

MAPPING THE MIDDLE EAST: FROM BONAPARTE'S EGYPT TO
CHATEAUBRIAND'S PALESTINE

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ABSTRACT:

SUJA R. SAWAFTA: Mapping the Middle East: From Bonaparte's Egypt to
Chateaubriand's Palestine
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This project focuses on the impact that Napoleon Bonaparte's invasion of Egypt had on François-René de Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*. Napoleon's campaign in Egypt set forth an unprecedented imperial ideology that sought to know and thus conquer the Middle East in every facet. The scientific findings of the campaign were immortalized in a twenty-three-volume work known as *La Description de l'Égypte*, which recounted a narrative of French imperial domination and cultural superiority. In this project, I draw a link between the process of mapping and representations found in the *Description* and Chateaubriand's continuation of both the imperial narrative and the erasure of the 'Other' in his *Itinéraire*.

DEDICATION:

This project is dedicated to my grandfather Ilayan Tawfiq Sawafta, who passed away before I had the chance to place the final punctuation marks on the last lines of this paper. Your memory will always be alive in the hills of Palestine. I love you forever, Sido. You will always be my hero and my favorite legend.

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Introduction

In this thesis, I argue that there is a link between the imperial ideology set forth by Napoleon's campaign in Egypt between the years of 1798 and 1801 and Chateaubriand's depiction of the Holy Land in his famous *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* published in 1811. These texts rely on detailed descriptions of landscape and monuments to achieve the following three objectives: to present French literary and scientific cultural production as the only legitimate form of knowledge, to place the French savant at the center of the text, and finally to represent the Arab as the opposite of the Frenchmen in order to further France's imperial aspirations.

In the first chapter, I give a detailed overview of the history of mapping and cartography conducted by the Napoleonic campaign in Egypt. I analyze how the mapping project was used as a geo-political tool to consolidate French control of the East. As a result of France's military and intellectual infiltration of Egypt, the Egyptian people are portrayed as insignificant in *La Description de l'Égypte*. Furthermore, I also examine the French desire to revive the Greco-Roman (i.e. classical past) and the extent to which this desire is highly visible in the tableaux of the *Description* itself.

In the second chapter, I analyze François-René de Chateaubriand's reiteration of Napoleon's imperial project in *L'Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*. Chateaubriand was a diplomat for Napoleon's Imperial court prior to his journey to the Mediterranean. As a member of the aristocracy and a respected writer, Chateaubriand was well versed in

classical writings and the works of seventeenth and eighteenth century travelers to the Mediterranean including the *Description de l'Égypte*. Chateaubriand experiences Palestine through his nostalgia for the Greco-Roman and Biblical past. By employing the structure of representation set forth by *La Description de l'Égypte*, Chateaubriand centers the *Itinéraire* on depictions of monuments and landscapes in Palestine as they relate to him as a Frenchman. Consequently, much like their Egyptian counterparts, Palestinians are not viewed as producers of knowledge nor is their presence in the Holy Land portrayed as significant. Furthermore, I analyze Chateaubriand's appropriation of the role of the western savant in his travel accounts as he reconstructs antiquity through his experience.

Chapter I

Napoleon in Egypt: Mapping the Middle East

In 1798, Napoleon Bonaparte and several fleets of French soldiers and intellectuals arrived in Egypt for what would later be deemed as the quintessential Franco-Arab encounter. Napoleon's campaign in Egypt intended to undermine both Ottoman and British influence and trade in the region. Though this short campaign was considered in many regards to be a military failure, the cultural legacies that resulted from it are of monumental importance when considering French and Arab cultural production in the nineteenth century as well as the trajectory of European colonial projects of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries respectively.

Napoleon Bonaparte's strategy for the invasion of Egypt was aggressive and direct. This strategy was influenced by the writings of the Comte de Volney, a prominent French politician and orientalist who had spent three years traveling around Egypt and greater Syria from 1783 to 1785. A member of the Académie Française¹ and one of the pioneers who introduced the discipline of oriental studies in Paris, Volney viewed the near East as the prime locale for the realization of the French colonial project. In the preface of his *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie*, published in 1787, Volney explains that his desire to travel to Egypt and Syria comes from the need to understand the lands where the

¹ The Académie Française is a French learned institution that deals with matters pertaining to the French language. It was established in the 17th century and is the oldest academy in the Institut de France.

values of Christianity and Western civilization were born. More importantly, he urges that one should understand Egypt “not by its present state but for what it once was” (Volney, 5).

In Volney’s opinion the French would face three adversaries in their attempt to control the region; the British, the Ottoman Mamelukes, and finally the Muslim inhabitants of Egypt². In order to successfully accomplish their military goals, the French needed to infiltrate and dominate Egyptian society. This meant appealing to the Egyptians by using their culture to gain power and legitimacy. Thus, Napoleon headed for the shores of Egypt equipped with Volney’s ideology in mind.

The extent of French control is recounted in Abd al-Rahman Al-Jabarti’s account of the French invasion and occupation titled *Chronicle of Napoleon in Egypt*. Al-Jabarti, a Somali-Egyptian scholar, writes contemptuously that the French army portrayed themselves as the liberators of the Egyptian people from the tyranny of the Circassian Mamelukes. Upon his arrival in Egypt, Napoleon issued a proclamation stating that he was not the enemy of Islam and had come to Egypt to ‘restore’ order. Napoleon depicted himself as a Muslim in order to promote his image as a liberator (as opposed to invader) and demanded that all villages send messengers to confirm their submission to French rule (41). The proclamation also called for the cooperation of Sheikhs in helping the French army seize the belongings and dwellings of the Mamelukes (42) and it warned against rebellion coming from villages or individuals. The proclamation ends with the following statement:

Every countryman shall remain peacefully in his dwelling, and also prayers shall be performed in the mosques as customary, and the Egyptians, all of them shall render thanks for God’s graciousness, Praise be to Him and may He be exalted, in extirpating

² These views are clearly articulated in Volney’s *Ruins or Meditations on the Revolutions of Empires* (68-71).

the power of the Mamelukes, saying with a loud voice, may God preserve the glory of the French Army! May God curse the Mameluks and rightly adjust the condition of the Egyptian people. (42)

Al-Jabarti demonstrates Napoleon's use of Islamic rhetoric as a political tool. By encouraging the Egyptian people to give thanks to God, Napoleon attempts to remove the stigma associated with foreign invasion and differentiates between the Mameluke and French occupations. Thus, Napoleon attempted to remove two of his adversaries (the Egyptians and the Mamelukes) in the quest for hegemonic power. He solicited the cooperation of the Egyptian people, encouraging them to participate in the removal of Mameluke rule while also attempting to dispel Egyptian rebellion.

To further his goals, Napoleon also established the "Diwan of the Republic³", a governing system that would both serve the purposes of the French occupation and appeal culturally to Egyptians. Al-Jabarti exposes Napoleon's pretentious intentions when he says: "In the form of the Diwan the French established a basis for malice, a foundation for godlessness, a bulwark of injustice, and a source of all manner of evil innovations" (67). French attempts to infiltrate Egyptian society were not met without resistance. In the fall of 1789, the people of Cairo revolted against French armed forces; however, they met military defeat. The French victory allowed Napoleon to gain absolute control of Egypt. After his victory in Cairo, Napoleon led his forces through Sinai and the Levant with the intention of countering British India. French forces met their military defeat in Acre after losing to a coalition of Ottoman and British forces. This defeat eventually ended the occupation in Egypt and Napoleon's campaign in the Middle East in 1801.

