THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE ARABIC PERIODICAL PRESS AND ITS ROLE IN THE LITERARY LIFE OF EGYPT (1798–1882)

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ABSTRACT

This study surveys the development of the Arabic periodical press, both magazines and newspapers, from the arrival of the French expeditionary force in 1798 to the ʿUrābī revolt in 1882. A descriptive analysis is then made of the role of the press in the literary life of Egypt throughout this period. The Arabic printing press and the first journals were established by the French, and it was they who published the first works of Arabic literature in the periodical press. Nearly thirty years later the first Arabic newspaper was founded, but neither official journals nor the government printing press at Būlāq facilitated the publication of works of Arabic literature. Press activities, both Arabic and European, are then traced in the reigns of Muhammad ʿAlī, ʿAbbās I and Muhammad Saʿīd. Under the rule of Ismāʿīl the periodical press came of age and continued to develop under his successor, Tawfīq, especially after Syrian journalists became active in the Egyptian press towards the end of Ismāʿīl's reign. The growth of the European theatre in Egypt and the attention it received in the Egyptian press is analysed. The press then lent its support to vain attempts to establish a native Egyptian and later a Syrian Arab theatre in Egypt, in which many journalists played an active role. The press also played its part in the introduction of another new literary genre, the novel. Through feuilletons Egyptian readers discovered the European novel. Of the traditional literary forms, the press helped maintain the tradition of maqāma writing and allowed major and minor Egyptian poets to bring their conventional panegyrics to the public's eye. Though there was no literary press as such, the magazines and general newspapers that appeared played a significant role in the totality of Egyptian literary life.

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself and that the work is my own.

P.C. Sadgrove

ABBREVIATIONS

B.I.E.	Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien
B.S.O.S.	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
B.U.	Bibliographie Universelle
C.C.D.P.	Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue Collectif des Periodiques
C.H.E.	Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne
Courier	Courier de l'Égypte
D. al-W., B.	Dār al-Wathā'iq, Maḥfūẓāt Majlis al-Wuzarā' Niẓārat ad-Dākhilīya, Mahfaza Bā'. as-Sihāfa wa'l-Matbū^{c}āt, Majmū^{c}a 7.
D.B.F.	Dictionnaire de Biographie Française
Decade	La Décade Égyptienne
E.G.	Egyptian Gazette, i.e., N.B., "La Presse en Égypte", Egyptian Gazette, nos.532-538, 18 June - 25 June, 1883.
E.I.	The Encyclopedia of Islam
F.O.	Foreign Office
G.A.L.	Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur
H.A.	Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār
N.B.G.	Nouvelle Biographie Générale
N.J.A.	Nouveau Journal Asiatique
R.M.	Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya
W.M.	al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya
az-Zamān	"al-Jarā'id al-Miṣrīya", az-Zamān
Z.D.M.G.	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft

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INTRODUCTION

Before the printing press was introduced into Egypt on a permanent basis by Muḥammad ʿAlī Pasha between 1819 and 1820 with the foundation of the Būlāq press, books whether in manuscript[1] or printed[2] were expensive, and rarely seen among Turks or Arabs. Most of the classical literature, though preserved in manuscripts in the mosque libraries, had been gathering dust for many centuries.[3] Not only were Egyptians unaware of much of their own literary tradition, they had no conception whatsoever of European literary genres: theatre, poetry, and the novel. The establishment of printing presses, the creation of a secular education system, and the development of the periodical press were to radically change this situation.

The French occupation of 1798-1801 briefly brought Egypt face to face with European culture. Some Egyptians saw, others heard stories about the French theatre in Cairo, an even smaller number may have visited the library of L'Institut d'Égypte or held discussions with the orientalists on European literature and other matters. Even in Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign (1805-1848) few amongst those who could read and write, devoted much time to the pursuit of literature. Anyone, who had committed to memory the whole or considerable portions of the Qur'ān, could recite two or three celebrated qaṣīdas (odes) or who introduced, now and then, an apposite quotation into his conversation, was considered an accomplished person. The noted British lexicographer, Edward William Lane, in Egypt on and off between 1824-1849 admitted that "the sciences mostly

1. Ridwān, Abū'l-Futūḥ Muḥammad, Taʾrīkh Maṭbaʿat Būlāq (Cairo, 1953), p.348.

2. Russell, Reverend M., View of Ancient and Modern Egypt (Edinburgh, 1831), p.446.

3. ʿAbd al-Raziq, Shaykh M.H., "Arabic Literature since the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol.II (1921-1923), p.250.

pursued in this country are theology and jurisprudence".[1]

Until Muhammad ᶜAlī established his state schools, there was no secular education in Egypt. The majority of primary schools were Qur'ān schools where a small percentage of the population learnt to read the Qur'ān by rote learning. Very few pursued higher education in the madrasa mosque in Cairo, al-Azhar, or the others in Alexandria and Tanta, and most of these subsequently entered a religious career. Apart from these schools there were a few Christian schools run by the Greek Orthodox and Franciscans. With the establishment of the state schools the level of literacy remained low. Amongst those educated in these schools there were many who still could not write correct classical Arabic; Azharis were employed for some decades to correct the writings of the graduates of these schools. For many years Arabic writing remained impregnated by colloquial vocabulary and grammar.

Prose and poetic works were characterized by an excess of ornamentation, both employed allegory, metaphors, verbal puns and rhetorical devices, such as parallelisms, paranomasia, antitheses, etc., to excess. In prose writings, saj^{c} (rhymed prose) was widely used. Men of letters vied to show their prowess in the use of these tropes for the entertainment of their peers. The style and the language used were paramount, not the meaning of the text. The foundation of an Arabic Press made many translated technical, scientific, and military works available, but did not lead immediately to the publication of contemporary or even classical literary works. Michaud, a French visitor to Egypt in Muhammad ᶜAlī's reign, enquired about the literary life:-

Quand j'ai parlé des gens de lettres, c'est comme si

1. Lane, Edward William, Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, (London, 1966), pp.222-223.

> j'avais parlé des ibis, des serpens ailés ou du phenix des anciens temps ... personne ne vit ici du produit de son esprit ni des trésors de son intelligence aucun homme n'y rend à un autre le droit de publier sa prose ou ses vers, et la littérature est une branche d'industrie tout à fait ignorée.[1]

Imitation prevailed in what literary works there were. Foreign observers like Michaud exaggerate when they claim that there was no literary life; there was literary activity, but it merely reproduced the traditional genres that had remained unchanged for centuries. Literary works rarely reflected the true feelings of their authors, nor did they mirror the political or social situation of the country. The emergence of the periodical press, both magazines and newspapers, slowly helped shake Egypt out of its torpor. Muhammad ᶜAlī's official gazette, Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye, founded in 1828, though primarily an organ for administrative and foreign news, played its part. Edme-François Jomard commented, writing of Egypt in the 1830s, on the transformation that had taken place since the Pasha had introduced his reforms:-

> Un journal arabe est devenu presque une habitude, et les livres d'instruction européenne un besoin pour un assez grand nombre d'individus et de familles. La nation dominante en Égypte se réveille de l'apathie.[2]

On the foundations laid in Muhammad ᶜAlī's reign, the journals of the 1860s and later began to build, introducing the Egyptian public to European literary genres, the theatre, the short story and the novel. These journals and their associated presses published most of the translations of European novels that appeared for the first time in Egypt. Egyptian journalists

1. Michaud, M. and B. Poujalat, Correspondence d'Orient (1830-1831), (Paris, 1833-1835), vol.VI, p.301.

2. Jomard, Edme-François, Coup d'Oeil Impartial sur l'État Présent de l'Égypte, Comparé à sa Situation Antérieure, (Paris, 1836), p.54.

and their friends were the prime movers in establishing the Arabic theatre in Egypt. In the mid-1870s Syrian immigrants gave their support to the movement started by the Egyptians, when the Syrians created their own journals and became involved in the theatre and other forms of literary life. Arabic poetry, the genre the least affected by external influence, found a new outlet to the public. In an age when few dīwāns were published, and poets recited their odes mainly to their patrons or in the intimate company of other men of letters, the periodical press brought the poetry of the country's leading poets to a wider readership. Thanks primarily to the periodical press, Arabic literature and language began to adapt and to deal with modern social questions. Issues that had previously rarely been expressed in a literary form were raised by the press. Cairo, both intellectually and physically, began to resemble a European capital. These and other developments will be discussed in this thesis, which is a descriptive analysis of the development of the Arabic periodical press, both newspapers and magazines, and of the way in which this press encouraged or mirrored literary activities.

Much of the research for this thesis was carried out in Egypt, and I would like to thank the staff of Dār al-Kutub al-Misrīya, Bayt al-Umma, the American University of Cairo, the Bibliothéque des Pères Jesuites, and the Maktabat al-Muḥāfaza in Alexandria for their assistance and cooperation. In Britain I owe a special debt of gratitude to the staff of Edinburgh University Library, who have extended me every facility while this thesis was being prepared. Finally I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. McDonald, for all the help he has given me.

CHAPTER I

THE INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING AND JOURNALS IN THE MIDDLE EAST DOWN TO THE TIME OF THE FRENCH EXPEDITION TO EGYPT

Until the arrival in Egypt of the French expeditionary force, under General Napoléon Bonaparte, in 1798, the art of printing in Arabic had not been practised in Egypt, and there had been no journals published there. There had been Hebrew presses in Cairo, where in 1557 and 1562 a member of the Soncino family had printed two books.[1] In 1740 another Hebrew press there, that of Abraham ben Moses Yatom, had published a ritual work in two volumes,[2] but Egypt was one of the last major states in the area to enjoy the benefits of a locally established Arabic printing press.

Arabic texts had been printed in Europe since the 16th century, and many of these had been distributed in the Middle East. The first press had been brought to Istanbul, the capital of the Ottoman Empire of which Egypt was nominally part, in 1493 or 1494, by Jewish refugees from Spain; they had been given permission by Sultan Bāyazīd II to introduce printing, on condition that they confined themselves to printing works in Hebrew or European languages, and did not produce any books in Turkish or Arabic.[3] Hebrew presses have existed in Istanbul more or less continuously from that date. Over the centuries these presses have printed works in Hebrew, Italian, Greek, Spanish and Latin, works not only of a religious nature, but

1. "Printing Hebrew", Encyclopaedia Judaica, (Jerusalem, 1972-), vol.13, p.1104.

2. "Egypt. In Medieval and Modern Times", The Jewish Encyclopedia, (New York, 1901), vol.V, p.72.

3. Lewis, Bernard, The Emergence of Modern Turkey, (London, 1961), p.41.

books of poetry, prose, medicine and history; they also printed some Arabic books in Hebrew characters.[1] Writing in 1560, the Imperial Ambassador, Busbecq, explained why the Turks did not adopt the art of printing themselves: "They cannot, however, be induced as yet to use printing ... because they think that the scriptures, that is, their sacred books, would no longer be scriptures if they were printed ..."[2]

Hebrew presses were later founded at Salonica 1513, Fez 1516 or 1521, Adrianople 1544, in Palestine at Biria 1550 or 1555 and Ṣafad 1577, Kuruçeṣme 1593 and Belvedere 1593 near Istanbul, Damascus 1605, Baghdad 1657, Smyrna 1657, Ortaköy near Istanbul circa 1700, Kale in the Crimea 1734, ᶜAyn Zaytūn in Palestine 1754, and Tunis 1768,[3] but except for the presses at Smyrna and Salonica, their activities only lasted for a few years at the most. These Jewish presses were followed in the mid-16th and the 17th centuries by presses of other religious minorities, such as the Armenians and the Greeks, in Istanbul, and Belgrade 1552; Bucharest 1688, Scutari 1563, and Smyrna 1676; the Armenians had introduced the first press to Persia at Nor Jougha in 1639.[4] The first non-Jewish press in the Levant was founded in 1610 at the Lebanese monastery of Dayr Qazḥayyā, where a "Book of psalms" was printed in both Syriac and Karshuni, that is Arabic in Syriac characters. The Maronite Patriarch Athanasius IV established the first Arabic Press in the area in Aleppo, where in 1702 it published its first book.[5]

1. Ridwān, op. cit., p.9.

2. Lewis, op. cit., p.41.

3. "Typography", J.E., vol.XII, pp.295-335; and Freimann, Aron, A Gazetteer of Hebrew Printing, (New York), 1946), pp.82-83.

4. Mooradian, Karlen, "The Press and the Sword: Armenian Journalism since 1512", Journalism Quarterly, Winter 1970, p.748.

5. ᶜAbduh, Ibrāhīm, Ta'rīkh aṭ-Ṭibāᶜa wa'ṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fī Miṣr Khilāl al-Ḥamla al-Faransīya, (Cairo, 1949), pp.21-22.

Though the ulema in Turkey had issued a fatwā (formal legal opinion) that printing was a foul act of the devil, the Shaykh al-Islam was persuaded to grant a further fatwā in 1727, permitting Sultan Aḥmad III to authorise the printing of works in Turkish. The Grand Vizier, Ibrāhīm Pasha, with the support of some more progressive ulema, had been induced to seek a firman granting permission to Sa^{c}īd Çelebi to set up a press in Istanbul. This firman was granted by the Sultan on 5 July, 1727, but the press was not allowed to print Qur'āns, or works of tafsīr, ḥadīth, fiqh, kalām or other religious subjects.[1] Sa^{c}īd Çelebi had accompanied his father on his appointment as Turkish ambassador to Paris, and acquired there an interest in the art of printing. He entrusted the operation of the press to Ibrahim Müteferrika, a Hungarian. The first book, printed by this press, was Vankuli's Turkish-Arabic dictionary, published in February, 1729. By the time the press closed in 1742 it had printed seventeen books, mainly in Turkish.[2] This press was reopened in 1783, and printed works sporadically from then on into the next century.[3]

In 1732, under the supervision of a Jesuit father, an Arabic press was set up at the monastery of Dayr Mār Yūḥannā at Shwayr in the Lebanon: the Greek Orthodox, envious of the printing activities of the Catholics at Shwayr, started their own press in 1750 in Beirut.[4]

In the 1770s, a French printing press in Istanbul began to publish bulletins and communiqués for the French Embassy. In 1795 this press produced, officially for the Embassy, a fortnightly bulletin in French to inform the French colony about new laws and current affairs. This bulletin, the first

1. ^{c}Abduh, op. cit., p.23.
2. Lewis, op. cit., pp.50-51.
3. Ridwān, op. cit., pp.14-15.
4. Ibid., pp.16-17.

periodical in the Middle East, was published after the arrival of the mail from Europe, and was distributed throughout the Levant under the title, Bulletin de l'Ambassade de France. In 1796 this became a newspaper, Gazette Française de Constantinople, which appeared irregularly for two years. In September 1798, after the French invasion of Egypt, French personnel in Turkey were interned and this press was sequestrated.[1]

Before the arrival of the French, Egypt was often torn by the internecine struggles of its Mamluk rulers, so it was not surprising that no Mamluk ruler had followed the Turkish example and introduced the printing press. The Turkish wālīs of Egypt, though theoretically the Sultan's representatives and de jure local governors, had too weak a power to take initiatives of their own. In this atmosphere intellectual and cultural life had suffered: ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Jabartī (1756-1825), a contemporary chronicler, described Egyptian society, before the expedition, as intellectually barren and culturally stagnant.[2]

The press was introduced to Egypt in 1798 by the invading French 'Armée de l'Orient'. The Directory, the French executive, were probably motivated by a number of factors in undertaking the Egyptian campaign. The invasion was perhaps seen as a way of striking at England, by blocking the overland route to India, thus threatening England's hold over that country, and challenging English traders in the Red Sea without provoking a European war. It was no doubt also a response to Mamluk ill-treatment of French merchants. It went some way to meet the demands for the extension of French colonial power, weakened after the loss of former colonies,

1. "Djarīda", The Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd edition (1965), vol.IV, p.464.

2. Vatikiotis, p.90.

especially in North America, earlier in the century. With colonisation, it was thought, would come concomitant profit from Egypt's agriculture and trade. From an altruistic aspect the expedition was seen as a means of liberating the Egyptians from Mamluk oppression, and bringing to them the enlightenment of revolutionary France. It has also been suggested that through the campaign the Directory was ridding itself of an ambitious, popular and too successful general, Napoléon Bonaparte.

Several months before the expedition, Bonaparte called on the Minister of the Interior to instruct the Imprimerie Nationale in Paris to supply type for Greek and Arabic presses, and enough type for three French presses (6 germinal, year 6 [26 March, 1798]).[1] The technical personnel for the French section of the official press of the expedition were assembled in France,[2] under the direction of the young orientalist, Jean-Joseph Marcel (1776-1854).[3] Marcel had learnt printing to publish more easily the fruits of his researches.[4]

The oriental section of Marcel's press was assembled by Gaspard Monge (1746-1818), a leading French mathematician serving in Rome as a commissioner with the French army inspecting works of art and ancient ruins. Bonaparte sent him instructions to take from the Vatican Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith (Congregatio de propaganda fide) the Greek, Arabic and Syriac printing machinery in its possession.[5] Monge later reported that he was taking these presses with all

1. Correspondance de Napoléon 1^er^, (Paris, 1858-1869), vol.4, p.33.

2. Galal, Kamal Eldin, Entstehung und Entwicklung der Tagespresse in Ägypten, (Limburg, 1939).

3. "Marcel", Biographie Universelle, (2nd edition, Paris, n.d.), vol.XXVI, pp.461-463; and Nouvelle Biographie Générale, (Paris, 1855), vol.XXXIII, pp.444-447.

4. Boustany, Saladin, "Le Premier Journal Égyptien", Progrès-Dimanche, 31 August, 1952, p.7.

5. Charles-Roux, F., Bonaparte: Governor of Egypt, (London, 1937), p.5.

the necessary appliances and material, including Latin, Arabic and Syriac letters.[1] The staff for this section were also recruited from the College, where Levantine Christians were trained in the art of printing. Immediate supervision of this section was entrusted to Don Ilyās Fath Allāh, a Maronite Christian from Diyarbekir, and a translator with the College press.[2] Under him worked two proof readers, Antonio Msabchi (Musābikī), a Syrian Christian from Damascus and Giovanni Reno, and a number of Italian compositors and printers.[3]

The expedition left Marseilles for Egypt with two printing establishments, one under Marcel and the other under a private printer, Marc Aurel (1775-1832).[4] Aurel had learnt printing from his father, whose shop in Valence had been patronised by Bonaparte when a lieutenant in the artillery.[5] After working as a printer for the army for a few years, in 1794 he joined the Imprimerie de l'Armée Navale in the Mediterranean.[6] On 6th floréal, year 6 (25 April, 1798) he was appointed 'Imprimeur de l'Armée'.[7] Aurel took his own printing establishment to Egypt. The official presses were carried on Bonaparte's ship, L'Orient, with Marcel accompanying them. This press functioned en route, and printed on board a number of documents, including the army order and Bonaparte's proclamation, dated respectively the 3rd and 4th messidor, year 6 (June 21st and 22nd, 1798). The proclamation was distributed on 10th messidor (28th June) to soldiers and officers before the disembarkation

1. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.12.

2. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh at-Ṭibāᶜa, pp.29-30.

3. Taffanel de la Jonquiere, C. E.L.M. de, L'Expédition d'Égypte 1798-1801, (Paris, 1899-1907), vol.I, p.440.

4. "Aurel", Dictionnaire de Biographie Française, (Paris, 1933-), vol.IV, pp.661-662.

5. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.128.

6. ᶜAbduh, op. cit., p.37.

7. Ridwān, op. cit., p.20.

near Alexandria. Aurel's press on the "Justice" may also have printed some material during the crossing.[1]

Several writers claim that the first of many proclamations in Arabic to the Egyptian people was printed at sea:[2] a contemporary source, the Histoire scientifique, edited by Marcel and others, confirms that it was printed both at sea and in Egypt; "Cette piéce avait été imprimée en pleine mer en sortant de Malte, et réimprimée à Alexandrie."[3] The Arabic text of this proclamation ends with the following paragraph: "Written (taḥrīr) in the military camp at Alexandria on the 13th of the month messidor, the 6th year of the foundation of the French republic, that is to say towards the end of the month, Muḥarram, 1213 A.H."[4]

Since the Arabic version is dated 13th messidor, this seems to indicate that it was printed at sea before the landing, in anticipation of a landing on that date, and that the phrase "written in the military camp at Alexandria" was wishful thinking; Alexandria was captured 14th messidor.

According to Bonaparte's order of 19th messidor (7 July, 1798) the presses were to be ready to print material in Arabic and French within 48 hours, and the Arabic press was to supply 4,000 copies of the proclamation of the 1st July, the moment it was set up in the house of the Venetian Consul in

1. Charles-Roux, op. cit., pp.128-9.

2. Fakkar, Rouchdi, L'Influence française sur le formation de la Presse Littéraire en Égypte, (Paris, 1973), p.21; Aṣ-Ṣāwī, Aḥmad Ḥusayn, Fajr aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fī Miṣr (Cairo, 1975), p.22; Tājir, Jāk (Jacques Tagher), Ḥarakat at-Tarjama bī Miṣr Khilāl al-Qarn at-Tāsiʿ ʿAshar, (Cairo, 1945?), p.4.

3. Saintine, X.-B., (ed.), Histoire Scientifique et Militaire de l'Expédition Française en Égypte, (Paris, 1830-1834), vol.3, p.153.

4. Moreh, S., (ed.), Al-Jabarti's Chronicle of the First Seven Months of the French Occupation of Egypt, (Leiden, 1975), plate XIII.

Alexandria.[1] These copies were perhaps the second printing of the proclamation referred to in the Histoire Scientifique. The press on landing was renamed the 'Imprimerie Orientale et Française', and was the one supervised by Marcel.

Aurel's press was not unpacked in Alexandria, but accompanied Bonaparte's forces to Cairo.[2] Bonaparte occupied Cairo on 23rd July. However Aurel's press did not print there its first publication, a military order, until 15th August, 1798. As soon as Aurel had printed a few copies of the order, it was carried triumphantly outside to cries of 'vive la France', to celebrate the foundation of the French press in Cairo.[3] The General Command in Cairo still had to send publications to Alexandria to be printed in Arabic by the Imprimerie Orientale et Française, as Aurel's press had no Arabic type and could only print French versions. The Imprimerie also printed the orders of Kléber, the commanding officer in Alexandria.[4]

How long exactly Marcel's press functioned solely in Alexandria is a matter for conjecture. Bonaparte issued an order for the French and Arabic presses from the Imprimerie to be sent to Cairo on 9th thermidor (27th July).[5] Bonaparte's letter from Cairo of 12th fructidor (29th August) to Kléber in Alexandria, implies that the Arabic press may have been dismantled; "Si vous avez encore une imprimerie arabe montée, faites imprimer dans cette langue l'article (in no.1 of the Courier de l'Egypte) relatif à la fête du prophète et faites - le repandre dans tout le Levant".[6] By the end of October, part

1. Correspondance, vol.IV, p.323.
2. ᶜAbduh, op. cit., p.37.
3. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.142.
4. ᶜAbduh, op. cit., p.39.
5. Correspondance, vol.IV, p.370.
6. Ibid., vol.IV, pp.603-604.

of the Imprimerie Orientale et Française had been transported to Cairo, becoming the Imprimerie Nationale, while part remained in Alexandria, under its former name, to continue to furnish Kléber with printing facilities. Marcel, some of his staff, the Greek, Arabic and French letters, and other equipment arrived in Cairo in October; Marcel[1] and Galland left Alexandria on the 27th vendémiaire (15th October) and Galland arrived in Cairo on 3rd brumaire (24th October).[2]

Though some of the equipment, intended for Cairo, remained in Alexandria, the first Arabic work printed by the Imprimerie Nationale in Cairo, according to as-Ṣāwī, appeared in November, a proclamation from the members of the Dīwān of Cairo to the Egyptian population, warning them not to respond to the attempts of the former Mamluk ruling faction to start an insurrection. (The Dīwān, composed of ulema, was a form of local government set up by the French). This proclamation bears no date, but as-Ṣāwī has dated it approximately, from a reference to it in al-Jabartī's history of the period, to 8th Jumādā al-ākhira, 1213 (17th November, 1798).[3] At the bottom of this proclamation is printed "bi-matbaᶜ Miṣr al-maḥrūsa".[4] Since Aurel's press had no Arabic type, this publication was most probably printed by Marcel's press, which had just arrived in the city. There is a printed Arabic version of Bonaparte's proclamation to the inhabitants of Cairo on the new form of the Dīwān, dated 18th Rajab 1213 (26th December, 1798): this too ends with the phrase, "bi-matbaᶜat Miṣr al-maḥrūsa".[5] The two presses now in Cairo, the Imprimerie Nationale and Aurel's press, were later united,[6] when Aurel's

1. Ridwān, op. cit., p.22.

2. G(allan)d, A., Tableau de l'Égypte pendant le Séjour de l'Armée Française, (Paris, an XI), vol.1, p.64.

3. Moreh, op. cit., pp.110-112.

4. as-Ṣāwī, op. cit., plate 31.

5. Ibid., plate 34.

6. Galal, op. cit., pp.19-20.

services were dispensed with because of the poor quality of his workmanship: Aurel decided to sell his equipment and return to France.

Bonaparte had, during his campaign in Italy, encouraged the foundation of two newspapers in Milan to act as semi-official organs for himself and the Armée d'Italie, Le Courrier de l'Armée d'Italie, on 1st thermidor, year 5 (19th July, 1797) and La France Vue de l'Armée d'Italie, in the same month,[1] so it was not surprising that he should give a similar impetus to the press in Egypt, where his troops were even more isolated from French and European affairs. On the 12th fructidor, year 6 (29th August, 1798) the first issue of a four page, semi-official newspaper, Courier de l'Égypte,[2] appeared in Cairo from Aurel's press, a fortnight after the first publication of this press.

Before the French introduced printed circulars and this pioneering newspaper to Egypt, news had been transmitted in a rudimentary fashion, though some rulers had distributed handwritten proclamations throughout the quarters of Cairo,[3] as the French were to do also. Both the French rulers and their predecessors used the town-crier (munādī) to broadcast official announcements to the people. Certain edicts and laws, particularly those related to spiritual life, were announced in the mosque; after the Friday sermon, the Shaykhs sometimes reported to their congregations the decisions of the authorities, or read messages from the Sultans or local governors.[4] Sometimes even the muezzins called the faithful to fight the

1. Fakkar, op. cit., pp.18-19.

2. In 109 of the 116 issues that appeared, the title is spelt with a single R.

3. Abū'l-Layl, Mahmūd Najīb, Aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-Faransīya fī Miṣr mundhu Nash'atihā ḥatta Sanat 1914, (Cairo, 1957), p.25.

4. Wassef, Amin Sami, L'Information et la Presse Officielle en Égypte jusqu'à la Fin de l'Occupation Française, (Cairo, 1975), pp.36-37.

jihād or to remain peaceful,[1] or rabble rousers led the call to action, inciting the population by shouting their slogans in the streets.[2] News from abroad was brought by merchants and other travellers, and then passed on by word of mouth.

The Courier de l'Égypte was started at the initiative of Bonaparte, and printed by Aurel, who alluded to it as "son courrier" in an advertisement on page four of the 9th issue. From number 31 of 19th messidor, year 7 (7th July, 1799), it was printed by the Imprimerie Nationale in Cairo, because of Aurel's poor workmanship in producing the paper.[3] The main function of this French-language journal was to keep informed the over 40,000 people, mainly troops, of the expeditionary force: it also aspired to a European readership, as Aurel asked potential readers "du dehors", in the same advertisement, to send money for their subscriptions. It no doubt was read by the resident European community, which, before the arrival of the French forces, numbered no more than a few hundred.[4] The style was simple, even including certain vernacular expressions, indicating that the paper was geared for the widest possible readership; to reach some of the barely literate troops such an approach was essential. In issue 32 the editors claimed that it "parait tous les cinq jours", but it did not appear as regularly as this, there sometimes being over 30 days between issues. Each issue had four pages in quarto, with two columns per page. It cost six medins per issue, or thirty issues for 150 medins: (beer cost 9 medins a pint).

The editors-in-chief were appointed by Bonaparte and his successor as commander of the expedition, Kléber, and, according to Fahmy, the contents were selected by the French

1. Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., p.19.

2. Moreh, op. cit., p.94.

3. Galal, op. cit., p.21.

4. Baer, Gabriel, Studies in the Social History of Modern Egypt, (Chicago, 1969), p.226.

High Command.[1] The editors were chosen from the more than a hundred savants who were picked to accompany the expedition, artists, archaeologists, orientalists, men of letters, painters, sculptors, musicians, doctors, economists, engineers, geometricians, astronomers, botanists, printers and others. Bonaparte appointed François-Auguste Parseval-Grandmaison (1759-1834),[2] one of the literati, to supervise the editorial work, but he refused the appointment: Jean-Baptiste Fourier[3] (1768-1830), a former teacher at the school of engineering (École polytechnique) was given the post instead of him,[4] perhaps because he had been elected permanent secretary of the society of savants, Institut d'Égypte. Since Fourier was in Rosetta, Louis Costaz (1767-1842),[5] a mathematician and assistant secretary of the Institut, acted as provisional editor for the first four issues, until Fourier could take up the appointment.[6] From issue 37, 29th fructidor, year 7, (15th September, 1799), the paper was placed under the direction of René-Nicolas Dufriche-Desgenettes (1762-1837),[7] chief medical officer of the expedition. None of these men had journalistic experience, and appear strange choices, as there were a number of former journalists among the savants: Desgenettes had merely contributed to a number of medical journals.

The issues of the Courier invariably began with overseas news from Europe, Syria, Palestine, and elsewhere, but such news diminished as the French forces became increasingly cut

1. Fahmy, "Napoleon fondait au Caire le premier journal", La Bourse Egyptienne, 28 August, 1944.

2. N.B.G., vol.XXXIX, pp.252-253; B.U., vol.32, pp.181-182.

3. N.B.G., vol.XVIII, pp. 345-346; B.U., vol.14, pp.525-534.

4. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.133.

5. N.B.G., vol.XII, p.74; D.B.F., vol.IX, pp.794-795.

6. Fakkar, op. cit., p.24.

7. B.U., vol.10, pp.496-499; D.B.F., vol.X, pp.1356-1358; N.B.G., vol.XIII, pp.818-822.

off by the English blockade of the Egyptian coast; the French naval force had been defeated by the English at Abū Qīr on the 1st and 2nd August, and the French were subsequently deprived of supplies, reinforcements and news of Europe. In this situation one task of the paper was no doubt to raise the morale of the French troops far from their homelands.[1] The paper also concerned itself with the activities of the French forces in Egypt, so that the forces could be aware of what was happening to their compatriots throughout the country. Local news gradually usurped news from Europe in prominence; the speeches and activities of the French leaders in Egypt were reported, as were official announcements, daily orders to the army, and news from Cairo and the other Egyptian towns and provinces. The activities of the various Dīwāns (government office), established by the French, were summarised, and the letters and proclamations of these Dīwāns were often printed. Material, printed first as circulars in Arabic, was republished in French, such as General Menou's address to the inhabitants of Egypt;[2] these were reprinted in the Courier for the information of the French, not to reach the indigenous population. The social activities of the French were enumerated, their banquets, concerts, theatrical activities and annual fêtes. Reports of the excursions, archaeological excavations, and learned studies of the savants were published. The journal portrayed Egyptian life and customs, the marriage ceremonies and festivals of the local population. Amongst its other material the Courier printed obituaries, and advertisements for local emporiums and the other publications of the printing establishments.

The final standard issue of the paper, no. 116, appeared on 20th prairial, year 9 (9th June, 1801). It was obviously

1. Boustany, op. cit.

2. Courier de l'Égypte, no.87.

intended to issue subsequent issues as the article, in this issue, "Varietés, Jurisprudence, coutumes, et usages des Égyptiens modernes", ends "La suite au numéro prochain". In the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, there are four further printed pages, on the first page of which is written in manuscript, "le morceau devait former le no. 117 en dernier;"[1] these pages carry the text of the "Convention pour l'évacuation de l'Égypte par le corps de troupes de l'armée française et auxiliares aux ordres du Général de divisions Belliard". These four pages were probably intended to be the last issue of the Courier, and must have been printed on or after the signature of the convention and the capitulation of Cairo on the 8th messidor, year 9, (27th June, 1801). Though it has been asserted that Marcel re-established the Imprimerie Nationale in Alexandria,[2] after the capitulation of Cairo to a combined force of English, Turks and Mamluks, no further issues of the Courier appeared; the last French forces withdrew from Egypt on the 18th October.

At first the Courier was not over-concerned with science or literature, perhaps because of a plethora of political and military news; it only occasionally carried literary items. From no. 68 of 17th floreal, year 8 (17th May, 1800), it began to publish literary items more regularly, after the situation had settled down somewhat with the defeat of the attacking Ottoman and Mamluk forces in the previous month. Earlier issues had been embellished with long articles on voyages of exploration, on medicine, archaeology, and music, but it was not till the later issues that nearly all the poetic genres were represented, the impromptu ode, anacreontic ode, elegy, madrigal and fable. Some of these poetic contributions were very long, filling up to three columns of the eight columns of the paper. Most of the

1. Ellul, Jean, "À Propos d'une Collection Récemment Photocopiée du 'Courier de l'Égypte'", Cahiers d'Histoire Égyptienne, series V, June 1953, pp.176-177.

2. Ridwān, op. cit., p.29.

poetry in the Courier was written by amateurs, and not by the literary men accompanying the expedition. Amongst the savants were a number of literary men, including Parseval-Grandmaison, Lerouge (? - 1801) and Rigal, (1772-1839), the musician and writer; of these only Parseval-Grandmaison wrote a classical hymn for the Courier,[1] "Hymne au premier vendemiaire".[2] According to Arnault, this poet had taken the place on the expedition of the popular dramatist, Népomucène-Louis Lemercier (1771-), who had declined the honour of going to Egypt.[3] Vincent-Antoine Arnault (1766-1834), the poet and successful dramatist, himself a member of the expedition, had stayed in Malta, en route, because of the illness of his brother-in-law, Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angely,[4] so the cultural life in Egypt was deprived of his talents as well.

According to Wassef, certain other members of the expedition, like Galland, Perrée, Benaben and Chambeaud, who believed they had poetic gifts, wanted to consecrate part of the Courier to their poetry; from issue no. 68 they increasingly had their way but with indifferent results. Wassef has commented on their poetry: "C'étaient à notre avis des poèmes de circonstance dénués d'inspiration et de souffle poétique, des vers écrits en un style boursoufflé sans valeur littéraire, des hymnes assez plats adressés aux differents gouverneurs et généraux d'Égypte".[5]

Galland, a proof-reader in the French section of Marcel's press, was the most prolific contributor of poetry to the

1. Courier, no. 85.

2. Carré, Jean-Marie, Voyageurs et Écrivains Français en Égypte (Cairo, 1956), vol. 1, p.162.

3. N.B.G., vol.XXXIX, p.252.

4. Villiers du Terrage, Marc de, Journal et Souvenirs sur l'Expédition d'Égypte, (Paris, 1910), p.348.

5. Wassef, op. cit., p.137.

Courier. He wrote the paper's first literary item in issue no. 3 on the capture of Malta, "La prise de Malte".

Malte, jusqu'ici pucelle
Ne trouvait point de vainqueur.
Bonaparte voit la fleur,
Se présente devant elle.
Au héros sitôt la belle
Rend les armes et son coeur.
Cent fois gloire à sa valeur!
De fléchir une cruelle
Aux français est dû l'honneur.

Like most poetic contributions in the paper, this short poem had a political and military theme; it and other poems either honoured the military power of France, sycophantically celebrated the valour of Bonaparte, or eulogised military leaders. Galland later wrote, "Stances sur Bonaparte", filling nearly three columns;[1] an "Ode Anacréontique",[2] a "Madrigal",[3] and "Stances à mes lèvres".[4] Other locally-penned contributions were an anonymous poem also on Malta in fulsome praise of Bonaparte, warning the English to beware, "Impromptu sur la prise de Malte";[5] a poem in honour of Bonaparte, for the anniversary of the day that he crushed the Paris revolt, "Pour le 13 vendémiaire"[6] by a commissioner, Louis-Guillaume-Jacques-Marie Benaben (1774-1831); an anonymous panegyric to Kléber by one of his officers, "Ode sur la bataille d'Héliopolis et la reprise du Kaire";[7] an "Élégie sur la mort du Général Kléber"[8] by an officer of the artillery; "Stances - Sur la mort des

1. Courier, no.85.
2. Ibid., no.93.
3. Ibid., no.95.
4. Ibid., no.101.
5. Ibid., no.7.
6. Ibid., no.11.
7. Ibid., no.68.
8. Ibid., no.73.

généraux Kléber et Désaix"[1] by Orfray, a lieutenant in a sapper battalion; a "Vers - Pour le portrait de Général Désaix", by a quartermaster of the 9th half-brigade;[2] a poem by the chief of a brigade, Vincent, "Traité de paix particulier avec l'Angleterre";[3] an ode by a pupil of the French military school, J.M. Frédéric Nicod, "Sur l'attentat du 3 nivôse contre la personne du premier Consul",[4] and O. Bayeux's "Vers au premier Consul".[5]

Other material was borrowed from the French press, when ships, thwarting the blockade, brought through journals; the Courier from time to time printed news items from the European press. There was a poem by Chambeaud elegizing Kléber;[6] a long poem of his "Aux pyramides d'Égypte",[7] taken from the magazine, Mercure de France,[8] and his "Elegie sur la mort du Général Désaix".[9] There were two works by L. Perrée: his fables on "Le lion, le tigre, et le renard",[10] and his "Poésie".[11] These two works and the poem taken from the Mercure de France, "Enthousiasme et la raison",[12] were the only poems of a non-military or non-political nature. Under the heading, "Littérature",[13] the Courier took from the Moniteur Universel, the official French journal, its only article of

1. Courier, no.86.
2. Ibid., no.90.
3. Ibid., no.94.
4. Ibid., no.108.
5. Ibid., no.109.
6. Ibid., no.71.
7. Ibid., no.74.
8. ᶜAbduh, op. cit., p.69.
9. Courier, no.89.
10. Ibid., no.74.
11. Ibid., no.107.
12. Ibid., no.104.
13. Ibid., no.94.

literary criticism, on the importance of style in establishing writers for posterity, and on the violent struggle in France between the old and new styles.

The Courier devoted space to the activities of the French amateur dramatic society in Egypt. On 22nd pluviose, year 7 (10 February, 1799), it briefly noted work on the construction of a theatre.[1] This theatre was built near the lake in al-Azbakīya.[2] Al-Azbakīya had long been one of the most fashionable quarters of Cairo to live in; many of the Beys' palaces and homes of Coptic notables and Muslim religious leaders were by this lake. The lake was fed by canals from the Nile in the flood season, and many went boating on it for relaxation. The French used the area as central quarters for their occupation forces. Napoléon stayed in Qaṣr al-Alfī, and other prominent Frenchmen occupied other palaces. Many foreigners, Italian and Greeks, lived in the area before and during the occupation.[3] The Coptic quarter (ḥārat an-Naṣārā) was also near al-Azbakīya; the Coptic Patriarchate had been transferred there in 1794. Apart from the theatre, other places of entertainment opened in the vicinity, such as brothels, cafés-dansants and coffee houses. On 3rd nivôse, year 8 (24th December, 1799), it printed its first report on a production:

> Il s'est formé au Kaire une société dramatique qui a représenté, le 30 frimaire dernier, au milieu des applaudisemens d'un cercle nombreux, brillant et embelli pas les grâces, La Mort de César de Voltaire, et Les Precieuses Ridicules de Molière. On doit beaucoup de remerciemens aux amateurs qui composent cette société, pour avoir procuré à leurs concitoyens un théâtre agréable, où l'on passera de temps en temps quelques heurs à goûter le plaisir d'admirer les productions de nos grands maitres, et

1. Courier, no.27.
2. Kīlānī, Muhammad Sa^{c}īd, Fī Rubū^{c} al-Azbakīya, (Cairo, 1959), p.107.
3. Ibid., pp.52-53.

> où l'on trouvera souvent un délassement utile au milieu des fatigues de la guerre et des affaires publiques.[1]

Except for these plays of Molière and Voltaire, and an operetta by Balzac, the Courier makes no reference to the authors of the works: perhaps the readership were considered sufficiently au courant to make this mention superfluous.

On 17th nivôse, year 9[2] (2nd January, 1801), the paper announced that the society had opened its new auditorium, with performances of Philoctéte,[3] Les Deux Billets,[4] and Gilles Ravisseur.[5] Napoléon's theatre had been destroyed in the revolt of 1799. General Menou rebuilt the theatre, calling it the Théâtre de la Republique, near what is now Ghayt an-Nabī street.[6] During the revolt one side of the square was completely burnt down, so the opportunity was taken to widen the streets to allow carriages to pass.[7] The paper gives no clue as to whether the society had given any performances in the intervening year. The Courier, a few issues later, gave details of the performances of an operetta, written in Egypt, by Charles-Louis Balzac (1752-1820),[8] an architect with the expedition,

1. Courier, no.50.

2. Ibid., no.95.

3. Perhaps the tragedy by Jean-Baptiste Vivien de Chateaubrun (1686-1775), or the three-act verse imitation of Sophocles by Comte Antoine-François-Claude Ferrand (1741-1825), or the adaptation and translation of Sophocles by Jean François de la Harpe (1739-1803), in verse in three acts.

4. Perhaps the two-act comic opera in prose by Louis-Pierre Claris de Florian (1755-1794).

5. Perhaps the comedy by Thomas Hales (1740-1780).

6. Kīlānī, op. cit., p.107.

7. Ibid., pp.66-67.

8. B.U., vol.2, p.701; D.B.F., vol.V, p.29; N.B.G., vol.VI, p.330.

> La Société dramatique a donné le 25 (nivôse), L'Avocat Patelin,[1] et Les Deux Meuniers, petit opéra nouveau, composé en Egypte, paroles du citoyen Balzac ... et musique du citoyen Rigal ... La pièce est un quiproquo dont profite un rival pour brouiller deux amans et dont le dénouement rend la jeune fille d'un meûnier à un jeune homme de l'état de son père, en déjouant les espérances d'un vieux notaire amoureux. Il y a de la naïveté dans ce triomphe de l'amour innocent et ce retour à l'égalité et aux raprochemens naturels.[2]

In the same issue, the paper carried its first brief advertisement for a future production, "La Société Dramatique donne aujourd'hui Ces Plaideurs[3] et Le Port de Mer".[4] This announcement may have attracted French and Europeans to the production, but could only have been read, if at all, by a few orientals. Yet, according to Galland[5] and the paper, important members of the Turkish community, oriental Christians, negroes and negresses in French employ attended performances; perhaps they were invited, or heard of the performances by word of mouth, for there is no mention of any theatre bills, even in as-Ṣāwī's exhaustive study of the French press. Later issues of the Courier described other plays performed by the society, Le Sourd ou l'Auberge Pleine[6] and La Ceinture Magique,[7] and noted the first performance on stage by actresses.[8] These short articles, on the French theatre, in a laudatory manner depicted

1. Perhaps the comedy in three acts by L'Abbé David Augustin de Brueys (1640-1723) and Jean Palaprat (1650-1721).

2. Courier, no.98.

3. Probably the farce by Racine.

4. Probably the comedy by Nicholas Boinden (1686-1751) and Antoine Houdart de la Motte (1672-1731).

5. Galland, op. cit., vol.2, pp.12-14.

6. Perhaps the three-act comedy in prose by Pierre-Jean-Baptiste Choudard Desforges (1746-1806).

7. Probably a comedy by Jean-Baptiste Rousseau (1671-1741).

8. Courier, no.100.

the activities of the society, but did not attempt criticism of performances or direction.

As well as these items of a literary nature, the paper carried extracts from journals of famous voyages. It printed a resumé of the French traveller Volney's "Voyage en Orient",[1] and extracts of the voyages of the Scotsman, Mungo Park, in Central Africa, from his book "Travels in the Interior Parts of Africa, Performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the years 1795, 1796 and 1797", published in London, 1799.[2] These extracts from Mungo Park's book were taken and translated from the London magazine, The British Critic, of June 1799.[3] Excerpts from an earlier English traveller's memoirs were published in another issue,[4] from "A Voyage Performed by the late Earl of Sandwich Round the Mediterranean, in the Years 1738 and 1739. Written by himself to which are Prefixed, Memoirs of the Noble Author's Life", also published in London, 1799.

The first extracts from Arabic works were published in French translation in the Courier to counter the unfavourable opinion of Egypt held by certain members of the expedition, and to react against the nostalgia for France felt by many. Bonaparte, five months after the landing, suggested that the editors should counter the state of depression of the troops, by publishing an article unveiling the richness and beauty of the newly conquered country.[5] The resultant article,[6] under the title, "Melanges", consisted of tranlations of correspondence between the Caliph ᶜUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb and an earlier

1. Courier, nos.33 and 34.
2. Ibid., nos.77, 78, 80, 81 and 84.
3. Ellul, op. cit., pp.182-183.
4. Courier, no.85.
5. Wassef, op. cit., p.115.
6. Courier, no.20.

conqueror of Egypt, ᶜAmr b. Al-ᶜĀṣ, in which the boons of the Nile valley are extolled. These translations were made by Jean Michel de Venture de Paradis (1739-1799), orientalist and head of the corps of army interpreters; he had lived in North Africa, the Levant and Turkey for a number of years, and knew Arabic and Turkish amongst other languages. The letters were extracted from an Arabic work entitled, "abrégé géographique et politique de l'Egypte, sous les Sultans Mamelouks. Cet ouvrage est d'un premier ministre de l'un de ces sultans il en existe un manuscrit à Paris, dans la bibliothèque de la république".

The only other translation from Arabic, carried by the Courier, was extracted from another Egyptian history, "Extrait d'un passage de la chronique égyptienne de Mohhamed ben Isaac, relatif a l'expedition de St. Louis", published under the heading "Litterature orientale".[1] These extracts are probably taken from the "Laṭā'if Akhbār al-Uwal fī man Taṣarrafa fī Miṣr min Arbāb ad-Dūwal", written in 1031 A.H. (1622 A.D.) by Muhammad b. ᶜAbd al-Muᶜṭī al-Ishāqī: there are copies of this work in the Bibliothèque Nationale.[2] Jacques Denis Delaporte (1777-1861), another orientalist with the expedition, translated these extracts. Other than reminding the French of a previous expedition, it is doubtful whether this translation was intended to have any psychological impact on French readers; it included selection from a letter from King Louis IX (Saint Louis), to Shihāb Najm ad-Dīn Ayyūb (al-Malik al-Kāmil), King of Egypt, in which the French king threatened to attack and burn Egyptian cities, unless Shihāb surrendered. Shihāb replied, rejecting the warning and announcing his preparedness to face the French in battle.

1. Courier, no.103.

2. Brockelmann, C., Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur, (Leiden, 1937-1949), vol.II, p.381; MacGuckin De Slane, Baron William, Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes de la Bibliothèque Nationale, (Paris, 1883-1895), MSS. 1839-1849.

The only other periodical publication of the expedition was La Décade Égyptienne, the organ of l'Institut d'Égypte. The Institut had been set up in Egypt as the counterpart of the Institut National in Paris to aid the progress and propagation of the sciences in Egypt, for research, study and publication of natural, historical, and industrial data on Egypt, and to advise the Government on various matters.[1] The membership was divided into four sections, mathematics, physics, political economy, and literature and the arts; the last named section included Parseval-Grandmaison, Venture, Norry, Dutertre, Denon, Rigel, Redoute, and a Greek priest, Dom Raphael de Monachis.[2] Other names were subsequently added to and subtracted from this section, but Parseval-Grandmaison remained the only litterateur amongst them. Dutertre, Denon and Redoute were artists, Venture and Dom Raphael de Monarchis were orientalists. At the Institut's first meeting on 6th fructidor, year 7 (23rd August, 1798), it was agreed to issue La Décade, to serve as a record of the meetings and activities of its members.

The first issue appeared in Cairo on 10th vendémiaire, year 7 (1st October, 1798). It was intended to appear every 'decade', that is every ten days, (the 'decade' had taken the place of the week in French life at the time), but like the Courier its issues appeared much more irregularly. The issues made up three volumes; the first two volumes consisted of nine issues each, with 300 pages per volume, and the third volume was divided into three parts, totalling 316 pages. The last part of volume three was published on 30th ventôse (21st March, 1801), by which time the Institut had stopped its activities,[3] and many of the members were anxious to return to France. Champollion-Figeac, a contemporary and biographer

1. Herold, J. Christopher, Bonaparte in Egypt (London, 1963), p.151.

2. Correspondance, vol.IV, p.540.

3. Saintine, op. cit., vol.6, pp.317-318.

of Fourier, one of its editors, asserts that three issues, forming 24 pages, of a fourth volume were printed at Cairo and can be found occasionally united with the other three volumes. Later, in the same reference, this writer contradicts himself by saying that these issues "n'ont pas eté conservées';[1] as-Sāwī could not find these three extra issues in the collections of La Décade in the British Library, London, in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, or in Dār al-Kutub, Cairo.[2] La Décade cost one livre[3] (one franc or twenty sous) per issue, or ten livres for twelve issues, one issue costing over four times that of a single number of the Courier. Like the Courier, it was at first printed by Marc Aurel, and later transferred to the charge of the Imprimerie Nationale by order of Bonaparte.

According to Desgenettes, it was decided that La Décade should be edited by Bonaparte, Tallien, and Desgenettes. Desgenettes was in charge of the production of all three volumes, except for issues 4, 5 and 6 of the first volume, when Fourier took charge while Desgenettes was on the expedition to Syria.[4] Fourier was permanent secretary to the Institut, and Desgenettes was perhaps chosen because he was a leading member of the Institut and a protégé of Bonaparte. Tallien wrote the prospectus in the first issue, in which he welcomed contributions from all comers, but there were no contributors from outside the Institut.[5] He remarked that La Décade, like the Courier, was aimed at a European readership; the object of the journal was "de faire connaître l'Égypte non seulement aux Français qui s'y trouvent en ce moment, mais encore à la France et à l'Europe".[6] Bonaparte's only contribution seems

1. Champollion-Figeac, Jacques Joseph, Fourier et Napoleon. L'Égypte et les Cent Jours, (Paris, 1844), p.3.

2. as-Sāwī, op. cit., p.59.

3. One livre equalled 28 medins.

4. Wassef, op. cit., p.167.

5. ᶜAbduh, op. cit., p.81.

6. La Décade Égyptienne, vol.1, no.1, p.6.

to have been criticism of the journal, though he would have liked to have written articles for it.[1]

La Décade was primarily a scholarly journal, and its style and contents were above the level of the average reader; with its prohibitive price, it was obviously not intended to be read by the mass of the army, but was aimed at the French élite in Egypt, and at a similar audience in Europe. It was the outlet for the findings of French scientists and scholars working in Egypt, and it published, in extenso or in resumé form, papers that were read or submitted to the Institut. Amongst other material, it published articles on the voyages of the savants, on agriculture, medicine, archaeology, geography, geology, education, meteorology, and cartography.

At the first meeting of the Institut it was decided to publish La Décade as "un journal littéraire",[2] and in an advertisement for La Décade's first issue in the Courier it was stated: "Le citoyen Marc-Aurel mettra aujourd'hui en vente le premier numéro de la Décade égyptienne journal littéraire".[3] The full title of the journal, La Décade Égyptienne, journal littéraire et d'economie politique perpetuated this format. But the word "littéraire" probably meant that the journal would not deal with news of current events or political matters; this bias had been enunciated in Tallien's prospectus, where the field of the journal's interests were delineated;

> Le journal que nous entreprenons sera purement littéraire. Aucune nouvelle, aucune discussion politique n'y trouvera place: mais tout ce qui est du domaine des sciences, des arts, du commerce sous ses rapports généraux et particuliers, de la législation civile et criminelle, des institutions morales et

1. Wassef, op. cit., p.167.
2. Ibid., p.167.
3. Courier, no.9.

religieuses sera recuelli avec empressement.[1]

Like its sister publication the Courier de l'Egypte, La Décade only infrequently carried literary items. In its first volume, most of the French poetry was written by Parseval-Grandmaison. In the first number was his verse translation into French, of forty lines, of Canto 17 of Tasso's (1544-1595) Gerusalemme Liberata. Tasso's works had been included in the library which Bonaparte had assembled on his flagship. According to later issues of the Décade and to the account of Fauvelet de Bourrienne, Bonaparte's private secretary,[2] Parseval-Grandmaison had probably read further parts of this translation at various meetings of the Institut,[3] so it seems that the Décade was publishing only a small part of his translation. The seventh issue published over five pages of this writer's translation of Canto 18 of the same work. The only piece of original poetry in this first volume was an anonymous four line poem[4] in memory of a young Polish officer, Bonaparte's aide-de-camp and member of the Institut, who had been killed in the Cairo revolt, 1798: "Pour mettre au bas du portrait du chef de brigade Shulkouski",

Dans tous les arts il obtient des succès,
Il fut savant sans vouloir le paraître
Si dans l'art des combats il fit plus de progrès,
C'est qu'il choisit un meilleur maître.

