the choice of its subject.[3]

In the Manāhij it assumed that society has two purposes: to do the will of God, but also to achieve well-being in this world.So far there is nothing new; but what is new is the meaning given to welfare. It is identified with progress as Europe of the 13th/19th century conceived it, and in this sense welfare has two bases: the first is the training of character in religious and human virtues, and the second the economic activities

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1 Heyworth Dunne, Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist, BSOS, P.405.

2 Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, P.17.

3 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP.21-22.

which lead to wealth and the improvement of conditions and contentment among the people as a whole. In the Manāhij Ṭahṭāwī is mainly concerned with the second of these bases, and since he is writing about Egypt, when he talks about economic changes he means first of all the progress in agriculture. In Egypt, as he well knows, the nature of economic life, and therefore the state of public welfare depends on the nature of government; good rulers of Egypt have always been attentive to irrigation, and he gives a detailed description of Muḥammad ʿAlī's policy, as well as analysis, drawn from a European writer, of the economic possibilities of the country, which are great and capable of full exploitation in a short time.[1]

5. Al-Murshid al-Amīn fī Tahdhīb al-Banāt wa al-Banīn (or, The trusted guide in the accomplishment of boys and girls in culture):

The aim was to guide the trainees or the teachers in the girls schools which appeared in the first time in the days of Khediv Ismāʿīl. He mentioned clearly in its introduction that he wrote the book for the use in the girls' and boys' schools equally and the school authorities issued verbal instructions to use it as a book of literature and upbrining the child.[2] It is also a general work on Egyptian society.

6. Takhlīs al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz (or, The refinement of gold in the resume of Paris):

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1 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, P.77.

2 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn , Aʿlām al-Nathr wa al-Shiʿr fī al-ʿAṣr al-ʿArabī al-Hadīth, Vol.I, P.46.

This book is Ṭahṭāwī's original and best work on his journey to paris. This work is worthy of closer attention not only from the point of view of subject matter, but also from the source of inspiration. Travelling in the Arabic - speaking world was not new: there had been plenty of travellers, some of whom had written about their travels, but few of them had had the opportunity of visiting European countries at such a later date.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī evidently set out to write an account of his experiences in France. Ṭahṭāwī describes his journey from Egypt to Paris, dealing with strange things on his way to Paris. He begins the story with his journey from Alexandria and gives details about his sojourn in Marseilles. Then he describes his entry to Paris and mentions all what he saw therein and the news of its conditions that he received. Then he describes the boundary of Paris and its natural beauties and made a comparative study between its quarters and the quarters of Cairo, and he specially mentioned the pople of Paris in a separate chapter of the book in which he talked about their personal and social character. Then he dealt with the political system and translated its constitution and wrote notes on its subjects. On account of the merit of the book, the supreme assembly for the protection of arts and literature issued orders to reprint it, and accordingly the Ministry of Culture and national guidance undertook the responsibilities of its printing and distribution. It was printed in Cairo in 1370/1950.[2]

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1 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist" BSOS., Vol-X, P.401.

2 Ibid., P.401; cf. Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn , Aʿlām al-Nathr wa al-Shiʿr fī al-Asr al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, P.47.

Ṭahṭāwī was most likely asked by Muḥammad ʿAlī to write this book, and we can certainly reckon on the encouragement and support of his favourite teacher and friend, Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār who was probably curious himself about the people with whom Ṭahṭāwī was going to live. When the book first came out, it was referred to as Riḥla al-Shaikh Rifāʿa or as Akhbār Bilād Urubbā. It was translated into Turkish by Rustum Efendī and published in 1256/1840, and had a wide circulation in Turkey; it has run into three editions in Egypt, the second in 1265/1848 and the third in 1321/1903.When it appeared for the first time, Muḥammad ʿAlī gave orders to have it distributed amongst all the officials and his friends. The fact that such a book as this should be reprinted in 1321/1903 is significant; it has been observed that the Egyptians lack that spirit of observation and curiosity about foreign countries; at least, the kind that lends intself to books. They have been travelling to Europe ever since the early decades of the 13th/19th 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.[1]

Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz is not only an account of French life as the author witnessed it during the five years of his stay in Paris, but also an important summary of Western liberal thoughts in France in the 'twenties and early 'thirties as seen by an Egyptian. In Takhlīṣ he mentions that the French regard embellishments as a sign of weakness to be used but rarely and only in humorous