³ In his *Chronicle of Napoleon in Egypt*, Al-Jabarti comments on various proclamations issued by Napoleon including his attempt to persuade Sheikhs of the Diwan to wear a tri-color sash (65-67). This was one of many attempts to consolidate French control of Egyptian institutions.

The most significant cultural product of the three-year Napoleonic campaign is *La Description de l'Égypte*. The *Description* was published serially in France between the years of 1809 and 1829. It was created to showcase the scientific achievements of French intellectuals during the campaign. The *Description* portrays the French as superior to the barbaric and ignorant Arab. Although juxtapositions of a superior France and an inferior East had existed prior to the French occupation of Egypt, this moment in history is considered to be the watershed historical encounter between East and West. Through the creation of this twenty-three-volume work, French intellectuals and politicians were able to foster their image as masters of the region and confirm that they were capable of legitimate empire building. In his magnum opus, *Orientalism*, Edward Said writes: “After Napoleon then, the very language of Orientalism changed radically. Its descriptive realism was upgraded and became not merely a series of representations, but a language, indeed, a means of creation”(87). Said’s mention of a series of representations is in reference to images of the Orient created by French intellectuals during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Among the most prominent examples of orientalism, prior to the publication of the *Description*, are the writings of the seventeenth century writer and scientist Jean de Thevenot who traveled extensively to the East. He is best known for his pilgrimage narrative *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant* published in 1664. Other examples include Antoine Galland’s translation of the highly popular *Arabian Nights*, which appeared in French in 1704, and the representation of the East through *la Turquerie* in French Opera and paintings⁴ throughout the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Prior to

⁴ *La Turquerie* was a cultural phenomenon in early Modern Europe. It stemmed from the Franco-Ottoman political dynamic of the era. At this time, the Ottoman Empire was considered to be

the invasion of Egypt, orientalist texts appealed to the European fetishization of the East as an exotic and sexualized location with strange practices. Napoleon's campaign transformed the language of orientalism by contrasting European progress with Eastern backwardness and the inability of producing true scientific knowledge.

Understanding this change of discourse on the East requires understanding knowledge as a means of power. Twentieth century French philosopher Michel Foucault discusses the correlation between knowledge and power⁵ in his book *Knowledge/Power; Selected Interviews and Other Writings*. In his chapter on the dynamics between truth and power, Foucault explains that for truth to have its power, a scientific institution must support it:

Truth is centered on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it. It is subject to constant economic and political incitement (the demand for truth, as much for economic production as for political power); it is the object, under diverse forms, of immense diffusion and consumption (circulating through apparatuses of education and information); it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic apparatuses (universities, army, writing, media); It is the issue of a whole political debate and social confrontation (ideological struggles).
(42)

Thus, those who control the production of knowledge and are able to support it financially are in turn able to create truth, and therefore have power. In this regard, Napoleon's campaign in Egypt reshaped the dynamics between East and West by invading Egypt with both military and intellectual force. At the heart of Napoleon's efforts to achieve French hegemony was the need to know and thus control Egypt in every facet. This overall comprehensive understanding of Egyptian society and its history

Europe's main political threat. Regardless of imperial competition, Europeans fetishized Oriental goods and culture and were often seen dressed in Turkish dress in artwork. Turkish silk was viewed as both highly exotic and a sign of elevated social status. This artistic movement increased trade between Europe and the Ottoman Empire.. (Source: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, 1968)

⁵ Edward Said highly exploits Foucault's concept of knowledge and power in Orientalism.

would allow the West to ‘rewrite’ it in a narrative compatible with western hegemonic interests.

La Description de l’Égypte was first and foremost a geo-political tool for the campaign. It was essential for French troops to save Egypt from its ‘barbarism’ by introducing it to “French civilization, which accompanied language, legislation, art, technology, economy, and polity [that would] easily swallow whole the local and indigenous cultures which were understood only as occurrences of monuments, customs and religions”(Godlewska, 45). Thus, Egypt was considered to be a landscape reminiscent of the glory of its Greco-Roman (i.e. Western) past, which was in need of restoration. Due to its prime location on the Mediterranean as a bridge between Asia and Africa, Egypt was considered a geographical stronghold in the hands of the French, as well as a department of French scholarship. In 1799, Napoleon commanded the establishment of the *Institut d’Égypte*⁶, as an extension of the *Institut Français*. This new department of French scholarship served as the center for scientific and cultural research conducted during the campaign. The *Institut d’Égypte*’s categorization as a learned society validated all French literary and scientific knowledge that was produced during the French occupation of Egypt.

Although the *Institut d’Égypte* was composed of sub-departments in various disciplines, cartography was among the major tools for acquiring and producing knowledge. It allowed Napoleon’s inquisitive scholars to gather scientific information on the land they were occupying. More importantly, it allowed the French savants to

⁶ The Institut d’Égypte served as the main scientific institution responsible for all research conducted during the French occupation of Egypt from 1798 to 1801. Bonaparte served as one of its administrators and it was composed of five academies among them natural history, economy, and literature. It was modeled after the Institut Français; a French learned society that groups five academies of scholarship including the Académie Française.

contribute to the expansion of the French empire. Cartography proved to be a powerful military tactic that not only facilitated the French Army's mobility but also allowed Napoleon to maintain control over newly conquered territory.

After the occupation had been underway for more than a year, Napoleon appointed Pierre Jacotin to serve as chief topographical geographer in 1799. As a member of the *Institut d'Egypte*, Jacotin was responsible for overseeing the production of maps depicting the nature of Egyptian, Syrian, and Palestinian landscapes as accurately as possible (See images 2 and 3 in Appendix). These maps were intended for military use and their detailed depiction of land surfaces gave the French army an advantage over their British and Ottoman rivals. Under the direction of Jacotin, the geographers responsible for carrying out the cartographic project:

“[Not] only participated in the fact of imperialism but also in the elaboration and implementation of a nationalist imperialist ideology. The geographical engineers believed in their ability to measure the value of the peoples and the cultures they were invading. This was fundamentally related to a growing western sense that the essence of western superiority lay in the accuracy and measurement of which non-European cultures appeared incapable” (Smith, 40)

The process of creating maps was infused with an imperialist ideology leading Napoleon's geographers to believe in the potential of the knowledge they were producing. The *ingénieurs-géographes*' comprehension of cultural superiority was inextricably intertwined with the production of science. In the eyes of the French savants, Egypt was a country plagued by backwardness. They sought to introduce the 'Orient' to modernity and consequently to revive the glory of antiquity. As Edward Said writes in *Orientalism*, Napoleon sought to “restore a region from its present barbarism to its former classical greatness; to instruct (for its own benefit) the Orient by ways of the modern

West, to subordinate or underplay military power in order to aggrandize the project of glorious knowledge acquired in the process of political domination of the Orient.” (86).

Napoleon’s imperialist project spoke on behalf of the Orient by appropriating its history and culture. Thus, the campaign’s savants were often seen as an inseparable component of the *Grande Armée*. Their intent to introduce the Egyptians to the ways of French civilization exonerated them from any violence they partook in. Put simply, they believed that they were saving Egypt from its own inevitable demise.