The only other piece of European poetry in the Décade remains somewhat of a mystery. The table of contents of the second volume lists an "Imitation d'un fragment du Camoens",

1. Décade, vol.1, no.1, p.6.

2. Fauvelet de Bourrienne, Louis Antoine, Mémoire de M. de B. sur Napoléon, le Directoire, le Consulat, l'Empire et la Restauration, (Paris, 1830), vol.2, p.381.

3. On 21st fructidor, 26th fructidor, 2nd complémentaire, year 6, and 11th vendémiaire, year 7.

4. Décade, vol.1, no.4.

by Parseval-Grandmaison, but this item does not appear in the volume in the British Library;[1] Luis Vaz de Camoes (1525-1580) was a Portuguese poet of the Renaissance. In its record of the proceedings of the Institut, the Décade makes brief reference to a number of other literary works, read before the Institut, the full texts of which were not carried in its pages. As with Parseval-Grandmaison's translations of Tasso, the editors of the Décade obviously decided, for reasons of space, or lack of interest, to restrict the number of literary items in the journal. On 1st thermidor, year 7 (19th July, 1799) Parseval-Grandmaison had read an ode[2] on the victory of the French army in the land battle of Abū Qīr on 25th July; he also read a verse imitation of an idyll by Salomon Gessner[3] (1730-1788) (the Swiss writer of prose idylls, and translations of Virgil).[4] Just over a month later he returned to France with Bonaparte on 22nd August, thus depriving the expedition of its bard, and the Décade of further contributions. Balzac, the architect and author of Les Deux Meuniers, read several of his works to the Institut, including a poem on the French position in Egypt, and a romance on the death of a young officer, who had been imprisoned by the Arabs.[5] He later recited a piece of verse in honour of General Caffarelli, who had died in Syria;[6] all these works of Balzac remained unpublished in Egypt.

These French poetic contributions to the Décade have been judged by writers as fairly insignificant. Jean-Marie Carré was disparaging about the litterateurs who accompanied the expedition:[7]

1. Catalogue number 279, g.28.
2. Décade, vol.III, p.297.
3. Ibid., vol.III, p.292.
4. B.U., vol.32, p.182.
5. Décade, vol.1, no. 9, pp.295-296.
6. Ibid., vol.III, p.297.
7. Carré, op. cit., vol.1, p.123.

> Il faut l'avouer en face des Monge, des Dolomieu, des Berthollet, des Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire, des Fourier, des Malus, les littérateurs et les artistes de la commission font bien piètre figure. Si l'on accorde aisément un certain talent à des peintres comme Dutertre et Redouté le Jeune, il est impossible d'en concéder le moindre grain à un littérateur comme Lerouge ou à un poete tel que Parseval-Grandmaison, auteur d'une mediocre épopée[1] sur Philippe Auguste.

The amateur poet of the Courier, Galland, had tried to start a literary section in the Décade, but his suggestion had been rejected;[2] in his memoirs Galland complained that the fact that the editorship of the two papers was confined to the same person, presumably Desgenettes, was a serious disadvantage to writers; "c'est que les reputations littéraires sont absolument entre ses mains".[3]

The Décade made its most novel contribution to the literary scene, when it published an "Ode arabe sur la conquete de l'Égypte"[4] by Niqūlā at-Turk (1763-1828). Niqūlā at-Turk was a Syrian Catholic poet from Dayr al-Qamar in the Lebanon. He had been sent to Egypt by Amīr Bashīr al-Kabīr, the Governor of the Lebanon, to report on the French expedition. He later returned to the Lebanon. Like al-Jabartī, he wrote a chronicle of the occupation.[5] His ode was printed in Arabic in the Décade, with a French translation by Marcel; it was the first piece of poetry printed in Arabic in Egypt, and also the only contribution by a native of the region to either of the two French journals. It was undoubtedly printed in Arabic to impress French readers, and not so that it could

1. François August Parseval-Grandmaison, Philippe-Auguste; poème historique en douze chants, (Paris, 1825 and 1826).

2. ʿAbduh, op. cit., p.35.

3. Galland, op. cit., vol.1, p.83.

4. Décade, vol.1, no.3, pp.83-96.

5. Dāghir, Yūsuf Asʿad, Maṣādir ad-Dirāsa al-Adabīya, (Beirut, 1956), vol.2, pp.217-218.

reach any Arab readership. It was preceded by a two page history of Arabic literature, in which Marcel described the ancient Arabs' love of poetry. He pointed out the way in which Arabic poetry was assiduously preserved, used as a weapon in tribal conflicts, and as a record of tribal history in the Jāhilīya (pre-Islamic times). He depicted the annual poetry competition at ᶜUkāẓ. At the end of the poem, there was a short analysis of the elements of the qaṣīda, and the numerical value of Arabic letters.

Marcel was enthusiastic about this poem, whose author he praised: "L'ode suivante", he wrote,

> a été composée peu de temps après la conquête du Kaire; le plaisir que j'ai pris à la lire m'a engagé à la traduire et la publier. Peut-être partagera-t-on mes sentimens; peut-être en y reconnaissant quelques étincelles de ce feu électrique qui caractérise la veritable poésie, pensera-t-on que la muse arabe n'est pas tout à fait indigne d'occuper une petite place dans cet empire littéraire où jusqu'ici ont regné presqu'exclusivement les muses européenes.[1]

Subsequent critics have been less kind, and have described the ode as fatuous, colourless, confused, with some ugly linguistic mistakes;[2] it must be conceded that some of these mistakes could have been printer's errors, like "sarᶜātan", line 13, instead of "surᶜatan", and "bi-zullin", line 28, instead of "bi-dhullin".

At-Turk, in this ode, was duplicating his role as court poet to Amīr Bashīr by flattering the French, in hope of a reward from them.[3] His exaggerated glorification of Napoleon's military power was out of place in the Décade, as it had little in common with its apolitical studies or translations; perhaps

1. Decade, vol.1, no.3, p.85.

2. Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., pp.101 and 105.

3. Ibid., p.105.

only its length precluded it from accompanying the other French panegyrics in the Courier.

The Décade printed in Arabic, with a French verse translation by Marcel, the opening verse of the Qur'ān, the Fātiḥa.[1] In his introduction to this Marcel, after raising a number of uncontroversial points about the Qur'ān, claimed that it was full of legends and wild imaginings. Had they read it, this statement would have offended Muslim readers; the ulema would probably have objected to the mere printing of a sūra of the holy book, as they later resisted Muḥammad ʿAlī's attempts to publish religious texts. In a biobliographical item in volume two, the Décade published its only other item of Arabic literature; this was a literary note[2] which prefaced a publication of the Imprimerie Nationale, "Amthāl Luqmān al-Ḥakīm, Abū Anʿam - Fables de Luqman surnommé le Sage, édition Arabe, accompagnée d'une traduction française", 1799, Cairo. This note, written by Marcel, gave an excellent biography of Luqmān, from Persian and Arabic sources, illustrated with a number of his proverbs; it also discussed the origin of fables in the orient.

The only other piece of continuous Arabic text, in the journal, was Desgenettes' letter, on smallpox, to the Cairo dīwān, published in Arabic and French.[3] Under the rubric, "Bibliographe Medicale", details of the Arabic edition of Desgenettes' work, Avis sur la petite vérole régnant, adressé au Divan du Kaire, Imprimerie Nationale, Cairo, year 9, were published in Arabic and French. The Décade also printed, in these two languages, a letter from the Dīwān to Desgenettes, expressing the gratitude of the Egyptian people for this work.[4]

1. Décade, vol.1, no.4, pp.124-127.
2. Ibid., vol.II, no.6, pp.192-200.
3. Ibid., vol.II, p.232.
4. Ibid., vol.III, pp.196-200.

This item, prepared by Marcel, was no doubt intended to impress French readers with the value of the French presense in Egypt, and certainly not to attract Arab readers to purchase the booklet.

Because its issues were much more voluminous, the Décade could publish lengthy items on particular subjects, whereas the Courier, with its four pages, could only briefly touch on a topic. Where the Courier had published a brief translation of an Arabic description of Egypt, the Décade published three extensive extracts,[1] on the same theme, from ᶜAlī ᶜAbd ar-Rashīd b. Sālih b. Nūrī al-Bākuwī's Kitāb Talkhīṣ al-Āthār fī ᶜAjā'ib al-Malik al-Qahhār. This translation, again by Marcel, was preceded by a biography of the Arab author, and accompanied by extensive notes. In the introduction Marcel promised readers further extracts from works of oriental writers, but these were never published:

> Ces extraits de la géographie d'Abd-er-rachyd seront suivis d'extraits d'Abou-'farage[2] et d'autres historiens orientaux chez lesquels on ne peut disconvenir qu'il faut necessairement puiser, si l'on veut avoir une vraie connaissance de l'histoire de l'Orient, qui n'a pur nous parvenir que par leur canal.[3]

Carré's remarks on the literary value of the Decade, "rien de plus pauvre au point de vue littéraire que la revue de l'Institut",[4] could equally apply to the Courier de l'Égypte as regards the items of contemporary poetry, in either journal, whether in French or Arabic. But Marcel's translations,

1. Décade, vol.I, no.8, pp.250-260; no.9, pp.276-293; vol.III, pp.145-178.

2. Abū'l-Faraj al-Isbahānī (897-967), Arab historian, litterateur and poet, author of Kitāb al-Aghānī.

3. Décade, vol.I, no.8, p.250.

4. Carré, op. cit., vol.1, p.125[2].

introductions and extensive notes on classical Arabic texts are worthy of more consideration. Neither journal was primarily literary. Most of the literary items in the Courier, such as the poetry, either aimed at boosting French morale by eulogizing French exploits and commanders, or merely recorded the cultural side of the life of the French colony, as the notes on the dramatic scene. La Décade Égyptienne published a few more literary items for their own intrinsic merits, but these, including the long translation of al-Bākuwī, amounted to less than ten per cent of the contents. The first edition of the Courier was even rebuked for the standard of its French; General Kléber was not impressed by the first number he received, and wrote to Berthier: "La rédaction de votre journal n'est pas assez engageante pour qu'on puisse expérer de recruter beaucoup de souscripteurs. Qu'au moins on y parle Français".[1]

According to the pioneer historian of the Arabic press, Fīlīb dī Ṭarrāzī, Bonaparte in 1799 published a third journal in Egypt, an Arabic newspaper, probably called al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmīya.[2] Ṭarrāzī's claim is based on the following, much quoted, passage from al-Jabartī,[3] about his friend, Sayyid Ismāʿīl al-Khashshāb (? - 1230/1814-1815):-

« انّ الفرنساوية عينوه فى كتابة التاريخ لحوادث الديوان وما يقع فيه كلّ يوم لانّ القوم كان لهم مزيد اعتناء بضبط الحوادث اليومية فى جميع دواوينهم واماكن احكامهم ثم يجمعون المتفرق فى ملخص يرفع فى سجلهم بعد أن يطبعوا منه نسخاً عديدة يوزعونها

1. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.146.

2. Ṭarrāzī, Fīlīb dī, Ta'rīkh aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-ʿArabīya, (Beirut, 1913-1933), vol.1, pp.48-49.

3. Al-Jabartī, ʿAbd ar-Rahmān, ʿAjā'ib al-Āthar fī Tarājim al-Akhbār, (Cairo, 1297), vol.4, p.238.

في جميع الجيش حتى لمن يكون منهم في غير مصر من قرى الارياف
فتجد اخبار الامس معلومة للجليل والحقير منهم. فلما رتبوا ذلك الديوان
كما ذكر كان هو المتقيد برقم كل ما يصدر في المجلس من امر أو نهي او خطاب او جواب أو خطأ أو صواب ».

Many subsequent writers have denied Ṭarrāzī's claim, which is only repeated by ᶜAṭṭāra.[1] Ṭarrāzī asserted that al-Khashshāb was given the task of editing the paper, whereas al-Jabartī's text seems to indicate that he was merely appointed secretary to the Dīwān; al-Jabartī does not say that al-Khashshāb edited an Arabic newspaper, though he gives plenty of information about him. As-Sāwī has pointed out that in any case al-Khashshāb was appointed secretary under Menou, and had no connection with the Dīwān under Bonaparte, so the date of 1799 is probably mere speculation on Ṭarrāzī's behalf. As-Sāwī suggests that al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmīya was not the title of a newspaper, but merely the proceedings of the meetings of the Dīwān as recorded in the minutes. Where al-Jabartī refers to the collection and printing of news for circulation to the army, as-Sāwī and Ibrāhīm ᶜAbduh are sure that this passage is a reference to the Courier de l'Égypte,[2] which carried summaries of the sessions of the Dīwān, and news of its other activities. It seems likely that al-Jabartī, in in this passage, was therefore describing French interest in the news, and it is improbable that the French army would have wanted to read its news through the medium of an Arabic language newspaper.

There was indeed a French project for an Arabic paper, in which al-Khashshāb was involved, but not till the period

1. ᶜAṭṭara, Qustākī Ilyās, Ta'rīkh Takwīn aṣ-Ṣuḥuf al-Miṣrīya (Alexandria, 1928), p.256.

2. as-Sāwī, op. cit., p.79; and ᶜAbduh, op. cit., p.96.

when the French General Menou was commander of the occupation forces. Both Desgenettes and Menou had the idea of founding an Arabic journal which was first mooted in a letter from Desgenettes to Menou on 1st fructidor, year 8 (19th August, 1800).[1] Menou was perhaps more concerned than his predecessors to placate the Egyptians, for he had become a Muslim, and had married an Egyptian Muslim. He signed all his orders and proclamations in French and Arabic with his adopted Muslim name, ᶜAbd Allāh Jacques Menou. During his period of rule, from June 1800, the situation in Egypt was very disturbed, and the pressure of the seige of the country by the Turks and the English, from the north and east, was increasing.[2] The order to start the paper was issued on 5th frimaire, year 9 (26th November, 1800), as follows:-

> Ordre du jour. 5 frimaire an IX. Menou, général en chef, ordonne ce qui suit:- Il sera imprimé au Caire un journal arabe, destiné à repandre dans toute l'Égypte la connaissance des actes du gouvernement français, à prémunir les habitants contre les préventions et les inquiétudes qu'on pourrait chercher à leur inspirer, enfin à entretenir la confiance et l'union, qui s'établissent de plus en plus entre ces peuples et les Français.
>
> Les journal portera le nom de Tambyeh (avertissement). Il sera rédigé par le cheik Seid Ismaïl el Kachab, archiviste du divan, rédacteur des Annales publiques, et imprimé dans l'imprimerie nationale, pour être distribué au Caire et dans les provinces. Plusieurs exemplaires de cette feuille seront remis aux chefs des différentes caravanes qui arrivent au Caire. On ne négligera aucune occasion de faire parvenir par les voies que le commerce ouvre avec l'Yemen, la Syrie, et l'Afrique intérieure. Afin qu'il ne soit inséré dans ce journal aucun écrit qui ne tende au maintien et au respect des usages civil et religieuse de l'Orient, les ulémas, composant le divan de l'Égypte, prendront connaissance de tout

1. Rigault, Georges, Le Général Abdallah Menou et la Dernière Phase de l'Expédition d'Égypte (1799-1801), (Paris, 1911), p.161.

2. as-Sāwī, op. cit., pp.80-81.

ce qui y sera contenu et pourront approuver ou rejeter la rédaction.

Le Tambyeh, ou journal d'Arabie, sera devisé en quatre parties: la première contiendra les actes du gouvernement français; la seconde, les actes du divan, la troisième consistera dans l'annonce des évènements publics de l'Europe ou de l'Asie, dont la connaissance peut intéresser les habitants de l'Égypte; la quatrième fera connaître quelques procédés relatifs aux arts et aux sciences.

On y ajoutera quelques articles sur la morale et sur les principes qui doivent diriger tout bon gouvernement.

La rédaction et la publication de cet ouvrage seront surveillées par le citoyen Fourier, chef de l'administration de la justice en Égypte. Chaque feuille manuscrite arabe sera signée du rédacteur, traduite et signée par le premier interprète du divan, et ne pourra être livrée à l'impression qu'après la visa du chef de l'administration de la justice. Ce manuscrit sera déposé en original dans les archives du divan et la copie adressée à l'imprimerie. Il est expréssément défendu de s'écarter, dans la publication du journal, d'aucune des formes qui viennent d'être prescrites.[1]

Heyworth-Dunne gives the date of the order for its publication as 15 fructidor, year 1 (16th September, 1800),[2] but gives no source for this information. Geiss says Menou ordered its publication and had it published on 15th frimaire, year 9 (6th December, 1800);[3] he probably came to this conclusion as it was the date on which the Courier de l'Égypte[4] published substantially the same information as Menou's order, quoted

1. Rousseau, F., Kléber et Menou en Égypte depuis le Départ de Bonaparte, (Paris, 1900), pp.375-377 (from Moniteur Universel, 15 nivôse, year 9/ 5th January, 1801).

2. Heyworth-Dunne, James, An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt, (London, 1938), p.100.

3. Geiss, Albert, 'Histoire de l'Imprimerie en Égypte: les Imprimeurs Françaises de 1798 à 1801', Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, 5th series, (1907), vol.1, p.149.

4. Courier, no.91.

above. In this article on the proposed Arabic paper, the Courier corrected the name of the paper to Tanbyeh, but mispelt al-Khashshāb's name as "Seyd Ismaïn er-Rachab"; most subsequent Arab writers on the period have referred to the paper as at-Tanbīh.

Most writers on the period, such as ᶜAbduh,[1] Abū'l-Layl,[2] Hamza,[3] Rāfiᶜī,[4] Rigault,[5] Saad el-Dīn,[6] as-Sāwī,[7] El-Wakil,[8] are convinced that this paper never appeared, and ᶜAbduh,[9] Galal[10] and as-Sāwī[11] found no copies of it in the archives and libraries of Cairo, London, and Paris. Since the French were careful in preserving documents on the expedition, it seems probable that copies of the paper would have been preserved, had it ever been issued. Conversely certain scholars believe that it was issued; these include Charles-Roux,[12] Geiss,[13] Heyworth-Dunne,[14] Lewis and Pellat,[15] Ridwān,[16] and the author of the brochure Die Presse in Ägypten.[17] Zaydān

1. ᶜAbduh, Ibrāhīm, Jarīdat al-Ahrām, Ta'rīkh wa-Fann 1875-1964, (Cairo, 1964), p.12.

2. Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., p.26.

3. Hamza, ᶜAbd al-Latīf, As-Ṣiḥāfa wa-l-Adab fī Miṣr, (Cairo, 1955), p.26.

4. ar-Rāfiᶜī, ᶜAbd ar-Rahmān, Ta'rīkh al-Haraka al-Qawmīya, (Cairo, 1929), vol.1, p.145.

5. Rigault, op. cit., p.161.

6. Saad el-Din, The Modern Egyptian Press, p.5.

7. as-Sāwī, op. cit., p.284.

8. El-Wakil, Ibrahim Moukhtar, Histoire du Journalisme Arabe d'Égypte de 1919 à 1950, Doc. ès Lett., (Aix-Marseilles, 1951), p.8.

9. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh, op. cit., p.97.

10. Galal, op. cit., pp.24 and 26.

11. as-Sāwī, op. cit., p.83.

12. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.153.

13. Geiss, op. cit., p.149.

14. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., p.99.

15. Lewis, B. and Ch. Pellat, "Djarīda", E.I. (1965), vol.II, p.465.

16. Ridwān, op. cit., p.23.

17. Internationale Presse-Ausstellung, Die Presse in Ägypten, Cologne, 1928

concludes, from the previously quoted passage of al-Jabartī, that the chronicler was describing at-Tanbīh,[1] rather than al-Ḥawādith al-Yawmīya. Fakkar, on the other hand, refuses to commit himself for or against its appearance, and awaits further evidence.[2] Of sources contemporary to the expedition, the Histoire Scientifique states that the idea of founding an Arabic paper was abandoned:

> ... un jour il (Menou) se réveilla avec l'idée de fonder un moniteur arabe, idée réalisée par Muḥammad ʿAlī. Une seule chose l'arrêta la choisi d'un rédacteur indigène. On avait bien trouvé, parmi nos orientalistes et nos interprètes, des hommes capables de réaliser ce projet, Belletête, Marcel, dom Rafael; mais pas un cheyk ne le comprit ou ne voulait le comprendre et Menou d'ailleurs, sautant d'une idée à une autre, oublia bientôt celle-là.[3]

Galland also mentions the scheme, but does not say that the paper appeared.[4] The lack of evidence testifying to its appearance, and the absence of any extant copies, suggest that Menou's order remained a dead letter, and that the paper did not see the light of day.[5]

While the French journals that were published in Egypt were not aimed at an Egyptian readership, a large number of handbills were written and often printed in Arabic by the French authorities for the information of the Egyptian public. Handbills were printed both in Arabic and French, and

1. Zaydān, Jurjī, Ta'rīkh Ādab al-Lugha al-ʿArabīya, (Beirut, 1967), vol.2, p.412.

2. Wassef, op. cit., p.39.

3. Saintine, op. cit., vol.6, pp.87-88.

4. Galland, op. cit., vol.II, p.117.

5. For a detailed study of this question, see Muḥammad Zakarīyā ʿAnānis, "Ḥawla Jarīdat at-Tanbīh wa-Qaḍīyat Nash'at aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fi'l-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabī", al-Kātib, no.205 (May, 1978), pp.32-45, and no.206 (June, 1978), pp.8-21.

according to the Histoire Scientifique[1] also in Greek, though as-Ṣāwī, who made an extensive study of all the handbills produced during the occupation, did not come across any Greek publication.[2] The Arabic handbills fulfilled a number of purposes; they served to reassure or counsel the population, gave information or issued instructions. Some carried information on new regulations and taxes; others were simply advertisements. They were distributed by hand, or posted in prominent positions at crossroads, market-places, the entrance to streets, or on the doors of mosques in Cairo, Būlāq, Old Cairo and in provincial centres; some circulars got a wider distribution to the provinces and as far as Syria, even before the Syrian campaign of 1799. Two contemporary Arab sources, al-Jabartī and at-Turk both make a number of references to these handbills. The Ottomans and Mamluks also sent proclamations to Egypt, Syria and Arabia to counter the French propaganda.[3]

The official documents, the orders, proclamations, administrative circulars, etc., made up the bulk of the production of the French presses in Egypt.[4] Other than the circulars, there was little printed for the benefit of the Arabic or Turkish speaking sections of the population. A number of works on oriental subjects were printed for the use of the French expeditionary force. An Alphabet arabe, turc et persan, à l'usage de l'Imprimerie Orientale et Française, 16pp., was published, in Alexandria, 1798, to familiarise the typographers with oriental characters.[5] The Imprimerie Orientale et Française also printed Exercises de lecture d'Arabe littéral, à l'usage de ceux qui commencent l'étude de cette

1. Galland, op. cit., vol.IV, p.64.
2. as-Ṣāwī, op. cit., p.64.
3. Ibid., pp.195-196.
4. Charles-Roux, op. cit., pp.141-142.
5. B.U., vol.XXVI, p.461.

langue, 12pp., Alexandria, 1798; this work included extracts from Qur'ānic verses. The Imprimerie Nationale, in Cairo, is said to have published a Vocabulaire usuel Français-Arabe, contenant les mots principaux d'un usage journalier, year 7.[1] It also brought out a Melanges de litterature orientale, 122pp., year 8, containing reprints of the extracts from al-Bākuwī's geographical work, and the note on Luqmān, from the articles in La Decade Égyptienne.

The only works on Arabic language and literature brought out for French and Arabic readers were the Fables de Loqman, 120pp., in Arabic and French, and a Grammaire Arabe du dialecte vulgaire d'Egypte et de Syrie, 168pp., Cairo, 1801?; the last mentioned work was only partially printed. The Histoire Scientifique[2] lists a "Histoire (en arabe) de la prise de Constantinople",[3] printed by Marcel, but Wassef could find no trace of it.[4] All these works were prepared by Marcel. He appears to have had a greater influence over the activity of the presses than ᶜAbduh gives him credit for; ᶜAbduh[5] states that Marcel's job as chief printer was purely administrative, and that he had no role in deciding what the presses printed. Certainly from 25th nivôse, year 7, (14th January, 1799), the Arabic press was under the orders of Venture de Paradis, and

1. There is no mention of this in the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Catalogue Général des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, or in The National Union Catalog pre-1956 Imprints, under the title, or in the sections on Marcel.

2. Saintine, op. cit., vol.4, p.65.

3. There is no mention of this in the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books, Catalogue Gēnéral des Livres Imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale, Library of Congress Catalog of Printed Cards, or in The National Union Catalog pre-1956 Imprints, under the title, or in the sections on Marcel.

4. Wassef, op. cit., p.101.

5. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh, op. cit., p.44.

the French press under Fauvelet-Bourrienne.[1] When these two accompanied Bonaparte on the Syrian expedition, the Imprimerie Nationale was put under the orders of Poussielgue, financial adviser to the expedition, on 21st pluviôse, year 7 (9th February, 1799).[2] It is not known how long these respective administrations lasted or how rigorous they were.

Desgenettes' Avis sur la petite vérole regnante was published in two editions, the first in Arabic and French, 43pp., and the second in Arabic only, 25pp. Details of the trial of the assassin of General Kléber were printed in Arabic, French and Turkish editions of differing lengths, Recueil des pièces relatives à la procédure et au judgement de Soleyman el-Hhaleby, assassin du général en chef Kléber, Cairo, year 8. The other substantial publications of the press, military codes, Annuaires, copies of the Constitution, etc., were all in French, except for one Italian work on opthalmia.

There is no record of the impact of the French journals on Arab readers, if indeed they had any. Few Egyptians could read French,[3] so it is unlikely that many perused the Courier de l'Égypte or La Decade Égyptienne; there were no schools in Egypt, prior to the occupation, where French was taught. There were some Arab residents in Egypt, who spoke French, mainly from Syria, and the French used several of them as interpreters and translators; they also used Levantine students from Rome, and Moroccan Muslims from Malta for the same purpose. The French taught some Coptic youths the French language, but only one later acted as a translator.[4] Other than the vague reference to the Courier, already referred to, al-Jabartī only mentions, in his chronicles, other than the

1. Correspondance, vol.5, p.331.
2. Ibid., vol.5, pp.400-401.
3. Galal, op. cit., p.21.
4. as-Ṣāwī, op. cit., pp.265-266.

circulars, Desgenettes' work on smallpox, and the collected documents of the trial of Kléber's assassin.[1] Though certain publications of the French press did evoke a reaction from the Arabic-speaking population, like the circulars, the work on smallpox, and the report of the trial, it must be conceded that Heyworth-Dunne is substantially correct in stating that the press did not publish anything that could affect Egyptian culture advantageously.[2] It must be remembered that the probable aims of the expedition were primarily political and military, and that even the activities of the savants tended towards advancing French understanding of the East, rather than vice versa. Even Niqūlā at-Turk's ephemeral poem in the Decade was probably read by only a few Arabs; the author himself knew no French.[3] Luqmān's fables, the only other piece of Arabic imaginative literature published, were sufficiently well-known for their publication to attract little attention.

Fakkar claims that al-Jabartī's writings show the direct influence of French style; the Arabic style he used for conveying information was logical and balanced, free from the traditional predominance of rhymed prose. According to Fakkar, in al-Jabartī's writings one witnesses the birth of the new style of the Arab renaissance.[4] The debt for this renaissance, if there was one at this time, must belong mainly to the Arabic circulars, which were the bulk of the Arabic material issued by the French. These circulars were invariably translated from French originals, so they probably were affected by the style and language of the French texts; some of the translators were French themselves, others were Arabs who had lived for a number of years in Europe. Whether al-Jabartī's style was moulded by these publications is open to debate, for he was

1. al-Jabartī, op. cit., vol.III, pp.116-117 and 141.
2. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., p.99.
3. Rigault, op. cit., p.xiii.
4. Fakkar, op. cit., p.40.

often critical of the low standard of some of the Arabic translations of the French.[1]

If individual journals or works had little cultural effect on the Egyptians, the advantages of the printing press were brought home to them by the presence of the French presses. The principal members of the Dīwān visited the press several times. The Courier de l'Égypte[2] of 13 February, 1801, recorded several of these visits:-

> ... de tout ce qui a éxcité l'étonnement et l'admiration des habitants de l'Égypte, depuis notre arrivée dans leur pays, une des choses que les a le plus frappés et qui a d'autant plus fait d'impression sur eux qu'elle leur était totalement nouvelle, est l'art de l'imprimerie. L'année dernière, les principaux membres du "diwan" entré autres les cheikh El Mahdy, El-Fayyoumi, el-Savi, etc., sont venus plusieurs fois à l'Imprimerie Nationale et y ont vu exécuter avec un plaisir mêlé de surprise (telles ont été leurs expressions) les divers procedés qui y sont employés pour l'impression, soit du français, soit des différentes langues orientales.

Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāsī, who had visited the press in Constantinople, and some Syrians, who knew of the press in a Maronite convent in Lebanon, were convinced that the press in Cairo was superior to these two establishments. Shaykh al-Bakrī went so far as to advise the French of a large number of good Arabic works, whose publication was desirable.[3] The French may have had in mind the publication of other Arabic works, had they not been prevented from doing so by the troubled atmosphere and short duration of their occupation.

When Marcel returned to France, he translated into

1. al-Jabartī, ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān, Merveilles Biographiques et Historiques, (Cairo, 1891-1896), vol.6, p.223.

2. Courier, no.102.

3. Charles-Roux, op. cit., p.14.

French and published some Arabic tales, given to him in Egypt by one of the ulema, Shaykh al-Mahdī, Les dix soirees malheureuses, contes d'Abd-Errahman ..., Paris, 1829, and Contes du Cheykh El-Mohdy ..., Paris, 1832.

When the French left it seems they took their presses with them,[1] so the publishing experiment ended with their departure. Ṭarrāzī, alone among the sources, believed that the French press remained in Cairo until it was bought by Muḥammad ʿAlī and became part of the Būlāq press,[2] but Wassef has found a letter, which tends to disprove this, from Général Belliard in Marseilles to Général Berthier, Minister of War in Paris, dated 23rd brumaire, year 10 (14th November, 1801), written on the return of the expedition to France: "La bibliothèque, mon Général, fut remise hier au Préfet ainsi que l'imprimerie et les différents objets des sciences et arts que nous avons rapportés ... Je les ai fait venir afin de ne rien laisser en Egypte ..."[3] (General Belliard was the French commander, who signed the capitulation agreement with the Ottoman forces in June, 1801).

1. ʿAbduh, Taʾrīkh, op. cit., p.57; Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., p.22; Hanotaux, G.A.A., (ed.), Histoire de la nation Égyptienne. L'Égypte Turque, Pachas et Mameluks, l'Expedition du Général Bonaparte, (Paris, 1931-), vol.V, p.367; ʿAwaḍ, Louis, Taʾrīkh al-Fikr al-Miṣrī al-Ḥadīth, (Cairo, 1969), vol.2, p.287; Canivet, R.G., "L'Imprimerie de l'Expédition d'Égypte, les journaux et les procès verbaux de l'Institut", B.I.E., 5th series, (1909), vol.III, pp.14-15; Geiss, op. cit., p.156; and Rāfiʿī, op. cit., vol.1, p.120.

2. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.49.

3. Wassef, op. cit., p.92.

CHAPTER II

EXPERIMENTS IN JOURNALISM
(1802-1875)

After the French expeditionary force withdrew, there were to be no publishing activities for almost twenty years. Muhammad ᶜAlī, commander of the corps of Albanian troops brought to Egypt by the Ottomans in 1798, came to power in 1805. He took over a derelict government; Egypt was probably in the worst condition of all the Turkish provinces, except Iraq. This was not a favourable climate for publishing activity of any sort. There was only a tiny European community, and the only newspapers that reached them were the abominable Malta Gazettes.[1]

Muhammad ᶜAlī slowly consolidated his position throughout the country. That done, he spent much of his energy in overseas military adventures in Arabia, Sudan, Greece, Crete, Syria and elsewhere; Palmerston later stated that he felt Muhammad ᶜAlī's "real design is to establish an Arabian Kingdom, including all the countries in which Arabic is the language".[2] To meet the needs of his new military institution, he opened schools to train his men and factories to equip his new army. To staff these institutions he recruited European experts. The first European language paper of Muhammad ᶜAlī's reign, Le Courrier du Mont Mokatam[3] or Il Corriere del

1. Dodwell, Henry, The Founder of Modern Egypt. A Study of Muhammad 'Ali, (Cambridge, 1931), pp.29 and 30.

2. Ibid., p.123.

3. Auriant, "Bousquet-Deschamps", Latinité, y.3, no.4, (April, 1931), p.515.

Mokattam,[1] published in February 1818, was probably brought out to inform this growing foreign community. From its title it would appear that this first paper was printed in Cairo.[2] It was followed in 1819 by a political, literary and commercial journal, L'Aristarque Français (The French Aristarch).

Between 1819 and 1820 Muhammad ᶜAlī Pasha had set up a state printing press at Būlāq, a suburb of Cairo. It was probably founded to publish books and manuals for his modern army;[3] most of the works published before 1830 dealt with the arts and sciences of modern Europe, particularly the military arts, providing textbooks and manuals for the armed forces. The first Arabic journal, Jurnāl al-Khudaywī (The Khedivial Journal)[4] appeared about the same time. It was not a newspaper, but a government departmental bulletin with a circulation of about a hundred,[5] limited to the Khedive's court, senior government officials and provincial governors.[6] Its exact date of appearance is unknown. It first appeared in a handwritten version in Turkish and Arabic,[7] and it was subsequently printed lithographically. It appeared at first once a month, then weekly, and in 1821 it became a daily.

This journal carried reports on the central and provincial administration for the Pasha's information. It published reports

1. Sammarco, Angelo, Gli Italiani in Egitto, (Alexandria, 1937), p.126.
2. The Muqaṭṭam hills are on the edge of Cairo.
3. Ridwān, op. cit., p.35.
4. ᶜAbduh, Taᵓrīkh al-Waqāᵓiᶜ Al-Miṣrīya, (1828-1942), (Cairo, 1946), p.19.
5. Bonola, Federico, "Una Visita a Mohamed Ali nel 1822: La Prima Stamperia ed il Primo Giornale", La Revue Internationale d'Égypte, vol.2, fasc.2, (October, 1905), p.15.
6. ᶜAbduh, Taᵓrīkh al-Waqāᵓiᶜ, (1942), p.35.
7. ᶜAbduh, Taᵓrīkh al-Waqāᵓiᶜ(1946), op. cit., p.19.

from the provinces on agricultural production and revenues raised, printing instructions and orders issued. It sometimes included foreign news.[1]

G. B. English, an American traveller in Egypt, noted in 1822 that the recently installed lithographic press of the École Polytechnique, in Ismāʿīl Pasha's former palace in Būlāq, was printing a "weekly newspaper in Arabic and Italian". This state school taught the Italian language and the "sciences of the Franks", and the newspaper was perhaps solely for distribution within the school.[2] Small printing establishments were attached to a number of the military schools.

The European population continued to climb in the 1820s; in 1821 it had been about 1,200. The number of foreigners grew with the expansion of cotton production and trade, encouraged by the Viceroy, Muḥammad ʿAlī. In April, 1827, a noted French journalist, Bousquet-Deschamps, left for Egypt to put himself at the Pasha's service. He founded a weekly in Alexandria, L'Echo des Pyramides,[3] consecrated to the progress of education, the development of industry, and the increase of commerce, the very ambitions of the Pasha. After the fourth issue published tendentious news on the price of cereals at Genoa, the Governor of Alexandria was ordered to ban the paper,[4] and the editor left the country. This paper and the earlier European language papers were probably published on small private European presses; several of these were functioning in the 1820s, mainly in Alexandria.

1. ʿAbduh, Taṭawwur aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-Miṣrīya, 1798-1951, (Cairo, 1951), pp.27 and 30; ʿAbduh, Ibrāhīm, "Jurnāl al-Khudaywī", ath-Thaqāfa, y.4, no.162 (Cairo, 3 February, 1942), p.20.

2. An American in the Service of the Viceroy (G.B. English), A Narrative of the Expedition to Dongola and Sennaar, (London, 1822), p.viii.

3. Carré, op. cit., p.280.

4. Auriant, op. cit., pp.515-516.

The following year the first regular newspaper in Arabic in the world was published in Cairo, Vaḳā'i^{C} -i Miṣrīye[1] (Egyptian Events). This was the official gazette of the Egyptian Government, appearing on Wednesday, December 3, 1828 (25 Jumādā al-Ūlā, 1244). At first it appeared alongside the Jurnāl al-Khudaywī.[2] Having given encouragement to Bousquet-Deschamps to set up a semi-official European language paper, Muḥammad ^{C}Ali may have decided to put his regime on a par with European governments, most of whom had their own gazettes. This was another of the trappings of the West, adopted by the Viceroy, but one which probably played a useful role in strengthening the central administration and its links with senior government officials, helping to convince them of the value of the various reforms he was introducing. Dr. Clot Bey, the French founder of the government Qaṣr al-^{C}Aynī medical school, is said to have inspired the Pasha to set up the paper.[3]

The first edition of the paper had its page divided into two columns, one in Turkish, and the other in Arabic.[4] The Arabic was a translation of the Turkish, and was usually much briefer. The ruling dynasty was Turkish, the senior administrators and army officers were predominantly Turkish-speaking. The Pasha himself was a Turkish speaker, who according to the British Consul-General, Charles Murray, "understood very little Arabic and could not speak it".[5] Most of the work of the administration was conducted in Turkish, though during the Pasha's reign a number of Egyptians were

1. It bore a Turkish title in these early years.

2. ^{C}Abduh, Ibrāhīm, A^{C}lām aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-^{C}Arabīya, (Cairo, 1944), p.11.

3. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.49.

4. It has often been stated (^{C}Aṭṭāra, op. cit., p.256; Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.49) that the first edition was only in Turkish, but ^{C}Abduh (Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.34) has shown that this is not so.

5. Murray, Sir Charles A., A Short Memoir of Mohamed Aly, (London, 1898), p.56.

appointed to the lower ranks of the administration.[1]

The first issue was brought out by the Qalam al-Waqā'iᶜ (al-Waqā'iᶜ Department) under the Dīwān al-Madāris (Ministry of Education).[2] It was printed at the Government press at Būlāq. It had four pages, the average size of most newspapers in Egypt during the period of this study. It appeared initially on an irregular basis, sometimes twice a month or even less often.[3] From 1244 (1828) to 1249 (1833/1834) there were at least 547 issues. There is no information on the paper from 1250 (1834/1835) to 1255 (1839/1840). In 1256 (1840/1841) there were only three issues, in 1257 (1841/1842) one, in 1258 (1842/1843) two, in 1259 (1843/1844) and 1260 (1844/1845) two, and in 1261 (1845) nine issues. From 1262 (1845/1846) to 1848 it appeared more frequently, so that by the end of Muhammad ᶜAlī's reign[4] (1 November, 1848) there had been 138 issues in the second series, dating from 1261 (1845).[5]

At first, as with its predecessor, distribution was limited to government circles. Copies were sent to senior officials (dhawāt) in the various ministries (dīwān) and in the provinces.[6] All senior officials were urged to subscribe. Distribution, by subscription, was later extended to ulema, officers of the armed forces, and Egyptian Government students in Egypt and Europe, and to Egyptian communities in Crete, Syria, the Sudan and the Arabian Peninsula. In 1260 (1844/1845) all officials who earned more than a thousand piastres

1. Dodwell, op. cit., p.202.

2. ᶜAbduh, Taʾrīkh al-Waqāʾiᶜ, (1942), pp.39 and 47-48.

3. Ibid., p.65.

4. Only a few issues before 1866 are available. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya and the British Library have lost or misplaced most of their copies of these early years.

5. ᶜAbduh, Taʾrīkh al-Waqāʾiᶜ, op.cit., pp.254-255.

6. Ibid., pp.42-43.

a month,[1] were obliged to subscribe; this stipulation also applied to foreigners in Egyptian Government service, whether they knew Arabic or Turkish or not.[2]

The paper was intended to acquaint its readership with government policy. The Pasha wrote to the provincial governors (mudīr) and the heads of dīwāns ordering them to make a summary of events to be inserted in the paper. Details of administrative affairs were also published, as were news of petitions (ᶜarḍuḥāl, shuqqa) and reports (taqrīr, jūrnāl, tadhkira) presented to the various dīwāns, assemblies (mashwara) and councils (majlis) and the resulting action. Decrees and regulations were published, and sometimes excerpts from official correspondence, lists of promotions, transfers and dismissals from the government service. Unlike later papers, the first issues had no headlines, and no titles for the different sections.

In 1829 and 1830 economic and foreign news items were added. The news was now divided into foreign (akhbār khārijīya) and local sections (akhbār dākhilīya); foreign news meaning at first news from the other provinces of the Ottoman Empire, though later news from Europe and elsewhere was added. European news was taken from European newspapers (kāzita) from all over the continent, as and when such papers arrived in Cairo. The viceroy was fond of having the European press read to him, and had European newspapers sent regularly, though he knew no European language. Apart from these items there was shipping news, temperatures (mīzān hawā Miṣr), tables on the level of the Nile (tazāyud mā' Nīl). The paper gradually evolved into an ordinary newspaper, though of course it avoided controversial issues, whether at home or abroad, that were likely to upset the government or its

1. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh al-Waqā'iᶜ (1942), op. cit., p.44.

2. Ibid., pp.46-47.

readership. In 1847 it even started to carry private advertising (i^{c}lānāt), though usually inserted by individuals, rather than companies.

An Italian chemist, Guiseppe Forni (in Egypt between 1815-1831) gives a fair idea of the political content of the paper, and of the general political awareness in Egypt at that time. He mentions that the director of the press "did not know all the polemics of our newspapers, he was completely ignorant of our European revolutions and did not know anything about the reason for our discords". "That poor village fellah, the nāẓir (Nadir) thought that our liberty and equality were a sort of pilau that was distributed to the population."[1]

The names of a number of literary figures have been associated with the early years of the newspaper. Ḥasan al-^{c}Aṭṭār and his pupil, Rifā^{c}a Rāfi^{c} aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, are said to have been instrumental in founding the paper,[2] and aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī[3] is wrongly named as one of the first editors,[4] but according to Ibrāhīm ^{c}Abduh there is nothing in these early editions to prove the veracity of this statement.[5] Ḥasan al-^{c}Aṭṭār, it is claimed, was one of the editors after aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī,[6] although Brockelmann gives him as the first editor.[7] Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣri is supposed to have been al-^{c}Aṭṭār's assistant on the paper,[8] becoming editor in 1831

1. Forni, Guiseppe, Viaggio nell'Egitto e nell'Alta Nubia, (Milan, 1859), vol.1, p.220.

2. al-Ma'lūf, ^{c}Īsā Iskandar, "as-Sihāfa al-^{c}Arabīya. 2. Nash'at as-Sihāfa al-^{c}Arabīya", An-Ni^{c}ma, y.1, vol.22, (30 April, 1910), p.693; and Hartmann, Martin, The Arabic Press of Egypt, (London, 1899), p.61.

3. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī was imām of the Egyptian student mission to Paris, and a student of translation there from April. 1826 to mid-1831.

4. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., p.49.

5. ^{c}Abduh, Ta'rīkh al-Waqā'i^{c} (1942), op. cit., p.73.

6. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.49-50.

7. G.A.L., vol.II, p.473.

8. Ibid., p.474.

(1247) when the latter became Shaykh of al-Azhar.[1] It is also asserted that the Syrian Fāris ash-Shidyāq, later editor of al-Jawā'ib, was an assistant editor on the paper[2] under his teacher Shihāb ad-Dīn, when he was in Egypt before 1834, but ᶜAbduh thinks that this is unlikely.[3] At this stage the paper gave no information as to its editors.

The most prominent literator definitely connected with the paper in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign was at-Ṭahṭāwī, but at a later date. While still teaching and directing a number of state schools, and the government's Translation Bureau (qalam at-tarjama), he also supervised the Arabic section of the paper from 11 January, 1842 to 1850 (1257-1267), when he was exiled by ᶜAbbās I to the Sudan. He had been appointed to the task of "translating the relevant materials from foreign newspapers, adding some (literary) pieces from literary works, choosing the news of the royal family, and generally organising the Egyptian newspaper (jarīda)".[4] Under his editorship for the first time, long articles (maqāl) were written on different subjects, such as geography, commerce and history.

Another French paper, L'Aristarque Égyptien, was appearing in 1829.[5] In 1830 the Egyptian administration in occupied Crete had its own weekly paper, Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Giridīye/ Kretike Ephemeris (Cretan Events), published with parallel Greek and Turkish texts.[6] Several military bulletins were

1. von Kremer, A., Aegypten, (Leipzig, 1863), vol.2, p.294.

2. ash-Shidyāq, Ṭannūs, Akhbār al-Aᶜyān fī Jabal Lubnān, (Beirut, 1859), p.197.

3. ᶜAbduh, Ṭa'rīkh al-Waqā'iᶜ (1942), op. cit., p.73.

4. Ibid., pp.88-89.

5. Letter from Pezzoni, to Nesselrode, the Russian Foreign Minister, dated Paris 18 November, 1829, in Cattaui, René, La Règne de Mohamed Aly d'après les Archives Russes en Égypte - Rapports Consulaires (1819-1833), (Cairo, 1931), vol.1, p.361.

6. Yates, W.H., The Modern History and Conditions of Egypt, (London, 1843), vol.1, p.414; and Rāshid, Zaynab ᶜIsmat, Kirit taḥt al-Ḥukm al-Miṣri, 1830-1840, (Cairo, 1964), pp.179-182.

published. The government produced an irregular Bulletin de L'Armée de Syrie from 8 April, 1832 to about January, 1833, giving details of Ibrāhīm's campaign against the Ottoman army in Syria.[1] In 1833 an Arabic military journal, al-Jarīda al-ᶜAskarīya (The Military Journal), appeared covering the campaign, printed at the Artillery School Press (Maṭbaᶜat al-Jihādīya).[2] It printed military orders, and gave details of disciplinary measures.[3] Another military journal in Italian carried material translated at the Artillery School. It contained information and reports sent by the Egyptian Governors of Jedda and Morea (Greece) and the sarᶜaskar (commander) of the fleet on the conquests at Medon.[4]

In Alexandria in 1832 there was a daily commercial paper, Avertissement.[5] The Frenchman, Edme-François Jomard, who helped the Pasha in many of his schemes, had hoped to add a French translation to the Vakā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye,[6] but instead a separate weekly appeared, Le Moniteur Égyptien (August 1833 to March 1834),[7] taking its local news from the official gazette. It was intended primarily to rebut the propaganda in Europe of the Ottoman Journal de Smyrne and Le Moniteur Ottoman.[8] Jomard again recommended in June, 1839, this time to the French Consul-General in Alexandria, that a French/Arabic language newspaper be published:

1. Saintine, op. cit., vol.10, pp.441-442.

2. Sābāt, Khalīl, Ta'rīkh aṭ-Ṭibāᶜa fi'sh-Sharq al-ᶜArabī, (Cairo, 1966), p.169.

3. ᶜAbduh (Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.37) could not find any copies of this paper.

4. Tājir, op. cit., p.39.

5. Letter from Acerbi to Metternich, dated Alexandria, 19 August, 1832, in Sammarco, Angelo, Il Regno di Mohammed Ali nei Documenti Diplomatici Italiani Inediti, (Cairo, 1930-), vol.10, p.153.

6. Nouveau Journal Asiatique, juin 1833, p.518.

7. Parliamentary Papers. Reports from Commissioners, vol.XXI. Bowring, John, Report on Egypt and Candia, addressed to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Palmerston, (London, 1840), p.144.

8. Auriant, op. cit., p.517.

> qui, moins insipide que Le Moniteur Égyptien et le courrier turco-arabe (Vaḳā'iᶜ -i Miṣrīye), ferait une parte importante à la politique, s'inspirerait de l'esprit de civilisation et de réforme, serait statistique et commercial, instruirait le lecteur de l'état de l'agriculture, des travaux publics et de l'instruction publique.[1]

The first scholarly journal appeared in 1843, the Miscellanea Aegyptiaca,[2] published in Alexandria by the Association Littéraire d'Égypte. This predominantly European society based in Cairo had been founded on 15 February, 1842 under the presidency of the Armenian, the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs and Commerce, Boghos Bey,[3] after the partial disbanding of an earlier European society, the Egyptian Society. The older society was founded in Cairo in 1838 on the initiative of the principal European residents of the city.[4] By 1835 there were about 5,000 Europeans in Egypt, the majority of whom were French and Italian. Europeans were training the armed forces, instructing Egyptians in technical skills in the state factories, and staffing the professional schools of engineering, agriculture and medicine, though large numbers of foreigners were to lose their posts in the period of retrenchment after 1841. By the 1840s hundreds of travellers on the way to India visited Egypt. The burgeoning European language press was published to keep this growing European population informed. In 1842 and 1843 Le Phare d'Alexandrie appeared in Alexandria.[5] This paper or another with the same title still existed in 1846. Sometime between June 1846 and April

1. Charles-Roux, F., Edme-François Jomard et la Réforme de l'Égypte en 1839, (Cairo, 1955), p.46.

2. This volume was dated 1842, but published 1843.

3. Luthi, Jean-Jacques, Introduction à la littérature d'expression française en Égypte (1798-1945), (Paris, 1974), p.89[14].

4. Scott, C. Rochfort, Rambles in Egypt and Candia, (London, 1837), vol.1, p.217.

5. Miscellanea Aegyptiaca, February, 1843, p.X.

1847, the Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye started to appear in two separate editions in Turkish and Arabic, carrying the same news.[1] At this date, towards the end of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign, the first regular European language newspaper appeared; all the earlier papers had had an ephemeral existence. This paper, in Italian, Lo Spettatore Egiziano,[2] appeared in Cairo in 1846,[3] lasting till 1865.

As the Pasha became increasingly senile in the last years of his reign, his son, Ibrāhīm, became the de facto ruler. Ibrāhīm brought out in Cairo a commercial paper in Arabic al-Ḥawādith at-Tijārīya wa'l-Iᶜlānāt al-Malakīya (Commercial News and Royal Announcements)[4] on Monday, 23 October, 1848 (26 Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1264). The paper was announced in the Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye:

> Since ... commerce and agriculture are the basis of comfort and wealth, His Highness the Khedive wanted to publish an all-embracing journal (jurnāl jamᶜī)[5] on those matters, so that it covers news on commerce and agriculture and royal proclamations.[6]

The paper was to contain seed and animal prices throughout Egypt, list the contents and exports of government

1. Ridwān, op. cit., p.268.

2. Galal (op. cit., p.59) lists a paper l'Osservatore Egiziano appearing in Cairo in 1847, probably a reference to Lo Spettatore Egiziano.

3. ᶜAbduh, Ibrāhīm, "Tashrīᶜ as-Sihāfa wa-Ṭaṭawwuruhā", ath-Thaqāfa, y.4, no.176, 12 May, 1942, p.14.

4. Abdelghani, Ahmed-Bioud (3200 Revues et Journaux Arabes de 1800 à 1969, [Paris, 1969], p.37) gives a longer title, Taqwīm al-Akhbār ᶜan al-Ḥawādith at-Tijārīya wa'l-Iᶜlānāt al-Malakīya (Almanach of News on Commercial News and Royal Announcements).

5. Many sources, Saᶜīd Muḥammad as-Sayyid Aḥmad (aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-ᶜArabīya fī ᶜAṣr al-Khidiwī Ismāᶜīl, 1863-1879 [M.A. Thesis, Kullīyat al-Ādāb, Cairo University, 1972], p.6), and ᶜAbduh (Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.41), thought that al-Jurnāl al-Jamᶜi was the name of this publication; Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.3, p.68) calls it al-Jarīda at-Tijāriya az-Ziraᶜīya.

6. Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye, 11 October, 1848 (12 Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1264).

and commercial warehouses, discuss new farming techniques, mention new varieties of plants and trees, give details of new drugs and treatments, and announce plans for new barrages and bridges. It continued to be published after Ibrāhīm's death on 10 November, 1848; the last issue available is number 15 of 21 February, 1849 (28 Rabīᶜ al-Awwal, 1265).

Muḥammad ᶜAlī's forty-four year reign had seen the appearance of 18 newspapers or magazines. During his reign the number of Europeans had grown to about 10,000, with eleven of the papers published in European languages to inform this European population, and in the case of the government-supported European language papers to support the Pasha's foreign policy before the Consuls or in the countries of Europe. In the early years of the Pasha's reign, Italian was the first foreign language. Italians occupied many administrative posts, especially in the military schools.[1] The first European language paper was probably in Italian; the Polytechnic had published a weekly in Arabic and Italian, and the government had published a military journal in Italian. Apart from the indigenous Greeks, many of whom spoke a kind of Arabic, the Italians remained the largest community, numbering about 2,000 in 1840,[2] and it was probably this large audience that enabled Lo Spettatore Egiziano to establish itself as the major European language newspaper and the only one to endure longer than a few months.

