

"WESTERN INFLUENCES IN THE ARABIC

LITERATURE OF EGYPT AND SYRIA

BETWEEN 1820 AND 1879."

ProQuest Number: 11010397

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 11010397

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

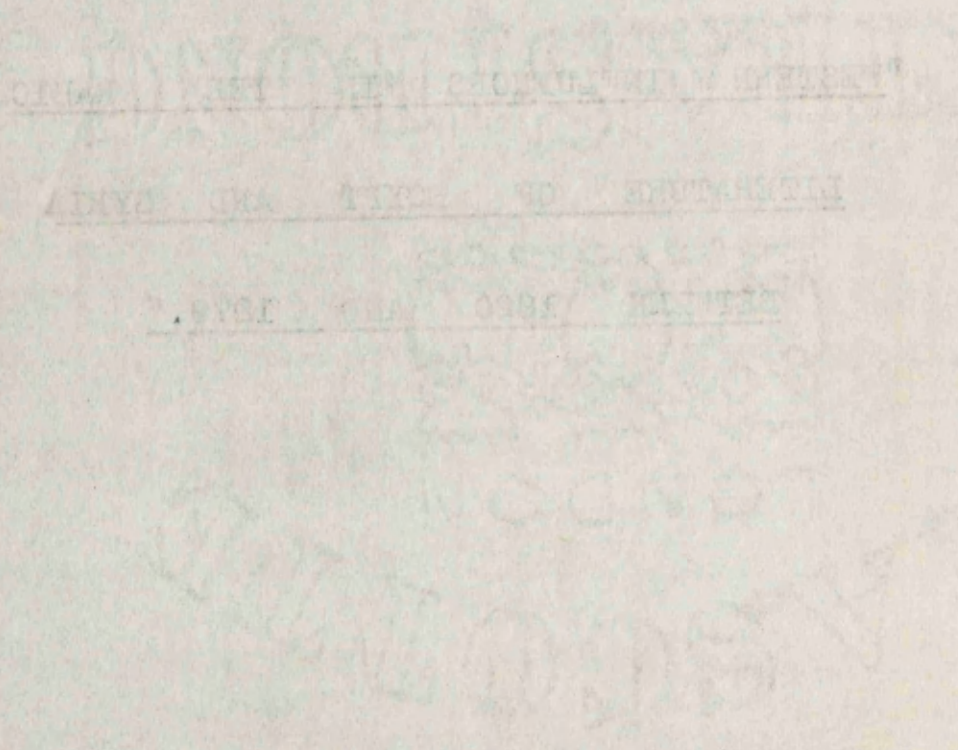
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

a.n.m.a. Hasan

Ph. D

Arabic 1931



(1)
Hasan

"WESTERN INFLUENCES IN THE ARABIC LITERATURE
OF EGYPT AND SYRIA BETWEEN 1820 AND 1879"

S H O R T A B S T R A C T

The French invasion of Egypt and Syria in 1798 marks the dawn of the Renaissance of Arabic literature and the infiltration into it of western influences. Of the three obvious sources of these influences, French, Italian and English, the first predominates.

French influence in Egypt was disseminated by numerous agencies. The first virile agency was the French invasion. The enthusiasm of the Viceroy Muhammad Ali for French culture created new agencies, such as the educational missions, the technical schools, the School of Languages and the translation bureau. These agencies produced their full effect in the reign of Ismā'īl Pāshā and out of them grew indigenous agencies, viz., journalism, the Jamīat al-Ma'ārīf, the Dār al-Ulūm and the embryonic nationalist party, which combined to speed up westernization. The most prominent exponents of the renaissance in Egypt were Rifā'ah Bey, Abu Sūd, Ṣāleḥ Majdī Bey, 'Alī Mubārak Pāshā, 'Abdallāh Pāshā Fikrī and 'Othmān Jalāl.

In Syria other agencies operated. French political propaganda, the activities of French and American missionaries and the ecclesiastical connection of native Christians with Rome

combined to create a new atmosphere. The writings of Roshaid ad-Dahdāh, Rizqallah Hassūn and others introduced new element and the learned coterie which Cornelius Van Dyck formed with Shaikj Yusuf al-Asir, Butrus al-Bustāni and Nāsif al-Yāziji gave a vigorous impulse to the new literary movements. But even more substantial and effective was the contribution of the Syrian Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq whose conversion to Islam was followed by an active literary and journalistic career at Constantinople. His journal, Al Jawāib with its press focussed the best productions of the Arab mind, past and present.

In the final chapter the effect of these influences on Arabic literary style is discussed.



C O N T E N T S .

	Page.
CONTENTS.	i
TRANSLITERATION.	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES.	v
INTRODUCTION.	ix
CHAPTER I: General Historical Survey.	1.
CHAPTER II: Characteristics of Literature Before the Western Impact.	9.
(a) Introduction - The Dawn of Renaissance.	9.
(b) Political, Social and moral conditions that shaped Arabic literature before the western impact.	10.
(c) The effect of environment reflected in the resultant literature of the period of decadence.	12.
CHAPTER III: Sources of Western Influences in Egypt.	19.
(a) Introduction.	19.
(b) The Agencies of French influence in Egypt until the Accession of Ismā'īl Pasha.	20.
(i) The French Invasion.	22.
(ii) The Educational Missions.	26.
(iii) Technical Schools.	44.
(iv) The School of Languages.	49.
(v) The Bureau of Translation.	52.

- (c) The rise of indigenous movements under Ismā'īl Pāshā cooperating with foreign influences to strengthen westernization. 53.
- (i) Journalism and the Circle of Rifā'ah. History of the Study of Arabic Journalism. 60.
- The Beginnings of Arabic Journalism. 63.
- Al-Waqā'e al-Misriyah. 64.
- Raudat al-Madāris al-Misriyah. 68.
- (ii) Jam'iyat al-Ma'ārif. 88.
- (iii) Dār al-'Ulūm. 92.
- (iv) The Embryonic Nationalist Party. 98.
- (d) Al-Azhar and the Reform Movements. 102.

CHAPTER IV. Sources of Western Influences in Syria. 122.

- (a) Introduction.
- (b) The Agencies of Western Influences in Syria. 123.
- (i) The French Invasion. 125.
- (ii) The Foreign Diplomatic and Trade Circles at Aleppo, Beirut and Tripoli. 130.
- (iii) The Movements of Syrians abroad. 134.
- (iv) The short rule of Muhammad 'Ali Pāshā in Syria and its reaction on Syrian life and thought. 160
- (v) The Activities of the American Mission at Beirut. 163
- (vi) The Revival of the Maronites. 175^a

(c) The Rise of Indigenous Movements.	176
(i) Scientific Societies.	176
(ii) Journalism.	177
(d) The Muslims of Syria and the Educative Movements.	181
(e) Miscellaneous.	185
CONCLUSION.	186
<i>Bibliography.</i>	190

TRANSLITERATION.

The system adopted in the work varies very slightly from that adopted in the British Museum and the School of Oriental Studies. The equation of the following letters and vowel-sounds deserves special notice:

ث =	th	ف =	f
ح =	h.	ق =	q
خ =	kh	ك =	k
ذ =	dh	ل =	l
ز =	z	م =	m
س =	s	ن =	n
ش =	sh	ه =	h
ص =	ṣ	همزة =	'
		الالف المدوده =	ā
ض =	ḍ	الياء بعد اللس =	ī
ط =	ṭ	الواو بعد الضم =	ū
ظ =	ẓ		
ع =	ʿ	ال قبل الحروف الشمسيه =	as in "Ash-shams"
غ =	gh	ال قبل الحروف القمرية =	as in Al-Qamar.
		التاء الزائده في آخر الكلمه =	as in Ar-Rauḍah.

v

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE FOOTNOTES:

Ādāb, III for Jurjizaidān's Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughat al-
'Arabīyah, Vol.III (Cairo, 1913).

Ādāb, IV for Do, Vol.IV (Cairo, 1914).

Al-Āthār for Al-Āthār al-Fikrīyah compiled by Amīn
Fikrī Pāshā (Cairo, 1897).

BSOS for the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

B.M. Suppl. for Catalogue of Arabic books in the
British Museum, Supplement.

Cheikho I and II for Cheikho's Al-Ādāb al-'Arabīyah
fi'l-qarnat-tāsi' -'ashar, Vol.I
(Beirut, 1924) and Vol.II (Beirut, 1926).

Creasy for Sir Edward S. Creasy's History of the
Ottoman Turks (London 1877).

Dibs for Yusuf Dibs, Tārīkh Sūriyah.

Eversley for Lord Everseley's The Turkish Empire
from 1288 to 1914 (London, 1922).

Al-Fāryāq for Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq, As-sāq 'Alāas-Sāq
(Cairo).

Ghābah for Fransīs Fathallāh al-Marrāsh, Ghābat
al-Haqq (Cairo, 1922).

Ḥalab for Quṣṭāki Ḥimṣi, Udabāi' Ḥalab (Aleppo, 1925).

Ḥarakah for 'Abd ar-Rahmān ar-Rafe'ī Bey's Tārīkh al-
Ḥarakat al Qaumīyah, Vol.III, (Cairo, 1930).

Huart for Clement Huart's History of Arabic Literature
(London, 1903).

Irshād for Md. Amīn Fikri Bey's Irshād al-Alibbā' ilā
Mahāsin Urubba (Cairo, 1892).

J.A. for Journal Asiatique.

Jabarti for Al-Jabarti, 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi't-tarājim
wa'l-Akhhār (Cairo, 1297 A.H.)

Khiṭaṭ for Ali Mubarak Pāshā's Al-Khiṭaṭ at-Tawfiqiah
(Cairo 1306, A.H.)

Lubnān for Ṭannūs ash-Shidyāq, Kitāb Akhhār al-'A'yān
fi Jabal Lubnān (Beirut, 1855).

1. Manāhij for Rifā'ah Rāfe' Bey's Manāhij al-Albāb
al-Miṣriyah fi Mabāhij al-Ādāb al 'Aṣriyah (Cairo)

2. Miṣr for Jurji Zaidan's Tārīkh Miṣr al Ḥadīth
(Part II, Cairo, 1911).

4. M. Sharq for Jurgi Zaidān's Tarājim Mashāhir
ash-Sharq, Part II (Cairo, 1911).
2. Mashhad for Fransīs Fathallāh al-Marrāsh, Mashhad
al-Ahwāl (Beirut, 1883).

Nicholson for Professor Nicholson's: A Literary
History of the Arabs (London, 1930).

Paton for Paton's: A History of the Egyptian Revolution.
(From the period of the Mamelukes to the
death of Muhammad 'Ali) London, 1870.

Raudah for the Magazine Raudah al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah.

Rihlah for Kitāb Takhlīṣ al-Ibriz fi Talkhīs Bāriz.

4. Sundūbi for Ḥasan as-Sundūbi, ^{*Ayān al-Bayān min Subh*} al-Qarn ath-Thālith
'Ashar al-Hijri ila'l-yaum (Cairo, 1914).
3. Shām for Kurd 'Ali, Khatat ash-Shām, Vols. III
and IV (Damascus, 1925-26).
2. Sarkis for Joseph Elian Sarkis, Dictionnaire
Encyclopedique de Bibliographie Arabe.
1. Safinah for Shahābaddīn al-Miṣri, Safinat al-Mulk
wa Nafisat al-Fulk (Cairo, 1309 A.H.)

Tarrāzi for Viscount Philip de Tarrāzi, Tarīkhas-
 Ṣahāfat al-‘Arabīyah, parts I and II
 (Bairut, 1913).

Al-Waqā‘i‘ for Al-Waqā‘i‘ al-Miṣriyah.

Al-wasīlah for Al-Wasīlat al-Adabīyah li‘l‘Ulūm al-
 ‘Arabīyah (Cairo, 1292 A.H.)

Al-Wasēt for Shaikh Ahmad Al-Iskandarāni cum Shaikh
 Muṣṭafa ‘ināni, Al-Wasēt fi‘l-Adab al-
 ‘Arabiwa Tārēkhih (Cairo, 1928).

Al-Wāsīṭah for Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq, Al-Wāsīṭah fi
 M‘arifat Ahwāl Mālṭah.

Z.D.M.G. for Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen
 Gesellschaft.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Modern Arabic literature has not hitherto received attention commensurate with its importance. Attempts have, no doubt, been made by Arabic writers and some distinguished Orientalists of Europe to study its phenomenal development in Egypt and Syria; but there is a vast field which has as yet to be explored. The three excellent articles contributed to the Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, by Professor Gibb under whom the writer of the present work has been fortunate enough to work together with the other studies referred to by him, give sufficient insight into the subject; but there is still ample scope for extensive and intensive study.

The development of this literature, which is the direct outcome of western impacts on Egypt and Syria since the French invasion in 1798, has followed a gradual course, in which three distinct stages can be discerned. The first stage begins after 1816, when the first technical school was started by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā at Cairo and ends with the close of the reign of Ismā'il Pāshā in 1879, the second extends from 1879 to 1914 and the third from 1914 to the present day.

An attempt is made here to study its development in the first stage with special reference to the western

influences that operated from different sources and through divers agencies, indicating the resultant effect as far as possible.

The present study is based mainly on material culled from direct sources. As far as possible all information and estimates concerning the various movements and their principal exponents have been derived or deduced from contemporary journals and the works of the authors dealt with and their contemporaries. This has enabled the writer of this work to bring in a mass of new matter which may be legitimately claimed to represent a substantial advance in the study of the subject. It has further helped him to challenge and even correct some of the views and statements of authors of previous works, as indicated either in the body of the thesis or in the footnotes.

The task which faced the author was a formidable one, and a successful accomplishment of the same would have been impossible but for the valuable guidance of his supervisor, Professor Gibb and the timely assistance of the authorities of the School of Oriental Studies, the University of London, and the Government of Bihar and Orissa, who kindly permitted him to make a study tour in Egypt and Syria for the collection of material there. Whatever success has been achieved in the performance of this gigantic task is to a great extent the result of this tour and the unflinching help given by his sympathetic supervisor to whom a deep debt of

gratitude is due.

A similar debt of gratitude is due to the late Sir Thomas Arnold who kindly supervised my work while at Cairo and helped with valuable advice and suggestions. I should not fail also to acknowledge my indebtedness to His Majesty's Representatives at Cairo, Damascus and Beirut, the Director and staff of the Egyptian Library, Cairo, Shaikh al-^{Arūbā}, Ahmad Zaki Pāshā, the Librarian of Al-Khizānat az-Zakīyah, Mr. Kurd 'Ali, the Minister of Education, Syria, the Librarian of Al-Maktabat az-Zāhāriyah, Shaikh Jamīl ash-Shaṭṭi, the Hanbalite Judge of Damascus, Dr. Asad Rustam of the American University, Beirut, Pere Antine Ṣālchāni and Mr. Fu'ād Afrām al-Bustāni of St. Joseph University, Beirut, Mr. Jamīl Baihum, Shaikh M. A. Rāziq of the Egyptian University, Cairo, Mr. 'Abd ar-Rahmān Bey ar-Rafe'ī, the author of Tārīkh al-Ḥarakat al-Qaumīyah, Viscount Philip de Ṭarrāzi, the author of aṣ-Ṣahāfat al-'Arabīyah and Dr. A. Hamdy al-Khaiath ^{of} at the University of Damascus and other friends and well-wishers who kindly assisted me in a number of ways.

1 - GENERAL HISTORICAL SURVEY

Egypt and Syria were annexed by Salim I to the Turkish Empire in 1517; but different circumstances tended to lead them to different goals. In Egypt a sort of diarchy, so to speak, was set up and the Mamelukes continued to carry on its administration under the superior control of the governor, a Turkish Pasha,⁽¹⁾ while Syria was directly incorporated in the Turkish empire.⁽²⁾ However, by the time of the French invasion in 1798 both the countries were suffering from the miseries of misrule, intrigues and internecine strife .

By the defeat of the French in 1801 with the help of British forces the sovereign rights of Turkey in Egypt were reasserted; but the election by common sufferance in 1805 of the Macedonian general, Muhammed 'Ali to the viceroyalty and the immediate recognition of the same by the Porte effected its virtual independence subject to the nominal suzerainty of the Sultan.⁽³⁾

Muhammad 'Ali was ambitious of founding an independent empire and had an eye on the fertile neighbouring country, Syria, which was then an **integral** part of the empire of

(1) Eveseley, p. 111.

(2) Ibid, p. 112.

(3) Misr, p. 152.

which he himself was a vassal. He knew the measure of the strength of the central government which constantly turned to him for help against internal and external enemies; but he simply bided his time. The participation of his forces in quelling the rebellion in Greece on the invitation of the Sultan in 1823 and the independent conclusion of the treaty in 1828 between him and the Allied European powers (1) gave fresh impetus to his ambitions. He demanded of the Sultan compensation for losses incurred by him on behalf of the empire in action in Greece. He had been given Crete; but he was not satisfied with a small island which was not easy to hold in subjugation and was of little benefit to him after the destruction of his fleet. He pressed for Syria; but it was as valuable to the Sultan as for Muhammad 'Ali.

Muhammad 'Ali was, however, determined to have the province he coveted, and his fertile brain was not slow to find an excuse for leading an armed expedition into Syria, an integral part of the territory of the paramount power. On the flimsy pretext of settling his differences with the governor of Acre who had refused to send back some Egyptian runaways who had taken refuge in Ghuzzah, he sent in 1832 an army to Syria under his son, Ibrāhīm. (2) This expedition which was really directed against the Porte to wrest Syria

(1) Al-Ḥarakah, III, p. 201 and 228.

(2) Creasy, p. 521.

by force, was so successful that the Sultan was eventually forced to seek the help of his deadly foe, the Czar of Russia.⁽¹⁾ The intervention of England, France and Russia, however, curbed Muḥammad 'Ali's ambition of building an empire by compelling him in 1833 to acquiesce in the Sultan's offer of confirmation as Pasha of Egypt, Syria, Damascus, Adana, Tripoli and Crete for life.⁽²⁾

These terms were as reluctantly offered by the Sultan as they were accepted by the viceroy, and both began to prepare for further fighting. In 1839 the Sultan sent two expeditions, one by land and another by sea, to invade Syria, but both came to grief. The army was defeated by Ibrāhīm Pāshā and the fleet was traitorously handed over by the commander, Aḥmad Fauzi to Muḥammad 'Ali Pasha at Alexandria.⁽³⁾ Now the combination of European powers through the clique of their ambassadors again robbed Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā of the fruits of decisive victory. By forcing him in 1840 to withdraw his troops from Syria, to restore the fleet to Turkey and to be satisfied with the confirmation as the Pāshā of Egypt only with the rights of heredity in the male line they dealt a final blow to his ambitions.⁽⁴⁾ Thus ended the short rule of Muḥammad 'Ali in

(1) Creasy, p. 522.

(2) Ḥarakah, p. 275.

(3) Ibid, p. 308.

(4) Eveseley, pp. 288-290.

Syria, which reverted to its former miserable plight. The change of government excluded the country from the enlivening influences of the real empire-building schemes of Muhammad 'Ali which had begun to shed their lustre in Egypt.

This sagacious ruler was illiterate, but the ambition of building an empire had kindled in him a burning desire to spread and popularize education in the country. To quote an English writer, "He wished to create a new epoch in Egypt, both as a soldier and a revolutionist, and it was the modern sciences of Europe that was more likely to suit his purpose" than any amount of the curious theology and literature of the earlier Arabic period."⁽¹⁾ He began by founding an engineering school at the Fortress in 1816, a preparatory military school at Qaşr al- 'Aini in 1825 and another military school at Abn Za'bil in the same year. Next came the medical school, which was originally started at Abn Za'bil in 1827 and was later removed to Qaşr al- 'Aini, and the school of languages which was started in 1836. In the same year he constituted a council of education; and in 1837 on its recommendations attempted to create a network of primary schools all over the country with a certain measure of success.

Of all the reform measures of Muhammad 'Ali the most important and epoch making was the deputation from time to

(1) Paton, Vol. II, p. 248.

time of batches of young men to Europe for training in the arts of civil and military administration and in scientific and technical subjects. Another revolutionizing measure of the Pasha was the establishment in 1821 of the celebrated Bulāq Press which derives its name from the quarter of Cairo where it is located and is otherwise known as the Al-Amiri or al-Miri (the Government) Press. To him also the credit is due for starting the first Arabic journal, Al-Waqā' al-Miṣriyah in 1828.

On his death most of these schemes were temporarily paralysed. Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā had in 1848 abdicated in favour of his gallant son, Ibrāhīm; but the latter died in 1849 after a short rule of about a year. The two succeeding rulers, 'Abbās I (1849-54) and Sa'īd (1854-63) were no enthusiasts for modern European sciences and were too much under the influence of the Conservative party, the Shaikhs of al-Azhar, to countenance the advance of the reforms which meant nothing short of the westernization of Egypt.

'Abbas I on his accession in 1849 stopped the educational missions, and abolished the Egyptian Institution which was established at Paris for the members of the fifth mission.⁽¹⁾ In 1851 he abolished the School of Languages and sent its rector, Rifā'ah Bey, to the Sudān. As suggested by a contemporary writer, the deputation to the Sudān of

(1) Khatat, vol. IX, p. 43.

Rifā'ah Bey as rector of a primary school at Khartūm and of other exponents of the renaissance, like Muḥammad al-Bayyūmi, who died there, was nothing but deportation in disguise. (1)

Their advanced political views were not palatable to the autocrat, 'Abbās I, and they rightly deserved to be thus sent away. That Rifā'ah was exiled to the Sudān at the instigation of some influential persons at court prompted by covert intentions is borne out by his own statement. (2)

Sa'īd Pāshā who succeeded 'Abbās I in 1854 was only less intolerant of the reforms. He called back Rifā'ah from the Sudān and patronized him, but only to a limited extent. In 1860 he abolished many schools and the Translation Bureau; but his death in 1863 changed the outlook.

Sa'īd Pāshā was succeeded by Ismā'īl Pāshā, who was a member of the fifth educational mission. He was not an empire-builder like his grandfather, Muḥammad 'Alī, the Great. but he was a westernized monarch, who was far more infatuated with French science and culture than any one else. His sixteen years' reign from 1863 to 1879 was one of rapid westernization. Schools were restarted and their number was increased. Translation of scientific, historical and legal works was resumed with greater vigour than before. Societies for the promotion of science and culture, and journals sprang up. The Egyptian Library of Cairo which was then known as

(1) Ḥarakah, p. 489.

(2) Manāhij, p. 265.

Al-Kutub Khānah al-Khidīwīyah was organized in 1870.⁽¹⁾ In short, an atmosphere of literary ferment prevailed throughout the country from the beginning to the end of his reign.

Syria, after the end of Egyptian rule in 1840, had reverted to its former miseries under the Ottoman Turks. The whole nation, excited by internal and external agents, was divided into factions brutally hostile to each other. It is even suggested that the government was one of the guilty parties that fanned the fanatical savageries of the Druses against the Christians.⁽²⁾ These internal troubles courted the intervention of European powers. The butchering and pillaging of the Marenites by the Druses in the Lebanon in 1841 and the splitting of the regions into two principalities, one for the Christians and the other for the Druses, led to the creation of a double protectorate, French for the Christians and British for the Druses. However, there was another rising of a more serious type in 1845 which went on up to 1860; but the most horrible of all was the one which began with murderous raids by parties of Druses in 1859 on ~~against~~ a village in the Lebanon and which by 1860 enveloped the whole of Syria, opening the doors of the country for the

(1) Raudah, vol. 1, no. 11, dated 15th Jumādā II, 1287 A.H. (Notice that the Library would be open to the public from 1st Rajab, 1287 A.H.)

(2) Shām, p. 76.

European powers. Henceforth (from 1861) the question of the protection of the minorities crept in, and foreign legations began to exercise sovereign rights. The Russian consul became the supreme authority on questions relating to the Greek Orthodox Church; the French Consul was the arbiter on matters concerning the Marenites; and the British consul the guardian of the interests of the Protestants and the Druses.⁽¹⁾ Most of the parties lost much of their distinctive characteristics and thus, although Arabs in blood, became westernized in training and habits, despising the traditions of their forefathers.⁽²⁾ However, this last civil war was not an unmixed evil as it paved the way for the advance of civilization and awakening.⁽³⁾

(1) Shām, p. 95.

(2) Ibid, p. 95.

(3) Ibid, p. 96.

II - CHARACTERISTICS OF LITERATURE BEFORE THE WESTERN IMPACT

(a) Introduction - The dawn of renaissance.

The invasion of Egypt and Syria by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798 marks the beginning of what is variously known as the Modern Period or the period of the Renaissance of Arabic literature. Whichever expression we use, the significance in essence is the same. The literature of this period, especially that produced in Egypt and Syria, has a new element in its growth. It bears the stamp of the influences of modern western science and culture. The sources of these influences in the two countries are practically the same; although the agencies of their propagation are different. In both the principal sources are French, English and Italian and in both the French influence predominates.

The operation of these influences thus dates from the first contact of the people of Egypt and Syria with the French in 1798. But in order to be able to understand exactly the nature and the ultimate effect of these influences on the literature of this period, we should first examine rapidly the general characteristics of the literature of the period that just preceded it and the circumstances in which that literature grew.

(b) Political, social and moral conditions that shaped Arabic literature before the Western impact.

Egypt and Syria, as we have already noticed, had suffered from the miseries of misrule, intrigues and internecine strifes from 1517, when these two countries were annexed to the late Ottoman Empire until 1798, the year of the French invasion. In Egypt the debased remnants of the Mamelukes, who were entrusted with the administration of the country and were too strong and artful to submit to the control of the Turkish Pasha, led their career of intrigues, and internecine strifes and licentious pursuits unchecked. The vicious influence of the low morals of these later slave chiefs of real slave mentality was reflected in the general depravity of the people. Thus life, property and honour were unsafe, and peace and tranquility which are essential for intellectual development and literary growth were unknown.⁽¹⁾

Long and continued subjugation to chiefs of base morals and mentality damped the spirit and degraded the mental and moral instincts of the people. Neglect of education was responsible for widespread ignorance and illiteracy. The natural result was that all sorts of superstitions, sorcery and soothsaying became rampant.⁽²⁾ The true spirit of Islam, which was the religion of the vast majority, became

(1) Ādāb III, p. 272.

(2) Ibid, p. 273.

obsured. The growth of Sufistic ideas with the multiplicity of the orders of saints, instead of improving the situation, added another factor to the obscurity of the real virtue of Islām, which lies in its harmonious blending of the spiritual and the material aspects of human life.

The small body of exceedingly devout and austere puritans stood in lurid contrast to the recklessly depraved majority of the society; but they went too far. They too rigidly adhered to the ascetic life of the early saints of the similarly corrupt Umayyid period. In their extreme zeal for spiritual development they unconsciously ran counter to the spirit of the example and precept of the Arabian Prophet by the alienation of their interests from the affairs of the world and the neglect of the practical side of life. (1)

The attitude of these puritans deprived them of the opportunity of reclaiming society. The direction of education and the positions of influence passed into the hands of ambitious men of less worthy parts. The masses, who cared more for material prosperity than for spiritual uplift, felt little attraction for the puritan party and those few illiterate persons who adhered to them imported

(1) Jabarti, II, p. 100 (speaking of Shaikh Muḥammad ibn as-Sitt he says:

وكان المترجم على قدم السلف لا يتراخى ولا يتفانى في
ملبس ولا يركب رابة ولا يدخل بيت الابير ولا يشتغل بخير العلم وملا رسنه

into the group much of the abuses that detract from its merits.

(c) The effect of environment reflected in the resultant literature of the period of decadence.

The cumulative effect of the conditions outlined in the preceding section was to create during the period of the Ottoman rule in Egypt and Syria an atmosphere uncongenial to the growth of healthy literature, if not of any literature at all. The literary output, therefore, of this period was both inferior in quality and meagre in quantity. Thus to call this period the period of decadence is no exaggeration; its literary productions, lifeless and lacking in breadth of interests, failed to exercise an influence either in their own or in later times.

Before examining the details of this sad picture we should endeavour to obtain a clear idea of the usual nature and scope of Arabic literature at that period. That this literature covered a vast field, presenting varied manifestations of the numerous phases of thought and culture in copious forms of verbal expression is already a known fact. Both prose and poetry dealt with numerous subjects in a variety of forms.

In prose one finds that in addition to the three groups of the religious, the linguistic and the 'imported' sciences, there were biography, history, travels, geography, Khutab

(Dissertations or Lectures), Maqāmāt (Assemblies or Seances) Rasā'il (Epistles). The group of religious sciences comprised of Qirā'at, Tafsīr, Hadīth, Fiqh, Farā'id, Tauhīd or Kalām and (later) Taṣawwuf. The class of linguistic sciences consisted of lexicographical or philological studies, grammar, rhetoric and prosody. In the category of the 'imported' or philosophical sciences were included all the branches of what is termed practical and theoretical philosophy. Practical philosophy comprised personal and social ethics, and politics, and theoretical philosophy included metaphysics, psychology, mathematics with all its branches, the natural sciences, e.g. physics, geology, botany, zoology, chemistry and what not. Music was regarded as a branch of mathematics.

In poetry the most commonly used form was the Qaṣīdah or the ode which was composed with some definite purpose, usually panegyric, in view. It varied in length, comprising some of the longest Arabic poems, none of which exceeded a few hundred lines. It is, however, interesting to note that the dogged tenacity with which generations of Arabian poets clung to the servile aping of the model of the Mu'allaqāt, both in structure and imagery, not only gave it the character of a stereotyped form, but also condemned it as containing an unreal picture of Bedouin life in the opening erotic verses called Tashbīb or Ghazal. The other forms were the short

occasional poems and songs called Maqatī' and Qudūd. The popular song forms like Muwashshah, Zajal, Muwāliyā, Qūmā, Kān wa Kān, Dubait, Himaq, Silsilah, Ahāzīj and Nasab, some of which are sometimes inaptly called new metres,⁽¹⁾ were until the Ottoman period considered to be too vulgar and irregular to be classed as poetry. There was no epic and no drama; and the whole range of Arabic poetry, whatever its form was mainly in lyric vein.

The classification of Arabic poetry, according to its theme, into panegyrics, satires, erotic or love poems, elegies, didactic verses, witticisms and chronograms gives one an insight into the workings of the mind of the Arabian poet and the scope of his interests and feelings.] It is

(1) Shaikh M.H. Rāziq, BSOS, Vol.II, pt. II, p. 260. Most writers call these forms Al-Funūn ash-Shirīyah or Al-Funūn as-Sab'ah, but differ as to the name of one form. Jabarti does not limit the number to seven. Cheikho in his Ilm al-Adab (Vol.I, Beirut 1886, p. 317) mentions nine and calls them Al-Funūn at-Jis'ah. Professor Nicholson apparently follows Shaikh Husain al-Marṣafi and Shahāb al-Dīn al-Miṣri in the naming of the seven forms. See Nicholson, p. 450, Al-Wasīlat al-Adabīyah, vol. II, p. 188 of Al-Marṣafi, and Safīnat al-Mulk of Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri, p. 8. See also Ibn Khaldūn, Tarīkh, (Bulāq, 1284, Vol.I, pp. 518, 524, 529, 530 and 532) Jabarti, Vol. I, p. 290 and Raudah, Vol. II, No. 21, dated 15th Dhu al-Qi dah, 1288 A.H. p. 4.

thus evident that there was no topic which failed to interest the Arabian poet. Even in the qasīda there was no lack of natural poetry, especially during the Pre-Islamic period; but with the advance of civilization and the shifting of the centre of literary activity from the desert camp to the court of the ruling princes in the busy capital interest in the study of nature gradually became lukewarm and degenerated into the meaningless copying of imagery from the desert scenes of the ancient models, the Muallaqat.

We have seen the two extreme sides of the social life during the Ottoman period and have also analyzed the general literary structure in prose and verse as it stood at the beginning of the period. A brief survey of the contributions made to Arabic literature in this period will suffice to show that the literary output was, as suggested before, both inferior in quality and meagre in quantity.

Future research may bring to light some hidden literary gems of this period, but so far the Arabic world knows none. Of all the branches of prose-literature, it was mainly biography, history and travels which interested the writers both in Egypt and Syria, and Maqāmahs, Khuṭab and Rasā'il found little favour with them. The group of the 'borrowed' or the philosophical sciences seems to have fallen into complete desuetude in these two countries where, apparently,

they did not take even an academic interest in them. In the religious sciences very little of any value whatsoever was produced. However, the two books on Ḥanafī law, *Multaqa al-Abhur* of Burhān ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (956 A.H.) and *Kitāb al-Ashbāh wa n-Naẓā'ir* of Ibn Najīm al-Miṣri are honourable exceptions in the sense that they still continue to be studied universally. The linguistic sciences apparently received a little better treatment; but most of the writers contented themselves with writing commentaries.

Aṣ-Ṣabbān (d. 1206 A.H.) whose Ḥāshiyah on *Al-Ashmūni*, the celebrated commentary on the *Alfiyah* of Ibn Mālik has immortalized him, wrote nothing save commentaries and super commentaries.

Even Saiyid Murtada az-Zabidi, the most prominent figure in this field was no exception. His monumental work, *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, is but a commentary on the *Al-Qāmūs* of *Al-Fīrūzābādi*. He was, however, an Indian by birth and breeding and owed his erudition to his studies in India, Yemen and the Ḥijāz before his migration to Egypt. He was born at Bilgrām in India in 1145 A.H. and travelled to Egypt in 1167 A.H. He settled at Cairo where he wrote his *Tāj al-ʿArūs* which was completed in 1181 A.H. after fourteen years of work. He died in 1205 A.H. (1791)⁽¹⁾

(1) *Tāj al-ʿArūs*, vol. X (Cairo, 1307 A.H.) p. 469 (short life of the author, Saiyid Murtada az-Zabidi.

Turning to the main field of activity, namely, biography, history and travels, one comes across numerous names. The leading writers of biographical works were Qīnāli-Zādah (d. 979 A.H.), the author of Ṭabāqāt al-‘Ulamā’ al-Ḥanafīyah,⁽¹⁾ Shaikh Ḥasan al-Būrīni (d. 1024 A.H.), the author of Jarājim al ‘Ayān min abna’i az-zamān and Commentator of Ibn al-Fāriḍ,⁽²⁾ and Al-Muḥibbi (d. 1111 A.H.) the author of Khulāṣat al-Athar fī ‘Āyān al-Qam al-Ḥādī ‘Ashar and Nafḥat ar-Raiḥānah wa Rashḥat Ṭilāi al-Ḥānah⁽³⁾ and others. Among historians one may mention Al-Ishāqi (1032 A.H.), the author of Laṭāif Akhbār al-Uwāl fī man taṣarraf fī Miṣr min arbāb ad-Duwal and Ar-Rauḍ al-Bāsim fī Akhbār man maḍā min al-‘Awālim,⁽⁴⁾ and Al-Maqqari (d. 1041 A.H.), the author of Nafḥ at-Ṭib min ghuṣn al-Unduls ar-Raṭīb, besides Ibn Iyās (d. 930 A.H.) whose Badā’i az-Zuhūr fī Waqā’i ad-Duhūr⁽⁶⁾ appears to have provided the model in structure for the ‘Ajā’ib al-Āthar of al-Jabarti. Among the writers of ~~travel~~ books of travels, the most prominent was the Ṣūfi traveller Shaikh ‘Abd al-Ghani an-Nabulusi (d. 1134 A.H.), another

-
- (1) Ādāb III, p. 292.
 (2) Ibid, p. 293.
 (3) Ibid, p. 295.
 (4) Ibid, p. 301.
 (5) Ibid, p. 301.
 (6) Ibid, p. 298.

commentator of Ibn al-Fāriḍ.⁽¹⁾ His *Hullat adh-Dhahab al-Ibrīz fi Riḥlat B'albak wa Biqā'al-'Azīz*⁽²⁾ is interesting reading. However, a cursory reading of the pages of some of these writers reveals the lack of vigour and the narrowness of interests that constitute the negation of literary value.

In poetry one comes across many names, but none of repute, and the poetical works of almost all exist only in manuscript form. Unless these are published and critically studied it is hazardous to sit in judgment on their merits. But from the general trend of the usually known literary output of the period it can be seen that poetry was no exception to the prevalent mediocrity. One remarkable fact about the verse production of the period is the increased use of the popular verse forms.⁽³⁾ Among the leading poets mention may be made of the woman saint and poetess, 'Āishah al-Bā'uniyah, Muḥammad bin Qānṣūh bin Ṣādiq al-Ghūri, Shaikh Aḥmad al-'Ināyātī, the already-mentioned Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani an-Nābulusi and Muṣṭafa al-Bābi.⁽⁴⁾

(1) *Ādab* III, p. 325.

(2) B.M. Suppl. 681.

(3) See MSS. of the *Diwāns* of Aḥmad al-'Ināyātī, Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani an-Nābulusi and Muṣṭafa al-Bābi and others in the British Museum.

(4) *Adāb*, III, pp. 274-76.

III. SOURCES OF WESTERN INFLUENCES IN EGYPT.(a) Introduction.

Of the various sources of western influence, it was France and French literature which, as has already been suggested, predominated from the first. This is true in the case of Egypt as well as in that of Syria; but the factors that contributed to this predominance of the French influence in the two countries are widely different.