Understanding the construction of this binary; a superior West and an inferior East, helps shed light on the contradictions of the campaign and its fact-finding mission. Wholly absent from the narrative of the Egyptian conquest (as it is seen from the Eurocentric orientalist lens) is the dependence of French geographers on the local Egyptian population. French intellectuals failed to give due credit to the Bedouins and fellahin⁷ whose expertise of Egyptian land and agricultural practices was essential to the creation of maps of Egypt. Instead, the French narrative of the invasion and subsequent occupation of Egypt fosters the image of a submissive Egypt grateful to the salvation brought about by Western knowledge and civilization:

Conventional histories of the nineteenth century Middle East present a straightforward tale. The Middle East of that time was stagnating (to various degrees) in every aspect of life. The Europeans arrive (Napoleon’s invasion of Egypt being the hallmark of arrival in many a narrative), and the shock of the discrepancy between their ‘modernity’ and the Middle Easterners’ ‘traditionalism’ spurs on an awakening. Generally speaking the awakening from centuries of slumber is presented as an economic, political, and cultural revival. (Khater, 227).

In reality, the geographers were challenged by their inability to navigate the Egyptian landscape without Egyptian guidance. Yet, to acknowledge Egyptian contributions to the

⁷ Fellah or Fellahin (plural) is the Arabic word for peasant, farmer or anyone who works in agriculture in the Middle East and North Africa. This term has different cultural meanings depending on the country’s context. A Fellah can work for a landowner. Some Fellahin also owned their own fields and orchards.

fact-finding mission required admitting that the imperial narrative of an incapable Egypt was falsely constructed.

The contributions of the Fellahin ranged from providing information on the etymological origins of town names and their histories to helping the French find the locations of ancient Greco-Roman ports among other locales of interest. For example, Jacotin relied on Egyptians (mainly Coptic intermediaries) to help him develop a system of transliteration for documenting the names of Egyptian towns and cities. It was important to transliterate from Arabic to French in a way that still held true to the Arabic pronunciation but also appealed to the French reader (Godlewska, 122, 123 and Al-Jabarti 66, 67). And yet, in her extensive research on the cartography carried out during the campaign, Anne Godlewska explains that while Jacotin could not forgo the crucial information provided by Egyptians, he still believed it to be inferior data to that which was acquired by his own surveyors. To further illustrate this point, she quotes French geographer Edme François Jomard declaring (in a letter to Jacotin): “it is more worthwhile to consult your horse than to ask information of a sheikh” (122).

Consequently, Jacotin consulted past European fieldwork in gathering information rather than fully trusting information coming from Arabs:

In his work on Egyptian maps, Jacotin sought the best European sources, used them critically, and sometimes creatively, and merged them so effectively into a map largely based on field research that he achieved a homogenous surface and impression of greatly increased knowledge in all areas by the map. At the same time, his production of a memoir describing his sources and explaining his decisions exonerates him of any possible charge of deception. In the final count, the aim of Jacotin’s efforts was a graphic synthesis of all that was known about a region of the world of crucial interest to the French government and French scholars (Godlewska, 121).

This excerpt demonstrates the Eurocentric nature of the mapping project and that orientalist prejudice had penetrated the core of scientific research. For Jacotin, past travel

accounts and European fieldwork (including that of Volney's) was considered more legitimate than the expertise of Egyptian peasants. Yet, "Egyptian peasants were historical actors that had as much to do with nineteenth century developments as any external factors" (Khater, 178). Erasing the Fellahin's contributions to the mapping project made it possible for French intellectuals to portray them as insignificant in the plates of the *Description* that were published ten years later.

This approach of compiling information, seeking the help of locals without proper acknowledgement, was continued in Napoleon's short-lived foray into the Levant.

Napoleon's excursions into Palestine and Syria, from February to May 1799, led soldiers and intellectuals northward along the coast of the Sinai Peninsula and towards Lake Tiberius. Once again, Jacotin was faced with the challenge of synthesizing scientific evidence with guesswork in order to form a homogenous map of Palestine (see image 4). Jacotin's research was limited to coastal cities because the army was in combat. Thus, a point of conflict for Jacotin was whether or not to include unsurveyed areas, such as Jerusalem whose depiction was important for French political purposes (Kamron, 248). These incomplete maps were included in the final versions of the *Description*; however, Jacotin justified his inaccuracies in his *Mémoire sur la construction de la carte de*

L'Égypte):

Mapping was done while the army was on the march, and it was therefore to some degree incorrect. The army had to fight enemies [the Ottomans] as well as starvation and plagues. Any deviation from the roads was dangerous owing to marauding Arabs... (88)

In his recollection of the hardships of battle, Jacotin remains faithful to the notion that his work is essential to Napoleon's campaign and that producing knowledge (e.g. maps) is as important as engaging in military combat. In the above quotation, he reaffirms that he

was working alongside French soldiers and his mention of ‘marauding Arabs’ demonstrates that both soldiers and intellectuals were engaged in a fight against the belligerent ‘other’, who could not possibly have helped him in the mapping project. His reasoning seems to suggest that he cannot be fully blamed for his own shortcomings but instead; his audience must take into consideration the grand scheme of the French struggle to conquer the East. After his defeat in Syria-Palestine, Napoleon failed to maintain his control over Egypt and eventually returned to France to pursue his political interests in 1801. The compilation of *La Description de l’Égypte* began shortly after. The representations of Egypt found within the pages of the *Description* remain faithful to Napoleon’s imperialist project despite the campaign’s inevitable military demise.

I will now analyze several images taken from Book I, Volume I of *La Description de l’Égypte*, which focuses on antiquities. Of the twenty-three books that compose the *Description*, the overwhelming majority focuses on *antiquités* and *histoire naturelle*. In the forthcoming pages, I argue that the Napoleonic campaign’s emphasis on science and knowledge production is conveyed in the images presented in the *Description*. These images can be considered visual interpretations of the scientific processes conducted in Egypt. These representations remain faithful to the rhetoric of the imperialist project because they depict Egypt as a series of monuments in an empty landscape reminiscent of the classical past. Moreover, the role of the French savant is central to these images.

Representations of Egypt in *La Description*

Napoleon’s imperialist rhetoric is evident within the very first pages of the *Description*. The title page boldly declares that the *Description* is a body of work

containing the research and observations carried out in Egypt by the *Grande Armée*. This research was published under the order and supervision of the Emperor himself.

Following the title pages of the work, the first image presented in the opening of *La Description* is a frontispiece depicting the glory of Egypt and its monumental landscape (see image 5). Egypt is represented as a geographical landscape with significant historical, scientific, and archaeological value that the French discovered and restored. The inhabitants of Egypt are absent from the image. The frontispiece depicts Egypt as a landscape reminiscent of the greatness of classical past; however, it has fallen victim to destitution.

Clearly illustrated in the frontispiece is the coming together of all of Egypt's monuments and history. They converge at an empty pathway as if to suggest that the mission set forth by Napoleon is unprecedented. The text that accompanies this frontispiece informs the reader of Napoleon's imperial ideology as it begins with a declaration stating that the frontispiece shows a view of Egypt characterized by the monuments that ornament its landscape. The frame surrounding the image is in the form of a doorway evocative of Pharaonic architecture (See Image 6). This image is a metaphorical gateway from which Egypt welcomes French conquest with open arms. Housed in the frame itself, is a 'Western hero' drawn in the likeness of a Greek or Roman emperor in his chariot. This image represents how the French conquered and 'saved' Egypt from Mameluke rule. The text accompanying the frontispiece:

Au milieu de la frise, l'Héros conquérant de l'Égypte est représenté sur son char, en avant l'aigle emblème de l'armée, foudroie les Mamlouks fuyant vers les pyramides. Le Nil personnifié contemple ces exploits (Préface, *La Description de l'Égypte*).