But Italian lost ground to French; Italian works ceased to be translated into Arabic, as they had been in the first years of Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign. Italian officers and teachers were replaced by Frenchmen. Muḥammad ᶜAlī encouraged French influence in the professional and technical fields of education especially in the 1820s. A couple of hundred students went to

1. Fakkar, op. cit., pp.45-46.

2. Baer, op. cit., p.226.

Europe on educational missions, and many students learnt European languages to a lesser or greater degree. Muhammad ᶜAlī created a generation of young men many of whom looked towards European, especially French culture and way of life as their model and ideal.[1] A Dutch judge in the Mixed Courts, Van Bemmelin, remarked that "depuis Mohammad Aly la langue française a dominé en Egypte et le pays a été gouverné en arabe et en français; la presse européene y est française ..."[2] In the Pasha's reign there had been eight or nine periodicals in French, by far the most popular language used in the press. The half a dozen or so papers in Arabic and Turkish were all government publications with a limited distribution and a small potential readership. During the Pasha's reign and up to the 1860s there was no attempt to publish an independent Arabic and Turkish magazine or newspaper, since he and his two immediate successors were not men to tolerate the free expression of public opinion. ᶜAbbās I (1849-1854), Muhammad ᶜAlī's grandson and successor, unlike his grandfather knew Arabic as well as Turkish, but no new Arabic papers were published in his reign. In ᶜAbbās' reign, most of Muhammad ᶜAlī's cherished reform projects were neglected or abandoned,[3] though some major improvements were made in communications. ᶜAbbās seems to have been suspicious of the few Egyptian and Turco-Circassians in government service who had been trained in modern schools and on educational missions. The British Consul-General described him as "essentially a barbarian, opposed to knowledge, to commerce and to civilisation".[4]

1. Tājir, op. cit., p.17.

2. Un Ancien Juge Mixte (C. Van Bemmelin), L'Égypte et l'Europe (Leiden, 1882-1884), vol.1, p.

3. Dodwell, op. cit., p.241.

4. Letter from Bruce to Senior, dated 17 January, 1856, in Senior, N.W., Conversations and Journals in Egypt and Malta, (1855-1856), (London, 1882), vol.1, p.268.

The Vaḳā'iᶜ -i Miṣrīye continued to appear if somewhat irregularly. In 1268 (1851-1852) ᶜAbbās found that the paper was being distributed to illiterate members of his staff, such as Fayḍ Allāh Aghā, his cook, and Mūsā, the Jewish jester, simply because their salaries exceeded 1,000 piastres a month; he therefore ordered that its distribution be limited to his highest-ranking officers and officials.[1]

ᶜAbbās's reign was not a particularly auspicious one for European immigration, for he tried to stem the tide of western penetration. The American consul, De Leon, wrote of the Pasha, that "he loved nothing European, and would not even learn or speak any European language".[2] A couple of foreign language papers were issued in Alexandria, both in Italian: an artistic, literary and commercial paper in 1851, Il Nilo,[3] and an artistic, literary and political daily in 1852, Manifesto Giornaliero. The latter paper continued to appear in one form or another until 1874.[4]

Under ᶜAbbās's successor, Muḥammad Saᶜīd (1854-1863) there were still few Egyptians who knew how to read, and, as under his predecessor, education continued to be neglected. The status of the Arabic language however did improve. Saᶜīd dismissed the majority of Turkish employees in the lower ranks of his administration, and this process continued under Ismāᶜīl. In 1857 Saᶜīd made Arabic the official language in government departments, although this decision was only implemented gradually. In the 1850s and 1860s though there were revolutionary political groupings in Egypt particularly amongst the Italian exile community, there was no political activity amongst the Egyptians themselves. In March, 1856, the

1. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh al-Waqā'iᶜ, op. cit., pp.109-110.

2. De Leon, Edwin, Thirty Years of My Life on Three Continents, (London, 1890), p.140.

3. N.B. "La Presse en Égypte", Egyptian Gazette, no.536, 22 June, 1883.

4. "al-Jarā'id al-Miṣrīya", az-Zamān, no.128, 23 June, 1883.

Armenian engineer, Hekekyan, told Senior that there was no public opinion in Egypt.[1]

In the 1850s independent Arabic journals started to appear in Syria. American missionaries had pioneered western-style education amongst the Christian communities in the Lebanon. The archaic traditional education system was superseded by a modern system following western models. Students of American and Catholic missionaries in Syria were to play a leading role in the literary and journalistic fields in Egypt and Syria. In 1851 the American Protestant missionaries in Beirut published an annual review, Majmū^{c} Fawā'id li-Nukhbat Afāḍil[2] (A Collection of Beneficial Material for the Elite of Learned Men), covering religion, science, history and geography. These missionaries also inspired and ran the first modern Arab cultural society, al-Jam^{c}īya as-Sūrīya li-Iktisāb al-^{c}Ulūm wa'l-Funūn (The Syrian Society to Propagate the Arts and Sciences), founded in Beirut in 1847. In 1852 it brought out a bulletin, A^{c}māl al-Jam^{c}īya as-Sūrīya, edited by one of the first converts to Protestantism, Butrus al-Bustānī.[3]

The first newpaper published by a private individual was Mir'āt al-Aḥwāl (The Mirror of Events), established in October 1854 in Istanbul, the Ottoman capital, by a Christian, Rizq Allāh Ḥassūn from Aleppo.[4] Three years later in 1857 another Syrian Christian, Iskandar Shalhūb, founded another political paper in Istanbul, as-Salṭana (The Sultanate).[5] According to some sources the paper moved as a weekly to Cairo, although

1. Senior, op. cit., vol.2, p.209.

2. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.53.

3. Ibid., vol.1, pp.54-55.

4. Shaykhu, Luwīs, al-Ādāb al-^{c}Arabīya fi'l-Qarnat-Ṭāsi^{c} ^{c}Ashar, (Beirut, 1908-1926), vol.1, p.71.

5. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.55.

this is somewhat unlikely given the generally unfavourable political climate. Shalhūb is said to have been sent by the Turkish government to issue the paper in Cairo to remind the Egyptians of their obligations to the Caliph (the Sultan) and the Sublime Porte. The Porte wanted thus to respond to the independent pro-European stance of its vassal, Sa^{c}īd,[1] who had made various moves which may have offended the Turkish government. He had agreed to the Suez Canal concession without obtaining the agreement of the Porte. He had issued a decree making the Egyptian peasant owner of the land he cultivated, whereas previously the land had been the property of the ruler, and finally he had improved the status of Egyptians in the army vis-à-vis the Turkish military élite. Some writers believe it was the first paper in Egypt to criticise the Government and only survived for a few issues,[2] perhaps because Egypt lacked an educated reading public large enough to allow the paper to survive.[3]

The Vaḳā'i^{c} -i Miṣrīye also appeared irregularly under Sa^{c}īd, when ^{c}Alī Jawdat Effendi[4] and Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī[5] both served on its editorial staff.[6] From July, 1861 to August, 1862, publication was suspended while the Būlāq press was renovated.[7]

The Ottoman Government had tightened its control on the

1. Munier, Jules, La Presse en Égypte (1799-1900); Notes et Souvenirs, (Cairo, 1930), pp.1-2.

2. ^{c}Abduh, Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.61.

3. Ahmed-Bioud (op. cit., p.18) lists an agricultural journal, A^{c}māl ar-Riyy (Irrigation Works), published in Cairo in 1855, but no other source refers to this publication.

4. Ridwān, op. cit., p.174.

5. ad-Dusūqī (1811-1883) was an Azharite, who had been a corrector of medical works at Abū Za^{c}bal school, and then a teacher of Arabic and corrector of texts at the Polytechnique. See G.A.L., vol.II, p.629.

6. Galal, op. cit., p.60.

7. Ridwān, op. cit., p.169.

press through a Press Law (at-Tanẓīmāt aṣ-Ṣuḥufīya), issued on 6 January, 1857.[1] This law was applicable to all wilāyats, including Egypt, and in December 1857 the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs informed the consuls of the promulgation of the law. This law outlawed criticism of the government, and prevented the press from harming the good relations between the Sultanate and other states, insisting that editorials be shown or made known to a press department before publication. Presses could only be established and publications issued with the permission of the Sublime Porte. If the law were ignored, papers could be closed.

In January, 1859, al-Majlis al-Makhsūs (The Special Council) of the Egyptian Government issued a decree based on the Ottoman law, requiring publishers to submit an advance copy of their publications to the Ministry of the Interior (Dīwān ad-Dākhilīya) to check if a work was harmful to religion, to the interests of the Ottoman Empire and its people, or to foreign powers. Journals and newspapers could not be printed without a licence from the same ministry.[2] A Press Office (Maktab li'l-maṭbūᶜāt wa's-sihāfa) was set up.[3]

Saᶜīd's reign saw a sudden growth in the European language press. The abolition of the government monopoly over agricultural products led to an influx of Europeans eager to do trade, accompanied by a host of Syrian Christians and Maltese.[4] The bloody internecine disputes between the Christians and the Druze in the Lebanon in 1860 were probably a major contributory factor in encouraging emigration from there. Not all the Europeans were involved in productive

1. ᶜAbduh, ath-Iḥaqāfa, y.4, no.176 (12 May, 1942), p.15.

2. Ibid., pp.14-15.

3. Husayn, ᶜAbd Allāh, aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa wa'ṣ-Ṣuḥuf, (Cairo, 1948), p.171.

4. Ninet, John, "Origin of the National Party in Egypt", The Nineteenth Century, vol.XIII, no.71 (January, 1883), p.123.

employment; many ran "stalls, restaurants and gambling casinos and gin-mills (sic), dives, inns and whorehouses".[1] By 1862 and 1863, with a bouyant cotton market, the foreign population had risen to 33,000 and 43,000 respectively,[2] over six times the size it had been in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign. Work on the Suez Canal also provoked a huge immigration. As a result many Turks and Egyptians learnt European languages to communicate with or to interpret for the foreign community, whether officials, traders or workers, for few of these Europeans learnt Arabic or Turkish.[3] The Italian language became the lingua franca of many Egyptian religious minorities, such as the Jews, Coptic Catholics and the Armenians.[4]

On the impulse of Jomard, the last survivor of the French expedition's Institut d'Égypte, a new Institut Égyptien was founded in 1859 in Alexandria, under the patronage of the Viceroy.[5] It concerned itself with all fields of the arts and sciences, particularly those pertaining to Egypt: discussions of politics and religion were forbidden.[6] While the procès-verbal of meetings was in French, papers could be presented in any language. The foreign intellectual élite joined, figures like Dr. Clot Bey, Ferdinand de Lesseps, Prisse d'Avenne, and Conte Zizinia. There was still no society of savants solely for Arabic speakers, and many leading Egyptians became members: members of the Royal Family, political figures, like Sharīf Pasha, Nūbār Bey, and literati like Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ at-Ṭahṭāwī

1. Landes, David S., Bankers and Pashas, (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1979), p.89.

2. Ibid., pp.87-88.

3. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., p.158.

4. Biagini, Luigi, "La Lingua Italiana in Egitto", Calendario Nazionale della Societa Dante Alighieri, (Florence), nuova serie, no.30, (1904), p.10.

5. La Réforme, Le Livre d'Or, du Journal la Réforme (1895-1945), (Alexandria), p.5.

6. Sachot, Octave, Rapport Adressé a S.E. Monsieur Victor Duruy, Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, sur l'État des Sciences, des Lettres et de l'Instruction Publique en Égypte, dans la Population Indigene et dans la Population Européenne, (Paris, 1868), pp.49-50.

and Muḥammad Qadrī Bey. Khalīl al-Khūrī, editor of the Syrian newspaper, Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, founded 1858, was also a member.

The society published a quarterly bulletin, Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien,[1] with the comptes-rendus of its meetings. From 1862 it published a volume of Mémoires, containing papers read at the meetings. The Bulletin was one of the rare European language publications to publish contributions by Arab writers.

At the beginning of Ismā^{c}īl's reign (1863-1879) the Arabic press was moribund, while there were at least eight European language journals regularly appearing in Italian, French and Greek. In Sa^{c}īd's reign the European language press had become firmly established: there had been more newspaper activity in the nine years of his reign than there had ever been before in Egyptian history, and the papers that appeared endured longer than they had in previous reigns. Alexandria was now the established centre for the European press, and the hub of commercial activity.

Within a month of Ismā^{c}īl's accession, the official press was resuscitated. Ismā^{c}īl gave permission to ^{c}Abd ar-Raḥmān Rushdī Bey to publish the Turkish language edition of the official weekly gazette, Rūz-nāme Vaḳā'i^{c}-i Miṣrīye at the Būlāq press, which had been presented to ^{c}Abd ar-Raḥmān as a gift on 7 October, 1862. The official gazette had been suspended for some time. A separate Arabic edition of the paper may have been published at the same time.[2] The first issue appeared on Thursday, 15 Sha^{c}bān, 1279 (5 February, 1863).[3] The last issue published by ^{c}Abd ar-Raḥmān was on

1. Most foreign language periodicals are listed in Appendix A, and will not be referred to in the text.

2. Wādī an-Nīl, 23 April, 1869.

3. Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, no.257, 19 March, 1863, p.2.

6 January, 1865,[1] when the Būlāq press was returned to government hands. The Turkish edition was still appearing in 1880.[2]

Most of the early European language papers were devoted to commerce and the stock exchange, and inward and outward shipping movements. As regards politics, some of them concerned themselves with the Eastern Question, following the line taken by the newspapers of the state from which their owners originated, usually Italy or France. These early papers, mainly weeklies, were full of advertisements, with one or two articles. They were not really papers of opinion, as the circumstances of Egypt prevented free expression of opinion or comment. With Ismā^{c}īl's accession, the foreign journalists became bolder.

In 1863 a weekly literary, satirical paper, L'Argus, appeared in Alexandria;[3] rumour had it that François Bravay, the greatest parasite of Sa^{c}īd's regime, supported it out of envy of the new court favourite, the banker, Edward Dervieu. If a foreigner wanted to issue a paper, he wrote to his consulate seeking permission, the consulate in turn wrote to the Press Office. The matter was finally put to the Khedive to decide. The editors of this paper ignored this procedure, taking advantage of the standard period of administrative disarray which followed the succession to the throne. The paper (described as a "small blackmail journal"[4] and scandal sheet), made unfavourable remarks about Ismā^{c}īl's palace circle, and published other articles contrary to public order, as a result of which it was suppressed.[5] It continued to appear

1. Ridwān, op. cit., pp.184-185.
2. Ibid., p.208.
3. Le Courrier Égyptien, 9 April, 1881.
4. Auriant, L., François Bravay ou le "Nabab", (Paris, 1943), p.78.
5. Le Courrier Égyptien, 13 April, 1881.

clandestinely, so Ismā^{c}īl was forced to buy the paper to ensure that it ceased to appear. One of the collaborators on the paper was given permission to create a political journal, Le Phare.[1]

This was the first time that a newspaper had flouted the Khedive's authority, and it was perhaps because of this paper and criticism from the daily L'Égypte, founded 1862, that Sharīf Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs, sent a letter to the Consuls on October 7, 1863 organising press affairs on the lines of the Ottoman Press Law of 1857. Material had now to be submitted to a Press Office in the Foreign Ministry (Wizārat al-Khārijīya[2]); no foreigner could establish a press and publish a newspaper without getting special authorization from this Ministry.[3] A new Ottoman Press Law was promulgated on 1 January, 1865, strengthening the stipulations of the 1857 law. Under this, the director of a newspaper had to be an Ottoman citizen or foreigner aged over 30 enjoying full citizen's rights. A copy of this newspaper had to be given to the Press Department (Idārat al-Maṭbū'āt) before it was distributed. The law was equally applicable to foreigners and Ottoman citizens.[4] In 1863 a Mr. Berne applied to print a paper on the theatre and coffee houses, but the Khedive refused his request.[5]

In 1865 when the Būlāq press was back in government hands, there was a sudden surge of activity in the Arabic press. In the sixty years since Muḥammad ^{c}Alī had come to the

1. Le Courrier Egyptien, 16 April, 1881.

2. Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., p.146.

3. Fouad, Mahmoud, La Régime de la Presse en Égypte, (Paris, 1912), p.46.

4. Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., pp.148-149.

5. ^{c}Abdīn Ma^{c}īya Turkī, Daftar 1, p.61, 13 Ṣafar 1280 (30 July, 1863), quoted in Ḥamza, Gamal, Presse und offentliche Meinung in Ägypten, Untersuchung und Kritik uber Ursprung und Entwicklung bis zur ersten Revolution 1881/2, Phil.Diss., University of Vienna, 1963, p.79.

throne, not more than six Arabic papers had appeared, out of a total of at least forty-five periodical publications: Jurnāl al-Khudaywī (early 1820s), an Arabic/Italian paper (circa 1822), Vaḳā'i^{c}-i Miṣrīye (1828) in Arabic and Turkish and later in separate editions, al-Jarīda al-^{c}Askarīya (1833), al-Ḥawādith at-Tijārīya wa'l-I'lānāt al-Malakīya (1848) and as-Salṭana (1857).

Ismā^{c}īl may have been partly stimulated by the Arabic publishing activities in other parts of the world, when he took the initiative in re-establishing a vital and diverse Arabic press in Egypt. The Syrians now led the way with modern newspapers, very much on the lines of the best European papers. On January 1, 1858, a young Syrian journalist, Khalīl al-Khūrī (1836-1907), founded a weekly paper, Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār (Garden of News) in Beirut. The paper covered political, commercial, scientific, literary and historical matters, and very quickly won a wide circulation throughout the Arab world. It stood very much as a reformist paper, encouraging the foundation of schools, the expansion of agriculture, the revival of industry, and the improvement of education.[1]

A rival to Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār appeared in July, 1860, in Istanbul, al-Jawā'ib (Tidings from Afar), published by the Syrian, Aḥmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq. It soon became the leading Arabic publication with a large circulation throughout the Muslim world: by 1881 it was printing 15,000 copies, a circulation dwarfing that of all other Arabic newspapers.[2] Both papers were often quoted in the Egyptian press, and al-Jawā'ib in turn regularly reprinted articles from Egyptian papers, such as al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya and Wādī an-Nīl, founded in 1867. In the early 1860s there had been several other Arabic periodicals appearing in Beirut, and Arabic papers appeared

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.57.

2. L'Égypte, 3 May, 1881.

for the first time in Marseilles, Paris and Tunis. Sa^{c}īd Pasha had subsidised the Birjīs Bārīs (The Paris Jupiter), an Arabic paper in Paris in 1859, and Ismā^{c}īl was to subsidise Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār[1] and al-Jawā'ib [2] to defend Egypt's case.

In this climate of an expanding Arabic press overseas, Ismā^{c}īl's government brought out some new official periodicals. On 22 September, 1865, the first medical journal in the Middle East appeared, Ya^{c}sūb aṭ-Ṭibb (The Queen Bee of Medicine), in Cairo;[3] it was the first magazine in the Arabic language in Egypt. Financed by the government, and printed at Būlāq, the editor was a government doctor, Muḥammad ^{c}Alī al-Baqlī. He was assisted at first by a former editor of Vaḳā'i^{c}-i Miṣrīye, Shaykh Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī, a corrector of medical texts at the School of Medicine at al-Qaṣr al-^{c}Aynī.[4] The magazine was the organ of this School of Medicine and Pharmacy,[5] but it dealt with subjects in a way that could be understood by the ordinary reader as well as the specialist. Ad-Dusūqī and Aḥmad Nadā, a teacher at the school, translated articles written for the journal by foreign doctors serving in Egypt. The magazine was still appearing in 1870.[6]

A military journal was published shortly afterwards, perhaps also for pedagogical reasons. This was al-Jarīda al-^{c}Askārīya al-Miṣrīya (The Egyptian Military Gazette),

1. ^{c}Abduh, Ibrāhīm, "Sahm Miṣr fi'ṣ-Ṣiḥāfa ash-Sharqīya", ath-Thaqāfa, y.4, no.169, (24 March, 1942), p.14.

2. ^{c}Inān, Muḥammad, ^{c}Abd Allāh, "aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fī ^{c}Aṣr Ismā^{c}īl - Ḥaqā'iq wa-Dhikrīyāt Matwīya", al-Kātib al-Miṣrī, (Cairo), vol.5, no.18 (18 March, 1947), p.262.

3. Aḥmad, op. cit., p.394.

4. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.56.

5. Geiss, Albert, "Histoire de l'Imprimerie en Égypte, II. L'Établissement Typographique du Pacha, le début de l'Imprimerie de Boulaq", B.I.E., 5ème série, vol.II, (1908), p.219.

6. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.67.

published for the first time on Sunday, 22 October, 1865 (1 Jumādā al-Ākhira, 1282) at Būlāq. This monthly journal was published to keep officers, non-commissioned officers and pupils at the military schools[1] informed of developments in military science. Altogether three issues appeared, each of about thirty pages. Most of the articles were written by foreign military advisors and then translated into Arabic by ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd,[2] a translator in the Translation Bureau in the Ministry of Education (Dīwān al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya). In the last issue the translations were done by Muḥammad Qadrī.

Aḥmad Khayrī Bey, Ismāᶜīl's private secretary, suggested to the Khedive that he should support Sharīf Pasha, the Minister of the Interior and Foreign Affairs, in a new plan that he had for the official gazette; Ismāᶜīl agreed and charged Khayrī with carrying it out.[3] Ismāᶜīl sent a letter to the Minister of Finance (Nāẓir al-Mālīya), in which it was stated that "it is incontrovertible that newspapers have benefits and advantages for the people (ahālī) and the government, for this (reason) I want the paper, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya to become a highly esteemed newspaper".[4] The first issue of the paper in its new guise appeared on 25 November, 1865. Khayrī explained in an editorial that it was the paper's task to correct any mistakes, and counter attacks on the Egyptian Government that might be made by the local French

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.69.

2. Both Abū's-Suᶜūd and Qadrī were graduates of the School of Languages (Madrasat al-Alsun). Abū's-Suᶜūd (1820-1878) had mastered French and Italian: he later joined the staff of the school and worked in its Translation Bureau (az-Ziriklī, Khayr ad-Dīn, al-Aᶜlām, [Beirut 1979], vol.4, p.100). Qadrī (1821-1888) was of Turkish origin. He too worked as a translator at the school and in the Finance Ministry (Haykal, Muḥammad Ḥusayn, "Rijāl at-Taʾrīkh al-Ḥadīth fī Miṣr - Muḥammad Qadrī Bāshā", as-Siyāsa al-Usbūᶜīya, y.2, no.54, 19 March, 1927, p.10).

3. Aḥmad, op. cit., p.15.

4. ᶜAbduh, Taʾrīkh al-Waqā'iᶜ, op. cit., p.119.

paper, L'Égypte, or by European newspapers reporting on Egypt.[1] The French daily was highly critical of the Khedive in the early years of his reign.[2] It opposed Ismāʿīl's opinions, deprecated his projects, and warned foreigners of the Khedive's evil intentions towards them,[3] so that the Khedive was forced to defend himself in his own papers. L'Égypte's attacks continued, so in the end the Khedive was forced to buy the paper's favour.[4]

A new editor for al-Waqāʾiʿ was appointed, Shaykh Aḥmad b. ʿAbd ar-Raḥīm aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī,[5] who remained associated with the paper in one editorial capacity or another until October, 1880.[6] In 1866 Shaykh Muṣṭafā Salāma an-Najjārī was also appointed one of its editors; he and aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī alternated as chief editor for the next few years until an-Najjārī's death in February, 1870.[7]

The paper's price was reduced in October, 1866, from 120 piastres to 85 piastres a year, so that both the ruling classes (Khāṣṣ) and the ordinary people might benefit from reading it,[8] and it started to appear twice instead of once a week. There was a slight change of emphasis in its contents. With the creation of the assembly of delegates (majlis shūrā an-nuwwāb) in November, 1866, a consultative elected assembly of notables, the paper began to carry regular reports on its sessions, sometimes filling a page or more with the speeches.

1. Aḥmad, op. cit., pp.16-17.

2. Abul Naga, El Said Atia, Les Sources Françaises du Théâtre Égyptien, 1870-1939, (Algiers, 1972), p.66.

3. Abū'l-Layl, op. cit., p.146.

4. Ibid., pp.151-152.

5. Shaykh Aḥmad (1818-1885) was an Azharite, who had taught at Madrasat al-Alsun.

6. ʿAbduh, Taʾrīkh al-Waqāʾiʿ (1942), op. cit., p.121.

7. WM, no.346, 21 February, 1870.

8. Ibid., no.49, 18 October, 1866.

The paper appointed a correspondent in each district (iqlīm) and every town of importance.[1] Now under the aegis of the Ministry of Education (Dīwān al-Madāris) until 28 August, 1868,[2] it regularly reported on Egyptian education. News of school examinations were carried in detail. The graduation ceremonies after these examinations were attended by prominent political and literary figures, such as Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī, Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Laythī, as-Sayyid Ṣālih Majdī, and Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ at-Ṭahṭāwī. Speeches were made and poetry was read on such occasions.

The first independent Arabic newspaper appeared in Egypt in Cairo on Friday, 3 Rabīᶜ al-Awwal, 1284 (5 July, 1867), Wādī an-Nīl (The Nile Valley). A number of factors may have motivated Ismāᶜīl to encourage the foundation of this paper. The Khedive had experimented with a number of institutions to gain the support of the Egyptian people in his diplomatic struggle to win greater independence from Turkey, and this paper was perhaps another tool used by him. The paper's detractors said it was an official newspaper, since it was partly financed by the Khedive and used as a mouthpiece for his policies.[3] Its editor, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, remained a government employee, but it was not uncommon for private Arabic newspaper editors to retain their government and other posts,[4] because the small circulations and scanty advertising in these early newspapers did not generate enough income. Reporters in the provinces were often willing amateurs. It is also said that an article in a (local) French paper by a visiting French writer, censuring Egypt for its lack of newspapers, was brought to the Khedive's attention and that this led him to charge Abū's-Suᶜūd to found the paper.

1. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh al-Waqā'iᶜ (1942), op. cit., p.136.
2. Ibid., p.123.
3. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.69.
4. Galal, op. cit., p.60.

It was printed at the press of Abū's-Su^{c}ūd's son, Muḥammad Unsī. The paper at first appeared twice a week, but from about April 1871 it became a weekly. Just as the Syrian, Tunisian, Istanbul and French Arabic press circulated in Egypt, this paper was distributed throughout Egypt and the Arab world; indeed by 1869 it had its agents in Alexandria, Suez, Istanbul, Beirut, Mount Lebanon, Aleppo, Jaffa, Algiers, Tunis, Mosul, Baghdad and Aden. Many areas such as Palestine, Aden, and the Sudan did not have their own local newspapers in this period, so that they depended on Egypt and other centres for their news. Most of the leading Egyptian Arabic papers had their distributors throughout the Arabic speaking world, and contributions and correspondence, in poetry and prose, were received from Arab readers outside of Egypt.

The paper described itself as a "popular, Egyptian weekly newspaper" concerned with "political, scientific, literary and commercial" matters; by April 1869 this rubric was extended to include "industrial and agricultural news". It carried reports of foreign and local news, items on legislation, official promotions and appointments, other government announcements, railway timetables, news of new books, obituaries and advertisements. Like the official gazette, it paid particular attention to the popular sport of horse racing.

As to its literary contents, it announced it would include

> useful scientific material and literary anecdotes (nukāt), meaning by that everything which is clearly of general benefit, with no bad consequences, in prose or verse (manthūr wa-manẓūm) in all the arts, literature (ādāb) or sciences, taken directly from their sources or coming to us faithfully related by the authorities, from the established scholars amongst the ulema, from the admirable poets and men of knowledge educated in profound eulogies (madāyiḥ), the right requirements, seances (maqāmāt), and other parts and excerpts written about useful materials

and successive aims and the like.

Contributors were asked to send such scientific and literary material to the paper.[1]

Many of the items of local news were taken from al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, and from the local European language press, L'Égypte, Le Nil and the Manifesto Giornaliero. French, Italian and English papers were to remain a major source for the Arabic press and were now more widely read by the Egyptians themselves. There was a regular flow of newspapers from abroad; Wādī an-Nīl took its foreign news from the leading European papers, like Les Débats or from al-Jawā'ib, the Arabic paper printed in Istanbul. Lady Duff Gordon, an English traveller, wrote in 1866 that she got plenty of newspapers, like The Times and the Saturday Review.[2] These papers, however, took some time to reach Egyptian readers; in 1869 there was an English bookseller in Alexandria where copies of London penny newspapers, a fortnight old, were sold.

Foreign missionaries, local religious communities, and foreign individuals had opened schools, particularly in the 1860s, where foreign languages were taught. These schools accepted Egyptian pupils, in the main part Copts and Armenians, so that the number of Egyptians familiar with foreign languages grew. Foreign-language newspapers, both local and foreign, probably had numerous readers amongst the Arabic speaking population educated in these schools, in the state schools, or from those sent on missions abroad. Edwin De Leon, the American Consul-General, mentions that "the dīwāns (in the house of the Armenian engineer Hekekyan) were covered with English and French books and newspapers".[3]

1. Wādī an-Nīl, y.1, no.1, Friday 3 Rabīᶜ al-Awwal, 1284 (5 July, 1867).
2. Duff Gordon, Lady, Last Letters from Egypt, (London, 1875), p.68.
3. De Leon, op. cit., vol.1, p.176.

It is not known exactly when the paper ceased to appear. It seems that Wādī an-Nīl was suppressed in 1872 when it criticised the government.[1] Abū's-Su^{c}ūd was arrested and threatened with exile to the Sudan for publishing an article offensive to the Khedive, but he was reprieved and carried on publishing the paper;[2] it was still appearing[3] in October 1875.[4]

Another paper, partially in Arabic, appeared in 1868; this was La Fama (Fame) published in Italian, Greek, and Arabic by F. F. Oddi.[5] It must have been a fairly irregular and minor publication because it is not referred to by any of the other Egyptian papers consulted in this study. The most important paper to appear that year came out on July 4, 1868. This was a weekly revue, Le Progrès Égyptien, published in Alexandria.[6] This political, financial, commercial and literary paper[7] was one of the first newspapers to benefit from the relative freedom of the press under Ismā^{c}īl. It was perhaps the most serious journal of the period, and because of its independent policy it was regularly suspended by the government. It criticized Ismā^{c}īl and the Turkish ruling minority that surrounded him for oppressing the citizenry through excessive taxation and the corvée. It spoke against government treatment of foreigners, but it defended Egypt against Turkish interference.[8] It derided journalists bought over by the government, though it has been suggested that it

1. ar-Rāfi^{c}ī Bey, ^{c}Abd ar-Rahman, ^{c}Asr Ismā^{c}īl, (Cairo, 1932), vol.1, p.262.

2. Galal, op. cit, p.53.

3. ^{c}Īsā al-Ma'lūf believes it survived until Abū's-Su^{c}ūd's death in 1878 (an-Ni'ma, p.695).

4. al-Jawā'ib.

5. Bigiavi, Edoardo D., Noi e l'Egitto, (Livorno, 1911), p.117.

6. al-Jawā'ib, 28 July, 1868.

7. N.B., E.G., 22 June, 1883.

8. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.67.

was financed by Nūbār Pasha,[1] the Minister of Foreign Affairs. It had much to do with the sudden appearance of privately-run Arabic papers and the beginning of the expression of public discontent by the Egyptians themselves;[2] it was an ardent campaigner for an enlarged role for the press in Egypt. In its columns the paper acknowledged the growth of public opinion amongst the Egyptians:-

> Les Arabes (the Egyptians) ne sont plus aussi déstinteressés qu'on le croit de la politique. Ils se tiennent a l'affût des nouvelles qui arrivent de Constantinople, ils commentent, ils discutent l'affaire du conflit: en un mot l'opinion publique se forme chez l'Arabe.[3]

As a result of its activities, the paper was finally suppressed on 7 May, 1870, as were most European papers that dared to criticise the Khedive. By effort and expenditure, Ismā^{c}īl predominated over most of the foreign press. By putting pressure on the consuls, free use of money and rigorous application of the Ottoman press laws, he got the foreign press to yield to his power.

The magazines and newspapers founded in Syria in the late 1860s provided an invaluable training ground for many Syrian journalists who were later to emigrate to Egypt. The magazines issued in Beirut were ash-Sharika ash-Shahrīya (1866), A^{c}māl Sharikat Mār Manṣūr dī Būl (1867), A^{c}māl al-Jam^{c}īya as-Sūrīya (1868), al-Kanīsa al-Kāthūlīkīya (1869), its successor al-Bashīr (1870), az-Zahra (1870), an-Naḥla (1870), al-Mihmāz (1870), al-Majma^{c} al-Fātikānī (1870), and an-Najāḥ,

1. Ninet, John, Savoir, C'est Pouvoir. M. Nubar, Rèvélations Opportunes sur l'Imbroglio Égyptien, (Geneva, 1878-1879), p.29.

2. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., p.345; and Sabry, Muhammad, La Genèse de l'Esprit National Égyptien (1863-1882), (Paris, 1924), p.110.

3. Ibid., p.112.

with the sole newspaper, al-Janna (1870). Two of these were the organs of new charitable or cultural societies amongst the Arab community in Syria, such as the Catholic St. Vincent de Paul Society and al-Jamᶜīya al-ᶜIlmīya as-Sūrīya (The Syrian Scientific Society), which drew its membership from ministers, notables, and intellectuals from throughout Syria and from such centres as Alexandria, Cairo and Istanbul.

The most important of these magazines was the fortnightly al-Jinān (Paradise), founded in 1870 by Butrus al-Bustānī, an educationalist and founder of a short-lived paper, Nafīr Sūrīya in 1860. This periodical was at the forefront of the intellectual renaissance. Many of its occasional contributors, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, Adīb Isḥāq, Father Luwīs Ṣābūnjī, Salīm Taqlā, Salīm ᶜAnḥūrī, Khalīl al-Yāzijī, Amīn Nāṣīf, and Dimitrī Khlāṭ, were later to become journalists in Egypt. Both it and its sister newspaper, al-Janna, were given annual subsidies by Khedive Ismāᶜīl.[1]

The appearance of these Syrian magazines no doubt encouraged the issue of the first Egyptian pedagogic journal, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya (The Meadow of Egyptian Schools), on 15 Muḥarram, 1287 (16 April, 1870). This official magazine, printed on the Wādī an-Nīl press in Cairo, appeared twice every hijrī month. All employees of the ministry involved in its production, the Dīwān al-Madāris wa'l-Makātib al-Ahlīya (The Ministry of Schools and Popular Schools), if their salary exceeded 250 piastres a month, were required to purchase it. Enough copies were sent to each school for the teaching staff,[2] and the top three students at each state school got a free copy.[3] Copies were also sent to leading figures (aᶜyān, and

1. ᶜAbduh, ath-Thaqafa, y.4, no.169, 24 March, 1942, p.14.

2. Ḥasan, Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī, and ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz ad-Dasūqī, Rawḍat al-Madāris, Nash'atuhā wa-Ittijāhātuhā al-Adabīya wa'l-ᶜIlmīya, (Cairo, 1975), p.89.

3. Ibid., p.88.

wujūh) in the villages and provinces to be distributed by them. At first the total distribution was about 250 but it rose to 700.

In an editorial in the first issue, it was stated that the magazine (ṣaḥīfa) would be written "in a style (qalam), simple in expression, clearly stated, (using) eloquent (fasīha) words, but not strange (words), or (words) admired because of their difficult construction". It would include

> acceptable rhetorical expressions numbered amongst the approved styles, full of the perfection of education, (and arranged) in the most straightforward and just arrangement ... The expressions in it will not be too affected thus causing undue difficulty and dislike, as used to happen with the tongues of the desert Arabs, so that the public will not like it.

This editorial was written by ᶜAlī Fahmī, son of Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ at-Ṭahṭāwī, and teacher of composition at the Madrasat al-Idāra wa'l-Alsun (School of Administration and Languages). Fahmī was a member of the magazine's editorial council (majlis taḥrīr), with particular responsibility for writing about Cairo. This leading article listed other members of the council. ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak, the Minister of Education, was a member. Fahmī acknowledged Mubārak's role in creating the magazine and promised that "nothing will be included in it without his counsel": Mubārak was to write about the oceans. The council also included Ismāᶜīl Muṣṭafā al-Falakī, with responsibility for writing on the calendar and astronomy: ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī Bey who would cover the "Arabic sciences (al-ᶜulūm al-ᶜArabīya), the literary arts, quoting the styles of the Arabs in poetry (naẓm) and delightful prose, and citing proverbs and maxims, which would please the reader and listener": the German Brugsch Pasha, nāẓir of the madrasat al-lisān al-miṣrī al-qadīm (School for the Ancient Egyptian Language), responsible for ancient history: Muḥammad Qadrī, responsible for covering geography, morals, customs, beliefs and social

life: Muhammad Badr Effendi, responsible for anatomy: Ahmad Effendi Nadā, responsible for botany, and Shaykh ᶜUthmān Mudawwakh, responsible for "anecdotes (nawādir), funny stories (muḍḥikāt), puzzles, lampoons (ahājī) and jokes (nukāt)". Teachers at Madāris al-Malakīya (the Royal Schools) were to write on mathematics.

Later others were added to this council. From issue no.3, Mustafā Wahbī, sar kātib (chief clerk) to the shūrā an-nuwwāb al-miṣrīya (Egyptian Assembly of Delegates) and nāẓir al-aqlām al-ᶜarabīya (Director of the Arabic Bureaux) in the Ministry of the Interior, and Ismāᶜīl Bey Muhammad, nāẓir qalam al-handasa (Chief of the Engineering Department) in the Ministry of Public Works, joined the council, as did Muhammad Effendī ᶜUthmān (Jalāl), who was to contribute "some humorous material (fukāhāt) which would enchant the ear, and anecdotes (nawādir) which both one person and the crowd could enjoy".[1] From issue no.10, Shaykh Ḥassūna an-Nawāwī was added to the list of members.

In the preface to the second issue, it was announced that direction (nizāra) of the magazine was to be assigned to Rifāᶜa Bey Rāfiᶜ at-Tahtāwī, then nāzir (Head) of the Translation Bureau in the Ministry of Education. Mubārak gave his reasons for the choice:

> When Rifāᶜa Bey was nāẓir qalam at-tarjama in the Dīwān al-Madāris, he was one of the famous men of learning, recognised by everyone for the high level of his erudition. It is therefore right that we should put this journal under his administration, so that it can be graced with the valuable pearl of his knowledge...[2]

1. R.M., y.1, no.3, 15 Safar, 1287 (16 May, 1870).

2. Ibid., y.1, no.2, end Muharram, 1287 (1 May, 1870), p.2.

At-Tahṭāwī kept this post until his death in May, 1873. The issue dated the end of Rabīᶜ I, 1290 (28 May, 1873) was the last issue to bear his name as nāẓir. In the following issues no editor's name was given, until the end of Ramaḍān, 1290 (21 November, 1873) when his son ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī was listed as mudīr (director), nāẓir qalam ar-Rawḍa (Director of the Rawḍa Office), mubāshir at-tahrīr (managing editor) and nāẓir of school publications.[1]

Though there was a large editorial council, contributions were invited from anyone who felt able to contribute, from senior school students, from foreigners, "teachers, ulema and learned high-ranking officers ...".[2] Contributions were mainly from government employees, school teachers, students, and religious shaykhs from Cairo and the provinces. Sometimes contributions came from abroad. The head of the ulema in the Sudan, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Baṣīr made several contributions.[3] Sometimes there was a shortage of material; on 23 December, 1870, at-Tahṭāwī complained about the lack of contributions.[4] Articles were taken from other Arabic journals, the Syrian magazines al-Jinān and al-Muqtaṭaf, the Cairo Rawḍat al-Akhbār, the Syrian Thamarāt al-Funūn or the Istanbul al-Jawā'ib. This practice of taking items from other Arabic papers had become a common one in the Egyptian press, and usually due recognition was given to the source.

The magazine aimed to bring to state school students and the educated public information on all spheres of modern learning, both arts and sciences, through original articles and translations. It was not merely a magazine for school children, as most of the articles were obviously intended for a wider and

1. R.M., y.4, no.18, end Ramaḍān, 1290 (21 November, 1873).

2. Ibid., y.1, no.4, end Safar, 1287 (30 May, 1870).

3. Ibid., y.1, no.16, end Shaᶜbān, 1287 (23 November, 1870); and no.17, 15 Ramaḍān, 1287 (8 December, 1870).

4. Ibid., y.1, no.18, end Ramaḍān, 1287 (23 December, 1870).

more mature audience. In the sciences it covered medicine, nutrition, geology, geography, botany, agriculture, astronomy, meteorology, optics, mathematics and mechanics; in the arts and social sciences, history both ancient and modern, education, biographies, numismatics, linguistics, drawing, philosophy, ethics, Greek religion and Islam. It brought together scientific material in a simple language so that science was made available to the educated public. A regular feature were the puzzles (mas'ala), which were concerned with mathematics and engineering, and religious, literary and linguistic problems. These brain teasers were a common feature in the early Arab periodicals, like al-Jinān. Sometimes magazines printed answers to puzzles originally posed in another magazine. These puzzles and their solutions were often written in verse or saj^{c}. The literary contents of the journal, poetry, drama, maqāmas, short stories, will be discussed in a later chapter.

From the first issue, in addition to the sixteen or more pages of text, the magazine published many books as supplements (malāzim) at the end of each issue, in what was called "the book section" (qism al-kutub). These had their own title pages and were numbered separately from the magazine, so that they could be detached and bound as books. They often were published over several years of issues, and sometimes they remained incomplete, perhaps never finished by their authors or translators; further parts were promised but were never published. Often two or three supplements appeared in the same issue, so that the number of pages in the supplements were often more than those in the magazine. In later years there was very little in the magazine apart from these serials.

Since it was the organ of the Dīwān al-Madāris it carried from the beginning news and statistics about state and private schools, reports by educational missions,[1] results of

1. R.M., y.1, no.6, end Rabī^{c} I, 1287 (29 June, 1870).

examinations, reports of speeches made and other activities at examination time at schools throughout Egypt;[1] quite often members of the editorial staff were invited to these examinations. In 1871 at-Ṭahṭāwī was head of the examination held at the Asyūṭ School.[2]

The last issue appeared on 8 September, 1877.[3] It is not known why it ended so abruptly; no explanation is given in the magazine. It may have been another project to suffer from the financial constraints of the latter part of Ismāʿīl's reign. This issue was obviously not intended as the last; some of the serials were not complete and future parts had been promised. The magazine had lasted nearly eight years, making it the second longest running Arabic publication in Egypt after al-Waqāʾiʿ al-Miṣrīya.

Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya was the most ambitious magazine published up to then in the Arab world. It played a major role in transmitting knowledge from the West but it also had articles on the Islamic sciences. It helped to create a reading public amongst the young school students. It was not to find its equal in Egypt until the private magazines of the mid-1880s and 1890s, like al-Hilāl and al-Muqtaṭaf. With its open door policy on contributions it helped in the literary development of a number of authors and translators.

The magazine was an important part of the translation movement. Many of the contributions were translations, mainly from French. Some of the translations needed revision before publication, because the translators did not have enough grammatical and linguistic knowledge, since they were from the

1. R.M., y.1, no.15, 15 Shaʿbān, 1287 (9 November, 1870); and no.16, end Shaʿbān, 1287 (23 November, 1870).

2. Ibid., y.2, no.16, end Shaʿbān, 1288 (13 November, 1871); and y.3, no.16, end Shaʿbān, 1289 (1 November, 1872).

3. Ibid., y.8, no.16, end Shaʿbān, 1294 (8 September, 1877).

state schools, like Madrasat al-Alsun (School of Languages), not from seats of Arabic learning like al-Azhar or Dār al-ᶜUlūm, founded in 1872. Some of the translators such as ᶜAlī al-Fahmī,[1] Sālih Majdī, Mikhā'īl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid,[2] and Abū's-Suᶜūd,[3] had been outstanding students in these schools, and their work did not need revision. The translations were either taken from foreign language books, newspapers or magazines, like the Paris Journal Asiatique or were specially written by foreigners for inclusion in the magazine, like the articles of Tissot and Brugsch.

A weekly political newspaper was founded in Cairo on 12 August, 1870,[4] Nuzhat al-Afkār (The Entertainment of Thoughts). Its founder and editor was Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl.[5] It was printed at the press of as-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī[6] with a permit from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Dīwān al-Umūr al-Khārijīya). Like Wādī an-Nīl it dealt with politics, commerce, science and literature. In the literary sphere it was to "carry witty anecdotes (nukāt), agreeable articles (maqālāt), innovative strophes (adwār), new poetry, numerous recent translations and other useful things".[7] The

1. R.M., y.1, no.4, end Safar, 1287 (30 May, 1870); and y.5, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1291 (30 July, 1874).

2. Ibid., y.1, no.20, end Shawwāl, 1287 (21 January, 1871); and y.5, no.4, end Safar, 1291 (16 April, 1874).

3. Ibid., y.1, no.8, end Rabīᶜ II, 1287 (28 July, 1870); and y.3, no.3, 15 Safar, 1289 (23 April, 1872).

4. Tarrāzī (op. cit., vol.1, p.78) and others incorrectly give the date of its publication as 1869.

5. Jalāl (1828-1898) was the son of a Turkish official and an Egyptian mother. He studied in the Egyptian state schools, finally graduating from Madrasat al-Alsun, where he was a student of at-Tahtāwī. He knew Turkish, French, and English. He had several government posts as a translator, and was working in the War Ministry (Dīwān Nizārat ᶜUmūm al-Jihādīya) when he founded the paper. For further details on Jalāl, see Mubārak, ᶜAlī, al-Khitat at-Tawfīqīya al-Jadīda, (Cairo, 1304-1306), vol.17, pp.62-65.

6. Jurjī Zaydān (Tarājim Mashāhīr ash-Sharq fi'l-Qarn at-Tasiᶜ ᶜAshar, [Beirut, n.d.] vol. 2, p.140) and others give the impression that al-Muwaylihī was co-founder of the paper, but from the contemporary press reports it appears that he was merely the publisher.

7. Wādī an-Nīl, y.4, no.34, 16 August, 1870.

first number contained anecdotes (nawādir) and tales (ḥikāyāt).[1] The paper did not last long. When the second issue appeared criticising the army, the Khedive ordered its suppression on the advice of Jalāl's Minister, Shāhīn Pasha, who had warned him against the agitation that this inopportune publication could provoke in the minds of the Egyptians, thus leading to civil strife.[2]

The Wādī an-Nīl article about the appearance of Nuzhat al-Afkār gave the impression that there may have been a periodical publication issued by some Azharites, called al-Kurrāsa al-Azharīya (The Azhar Brochure). It recalled that "some of our masters (amongst) the present Azharite literati may renew al-Kurrāsa al-Azharīya; we still long for and look forward to its appearance".[3]

An interesting journal appeared on 21 May, 1870, in Cairo, called al-Munabbih at-Tijārī al-Miṣrī (The Egyptian Commercial Indicator). It was a twice weekly commercial and financial paper published in Italian with a translation in Egyptian colloquial. Though of no great import, it was probably the first paper to appear in colloquial Arabic. Wādī an-Nīl welcomed the appearance of a paper in colloquial, for

> even though its Arabic is not correct and not classical Ḥijāzī Arabic, it is not without benefit and elegance. Perhaps for this reason, the desire and demand for it will increase. Because it has been written in this way, it can be more easily understood by the merchants and the ordinary people, since most of them do not have an aptitude for Arabic. They are not accustomed to understanding literary considerations. Because it is written in this way, it is more suitable and more beneficial. The merchants, who want to know the prices quickly each week, have no need to take into consideration the

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.457, 21 August, 1870.
2. Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, p.140.
3. Wādī an-Nīl, 16 August, 1870.

> rules of rhetoric and good style. In any case there is no objection to this journal (jūrnāl) and similar ones that might appear, and there is no objection to some deviations (from classical Arabic) that appear in it. Upon my life it deserves every encouragement especially since what it contains (serves) the Egyptian commercial sector.[1]

Even though Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya and others were calling for a simpler language in the press, the editor of Wādī an-Nīl obviously had a very enlightened and pragmatic approach to the Arabic language, yet surprisingly the article, applauding the appearance of a paper in the colloquial, was written in saj^{c}.

Despite the appearance of two regular newspapers in Arabic, the average Egyptian remained ignorant of political affairs. The Egyptian correspondent of al-Jinān summed up the situation as follows:

> It is said that when a telegram arrived (in Egypt) reporting that Count Bismarck had returned to Berlin, someone said, "That Bismarck, what's he do?" When a telegram arrived on the peace treaty, a leading Egyptian remarked, "Yes there's peace, and people no longer need to worry about that 'liberty' (ḥurrīya) that's destroyed the world without wars." Another person said when the news came that ships were being allowed to enter the Black Sea, "Yes, what are those (ships) going to do when they get into the Black Sea?" That is enough to show how ignorant the people are who do not read the many books and newspapers printed and published by the Khedivial government.[2]

In May, 1871, al-Jawā'ib announced that an Egyptian, "who excelled in translation" (perhaps Muḥammad ^{c}Uthmān Jalāl or ^{c}Abd Allāh Abū's-Su^{c}ūd) planned to bring out shortly a twice-weekly Arabic paper in Cairo, called Miṣr; there is no

1. Wādī an-Nīl, 21 June, 1870.

2. al-Jinān, no.7, 1 April, 1871.

evidence that this paper appeared.[1]

If one discounts Iskandar Shalhūb's paper in the 1850s, the Syrian involvement in Egyptian journalism began in 1871 with Father Louis Ṣābūnjī.[2] Ṣābūnjī had brought out a weekly magazine, an-Naḥla (The Bee), in Beirut on 11 May, 1870. On 2 January, 1871, it combined with az-Zahra as an-Naḥla wa'z-Zahra (The Bee and the Flower), jointly published by Ṣābūnjī and Yūsuf ash-Shalfūn. This magazine was suspended because Ṣābūnjī would not refrain from attacking Butrus al-Bustānī, correcting mistakes he had made in al-Jinān and al-Janna, and because he referred to political and religious matters in the magazine without permission.[3] A week later another magazine, an-Najāḥ (Success) appeared published by both men as successor to the banned magazine. This in turn was suspended because of Ṣābūnjī's involvement.[4]

Ṣābūnjī issued a magazine in Cairo, an-Naḥla al-Ḥurra (The Free Bee), described as the thirty-second issue of an-Naḥla; the other thirty-one issues had appeared in Beirut from 11 May to 24 December, 1870. Ṣābūnjī left Syria in August 1871 to visit the Syrian Catholic community around the world,[5] and he probably issued the magazine while passing through Egypt on this trip.[6] Only one lithographed edition was "printed in a free country, when necessary, without a prescribed date, to correct what distortions al-Janna and al-Jinān (spread)

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.521, 24 May, 1871.

2. Ṣābūnjī (1838-1930) was a Catholic priest from Diyarbakir, now in South-Eastern Turkey. He became head of the Syrian Catholic community in Beirut. He held a number of teaching posts, and also taught the families of senior Ottoman officials. For further details, see Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.51-52 and 71-81.

3. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.47 and 49.

4. al-Jinān, no.3, 1 February, 1871.

5. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, p.72.

6. ʿAbduh (Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.259) gives the date of its appearance as 1870.

among men", thus continuing the attacks on these magazines, criticising Butrus al-Bustānī for factual mistakes he had made in articles on geography and astronomy.

Of the fifty odd periodicals that had appeared in Ismā^{c}īl's reign by the end of 1871 less than a dozen were still being published regularly, Rūz-nāme-i Vaḳā'i'-i Miṣrīye, L'Avvenire d'Egitto, al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, the Bolletino di Legislazione, Le Nil, La Publicité d'Égypte, Wādī an-Nīl, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, The Egyptian Messenger, Le Journal du Port Said, and the Imerinia Nea. Of the thirty-seven that appeared in his predecessors' reigns, only L'Égypte, O Kerdios Ermis, La Trombetta, the Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien and the Manifesto Giornaliero had survived. Most periodicals did not survive beyond a year or two; many only lasted a few weeks:-

> ... On y voit chaque année, paraître et disparaître une multitude de feuilles que, la plupart du temps ne tiennent pas leurs engagements, laissant leurs abonnés se dire, comme le corbeau de la fable, mais un peu tard, qu'on ne les y prendrait plus.[1]

A bi-lingual Arabic-French paper appeared in Cairo on 11 June, 1872, Journal Général de Publicité/Jurnāl li Kāffat al-I^{c}lānāt. The purpose of the paper was "to facilitate business between the Europeans and local people for the sale and rent of property and buildings". It was sent to Consulates, offices in Cairo and elsewhere, Pashas, Beys and merchants. Iskandar Fāris was in charge of the Arabic section. It was published in the press of G(iacomo?) Castelli in the Jewish quarter: the Castelli press was one of the most famous Arabic presses of the period in Cairo.