There is much speculation about the aims and ambitions of Napoleon in leading a hostile expedition into the territory of an old ally of the French. The inclusion in the army of expedition of scientists, scholars, a library, and a miniature scientific laboratory is apt to suggest that these and other elaborate details of equipment formed part of the ambitious scheme of effecting immediate colonization. Without throwing any doubt on the correctness of this view, it may be remarked that there was obviously another point. Napoleon and his advisers appear to have intended to capture the imagination of the simple-minded Egyptians by the spectacular effect of the exhibition of works of art and the performance of scientific demonstrations and experiments which would appear to them magical, if not miraculous. However, we are not concerned here with the genesis and motives of the invasion, but with its results in so far as

relates to its influence on Arabic literature. As we shall see later on, the immediate result was the magnetic attraction of the cultured class of Egypt, the 'Ulemas of Al-Azhar, to French science and culture. But this was not all; there was something more, of greater importance and more lasting effect. The fascination felt by Muhammad 'Ali Pasha for the efficiency of the French military training, civil administration and scientific skill which ultimately resulted in reducing Egypt to a sort of cultural colony of France, is responsible for the growth of the progeny of agencies for the dissemination of French influence not only in the literature of Egypt but also in its general social life.

Ever since the French invasion in 1798 the English have been in close relationship with Egypt and since the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 their interests in Egypt have been increasing in magnitude and intensity; but it is remarkable that their absorbing interest in trade and the activities of the various agencies of the French influence combined to result in the absence of any but French influence in Arabic literature until 1880.

(b) The Agencies of French influence in Egypt until the Accession of Ismā'īl Pāshā.

The agencies that operated from the French invasion until the accession of Ismā'īl Pāshā to propagate the western, or to be more precise, the French influences, in the Arabic literature

of Egypt were numerous. The first agency was the French invasion itself; it produced influences both direct and indirect, or in other words, immediate and remote. Its direct or immediate influence is reflected in the cautious interest it evoked among some of the leading 'Ulemās in the wonders of western science. Its indirect or remote influence finds expression in the idea it created in the mind of Muhammad 'Ali Pāshā about what may be called French efficiency in the arts of peace and war. This frame of mind of the ambitious general who soon became the ruler of Egypt was responsible for paving the way for the growth of other agencies which were not only effective in themselves but were productive of other, and internal agencies for the dissemination of the French influence.

The next and the most vital agency was a number of educational Missions sent to Europe, mostly France. These missions produced men who infused fresh blood into the literature of their country and created new interests among their countrymen. It was through their efforts that the third agency, the schools for imparting western education started by the Pāshā found favour with the conservative public. Another, and a more potential agency was the School of Languages which with its offshoot, the Translation Bureau ^{to p k s-} under the able direction of Rifā'ah, formed the nucleus of the renascence movement under the regime of Muhammad 'Ali,

the Great.] Thus there were until the close of Muhammad 'Ali's rule five agencies, namely, the French invasion, the Educational Missions, the schools for imparting western education and the school of languages in conjunction with the Translation Department. We shall now deal with these agencies in detail and see how far they carry on the work of importing French influence into Arabic literature and with what results.

() The French Invasion.

[The French invasion brought some of the leading Shaikhs of Al-Azhar in direct touch with the French. As many as five of them, Al-Mahdi, Al-Sharqāwi, Aṣ-Ṣāwi, Al-Bakri and Al-Fayyūmi were members of the special Diwān. Ismā'īl-al-Khashshāb was registrar of the Diwān and Al-Jabarti was one of its clerks. The close contact of these men with French scholars and scientists and ^{the} frequent view of the exhibition of French art,⁽¹⁾ science⁽²⁾ and learning⁽³⁾ which the library and the laboratory presented could not fail to produce their effect.] The first result was to excite interest and awakening and this is amply clear from the vivid account which Jabarti gives of what may be called the scientific sorceries,⁽⁴⁾ which the French savants performed to bewitch the credulous

(1) Jabarti III, p. 35.

(2) Ibid, p. 35.

(3) Ibid, p. 34.

(4) Ibid, pp. 32, 34, 35-6.

Egyptians, and his feelings about them. No doubt, he was cautious and suspicious;⁽¹⁾ but still he found in himself an excitement of interest and awakening.

The effect of this awakening is seen in his useful historical work, 'Ajā'ib-al-Āthār fi't-tarājim wa'l-Akhhbār, which, it must be conceded, is the first literary production in Arabic which bears the stamp of French influence. It is in a sense a continuation of Bada'i-az-zuhūr fi waqā'i-ad-duhūr of Ibn Iyas; but it differs from its prototype in this that it has in it a new element of value, a new source of life. This new source of life consists in the spirit of freedom of thought, or to be more precise, freedom of the expression of thought.⁽²⁾ It was this spirit of freedom that emboldened Al-Jabarti to speak out his mind fearlessly about current events as he saw them and felt about their causes and effects. This spirit of fearless frankness led him even so far as to indulge in ruthless criticisms of some of the acts of Muḥammad 'Alī, the Great, and his gallant son, Ibrāhīm Pasha, exposing what may be called their occasional lapses to haughtiness, highhandedness and tortuous extortion.⁽³⁾ However, the value of this remarkable work is further enhanced by the fact that it is not only a record of political events,

(1) Jabarti, III, p. 32 (ll 21-24) and p. 41 (ll 4-7).

(2) Ibid, IV, pp. 305, 315 and 316.

(3) Ibid, pp. 172, 184, 185, 306, 308 and 311.

but also a study of social and moral conditions and a survey of literary and cultural developments.

The awakening which the French contact excited went further and produced far more important and lasting effects. The feelings and excitements which it aroused in Al-Jabarti were shared by others as well, if not directly, at least indirectly and by contagion from him. This was apparently the case with Shaikh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār who seems to have developed keen interest in French science and culture more as the result of frequent intercourse with his close friends, Al-Jabarti and Al-Khashshāb than from his personal contact with the French. These were, so to speak, a sort of literary trio, of whom Al-‘Aṭṭār was the most important member. It was he who communicated the contagion to his devoted pupil, Rifā‘ah Rāfe‘at-Taḥṭāwi. He was deeply interested in modern sciences and firmly believed that a change in the mental outlook was sure to come about in the country.⁽¹⁾ His interests re-acted on Rifā‘ah, who was destined to become the leader of the renaissance. Thus the guiding spirit of the renaissance was Al-‘Aṭṭār, who not only stimulated in Rifā‘ah the surging desire for the acquisition of western scholarship but also helped him in this direction by recommending him to Muḥammad ‘Alī Pāshā for inclusion in the first educational

(1) Khitāṭ, IV, 38.

mission which was sent to Paris in 1826 as an Imām and Wā'iz.⁽¹⁾ He exercised considerable influence with the Pāshā, who held him in great esteem.

Shaikh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭar, who is credited with being instrumental in conjunction with his pupil, Rifā‘ah in the starting in 1828 of the first Arabic journal, Al-Waqā‘i‘ al-Miṣriyah,⁽²⁾ was born at Cairo in 1180 A.H. (1766) In the first instance his father, who was an ‘Aṭṭār or apothecary, engaged him in his business; but when he discovered in him a keen desire for knowledge, he gave him opportunities for study. Ḥasan then joined Al-Azhar, where he studied under such teachers as Shaikh Al-Amīr and Shaikh Aṣ-Ṣabbān. When the French invaded Egypt, he fled to^{Upper} Egypt; but when conditions settled down he returned and mixed with some Frenchmen to whom he taught Arabic in exchange for lessons in the branches of knowledge in vogue in their country. He later travelled to Syria and stayed for a long time at Damascus. On his return to Cairo he was appointed a teacher at Al-Azhar, where he succeeded in 1246 A.H. Shaikh Muḥammad al-‘Arūsi in the rectorial chair of Shaikh al-Azhar, which he continued to fill with great administrative skill until his death in 1250 A.H. (1835).⁽³⁾ He was an all-round scholar and was well-versed in all the branches of

(1) Khiṭaṭ, XIII, p. 54.

(2) Al-Wasīṭ, p. 332.

(3) Sarkīs, VII, 1335-36. (See also Khiṭaṭ, IV, p. 38-40)

Arabic literature. He wrote on jurisprudence, grammar, rhetoric, logic, medicine and even on astronomy.⁽¹⁾ He was also a poet and his verses have been collected into a Diwān.

Al-'Aṭṭār's co-operation with the Pāshā in the reform schemes was of immense potentiality. It must, however, be remembered that the co-operation of Al-'Aṭṭār was not prompted by a desire to please the Pāshā for favour or from fear. As already observed, he had apparently imbibed interest in French science and culture in the course of his frequent discussions with Al-Khashshāb and Al-Jabarti and had infused into his favourite pupil, Rifā'ah, his spirit of interest and enquiry. He was the first editor of Al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣriyah and was instrumental during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā in popularizing to a certain extent the reform schemes which were dreaded and despised in the beginning as being detrimental to religion.

(ii) The Educational Missions.

The awakening and interest in French science and art which the French contact had excited led Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā to send from time to time batches of Egyptians to European countries, especially France, for training in the arts of civil and military administration and technical subjects. That these deputations, or educational missions as they are

(1) Cheikho I, p. 52 and Manāhij, pp. 375-6.

usually called, would eventually constitute a potential agency for the propagation of French influence in literature could hardly have been conceived. The idea was to equip the natives of the country with up-to-date training that would enable them to carry on the administration of the various departments of the state efficiently and to work the numerous schemes of reform for the general improvement of the economic condition of the country successfully, and no more. This, at least, was the idea of the Pāshā and the members of the mission were not usually inspired with any higher aspirations. However, the hand of destiny was there, and curious circumstances combined to produce unexpected results out of these missions.]

One of the members of the first educational mission which was sent to Paris in 1826 was Shaikh Rifā'ah Rāfe'at-ṭaḥṭāwi, who, as we know, was on the recommendation of Shaikh Ḥasan al-ʿAttār deputed as an Imām to the mission.⁽¹⁾ He was born at Ṭaḥṭa in 1216 A.H. (1801). He studied at Al-Azhar for about eight years and was a teacher there for two years. In 1240 he was appointed an Imām in one of the regiments of the regular army and in the following year he joined the first educational mission to Paris in the same capacity. He was not sent for training or study; but the surging desire for the acquisition of western lore that had evidently lured him to Europe impelled him to impose on himself the task of learning

(1) *Khiṭaṭ*, XIII, p. 54.

French from the moment he embarked at Alexandria. The enthusiasm that had been infused in him by his inquisitive teacher, Al-‘Attār⁽¹⁾ pricked his energies to pick up the language quickly, and the result was marvellous.

The mission started from Alexandria on 8th Shābān, 1241 A.H. (16th March 1826) and reached Marseilles on the 17th April, 1826, and in July 1827 one finds that Rifā‘ah's Nazm al-‘Oqud fi Kasr al-‘ūd, a translation in Arabic verse of the French dithyramb of Agoub, La Lyre Brisée,⁽²⁾ is already in the hands of the public. Meanwhile his thirst for learning and taste for literary work had filled M. Jomard, the supervisor of the mission, with high hopes as to his capacity for useful work, and probably it was at his suggestion that Rifā‘ah was then asked to specialize in the art of translation. However, this maiden literary effort gave the promise of immense potentiality, which was not slow to materialize. Translations and original compositions followed in quick succession, and while yet in Paris, tied to the tedious routine of studying all sorts of subjects, he translated various works or parts thereof, on divers subjects⁽³⁾ and wrote his interesting account of the journey. Of all his Parisian translations, his Q-alā‘id-al-Mafākhir fi ‘Awā‘id-al-~~Al~~-awā‘il wal-Awākhir, a translation of M. Deppings

(1) Riḥlah, p. 4.

(2) J.A. Juliet 1827, p. 313; Riḥlah pp. 76-77 (Agoub is Y‘aqūb, an Egyptian who had settled in France) See also Huort, p. 414.

(3) Riḥlah, p. 193

Moeurs et Usages des nations deserves special mention. This book, which he translated in 1245 (1829) at the instance of M. Jomard, with the necessary omission of the lowering and vilifying remarks contained in the original against some of the Muslim customs, is a survey of the manners and customs of the different nations of the world. That it created interest in the circle of French orientalist even before its publication in 1249 A.H. (1833) is evident from the letter of M. Reinaud which he quotes in his fascinating book of travel, *Takhtīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz*, or *Al-Diwān-an-Nafīs be Īwān Bārīs*.

This charming *Riḥlah* (book of travel), which is the first original work of Rifā‘ah, owes its inspiration to his inquisitive teacher Shaikh Hasan al-‘Aṭṭār who more than any one else was interested to hear from him an account of the wonderful objects and the strange facts observed by him during the course of his travels.⁽¹⁾ [Now, Rifā‘ah's aspirations lead him to rise still higher, and he does not confine himself to the task of satisfying the curiosity of his teacher. He is fired with the zeal of creating interest and arousing all the Muslim nations, Arabs and non-Arabs from the torpor of heedlessness.⁽²⁾ He sees in the land of infidelity and hostility⁽³⁾ a city which is overflowing with all

(1) *Riḥlah*, p. 4.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 5, l. 20.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 6.

the philosophical sciences and the arts and amazing equity and wonderful justice.⁽¹⁾ True to the type of a conservative Azharite, he feels that this picture of life would have been more befitting in Muslim countries.⁽²⁾ But it must be marked that he was a progressive conservative. His conservatism did not blind him to the bright side of the picture he saw at Paris, rather the element of progressiveness in him prompted him to praise what was praiseworthy, and that filled him with the feeling of emulation.] No doubt, he was seized with the sense of regret that European countries enjoyed the fruits of the perfection of what he calls the external sciences, the arts and the crafts, while the Muslim territories were devoid of them;⁽³⁾ but he is not dismayed. He feels that if the advantages of these arts, sciences and crafts are revealed to the people living in the Muslim countries, awakening is sure to follow.

It is this feeling that impels him to urge these countries through the medium of his book to seek these sciences⁽⁴⁾ and it is for this reason that he decorates it with some useful digressions.⁽⁵⁾ Such topics as the classification of arts and sciences, the description of the curriculum of studies in use in France, stray notes on mathematics, history and geography are, no doubt, useful

(1) Riḥlah, p. 25, 147 ()

(2) Ibid, p. 26.

(3) Ibid, p. 4.

(4) Ibid, p. 4.

(5) Ibid, p. 4.

digressions in an account of travels written with the object of exciting interest in arts and sciences and urging people to engage themselves in the pursuit thereof.⁽¹⁾ To awaken people to the need of applying themselves to the pursuit of arts, crafts and sciences is his cult, and he lays it down as the duty of every man of learning.⁽²⁾

[□] Rifā'ah's desire to create an awakening is sincere, and the keynote lies in his intense patriotism. When he speaks of Muslim countries, he seems to follow the rhetorical rule of using the whole for a part and to mean thereby Egypt, his native country. It might be suggested that he means to rouse the whole of the Ottoman Empire of which Egypt, though nominally, was then a part; but the bursts of patriotic feelings as echoed here and there in the regret expressed at the contrast between the conditions of France and Egypt⁽³⁾ tell quite a different tale. He is evidently filled with pride that the destinies of Egypt are in the hands of a sagacious ruler in Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā⁽⁴⁾ who would, he hoped, restore to Egypt its ancient brilliance and revive its decayed glory.⁽⁵⁾ However, he was an orthodox Muslim filled with patriotic feelings and no more. He was not a Pan-Islamist, he was a nationalist to the very

-
- (1) Rihlah, p. 11.
 (2) Ibid, p. 11.
 (3) Ibid, p. 58.
 (4) Ibid, p. 57.
 (5) Ibid, p. 9.

core.⁽¹⁾ The sights of civic amenities he sees at Paris kindle in him a burning desire to find these translated to Egypt.⁽²⁾

The spark of nationalism that was latent in him was ignited by impact. The patriotic feelings⁽³⁾ which were naturally stimulated by the tormenting thought of separation from home spurred him to make a comparative study of social, moral, economic and political conditions. A conservative Shaikh of Al-Azhar, he is apt to test everything he sees by the touchstone of Muslim culture as mirrored in Arabic literature.⁽⁴⁾ He seeks parallels in French life and thought to what was noble in Islam and the Arab race in its palmy days. Even the slightest remembrance of resemblance leads him to proclaim that the French are more akin to the Arabs than the Turks and others⁽⁵⁾ and to discover such Arab virtues in the French as sense of honour, spirit of freedom, love of glory,⁽⁶⁾ manliness, truthfulness⁽⁷⁾ and what not.⁽⁸⁾]

This attitude of Rifā'ah has, however, another significance. His goal is westernization, and his intention, obviously, is to create interest in French science and culture not only among the masses but also, and more particularly,

(1) Riḥlah, p. 248, 251, 262 (His feelings re: the removal of relics from Egypt)

(2) Ibid, pp. 54, 55, 58.

(3) Ibid, p. 45.
p. 54.

(7) Ibid, p. 252.

(8) Ibid, p. 64.

(4) Ibid, pp. 81, 108, 147, 152, 153.

(5) Ibid, p. 249.

(6) Ibid, p. 249.

among the Shaikhs of Al-Azhar whose great influence on the public of his time he cannot afford to ignore. He wants to impress them that the high road to material prosperity lies in treadingⁱⁿ the footsteps of the French, and he knows their mentality. He is shrewd enough to anticipate that they will turn a deaf ear to him and even oppose him, if what he says is not warranted by the Qur'an and the Hadith. This, evidently, is the reason why he stoops to the necessity of declaring in the beginning emphatically by means of swearing that he will not digress from the truth in all he says and that he will speak out his mind on such things and customs of the country as his conscience would permit him to approve and that it is already known that he approves only what is in accord with the text of the religious code of Islam.⁽¹⁾

From the account that follows this solemn declaration it is clear that nearly five years' residence in Paris with open eyes and an open mind and appreciative study of French literature, ~~and~~ science and philosophy immensely influenced Rifā'ah's mind. He is fascinated with everything except what is at variance with the Kitāb and the Sunnah and what he feels inclined or impelled to call, in the terms of Muslim theological phraseology, Aḍ-ḍalālah, Al-bidah,⁽²⁾ and so forth. He is charmed with the Parisians' manners and etiquette,⁽³⁾

-
- (1) Riḥlah, pp. 4-5.
 (2) Ibid, p. 65.
 (3) Ibid, p. 99.

their love of learning,⁽¹⁾ their patriotism combined with fondness of travel for the good of their country⁽²⁾ and their friendly attitude towards foreigners.⁽³⁾ He admires the French constitution⁽⁴⁾ and French laws, and marvels how their genius discovered that justice and equity were among the sources of the prosperity of a country and the well-being of its people and how the rulers and the ruled alike obeyed this maxim and how their country as the natural result of this is prosperous, their knowledge is vast and their wealth ~~is~~ immense and their hearts happy.⁽⁵⁾ He is seized with the French ideas of liberty and equality,⁽⁶⁾ and is enamoured of the French educational system,⁽⁷⁾ its institutions,⁽⁸⁾ academics,⁽⁹⁾ libraries,⁽¹⁰⁾ scientific societies,⁽¹¹⁾ observatories,⁽¹²⁾ and political and scientific or literary journals⁽¹³⁾ and even of theatres⁽¹⁴⁾ and bookshops.⁽¹⁵⁾

In the course of praising the French he is, however, reminded of the average Egyptian Muslim's usual contempt for Egyptian Christians, the Copts and is, consequently, forced to emphasize that though the French are Christians, they are,

(1) Rihlah, p. 60, 100.
 (2) Ibid, p. 61.
 (3) Ibid, p. 64.
 (4) Ibid, p. 93, 96.
 (5) Ibid, p. 81.
 (6) Ibid, p. 92.
 (7) Ibid, p. 152-3.
 (8) Ibid, pp. 165-6.
 (9) Ibid, p. 161.

(10) Rihlah, p. 157.
 (11) Ibid, p. 164.
 (12) Ibid, p. 156.
 (13) Ibid, pp. 92, 146, 168, 188.
 (14) Ibid, p. 110.
 (15) Ibid, p. 169.

unlike the dull-witted⁽¹⁾ and dirty Copts,⁽²⁾ very intelligent and very clean.

Rifā'ah, after all, is an exact critic, and his general fascination cannot blind him to the other side of the picture. Parisian social life and the Frenchman's ideas about religion and the doctrine of predestination disturb his equanimity. He loses self-restraint and makes some tart but reckless remarks. Paris, like other European cities, bristles with depravities, heresies and digressions from the path of religion,⁽³⁾ Parisian women, not excepting those of the aristocratic class, are generally unchaste⁽⁴⁾ and Frenchmen are slaves of the fair sex.⁽⁵⁾ Not to believe in the doctrine of predestination is infamous⁽⁶⁾ and books on philosophy are full of heresies.⁽⁷⁾ The Frenchmen whom Rifā'ah would credit to be endowed, like the Arabs, with the virtue of veracity, do not shun lying.⁽⁸⁾ The celibacy of the Roman Catholic priests makes them the more profligate.⁽⁹⁾

These remarks do not detract from the merits of the book, which is not only a narrative of travels with

-
- (1) Rihlah, p. 60.
 (2) Ibid, p. 102.
 (3) Ibid, p. 65.
 (4) Ibid, p. 64, 101.
 (5) Ibid, p. 67.
 (6) Ibid, p. 65.
 (7) Ibid, pp. 152.
 (8) Ibid, pp. 169, 252.
 (9) Ibid, p. 150.

descriptive notes on sights seen, but also, and more particularly, a reflective study of the varied phases of French life and thought. As a narrative it is accurate and frank, in description it is vivid, and its reflective part reveals the author's power of clever criticism based on sound judgment and clear perception. This is, obviously, the result of the appreciative study of French literature extensively. [He was keenly interested in it and was deeply impressed with its simplicity⁽¹⁾ and with the fact that there were no Shurūḥ and Ḥawāshī in French.⁽²⁾ This influence of French literature is further reflected in his simple, lucid style.]

[Rifā'ah breaks away from the old school which prescribes that all forms of literary prose should be in *Saj'* (rhymed prose) bedecked with rhetorical decorations.⁽²⁾ He uses no *Saj'* and very little of figurative language. His simple style has the stamp of French prose which scorns the use of figures of speech and is, therefore, as 'easy and intelligible to all the people' as he would wish it to be.⁽⁴⁾ He imports new words of foreign origin,⁽⁵⁾ remoulds existing Arabic roots in new or already known forms and stamps them with new value.⁽⁶⁾

(1) Rihlah, p. 67, 104.

(2) Ibid, p. 153.

(3) Ibid, p. 224.

(4) Ibid, p. 5.

(5) Ibid, p. 33 (برهان - کراچی), 145 (بسطه), 52 (بوال - فرن)

(6) Ibid, p. 52 (مدائن), p. 144 (teleggraph اشاره)

He even uses words in their colloquial sense.⁽¹⁾ He injects new blood by introducing new turns of expression and new ideas.⁽²⁾ He revolts against some of the prevalent false notions inherited through generations from the primitive Arabs. When he asks, "What is the meaning of history being one of the Arabic sciences,"⁽³⁾ and rightly remarks that the composition of poems is not confined to the Arabic language,⁽⁴⁾ he forestalls Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain who militates against Al-Jāhiz's claim that oratory in prose and verse is the portion of the Arabs and the Arabs alone.⁽⁵⁾

Rifā'ah is, however, too much under the spell of French literature to realize that by including history in the list of Arabic sciences one means to convey that it is one of the sciences in the Arabic language, just as it can be in any other language. It can never be construed to mean that it is confined to Arabic alone. This interpretation, which from the next sentence appears to be lurking in his mind, is unwarranted. He says, "Although the first to write on it were the scholars of Greece and the first production in this art is the books of Homer on the battle of Troy and the Arabs did not write on it except in ~~the~~ later times."⁽⁶⁾ This confusion can be traced to his infatuation for Greek through

(1) Rihlah, p. 174 (Jum'ah for Usbū'), p. 29 (Al-Juwwāni)

p. 4 (Al-Barrānī)

(2) Ibid, p. 24.

(3) Ibid, p. 69.

(4) Ibid, p. 70

(5) Dr. Ṭaha Ḥusain, Fil-Adab al-Jāhili (Cairo, 1927) p. 349.

(6) Rihlah, p. 69.

«الفتح الجديد اذا ترك ارتكبه الصدوق»

French influence. His extensive study of Greek in French translations⁽¹⁾ is responsible for this.

The interest of the Rihlah which is full of these suggestions,⁽²⁾ is, however, enhanced by frequent apt quotations from the Qur'ān and the Hadīth and by the witty sayings and the fine verses with which it is interspersed. These verses include some of the exquisite specimens of his own verse composition which give evidence of his poetic prowess as well as of French influence on his patriotic feelings. The patriotic ode⁽³⁾ in which he praises Egypt, his native country, Shaikh Ḥasan al-ʿAttār, his revered teacher and Muḥammad ʿAlī Pāshā, his great patron and the following patriotic verses⁽⁴⁾ amply illustrate the point:

(١٥) لئن طلقت باريسا ثلاثا + فما هذاسوى لوصال مصر
فكل منهما عندي عروس + ولكن مصر ليست بنت كفن

(١٦) لقد ذكروا شمس الحسن طرا + وقالوا ان مطلعها بمصر
ولكن لوراها وهي تبدو + بباريس لحضوها بذكر

Some of the verses quoted, as Silvestre de Sacy rightly remarks,⁽⁵⁾ are foreign to the theme of the work;⁽⁶⁾ but such fantastic digressions as quoting at random irrelevant pieces of Arabic poetry are, as the critic himself concedes,

-
- (1) Rihlah, p. 186.
 (2) Rihlah, p. 69.
 (3) Ibid, p. 55.
 (4) Ibid, p. 45.
 (5) Ibid, p. 180.
 (6) Ibid, pp. 225-29.

pardonable in a book intended to interest oriental readers. That this book created remarkable interest both at home and abroad is evident from the highly appreciative criticisms of Baron Silvestre de Sacy⁽¹⁾ and Caussin de Perceval,⁽²⁾ which are strangely incorporated in the body of the book, and the order of Muhammad 'Ali Pāshā that it should be read in his palaces. The measure of the Pāshā's great interest in it can be further gauged by his subsequent order for its publication and distribution among the officers of the Diwāns (Courts or Departments or Councils) and the nobles and the elite.⁽³⁾

These marvellous achievements of Rifā'ah during the period of his training at Paris greatly impressed Muhammad 'Ali as to his usefulness in the furtherance of his ambitious schemes of reform. The Pāshā's ambition of raising an efficient army of healthy troops and ameliorating the economic condition of the country had led him to the establishment of an Engineering School in 1816 at the Fortress⁽⁴⁾ and a medical school in 1827 at Abn Za'bil. [These schools were in urgent need of suitable textbooks in the language of the country, and original productions were at this stage out of the question. Thus the only possible course was to have books translated from foreign languages, and as most of the teachers were French and used French books,

(1) Rihlah, pp. 179 - 181.

(2) Ibid, pp. 181 - 183.

(3) M. Sharq, II, p. 23.

(4) Jabarti, IV, p. 255.

translation from French made rapid progress.] Here was an excellent opportunity to profit by Rifā'ah's acquisitions. He was, accordingly, on his return from Paris in 1831 appointed translator of medical works and teacher of French at the medical school and in 1833 was transferred to the Artillery School at Turah for the translation of works on mathematics and military subjects. But he came into his element only in 1837 when he was appointed rector of the school which was started in 1836 at his instance for teaching foreign languages. Here he found, as we shall see later, full scope for the fulfilment of his desire to instil into the minds of his countrymen the idea of the superiority of French science and culture.

This was only the first fruit of the first educational mission and only the budding manifestations of the influence of French contact on the young men of whom it was composed. One immediate result was, however, that the entire system of education was revolutionized. The council of education, on its reorganization in 1837, was constituted mostly of prominent members of this mission and was placed under the direction of one of its three chiefs, Muṣṭafa Mukhtār, who subsequently rose to the rank of Pasha. This council which henceforth became known as the Council of the Schools and formed the nucleus for the future ministry of education promulgated a scheme for the spread of primary

education, urging the necessity of starting fifty primary schools immediately. This scheme, which after a temporary setback during the rules of 'Abbās I and Sa'īd Pāshā was pushed on with renewed vigour and on a wider scale under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā, introduced a revolutionizing element in the educational machinery. The primary schools started under this scheme became feeders for the few secondary and the technical schools. This shifting of the recruiting ground from Al-Azhar to the primary schools could not but revolutionize the educational outlook. The lack of Islamic learning on the traditional lines in the future recruits for the technical schools facilitated the permeation of French influence.

The first educational mission was followed during the rein of Muhammad 'Ali by as many as eight others, though not all for purely educational purposes. These were as follows:

i) The second mission composed of twentyfour pupils was sent to France in 1828, some for specialization in engineering and mathematics, some in physical sciences, some in administrative work, some in political sciences, some in medicine and translation and some in military arts. One of its members, Khatīl Jirākiyān, rose to be the vice-Principal of the Egyptian School which was started in Paris for the members of the fifth mission.

ii) The third mission which was purely of a technical character and consisted of fifty eight pupils was sent in 1829

for practical training in arts and industries. Of these thirty four were sent to France, and twenty to England and four to Vienna.

iii) The fourth mission was exclusively medical and was made up of twelve members selected from the first batch of the successful students of the medical school at Abn Za'bil. It was sent to Paris in 1832 in charge of Dr. Clot. The members of this mission, as we shall see hereafter, co-operated in the renaissance movement silently but surely. They carried on the work of translating, and emending the translations of, medical works under the regime of Muḥammad 'Alī and Ismā'il Pāshās.

iv) The fifth mission, which is known as the Bi'that al-Anjāl (the Mission of the Sons) on account of the inclusion of Princes 'Abd al-Ḥalīm and Ḥusain, sons of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā, and Princes Aḥmad and Ismā'il, sons of Ibrāhīm Pāshā, was sent in 1844 to Paris. This was, as we shall see hereafter, the largest and the most important of all the missions.

v) The sixth mission which was sent to Austria in 1854 consisted of three students of medicine. One of its members was Dr. Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūqi who, as we shall see later, was the joint editor with Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baqali of the magazine, Ya'sūb at-Ṭibb.

vi) The seventh mission composed of five students of

Al-Azhar was sent in 1847 to France for special training in the art of advocacy or legal practice.

vii) The eighth mission was exclusively technical. It consisted of twenty one carpenters and was sent to England on board the ss. Orient in 1847.

viii) The ninth mission which was composed of twenty five selected students of the Engineering School, was sent in 1847 partly to England and partly to France for specialization in mechanics.

Of all these missions, the fifth which, as already mentioned, included the sons and grandsons of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā, turned out to be the most virile agency for the propagation of French influence. This arises from the fact that one of the princes for whose military training this mission was chiefly organized was Amīr Ismā'il, who in 1863 succeeded Sā'id Pāshā on the viceregal throne of Egypt. His long residence in France and extensive tours over the continent of Europe had their natural effect. He was as intensely infatuated with the charms of western science and culture as Rifā'ah and was imbued with more passionate desire to westernize Egypt than this poor progressive conservative patriot.

In this mission there was also an ambitious man, 'Ali Mubārak, whose fortunate association during the period of training at Paris with the future ruler of Egypt contributed

largely to the influence he wielded under the regime of the latter. This tactful and resourceful organizer, as we shall see later, played almost as prominent a part as Rifā'ah in the diffusion of French influence.

(iii) Technical Schools.

A third vital agency for the dissemination of French influence in Egypt was the numerous technical institutions started from time to time by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā. The most important of all was the medical school which was originally located at the village of Abn Za'bil near the army headquarters and was later (in 1837 ⁽¹⁾) removed to its present site at Qaṣr-al-'Aini, Cairo.

This school which owed its inception to the suggestion of the French physician, Dr. Clot, was for a long time under his direction and was manned in the beginning mostly by French teachers. The courses of instruction were based on the French system and lessons were given in French but were, of course, interpreted to the students by interpreters who knew both French and Arabic. The absurdity of this method was obvious, and the next step was to have books on European medical science written in Arabic. But original production at this stage being impossible, the only practicable course was to depend on translations. Accordingly, the lecture notes and the special medical works written in French by Dr. Clot and his assistants and adapted to the peculiar needs of the country, were translated into Arabic.

(1) Harakah, III, p. 445.

Now the task of translating French medical works into Arabic was extremely difficult, and the first set of translators, like the Syrian, Yuhanna 'Anḥūrī, were neither thoroughly versed in Arabic nor in French. This being the first time when western medical science was imported into the Arabic language, the difficulty was further aggravated by the fact that apt equivalents in Arabic for French medical terms and turns of expression had to be coined. This could be done either by Arabicizing French words or by making new forms or reshaping old ones out of pure Arabic roots with the stamp of new meaning. But no such coining could possibly have currency without the sanction of competent authority. This necessitated the mediation of a third party, the Shaikhs of Al-Azhar, who alone possessed indisputable authority on philological and literary questions as well as in ethical and theological matters. Accordingly, some chosen philologists from among the scholars of Al-Azhar were appointed as Muḥarrerīn or emenders for pruning the translations so as to make them intelligible to the average student and for coining or helping to coin authoritatively the necessary new forms.

Thus the medical school brought together French physicians and teachers, Syrian Christian translators, native students who later became physicians and translators, and a small body of Al-Azhar Shaikhs. The frequent mutual intercourse in the course of their joint work could not fail to produce a mental reaction. The conservative Shaikhs who

worked as Muḥarrirīn as well as the young students became interested in French medical science. The first Muḥarrir, Shaikh Muḥammad 'Imrān-al-Harāwi who emended the translation of Dr. Clot's Al-Qaul-aṣ-Ṣarīḥ fi 'Ilm a't-tashrīḥ, the first French medical book translated into Arabic, is said to have requested the Pāshā to send one of his nephews to Paris for training in medical science.^(a) This is substantial proof that constant contact actually created interest in western science among the scholars of Al-Azhar engaged as Muḥarrirīn as well as among the students.]

Among the emenders of the translations of medical works Muḥammad 'Omar-at-Tūnisi, the author of Al-Muṣṭalahāt-al-'Ilmīyah is rightly called the leader of this important band of workers. He translated Antone Vigerie's book on botany under the title of Ad-Durrū l-lāme' fi'n-nabāt wa mā fīh min al-Khawāṣ wa'l-Manāfe' and compiled a dictionary of medical terms entitled Ash-Shodhūr adh-Dhahabiyah fi'l-Alfāz-iṭ-ṭibbiyah. His Riḥlah in which he gives an account of his travels in the Sudān and Dārfūr and is entitled Tashḥīdh-al-Adhhān be sīrat Bilād-al-'Arab was-Sūdān attracted the notice of French orientalist as early as 1839⁽¹⁾ and was lithographed at Paris in 1851 with a French translation by M. Person.⁽²⁾

The effect of the contact with French teachers on the students of the medical school was naturally deeper, and the

(1) J.A. Sept. 1839, pp. 177-206.

(2) Adāb, IV, p. 207, etc.

(a) On the verbal authority of Mr. Muhammad al-Harāwi, a descendant of Shaikh 'Imrān and Controller of the office of the Egyptian Library, Cairo.

decision of its director, Dr. Clot who subsequently became Clot Bey to pick out from the first batch of successful students twelve prominent ones for deputation to Paris in 1832 for further training was guided by the desire to demonstrate by their success the falsehood of malicious allegations against it.⁽¹⁾ This is full of significance. This shows the attitude of the country towards the wave of westernization that was gradually rushing on through different channels and reveals the anxiety of those who were pushing it ahead.

Most of these students on their return from Paris in 1838 became teachers at the school and took to the compilation and translation of books on medicine and the allied sciences.

The most prominent of these is Muḥammad 'Ali-al-Baqali, who is otherwise known as Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā al-Hakīm. He was appointed teacher of surgery, in which subject he had specialized. He wrote several works on surgery and by 1865 as many as three of them were published. The most remarkable fact about him is that he has the credit of having started in conjunction with Dr. Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūqi in 1865 the first magazine in the Arabic language, Y'asūb at-ṭibb⁽²⁾ (The Queen Bee of the medical science). As the title itself indicates, it was a purely medical journal. The following verses quoted by the founder, Muḥammad 'Ali in a note on the reason why it

(1) Harakah, III, p. 462.

(2) Y'asūb-at-ṭibb, No. 23 dated 13th Dhul Q'edah, 1284 A.H. (1868) p. 10.

was chosen to entitle it thus are worth reproducing:

احرص على كل علم تبلغ الامانة + ولا تعيش بعلم واحد كسلا
فالعلم بما جنى من كل نالعة + افادنا جوهرين المشع والعتلا

Ibrāhīm-an-Nabrāwi was another specialist in surgery. He translated two books of Clot Bey on physical science and anatomy and a French treatise on surgical bandages. (1)

Ahmad Hasan ar-Rashīdi, a third prominent member of the mission was appointed teacher of physics. His contributions to medical literature both exceeded in bulk, and excelled in merit, those produced by his associates. He translated Clot Bey's treatise on vaccination and wrote original works on midwifery, ophthalmology, physical geography, diseases of women and children, treatment of cancer and vaccination. One distinctive feature of his writings was that the pruning hand of the emenders was seldom applied to them. In view of his great **services** to the medical science and his fecundity in scientific literature he is sometimes likened to Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck of the American University of Beirut. (2)

Muhammad-ash-Shāfi'ī Bey, yet another member of the mission, specialized in internal diseases. He was one of the co-operators of Clot Bey in the translating and compiling of medical works in the early years of the school. He translated two books of Clot Bey, one of which was on the diseases of

(1) Ādab, Vol. IV, p. 192.