The above quotation foregrounds Napoleon's imperial goals before the volume has even begun. Although the Western hero is unnamed, it is clear that this statement references Napoleon himself. The Mameluks are in turn represented as cowards fleeing for refuge in the heart of the Pyramids. All the while, a personified Nile River acts as an observer to the events taking place. Depicting the Nile as an observer suggests that she is in favor of the French invasion. She is submissive in her lack of response to the Western warrior's actions. Furthermore, she does nothing to protect the Mameluke from his untimely fate.

The text accompanying the frontispiece reinforces the binary of a superior and engaged France and an inferior other (whether Mameluke or Egyptian). In the images in the frame, personifications of science and the arts follow in the footsteps of the Hero who 'saves' them from this land where they have long been exiled (loosely translated from the French text). This image indicates that artistic and scientific creations have been dormant in Egypt since late Antiquity. It is therefore the responsibility of the French savant to follow in the tradition of great classical thinkers and reintroduce them to Egypt.

While the majority of the plates in the *Description* are scientific images of Egypt's natural landscapes and historic architecture, the narrative of conquest is still a major characteristic of this work. Aside from the *Mémoires*⁸ accompanying the *Description*, there are images of French savants conducting their research.

The erasure of Arab scientific contributions to the campaign can be seen in image seven. In this plate, a French intellectual is drawing a Pharaonic statue. He is in a cave where the only barrier between the French savant and his desire to revive the classical past is the act of drawing or mapping out history as he conceives it. It is clear that the

⁸ The *Mémoires* are Book III, Volume I (1809) and Book IV, Volume II (1818) of *La Description de l'Égypte*. They are the only books in *La Description de l'Égypte* that are primarily written text.

Egyptian man is altogether unimportant in the larger scene. He is smoking and remains idle at this monumental and historical moment, whose value only the Frenchman seems to comprehend. Furthermore, the French character is significantly larger than the Arab. The Frenchman is sitting upright while the Arab is not concerned with his posture or demeanor. This juxtaposition of a larger European savant and smaller idle Arab serve as personifications of a superior West and inferior East. Moreover, the two characters do not engage with one another. This further places them in restrictive categories.

The *Mémoires* accompanying this image are narrated by M. Saint Genis⁹. He describes his discovery of the cave and states that he examined all the objects that intrigued him. Furthermore, he does not acknowledge a contemporary Egyptian actuality and he insists that the only decent architecture he discovered was ancient: “De tableaux de la vie civile de l'Égypte nous n'avions trouvé que des temples couverts de représentations religieuses, ou des palais décorés de scènes militaires” (39). Thus, by focusing on ancient Egyptian ruins, Genis does not have to acknowledge the presence of the Arab man depicted with him in the plate. Genis erases the Egyptian man's contribution to the narrative and chooses instead to focus on his encounter with ancient civilization and its architecture.

La Description de L'Égypte remarkably blends the scientific projects of Napoleon's campaign with an imperialist narrative through the images that it presents. The three-year occupation “gave birth to the entire modern experience of the Orient as interpreted from within the universe of discourse founded by Napoleon” (Said, 87). The intention for creating this work was to recount a tale of Western domination and reduce Egypt to a series of representations, monuments, and experiences, in which the Egyptian

⁹ Saint Genis title during the expedition was “Ingénieur en chef des ponts et chaussées.

is neither heard nor seen. For Western travelers, artists, and intellectuals, experiencing the Orient meant shielding oneself from experiencing a contemporary reality and a modern Egyptian lived experience.

In the next chapter, I demonstrate Chateaubriand's reiteration of Napoleon's imperial project in Egypt through his narration of Palestine and the revival of its biblical past, his focus on monuments and ruins, and finally through his appropriation of the role of the 'savant' in his egocentric rendition of the Palestinian experience.

Chapter II

Chateaubriand's Literary Mapping of Palestine

Born in Saint-Malo in 1768 to an aristocratic family, François-René de Chateaubriand was a French historian, diplomat, politician and writer. He is best known as the father of the French Romantic literary movement. Chateaubriand spent the earlier part of his career caught in the struggles and societal factions brought about by the French revolution. Initially, he was in favor of the Revolution; however, after violence escalated to an unprecedented high during the Reign of Terror¹⁰, he changed his affiliations and became a Royalist¹¹. Chateaubriand was injured in a battle between the Royalists and the Jacobins¹² and he was subsequently exiled to England. As a royalist émigré, he spent his time in exile living in poverty and was largely unknown on the literary scene. He was able to return to France when Napoleon granted amnesty to all émigrés who fled during the Revolution. Upon his return, he pursued a semi-political career through his writing.

¹⁰ The Reign of Terror was the most violent period of the French Revolution. Over 16,000 individuals were executed by guillotine.

¹¹ The Royalists of the French Revolution were in favor of restoring Louis XVI to the throne.

¹² Jacobin is a political affiliation used to apply to all people who were in favor of the French Revolution. Their political ideology advocates for a centralized Republic in which power is held at the federal level.

Chateaubriand achieved his fame through the publication of his widely celebrated book *La génie du christianisme* (*The Genius of Christianity*) in 1802. Chateaubriand sought to defend his faith, which had been the cause of societal tensions in post-revolutionary France. It was through this work that he received a congratulatory nod of approval from Napoleon Bonaparte. From that point onward, “Chateaubriand was consciously and continuously affected by the presence of the Emperor” (Boorsch, 55). Because Chateaubriand’s writings appealed greatly to Napoleon’s personal and political interests with the Catholic Church, he was appointed to serve as an intermediary between the two parties. However, the regime’s political decision to execute relatives of the former monarchy led to a disagreement between the two men.

Because of his reputation as an advocate for Christianity, Chateaubriand received a monetary sum as a gift from the Russian Emperor Alexander I and his wife the Grand Duchess Maria Alexandrovna. The Russian Emperor and his wife were largely opposed to Napoleon’s military and political agenda. They viewed his aggression and his quest to dominate his European compatriots as detrimental to the political prosperity of Europe at large. The Grand Duchess was a highly devout Christian and as such, Chateaubriand’s writings on religion greatly appealed to her. These are believed to be the two main reasons why the Russian monarchs sponsored Chateaubriand. Due to his newly acquired wealth, Chateaubriand was able to break his ties with Napoleon and focus solely on his literary career. He returned to politics after Napoleon had been removed from power in 1815.

To say that Chateaubriand had a complicated ‘love-hate’ relationship with Napoleon is an understatement. In fact, the young writer often referred to Napoleon in his

own writings and consciously compared himself to the emperor: “When Napoleon was my age; he had won a hundred battles when I was still languishing from these emigrations [a reference to his numerous exiles] which were the pedestal of his fortune” (qtd. in Boorsch, 55). Thus, Chateaubriand’s overly acute awareness of Napoleon’s noteworthy military and political accomplishments¹³ informs the nature of his work a great deal. It is perhaps through this awareness, that one can begin to comprehend Chateaubriand’s imitation of the Napoleonic campaign in his own *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* published in 1811.

From the summer of 1806 to the following summer of 1807, just five years after the end of the French occupation of Egypt, Chateaubriand embarked on his Grand Tour¹⁴ of the Mediterranean where he wrote the two-volume *récit de voyage* known as *L’Itinéraire*. He began his journey in Greece, followed by a visit to Constantinople and Anatolia. He then spent time in Palestine by visiting Jaffa, Bethlehem, the Dead Sea and Jerusalem before he went to Egypt, Carthage in Tunisia, and then finally returned to France.