The first Syrian immigrant to become an established

1. Le Nil, no.39, 29 October, 1872.

figure in Egyptian journalism was Salīm Ḥamāwī,[1] a recent arrival from Damascus. There had been several thousand Greek Catholic emigrants from Syria living in Egypt, mainly in Cairo, since the 18th century,[2] but the bulk of the Syrian emigrants arrived in the mid-19th century to take advantage of the new economic opportunities under Saᶜīd and Ismāᶜīl. Before 1836 there were 3 to 4,000 Syrians in Egypt;[3] by 1868, though population figures are unreliable, there were 12,000 Syrians in Alexandria alone.[4] In Ismāᶜīl's reign, the Syrians proved useful in the reorganised administration, because of their knowledge of languages; Ismāᶜīl substituted Syrian and Maltese employees in public office for native Coptic Christians.[5]

By June 1873 Ḥamāwī was publishing a daily in Alexandria, Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār,[6] perhaps named after the famous Beirut paper. It is not known when exactly this paper was published or how long it lasted.[7] This was the first Arabic paper to appear in that city, and the first Arabic daily in Egypt. Most Syrian-published newspapers appeared there, because Alexandria, the commercial capital, was where the bulk of immigrants settled. By ᶜAbbās' reign the majority of foreign language papers were published in Alexandria. This was the

1. Ḥamāwī (1843-1913) was Greek Orthodox. He had contributed to Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya. For further details, see Shaykhū, Luwīs, Taᵓrīkh al-Ādāb al-ᶜArabīya fiᵓr-Rubᶜ al-Awwal min al-Qarn al-ᶜIshrīn, (Beirut, 1926), pp.70-71.

2. Forni, op. cit., vol.2, pp.258-259.

3. Jomard, Edme-François, Coup d'Oeil Impartial sur l'État Present de l'Égypte, Comparé à sa Situation Antérieure, (Paris, 1836), pp.40-41.

4. Sachot, op. cit., p.41*.

5. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, op. cit., p.125.

6. In what is probably a mistaken reference to this paper, Jurjī Zaydān (Taᵓrīkh Miṣr al-Ḥadīth, [Cairo, 1911], vol.II, p.220) makes a passing reference to a paper called Ḥadīqat al-Abṣār (The Garden of Vision); Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.3, p.8), quoting Zaydān says it probably appeared in Cairo after 1875.

7. Le Nil, 17 June, 1873.

situation until 1869, when Cairo and Alexandria started to vie with each other in the number of papers they supported.

Yet another official paper appeared in Cairo on 10 July, 1873[1] (15 Jumādā al-Ūlā, 1290), Jarīdat Arkān Ḥarb al-Jaysh al-Miṣrī (Journal of the Chief of Staff of the Egyptian Army). This was the organ of the newly-created General-Staff, intended for officers only. The chief editor (nāẓir at-taḥrīr) of this monthly was Mūrī Effendi, a major (bīkbāshī) on the General Staff, and articles were written by other officers of the Staff. The material was corrected by Shaykh Ḥasan at-Ṭawīl,[2] a corrector (muṣaḥḥiḥ) of texts in the Ministry of Defence (Dīwān al-Jihādīya). At-Ṭawīl was an Azharite, and his presence shows the continued importance of Azharites in maintaining the standard of the Arabic used in the press. Graduates of the state schools, such as the officers who translated articles for the magazine, were still not considered capable of writing a good Arabic style unaided. The purpose of the magazine was to report on contemporary military arts; it also contained news of military events in various parts of the world, stressing the role of the victorious Egyptian army in its various campaigns in the Arabian peninsula, Syria and Crete.[3] As an innovation it published in its supplements sketches of modern military equipment and maps of some of the battles. Much of the material was translated from French by officers of the General Staff, taken from military gazettes and other sources. The

1. Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.3, p.70) incorrectly gives 11 July, 1873, as the date of the first issue: ᶜAbduh (Jarīda, op. cit., p.14) is also mistaken when he gives 1874 as the first year of issue.

2. At-Ṭawīl (1840/1841-1899) was born in al-Minūfīya. He worked in a number of ministries and taught at Al-Azhar and Dār al-ᶜUlūm. A number of literary figures were his students, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, Ḥifnī Nāṣif, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī and Shaykh Aḥmad az-Zurqānī. For further biographical details, see Abū'l-Faḍl al-Īrānī, Mirzā, "Tarjamat al-Marḥūm ash-Shaykh Ḥasan aṭ-Ṭawīl", aḍ-Ḍiyā', y.1, 31 July, 1899, pt.22, pp.690-694; and Ṭaymūr, Aḥmad Pasha, Tarājim Aᶜyān al-Qarn ath-Thalith ᶜAshar wa-Awā'il ar-Rabiᶜ ᶜAshar, (Cairo, 1940), pp.120-129.

3. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.70.

Chief of Staff, the American General Stone, selected some of the items himself. It is not known when the magazine ceased to appear; it was still appearing in February, 1879.[1]

Ḥamawī and his brother, ᶜAbduh, brought out what was perhaps the successor to Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, on 6 August, 1873, the weekly al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī (The Eastern Star) on Ḥamawī's press of the same name in Alexandria.[2] In Alexandria it was to be distributed by hand by the administration of the paper to subscribers' private addresses; it would be sent elsewhere by post or it could be collected from agents.[3] Ḥamawī appointed agents (wukalā') throughout the Levant, where he hoped to win customers, in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Beirut, Damascus, and Aleppo, and further afield in Izmir, Istanbul, and Marseilles. Most Arabic newspapers had agents in these towns showing the widespread influence of the Egyptian press throughout Arabic speaking communities. There seems to have been a sizeable two-way traffic in periodicals between Beirut and Egypt; such Beirut papers as al-Jinān, al-Janna, Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, al-Bashīr and later al-Miṣbāḥ, al-Muqtaṭaf and Lisān al-Ḥāl circulated in Egypt.

The following anecdote will give some idea of the popularity of these early papers and the thirst for news amongst the literate. When al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī was issued, twenty Syrian residents of al-Maḥalla al-Kubrā in the delta got together and paid a franc each towards the annual subscription costs for one copy of the paper. When the paper appeared,

> they began to await the Friday of each week like those awaiting the new moon (heralding) a feast. When the train came and the post was distributed, the most senior member of the group stood at the

1. Moniteur Égyptien, 21 February, 1879.
2. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.48.
3. al-Jinān, 1 July, 1873.

> door of the post office, and the rest of the subscribers (stood) in a long line behind him. The last of them would call to (the head of the queue) in a loud voice, "Hasn't al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī come?" If the first (person) answered in the negative, the subscribers would shower the wretched al-Ḥamawī with insults and all kinds of reproaches.[1]

James Sanua tells how the Egyptians as well wanted to be kept in touch with European affairs after the Franco-Prussian war in 1870-1871. Since in the early 1870s Egypt had no political press, the Egyptians had to depend on the European press. At first, according to Sanua, Ismāʿīl forbade the publication of Arabic translations of telegrams from Europe, so students circulated handwritten versions of telegrams and articles from the European press.[2] Al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī was only given permission from the Foreign Ministry to appear as a commercial paper, but it printed items of a political and literary nature. An official (mihridār) of the Ministry wrote on 28 September to the Alexandria police telling them that the owner of the press should be warned not to print news of political matters (būlītīqīya wa-siyāsīya) in the paper. The letter mentioned that Ḥamawī had recently printed a supplement to the paper called Shuʿāʿ al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī (Rays of the Eastern Star), which was also beyond the bounds of the permit.[3] This was a daily supplement to the paper. It too contained literary and commercial material.[4] Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh,[5] who later became a leading figure in the Egyptian press, contributed to both these papers.[6]

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, pp.49-50.

2. de Baignières, Paul, L'Égypte Satirique, (Paris, 1886), p.14.

3. Daftar 1949, ghayr rasmī, p.5, no.17, dated 5 Shaʿbān, 1290, in Aḥmad, op. cit., pp.191-192.

4. Az-Zamān, no.127, 22 June; and no.131, 27 June, 1883.

5. Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh (1849/1850-1918) was born in Alexandria. He studied at al-Azhar, where he became a friend of a fellow student, ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm, one of the most important journalists of Tawfiq's reign.

6. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.64.

After a short time, both papers were finally closed by the government. The Khedive met Ḥamawī, at first congratulating him on his efforts, but then explaining to him that "since the situation in the country does not merit the distribution of Arab newspapers in it at the present time, I have decided to stop your two papers, even though (they haven't committed) any crime or offence meriting this punishment". The Khedive gave Ḥamawī a gift of £50 and undertook to pay him £20 a month, a handsome sum, from the Privy Purse as compensation.[1]

Muḥammad Unsī,[2] son of ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, published a newspaper in Cairo, Rawḍat al-Akhbār (The Meadow of News) in December, 1874,[3] to replace Wādī an-Nīl.[4] It appeared at first three times a week, then it changed to a a weekly. It is not known why it was felt necessary to issue this replica of Wādī an-Nīl under a new name: perhaps it was because the earlier paper had been circumscribed in its activities by the government. The paper received a large sum in government support, and defended Ismāᶜīl's policies. In a 1876 list of papers receiving help from the government (murattabāt al-jarānīl), it is the only Egyptian paper listed and was receiving £E277 for government subscriptions;[5] one hundred and eighty copies were distributed to ministries, and departments of state (maṣāliḥ al-mīrī) in 1291 (1874/1875).[6]

The paper dealt with politics, science, literature,

1. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.48.

2. Unsī (? -1303[1885/1886])had written articles for Wādī an-Nīl. In 1874 he was a teacher of languages in the Egyptian State schools. See WM, 23 September, 1874.

3. Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.3, p.15) wrongly gives its date of foundation as 1878. ᶜAbduh (Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.69) also gives an incorrect date, 1875.

4. al-Jawā'ib, 9 December, 1874.

5. ᶜInān, op. cit., p.262.

6. Aḥmad, op. cit., p.180.

agriculture, finance, education and commerce. The political section was edited by Abū's-Su^{c}ūd,[1] who had been Head of the Translation Bureau in the Ministry of Education since 1873. Since the early Arabic papers were often entirely written by the editor with one or two assistants, Rawḍat al-Akhbār depended heavily on other local and foreign newspapers for its news items. At first papers did not have foreign correspondents, and often not very many local correspondents. To encourage subscriptions in 1877, perhaps in the face of severe competition from the new Syrian-owned papers, al-Ahrām and Ṣadā al-Ahrām, the paper offered free a short book on the history of Egypt under Muḥammad ^{c}Alī to whoever started or renewed a year's subscription.[2] This was Abū's-Su^{c}ūd's Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh Miṣr bi-Muddat al-Marḥūm Muḥammad ^{c}Alī Bāshā (A Summary of the History of Egypt in the Period of the late Muḥammad ^{c}Alī Pasha), an urjūza (poem) in 10,000 verses published that year (1294/1877) by the Wādī an-Nīl press. It seems that such schemes failed to attract readers, for the paper ceased to appear in 1877 or 1878/1879.[3]

From the beginning of Ismā^{c}īl's reign, there had been several humorous and satirical journals in European languages in Egypt, La Frusta (1863), Le Nouvel Argus, Diogène and Le Djinn in Alexandria (1869), Le Crocodile in Cairo (1870), Il Giornale Umoristico, La Farfalla in Alexandria (1873), Le Thersite Galant, and Il Fanus Alexandrino in Alexandria (1874). Most of them existed for a short time, sometimes creating a furore before they were suppressed or disappeared. Several of them appeared without first obtaining government permission, on occasions continuing to appear clandestinely even after orders were given for them to close. Up to 1874 no Arab journalist had dared to imitate them.

1. Hasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., p.346.
2. Rawḍat al-Akhbār, y.3, no.47, 4 January, 1877.
3. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.15.

About 1874 for the first time an Egyptian writer brought out a satirical journal. The editor was the Jew, James Sanua (Ya^{c}qūb Ṣanū^{c}).[1] Since 1858 he had written a number of newspaper articles in Arabic, Italian, French and English. In the 1870s[2] after Sanua stopped his activities in the Arabic theatre, as will be discussed in a later chapter, he and a group of liberals translated into Arabic, copied and distributed articles and telegrams coming from Europe via the news agencies and European newspapers. These articles were distributed widely with the intention of revealing the truth about the Khedive's policies. The Khedive thought that this material would make it impossible for him to rule, and he stopped the distribution of these translations.[3]

Some time later Sanua contacted most of the newspapers being published and wrote many articles attacking the Khedive because he was fleecing the people and encouraging anti-European feeling. He also began making statements critical of Ismā^{c}īl at various societies he attended. The papers and societies were threatened with violence and suspension if they continued to give him a chance to air his views,[4] so Sanua lost his rostrum. He discovered that the Egyptian press would no longer publish his articles so he decided to publish his own papers at his own expense, in which he could deal at length with matters that interested him.[5] At the same time he managed to gain the protection of the Italian Consulate;[6] many Egyptian and Syrian journalists used foreign Consular protection to escape the worst excesses of the local laws.

1. Possibly spelt Ṣannū^{c}.

2. The chronology of his early journalistic activity in ^{c}Abduh (Abū Naẓẓāra, (Cairo, 1953), pp.35-40) is very unclear.

3. ^{c}Abduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.35.

4. Ibid., p.38.

5. Ibid., p.40.

6. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, op. cit., p.127.

According to the Swiss supporter of the Nationalists, John Ninet,

> his first public venture was an anonymous newspaper, or rather a lithographic sheet, in which under the guise of poetic concerts such as are congenial to Arab thought, he ventured to criticise the powers that were. These, distributed secretly from hand to hand, soon gained an immense circulation and were the foundation of what afterwards developed itself into a true native press. Some of these sheets were especially addressed to the fellahin, and were written in their own patois, an idea absolutely new to the Oriental mind, and one which had an extraordinary effect upon the popular imagination. During the last five years of Ismāʿīl's reign, there was hardly a donkey boy of Cairo, or of any of the provincial towns, who had not heard them read, if he could not read them himself: and in the villages I can testify to their influence, for I was myself a diligent colporteur of Sanua's lucubrations wherever I went. From these beginnings, the Young Egypt developed itself, the earliest national newspaper.[1]

This passage puts the date of the appearance of Sanua's first newspaper at about 1874. The paper seems to have appeared in Arabic, with some sheets written in colloquial. Sanua was making one of the first attempts, encouraged by Wādī an-Nīl some four years before, to reach a wider audience than that covered by the other Arab papers, whose style varied from the artificial and verbose to early attempts at simplifying literary Arabic, all probably in a language incomprehensible to the man in the street. In his Mémoires,[2] Sanua says he began his activities by publishing a humorous French paper called Le Mustiqueur[3] (sic), perhaps the paper referred to by Ninet. These early journals of his may have been multilingual,

1. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, op. cit., pp.127-128.

2. Mémoires, p.9, quoted in Gendzier, Irene, The Practical Visions of Yaʿqūb Sanūʿ, (Harvard, 1966), p.59.

3. ʿAbduh (Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.40) calls it La Moustique (The Mosquito), perhaps an attempt to correct Sanua's title, since the word mustiqueur does not exist.

not just in the language of the title.[1] Perhaps this paper was suppressed by the government for after it he founded another paper, L'Occhialino[2] (The Small Glasses), possibly the Italian weekly, Occhialetto, a reference to which appeared in the Cairo press in October, 1874.[3]

In the reigns of Muḥammad ʿAlī, ʿAbbās, Saʿīd and in the first decade of Ismāʿīl's reign, the Egyptian Arabic press had passed through a long gestation period. Muḥammad ʿAlī established the official Arabic press as a more or less permanent feature of the Egyptian scene, but with a tiny readership confined to the administration. Towards the end of his reign the European language press gained a permanent footing, after the appearance of many short-lived publications. Under ʿAbbās and Saʿīd the expansion of the European press continued unabated, but little or nothing happened to the Arabic press. The last year of Saʿīd's reign witnessed the emergence of a vital European language press. Ismāʿīl matched this by re-establishing the official Arabic press, neglected for many years, his most important act being the creation of an outstanding educational journal, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya. He also allowed the first independent Arabic papers to appear, but these were financed by the state, and owned by loyal government servants, so that they could hardly become free organs of public opinion. All later attempts to establish unbridled, critical journals, whether by Egyptians or Syrians, were nipped in the bud. The climate was only slowly being created for a truly independent press catering for an enlightened readership. There was now a readership; under Ismāʿīl the educational advances made in Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign were consolidated, and a sizeable literate public was formed of Egyptians and Syrian immigrants eager to learn all

1. Gendzier, op. cit., p.59.

2. ʿAbduh, Abū Nazzāra, op. cit., p.40.

3. La Finanza, 6 October, 1874.

they could of the world and its problems. The next step was to establish the newspapers.

CHAPTER III

THE EMERGENCE OF POLITICAL JOURNALISM

Up to 1876, Ismā^{c}īl had given mainly Egyptian state officials and literati, trained in western-orientated schools, the chance to express certain views publicly, and gradually to influence the formation of an embryonic public opinion solely on matters of import to the Khedive, the relationship of Egypt to the Ottoman Sultan,[1] and the position of the country in the face of increasing European financial control. Any papers that strayed beyond this remit were swiftly dealt with. The pre-1876 Arabic press publications such as al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, and the various medical and military magazines, were mostly the work of government departments, and the appearance and suppression of independent papers, such as Wādī an-Nīl, Nuzhat al-Afkār, and al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī, was at the whim of the government.

In his reign, there was a considerable expansion of educational opportunities, both public and private, and as a result an Egyptian bourgeoisie of doctors, lawyers, teachers, officers, civil servants, and other professionals, began to be formed: it was amongst this group that the first national sentiment was expressed, and from it was formed a readership for the Arabic press.

Muḥammad ^{c}Abduh, editor of al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya in 1880 describes the development of public opinion in Egypt as

1. Ismā^{c}īl obtained various constitutional concessions from the Ottoman Sultan. In 1866 he got a firman from the Sultan limiting accession to the Egyptian throne to his direct descendants, in 1867 he got the title of Khedive, and other firmans in 1872 and 1873 enlarged his autonomy.

follows:-

> The Egyptian people before 1293 (1876-1877) believed that the management of both public and private affairs was the prerogative of their supreme ruler or his deputy who could do as he wished ... Nobody believed he had the right to express his opinion on the administration of the country or had the will to advance a work for the good of the country.

According to ᶜAbduh, though Egyptians went to Europe and elsewhere in the time of Muḥammad ᶜAlī, they did not benefit from their travels or the knowledge gained.[1] Though the opening of state schools under Muḥammad ᶜAlī increased the number of potential readers, the readership of the occasional journal published was confined to reluctant government officials.

In 1866 Ismāᶜīl had set up a facade of constitutionalism to win sympathy and loans from France and Britain. With the proceeds he carried out many major public and private projects, thousands of miles of irrigation canals were dug, land reclaimed, the Suez Canal was completed, the length of the railways was quadrupled, the telegraph system was considerably extended, a post office was set up, and he added large areas to Egyptian territorial acquisitions in black Africa. But by 1876, Egypt was deeply in debt. Up to 1875 the Assembly of Delegates had been controlled by the Khedive, but in 1876 it began to criticize the government's financial policy. In November of that year the Khedive was forced to appoint British and French controllers over Egyptian finances, after Egypt had defaulted on loans floated abroad. Their appointment acted as a catalyst for local animosity to foreigners and foreign involvement in Egypt.

1. ᶜAbduh, Muḥammad, "Asbāb al-Ḥawādith al-ᶜUrābīya", in Riḍā, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Rashid, Taʾrīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām ash-Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, (Cairo, 1931-1948), vol.1, p.36.

The year 1876 was to be the most active up to then in the history of the Egyptian press, with twenty-two new periodicals. By 1877 there were about 90,000 Europeans in Egypt, three times as many as the early 1860s, and their press activity had increased at the same rate. There were 25,000 Europeans in Cairo, and 50,000 in the commercial capital, Alexandria, thus explaining that city's preponderant role as the major centre for the European press. There were 40,000 Greeks, 15,000 French, 16,000 Italians, 7,000 Britons, 7,000 Austro-Hungarians, and 1,500 Germans. Most of the foreign trade and banking was in their hands; the best paid citizens were Europeans.[1] Foreign languages were particularly useful in the post office, railways, Mixed Tribunals, commercial establishments, banks, etc.[2]

Many Egyptians would have been more at home reading the European language press, for numerous members of the ruling class were unfamiliar with Arabic. Ismā^{c}īl himself usually conversed in French, though he knew Turkish, Persian and Arabic. The Armenian Christian Nūbār Pasha, Minister of Foreign Affairs in the 1860s, never learned to speak Arabic properly, instead he spoke French. French was the second language of the administration after Arabic. Correspondence between European and Egyptian ministers and high officials was invariably in French. French was the principal language of the Mixed Tribunals, with Italian and Arabic, the Intendance Sanitaire (1830-1939), La Caisse Étrangere de la Dette Publique (1876-1940), the Société Égyptienne d'Agriculture, (1880-), the Société Khédiviale de Géographie d'Egypte (1875-) and the Institut Égyptien (1859-).[3] It vied with Italian as the lingua franca of the foreign community. In 1875 there were 65 schools teaching French, 46 English, 35 Italian, 28 Turkish,

1. McCoan, James C., Egypt as It Is, (London, 1877), pp.35-36.
2. Tājir, op. cit., p.81.
3. Luthi, op. cit., p.100[210].

12 German and Coptic, and 8 Greek. Italian, Greek and American schools all taught French.

The popularity of the French language explains the dominant position of the French language press, vis-a-vis the Greek and Italian press. Though Egyptians and Syrians read the local European-language press, they only rarely contributed to it, nearly all the articles in the foreign language papers were written by members of the foreign community in Egypt, either the editors themselves, or amateur correspondents. But the Arabic press was wide open to French influence,[1] many French general and literary works were translated in the Arabic press in such publications as Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, and al-Ahrām. Some Egyptian and Syrian journalists, such as Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, Rifāᶜa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, Salīm and Bishāra Taqlā, and Adīb Isḥāq, had been nourished in French culture.

Salīm Taqlā[2] emigrated to Egypt in 1874 from Syria;[3] an Ottoman subject could reside in any territory under the jurisdiction of the Sultan. Financial reasons seem to have played the major part in his decision. Most emigrants left Syria because its backward economy could not absorb all the students the schools there were training.[4] Some writers suggest that he fled Ottoman censorship seeking an outlet for his

1. For a discussion of this subject, see Fakkar, Rouchdi, Aux Origines des Relations Culturelles Contemporaires entre la France et le Monde Arabe, Paris, 1973.

2. Salīm Taqlā (1849-1892) was a Catholic Melchite, born in Kafr Shimā, Lebanon. He studied at the American school in ᶜAbayh and then in Buṭrus al-Bustānī's National School (al-madrasa al-waṭanīya) in Beirut. He also studied and later taught at the Patriarchal School (al-madrasa al-batriyarkīya). In Beirut he had made occasional contributions to the local press, to az-Zahra, and Aᶜmāl Sharikat Mār Manṣūr dī Būl. For further biographical details, see Shaykhū, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, pp.149-151; and Niqūlā, Yūsuf, Aᶜlām min al-Iskandarīya, (Alexandria, 1969), pp.446-453.

3. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1951), op. cit., p.3.

4. "Abnā Sūriya fī Miṣr wa'l-Mufīd", Thamarāt al-Funūn, no.375, April 3, 1882, p.1, quoted in Cioeta, Thamarāt al-Funūn, Syria's First Islamic Newspaper, 1875-1908, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Chicago, 1979, p.197.

journalistic talents where press restraints were milder,[1] but this was not a period of severe censorship in Syria.[2] Indeed, a number of new journals had appeared in Beirut, a successful bi-weekly at-Taqaddum (1874), Ṣābūnjī's an-Naḥla al-Fatīya (1874), the important Muslim newspaper Thamarāt al-Funūn (1875), and the famous magazine, al-Muqtaṭaf (1876).

He applied for and received permission to found a press and paper in Alexandria; all Egyptians and other Arabs had to present their request to publish a paper to the Press Department (qalam al-maṭbūᶜāt) of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (niẓārat al-khārijīya), which in turn sought the permission of the Khedive. The paper was to "contain telegrams, commercial, scientific, agricultural and local material". He also intended to publish

> some books, like Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī,[3] and also (items) connected with morphology, grammar, lexicography, medicine, mathematics, historical subjects, maxims, anecdotes (nawādir), poetry, literary stories (qiṣaṣ) and similar material suitable for publication ... without entering into poltical matters at all.[4]

On receiving permission in December, 1875, Salīm immediately sent for his brother, Bishāra,[5] to come to Egypt and help produce the paper. After several months' preparation, on July 15, 1876, they issued a two-page pilot edition of

1. Kitchen, Helen A., "Al-Ahram. The Times of the Arab World", The Middle East Journal, vol.IV, 1950, p.156.

2. Cioeta, op. cit., pp.188 and 287.

3. This was a very popular classical work. It had been published at Būlāq, 1266 (1849/1850), 1272 (1855/1856), 1277 (1860/1861), 1288 (1871-1872) in a lithographic edition, Cairo, 1277 (1860/1861), at the Castelli press, Cairo, 1277 (1860/1861), and in Beirut 1874 (Sarkīs, Yūsuf Ilyān, Muᶜjam al-Maṭbūᶜāt al-ᶜArabīya wa'l-Muᶜarraba, [Cairo, 1928], vol.1, pp.749-750).

4. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1964), p.23.

5. Bishāra Taqlā (1856-1901) studied at ᶜAyn Ṭūrā and at the Patriarchal School in Beirut. He later taught at the former school before entering commerce. For further biographical details, see Cheikho, Ta'rīkh, op. cit., p.20.

al-Ahrām,[1] calling it a "political, scientific and commercial newspaper (jarīda)". In this Salīm said that "mankind could achieve (the purpose of) glory by three means; schools, theatres (qāᶜāt li't-tamthīl) and newspapers",[2] all of them fields in which Salīm had been active. The paper hoped to sell copies in Syria, Iraq, Turkey, Europe, Algeria, Tunisia, Zanzibar and as far afield as Bombay and Calcutta. It was to appear as a weekly, but would change to a daily when it had sufficient subscribers.[3] The first issue appeared on Saturday, 5 August, with four pages, the average size for an Arabic newspaper at this time.

Salīm and his brother worked strenuously to make the paper a success:

> I used to spend day and night working physically and mentally (on the paper). I used to edit it, manage it, supervise its operation and write out the names of its subscribers. I undertook most of the tasks, which would be done now by ten workers.[4]

Salīm wrote the internal political and general articles, while Bishāra translated material from foreign newspapers, proof-read it, and ran the administration.[5] Bishāra did his best to reduce the cost of production, by going to coffee-houses to read the foreign newspapers freely available there, from which he translated news items.[6] Prospective readers were sent copies of the first issue in the hope that they would take up a subscription;[7] this was a common ploy used to gain readers.

1. For further details, see ᶜAbduh, Ibrāhīm, Jarīdat al-Ahrām. Ta'rīkh wa-Fann, 1875-1964, Cairo, 1964.

2. Ibid., p.28.

3. Ibid., p.30.

4. Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, p.124.

5. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda, op.cit., p.40.

6. Taqlā, Jibrā'il Bishāra, Bishāra Taqlā Bāshā, 1853-1901, (Cairo, 1902), pp.5-6.

7. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda, op. cit., p.32.

Bishāra spent many a morning trying to get subscriptions, but with little success.[1] Unlike Wādī an-Nīl and Rawḍat al-Akhbār, the paper received no state subvention [2] though at first it was loyal to the ruling dynasty, and it could not rely on advertising revenue.[3]

For the first couple of years, the paper dealt with non-contentious internal news. The political articles were taken from journals free of extremism and acceptable to the Government, like the Levant Herald and al-Jawā'ib of Istanbul and the local Le Phare d'Alexandrie, Moniteur Égyptien, and al-Waqā'i[C] al-Miṣrīya.[4] The paper at an early stage took a patriotic stance on Egyptian politics. It criticized the over-employment of foreigners in government posts, instead of Arabs, and said that Egyptians were being impoverished to the benefit of foreigners through excessive taxes and debts. It supported the movement for press freedom, and called for constitutional reform, the creation of a representative assembly, and the establishment of a responsible ministry.[5]

Soon after the appearance of Al-Ahrām, the Taqlā brothers issued a daily commercial and political paper, Ṣadā al-Ahrām[6] (Echo of the Pyramids), in Alexandria; copies of a pilot edition were distributed with issue number 6 of al-Ahrām on 9 September, 1876. This second paper was published in order to bring readers news more quickly than the weekly

1. Taqlā, op. cit., p.31.

2. [C]Abduh, Jarīda, op. cit., p.38.

3. Tagher, Jacques, "La Naissance et le Developpement du Journal 'Al-Ahram'", C.H.E., vol.4, fascs.3-4, October 1952, p.237.

4. [C]Abduh, Jarīda, op. cit., pp.125-126.

5. Ibid., pp.55-58.

6. Ṭarrāzī gives two conflicting foundation dates, 3 September, 1876 (op. cit., vol.3, p.51) and 1877 (ibid., vol.4, p.215). [C]Abduh (Jarīda [1951], op. cit., p.72) believes the first issue probably appeared on 10 October, 1876.

paper. They printed 4,000 copies of the first edition, which were distributed to the cream of Egyptian society.[1] The paper covered the same range of subjects as the weekly with the emphasis on commerical items, including stock exchange reports, prices of goods at the port of Alexandria, and exchange rates in London and Paris. The paper published the latest despatches from the Havas and Reuters Telegraphic agencies in Egypt, and was able to distribute its copies to the Beirut public, at least a day before the Beirut press was able to carry the same news; there were no agencies in Beirut. The paper thus won a large readership in that city.[2]

Muḥammad ᶜAbduh saw the Russo-Turkish war of April, 1877 - February, 1878 as the turning point in the history of the Egyptian press, and the development of public opinion. More Arabic newspapers appeared that year than had ever come out before in the history of the Egyptian press. This war was the first major overseas event concerning Egyptians. Egypt was still under Turkish sovereignty and Egyptian troops were fighting on the Ottoman side, so Egyptians were anxious to know what was happening in the war. There was competition between papers to report on the war;[3] news of the war dominated all other news. Papers were allowed the freedom to support either side, though the population at large sided with Turkey, because it was the only power active in protecting the Islamic world. By the end of the year there was a comparatively large number of papers in relation to the small size of the readership, and this phenomenon has characterized the Arabic press ever since.

1. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1951), op. cit., pp.70, and 73.

2. Cioeta, op. cit., p.113.

3. Riḍā, op. cit., vol.1, p.37.

The first paper to appear to cover the war was a daily, Ḥaqīqat al-Akhbār (The Truth of News), which appeared in Cairo on 26 April, 1877.[1] It was published by a Syrian, Anīs Khlāṭ.[2] It later became a weekly with a daily supplement containing telegrams from Reuters and Havas.[3] Sometimes in order to bring news quickly to its readers it appeared more than once a day.[4] Half of the subscription cost was to be given to a fund to help the Ottoman wounded.[5] The articles and news items were preoccupied with the war: it rarely dealt with local news. The paper strongly supported the Ottoman side in the dispute. Khlāṭ was helped financially by Mansūr Pasha Yakan, a member of the Khedival family, perhaps as part of a government campaign in support of the war. A number of Egyptian and Syrian writers wrote for the paper, such as Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, and Niqūlā Tūmā.[6] It finally stopped appearing in its third year, when Khlāṭ got a government post as a translator in the Dīwān at-Taftīsh (inspectorate).[7]

In May a weekly humorous journal came out in Cairo, ash-Shāṭir al-Kaslān wa'n-Nāᶜim al-Yaqẓān (The Clever Idler and the Alert Sleeper);[8] nothing is known about it beyond these bare details. It seems to have been a satirical paper, and probably suffered the same fate as others of that ilk, that is it was suppressed quickly.

1. Rawḍat al-Akhbār, 3 May, 1877.

2. ᶜAbduh (Jarīda [1951], op. cit., p.81) says the paper was published by Dār al-Ahrām in 1878, but since this latter press was in Alexandria, it seems more probable that the owners of al-Ahrām were merely the paper's agents in Alexandria.

3. al-Ahrām, 14 July, 1877.

4. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.54.

5. al-Ahrām, 14 July, 1877.

6. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.9.

7. Ahmad, op. cit., p.43.

8. La Finanza, no.102, 4 May, 1877.

After the war flared up, the number of political telegrams increased so considerably that al-Ahrām and Ṣadā al-Ahrām were unable to absorb the flood. The owners of al-Ahrām therefore decided to publish the most important telegrams, after translation, in a small separate journal. It was distributed three times a day to government departments, and commercial concerns interested.[1] The publication appeared without a title, but with the device of al-Ahrām. Similar publications were being distributed by other publishers;[2] that of Ḥaqīqat al-Akhbār has been referred to above. A second paper called Nuzhat al-Afkār appeared on Saturday, 19 May, 1877 (6 Jumādā I, 1294) in Cairo. The paper, very similar to Ḥaqīqat al-Akhbār, gave no indication of its editor's name. It was to appear twice daily, except on Friday and Sunday.[3]

Apart from the Russo-Turkish war, the other main motivating factor in the growth of the press in 1877 was the presence in Egypt[4] of Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī,[5] the great pan-Islamic reformer. Al-Afghānī had been in Egypt since 1871, after a brief stay in 1869: he was persuaded to stay by a prominent Egyptian politician, Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ, who arranged for him to be paid a monthly salary by the government.[6] Students

1. Ahmad, op. cit., pp.260-261.

2. Al-Ahrām, no.41, 11 May, 1877, in Ahmad, op. cit., p.261.

3. Rawḍat al-Akhbār, y.4, no.19, 23 May, 1877, in Ahmad, op. cit., pp.390-391.

4. For a detailed study of al-Afghānī in Egypt, see Kudsi-Zadeh, Abdullah Albert, The Legacy of Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī in Egypt, Ph.D. Thesis, Indiana University, 1968.

5. al-Afghānī (1838-1897) was born in Persia. He travelled widely in India, Afghanistan and elsewhere, and was often involved in political life. In Istanbul, he was given various posts and became noted for his views on social, and educational reforms. He gave lectures on grammar, science, philosophy and religion. He was finally expelled in March 1871 on a charge of heterodoxy for a lecture he gave at Dār al-Funūn (College of Arts), and proceeded to Egypt.

6. ᶜAbduh, Shaykh Muḥammad, "Tarjamat Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī", al-Jāmiᶜa (New York), y.5, no.3, (1 August, 1906), p.126.

came to study in his house such subjects as fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), kalām (theology), astronomy and Sufism;[1] he also read to them works translated into Arabic from European languages. In two coffee houses in al-Azbakīya, Qahwat al-Busta (The Post Office Coffee House) and Matātyā,[2] he formed a circle, including ulema, poets, writers, doctors, lawyers, engineers, scientists, civil servants and politicians. Political figures like Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, Mustāfā Riyād, Ahmad Khayrī Pasha, and ᶜAbd as-Salām al-Muwaylihī went to hear him, as did many Muslims, Jews and Christians, who later became leading journalists and writers, such as ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, ᶜAbd al-Karīm Salmān, Mīkhā'īl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid, Saᶜd Zaghlūl, Muhammad ᶜAbduh, Ibrāhīm al-Hilbāwī, Hifnī Nāsif, Shaykh Ahmad az-Zurqānī, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, Yaᶜqub Sanūᶜ, Salīm an-Naqqāsh, the Taqlās, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, Salīm ᶜAnhūrī, and Adīb Ishāq. Almost all the leading journalists of the period attended his majlis. Within this circle, he used to discuss political issues. He spoke on freedom and tyranny; he defended parliamentary life. He called for the unity of the East in order to guarantee its dependence.[3] These were all matters of vital import to his audience. Al-Afghānī was also active in freemasonry, as were a number of his followers.

Al-Afghānī urged some of these disciples to write articles calling for social, religious and moral reform, advocating a patriotic resurgence against European imperialism. Before his influence was felt amongst journalists, there were few men of letters capable of writing well on different subjects: Muhammad ᶜAbduh mentions only ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, Khayrī Pasha,

1. Gendzier, op. cit., p.28.

2. Hamza, ᶜAbd al-Latīf, Adab al-Maqāla aṣ-Ṣuhufīya fī Miṣr (Cairo, 1964), vol.1, p.28; and Keddie, Nikki R., Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī", (Berkeley, 1972), p.84.

3. Kudsi-Zadeh, op. cit., pp.110-111.

Muhammad Pasha Sayyid Ahmad, and Mustāfā Wahbī Pasha.[1] ᶜAbduh noted how al-Afghānī

> prompted his students to write and compare moral (adabī), aphoristic, and religious articles, so they worked under his supervision and distinguished themselves. Through his efforts, the art of writing advanced in Egypt ... Ten years ago (i.e. in the 1870s) they were unrivalled writers in Egypt, most of them young men, but shaykhs (masters) of their craft: there was not one of them who had not learnt from him, or from one of his students, or who did not imitate those connected with him.[2]

The first paper to be founded at al-Afghānī's suggestion was Miṣr (Egypt), founded by the Damascene Adīb Isḥāq.[3] Isḥāq had come to Egypt at the invitation of his friend and fellow Syrian, Salīm an-Naqqāsh, to help run a theatrical troupe: their theatrical activities will be discussed in a later chapter. He left the troupe and founded this weekly newspaper in Cairo on 2 July, 1877.[4] The paper was started on the intercession of al-Afghānī, and no doubt with his financial help, since Isḥāq was penniless.[5] It was a political, commercial, scientific, literary and industrial paper, published at the press of Mustāfā Effendī Wahbī.[6] Like other Syrian

1. Of these only ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī's writings survive. Muṣṭafā Wahbī is presumably founder of the famous press bearing his name.

2. ᶜAbduh, al-Jāmiᶜa, op. cit., pp.126-127.

3. Isḥāq (1856-1884) was a young Armenian Catholic from Damascus. His family moved to Beirut, where he worked in the post office and customs. In that city he quickly established himself in cultural societies, and intellectual circles, amongst literati and poets. He wrote articles for al-Jinān and al-Misbāḥ magazines. He became a journalist on and later editor of at-Taqaddum, and was one of the first contributors to Thamarāt al-Funūn. For a detailed study of him, see Nājī ᶜAllūsh, Adīb Isḥāq - al-Kitābāt as-Siyāsīya wa'l-Ijtimāᶜīya, Beirut, 1978.

4. Naqqāsh was not involved in the paper when it first appeared, as ᶜAttāra (op. cit., p.258) implies.

5. ᶜAnḥūrī, Salīm, Sihr Hārūt, (Damascus, 1885), pp.179-180; and Isḥāq, Adīb, ad-Durar wa-Hiya Muntakhabāt Adīb Isḥāq Jamaᶜahā Shaqīquhu ᶜAwnī al-Ḥaqq. (Beirut, 1909), p.7.

6. It was not printed on his own press in Bāb ash-Shaᶜrīya, as was stated by ᶜAnḥūrī, op. cit., pp.179-180.

papers published in Egypt, it carried regular items of news from correspondents in Beirut, Damascus, and other parts of the Levant. It too was full of reports on the Russo-Turkish war, in which it supported the Ottomans.[1]

Ishāq in this paper, and the daily at-Tijāra, published May, 1878, attacked Khedive Ismā^{c}īl's policies that were leading to foreign intervention. He defended Egyptians against foreign capitulations. He spoke of the continued interference of Britain in Egypt's affairs and criticized the increasing number of foreigners in government departments. He contrasted Egypt's political awareness with the freedoms allowed citizens of certain European countries, and spoke of the political movements in Europe, such as the socialists and the nihilists.[2] Apart from Ishāq, one of the earliest contributors to the paper was al-Afghānī's leading disciple, Shaykh Muhammad ^{c}Abduh. Al-Afghānī himself wrote several articles in the paper on politics and education, under the pseudonym of Muzhir b. Waddāh. Until these articles were published al-Afghānī was little known to the masses; when his ideas and those of his followers appeared in the paper, he became well-known and his influence increased.[3] Other contributors, also disciples of al-Afghānī, were Sa^{c}d Zaghlūl, ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm, and Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī. Dr. Shiblī Shumayyil, the Syrian Darwinian, also wrote for the paper. The paper also carried some of al-Afghānī's and an-Nadīm's speeches.

In papers like Miṣr, Arabic newspapers for the first time expressed the opposition of certain prominent Egyptians to the policies of the Khedive. The opposition press began in 1877, embittered by the growing power of European intervention. At first the papers published news of the political and social

1. Hamza, op. cit., vol.2, p.30.
2. Yūsuf, op. cit., p.461.
3. ^{c}Anhūrī, op. cit., p.180.

affairs of other nations, and then they turned to talk of Egypt's financial problems. Al-Afghānī induced those intellectuals and writers, who attended his majlis

> to edit and write scientific and literary articles on different subjects, so long as they did not go beyond the reform of ideas and the teaching of morals. The writers and pens competed to do that, and intellectual freedom began to appear in the papers, to such an extent that the (outside) observer would believe he was in an imaginary world, not in the earth of corruption (khabāl),

thus wrote ᶜAbduh. "Anyone who looks at numbers of Miṣr, at-Tijāra, Mir'āt ash-Sharq, al-Ahrām and Ṣadā al-Ahrām will see the truth of what we say".[1]

A weekly newspaper was started in October, 1877, in Alexandria, al-Kashshāf[2] (The Discoverer) by Ibrāhīm Effendi Nazmī:[3] since nothing further was heard about it, it must be assumed that it had a short life. About a month later on 17 November, 1877, the first newspaper founded by Copts, al-Waṭan[4] (The Homeland), saw the light of day. It was a political, commercial, literary weekly. Its director was Jirjis Effendī Mīlād, and its editor Mikhā'īl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid,[5] one of al-Afghānī's circle. The paper was founded with the encouragement of al-Afghānī.[6] It was printed at al-Maṭbaᶜa

1. ᶜAbduh, Muḥammad, in Riḍā, vol.1, p.38.

2. According to the Egyptian Gazette (21 June, 1883) and az-Zamān (no.131, 27 June, 1883), it first appeared in Cairo in 1881: there may have been another paper of the same name.

3. Miṣr, 16 October, 1877.

4. E.I. (2nd edition, vol.II, p.466) gives "about 1878" as its date of establishment.

5. Mikhā'īl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid (1854-1914), a Coptic Egyptian, studied at the Coptic school, and the American school; he also attended classes at al-Azhar. For further information on him, see az-Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.7, p.337.

6. al-Qabbānī, ᶜAbd al-ᶜAlīm, Nash'at aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-ᶜArabīya bi'l-Iskandarīya, 1873-1882, (Cairo, 1973), p.47.

al-Waṭanīya (Patriotic Press) in Cairo, which had been imported by the Coptic Patriarch, Kyrillos IV. It was very much a one-man show; for a long time Mikhā'īl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid wrote, corrected and published it, ran the administration and organised the distribution, because his co-workers left him in the lurch over poor pay.[1] While running the paper, he gave a regular Arabic course at the American school in the morning, and an English course at the Coptic school in the evening. He also ran a farm, a flour mill at al-Fayyūm, managed property in Cairo, and let lands in al-Maṭarīya.[2]

Al-Waṭan was one of the first papers to regularly receive articles from the Egyptian provinces; it had correspondents in provincial towns such as Asyūṭ, Rosetta, al-Mansūra, and Zagazig. It filled its pages with news of the war, but unlike most other papers, it took the side of the Russians in the Russo-Turkish war. In common with other Arabic papers it spoke of the greed of the Europeans, and drew attention to the malevolent intentions of the British towards Egypt. It attacked absolutist government, which it said made the ruler the enemy of the people, and stimulated foreign interference. It supported a true parliamentary system in order to impose a rule of order and justice. In line with this it called on the Egyptian Assembly to assert itself and assume responsibility for taxation, insist on ministerial responsibility, and levy taxes on foreigners.

A number of legal journals had appeared with the creation of the Mixed Tribunals in 1876. One of these, L'Égypte Judiciaire (founded 1876) in Alexandria, changed its title to the Journal Official des Tribunaux, carrying legal announcements for the Court of Appeal and the Mixed

1. Galal, op. cit., p.56.
2. Ibid., p.56[13].

Tribunals. It was published in French, Italian and Arabic.[1]

Assuming that on average four readers read each copy of a daily paper, it has been calculated that 33,724 persons benefited each day from the daily press (the European language press):[2] with an average of six readers for each twice weekly, a figure of 6,474 is given for the readership of each issue: given a figure of eight readers for weeklies, a readership of 5,098 is given for each issue.[3] When it is realised that these figures are for the total population of Egypt, both Egyptians and foreigners, it is clear that the total readership of Arabic newspapers and magazines was quite small. Galal has concluded that the average circulation of Arabic papers ranged from 1,000 to 2,000,[4] giving a total readership per paper of 8,000 to 16,000 using the above calculations, as most were weeklies. As has already been mentioned, subscribers shared copies and copies were often passed from hand to hand in coffee houses. Papers were expensively produced on hand presses thus limiting sales. Income depended on sales if the paper received no subventions, so prices were very high, about one piastre a copy. Sales were usually by firm annual or six-monthly subscriptions, the price being reduced the longer the subscription.[5] In the 1870s newspapers were sold on the streets as well.

1. Ministère de l'Interieur - Bureau de la Statistique, Essai de Statistique Generale de l'Égypte, (Cairo, 1879), vol.II, pp.260-261; and E.G., 20 June, 1883.

2. Compared with a daily distribution of 120,000 copies for the Daily Telegraph in 1871 (al-Jawā'ib, no.561, 29 November, 1871).

3. Ministère, op. cit., vol.II, p.261.

4. ᶜAbduh, (Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.51) gives a lower figure of 500 to 600. Assuming a price per copy of ½ piastre, without advertisements, this would have brought in a total income of £E2.50 (500 copies) to £E10 (2,000 copies) per edition.

5. Galal, op. cit., pp.74-75.

By 8 February, 1878, Miṣr had moved to Alexandria, where it was printed on Maṭbaᶜat Jarīdat Miṣr[1] (Miṣr Press). It moved there, because Alexandria was thought to be a better centre for gathering overseas news. There Isḥāq shared the editorial tasks with Salīm an-Naqqāsh[2] at the suggestion of al-Afghānī.[3] Cairo subscribers received their copies by post. High pressure salesmanship was used to increase distribution. An issue was sent to prospective subscribers, and unless it was returned to the press the recipient was considered a regular subscriber. It was planned to issue a daily supplement from 18 February, free to subscribers, containing the latest telegrams. A more extensive 4-page daily supplement with political and commercial telegrams, internal news, commodity prices, and shipping news was to be available on subscription.[4] Finally a weekly supplement containing telegrams was to be sent to country subscribers.[5]

By the end of 1876, Bishāra Taqlā had sought permission to publish a fortnightly magazine, called al-Manāra (The Lighthouse) to appear in addition to the weekly al-Ahrām and the daily Ṣadā al-Ahrām. It was to appear in Alexandria, carrying commercial, industrial, agricultural, medical, chemical and other news. In February, 1878, the police in Alexandria were informed that permission had been granted, provided that it did not publish political items. On 15 February, 1878, al-Ahrām announced that it would soon publish a pilot edition,

1. Miṣr, no.30, 8 February, 1878.

2. Salīm an-Naqqāsh (? -1884) was a Christian from Beirut. At school he had studied French and Italian. He, like Isḥāq, had worked in the customs in Beirut. Before forming and bringing a theatrical troupe to Egypt in 1876 he had made occasional contributions to the Lebanese press, to an-Najāḥ and az-Zahra for example. For further biographical details, see Yūsuf, op. cit., pp.464-469.

3. Ridā, op. cit., vol.1, p.45.

4. Miṣr, no.31, 15 February, 1878.

5. Ibid., no.33, 1 March, 1878.

but it seems that this magazine never appeared.[1]

Since Sanua's journalistic activities in 1874, he had been reconciled with Khedive Ismāʿīl. Thanks to the intervention of Ahmad Khayrī Pasha, Ismāʿīl's private secretary and Sanua's friend, Sanua had become a habitué of ʿAbdīn palace. Sanua goes so far as to claim that he became the court poet, as well as giving lessons to the children of Cabinet ministers in French and English.[2] This reconciliation may not have lasted long before he again criticised the Khedive. In 1878 he followed the advice of friends close to the palace and checked his opposition to the Khedive,[3] so that he was able to resume his publishing activities. Early in March, 1878, he brought out in Cairo a multi-lingual paper, Le Bavard Égyptien[4] (The Egyptian Gossip). This came out in eight languages, presumably including Arabic and French. The paper had a large circulation amongst all sections of the population, but was eventually suppressed because it attacked the government.[5]

On March 25, 1878[6] (21 Rabīʿ al-Awwal, 1295), Sanua published in Cairo an illustrated satirical paper in Arabic, Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqāʾ (The Man with Blue Glasses). According to some sources it was originally brought out as a joint venture with Sanua's mentor, Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, and Muhammad ʿAbduh.[7] Sanua had had contacts with al-Afghānī since the

1. ʿAbduh, Jarīda (1964), op. cit., p.92.

2. ʿAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., pp.36-37.

3. Ibid., p.40.

4. La Finanza, no.59, 10/11 March, 1878.

5. ʿAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.40.

6. Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.2, p.283 and vol.3, p.8), de Baignières (op. cit., p.15), and Gendzier (op. cit., p.60) all incorrectly give the date of its foundation as March 21, 1877. ʿAbduh (Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.44) reproduces the first page of the first issue giving its actual date of publication. La Finanza (29 March, 1878) also confirms that it had just appeared.

7. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, p.283.

early 1870s[1] and in his profession as teacher of "eastern and western languages" he is said to have taught both ᶜAbduh and al-Afghānī French. In his Mémoires, Sanua, while admitting the involvement of al-Afghānī, credits Ahmad ᶜUrābī, ᶜAlī Fahmī and ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀl al-Hilmī, later leaders of the military party in the ᶜUrābī revolt, with advising him to create a liberal revolutionary journal to awaken people from their lethargic state.[2] Sanua ended up running it himself, writing most of the articles, and acting as administrator, illustrator and vendor, although some articles were written, often anonymously, by ᶜAbduh, al-Afghānī and ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm.[3] According to Wilfred Scawen Blunt it first appeared in manuscript, and was later lithographed.[4] It was supposed to appear thrice weekly, but in fact came out irregularly: al-Ahrām described it as a weekly.[5]

In the first issue Sanua explained that people were tired of current events, so he had decided to "publish a paper referring to events in a way that would rid souls of their misery and free them from what fatigued them", by dealing with serious matters in a humorous way, on the lines of the English Punch, or the French Charivari and the Italian Fanfulla. He promised that the paper

> would not use this humour to oppose religion, nor (to broach) national politics. We will confine ourselves to what might gladden hearts, publishing polite literature (adabīyat) and witty pieces connected with

1. Gendzier, op. cit., p.29.

2. de Baignières, op. cit., pp.98-99.

3. "Mashāhīr al-Mutakhkhirīn Ash-Shaykh Abū Nazzāra", al-Ikhā', (Cairo), no.3, June, 1924, p.154.

4. Blunt, William Scawen, Gordon at Khartoum, Being a Personal Narrative of Events, (London, 1912), p.46.

5. al-Ahrām, no.88, 5 April, 1878.

> this homeland of ours, what impresses its people, and what the eloquent amongst them relate anywhere, either in our country or abroad ... We will tell, translated into classical Arabic, all European stories (ḥikāyāt) and anecdotes, reporting all that happens in those countries, written by newspaper proprietors and authors of literary and witty works (laṭā'if) to refresh the spirits. (We will also report) the political events of foreign countries.[1]

The journal was described as a "paper of jokes (fukāhāt), entertaining (musalliyāt), and comical material (muḍḥikāt)".[2] In the first issue Sanua appealed to readers to contribute "tales (ḥikāyāt) and witty stories (akhbār), containing puns (nukāt) and useful and beautiful rhetorical expressions (maᶜānī)", but little was sent.[3] He also promised to publish cartoons (taṣwīr):[4] drawings had only previously been published for final page adverts in the Arabic press. Another pioneering feature was that it was largely written in colloquial, no doubt to gain as wide a readership as possible, although there were from time to time articles written in sajᶜ.

Despite his promise not to mention domestic affairs, the paper devoted its columns almost exclusively to criticism of the government on local matters. It seems that it started with mild satire, for the Khedive is said to have found it amusing, but then it began to attack Ismāᶜīl's tyrannical rule.[5] "Horrible innuendoes (were) conveyed in the" paper against the Khedive's honour and honesty.[6] It accused the Khedive and his senior

1. ᶜAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., pp.43-45.

2. Ibid., p.44; and al-Ahrām, no.88, 5 April, 1878.

3. Ahmad, op. cit., p.215.

4. ᶜAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.45.

5. de Baignières, op. cit., pp.98-99; and Blunt, Gordon, op. cit., p.46.

6. Anonymous, Egypt for the Egyptians. A Retrospect and a Prospect, (London, 1880), p.70.

administrators of extorting huge sums from his unfortunate population.[1] It also satirized the Sultan, and hailed the champion of the Khedive's critics, Ismā^{c}īl's rival for the throne, his uncle Prince Ḥalīm.[2] Sanua also tried to counter unnecessary anti-European feeling[3] provoked by the financial crisis.