(2) Ibid, p. 193.

children and wrote two original works on the diagnosis and treatment of diseases. (1)

From these accounts it will appear that the medical school, which was during the rule of Muhammad 'Ali Pasha a centre of great literary activity, was the confluence of western and eastern minds. The measure of the interest evinced by these native physicians in importing French medical science into Arabic indicates the depth of the influence of contact with French teachers both at home and abroad on them.

(iv) The School of Languages.

Of all the agencies that propagated French influence in Egypt the most creative was the school of languages which, as we have already seen, was started in 1836 at the instance of Rifā'ah and was placed under his rectorship in 1837. It may be called a bye-product of the first educational mission; but this would be misleading, if it was taken to imply, which it does not, that it was of subordinate importance. Rifā'ah who, as we know, was anxious to create interest in French science and culture, did not find the work at the medical school and that at the artillery school congenial to his task and conducive to the advancement of his cherished desire. He, accordingly, worked out a plan for starting a school for teaching foreign languages and submitted it to Muhammad 'Ali Pasha who was not slow to

(1) Sarkis, VI, 1093.

appreciate its immense potentialities. The school was started in 1836 and in the following year Rifā'ah was appointed its rector.]

His administration of the school was so successful that it soon became very popular and its numerical strength rose from fifty to two hundred pupils in a very short time. But the real measure of the success of his work there is not so much the number of the students as their achievements.

[This school, which was originally called the school of translation, and was later known at different stages as the school of languages and administration or the school of administrating, was in fact a college, so to speak, of arts and law. It taught in addition to Arabic and some foreign languages history, geography, Muslim law and foreign laws. Among the foreign languages that were taught there the most prominent place was given, of course, to French, although Persian and Turkish and later also English and Italian were included.] This is just the curriculum that one would expect from the author of *Takhlīṣ-al-Ibrīz ila Talkhīṣ Bārīz*. These were exactly the subjects in which he was really interested, and the translation of geographical and historical works, he thought, would perpetuate the memory of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā's rule for the renascence of sciences in Egypt just as that in Baghdād under the

illustrious Abbasides immortalized their reign.⁽¹⁾ It is thus evident that from the very outset he was imbued with the idea of renascence and had a definite program in his mind.

Rifā'ah's ideas fully materialized with the establishment of the school of languages which produced not only capable translators of geographical and historical works, but men who became the props of the renascence of which he was the virtual leader. The products of this school, ^{who} during the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā provided the technical schools with improved texts in translations, eventually became under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā reputed scholars, poets, journalists and literati. As translators, they succeeded in obviating the necessity of the emenders and translated as many as two thousand books on a variety of subjects, mostly from French. Their original works in prose and verse paved the way for the literary renascence which began to blossom and bear fruit during the reign of Ismā'īl Pāshā. Men like 'Abd allāh Abn Souḍ, Ṣāleḥ Majdi Bey, Othmān Jalāl and Qadri Pāshā and other worthy products of the school who, as we shall see later, formed a literary group under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā, were the real leaders of the renascence.

It was in the fitness of things that when in 1258 a translation bureau was instituted, it was staffed by the

(1) Riḥlah, p. 244.

first batch of the successful students of this institution and was placed under the direction of its versatile rector, Rifā'ah, who a year and a half later was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel and in 1262 was made a Colonel () and since then began to be called Rifā'ah Bey instead of Shaikh Rifā'ah.

(v) The Bureau of Translation.

[The translation bureau which, as we have already seen, was nothing but an offshoot of the school of languages, was a fifth important agency that disseminated French influence in Egypt. The two are so indissolubly connected with each other that it would hardly be worth while to consider them separately but for the reason that the period of the existence of the one did not exactly coincide with that of the other all through their chequered career.] The school of language was abolished by 'Abbas I in 1265 A.H. (1851) and the translation bureau was disbanded by Sā'id Pāshā in 1277 A.H. (1860).⁽¹⁾ The former was, as we shall see later, restarted under the regime of Ismā'il Pāshā in 1868, under the name of the School of Languages and Administration, and the latter was reorganized in 1280 (1863).⁽²⁾ However, as the personel and the effect of the two were in essence identical, what we have already said or shall say later of the one applies in toto to

(1) Harakah, III, p. 493.

(2) *ibid*, p. 493.

to the other. We should, therefore, in subsequent chapters treat of the two together.

(c) The rise of indigenous movements under Ismā'īl Pāshā co-operating with foreign influences to strengthen westernization.

The French invasion prepared the ground and Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā sowed the seeds of westernization. These seeds germinated and the seedlings grew luxuriantly under his fostering care. But the indifference of two succeeding rulers, 'Abbās I and Sa'id, deprived them of the necessary nurture of royal patronage. Their healthy growth was, consequently, checked for the time being. However, the accession in 1863 of Ismā'īl Pāshā heralded a bright future for the reform movements of Muḥammad 'Alī, the Great, which had either been abandoned or suffered to die out. Ismā'īl Pāshā, who had stayed in Paris for military training for some years and had travelled extensively through the continent of Europe, was seized with the idea of europeanizing Egypt. He revived the reform schemes of his illustrious grandfather with redoubled energy, and he first turned to education.]

When he ascended the throne, there was only one primary, one military and one medical school in existence,⁽¹⁾

(1) Ādāb, Iv, p. 33.

all the other institutions having been abolished by his predecessors. [He revived the old schools and opened new ones, and in a very brief time the country was covered by a network of schools of all types and denominations. The rapidity with which the number of schools increased under his regime is well known. The startling figures given in the official educational returns for the year 1291 A.H. amply illustrate the point. These returns show that in 1291 there were no less than thirty six high and technical and three thousand seven hundred and eight primary schools, which represented an increase of one thousand and eighty schools over the figures for the preceding year.⁽¹⁾] But something more was needed for the progress of education, and suitable text-books were the crying needs of the time.

Ismā'īl Pāshā, who was fully alive to these needs, equally realized the potentiality of the various reform schemes of his great ancestor. He continued the educational missions and revived the other reform measures. He summoned all those who were engaged during the reign of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā in importing western science and culture and charged them with the resumption of the work of translating and writing original works on the various subjects taught in the schools started by him.⁽²⁾ One of his earliest moves in this direction was the reconstitution in 1863 of the Translation

(1) Rauḍah, Vol. VI, No. 2, 30th Muḥarram, 1292 A.H. appendix p. 10.

(2) Ādāb, IV, pp. 193, 195.

Bureau under the direction of Rifā'ah Bey. ⁽¹⁾

This patriot and zealous reformer who had fallen on evil times during the reign of 'Abbās I and was out of employment for three years (1277-80 A.H.) again comes into his element. During his three years' exile in the Soudān he had sought distraction in his loneliness by translating the story of *Télémaque*. In Egypt he finds himself in a congenial atmosphere for the second time, and resumes his mission of propagating French science and culture with renewed vigour. Some of his old disciples join hands with him. He is thus the central star of the literary constellation under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā; but the appearance in the horizon of 'Ali Mubārak, another luminary of apparently brighter radiance, threatens to eclipse him, at least partially. As this ambitious man, who through the fortunate circumstances alluded to elsewhere, had considerable influence with Ismā'īl Pāshā, played a very important part in the renascence movement under his regime, we should follow here his career as closely as possible.

'Ali Mubārak was born in 1239 A.H. at the village of Birinbāl in Al-Daqhalieh. He began his studies at the age of six, and, if we do not disbelieve his candid confessions about his early life, he was ambitious and adventurous from

(1) *Harakah*, III, p. 493.

his very childhood.⁽¹⁾ Exasperated at the cruel treatment of his teacher, he planned to run away from home when he was only about ten. When asked about his choice in education, he chose to become a scribe in preference to being a Faqīh inasmuch as he saw the scribes were well off and had access to the governors.⁽²⁾ After some rough adventures he became a clerk to the Ma'mūr of the cotton farm of Abn Kabīr. However, his ambition spurred him on, and in 1251 A.H. he joined the Qaṣr al-ʿAini school against the wishes of his parents. In 1255 he was selected for the Engineering School of Bulāq and in 1260 A.H. he was chosen by Solaimān Pāshā as one of the meritorious pupils fit to be included in the fifth educational mission. The rector of the school tried to dissuade him from joining the mission; but he was too ambitious to be led away by the lures of immediate good and thus let the golden chance slip. He joined the mission and this brought him into personal contact with the princes for whom the mission was organized, and luckily for him the prince to whom he was more particularly attached was Amīr Ismāʿīl who in due course became the Khedive Ismāʿīl Pāshā.

On his return from Paris in 1266 A.H. he was appointed a teacher at the Torah school and was later made a member of the

(1) Khiṭaṭ, IX, p. 38.

(2) Khiṭaṭ, IX, p. 38.

personal staff of 'Abbas I, and an examiner of the Engineers of Al-Aryāf and the teachers of the schools.⁽¹⁾ It is interesting to note that 'Abbas I, who abolished the school of languages in 1265 and banished Rifā'ah Bey and other prominent members of the first mission to the Soudan in 1267 on the pretext of organizing a school at Khartoum, appointed 'Ali Mubārak an examiner for the teachers of the schools and later approved the scheme for the reorganization of the government schools prepared by him, appointed him Director of the schools and conferred on him the title of Colonel.⁽²⁾

It is again strange to notice that Sa'īd Pāshā who took pity on Rifā'ah and recalled him from his banishment, was dissatisfied with 'Ali Mubārak, removed him from his post and sent him in 1854 to the Crimea with the Egyptian forces despatched to co-operate with the Turkish army in the Crimean War.⁽³⁾ However, both Rifā'ah and 'Ali Mubārak figure very prominently under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā and co-operate in the cause of the renaissance, and it would serve no useful purpose to probe further the personal relations of the two, which, outwardly at least, were nothing but cordial. Nevertheless the contrast between their nature and aspirations is worth studying.

(1) *Khiṭāṭ*, IX, p. 44.

(2) *Khiṭāṭ*, IX, p.

(3) *Ibid*, IX, p.

Rifa'ah, the unassuming patriot, never trumpeted his achievements as teacher and reformer, as did 'Ali Mubarak, the blatant fame-hunter, and consequently never rose to the high ranks and titles which his ambitious co-worker attained. But he had the satisfaction of having silently mobilized an army of literary men imbued with the spirit of nationalism and devoted to the cause of cultural renaissance. His worthy disciples like Abn Sūd, Ṣāleḥ Majdi Bey, Qadri Pāshā and Othmān Jalāl, and other persons influenced by their example, who carried on the campaign of reform through various channels, were the real exponents of the renaissance under Ismā'īl Pāshā. Some took to journalism and some combined to found a society for the promotion of knowledge, which was known as Jam'iyat al-Ma'ārif, undertaking to publish important classical texts. They also constituted the basic element for the embryonic nationalist party which later developed into a powerful political factor. However, the share of Ali Mubarak in the various movements that were in full swing under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā cannot be ignored.

'Ali Mubarak, who enjoyed the confidence of the Khedive, was a tactful man of Herculean energies and manysided activities. In 1279 he was appointed superintendent of the Delta Barrage, in 1282 he was nominated to represent the Egyptian government on the Suez Canal Committee and in 1284 he became deputy director of the Council of the Schools under

(1)
the ministry of Sharīf Pāshā. The culminating point came in 1285 A.H. (18) when he was raised to the rank of Mīr Mīrān, a full-fledged Pāshā, and was entrusted with the direction of the Council of the schools, the department of the Egyptian railways, the ministry of public works and the ministry of the Waqfs in addition to the superintendence of the Delta

Barrage.⁽²⁾ His appointment as the director of the Council of the Schools was followed by various revolutionary events.

[In 1285 there was founded the teachers' training college, Dār al-'Ulūm, which for a long time served as the link between the old school and the new - between Al-Azhar Shaikhs and the young scholars trained in the institutions for western education.⁽³⁾ In 1287 A.H. (1870) the famous

Egyptian Library which was known originally as Al-Kutub Khanah al-Khedivieh was organized.⁽⁴⁾ In the same year, through the combined efforts of 'Ali Mubārak Pāshā and Rifā'ah Bey and his lieutenants Raudat al-Madāris, the magazine of the education department was launched.⁽⁵⁾ From the foregoing state-

ment it is clear that, at last, four indigenous agencies, viz, (i) journalism, (ii) the Jamīyah al-Ma'ārif, (iii) the Dār al-'Ulūm, and (iv) the embryonic nationalist party co-operated with foreign influences to strengthen the renaissance under the

(1) Khitāṭ, IX, p. 49.

(2) Ibid, p. 50.

(3) Ibid, p. 51.

(4) Raudah, Vol.I, No.1, dated 15th Muḥarram, 1287 A.H.

(5) Ibid, Vol.I, No.1, dated 15th Muḥarram, 1287 A.H.

regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā.]

(i) Journalism and the circle of Rifā'ah.

History of the study of Arabic Journalism.

The first indigenous movement to co-operate in strengthening the influences of westernization during this period was journalism. The genesis and development of Arabic journalism is interesting; but the history of its study is no less so. We should, therefore, begin with a rapid résumé of the latter. It is a curious coincidence that Arabic journalism in all its aspects derives its first inspirations from one and only one source - French. There can be no two opinions as to the fact that the inception of Al-Waqā' e' al-Misrīeh, the first Arabic journal, which was started by Muhammad 'Alī Pāshā in 1828 was nothing but the outcome of French influence. He was guided by French advisers like Dr. Clot Bey and others and there can be no doubt that the suggestion of starting a journal came from that quarter. The first mention in writing of this first Arabic journal was made by the French orientalist, Reinaud, in the French periodical, Nouveau Journal Asiatique.⁽¹⁾ Again, the first attempt to essay a history of Arabic journalism was a Frenchman, M. Henry Galiardo, who wrote a note on it in 1884 when he was at Cairo as French Consul.⁽²⁾

Among writers in Arabic Jurji Zaidān is apparently the

(1) J.A. Juillet, 1831.

(2) Tarrāzi, 1, p. 48.

first in the field. But as first attempts are often imperfect, he does not go beyond giving an incomplete list of Arabic journals. He does not mention the very important magazine, *Kaḍat al-Madāris al-Misriyah* and wrongly states that in 1892 *al-waqā'e al-Misriyah* was in its sixty-second year.⁽¹⁾

The next attempt in Arabic was made by Abdallah Al-Anṣārī who in his *Jāme' at-taṣānīf al-Misriyah al-Ḥadīthah* devotes some nine pages to an account of literary and political journals.⁽²⁾ But the value of this book can readily be judged from the fabulous account he gives of the first Arabic journal, *Al-Waqā'e al-Misriyah*, copies of which from the very first issue, though with many and long breaks, are preserved in the Egyptian Library, Cairo. He says that it was started in 1248 A.H. (1832), appeared in the beginning every Monday, later every Tuesday, in Arabic, subsequently for a short time in Turkish and later again in Arabic.⁽³⁾ We shall see hereafter that all this is no mere myth - nothing but the fabrication of an imaginative mind.

A third attempt in Arabic was an article in 1897 in an Arabic magazine of Cairo, *Al-Ajyāl* by Michael ibn Antone Ṣaqqāl of Aleppo. He too is not free from inaccuracies, a list of which is given by Viscount Philip de Tarrāzi.

(1) *Al-Hilāl*, Vol. I (1892), part I (Second Edition) p.9.

(2) Abd allāh al-Anṣārī, *Jāme' at-taṣānīf al-Misriyah al-Ḥadīthah* (Bulāq, 1312 A.H., 1895 A.C.) pp. 67-79.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 74.

The next European writer on the subject was Martin Hartmann whose book, 'The Arabic Press of Egypt', was published in 1899. Unfortunately he relies mainly on the last two Arabic writers mentioned above to supplement the data culled from his own private collections. The obvious result is that his work is an incomplete and very inaccurate mass of notes on the subject, which can serve no useful purpose. It neither presents a sustained study of the Arabic Press of Egypt nor provides sufficient and reliable materials for further research on the subject.

Next comes Carl Brocklemann's 'Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur', which was published in 1902; but it does not say much about the Arabic journals. This was followed in 1903 by Clement Huart's 'A History of Arabic Literature.' It is remarkable that the short chapter on 'The Periodical Press', though sketchy, is less inaccurate than the work of Martin Hartmann.

Among later works dealing with the subject mention may be made of the article on the Arabic Periodical Press by Mirante in 'Actes du XIV^e Congres International des Orientales' (Part III), 1905, of Cheikho's 'La Litterature Arabe au XIX^e Siecle', of Jurji Zaidān's 'Mashahīr ash-Sharq, Part II and his 'Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughat al-Ārabiyyah, Vol. IV, all of which treat of the subject rather incidentally. The latest and fullest survey is contained in Viscount Philip de

Ṭarrāzi's Tārīkh aṣ-Ṣahāfat al-Arabiyyah of which only two parts have until now appeared. Although this book is full of inaccuracies and inconsistencies, yet its value as a guide to a cautious researcher cannot be denied. It presents a comprehensive list of sources, and a huge mass of material out of which by careful sifting one can gather much useful information on the subject. But the difficulty lies in finding out in what particulars he is correct and in what others, wrong, and that in itself is no easy task.

The beginnings of Arabic Journalism.

[The view of Cheikho,⁽¹⁾ Zaidan⁽²⁾ and Philip de Ṭarrāzi⁽³⁾ that the first Arabic journal was started by Napoleon at Cairo in 1799 and that it was presumably called Al-Ḥawādith al-Yaumiyyah⁽⁴⁾ or At-Tanbih⁽⁵⁾ is based on mere speculation. The passage quoted by Ṭarrāzi from Al-Jabarti⁽⁶⁾ does not go beyond indicating that the French wrote the proceedings of their Diwāns (Courts) and offices, collected them together, printed and circulated copies of their summary among the troops and recorded the same in their register. However, it is generally admitted that the Arabic world owes to Muḥammad 'Ali, the Great, its first and the oldest extant Arabic journal,

(1) Cheikho I, p. 20.

(2) Ādāb IV, p. 17.

(3) Ṭarrāzi, I, p. 48.

(4) Ibid, I, 48.

(5) Ādāb, IV, p. 17.

(6) Ṭarrāzi, I, 48. (See also Jabarti, IV, 238)

Al-Waqā' e al-Miṣriyah

Al-Waqā' e al-Miṣriyah

Al-Waqā' e al-Miṣriyah was started on 25th Jumāda al-Ūlā, 1244 A.H. (3rd December 1828) as a bilingual (Arabic-Turkish) journal.⁽¹⁾ It appeared for a long time at irregular intervals, sometimes twice,⁽²⁾ and sometimes four⁽³⁾ to eight⁽⁴⁾ times in the month. From 1263 A.H.⁽⁵⁾ (1847) or an earlier date until at least 1291 A.H.⁽⁶⁾ (1874), it appeared in two separate issues in Arabic and Turkish. It was, however, reorganized in 1282 A.H. (1866) under the auspices of Sharīf rāshā, the minister of home and foreign affairs and the Egyptian schools.⁽⁷⁾ It then began to appear at regular intervals (once a week), and to incorporate useful articles on various subjects.⁽⁸⁾ From 4th Dhu al-Qa'dah, 1297 A.H.⁽⁹⁾ (9th October 1880) to 14th Rabī'a al-Awwal, 1302 A.H.⁽¹⁰⁾ (31st December, 1884) it appeared daily.

On first January 1885⁽¹¹⁾ it was reduced to the status of a mere government gazette. From 1st January, 1885 to

-
- (1) Al-Waqā' e, No. 1. dated Tuesday 25th Jumāda al-Ūlā, 1244 A.H. p. 1 (Egyptian Library, Cairo).
- (2) Al-Waqā' e, Nos. 2-3, Jumāda al-ukhra, 1244 A.H.
- (3) Ibid, Nos. 39-42, Muḥarram, 1245 A.H.
- (4) Ibid, Nos. 59-76, Rabī'a al-Akhir, 1245 A.H.
- (5) Ibid, No. 68, 23rd Jumāda al-Akhir, 1263 A.H.
- (6) Ibid, No. 501, 5th Shawwāl, 1291 A.H.
- (7) Al-Āthar, p. 258.
- (8) Ibid, p. 260.
- (9) Al-Waqā' e, No. 933, 4th Dhu al-Qēdah, 1297 A.H.
- (10) Ibid, No. 3103, 14th Rabī'a al-Awwal, 1302 A.H.
- (11) Al-Waqā' e, No. 1, 1st Jan. 1885.

24th February, 1915⁽¹⁾ it appeared thrice weekly - Mondays, Wednesdays, and Saturdays. Since 1st March 1915 it has appeared twice a week, on Mondays and Thursdays. However, until 1847 it continued to be the only Arabic journal in the world and until 1865 the only one in Egypt. Thus from the time of Muḥammad 'Alī pāshā to the accession of Ismā'īl pāshā it was the sole Arabic journal of Egypt.]

Al-Waqā'e al-Miṣriyah was originally designed, as enunciated in the first issue, to publish such useful news as would tend to produce good results for the economic uplift of the country and would serve as a sort of object lesson for the guidance of the governors and other administrative officers of the state. It incorporated the proceedings of the Sublime Council and the Khedivial Court, besides news from the different countries.

[From 1828 to 1865 its career from the literary point of view was unproductive. It neither made any direct contribution to the output of literature nor created an atmosphere of literary activity. During the rule of Muḥammad 'Alī pāshā it was yet in its infancy and the period of the rule of 'Abbās I and Sa'id (1849-1863), was not favourable to the growth of an exotic plant, especially

of European origin. The accession of Ismā'īl Pāshā, however, opened a new chapter in the life of the journal. As already stated, it was reorganized in 1865, when it entered upon a new life. One of the distinctive features of its new career was that literary contributions now found space in its columns. This new opportunity was taken full advantage of by Rifā'ah Bey and his disciples⁽¹⁾ (lieutenants) who were always in the forefront in the campaign for reform. Even men like Shaikh 'Alī al-Laithi⁽²⁾ of the conservative school did not lag behind. Its tone was, however, further improved when in 1869 Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ar-Raḥīm at-Taḥṭāwī was appointed its chief editor and his brother, Muḥammad 'Abd ar-Raḥīm a sub-editor.]

Shaikh Ahmad 'Abd ar-Raḥīm was born at Tahta in 1233 A.H. He began his studies at home and completed them at Al-Azhar. At the age of twenty five he joined the Preparatory School as a teacher of grammar and was later transferred to the School of Languages to teach foreign students grammar, rhetoric, prosody, logic and theology. He was subsequently transferred to the Engineering School and later to the Military School. Eventually in 1869 he was appointed chief editor of Al-Waqā'e' al-Miṣriyyah. He filled this last position

(1) Al-Waqā'e', No. 302, 10th Jan. 1869, p.1 (Review by Rifā'ah on Al-Tanwīr, a commentary on Saqt az-Zand) and No.400, 23rd March, 1871 (Odes by Rifā'ah and Sāleḥ Majdī on Id congratulations to the Khedive)

(2) Al-Waqā'e', No. 639, 9th Jan. 1876.

with credit until 1297 A.H. (1880) when he was succeeded by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh.⁽¹⁾ He died in 1302 A.H. 1885.

[The reorganization of Al-Waqā' e' al-Miṣriyah was followed by the rapid growth of journalism in Egypt. New journals and magazines followed one another in quick succession. In 1865 Muḥammad 'Ali al-Baqali, as mentioned elsewhere, started the first Arabic magazine, Ya'sūb at-ṭibb.⁽²⁾ In 1866 Abn So'ūd, one of the lieutenants of Rifā'ah Bey launched the first non-official Arabic journal, Wādi an-Nīl (the Valley of the Nile). In 1870 came the very important magazine, Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah, which for at least eight years continued to focus the activities of the literary constellation under the regime of Isma'īl Pasha.

Wādi an-Nīl, which continued to appear twice weekly until the death of its founder in 1878, was the first Arabic journal of Egypt that discussed political, literary and educational topics. As Abn So'ūd was a servant of the state, he naturally defended in his journal the policy of Ismā'īl Pasha, who was his greatest patron.⁽³⁾]

Abn So'ūd was born about the year 1236 A.H. He began his studies at one of the village schools and finally passed on to the School of Languages. He soon rose to be a teacher

(1) Al-Khiṭaṭ, Vol. XIII, p. 52.

(2) Ṭarrāzi, vol. 1, p. 67.

(3) Ibid, vol. 1, p. 69.

there; but was later transferred to the Translation Bureau. Under the regime of Isma' il Pasha he was first attached to the translation department of the Council of the Schools, of which in 1289 A.H. he became director. He was for some time teacher of history at Dār al- 'Ulūm and in 1293 he was appointed a member of the Council of Appeal.⁽¹⁾ It is thus clear that he carried on the journalistic work along with the duties of his office.

Rauḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah.

The next journal, Rauḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah, which began publication on 15th Muḥarram 1287 A.H. (16th April 1870) was a fortnightly literary and educational magazine. It was edited under the direction of Rifā'ah Bey by his son, 'Ali Fahmi Bey who was then the teacher of composition at the School of Administration and Languages. It was printed in the beginning at the press of the journal, Wādī an-Nīl, and later it had its own press. Its aim was the diffusion of knowledge, and its ambition to bring together scientific material of every description and to discuss topics of all types in such simple language as would easily unfold the veiled beauties of science to the general public.⁽²⁾ The promise which this enunciation of aims and scope gave of its ambitions was amply substantiated by its

(1) Khiṭaṭ, vol. XI, pp. 68-9.

(2) Rauḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah, Vol. I, No. I, p. 3.

brilliant career.

From the very beginning the journal began to focus the activities of the literary coterie which was composed of such exponents of the renaissance as Rifā'ah Bey and his disciples, and 'Ali Mubarak Pasha, 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā, Shaikh Ḥusain al-Marṣafi and others. The journal was divided into two sections, one consisting of articles and contributions from the pen of the leading writers of the time and the other comprising of fascicules of books written by some of the masters of literary style. The first issue published the first fascicules of 'Ali Mubārak Pāshā's Kitāb Haqāiq al-Akḥbār fi Auṣāf al-Biḥār and 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā's Kitāb Āthār al-Afkār wa Manthūr al-Azhār respectively. By this ingenious device many books designed to create awakening and interest in the reform movements were placed by instalments in the hands of the readers of the journal.

Among the books thus published in the pages of the Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah the most important besides the two mentioned above were Rifā'ah Bey's Al-Murshid al-Amīn li'l ~~al~~-Banāt wa al-Banīn, Al-Qaul as-Sadīd fi ~~al~~-Ijtihād wa't ~~al~~-Taqlīd and Nihāyet al-Ījāz fi Sirat Sākin al-Ḥijāz, 'Ali Mubārak Pāshā's Khawass al-Ā'ādād and Tadhkirat al-Muhandisīn, 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā's Mawārid al-Qur'ān and Al-Maqāmāt al-Fikriyah, Shaikh Othmān al-Mudawwakh's Nabadhat fi ~~al~~-Alḥān Al-Wasīlat wa-'l-Aghāni, and Shaikh Ḥusain al-Marṣafi's/Al-Adabiyyah ila ~~al~~-'Ulūm al-Ārabiyyah which was published under the title

of Ad-Durūs al-Adabīyah.]

The Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīyāh may in some sense be called the organ of the educational or reform policy of Ismā'īl Pāshā. It published the annual educational returns that naively courted the attention of the people to the rapid strides with which education progressed under the regime of the Khedive;⁽¹⁾ and often an opportunity was sought or created to eulogize him for his works of public utility. The organization of the Khedivial Library provides the text for a eulogistic note in the first issue.⁽²⁾ Another issue reproduces in translation an apparently inspired note from the Times in which Egyptian Schools and the starting of the first Girls' School in Egypt in 1873 by Chashm Āfat Khānum, the third queen of the Pasha, is fully described and eulogized.⁽³⁾ A third number copies from Al-Waqā'e al-Miṣrīyah a note reproduced in translation from the same English paper dwelling on the expansion of the scope of education in Egypt.⁽⁴⁾ A notice about the publication of a book on Skin Diseases by Dr. Hasan Maḥmūd Efendi inspires the editor to allude with enthusiasm to the Khedive who has revived in Egypt the spirit of equity and moderation and increased the

(1) Raudah Vol. VI, No. 2, 29th Muḥarram, 1292.

(2) Ibid, Vol. I, No.1, 15th Muḥarram, 1287.

(3) Ibid, Vol. V, No.8, pp. 7 - 8.

(4) Ibid, Vol. V, No. 20.

number of physicians of his calibre.⁽¹⁾ At a later stage there appeared a series of articles entitled *Nabadhat fi 'Iṭṭiqād al-waṭan al-Miṣri* by Salīm al-Ḥamawī, director of the late *Al-Kawkab ash-Sharqi* of Alexandria.⁽²⁾ From the wide range of the topics discussed in the magazine, the vast number of its enthusiastic contributors and the extent of its circulation it can be inferred that apart from exercising local influence in moulding and guiding public opinion on education and reform in Egypt, it brought the Arabic-speaking nations in closer touch with each other.

It is a remarkable fact that in the early part of its career the principal regular contributors to the magazine were Rifā'ah Bey, his pupil, Ṣāleḥ Majdi, 'Alī Mubārak Pāshā and 'Abd allāh Fikri Pāshā. This fact amplifies the point that the inception of this journal was mainly due to the combined efforts of these men who harmoniously co-operated in the furtherance of the cause of the westernization which was one of the fondest aspirations of the Khedive.

Rifā'ah Bey's activities did not stop here. He continued to write books, in addition to performing the functions of the rector of the school of languages and the director of the *Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah*. In 1285 A.H.

(1) *Raudah*, Vol. VI, No.10, dated 29th Jumāda I, 1292 A.H.

(2) *Ibid*, Vol.VII, Nos. 5 & 7, dated 15th Rabi' I and 15th Rabi' II, 1293 A.H. respectively.

the first part of his projected history of Egypt, entitled *Anwār Tawfīq Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa Tawthīq Banī Ismā‘īl* appeared.⁽¹⁾ It gives a detailed account of the Kings and the dynasties that ruled in Egypt from the dawn of its civilization to the advent of ‘Amr ibn al-Ā’s and his host as conquerors, with an excursus on the history of the Arabs and their manners and customs.⁽²⁾ In the same year his translation of the Law of Commerce was published. This was followed in the next year by one of the most extraordinary literary productions of the period, *Manāhiḡ al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah fī Mabāhiḡ al-Ādāb al-‘Aṣriyah* (The roads of the Egyptian minds in the blossoming avenues of the gardens of the contemporary cultures.) This remarkable work is a queer compendium of the economic history of Egypt from the days of Alexander the Great and a manual of political science withal.

The book is made up of an introduction, five parts and a conclusion. The introduction is devoted to various preliminary topics, mainly dwelling on praise of Egypt and encouragement of patriotism. The first part deals with general economic terms and principles in a very interesting manner. In the first chapter the term utility is defined, in the second the sources of wealth and in the third the division of labour into productive and unproductive are

(1) Sarkīs, V, 943.

(2) Sundūbi, p. 94.

discussed. The fourth chapter emphasizes the importance of diligence and labour as the source of wealth. The second part of the book attempts to trace the three stages of economic development, the agricultural, the commercial and the industrial. The third part surveys the economic history of Egypt prior to the Muslim Conquest, and the fourth discusses the economic developments under Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā and the fifth dwells on the achievement of material progress and its continuation under Ismā'īl Pāshā. The conclusion is in a way a political manual, prescribing rules of conduct for rulers, the Ūlema, the judges, the Coptic patriarchs, the head of the Jews, and the troops, farmers, traders and artisans.

The object of writing this book, as outlined by the author in the preface, is nothing but national service. His cult is that every individual member of the nation must help the national society according to his capacity, spend what capital of wealth he possesses for the general advantage of his country, and be sincere to his country by unfolding what knowledge he possesses.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly, he pours out his wealth of knowledge for the service of his country, and this crystallizes into the form of a book on the general utilities based on material culled from Arabic and French works and supplemented by personal observations and supported by quotations from the Qur ān, the Ḥadīth, the

(1) Manahīj, pp. 4-5.

sayings of sages and the literary works of poets and prose writers.^(a) It is evidently the first work of its kind in Arabic, and from its tenor it appears that the author was inspired by patriotic aims. The fact that he defends the westernizing schemes of Ismā'īl Pāshā raises the suspicion that the book might have been written at the instance of the Pasha in defence of these schemes. But the repeated references to patriotic ideals and expressions⁽¹⁾ and the outbursts of feeling expressed in the odes composed by him during his exile in the Sudān⁽²⁾ take away much of the force of this suspicion. However, Rifā'ah was a loyal patriot and nationalist bent on reform. When he defends the Khedive's reform schemes, he is inspired more by feelings of patriotic zeal for the uplift of his countrymen than by ambitions of personal gain in the shape of rewards, endowments and titles. It is significant that he did not acquire any new titles under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā, who conferred the title of Pāshā on men of equal calibre.

Among the other works⁽³⁾ of Rifā'ah the book of reading lessons designed for boys and girls entitled Al-Musshid al-Amīn li'l Banat wa'l-Banīn deserves special mention. The title is suggestive and reveals the author's mind. He formulates the rule that the education of boys and girls should receive equal

(a) Manahīj, p. 5.

(1) Manahīj pp. 13,14,15,16, 206.

(2) Ibid. pp. 265-276.

(3) For complete list of Rifā'ah's published works see Sarkis, V. P p. 943-947.

attention so as to secure the happiness of married life. He would have the girls learn reading, writing and arithmetic and so forth. This would improve their manners and mental faculties and would make them fit for knowledge and capable of participation with men in conversation and counsel. They would thus become greater in the eyes of men and their position would be elevated by the disappearance of the weakness of mind and the levity which results from the association of an illiterate woman with another of her ilk. Further it would become possible for a woman, when circumstances demand, to take to employments and works in which men are usually engaged, according to their capacity and strength. In this way women would themselves do the work they can perform, and this would keep them away from idleness. (1)

The foregoing observations of Rifā'āh prove, if proof were needed, that he was the precursor of the much maligned champion of the cause of the women of Egypt, Qāsim Amīn, the author of *Tahrīs al-Marāt* who observes, "One instance of holding women to be despicable is to stand between her and the usual course of life and action in anything that concerns her. Thus she has no say in practical matters, no conception of ideals, no taste in arts, no share in general utilities, no place in religious beliefs; and she

(1) Rifā'āh Bey, *Al-Musshid al-Amin li'l-Banāt wa'l-Banīn* (Cairo, 1292 A.H.) p. 66.

has neither national virtues nor religious comprehension."⁽¹⁾

The last literary contribution of Rifā'ah was the second volume of the already mentioned historical work, Anwār Taufiq Jalil which appeared in fasciculi in Raudat al-Madāris al-Misriyah. As this volume is entirely devoted to the life of the Arabian Prophet, it is aptly entitled Nihayat al-Ijāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Ḥijāz. But the misleading use of different titles for two volumes of the same work is apt to lead to error and confusion.⁽²⁾ However, destiny did not permit him to live long enough to continue the work which bears eloquent testimony to his unflinching adherence to the last to the most orthodox views in religious matters.⁽³⁾ He died in 1290 A.H. (1873), leaving behind a rich legacy for Egypt of books and men in the person of his pupils who were the leaders of the Renaissance.

One of the avowed leaders of the revivalist movement was Rifā'ah's devoted pupil, Ṣāleḥ Majdi, who was the first to recognize the extent and the value of his services to the country. He was born at Abi Rujwān al-Qibliyah in the Mudīviyah of Al Jīzah in 1242 A.H. He studied for some time at the village school of Abi Rujwān and then at the

(1) Qāsim Amīn, Tahrīr al-Mar'at, (Cairo not dated), p. 17.

(2) The author of Tarīkh al-Harakat al-Qaumīyah and others labour under the impression that the second volume did not appear. (see Harakah, p.514.)

(3) Rifā'ah Bey, Nihāyat al-Ijāz (Cairo, 1291 A.H.) p.94. (His Belief in Al-Meraj al-Jasadi.)

government school of Ḥulwān. In 1252 A.H. he was transferred to the School of Languages where he applied himself to the study of French under the supervision of Rifā'ah and of Arabic under the Al-Azhar scholars like Shaikh Muḥammad ad-Damanḥūrī, Abn So'ūd at-ṭahtāwī and others attached to the school. He learnt the art of translation from Rifā'ah. When in 1258 A.H. the Translation Bureau consisting of three sections - one for mathematical, another for physical and a third for literary and historical works - was created, Majdi was appointed deputy director of the mathematical section. In 1260 A.H. he was transferred to the Khediveal Engineering School at Bulaq where he continued until 1270, when he was transferred to the Regiment of Engineers as head translator and emender of translations of military works. Throughout this period he translated books on mathematics, physics and the art of warfare. In 1272 he was promoted to the rank of an Adjutant Major.