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1 Heyworth- Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿaṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist, BSOS., Vol.X, P.401.

writings. Yet this does not impress him as the right attitude to adopt permanently. One doubts, though, whether at such an early stage he would have been capable of successfully following a different procedure of writing in the different art of prose.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī's best known work today is Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz, in which he records his experiences as a student in Paris. The book is distinguished by its style which for its day was uncommonly simple and easy to read. The rhyming title still has a touch of mannerism, but the work itself is not written in an affected saj'. It is an entertaining description of French society and of the chief French public institutions, written from the point of view of a sympathetic onlooker, not of an unworldly, bigoted Shaykh or imām. Even French customs alien to him, such as the treatment of women, are described without prejudice. The degree of popularity the work enjoyed is hard to determine. Judging form his description in Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz of the July Revolution, which he had witnessed himself in obvious sympathy for the rebels, al-Ṭahṭāwī was an enlightened man. But the work was not in the least revolutionary— it was published twelve years before the 'Urābī Revolution and the wālī's and the Khedive are glorified in it in an almost obsequious way. In general, however, despite his unquestionable literary talents, al-Ṭahṭāwī did not rise to any great hights and was hardly open to innovations. The Takhlīs al-Ibrīz shows that he had no eye for French contemporary

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1 Salma Khadra Jayyusi, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, PP.16-17.

literature. This is all the more peculiar in view of the astonishing literary activity in France 1246/1830.[1]

Takhlīṣ, is certainly read with admiration for the accounts of France and its high state of civilization. He describes the arts and sciences, the schools, universities, libraries, museums, and hospitals, and speaks highly of the virtues of the French, their love of freedom, glory, chivalry and honesty. He is at pains to show his co-religionists that, although the French are Christians, they are unlike the native Egyptian Christians who are dull- witted and dirty. He shows a keen desire to awaken in his compatriots that spirit of rivalry by showing how much better off were the French through their industry and application, whereas this state of well- being should belong to the Muslim people. He is full of admiration for the French press, a thing quite new to him and his curiosity about the French constitution and his own notes on some constitutional practices, such as the position of the King and the power of the Parliament, are particularly interesting. His sincerity is evident in every word he writes; he is aware that his book will be read by his fellow - shaikhs who will never forget for one moment that Ṭahṭāwī is describing an infidel race. This compels Ṭahṭāwī to refer to the Qurān and Ḥadith in appropriate passages, as he knows that all his exhortations to the shaikh class regarding European learning will go unheeded. He is openly antagonistic to that which is not in accordance with the Qurān and the Sunnah, and even uses such terms as al-dalalah and al-bidah

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1 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP.20-23.

when he meets with something which, from a Muslim point of view, merits such qualification. The social life of the Frenchmen and his ideas on religion quite obviously upset Ṭahṭāwī. He is critical about the behaviour of their women, especially those of the higher classes, and is horrified at the way the men are enslaved by the fair sex. The book is not lacking in remarks which must bring a smile to the face of the reader, his naïveté about being invited round the hearth, the place of honour in a French home, is amusing, for he cannot forget what the word nār (fire) means to a Muslim. He is relieved to find that French books have no shurūḥ and ḥawāshī (commentaries and supercommentaries), not forgetting that each compendium he had to study in al-Azhar had quite a library of such literature behind it. In later times, Egyptians who went to France came from homes that had already assimilated something of French culture; they came from a society that had already, lost his purely Egyptian atmosphere; they were more or less familiar with French thought and culture. But with Ṭahṭāwī, we must realize that he came from a throughly Muslim-Azharī-Egyptian environment where women were never seen outside the ḥarīm and where there was no kind of social life akin to that of Europe. He did not go through those "intermediate" stages of social behaviour which every educated Egyptian experiences and so the contrasts must have made a great impression on him. If 'Takhlīṣ' is an interesting document to the Egyptian reader, it is all the more so to the European scholar who wishes to study the psychological attitude of a pure Azharī towards an entirely different culture.[1]

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1 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", bSOS., Vol.X, PP.402-3.