In this chapter, I will focus my analysis of Chateaubriand on his time in Palestine in an effort to examine his reinforcement of Napoleon’s imperial narrative as it is depicted in the *Description*. Not unlike the representations found in the *Description*, Chateaubriand attempts to revive the Greco-Roman past in his narrative of Palestine. In

¹³ Although Chateaubriand disagreed with Napoleon’s political antics as an Emperor, the writer was very much infatuated with the image of a young Bonaparte. He viewed Napoleon in Egypt as the defender of Greco-Roman heritage.

¹⁴ The Grand Tour was considered to be a right of passage for young European (namely British and French) aristocrats. Young aristocratic men embarked on voyages often lasting two to three years in length in an effort to gain more knowledge in various disciplines including; geography, language and architecture. The goal for this right of passage was to acquaint the aristocrat with his ancient heritage and qualify him as a Renaissance man.

this regard, his depictions of the Palestinian landscape eerily echoes the ideologies and perceptions of the French geographers, among other intellectuals, in Egypt. Thus, the *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* is an ekphrastic¹⁵ imitation of *La Description de l'Égypte*. While Chateaubriand does not produce physical maps, his descriptions of the Palestinian landscape are a guide for his reader to navigate the Holy Land.

At the heart of Chateaubriand's Palestine and Napoleon's Egypt lay the rejection of the lived actuality of a modern and autonomous Middle East. Both Napoleon and Chateaubriand aim to restore the region to a time that no longer exists in their attempts to delegitimize the Ottoman Empire. As Edward Said declares in *Orientalism*, "all pilgrimages to the Orient passed through, or had to pass through, the Biblical lands; most of them in fact were attempts to either relive or to liberate from the large, incredibly fecund Orient some portion of Judeo-Christian/Greco-Roman actuality. For these pilgrims the Orientalized Orient, the Orient of Orientalist scholars was a gauntlet to be run, just as the Bible, the Crusades, Islam, Napoleon, and Alexander were redoubtable predecessors to be reckoned with" (168). In this regard, Chateaubriand's voyage to the Levant required him to construct two realities. The first of these realities is a 'live'¹⁶ reality of Palestine under the rule of the Ottomans, which he did not consider legitimate. The second and more important reality was a reflection of his nostalgia and his need to retrace the steps of his Christian and French predecessors, including Napoleon. The *Itinéraire* is the vehicle through which he navigates the two.

¹⁵ Ekphrasis is a literary description of or commentary on a visual work of art. (Source: Merriam Webster Online Dictionary)

¹⁶ The term 'live reality' refers to reality of Palestinian life at the time of Chateaubriand's visit. He does not provide his reader with real descriptions of Palestine at the time, instead he chooses to experience Palestine through his understanding its history.

Furthermore, in an effort to adopt the role of the French savant, Chateaubriand incessantly emphasizes the depths of his own knowledge throughout the duration of his journey. In doing so, he attempts to promote his own image as a pioneer, who like Napoleon, strives to portray an unprecedented image of the Orient, though it is fueled by the desire to revive the classical past. Thus, he arrives in Palestine with his own set of preconceptions that instruct his understanding of what he witnesses and experiences. He (like Napoleon's savants) allows his nostalgia for the classical past to dictate his experience of the 'present'.

In the preface of the *Itinéraire*, Chateaubriand introduces his project with the following statement:

Je fis le tour de la Méditerranée sans accidents graves, retrouvant Sparte, passant à Athènes, saluant Jérusalem, admirant Alexandrie, signalant Carthage, et me reposant du spectacle de tant de ruines dans les ruines de l'Alhambra. J'ai donc eu le très-petit mérite d'ouvrir la carrière et le très-grand plaisir de voir qu'elle a été suivie après moi. En effet mon Itinéraire fut à peine publié, qu'il servit de guide à une foule de voyageurs. Rien ne le recommande au public que son exactitude ; c'est le livre de postes des ruines ; j'y marque scrupuleusement les chemins, les habitacles et les stations de la gloire. (2)

In a manner that greatly resembles the work of Jacotin and his team of geographers, Chateaubriand adopts the role of a literary cartographer. He marked pathways, locations of ruins, and areas where 'Western glory' had been achieved. Though he claims to possess humility, he finds himself a hero in his own right due to his scientific precision and unforeseen ability to influence writers and travelers who follow his example. Furthermore, every city that is referenced above had once been among the great cities of antiquity. He offers his audience a project marked with precision, a knowledgeable guide influenced by the desire to experience "the presence of the past in the present" (Porter, 162). Much like the French savants in Egypt, he prefers to recall a past in tune with the

‘Orient’ he constructs in his imagination, one that is inherently and subconsciously an extension of the West.

To further highlight the goals of his journey and the *Itinéraire*, he writes:

“L’Itinéraire a pris par les évènements du jour un intérêt d’une espèce nouvelle : il est devenu, pour ainsi dire un ouvrage de circonstance, *une carte topographique* du théâtre de cette guerre sacrée, sur laquelle tous les peuples ont aujourd’hui les yeux attachés.” (3)

In the above quotation, Chateaubriand claims that due to the political realities of the era, the *Itinéraire* took on a new and unprecedented form. He describes the *Itinéraire* as a work of circumstance, a topographic map of the spectacle put on by the ‘holy war’ that concerns many. He appropriates the imperial project in his attempt to place his narrative at the center of the era’s political interests. In his statements, he enhances the legitimacy of his own observations by rendering them more applicable to France’s more current geopolitical concerns. It is as if Chateaubriand seeks to emulate the importance of *La Description* in the *Itinéraire* without bearing the brunt of political backlash. Instead he chooses to cunningly sway his reader into believing that his work is innovative in its own right.

Yet, one of the ways in which Chateaubriand’s work imitates *La Description* is through its focus on the past and its use of monuments. French theoretician Roland Le Huenen argues in *L’Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem de Chateaubriand: L’invention du voyage romantique*, that Chateaubriand employs the theme of *l’héritage ruiniste*¹⁷ as a means through which to frame the narrative of his travels. According to Le Huenen, *l’héritage ruiniste* emphasizes the poetic aesthetic of the ruin and its ability to conjure an emotional reaction from a viewer or traveler. In this way, ruins also act as a physical

¹⁷ L’héritage ruiniste is an idea coined by French writer and art critic Denis Diderot in 1767. It asserts that ruins are poetic in nature because of their ability to allude to a time that has already passed.

reminder symbolizing the ephemeral nature of time and empires. In his use of the ruin, Chateaubriand weaves together the romantic value of the aesthetic and Napoleon's employment of the plight of civilizations to place his own bias on the East. For instance, throughout his stay in Palestine, Chateaubriand actively searches for remnants of Greco-Roman architecture. These Grecian monuments serve as memory triggers that allow him to experience Palestine as it once was.

From the moment he sets foot on Jaffa's soil, Chateaubriand turns his attention to monuments in an effort to construct a historic temporality characterized by moments that better explain "la dévastation qui a renversé les empires" (Guyot, 267). This devastation was the result of Muslim victory and the end of the Crusader era of Jerusalem.

Furthermore, Chateaubriand uses his admiration for the Greco-Roman era to portray himself as a learned individual and an expert on the intricacies of architecture:

"Je remarquai parmi des ruines plus modernes, les débris d'une fabrique antique. L'Abbé Mariti attribut ce monument à je ne sais quels moines. Pour un voyageur italien l'erreur est grossière. Si l'architecture de ce monument n'est pas hébraïque, elle est certainement romaine: l'aplomb, la taille et le volume des pierres ne laissent aucun doute à ce sujet" (40).