In 1273 A.H. Ṣāleḥ Majdi was put in charge of the publication of military works at the Bulāq Press, and in 1274 was promoted to the rank of a Major. When early in the reign of Ismā'īl Pāshā the Translation Bureau was re-organized and its members were charged with the translation of the Code of Napoleon, he was transferred to it. Here he translated the Law of Criminal Investigation. In 1279 he rose to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel. He was later (in

1280) transferred to the personal staff of the Khedive. After some subsequent transfers he was transferred to the Council of Schools and attached to the translation section thereof.

In 1283 A.H. 'Ali Mubārak co-opted him in compiling Kitāb al-Hijā' wa't-Tamrīn and it is remarkable that even a man like 'Ali Mubārak does not feel ashamed of acknowledging the value of the assistance he received from Majdi.⁽¹⁾ 'Ali Mubārak further acknowledges the help he freely received from this talented pupil of Rifā'ah in the compilation of his other works.⁽²⁾

In 1286 he was appointed Deputy Director of the office of the Egyptian Schools and in 1287 he participated in the launching^{of} the Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah to which he contributed in prose and verse. In 1288 he rose to the rank of Colonel. In 1292 A.H. he was appointed a judge of the Mixed Court in which post he continued until his death in 1298 A.H.

Ṣāleḥ Majdi, like his illustrious teacher Rifā'ah, was a prolific writer. Besides contributing numerous articles to the journals of his time on a variety of subjects, he wrote several books, mostly on mathematics, physics and warfare. According to one account his works, original and translated,

(1) Khitāṭ, VII, p. 34.

(2) Ibid, VII, p.

number more than sixty five.⁽¹⁾ His contributions to the Raudat al-Madāris al-Misrīyah and his verse compositions which have been collected into a Diwān amply testify to his literary taste and merit. His short life of Rifā'ah under the significant title, Ḥilyat az-Zeman be Sīrat Khādim al-Waṭan is an interesting commentary on the feelings of an admiring pupil towards his patriotic teacher. His admiration for Rifā'ah is further reflected in his poetry.⁽²⁾

The verse composition of Majdi consists mainly of panegyrics, elegies and chronograms. Like 'Ali ad-Darwish, who is known as the poet of 'Abbās I,⁽³⁾ he was adept in composing chronograms. His Diwān which is full of these thus supplies considerable historical data. His panegyrics ~~are~~ ~~panegyrics~~ are mostly in praise of Sa'īd Pāshā. The most interesting of all his verse compositions are the fifteen national songs in the form of Muzdawajāt, eight of which appeared in his book, Kitāb Mayādīn al-Ḥuṣūn and seven in Kitāb Tadhkīr al-Mursal. Sa'īd Pāshā, who is eulogized in these songs, was so pleased with them that he ordered them to be set to military music for use on ceremonial occasions.⁽⁴⁾ However, reading through his Diwān one finds that he seldom rises above the level of a clever maker of mechanical verses.

(1) Khitāṭ, VII, p.

(2) Diwān Ṣāleḥ Majdi (Cairo, 1311 A.H.) pp. 44-45, 174.

(3) Cheikho, I, p. 84.

(4) Diwān Ṣāleḥ Majdi, p. 392.

Another acknowledged leader of the renaissance movement under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā was 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā, who, as we have already noticed, was one of the most zealous contributors to the Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīyah.

'Abdallāh Fikri was born in 1250 A.H. at Mecca where his father was on military duty and had his wife with him. By a unique coincidence the Qur ānic verse, Qāla inni 'Abdallāh ātāni'l-Kitāb, the numerical value of which expressed in figures is 1250, happens to serve as a chronogram for the year of his birth. His biographer, his son Amīn Fikri Pāshā, amusingly chooses to interpret 'Kitāb' by 'Kitābah', meaning writing or composition.⁽¹⁾ However, the aptness of the interpretation is fully warranted by the fact that 'Abdallāh Fikri was an undisputed master of literary style.

He was educated at Al-Azhar where he studied the Muslim sciences under such teachers as Shaikh Ibrāhīm as-Sāqqa, Muḥammad (Ulayyish and others. In his spare hours he learnt Turkish and this secured him in 1267 A.H. an appointment as Turkish clerk in the Diwān al-Katkhudā'i (Home Department). But he continued his studies at Al-Azhar even after this appointment. He was subsequently appointed a member of the personal staff of Sa'īd Pāshā, and later of that of Ismā'īl Pāshā, as secretary. In this capacity he wrote elegant letters

(1) Al-Āthār, p. 4.

on behalf of the Viceroy or Khedive and other members of the ruling house to the Sultan of Turkey and other contemporary rulers, dignitaries, and scholars. These and other letters which he himself wrote to some of the leading men of his time are some of the best literary productions of the period in epistolary style. The first recognition of their excellence was made even during his lifetime, when his contemporary, Shaikh Ḥusain al-Marṣafi, who, as we shall see later, was no less a master of style, went so far as to maintain that had he come earlier and been a contemporary of Badī'az-Zamān al-Hamadhāni, he would have shared with him the title of Badī'az-Zamān (the wonder of the time).⁽¹⁾

Usually such appreciative remarks by a contemporary critic are under ordinary circumstances for obvious reasons taken with a grain of salt; but the appreciation of a man of the literary grit and critical acumen of Al-Marṣafi cannot be lightly discounted.

'Abdallāh Fikri's sound Oriental scholarship and sterling personal qualities had raised him in the estimation of Ismā'īl Pāshā, who in 1284 A.H. put him in charge of the Oriental studies of some of the princes, chiefly of the heir apparent, Taufīq Pāshā. In 1286 A.H. he was asked to look into, and report on, the question of housing the books that existed in the Diwān al-Muḥāfiẓah. He inspected the place

(1) . Al-Wasīlah, II, Pp.672-73.

where the books were kept and after a careful survey of the situation he reported recommending their transfer to the Council of the Schools, and their final inclusion into the Khediveal Library that was then being organized by Ali Mubārak Pāshā. In 1288 A.H. he was appointed Deputy Director of the Council of the Government schools under Ali Mubārak Pāshā. In 1294 A.H. he was promoted to the rank of Al-Mutamāiz; and in 1296 A.H. he was appointed Wakīl of the Ministry of Education, and was raised to the rank of Mir Miran, a full-fledged Pāshā. In 1299 he was appointed Minister of Education, but after a few months he resigned with the other ministers. He was suspected of complicity in the 'Arabi rising and was imprisoned; but on the investigation of the charge he was found innocent and was released. In 1302 A.H. he performed the Ḥajj pilgrimage to Mecca, and in 1303 A.H. visited Jerusalem. Wherever he went, he was received with honour and hospitality by savants and grandees. He then went to Damascus where he was most cordially entertained by Shaikh Muḥammad Al-Khāni. On his way back to Egypt he visited Ba'labak.

His two fine letters to Shaikh Abd al-Majīd al-Khāni describing his journeys to Mecca and Ba'labak entitled
 Ar-Riḥlat al-Makkiyah⁽¹⁾ and Ar-Riḥlat al-Ba'labakkiyah⁽²⁾ are

(1) Al-Āthār, p. 122.

(2) Ibid, p. 125.

very interesting. These and other exquisite pieces of epistolary art more than justify the remark of Shaikh Ḥusain al-Marsāfi that 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā stood on a par with the generally admitted master of the art, Badi' az-Zamān al-Hamadhāni. He is not a mere exhibitor of fine specimens of verbal beauty and mechanical decorator of speech. He is a man of clear perception and sound logic and a real master of style.⁽¹⁾ He uses language as a vehicle of thought and no more. He is a master, not a slave, of language, and the flow of figurative style in his composition is natural and spontaneous, not artificial and laboured. This remarkable characteristic of his style which is in keeping with the growing tendency of the period even raises him above the level of Badi' az-Zamān, the originator of the species of prose writing known as Maqāmāts, a name derived from his book entitled, Maqāmāt Badi' az-Zamān al-Hamadhāni.

Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā also wrote Maqāmāts, but he was not a servile imitator. He did not adhere to the plan originated by Badi' az-Zamān and apishly copied by subsequent writers of Maqāmāts from Al-Ḥariri down to Al-Yaziji. He shuns the beaten track and strikes out on his own path. His maqāmāts are of unequal length and his narrators have different names chosen according to the topics discussed therein.⁽²⁾ The longest and the most celebrated of all these is the one entitled

(1) See his Al-Āthār, pp. 221-239.

(2) Al-Āthār, p. 276.

Al-Maqāmat al-Fikriyah fil-Mamlakat al-Baṭiniyah which dwells on the struggles of man with his passions. It is based on a Turkish work entitled Al-Mamlakat al-Baṭiniyah.⁽¹⁾

In 1889 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā headed the representatives of the Egyptian Government to the eighth Oriental Conference held at Stockholm, the other members being his son, Amīn Fikri Bey, Shaikh Ḥamzah Faṭhallāh and Maḥmūd Efendi 'Omar.⁽²⁾ There he delivered a lecture in Arabic on his Sharḥ on the first Qaṣīdah from the Diwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit in the course of which he observed:

وانما اختلفت الشعراء في ديوان العرب وبجل اخلاقهم وعاداتهم ودينهم
وقائلهم وغزواتهم ومعاملاتهم وجمالاتهم وقاموس كلامهم ولغاتهم من
مفرداتهم ومركباتهم وهو المحجة في اثبات كلامهم في تبرهم ونظامهم

(3)

He had planned to write a complete Sharḥ on the whole of the Diwān; but his death in 1307 A.H. (1890) put an abrupt stop to his literary activities, and deprived the Arabic world of the benefits of his ripe scholarship as revealed in his writings, especially in the fragment of the Sharḥ entitled 'Ijalat al-Bayan 'alā Diwān Ḥassān⁽⁴⁾, which he has left.

He was himself a poet of no mean order, and in poetry as well as in prose the beauty of his style lies in its

- (1) Al-Āthār, pp. 276, 303, 310.
 (2) Irshād, p. 11.
 (3) Ibid, p. 656.
 (4) Al-Āthār, pp. 334-396.

graceful flow. The following verses which he wrote on a photograph of his, which he sent in 1876 to his son, Amīn, who was then at Paris,⁽¹⁾ speak for themselves.

صورتی ان وصلت حیی امیناً + عن ابیه بکل انس وبشر
والزمی دهره کما انّ سدی + شخصه دائماً بمرآة ندری

The fine lines which he wrote and sent to Shaikh 'Ali al-Laithi by a messenger informing him of the deposition of Ismā'il Pasha and the accession of Taufīq Pāshā⁽²⁾ are worth quoting:-

یا رب الوابور ینتخب المدی + عجل ویطوی المیل بعد المیل
عرج علی العیاط وانزل بعدها + بالصف واذکرتم غیر مقیل
واقراء علی الشیخ الجلیل تحیة + مقرونة بالشوق والتجیل
وقل البشارة مصر وئی اسرها + ترضیها من بعد اسماعیل
جاء القناصل بالتغاف مبرم + فدعوها لتنازل وقبول

The following exquisite lines in the praise of the Girls' School founded by Chashm Āfat Khanam provides two chronograms for the date of its foundation. The beginning of these lines is what they call embroidered by the name of the queen, that is, the first letters of these lines taken in order read Jashm Afat Khanim.

(1) Al-Āthār, p. 18.

(2) Ibid, p. 37.
(Cp. Ibn al-Farīd:

جادت يد الحرم العالی بما افتخرت + مصر به وتباهت سائر المدن
 شاركت على الخير والاحسان مدرسة + تزهر بابرع شكل معجب حسن
 محل مجد لتعليم البنات سما + + بمصر في سالف الاعصار ثم بين
 ادت به واجبات للحلى ووفى + معروفها بفروض البر والسنة
 في ظل ايام اسماعيل لا برحت + قريرة بعلاه عين الوطن
 تقبل الله منها حسن نيتها + وما افادت عن الآلاء والمن
 خبر لرونق مرآه وسمعه + بارض مصر سرور العين والاذن
 ابقته للوطن المحروس مأثره + نمرأ تفضل وصف الواصف اللين
 فلو لها الله ان تبقى سمعة + بطول عمر خديونيا موى الزمن
 ما فاه فكرى تبطريز لورعه + على بناء تعليم البنات بين
 1290

He had also in mind to write an account of his European travels; but here again death stood in the way of the realization of his ambition. Fortunately, however, his son, Amīn Fikrī Pāshā, who has collected as much of his unpublished prose and poetical works as he could gather and has published them with a short sketch of his life in the book entitled *Al-Āthār al Fikriyah*, has also written an account of their travels to Stockholm and Christiana under the title of *Irshād al-Alibba Ilā Mahāsin Urubbā*. But one naturally misses that great beauty of style which pervades throughout the range of 'Abdullāh's writings. Where else can one find the charms of the characteristic nervous and graceful style which charms the mind and pleases the ear when one reads 'Abdallāh Pāshā's works? He was not a voluminous writer. He left behind him his incomplete *Āthār al-Afkar* of which unfortunately only nine

fasciculi appeared in the Rauḍat al-Madāris, his short treatise on Nahv, Al-Fuṣūl al-Fikrīyah li'l-Makātib al-Miṣrīyah, his interesting little book of useful juvenile reading-lessons, Al-Fawā'id al-Fikrīyah li'l Makātib al-Miṣrīyah, the short anthology of his epigrams, Naẓm al-La'āl fi'l-Hikam wa l-Amthāl and his epistles, sceances and discourses (lectures) and odes as contained in Al-Āthār al-Fikrīyah. "But whatever he has written is stamped with the grace that was all his own. The following fine epigrammatic verses⁽¹⁾ are worth quoting:

وإذا ضاق صدر المرء عن سر نفسه + فصدر الذي يستوعب السرافيق
إذا اعتد القضاء عليك أسراً + فليس يحمله إلا القضاء

It is remarkable that 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā, whose education was purely oriental and who in his life ever maintained a strictly conservative attitude in his own acts and thoughts, was as vigorous a cooperator in the movements of westernization that were in full swing during his lifetime as even Rifa'ah and his lieutenants. He was as much in favour of progress and reform as anyone else;⁽²⁾ but with this difference, that he saw no logic in changing indiscriminately all the national customs. We have it on the authority of his son that he used to say, "What we require we should adopt

(1) Naẓm al-La'āl fi'l-Hikam wa l-Amthāl (Damascus, 1347 A.H.)

(2) Al-Āthār, pp. 221-239.

and should leave out what we can do without." What is in consonance with our real interests, we should adopt and what would corrupt our manners and morals, we should shun."⁽¹⁾

From the foregoing remark it is, however, clear that in spite of the ballasting effect of his purely Oriental training the influence of the surrounding forces was a potent factor in developing his outlook and style. He was, no doubt, an out and out conservative in his mode of life, cast of thought and literary activity; but was not blind to the spirit of the time that was moving feverishly towards westernization. He had not that infatuation for western science and culture which Rifā'ah and others had; still he was not peremptorily against all innovations. What he detested most was the aping of the West even in matters in which obviously no material advantage was gained by replacing the Oriental by the Occidental. It is, therefore, natural that whatever the indirect operation of western influence might have been on his style, it was merely superficial. What is most important about him is that he influenced others more than he was himself influenced.

(ii) Jamīyat al-Ma'ārif.

Another indigenous institution that helped to spread westernization during the reign of Ismā'il Pāshā was the

(1) Al-Āthār, pp. 221,- 239. 2610. *Journal*, 1897-1898. (Vol. 1, January, 1898)

society known as the Jam'iat al-Ma'ārif. It was organized in 1869 with the object of co-operating to diffuse knowledge and sciences by securing useful books and treatises, compiling, emending, epitomizing them, increasing their output and making them easily available to those who desired them.⁽¹⁾ It was a by-product of the process of westernization and operated to produce in its turn indirect effects to strengthen it. It was the outcome of the ferment that was then brewing in Egypt, Syria and elsewhere as the result of the onslaughts of western science and culture on the traditions of Muslim civilization and Arab thought.

The idea of forming a scientific society of this kind had occurred to the minds of Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq and 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā. The latter in a note addressed to Abn So ūd, who published it in Al-Wādi an-Nīl by instalments, strongly supported the suggestion which had originated from the editor of Al-Jawā'ib for the formation of a society composed of eminent scholars for examining all books intended for publication and deciding whether they should be published or not. But this idea of, what may be termed, a literary censorship was too pedantic to be practicable. However, there was another point in the suggestions of 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā. He was militant against the importation of foreign words

(1) Al-Waqā'ī, No. 301, dated 26th Şafar, 1287 A.H. (7th January, 1869)

into the Arabic vocabulary and wished to see the foundation of an acknowledged agency authorized to coin new forms from Arabic roots impressed with new meanings to replace such foreign words as 'Fābūr', Tarān and Kambiyāla etc. and others.⁽¹⁾

This is apparently the genesis of the Jam'iyat al-Ma'ārif which was started by 'Arif Pāshā in conjunction with Ibrāhīm Bey al-Muwāilḥi under the auspices of the Heir apparent, Taufīq Pāshā. It rendered valuable services to the renaissance by publishing such important works as Usd al-Ghābah, Kitāb Alif Bā, Tāj al-'Arūs, Al-Fath al-Wahbi and At-Tanwīr, Sharḥ on Saqṭ az-Zand of Al-Ma'arri. The object of this society was obviously the revival of classical Arabic literature and traditional Muslim lore, and the effect was, though indirectly, to strengthen westernization. The publication of old masterpieces was no less conducive to the importation of western influences than the translation of works from French. Healthy competition in the field of literary growth is as surely stimulating as in the sphere of economic development; and the effect of the competition of the exponents of the classical school with the agencies of reform movements is seen in the ever-increasing expansion of the scope of westernization. New agencies are evolved and the progress of the existing ones is accelerated. The

(1). Al-Āthār, p. 238.

coalition of Ibrāhīm Bey al-Muwailḥi with ʿOthmān Jalāl and the growth of the embryonic nationalist party, as we shall see later, is an apt illustration of this point.]

Ibrāhīm al-Muwailḥi was born in 1262 A.H. When he was twenty, his father, who was a noted manufacturer of silk, died. He inherited his father's trade and wealth; but as he was ambitious, he took to speculations on the exchange. These speculations eventually resulted in the loss of his wealth and in leading him into debt. Ismāʿil Pāshā, who remembered the past services of Ibrāhīm's grandfather to his family, took pity on him, helped him financially to pay off his debts and to improve his business. He appointed him a member of the Council of Appeals, permitting him to continue his trade.

Ibrāhīm subsequently held other posts of influence, and in spite of his political and administrative occupations he developed an interest in literature. In 1285 A.H. (1869) he combined with ʿArif Pāshā to form the Jamʿiyat al-Maʿārif, and later founded a press for it known by the same name (Jamʿiyat al-Maʿārif Press). A year later he started in conjunction with ʿOthmān Jalāl the journal Nuzhat al-Afkār. The tone of this journal was obviously nationalistic and Ismāʿil Pāshā had been warned by Shahin Pasha that it was likely to incite disturbances. Hence, it was stopped after

only two issues had appeared.⁽¹⁾ But Muwailḥi continued to enjoy the favour of Ismā'īl Pāshā whom he accompanied after his deposition to Italy. His celebrated work, *Mā Hunālik* printed anonymously in 1896 at Cairo which belongs to a later period is a collection of essays full of pungent criticism of the rule of Sultan Abdul Hamid II and the attitude of the Turks towards Egypt.

(iii) Dār al-'Ulūm.

The Dār al-'ulūm was yet another agency that strengthened westernization during this period. It was devised by 'Alī Mubārak Pāshā to serve as the recruiting ground for teachers for the various schools spread all over the country. It was started in 1286 A.H. as a training college for teachers who were given instruction in the subjects which were missing from the curriculum of Al-Azhar as well as those that were in vogue there. The syllabus included arithmetic, geometry, physics and geography besides Arabic, Tafsīr, Hadīth and Ḥanafī Fiqh.⁽²⁾ The part that this institution played, like the Medical School of Qaṣr al-'Aini and the School of Languages, in speeding up the process of westernization in Egypt, cannot be over-estimated. Here was the third confluence, so to speak, in the Valley of the Nile of the

(1) Tarrāzi, I, p. 78.

(2) Al-Khiṭāṭ, IX, p. 51.

streams of Eastern and Western thought. The teachers were recruited from the two opposite camps of the Azharites and the Afendies and the pupils were drawn from Al-Azhar.⁽¹⁾ This brought some of the eminent scholars of Al-Azhar into the vortex of the movements that were then in rapid progress. It is strange that the immense potential influence of the two schools of thought when thus co-operating harmoniously in the furtherance of the cause of westernization was hardly, if at all, realized by the ambitious author of the scheme.] The modest aim of 'Ali Mubārak Pāshā was to meet the demand for teachers 'capable of carrying out all the functions of teaching.'⁽²⁾ He does not seem to have realized what an asset it would be to bring together the two poles of thought. However, the co-operation here of such reputed 'ulema of Al-Azhar as Shaikh Huṣain al-Marṣafi whose lectures on Arabic grammar and rhetoric, as already mentioned, regularly appeared in the Raudat al-Madaris,⁽³⁾ and Shaikh Hassūnah an-Nawāwi who was for some time a part-time teacher at the Dār-al-'Ulūm was beyond doubt one of the most substantial factors in popularizing the new educational scheme.

(1) Al-Khiṭaṭ, IX, p. 51.

(2) Ibid, 'do.

(3) The first instalment appeared in Raudat, Vol.I, No.4. dated 29th Ṣafar, 1288 A.H. and continued, at least, up to Vol.VIII No.11 dated 15th Jumādā II, 1294 A.H. although the first part in book form was printed in 1287 and the second in 1292 A.H.

Shaikh Husain al-Marsafi was a wonderful man. He was blind, and as is often the case with blind men, was possessed of great genius. He could speak French, and learnt to write Arabic and French with marvellous quickness.⁽¹⁾ He was educated at Al-Azhar, where he also taught for some time. Later he became a teacher of the Arabic language at the Dār al-'Ulūm where he delivered his exceedingly interesting and remarkably erudite lectures on what may be termed the linguistic (or literary) sciences to which reference has already been made more than once. He is aptly called Shaikh al-Mu'allemin and 'Umdat al-Mu'allefin⁽²⁾ (The Leader of the Teachers and the Prop of the Authors). He was no less a master of literary style than 'Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā, whom he fittingly extols in his celebrated work, Al-Wasīlat al-Adabiyyah li'l-'Ulūm al-'Arabiyyah.⁽³⁾ This book is the collection of his lectures on Arabic grammar, rhetoric and linguistics just referred to. This masterly work places him beyond a shadow of doubt above all his contemporaries excepting 'Abdallāh Fikri in so far as style is concerned. Another interesting work of Al-Marsafi is Al-Kilam ath-Thamān in which he endeavours to give a correct interpretation of the eight words, Al-Ūmmah, Al-Waṭan, Al-Ḥurriyyah, Al-Hukūmah,

(1) Al-Khiṭaṭ, XV, p. 40.

(2) Ahmad Hasan az-Zayyāt, Tarīkh al-Adab al-'Arabi (Cairo 1930), p. 372.

(3) See supra p.

Al-Ḥadālah, Az-Zulm and As-Siyāsah which were on the lips of the people when he wrote it.⁽¹⁾ He also taught at the Blind⁽²⁾ school. He died in 1889.⁽³⁾

Shaikh Ḥassunah an-Nawāwi taught Hanafi Fiqh at Jāme' Muḥammad 'Ali at the Al-Qi'la (Citadel) and lectured to the students of Dār-al-'ulūm and the School of Languages as well. He was also one of the occasional contributors to the Raudat al-Madāris.⁽⁴⁾

'Ali Mubārak Pāshā to whom Egypt owes the Dār al-'ulūm and the celebrated Egyptian Library of Cairo, was a man of wonderful capacities and immense energies. His ambitions were not confined to administrative work and the initiation and working^{of} great schemes. He embarked on literary projects on an extensive scale as well. He wrote numerous books of various lengths and on a variety of subjects. Of all his works the most remarkable is the voluminous history, geography and topography of Egypt and Cairo entitled Al-Khiṭaṭ at-Taufīqīyah in twenty parts. This voluminous work which was completed during the reign of Taufīq Pāshā, after whom it is named, was published in 1306 A.H. (1884). It is full of useful biographical and historical information about important persons both past and contemporary with the

(1) Al-Kilam ath-Thamān (Cairo, 1298 A.H.) p. 2.

(2) Al-Khiṭaṭ, XV, p. 40.

(3) Aḥmad Ḥasan az-Zayyāt, Tarīkh al-Adab al-'Arabi (Cairo, 1930) p. 372. (See also Cheikho I, p. 95)

(4) Raudat, Vol. I, No. 10 dated 29th Jumādā II, 1287 A.H.

author. It is interesting to note that he has devoted no less than twenty five pages to a comprehensive autobiography.⁽¹⁾ This book is based on the well-known Al-Khiṭaṭ of Al-Maqrīziyah. It begins with a topography of Cairo and gives a geography and topography of the principal towns and villages of Egypt, adding historical notes on events connected with them and biographical sketches of celebrated persons who had any connection with any place in Egypt. One wonders how such a stupendous work could have been done single-handed by a man with such multifarious official duties as 'Alī Mubārak had. He himself remarks that a project of this kind is difficult as it demands of the author that he should consult many books and inspect ruins and that it could be done by a man who was the master of his time, which he was not. He further says that he urged the great savants of learning who could, to do the work; but finding that they turned a deaf ear to his persuasions he himself braced up courage and trusting in God began to collect his materials from the books of the Arabs and the non-Arabs, consulting works of Arab and European writers and selecting out of them what was needed as far as possible, often "denying his eyes the pleasure of sleep" until it crystallized into "a collection that pleases the eye and gladdens the heart."⁽²⁾ However, it is strange that 'Alī Mubārak Pāshā, who frankly acknowledges, as already referred

(1) Al-Khiṭaṭ, IX, pp. 37-61.

(2) Ibid, I, pp. 2 - 3.

to, the assistance he received in writing some of his other works from Ṣāleh Majdī, is not inclined to let anyone share with him the credit to which a work of this nature justly entitles the author and his collaborators.

Another remarkable work of 'Alī Mubārak is the fictitious story of 'Alam ad-Dīn in which he aims to create interest in the people in a beguiling manner by exhibiting the wonders of nature and the progress of science. The book was obviously designed to replace the idle romances of Al-'Antar and Bani Hilāl that are usually recited in the cafes of Cairo; but the pedantic way in which the Englishman with whom 'Alam ad-Dīn and his son, Burhān ad-Dīn, are supposed to be travelling in Europe is made to explain to them scientific technique, and the pedagogic discussions on literary, philological and scientific topics between them could hardly appeal to the man in the street.⁽¹⁾

'Alī Mubārak Pāshā's writings are simple and at times insipid, and curiously enough the style of one book is different from that of another. He is at his best in his Al-Khiṭaṭ at-Tauffīqīyah where one occasionally comes across glowing passages couched in simple but fluent language. Like Rifā'ah and the other exponents of the renaissance he

(1) 'Alī Mubārak Pāshā, 'Alam ad-Dīn, Vol. I (Cairo 1882), pp. 91, 107, 159 etc.

sometimes imports foreign elements⁽¹⁾ into the Arabic language and at others casts indigenous forms from Arabic roots into new moulds printed with new value.⁽²⁾

(iv) The Embryonic Nationalist Party.

The effect of the various indigenous movements co-operating with the earlier foreign agencies of westernization eventually found expression in the evolution of the fourth movement, the embryonic nationalist party. We must remember that the seed of nationalism in Egypt was sown by Rifā'ah Bey who is thus at once the Father of modern Arabic literature and the pioneer of Egyptian nationalism. We have noticed the signs he gave of the trend of his mind in his celebrated Riḥlat on which we have dwelt at sufficient length, and these signs visibly point to the fervent patriot and nationalist. This picture is further developed in his most marvellous work, Manāhiḡ al-Albāb al-Miṣriyah fi Mabāhiḡ al-Ādāb al-'Asriyah which not only begins, but bristles throughout, with expressions which indicate his intense patriotic feelings and his earnest desire to do national service. He is the first writer to use the word Waṭan, and he uses it with a lavish

(1) 'Alam ad-Dīn, I, p.166.

(2) Al-Khiṭaṭ, IX, p. 51 (meaning cataloguer)

profusion, and without doubt, sincerely. He is not an idle prattler or a charlatan. He is as sincere as, according to Carlyle, a hero ought to be.

The influence of this heroic sincerity of Rifā'ah is visible. He not merely sets the fashion to talk off and on of 'Waṭan' but inspires all who come in contact with him with feelings of patriotism and nationalism. This is more markedly true of his disciples who were as much influenced by his example as by his precept, if not more. The title, *Ḥilyat az-Zeman bi Sīrat Khādīm al-Waṭan*, of the biography which his pupil, *Ṣāleḥ Majdī* wrote, is full of suggestions. Majdī is evidently fired with the same spirit of nationalism, which fills him with admiration for Rifā'ah and prompts him to dub him the Servant of Al-Waṭan (the Nation). However, the fire of nationalism which Rifā'ah had kindled in his lieutenants spread like wild fire and soon enveloped the whole country. It was no longer confined to the circle of his disciples and colleagues. That it spread beyond the circle of Rifā'ah is manifest from the course of events that followed the coalition of Rifā'ah's pupil, *Othmān Jalāl* with *Ibrāhīm Bey al-Muwailḥī* to start in 1869 the nationalist journal, *Nuzhat al-Afkār*, that was throttled immediately after its inception.]

Othmān Jalāl, as already mentioned, was one of the latest of Rifā'ah's pupils. He was born in 1245 A.H. (1829) and studied the languages at the School of Languages in his childhood. In 1261 A.H. (1844) he joined the Translation Bureau

and was later selected for secretarial work in one of the ministries. He rose to eminence under the regime of Taufīq Pāshā, who was more of a nationalist than a selfish autocrat. He accompanied Taufīq Pāshā in 1880 in his travels in northern Egypt, of which he has left an interesting account in easy verse under the title *As-Siyāhat al-Khedīviyah fi'l-Aqālīm al-Bahriyah*.⁽¹⁾ He was later appointed a Judge of the Appellate Court. He died in 1898.⁽²⁾

[Othmān Jālāl was a radical not only as a nationalist but also as a thinker and writer. His early studies of French literature without the background of the previous study of classical Arabic literature and Muslim religious sciences had their natural effect. He breaks away from all traditions and seeks new channels for the expression ~~and~~^{of the} agitations of his free mind. He carves out a new path in literary style and introduces new stuff into Arabic literature. His lack of interest in the classical literature finds expression in more ways than one. He revolts against all shackles of artificial verbal ornamentations, preferring the simple and direct to the ornate and laboured style. He is not ashamed of using the colloquial as a literary medium when the circumstances require it. He explores the hitherto unexplored field of literary activity, at least so far as

(1) Othmān Jālāl, *As-Siyāhat al-Khedīviyah fi'l-Aqālīm al-Bahriyah* (Cairo, 1297 A.H.)

(2) Cheikho, II, p. 101.

Egypt is concerned, the drama.⁽¹⁾

Othmān Jālāl translated some of the comedies of Racine and a number of the tragedies of Molière into colloquial Arabic and the story of Paul et Virginie into literary Arabic under the title, Qubūl wa Ward-jannah. He also translated Aesop's Fables into simple elegant Arabic verse and entitled it Al-'Uyūn al-īawāqiz fi'l-Amthāl wa'l-Mawā'iz.

The following fine specimens of his typical graceful and easy verse speak for themselves.⁽²⁾

كان البخل عنده دجاجه + تليفه طول الدهر شرا حاجه
 في كل يوم يرتعديه العجب + وهي تبيض بيضة من الذهب
 فظن يوماً ان نيهال نزا + وانه يزداد منه عزاً
 فقبض الدجاجة المسكين + وكان في يمينه سكين
 وشقها نصين من غفلته + اذ هي كالدجاج في حضرتها
 ولم يجد كنزاً ولا لقيه + بل امة في حجره مرميه
 فقال لا شك بان الطمعا + ضيع الانسان ما قد جمعا

(1) Some plays were translated and staged earlier at Beirut by Mārūn an-Naqqāsh; but they were written in an undramatic form.

(2) Al-'Uyūn al-īawāqiz fi'l-Amthāl wa'l-Mawā'iz. (Cairo, 1906), p. 16.

the reign of Ismā'īl Pāshā which was exceptionally favourable to the growth of journalism attracted several enterprising Syrians to Egypt who started more journals there. In 1873 Salīm Pāshā al-Ḥamawī, who, as already mentioned, contributed apparently inspired articles to the *Raudat al-Madāris* in praise of the reform movements under Ismā'īl Pāshā,⁽¹⁾ had started at Alexandria the journal, *Al-Kaukab ash-Sharqi*,⁽²⁾ which did not flourish for long. In 1876 the Syrians, Salīm and Bashshāra Taqla, started another journal at Alexandria.⁽³⁾ This was the Pro-French, *Al-Ahrām*, which was subsequently removed to Cairo and is now the oldest and the most widely read Arabic daily newspaper.

(d) Al-Azhar and the reform movements.

The votaries of the ancient sanctuary of classical Oriental learning, Al-Azhar, in spite of what Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh, inspired by the teachings of Jamāl ad-Dīn

(1) See supra p.71.

(2) *Ādāb*, IV, p. 68.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 68.

al-Afghāni, did to awaken them to the need of moving with the times, seemed to live even to the present day in a world of their own. They are apparently unmoved by the swelling surges of western civilization in which modern Egypt is completely enveloped. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that when the reform movements were introduced by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā and were later accelerated by Ismā'īl Pāshā, after their temporary setback under 'Abbās I and Sā'īd, the 'ulema of Al-Azhar offered little or no effective opposition. This does not imply that all of them were favourably disposed to these innovations. There is another explanation.

The fraternity of Al-Azhar Shaiks who counted as a powerful political factor in Egypt at the time of the French invasion had lost all power by the time Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā had established himself as the absolute master of the country. Those few who by virtue of their profound scholarship and sterling merit could wield any influence in Egyptian society were won over by the singular tact of the great Pāshā whose unlimited power was successful in keeping the majority in check. Of these, some, who were prompted by the spirit of progress, actually co-operated, while others, who were more suspicious of, than interested in, these innovations, either gave their passive acquiescence or remained quite neutral.

Among the most important of the actual co-operators, as

of
 we have already noticed, was that celebrated Rector /Al-Azhar,
 Shaikh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār, who had inculcated in Rifā‘ah the
 idea of exploring new fields of knowledge and was the
 organizer and first editor of Al-Waqā’i‘ al-Miṣriyah. The
 influence of his personal example was a potent factor in
 enlisting the sympathy of others for these reforms and
 taking the edge off the general opposition. The association
 with him of his capable pupil, Shaikh Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri
 in organizing and editing Al-waqā’i‘ was the source of
 additional strength in this respect.

Shahāb ad-Dīn was born in 1218 A.H. (1803), in Egypt
 and not at Mecca as usually inaccurately stated.⁽¹⁾ He
 studied at Al-Azhar under Shaikh Muḥammad al-‘Arūsi and
 Shaikh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār. He was keenly interested in
 literature, an extensive study of which appears to have
 developed in him a taste for literary composition in which
 he soon acquired great proficiency. This is obviously the
 reason why Shaikh Ḥasan al-‘Aṭṭār should have chosen him
 as his assistant in editing the Al-Waqā’i‘. However, when
 Al-‘Aṭṭār was appointed Shaikh Al-Azhar, Shahāb ad-Dīn
 succeeded him as the Mudīr (Director) of the journal. He was
 later appointed a Muṣaḥḥiḥ for the celebrated Bulāq Press.

(1) Cheikho I, p.84 and Sundūbi, p. 35 (where the date is
 absurdly given as 1210 A.H., 1876 A.D.) See his
 Diwān, p.2, where he explicitly calls himself
 "Al-Miṣri Mauladan Al-Makki Maḥtadan."

He was one of the courtiers of 'Abbās I (whom he accompanied wherever he went. He died during the reign of Sa'id Pāshā in 1274 A.H. (1857).