The government issued an order suppressing the paper, but he continued to bring it out. Such was the impact of the paper, that Sanua was threatened with assassination or poisoning unless he closed it.[4] Readers too were threatened with arrest or fines if found with a copy.[5] Sanua claimed that the British Consul drew the Khedive's attention to the paper's pro-French and anglophobe articles, and persuaded him to get rid of Sanua by any means.[6] The Khedive was enraged by the paper, and after less than two months the paper was suppressed after only fifteen issues[7] had appeared.[8] The last issue appeared on Saturday, 18 May (16 Jumādā al-Ūlā, 1295).[9] Several attempts were made on Sanua's life from May onwards:[10] many of Ismā^{c}īl's opponents had been dispatched on the Khedive's command. According to Ninet, Sanua was finally arrested and exiled on 30 June, 1878, for ridiculing the

1. Jerrold, Blanchard, (ed.), Egypt under Ismail Pasha, (London, 1879), pp.228-229.

2. Gendzier, op. cit., p.61.

3. de Baignières, op. cit., pp.98-99.

4. Ibid., p.15; and Gendzier, op. cit., p.63.

5. de Baignières, op. cit., p.15; and Jerrold, op. cit., p.223.

6. Sanua, Mémoires, in ^{c}Abduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.57.

7. The four original issues, used by Aḥmad, were not available for consultation. According to him, these differ completely from the MS copies located by Ibrāhīm ^{c}Abduh with Sanua's daughter in Paris. The MS version has additional material and cartoons not in the printed original; there are no cartoons in the printed version (Aḥmad, op. cit., pp.215-216). The copy of the MSS made by ^{c}Abduh has disappeared from Cairo University Library.

8. La Finanza, 19/20 May, 1878.

9. ^{c}Abduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.55.

10. Sanua, Mémoires, from ^{c}Abduh, ibid., p.57.

court and for his plays;[1] though since his theatrical activity had ended some years before this is not likely to have been a significant factor. A number of officers and students who had collaborated with him were put in prison.[2] Sanua made his way to Paris.

Various figures have been given for his paper's circulation. Sanua claimed it sold about 2,000 copies of each issue,[3] while most papers at that time had a distribution of no more than 500 to 700.[4] With his love of hyperbole, Sanua subsequently upped this figure to an unbelievable total distribution for all fifteen copies of 250,000.[5] Blanchard Jerrold gave a grossly exaggerated figure of 50,000 for the weekly distribution,[6] while the editor of the Paris Illustration quotes the same figure as the total sales for all the issues,[7] giving a distribution of 3,300 copies per issue, perhaps nearer the truth. The paper was indeed popular; La Finanza confirms that the first issue had to be reprinted to meet demand.[8] Blunt remarked that it had considerable popularity "among the people of the streets",[9] while Jerrold noted that it was read "in every barrack, in every Government office. In every town and village it was read with the liveliest delight. Its use of the colloquial and cartoons probably meant that it had a much broader appeal than the other Arab papers".[10] Its popularity in the countryside is attested elsewhere:

1. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, op. cit., p.128.
2. de Baignières, op. cit., p.15; and La Finanza, 19/20 May, 1878.
3. Abū Nazzāra Zarqā', no.6, 28 April, 1878, quoted in ᶜAbduh, Abū Nazzāra, op. cit., p.52.
4. ᶜAbduh, ibid., p.51.
5. de Baignières, op. cit., pp.98-99.
6. Jerrold, op. cit., p.220.
7. Martin, Illustration (Paris), quoted in de Baignières, op. cit., p.15.
8. La Finanza, 29 March, 1878.
9. Blunt, Gordon, op. cit., p.46.
10. Jerrold, op. cit., p.219.

> The fellah was so burdened with taxes, many of them illegal, collected by ferocious tax-gatherers, that even his patient spirit had rebelled at last, and he learned to listen with delight to the satire of the Abou Naddarah.[1]

Salīm an-Naqqāsh and Adīb Isḥāq founded a daily paper in Alexandria on 14 May, 1878, at-Tijāra (Commerce), to complement their weekly, Miṣr. It appeared five days a week: there were no issues on the religious days, Friday and Sunday. An-Naqqāsh was director and editor, and Isḥāq the responsible editor. Al-Afghānī again helped them to get the concession, and they got financial help from Jibrā'il Mukhalla[c] and Ḥunayn Khūrī, both leading members of the Syrian community in Alexandria.[2] Readers were encouraged to subscribe to both papers at a reduced rate. Contributions to the paper were written by al-Afghānī and his disciples, [c]Abduh, an-Nadīm, and al-Laqqānī.[3] A regular series of articles in the spring of 1879, on representational parliamentary government, was written by Dr. Shiblī Shumayyil's brother, Amīn.[4]

Both this paper and Miṣr adopted a strong nationalist viewpoint.[5] It criticized the Egyptian government for its dependence on foreigners in government employment.[6] When in August, 1878, Nūbār Pasha formed the first Cabinet in Egyptian history with himself as the first Prime Minister, it attacked the

1. Jerrold, op. cit., p.107.

2. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.55; and [c]Anḥūrī, op. cit., p.180.

3. [c]Anḥūrī, op. cit., p.180; and Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, pp.54-55.

4. The Shumayyils, Amīn (1828-1897) and Shiblī (1850-1917) were Greek Catholics from the same village as the Taqlās and the Yazijīs, Kafr Shimā in Mount Lebanon. Amīn was a merchant in Kafr ash-Shaykh in Egypt. His articles were later published separately as an-Niẓām ash-Shūrī, Alexandria, 1879. For further biographical details on Amīn, see Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, pp.157-159; and Dāghir, Maṣādir, op. cit., vol.2, pt.1, pp.494-496.

5. Galal, op. cit., p.57.

6. Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.12.

presence of two European Ministers, the Englishman, Sir Rivers Wilson for Finance, and the Frenchman, de Blignières for Public Works, when they were later added to this Ministry. The paper also complained that the foreign language press was given a much freer rein than the Arabic press. In the early 1870s it had been the European language press that had been checked by the government, since at that stage the Arabic press was firmly in the government's hands. In the late 1870s as independent Arabic papers appeared they bore the brunt of government measures to stifle the press, probably because the government feared the effect these papers would have in stirring up the local populace: Abū Nazzāra Zarqā' was the first paper to be closed in this way.

Muhammad Unsī, editor of Rawḍat al-Akhbār, got permission in May, 1878, to change the paper's name to an-Nīl, and for it to appear twice a week.[1] It is not known if any issues of this paper appeared at this time. On 23 September of that year, he published a French edition of the paper in Cairo, Le Nil. This was the first French language periodical brought out by an Egyptian and a clear indication of how conversant some of the better educated Egyptians were with the French language. This French weekly was to have a twice weekly edition in Arabic. The French paper was a political, literary and financial paper;[2] it only lasted about a year until October, 1879.[3]

On 11 July, 1878, Salīm Ḥamawī brought out his second weekly paper in Alexandria, al-Iskandarīya (Alexandria), again with the help of his brother, ᶜAbduh.[4] It carried political, commercial, and scientific news; it published witty

1. Miṣr, 31 May, 1878.
2. Ṣadā al-Ahrām, 24 September, 1878; and E.G., 22 June, 1883.
3. La Finanza, 24 October, 1879.
4. Miṣr, 12 July, 1878.

works (laṭā'if), and prose and poetic anecdotes (mulaḥ) that were sent to it. It was to have a daily supplement with the latest telegrams.[1] Unlike many of the other new publications in Arabic, it supported the government and the Khedival family.[2]

This year saw the birth of an Egyptian press in exile, for Sanua started what became a series of papers in Paris soon after his arrival there. There had of course been earlier Arabic papers outside the Arab world edited by Syrian emigrés in Istanbul, Paris, Marseilles, and London.

Sanua brought out in Paris the following satirical papers, Riḥlat Abī Naẓẓāra Zarqā' (August 7, 1878 - 13 March, 1879), Abū (Abī) Naẓẓāra Zarqā' (21 March, 1879 - 1 October, 1879), Riḥlat Abī Naẓẓāra Zarqā' (12 August, 1879), an-Naẓẓāra al-Miṣrīya (16 September, 1879 - 6 May, 1880), Abū Ṣaffāra (4 June, 1880 - 20 June, 1880), Abū Zammāra (17 July, 1880 - 27 August, 1880), al-Ḥāwī (5 February, 1881 - March, 1881), Abū Naẓẓāra (8 April, 1881 - ?) and Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā' (21 April, 1882 - 4 August, 1882). The titles were changed frequently to avoid Egyptian censorship, and copies were smuggled into Egypt. These papers carried on fierce campaigns against the governments of Ismā^{c}īl and Tawfīq, lending their support to the nationalists and Prince Ḥalīm.

The Arabic press played an important role in a major political incident on 18 February, 1879. As one of the economy measures under European control, taken in an attempt to balance Egyptian finances, over 2,500 army officers were

1. W.M., no.765, 16 June, 1878.

2. Galal (op. cit., p.58) and ^{c}Abduh (Taṭawwur, op. cit., p.259) mistakenly state that there was a political daily appearing in Cairo in 1878, al-Qāhira al-Ḥurra (Free Cairo). In fact this paper was issued by Salīm Fāris ash-Shidyaq some years later in 1886. Ahmed-Bioud (op. cit., p.32) gives the impression that al-Busfūr, a political and literary daily in Arabic and French, came out in Cairo that year; in fact only the French version, Le Bosphore de Suez, appeared twice-weekly at Port Said (Moniteur Egyptien, 4 May, 1878).

retired on half pay. These officers gathered at the Ministry of Finance to have their wrongs redressed, and there they jostled the Prime Minister, Nūbār, and Rivers-Wilson, the Minister of Finance. The next day Ismā^{c}īl dismissed Nūbār; he may have manipulated this xenophobia to rid himself of Nūbār's ministry and European control. Al-Waṭan, Miṣr, at-Tijāra and other papers had been vocal in criticizing the European ministers,[1] and political affairs occupied almost all the pages of the newspapers. Egyptian journalists fomented general opposition and antagonism to European influence and control among the public.[2] But under pressure from the European consuls, Ismā^{c}īl was forced to keep European ministers in the new cabinet formed under Prince Tawfīq on 10 March.

Yet another paper was to join the fray against foreign influence. This paper, Mir'āt ash-Sharq (Mirror of the East) was founded in Cairo about 24 February, 1879. Al-Afghānī inspired its establishment, and helped the concessionary obtain his licence. The director of this twice weekly was a Syrian, Amīn Nāsīf, and the editor another Syrian, Salīm al-^{c}Anḥūrī.[3] It was a political, commercial and literary paper. In April, because of ill-health, al-^{c}Anḥūrī was advised by his doctors to return to the Lebanon after he had issued seventeen issues,[4] though he himself stated that he gave up editing the paper when he saw the political situation was too dangerous to continue. The editorship was taken over by another of al-Afghānī's disciples, the Egyptian Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī,[5] at

1. Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.1, p.15.

2. Vatikiotis, op. cit., p.133.

3. Salīm al-^{c}Anḥūrī (1855/1856-1933) was a Christian from Damascus. He went to Egypt in 1878. He wrote occasional articles for al-Ahrām. He also obtained a permit for a literary and scientific monthly, ash-Shams (The Sun), which never appeared. For further biographical details, see Daghir, Masadir, op. cit., vol.2, pt.1, pp.613-615.

4. al-Ma'lūf, ^{c}Īsā Iskandar, "Aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-^{c}Arabīya-Kalimatī fī Hadhā'd-Dawr", an-Ni^{c}ma, y.2, vol.12, (May, 1911), pp.721-722.

5. Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī (1848-1908) was born in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar. He was a friend and contemporary of Muḥammad ^{c}Abduh, ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm and ^{c}Abd Allāh Fikrī. For further details about him, see Cheteoui, Ahmad Sanad and Radames Sany Lackany, Ibrahim el Lackany (1848-1908) Journaliste et Avocat, Alexandria, 1968.

the master's request.[1] Both al-Afghānī and Muhammad ᶜAbduh contributed to the paper.

By the end of Ismāᶜīl's reign, this paper had become the organ of the nascent national party. Members of the second generation of those educated in Europe and in the expanding local school system were the group that gave their support to this party. Teachers, engineers, doctors, officials, even governors of provinces formed an enlightened bourgeoisie, stifled in their political aspirations by the ruling Turco-Circassian aristocracy supported by the Khedive. In the 1870s they had gradually developed their ideas through the press, and through membership of learned and masonic societies. Another important element in their ranks were disenchanted Egyptian army officers. Saᶜīd Pasha had opened senior ranks in the army to Egyptians, but Ismāᶜīl ensured that the command remained firmly in the hands of the Turks and Circassians.[2]

The Assembly began to express the growing spirit of opposition to the Khedive and his ministers. Members demanded the right to participate in the formulation of decisions bearing on the future of Egypt. On 27 March, 1879, a member, Muhammad Effendi Rādī criticised the Interior Minister, Riyād, before the Assembly for his repressive actions to stop journalists writing about the assembly and the role of foreigners in Egypt. Riyād did not think highly of public opinion; another member quoted Riyād as saying that the Egyptian people were a rabble, and there were not ten of them who could understand what was written in the newspapers.[3]

The Assembly's stance led to the Khedive proroguing it

1. Ridā, op. cit., vol.1, p.47; and Ṣadā al-Ahrām, 21 April, 1879.
2. Ninet, John, Lettres d'Égypte, 1879-1882, (Paris, 1979), p.18.
3. ar-Rāfiᶜī, ᶜAṣr Ismāᶜīl, op. cit., vol.2, p.213.

at the end of March. The delegates continued to meet in private and on April 2, they issued al-Lā'iḥa al-Waṭanīya (Nationalist Manifesto), signed by ulemas, officers, officials, businessmen, and the three spiritual leaders, the Shaykh of al-Azhar, the Coptic Patriarch, and the Chief Rabbi. It demanded that the Assembly should be modelled on parliamentary institutions in Europe; Ministers should be responsible to it and it should control the finances of the state. The Manifesto also opposed Rivers-Wilson's project to declare Egypt bankrupt. In response to this the Khedive called on one of the prominent figures involved in nationalist activities, Sharīf Pasha, to form an entirely Egyptian ministry, which submitted a project for constitutional reform.

In this climate, papers which generally took a moderate line, even al-Ahrām became involved in a confrontation with the government. On 28 and 29 April, 1879, Bishāra Taqlā wrote two articles in Ṣadā al-Ahrām, entitled "Ẓulm al-Fallāḥ" (Oppression of the Peasant), in which he spoke of the oppressive taxes on the fellahin.[1] The articles attacked the Khedive and accused him of misappropriating £100,000 sterling of public funds. The Khedive was furious and imprisoned Bishāra and suppressed both al-Ahrām and Ṣadā al-Ahrām. Salīm Taqlā sought the help of the French consul, and Crown Prince Tawfīq and obtained Bishāra's release after three days.[2] They were able to persuade the Khedive to allow al-Ahrām to reappear, but Ṣadā al-Ahrām remained proscribed.[3]

On 15 May, 1879, Mūsā Kāstīlī[4] founded a weekly,

1. W.M., 6 May, 1879; and Taqlā, op. cit., p.32.

2. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1951), op. cit., pp.116 and 118.

3. Ibid., p.118.

4. For further details of Mose Castelli (Mūsā Kāstīlī) (1816-1884), an Italian Jew from Florence, see Pinto, Olga, "Mose Castelli, tipografo italiano al Cairo", in A Francesco Gabrieli, (Rome, 1964), pp.217-223.

al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī (The Egyptian Star) in Cairo. The Castelli press (al-Maṭbaᶜa al-Kāstīlīya) was one of the oldest independent presses in Egypt, founded in 1852, and played a considerable role in the Egyptian renaissance. The editor of the paper was an Azharite graduate, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Wafā, a keeper at the Khedivial Library. Unlike other papers which kept the same editorial staff for a number of years, several persons took it in turns to edit the paper: Ḥasan ar-Rāfiᶜī, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Karīm Salmān, Aslān Kāstīlī, Ḥasan al-Balīhī, Muḥammad an-Najjār, Ḥijāzī Sālim, and Muḥammad at-Tamūnī. The paper covered political, commercial, industrial and literary matters. It was never as bold in politics as the other papers, and had no known political stance.[1]

When Ṣadā al-Ahrām was suppressed, al-Waqt li-Jarīdat al-Ahrām (The Time for al-Ahrām Newspaper) took its place in Alexandria on 16 May, 1879,[2] continuing the numbering of that paper. The Taqlās had tried to republish Ṣadā al-Ahrām, but having failed they got permission to publish this new daily with the French consul's help.[3] It published political, commercial and scientific news.

On 25 June, 1879, Ismāᶜīl was informed by a messenger from the Sultan ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd that he had been deposed, and was to be replaced by his more malleable eldest son, Tawfīq. Ismāᶜīl had defied the powers by forming an Egyptian cabinet, without European ministers, and pressure from Britain and France brought his dismissal. Throughout his reign, Ismāᶜīl had taken various measures to Europeanize his country and his toleration of the growth of the press can be seen as one of these. The establishment of the Assembly helped the development of the political press and the emergence of an enlightened

1. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.18.
2. Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.4, p.215) incorrectly gives its date of appearance as 1877.
3. Ṭaqlā, op. cit., p.32.

public opinion on matters of state policy, local and international finance and foreign affairs. The cultural and intellectual renaissance too encouraged by Ismā^{c}īl, through the stimulus given to European and Arabic theatrical activity, the creation of various cultural and scientific societies under royal patronage, and the revitalisation of the Būlāq press, provided a favourable climate for the appearance of Arabic periodicals.

The Khedive had inspired and financed journalistic activity at home and abroad to counter domestic and foreign detractors.[1] In order to get autonomy for Egypt he had given, over the years, financial aid to al-Janna, al-Jinān, and Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār in Syria, and al-Jawā'ib, La Turquie, Phare de Bosphore, The Levant Times and Shipping Gazette, Byzantis and the Levant Herald in Istanbul. These papers were read in Egypt and could plead the Egyptian cause in the Ottoman capital. He also supported European papers, and the Havas and Reuters' newsagencies.[2] The international press argued his case on financial matters, and on such particular issues as the succession to the Egyptian throne, the dispute over the Suez Canal company, and the Mixed Tribunals.[3] In 1878 under the Foreign Ministry over £10,869 was allocated as "subscriptions to newspapers", and "with such a newspaper subscription list, Ismā^{c}īl Pasha should not have lacked friends".[4]

The efforts of the press pioneers, such as ^{c}Abd Allāh Abū's-Su^{c}ūd, Salīm al-Ḥamawī, the Taqlās, Adīb Isḥāq, Salīm an-Naqqāsh, Mikhā'īl ^{c}Abd as-Sayyid, and James Sanua, during Ismā^{c}īl's reign were largely responsible for the establishment of the press as a permanent feature of Egyptian life. Political journalism in Arabic started in the 1870s when

1. Vatikiotis, op. cit., p.169.
2. ^{c}Abduh, A^{c}lām, op. cit., pp.19-25.
3. ^{c}Abduh, ath-Thaqāfa, op. cit., y.4, no.169, p.14.
4. Anonymous, Egypt, op. cit., p.87.

a number of Syrian writers emigrated to Egypt and founded newspapers, about half the independent papers being founded by them. In the absence of effective representative institutions, the press played an essential propagandist and educational role in the development of Egyptian nationalism and of Egyptian political life generally.

Between Ismā^{c}īl's accession in 1863 and 1879 about 160 periodicals had appeared, compared with 37 in the period from 1805 to 1863; 34 periodicals had appeared in Arabic or Arabic and French. About 56 papers had appeared in French, 42 in Italian, 24 in Greek, and for the first time publications had appeared in other minority languages, such as English and Maltese. The growing commercial centre of Alexandria, with about 90 of these publications, was the principal centre for the press, though because Cairo was the administrative capital, most Arabic papers, about 22, had appeared there. Various other cities, Port Said, Suez, Ismailia, and al-Mansūra, had for the first time their own local European-language newspapers.

At the time of Ismā^{c}īl's abdication, apart from ephemeral publications, the following were appearing regularly: al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, al-Ahrām, at-Tijāra, al-Iskandarīya, Miṣr, al-Waṭan, Ruzname Vaḳā'i^{c}-i Misrīye, Le Nil, La Réforme, Le Phare d'Alexandrie, Le Moniteur Égyptien, L'Echo d'Orient, La Gazette des Tribunaux, Le Bosphore de Suez, Bulletin Financier, La Jurisprudence, Journal Officiel des Tribunaux, Jurisprudence des Tribunaux de la Reforme en Égypte, Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, Bulletin de la Société Khediviale de Geographie du Caire, La Trombetta, La Fama, La Finanza, Il Corriere Egiziano, Messagiere Egiziano, L'Economista, Kekrops, Imerinia Nea, Elpis, and Kairon.

Many journals had been suppressed by Ismā^{c}īl's

government. Apart from those already referred to, the following papers were closed for a variety of reasons, ranging from criticism of the Khedive's government to appearing without permission: Le Nouvel Argus,[1] l'Impartial d'Égypte,[2] Yildiz,[3] Corriere di Suez[4] (1869), Le Crocodile[5] (1870), Le Journal de Port Said[6] (1872), Lo Staffile,[7] Manifeste Quotidien[8] (1874), Le Journal d'Alexandrie,[9] Le Commerce[10] (1876), Il Lavoratore[11] (1877) and Le Courrier de Port Said[12] (1878). Ismā'īl's approach to the European press is neatly encapsulated in a comment made in La Réforme newspaper, and this would be equally applicable to the Arabic press:

> Depuis longtemps le Gouvernement n'accordait plus à des feuilles nouvelles l'autorisation de traiter de questions politiques ou administratives. En un mot, les concessions de journaux ou, pour être plus dans la vrai, les autorisations d'en publier, ne permettaient au rédacteur, sous peine de voir l'autorisation retirée, que l'impression d'une feuille littéraire, scientifique et financière, sous le condition encore qu'il ne s'agirait pas des finances du gouvernement - Le Khédive Ismail n'était pas grand partisan de la liberté de la presse: il n'aimait pas ce qu'il appelait "ses indiscrétions" et

1. F.O. 141/70, no.74, Circular letter no.120, from Zoulfikar, Minister of Foreign Affairs to Colonel Edward Stanton , H.M. Agent and Consul-General, dated Cairo 21 March, 1869; and E.G., 22 June, 1883.

2. Sābāt, op. cit., p.30.

3. Wādī an-Nīl, 7 May, 1869.

4. F.O. 142/33, letter no.154, from Colonel Stanton to G. West, H.M. Consul, Suez, dated Cairo, 15 December, 1869.

5. F.O. 141/72, letter no.4 from E.J. Rogers to Colonel Stanton, dated H.B.M. Consulate, 5 February, 1870.

6. La Réforme, 23 June, 1879.

7. La Finanza, 6 May, 1874.

8. Ibid., 8 December, 1874; and E.G., 19 June, 1883.

9. Ibid., 21 June, 1883.

10. az-Zaman, no.128, 23 June, 1883.

11. La Finanza, 18 March, 1877; and E.G., 21 June, 1883.

12. E.G., 25 June, 1883.

ce que les journalistes appellent, eux, "leurs informations".[1]

Under the new regime of Khedive Tawfīq, the Taqlās found themselves in trouble. They published articles praising France and England, which annoyed the nationalists:

> Irritated by these remarks, the heads of the party which induced Ismail Pasha to revolt against the Powers turned to Cherif Pasha (the Prime Minister), who sent a despatch to the Governor of Alexandria requesting him to suppress the journals in question (al-Ahrām and al-Waqt). But the English Consul went to the aid of the Arab editor and compelled Cherif Pasha to withdraw his order.[2]

Al-Ahrām later enjoyed better relations with Tawfīq than it had with his predecessor. It also mended its bridges with the nationalists, and from the end of 1879 to 1880 it was concerned with the increasing fear of occupation, and the rigours of the Anglo-French financial control, re-established in September, 1879.[3] Up to 1882 the paper was also seen as the organ of French interests in Egypt;[4] Ninet saw francophilia as a characteristic of the Syrians in Egypt:

> Mais, comme sympathie politique, en dépit de leur langage, qui est l'arabe, les Syriens sont Français par éducation reçue chez les Lazaristes ou chez les frères, dont les écoles couvrent la Syrie et les bords du Nil.[5]

The first Arabic paper[6] to appear under Tawfīq, was

1. La Réforme, no.171, 1 September, 1879.

2. Anonymous, Egypt, op. cit., p.102.

3. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1964), op. cit., p.60.

4. Galal, op. cit., p.171.

5. Despatch dated Cairo, 5 August in Le Siècle (Paris), 16 August, 1881, quoted in Ninet, Lettres, op. cit., p.155.

6. On 23 July, 1879, a weekly, as-Salām, appeared in Istanbul (al-Iskandarīya, 14 August, 1879); Najīb Gharghūr ("aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fī Thalāthīn ᶜĀm", al-Ittiḥād al-Miṣrī, y.30, no.2934, [Cairo], 2 January, 1910) wrongly states that it appeared in Egypt.

brought out by a member of the Castelli family, young Giacomo Elia Castelli, presumably one of the sons of Mūsā. Giacomo was the owner and editor of this daily, al-Maymūn (The Blessed) which appeared on 5 September in Cairo, no doubt as a counterpart to the press's weekly, al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī. It included "witty jokes (fukāhāt), elegant anecdotes (nawādir), political and commercial news and amusing articles".[1] No doubt to fit its humorous content part of it was written in dialect (al-ʿāmma).[2] It failed to appear for a few weeks after its first issue.[3] It disappeared with al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī in December, 1883.[4]

On 24 August al-Afghānī had been seized by the police and expelled from the country, on the grounds that he headed a masonic lodge, aiming at "the ruin of religion and the world".[5] Another story had it that he was involved in a conspiracy of masons aimed at replacing Tawfīq with Prince Halīm.[6] When he was banished, the papers, many run by his disciples, were afraid to protest. Only Mir'āt ash-Sharq, while not mentioning his exile, referred to him with esteem, so the Khedive ordered its suspension for five months on 7 September.[7] It did not reappear when its period of suspension ended.

The Jeune Egypte, "one of the two groups into which the National Party was divided, the other being called the Old Turks" planned in August to publish a new periodical in Alexandria called L'Ordre.[8] Ninet describes the members of this

1. al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, 12 September, 1879.
2. al-Muqtaṭaf, y.4, no.5 (undated, 1879?).
3. Miṣr, 19 September, 1879.
4. Galal, op. cit., p.102.
5. Keddie, op. cit., p.124.
6. Kudsi-Zadeh, op. cit., p.182.
7. al-Jindī, Anwar, aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa as-Siyāsīya fī Miṣr mundhu Nash'atihā ila'l-Ḥarb al-ʿĀlamīya ath-Thānīya, (Cairo, 1962), p.48.
8. La Finanza, 27 August, 1879.

group as young Levantine Christians and Jews, many of them officials in the government:

> Ce chétif noyau d'administrateurs en herbe, voyant que l'Europe ne se pressait pas de donner un gouvernement à l'Égypte et, d'une autre côté, ne possédant aucune sympathie dans le pays, s'intitula "jeune Egypte" et fit chanter ses mérites par un certain journal d'Alexandrie que l'agent diplomatique de France dut rappeler vertement à l'ordre.[1]

Ninet's report reveals that the group did indeed publish a paper in August, or were using an existing journal. Since the French diplomatic agent had to check its activities, it seems likely that it appeared in a European language.

This grouping was formed in the last months of Ismā^{c}īl's reign[2] and recruited from amongst the intelligentsia of the Egyptians and Levantine immigrants.[3] Its members are said to have included Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, Adīb Ishāq, Salīm an-Naqqāsh, Niqūlā Tūma, and ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm; an-Nadīm's friends, Muḥammad Amīn and Maḥmūd Wāṣif, were founder members and respectively vice-president and secretary of the society.[4] an-Nadīm also recruited rich Alexandrines to the society;[5] he and his friends were Egyptian Muslims, yet most sources give the impression that there were no Egyptian members. According to Muḥammad ^{c}Abduh, "there was not a genuine Egyptian in (the society) most of its members were young Jews".[6] Gabriel Charmes, the French publicist, describes

1. Despatch, dated Alexandria, 27 August, 1879, in Le Siècle, 2 September, 1879, quoted in Ninet, Lettres, op. cit., p.79.

2. Scholch, Alexander, Egypt for the Egyptians! The Socio-Political Crisis in Egypt 1878-82, (London, 1981), p.112.

3. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.57.

4. Nadīm, ^{c}Abd al-Fattāḥ, Sulāfat an-Nadīm, (Cairo, 1914), vol.1, p.6.

5. Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.120.

6. Ridā, op. cit., vol.1, p.75.

them as "un certain nombre de jeunes gens d'Alexandrie, tous juifs, syriens, grecs, chrétiens, etc... pour la plupart protégés européens".[1] Soon after Tawfīq's accession the group published a project for reforms which it presented to the Khedive.

On Saturday, 11 September, 1879, the group brought out a highly controversial weekly in Alexandria, La Jeune Egypte/ Miṣr al-Fatāt,[2] in French and Arabic. The owner of the newspaper concession was a Greek subject, Nicolas Goussio.[3] Al-Afghānī inspired the society to publish this paper.[4] Sanua is also credited with founding the paper but he had been in Paris for more than a year.[5] Adīb Isḥāq, the Syrian journalist, was responsible for translating the French parts into Arabic. The paper's motto was "the study of the rights of every thinking man",[6] and the broad goal of the society was "Egypt for the Egyptians". The paper drew attention to the neglect of Egypt in the last days of Ismā'īl's reign. It defended national rights and tried to restrain foreign encroachments.[7] It attacked the expanding role of the British and French Controller-Generals, which left the government of the country in their hands.[8] One of its readers called for the more frequent appearance of the official Arabic gazette, al-Waqā'i' al-Miṣrīya, which appeared only once a week, while the Moniteur Egyptien appeared every day. He felt there should be an official daily appearing in French and Arabic.[9]

1. Charmes, Gabriel, "L'Insurrection Militaire en Égypte. 1: Le Triomphe du Parti Militaire", Revue des Deux Mondes, vol.58 (1883), p.761.
2. Moniteur Égyptien, 12 September, 1879.
3. La Réforme, 8 December, 1879.
4. Keddie, op. cit., p.115.
5. Gendzier, op. cit., p.55.
6. Isḥāq, op. cit., p.124.
7. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.57.
8. Moniteur Égyptien, 7 October, 1879.
9. La Finanza, 19/20 October, 1879.

Al-Waṭan newspaper attacked the group "for having no affection for this country and no love for it"; their paper, it said, was published, "with the help of some ignorant troublemaking Freemasons".[1] Was this perhaps the group of freemasons, whose activities had led to al-Afghānī's expulsion? Ninet supports the report in al-Waṭan, describing them as "un parti négatif ... auquel se rattache une espèce de franc-maçonnerie aussi ignorante que mal-saine et qui, fort heureusement, n'a jamais fait un seul prosélyte dans les populations agricoles vierges de toute contamination de ce genre".[2]

Soon after Jeune Egypte began its public campaign, the senior branch of the Egyptian National Party, al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī, published its manifesto on 4 November. It seems it was the work of a handful of Ismāʿīl's former ministers, including Sharīf Pasha, and ʿUmar Lutfī. The manifesto stated that the Khedive was being ruled by foreign powers and that foreign influences should be merely advisory. It made a number of economic proposals to save Egypt from bankruptcy and to settle Egypt's debts.

The Jeune Egypte continued discussing the role of the Controllers, so on 13 November the Ministry of Foreign Affairs sent a final warning to the paper.[3] On 18 November, the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Riyād's government, Mustāfā Fahmī, issued a decree suppressing this organ of this "so-called party", Union de la Jeunesse Égyptienne, for the issue of 15 November, because the editor "continue à s'adresser ... aux passions les plus irritables et dans un langage qui ne

1. al-Watan, 27 September, 1879.

2. Despatch, dated Alexandria, 27 August, 1879, in Le Siècle, 2 September, 1879, quoted in Ninet, Lettres, op. cit., p.79.

3. Moniteur Égyptien, 14 November, 1879.

peut soulever que l'antagonisme et la discorde".[1]

A few days later, the two other papers in which Ishāq was involved, Miṣr and at-Tijāra, were banned. The Istanbul newspaper, Stamboul, said that Jeune Egypte had published three papers in Cairo hostile to the government that were suppressed, perhaps a reference to these two papers, though they were published in Alexandria. Both papers had received several warnings and a final ultimatum not to transcend the bounds of their activity, and to avoid publishing incorrect information. The papers had made violent attacks on Riyād Pasha and on foreign interference.[2] Ishāq was forced to leave Egypt, leaving Salīm an-Naqqāsh as sole owner of their press.[3]

At the end of November,[4] a new weekly, Bustān al-Akhbār (The Garden of News), appeared in Cairo. It covered national (waṭanī) politics, literature, science and medicine. Its director was Sālih Ridwān, and its editor Hasan al-Balīhī.[5] It was suppressed[6] after its first issue,[7] perhaps because of its nationalist stance.

Goussio had not given up the battle over the Jeune Egypte; he proposed to send his subscribers various pamphlets on matters of interest, or to pay their subscription to another paper then appearing.[8] He took legal action against the

1. Moniteur Égyptien, 19 November, 1879.

2. W.M., 22 November, 1879, in Galal, op. cit., p.122.

3. al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.31, 12 December, 1879.

4. al-Ma'lūf (an-Niʿma, y.2, vol.9, February, 1911, p.557) gives the date of issue as October, 1878.

5. al-Muqtaṭaf, y.4, no.7, December, 1879; and Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.15.

6. Tarrāzī (op. cit., vol.3, p.15) says it was suspended in its second year.

7. La Finanza, 28 November, 1879.

8. La Réforme, 1 December, 1879.

Egyptian government on 29 November, protesting against the suppression, and demanding compensation for the appreciable loss of income resulting from his paper's closure.[1] The society had not stopped its activities; no doubt as part of the campaign in favour of the paper, it published on December 18 a pamphlet in French and Arabic calling for freedom of the press;[2] this seems to have been its last public act.

When Ishāq went into exile, he started a newspaper dealing with Egyptian affairs in Paris. His paper, Miṣr al-Qāhira (Victorious Egypt), appeared on 24 December, 1879.[3] This paper was subsidized by the nationalists, and by ex-Khedive Ismāʿīl.[4] After about 17 issues, as a result of the ban imposed by the Egyptian government, its name was changed to ash-Sharq (The Orient). When Khedive Ismāʿīl went into exile, he financed a number of papers to promote his cause. These papers denounced Sultan ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, who had succumbed to French and British pressure and deposed Ismāʿīl. In particular they rejected the Sultan's claims to the Caliphate; the Sultan was using his position as Caliph to extend his influence throughout the Islamic world. The ex-Khedive may have financed Louis Ṣābūnjī's an-Naḥla, founded in London in 1877,[5] and its successor, al-Khilāfa, founded in London in January, 1881.[6] Several papers were brought out by Ismāʿīl's private secretary, Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī:[7] al-Khilāfa in 1880[8] and

1. La Réforme, 8 December, 1879, and 5 January, 1880.

2. Schölch, op. cit., p.114.

3. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, p.258.

4. Riḍā, op. cit., vol.1, p.186.

5. Blunt, W.S., Secret History of the English Occupation of Egypt (London, 1907), p.87.

6. George Badgers' letter, dated 11th February, 1881, to The Times, 14 February, 1882, p.12c.

7. Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī (1846-1906) was born in Cairo of a merchant family. He studied at al-Azhar, and then went into the family silk trading business. He helped set up jamʿīyat al-maʿārif (The Society of Knowledge), and in 1868 founded his own press. For further details, see Rāmītsh, Yūsuf, Usrat al-Muwaylihī, w'Atharuhā fī'l-Adab al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, Cairo, 1980.

8. al-Waṭan, 9 October, 1880, quoting Le Figaro, Paris.

al-Istiqbāl in 1881 in Naples,[1] and al-Ittiḥād[2] in Paris in September, 1880.[3] Another paper published abroad, probably with Egyptian publishers, was at-Ta'assuf in 1880.[4] Many of these papers were banned from entry into Egypt for their hostile attitude to the Egyptian government.

After the closure of at-Tijāra and Miṣr in November, 1879, Salīm an-Naqqāsh brought out two replacement papers in early January, 1880. The first al-Maḥrusa (the epithet of Cairo) appeared on 5 January, 1880,[5] in Alexandria. It appeared every day, except Thursday and Sunday. It dealt with political, literary and commercial matters. An-Naqqāsh persuaded Salīm ash-Shalfūn, another Syrian journalist, to join him as co-editor of the paper and its weekly counterpart, al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd (The New Age).[6] Amongst its contributors were Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, and Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī; Amīn Shumayyil in Kafr ash-Shaykh wrote regularly for both papers on a variety of subjects. Shaykh Iskandar al-ᶜAzār was its Beirut correspondent, and al-Afghānī sent it articles.[7] Unusually for papers at the time it was sold through street

1. al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, 13 September, 1881; and al-Ma'lūf, an-Niᶜma, y.2, vol.10, (March, 1911), pp.610 and 612.

2. Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue Collectif des Périodiques du Debut du XVIIIe siècle à 1939 conservés dans les bibliothèques de Paris et dans les bibliothèques universitaires des Départements, (Paris, 1977), vol.II, p.10; and Zaydān, Tarājim op. cit., vol.2, p.141.

3. Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.4, p.375) says al-Muwayliḥī brought out a paper, ar-Rajā', in 1880, but in fact it appeared in March, 1895 (C.C.D.P., vol.IV, p.6). Al-Ma'lūf (an-Niᶜma, y.2, vol.10, March, 1911, p.610) suggests he brought out al-Anbā' that year in Paris, though Ṭarrāzī (op. cit., vol.4, p.371) believes it appeared in Livorno on August 9, 1883).

4. Moniteur Égyptien, 25/26 April, 1880.

5. Various incorrect dates have been given for its foundation: Martin Hartmann (The Arabic Press of Egypt, [London, 1899], p.53) gives January 16, 1877. The al-Ajyāl article ("Aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fi'l-Quṭr al-Miṣrī", al-Ajyāl, y.1, no.2, [26 June, 1897], pp.20-23) and Washington - Serruys (L'Arabe Moderne Etudié dans les Journaux et les Pièces Officielles, [Beirut, 1897], p.xvii) give 1877, and Galal (op. cit., p.104) gives 8 January, 1880. Many sources say it started in Cairo, no doubt misled by its name.

6. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, p.150.

7. Ibid., vol.3, p.57.

salesmen, as well as by other methods. Salīm an-Naqqāsh claimed it was very popular with a circulation of more than 2,000; its sister paper had a circulation of 800 copies.[1]

It generally took a politically moderate line, as the editor was anxious to find favour with those in power having signed an agreement that he would not follow in the path of Adīb Isḥāq.[2] On occasions it did take a pro-nationalist line, calling itself a nationalist paper (ṣaḥīfa waṭanīya). Like Miṣr before it, al-Maḥrūsa, al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd and al-Waṭan exposed and denounced the callous way the country was treated by the foreign controllers.[3] In September 1880 it said the country had been better off when free of foreigners, and called for the imposition of taxes on them.[4]

A few days after al-Maḥrūsa appeared, an-Naqqāsh brought out the weekly, al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, in Alexandria on 8 January, 1880,[5] to replace the suspended Miṣr. It was a political and literary paper. It published a series of articles by Leopold Yannī, Nubdha fī Ta'rīkh Miṣr (An Article on the History of Egypt) and al-Iqtiṣād as-Siyāsī by the Syrian Khalil Ghānim, the Paris based critic of the Ottoman government.

In the case that Jeune Egypte brought against the Egyptian government, the paper was represented by the famous lawyer, Dr. Régusse. In the proceedings, he criticized the

1. Avis de Directeurs des Contentieux de l'État, Cairo, 24 April, 1883, in Dār al-Wathā'iq, Maḥfūẓāt Majlis al-Wuzarā' - Niẓārat ad-Dākhilīya, Mahfaza Bā', as-Sihāfa wa'l-Matbūᶜāt, Majmūᶜa 7.

2. Gharghūr, op. cit.

3. al-Hadidi, ᶜAlī, ᶜAbd Allāh Nadīm, Journalist, Man of Letters, Orator, and His Contribution to the first Egyptian National Movement. (A Literary and Historical Study), Ph.D. Thesis, London University, 1959, p.200.

4. Galal, op. cit., p.122.

5. Galal (op. cit, p.105) incorrectly gives 15 April as the date of issue.

Prime Minister, Riyāḍ, and exposed the faults of the administration and the corruptions of the Ministry.[1] The Tribunal of the First Instance declared the government decree suppressing the paper illegal, and awarded damages to Goussio.[2] There was speculation that the paper would shortly reappear in February, 1880; there were also rumours that the government planned to appeal against the court's judgement,[3] but the paper was not republished. The organ of Jeune Egypte in Europe, Isḥāq's Miṣr al-Qāhira[4] was banned again from entering Egypt that month.[5]

In July, 1880, the Taqlās announced their intention to bring out a weekly Arabic and French paper, following in the footsteps of Muḥammad Unsī, but like the first experiment nothing appeared.[6] There seems to have been an increasing awareness by publicists of the need to communicate both to the foreign and indigenous populations, hence these dual language publications. The Statistical Section of the Ministry of the Interior published one of its bulletins in French and Arabic, Bulletin Trimestriel du Commerce Extérieur de l'Égypte.

The Prime Minister, Riyāḍ Pasha, wanted to put the official gazette, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, on the same standing as the popular press, hoping by this to attract readers from the other papers. To implement this idea, on 9 October, 1880,[7]

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.57.
2. Phare d'Alexandrie, 4 February, 1880.
3. La Finanza, 9/10 February, 1880.
4. The Phare d'Alexandrie (27 February, 1880) quoted in La Finanza of the same date, calls this paper La Jeune Égypte.
5. La Finanza, 27 February, 1880.
6. al-Waqt, no.888, 5 July, 1880.
7. ᶜAbduh, al-Waqā'iᶜ, op. cit., p.154.

he appointed Muhammad ᶜAbduh[1] chief editor of the paper;[2] in May 1880 ᶜAbduh had joined the paper as a journalist.[3] At the same time he was appointed head of the Department of Arabic and Turkish Publications (Qalam al-Matbūᶜāt wa'l-Matābiᶜ al-Mukhtassa bi-Nashr as-Suhuf al-ᶜArabīya wa't-Turkīya) in the Ministry of the Interior, with the power to censor all publications in those languages in Egypt. With ᶜAbduh's appointment, Shaykh Ahmad ᶜAbd ar-Rahīm resigned after 15 years service as editor.[4] A group of young Azharites were added to the editorial staff at the same time, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Karīm Salmān, Ibrāhīm Bey al-Hilbāwī, Shaykh Muhammad Khalīl, as-Sayyid Wafā, and Saᶜd Zaghlūl,[5] all pupils of al-Afghānī.

The paper began to play a role in the formation of public opinion. One of the first changes was that it became a daily, instead of appearing twice a week. To broaden the foreign news coverage, ᶜAbduh took out a subscription to the international news agencies, Reuters and Havas.[6] He started serialising books. In 1881 he began to publish a series of articles under the heading, al-Ḥayāt as-Siyāsīya (political life) on philosophical, religious, social, educational, moral and political issues. These articles helped to broaden the horizons of the educated Egyptian readership appreciably.

1. ᶜAbduh (1849-1905) studied at al-Azhar. He began to make himself a name as a writer on social and political subjects, with articles in al-Ahrām, Miṣr, Ḥaqīqat al-Akhbār, and Mir'āt ash-Sharq, often reflecting the political views of his mentor, al-Afghānī. He taught at al-Azhar and Dār al-ᶜUlūm until September, 1879, when, because of his association with al-Afghānī, he was banished to his village. For further biographical details, see al-Ṣāwī, Aḥmad, Muḥammad ᶜAbduh and al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīyah, M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1954.

2. Various mistaken dates have been given for his first appointment to the paper. ᶜAbduh (Aᶜlām, op. cit., p.70) gives 1879, and Vatikiotis, (op. cit., p.182) gives 1881.

3. al-Waqt, 8 May, 1880; and Ridā, op. cit., vol.1, p.137.

4. W.M., 9 October, 1880.

5. Ridā, op. cit., vol.1, p.138.

6. ᶜAbduh, al-Waqā'iᶜ, op. cit., p.180.

One of the major European papers, La Réforme, founded 1876 in Cairo, was suppressed by Riyāḍ's government for its provocative articles on 25 May, 1880. It had been too sympathetic to the nationalist movement and too critical of Riyāḍ's absolute government. The Government decree, closing the paper, said it was closed, because

> non content de soulever l'opinion des étrangers résidant en Egypte, le rédacteur de ce journal cherche à semer la trouble dans l'élément indigène, en publiant des articles en idiôme arabe.[1]

Al-Ahrām became a daily on 3 January, 1881, after the Taqlās had stopped publishing al-Waqt on 28 December, 1880; there was also a weekly edition to be sent to overseas subscribers.[2] It called itself a "political, commercial, literary and entertainment (fukāhīya)" paper.[3] Bishāra Taqlā became director of the paper instead of Salīm. It was the first Arabic paper to publish drawings in its pages, apart from advertisements; on 4 May, 1881, it published Ferdinand de Lessep's picture on the front page.[4]

For some time the internal political scene had been relatively quiet, but matters came to a head when three nationalists, the infantry colonels Ahmad Bey ᶜUrābī, ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī and ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀl Ḥilmī, presented a petition to Khedive Tawfīq, in January, calling for the dismissal of the Circassian Minister of War. The document complained that indigenous officers were kept in subordinate positions in the army to their Circassian comrades.[5] As a result in February the three officers were arrested to be sent for court-martial, but they

1. Phare d'Alexandrie, 27/28 May, 1880.
2. al-Waqt, no.1002, 28 December, 1880.
3. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda, op. cit., p.61.
4. Ibid., p.62.
5. Ninet, Lettres, op. cit., p.112.

were rescued by a friendly regiment and other regiments offered them support. The Khedive responded by dismissing the Minister and appointing the army candidate, Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, then Minister of Awqāf (Religious Endowments). The officers presented further petitions in the next few months, asking for improvements in army conditions, the enlargement of the size of the army, and for the convening of the Assembly; the Assembly had been dissolved in July, 1879. These demands were supported by the civilian nationalist leaders, such as Sultān Pasha and Sulāyman Abāza.[1]

Early in 1881 Dr. Hasan Bey Mahmūd formed a committee to edit an Arabic medical magazine to inform indigenous doctors, who were unfamiliar with foreign languages, about the latest medical advances and research;[2] there had been no such magazine since Yaᶜsūb aṭ-Ṭibb stopped appearing in 1870. The committee got Riyād Pasha to agree to print the magazine at government expense.[3] The first part of al-Muntakhab (The Selection) appeared in May, 1881 (Jumādā II, 1298) in Cairo. This thirty-two page monthly described itself as a scientific, medical and industrial journal. Its editors, who gave their services gratis,[4] were mainly teachers at the school of medicine (Madrasat at-Tibb); the director and chief contributor was an Egyptian, Dr. Ahmad Bey Hamdī, Health Inspector for Cairo. The introduction to the first issue was written by Muhammad ᶜAbduh.

For the first time for a couple of years, on 5 May, 1881, there was a new Arab publisher, presumably an Egyptian, Muᶜawwad Muhammad Farīd. He brought out a nationalist political weekly in Alexandria, al-Burhān (The

1. Ninet, Lettres, op. cit., p.120.
2. Moniteur Égyptien, 5 February, 1881.
3. W.M., 2 June, 1881.
4. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.73.

Proof). Its editor was another Egyptian, Shaykh Ḥamza Fath Allāh.[1] Initially it was considered the paper of the palace: it defended the interests of Khedive Tawfīq against the nationalist movement.[2] al-Waṭan, the Coptic paper, was the organ of the Prime Minister, Riyāḍ Pasha.[3] Through al-Burhān, Tawfīq tried to counter the inimical nationalist press with his own paper. The paper advised ᶜUrābī's supporters, the ᶜUrābists, to desist from their opposition, pointing out, with the voice of reason and religion, the disastrous consequences of their actions.[4]

Yet another Arabic paper appeared in May. On 15 May, the Bulletin de la Société Égyptienne d'Agriculture became a bi-monthly in French and Arabic, Le Cultivateur/al-Fallāḥ.[5] It was sent free to all members of the society and to prominent farmers,[6] but it did not last long.[7]

ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm[8] got permission to publish a

1. Shaykh Ḥamza (1849/50-1918) was an Azharite. He had contributed to Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī and Shuᶜaᶜ al-Kawkab. For a number of years he worked on ar-Rā'id at-Tūnisī, the Tunisian government gazette. For further details, see Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.64; and Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.2, p.280.

2. Galal, op. cit., p.108.

3. Courrier de France, 8 April, 1881, from Documents et Extraits de Journaux Relatifs aux Affaires d'Égypte (Février - Mai 1881), (Paris, 1881), p.61.

4. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.62.

5. Al-Ma'lūf (an-Niᶜma, y.2, vol.10, March, 1911, p.608) gives its title as Kanz az-Zirāᶜa (The Treasure of Agriculture) and says it first appeared as a monthly in April, 1879.

6. L'Égypte, 13 May, 1881; and al-Maḥrūsa, 21 May, 1881.

7. E.G., 25 June, 1883.

8. An-Nadīm (1843-1896), born in Alexandria, studied at the mosque of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha in Alexandria, and later was an occasional student at al-Azhar. He knew no foreign languages. He worked several years as a telegraph clerk. He made contributions to Ḥaqīqat al-Akhbār, Miṣr, at-Tijāra, and Miṣr al-Fatāt. He had been an active supporter of the nationalist army officers since 1879. He has been described as one of the most active propagandists of the National Party. from February, 1881, together with the army officers ᶜAlī ar-Rūbī and Ṭulba ᶜIsmat, the Swiss journalist John Ninet, and the merchants Ḥasan Mūsā al-ᶜAqqād, and Muṣṭafā ᶜInāni Bey. For further details, see Samīr, Aḥmad, "Tarjamat Faqīd Miṣr as-Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm", in Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.3-23.

satirical paper, at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt (Raillery and Reproof), the first such paper to appear since Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā' in 1878. The purpose of the paper was to include "the serious aspects of education in a lighthearted form". It claimed it would not concern itself with politics and governments, but "would confine itself to matters connected with our customs and morals, showing the good and bad in an elegant way". It would contain "literary and historical lessons, useful selections, amusing tales (riwāyāt), jokes, and buffooneries (mujūnīyāt)".[1]

The first issue of this humorous, literary, nationalist weekly appeared on 6 June in Alexandria. An-Nadīm was helped by a life-long friend of his, Aḥmad Samīr, and an Azharite, Ibrāhīm Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Madanī. It had sixteen pages, which was unusually long for an Arabic publication, the usual length being four pages. The paper had two sections, one in classical Arabic, intended for the educated reader, dealing with educational, social and political issues often in an allegorical and ironic way: the other section, in colloquial for the less-educated reader, pointing out flaws in the social structure.[2] It had the same headings as the serious press, internal and foreign news, stop press (akhbār ākhir sā^{c}a), but the items were invariably satirical. Over three thousand copies of the first number were distributed to subscribers to al-Maḥrūsa and al-^{c}Aṣr al-Jadīd, an unusually high circulation for the period.[3]

The paper has been called the first torch of the movement of thought that ended with the ^{c}Urābī revolt.[4] An-Nadīm defended the army officers in their struggle, for he felt, they

1. al-Maḥrūsa, no.306, 24 May, 1881.

2. al-Ḥadīdī, ^{c}Alī, ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm, Khatīb al-Waṭanīya, (Cairo, n.d.), pp.110-111.

3. al-Maḥrūsa, 7 June, 1881; and Galal, op. cit., p.105.

4. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.92.

were only striving for liberty, order and security.[1] He criticized the government, being particularly bitter in his comments on Riyād and his agents. He spoke of the injustice, oppression and bankruptcy of Ismā^{C}īl's reign, and of Khedive Tawfīq's failure to handle things.[2] He vehemently attacked foreigners for plundering Egypt's wealth, mocking the customs and conduct of Europeans in Egypt, to the extent that the paper has been accused of sowing hatred of the foreigner in the heart of the indigenous population.[3] The corruptions of Egyptian society, alcohol, hashish, brothels and gambling, were attacked.

When he started at-Tankīt, an-Nadīm was probably at that time helping to edit al-Maḥrūsa and al-^{C}Aṣr al-Jadīd. The editor of these two papers, Salīm an-Naqqāsh, had been ill, and had asked him to assist as editor, but an-Nadīm did not sign the articles for fear of Riyād.[4] An-Nadīm continued to edit them, until an-Naqqāsh went on sick leave to Syria in July, 1881, and the editorship was passed to Salīm ^{C}Abbās ash-Shalfūn, another Lebanese Fadl Allāh al-Khūrī and an-Naqqāsh's two brothers, Ilyās and Yūsuf.[5] An-Naqqāsh's father, Khalīl, took over the administration of the two papers during his son's absence.[6]

Perhaps because of his various activities in support of the nationalists, an-Nadīm was persecuted by Riyād. In July he was driven out of al-Jam^{C}īya al-Khayrīya al-Islamīya (The

1. Delanoue, Gilbert, "^{C}Abd Allāh Nadīm (1845-1896) - Les idées politiques et morales d'un journaliste égyptien", Bulletin d'Études Orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas, Tome XVII, 1961-1962, pp.86-87.

2. al-Qabbānī, op. cit., pp. 104-105.

3. E.G., 23 June, 1883.

4. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.9-10.