In the above passage, Chateaubriand asserts his knowledge despite the interjection of his tour guide. He dates the monument back to the Roman era. More importantly, he comments on the perpendicularity and size of the monument's rocks in a meager attempt at constructing a visual image for his reader. Furthermore, he dismisses the possibility that it could belong to another time or accredited to another culture.

In *Littérature Et Voyage: Un Essai De Typologie Narrative Des Récits De Voyage Français Au XIXe Siècle*, Valéry Berty explains that for nineteenth century travelers to the Middle East, it was fundamentally important to believe that the metonymic value of these monuments could not be determined by what they signify in the context of their

native cultures. It was more important to observe them with a subjective awareness of what they could potentially signify for occidental cultures and westerners (154). Thus, Chateaubriand borrows his understanding of Palestine's antique monuments from the images of the *Description*. Similar to the manner in which Egypt's monuments depict the essence of Western identity in the frontispiece of the *Description*, Chateaubriand insists that the monument mentioned above is an artifact from none other than a Western civilization. In fact, his compulsion to revive the Greco-Roman past motivates him to research the ancient history and etymology of the names of the towns he visits. With each new discovery and each introduction to a foreign landscape, he declares "Rama est l'ancienne Arimathie" and that Bethlehem means 'house of bread'¹⁸ in Arabic. These declarations deconstruct the foreign enigma attached to the contemporary Palestinian city in order for it to appeal to western sentiments and affiliations.

Chateaubriand's employment of the French reader's personal affiliations with Jerusalem qualifies *L'Itinéraire* as a literary tableau of the city's monuments and customs. He emulates the work of the campaign's geographers by presenting his reader with a precise guide for navigating the Holy City. Before he begins to mark the location of various holy sites, he declares that the only true way to travel in Palestine is with "la bible à la main" (102). However, the subsequent descriptions he provides ensure that his work will be considered an important supplement to the Bible because of his emphasis on the need to map pathways and monuments in Palestine.

¹⁸ Bethlehem has different translations in Arabic and Hebrew. In Arabic the etymological meaning comes from 'beit' meaning 'house' and 'lehem' meaning 'meat'. Thus, Bethlehem means 'house of meat'. In Hebrew, the meaning changes to 'house of bread'. 'Beit' also means house in Hebrew; whereas, 'lehem' means 'bread'. Chateaubriand chooses to present his reader with the Hebrew translation of Bethlehem. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said fervently argues that Chateaubriand "got the etymological meaning completely wrong". (172).

Although he is neither a geographer nor an architect and though he does not possess the capacity to conduct scientific research because he is restricted to the medium of words, Chateaubriand uses his writing to mimic the mapping process in his illustration of the Church of the Holy Sepulcher¹⁹. He begins with a historical summary of the Church's origins followed by a description of the dimensions of the building's interior:

L'Église du Saint-Sépulcre est fort irrégulière...Elle est à peu près faite en croix, ayant six vingt pas de long, sans compter la descente de l'invention de la Sainte Croix, et soixante et dix de large. Il y a trois dômes, dont celui qui couvre le Saint-Sépulcre sert de nef à l'Église. Il a trente pas de diamètre, et est ouvert part haute comme la rotonde de Rome." (102)

The above quotation serves as a prime example of the *L'Itinéraire's* portrayal of monuments. Dimensions of buildings are presented through a number of steps that a traveler takes to navigate from one point to another as opposed to mathematical calculations and scales found in the legend of a map. In this way he is able to mimic the plates in *La Description* in a literary manner. Chateaubriand provides his reader with a precise image of the domes inside the church allowing them to conceptualize their size and architectural style.

Furthermore, in order to render his depictions more intricate, Chateaubriand not only chooses to describe the building's architectural and stylistic qualities, but he also discusses his surroundings. For example, he tells his reader what he finds to the right and left of each important monument: "A cent vingt pas de l'arc de l'Ecce Homo, on me montra, à gauche, les ruines d'une église consacrée à Notre-Dame-des-Douleurs" (105). In this way, Chateaubriand controls every aspect of his experience. He places himself at the center of the event that is taking place. By describing what surrounds him in great

¹⁹ The Church of the Holy Sepulcher is a church located in the Christian quarter of Jerusalem. It is believed to be the site where Jesus Christ was crucified and entombed.

detail, the *Itinéraire* becomes a highly personal account of his vision of Palestine. Any traveler who attempts to use this narrative as a guide would be forced to orient himself or herself to the Church of the Holy Sepulcher in the same way as Chateaubriand. Thus, the text functions first and foremost as a map intended to guide the reader and compel him or her to see Jerusalem through his eyes.

Moreover, Chateaubriand infuses a biblical story with every new site he maps in the *Itinéraire*. At one point in the text, he informs his reader that he discovered the place where Lazarus²⁰ stood in front of the Rich Man's house: "Je vis à main droite le lieu où se tenait Lazare le Pauvre et en face, de l'autre côté de la rue, la maison du Mauvais Riche" (106). After Chateaubriand informs the reader of the exact location of the Rich Man's house and where he stood in relation to it, he proceeds to quote a parable from the Bible before continuing on to the next monument he encounters.

Perhaps what makes Chateaubriand's acknowledgement of monuments significant is not necessarily his attempt at mapping out and marking "les stations de la gloire", but the manner in which it allows him to construct a Western experience in the heart of the Orient. For example, visiting the Church of the Holy Sepulcher allows the traveler to seek refuge from the influences brought about by the Orient's crudeness. Indeed, in the majority of Chateaubriand's descriptions of Palestine's monuments, he reiterates the binary between East and West. He describes one of Bethlehem's churches with the utmost admiration because its interior and its murals manifest a Christian identity. It is not until he leaves the church that he is reminded of the harsh reality that Palestine is under the jurisdiction of the Ottoman Empire:

²⁰ 'Lazarus and the Rich Man' is one of the most popular parables in the Bible. It was often depicted in European art and referenced in literature due to its vivid image of the after life.

Ajoutons qu'un contraste rend encore ces choses plus frappantes car en sortant de l'église où vous avez retrouvé la richesse, les arts, la religion des peuples civilisés, vous êtes transportés dans une solitude profonde, au milieu des masures arabes, parmi des sauvages demi-nus et des musulmans sans foi. (53)

The interior of the church is described as housing the richness of Western art and the traditions of civilized people. By contrast, outside of the church, one is transported to a place marked by primitiveness amidst Arab shantytowns, infidels, and half-naked savages. Thus, the culture of the East and the culture of the West are placed in two fundamentally opposing categories. These hyperbolic images of Arabs reiterate the sense of urgency exhibited by Napoleon's imperialist project in Egypt. They advocate for the need to restore Palestine's Western identity and bring forth the superior culture that already exists in the remnants of Greco-Roman and Christian architecture.

To further emphasize the difference between the glory of Palestine's past and its barren present, Chateaubriand's charged political beliefs manifest themselves in his description of the Palestinian landscape: "Il est vrai que sous le gouvernement turc, le terrain le plus fertile devient désert en peu d'années" (45). Thus, he utilizes the same sentiments that had germinated in the minds of Napoleon and Volney before him, sentiments advocating for the establishment of French hegemony in order to save the Orient from Ottoman rule. In *À la découverte de la Palestine*, Guy Galazka sheds light on this idea when he states: "Si l'aridité de la nature du long de la route de Jérusalem ne saurait être contestée, il est certain que les voyageurs choisissent délibérément de la mettre en évidence, car ils la considèrent comme une preuve vivante du châtement divin qui pèserait sur la Palestine" (271). French travelers to the Middle East participated in the construction of the pro-imperialist myth, which stated that the Ottoman control and the Arabization of the Holy Land posed detrimental consequences to the well being of the

birthplace of Christianity. Thus, the aridity of Palestine's landscapes was attributed to divine punishment ordained by God on the Ottomans and the Arabs. For Chateaubriand, the clever employment of this myth within his own narrative allowed him to insert his own perceptions of the Orient in Napoleon's imperial narrative and consequently, present himself as a savant who understands the plight of Palestine.