Shahāb ad-Dīn was a good poet and was fond of music, in which, of all the branches of mathematics, he was probably most proficient. His verse composition was collected by him into a Diwān which was published in 1277 A.H. But he is more celebrated for his exquisite work on Arabic music, Safīnat al-Mulk wa Nafīsat al-Fulk (The boat of the country and the precious one of the sailing ship.). It is an interesting book on music which discusses in a pleasant style the technique of Arabic music,⁽¹⁾ presents an anthology of chosen odes,⁽²⁾ short lyrics,⁽³⁾ the popular songs, Dubait⁽⁴⁾ and Al-Muwaliyah⁽⁵⁾ and introduces the reader to his own composition in the popular verse-form Al-Muwashshah,⁽⁶⁾ in which he was obviously mostly interested. The following chronogrammatic verses which he improvised in 1259 A.H., when it was completed, to commemorate the date of its composition,⁽⁷⁾ speak for themselves:

هذه سفينة فن بالمى شخيت + والفضل فى بحر الحجاج اجراها
واذا جرت بالامانى نيمها ارضها + سفينة البحر بسم الله مجراها
 $\frac{250}{250} + \frac{165}{165} + \frac{241}{241} + \frac{600}{600} = 1259$

-
- (1) Safīnah, pp. 7-22 and 476-94.
 (2) Ibid, pp. 319-63.
 (3) Ibid, pp. 363-76.
 (4) Ibid, pp. 377-80.
 (5) Ibid, pp. 380-90.
 (6) Ibid, pp. 22 - 319.
 (7) Ibid, p. 494.

He has arranged his verse composition in the Diwān into eight sections: the first section consists of panegyrics on the Arabian Prophet, the second contains odes in praise of men of influence, the third includes those in praise of grandees and savants, the fourth is made up of miscellanies (in praise of compatriots, associates and beautiful lads and lasses), the fifth is devoted to criticism of books and chronograms, the sixth is resplendent with advice and admonitions to the soul, the seventh is a collection of elegies and the eighth brings together some of the Arājiz and Muzdawajāt.⁽¹⁾ The following beautiful lines culled from an ode in praise of the Muhammad 'Ali Mosque in the Citadel⁽²⁾ are fine specimens of his poetry:-

عروس كنوز قد تجت بعسجد + مكللة تيجانها بالزبرجد
ام الجنة المبنى على قصورها + بابها يا قوت وايها زمرد
ام الكرمات الآ صافية ابدت + هيرلى انا جيب بصورة مسجد
فدع قصر نمون واھرام هرمس + واليران كسرى ان اردت لتھدى
ودع ارباً ذات العمار ونحوها + وعرشا لبلقيس كصرح ممر
ودع اموى الشام وانزل بمصرنا + وبادر الى هذا بايام مرشد

Shahāb ad-Dīn was as clever as his contemporary 'Ali ad-Darwish in the composing of choice chronograms. The

(1) Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri, Diwān (Cairo, 1277 A.H.) pp. 3-4.

(2) Ibid, p. 31.

following verses which occur in an ode in congratulation of Mustafa Mukhtār Pāshā on his appointment as the First President of the Council of Education⁽¹⁾ organized in 1253 A.H. (1837) are significant in more ways than one:-

بيانه زان بالمعالي + + مدارسها بجزرها غزير
 دروسها ما بها دروس + + وروض ازهارها نضير
 ونحن مدنا اليه طبعاً + + وحل منه بنا السرور
 از اقبل الدهر بالتمغاني + + وجادنا بالمنى البشير
 والخط واني يقول النخ + + هذا مدير هو الدير
 $252 + 11 + 254 + 706 = 1253$

These verses and many others in which he reviews with chronograms the publication of important books like the Hāshyah on Ad-Durr al-Mukhtār,⁽²⁾ the celebrated Mathnawi of Jalāl ad-Dīn ar-Rūmi,⁽³⁾ Al-Qāmūs,⁽⁴⁾ the Prolegomena of the History of Ibn Khaldūn,⁽⁵⁾ and others⁽⁶⁾ at the Bulāq Press leave no room for doubt that he was moving with the times and that his co-operation with the Pāshā was as sincere and hearty as that of his illustrious teacher, Al-Atṭar. It was probably this spirit of advancement combined with his

(1) Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Misri, Diwan (Cairo, 1277), pp. 72-73.

(2) Ibid, p. 224.

(3) Ibid, p. 224 and 231.

(4) Ibid, p. 285.

(5) Ibid, p. 293.

(6) Ibid, pp. 230 (Tr. of Gulistān), 229 (Rūh al-Bayān), 232, 233, 235, 267, 283, 289.

(7) Ibid, p. 28.

catholicity that attracted to him Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq. Shidyāq who, as we shall see later, was one of the most important exponents of the literary renaissance, owes for all his erudition and proficiency in philology to this all-round scholar at whose feet he learnt and with whom he worked on the staff of Al-Waqā'i⁽¹⁾.

In strong contrast to these active co-operators stand such silent and indifferent onlookers of the eddying movements round them as Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Baijuri, Shaikh Ḥasan Quwaidar and the poet, 'Ali ad-Darwish.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm was born at the village of Baijūr in 1198 A.H. (1784). He studied at Al-Azhar under Shaikhs Muḥammad al-Fuḍāli and Ḥasan al-Quwaisni and others. He is well-known for his Ḥāshyahs on books on a variety of subjects. He was Shaikh al-Azhar from 1263 A.H. until his death in 1277 A.H. He was held in great esteem and reverence by 'Abbās I, who used to attend his lectures at Al-Azhar and used to sit on an ordinary chair of Jarīd (twigs of the date palm stripped of leaves) outside the circle of students, the Shaikh not rising for the Pāshā.⁽²⁾

Shaikh Ḥasan al-Quwaidar was born at Cairo in 1204 A.H. He studied at Al-Azhar under Shaikh Ḥasan al-'Aṭṭar and Shaikh

(1) Sundūbi, p. 35.

(2) Cheikho, I, p. 87.

Ibrāhīm al-Baijūri.⁽¹⁾ He was a great philologist and a good poet. He wrote a commentary on 'Aṭṭar's Manẓūmah on grammar entitled Sharḥ al-Quwaidar 'Alā Mamẓūmat al-'Aṭṭar.⁽²⁾ His most remarkable work is Nail al-'Arab fi Muthallathāt al-'Arab (The Achievement of the object in the Arabic words read in three different ways differing in meaning according to the variation of the vowel-points). It is like the Muthallathāt of Quṭrub, a favourite pupil of Sibwaih and is in the form of Muzdawajāt.⁽³⁾ The following lines aptly illustrate the felicity with which he handles the subject in fluent verse:

(a) ⁽¹⁾ وَضَرَبْتُ الْأُذُنَ فَمَا أَذُنٌ + أَبَاحَةَ الشَّيْءِ وَعِلْمَ أُذُنٍ
وَسَامِعٌ لِكُلِّ قَوْلٍ أُذُنٌ + + تَسْكِينَ ذَاكَ الْكَلِمِ بِجَرِي

(b) ⁽²⁾ وَاجْتِنِ مِنْ مَثَلَاتِ الْعَرَبِ + مَنْظُومَةً تَدْعِي بِنَيْلِ الْأَرْبِ

(c) ⁽³⁾ فَذَهَاوِجٌ يَا صَاحِبِي تَأْبِينِي + نُضِي مِثْلَ لَوَائِبِ الْمَرْيَحِ
مُذَقِّمَةٌ بِأَمْسِ النَّارِ بَحِي + فَاقَتْ بِنُورِهَا عُقُودَ الدَّرِي
 $235 + 180 + 264 + 581 = 1260$

(1) Sundūbi, p. 17.

(2) Cheikho, p. 53.

(4) Hasan Quwaidar, Nail al-'Arab fi Muthallathāt al-'Arab
(Cairo) 1302 A.H. p. 5.

(5) Ibid, p. 107.

(6) Ibid, p. 108.

The following elegant verses in appreciation of the above-mentioned Manẓumah of Al-‘Aṭṭār⁽¹⁾ further illustrate the fluency and felicity of his style:

منظومة الفاضل العطار قد عبتت + منها القلوب بزياً نكهة عطرة
لو لم يكن روضة في النحر يا لغة + كما جنى الفكر منها هذه الثمرة
في ظمئة الجعيل لو ابدت بحاسنها + والليل راج ارانا وجهها قمر
قالوا جواهر لفظي علمت لا عجب + بحر البلاغ قد ادرى لنا درره

He died in 1262 A.H. (1846), and Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sā‘āti, who is reckoned by Sundūbi among his pupils, wrote an elegy which reveals the true perspective in which his literary merits were seen by his contemporaries. The following lines are worth quoting:

(a) ⁽²⁾ بليت عيون العلا وانحطت الرقب + ومنزت شملها من حزنها اليت
ونلت رأسها الاقلام بالية + على القراطيس لما ناعت الخطب
وكيف لا وسماء العلم ننت بها + بدراً تماماً فحالت دونك الحبيب

(b) ⁽³⁾ والحمر مزجاء نعا قالت مؤرخة + بشرى فقد جاءنا المقصود والارب
 $240 + 271 + 55 + 184 + 512 = 1262$

Another interesting work of Quwaidar is his Muzdawajah.

‘Ali ad-Darwish, who is commonly known as the court poet of ‘Abbās I, was endowed with singular poetical skill. He was born at Cairo in 1211 A.H. He studied at Al-Azhar under Shaikhs Muḥammad al-Maḥdi, Ḥasan al-Quwaisni and others. He

(1) Cheikho, 1, p. 53.

(2) Maḥmūd, Ṣafwat as-Sā‘āti, Diwān (Cairo, 1911) p. 153.

(3) Ibid, p. 155.

He was interested in Arithmetic and Geometry; but his most favourite subject was rhetoric, especially the branch of it known in Arabic as 'ilm al-Badī'. The baneful effect of this tendency is seen in his prose and verse productions which in no way differ in style from the literature of the period of decadence. His skill consists mostly in performing verbal sleights, in which he excels all his contemporaries. He uses *Ṣanā'ī* and *Badā'ī* too numerously to give his style the charm of natural flow. His diction is, therefore, cumbrous, and, often, obscure. His works in prose and verse have been collected by his pupil, Muṣṭafa Salāmah an-Najjāri into a *Diwān*, under the chronogrammatic title, *Al-Ishār bi Ḥamīd al-Ash'ār*. The numerical value of this title corresponds to the date of its being collected 1270 A.H. (1853), the year of the death of the author. It was lithographed in 1284 A.H.

The poetical portion of this work consists mostly of panegyrics on contemporary grandees and savants and 'Abbās I, who naturally figures most prominently among those whom the poet eulogized. It also abounds in chronograms and curious poetical juggleries and trickeries. The prose part is a miscellany of fragments of various prose forms, e.g., epistles, *Maqamahs*, critical notes and reviews on books, and petitions. The following fine lines which occur in the course of a critical note on the already mentioned *Muzdawajah* of Ḥasan

Quwaidar⁽¹⁾ give some glimpse into his poetic art and critical perception and interest in mathematics:

هل السماء زهت بالزهر وانتظمت + ام مبسم الزهر قد اهدى لنا ارجه
 قلم خبيثه فكر قد ظفرت بها ++ من كل زاوية بالفضل منفرجه
 ماتت لها ثلث ما تحوى مورحة + قويدر حسن انشأت مزروحة
 $\frac{65}{65} + \frac{752}{752} + \frac{118}{118} + \frac{320}{320} = 1255$

The following extract from a long Muzdawajah composed at the instance of 'Abbās I on the occasion of the arrival at Dameitta in 1851 (1267 A.H.) of Murray, the British Consul, gives a clearer insight into his characteristic dexterity in composing chronograms and using with ease and in profusion a variety of rhetorical trickeries:-

غل بن فوليبي ولا تذكر لوز + فملاها من ملك سياق اشيز
 ابي الحسن فخر ملك الانكليز + تاريخ وكتوريه عظيم من عزيز
 1851 1267

يهوى اليها مدح شرح الصدر
 جناحه بربه محفوظ + ابو صفه تشرف المفوظ
 من الامير عصه محفوظ + لما تبدى سعده المفوظ
 ارضت ان البرت نور الفخر
 1851

لما اتى ينزوه العيون + اسم نغر الشرق والحصون
 ومرر بحلو مشرقا مامونا + زورقه قلنا مؤرثينا
 يزهر لبحر الشرق بشر مرري
 1851

استخدموا امريكا وروبا آسيا + وخامس الاقسام مع افريقيا
 فوصف من اصعب نعم مصافيا + ختام مسك الميح من تاريخيا
 للا نظير نظمت حلى الدر
 1851

(1) Ali ad-Darwish, Diwan entitled Al-Ish'ar be Hamid al-Ash'ar, (Cairo, 1284 A.H.) p. 427.

We have marked the profound regard which 'Abbās I had for some of the leading teachers of Al-Azhar and have seen his general detestation for the reform schemes which appears to have another meaning. He was apparently under the influence of English diplomatic agency which could naturally be expected to view with concern the steady permeation of French influence in Egypt. However, it is almost certain that the hostility of 'Abbās I towards the reform measures was due to the undue influence of the orthodox school of thought on this ruler more than anything else.

The co-operation of the 'Ulema of Al-Azhar in the reform schemes under the regime of Ismā'īl Pāshā was, as already indicated, both more extensive and intensive than during the period of Muhammad 'Ali. We have seen how a host of them plunged themselves into the vortex of the various movements then afoot. There were others, who though not directly drawn into the actual sphere of the operation of these movements, were in a way in full accord with the spirit of the time. Men like Shaikh 'Ali Abu'n-Naṣr al-Manfalūṭi, Shaikh 'Ali al-Laithi, Shaikh Abd al-Hādi Naja al-Abyāri and the poet, Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sā'āti, who moved in the court circles, cannot be expected to have been at variance with the Khedive's ideals,

and there is no reason to think that they have concealed their real feelings about them.

The moral effect of the adherence of such eminent members of the Conservative school of thought to the royal court cannot be ignored. Even if they had gone no further than merely presenting the spectacle of silent and indifferent observers, the effect of their reticence would have been to lead the unsuspecting Fallāḥīn to believe that there was nothing repugnant to the faith in the reforms that were being feverishly pushed on by the lovable and benevolent Khedive. But it is certain that it was not so. We find ample internal evidence, as we read through the pages of some of the writings of these leading litterati, that the boundless bounty of Ismā'īl Pāshā and the unusual tact and power of organization of 'Alī Mubārak Pāshā which had succeeded in attracting the members of their party in larger numbers to the actual fields of operation of these reforms, were equally successful to extort from them from time to time appreciation of the various reforms then in progress.

Alī Abūn-Naṣr al-Manfalūṭī was born at Manfalūṭ where he died in 1298 A.H.⁽¹⁾ He was a rich cultivator, possessed of fine tastes. He built a mosque and organized a library at Manfalūṭ. He visited Constantinople twice; on the first

(1) Cheikho II, p. 15.

occasion he was deputed by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā as one of the representatives of the 'Ulema of Egypt to participate in the celebration of the ceremony of coming to age of the sons of Sultan 'Abd al-Majīd, and his second visit was in the company of Ismā'īl Pasha during the reign of Sultan 'Abd al-'Azīz. He was a good poet, and there is a very interesting story about his first visit. In the course of one of his interviews the Shaikh al-Islām, 'Ārif Bey Ḥikmat, enquired if he had composed any verses on Constantinople. He replied that he had composed two verses, but felt ashamed of reciting them to him inasmuch as they were base coin. The Shaikh al-Islām returned that he would like to hear them. Then he recited:

وَلَمَّا نَزَى مَعِ السَّعِيرَةِ جَنَّةً + وَحَسِبْنَا دُونَ الْبِلَادِ رَحَى الْعُلْيَا
فَلَمَّا رَأَتْ دَارَ الْخَلَافَةِ عَيْنَنَا + عَلِمْنَا يَقِينًا أَنَّمَا لَعَى الدُّنْيَا

The Shaikh al-Islām smiled and remarked that the verses were fine specimens of poetry; but it was the reverse of praise to call Constantinople Ad-Dunya in the same breath in which he called Egypt al-'Ulya, Dunya being the feminine of Adwan (lower). To which Abu'n Naṣr replied wittily, "Hubb al-Waṭan min al-īmān."⁽¹⁾ This reply is significant. He was a great patriot, well-informed about current political conditions and alive to the forces that contribute to the progress of nations.

(1) Ali Abu'n Naṣr al-Manfalūṭi, Diwān (Cairo, 1300 A.H.) p.6.

He desired to see his countrymen educated and did his best to encourage them in this direction. The following verse occurring in the elegy which Ahmad Khairi Pāshā wrote on his death is worth quoting:

عليان كانا فرقتين بمرنا + فعدنا علياً فليحش شيخنا اليشي (1)

His verse composition consists mainly of panegyrics, mostly in praise of Ismā'īl Pāshā. He composed several verses as chronograms for the inauguration of the Chamber of Deputies in 1296 A.H. (1879) by Ismā'īl Pāshā, and the following is one: (2)

عم البراء حيث تكون شوري + لا نواع لعم فيهما الا ستثاره
1296 1879

The following verses which he composed to commemorate the extension of the telegraph line to Manfalūt (3) are fully significant:

احيا الخديوي بالمدن ملكه + فخذ له بالثغر يهتف والشنا
وامد بالظرف الحدي صعيده + والسلك في اخباره كل المنى
واقاه عباس فمد فروته + با صوله فسيما به وتملنا
ومنخلوط روى المدير مديته + فصبا اليه صخيرنا وكبيرنا
فاشارني دواحي الهنا اريخ انا + بالسلك شرف منغلوط كبيرنا
 $\frac{283+215+580}{42} + 143 = 1263$

(1) A

(2) Ibid, p. 109.

(3) Ibid, p. 211.

Shaikh 'Ali al-Laithi was born in 1830. He was particularly interested in the linguistic and the literary subjects and was a fluent writer and a poet of great genius. He was one of the courtiers of Ismā'īl Pāshā whom he accompanied to Constantinople in 1290 A.H. when he praised Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz. He died in 1898. He is considered by Cheikho to be the best poet of the period.⁽¹⁾ But his verses have not been collected. However, what little of them is found scattered here and there⁽²⁾ is sufficient to give an idea of his poetic art. The following exquisite verses with which he commenced his long elegy on 'Abd allāh Fikri Pāshā⁽³⁾ amply substantiate the above remark.

نظم المنايا وهي في القدر العدل + غداة انتفت مولى به الفضل يكل
 كأن المنايا في انتقامها فبيرة + كسب الغوس الحاليات تعجل
 وتم نظم الحد وازينت به + حور بدور الحور وهو مفصل
 وقل لثير الحزن مني مؤرخاً + الـ في جنات الخلد مكرى المجل
 106+310+665+ 194 + 32 = 1307

'Abd al-Hādī Naja al-Abyārī was born at Abyār in 1236 A.H. (1821). He learnt the Qur'ān by heart and joined Al-Azhar where he studied under Shaikhs Ibrāhīm al-Baijūri, Muḥammad

(1) Cheikho, II, p. 98.

(2) An elegy on Tusūn Pāshā, son of Sa'īd Pāshā, appeared in Raudat al-Madāris in Vol.VII. No. 12, 29th Jumāda II, 1293 A.H. and an ode on Ismā'īl Pāshā in Al-Waqā'i, No.639, 12th Dhu'l-Hijjah 1292 A.H.

(3) Al-Athār, pp. 435-37 (See also Cheikho II, p. 98)

ad-Damanṭuri, Ahmad al-Marsafi, and others. He did not hold any post except that of a teacher to the sons of Ismā'il Pāshā. From youth to old age nothing diverted him from literary composition. He was a prolific writer, and his works exceed forty in number. Among his works are the Kitāb So'ūd al-Muṭali, the Nafḥat al-Akmān fi Muthallathāt al-Kalām, Kitāb Bāb al-Fotūḥ li Ma'rifat Aḥwal ar-Rūḥ. The first of these deals with the different branches of studies in the Arabic language,⁽¹⁾ the second is a work similar to the Nail al-Arab of Ḥasan Quwaidar⁽²⁾ and the third, which is mainly based on the Kitāb al-Asfār of Aṣ-Ṣadr ash-Shārāzi, is an interesting treatise on Taṣawwuf.⁽³⁾ Another interesting work of his is the Al-Wasā'il al-Adabīyah fi'r-Rasā'il al-Aḥdabīyah in which he has collected the correspondence in prose and verse that passed between him and some of his illustrious contemporaries,^{especially} Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab of Syria, to whom he was more particularly attached.

He was acknowledged by all his contemporaries as an authority on all questions pertaining to the Arabic language and literature. One of them calls him Qāmūs Lisān al-'Arab⁽⁴⁾

(1) Cheikho II, p. 98

(2) See supra p. 109

(3) Bāb al-Fotūḥ li Ma'rifat Aḥwāl ar-Rūḥ, (Cairo, 1304 A.H.) p. 3.

(4) Al-Khitāṭ, VIII, p. 29.

(Ocean of the Arabic Language). He has won ~~the~~ singular renown as the arbiter of the most rancorous disputes that went on for some time between Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq and Roshaid ad-Daḥdāḥ in the pages of Al-Jawā'ib and Barjis Bārīs. The salutary influence of his decision embodied in Ash-Shihāb ath-Thāqib fi 'l-Muḥākamah bain al-Barjis wa'l-Jawā'ib was to clear the ^{literary} atmosphere of ^{the} foul effusions that viciated it.

Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sā'āti, the great poet of the period, was born at Cairo in 1241 A.H. When he was twelve, he went with his father to Alexandria, and at the age of twenty it occurred to him that he should perform the Ḥajj pilgrimage. He accordingly set out for Mecca, where he came in touch with Sharīf Muḥammad ibn 'Aun, the chief of Mecca, with whom he soon became a favourite. Henceforth he was a constant companion of the Sharīf whom he accompanied in his battles in the Nejd and Yemen. He lived with the Sharīf at Mecca until his removal from his office in 1267 A.H., when they travelled to Egypt and thence to Constantinople. Ṣafwat, however, returned to Cairo in 1268 A.H., when he was appointed to a post in the Council of the Household Staff. He was subsequently appointed a member of the personal staff of Sa'īd Pāshā. In 1275 he composed in praise of the Arabian Prophet his celebrated Badī Iyah Ode, on which his contemporary, 'Abd allāh Fikri Pāshā, has written a comprehensive commentary. He died in 1298 A.H. (1881).

Sā'ātī is described as an angel of rhetoric sent down in the present period as a Divine messenger to resuscitate it, and the phrase contains a grain of truth. He infuses a new life into Arabic poetry and starts a new school, or at least, links up the old and the new schools. He is undoubtedly the precursor of Al-Bārudi, Ash-Shauqi and Hafīz (Ibrāhīm), and a reviver of the poetic art of Al-Mutanabbi. He unconsciously assimilates the essence of the charm of Al-Mutanabbi's poetry, namely, graceful diction and vibrating rhythm, discarding at the same time its inherent defects, e.g. hyperboles and overdrawn similes. He combines in his poetry the smooth and elegant style of Al-Būṣīri, the intense glow and beauty of diction of Ibn al-Fāriḍ and the thrilling melody and graceful ^{language} diction of Al-Mutanabbi.

The bulk of his verse composition consists of panegyrics, most of which are in praise of his patron, Sharīf Muḥammad Ibn 'Aun, and it is in these more than elsewhere that he is seen to advantage. He also composed erotic verses, elegies and short pieces on divers topics, and some fine verses from the elegy he composed on Shaikh Hasan Quwaidar have already been quoted.

The admirable charm of his poetry can better be illustrated by quotations from his panegyric odes than described in words.

The following exquisite lines amply bear out the above remarks:

- (1) (a) رقت لرقّة حالىق الاحواء + وحنت علىّ ابانة الهيعاء
 وكبى الغمام علىّ من اسف وقد كادت مزق طرفها العرقاء
 ما ذا اثر يد الحادّثات من اسرى + من جنده الشعراء والامراء
- (2) (b) عللت نفى عزواً بالمواخير + فكان تعليلها عنوان تفنيد
 كم التحلل والآمال كاذبة + وهل عسى ومرتت في غير توريد
- (3) (c) فذى الروح يا ربح الصبا ونسبى + يا برف حيتي ميهم وتبسم
 ويا نسبه الاسجاد منى تتلى + سلا ما على البيت الحنين المحرم
 وما قلت شعري عن عناء بطيبة + ولكن غرامى بالمشاعر مرمنى
 تجلّت لكن لا يفيد تجلدى + وهل يشقى الراء للدين مرهم

The following verses composed on the opening of the Suez Canal with a chronogram which may be cited in further illustration of the point are significant in more ways than one:-

ونظرا الى الارض التى قد احضرت + شرفاً كما قد جاء في القرآن
 مصر التى نسبت بها الدنيا ونى + عهد العزيز عنت دور التيجان
 فكان نفا العزروس او حصارها + من نو نورطب ومن مرجان
 حدّث عن البحرى قد وفد على + مصر واسماعيل ذوالسلطان
 فيمينه ويساره مزارها + عزّاً بمصر تدفق الجوان

$$\frac{292}{292} + \frac{584}{584} + \frac{332}{332} + \frac{78}{78} = 1286$$

- (1) Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sā'ati, Dīwān (Cairo, 1911) p.1.
 (2) Ibid, p. 40.
 (3) Ibid, p. 112.
 (4) Ibid, p. 127.

(iv) Sources of Western Influence in Syria.

(a) Introduction.

Turning now to Syria, we find different agencies, in varying circumstances and with divers motives at work, during the period under review, and even before it, to disseminate the influence of Western science and culture in the Near East. The religious connection of the Maronite Christians of Syria with the Vatican kept them in constant touch with Rome and, for reasons well-known, 'the French had retained a connection with Syria, through the medium of the local Christian communities, almost unbroken since the Crusades.' Later the missionary zeal of the Americans found congenial soil in Syria as well as in Egypt to spread Western Christian science and culture. They began by introducing English influence into Arabic literature by imparting Western education through books translated into Arabic; but later they found it more convenient for their purposes to do away with the use of the language of the country as the medium of instruction.

From the foregoing remarks it is clear that in Syria the western influences in Arabic literature were disseminated, as in the case of Egypt, from as many as three different sources, namely, Italian, French and Anglo-American. Judging from the nature of the relationship which Christian Syria had with Roman Catholic Italy it might well be calculated that the Italian influence would be found to be predominant;

but a calculation which fails to take into account all the factors that count can never be accurate. This is exactly true in the present case. No doubt, the Maronites of Syria had ecclesiastical relations with Rome; but in a world moving towards materialism religion is not all. However, the activities of French propaganda through French missionaries in Syria and through Christian Syrians in France, kept the majority of the Christian population of Syria in closer touch with the French than with the Italians or the English-speaking Americans.

The predominance of French influence in Syria was not, however, too strong to reduce the Italian and the English influences to the vanishing point, and in dealing with the divers agencies that disseminated western influences in Syria one cannot confine oneself to the predominant source, French. But as the French influence not only predominated but also preceded the two other, we should begin with it. We should next pass on to the English influence and close the chapter with the Italian influence.

(b) The Agencies of Western Influences in Syria.

The agencies that functioned to propagate the French influence in Syria were as numerous as those in Egypt. Here again the first agency was the French invasion, which produced influences both direct and indirect, but in different

circumstances, and in different ways. Its direct influence is felt, though faintly, in the new interest it created among those Syrian Christians who served in the Expeditionary force. Its indirect influence is reflected in the attraction of Syrians to France, where they naturally ^{found} find full and free scope for carrying on extensive agitation to secure freedom from the yoke of the despotic Turkish rule. But the movements of Syrians abroad which, it must be remarked, were not confined to France, derived inspiration from other sources as well.

The presence in Syria, especially at Beirut and Aleppo, of Europeans in diplomatic and trade circles exercised considerable influence in fostering the spirit of enterprise among the Christian population of Syria, where traditional taste for trade has always kept them in touch with the West. Obviously, therefore, the next agency to propagate western influences was the European diplomatic and trade circles at Aleppo and Beirut and the third, the movements of the Syrians abroad. ^{Another} ~~The next~~ agency was the short rule of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā in Syria and its reaction on Syrian life and thought. This reaction is reflected in the awakening which followed and received further impetus from the activities of the American Mission at Beirut. The vigorous activities of the American Mission at Beirut which have been a potent agency for the

diffusion in Syria of the Anglo-American influence thus constitute the fifth agency of western influences. Their importance is greatly enhanced by the fact that the spirit of envious rivalry excited by them in the Maronites there created unusual activity among the latter. This revival of the Maronites was, therefore, the sixth agency for the importation of western influences.

(i) The French Invasion.

The French who had, as stated elsewhere, kept themselves in touch with the Syrian Christians ever since the Crusades, came in closer contact with them when Napoleon invaded Egypt and Syria in 1798. It is a curious coincidence that just about this time the Syrian, Niqūla as-Ṣabbāq^h happened to be moving about in Egypt, mixing with Coptic scholars of repute and when the French came, he joined them. He and many other Syrians were employed by the French in the Expeditionary force in various capacities.

The earliest influence of this contact is visible in the writings of the poet and historian, Niqūla at-Turk, who wrote a history of Napoleon I.

Niqūla at-Turk was born at Dair al-Qamar in 1763. He was fond of literature from his youth, and this led him to compose in prose and verse. Most of his prose work is on history and he wrote some Maqāmāt as well. He composed two works on history - one deals with the history of Napoleon I from the death of Louis XVI to the death of Napoleon I in 1821;

and the other is a history of Aḥmad Pāshā al-Jazzār.⁽¹⁾ He wrote eleven Maqāmāt, the first of which has been incorporated by Cheikho in his book, 'Ibn al-Adab.'⁽²⁾ His verse composition consists of panegyric odes, descriptive pieces, satires, and light verses.⁽³⁾ He flourished at the court of Amīr Bashīr ash-Shihābi, the Governor of the Lebōnān, and his panegyrics on his patron are well-known.

The court of Amīr Bashīr ash-Shihābi, the faithful ally of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā of Egypt, produced two other poets more illustrious than Niqūla, viz, Buṭrus Karāmaḥ and Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāzifi. Buṭrus Karāmaḥ was introduced to this court by Niqūla at-Turk. Here also flourished Tannūs ash-Shidyāq, brother of Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq of whom we shall speak later at full length.

Buṭrus Karāmaḥ was born at Hims (Homs or Emesa) in 1774. In 1813 he was introduced by Niqūla at-Turk to Aḥ-^lAmīr Bashīr ash-Shihābi who was quick to appreciate his literary attainments and general fitness. His eloquence and knowledge of Turkish led the Shihābi chief to appoint him tutor to his sons and secretary for his foreign transactions. His ability, integrity and sincerity soon won for him the confidence of his employer, and he enjoyed honour and prosperity under the

(1) Cheikho I, pp. 23 - 24.

(2) Louis Cheikho, 'Ibn al-Adab, Part I (Beirut, 1886), pp. 190-3.

(3) Cheikho, I, p. 40.

Amīr's patronage until his exile in 1840, when he faithfully accompanied him to Malta and later to Constantinople.

Buṭrus Karāmāṭ^h, who was a good poet and an elegant writer, had apparently an element of some personal magnetism in him. During his residence at Constantinople in the company of Al-Amīr Bashīr he gained access to some of the officers of the court through whose influence he was appointed an Interpreter to the Sultan. He continued in this position until his death at Constantinople in 1851.

His poetical works have been collected into a Dīwān, entitled Saj' al-Ḥamāmah ^{ān} Dīwān al-Mu'allim Buṭrus Karāmāh. He was fond of Muwashshahāt, and he collected seven choice ones by as many celebrated poets of different periods into an anthology under the title Ad-Darāri as-Sab'a to which he added one of his own, and his celebrated Khāliyah Ode, which created so much interest and communal controversy among his contemporaries.⁽¹⁾ Ease and nimble elegance pervades the whole range of his effortless verse composition. The following fine verses which he composed in praise of a bouquet of flowers once presented by him by Amīr Bashīr are an apt illustration of the point:⁽²⁾

و باقة زهر من مبيد منتها + معطرة الارواح مثل ثنائيه
 نابيضها يحكي جميع فضائله + واصفرها يحكي نضار عطائه
 وازرقها بين تشاهد فضله + واحمرها يحكي دماء اعدائه

(1) Buṭrus Karāmāṭ^h, Ad-Darāri as Sab'a (Beirut 1876) p. 30.
 (We shall refer to it again when dealing with Roshaid ad-Daḥdāh.

(2) Cheikho, I, p. 60.

As a further illustration one would quote these following graceful verses he addressed to a handsome person who waved a fan to stir a cool breeze for him: (1)

اقول لظبي ساحر الطرف قد غدا + يروح لي: مهلا فذت حسنتك الروح
فان قلبي من غرامك جمره + تزيد اشتعالاً كلما جادت الريح

It is remarkable that Buṭrus Karāmaḥ was held in great esteem by his contemporaries, and the following verses which were composed on his death with a chronogram by no less a person than the illustrious Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāziḡi bear eloquent testimony to the fact: (2)

مضى من كان اذني من ايا من - بحلمته واشهر من زهير
فقل يا ابن الكرامه قريبياً ++ ببطرس ارخوه فقام خير
18 51

Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāziḡi {who spent twelve years at the court of Al-Amīr Bashīr and seldom composed odes in his praise} was born at Kafr-Shima in the Lebanon in 1800. His father, who was a physician of the old school, was a man of literary taste. Thus Nāṣif lived in a literary environment. He received elementary lessons in reading and writing from a Lebanonian monk. He was a self-made man, and he improved his knowledge by independent study except that he studied medicine under his father. It is said of him that he had committed to memory the Qur'ān and the Dīwān of Al-Mutanabbi. He is credited with having composed verses when he was only ten.

(1) Buṭrus Karāmaḥ, Saj' al-Ḥamāmah (Beirut, 1898) p.

(2) Cheikho I, p. 60.

In 1824 he eulogized Al-Amir Bashir ash-Shihabi chief, *in an* ode in which the spirit of Al-Mutanabbi pervades. This was duly appreciated by the Shihābi chief, who felt inclined to employ him in his court. However, in 1828 he appointed him his secretary. He continued in the service of the Amīr until his exile in 1840 to Malta. He then movēd to Beirut where he and Buṭrus al-Bustāni came in touch with Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, and as we shall see later, entered a new phase of life.

Another Syrian writer who flourished at the court of the Shihābi chief, Al-Amīr Bashīr was Tannūs ash-Shidyāq. He was born in the early years of the nineteenth century. He began his career in 1819 as a trader; but he later (in 1821 or after)⁽¹⁾ entered the service of the Shihābi chiefs in the Lebōnān where he ultimately became a judge for the Christians. His Kitāb Akhbār Al-A'yān fi Jabal Lubnān is a useful work on the history of the Lebōnān up to the year 1855. His Mu'jam al-Alfāz al-'Ammiyah, a dictionary of the colloquial language which Dr. Eli Smith thought would have proved to be useful,⁽²⁾ remained uncompleted.

It must be observed here that although the general tendency at the court of the Shihābi chief where these prominent writers flourished for some time was towards a wider outlook

(1) Lubnān, p. 196.

(2) Z.D.M.G. Vol. IX, 1885, p. 269. (A communication from Dr. Eli Smith, dated Beirut, 1st June, 1854.)

in political and economic matters, these literary productions remained close to the traditional Arabic type. The wave of western influences was not yet ^{strong} ~~being~~ enough to exercise an influence on their writings. As we shall see later, Shaikh Nāsīf al-Yāziji, whose literary career begins after his migration to Beirut, came under these influences after he had met Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck.

(ii) The Foreign Diplomatic and Trade Circles at Aleppo, Beirut and Tripoli.

The foreign consular and trade circles at Aleppo, Beirut and Tripoli played an important part in the literary life in Syria. The influence which the small colony formed by the members of these circles exercised is seen in the awakening and the spirit of enterprise which the contact of the Christians with them evoked. This is amply substantiated by the instances of Naṣrallāh at-Trābulusi and Naufal Ni⁶matallāh Naufal, whose connection with the French and German Consulates respectively has an important bearing on their literary productions.

Naṣrallāh at-Trābulusi was born at Aleppo in 1780. He is known as Aī^t-Trābulusi since his father settled at Trābulus ash-Sham (Tripoli in Syria). He was well versed in Turkish and French. He first became attached to the French Consulate at Aleppo; but owing to the machinations of his

enemies he was forced to leave Aleppo in 1828, when he went to Egypt.⁽¹⁾ Here through the good offices of Ḥabīb al-Baḥrī, the Chief of the Secretariat, he was given a post in the Dīwān by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā. He was later accused of disloyalty and was, therefore, compelled to retire.⁽²⁾ He died about the year 1840.⁽³⁾ He composed fine verses, but they have not been collected into a Dīwān. Among those whom he praised in his verses were M. Joseph Louis Rousseau, the French Consul of Aleppo and the Emperor Napoleon.⁽⁴⁾

The following easy verses addressed to Shaikh Hāshim Efendi at Kalāsi speak for themselves:⁽⁵⁾

لما سمعت مسلسلا من سارة + ان الغصاحه كلها في هاشم
 بحمت نادية والقيت الحما + ورجوت يقبلي ولو كانا دم
 ان جادني بالارضا مفضله + اولم يجز فليس عطف الناصم

The following graceful reply bears eloquent testimony to the appreciation by his contemporaries of his literary work:

نسيم لطف صابني بالولة + صيب المحب الى محب قادم
 فبمثلته اهلنا وسهلا ورجيا + سطار وسنادم لا خادم

Naufal Ni'matallāh Naufal was born at Tripoli (in Syria) in 1812. In 1820 he accompanied his father to Egypt, where he is said to have studied French and Italian in one of the schools.