7. Al-Tuḥfa al-Maktabiyah li-Taqrīb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiya (A school gift for accession to the Arabic language):

In 1286/1869, Ṭahṭāwī produced another grammar for use in the schools; it was called at-Tuḥfah al Maktabiyah li-Taqrīb al-Lugha al-ʿArabiya , and was beautifully written and lithographed in the Madāris printing press in Darb al-Gamāmīz. Here we get something new, for Ṭahṭāwī breaks away from the old method altogether; his language is simple and easily understood, for a great deal of the old technical jargon is dropped. It is quite evident from his preface that his main idea was to provide a handbook which would give all the rules of grammar and would be easy to learn; Ṭahṭāwī deliberately introduced a new method, it was not an accident. He deals with grammar by means of convenient tables which are all throughly explained, and a glance at the book will show that it was meant for practical teaching. It should have been a great boon after Ibn Mālik's Alfiyah, especially as all the headings of the chapters and sub-chapters were written in large, thick type, thus facilitating the student's task in looking for a rule. It would have been interesting to obtain the reactions of Ṭahṭāwī's contemporaries to this practical approach to Arabic grammar. The only reference to be found is that of his student, Ṣāliḥ Majdī, who states that it was a simple method and that the tables simplified the study considerably. The book was not reprinted and he does not appear to have had much influence on their ideas of teaching Arabic. The fault was not Ṭahṭāwī's; the student could not understand this method of study, he wanted something he could learn by heart, and the Alfiyah type of compendium was something that lent itself to memorization. The old school would certainly

have looked upon this attempt of Ṭahṭāwī's as a heresy, and any short road to the study of Arabic might easily have brought about a radical change in the status of the Arabic teacher which they did not consider necessary. In the Preparatory Schools, three years were allowed for the memorization of the Alfiyah -400 lines were committed to memory in the first year, 300 in the second, and 300 in the third. Ṭahṭāwī's little work could have been covered in a year and the practical results would have been far better.[1]

8. Al-Shart (or the condition): Translation of the constitution of France by Luis the eighteenth.[2]

9. Mawāqi' al-Aflāk fī Waqāi' Tilīmāk (or Places of Heaven in the events of Tilīmāk):

In 1284/1867 Ṭahṭāwī's translation of Fénelon's[3] Aventures de Télémaque which was published in Bayrut by the Syrian Press. This introduces the first meagre attempt in introducing the mythological literature in Arabic. In this translation Ṭahṭāwī was strict in preserving the origin, together with following the Arabic language and its rules and regulations and its usual beliefs and he expressed his hopes that the benefits of this book will be liberal use in the educational institutes in all the eastern countries, specially in Egypt.[4]

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1 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rafi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. X, PP. 404-5.

2 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, Ā'lām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fī al-'Aṣr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth, P.47.

3 Francois de Salignac de la Mothe Fenelon (1062-1127/1651-1715) was a French Roman Catholic prelate and theologian, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.438.

4 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, Ā'lām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fi al-'Aṣr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth, P.47.

According to Ṭahṭāwī's biographer, he worked on it in the Sudan while in exile; i.e. about sixteen years previously. The fact that it was published in Bayrut so long after he wrote it might point to lack of interest in it in Egypt, or else there were no facilities for printing it in Egypt at the time on account of the state of disorganisation in the Būlāq printing press and there being no other suitable press available.[1]

When Ṭahṭāwī translated Fenelon's Télémaque, it was almost 150 years old and his choice may partly be explained by the great popularity the work had apparently enjoyd throughout the 12th/18th century. Also as an "exile" in Khartum he may have felt some relationship with the wandering Telemachus who, in Fenelon's work, also sojourned in Egypt, far away from home. Ṭahṭāwī himself considered it to be a "useful" book, an opinion shared by Muḥammad ʿAbduhū. The style of the translation, which is much more affected than that of his other prose, does show that he was aware of translating a literary work: he seems to have felt obliged to make it more beautiful than "ordinary" prose and consequently to use a great deal of rhymed prose (saj).[2]

10. Kitāb Qalāi'd al-Mafākhir fī-ʿAwāi'd al-A'wā'il wa al-Awākhir (or Book of necklaces of honour in the rare events of the past and the future):

It contains the explanation of rare words occuring in books, arranged in alphabetical order, following the French pronunciation, the majority of which is the names of countries, cities, seas and

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1 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifāʿah Badawī Rāfiʿ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. X, PP.403-4.