5. al-^{C}Aṣr al-Jadīd, no.75, 20 July, 1881.

6. al-Ahrām, no.1162, 26 July, 1881.

Islamic Charitable Society) in Alexandria, which he and his friends had founded in April, 1879, when they left the Jeune Egypte.[1] An-Nadīm had become vice-president[2] and director of the society's school. In August, Riyāḍ tried to have him exiled, but ᶜAlī Fahmī, one of the military leaders, warned Riyāḍ that the army would come to an-Nadīm's defence so the order was rescinded.[3]

A new weekly political, literary, commercial and financial paper, L'Union Égyptienne/al-Ittiḥād al-Miṣrī[4] appeared in Alexandria on 18 June. The concession was owned by a Protestant from Damascus, Rūfā'īl Mashshāqa.[5] The paper planned to produce an Arabic edition,[6] but there is no evidence that it appeared at this time. One of the writers on at-Tankīt, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Madanī, a teacher at al-Azhar, published al-Ḥijāz, the first paper to openly declare itself as an organ of the ᶜUrābī movement,[7] on 17 July in Cairo: the paper was named after the owner's birthplace.[8] It was a political, literary and nationalist (waṭanī) weekly. One of the local French papers described it as a semi-clandestine organ edited in al-Azhar, aiming at "l'excitation à la haine de l'Europe, de ses idées, de ses hommes, de son influence et de sa civilisation, et cela sans distinction de nationalité".[9] It was the frankest and most

1. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.6-7.

2. al-Maḥrūsa, 13 April, 1880.

3. Khalaf Allāh, Muḥammad Aḥmad, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm wa-Mudhakkirātuh as-Siyāsīya, (Cairo, 1956), p.56.

4. A number of incorrect dates have been given for its first appearance. Bioud (op. cit., p.5) gives 1871. The Egyptian Gazette (23 June, 1883) gives June 1880.

5. L'Égypte, 21 June, 1881; and al-Maḥrūsa, 21 June, 1881.

6. Ibid., 23 August, 1881.

7. Cromer, Earl of, Modern Egypt, (London, 1908), vol.I, p.208.

8. al-Maḥrūsa, 18 July, 1881.

9. Courrier Égyptien, 28 August, 1881.

virulent of papers against the foreign powers, and the behaviour of foreigners in Egypt,[1] preaching "holy war" as part of its pan-Islamism.[2] It went as far as preparing its readers for a possible English attack on Egypt.[3]

Since their various petitions had been ignored, on 9 September, 1881, the army occupied the citadel in Cairo and other points, and several regiments demonstrated before the Khedive's palace at ᶜAbdīn. In an ultimatum the nationalist colonels demanded the dismissal of all Ministers, the convening of the Assembly, equality of justice before the reformed tribunals, and the increase of the size of the army to 18,000. The Khedive gave way and dismissed the pro-English Prime Minister, Riyāḍ Pasha, appointing a new Ministry under Sharīf Pasha, the head of the National Party. Power was moving more and more into the hands of the ᶜUrābists. In December the Khedive convened the promised assembly.

Before Sharīf formed his cabinet, the Ministry of the Interior warned the Arabic papers not to get involved in current problems. The papers were told not to publish news on local events without showing the material first to the Press Department (Idārat al-Maṭbūᶜāt) in Cairo, because some correspondents had written without thought on important events.[4] Apart from its comments on the Colonels' ultimatum, in 1881 the press had attacked the injustice of taxation which favoured Europeans at the expense of the native population, the unnecessary multiplication of highly paid offices held by foreigners, and the scandal of the £9,000 a year subvention being granted, in spite of the poverty of the country, to the

1. Galal, op. cit., p.106.

2. Mustafa, A.A.-R., The Domestic and Foreign Affairs of Egypt from 1876-1882, Ph.D. Thesis, University of London, 1955, vol.1, p.307.

3. al-Ḥijāz, 23 October, 1881, from The Times, 8 November, 1881, p.9.

4. al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, no.83, 13 September, 1881.

European Opera House at Cairo.[1]

In October, 1881, a Cairene of Turkish origin, Hasan Bey Husnī at-Tuwayrānī, planned to bring out a weekly paper, al-Insān (The People), but no more was heard of this project.[2] On 12 October, yet another ᶜUrābist paper, al-Mufīd (The Useful), appeared. The owner of the paper was Mustafā Thāqib and its editor Hasan Effendi ash-Shamsī. Ash-Shamsī was an assistant (muᶜāwin) at the Ministry of Education,[3] and director (naẓīr) of the Shaykh Ṣālih Night School (Madrasat ash-Shaykh Ṣālih al-Laylīya).[4] He was a well-known partisan of ᶜUrābī, delivering speeches in support of the nationalist cause. This political and literary paper appeared twice-weekly in Cairo. It, like al-Hijāz and al-Burhān, became distinguished by its Pan-Islamic stance and its violent articles against foreigners, foreign intervention and occupation: since September al-Burhān had become much more critical of the great powers. In October, al-Burhān called on Egypt to arm itself against the enemy (Britain and France).[5] Al-Mufīd attacked the power of the Khedive.[6] It complained that foreigners owned Egypt's riches. While the natives received small salaries, European employees gained enormous sums. It hoped that foreigners would leave the country.[7]

The British Consul, Sir Edward Malet, reported that he had on several occasions called Sharīf Pasha's attention to the increasing virulence of the native press. Sharīf was urged to

1. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.164.
2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.393, 6 October, 1881.
3. Moniteur Égyptien, 17 July, 1880.
4. W.M., no.1214, 20 September, 1881.
5. al-Burhān, 20 October, 1881, quoted in The Times, Tuesday, 8 November, 1881, p.9.
6. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.20.
7. al-Mufīd, 19 October, 1881, quoted in The Times, Tuesday, 8 November, 1881, p.9.

use his authority to prevent the dissemination of ideas preaching distrust of Christians and misrepresenting the actions of England and France towards their Muslim subjects. Al-Mufīd and al-Burhān were singled out for publishing particularly injurious articles.[1] Al-Ahrām and Iskandarīya however preserved their moderation and friendly attitude towards Christians;[2] al-Ahrām, unique amongst the Arab papers, in fact defended the Dual Control.

On 30 October, al-Mufīd was suspended for 15 days. During its suspension, Mustafā Thāqib and Hasan ash-Shamsī brought out a substitute paper in Cairo, an-Najāḥ (Success). It too used extraordinary revolutionary language, and after a time it was stopped by the Government.[3] Al-Mufīd reappeared on 15 November. The Foreign consuls were also perturbed by the behaviour of al-Ḥijāz, and when Sharīf's government closed one of Alexandria's French papers, L'Égypte, they demanded a quid pro quo for this measure. Al-Ḥijāz was suppressed on 7 November, after repeated warnings, for libelling foreign countries, its violent language in support of Pan-Islamic views, and its incautious comments on the policy of the Khedive's government.[4] Sir Edward Malet wrote that the suppression of this organ of ᶜUrābī, especially while he was still in Cairo, was a sign of authority returning to the Government, and consequently had the effect, to some degree, of restoring confidence.[5] ᶜUrābī had been forced to accept the suppression of the paper, when Sharīf threatened to resign.[6]

1. Letter no.2, from Sir Edward Malet to Earl Granville, dated Cairo, 31 October, 1881, in Egypt No.5 (1882): Correspondence Respecting the Affairs of Egypt, C.3230, p.1.

2. Ibid., Letter no.3, Sir Edward Malet to Earl Granville, dated Cairo, 31 October, 1881, p.6.

3. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.21.

4. al-Maḥrūsa, 10 November, 1881.

5. Letter no.12, from Sir Edward Malet to Earl Granville, dated Cairo, 14 November, 1881, in Egypt. No.5 (1882), p.13

6. The Times, Thursday, 10 November, 1881, p.5.

Aḥmad Bey ʿUrābī wrote to the Press Department on 17 October asking permission for an-Nadīm to replace his literary and educational at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt with a political and educational paper, Lisān al-Umma (Organ of the Nation) "to defend the rights of the nation and its ... government".[1] So on 23 October at-Tankīt ceased to appear after its nineteenth issue, and permission was granted for the new weekly paper in November. It appeared, not as requested, but under the title of aṭ-Ṭā'if in Alexandria on 20 November, 1881, with an-Nadīm as editor. Its first issue was number 20 keeping the numbering of at-Tankīt. The colloquial part of the paper disappeared, and it was written in a simple classical style. Articles were written in the paper by ʿUrābī himself, and Maḥmūd Sāmī Pasha al-Bārūdī: Aḥmad Samīr again acted as deputy editor.

In this paper, an-Nadīm repeated his criticisms of Ismāʿīl's reign. Ismāʿīl had allowed the riches of the country to be taken over by foreigners, commerce had fallen into stagnation, the administration had floundered, irrigation had ceased to exist, injustice had fallen only on the peasants, and Europeans now dictated the law to the governors and the governed.[2] It again attacked the social shortcomings of Egyptian society; the existence of brothels, inns, cabarets, which had appeared in Cairo after the capitulations much to the grief of pious Muslims.[3]

Apart from publishing, an-Nadīm often made speeches throughout the country for the officers' cause; he was often to be seen in the company of ʿUrābī and other military leaders.[4]

1. ʿAṭīyat Allāh, Aḥmad, ʿAbd Allāh Nadīm, (Cairo, n.d.), p.46; and Charmes, Revue, op. cit., p.776.

2. Sabry, La Genèse, op. cit., vol.1, pp.106-107.

3. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.164.

4. ʿAṭīyat Allāh, op. cit., pp.54-55; and Biovès, A., Français et Anglais en Égypte 1881-1882, (Paris, 1910), p.35.

As a result of his activities in the summer of 1882 he became known as khatīb ath-thawra (orator of the revolution). Others also gave speeches in support of the ᶜUrābists, Adīb Isḥāq, Fatḥī Zaghlūl, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī and Muṣṭafā Māhir.[1]

Because of the violence of the "native" newspapers which sprang into existence after 9 September, a new Press Law (qānūn al-maṭbūᶜāt)[2] was promulgated by the Khedive on 26 November, 1881, savouring somewhat of panic legislation. The law was said to be the idea of Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, editor of al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya.[3] Before 1881 the Egyptian press had been regulated by Ottoman legislation. Freedom of the Press had become embarrassing to the Dual Control, so the law was issued giving the government wide powers of licensing, suspension, seizure and suppression. Many of the articles of previous legislation were repeated. The main innovations were the requirement to present, in advance of sale and publication, five copies of each printed matter, excluding newspapers, to the Press Bureau of the Ministry of the Interior, and the requirement for a cash security deposit for each journal and periodical, ranging from £E50 to £E100. This expensive deposit made it more difficult to start a newspaper. Administrative exile sentences could be applied against editorial staff for undesirable political activities.

In September, 1881, with the fall of Riyāḍ, Adīb Isḥāq[4] returned to Egypt from the Lebanon, after an absence of nearly

1. Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.123.

2. The text of this law is in Ṣābāt, Khalīl, Sāmī ᶜAzīz and Yūnān Labīb Rizq, Ḥurrīyat aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa fī Miṣr, 1798-1924 (Cairo, 1973), pp.67-71.

3. al-Ahrām, no.1245, 10 November, 1881.

4. Isḥāq had left Paris for Beirut at the end of 1880 on his doctor's advice, because he was suffering from consumption. In Beirut he edited the revived at-Taqaddum, and wrote for al-Misbāḥ, founded 1880.

two years. Soon after his return he formulated plans to reissue the Miṣr newspaper,[1] suspended in November, 1879. In October, he was appointed head (nāẓir) of the new Translation and Correspondence Department (Qalam al-Inshā' wa't-Tarjama) in the Ministry of Education (Dīwān al-Maᶜārif),[2] and private secretary to the Council for Higher Education (Majlis al-Maᶜārif al-Aᶜlā).[3] At the same time he became Cairo correspondent for the two papers, al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd[4] and al-Maḥrūsa,[5] belonging to his friend, Salīm an-Naqqāsh. On 3 December he brought out the first issue of Miṣr, now a political, scientific, and literary nationalist weekly in Alexandria, though he had hoped to arrange its publication in Cairo. Ishāq had been encouraged to restart the paper by the Prime Minister, Sharīf Pasha, and Muhammad Zakī Pasha, the Minister of Education.[6] Ishāq edited the paper while pursuing his official tasks; shortly afterwards he was appointed to another official post, second secretary to the new National Assembly (Majlis al-Umma). The paper took a less radical stance than its earlier version; perhaps because of his government post Ishāq took a more moderate line on Egyptian affairs out of loyalty to the Khedive.[7] With the appearance of Miṣr as a weekly, an-Naqqāsh's weekly al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd ceased to appear at the end of 1881. Its companion paper, al-Maḥrūsa, was increased in size and was now to appear every day of the week; al-Maḥrūsa also had a weekly overseas edition.

The increase in ᶜUrābist activity made the Arabic press flourish in 1881. More Arabic papers appeared that year than

1. al-Mufīd, 12 October, 1881, quoted in Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.26.
2. al-Maḥrūsa, (weekly) no.87, 12 October, 1881.
3. Ibid., no.88, 19 October, 1881.
4. al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, no.88, 19 October, 1881.
5. al-Maḥrūsa (weekly), no.88, 19 October, 1881.
6. al-Maḥrūsa, 13 October, 1881.
7. Galal, op. cit., p.102.

ever before in the history of the press, but most of these papers, because of their controversial contents, were only to have very short lives. It was the moderate press that received government support. In 1881 the government was a major subscriber to many papers, from al-Ahrām it bought 336 copies, al-Waṭan - 265, al-Burhān - 232, al-Maḥrūsa - 235, al-Iskandarīya - 195, al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd - 185, al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī - 155, and L'Égypte - 123. It was also financing the Moniteur Égyptien and al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, while L'Égypte received £800 for publishing administrative announcements. The Interior Ministry in 1880 was paying £616 in subscriptions to the Arabic paper in Istanbul, al-Jawā'ib, and in a salary to its editor; it subscribed to other Istanbul papers, the Turkish al-Waqt - 100 copies, al-Ḥawādith - 100, and the Phare du Bosphore - 100. It paid £98 to the Beirut al-Jinān and bought 85 copies of al-Muqtaṭaf. Altogether the Ministries spent £E3,515 on subscriptions,[1] a considerable reduction on the £10,869 plus paid by Ismāᶜīl. With circulations of a 1,000 copies or less it can be seen that government subscriptions were significant.

In January, 1882, the English and French consuls sent a note to the Khedive telling him not to give the National Assembly the right it demanded to discuss and decide upon the budget. This was one of the issues that forced Sharīf Pasha's government to resign, after the deputies refused to accept the government's argument that the European controllers should draw up the budget. On 4 February, a more markedly nationalist government was formed, with Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī as Prime Minister and ᶜUrābī as Minister of War.

An Arabic bi-weekly political paper appeared in Cairo on

1. Annexe no.2 in D. al-W., B; and al-Waqt, 21 August, 1880.

6 March, 1882, az-Zamān (Time), brought out by an Armenian ᶜAliksān Ṣarrāfyān, owner of the paper, and an Egyptian Ḥasan Bey Ḥusnī at-Ṭuwayrānī,[1] its editor. This paper took a politically moderate stance.[2] Perhaps because of the increasing political tension, the Arabic press gravitated towards its centre, Cairo. In January 1882, at ᶜUrābī's suggestion aṭ-Ṭā'if moved to Cairo, perhaps to fill the gap in the nationalist press left by the demise of al-Ḥijāz.[3] An-Nadīm is also said to have moved to Cairo for health reasons.[4] Adīb Isḥāq's paper, Miṣr, moved to Cairo in March. Isḥāq made over the concession and editorship to his brother, 'Awnī, who had been administrator of the paper, and one of its editors. He did this to give himself more time to devote to his official posts, though he continued to contribute to the paper. Adīb's health was deteriorating and this was yet another factor in his decision.[5]

It is also asserted that he was compelled to withdraw from Miṣr as a result of attacks made by al-Mufīd and other extremist papers.[6] Though his paper supported the ᶜUrābī movement, his Christian origins aroused the enmity of ᶜUrābī's increasingly Muslim entourage.[7] In the spring of 1882, al-Mufīd and aṭ-Ṭā'if took part in a campaign by Egyptian journalists against Syrians working in Egypt. Al-Mufīd claimed that the Syrians were disloyal, unqualified for government posts and

1. aṭ-Ṭuwayrānī (1850-1897) was born in Cairo of Turkish origin. He worked on a number of Arabic and Turkish papers in Istanbul, as-Salām, founded 1879, al-Iᶜtidāl, Irtiqā' and Zamān. For further biographical details, see al-ᶜIrfān (1909), vol.1, pp.255-256; and Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.224-227.

2. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.22.

3. Galal, op. cit., pp.106-107.

4. al-Ahrām, 9 January, 1882.

5. Miṣr, no.11, 8 March, 1882; and Isḥāq, op. cit., p.9.

6. Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.20.

7. Kedourie, Elie, Afghani and ᶜAbduh. An Essay on Religious Unbelief and Political Activism in Modern Islam, (London, 1966), p.36.

should be dismissed; Syrian journalists were accused of being in accord with the Khedive and Imperial powers. The Syrian-edited newspaper, al-Maḥrūsa was criticized for allegedly supporting the French invasion of Tunisia in 1881.[1]

There was another step in the polarisation of the press in March, 1882, when Muᶜawwad Farīd dismissed Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh from the editorship of al-Burhān and took it over himself.[2] The paper from then on adopted a stronger nationalist line.[3] Al-Waṭan, the Coptic paper, also supported the nationalist movement, backing al-Bārūdī's ministry. On numerous occasions it drew attention to the dangers of foreign intervention.[4] For some time the Egyptians had feared intervention, and their fears had been compounded by the continued presence of foreign financial control and the French occupation of Tunisia in May, 1881. From early in 1882 foreign financiers and others were promoting intervention to preserve the status quo.[5]

On April 6, 1882, a second magazine appeared in Cairo under the title of Mir'āt ash-Sharq, revived by the owner of the concession, Amīn Nāṣīf, with a Syrian, Shaykh Khalīl al-Yāzijī[6] as its editor. It had sixteen pages and appeared once a week; only a few issues appeared.[7] It was divided into

1. Phelps, William Richards Charles, Political Journalism and the ᶜUrābī Revolt, Ph.D. Thesis, The University of Michigan, 1978, p.210.

2. Phelps (op. cit., p.240) gives the impression that Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh was still associated with the paper in September, 1882.

3. Fayyāḍ, Maḥmūd ᶜAbd ar-Ribḥ, aṣ-Ṣiḥāfa al-Adabīya bi Miṣr wa Atharuhā fī Taṭawwur al-Adab al-Ḥadīth ilā Qiyām al-Ḥarb al-ᶜAlamīya al-Ūlā sanat 1914, M.A. Kullīyat Dār al-ᶜUlūm, Cairo University, 1960, p.204.

4. Sābāt, Ḥurrīya, op. cit., pp.56-57.

5. The Times, 3 February, 1882, p.3, b-c.

6. Shaykh Khalīl (1856-1889), a Syrian, was the youngest son of the famous litterateur, Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī. He arrived in Egypt in 1881. For further details, see Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, pp.352-360; and "Mashāhīr al-Yāzijīyīn al-Lubnānīyīn", al-Āthār (Zahle), vol.2, no.6, November, 1912, pp.224-225.

7. Zaydān, Ta'rīkh Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, p.582.

three parts: the first for scientific and literary studies, the second for plays and novels, and the third for political news, advertisements, etc. This was the first time a magazine had devoted a complete section to literature; Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya had occasionally printed works of literature, but had no regular literary section. Shaykh Khalīl had already written three plays in the Lebanon, and was an accomplished poet, so it is probable that it was on his initiative that Nāṣīf gave more space to literary matters. Under the premiership of al-Bārūdī, despite his supposed opposition to the Press Law, the number of warnings and closures increased in comparison to Sharīf's period of rule. The Government was particularly sensitive to criticism of itself and anything that might stir up popular feeling and provide an excuse for foreign intervention. The first Arabic paper to fall foul of him was the moderate az-Zamān. It was warned for contravening the laws of Islam in one of its articles, and then again for personal insults, but because it ignored these warnings it was suppressed on 10 April, 1882. [1]

A new nationalist weekly, al-Fusṭāṭ, appeared in Cairo on 20 April. This political, scientific and literary[2] paper seems to have been printed on the same press as al-Ḥijāz, and its owner, ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Madanī may well have been a relative of Ibrāhīm al-Madanī, owner of al-Ḥijāz. Ḥasan ash-Shamsī, editor of al-Mufīd, was also associated with this paper. It took an extremist stance and used violent language against foreigners in Egypt.[3]

On April 11, a plot was discovered to murder ᶜUrābī and his associates. Turco-Circassian officers were accused of the conspiracy and were brought to trial, but the Khedive refused

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.1080, 25 April, 1882.

2. E.G., 20 June, 1883.

3. Galal, op. cit., p.106.

to countersign the sentences of exile on those convicted; al-Bārūdī offered his resignation in protest. After this plot, when the Khedive Tawfīq's attitude appeared to have changed towards the nationalists, an-Nadīm embarked on a campaign against him in aṭ-Ṭā'if. He described him as a traitor in foreign hands and ᶜUrābī as "saviour of the nation".[1] aṭ-Ṭā'if became even more closely associated with the ᶜUrābī movement. It and al-Mufīd had become organs of a new nationalist grouping, Jamᶜīyat Shubbān al-Iskandarīya[2] (Society of the Youth of Alexandria); this pro-ᶜUrābī political group had been founded in 1881 with the encouragement of an-Nadīm, and even the Governor of Alexandria attended its meetings.[3] This group was also said to have its own French newspapers. aṭ-Ṭā'if was also appointed to be the organ of the National Assembly.[4] an-Nadīm himself had become, according to The Times, "next to ᶜUrābī Bey, the most popular man in Egypt".[5]

Eventually al-Bārūdī's cabinet decided on 17 May, 1882, to suspend aṭ-Ṭā'if and al-Mufīd for one month to win the the Khedive over to the policy of the cabinet.[6] On 20 May, there was an Anglo-French naval demonstration off Alexandria. The presence of the ships was to provide the Khedive with a favourable moment to dismiss the Cabinet, which was demanded in a joint Anglo-French note on May 25. The note also demanded ᶜUrābī's temporary retirement from Egypt. This was all done to break the supremacy of the military party. Al-Bārūdī's ministry had provoked the crisis by convoking, in defiance of the Khedive's authority, the Assembly of Delegates

1. al-Hadīdī, (book), op. cit., p.189.

2. Terdjumani Hakiket (sic) (Istanbul), quoted in The Times, 18 April, 1882, pp.5-6.

3. Zaydān, Ta'rīkh Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, p.440.

4. al-Waṭan, 8 April, 1882; and Ridā, op. cit., vol.1, p.236.

5. The Times, 5 April, 1882.

6. Galal, op. cit., p.106.

to discuss the court martial of the Turco-Circassian officers, possibly with the intention of deposing the Khedive for his attitude to the crisis. The day following the joint note, al-Bārūdī's cabinet rejected the ultimatum and resigned. Army officers in Alexandria and Cairo insisted that the Khedive reinstate ᶜUrābī as Minister of War: to save Cairo from bloodshed, the Khedive yielded to these demands, which were supported by the leaders of the Religious Communities, all the Deputies, ulemas and others, and restored ᶜUrābī to his post on 28 May.

It was in this difficult climate, on 22 May that Mikhā'īl ᶜAwra'[1] brought out a bi-monthly literary, historical and scientific magazine in Cairo, al-Ḥadāra (Civilisation). The paper was to carry "studies on science, literature, industry, the arts, economics, morals and the biographies of past and present ulema, philosophers, religious leaders and statesmen". Because the nationalist press concentrated on politics and administration, this magazine was issued to bridge the gap. The magazine would report on

> European customs, and morals, their literary, scientific, social and economic methods, their important projects, selected arts, inventions and discoveries, that we prefer, with a separate section for discussion and correspondence.[2]

Unfortunately this magazine and Mir'āt ash-Sharq had appeared at an inopportune moment in Egypt's history. This was not the moment to discuss cultural issues or to talk of European civilisation. Indeed foreign residents, both European and Syrians were beginning to fear for their lives, and

1. ᶜAwrā' (1855-1906) was a Christian from Beirut. In France he had brought out an Arabic paper in 1880, al-Ḥuqūq. He then went to Egypt, where he became director of the government Translation Office (maktab at-tarjama). He gave up this post to found the paper. For further details, see Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.304-306.

2. al-Ahrām, 25 May, 1882.

starting to leave the country. Had the ᶜUrābī revolt not intervened, these magazines and al-Muntakhab might have developed into enduring magazines of character, but as conditions were they were to have very short lives.

A political weekly, The Times of Egypt/at-Tayms al-Miṣrī made its first appearance in the capital shortly before the occupation. It was published half in English and half in Arabic, by its English founder. Salīm ash-Shalfūn was in charge of the Arabic section. It lasted four years.[1]

Salīm an-Naqqāsh, at the suggestion of his subscribers, planned to republish al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd once a week, while keeping al-Maḥrūsa as a daily.[2] Muhammad ᶜAbduh described the paper as the organ of ᶜUmar Lutfī,[3] Governor of Alexandria, who now supported the Khedive in the conflict with the ᶜUrābists. On 1 June, al-Maḥrūsa was suspended by the ᶜUrābist Ministry of the Interior for three months for publishing correspondence from Cairo in which the paper showed its devotion to the Khedive, defended the cause of order, and pointed out the ills that would befall the country unless the military party submitted.[4] An-Naqqāsh made plans to replace it by reissuing the weekly, al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, but the Ministry of the Interior forbade this, because he had not paid the security deposit for that paper required under the Press Law.[5] It seems as though he may have kept al-Maḥrūsa going after the ban for a few days.

The Taqlā brothers were to face similar problems with their papers. Though they had at first defended the nationalist

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.21.
2. al-Jawā'ib, no.1086, 6 June, 1882, quoting al-Maḥrūsa.
3. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.204.
4. al-Jawā'ib, no.1087, 13 June, 1882, quoting W.M. and D. al-W,B.
5. W.M., no.1423, 3 June, 1882, quoting al-Maḥrūsa, no.1160,

policy of ᶜUrābī, as the country moved to conflict their attitude changed.[1] On 7 June, they brought out a new political daily, al-Aḥwāl (Events) in Alexandria to replace al-Ahrām, which had been suspended on 6 June for one month.[2] Salīm Taqlā had hoped to republish al-Waqt when al-Ahrām was suspended, but he discovered that the permit of this paper was no longer valid.[3] Only ten issues of al-Aḥwāl appeared.

An Imperial Turkish Commissioner, Dervish Pasha, arrived in Alexandria on 7 June to conduct negotiations to restore the authority of the Khedive. Serious anti-European rioting took place in Alexandria on 11 June, when about fifty people were killed. The exact causes of the riot are uncertain, but an-Nadīm was accused by many of being the main instigator. He is said to have delivered 'xenophobic' speeches in the city just before the events. His words had been so subversive that the Governor had ordered his removal from the city immediately.[4] The British Consul, Malet, brought pressure on Tawfīq to have an-Nadīm and Muhammad ᶜAbduh arrested and orders were given;[5] there were also various attempts on an-Nadīm's life.[6] An-Nadīm, ᶜAbduh and al-Bārūdī seem to have been constantly in each other's company at this time; Ṣābūnjī[7] was also often to be seen with an-Nadīm.[8]

1. Tagher, Jacques, "La Naissance et le Développement du Journal 'Al-Ahrām'", C.H.E., vol.IV, fasc.3-4, October, 1952, pp.238-239.

2. al-Jawā'ib, no.1087, 13 June, 1882; and E.G., 18 June, 1883.

3. W.M., no.1426, 6 June, 1882.

4. Biovès, op. cit., p.119; al-Jamīᶜī, ᶜAbd al-Munᶜim Ibrāhīm ad-Dasūqī, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm wa-Dawruhu fi'l-Ḥaraka as-Siyāsīya wa'l-Ijtimāᶜīya, (Cairo, 1980), pp.98-99; and ᶜAṭīyat Allāh, op. cit., p.74.

5. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.346.

6. Ibid., p.336.

7. Ṣābūnjī, the ex-editor of an-Nahla, was in Egypt following events as Blunt's representative.

8. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.347.

One of the papers that supported ᶜUrābī, al-Fusṭāṭ, brought out a daily supplement to carry telegrams and other news, probably to keep its readers informed of the latest developments in the crisis.[1] It may not have appeared for long, for Ṣābūnjī on 16 June informed Blunt that all the journals (presumably in Cairo) were closed, except al-Waṭan and the "official journal" (al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya).[2]

Before the events of the summer there were about thirteen Arabic papers appearing in Egypt: in Cairo, al-Muntakhab, al-Mufīd, aṭ-Ṭā'if, Miṣr, Mir'āt ash-Sharq, al-Waṭan, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya and al-Fusṭāṭ, in Alexandria, al-Maḥrūsa, al-Burhān, al-Iskandarīya, al-Ahrām, then al-Aḥwāl, and al-Ḥaḍāra.[3] From early June onwards, many of the Syrian-owned papers stopped appearing, such as al-Maḥrūsa,[4] al-Ḥaḍāra,[5] al-Aḥwāl,[6] Mir'āt ash-Sharq,[7] Miṣr,[8] and al-Iskandarīya,[9] as their owners and editors fled the country, returning home to the Lebanon in the general flight of foreigners which escalated after the Alexandria riots. The journal the least concerned with politics, al-Muntakhab in Cairo, ceased its activities because of developments.[10] The owners of al-Ahrām press had attacked ᶜUrābī severely, claiming that all his actions were illegal. This criticism

1. al-Fusṭāṭ, no.9, 14 June, 1882.

2. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.337.

3. The precise date when they stopped appearing cannot be given in most cases, as copies were not available for this period.

4. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.57.

5. Ibid., vol.3, p.74.

6. Ibid., vol.3, p.64.

7. aṭ-Ṭā'if, no.44, 21 June, 1882.

8. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, p.107.

9. Ibid., vol.3, p.56.

10. Geiss, Albert, "Un journal arabe de medecine", B.I.E., 5th series, 4 (1910), p.60.

aroused the anger of the public and during the disturbances in Alexandria their press was burnt.[1] The Taqlās fled the country fearing assassination.[2] The al-Maḥrūsa press in the city was also destroyed.[3]

After the Khedive moved to Alexandria on 13 June, aṭ-Ṭā'if was restored to life in Cairo on 21 June. In its first edition it printed an-Nadīm's speech at Alexandria claiming that the Khedive was unfit to rule.[4] The Egyptian Gazette later claimed that "ce journal fut le levier qui souleva des hordes fanatiques et les porta aux crimes les plus horribles",[5] but in fact aṭ-Ṭā'if denied the existence of fanaticism and disorder in Egypt, with reference to misleading reports persistently published in The Times.[6] Articles were written in the paper by ᶜUrābī himself, and Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī. Perhaps in an attempt to whitewash an-Nadīm's pro-ᶜUrābī activities, his brother later claimed that the military took the paper over, and an-Nadīm was unable to resist their orders, so he let them write whatever they wanted.[7]

In its first issue, perhaps because of an-Nadīm's friendship with many Syrian journalists, he expressed his regret at their departure after the Alexandria riots. He pointed out that the prejudice of certain Syrian newspapers against the National Party and ᶜUrābī did not reflect the "views of our Syrian brothers".[8] Al-Mufīd in an article on the Syrian

1. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1964), op. cit., p.100.
2. Taqlā, op. cit., p.33.
3. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.57.
4. al-Ḥadīdī (Thesis), op. cit., p.235.
5. E.G., 23 June, 1883.
6. al-Ḥadīdī (book), op. cit., p.264.
7. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, p.10.
8. al-Ḥadīdī (Thesis), op. cit., pp.248-249; and Ḥamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.20.

newspapers attacked al-Aḥwāl, al-Maḥrūsa and Miṣr; these papers had formerly adopted a nationalist stance, but "once the situation deteriorated, they closed their papers, and returned to their country, their pockets full of money".[1]

Admiral Sir Beauchamp Seymour, English military commander of the fleet at Alexandria, demanded on 6 July that a stop be put to all works of fortification in the port; these had started early in June on ᶜUrābī's orders. If not he threatened to open fire on the constructions. Since hostilities were expected, most foreign subjects were recalled from Cairo. An English ultimatum was delivered on 10 July, which was rejected by the Khedive and the Cabinet of the new Prime Minister, Ismāᶜīl Rāghib. The following day, the British squadron opened fire on the shore batteries. On the next day, the European quarter of Alexandria was razed to the ground. The Khedive and all his Ministers, except ᶜUrābī, took refuge with the English fleet; ᶜUrābī was with his troops outside the city. On 16 July, the Khedive dismissed ᶜUrābī as Minister of War. British Marines had landed and gradually took control of Alexandria, while ᶜUrābī and his supporters controlled the rest of the country. Thus began the revolt.

During the revolt the Cairo papers, al-Waṭan, al-Waqa'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, al-Fusṭāṭ, al-Mufīd, and aṭ-Ṭā'if supported ᶜUrābī. On 22 July al-Fusṭāṭ was appearing as a single sheet; this may have been because of a shortage of paper in Cairo. Little overseas news was getting through to Cairo. European and Constantinople papers had of course stopped coming via Alexandria, but some Syrian newspapers were still arriving via Port Said.[2] The Cairo press filled most of its columns with news of war preparations.

1. at-Ṭā'if, 21 June, 1882 from Hamza, Adab, op. cit., vol.2, p.29.

2. al-Fusṭāṭ, no.6 nūn, 1299.

On 22 July the new government in Cairo, a General Martial Council (al-Majlis al-ᶜUrfī) of civil and religious leaders superseded the Press Law of 1881 with one of its own, requiring pre-censorship of newspapers by the Press Bureau,[1] to prevent the appearance of articles containing religious fanaticism or personal injustice. The press was also subject to military censorship, submitting its material to the Ministry of War (Wizārat al-Jihādīya) before publication.[2] The English had their own military censorship, primarily affecting despatches sent to English newspapers during the campaign.[3] The Martial Council suspended al-Fusṭāṭ for three months on 24 July for using unsuitable language about the crisis.[4]

aṭ-Ṭā'if was suspended for a couple of weeks at the start of the conflict, while an-Nadīm went around popularising jihād (holy war) against the English.[5] On 20 July it reappeared. To satisfy public demand, it began to appear almost every day and its circulation increased considerably.[6] an-Nadīm was the only Egyptian journalist with the Egyptian army; he took his press with him to the Egyptian army's camp at Kafr ad-Dawwār.

Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh, one of the few Egyptian journalists left in Alexandria, brought out a weekly paper in the city on 31 July, al-Iᶜtidāl (Moderation). This was the first Arabic paper to appear in the city since the Alexandria riots. It was printed on the presses of the Egyptian Gazette on board the English fleet.[7] It was published with financial help

1. Galal, op. cit., p.123.
2. al-Fusṭāṭ, 22 July, 1882.
3. The Times, 27 September, 1882, p.3, cols.a-b.
4. al-Waṭan, 29 July, 1882.
5. al-Ḥadīdī (book), op. cit., p.212.
6. Ibid., p.217.
7. aṭ-Ṭā'if, 4 August, 1882, from al-Ḥadīdī (book), op. cit., p.219.

and on the orders of the Khedive. The principal object of the paper was to urge ᶜUrābī's adherents to surrender. That day the Cabinet in Alexandria issued a proclamation dismissing ᶜUrābī for his various acts of rebellion, and announcing that the Sublime Porte would be sending troops. Al-Iᶜtidāl and its editor were scorned by aṭ-Ṭā'if, which warned people against reading the paper.[1] Yet another loyalist paper was brought out by Bishāra Taqlā. He had returned to Alexandria on 16 July. Early in August he republished al-Ahrām, but in a much reduced form of only two pages. Bishāra ran the whole operation single-handed on a new small press.[2] The paper sided with the Khedive; aṭ-Ṭā'if vilified the Taqlā brothers as mercenaries of the Khedive.[3]

During the revolt Sanua in Paris declared his support for the ᶜUrābists and joined the call for a jihād.[4] Sanua had asked permission from, it is conjectured, Prince Halīm, to return to Egypt, but had been told to stay in France.[5] Ṣābūnjī had left Egypt early in July.[6]

Hasan ash-Shamsī was forced to quit al-Mufīd by the Cairo government's Press Bureau, after publishing articles inciting fanaticism and personal attacks.[7] Instead he and Mustafā Thāqib reissued an-Najāḥ early in August.[8] This pro-ᶜUrābī bi-weekly political paper appeared in Cairo. A few days later on August 21 ash-Shamsī brought out another political and literary bi-weekly in Cairo, as-Safīr (The Ambassador),

1. aṭ-Ṭā'if, 4 August, 1882 from al-Hadīdī, op. cit., p.219.
2. Taqlā, op. cit., p.33.
3. ᶜAbduh, Jarīda (1951), op. cit., p.129, quoting aṭ-Ṭā'if, 23 August, 1882.
4. Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā', no.13, 4 August, 1882, quoted in ᶜAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.148.
5. Gendzier, op. cit., p.85.
6. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., pp.555-556.
7. Broadley, A.M., How We Defended Arabi and His Friends, (London, 1884), p.241.
8. al-Watan, 12 August, 1882.

supporting the rebels. Ash-Shamsī had in the interim ended his association with Thāqib.[1]

An-Nadīm with his press followed the Egyptian army from Kafr ad-Dawwar to at-Tall al-Kabīr; his paper, aṭ-Ṭā'if, often appeared as a single-sided newssheet. An-Nadīm exhorted the the Egyptian soldiery and people into action against the British by exaggerating their victories, and lauding acts of individual heroism. He claimed that the English wanted to suppress the tenets of Islam and conquer the two holy cities.[2] In August, aṭ-Ṭā'if published news of the impending dethronement of Tawfīq by the Sultan in favour of his uncle, Prince ᶜAbd al-Halīm Pasha, long the darling of the nationalists, and announced his prospective arrival in Egypt.[3]

Al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya continued to appear in Cairo during the revolt, carrying material in support of the war effort. The paper had been extraordinarily active in support of the National movement in 1882. Sābūnjī considered ᶜAbduh and an-Nadīm as amongst the leaders (of the civilian wing) of the National Party,[4] though ᶜAbduh was to deny this role.

The British slowly extended their control over the country. On August 2, Suez was occupied. ᶜUrābī was declared a rebel by proclamation on 7 August, and the Egyptians were warned of the penalties if they persisted in following him; the Sultan, under English pressure, branded him as a rebel on 8 September. A British Expeditionary Force landed in mid-August to re-establish the authority of the Khedive. Port Said, Kantara, and Ismailia were occupied on August 21. The

1. al-Waṭan, 12 August, 1882; and Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.21.
2. The Times, September 5, 1882, pp.3f and 4a.
3. al-Hadīdī (book), op. cit., p.221.
4. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.328.

Egyptian rebel army was finally routed at at-Tall al-Kabīr, thirty miles from Ismailia, on September 13. Cairo was occupied on 15 September and ᶜUrābī surrendered.

Though only The Egyptian Gazette[1] and the Moniteur Egyptien, transferred to Alexandria on 23 July,[2] appeared during the revolt, about twenty-two other European language papers reappeared after the British occupation. In French there were the Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien, Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie, Bulletin Trimestriel de la Navigation par le Canal de Suez, Bulletin Judiciaire et Financier, Bulletin du Comité Agricole, Le Phare d'Alexandrie, Moniteur Égyptien, L'Echo d'Orient, Jurisprudence des Tribunaux de la Réforme en Égypte, La Jurisprudence, Journal Officiel, Le Bosphore Égyptien, L'Union Égyptienne; in Italian La Trombetta, Il Corriere Egiziano, L'Economista, and the Messagiere Egiziano; in Greek Elpis, Kekrops, Sérapéon, Anatoli and Telegraphos; in English The Egyptian Gazette and The Times of Egypt, and in Italian, Greek and Arabic La Fama. No European periodicals had survived from the reigns of Muḥammad ᶜAlī and ᶜAbbās I, all those mentioned were from the reigns of Saᶜīd, Ismāᶜīl and Tawfīq.

The government ordered the arrest of a number of Arab journalists after the final collapse of the revolt, including Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, editor of al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm of aṭ-Ṭā'if, Ibrāhīm Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Madanī, owner of al-Fusṭāṭ, Ḥasan ash-Shamsī, owner of al-Mufīd, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqāni and other "rebel orators and journalists who trumpeted their evil acts in their newspapers".[3] ᶜAbduh, ash-Shamsī and al-Laqqāni were exiled for 3 years to

1. The Egyptian Gazette, 75th Anniversary Supplement, p.1.

2. Biovès, op. cit., pp.235-236.

3. al-Ahrām, no.1447, 16 September, 1882.

Beirut.[1] An-Nadīm was accused of calling for rebellion, of instigating the massacre in Alexandria, and of participating in the pillage and burning of the city.[2] After the debacle, he went into hiding, as it seems did Ibrāhīm al-Madanī.[3] James Sanua, the exiled Egyptian journalist in Paris, was allegedly sentenced to death.[4]

With the restoration of the Khedive's power in Cairo, most of the papers supporting the rebels disappeared or were suppressed: as-Safīr, aṭ-Ṭā'if,[5] al-Mufīd,[6] al-Fusṭāṭ,[7] an-Najāḥ,[8] al-Burhān,[9] and az-Zamān.[10] Only a couple of the Cairo papers survived. Al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya reappeared on 21 September under a new editor, ᶜAbd al-Karīm Salmān. It was announced that the issues that had appeared from 11 July to 12 September, during the revolt, were not considered official news, as they were published without permission of the ruler.[11] Al-Waṭan also survived with the same editor. The disappearance of the extreme nationalist press in itself would have considerably altered the shape of the Egyptian press, but even more moderate supporters of the nationalists were refused permission to restart their publishing activities. Adīb Isḥāq attempted to return after the English occupation, but was exiled to Beirut.[12] An-Naqqāsh tried to restart al-Maḥrūsa in September but was

1. Broadley, op. cit., p.237; and al-Qāyātī, Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Jawād, Nafḥat al-Basḥām fi Riḥlat ash-Shām, (Cairo, 1901), pp.50-51.

2. ᶜAṭīyat Allāh, op. cit., p.70; and al-Jamīᶜī, op. cit., p.105.

3. E.G., 20 June, 1883.

4. Hasan, Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, (Cairo, 1965), p.68.

5. al-Jawā'ib, no.1103, 3 October, 1882.

6. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.23.

7. E.G., 21 June, 1883.

8. Broadley, op. cit., p.494.

9. W.M., no.1457, 24 September, 1882.

10. Ibid., no.1486, 21 September, 1882.

11. Ibid., no.1486, 21 September, 1882.

12. al-Ahrām, 18 September, 1882.

stopped by the Prefect of Police in Alexandria.[1]

Apart from al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya and al-Waṭan, al-Ahrām and al-Iskandarīya were reissued.[2] al-I^{c}tidāl only lasted a few months after it moved to Cairo after the revolt.[3] For his loyalty to the Khedive, its editor, Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh, was appointed Inspector of the Arabic language in the Ministry of Education shortly after the collapse of the revolt.[4] Only one new paper appeared to bridge the gap left by the disappearance of twelve papers. Salīm al-Ḥamawī brought out a daily edition of al-Iskandarīya, Rawḍat al-Iskandarīya[5] (The Meadow of Alexandria) in Alexandria on 9 October.[6] Even uncontentious publications like al-Muntakhab, al-Ḥaḍāra[7] and al-Aḥwāl never reappeared. Al-Aḥwāl had appeared in the first place without payment of the security deposit, so it was officially suppressed in November,[8] though it seems that it had not reappeared after the revolt.

It was to be months, and in some cases years before some of the other papers reappeared often with new editorial staff. Al-Burhān reappeared in February 1883 in Cairo, edited by an-Nadīm's close colleague Aḥmad Samīr.[9] Amīn Nāṣīf republished Mir'āt ash-Sharq on 14 April, 1883.[10] Salīm

1. Avis de Directeurs des Contentieux de l'État, Cairo, 24 April, 1883, in D. al-W., B.

2. al-Jawā'ib, no.1103, 3 October, 1882.

3. ^{c}Attāra, op. cit., p.260.

4. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.64.

5. al-Ḥamawī had planned to issue this paper in 1880, but the paper does not seem to have appeared (al-Maḥrūsa, 16 April, 1880).

6. E.G., 22 June, 1883; and Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, pp.55-56.

7. Ibid., vol.3, p.23.

8. W.M., no.1486, 8 November, 1882.

9. E.G., 21 June, 1883; and Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.62.

10. Ibid., vol.3, p.16.

an-Naqqāsh finally reissued al-Maḥrūsa in 1884, and Salīm ash-Shalfūn worked on the paper yet again.[1] That year az-Zamān also reappeared under Mikhā'īl ᶜAwrā'.[2]

Most of those Egyptians associated with the press in the 1860s and early 1870s, many of them graduates of the state schools, had stopped their journalistic activities some years before: such people as ᶜAlī Fahmī, Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl, Muhammad Unsī, and Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī. The Syrians survived the revolt in strength, but the nationalist journalists, many of them Azharites, who had been active in the press in some cases since 1878, had all but disappeared from the scene. The only opposition press was now in exile, published by such figures as James Sanua, Louis Ṣābūnjī and Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī.

A strictly-controlled state press had been established by Muhammad ᶜAlī, catering for a very small readership. It was not till Ismāᶜīl's reign that Arabic periodicals came of age, after years of neglect under Muhammad ᶜAlī's immediate successors, ᶜAbbās and Saᶜīd. Under Ismāᶜīl, not only was the official press revitalized, but an independent press began to emerge. In the evolution of the Egyptian press from 1867 to 1882 such ideas as the rights of the Egyptian people, the demand for the removal of foreign control, and the curtailment of the Khedive's powers were disseminated for the first time. What Ismāᶜīl had encouraged as a means to combat foreign interference and forestall direct European intervention eventually turned against his successor.

The press throughout the period had a profound didactic influence, though the overall readership was small. Together with the new state and private schools, book publishing and the various cultural societies, it helped form a new

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, pp.57-58.

2. Ibid., vol.3, p.23.

non-religious group of intellectuals, composed of students, teachers, civil servants, officers and others, whereas previously the men of al-Azhar had been the men of science. The national movement, beginning at the end of Ismā^{c}īl's reign, turned a didactic press into an instrument of struggle and national independence. The press was able to discuss many issues in relative freedom. Journalists like Muhammad ^{c}Abduh, ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm, Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm an-Naqqāsh, despite continued loyalty to the Islamic character of the Ottoman sultanate, helped to lay the foundations of a stronger Egyptian identity.

These writers belonged to a second generation in the Egyptian Kulturkampf based on the adaptation of western ideas. They broke ground for the movement away from traditional learning, writing and social thought. The editorial was utilised by them to express, develop and argue a single idea clearly, briefly and logically far away from the tortuous, rhetorical and encyclopedic ramblings of earlier traditional writings. The period 1879-1882 laid the foundations for a free and independent press, though the ^{c}Urābī revolt had a temporary devastating effect on the press, depriving it of some of its most talented writers. But many if not all the leading Syrian writers, who had been attracted to Egypt in the 1870s and later, returned to Egypt after the revolt to help make Egypt the main centre of the Arabic press.

As the press developed in Ismā^{c}īl's reign it played an increasingly important part in drawing the public's attention to new literary forms borrowed from Europe, the theatre, the novel and the short story. The magazine, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya (1870-1877) marks a watershed in that it published the best of the old and the new in literary genres. It was only in poetry that the press had no significant effect on the status quo. No new poetic styles evolved, but the press, for the first time under Ismā^{c}īl, brought the public's attention to

the traditional poetic skills of a select group of court poets and literati. The role of the press in the literary field will be discussed in the following chapters.

CHAPTER IV

EARLY FORMS OF ARABIC DRAMA IN EGYPT

European drama, as we have seen, was probably introduced into Egypt by an amateur troupe formed in 1799 to entertain the French expeditionary force. Before that only traditional forms of popular Arabic drama were found in Egypt. Neither European drama, whether classical, renaissance or later, nor Asian dramatic forms seem to have had any impact on Arab society. With the growth of the press in Egypt, the Arabic and foreign language journals showed little or no interest in the performances of folk drama. The few issues of al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, the official gazette, that could be consulted in the period from 1828 to 1869, make no reference to any form of dramatic activity in Egypt. It is not till the first independent newspaper appeared, Wādī an-Nīl in 1867, that Arabic newspaper columns began recording theatre news, though even such items were published for their news value; there was no such thing as an arts page or drama column, nor any attempt to criticise the plays for their artistic or literary merits.

Until the theatrical experiments of Mārūn an-Naqqāsh in Syria in the 1840s, there was no genre resembling European drama in the Arab world.[1] Ancient Greek dramatic works were not available in the Syriac language, from which Greek works were translated into Arabic in the Middle Ages. This may help to explain why Greek drama remained unknown to the Arabs,

1. The absence of drama in Arabic literature is discussed in depth in al-Khozai, Mohamed Ali, A Study of the Development of Early Arabic Drama (1847-1900), Ph.D., London University, 1978.

even though many other branches of Greek learning were made accessible to them. The translators acquired most of their texts from Constantinople, where there was probably little local interest in ancient Greek drama. In western Europe the theatres had been closed in the sixth century; in Byzantium, while various forms of mime and primitive comedy acting survived, classical tragedy and comedy had probably disappeared. The Arab translators were primarily looking for scientific, mathematical and philosophical texts, and would no doubt have had little time for other material, such as drama, poetry, history, and belles-lettres. It has also been suggested that had these Christian translators come across Greek dramatic texts they would have avoided them because of their many polytheistic references. Abū'l-Bashar Mattā b. Yūnus, in his translation, made about 930 A.D., of Aristotle's Poetics, translated "actors" (in Greek hypocrite) as al-murā'ūn wa'l-munāfiqūn (hypocrites and dissemblers), comedy as hijā' (invective or satire), and tragedy as madīḥ (panegyric), obviously completely misunderstanding the terms.

Early Muslim sources rarely mention theatrical performances. Al-Bīrūnī (died 440/1048) writes of Indian religious dramas in his Taḥqīq mā li'l-Hind, as does Ibn an-Nadīm (died 385/995) in al-Fihrist. The Persian ᶜAlā ad-Dīn Juwaini (died 651/1253), in The History of the World Conqueror (Tarīkh-i Jahān-Gushā) mentions that "a troupe of players had come from Khitai (Manchuria) and acted wondrous Khitayan plays such as no-one had ever seen before".[1]

The revival of secular drama in Europe during the Renaissance, after centuries when only religious drama was performed in the Middle and late Middle Ages, had no counterpart in the Arab world. In the centuries immediately

1. Juwaini, ᶜAla-ad-Din ᶜAta-Malik, The History of the World-Conqueror (trans. J.A. Boyle) (Manchester, 1958), vol.1, p.207.

before the nineteenth century, the majority of Arab imaginative prose writers and poets had demonstrated a distinct lack of imagination and flair in their works, so it is not surprising that the creative spirit needed to found a literary theatre was lacking. Many have accused Islam of preventing the emergence of the theatre. Islam had banned figurative arts, and the theatre which was "imitation" and "representation" would have been ipso facto forbidden. Arabs for centuries remained conservative in their literary life, sustaining a limited number of literary genres, perhaps partly because it was felt that their language was sacrosanct, the sacred language of the Qur'ān, and should be preserved from innovation and foreign influences. In classical Arabic literature, there are certain genres which have some dramatic elements, such as the maqāma (a genre of Arabic rhymed prose) with its dialogue and characters, but the maqāma form was primarily a linguistic and grammatical tour de force, which was recited by one person, weak in plot and characterization.

While there were no plays or drama in the European sense, popular drama took several forms in the Arab world. It is worth discussing these in brief here, since they continued to exist in Egypt parallel to the growth of European dramatic activities, and may have provided some inspiration to the emergent Arabic theatre. There was a living tradition of shadow theatre (karagöz [black eye] or khayāl az-zill) using the Egyptian dialect; this dated back at least to Fatimid times. Performances, together with other popular entertainments, accompanied the dawsa, maḥmal, al-Mawlid an-Nabawī and other mawālid ceremonies, and were also given after dusk in the fasting month of Ramadān. Karagöz was also seen at domestic festivities such as circumcisions or marriage celebrations.