Because the *Itinéraire* is a literary text that is highly informed by the work of Chateaubriand's predecessors, it functions mostly as an imitation of previous texts. Thus, the actual land, the lived actuality of Palestine, is not important in his overall depiction of the Orient's lived experience. Chateaubriand chooses instead to demonstrate his knowledge of classical texts and his awareness of Greco-Roman architecture.

Chateaubriand chooses to replicate the images that made the *Description* a distinguished work and reiterate the imperialist narrative set forth by Napoleon's conquest of Egypt and the Levant.

No imperialist narrative of the Orient would be complete without a portrait of the 'Other'. The imperial rhetoric employed by Napoleon and his savants in Egypt called for a civilizing mission. The essence of Western superiority lay in the belief that the French savants were able to introduce modernity to the Egyptian people. By contrast, although Chateaubriand finds the customs and traditions of the Arabs incredibly strange, he asserts that one can sense that they were born in the land where art, science, and all religions were born (84). He compares the Arab 'savage' to the American 'savage' (Native American): "Chez l'Américain le sauvage qui n'est point encore parvenu à l'état de civilisation, tout indique chez l'Arabe l'homme civilisé retombé dans l'état sauvage" (85). By stating that the Arab has reverted back to an uncivilized state, he suggests that

perhaps with the right guidance, both the Oriental and the Orient can be westernized should they be introduced to French civilization.

Chateaubriand's depiction of Arab men differs greatly from his depiction of Arab women. In his opinion, all Arabs in the East possess the same qualities. He finds them rather large in size with a confident stride. Arab men are described as having round faces and beaklike noses. Upon first glance they do not seem to possess savage-like qualities. It is not until they open their mouths and begin to converse in a harsh aspirated language that he sees their pointy teeth and he is reminded that they are not civilized people (81).

By contrast, Arab women are taller than Arab men. He describes their stride as noble and graceful. Upon looking at them, their soft traits and the long veils they wear remind him of Roman priestesses and muses (81). Despite their beauty, he warns his reader that they seem miserable; however, they are unable to express or address their misery. Consequently, one must admire their beauty from afar because although it is pure, it is tainted by the dirt that covers their faces and the rags that they wear.

Chateaubriand's depiction of the Palestinians is a series of contradictions that is similar to the manner in which he depicts the landscape and the monuments. Like the land they live on, Palestinians seem to exhibit certain qualities of civilized ancestry but it has long since been converted to savagery.

Chateaubriand's ekphrastic use of the *Description* results in the erasure of the Middle East's lived actuality because he does not pay attention to the actual land and the people he encounters. His main focus throughout the length of the *Itinéraire* is to categorize his experiences into moments that confirm his affiliation with Palestine as the birthplace of Christianity and Western Civilization. Thus the people and places signifying

Eastern autonomy virtually 'drop out' of the text. In this regard, Palestine is depicted as a landscape destroyed by Ottoman rule and the Palestinians are depicted as a people plagued by this backwardness. In Egypt, Napoleon placed his adversaries into three main groups: British, Ottoman, and Arab. Napoleon collapsed the Ottoman and the Arab together into one category rendering them 'conquerable'. Chateaubriand reiterates this ideology when he describes Palestine as a wasteland in need of resuscitation. In both texts, though the Arabs are native to the land and need to be conquered, the main enemy is really the Ottoman.

Conclusion:

Napoleon's invasion of Egypt is "essential to understanding the Eastern question in the 19th Century" (Cole, 245). Napoleon's imperial project not only attempted to achieve French hegemony in the greater Mediterranean but it also dictated the manner in which the French reinvented their self-perceived notions of cultural superiority. By invading Egypt with both military and intellectual force, French intellectuals and soldiers were able to participate in the expansion of the French empire. *La Description de l'Égypte*, born as a result of the Napoleonic Campaign, consolidated French control through the erasure of the other while placing the intellectual at the forefront of knowledge production.

Similarly, Chateaubriand's *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem* emulates the representations present in the *Description*. This is done through Chateaubriand's insistence on reviving the Greco-Roman past in the Oriental 'present'. Chateaubriand presents his reader with a literary tableau of Palestine's monuments and churches. In doing this he creates a literary map that functions as a guide for navigating Palestine's landscape. Both the *Description* and the *Itinéraire* center around descriptions of land and monuments to assert a political ideology that promoted French intervention.

The French conquest of Egypt functions as a prelude to colonialism. Napoleon's goal of rendering Egypt a department of French scholarship and an extension of France was achieved in French Algeria in 1830 and continued until Algerian independence in

1962. The infiltration of Egyptian society by the *Grande Armée* helps shed light on France's policy of direct rule in its Middle Eastern and African colonies during the colonial period. French colonies were governed completely by French colonial forces and French was implemented as the second official language of many Middle Eastern countries including Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, and Lebanon. In order to fully comprehend the power dynamics of the colonial period, one must first look at Napoleon's invasion of Egypt as a precursor.

The cultural legacies of Napoleon and Chateaubriand's work greatly inform the nature of the East and West dynamic present in today's world. The widespread diffusion of the myth of a primitive Middle East in need of revival, like the 'savagery' that plagued the hills of the Holy Land, justified a plethora of injustices carried out by European imperial forces. Zionists later adopted the pro-imperialist myth of a dry and arid Middle Eastern landscape in order to advocate for the establishment of Israel in the Middle East. As a type of European, the Jew was represented as capable of resuscitating the desert, which had been driven to barrenness by Ottoman rule and the practices of its Arab inhabitants. Zionist intellectuals produced images and posters placing Jews at the center of Palestine's burgeoning Jaffa orange industry. In the same manner that Napoleon's geographers did not acknowledge the contributions of Egyptian farmers and Bedouins to the campaign, Zionists forces did not acknowledge that Jewish immigrants to Palestine learned many agricultural practices from Palestinian farmers. In this regard, European representations of the Middle East in literature and art solidified the binary of an inferior East and a superior West. This binary placed the European and the Arab or Ottoman into restrictive categories that facilitated European control of the Middle East.