2 Brugman, An Introduction to the History of Modern Arabic Literature in Egypt, PP. 23-24.

races of human being, some of which are the names of monuments and there are a few names of things and technical words of various sciences. Ṭahṭāwī finished the translation of this book in the last month of 1249/1833. Then he gave it to press in the beginning 1250/1834. He gave it to press, during these three years that passed after his return from Paris, two books written while in France and they are:[1]

(i) Kitāb al-Mādin al-Nāfi'a (or Book of useful mines): and

(ii) Kitāb Qalā'id al-Mafākhir fī Gharīb 'Awā'id al-Awā'il wa al-'Awākhir (or Book of necklaces of honour in the rare events of the past and the future).

It is a book on sociology - He says in its introduction, I have explained its words according to what appeared to me after my good efforts and what was not clear to me, I kept it intact and scribed it as is possible its writing and occassionally I introduced some humorous explanation and my plea is - when my translation of some words is inaccurate it is due to lack of any comprehensive French dictionary in Arabic.[2]

11. Qāmūs (Dictionary): It appears that Ṭahṭāwī expressed his idea about the dictionary to Ibrāhīm Pasha when he met him first after his arrival in Alexandria and accordingly Ibrāhīm Pasha requested him to write a dictionary.[3]

Ṭahṭāwī's several works are:

(i) Essays of 'Aṭṭār, printed several times in Egypt, consisting

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1 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, A'lām al-Nathr wa al-Shi'r fī al-'Aṣr al-'Arabī al-Ḥadīth, P.48.

2 Ibid., P.49.

3 Ibid., P.50.

of articles by his teacher al-Shaikh Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār, Professor of al-Azhar.

(ii) Dīwān of Ibn Sahl, which is collected and divided into chapters and published in 1279/1862.

(iii) Tarjama Nashīd Marsīlīz wa al-Qasīda al-Bārīsiya wa Qasīda al-Qithāra al-Munazzama (or Translation of the "song of Marseillaise"[1] and the poems 'Paris' and poems 'discipline guitar'):

(iv) Urjūza fī ʿilm al-Tawhīd (or Theological treaties written in poetry, in the rajaz meter)- Written in the beginning years shortly after his admission in al-Azhar University.

(v) Khātima Likitāb Qatr al-Nidā wa-bal al-Ṣadā (An appendix to the book entitled Qatr al- Nidā wa-Bal al-Ṣadā) Written on the inclination of one of the scholars of the teaching staff of Al-Azhar.

(vi) Nabdha fī al-Maithūlūjiya (Some mythology)- That is the jahiliyya (the days of ignorance) period of Greece, and their fairy tales, 154 pages.

(vii) Bidāya al-Qudamā' wa Hidāya al-Ḥukamā' (or Beginning of the ancients and a guide for the wise) 154 pages. Published in 1254/1838.[2]

In Paris, he put Agoub's (Yaʿqūb) La Lyre Brisee into Arabic verse and called it Nazm al-ʿUqūd fī Kasr al-ʿŪd (or Arrangement of knots in the breaks of branch), which was actually published

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1 The French national anthem, written in April 1792 by Rouget de l'Isle, cf. The Macmillan Encyclopedia, P.783.

2 Muḥammad Yūsuf Kūkn, Aʿlām al-Nathr wa al-Shiʿr fi al-ʿAṣr al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, P.47.

there in 1243/1827. His next work to be published was called Jughrāfiyah Saghīrah (A small book of geography), which was printed in Būlāq in 1248/1830; this was a translation of a French work on geography the author of which is not known, for which he must received orders from Muḥammad ʻAlī so that the book could be used in the schools. There then followed a rapid flow of published works, mainly translations made while Ṭahṭāwī was in France.[1]

In 1250/1834, we have still another work on geography entitled al-kanz al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-ʾArādī wa al-Bihār, (A selected treasure in explaining al-ʾAradi and al-Bahār), an elementary book written in the form of questions and answers. Two years later, we have his first translation on the history of philosophy entitled Kitāb Qudamāʾ al-Falāsifah (Book of ancient philosophers), and in 1254-55/1838-39, three more works, one on the history of the ancient Egyptians entitled Taʾrīkh al-Qudamāʾ al-Miṣriyyīn (History of ancient Egyptians), another on geography entitled al-Jughrāfiyah al-ʻUmūmiyah (Geography of the common people), a partial translation of Malte-Brun's big work; the third work is a translation of Dumarsais's La Logique, and entitled al-Manṭiq.[2] Ṭahṭāwī also translated Voltaire's Elegy on Louis XIV and the Marsaillaise.[3]

We then get a break of seventeen years before his next publication, which brings us to his more literary productions,

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1 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifāʻah Badawī Rāfiʻ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. X, P.400.