-
- (1) Cheikho I, p. 57. (But, according to Qusṭāki, in 1824)
 See Ḥalab, p. 3.
 (2) Ḥalab, p. 3.
 (3) Ibid, p. 3.
 (4) Ibid, pp. 3 & 4.
 (5) Cheikho I, 56.

started by Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā,⁽¹⁾ although, in fact, the Pāshā had not started by that time any school where these languages were taught. He, however, returned to Syria in 1828 and after holding various government posts at Beirut and Tripoli with credit, retired from service in 1864.⁽²⁾ No sooner had he retired than he was appointed an interpreter at the German Consulate and later at the American Consulate at Tripoli.⁽³⁾ Henceforth he spent his spare hours in study, research and literary composition until his death in 1887.

Naufal was particularly interested in the study of Arabic and Turkish literature, and his private library consisted of a fine collection of manuscripts and printed works on science, literature, history and fiction. Some time before his death he bequeathed this library to the American University, where it is still preserved as a memorial. The vast range of his studies and research is reflected in his literary productions and his contributions to some of the contemporary journals like *Lisān al-Ḥāl* and the magazine, *Al-Jinān*.

He translated from Turkish the *Kitāb al-Qawānīn al-Majālis al-Baladiyah*, the 'Usūl Mo'taqadāt al-Ummat

-
- (1) M. Sharq, II, p. 174.
 (2) Ibid, pp. 174 - 5.
 (3) Ibid, p. 175.

al-Jarkasīyah, Kitāb Ḥoquq al-Umam and Kitāb Dastūr ad-Daulat al-ʿAlīyah. But of all his works the most interesting is the series of his studies in the progress of science and culture, entitled, Kitāb Zubdat aṣ-Ṣahāʾif fi Uṣūl al-Maʿārif, Kitāb Susannah Solaimān fi Uṣūl al-ʿAqāʾid waʾl-Adyān, Kitāb Zubdat as-Sahāʾif fi Seyāhat al-Maʿārif and Kitāb Ṣannājat at-Tarab fi Taqaddūmāt al-ʿArab.

Kitāb Zubdat aṣ-Ṣahāʾif fi Uṣūl al-Maʿārif, which is the first book of the series deals with the history of the origin and development of sciences, ancient and modern, and their transition from one nation to another since the creation of man down to his own days. It briefly surveys the history of science and philosophy among the various ancient races, passes on to the definition and classification of science and then treats of logic, literature, language and the natural sciences.

Kitāb Susannah Solaimān, which is a continuation of the previous book, deals with the branch of science known in Arabic as Al-ʿIbān al-Ilāhi (Metaphysics). It is said to form the fourth Bahth (topic) of the second Maqālah (discourse) of the first book of the series, and should, therefore, be reckoned as a part thereof.

The second book of the series, Kitāb Zubdat aṣ-Ṣahāʾif fi Seyāhat al-Maʿārif is a brief survey of the cultural history of Europe. The Kitāb Sannājat at-Tarab fi Taqaddūmāt al-ʿArab

is a cultural history of the Arabs up to the sack of Baghdād by Hulakū.

Naufal's style is simple but his diction is marred by vulgarisms. He uses ludicrous forms.⁽¹⁾ His views are not always unbiassed, and his estimate of Arab culture is based on prejudice.⁽²⁾

(iii) The Movements of Syrians abroad.

The movements of Syrians abroad which were prompted, as already suggested, by various motives, constituted a very important agency for the dissemination of Western influences in Syrian Arabic literature. Count Roshaid ad-Dahdāh who settled in France, first at Marseilles and later at Paris as a merchant, devoted himself to literary and journalistic work. Rizqallāh Ḥassūn started as a journalist at Constantinople and subsequently moved on to London, where he continued his journalistic career and rose to authorship. Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq carried on literary work on a vast scale at Malta, London and Paris and finally settled at Constantinople where his contributions to Arabic literature and journalism won universal fame. Fathāllah Marrāsh, Mikha'il al-Mukhallah and Louis Ṣābunji moved about in London and Paris, some for trade and some for a certain mission. Farausis, son of Fathallāh Marrāsh, resided in Paris for some time for study. The result

(1) Naufal, Kitāb Ṣannājat at-Ṭarab (Beirut, not dated) p.445 (Mafsūd instead of Fāsīd).

(2) Ibid.

of their activities in Europe was to help the importation of western influences in the literature produced by the Syrian writers both at home and abroad.

Roshaid was born at the village Ṭarāmūn in Kasrawān in 1813. After an early training at home he was sent to the school at 'Ain Warqah, where he learnt Arabic and Italian. Later he joined the school at Bezmār, where he thoroughly learnt Turkish. In 1838 he was appointed by Amīr Amīn, son of Al-Amīr al-Bashīr as a clerk in the Dīwān of his father. When in 1840 Al-Amīr Bashīr was exiled to Malta, Roshaid returned to his native village. He later served for some time under Omar Pāshā, and in 1843 circumstances compelled him to flee to Ṣaida, where he lived until 1845, studying Muslim law. In 1845 he travelled with his uncle, Shaikh Mar'a ad-Daḥdāḥ, to Marseilles, where he ostensibly established himself as a merchant; but it is noteworthy that he found time and money to spare for the service of Arabic literature. In 1849 he published the Dictionnaire Arabe par Germanos Farhat with additions and modifications under the title *Iḥkām Bāb al-r'āb 'an Lughat al-A'rāb*. In 1853 he edited the Dīwān of Shaikh 'Omar Ibn al-Fāriḍ with the commentary of Shaikh Ḥasan al-Būrini and extracts from that of Shaikh 'Abd al-Ghani an-Nābulusi.⁽¹⁾ He

(1) Roshaid ad-Daḥdāḥ, Introduction to Sharḥ Dīwān Ibn al-Fāriḍ, (Marseilles, 1853).

subsequently moved on to Paris, where he continued his literary enterprise with great vigour and entered the field of journalism.

In 1858 he started the fortnightly political journal, *Barjīs Barīs*, which in its later years created unusual stir owing to its rancorous controversy with the celebrated *Al-Jawa'eb* of *Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq*. In 1860 he published his small book, *Bayān Ḥusn Ḥal Faransā*; and in 1861 appeared a collection of didactic verses selected from the works of celebrated Arab poets, under the title, *Ṭarab al-Masāme' fi'l-Kalām al-Jāme'*. He also translated the *Portrait Politique de l'empereur Napoleon III* of Viscount de Lagueronniere and entitled it, *At-Timthāl as-Seyāsi le Haḍrat Nāblyūn ath-Thālith*. About 1862-64 (between 1862 and 1864) he appears to have met the Bāi of Tunis at Paris, for whom, it is said, he secured a loan on favourable terms. This financial service and the *Lāmiyah Ode* which he composed in imitation of his adversary, *Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq*, after the model of the celebrated *Bānat Sūd* of Ka'b ibn Zohair in praise of the Bāi naturally brought him princely rewards from this Oriental ruler who, as we shall see later, had previously shown signal favour to *Shidyāq*.

These literary and journalistic adventures of *Roshaid* had a further import. They were part of the general scheme of French political propaganda. *Daḥdāh* shows his hand in

Kitāb at-Timthāl as-Seyāsi, where in the course of eulogizing Napoleon III he incidentally remarks that Algeria under the French is in a flourishing condition and that while it was under the Turks it had no railways and no telegraphs and so on. He asks the Algerians to compare the favourable conditions in which they are under the French with the miserable plight of the Christian subjects of the Muslim rulers and deplors the condition of his native country, Syria. He hopes that the solitudes of Napoleon III would bring light to the East and liberate it from the abyss of ruin in which it is involved. (1)

The propagandist aspect of the literary activities of Roshaid ad-Dahdāh, who was favoured in 1876 by Pope Pius IX with the hereditary title of Count, comes into the limelight with the appearance of his remarkable work, Qimṭara Ṭawāmir. This book, which is described by Viscount Philip de Ṭarrāzi and other Syrian writers as a collection of literary and philological discourses, is nothing but a masked weapon of what may be called strategy in peace.

The controversy which arose over the reckless criticism by Shaikh 'Abīd al-Bāqi al-'Omīri al-Baghādī of the Khāliyah Ode of Buṭous Karāmat provides a suitable text for introducing a discourse on the intolerances of the Turks and the Turkish government towards the Christian population of Syria. But what is most reprehensible is his cunning

(1) Roshaid ad-Dahdāh, Kitāb at-Timthāl as-Seyāsi,
(Date and place of publication not mentioned) p. 4,
(Translator's Introduction)

innuendoes by which he levels his covert attacks on the Brotherhood of Muslim saints. In the course of painting the poetical prowess of Shaikh Maḥmūd Qubbādu at-Tunisi he observes: (1)

وما برحت الى الآن مذعولا بين الموهبة الربانية والمنة الصرائية التي استازبها
 هذا القطب على الابواب والنجباء والمجددين والنقباء والائمة والاخيار وجميع ذوي
 الاسرار فان رأيت اني وقعت هذا في الخط او ارتكبت الشطط فاعذر ثم اذكر
 انها قالة اريب لا عقيدة لقيب +

To disguise his designs he, however, singles out this Tunisian Shaikh for showering his encomiums on, and proceeds to offer a glowing criticism on the latter's ode entitled *Sauq Asāṭīl al-Bawārij le 'Auq abāṭīl al-Khawārij*, in praise of Sultan 'Abd al-Majid. However, it is unprofitable from the literary point of view to elaborate this point further. Whatever political motives might have moved Count Roshaid ad-Daḥdāḥ to apply himself to literary pursuits in the midst of his business preoccupations, the effect has been beneficial to the renaissance of Arabic literature. His writings which were obviously influenced by French thought in some way or other created interest and reaction in the Arabic-speaking world.

Rizq-allāh Ḥussūn, an Armenian, was born at Aleppo in 1825. He was educated at the Convent school of Bezmār in the

(1) *Qimṭarah ṭawāmir* (Paris, 1880), p. 48.

Lebŏnān. He started his career as a merchant at Aleppo, where he came in touch with the Austrian Consulate. He then travelled to London, Paris and Egypt and finally found his way to Constantinople where he soon found favour with influential people.

In 1854 he started at Constantinople an Arabic journal, *Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl*, in which he openly abused the Turks and reviled the Ottoman government. The Sultan ordered his arrest; but he managed to escape to Russia where he remained at large until 1860. Curiously enough when in 1860 Fūad Pāshā was sent to Syria to settle the differences there, Rizq-allāh secured a position as the translator of orders and firmans into Arabic. When Fūad Pāshā returned to Constantinople his favourite, Rizq-allāh, accompanied him. In 1862 he was appointed Collector of Customs duties on tobacco. He was subsequently charged with embezzlement and was imprisoned; but again he managed to flee to Russia and from Russia to London where he spent the rest of his life in writing books and editing journals and helping orientalists in the publication of classical works by copying them or correcting proofs.

In 1867 he published his book, *An-Nafathāt* (The Breathings) which is a collection of fables in verse translated from the work of the Slavonic poet, I.A. Kurlow, written on the lines adopted by the Indian sage Bedbā in

Kalila wa ^{Damnah} Damur. To this the author added some of the short verses he had composed during his travels in times of hardship, and a prose-piece entitled 'Ajā'ib Ghārā'ib, in which he vilified his enemy Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq. Shidyāq was not slow to retaliate and in no less than five issues of Al-Jawā'ib he paid Hussūn back in his own coin. He alluded to the story that was current about the charge of embezzlement against⁽¹⁾ Hussūn and to the circumstances under which his journal, Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl⁽²⁾, was stopped at Constantinople and proclaimed to the world, by citing concrete examples from his book, An-Nafathāt, that he neither knew Arabic grammar nor prosody.⁽³⁾ He also revealed the real character of the remarks he had made in his book, Ḥasr al-Lithām 'an Al-Islām,⁽⁴⁾ against Islam, the Arabian Prophet and the Qur'ān, which Cheikho characterises as refutation of the pretensions of some Muslims.⁽⁵⁾

Shidyāq's remark that Rizq-allāh betrays in his writings sheer lack of knowledge of Arabic grammar and prosody is not denied, rather it is substantiated by Cheikho, and even Ṭarrāzi, who is full of praise for his style in prose and for his thoughts in poetry.⁽⁶⁾ However, there is no doubt that he was an impassioned writer.

-
- (1) Al-Jawā'ib, No. 336, dated 21st April, 1868 p.3.
 (2) Ibid, No. 338, 5th May, 1868, p.2
 (3) Ibid, No. 339, 12th May, 1868, p.2 and No.342,
 2nd June 1868, p.2.
 (4) Ibid, No. 337, 18th April, 1868, p. 2.
 (5) Cheikho II, p. 50.
 (6) Cheikho, II, pp. 49-50, Ṭarrāzi, I, p. 109.

Faransī's Fathallāh Marrāsh was born at Aleppo in 1835.⁽¹⁾ In 1850⁽²⁾ he travelled with his father to Europe, where he continued touring for some time. He was afterwards sent back by his father to Aleppo, where he stayed until 1853. He subsequently went to Beirut, and after staying there for a year he returned to Aleppo, where he studied the sciences and medicine from 1860 to 1864 under the guidance of an English physician resident there.⁽³⁾ In 1866 he went to Paris to complete his studies and to secure a medical diploma; but his health and eyesight failed.⁽⁴⁾ He consequently returned to Aleppo, ill, blind and unsuccessful; but in spite of all this he continued to compose verses and write books until his death in 1873.⁽⁵⁾

Faransī was a fiery philosopher, and the fire that was latent in him burst into flames by contact with the warmth of the living civilization of the West. The influence on his spirited soul of his life at Paris and its reaction on his ^{and} imaginative/reflective mind is mirrored in his remarkable book, Mashhad al-Aḥwāl in which are embodied in short sections his observations on the evolution of the world,⁽⁶⁾ man,⁽⁷⁾ family life,⁽⁸⁾ society,⁽⁹⁾ growth of towns,⁽¹⁰⁾

(1) Halab, p. 20. (But in Dibs VIII the date is 1836).

(2) Dibs II, p. 693.

(3) Halab, p. 22.

(4) Ibid, p. 24

(5) Dibs, VIII, p. 694.

(6) Mashhad, pp. 2-3.

(7) Ibid, pp. 6-16.

(8) Ibid, p. 16.

(9) Ibid, p. 17.

(10) Ibid, p. 18.

the prosperity of Paris,⁽¹⁾ the condition of the East,⁽²⁾ civilization⁽³⁾ and a variety of other topics. He is filled with indignation at the ruinous racial animosities and atrocities in the East that were the outcome of errors of judgment and traditional misunderstandings.⁽⁴⁾ His rebellious spirit revolts against the attempts of the old school to defend the traditions against the onslaughts of modern science.⁽⁵⁾ His fury bursts out in fiery effusions against the exponents of the traditional school, in the course of which he observes:⁽⁶⁾

اقول والقول في من لعب + يسطر على الانبياء بالخرق
 قوم يردمون فعل كل ضم + لذي يلدون كل ذي نطق
 يا ايها القاصدون غلق ضم + فبتم فهذا ضم بلا خلق
 هداى برق و مهلكم سوب + سهلا فلا برق غير منطلق

He is fired with an intensely passionate desire to awaken his countrymen. He apostrophizes the East and chants:⁽⁷⁾

يا شرق ابا الهدي توى اين هداى + قد غاب ضياى والتمنى كل بهاء
 بالامس لكل ساقط كنت يداً + + واليوم غدوت ساقط تحت ضناى
 فان بعض بهى عبدالعزى السابى + هذا سلطانا فهذا مولانا

-
- (1) Mashhad, pp. 19 - 30.
 (2) Ibid, pp. 31 - 33.
 (3) Ibid, p. 59.
 (4) Ibid, p. 32.
 (5) Ibid, p. 128.
 (6) Ibid, p. 129.
 (7) Ibid, p. 33.

Faransī is may be compared to Rifā‘ah in some respects. Like Rifā‘ah he was a patriot, a nationalist and a lover of French life and culture; ^{but} unlike Rifā‘ah he is not wedded to the traditions of the classical lore and Muslim culture, and his admiration for Parisian life is unrestricted and unqualified. He also has left an account of his travel to Paris in his book entitled Riḥlah Bārīs. However, he sees nothing there with which to find fault, and observes: (1)

باريس هذه مركز المدن + ومصدر العلوم والفنون
ليس ليقع ضمنها من موطن + فكلمها حسن وما بالحسن
تربى مكان الحسن والحبور

The feelings that find expression in these lines unmistakably indicate the extent to which his mind was influenced by his residence in France. The stamp of Western influence is seen in bolder lines in his marvellous work, Ghābat al-Ḥaqq.

Ghābat al-Ḥaqq is an exceedingly interesting book, which may aptly be described as a social and political allegory. Faransī imitates Dante's Inferno and weaves an imaginary vision in which he sees figures taking part in the liberation of Syria and Asia Minor from the clutches of despotic Turkish rule. He starts in the Introduction with a vision of the progress of the ancient civilizations of the Egyptians,

(1) Mashhad, p. 29.

the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, the Persians, the Macedonians, the Romans and the bifurcation of the last into the Eastern and the Western, and passes on to the vision of the future without taking notice of the Muslim civilization. He sees written on a wide gate in front of him the motto, "Wisdom shall rule" and on a banner near by, "Science shall prevail."⁽¹⁾ These are the two central ideas which he develops in the several chapters that follow. He faithfully paints the picture of social and political life in the late Ottoman Empire, exposes the evils⁽²⁾ and prescribes their remedies.⁽³⁾

He had gone to Paris to specialize and qualify formally in the art of healing physical ailments, and by the time he wrote his Ghābat al-Ḥaqq he had developed into something of a social, ethical and political physician. He prescribes for the social and political evils of the East the five patent remedies, political reform, mental improvement, moral culture, civic development and cultivation of mutual love which constitute the basic elements of civilization.⁽⁴⁾

Faransī was also a poet, and his Dīwān entitled Kitāb Mīr'at al-Ḥasanā' contains some fine pieces of poetry. He claims that it does not contain satires and panegyrics except in so far as he composed in praise of some of the savants and

(1) Ghābah, pp. 5 - 6.

(2) Ibid, pp. 11, 12, 28 and 29.

(3) Ibid, pp. 44-68, 83, etc.

(4) Ibid, p. 44.

the noble friends, and remarks that panegyric leads to exaggeration and hypocrisy and that satire is inspired by envy and lack of ability. He further observes "Pity for the poet who blackens the paper with panegyrics and sells the precious gems and gold of poetry in the market of glass and copper!"⁽¹⁾ But one strangely finds in the same Dīwān a panegyric eulogizing Sultan 'Abd al-ʿAzīz in such hyperbolic terms as are not easily reconciled with his boast.⁽²⁾ The following lines abundantly illustrate the above remarks and give some idea of his poetic skill:⁽³⁾

ملك الورى سلطان عبدالعزیز الذي جرى + على سيفه الماضي دمّ الطم والحذر
 ورايت لديه رهبة هامة العلاء + + وقد اطرفت من صيته اسن الزهر
 تدور ملوك الارض حول جلاله + + مداه نجوم الافق حول سني الدهر
 ابي الله ان يدعوا سواه فليغته + + بلى فهو ظل الله باي الى الحشر

In style he sometimes adheres to the classical school and uses Saj', but not always profusely. In his earlier writings, like his Rihlah, he betrays a ludicrous lack of knowledge of Arabic idioms and rules of grammar. His admirers like Qusṭāki and others seek to find excuses for these apparent drawbacks in his style. It is pointed out that he had not completed his studies in Arabic when he took to the study of Italian and French and that he soon afterwards applied himself

- (1) Faransī's Fathallāh Marrāsh, Mir'āt al-Ḥasanā', (Beirut, 1872), p. 2.
 (2) Ibid, p. 112 (See also Mashhad, pp. 33 and 39)
 (3) Ibid, p. 112.

exclusively to the study of medical science. This left little chance for him to read the works of celebrated classical Arabic writers, like Ibn al-Muqaffā, Ibn Khaldūn and Badā' az-Zamān al-Hamadhāni, who would have provided him with models of style. Dearth of good books and the inferior literary quality of the books available in his time are also complained of by these admirers to serve as an excuse for his shortcomings. However, in spite of these defects there is, at least in so far as it relates to his Ghābat al-Ḥaqq, a new note in his style.

Fāris Ibn Yusuf ash-Shidyāq, who after embracing Islām became known as Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq was born in 1804 at 'Ashqūt, a village in the Lebanon. He was brought up at Hadath, a quarter of Beirut, where his parents had moved in 1809. He joined the 'Ain Warqah school, where he learnt reading, and studied grammar with his brother As'ad to whom he was greatly attached. He was fond of travel from his early youth,⁽¹⁾ and the persecution of his beloved brother As'ad by the Patriarch of the Maronite Church for his conversion to Protestantism, which led to the latter's premature death, made his life in Syria miserable. He made no secret of his feelings to his deceased brother and of his views about his conversion. Consequently it was unsafe for him to live in Syria, and the American Mission of Beirut sent him in 1825 to Cairo as teacher of Arabic to the members

(1) Al-Wāsīṭah, p. 3.

of the Mission there. ⁽¹⁾

Shidyāq was a quick observer, and the dawn of prosperity that was breaking over Egypt under Muḥammad ‘Alī Pāshā could not fail to attract his notice. He saw the visible signs of florescence and marvelled at the high emoluments of the officers of the State and the equal treatment meted out by the Pāshā to Muslims and Christians. ⁽²⁾ He was ambitious of improving his knowledge and his position, and with this object soon put himself in touch with Naṣrallah aṭ-Ṭrābulusi and Shaikh Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri. He was not long in finding an opportunity of active participation in the movements in progress there. He completed his studies in the Arabic language and literature under Shaikh Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri, with whom he shared in writing notes and articles for Al-Waqā’i‘ al-Miṣriyah. ⁽³⁾ The influence of his studies and training in journalism under this illustrious Shaikh is obvious, ⁽⁴⁾ although he has not the good grace to acknowledge it in any of his writings.

In 1834 ⁽⁵⁾ he was deputed by the Mission to Malta for teaching in the schools of the Mission and supervising the publication of books. ⁽⁶⁾ Here he lived for fourteen years and (in addition to his duties there) wrote several books.

(1) Lubnān, p. 197.

(2) Al-Fāryāq, I, p. 199.

(3) M. Sharq, II, 83.

(4) See supra p. 108

(5) Al-Wāsiṭah, pp. 3 and 67 (Ṭannūs wrongly says that he went to Malta in 1828. See Lubnān, p. 198.)

(6) Ibid, p. 3.

In 1839 he published *Al-Lafif fi Kull Ma'na Laṭif*, in 1840 *Al-Muhāwarat*, and in 1841 the first part of his *Sharḥ Ṭabā'ī' al-Haiwān* appeared.⁽¹⁾

In 1848 he was sent to England to assist Dr. Lee in translating the Pentateuch into Arabic. He resided in England for about seven years, and during this period he moved about frequently. He visited Oxford and Cambridge more than once and lived at the latter place for some time. He travelled from London to Paris and back no less than twenty times.⁽²⁾ In 1851 he composed a panegyric after the celebrated ode, *Bānat So'ūd* of Ka'b ibn Zohair, in which he eulogized Aḥmad Pāshā, the Bāi of Tunis, for his munificent charities to the poor of Paris and Marseilles in the course of his tour in France.⁽³⁾ When the Bāi heard this ode at Tunis, he was so impressed with it that he sent a war vessel to Marseilles to take *Shidyāq* to Tunis. This extraordinary appreciation and honour promptly extorted the following characteristic remarks from *Shidyāq*: "By my life! I never imagined that the world had left for poetry a market, where it would fetch any value; but when God decrees fortune for one of His creatures, neither poetry nor anything else can stand in his way."⁽⁴⁾

Shidyāq at once started for Tunis, where he was very warmly

(1) *Sarkīs*, VI, 1106-7.

(2) *Al-Wāsiṭah*, p. 289.

(3) The opening line is:

زارت سعاد وثوب الليل سدود - فما الوقيب بنبر العثمردول

(6) *Al-Fāryāq*, p. 197.

received by the Bāi and the 'Ulema, and was accommodated at the Residence of the Admiral. Here he had discussions and debates with the Shaik al-Islām on religious beliefs, which led to his conversion to Islām. This sent a thrill throughout the Muslim world and was to prove an important factor in the universal fame and popularity which he won by his literary and journalistic activities at Constantinople.

In 1270 A.H. (1854) he composed an ode in praise of Sultan 'Abd al-Majīd during the Russo-Turkish War. This was forwarded through the Turkish Consul at London to the Prime Minister, Rashīd Pāshā, who conveyed it to the Sultan.⁽¹⁾ The Sultan was highly gratified and gave orders for his appointment to the Royal Bureau of Translation. This order was communicated to Shidyāq at London, where he waited for some time for the completion of the publication of his interesting work, As-Sāq 'ala's-Sāq fīmā howa'l-Fāryāq, a novel literary production.⁽²⁾

This work of Shidyāq is a novel literary production in more senses than one. The most unique feature is that it starts with a double purpose. It aims, as the author himself declares in the foreword, at setting forth the wonderful and curious elements of the Arabic language and presenting a portrait of the characteristics of the fair sex.⁽³⁾ But the

-
- (1) Al-Fāryāq, II, pp. 196-7.
 (2) Ibid, I, pp. 1 - 3. p. 283
 (3) Ibid, I, p. 15. pp. 1-3

main purpose of the book is, as he admits in the first chapter, to supply an autobiographical sketch.⁽¹⁾ Thus it presents in an interesting form a thesaurus of synonyms and homonyms and portrays the graces and the failings of womanhood and at the same time provides an account of the vicissitudes of the life of the author, his adventures and travels to Egypt, Malta, England, France and Tunis. An even more interesting feature is the fantastic manner in which he breaks away from the classical style and ridicules its masters.

Shidyāq is, no doubt, justified in militating against the artificial use of figures of speech and indulgence in verbal juggleries, but to huddle together the names of Al-Taftāzāni, as-Sakkāki, Al-Āmidi, Al-Wāḥidi, Az-Zamakhshari, Al-Busti, Ibn al-Mo'tazz, Ibn an-Nabīh and Ibn Nobātah categorically as forming one horrible fraternity 'who season their language with the spices of Tajnīs, Tarṣī', metaphors and metonymies' is simply grotesque.⁽²⁾ Further proof of his raillery against the classical school and its exponents is found in the fact that he casts the thirteenth chapter of each of the four parts of the book into the form of a Maqāmah composed in Saj' and decorated profusely with figures of speech.⁽³⁾ A very disquieting feature of the book, however, is, as critics justly remark, that it bristles with indecent and obscene expressions

(1) Al-Fāryāq, I, p. 15.

(2) Ibid, p. 15.

(3) Ibid, pp. 80, 222 and II, pp. 107 and 230.

which discount its value in the literary world.⁽¹⁾

After the publication of this book he travelled to Constantinople, where he was appointed to supervise the publications of the Royal Press.⁽²⁾ Here a new vista was opened up to his ambitions. He had worked on the staff of *Al-Ḥaqqā'ī al-Miṣriyah* under Shaikh Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri, and had seen the importance of journalism at Paris and London and his association with the Government Press now provided fresh incentive to enter upon a journalistic career. This was the origin of the renowned journal, *Al-Jawā'ib* which, started in 1861, won for him universal fame and brought him into communication with the leading potentates and savants all over the world. By his wonderful tact and personal magnetism he was successful in enlisting the support of no less than three rulers of the East, namely, the Sultan of Turkey, Ismā'īl Pāshā, the Khedive of Egypt and Muḥammad Ṣadiq Pāshā, the Bāi of Tunis. He not only managed to obtain an annual subsidy of five hundred Ottoman gold liras from each of them, but was clever enough to earn occasional rewards for political propaganda from European powers through diplomatic channels and financial help for the publication of his literary compositions from potentates and

(1) Yusuf ad-Dibs, *Tārīkh Sūriya*, VIII, p. 738.
See also Cheikho II, 81.

(2) M. Sharq, II, p. 86.

dignitaries.⁽¹⁾

This journal, which continued to appear weekly up to 4th March 1884 with occasional breaks was a vital weapon for political and diplomatic strategy for its numerous patrons. But to serve too many masters and to please everybody, still more to please the despotic Government of Turkey was simply unthinkable. The defence of Ismā'il Pāshā against the charges of squandering and disloyalty to the Porte, and the indiscreet attacks on the Sultan and the unsparing criticism of the Ottoman Government made it an object of distrust to the powers that counted in the political circle of Constantinople. It was often suspended for short periods and in 1884 its career was cut short by its final suspension sine die.

The importance of this very useful journal does not arise so much from its political force as from its literary vitality. One of its distinctive features was that it brought together in its pages some of the best productions in prose and verse of the leading contemporary writers in Arabic all over the world. By publishing extracts of literary notes and news from the contemporary journals like Al-Waqā'e al-Misriyah, the Wadi'n Nil, the Ḥadiqat al-Akhabār, Al-Mubashshir and Ar-Rā'id at-Tunisi and others it promoted the diffusion of knowledge and created something

(1) Shidyāq, Al-Jāsūs 'ala'l-Qāmūs (Constantinople, 1882) p.9 (Nawwāb Siddīq Ḥasan Khān of Bhopāl, India, financially helped in the publication of the book).

like a Pan-Arabic literary brotherhood, if not a Pan-Islamic society. Its columns were sometimes, it is regretted, used as an arena for literary duels and as a receptacle for abusive personal attacks on the adversaries of its director and editor. But in spite of its failings, one must admit, it was a most important factor in the literary revival, to which its contribution exceeds in extent and value that of any other single agency.

The influence of Al-Jawā'ib in the domain of literature was immense and far-reaching. Journals in Arabic had been in existence since 1828, the oldest being still in existence, though reduced to the status of a mere Government Gazette. Of the others some persisted down to the time when this journal came into being and even later and others had ceased to exist before its birth. But none of them can show the brilliant record of literary usefulness which was its practical monopoly. The renaissance of Arabic literature which had its birth in the French invasion of Egypt and Syria and its early nursing in the lap of the reform movements of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā in Egypt grew to maturity under the sponsorship of Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq, whose Al-Jawā'ib with its celebrated press focussed some of the best products of the Arab mind, past and present. The literary productions of contemporary writers found expression and received appreciation in its columns, while some of the important works of past authors

were rescued from oblivion by their publication at the Al-Jawā'ib Press.

The stir created by the writings of Shidyāq in Al-Jawā'ib and in his books and by the great works of the classical writers published at the Al-Jawā'ib Press found an echo everywhere. In Egypt it aroused the exponents of the reform movements to the need of re-organizing Al-Waqā'e, by example, indeed, and not by precept, and the result, as we have already seen, was the rapid growth of journalism there. In Syria similar awakening followed and with similar results, as we shall see hereafter.

The influence upon Shidyāq of his residence in France and England was unlimited, and his ambitions were even more so. The starting of a press and a journal shows only one aspect of him. The author of As-Sāq 'alā's-Sāq is said to have been rebuked by his former friend and later foe, Roshaid ad-Dahdāh for having written a book which would serve no useful purpose, and it is surmised that he wrote his next book, Al-Wāsiṭah fi Ma'rifat Aḥwāl Mālṭah wa Kashf al-Mukhabba 'an Aḥwāl Urabba in pursuance of this advice to make amends for his excesses in the previous work.⁽¹⁾ Be that as it may, there is another possibility about the origin of these compositions. There is overwhelming internal evidence to show that he was influenced by the Riḥlah of Rifā'ah Bey, and

(1) Dibs, VIII, p. 736.

was anxious to show to the world something, which he must have wished to appear in a more brilliant light than it.

Shidyāq tells his story about the genesis of its composition in the course of which he observes that when he visited Malta, it occurred to him that he should write an account of the island, and he accordingly wrote the *Al-Wāsiṭah fi Ma'rifat Ahwāl Mālṭah*. But he saw that the account of a small island would be of no useful purpose and when after fourteen years' stay there he got the opportunity of travelling to England, he decided to add to it the account of a travel which would prove to be important and of universal benefit. Then follows an account of his feelings at the sight of material prosperity in England and a resultant comparative study which reveals the truth that these are in fact nothing but echoes of what Rifā'ah Bey had said in his *Riḥlah*, which has been quoted more than once by Shidyāq. However, there is a suggestive variation. His regret at the absence of civilization, culture and art in the East, unlike that of Rifā'ah, kept him back for some time from writing inasmuch as his account would serve no useful purpose. His desire to see his brethren copy the glorious achievements of the West, however, prevailed and urged him to proceed with the composition of the book, which he entitled *Kashf al-Mukhabba 'an Funūn Urabba*.⁽¹⁾

The first part of the book, *Al-Wāsiṭah fi Ma'rifat*

(1) *Al-Wāsiṭah*, pp. 3-5.

Aḥwāl Māltah as the very title suggests is a comprehensive account of Malta, its geography, history, administration and language etc. The second part, Kashf al-Mukhabba 'an Aḥwāl Urabba presents a geographical description, an historical account of England, a critical study of the characteristics of the English and a comparison between life in London and Paris and between the English and the French character. Like Rifā'ah, whom he challenges here and there,⁽¹⁾ he is all praise for France and the French people; but what is most remarkable/^{is} that although he was a naturalized British subject he has nothing but disparagement, contempt and ridicule for England and its people.⁽²⁾ However, a comparative study of this book and Rifā'ah's celebrated Rihlah leads only to one conclusion, that it is a copy which in many respects falls short of its charming prototype.

This work was followed by his remarkable book, Sirr al-Layāl fi'l-Qalb wa'l-Ibdāl which appeared in 1284 A.H. It comprises three parts: the first part gives most commonly used verbs and substantives; the second brings together words formed by metathesis and what is in Arabic called Ibdāl and also synonyms, and the third supplies what was omitted by the author of Al-Qamus. After this came, in 1291 A.H. his book on grammar, Ghunyat at-Tālib wa Munyat

(1) Al-Wāsītah, pp. 226 and 230.

(2) Ibid, pp. 116, 157, 158, 236 and 271.

ar-Rāghib round which so much rancorous controversy ranged. This was followed by his marvellous work, Al-Jāsūs 'ala'l-Qāmūs, a critical study of Al-Fīrūzābādi's famous lexicon, Al-Qāmūs.

Shidyāq was unquestionably one of the greatest linguists of his time in the Arabic language; but he is often found endeavouring to show himself greater than he really was. It is, for example, apparent from the tenor of his book, Al-Jāsūs, the very title of which is suggestive that he aims to establish his superiority to his master, Fīrūzābādi; the thorough study of whose great book had made him what he was. A striking instance of the weakness of his criticism of Al-Qāmūs is that in spite of a long discussion of the word Al-Fuqannas he was unable to find out the truth that it was, as Ahmad Zaki Pāshā observes, a perverted form of the Greek 'Phoenix' (Al-Finiqs).⁽¹⁾

Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq was misjudged by his friends and foes through bias and prejudice. His Muslim friends over-valued his talents and his Christian foes under-rated his merits. A typical instance is found in the literature that grew out of the ill-advised criticism of Shidyāq's Ghunyat at-Ṭalib by Sa'id ash-Shartuni, the author of Aḡrab al-

(1) Ahmad Zaki Pāshā, manuscript note on the margin of Al-Jāsūs 'ala'l-Qāmūs made in his own hand on 1st January, 1931 (Al-Khizānat az-Zakīyah copy) p. 317.

Mawārid. Shartūni's intense hatred for the renegade Shidyāq found expression in his Kitāb aṣ-Ṣahm aṣ-Ṣā'ib fi Takhūte'at Ghunyat at-Tālib, but in decent language. On the other hand, Shaikhs Yusuf al-Asir⁽¹⁾ and Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab,⁽²⁾ staunch supporters of the new acquisition to Islām, overstepped all bounds of decency and decorum of diction in defending Shidyāq against the criticism of Shartūni.

This was, however, in tune with the fighting spirit of the two communities in Syria as reflected in the famous philological controversy that went on for some time in the pages of Barjīs Bārīs and Al-Jawā'ib between Roshaid ad-Daḥḍāh and Ahmad Fāris Shidyāq and was amicably settled through the good offices of Shaikh 'Abd al-Hādi Naja al-Abyāri in his book, An-Najm ath-Thāqib fi 'l-Moḥākamah baina 'l-Barjīs wa 'l-Jawā'ib. The following opening verses of the ode in praise of the arbiter which Shidyāq immediately published in Al-Jawā'ib will substantiate some of the foregoing remarks and give some glimpse into his poetical prowess and literary style:

ابدى لنا في معرجهما ثابرا + كان ثناءه بكل مصرحار
 فيه الفرائد والفراتر فضلت + موصولة البرهان بالاسرار
 ان قال لم يترث لتوال مدى + اوصال حال وطال كل معار
 هو فيصل في الحكم يرضى فضله + من كان لم يقنع من الاشجار
 لولاه لم يقطع لسان المغتري + عنى ولم يعضل جبال مزار
 فلذات كان على الجواب مدعه + مقاد ايجا با مدى الآباد

(1) Kitāb Radd ash-Shahm as-Sahm (Constantinople, 1291 A.H.)
 p. 4.

(2) Radd as-Sahm 'an at-Taṣwīb (Constantinople 1291 A.H.), p. 3.