The dawsa (trampling) was a popular annual ceremony during which a Sufi Shaykh rode on horseback over the backs

of his disciples in a test of faith and endurance. This ceremony was usually performed at al-Azbakīya in Cairo, as were the ceremonies of al-Mawlid an-Nabawī (the Prophet's birthday) in the month of Rabīᶜ I near the house of the Naqīb as-Sādāt al-Bakrīya, the chief of the Sufi confraternities. The maḥmal was another public ceremony at which the pilgrim caravan was presented with the new kiswa (the covering of the Kaaba) to be taken to Mecca. After the French occupation, al-Azbakīya, the scene of many of these events, had remained one of the leading residential areas for Egypt's rulers. The Turkish Governor after the French, Muḥammad Khusraw Pasha, had lived there in Qaṣr al-Alfī and Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pasha had built a huge palace there. In 1229/1813 Muḥammad ᶜAlī held the celebrations for the weddings of his son, Ismāᶜīl Pasha, and his secretary, Muḥammad Bey ad-Daftardār, to his daughter in al-Azbakīya. The celebrations, lasting two weeks, were accompanied by all sorts of amusements, karagöz, magicians, singers, dancers, gambling, swings, etc.[1]

In karagöz, the shadow-player used a stand, like the European marionette theatre; instead of the open stage a canvas was stretched across and illuminated by an oil-lamp. The shadow player pressed brightly coloured figures about a foot high, made of leather, against the canvas, by means of guiding rods inserted into the figures. Often all the figures were controlled by one player (muqaddam), but sometimes he had hired assistants or pupils to move them; at grander occasions the performance might be accompanied by three or four musicians playing tambourines, reed flute and a drum. In the prelude to the performance, in which a musician played a reed flute, karagöz, the principal character, greeted the public, praised the government, and announced the subject of the piece. The performance was composed of short comic dialogues, dances, and set-piece scenes, characterized by

1. al-Jabartī (1297), op. cit., vol.4, p.198.

linguistic misunderstandings, uproar, violence and sexual innuendo. There were various stock characters: karagöz, whose adventures are depicted, is the central character, a truculent, artful, boastful person, who displays popular sagacity.

The Arabist, Lane, states that the performances were often in Turkish:-

> Their performances, which are, in general, extremely indecent, occasionally amuse the Turks residing in Cairo; but, of course, are not very attractive to those who do not understand the Turkish language.[1]

The German missionary, Haussman, saw shows in Turkish in Cairo in the 1860s. It has been suggested that Arabic karagöz did not reappear until about the 1870s.[2] Turkish remained the language of the ruling elite, the royal family, and senior army officers, until well into the second half of the nineteenth century. In 1879, karagöz, this "ludicrous exhibition of rude jests, bear-fighting and unseemly gestures" was still a familiar sight in Cairo, and indeed in most towns of the Levant,[3] and was to remain so well after the period under study.

Though texts and detailed descriptions of karagöz are available from previous centuries, and we have the texts collected by Jacob, Kahlé, Littman, Prüfer and Taymūr Pasha at the end of the nineteenth century or the beginning of the twentieth century, little is known about the karagöz pieces performed in the period under study. Thalasso has tried to show that late Ottoman karagöz borrowed certain scenes from Molière's Tartuffe, L'Avare and Fourberies de Scapin, and it

1. Lane, op. cit., p.397.

2. Müller, W.M., "Zur Geschichte des Arabischen Schattenspiels in Aegypten", Orientalistiche Literaturzeitung, year 12, no.8 (August, 1909), pp.341-342.

3. "An Arabic Punch", The Saturday Review, vol.48, no.1 (July 26, 1879), p.112.

may be that Egyptian karagöz in the nineteenth century imitated scenes from Molière and other European dramatists.[1] An effendi (a Europeanised Egyptian) was usually one of the stock characters in the show, and undoubtedly when the Egyptian public became aware of the existence of the European theatre from the time of the French invasion, this strange European custom of playgoing could have been mocked and well-known scenes from European theatre might have been mimicked in karagöz performances.

The Turkish term karagöz applied equally to puppet theatre. Puppet shows were also common in Egypt, especially in the streets of Cairo. The exhibition was presented upon a very narrow stage, which the puppet man could easily carry about. The wooden or plaster figures appeared through holes in the box-stage, and were controlled by means of wires passing through grooves in the lid of the box. Like the shadow-player, he gave his voice a shrill for the discourse of the characters, by putting a special instrument in his mouth, like the Punch and Judy man. As with Punch and Judy, the puppets began by paying each other compliments, quarrelled by degrees, and invariably ended by beating one another.[2]

The British traveller, Sir Gardner Wilkinson, describes performances of what he calls this Turkish Punch, which he saw in the 1840s; a cafe in the street where the Bashagha lived was a particular centre for such activities. These shows obviously did not meet the approval of the writer. Wilkinson wrote that karagöz

> in his satirical sallies ... spares neither rank, age nor sex and until a complaint was made to the government, the licentiousness of these Satan-alia

1. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.44.

2. Niebuhr, Carsten, Travels Through Arabia and Other Countries in the East, (Edinburgh, 1792), vol.1, p.144.

> was so gross, that it would have shocked an ancient Greek audience, though accustomed to the plays of Aristophanes.[1]

The French writer, Gérard de Nerval, saw in 1843 in al-Azbakīya a more primitive form of string puppets, made to dance by the manipulator's knee.[2]

Other forms of entertainment contained dramatical elements. There were jesters, who entertained the crowds on such occassions as the maḥmal ceremony;

> buffoons, the original type of our professed "fools" of Europe, moved on among the saints, making strange grimaces, and uttering studied absurdities for the amusement of the populace. Of these motley personages, some were borne on men's shoulders, others rode upon camels, while the less distinguished, like the renowned Martinus Scriberus, made their own legs their compasses. Their fantastic dresses and quaint appearance defy description; but the principal fool wore a capote of sheepskin, dressed with the wool on, and possessed a prodigious pair of mustachios, at least six or seven inches long, painted of divers colours, and sticking out on either side like leeks.

This was how they were described by the British traveller, James Saint-John in 1833.[3] Dancing too was a popular form of entertainment, and often the dances of the ghawāzī (women dancers) took on the character of a mime or ballet, telling simple stories of lovers.[4]

1. Wilkinson, Sir Gardner, Modern Egypt and Thebes, (London, 1843), vol.1, p.270.

2. Nerval, Gérard de, Le Voyage en Orient (Paris, 1980), vol.1, p.170.

3. Saint-John, James Augustus, Egypt and Mohammed Ali, (London, 1834), vol.2, p.303.

4. Saint-John, James Augustus, Isis: an Egyptian Pilgrimage, (London, 1853), vol.2, p.186.

Amongst Shiite communities, there was a dramatical form, resembling western theatre, this being the religious theatre (ta^{c}ziya) or passion play. The most celebrated performances took place in an-Najaf and Kerbala in Iraq, where during the first ten days of the month of Muharram, the martyrdom of Husayn, the Prophet's grandson, at the hands of the Umayyads, was and continues to be re-enacted before an audience, presided over by religious and secular leaders. The narrator of the play and his assistants read the text, retelling episodes of the death of Husayn and his companions, while actors mimed the parts, occasionally speaking. This ceremony was however by nature a religious ritual, and not a performance for the purposes of entertainment.

The closest precursor to modern drama were the impromtu farcical performances given by male travelling players. Up to the early 1900s this performer, the Egyptian farce player, was often known as Ibn Rābīya, and the group as Awlād Rābīya (the sons of Rābīya).[1] The Egyptian nineteenth-century chronicler, ^{c}Abd ar-Rahman al-Jabartī, also calls them arbāb al-malā^{c}īb (actors) and ahl al-malāhī (the entertainment people); his earliest reference to such performers is in 1696/1108 A.H.[2] The Danish traveller, Carsten Niebuhr, gives a description of a play by such artists, that he witnessed in 1763.[3] At Ismā^{c}īl Pasha's wedding, referred to earlier in this chapter, these players, called ḥababẓīya, appeared in a procession of different guilds, depicting their professions in a series of tableaux mounted on carriages.[4]

1. Moreh, Samuel, "The Arabic Theatre in Egypt in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries", Études arabes et islamiques: Actes du XXIXe Congres international des orientalistes, Paris, juillet, 1973, (Paris, 1975), p.113.

2. Ibid., p.111; and al-Jabartī (1297), op. cit., vol.4, p.198.

3. Niebuhr, op. cit., vol.1, pp.143-144.

4. al-Jabartī (1297), op. cit., vol.4, p.198.

The Italian archaeologist, G. Belzoni, described a performance of two comedies by such artists given at a wedding feast in Shubra? (Soubra), near Cairo, in 1815:-

> La compagnie prit place avec beaucoup d'ordre, en formant un sorte d'amphithéâtre, où les hommes étaient séparés des femmes ... Après la danse il y eut spectacle. Le sujet de la comédie était pris, comme chez nous, dans les événemens de la vie sociale; mais il avait la simplicite des idées arabes. C'était un hadji, qui voulant aller à la Mecque, s'adresse a un chamelier, et le charge de la commission de lui procurer une monture. Celui ci va trouver un marchand de chameaux, et fait avec lui un marché dans lequel il trompe à la fois le marchand et le voyageur, en donnant à l'un moins que l'argent reçu, et en demandant à l'autre plus que la somme stipulée, en même temps il a soin d'empêcher que le vendeur ne s'abouche avec l'acheteur. Il produit enfin le chameau, couvert d'une natte, comme étant prêt à partir pour la Mecque. Mais quand le hadji veut monter l'animal, il le trouve si mauvais, qu'il refuse de le prendre, et redemande son argent. Des paroles on en vient aux mains, au vacarme qu'ils font, le marchand de chameau accourt; il ne reconnaît pas l'animal qu'il a vendu, et il se trouve que le fripon de chamelier a trompé une troisième fois, en substituant un mauvais chameau au bon qu'il a été chargé d'acheter. En conséquence, il est accablé de coups et finit par se sauver. Toute simple qu'elle est, cette pièce fait les délices de l'auditoire, enchanté de voir exposée au ridicule la friponnerie des chameliers.[1]

After this piece, Belzoni saw a small play presented:-

> Le principal personnage de cette farce était un voyageur européen, chargé du rôle de bouffon. Habillé en Franc, cet étranger arrive dans ses voyages chez un Arabe, qui, tout gueux qu'il est, veut avoir les apparences de la richesse. Il ordonne à sa femme de tuer sur-le-champ une brebis pour régaler le voyageur; la femme fait semblant d'obéir; mais au bout de quelques minutes, elle revient pour annoncer que le troupeau s'étant dispersé dans les pâturages, il serait trop long de courir après une

1. Belzoni, G.B., Voyages en Égypte et en Nubie, (Paris, 1821), vol.I, pp.29-30.

> brebis. L'hôte veut alors qu'on tue quatre volailles de bassecour, mais la femme s'excuse de ne pouvoir les attraper: on l'envoie une troisième fois pour mettre des pigeons à la broche; mais il se trouve qu'ils se sont tous envolés du colombier: à la fin l'étranger est réduit, pour tout régal, à du lait caillé et du pain de dourrah, seules provisions que possède son hôte magnifique. C'est là le dénoûement de la pièce.[1]

Lane, too, described these actor-comedians, whom he saw in 1834:-

> The Egyptians are often amused by players of low and ridiculous farces, who are called Moḥabbaẓeen.[2] These frequently perform at the festivals prior to weddings and circumcisions, at the houses of the great: and sometimes attract rings of auditors and spectators in the public places in Cairo. Their performances are scarcely worthy of description: it is chiefly by vulgar jests, and indecent actions, that they amuse and obtain applause. The actors are only men and boys; the part of a woman being always performed by a man or a boy in female attire.[3]

Lane then gives an account of one such play, performed before Muḥammad ᶜAlī, viceroy of Egypt:-

> The dramatis personae were a Nāẓir (or governor of a district), a Sheykh Beled (or chief of a village), a servant of the latter, a Copt clerk, a Fellāḥ indebted to the government, his wife, and five other persons, of whom two made their appearance first in the character of drummers, one as a hautboy-player, and the two others as dancers. After a little drumming and piping and dancing by these five the Nāẓir and the rest of the performers enter the ring. The Nāẓir asks, "How much does ᶜAwaḍ the son of Regeb owe?" The musicians and dancers, who now act as simple fellaheen, answer, "Desire the Christian to

1. Belzoni, op. cit., vol.I, pp.30-31.

2. R. Dozy (Supplément aux Dictionnaires Arabes, [Beirut, 1981], vol.1, p.245) defines muḥabbaḍ as player of farces.

3. Lane, op. cit., p.395.

look in the register". The Christian clerk has a large dawāyeh (or ink horn) in his girdle, and is dressed as a Copt, with a black turban. The Sheykh el-Beled asks him, "How much is written against ᶜAwaḍ the son of Regeb?" The clerk answers, "A thousand piastres". "How much", says the Sheykh, "has he paid?" He is answered, "Five piastres". "Man", says he, addressing the fellāḥ, "why don't you bring the money?" The fellāh answers, "I have not any". "You have not any?" exclaims the Sheykh: "Throw him down". An inflated piece of intestine, resembling a large kurbāg, is brought, and with this the fellāh is beaten. He roars out to the Nāẓir, "By the honour of thy horses' tail, O Bey! By the honour of thy wife's trousers, O Bey! By the honour of thy wife's head-band, O Bey!" After twenty such absurd appeals, his beating is finished,[1] and he is taken away, and imprisoned. Presently his wife comes to him, and asks him, "How art thou?" He answers, "Do me a kindness, my wife take a little kishk (a wheat dish) and some eggs and some sha'eereyeh (a kind of paste), and go with them to the house of the Christian clerk, and appeal to his generosity to get me set at liberty". She takes these, in three baskets, to the Christian's house, and asks the people there, "Where is the M'allim Ḥannā, the clerk?" They answer, "There he sits". She says to him, "O M'allim Ḥannā, do me the favour to receive these, and obtain the liberation of my husband". "Who is thy husband?" he asks. She answers, "The fellāh who owes a thousand piastres". "Bring", says he, "twenty or thirty piastres to bribe the Sheykh el-Beled". She goes away, and soon returns, with the money in her hand, and gives it to the Sheykh el-Beled. "What is this?" says the Sheykh. She answers, "Take it as a bribe, and liberate my husband". He says "Very well, go to the Nāẓir". She retires for a while, blackens the edges of her eye-lids with kohl, applies fresh red dye of the ḥennā to her hands and feet, and repairs to the Nāẓir. "Good evening, my master" she says to him. "What dost thou want?" he asks. She answers, "I am the wife of ᶜAwaḍ, who owes a thousand piastres". "But what dost thou want?" he asks again. She says, "My husband is imprisoned; and I appeal to thy generosity to liberate him": and as she urges this request, she smiles, and shows him that she does not ask this favour without being willing to grant him

1. Sir John Bowring, who completed a report on Egypt for Lord Palmerston in 1839, states that the story of the tax-gatherer was a recurring theme (Bowring, op. cit., p.144).

> a recompense. He obtains this, takes the husband's part, and liberates him. This farce was played before the Bāshā with the view of opening his eyes to the conduct of those persons to whom was committed the office of collecting the taxes.[1]

"Rude dramatic representations" were also seen by John Bowring. He pointed out that these crude plays were generally concerned with

> one of the two subjects most interesting to them, namely their religion and their taxation. The religious dramas usually introduce a Christian giaour, upon whom the process of conversion is operating in the shape of severe bastinadings, always ending in the triumph of Mahomedan orthodoxy, the Christian sufferer surrendering little by little, and at last in plenty of blows getting plenty of belief.[2]

Maxime du Camp saw a performance in Cairo at the wedding of the daughter of the first bath attendant to ᶜAbbās Pasha. Two male actors invoked gutsy laughter particularly from the women in the audience, who watched the performance from their rooms above. This primitve obscene piece was about a pregnant woman, a donkey and a doctor.[3] Such burlesques were still to be seen after the growth of European-style Arabic theatre, even the girls in the Royal harem performed them.[4]

These brief descriptions are all that we know of these travelling players at this time. Their displays were obviously fairly common occurrences at the same domestic festivities and feast days at which karagöz was seen. At weddings these comic scenes were employed as chief entertainment for the guests

1. Lane, op. cit., pp.395-397.

2. Bowring, op. cit., p.144.

3. De Camp, Maxime, Le Nil, (Égypte et Nubie), (Paris, 1889), p.30.

4. Chennells, Ellen, Recollections of an Egyptian Princess by her English Governess, (Edinburgh, 1893), vol.2, p.206.

during laylat al-ḥanna (the night of henna or wedding night), when the betrothed couple withdrew with their relatives into the harem.[1] Where a large group of artists were involved it appears that they usually played for hire at the houses of the great and rich, though sometimes, perhaps in Ramaḍān, they relied on the generosity of the audience in a public place. According to Niebuhr, one might see a mixed company of Muslims, Christians and Jews;[2] acting, unlike other professions, was obviously not demarcated along religious lines. Since members of the acting profession were no doubt held in contempt by society in general, there was probably no rivalry between the religious communities to control membership. Men and boys played women's roles presumably so as not to offend social mores, in a sexually segregated society, by introducing women in the troupes. The players sometimes wore costume, and it might be assumed that they also used make-up and perhaps masks.

The players' attacks on corrupt officialdom and excessive taxation would obviously appeal to most audiences, even their rich and influential patrons who probably saw it as amusing harmless satire. There was much sexual innuendo, and even grosser forms of indecent action, even though the pieces seemed to have had a mixed audience. Violence seems to have been another essential ingredient. Europeans and religious minorities, Christians and Jews, were often the butt of the piece. Many aspects, the prevailing humour, the sexuality, the violence, the attacks on corruption and minorities, the mocking of the gullibility of the common man, were common themes in karagöz and these farces, and these two dramatic forms probably owed a lot to each other; many of these themes were to find their echo in the Egyptian satirical Arabic

1. Lane, op. cit., pp.172-173; and Nerval (1980), op. cit., vol.1, p.158.

2. Niebuhr, op. cit., vol.1, p.143.

theatre of the 1870s. The humour of these farces was very much that of the British pantomime, even with accompanying music, and like pantomime audience involvement was probably welcomed and encouraged. These short pieces gave little scope for plot or character development. They often made a moral or social comment, and the French writer, Gérard de Nerval, compared them to the French proverbes de société,[1] (short comedies illustrating a maxim). Most European observers were not impressed by these performances; Clot Bey, French director of the Egyptian medical school, wrote that "les pièces qu'ils jouient sont sans intrigue et dépourvues de naturel et d'esprit. C'est le berceau de l'art dramatique sous la forme la plus élémentaire et la moins attrayante".[2]

The press, whether in Arabic or foreign languages, was not interested in these vulgar forms of entertainment. The educated Arab, sharing the sentiments of most Europeans, probably disapproved of these popular entertainments, and saw them as a disagreeable feature of his society, best removed from the social scene. Al-Jabarti mentions that the "guilds of entertainers, such as dancers, ape-handlers and players" were amongst the lowest of the guilds. Indeed pious Muslims considered these forms of entertainment immoral, since they might encourage the Muslim to divert from his primary function that of true devotion.[3] No doubt under European pressure, the authorities in 1908 went so far as to ban karagöz in Cairo.[4] An article in 1874 in the Alexandrian newspaper, the Manifeste Quotidien, expressed the hope that these crude farces would be proscribed:-

1. Nerval (1980), op. cit., vol.1, p.158.
2. Clot Bey, A.-B., Apercu général sur l'Égypte, (Paris, 1840), vol.2, pp.99-100.
3. al-Khozai, op. cit., p.35.
4. Abul Naga, op. cit., pp.44-45.

An Arab entertainment (fantasia) circulates in the busy streets of the city at the time of weddings and other occasions; it is preceded by two persons, who pretend to do acrobatics by using the most obscenely revolting gestures. We are certain that just by mentioning the inconvenience (they cause), we will see them disappear.[1]

1. Manifeste Quotidien, quoted in La Finanza, no.133, 31 May, 1874.

CHAPTER V

THE EUROPEAN THEATRE IN EGYPT

After the theatrical activities of the French expedition, the first reference to European theatre in Egypt is in 1829. On 8th November the French Consul in Alexandria wrote to Prince de Polignac that the French citizens in Cairo had opened an amateur theatre earlier that month. Some young men and girls had performed Eugène Scribe's L'Avocat Patelin and his Le Gastronome sans Argent. The audience, apart from the Europeans present, included some officers of the Pasha, presumably Turks, and several Muslim women.[1] In 1837 the traveller, Prince Pückler-Muskau, mentioned that there were by then French and Italian amateur theatres in Alexandria;[2] Clot Bey, Muḥammad ʿAlī's French medical officer, explained that of these two, "l'un consacré à la représentation des pièces françaises, l'autre à celle des ouvrages italiens. Ils ont été construits aux fruits de plusieurs amateurs qui les exploitent eux-mêmes".[3] Saint-John also refers to amateur theatricals in Alexandria in the 1830s. The performers were mainly Italian men and women, but the French also participated.[4] The author of one outrageously satirical piece was a local merchant, and the performance was held in the house of a pasha "bitten with European ideas", before the invited elite of Alexandrian society.[5]

1. Najm, Muḥammad Yūsuf, al-Masraḥiya fi'l-Adab al-ʿArabī al-Ḥadīth, (Beirut, 1967), pp.19-20.

2. Pückler-Muskau, Prince, Egypt under Mehemet Ali, (London, 1845), vol.1, pp.68-70.

3. Clot, op. cit., vol.2, p.156.

4. Saint-John, Isis, op. cit., vol.I, pp.88-89.

5. Ibid., vol.I, pp.90-91.

We can presume that Turks and Egyptians from the upper and European-educated classes often formed a small part of the audiences for this early European theatre in Egypt. With the opening of military and technical schools under Muḥammad ʿAlī, and the dispatch of educational missions to Europe, the number of Egyptians and Turks who were conversant with Italian or French was slowly increasing. Until the 1820s Italian was the most commonly used foreign language in Egypt. Italy had had strong commercial ties with Egypt since the Middle Ages, and Italian or a bastardised version of it, Sabir, had become the lingua franca for diplomacy and commerce.[1] The first students sent on missions to Europe in 1809 and 1813 had gone to Leghorn, Milan, Florence and Rome. Italian was the first foreign language taught in the military schools, and many of the teachers, army officers, doctors and pharmacists, employed in the Pasha's reorganised military machine were Italians.[2] By 1830 Italian was losing ground in favour of French. Italian officers, teachers and technicians were replaced by Frenchmen, provided by the French Government, and educational missions were increasingly sent to France. This French influence in the professional and technical fields of education was to remain unimpeded until about 1920.[3]

By 1840, there were an estimated 9,150 Europeans in Egypt, of whom 5,000 were Greeks, 2,000 Italians, 1,000 Maltese and about 800 French.[4] At the end of the eighteenth century, before the French invasion, there had been no more than a few hundred Europeans there.[5] During Muḥammad ʿAlī's reign a sizeable foreign community had grown. Apart from teachers in

1. Luthi, op. cit., p.86.

2. Fakkar, op. cit., pp.45-46.

3. Vatikiotis, op. cit., pp.96-97.

4. Clot, op. cit., vol.1, p.167.

5. Landau, Jacob M., Studies in the Arab Theater and Cinema, (Philadelphia, 1969), p.226.

the new military and civilian schools, many of these foreigners were employed in the military arsenals, and shipyards; some were merchants or adventurers, while others worked in the new agricultural industries, such as sugar refining, rice bleaching or textile manufacturing. Most of these foreigners lived in Alexandria, which had become one of the world's great entrepôts.

This small European population, plus interested Turks, Egyptians and Syrians, was enough to support a short opera season in Egypt. The first Italian opera performance recorded in Alexandria was on 9th October, 1841, presumably by a visiting professional company; this was Donizetti's L'Elisir d'Amore.[1] This may have been presented by members of the company which appeared later in the same year in Constantinople. Italian Opera appears to have been first performed in the Ottoman capital during the carnival in 1839, and from then on there was a regular annual season until 1857, excluding the years 1840, 1848, 1852, 1853 and 1856. Smyrna, the second city of Turkey proper, also entertained a visiting company in the years 1840, 1842 to 1844, 1847 and 1851, probably with elements of the same troupe that was performing in Alexandria and Constantinople. In 1842 at least three operas were performed at the Carnival in Alexandria, L. Ricci's Chiara di Rosembergh, Donizetti's Lucia di Lammermoor, and Bellini's I Puritani di Scozia; and in September, Donizetti's Belisario was presented.[2] The carnival was probably a regular feature of the social scene in the city as it was in other cities of the Mediterranean; Yates says that during the carnival in 1840s there were balls, dinner parties, masquerades, concerts and good French and Italian private theatricals.[3]

1. Loewenberg, Alfred, Annals of Opera, (Geneva, 1955), p.744.

2. Ibid., pp.735, 765, 772 and 776.

3. Yates, op. cit., vol.1, pp.131-132.

De Nerval mentions that in 1843 there was an amateur French theatre, known as the Teatro del Cairo, in the gardens of Consul Rosetti in the European quarter of Cairo behind the Muski. Nerval described the composition of the audience at an amateur performance of Scribe's La Mansarde des artistes:-

> Le parterre était rempli d'Italiens et de Grecs en tarbouch rouge qui faisaient grant bruit; quelques officiers du pacha se montraient à l'orchestre, et les loges étaient assez garnies de femmes, la plupart en costume levantin.[1]

There were Greek, Armenian and Jewish women there, but "pas une femme riellement musulmane n'assistait par conséquent à la représentation". Nerval implies that the Italian opera companies were also appearing in Cairo when he said, "quant à la saison musicale italienne, elle ne devait pas tarder à s'ouvrir".[2] He was probably awaiting the arrival of the company that performed in 1843 Donizetti's Il Furioso nell'Isola di San Domingo in Alexandria.[3] In later years it was common for visiting companies to do seasons in both towns. Wilkinson perhaps also refers to this same theatre, which had been set up a year or so before 1843, and was maintained by subscription amongst the Europeans. The actors, with the exception of the manager, were dilettante. The manager, who received a salary, was an actor by profession. Visitors could get tickets free from subscribers or from the innkeepers.[4] Tickets for the small theatre in Alexandria could also be obtained free by visitors. The actors in this theatre were Europeans, and all amateurs, except for the prima donna.[5]

1. Nerval, op. cit., vol.I, pp.162-163.
2. Ibid., vol.I, pp.162-164.
3. Loewenberg, op. cit., p.748.
4. Wilkinson, op. cit., vol.II, p.263.
5. Ibid., vol.II, p.173.

On 28th December, 1844, Donizetti's Maria di Rudenz was given in Alexandria.[1] By 1845 there were two professional Italian companies in Alexandria and Cairo:-

> Deux petits théâtres montés à Alexandrie et au Caire n'ont excité en Egypte aucun intérêt, et ne paraissent pas même avoir en l'attrait de la nouveauté. A celui d'Alexandrie, une troupe de chanteurs italiens exécute le repertoire moderne sans trop d'infériorité, nous lui avons entendu chanter la partition de Belisario d'une manière supportable. Au Caire, une troupe également italienne joue des comédies et des drames traduits de français, car nos amateurs dramatiques défraient aujourd'hui le monde entier, même l'Espagne et l'Italie, où ils trouvèrent tant de modèles autrefois. Pour dire vrai, il n'y a guère plus de chrétiens que de mahométans aux spectacles d'Égypte; à peine trouve-t-on dans les loges une douzaine de femmes européenes assez mal mises. Quant aux femmes du pays, on conçoit que si les musulmans ne viennent eux-mêmes qu'en fort petit nombre au théâtre, ils n'y amènent pas les habitantes de leurs harems.[2]

The painter, Jules Coignet, did not share the same view of the Italian opera in Alexandria, where he saw them perform two operas, Bellini's La Norma and Chiara di Rosembergh in January 1845. He commented: "C'était si mauvais que je n'ai pu y rester".[3]

Alexandria for this period of five years had joined the select circuit of towns in the world that had a regular opera season, but it seems that the town could only attract a minor troupe. Elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking world, only the foreign colony in French-occupied Algeria periodically enjoyed the delights of opera from 1837 onwards, mainly in Algiers, though short seasons were also held in Bône and Oran from 1842 to 1844.

1. Loewenberg, op. cit., p.794.

2. Schoelcher, V., L'Égypte en 1845, (Paris, 1846), p.308.

3. Carre, op. cit., vol.1, p.362.

Apart from amateur productions and the professional theatre, plays were also performed in the European schools in Egypt at the end of year ceremonies, much as they are today both in Egypt and in Britain. In the 1840s and later decades, foreign missionaries, like the Franciscans and Lazarists, and the foreign communities themselves opened a number of private schools, so that by 1863 there were estimated to be 59 such schools. In August 1846 two short plays, probably in French, were performed by the pupils of the school of the Soeurs de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul in Alexandria.[1] School plays at the time of the examinations or as part of the prize-giving ceremonies, often put on for their didactic value, were to become a major element of the theatrical scene amongst the foreign and native communities until the end of the century.

By October 1847 the theatre in Alexandria had become such an integral part of the local scene that special regulations were issued putting the Italian theatre under the supervision of the local authorities.[2] In July 1850 the writer, Gustave Flaubert, saw Bruno le fileur in Italian at a theatre in Alexandria.[3] A few years later, we have the first indication of native Egyptian participation in foreign dramatic activities. At an open-air theatre in Alexandria in 1853 or 1854 was performed "un drame italien, dont l'héroine était une actrice égyptienne, au front cuivré, mais à la voix italianisée".[4] This actress was no doubt a Christian or a Jewess, since the Muslim community was initially very reluctant to allow its women to appear on the stage.

This theatre is perhaps the same fragile structure

1. Vincentians, Recueil de Lettres édifiantes de la Congrégation de la Mission, (Paris) vol.12, p.257.

2. Landau, op. cit., pp.53-54.

3. Flaubert, Gustave, Notes de Voyage, (Paris, 1910), vol.1, p.266.

4. Regnault, A., Voyage en Orient, Grèce, Turquie, Egypte, (Paris, 1855), p.438.

described by Adlerburg in the summer of 1863, that he saw in front of the palace in Alexandria. A French troupe of touring actors were performing in a poorly constructed circular wooden enclosure. This troupe "sont venus charmer le pacha par des représentations mêlées de danses, qu'il apprécie surtout". Adlerburg notes the cacophony of poor music, cries and all sorts of uproar that he heard during their rehearsal, and did not enjoy the agonizing performance to which he was admitted:-

> C'était une de ces mauvaises pièces de carnaval dont on divertit le peuple en province, des artistes à l'avenant, et une musique.

The lead singer combined dancing and whistling with his lips (avec ses lèvres) with his singing.[1]

By 1853 the theatre in Cairo, according to Didier, had become, apart from al-Azbakīya gardens (the periphery of the gardens and the surrounding streets remain until today one of the centres of theatreland in Cairo) and the church, the main meeting-place for the Levantine society:-

> Le théâtre, situé au coeur du quartier franc, n'est ouvert que lorsqu'une troupe vient au Caire. On y chante l'opéra italien, on y joue aussi la comédie, le drame, les pièces du moment. On y donnait alors Adrienne Lecouvreur (by Eugène Scribe) traduite en italien, et ce n'était pas trop mal.[2]

Another traveller, Stacquez, mentions that in Europe there was much talk of a marvellous theatre constructed in Cairo through the generosity of Saʿīd Pasha, but this was far from the truth. "La verité est que le Vice-Roi ne s'en est jamais occupé. Elle consistait (circa 1862-63) en une mauvaise baraque

1. Adlerburg, Nikolai V., En Orient. Impressions et réminiscences, (St. Petersbourg, 1867), vol.1, pp.56-59.

2. Didier, Charles, Les nuits du Caire, (Paris, 1860), p.371.

en planches dans une allée de l'Esbekyeh, et exploitée par une troupe qui n'a pu y faire des affaires". This troupe was still appearing when Stacquez was in Cairo, but shortly afterwards the director went bankrupt, and the unfortunate actors found themselves without funds.[1]

Back in Alexandria, Verdi's Il Trovatore, was performed in the spring of 1855.[2] The first to be heard of the royal family's involvement with the European theatre was in 1856, when the ruler, Saʿīd Pasha (1854-1863), put on opera and plays for the European colony near Quabbary (sic) place in Alexandria, as part of the festivities for the anniversary of his accession.[3] The only theatre in Alexandria was destroyed by fire, for in 1862 dramatic artists who came to Alexandria were giving performances in the rooms of a literary society near the Stock Exchange.[4] Saʿīd was the first ruler from Muhammad ʿAlī's family who had been French-educated; he spoke Turkish, English and French fluently, though he could not read Turkish.[5] Muhammad ʿAlī had known only Turkish, while his grandson and successor, ʿAbbās (1849-1854), knew Turkish and Arabic.

The magnificent Zizinia theatre, in Rue de la Porte de Rosette in Alexandria, was built by a Greek entrepreneur, Count Ménandre Zizinia, in 1862; (it was finally demolished in 1907).[6] It soon became the most important theatre in the city, and most of the major touring companies played there. In 1865

1. Stacquez, Docteur, L'Égypte, la basse Nubie et le Sinai, (Liege, 1865), pp.63-64.

2. Loewenberg, op. cit., p.903.

3. Abdoun, Saleh, "Histoire de l'Opéra du Caire depuis sa fondation jusqu'à son incendie", Bulletin Annuel de l'Atelier d'Alexandrie, No.1, (1972), p.57[1].

4. Stacquez, op. cit., p.26.

5. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit., p.313.

6. Bigiavi, op. cit., p.128.

there were at least three other European theatres in Alexandria, apart from the Zizinia, the Vittorio Alfieri in New Street (Strada Nuova), the Rossini in the Corso della Passeggiata, the property of Comte Debbané, and the Vittorio Emmanuele in Obelisk Road (Via dell'Obelisko).[1] Up to now nothing is known about the activities of these theatres in the early 1860s. In Cairo at the same period theatrical activities seem to have been concentrated in bars (café-concerts), like the Grand Orient and El-Cazar.[2]

In 1868, the first year in which there is detailed information about the theatre in Egypt, the Rossini theatre, also known as the Debbané, and the Zizinia were occupied in the winter by two troupes of Italian opera, all the casts coming from Italy; the Rossini also offered drama and comedy by Italian troupes.[3] The foreign population was divided in its loyalty between these two theatres. "Ce sont généralement des Grecs et des Maltais qui soutiennent le premier, et des Italiens qui soutiennent le second. Anglais, Allemands, Français, se répartissent entre les deux".[4] There were, by then, other smaller theatres; there was the Grand-Casino and Café, 28 Muḥammad ʿAli Square, where, every evening, one could see "artistes françaises et italiens pour danses, opéras, opérettes, romances et chansons comiques".[5] Another café, the Alcazar lyrique offered every evening vaudevilles, comedies, pantomimes and songs. The Alfieri and the Vittorio Emmanuele theatre were also still open.[6]

1. Odescalchi, Luigi de' Conti, L'Egitto antico illustrato e l'Egitto moderno, (Alexandria, 1865), p.244.

2. Gardey, L., Voyage du Sultan Abdul Aziz de Stamboul au Caire, (Paris, 1865), p.103.

3. François-Levernay, E., Guide général de l'Égypte, (Alexandria, 1868), p.103; and 1869.

4. Millie, J., Alexandrie d'Égypte et le Caire, (Milan, 1868), p.25.

5. Ibid., p.5.

6. François-Levernay, (1868) op. cit., p.103; and Millie, op. cit., p.31.

Cairo had expanded its number of Café-Concerts. There was the Café Concert d'Eldorado, in the Rue de la Chancellerie Française, behind the Hotel d'Orient to the north of al-Azbakīya. This café presented Italian comedies and dramas every evening.[1] Some of the provincial towns with sizeable European populations also had their local places of entertainment. Operettas, vaudeville and comic acts could be seen every evening at the Grand Café-Concert du Jardin in Suez, where selections from Italian and French operas were performed.[2] Kantara, on the canal, had a Théâtre Lyrique, where there were performances every Sunday.[3]

The capital then had no theatres, but the Khedive Ismāʿīl (1863-1879) provided one, as part of his plans to prepare the city to entertain the European nobility invited for the grand opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. He decided to meet this need by financing the building of the Théâtre de la Comédie (or Théâtre Français) in al-Azbakīya square for the exclusive use of French companies. This theatre was inaugurated on 4th January, 1869. Ismāʿīl gave a generous subvention to engage a theatrical troupe from France for this theatre to give performances of opéra-bouffe, plays and vaudeville.[4] Ismāʿīl, like Saʿīd was French-educated. He usually conversed in French or Turkish, but he also gave speeches in Arabic. He strove to make Egypt part of Europe and Cairo a second Paris. His support of the Comédie and other theatrical ventures can be seen as part of his attempt to give Egypt the trappings of European culture. The construction of the theatre on the south side of al-Azbakīya was reported in the Wādī an-Nīl newspaper. The paper announced that

1. François-Levernay (1868), op. cit., p.103; and (1869), op. cit., p.171.

2. Ibid. (1869), p.259.

3. Ibid. (1869), p.297.

4. Douin, G., Histoire du règne du Khedive Ismail, (Rome, Cairo, 1933-1941), vol.2, pp.103-104.

considerable improvements would be made to al-Azbakīya gardens; fountains, paths, coffee-houses, theatres (tiyātrāt malāʿib) would be built according to the plan of a French landscape gardener.[1] Nothing had been done to improve the square in the time of ʿAbbās and Saʿīd.[2] Ismāʿīl had a large garden laid out with an artificial hill and grottos; a narrow canal ran through crossed by bridges. In the park was an ornamental lake, green turf, shrubberies, shady walks, native and European cafés, al-fresco theatres and military bands. On the west side were the hotels, restaurants and café-concerts. Al-Azbakīya district, and the nearby Ismāʿīlīya and ʿAbdīn districts formed a handsome European town with broad, well-paved streets, gas-lit boulevards, shops and villas.[3]

It was not surprising that the number of European theatres, at least outside Cairo, increased so rapidly during the 1860s, as in 1868 there were estimated to be 280,000 Europeans and Syrians in Egypt,[4] as compared with about 9,000 twenty-eight years earlier. There were approximately 88,000 Europeans in Alexandria alone out of a total population in the city of 200,000; of these Europeans, 25,000 were Greeks, 20,000 Italians, 15,000 French, 12,000 Anglo-Maltese, 8,000 Germans and Swiss and 8,000 of diverse nationalities, plus 12,000 Syrians.[5] In 1873 a more modest estimate gave a total of 79,696 foreigners in Egypt, with 47,316 in Alexandria, 19,120 in Cairo and its suburbs and 13,260 in Suez and elsewhere. The Alexandria figure was made up of 21,000 Greeks, 7,539 Italians, 10,000 French, 4,500 English, 3,000 Austrians, 1,277 others. In Cairo there were 7,000 Greeks, 3,367 Italians, 5,000 French, 1,000 English, 1,800 Austrians, and 953 others;

1. al-Jawāʾib, 10 November, 1868.
2. McCoan, op. cit., p.51.
3. Ibid., p.51.
4. Schölch, Ägypten, op. cit., p.277[69].
5. Sachot, op. cit., p.41.

in the Suez area there were 6,000 Greeks, 3,000 Italians, 2,000 French, 1,500 Austrians and 760 others.[1] With this larger European population in Alexandria, it is not surprising that the city boasted more theatrical activity than any other Egyptian city. The great influx of Europeans took place in the reigns of Sa^{c}īd and Ismā^{c}īl, especially at the end of the 1850s and the early 1860s, as a result of the great financial and commercial opportunities connected with the cotton boom and manifold industrial and agricultural projects. Among those who decided to stay for a long time, the settlers in Alexandria were the majority.

It was not till 1869, nearly thirty years after the start of the European professional theatre in Egypt, that the Arabic press paid any attention to theatrical activities, apart from an advertisement for an equestrian performance on 28th December, 1847, given by two European jugglers in al-Azbakīya.[2] The official gazette, al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, carried on 29th February, 1869, an advertisement for the "mal^{c}ab al-Azbakīya al-kabīr", or the French Cirque (Sirk) Rancy. The circus had been built at the expense of the Khedive. It was opened on 11th February, 1869, and was capable of accommodating 950 spectators.[3] The paper, noting the first performance on 12th February,[4] announced that there would be performances every night of Rancy's circus, which included 70 animals.[5] Theodore Rancy, the manager of the circus, later met the Khedive, who had awarded him a decoration and 7,700 francs to distribute amongst his performers.[6] A number of performances were given at the circus and the theatre in Cairo, no doubt the Comédie,

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.688, 25th March, 1874.
2. Vakā'i^{c}-i Miṣriye, no.97, 20th Muharram, 1264(29 December, 1847).
3. Ghunaym, ^{c}Abd al-Hamīd, Ṣanū' Rā'id al-Masraḥ al-Miṣrī, (n.p., 1966), p.89.
4. W.M., no.273, 18th February, 1869.
5. Ibid., no.276, 29th February.
6. Ibid., no.291, 29th April.

for charity, and these received some coverage in the press.[1]

In May the circus moved to Alexandria, where the local authority gave them a free site in Mahallat Ibrāhīm Pasha.[2] It became the practice for the theatrical companies to leave Cairo in late April or early May to escape the severe dry summer heat of the capital for the more temperate weather on the coast; the court and the Government ministries and no doubt many others moved to Alexandria for the summer. The circus was back in Cairo at the Cirque (malʿab al-Khuyūl or malʿab al-bahlawān ʿala'l-Khuyūl) in October. Tickets varied in price from 1½ to 5 francs;[3] in January, 1870, these prices were reduced to increase the number of spectators, both rich and poor.[4] In this second season, the company continued to receive a substantial subvention from the Khedive.[5] In the summer of 1870, a company of conjurers (ʿārifa bi-ḥarakāt Khafīya fi'l-luʿb), under two Englishmen, performed at the Cirque and in Alexandria.[6] The Cirque was finally demolished in the summer of 1872, perhaps because it was too small for an equestrian troupe and uncomfortable for the spectators.[7]

The newspaper, Wādī an-Nīl, started to publish items about the theatre at roughly the same time as the gazette, though since many of its early issues are missing it may well have carried such items earlier. Both papers were probably prompted to publish this material by the Khedive's and the court's obvious interest in the theatre; the Khedive had

1. W.M., no.290, 26th April; and no.292, 6th May, 1869.
2. Ibid., no.295, 17th May.
3. Ibid., no.328, 17th October; and Wādī an-Nīl, no.24, 8th October.
4. Wādī an-Nīl, no.41, 10th January, 1870.
5. Douin, op. cit., vol.2, p.472.
6. W.M., no.365, 7th July, 1870.
7. Le Nil, no.24, 16th July, 1872.

already spent considerable sums that year on the Cirque and the Comédie theatre, yet strangely neither paper had reported the opening of the latter. The paper carried a report that at the wedding banquet of Mansūr Pasha Yakan, grandson of a brother or sister of Muhammad ᶜAlī, and Tawhīda, the daughter of the Khedive, there had been a number of entertainments to amuse the guests. Apart from Arab acrobats, Egyptian and foreign magicians, Arab and Turkish dancing and music of all sorts, there were a number of theatrical performances. There was an Egyptian troupe performing popular drama (al ᶜāb taqlīd tiyātrū) led by Farhād the musician (al-mūsīqahjī), probably putting on productions similar to that witnessed by Belzoni and Lane earlier in the century. The foreign theatrical troupe of Giacomo also appeared, and some comedy plays (alᶜāb muḍḥikāt) were given by a Karagöz show.[1]

In August there was a report in the Arabic press on the annual prize-giving at the French Frères school, Madrasat Ikhwān al-Madāris an-Nasrānīya in al-Khurunfish in Cairo. The students read some tales (ḥikayat) and speeches, and performed playlets (takhlīᶜāt or tiyātrāt) to an audience, including the French consul, nobles (dhawāt) and princes. These short plays, one imagines in French, contained spiritual counsel (mawāᶜiz), maxims (ḥikam) and reflections (iᶜtibārāt) for the edification of the pupils and audience.[2] The audience at these prize-givings usually included Egyptian dignitaries, such as members of the Royal Family, Cabinet Ministers, local governors, senior officials and military officers, as well as members of the Consular corps, the religious hierarchy and the foreign community.

A three-act comedy, Adonis, in French, by a French teacher, Louis Farrugia, was performed by the students of

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.1, 23rd April, 1869.

2. Ibid., no.18, 27th August, 1869.

the Madrasat al-ᶜĀmalīyāt al-Misrīya (École des Arts et Metiers) on their exam day on 15th November, 1870. The play was intended to practise the students "in the noble deeds of human ethics".[1] Plays were later put on at the Madrasat Dayr al-Ikhwa al-Faransawīya in Alexandria.[2] Both comedies and tragedies were performed on these occasions; the pupils of the Pensionnat des Soeurs de la Misericorde in Alexandria played Racine's Athalie.[3] In 1874 a play was put on at al-Madrasat al-Khayrīya al-Inklīzīya in Cairo,[4] and the following year we know of a performance at the English Institute in Alexandria.[5] Obviously, many more plays than this were put on in schools throughout this period, but no press reports are available on them.

Festivities were arranged for the opening of the Suez Canal, to which many of the ruling families of Europe were invited. Since there was no adequate Opera House to receive and entertain them, Ismāᶜīl decided to build one, opposite the Comédie theatre in the al-Ismāᶜīlīya district of al-Azbakīya. The opera house was built in five months, at a cost of £160,000 and had a seating capacity of between 800 and 850. The Viceroy probably wished to put Cairo on a level with the major European capitals by building a permanent opera house; he may also have wished to compete with Constantinople which had revived its regular opera season in 1866. Another reason for the Khedive's support to the theatres was the need to provide entertainment to the flow of tourists wintering in Egypt. The Egyptian correspondent of al-Jawā'ib wrote of the tourists:-

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.64, 5th December, 1870.
2. al-Janna, no.121, 20th September, 1871.
3. Le Nil, no.30, 27th August, 1872.
4. al-Jinān, no.17, 1st September, 1874.
5. La Finanza, no.196, 24th August, 1876.

> During their stay here there is a great benefit to the Egyptian people, and perhaps this point has already occurred to the enlightened Khedive, and because of this he gave the owners of these theatres sufficient help from his ample generosity.[1]

The Egyptian correspondent of the Syrian al-Jinān magazine pointed out the advantages of the theatre:-

> It is known that plays (ar-riwāyāt at-tashkhīṣīya), known as theatricals (at-tiyātrāt), are amongst the most important indications of progress and reasons for the reform of customs and the implanting of historical wisdom in the minds of the people. Much money has been spent to establish them here, but they are still confined to foreign languages. There are many benefits from this: for many rich foreigners come to Egypt to spend the winter season and it is the most appropriate country for it. When they come, they spend tens of thousands of pounds in the country. If they did not find exactly the right places of entertainment and beautiful parks, they would not come in great number. We have heard many of them say, "We have found in this country reasons for luck, happiness and health, (which combined) with its excellent climate and beautiful winter season, have made us come to this country most years to spend the winter". Likewise the actors spend a large part of their salaries here...[2]

On the opening night of the Théâtre Khédivial de l'Opéra on 1st November, 1869, Verdi's Rigoletto was performed. Khedive Ismāʿīl engaged Verdi to write the music for an opera with an Egyptian theme to be performed there, but this specially commissioned work, Aida, was not intended for the grand opening. Both Arabic newspapers covered the opening, which was attended by the Khedive, his guests, including the Empress Eugénie and the Crown Prince of Prussia, the Khedive's retinue, some of his officials (maʾmūrīn), and military officers. Press correspondents may have had seats regularly

1. al-Jawāʾib, no.513, 12th April, 1871.

2. al-Jinān, no.6, 15th March, 1875.

allocated to them in the Khedivial theatres from this period; certainly in 1872 the Khedive was paying, from his privy purse, for a fauteuil seat at the Opera for the use of the Wādī an-Nil newspaper and other papers.[1] The native upper classes had soon accepted the idea of regularly attending the Opera and the Comédie, just as they had patronised, in small numbers, the European theatre in Egypt since its inception. With the expansion of foreign schools since Sa^{c}īd's reign, and with the revival of the state educational system under Isma^{c}īl, the number of Egyptians and Turks conversant with European languages or inclined to European culture in its many forms, was undoubtedly on the increase. All three places of entertainment financed by the Khedive, the Opera, the Comédie and the Cirque, were furnished to cater for the wives of this increasing native audience; they all had special harem boxes for the Muslim ladies. In the Opera there were five such boxes, the whole of the front of them being covered with a fine network of iron.[2] In the first opera season from 1st November, 1869, until 14th March, 1870, sixty-six performances of Italian opera were given. During each of the next eight seasons there were about eighty performances, with some of the most famous Italian singers of the time performing. The repertoire was always renewed with new works.[3]

Despite the increasing numbers of Egyptians attending the European theatre, the Wādī an-Nīl felt the need to explain to its less informed readers the meaning of the words "Opera House", which it described as a "theatre for imaginary gestures mixed with musical tunes" (mal^{c}ab at-takhlī^{c}āt at-taṣawwurīya al-mamzūja bi'l-alḥān al-musīqīya).[4] Referring

1. Dār al-Wathā'iq, ^{c}Ahd Isma^{c}īl 127, document 80/4.

2. Chennells, op. cit., vol.1, pp.87-88.

3. Abdoun, Saleh, Genesi dell'Aida, (Parma, 1971), p.149.

4. This new terminology is discussed in Abul Naga, El-Said Atia, Recherche sur les termes de théâtre et leur traduction en arabe moderne, (Algiers, 1973).

to the recent reopening of the Comédie theatre for the new season, it was called "a theatre for comical gestures" (malᶜab at-takhlīᶜāt al-muḍḥika).[1] In an advertisement for alᶜāb fanṭazīya[2] (entertaining games) the advertisers spelt out what mime was:-

> From amongst the strange performances which have been made up to now is the theatre called what is known as (qafaṣ al-jism al-basharī ar-raqqāṣ al-muḍḥik [the box of the amusing dancing human body]); it stands for a theatre in which (the performance) is done with gestures, not with speech.[3]

The general readership of the Arab press were obviously deemed unfamiliar with the theatre; thus the papers went to some trouble to explain the terms. Apart from the city dwellers who had never visited the theatre, there were many readers in the provinces or elsewhere in the Arab world where the European theatre was unknown.

In the following year, 1870, Wādī an-Nīl started to give more information on the activities of the Opera house. It had said little about the first performance, apart from praising the singers in Rigoletto for their skill and adroitness.[4] A journalist described the effectiveness of Rossini's Semiramide. So well was it written, that Queen Semiramide's

> image could be imagined in this piece ... and her life is told on the lips of the actors (lāᶜibīn) and actresses. Her retinue, the people of her state, and the aspects of her story are described so that the

1. W.M., no.332, 10th November, 1869; and Wādī an-Nīl, no.28, 5th November.

2. The word "Fanṭazīya", used in Egypt for many different forms of entertainment, is taken from the Greek. Dozy (op. cit., vol.2, p.283) gives the definition as "une soirée où l'on fait de la musique et où l'on danse".

3. Wādī an-Nīl, no.32, 3rd December, 1869.

4. Ibid., no.29, 12th November.

> spectators imagine that it is true. God willing, afterwards those who wish will get additional details, as is the custom among the writers in the (foreign) gazettes, on the essence of the performance. We will publish it completely, in a way for which there has been no precedent for such literary compositions, in the newspaper, Wādī an-Nīl, if God gives our undertaking success.[1]

The paper gave in detail the stories of several operas, including Rossini's Semiramide, and Gounod's Faust, but it said little or nothing about the performance of the works. Plays were spoken of as an

> excellent innovation, and a way for general education, commendable because they make people see things in their true light. They depict the events of man to his perception so that he acquires the virtues and avoids the vices, apart from (having) other worthy benefits and important advantages.[2]

According to a contributor, Birit, the theatre was

> an invention and creation by which one could gather together the enjoyment of the heart and the soul of all the external senses. Especially the kind of play (luʿb) called "Opera" (ūbīra), which is a sort of depiction of some historical incidents and passing events, permeated with musical tunes. It combines in this multifarious way the apparent and hidden delights of the senses.

After telling the story of the opera, Faust, the writer explained how evocative the theatrical genre was. "All that is disclosed to the eyes in a very wonderful way and strange fashion, so that the spectator (nāẓir) imagines he really sees it." When the events of the play are thus seen, "we feel grief and anguish as if we had been ill, or as if some mishap had

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.52, 17th February, 1870.

2. Ibid., no.55, 28th February, 1870.

befallen equally one of our relatives or loved ones".[1]

It was not long before writers were inspired by the European theatre to make demands for the creation of its Arab equivalent. Though there had been performances of European-influenced Arab drama in Lebanon since 1847, with the theatre of Mārūn an-Naqqāsh, these experiments had not been repeated in Egypt. Muhammad Unsī, son of the editor of Wādī an-Nīl ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, wrote an article in this vein about the Cairo Opera House. In it, he said that he hoped that God would grant

> success to the translation of these literary compositions and to their creative use in the Egyptian theatre (tiyātrāt) in the Arabic language, so that the taste for them would spread amongst the native communities, for it (opera) is among the popular materials which have helped civilize European countries and aided in the improvement of their local conditions.[2]

The Khedive and his ministers were thanked, "since they were the main cause in bringing to us this beautiful event and this excellent acceptable innovation (bidᶜa)".[3] A report on the last performance of the 1869/1870 season at the Opera carried a further plea that

> perhaps they will try to prepare for next year to present these play-like representations (at-taṣwīrāt al-luᶜbīya) in the Arabic language, so that the rest of the people of our Egypt, from the upper classes and the masses, will be able to see this new literary innovation and enjoy this useful contemporary pleasure.[4]

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.56, 4th March, 1870.
2. Ibid., no.55, 28th February, 1870.
3. Ibid., no.56, 4th March, 1870.
4. Ibid., no.5, 18th April, 1870.