2 Ibid., P.403.

3 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, P.12.

several of which resemble the kind of work any Egyptian would have written during this period. In 1272/1855, he published his Qasīda Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah, a penegyric composed in honour of his patron Saʿīd Pāshā who had him brought back from exile in the Sudan. In the same year, another similar work came out under the title of Manẓūmāt Waṭaniyah Miṣriyah (Patriotic poems of Egypt), and it is not until 1280/1863 that we get some new work, for, practically speaking, he was unemployed; he was in charge of the Citadel school for a short time, but this was not a very serious affair; in any case, there was no demand for technical works or translations. Under Ismāʿīl Pasha, his special qualifications as a translator and educator again brought him to the fore; in 1280/1863, he brought out a little grammar called Jamāl al-Ajurrūmiyah (Beauty of "al-Ajurrūmiyya"), a compendium in verse for use in the new schools opened by the Pāshā. It was meant to replace the longer Alfiyah of Ibn Mālik, as the students in the new schools had not the time nor the ability to master such a work. There is nothing new in the method adopted by Ṭahṭāwī, but it undoubtedly paved the way for a later work. Another panegyric was brought out in 1281/1864 in honour of Ismāʿīl Pasha entitled Qaṣīdah Waṭaniyah Misriyah.[1]

In 1287/1870, he published another original work entitled al-Qaul al-Sadīd fī al-Ijtihād wa al-Taqlīd (The right openion about Ijtihād and Taqlīd), and a collection of greetings and congratulations under the title of al-Kawākib al-Nayyirah fī Layālī Afrāh al-ʿAzīz al-Muqmirah (Bright stars in the moonlit

1 Ibid., P.403.

nights of the pleasures of ʿAzīz), for Taufīq Pasha. Ṭahṭāwī published Mabādi' al- Handasah (Principles of Geometry), in 1291/1874, an elementary work on geometry. Taʿrīb al-Qānūn al-Madanī al-Fransāwī (Arabic translation of the French civil law), published in 1293/1876 and a Takhmīs on the 'Qasīdah al-Shihāb Maḥmūd in 1305/1887. There was another elementary work on geometry printed in Būlāq, while several of his works remained unpublished, such as his Mukhtasar Maʿahid al-Tanṣīs (short text of agreements), his Majmūʿ fī al-Madhāhib al-Arbaʿah (A collection on four schools of law), and his sharh Lāmiyat al-ʿArab (A commentary on the Lāmiat al ʿArab, poem rhyming in 'L' of the Arabs), which would have been useful and interesting had it been published. He appears to have written a little work or translation for the medical school which Ṣāleḥ Majdī calls Risālah fī-Ṭibb and there may have been plenty of others.[1]

Ṭahṭāwī encouraged the Government Press at Būlāq to publish the Arabic classics; among them was the work of Ibn Khaldūn, and this too shows the bent of his mind. He continued also to direct the translation bureau, of which the main work now was to put into Arabic the French legal codes. From 1287/ 1870 until his death he edited a periodical for the Ministry of Education, and wrote a number of original articles for it. Ṭahṭāwī wrote several works on the history of Egypt, which contains the most complete statement of his views about the path which Egypt should take. One of these works, Ṭahṭāwī mentioned how Egypt had

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1 Ibid., PP.405-6.

it in the past and then lost it, and how she can recover it, Ṭahṭāwī's Murshid al-Amīn li al-Banāt wa al-Banīn (Guiding Truths for Girls and Youths) was designed to provide edifying reading for the students in the new schools. It is written in an old-fashioned discursive way, with digressions and long stories to prove the points; and from what Ṭahṭāwī says can be deduced a theory of politics and of the nature and desting of Egypt.[1]

These works shows us the extent of Ṭahṭāwī's activities. The majority of his works were on subjects about which no shaikh had ever written, and certainly not in the way Ṭahṭāwī had done so. His works on history represent a completely new method as far as Arabic literature is concerned and so also his works on geography. He is the only writer of this period to have produced anything readable, and although his compatriots always write favourably of him, it is to be doubted whether they really appreciate his great pioneering efforts in providing a basis for modern Arabic literature, especially in its technical and educational needs.[2]

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1 Albert Hourani, Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age, PP.72-73.

2 Heyworth-Dunne, "Rifā'ah Badawī Rāfi' aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī: The Egyptian Revivalist", BSOS., Vol. X, P.406.

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