Shidyāq's style in prose was as simple, pellucid and manly as in verse, if not more. As indicated elsewhere he protested against the artificial use of Saj' and the various artifices of verbal decoration so often indulged in by the writers of the period of decadence. This was obviously the effect of western influence just as it was in the case of Rifā'ah. The influence of his contact with the West is discerned also in the change of his mental outlook. He marvels at the progress of science in Europe and observes: "The transmission of news from the capital of Austria to Liverpool in less than a second is more profitable than the suggestion of twenty interpretations for a single problem, and real chemistry is that which the Europeans now study and not the art of transforming iron into gold, or lead into silver. So if you call it elixir, you are right."⁽¹⁾

(1) Al-Wāsīṭah, p. 208.

(iv) The short rule of Muhammad 'Ali Pāshā in Syria and its reaction on Syrian life and thought.

The permeation of Syria by Western influences through the domination of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā cannot be denied. His short rule in Syria (1833-40) brought the population into close touch with the reform movements introduced by him in Egypt. Many Syrians held influential positions in the Dīwān, and Syrian students were admitted to the Technical schools on equal terms with the Egyptians. Among the Syrian employees of the Egyptian Government besides the already-mentioned Naṣrallāh at-Trābulusi and Ni'matallāh Naufal, father of Naufal Ni'matallāh Naufal, mention may be made of Jibrā'il al-Mukhalla', the translator of Sa'di's Gulsitān. Among the Syrian students educated at one of the technical schools of Egypt Ibrāhīm Bey an-Najjār stands out as most prominent.

Jibrā'il al-Mukhalla', whose translation of the celebrated Gulsitān of Sa'di from Persian into elegant Arabic brought him into prominence, was born at Damascus in the latter part of the eighteenth century. After having studied Arabic, Persian and Turkish he travelled to Egypt. He remained there for some time, passing from one Dīwān to another at Alexandria. He subsequently returned to Damascus, where he died in 1851. His translation of the Gulsitān was published at Bulāq in 1851 (1263 A.H.) under the title of Raudat-al-Ward.

The Egyptian poet, Shahāb-al-Dīn-al-Miṣri, has praised the work in the following graceful lines:

لَوَالِبِ الشَّرْقِ تَزَعُو بِالنَّوَارِ + اِمْلَاحِ لِي رَوْضِ اَزْهَارِ وَالنَّوَارِ
 كَلَامِ بِلِ اَلْمَعِي اللُّوَدِيِّ بَدَا + مِنْهُ بَدَائِعُ اَسْبَاجِ وَاشْعَارِ
 لَا غُرْدَانِ جَاءَ جَبْرِيلُ الْاَلِيمِ بِهَا + مَقْرُوءَةٌ حَيْثُ يَتَلَى يَعْجَبُ الْقَارِ
 اللَّهُ رَوْضِ ثَخْرِ الزَّهْرِ قَدْ ضَمَكْتَ + قِيَاهُ لَمَنْ جَاءَ يَجْنِي غَضَى اَشْمَارِ
 فِي طَيِّبِ الْفَاسِقِ يَهْدِي اِلَيْهِ شَذَا + تَرْوِيهِ نَفْعَتُهُ عَنِ النَّشْرِ مِعْطَارِ
 وَادْرَا حَسَنَهُ بِالطَّبِيعِ مَبْتَهَجًا + اِرْتَدَتْ اِزْهِي بِهِجِ رَوْضِ اَزْهَارِ

The publication of this book at the Būlāq Press is important and suggestive. It indicates that in spite of the great zeal shown for western science oriental literature was not neglected. The translation of this Persian classic by a Syrian writer resident in Egypt - a translation which was in a way prompted by the prevailing spirit of progress - could not but excite interest.

Ibrāhīm Efendi at-Ṭabīb, who is usually known as Ibrāhīm Bey an-Najjār, was born at Dair al-Qamar in 1822. He had a yearning, as he himself says, for the acquisition of knowledge, especially of the medical sciences. In 1253 A.H. (1837), when he was fifteen years of age, the golden opportunity occurred. "God, favoured Syria by sending Dr. Clot Bey there. As he saw the pressing need of the country for medical knowledge, he obtained the permission of Muḥammad 'Ali Pāshā for the admission of some Syrian youths into the

Medical School, Cairo, and Ibrāhīm was one of them."⁽¹⁾

He joined the school in January 1838 and obtained the medical diploma in 1842.⁽²⁾

On his return from Cairo he travelled to Constantinople where he practised for some time as a physician with great success. In 1846 he travelled over the Continent of Europe, and in 1850 he published his Hadyat al-Aḥbāb wa Hidāyet at-Tullāb, a work on the natural sciences, to which is appended a chapter on phrenology.⁽³⁾ He then returned to Beirut where he was appointed First Surgeon at the Military Hospital for the Imperial Forces. Here he started a press which he called Al-Matba'at ash-Sharqiyah and where he published the first part of his pleasing Riḥlah entitled Miṣbāḥ as-Sāri wa Nuzhat al-Qari.

In this book he gives an account of his travel to Egypt, what he saw and heard there, his travel to Constantinople, life there, the Ottoman Sultans and their relations with the European Powers.⁽⁴⁾ His description of the Medical School and of life in Egypt is very interesting. The second part of the book in which he had intended to deal with the ancient

(1) Ibrāhīm Efendi al-Ḥakīm, Kitāb Miṣbāḥ as-Sāri wa Nuzhat al-Qāri, (Beirut, 1275 A.H.) p. 9.

(2) Ibid, p. 12. (Copy of Diploma dated 4th June, 1842.)

(3) Printed at Marseilles (See Sarkīs, I, 21)

(4) Miṣbāḥ as-Sāri, p. 2.

history of Egypt, his travels to Europe and the history of Syria and its ancient monuments apparently did not see the light.

The activities of Ibrāhīm Bey, Jibrā'īl al-Mukhalla', Naṣrallāh and Naufal Ni'matallāh Naufal, all of whom had been considerably influenced by the reform movements in Egypt in the course of their residence there, had an undoubted share in creating in Syria interest and awakening. Although the termination of Egyptian rule in 1840 and the internecine strife that followed retarded all progress for the time being, the impression which this short rule had made there was ineffaceable. The pioneering which it had done facilitated the work of the succeeding agencies in disseminating western influences in the country.

(v) The activities of the American Mission at Beirut.

Western influences had been creeping into Syria and Syrian Arabic literature imperceptibly through the ecclesiastical connection of the native Christians with Rome and the activities of French Missionaries; but their effect, which was already negligible, was obliterated by the influence exercised by the American Mission at Beirut. By a unique coincidence, which seems almost providential, Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck was deputed by the American Mission to Syria as a physician and missionary in 1840, the year in which the Egyptian rule came to an end. The achievements in the domain

of literature and the share in the renaissance in Syria of this sincere well-wisher of the country cannot be exaggerated. His devoted connection with Syria did as much, if not more, for its cultural renaissance, as the fervent and patriotic zeal of Rifā'ah and his circle aided by the lavish expenditure incurred by the Egyptian Government achieved in Egypt.

Cornelius Van Dyck was born in 1818 in a village in the state of New York. He studied medicine in the first instance with his father and later at Philadelphia. In 1840 he came to Beirut where he became acquainted with Buṭrus al-Bustāni and Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāziḡi, who had in the same year shifted from the Court of Al-Amīr Bashīr to Beirut. He at once applied himself to the study of Arabic, first with Shaikh Nāṣif and later with Shaikh Yusuf al-Asīr. As we shall see later, the friendly association of these four men developed into a strong force, which was to play a most important part in the dissemination of western influences in Syria. However, the fact that Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck soon became a sound Arabic scholar and able to take his stand as a recognised author in the language redounds to the credit of his able teachers.

His first step in the direction of cultural uplift was that in 1846 he started in conjunction with his bosom friend, Buṭrus al-Bustāni at the village of 'Abīyah, a high school, which was really a college and the prototype of the Syrian

Protestant College of Beirut, which subsequently assumed the style of the American University of Beirut. The next step was to write books in simple Arabic on scientific subjects including the medical sciences. He wrote useful books on arithmetic, algebra, logarithms, plane and spherical trigonometry, astronomy, physics, chemistry, medicine, and even logic, and prosody.⁽¹⁾

From 1850 to 1853 he was engaged in missionary work at Şaida where he was summoned by the Council of the Mission. In 1853 he went to America, and returned to Syria in 1854. On the death of Dr. Eli Smith in 1857 he was called upon to continue the translation of the Bible into Arabic which the deceased had commenced in collaboration with Buṭrus al-Bustāni. He applied himself energetically to the task and at the same time undertook the direction of the celebrated American Press, to the improvement of which he devoted considerable attention. The translation was completed in 1864, and in 1865 he was deputed to the United States to supervise its publication.

During his absence the Syrian Protestant College, which owes its inception to him, as well as to Dr. Daniel Be^{ll}z and Dr. John Wortebat, was organized at Beirut in 1866.⁽²⁾ On his

(1) For a complete list of these and fuller details about his life, See his biography by his pupil, Iskander Niqūla al-Bārūdi, entitled Ḥayāt Kurnīlyus Fāndīk (Lebanon, 1900).

(2) Ādāb, IV, pp. 49-50.

return from America in 1867 he joined the College as a Professor. His devoted services and spontaneous sacrifices at this institution are too well-known to be dilated upon here. But it is a sad reflection that the authorities of the College could not see eye to eye with him on some vital questions of policy. Their dogged determination to substitute English for Arabic as the medium of instruction at the institution drove this self-less educationist and ardent philanthropist in 1882 to resign his post with a heavy heart.

The widespread feelings of regret evoked by his resignation as a protest against this strangling of the Arabic language can be gauged from the letter which some prominent Syrian scholars addressed to him over their joint signature. This letter, which was signed by Al-Amīr 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jazā'eri, Sayyid Maḥmūd Ḥamzah, Shaikh Salīm al-'Aṭṭār, Dr. Mikhā'il Mushshāqah and others, is full of feelings of grateful appreciation of his services in their varied phases and intense regret at his resignation under circumstances over which neither he nor the signatories had any control. It is certain that they echoed the universal feelings, when they said: "And all that we can offer to you is our love and cordial sympathy and our gratitude to you so that others may know that Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck occupies the highest place in the heart of every Syrian true to his native country and that he can benefit our country out of the

College in the same way as he did while in it."(1)

There is no exaggeration in this modest appreciation by grateful people of the acts of a disinterested benefactor. The effect of the educative measures of Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, which were evidently prompted by purely philanthropic motives, baffles description. These measures acted, so to speak, as a magic wand to rouse the country from slumber and make it alive to the pressing need of education and reform. The school which he had started at 'Abīyah, the Syrian Protestant College of Beirut which later rose to the status of a university and the activities of the men these two institutions produced created a remarkable awakening and excited intense interest. The result was that indigenous movements in varied forms sprang up to co-operate in the march towards westernization.

Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck not only created an atmosphere for the growth of indigenous movements, but also took the lead in initiating them. He sowed the seeds of journalism, which then found a more fertile soil in Syria than in Egypt. He demonstrated by a concrete example the educative value of scientific societies by founding in 1847 at Beirut, under the auspices of Dr. Eli Smith and with the co-operation of his close friends, Buṭrus al-Bustāni, Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāziji and others the society known as Al-Jam'iyat al-Sūriyah.

(1) Ḥayāt Kurnīlyūs Fāndīk, p. 20.

Shaikh Nāṣīf al-Yāziji, as we know, moved to Beirut in 1840, the same year in which Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck arrived there. It is remarkable that his literary and educational career begins after this date. At Beirut he came in touch with the members of the American Mission, notably Dr. Eli Smith and Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck and the celebrated local poets and prose writers. His close association with these Protestant Americans and his countryman, Buṭrus al-Bustāni who became Protestant does not seem to have affected his conservative mental outlook. He remained an out and out conservative like Abdallāh Fikri Pāshā of Egypt in his mode of life and cast of mind, and unlike Buṭrus al-Bustāni remained a Maronite. But in spite of his apparently strict adherence to the classical style in his works one can find a faint reflection of western thought in his work.

He moved with Cornelius Van Dyck and Al-Bustāni and co-operated with them. He taught at the national school which was started by the latter and at the Syrian Protestant College and was a prominent member of Al-Jamīyat al-Sūriyah. He also taught at the Patriarchal School started in 1864 by the Patriarch Gregorius Joseph for the Maronites. He took an interest in the publications of the American Press, especially the Bible, which Dr. Eli Smith and Buṭrus al-Bustāni had commenced translating into Arabic. One important result of all these was a revival of literary studies in the Maronite

Church, to which he steadfastly clung to the last in spite of his close association with these movements of the Protestant group.

Shaikh Nāṣif was an all-round scholar and a prodigious writer. He wrote easy and simplified textbooks on etymology, syntax, rhetoric, prosody and logic: of these his excellent manual on grammar, Faṣḥ al-Khiṭāb and equally fine and useful little book on rhetoric and prosody, Majmū' al-Ādāb, have won universal fame. But the most celebrated of all his works is his Majma' al-Baḥrain, which consists of sixty Maqāmāt (Seances). This interesting work owes its origin in large part to Dr. Eli Smith and the German Orientalist, Fleischer. He had composed a short discourse entitled al Maqāmah al-'Aqīqīyah, which was published in 1853 in the Transactions of the Al-Jam'iyat al-Sūriyah and was reproduced in the journal of the German Asiatic Society with translation by Fleischer.⁽¹⁾ This created a stir among his contemporaries whose appreciation encouraged him to further composition and by the first of June, 1854, he had composed about fifty,⁽²⁾ and in 1856 Majma' al-Baḥrain appeared. It was received with general appreciation, and the following graceful verses composed in its praise by Huṣain Baihum are full of

(1) Fo'ād Afrām al-Bustāni, Ar-Rawā'i, No.21, p.

(2) Z.D.M.G. IX (1885), s.269 (~~Communication or~~
(letter of Dr. Eli Smith, dated 1st June, 1854),

suggestions. (1)

هذا الأناجُ فريدٌ في محاسنه + نظير صالغته يزعمونه الادب
لو كان في الزمن الماضي لنجح له + على الضواير ترجم الناس والحرب
كانه روضة غناء شتيف من + يومئذها بثمار دونها الضرب
او صافه الغر قد قالت مؤرخه + الدر من سبح البحر يلتسب

Nāṣif al-Yāziji was also a poet, and of no mean order. He was an imitator of Al-Mutanabbi, of whom he was so fond that he is said to have committed his Dīwān to memory. He identified himself with the celebrated panegyrist of Saif ad-Daulah and observed, "I am established in the heart of Al-Mutanabbi."⁽²⁾ That this is no hollow claim is evident from his excellent Sharḥ on the Dīwān of Al-Mutanabbi which was completed after his death by his son, Ibrāhīm al-Yāziji and is entitled Al-‘Arf at-Ṭayyib fi Sharḥ Dīwān Ibi’ṭ-Ṭayyib. A contemporary writer aptly represents him as a copy in miniature of Al-Mutanabbi;⁽³⁾ but he is too severe in finding fault with the frequent use of the figure of speech known as Talmīḥ (Allusion), alluding to grammatical and rhetorical points. The critic forgets that the poet spent his life in what Mathew Arnold would call gerund-grinding and writing textbooks, chiefly on grammar and rhetoric, and that a poet's interests as well as feelings are reflected in his

(1) Nāṣif al-Yāziji, Majma‘ al-Baḥrain, (Beirut, 1924), p. 489.

(2) Ar-Rawā‘i, No. 21, p.

(3) Ibid, p.

poetry. One questions if such facile lines as the following do in fact mar the beauty of his Dīwān: (1)

مبا في على بعد المدى برسالة + تناولتها بالقلب لا بالإنصاح
منعت الأرفاق العين عنها نصيباً + كما حال دون العرف بعض التوايح

His verse composition has been collected into several Dīwāns. The first entitled An-Nabdhat al-Ūlā was published in 1853; the second entitled Nafhat ar-Raiḥān in 1864; and the third entitled Thālith al-Qamarain in 1884. A fourth collection entitled Fākihat an-Nodamā' fi Murūsalāt al-Odabā' consists of his correspondence in prose and verse with the contemporary literatti in Egypt, Syria, Palestine and 'Irāq, (2) who were unanimous in appreciating his literary merits. The following curious remarks in the course of a letter by Shaikh 'Abd al-Hādi Naja al-Abyāri which elicited a tart retort from Mārūn an-Naqqāsh are worth quoting: (3)

باسمنا بمنته عيسوي + يتحدى بمثل معجز احمد
نظم الدرر والدراري في احسن سبط من البيان وسجد
المحى لكتفه عيسوي + كان اولي بفضل دين محمد

Shaikh Nāṣif's graceful verses in reply are typical of his sweet nature: (4)

-
- (1) Ar-Rawā' i', No. 21, p.
 (2) Cheikho curiously includes this work among the three Dīwāns of Nāṣif and omits An-Nabdhat (See Cheikho II, p. 29)
 (3) Fākihat an-Nodamā' (Cairo, 1889), p. 27.
 (4) Ibid, p. 28.

اتاني كتاب منه احبى بوفد + فوادي كفيض النيل في البلد المحل
 احب الى الا سماع من لحن معبد + واعذب في الافراء من غسل النخل
 تفضل بالمدح الذي هو اعله + فلم استطع شكر ا على ذلك الفضل

These highly eulogistic verses made in reply to unconsciously offensive remarks do not come as a surprise from one who has the distinction of having composed altogether only three verses in satire during his lifetime, as he himself mentioned once to Buṭrus al-Bustāni,⁽¹⁾ in the year before his death (1871).

Buṭrus al-Bustāni was born in 1819 at Ad-Dabīyah, a village in the Lebanon. He began his studies at the village school where he attracted the special attention of his teacher, Mikhā'il al-Bustāni, whose recommendation led the Maronite Bishop 'Abdallāh al-Bustāni to take particular interest in the young Buṭrus. In 1830 he was transferred to the school at 'Ain Warqah where he learnt Arabic grammar, rhetoric, prosody and linguistics, history, geography, arithmetic, Syriac, Italian and Latin and picked up a knowledge of logic, philosophy, moral and dogmatic theology, and jurisprudence. When he completed the course of studies there, the Maronite Patriarch intended to send him with his compatriot, Shībli, who later became Bishop Buṭrus al-Bustāni, to Rome for further ecclesiastical studies. But

(1) Al-Jinān, Vol.I, No.2 (Feb. 1870), p. 43.

destiny had decreed otherwise, and his mother, who was a widow, could not spare him. He was, therefore, appointed a teacher at the school, where he continued until 1840, when he moved to Beirut.

This was the year of the withdrawal of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā from Syria and the arrival of Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck from America and of Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāziji from Bait ad-Dīn at Beirut. Here Buṭrus came in touch with the British Consulate and the members of the American Mission, especially Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck, to whom he became greatly attached. His friendship with Protestant Americans soon led to his conversion to Protestantism, and he began to identify himself with all the movements of the American Mission. He cooperated with Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck in founding the school at 'Abīyah, where he worked as teacher for two years. He collaborated with Dr. Eli Smith in translating the Bible into Arabic, and enthusiastically participated in the organization in 1847 of the Syrian Society. From 1848 to 1862 he acted as Interpreter to the American Consulate.

The result of this close association with the American Mission and the American Consulate during all this time was similar to that of the residence and training of Rifā'ah Bey at Paris. But the case of Buṭrus al-Bustāni was different. He did not flourish under the benign influence of a progressive government anxious to improve the lot of its subjects. Syria

was not fortunate enough to enjoy the peace and prosperity that Egypt enjoyed. The series of terrible internecine conflicts that raged for a score of years reached their highest pitch in 1860, when the whole of the country was steeped in bloodshed. It was, however, this very disquieting situation that spurred this patriot to combat the forces of evil that were then rampant. He first turned to the question of creating friendly relations between the warring elements of the population of the country. To this end he published a series of national bulletins calling his countrymen to peace and mutual love. Thirteen issues of this bulletin, called *Nafīr Sūriyah* (The Brass bugle of Syria) appeared and when peace was established, it was stopped. He next turned to education, which alone was the real remedy for the evils against which he was determined to fight. His comradeship with the members of the American Mission in the educative movements had equipped him with sufficient training for such national movements, and he began by starting in 1863 a school, which he called *Al-Madrisat al-Waṭaniyah*.

The period of his life after this date was exceedingly fertile in literary production inasmuch as it was during this period that he started journals and magazines and composed his great works, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, *Qaṭr al-Muḥīṭ* and *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif*, and some of his best articles, discourses and lectures. *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ*, which is based on *Al-Qāmūs*, is the first

Arabic Dictionary which attempts to explain modern Arabic terms. It was published in 1869, and was followed later by its abridgement, *Qaṭr al-Muḥīṭ*. In 1875, the year of the publication of *Kitāb Āthār al-Adhār* of Salīm al-Khūrī and Salīm Shaḥḥādah, he embarked on the gigantic task of compiling a *Dā'irat al-Ma'ārif* (Encyclopaedia) in Arabic.

He wrote with the able collaboration of his son Salīm and other contemporary writers six volumes, and had begun the seventh volume some time before his death in 1883. Two volumes were added later by his son, Salīm; and three more appeared subsequently through the joint efforts of his other sons and relatives. It is unfortunate that this exceedingly useful work remains to this day incomplete. It is, however, pertinent to observe that the Arabic world owes this great, though unfinished, work to the House of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā, the Maker of Egypt, as much as to the author himself. The author was encouraged by the offer of substantial financial help by Ismā'īl Pāshā, the illustrious grandson of Muḥammad 'Alī Pāshā, who made most generous contributions in money, and provided books and equipment.

(vi) The revival of the Maronites.

One important outcome of the activities of the American Mission in Syria and the close association of the native Christians with it was, as already indicated, to stir up a new activity among the Maronites. The earliest sign of their awakening is seen

in their vigorous competition in starting parallel educational institutions. As we have already noticed, the organization of the Syrian Protestant College in 1866 was followed by the establishment in 1874 of the Jesuit College, which later became known as St. Joseph University. This important institution which with its celebrated Catholic Press, vies with the American University and its press, later played an important part in the renaissance in Syria.

(c) The rise of indigenous movements in Syria.

As suggested elsewhere, indigenous movements in various forms arose from the general stir created by the activities of the American Mission and the products of its institutions. These movements which co-operated in the progress of westernization in the country were the educational institutions already mentioned, scientific societies and journals.

(i) Scientific Societies.

The Syrian Society (Al-Jam'iyat as-Sūriyah) which was started in 1847 by the American Mission and which functioned till 1852 was the precursor of many others that followed in quick succession. The first important society that arose out of its embers was Al-Jam'iyat al-'Ilmiyah as-Sūriyah. It was more representative than its predecessor and included some prominent Muslims of Syria. It was officially recognized by the Ottoman Government in

1868, when it was reorganized under the presidentship of Amīr Muḥammad Al-Amīn Arsalān. In the same year it started the magazine, Majmū'at al-'Ulūm which included articles of general interest on agriculture, industry, trade, history and other literary topics, in addition to the proceedings of the society. In the following year when the office bearers were re-elected, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusain Baihum became President and Salīm al-Bustāni, Vice-President. (1)

The other societies were Jam'iyat Shams al-Barr (1869), Jam'iyat Zuhrat al-Ādāb (1873) and Al-Jam'iyat al-'Ilmiyah fi'l-Madrisat al-Kulliyah (1881), etc. (2)

These societies were of immense educative value. They exercised considerable influence in creating an atmosphere of cordial comradeship, and developed the idea and spirit of nationalism.

(ii) Journalism.

Journalism, like the other indigenous movements in Syria, derived its inspiration from the American Mission of Beirut. Its seeds were sown in Syria by Dr. Eli Smith, who started the Annual Review of the Mission entitled Majmū' Fawā'id in 1851. After this came the Transactions of the Syrian Society (Ā'māl al-Jam'iyat as-Sūrīyah) in which Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck,

(1) Ṭarrāzi I, p. 75.

(2) Ādāb, IV, pp. 81-82.

Butrus al-Bustāni, Shaikh Nāṣif al-Yāziji and others co-operated with Dr. Eli Smith. This was followed by the famous Ḥadīqat al-Akḥbār, a weekly political, scientific, commercial and historical journal started by Khalīl al-Khūrī in 1858.

Khalīl al-Khūrī was born in 1836 at Ash-Shuwaifāt. He was educated at the Greek Orthodox School, Beirut, where he studied Arabic. He later learnt Turkish and French. In January 1858 he started the Ḥadīqat al-Akḥbār, and it was he who first used the word *Jurnāl* in Arabic in the sense of a journal.

He was a man of resource and exercised considerable influence with the authorities. He was a good poet, and he composed panegyrics in praise of the Sultan, the provincial governors and the ministers. He wrote a biography of Fo'ād Pāshā under the title, *An-Nashā'id al-Fo'ādiyah*. The following easy verses which open an ode in praise of Ismā'il Pāshā are typical of his style in verse: (1)

ما تبغين لدى العلياء من ارب + وقد بلغت النبي يا امة الحرب
اميان مولانا اسماعيل فابتهجى + واحدى له كلمات اشكر عن لب

The following lines ^{from} ~~fer~~ the ode he composed to express his gratefulness to M. Reinand for translating into French a fragment of his poetry from his *Zahr ar-Ruba* are worth

(1) *As-Samīr al-Amīn* (Beirut, 1867), p. 43.

quoting: (1)

قد جعل منك بميل نعل عندنا + يا من تراه للفضائل معدنا
 لعبت بعطفك نخوة اربيه + فبعثت تمشي بالمدايح محسنا
 حتى تفيد الشفقة رنة شهرة + فعزى به الادب يالعة الجني
 شكراً لفضلك فدمنت بخطبة + جاءت تنبه في عمانا الاينا
 لم نخترع نحن الحديد وانما + من فضل نور الخرب جددنا السني
 اهدى لنا النواره شفافة + فازداد نور الشرق اذ سطعت هنا

The following line opens an ode on Sa'īd Pāshā on the occasion of his visit to Beirut in 1859: (2)

لا قدرن في الشرق صوت صلح يخبره + عن بجره كيف ضاء الآن مطهره
 فانظره ملتهب الامر جاء مشتعل + يلقي الضياء على الدنيا تنويره
 بشرى لنا هذا النصار سعيده + واني به يحيي الفغوس سعيد
 مولى له المجد الرشيد مشيد + فون العلى والعالمون شهود

He was in Egypt ^{from} 1859-60. In 1860 he addressed the ode from Cairo to Salīm Naufat at Petersburg. (3)

قدرن في الشرق صوت صلح يخبره + عن بجره كيف ضاء الآن مطهره
 فانظره ملتهب الامر جاء مشتعل + يلقي الضياء على الدنيا تنويره

On Paris he sang: (5)

بل يا هت الاقلام وهي تمجد + وسمما الحسام بفخره لك يحمد
 تد تحت في حل البلاغه را خلا + ووردت في ثوب الشجاعة تنجد
 ولهرت في افق المعارف لاسعاً + ولت الفطانه بالبرامة تشهد
 فاذهب لافق الهرب واسطخ ناشرا + منه لسطح الشرقي نوراً يرش
 واذكر خيلا قال وهو مزخرف + من مس يرشد للمعارف اسعد

(1) Al-Asr al-Jadīd, pp. 10-11.

(2) Al-Asr al-Jadīd, p. 102.

(3) Ibid, p. 129.

(4) Ibid, p. 202.

(5) Ibid, p. 255.

Ḥadīqat al-Akḥbār was followed by Nafīr Sūrīyah, the official weekly journal, Sūrīyah (1865), Ash-Shirkat ash-Shahrīyah (1866), An-Nashrat ash-Shahrīyah (1866), Furāt (1867), Ām' āl Shirkat Mār Mansūr Di Baul (1867), Lubnān (1867)⁽¹⁾ and the Majmū'at al-'Ulūm, which has already been noticed.

The year 1870 was especially propitious for the growth of journalism in Syria. In this year there appeared Az-Zuhrah, Al-Mihmāz, Al-Jannah, Al-Jinān, Al-Majma' al-Fātikāni, Al-Bashir, An-Nahlah. In the next year came Kaukab aṣ-Ṣubḥ al-Munīr, An-Nashrat al-Usbū'īyah, Al-Junainah and An-Najāḥ. In 1874 appeared At-Taquddum⁽²⁾ and in 1875 Thamarāt al-Fonūn, a weekly political, scientific and literary journal started at Beirut by the Jam'īyat al-Fonūn⁽³⁾ which was composed of some of the local Muslim literatti. It was edited by 'Abd al-Qādir Qubbāni, and was the first Arabic journal of Syria and the first Arabic journal organized on the joint stock system. Among the distinguished contributors to the journal were Shaikh Yusuf al-Asīr and Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab. It continued to mirror Muslim opinion for a long time and was the only Arabic Muslim organ after the abolition

(1) For an account of these see Ṭarrāzi I, pp. 64, 67-69, 71, 73.

(2) For these see Ṭarrāzi, II, pp. 18-22 and 51.

(3) For details see Ṭarrāzi II, pp. 51-52, 18-25.

of Al-Jawā'ib in 1884. It stopped publication in 1908.

In 1876 the celebrated scientific magazine, Al-Muqtaṭaf was launched by Dr. Ya'qūb Ṣarrūf and Dr. Fāris Nimr, two distinguished members of the earliest batch of students of the Syrian Protestant College. This exceedingly useful journal which is now the oldest Arabic magazine was transferred in 1884 to Cairo. Briefly speaking, it has been one of the most vital organs for the infusion of new blood into Arabic literature, adding to its stock of ideas and enriching its vocabulary.

(d) The Muslims of Syria and the educative movements.

For a long time the Muslims of Syria remained outside the pale of the various movements that were surging round them. They remained unruffled by the waves of westernization that were rushing in from various sources. But the ferment created by the vigorous activities of the American Mission, as we have already noticed, was not long in enveloping the whole country. Gradually the Muslim element, which was not wanting in the spirit of co-operation in the cause of progress, joined in the movement. Some of them, at least, worked shoulder to shoulder ^{in concord} with the other elements for the advancement of the common national cause, and with full vigour. Of these the most fervent participators in the indigenous educative movements were Shaikh Yusuf al-Asīr, Al-Ḥājj Ḥusain Baihum and Shaikh Ibrahim al-Ahdab.

Shaikh Yusuf al-Asir was born at Saïda in 1230 A.H. (1815). He studied first privately, then at Al-Madrisat al-Murādiyah at Damascus and later travelled to Cairo and studied at Al-Azhar for some seven years with, among others, Shaikhs Ḥasan al-‘Atṭār, Ḥasan-al-Quwaisni and Shaikh Md. al-Damanhūri. He then returned to Saïda where he taught and trained for some time the students who flocked to him from every direction. He later shifted to Tripoli (in Syria) where he spent three years in teaching. He next went to Beirut where he became chief clerk (رئيس كتاب) at the Law Court.

At Beirut Shaikh Yusuf al-Asir came in touch with the American Mission which owes him a great debt. He helped the Mission in various ways. He corrected the Arabic translation of the Bible made by the Mission and taught some of its members like Dr. Cornelius Van Dyck and Dr. Eli Smith Arabic and composed for it many of the hymns used in the Protestant churches there. He subsequently held various posts at Acre, in the Lebanon and at Constantinople. As he could not stand the cold at Constantinople, he returned to Beirut where he taught at Buṭrus al-Bustāni's National School, Bishop Joseph Dibs's Madrisat al-Ḥikmah, the Syrian Protestant College and other institutions. He died in 1307 A.H. (1889). Among his pupils during the latter period of his life were Gregory IV and Dr. Martin Hartmann.

Of all his literary productions the most important is his

Dīwān which provides valuable material for a critical survey of the literary activities of his time inasmuch as it is full of notes in verse on some of the most prominent contemporary writers and their literary activities. There are in his Diwan odes on Ḥusain Baihum,⁽¹⁾ Muḥammad Ayād -al-Ṭantāwi⁽²⁾ (who died at St. Petersburg), Nawwāh Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān of Bhopāl (India),⁽³⁾ Dīwān Shaikh Abi'l-Ḥasan al-Kusti,⁽⁴⁾ Aḥmad Fāris Shidyāq,⁽⁵⁾ Shidyāq's Sirr/al-Layāl,⁽⁶⁾ Dīwān Niqula Naqqāsh,⁽⁷⁾ Dīwān Miṣbāḥ-al-Barbīr,⁽⁸⁾ Mārūn-al-Naqqāsh's "Arzat Lubnān",⁽⁹⁾ Dīwān 'Omār al-Ḥnsī.⁽¹⁰⁾

Al-Ḥājj Ḥusain Baihum was born at Beirut in 1249 A.H. (1833). He studied under Shaikh 'Abdallāh Khālid and Shaikh Muḥammad al-Ḥūt. He was fond of learning and association with men of letters from his early life. He was a progressive Muslim of advanced ideas, broad outlook and nationalist aspirations. He was an excellent poet; but it is unfortunate that his verses have not been collected into a Dīwān. Some elegant specimens of his verse composition are found scattered in various old journals and magazines and in the works of his contemporaries. He excelled in composing choice chronograms, some fine specimens of which have been

-
- (1) Dīwān Shaikh Yusuf al-Asīr (Beirut 1306 A.H.) pp. 22 & 69
 (2) Ibid, p. 25.
 (3) Ibid, pp. 29.
 (4) Ibid, pp. 36, 54.
 (5) Ibid, pp. 37, 40, 44, 51, 70.
 (6) Ibid, p. 45.
 (7) Ibid, p. 50.
 (8) Ibid, p. 50.
 (9) Ibid, p. 54.
 (10) Ibid, p. 75.

quoted elsewhere. He was fond of collecting rare books, and he built up a great private library. He held various posts of influence and responsibility with credit, and took a leading part in public life. He was president of Al-Jamīyat al-‘Ilmiyah al-Suriyah and was instrumental in the inception of its magazine, Majmū‘at al-‘Ulūm. He was one of the founders of the Jamīyat al-Maqāsid al-Khairiyah of Beirut. He died in 1881.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab was born in 1242 A.H. at Tripoli (in Syria), where he studied under Shaikh ‘Arābi and Shaikh ‘Abd al-Ghani. In 1864 he took to teaching at Tripoli, and later travelled to Constantinople and Cairo. In 1276 he moved to Beirut, where he became a Nā‘ib (assistant) at the Law Court and later Chief Clerk. He held this last post for over thirty years, during the course of which period he undertook to write articles for the Journal, Thamarāt al-Fonūn. When the Wilāyat of Beirut was formed, he was nominated a member of the Council of Education.

Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab was undoubtedly one of the greatest prose writers of the period. He was also a poet and his verse compositions have been collected into three Diwāns, one of which is entitled An-Nafḥ al-Miski fi ‘sh-Shi‘r al-Beirūti. His most remarkable poetic achievement is Farā‘id al-La‘āl fi Majma‘ al-Amthāl in which he has beautifully versified ^{proverbs} the/collected by Al-Maidāni. Another

excellent work from his pen is *Kashf al-Ma'āni wa'l-Bayān 'an Rasā'il Badī' az-Zamān*, a scholarly commentary on the *Rasā'il* of *Badī' az-Zamān al-Hamadhāni*. Besides these, he wrote *Maqāmāt* (Seances) after *Al-Ḥarīri* and *Maqālāt* (Discourses) after *Az-Zamakhshari*, and books on grammar and logic. It is noteworthy that he even composed dramas. His *Riwāyet, Ibn Zaidūn Ma'a ʿ Wallādah* is one of the earliest dramas in Arabic written in elegant style. His literary merits were duly recognized by his contemporaries and *Shaikh 'Abd al-Hādi Naja al-Abyāri* was one of his real admirers. This is manifest from the fact that the latter entitled the work in which he had collected some of his correspondence with the contemporary literatti, *Al-Wasā'il al-Adabīyah fi'r-Rasā'il al-Aḥdabīyah* as a mark of particular regard for *Al-Aḥdab*.

(e) Miscellaneous.

What has been said so far holds good of the French and Anglo-American influences. As regards the Italian influence, it is to be noted that it bore no manifest fruit except in so far as the importation into Arabic of the branch of literature called the drama is concerned. The first writer of dramas in Arabic, *Mārūn an-Naqqāsh*⁽¹⁾ was greatly moved by the dramas he saw staged in Italy during his travels there in 1846. His first

(1) For an account of his life see the biography with which his brother, *Niqūlā Naqqāsh* has prefaced *to Arzat Lubnān*, a collection of the works of *Mārūn an-Naqqāsh* (Beirut, 1869), pp. 9-18.

work, *Riwāyet al-Bakhīl*, translated from the French of Molière, was staged by him at his house in 1848. This was followed by several other plays, *Riwāyet Ash-Shaikh al-Jāhil*, *Riwāyet Abi'l Ḥasan al-Mughaffal*, *Riwāyet Al-'Abūṣah*, and *Riwāyet al-Ḥasūd*. But as these were the products of the still undeveloped stage of Arabic drama, they betray a lack of the true dramatic form.