Appendix of Images:

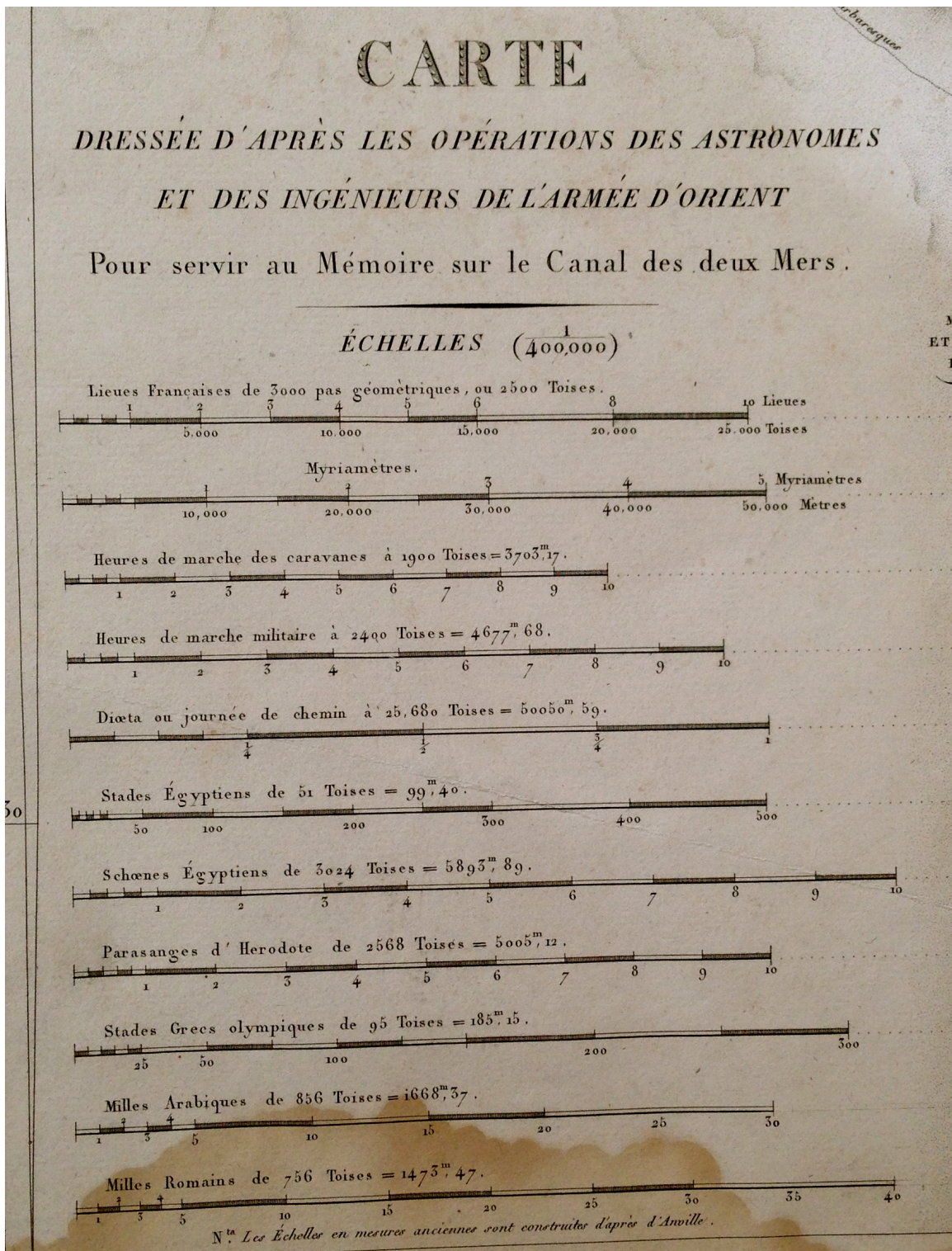


Image 1: Legend of *Carte Hydrographique, État Moderne*, Vol I, Plate 10, *La Description de L'Égypte*



Image 2: Carte Hydrographique, État Moderne, Vol I, Plate 10, La Description de L'Égypte



Image 3: Vue et plans de la cataracte de Syène et des environs, Antiquités, Vol I, Book I, Plate 30

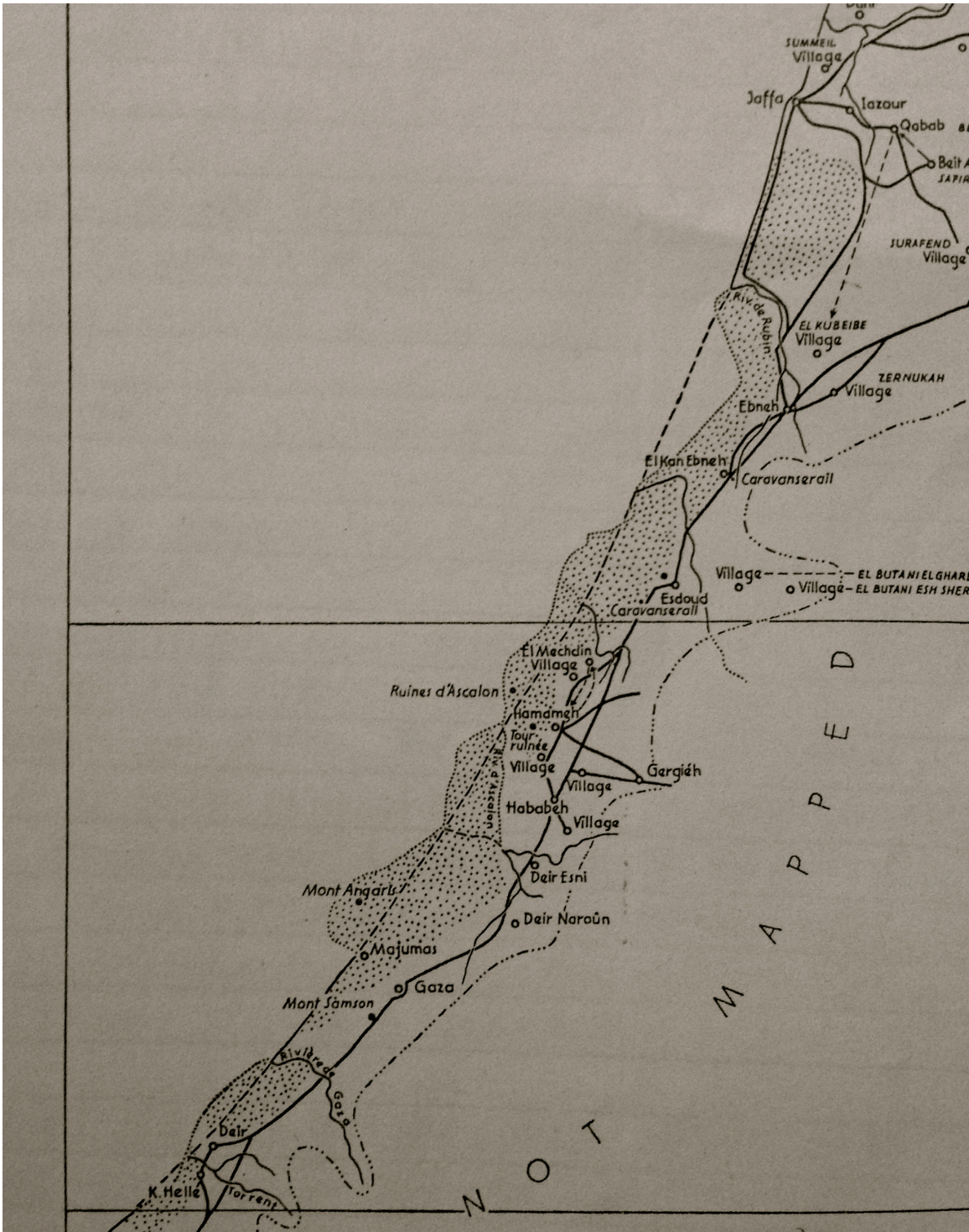


Image 4: Transcript of Jacotin's map. Southern coastal plain of Palestine. Parts of sheets no 32, 43, 44. Source: Kamron, Yehuda. "An Analysis of Jacotin's Map of Palestine." *Israel Exploration Journal* 10.4 (1960): 244-53.



Image 5: Frontispiece, *La Description de l'Égypte*



Image 6: Section of the Frame Surrounding the Frontispiece. It depicts Napoleon as the Western Hero.



Image 7: *Vue d'une ancienne carriere, Antiquités, Volume I, Book I, Plate 64.*

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