In conclusion the strange fact may be noted that the centre of all the movements and activities was Beirut and the surrounding area known as the Lebanon. Another curious point is that whereas the people of Beirut and Aleppo were fast moving towards westernization, those in Damascus seem to have been undisturbed by the onrush of Western influences. One obvious explanation is that its insular geographical position, which resulted in a comparative absence of those influences which were affecting the lives and thought of such commercial centres as Beirut and Aleppo, was reflected in the insularity of the mental outlook there.

CONCLUSION.

[The effect which the Western influences from the different sources and through the divers agencies discussed in the foregoing chapters produced on the Arabic literature of Egypt and Syria during the period under review has already been indicated in sufficient detail in the course of dealing with the operation of the various agencies. In conclusion,

however, a general analysis of the net results would neither be unprofitable nor superfluous.

The effect of the impact on the writers of this period, especially in Egypt, was not deeprooted. It touched only the surface of thought and affected the style very imperceptibly. The reason is not far to seek. The attention of the early exponents of westernization was more or less confined to the study of Western science, and what little study of Western literature they made was only incidental and, therefore, superficial. Again, the background of their early training on traditional lines in the classical Muslim lore at Al-Azhar strongly offset these influences. First impressions are lasting and the stamp received by young and unmoulded minds from the teaching at Al-Azhar could not be effaced by any amount of study of French science and literature. They were accustomed from childhood to a mode of thought different from that of their successors in later generations, and this accounts for the marked difference observed in the effect produced by these influences on the literature of this period and that of the subsequent ones.

This is amply illustrated by the distinct shades of effect of these influences upon Rifā'ah Bey and his pupils who have been graded by Sāleḥ Majdi in the biography of Rifā'ah into three classes according to the time of their joining the School of Languages. The most prominent figure,

in the first batch was, as we already know, Abn So'ūd, the founder of Wādi an-Nīl; among the leading members of the second were Ṣāleḥ Majdi, the biographer of Rifā'ah and Qadri Pāshā; and the guiding spirit of the third was obviously Othmān Jalāl.

Rifā'ah, as we have already observed, was at heart a conservative Azharite imbued with the spirit of reform and progress. Abn So'ūd was the nearest approach to him in this respect; Ṣāleḥ Majdi and Qadri Pāshā came next. Othmān Jalāl, who came last, was more deeply affected by western influences than his teacher and his predecessors, and was thus the most radical of all. He was the first to feel a real attraction towards French literature, especially the drama, and was the first Egyptian writer to introduce this form into the Arabic literature of Egypt.]

The situation in Syria was different. Here the western influences permeated through different channels and under different circumstances. The exponents of westernization had neither the background of classical Arabic scholarship nor any bond of attachment to traditional Muslim lore. Most of these men had little or no grounding in Arabic language and literature. The natural result was that the effect of these foreign influences on their life and thought was deeper than on that of the Egyptians. The Syrians were, thus, attracted to journalism and drama earlier than the Egyptians.

The net result of these influences in both countries was, however, the simplification and renovation of the literary style. It was liberated from the shackles of Sajf and other artificial verbal decorations, and was characterized by ^{simplicity} ease and easy intelligibility. A new life was breathed into it by the infusion of the spirit of nationalism. Moreover, some new and artistic forms were transplanted into Arabic, such as, the novel, the drama and the essay. And above all, that characteristic modern product, journalism, was introduced to the immense advantage of literature.]

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

(2) PRINTED BOOKS AND MANUSCRIPTS.

- ‘Abdallāh al-Ansāri - Kitāb Jāmi‘ at-tasānif al-Misriyat al-Hadīthah min 1301 ilā 1310 (Cairo, 1312 A.H.)
- ‘Abdar-Rāziq, Shaikh M.H. - 1. Arabic Literature since the beginning of the nineteenth century. (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II, Part II.)
2. Do. (contd.)
(Do. Vol. II, Part IV).
- ‘Abduh, Ash-Shaikh Muhammad - 1. Risālat at-Tauhīd (Cairo, 1346 A.H.).
2. Ar-Radd ‘Ala‘d-Dahriyīn (Cairo, 1925).
3. Al-Islām wa‘r-Radd ‘Alā Muntaqidīh (Cairo, 1927).
- ‘Abkārīyūs, Yuhannā - Kitāb Qatf az-zuhūr fi Tārīkh ad-Duhūr (Beirut, 1885).
- Al-Bayārī, Shaikh ‘Abdal-Hādī Najā -
1. An-Najm^aith-thāqib fi‘l-Muhākamah bain al-Barjis wa‘l-Jawāib (Cairo)
2. Babāl-Futuh fi Marifat Ahwāl ar-

Rūh (Cairo, 1304 A.H.).

3. Nafhat al-Akmām fi muthallathat al-Kalām (Cairo, 1276 A.H.).

4. Al-Wasa'il^{al-} Adabiyyah fir-Rasā'il al-Ahdabiyyah (Al-Watan Press, 1301 A.H.).

Adib Ishāq- Ad-Durar (Alexandria, 1886).

Al-Ahdab, Shaikh Ibrāhīm - 1. Farā'id al-La'al fi Majma' al Amthal.

2. ^{Kashf al-} ~~Khafal~~ Arab an Sirral-Adab (Beirut, 1293).

3. Kashfal-Maani wa'l-Bayānan Rasa'il Badi'az-zaman. (Beirut, 1890).

4. Raddas-sahman it-taswib wa ibad- uha an marma as-sawab bi't-taqrib (Constantinople, 1291 A.H.).

5. Riwayet Ibn zaidun ma^{CE} a walladah (Cairo, 1317 A.H.).

Ahmad Abid - Mashahir Shoara'al-Asr.

Aishah al-Baunfiyah- Maulad an-Nabi (Damascus, 1301 A.H.).

Ali Abn'n-Nasr al-Manfaluti - Diwan (Cairo, 1300 A.H.).

Ali ad-Darwish - Al-Ish ar bi^H Mamid al-Ashar (Cairo, 1270 A.H.).

(Title Chronogram)

- Amin, Qasim Bey - Tahrir al-Mar'at (Matb'at Ain Shams, not dated)
- Anonymous - Al-Adab al-Jadid (Baghdad).
- Al-Aqqād, Abbas Mahmūd -
1. Sa'at bain al-Kutub (Cairo, 1915)
 2. Khulasat al-yaumiyyah (Cairo, not dated).
 3. Mut'alāfi'at (Cairo, 1924).
 4. Al-Fuṣūl (Cairo, 1922).
- Al - 'Asir, Shaikh Yusuf -
1. Diwān entitled Ar-Raud al Arīd (Beirut, 1306 A.H.).
 2. Kitāb Radd/ash-Shamas-sahn (Constantinople, 1291 A.H.).
- Al-Attār, Shaikh Hasan -
1. Hāshyah āla Sharḥ al-Azhariyyah of Shaikh Khālid al-Azhari (Cairo, 1327 A.H.).
 2. Inshā' al-Attār (Cairo, 1304 A.H.).
- 'Azīz Naṣrallāh - Thimār al-Qalam (Cairo, 1921).
- Bāhithat al-Bādīyah (Malak-Hifni Nāsif) - An-Nisā'iyāt (Cairo, Second edition, not dated).
- Baihum, Muhammad Jamīl -
1. Falsafat at-Tarikh al-Uthmāni (Beirut, 1923).
 2. Al-Ma'rāt fi't-Tamaddun al-Hadīth (Beirut, 1927).
- Al-Bārūdi, Mahmūd Sāmi - Diwān, Parts I and II (Cairo, not dated).
- Blunt, Wilfrid Scawen - Secret History of the English Occupation

of Egypt. (New York, 1922).

Brockelmann - Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur 2 Band
(Berlin, 1902).

Al-Būṣīri, Al-Imām Sharafād-Dīn Abu Abdallāh Muḥammad -

1. Qaṣīdat/al-Burdah.
2. Qaṣīdat/al-Hamziyah.

Bustāni, Fu'ād Afrām -

1. Ar-Rawā'ī No. 21. (Beirut, 1929)
(Ash-Shaikh Nāṣif al-yāziḡi).
2. Do. No. 22. (Al-Muallim Buṭrus
al-Bustāni) (Beirut, 1929).

Al-Bustāni, Al-Khuri Buṭrus - As-Sanābil (Beirut, 1892).

Buṭrus al-Bustāni -

1. Dā'iratal-Ma'arēf (Beirut
2. Muḥit al-Muḥit (Beirut, 1870).
3. Khitāb fi'l-Hai'at al-Ijtimā'iyah
wa'l-Muqabalah baina'l-Āwā'id al-Āra-
biyah wa'l Ifrinjiyah (Beirut, 1869).

Buṭrus Karāmah -

1. Saja' al-Hamamah au Diwān al-Buṭrus
al-Kāramah (Beirut, 1898).
2. Ad-Darāri as-Sabā (Beirut, 1876).

Cheikho, Pere Louis -

1. Al-Ādāb al-Ārabīyah fi'l-qarn at-
tāsi-ashar Part I. (Beirut, 1924).
2. Do. Part II (Beirut, 1926).
3. Tarikh Al-Ādāb al-Ārabīyah fi'r-
Rub' al-Awwal min al-Barn al-Ishrīn
(Beirut, 1926).

Cromer - Modern Egypt Vols. I and II (London, 1908).

Ad-Dahdāh, Roshaid -

1. At-timthāl as-siyāsi
liḥadrat Nāblyūn ath-thālith
(Date and place of publication
not mentioned).

2. Qimṭaraḥ Ṭawāmir (Paris,
1840).

Ad-Dibs, Yusuf - Tārīk^h-Sūriya, Vol. VIII (Beirut, 1915).

Durri Bey, Dr. Muḥammad -

1. Kitāb an-Nukhbat ad-
Durrāyah fi Ma'āthir al-Āilat
al-Muḥammadiyah al-Ālawiyah
(Cairo, 1307 A.H.)

2. Tārīkh Hayāt 'Ali Mubārak
Pāshā (Cairo, 1311 A.H.)
1894

Elgood, Lieutenant Colonel P.G. - The Transit of Egypt
(London, 1928.)

Encyclopaedia of Islam.

Fākhūrī, 'Omar - 1. Ārā' Gharabīyah ~~fi~~ Masā'il ~~ad-~~
Sharqīyah (Damascus 1925)

2. Kaifa yanhaḍ al-Ārab.

Fathallāh, Shaikh Hamzāh - Al-Mawāhib al-Fathīyah fi 'Olūm
al-Lughat al-Ārabīyah Part I (Cairo
1312)

Part II (Cairo 1326)

Fāṭimah Aṭīyah Hānam (Daughter of Jaudet Pasha) - Kitāb Nisā' al-
Islām (Matbat Ain Shams, Not dated)

Al-Fawā'id-Tārīkh ^{Al-}Ādāb al-Ārabīyah min Nashatihā ilā Ayyāmenā
(Alexandria)

Fikri, Abdallāh Pāshā - 1. Al-Fawā'id al-Fikrīyah li'l-Makātib
al-Miṣrīyah (Cairo, 1914)

2. Al-Fuṣūl al-Fikrīyah li'l-Makātib
al-Miṣrīyah (Cairo, 1317 A.H.)

3. Al-Maqāmāt al-Fikrīyah fi'l
Mamlakat al Bāṭīnīyah (Ms. at
Egyptian Library, Cairo.)

4. Naẓm al-La'āl fi'l Hikam Wa'l-
Amthāl (Damascus, 1347 A.H.)

Fikri, Amīn Pāshā -

1. Al-Āthār al Fikrīyah (Cairo,
1315 A.H.)
1897

2. Irshād al-Alibbā ilā ^MMaḥāsin ūrbā
(Cairo, 1892)
- Gibb, Prof. H.A.R. - 1. Studies in Contemporary Arabic
Literature -
I The Nineteenth Century (Bulletin
of the School of Oriental Studies,
Vol.IV Part IV).
2. Do. ~~Al~~-Manfalūbi and the New Style
(Do. Vol. V Part II)
3. Do. III Egyptian Modernists
(Do. Vol.V, Part III).
- Ḥaddād, Niqūlā - Manāhijal - Ḥayāt (Cairo, 1903)
- Al-Ḥaddād, Shaikh Najīb - Riwayet Ṣalaḥad-Dīn al-Ayyūbi
(Beirut, 1929)
- Al-Hamadhāni, Aḥmad ibn Ḥusain Badī'az-zamān - Rasā'il Abi'l-
Faḍl Badī'az-zamān (with Kashf al-
Ma'āni Wa'l Bayān 'an Rasā'il
Badī'az-zamān by Shaikh Ibrāhīm al-
Aḥḍab (Bairut, 1890)
- Ḥāfiẓ, Maḥammad Ibrāhīm - Dīwān (Cairo, 1922)
- Haikal Bey, Dr. Muḥammad Ḥusain -
1. Fi ^{Angāt} ~~Angat~~ al-Firāgh (Cairo, not
dated)
2. Zainab (Cairo, 2nd Edition, not
dated).
- Hartmann, Martin - The Arabic Press of Egypt (London, 1899).

Huart, Clement - A History of Arabic Literature (London, 1903)

Husain, As-Saiyyid Muhammad Al-Khidr - Naqd Kitāb fi'sh -

Sh'ir al-Jāhili (Cairo, 1345 A.H.-

Ibn Iyās - Badā'i' az-zuhūr fi Waqā'i' ad-duhūr (Cairo 1312 A.H.)

Ibrahim Bey 'Arab - Adab al-'Arab (Cairo, 1911)

Ibrāhīm Efendi (known as Ibrāhīm Beyan-Najjār) - Miṣbāḥas-Sāri
wa Muzhat al-Qāri (Beirut 1272 A.H.)

Iskandar Niqūlā al Bārūdi - Ḥayāt Daktūr Karnīyūs Fāndik
(Lebanon, 1900)

Al-Iskandarāni, Shaikh Ahmad/cum Shaik Muṣṭafā Ināni -

1. Al-Wasīṭ fi'l-Adab al-'Arabi wa
tārīkh^{ih} (Cairo, 1928)

Al-Jabarti - 'Ajā'ib al-Āthār fi't-tarājim wa'l-Akhbār (Cairo,
1297 A.H.)

Jabrān, Khalīl Jabrān - 1. Balāghat al-'Arab fi'l-Qarn al-'Ishrin
(Cairo, not dated)

2. Al-Badā'i' wa't-Tarāif (Cairo 1923)

Jamalād-Din al-Afghāni, Saiyyid -

1. Al-Qadā wa'l-Qadar (Cairo, 2nd
Edition not dated, reprinted from
Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqā)

2. The Magazine, Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqa.
(Edited jointly with Muhammad 'Abduh)
(Reprinted, Cairo, 1927).

Jantari Sad Sālah (From 1841 to 1940) Nāmi Press Lucknow, 1925.

Al-Jundi, Shaikh Amīn-Dīwān al - Jundi (Beirut, 1321 A.H.)

- Jurji zaidān -
1. Tarājim Mashāhīr ash-Sharq Part II (Cairo, 1911.)
 2. Tārīkh Ādāb al-Lughat al-Ārabīyah Vol. III (Cairo, 1931)
Vol. IV (Cairo, 1914)
 3. Tārīkh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth.

Jurji Janan al-Būlsi - Maghālīṭ, al-Kuttāb wa Manāhijās - Sawāb (Lebanon, not dated)

Al-Kasti, Shaikh Qāsim Abu'l Ḥasan - Dīwān entitled

1. Mirāt al-Gharīyah (Beirut, 1280 A.H.)
2. Turjumān al-Afkār (Beirut 1299 A.H.)

Al-Khaṭīb, Muḥibbād-Dīn - Al-Azhar (Cairo, 1345 A.H.)

Al-Khūri, Anīs Duwal al-Ārabīyah wa Ādābuhā.

- Al-Khūri, Khalīl -
1. Al-Asr al-Jadīd (Second Diwan) (Al Maṭba'at as-Sūriyah Beirut, 1863)
 2. An-Nashā'id al-Fo'ādiyah (Biography of Fo'ād Pāshā) (Beirut 1863)
 3. As-Samīr al Amīn (Third Dīwān, Beirut, 1867)

Kurd Ali-Khiṭaṭ Ash-Shām Vols. III & IV (Damascus 1925-26)

Lane-poole, Stanley - Studies in a Mosque (Short Memoirs.)

Al-Ma'arri, Abu'l-Ālā' - Risālat al-Ghufrān (Edited by Kāmil Gīlāni) Part I (Cairo, 1925) Part II & Part III (Cairo 1925)

Mahmūd Mohāmmad - Ash-Shir an-Nisāyī al-Asrī (Cairo, 1929).

Al-Manfalūṭī, Muṣṭafā Luṭfī - An-Nazarāt Vol. I (Cairo, 1925)

Vol. II (Do.) Vol. III (Cairo, 1926).

Al-Marrāsh, Faransīs Fathallāh -

1. Ghābat al-Ḥaqq (Cairo, 1922).
2. Mashhad al-Anwāl (Beirut, 1883).
3. Kitāb Mir'āt al-Ḥasanā' (Beirut, 1872).

Al-Marsāfi, Snaikh ~~Masan~~ 1. Al-Wasīlat al-Adabīyah li'l-ūlūm al-Ārabīyah. Part I (Al-Madārīs Press Cairo, 1289 A.H.)

2. Do. Part II (1292 A.H.)

3. Al-Kilam ath-Thamān (Cairo, 1298 A.H.).

Marzūq, Ibrāhīm Bey - *Durr* Dīwān entitled Ad-Durr al-Bahī al-Mansūq bi Dīwān al-Adīb Ibrāhīm Bek al-Marzūq (Cairo, 1297 A.H.).

Al-Māzinī, Ibrāhīm Abd al-Qādir - Ḥisād al-Hashīm (Cairo, 1925).

Mikhāyīl Efendi 'Abd as-Saiyyid - Kitāb Sulwān ash-Shajī fir-Radd 'alā Ibrāhīm al-yāziji (Al-Jawā'ib Press, 1289 A.H.)

Mirante - In-Actes du XIV^e Congres International des Orientalistes Part III (La Presse Periodique Arabe).

Mubārak Pāshā, ʿAlī -

1. ʿAlam ad-Dīn Parts I - IV (Cairo, 1882).
2. Al-Khiṭaṭ at-Taufīqīyah in 20 parts (Cairo, 1889).
3. Ḥaqā'iq al-Akhbār fi Ausāf al-Bihār.
4. Khawāṣṣ al-ʿAdād.
5. Tadhkirat al-Muhandesīn wa Tabṣirat ar-Rāghebīn.
6. Tanwīr al-Afhām fi Taghadhdhi al-Ajsām (Cairo, 1903).
7. Taqrīb al-^aHind^aṣah.

Muhammad, Aṭīyah Alī - Al-Manfalūṭī (Cairo, not dated).

Muhammad Muhammad ʿAbd al-Fattāh - Ashhar Mashāhīr ash-Sharq
Parts I and II (Cairo 2nd Edition,
not dated).

A - Mukhalla, Jibrāyīl - Raudat al-ward (Arabic translation of Sādi's
Gulistān).

Mukhtār Pāshā -

1. At-taufīqāt al-Ilhāmīyah fi Muqān^anat at-tawārīkh al-Hijrīyah bi's Sinīn al-Ifranjiyah wa'l-Qibtīyah (Cairo, 1311 A.H.).

Mustafa Bairam - Al-Azhar (Cairo, 1321 A.H.) (A paper read at the Oriental Conference, 1902 at Hamburg).

Al-Muwailḥi, Ibrāhīm Bey - Mā Hunālik (Cairo, 1896).

Al-Muwailḥi, Muḥammad - Ḥadīth Īsā Ibn Hishām (Cairo, 1927).

- An-Nadim, Abdallah -
1. Maqālāt (Al-Mathbat al-Jadīdah, not dated).
 2. Sulāfat an-Nadīm Part I (Cairo, 1914).
 3. Do. Part II. (Cairo, 1901).
 4. Kān wa yakūn.
 5. Al-Ustādh (Vol. I, 1310 A.H.).

An-Naqqāsh, Mārūn - Arzat Lubnān (Beirut, 1869).

Nasūli, Anīs/zakarīyah - Asbāb an-Nahḍatal-ʿArabīyah fi'l Qarn at-Tāsīʿ Ashar (Beirut, 1926).

Naufal Nimatallāh Naufal at-ṭrābulusī -

1. Kitāb zubdat as-Ṣaḥā'if fi uṣūl al-Mārif (Beirut, 1874).
2. Kitāb Susana Sulaimān fi uṣūl al-ʿAqā'id wa'l-Adyān (Beirut, 1876).
3. Kitāb zubdat as-Ṣaḥā'if fi Siyāhat al-Mārif (Beirut, 1879).
4. Kitāb Ṣannājat at-Ṭarab fi Taqaddumāt al-ʿArab (Beirut, not dated).

Newman, Major E.W. Polson - Great Britain in Egypt (London 1928).

Nicholson, Professor R.A. - A Literary History of the Arabs (Cambridge, 1930).

Othmān Jalāl -

1. Al-Amāni wa'l-minnah fi Hadīth Qabūl wa ward Jannah (Tantā not dated)
2. Al-Arabah Riwayāt min Nukhabāt-Tiyātrāt (Cairo, 1307 A.H.)
3. Ar-Riwā^{ya}t al-Mufīdah min riwayāt Rāsīn (Cairo, 1311 A.H.).
4. Riwayāt ath-thuqalā' (Place and date of publication not mentioned).
5. Al-^{Uyūn}al-yawāqiz fi'l-Amthal wa'l Mawāiz (Cairo, 1906).

Paton - A History of the Egyptian Revolution (From the period of the Mamelukes to the death of Muḥammad Āli) (London, 1870).

Post, Dr. George - Nabāt Sūrīya wa Filistīn wa'l-Quṭr al-Miṣri (Beirut, 1884).

Al-Qasāṭeli, Nomān - Ar-Raudat al-Ghannā' fi Damishq al-Faiḥā'

Al-Qubbāni, Shaikh Aḥmad Abu Khalīl - Lubāb al-Gharām or Al-Malik Matridāt (Cairo, 1318 A.H.).

Qusṭāki al-Ḥimḍī⁴ - Udabā' Ḥalab (Aleppo, 1925).

Quwaidar al-Khalīlī, Shaikh Ḥasan - Kitāb Nail al-Arab fi Muthallathāt al-^{Ar}ab (Cairo, 1310 A.H.)

Ar-Rāfe' i Bey, ^{Abd} ar-Rahmān - Tārīkh al-Ḥarakat al-Qaumīyah. Vol. I, Vol. II, Vol. III (Cairo, 1930)

Ar-Raiḥānī, Amīn - Ar-Raiḥānīyāt Parts I and II (Beirut 1924).

Ar-Rashīdī, Aḥmad - Umdat al-Muḥtāj fi Ilmai'l-Adweyah wa'l Elāj (Otherwise known as Al-Māddat

at - Tibbiyah) In four volumes (Cairo,
1283 A.H.).

Rifāah Rāfe' Bey at-tāhtāwi -

1. Anwār Taufīq Jalīlī fi Akhbār Miṣr wa Tauthīq Banī Ismā'īl (Cairo)
2. Jamāl al-Ājrūmīyah (Cairo, 1280, A.H.).
3. Al-Jughrāfiyat al-Ūmūmīyah (Cairo, not dated).
4. Al-Kawākib-Nayyirah fi Layālī Afrāḥ al-Āzīz al-Muqmirah (Cairo, 1287 A.H.)
5. Mabādi al-Hāndasah (Cairo, 1270 A.H.).
6. Manāhij al-Ādāb al-Miṣrīyah fi Mabāhij al-Ādāb al-Āsrīyah (Cairo, 1912).
7. Mawāqī' al-Aflāk fi Waqā'ī Tilīmāk (Beirut, 1867).
8. Muḡaddimah Waṭanīyah Miṣrīyah (Cairo, 1283 A.H.).
9. Al-Murshid al-Amīn li'l-Banāt wa'l-Banīn (Cairo, 1292 A.H.).
10. Nihāyat al-Ījāz fi Sīrat Sākinā

Hijāz (Cairo, 1291 A.H.).

11. ~~Qalā'id~~ ^{Awā'id} al-Mafākhir fi Ghara'ih
Anwa'id al-Awā'il wa'l-Awā'Khir
(Cairo, 1249 A.H.).

12. ~~At~~-Tuhfat al-Maktabiyah fi Tarīb
al-Bughat al-Ārabiyyah (Cairo, 1285).

13. Tarīb al-Qānūn al-Madani al-
Faransāwi (Cairo, 1283 A.H.).

14. Al-Tarībāt ~~as~~ ^{Shāfiyyah} li
Murīdal-Jughrāfiyyah (Cairo, not dated)

15. Takhlīs al-Ibrīz ilā Talkhīs
Bārīz or, Ad-Diwan an-Nafīs bi Iwan
Bārīs (Rifā'ah's ^{Rihlah} ~~Rihlah~~) (Cairo 1905).

Rizqallāh Ḥassūn - An-Nafathāt (London, 1867).

Rustum, Dr. Asad Jibrāil - A corpus of Arabic Documents relat-
ing to the History of Syria under
Mehemet Ali Pasha (Beirut, 1930).

As-Sā'ati, Maḥmūd Ṣafwat - Diwān (Cairo, 1911) (with a short
life by Manfalūtī).

Sabry, M. - L'Empire Egyptien sous Mohamet ~~et~~ Ali et La
Question d'Oriet (1811-1849), (Paris,
1930).

Ṣabri, Muḥammad - Maḥmūd Sāmi al-Bārūdi, Ḥayātuh wa Shiruh
(Cairo, 1923).

Ṣalēh Majdi Bey - 1. Diwān, (Cairo, 1311 A.H.).

2. Al-Maqālāt al-Adabīyah.

3. Hilyat az-zaman bi Sōrat Khādim al-Waṭan (Manuscript in the Egyptian Library, Cairo).

Salīm al-Khūrī cum Salīm Shaḥḥādāt - Kitāb Athār al-Adhār (Beirut, 1875).

Sār Mikhā'īl-Ādāb al-Āsr fi Shoārā' ash-Shām wa'l Irāq wa Miṣr
Sarkis, Joseph Eliān -

1. Dictionnaire Encyclopedique de Bibliographie Arabe depuis le creation de l'Imprimerie jusqu'en 1919 inclusivement.

2. Jāme' at-taṣānīf al-Ḥadīthah Part I (Min Sinat 1920 ilā 1926).

3. Do. Part II (Matbūāt Sinat 1927).

Shahāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri, Saiyyid Muḥammad bin Ismā'īl bin Omar -

1. Saffinat al Mulḳ wa Nafīsat al-Fulk (Cairo, 1309 A.H.).

2. Dīwān (Cairo, 1277 A.H.).

Ash-Shahhāl at-Trābulusi, Shaik^h Mahmūd - Dīwān Iqd al La'ālmin
Nazmash-Shahhāl (Tripoli, 1312 A.H.).

Shākir Shuqair al-Lubnāni-1. Lisān Ghuṣn al-Bān (Lebanon, 1891).

2. Adh-Dhahab al-Ibrīz fi Madḥas-Sultān Abd al-Āzīz (Beirut, 1892).

Ash-Shattīq, Shaik^h Abd as-Salām - Dīwān (Damascus, 1323 A.H.)

Ash-Shaṭṭi, Muhammad Jamīl - Raḍ al-Bashar fi Āyān al-Qarn
ath-Thālith Āshar (Manuscript in the
possession of the author who is the
Qādi of the Ḥambalites at Damascus.)

Shamqi, Ahmad - Ash-Shauqīyāt Part I (Cairo, 1926).

- Shidyāq, Ahmad Fāris -
1. Ghunyat at-Tālib wa Munyat ar-Rāghib (Constantinople, 1289 A.H.).
 2. Al-Jāsūsala'l-Qāmūs (Constantinople, 1882).
 3. Kanz ar-Raghā'ib fi Muntakhabāt al-Jawāib Vol. III (Constantinople 1292 A.H.).
 4. Do. Vol. IV (Do. 1294, A.H.).
 5. As-Sāq āla's-Sāqifinā ^Hḥuwa'l-Faryāq (Cairo, not dated).
 6. Sirr al-Layāl fi'l-Qalb wa'l-Ibdāl (Constantinople).
 7. Al-Wāsiṭah fi Marifat Ahwāl Mālṭah wa Kashf al-Mukhabbā an Funūn ūrbā (Constantinople, 1299 A.H.).

Ash-Shidyāq, Tannūs - Akhbār al-Āyān fi Jabal Lubnān (Beirut, 1859).

- Ash-Shomayyil, Amīn -
1. Al-Mubtakir.
 2. Al-Wāfi fi'l Masālat ash-Sharqīyah (Alexandria, 1879).

3. *Sihām al-Mānāyā* (Alexandria 1879).
- ‘Sofair, Yusuf - *Majāli al-Ghurar li Kuttāb al-Qarn at-Tāsi*
‘*Ashar* (Bābdā Lebanon, 1898).
- As-Sundūbi, Ḥasan - *Āyān al-Bayān min Ṣubḥ al-Qarn ath-thālith*
‘*Ashar al Hijri ilā'l-yaum* (Cairo 1914)
- Tabbākh, Rāghib - *Ālam an-Nobalā' bi Tārīkh Ḥalab ash-Shābā'*
Tāhā Ḥusain, Dr. - *Fi'l-Adab al Jāhili* (Cairo, 1927).
- Taimūr, Aishah Iṣmat - 1. *Dīwān entitled Ḥilyat at-Tirāz*
(Cairo, 1327 A.H.).
2. *Natā'ij al-Aḥwāl fi'l-aqwāl wa'l*
afāl (Cairo, 1305 A.H.).
- Taimūr, Mahmūd - *Ash-Shaikh Saiyyid al-Ābīṭ wa Aqāsiṣ Ukhra*
(Cairo, 1926).
- Taimūr, Muḥammad - 1. *Mātarāhu al-Ūyūn* (Cairo, 1927).
2. The first Volume of his complete
collected works, entitled, *Wamīd ar-*
Rūḥ (Cairo, 1922).
3. The Second Volume entitled,
Ḥayātuna't-Tamthīlīyah (Cairo, 1922).
4. The Third Volume entitled, *Al-*
Masraḥ al-Miṣri (Cairo, 1348 A.H.).
- At-Tantāwi, Maḥammad Ayyād - *Traite De La Langue Arabe Vulgaire*
or *Aḥsan an-Nukhab fi Marifat Lisān*
al-Arab (Leipsic, 1848).
- Taqlā, Salīm Bey - *Dīwān* (Alexandria, 1893).

- Tarrād, Asād - Dīwān entitled Nabadhat min Diwan Al-Marḥūm
Asād Tarrād (Alexandria, 1899).
- Tarrāzi, Viscount Philip de - Tārīkh as-Ṣahāfat al-ʿArabīyan
Parts I and II (Beirut, 1913).
- At-Tunisi, Muḥammad ʿOmar - Ash-Shudhūr adh-Dhahabīyah ^{fi' l-ʿAḥzāz} ~~fi' l-ʿAḥzāz~~
at-tibbīyah (Photographic copy of
the original manuscript, ^{which is} at Paris).
(In the Egyptian Library, Cairo).
- ^T
At-Tuwairāni, Ḥasan Ḥusni - 1. Al-Ḥaqq Rūḥ al-Fadīlah (Cairo,
1891).
2. Dīwān entitled Thamarāt al-
Ḥayāt (Cairo, 1300 A.H.).
- Unsi al-Bairūti, As-Saiyyid ʿOmar - Dīwān entitled Al-Mauridā ^{Adhāb}
Adhāb (Beirut, 1313 A.H.).
- Van Dyck, Dr. Cornelius - 1. Kitāb Irwā' Az-zammā' min Maḥāsin
al-Qubbat az-zarqā' (Beirut, 1893).
2. Kitāb al-Min'āt al-Waddīyah fi'l
Kurrat al-Ardīyah (Beirut, 1886).
3. Kitāb An-Naqsh fi'l-Ḥajar Part
II (Fi'l-Kāmiyā) (Beirut, 1886).
4. Do. Part III (Fi't-Ṭabī'iyāt)
(Beirut, 1886).
5. Kitābar-Raudat az-zahrīyah fi
usūl al-Jabrīyah (Beirut, 1891).
6. Usūl 'Ilm al-Ḥai'at (Beirut, 1874)
7. Usūl al-Kīmiya (Beirut 1869).

Wajdi Bey, ^FHarīd

1. Dāirat Ma'ārif al Qarn al-ʾIshrīn
Vol.s 1 - 8 (Cairo 1923-25).

Al-yāziji, Ibrāhīm

1. Lughatal-Jarāid (Cairo, not dated).
2. Mukhtaṣar Nār al Qira ^{fi sharh} ~~fi sharh~~ Jauf
al-Firā'.
3. Nujat ar-Rā'id wa shirat al-
Mutawārid.

Al-yāziji, Khalāl

4. Rasā'il al-yāziji (Cairo, 1920).
1. Al-Murū'at wa'l-wafā' (Beirut, 1884)
2. Nasamāt al-Aurāq (Cairo, 1888).

Al-yāziji, Nāsif

1. Al-ʾArf at-Ṭayyib fi sharḥ Diwān
Abi'ṭ ṭayyib (Beirut, 1882).
2. Diwān (Al-Ḥadath, Lubnān, 1904).
3. Faṣl al-Khiṭāb (Beirut, 1913).
4. Fākihātān-Nudamā' fi Murāsīlāt al-
udabā' (Cairo, 1889).
5. Iqḍal-Jumān fi ʾIlm al-Bayān &
Nuqtat ad-Dā'iran or Kitāb Majmū'al-
Adab fi Funun al-ʾArab (Beirut, 1908).
6. Jauf al-Firā' fi sharḥ Nār al-
Qira.
7. Khitāb ^{Mulakhkhas} ~~Mulakhkhas~~ ^{kh} ~~kh~~ fi't-Ṭibb al-
Qadīm (Beirut, probably in or after
1868).
8. Majma'a' al-Bahrain (Beirut 1924).
9. Nafhat ar-Raiḥān (Beirut 1884).
10. Risālah Sa'ikh Nāsif al-yāziji

11ā Bārūn Silvester dā Sasīḥ
(Leipsic).

Al-yāziji, Wardaf (Daughter of Nāsīf al-yāziji-Dīwān (Cairo ,
3rd Edition, not dated).

Young, George - Egypt and (London, 1927).

Az-zabīdi, Saiyyid Murtadā - Tāj al 'Arūs, Vol. V (Cairo 1307
A.H.)

Zaghūl, Ahmad Fathī

1. Al-Islām, Khawāṭir Wa sawāniḥ
(Cairo, not dated).
2. Rūh al-'Ijt^{imā'} (Cairo 1921).
3. Sirr Tataw^wur al-Umam (Cairo 1921)
4. Jawāmi' al-Kalām^{im} (Cairo 1922).
5. Al-Āthār al-Fathīyah (Cairo, not
dated).

Az-Zahāwi, Jamīl Sidqi - Dīwān (Cairo, 1924).

Zainab Fawwāz - Ar-Rasā'il az-zainabīyah (Cairo, not dated).

Az-zaiyyāt, Ahmad ḥasan Tārīkh al-Adab al 'Arabi (Cairo, 1930).

Zaki Mubārak - Al-Muwazīnah bain^{z'}ash-Shu'arā' (Cairo, 1926).

Zuhair, Bahā'ad-Dīn-Dīwān (Beirut, not dated).

Az-zurkali, Khair ad-Dīn-Al-'Ālām (Cairo, 1927).

(ii) NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, REVIEWS and other
PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

Al-Bashīr (Weekly, Beirut, 1870)

B.S.O.S. - Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies.

Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār (Weekly, Beirut, 1858).

Al-Jawāib (Weekly, Constantinople, 1861).

Al-Jinān (Beirut, 1870).

Al-Hiṭāl (Cairo 1892).

J.R.A.S. 1905. Prof. Margoliuth's note on Ilyādhah by Sulaimān
 al-Bustāni.

Lisān al-Ḥāl (Beirut 1877).

Lughat al-ʿArab (A monthly Magazine).

Al-Manār.

Al-Mashriq.

Majallat al-Majma' al-'Ilmi al-'Arabi or La Revue De L'Academie
 Arabe (Damascus, 1921).

Mittheilungen of the Berlin Oriental Seminary.

Mir'āt ash-Sharq.

Al-Muqtaṭaf (Monthly, Beirut, 1876).

An-Nahlah (Beirut 1870 and London 1877).

Nizām al-Jamā'at al-Sūrīyah wa Ma'hadai ha't-ṭ-Ṭibbīyah wa'l-Ḥaqq.
 (Govt. Press, Syria, Damascus, not dated).

Non-Vean Journal Asiatique.

Raudat al-Madāris al-Miṣriyah (Cairo 1870).

As-Saltānah.

As-Siyāsah al-usbū'iyah.

As-Ṣubḥ al-Munīr.

Taqwīm Al-Hiṭā' 1930.

Thamarāt al-Fonūn (Weekly, Beirut).

Al-'Urwat al-Wuthqa.

Al-Waqā'ī' al-Miṣriyah (Cairo 1828).

Die Welt Des Islams, Berlin.

Ya'sūb at-tibb.

ZDMG.

Az-zuhrah, (Beirut Weekly, 1870).