The Arabic press, particularly Wādī an-Nīl, in its regular reports on the European theatrical and operatic activities in Egypt was thus helping to create a climate in which Arabic dramatic pieces could be written and performed, though the first Arab plays did not attempt to imitate the weighty Italian operas so graphically described in the press. The papers alerted their readership to the social benefits to be gained from the theatre, so that they were ready to respond to the experiments in Arab drama, which began in 1870. These articles might have helped to allay some of the suspicions held by certain conservative circles about the theatre, or about the appearance of women on the stage.

Wādī an-Nīl covered the opening of the new season in the autumn of 1870 at the Cairo Opera (al-malāʿib at-taṣwīrīya al-Ūrūbāwīya) and at the Comédie theatre.[1] It carried an advertisement in Arabic from the administration of the Opera for the performance of Rossini's Moses, as well as giving a short synopsis of the story.[2] Ballet performances were also described in the press; the stories of such ballets as the Iliad, and Brahma, were recounted.[3] Arab passers-by were attracted by posters for the opera (taṣwīrāt al-ḥawādith at-ta'rīkhīya al-mutakhallila bi'l-alḥān al-mūsīqīya - representations of historical events interspersed with musical tunes), "even though they did not understand the meaning of the words and did not know its import". The paper informed its readers that the advertised opera, Donizetti's La Favorite, "consists of a theatrical piece (qiṭʿa) from the type of pieces, called "drama" (drām) (that is a poetic ode (qaṣīda) containing the portrayal of some historical events (presented) in an amusing or sad way)". It includes music, entertaining

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.52, 18th October, 1870.

2. Ibid., no.84, 24th February, 1871.

3. Ibid., no.71, 4th January, 1871; no.73, 13th January; and no.89, 17th March, 1871.

performances (takhlīᶜāt), dancing, "and other arts which would comfort the heart of every sad person".[1]

The opening in 1871, attended by the Khedive, of the Hippodrome, (mahall al-malāᶜib al-Khaylīya) was duly reported. This new building, no doubt financed by Ismāᶜīl, was near the Cirque and the Opera in Shāriᶜ al-Jamīl in Cairo, and was intended for performances by horses.[2] The Hippodrome began to advertise its performances in the Arabic press, admission charges ranging from a half to two francs.[3] This large oval-shaped open-air building was capable of accommodating 8,000 people.[4] It eventually replaced the Cirque,[5] but in 1877 it was decided to build a skating rink on the site.[6] The Hippodrome was finally sold by the Khedive in June 1879,[7] and by 1880 it had become a stable for the Khedive's horses. In 1872 another theatrical establishment opened in Alexandria, the Casino, which had previously been a café-chantant. It now offered a troupe presenting vaudevilles, operettas, and comic opera. But the compiler of the Guide Général was not too sanguine over its prospects, "c'est là un essai aussi nouveau qu'audacieux dans une ville où les entreprises théâtrales n'ont pas eu de succès".[8] The theatre in Alexandria, despite the larger European population there, probably needed the bonus of Khedivial patronage that guaranteed the theatrical scene in Cairo.

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.54, 25th October, 1870.

2. Ibid., no.73, 13th January, 1871; and no.75, 20th January.

3. Ibid., no.84, 24th February; and no.85, 27th February, 1871.

4. Murray, John, A Handbook for Travellers in Lower and Upper Egypt, (London, 1880), p.207.

5. Le Nil, no.24, 16th July, 1872.

6. La Finanza, no.260, 10th November, 1877.

7. La Réforme, no.161, 23rd June, 1879.

8. François-Levernay, (1872) op. cit., p.184.

From 1871 onwards, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya ignored both the European and Arabic theatre. Whether this was a determined piece of editorial policy, inspired by increasing Khedivial fear that the Arab theatre was inciting the population against his government, remains a mystery. Copies of Wādī an-Nīl are also not available from about this date, so there is a gap in Arabic reporting on the theatre for a few years.

But theatrical activities continued in Cairo and Alexandria; in the summer of 1872 an Italian troupe appeared at the Théâtre de l'Ezbekieh,[1] which had existed at least since 1870. There were regular seasons at the Comédie and the Opera. The Opera had won a high reputation in the artistic world. In 1870 the superintendant of the Khedivial theatres, the Greek Draneht, wrote that he hoped in the next season "à placer le Théâtre de l'Opéra du Caire au niveau, et peut-être même au dessus de la Scène Impériale de St. Pétersbourg".[2] From the beginning it had employed the most famous Italian singers of the period, who only appeared at a few theatres in the world. The repertoire was constantly being renewed with new works,[3] so tourists could see and hear what was presented in the best opera houses of Europe.[4] The Comédie was not such a resounding success as the Opera. In a note, annexed to a project for the reorganization of the Khedivial theatres, probably written in 1873, the writer expressed his reservations on the role of this theatre:-

Quant à la Comédie, je n'ai rien à dire sur l'utilité

1. Le Nil, no.23, 9th July, 1872.

2. Letter from Draneht Bey to Riyāḍ Pasha, Milan, 24th May, 1870, Dār al-Wathā'iq, ᶜAhd Ismāᶜīl 127.

3. Abdoun, op. cit., p.149.

4. al-Jawā'ib, no.567, 10th January, 1872.

> et l'importance de ce Théâtre, mais je dois faire observer qu'il est impossible de faire au Caire un théâtre Français de premier ordre et de grande renommée, comme on a réussi à faire pour l'Opéra. Dans un pays où l'on n'aime pas la reproduction des ouvrages classiques, dans un pays où l'on n'aime pas le Drame ni les comédies sérieuses, où seules les Opérettes et les pièces sans fond ont du succès; enfin dans un pays où l'on est obligé donner, en six mois, 55 à 60 pièces différentes, dont une grande partie ont de 3 à 5 actes, un artiste, quelque soit son mérite, ne peut faire meillure que ceux qui jouent en ce moment, forcés qu'ils sont d'apprendre leur rôles à la course. Je dois dire en outre, qu'à la Comédie les Grecs, les Israélites ainsi que les Indigènes viennent rarement et ne conduisent presque jamais leur famille -les familles Italiennes ne fréquentent plus ce théâtre. Les Etrangers, Américains, Anglais, Allemands ne viennent que très peu. En conséquence de ce qui précède la Comédie ne pourra jamais obtenir beaucoup plus d'importance que celle qu'elle a acquis jusqu'à ce jour.[1]

An Ottoman theatre troupe was engaged to give performances in Cairo during the celebrations for the marriages of Prince Tawfīq Pasha and the two daughters of the Khedive.[2] Mrs. Chennels, an English Governess, describes the Turkish Muslim comedians she saw entertaining in the Khedive's harem at a betrothal ceremony at ᶜAbdīn palace in February, 1873.[3] This is the only reference in the period to a company giving performances in the Turkish language in Egypt, though other companies must have been brought across from Istanbul for other such occasions by the Turkish ruling classes. The Khedivial family had also promoted performances by the European theatre in its palaces. In 1868-1869 a French troupe gave performances in an improvised theatre in the palace of Qasr an-Nīl.[4] The concert room of this palace was used for occasional theatrical performances in 1873 and 1874 to entertain

1. Dār al-Wathā'iq, ᶜAhd Ismāᶜīl 127, document 80/1.

2. Le Nil, no.48, 31st December, 1872.

3. Chennels, op. cit., vol.1, pp.263-264.

4. Douin, op. cit., vol.2, pp.106 and 111.

the court.[1] When the Khedive and the court went to the sulphur baths at Ḥulwān, just outside Cairo, in the autumn of 1871, the entertainments followed. The troupe of the Hippodrome performed there for two weeks, probably in marquees, as did operatic and theatrical companies.[2] A theatre was constructed in the great court of the palace of the Princess-mother, in Qaṣr al-ʿAyni in 1873.[3] Artists from the Comédie theatre, in February 1876, performed a comedy at ʿAbdīn palace at a banquet.[4] One imagines that the court invited artists from the European theatres in Cairo on many such occasions to give private performances in the royal palaces.

Apart from the professional theatre, there seems to have been a spate of amateur dramatic activities amongst the European community. There was a project in April 1873 to found a philodramatic society in Alexandria to give twenty-four performances a year in a new theatre in Alexandria, at the Salle du Cercle de la Bourse, which was in use in 1872. Members would pay a subscription of five francs a month, plus an admission charge of five francs.[5] Another amateur group, the Società Filarmonica Drammatica Paulo Ferrari, gave its first performance at the same theatre in Alexandria on 22nd July, 1874.[6] This society was active for a number of years, and in the winter season gave several performances each month in Italian. The President of the society submitted to Ismāʿīl a project to build a Teatro Filarmonico Drammatico Paulo Ferrari in Alexandria, and to form a society, under the patronage of Crown Prince Tawfīq to found a permanent school of music and drama in the city. The Khedive promised his

1. Chennels, op. cit., vol.2, pp.84-85; and La Finanza, no.71, 14th February, 1874.
2. al-Jinān, no.21, 1st November, 1871.
3. Le Nil, no.51, 21st January, 1873.
4. La Finanza, no.45, 24th February, 1876.
5. Le Nil, no.62, 8th April, 1873.
6. La Finanza, no.157, 1st July, 1874.

support to the project, but it never came to fruition.[1] In August, 1874, another new Italian philo-dramatic society was formed, La Società Filodrammatica degli Adolescenti, which planned to give two performances in the Stock Exchange.[2]

In January 1876 there was a project to form in Alexandria a new association, La Société philodrammatique égytienne to give performances in Italian and French.[3] That year there were two other new societies in the city, the Circolo filodrammatico l'Unione,[4] and the Società filodrammatica I Concordi,[5] which both put on Italian works. Another society was under the honorary presidency of the Italian consul, and had its own salon for performances.[6] It was formed in February 1877 as the Società filarmonica-drammatica.[7] They had their own meeting place and were functioning regularly until 1879. The Circolo filodrammatico egiziano began its performances in Italian in September 1877.[8] The first amateur society in Cairo, the Società filarmonica-drammatica l'Aurora was formed in November 1878. They undertook to pay the proprietor of the Eldorado 6,000 francs to have the place at their exclusive disposition:[9] fire finally destroyed the Eldorado in January 1880.[10] The first such English society was the Alexandria Amateur Theatrical Club, which began its performances of English-language plays in May 1879.[11] That

1. La Finanza, no.298, 13th December, 1874.
2. Ibid., no.194, 13th August.
3. Ibid., no.18, 23rd January, 1876.
4. Ibid., no.106, 6th May.
5. Ibid., no.193, 20th August.
6. Ibid., no.53, 3rd/4th March, 1878; and no.117, 17th May.
7. Ibid., no.40, 19th/20th February, 1877.
8. Ibid., no.211, 12th September.
9. Ibid., no.281, 28th November, 1878; and Moniteur Égyptien, no.276, 29th November.
10. La Finanza, no.9, 13th January, 1880.
11. Moniteur Égyptien, no.100, 27th/28th April, 1879.

same month another amateur society started in Cairo, the Società Filarmonica - il Tramonto.[1] Yet another Italian society, the Società filodrammatica - L'Avvenire, gave a performance in April, 1881.[2]

It seems it was the practice for part of the European companies to go to perform in Port Said when the seasons ended in Cairo or Alexandria.[3] Little is known of the theatres there, except that in January, 1882, there was a plan to build a new theatre on land belonging to the Suez Canal (Bughāz as-Suwīs) Company.[4] Port Said only had a small European population: 3,672 persons out of a total of 10,255 in 1874; of these 1,454 were Greeks, 725 French and 615 Italians.[5]

The Zizinia in Alexandria remained active with French and Italian companies. In the winter when there was no regular company at the theatre, amateur societies often performed there and at the Rossini. Regular seasons were given there for most of the period under review, but in the early 1880s for long periods there were no companies there, and the artists that did appear were of inferior quality.[6] Performances were also given by theatrical companies and amateurs at the Alfieri.[7] European companies were still receiving subventions from the Government: a French company in 1874 that was performing comic opera at the Zizinia was rumoured to have received 25,000 francs so that they would appear in Cairo.[8]

1. La Finanza, no.106, 8th May, 1880.
2. L'Égypte, 12th April, 1881.
3. Le Nil, no.69, 27th May, 1873; and Moniteur Égyptien, no.46, 24th February, 1881.
4. al-Ahrām, no.1299, 14th January, 1882.
5. La Finanza, no.63, 17th March, 1875.
6. Moniteur Égyptien, no.53, 3rd March, 1882.
7. La Finanza, no.267, 7th November; and no.6, 9th January, 1875.
8. Ibid., no.295, 10th December, 1874.

The Grand Casino (or the Grand Théâtre du Casino) in Alexandria was still presenting comic opera, comic operettas and vaudevilles.[1]

The theatrical seasons continued in the summer at the Théâtre de l'Ezbékieh with Italian and French companies. It appears that there were no permanent companies for the three winter seasons of 1877-1878, 1878-1879 and 1879-1880 at the two state theatres, the Comédie and the Opera. The order to form a company in 1877 to perform French comedy and ballet was given too late, so it was impossible to recruit good artists in Europe.[2] The superintendant of the Khedivial theatres usually went personally to Europe to sign on performers for the coming season. That winter the Opera house was being repaired.[3]

Occasional amateur theatrical performances were given at a new rendezvous, the Club Internazionale in Ramleh, Alexandria.[4] The first new theatre for a number of years was opened in the city on 21st June, 1876, the Politeama.[5] In May, 1877, there was another new theatre in Alexandria, the Teatro l'Apollo at the Paradiso café, where Italian opera and drama were performed throughout the summer.[6] A new theatre in Al-Azbakīya at the Nanna building opened on 25th October, the Teatro Ismail, without any subvention from the Government.[7] On the opening night a triumphal hymn by James Sanua inaugurated the ceremony.[8] This theatre had a very short life; about 9th December they started to demolish it.[9] By November

1. La Finanza, no.57, 10th March, 1875.
2. Ibid., no.289, 14th December, 1877.
3. Ibid., no.240, 16th October, 1877.
4. Ibid., no.180, 7th August, 1875.
5. Ibid., no.146, 22nd June, 1876.
6. Ibid., no.115, 20th/21st May, 1877.
7. Ibid., no.244, 21st/22nd October, 1877.
8. Dār al-Wathā'iq, ʿAhd Ismāʿīl 127, Document 80/5.
9. La Finanza, no.285, 9th/10th December, 1877.

1877, the Vittorio Alfieri theatre in Alexandria had become known as the Teatro Goldoni.[1] Another theatre specialised in Italian opera, the Teatro Rossini, previously called the Teatro delle Variete.[2] For a while this became the most active theatre in Alexandria. A new café-concert was opened in the port, the Eldorado, in October 1878; the old café of this name had been destroyed in a fire.[3] From 1879 there was a new regular hall for theatrical performances, balls etc., the Salle Storari in Colonna Street, Alexandria, which was also known as the Filodrammatica.[4] The last theatre built in this period was another Politeama in Alexandria, which was being built in April, 1881, in Shāri^{c} al-^{c}Attārīn behind the Austrian Post Office. It was on the model of the Politeamas in Paris, Florence and Madrid. It could hold 2,000 spectators, and be used as a circus for equestrian acts or as a theatre for opera and comedy.[5]

There were still sporadic announcements about school plays in the press, perhaps appearing less regularly since they had become commonplace events. The pupils of the Instituto di Cerioni in Alexandria performed plays in French and English in August 1878.[6] In the same month a comedy was performed at the prize-giving of the Institution Française de demoiselles of Madame Chauvin.[7] Two years later this school put on a French comedy at the same ceremony on 27th August, 1880.[8] The students of the College Sainte-Catherine in

1. La Finanza, no.268, 20th November, 1877.

2. Ibid., no.274, 27th November, 1877.

3. Ibid., no.196, 18th/19th August, 1878.

4. Moniteur Egyptien, no.40, 16th/17th February, 1879.

5. L'Égypte, 14th April, 1881; al-Ahrām, no.1266, 5th December; and al-Mahrūsa, no.438, 15th December.

6. La Finanza, no.205, 29th August.

7. Moniteur Égyptien, no.193, 20th August.

8. Ibid., no.204, 29th/30th August, 1880.

Alexandria began to hold regular literary séances in 1879 on the first Sunday of each month, at which plays were performed in Italian and French.[1] At their prize-giving ceremony on 3rd August, 1880, a short opera was performed.[2] On 13th February, 1881, the pupils gave an evening of entertainment for the Custodian of the Holy Land. Amongst the items on the programme were two "bouffonneries"; one in Italian and the other in Arabic about the famous ᶜAbbāsid poet, entitled Abū Nuwās.[3] The Pensionnat des Écoles Chrétiennes in Ramleh, Alexandria, put on a play at their prize-giving on 3rd August, 1879, before the notables of the town,[4] and in July of the following year they gave another performance.[5] On 3rd August, 1881, this school, known as the Frères school, presented a French play at their prize-giving.[6]

The Arabic press no doubt reported on some of these performances at the foreign missionary and community schools as there were a fair number of Arab children at the schools, both Christians and Muslims. The bulk of the journalists in the Arab press at the time were Syrian Christians, and many of their children probably attended these schools. The newspaper, al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, carried a report of a performance of French and Italian plays at the Terra Santa school in Ismailia on 13th August, 1879.[7] The young girls of the Écoles libres gratuites planned to perform a comedy at their fête on 29th December[8] in Alexandria. The pupils of the Lazarist college

1. Moniteur Égyptien, no.107, 6th May, 1879.
2. Ibid., no.183, 6th August, 1880.
3. Ibid., no.38, 15th February, 1881.
4. al-Waqt, no.673, 4th August, 1879.
5. Moniteur Égyptien, no.175, 28th July, 1880.
6. Iskandarīya, no.141, 4th August, 1881; and al-Ahrām, no.1170, 4th August.
7. al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.14, 15th August, 1879.
8. Moniteur Égyptien, no.299, 27th December.

in Alexandria gave a dramatic performance at their prize-giving on 31st July, 1880.[1] On 11th May, 1881, they performed a comedy and comic opera; like Sainte-Catherine's they had formed a literary academy with monthly meetings open to parents and pupils.[2] At their prize-giving in July, 1881, a little operetta was put on.[3] The Frères school in Cairo performed a play at their prize-giving on 10th August, 1880.[4] Plays were also performed at the Madrasat al-Banāt al-ᶜAzarīya (Lazarist Girls' School) and at the prize-giving at the orphanage school in Alexandria in August 1881.[5] At al-Madrasa at-Tuwayniya in al-Manshiya, Alexandria, plays and dialogues were performed after the school exams on 4th September, 1881.[6] In the delta at Kafr az-Zayyāt, an Italian play, literary dialogues and comic acts in French were put on in 1882 at the prize-giving at the girls' school of the Franciscans sisters.[7]

For the winter seasons 1880-1881 and 1881-1882, the Government gave Monsieur Larose the right to run the Opera with a subvention of £9,000 to present a programme of comedy, vaudeville, operetta and comic ballet.[8] The Opera and Comédie had been seldom used in the three seasons since 1876-1877 except for charitable and amateur performances. The independent Arabic press, which had grown up since 1876, had thus had little opportunity to report on European drama; it had, however, printed news on the charity balls, theatrical and ballet performances at these two theatres, the Ezbékieh

1. Moniteur Égyptien, no.180, 3rd August, 1880.
2. Ibid., no.113, 14th May, 1881; and L'Égypte, 14th May.
3. Moniteur Égyptien, no.179, 1st August, 1881.
4. al-Waqt, no.913, 11th August, 1880.
5. al-Ahrām, no.1180, 18th August, 1881.
6. Iskandarīya, no.145, 9th September.
7. Ibid., no.162, 2nd March, 1882.
8. Moniteur Égyptien, no.187, 11th August, 1880.

theatre and the Zizinia, put on by the various foreign communities like the French, Italians, Hungarians, Maltese, Greeks and Jews to raise money for their poor, or for schools and hospitals. The editors no doubt hoped to encourage their readers to attend and contribute to these events.[1]

Apart from short references in the press noting the arrival of new European companies for the Zizinia, or the Opera,[2] al-Waqt felt the need to define the terms used for the different types of plays (riwāyāt), "like the opera (ūbīrā), which is all songs; the operetta (ūbīrīt), which is part song and part speech; the comedy (kūmidhiyā), which has no songs, but gathers together seriousness and humour, and the tragedy (ṭrāghīdhīya), which has a murder in it". Of these genres, the writer preferred the comedy, "because of its excellent subject, and what it contains of literary (adabīya) benefit for the people". The paper then went on to give a detailed description of the play produced.[3]

Al-Ahrām reported on the activities of the European companies at the Rossini in the summer of 1881, and at the Zizinia in the autumn.[4] Later in the year it gave a lengthy description of the stories of the opera Faust and Aimé Maillant's comic opera, Martha.[5] The Cairo correspondent of al-Maḥrūsa said that he had intended to report on the performances of foreign companies at the Opera, "but the director of that

1. Miṣr, no.30, 8th February, 1878; Ṣadā al-Ahrām, no.599, 5th April, 1879; al-Waqt, no.795, 13th February, 1880; al-Maḥrūsa, no.64, 13th April, 1880; al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.94, 25th February, 1881; al-Ahram, no.1085, 21st April; and Iskandarīya, no.161, 21st February, 1882.

2. at-Tijāra, no.79, 3rd September, 1880; al-Waqt, no.931, 11 September; al-Waṭan, no.149, 18th September; al-Ahrām, no.1158, 21st July, 1881; and al-Maḥrūsa, no.363, 20th August.

3. al-Waqt, no.984, 1st December, 1880.

4. al-Ahrām, no.1120, 3rd June, 1881.

5. Ibid., no.1245, 10th November; no.1247, 12th November; and no.1276, 15th December.

company ... did not find a seat for the correspondent of an Arab newspaper ... scorning our importance and in contempt of what we write". In the event he decided to attend at his own expense.[1] Apart from feeding the interest of the Arabic-speaking public in the theatre, al-Ahrām and al-Maḥrūsa may have reported on the performances as part of their record of court activities, since the Khedive, his courtiers and ministers often attended the theatres. Items on the theatre were always printed as news items. In the Arabic press there was no such thing as a regular literary page or even a column devoted to the theatre, as existed in the local European press.

It is evident that most of the operatic or theatrical performances were given in Italian or French. There seems to have been more theatres and amateur societies presenting Italian drama or opera than French. The most popular playwrights were probably Carlo Goldoni, Paulo Ferrari, Leopoldo Marenco, Vittorio Sardou, Muratori, and Alexandre Dumas fils in the original French or in Italian translation. By 1882 the foreign population was estimated as follows: Greeks 37,301; Italians 18,665; French 15,716; Austro-Hungarians 8,022 and British 6,118. The Opera House had put the Italian language on a par with French, the language of the plays put on at the Comédie.

These two languages had been vying for some time for seniority as the lingua franca for the foreign communities and of certain official circles. By the 1860s the French had replaced Italian as the language of the Consulates and commercial relations, thanks in part to the totally French project, the construction of the maritime canal through Suez.[2] French was the first foreign language taught in schools, both state and private, and even Italian and Greek schools gave

1. al-Maḥrūsa, no.412, 8th November, 1881.

2. Sachot, op. cit., p.37.

French a high priority. It must be remembered that many Greeks, Syrians, Maltese, Armenians and others were conversant with French and Italian through their education in local schools where these languages were the medium of instruction, and some of these people may even have spoken one of these two as a mother tongue.

Before embarking on a discussion of the Arabic theatre, it might be relevant to give an idea of the amount of money that was being spent by the Khedive to subsidize the European theatre in Egypt during the 1870s. Below is a table of the receipts and expenses of the two Khedivial theatres, the Comédie and the Opera, rounded up to the nearest franc:-[1]

	OPERA			COMÉDIE		
SEASON	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	DEFICIT	RECEIPTS	EXPENSES	DEFICIT
1869/70	230,196	-	-	112,582	540,405	427,823
1870/71	283,558	1,523,071	1,239,512	105,334	542,254	436,920
1871/72	318,241	1,645,110	1,326,869	-	-	-
1872/73	282,063	1,309,548	1,027,485	113,429	291,472	178,043
1873/74	262,927	1,593,224*	1,239,224*	97,960	373,872*	273,872
1874/75	287,283	1,108,380*	848,380*	86,746	243,076*	161,620
1875/76	271,097	-	-	97,084	-	-
1876/77	174,514	-	-	52,772	-	-

In francs. * Estimate

These figures give us a rough idea of the sums involved, which were probably paid from the Khedive's privy purse

1. Dār al-Wathā'iq, ᶜAhd Ismāᶜīl 127, Documents 80/1 and 80/4.

rather than from a departmental budget. It was rumoured in 1871 that the Khedive had spent more than £400,000 sterling from his own pocket for the construction of theatres in Cairo. The Opera House was estimated to have cost about three million francs,[1] and it is not known what the Khedive spent on the construction of the Comédie, the Cirque, the Hippodrome and the Théâtre de l'Ezbékieh, all of which it seems were built at his own expense. The Opera also benefited from the free employment of a number of supernumeraries from the Government. The Khedive's military band was always in attendance there, and in the opera, Aida, and other pieces soldiers from the Egyptian army swelled the processions on stage.[2] Apart from subsidies to the Opera and the Comédie, large subventions were given by the Khedive to other theatres, like the Cirque. Ismā^{c}īl even went as far as to subsidise the premiere of Aida in Paris.

Whether these figures were kept under tighter rein towards the end of Ismā^{c}īl's reign, after the financial crisis had become acute, is not known. The Comédie theatre does not appear to have had a full season after 1876-1877, and the Opera was under-used for three seasons from 1877 to 1880, perhaps because of financial exigencies. In the Budget decree for 1880, there was only a sum of £735 Egyptian allocated for the maintenance of the theatres in the item for the Ministry of Public Works;[3] in 1881 and 1882 it was £400.[4] Patently the theatres were still getting support direct from the Khedive, as it seems unlikely that theatrical activities had suddenly become financially solvent. In the season 1880-1881, as already noted, the Ministry of Public Works provided a subvention of £9,000 for the winter season at the Opera, subscriptions to theatre

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.497, 8th February, 1871.
2. Chennels, op. cit., vol.1, pp.221-222.
3. La Réforme, no.193, 2nd February, 1880.
4. Moniteur Égyptien, no.77, 31st March, 1882.

tickets contributing another £6,000.[1]

Apart from direct subsidies, a lot of money was lavished on the artistes by an appreciative court audience. Mrs. Chennels, in 1872, pointed out that "in addition to the salaries and various operatic expenses, the chief artistes received at their departure handsome presents from the Khedive, his wives and married daughters, as his highness is desirous of attracting first-rate talent to Cairo".[2] This practice probably occurred every season. In January, 1882, al-Ahrām reported that gifts were given to an Opera artiste, Mademoiselle Fernandon. Princess Hānum Effendi gave her a bracelet worth £300, and Princess Nazlī Hānum gave her a medallion worth £70.[3] One can imagine that these gifts were fairly typical of those given by the Royal family to leading artistes. All these sums spent on the European theatre help us put in perspective the Khedive's rather parsimonious approach to the funding of the Arabic theatre in its early years.

1. Le Courier Égyptien, no.27, 9th April, 1881.
2. Chennels, op. cit., vol.1, pp.221-222.
3. al-Ahrām, no.1307, 24th January, 1882.

CHAPTER VI

THE PRESS AND THE FIRST EXPERIMENTS IN ARABIC THEATRE IN EGYPT

The increasing Arab interest in the European theatre in Egypt was the catalyst that led to Arab playwrights writing the first Arabic plays in Egypt. Egyptians were probably aware of Arab theatrical activity in Syria since 1847 from reports in the Syrian press. Since Syrian publications were available in Egypt, some Egyptians may well have seen the published editions of such Syrian plays as Tannūs al-Ḥurr's ash-Shābb al-Jāhil as-Sikkīr (published Beirut 1863), as-Sayyid Salīm Ramadān's ar-Riwāya al-Adabīya fi'l-Khud^{c}a as-Surūjīya (Beirut 1867/1868), or Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab's at-Tuḥfa ar-Rushdīya fī ^{c}Ulūm al-^{c}Arabīya (Beirut 1868/1869).

No Arabic dramatic work had been written or published in the reigns of Khedive Ismā^{c}īl's predecessors. The considerable translation movement from the 1820s onwards had concentrated on technical works of interest to the new European modelled schools or the expanding Egyptian armed forces. In Ismā^{c}īl's reign as more European theatres opened their doors in Cairo and Alexandria, the number of Egyptians attending performances sharply increased. This expanding local attendance at the European theatre was accompanied by the publication of translations of some of the European works into Arabic. Though many of the court and educated élite knew French and Italian, both languages being taught in many state schools, the number of Arabs or Turks who could follow an operatic or theatrical production with ease must have been limited.

The first such translation was Hīlāna al-Jamīla from Offenbach's La Belle Helene, first performed in Europe in 1864, with a libretto by Meilhac and Halevy. The translation of this three-act operetta was printed at Būlāq on 17th Ramadān, 1285 (1st January, 1869). This seems to have been the first Arabic dramatical work published in Egypt, and the first literal translation of a European dramatic work into Arabic. La Belle Helene was the first work performed at the new state Théâtre de la Comédie in Cairo on 4th January, 1869.[1] The translation may have been made at the Khedive's command to ensure that the court could follow the production.

In July 1869 Draneht Bey, the Greek superintendant of the Khedive's theatres, took the initiative in having some other libretti translated into Arabic. In a letter to Khayrī Pasha, Court Chamberlain, he sought the Khedive's authorisation to translate into Arabic a boxful of Italian libretti of operas to be performed during the coming winter season in Cairo. The Théâtre Khédivial de l'Opera was opened on 1st November of that year. Draneht explained that these translations were intended to instruct the audience, reasoning that "these libretti or poems are in general the work of distinguished poets and it would be a service to the public to enable them to understand and enjoy their beauties".[2]

In the year or so between the first translation and the first attempts at Arabic theatre in Egypt, there was a flood of plays published in the Lebanon. Three plays by the founder of the Syrian theatre, Mārūn an-Naqqāsh, that had started Arabic theatrical activity, were published in a collection Arzat Lubnān in Beirut in 1869. That same year also saw the publication in Beirut of Luwīs Sābūnjī's Shā'ūl wa-Dā'ūd. In 1870 Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ahdab's Washy al-Yarāᶜa fī ᶜUlūm al-Balāgha

1. Douin, op. cit., vol.2, p.104.

2. Letter dated 27th July, 1869, Paris, from Draneht to Khairy, Dār al-Wathā'iq.

wa'l-Barā^{c}a, Iskandar al-^{c}Azār's Ḥarb al-Basūs, and Sa^{c}d Allāh al-Bustānī's adaptation, Tilīmāk, were published in Beirut.

It was without doubt the European theatre that inspired Arab writers, both in Syria and Egypt, to start a new form of dramatical activity breaking away from the earlier kinds of plays, rustic farces, karagöz, etc., and introducing drama as a literary form in the Arabic language. European amateur dramatic activity, the presence of western troupes in Egypt, and the visits of numerous Arabs to Europe all helped the Arab elite to acquire a taste for the theatre. The mainly Italian and French performances in Egypt during the first half of the nineteenth century helped to make the Arab townspeople in Alexandria and Cairo theatre conscious, but this was obviously not enough to ensure the inception of a local theatre in Arabic. The literati of Muḥammad ^{c}Alī's court wrote and talked Turkish rather than Arabic, in deference to the Albanian (Turkish) ruler and his family, but by mid-century this Turkish linguistic domination had declined to the benefit of Arabic and European languages.[1] Khedive Ismā^{c}īl (1863-1879) was the first ruler to give financial support to the European theatre, and this support may have led James Sanua, the founder of the Arabic theatre, to believe that the Khedive would be equally generous to Arabic drama.

Much has been written about James Sanua, but no attempt has been made to give a precise chronological account of his theatrical activities: an attempt will be made to give such an account here. Sanua was himself a journalist but none of the Egyptian journals which he edited or to which he contributed are available for consultation. Sanua was born in Cairo in 1839 of Jewish parents. He was sent to Italy at the expense of his father's employer, Prince Aḥmad Yakan, to study political economy, international law, natural science, fine art,

1. Landau, op. cit., p.56.

sculpture, music and drawing in the town of Livorno, from which his father had emigrated.[1] He stayed there for three years, (1852-1855); on his return he taught European languages and sciences to the children of the Khedive and Pashas.[2] At some stage in the 1860s he began teaching at the government Polytechnic (al-Muhandiskhāna), he himself mentioned that he taught there for three years.[3] He was also an examiner for the Egyptian Government schools.

Sanua was inspired to write Arabic plays after visiting one of the open-air café-concerts, in the gardens of al-Azbakīya in the summer of 1870. Here a French company of musicians, singers and actors and an Italian theatrical group entertained the European community. Sanua attended all these performances; he had no problem understanding Italian and French. The farces, comedies, operettas and dramas presented in this large café-concert, perhaps the El-Cazar theatre, gave him the idea of creating his own Arabic theatre. Before he started to write his own works, he studied European playwrights, especially Goldoni, Molière and Sheridan in their original languages. He taught himself to write by translating and adapting foreign plays, possibly by these authors, into Arabic. Goldoni's works were particularly popular on the European stage in Egypt, and Molière's plays seem to have been occasionally performed, but the works of English writers were rarely if ever performed at this time.

When he felt he was competent in the theatrical arts, he wrote a one-act operetta in colloquial Arabic. He taught the roles to about ten of his male students; one boy dressed as the

1. Gendzier, op. cit., p.17.

2. "An Arabic Punch", op. cit., p.112.

3. Najm, Dr. Muḥammad Yūsuf, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - Dirāsāt wa-Nuṣūṣ. 3. Yaᶜqūb Sanūᶜ (Abū Naḍḍāra), (Beirut, 1963), p.209.

woman in the piece. The couplets of the piece were set to adapted popular airs.[1] This work, which is not preserved in manuscript, was about the adventures of a European prince, who for a wager tried to gain access to a harem.[2] This first play may have been set in the court in order to please the Khedive and his circle and thus gain their patronage. It is possible that Sanua performed this and other works privately before he brought his troupe to a public theatre. The writer of The Saturday Review article, quoted earlier, notes:

> Having a remarkable facility for improvizing composition both in prose and poetry in his own native Arabic, together with a great power of histrionic declamation, he (Sanua) invented a species of drama which he used to recite to a select audience of friends. The pungent sarcasm and humour of these declamations, and the real pathos with which they were varied, soon made them more widely known, and attracted, amongst others, the ex-Khedive (Ismāʿīl), who was frequently present at Abou Naddarah's[3] "evenings", and gave him the title of the Egyptian Beaumarchais.[4]

Sanua's operetta was performed before a group of Pashas and Beys, who were so impressed that they recommended that the author repeat the play at a concert in al-Azbakīya gardens.

It may have been at this stage that Sanua gave the manuscript of the operetta to his close friend, Khayrī Pasha, Khedive Ismāʿīl's master-of-ceremonies, and asked him to

1. Chelley, Jacques, "Le Molière Egyptien", Abou Naddara, (August, 1906), no.6.

2. For details of this piece, see the article, op. cit.; and Sanua, James, Ma Vie en Vers et Mon Théâtre en Prose, (Paris, n.d.), pp.10-12, quoted in Abul Naga, op. cit., pp.84-87.

3. This was Sanua's nickname.

4. "The Arabic Punch", op. cit., p.112.

present it to the Khedive for his perusal. He asked Khayrī to remind the Khedive that before his accession he had promised to help Sanua to guide his compatriots in the difficult path of progress and civilisation: they had perhaps discussed the potential of an Arabic theatre when Sanua had been teaching at the court.[1] Sanua had hoped the Viceroy would establish a theatre for Egyptians, who were unfamiliar with the dramatic art and could not understand the grand Italian operas and French comedies for which the Khedive had built two theatres. Khayrī Pasha read the play to Ismā^{c}īl and got his permission for a performance to be given at the Théâtre - Concert du Jardin de l'Ezbekieh (al-Azbakīya).[2] This or El Cazar may have been the theatre where Sanua saw his first European plays. This theatre was probably constructed in 1870, as it is not listed amongst the extant theatres open in 1869. It was exclusively used for summer performances.

On the first night, the boxes and pit were full, and more spectators were standing than sitting. The performance, according to Sanua, was attended by the Court, perhaps including the Khedive, the Cabinet and all the European diplomats, in all more than 3,000 people.[3] This figure may be inflated since Sanua tended to exaggerate when describing his own achievements. Sanua spoke briefly before the play to introduce the actors and explain to the local audience the benefits of the theatre, and exactly what a theatrical piece was. Obviously concerned about the Egyptian audience's ignorance of the theatrical art, he explained the subject of the play and its social and moral significance. He also gave a speech immediately after the play to explain matters that may have confused the audience. He apologised for the shortcomings

1. Gendzier, op. cit., p.34.

2. Landau (op. cit., p.66) gives the impression that Sanua had his own theatre in Cairo, but there is no evidence for this.

3. Chelley, op. cit.

of the performance, asking the audience to take into consideration that this was the first stage experiment by an Arab troupe in Egypt, but he need not have worried for the audience were so enthusiastic that they called for an encore.[1]

The success of the first piece encouraged Sanua to continue. While he was giving repeat performances of his first work, he decided to introduce actresses into his troupe. He had difficulty finding suitable candidates but he eventually found two beautiful young girls, both from poor homes. After one month's intensive rehearsals they were able to read and easily perform the minor roles especially written for them.[2] Muslim women would probably have not been allowed by their families to appear on stage, so he probably used Christian or Jewish girls, he gives their names as Mātīlda and Līza.[3] Their appearance caused a sensation in the Cairo theatres, and in a few months they were the stars of the company, learning longer and more important roles.

Four months after his debut, probably in the autumn of 1870, the Khedive invited the company to appear on the private stage at the royal palace of Qasr an-Nīl. The troupe presented three plays, the two-act La Demoiselle à la mode (The Fashionable Young Lady), Le Dandy du Caire (The Cairean Dandy) and aḍ-Ḍarratayn (The Two [Rival] Wives), described by Sanua as comedies with a moral flavour, based on oriental customs. After the Khedive saw the first two plays, he called for the author, and said to him before his ministers and the court:-

Nous vous devons la creation de notre Théâtre

1. Moosa, Matti, "Yaʿqub Sanu' and the Rise of Arab Drama in Egypt", International Journal for Middle Eastern Studies, vol.5, no.4, (1974), p.405.

2. Chelley, op. cit.

3. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ʿArabī - 3, op. cit., p.195.

> national. Vos comédies, vos operettes et vos tragedies ont initiés notre peuple à l'art dramatique. Vous êtes notre Molière égyptien et votre nom restera.

This statement by Ismā^{c}īl may have been embellished by Sanua's memory, but it gives the impression that Sanua had already put on a number of comedies, operettas and tragedies before this performance. There is not a tragedy amongst his extant works, nor does he claim to have written one, so perhaps his company had put on a tragedy written by one of his friends.

After seeing the last work, ad-Ḍarratayn, the Khedive's tone changed. Ismā^{c}īl may have considered the anti-polygamous stance of this work on the rivalry between two wives as a criticism of his own conduct.[1] The Khedive again summoned the author and told him sarcastically:-

> Voyons, Molière, si vous n'avez pas les reins solides pour contenter plus d'un femme, il ne faut pas degouter les autres.

Perhaps sometime later, Sanua, in order to safeguard his theatre, dropped his play from his repertoire, accepting the advice of European members of the court who suggested that he exclude this play. Fifty-three consecutive performances were given of the play,[2] and it was still being performed in his second year of activity under another title, al-Ḥashshāsh (The Hashish Addict).[3]

The Arabic press in Egypt seems to have ignored Sanua's

1. This play was published in Najm, al-Masraḥ al-^{c}Arabī - 3, op. cit., together with the texts of seven of his other plays, Burṣat Miṣr, al-^{c}Alīl, as-Sawwaḥ wa'l-Hammār, Abū Riḍā wa-Ka^{c}b al-Khayr, aṣ-Ṣadāqa, al-Amīra al-Iskandarānīya, and Mulyīr Miṣr wa-ma Yuqāsīhi; these are all the extant texts of his Arabic plays.

2. Chelley, Jacques, "Le Molière Égyptien" (continued), Abū Naddāra, no.7, September, 1906.

3. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-^{c}Arabī - 3, op. cit., p.205.

Arabic theatre in its first few months, but a reader had drawn the attention of the Wādī an-Nīl newspaper to translations of European operas that had appeared. In November, 1870, the paper published an article headed "Literary innovation or translated piece, or the introduction of a new type of composition into the Arabic language". It then published a letter dated 8th November to the editor, Abū's-Su^{c}ūd Effendi, from a Commissioner of Police (ma'mūr ad-dabṭīya). The Commissioner drew attention to the recent publication of two Arabic versions of Italian operas. He felt that:-

> ... since as-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihi has been responsible for enlightening the sons of his country (waṭan) by using his money and ideas to translate and print plays (al^{c}āb at-tiyātrāt),... in order to distribute them freely to everyone who does not know foreign languages, I felt it worth mentioning to the newspaper Wādī an-Nīl, since every diligent person should get his reward. There is nothing more splendid than someone whose actions help the sons of his nation make progress...

The Commissioner wanted to ensure that al-Muwaylihi's labour would not be in vain, and he enclosed a copy of the two translations. The paper published an article, accompanying this letter, explaining that two operas had been translated from Italian, and published in two small booklets, printed at al-Muwaylihi's press in Cairo at his expense.[1] The name of the translator was not mentioned in the booklets, but the paper stated that they had been made by Muhammad ^{c}Uthmān Jalāl, a translator in the Dīwān al-Jihādīya. These are probably the first translations of dramatical works made by Jalāl, and his only translations of operas, perhaps inspired by the publication of Hīlāna al-Jamīla nearly two years earlier. They were no doubt intended to meet an increasing demand from the Arab audience at the European theatre for Arab versions of the

1. These booklets have not been found in any of the major foreign or Egyptian collections of Arabic books.

works performed.

The last page of the first booklet referred to it as a "translation of the opera (performed) at the first evening of operas (put on) at the Opera theatre, on Tuesday evening, 1st November, 1870". This was probably a translation of Gaetano Donizetti's La Favorita (first performed in Europe in December, 1840); the Italian libretto had been written by C. Barri. The new season at the Opera in Cairo had opened with this on Thursday, 3rd November, before the Khedive, his sons, Muḥammad Tawfīq and Ḥusayn Pasha, and numerous notables. The paper quoted page two of the booklet:-

> Man has a natural curiosity about the state of former nations whether real or imaginary, and this (information) is known only through histories, biographies or tales. Though speech cannot convey the exact truth ... this (art) is not an imitation, rather it is imitation using actors (ashkhāṣ) deputising for the people of the actual event. This has not happened amongst us, but we have witnessed it amongst the Europeans, who started plays (tiyātrāt), and made them a powerful force to civilise their countries. For civilisation involves training and educating the soul to adopt good morals. This can only be done by acquainting souls with information about the ancient people and the histories of the advanced nations. Since (theatre) has been established in our country, and there are now many who wish to (see) it, the only obstacle preventing some (people) from going to it is the use of European languages. Some spectators employ translators. But since simultaneous oral translation does not meet their requirements, we decided to translate them word by word into our language, so that the spectator could keep his eye (on the work).

The second booklet was called "the second night of the Opera (tiyātrū al-Ubirah)" and on the second page it carried the title of the opera, Muzayyin Shāwīlih (Il Barbiere di Siviglia); Gioacchimo Rossini's opera of this name (written 1816), with a libretto by C. Stesbini, had been performed on Friday, 4th November. The article in Wādī an-Nīl referred to

the fact that this work was very similar to the story of the Barber of Baghdad in Alf Layla wa-Layla (A Thousand and One Nights), and concluded:-

> The appearance of these two pieces in Arabic garb is a rather important literary (adabīya) event, the introduction of a new type of composition in the scrolls of the East, and a foundation which might be built on and which might lead to even more competent works.[1]

The paper obviously considered the translation of these plays as a major literary event, since so much space was devoted to it. It maintained its interest in such events, and a few weeks later there was a lengthy article on the translation of Offenbach's La Belle Helene referred to earlier:-

> We have discovered the creation of a new literary genre. We have witnessed a good creation, a useful means to order Arab morals. Even though the performances (luᶜab) were in foreign languages, it was not long before the taste for this civilising occurrence and this beneficial conveyance penetrated the veins of the local communities and the minds of the local enthusiasts. Since they were written and performed in European languages, they had to be rewritten in Arabic; someone from patriotic circles was entrusted with the task, and appointed to skillfully carry it out. The merit and value (of the theatre) has become known amongst the other Eastern nations, as happened in the Western Kingdoms and in the European countries ... This excellent innovation spread at first with the translation of the play (luᶜba) called Hīlāna al-Jamīla. It was distributed last year amongst literary (adabīyāt) productions. It appeared in the most beautiful form. By order of the Khedive, the famous man of letters and the great teacher Rifāᶜa Bey Effendi, took charge of the translation, to make it comprehensible to the lovers of those plays (at-taṣwīrāt al-luᶜbīya). Translations of several theatrical works followed it, and though less (competent) than this (first translation) they were not without benefit to the

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.58, 20 Shaᶜbān, 1287 (15 November, 1870).

> public. All this (activity) is like the appearance of the crescent moon which will gradually achieve perfection.[1]

This is the first time that the name of Rifā^{c}a Rāfi^{c} at-Tahtāwī has been associated with the appearance of Arabic theatre in Egypt; it had been previously thought that he had not been involved in the translation of drama. He had participated in and supervised the translation of scores of technical works for the Egyptian state schools, but his main translation of a literary nature was of Fénélon's (Aventures de) Télémaque, which was published in Arabic in Beirut in 1867.

There may well have been many translations of European dramatic works which were not published. The correspondent of the Istanbul al-Jawā'ib newspaper in Egypt said that many Egyptian gentry (wujūh and a^{c}yān), Indians, foreigners (^{c}ajam) and others attended the Cairo Opera and Comédie. The Turkish gentry (dhawāt) were to be seen there:

> each of them ... had in his hand an Arabic text (containing) a translation of these plays. I saw a black slave in a white turban, and in his hand was a translation of Don Juan (by Mozart). I was that evening in the box (ḥujra) of the Director of the Theatre, and he said to me, "Nothing delights me more than to see the people of Egypt pleased with these theatres. Now they (the Egyptians) have entered through all the doors of civilisation, the theatre provides the relaxing aspect (of civilisation)".

The correspondent also saw veiled Muslim women in special boxes at the theatres.[2]

Even Europeans offered to translate European works into

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.71, 14 Shawwāl, 1287 (7th January, 1871).

2. al-Jawā'ib, no.513, 12th April, 1871.

Arabic. An Italian, De Marchi, wrote to Draneht, Superintendant of the Khedivial Theatres, in April, 1871, claiming that he could translate Italian opera into Arabic using the same metres as the original. He sought financial help from the Khedive, and undertook to translate Bellini's Norma into Arabic verse within three months with the help of young Arab poets. He also wished to Arabise Aida with the same metres as the libretto, so that it could be sung in Arabic.[1] (Aida had been specially commissioned by Khedive Ismāʿīl from the Italian composer, Verdi, based on a story written by the French archaeologist, Mariette Pasha). Draneht's response to this suggestion is not known. Ghislanzoni's libretto of Aida was translated and published in Cairo that year, 1288/1871, no doubt as an aid to those attending the Italian performance, by the editor of Wādī an-Nīl, ʿAbd Allāh Abū's-Suʿūd. The Arabic version of Verdi's musical tragedy in four acts was entitled Tarjamat al-Ūbira al-Musamma Bism ʿĀyida. Undertaking this translation, perhaps at the request of the court, may have inspired ʿAbd Allāh to become involved in Arabic theatrical activities.

In the spring of 1871 Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī, the noted Muslim philosopher and reformer, came to Egypt, after he had been expelled from Istanbul. It is claimed that al-Afghānī advised Sanua to found a popular Arabic theatre to promote the general political consciousness of the populace.[2] However al-Afghānī did not meet Sanua on his first short visit to Egypt in July, 1869, so it is unlikely that it was al-Afghānī's inspiration that prompted Sanua to start his theatrical activity. When they did meet, al-Afghānī urged him to enlist his talents as a dramatist in the cause of reform. He suggested that the playwright transform this successful means of

1. Letter dated Cairo, 22nd April, 1871, in Abdoun, Genesi, op. cit., pp.52-53.

2. Gendzier, Irene L., "James Sanua and Egyptian Nationalism", The Middle East Journal, vol.15, no.1, (Winter, 1961), p.20.

entertainment into an instrument of public education.[1] Wilfred Scawen Blunt, the English radical, the source for this story, suggests that al-Afghānī and his Egyptian disciple, Muhammad ᶜAbduh, seeing that he (Sanua) had a pleasant wit, encouraged him in starting a puppet show, which, under the guise of amusement, was to spread political ideas among the lower classes. The Punch of the show was a personage in spectacles, presumably resembling Sanua called Abū Nazzāra (The man with spectacles).[2] Whether Blunt was confusing Sanua's theatrical activities with a puppet show, or if indeed Sanua also ran a puppet show to put his ideas across to the less educated classes we do not know.

There were also elements outside Egypt encouraging the Khedive to establish an Arabic theatre. The Beirut al-Jinān magazine, run by the al-Bustānī family, proposed to some members of the Egyptian Government that they establish an Arabic theatre.[3] The Syrian Arabic theatre had been active for some fourteen years, and the editors of al-Jinān probably felt that Egypt too would benefit from having its own theatre; al-Jinān was sold throughout the Middle East, including Egypt and Istanbul. Up to this stage, there had been nothing in the Egyptian press on the Arabic theatre. This article may have been intended to induce the Khedive to give financial support to Sanua; his theatrical company, financed from his own pocket, long faced financial difficulties.

Other performances were given by Sanua at the Qaṣr an-Nīl palace. The company put on Sanua's comedy Rāstūr wa-Shaykh al-Balad wa'l-Qawwāṣ (Rāstūr, the Village Shaykh and the Consular Guard) before the Khedive.[4] This may have been

1. Gendzier, Practical, op. cit., p.31.
2. Blunt, Gordon, op. cit., p.46.
3. al-Jawā'ib, no.519, 10 May, 1871.
4. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., p.201.

the performance described by the Istanbul Arabic newspaper, al-Jawā'ib, as the first evening of Arabic theatre in August, 1871, attended by about one thousand people. Apparently a number of plays had been sent to Egypt for this performance from different places, particularly from Beirut, but "a play, called al-Qawwās was chosen, for (the evening), written by an Englishman".[1] From the title this appears to be the same work as Sanua's play, but Sanua has not acknowledged that he got the play from an English source. It is strange that the article calls it the first evening of Arabic theatre, unless it meant the first performance of that summer season, for Sanua and his biographers state on several occasions that he began his theatrical activity in 1870.[2] It is of note that a number of Syrian playwrights seem to have competed to provide the play for this performance.

There is no mention of these performances in the official Egyptian newspaper, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, nor in the only Arabic magazine, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya. It seems highly probable that the independent Arabic newspaper, Wādī an-Nīl, carried reports on the Arab theatre, since as we shall see its editor, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, and his son, Muhammad al-Unsī, were both involved in Arabic theatrical life; regrettably very few copies of this paper are available. One of the few articles in Wādī an-Nīl gives us a picture of the Arab theatre, free of the self-aggrandizement of Sanua's descriptions, and it is worth quoting in full:-

> The success of Arabic plays (tiyātrāt) in Egypt at the moment. On Thursday, 9 Jumādā al-Ūla (27th July), three plays (luᶜab), pieces of Arabic theatre, which had been put on several times at al-Qansīr

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.535, 16th August, 1871.

2. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., p.195; and Chelley, op. cit.

(the Théâtre Concert of al-Azbakīya), were performed in the palace of Qaṣr an-Nīl before the Khedive. All those present showed their delight at the increasing popularity of these literary plays in Egypt, and at the apparent success of such a civilising matter - (The evening) began with short pieces in colloquial Arabic to give these tenacious young men (the actors) some practice before performing those plays (al^{c}ābī). When they appeared successful in their easy small pieces, written by Mr. James (Sanua), one of the members of the Jam^{c}iyat Ta'sīs at-Tiyātrāt al-^{c}Arabīya (The Society for the Establishment of Arabic Plays) in Egypt, they practised further by performing two other works in literary Arabic, more important than the first pieces, and like those put on in the European countries advanced in this art. One was called Al-Bakhīl (The Miser), like the French comedy (Kūmīdhīya) of this name by the French poet Molière, and the other was called al-Jawāhirjī (The Jeweller), written originally in Arabic by some young Egyptians. This was arranged under the direction of the Society for the Establishment of Arabic Plays. Perhaps (the two plays) have won respect by being performed before the Khedive, thus encouraging this society (formed) recently under the patronage of the Pasha, the Minister of Finance, and thus the success of this splendid matter will be complete and (the theatre will become (established as) one of the civilising factors that appeared in the reign of Khedive Ismā^{c}īl. May God give it strength.[1]

This passage gives us some valuable information on the early Arabic theatre. It is the only mention of this Society for the Establishment of Arabic Plays. Sanua and his friends usually talk of his theatre only in these first few years of Arabic drama in Egypt. While his claim that "no-one before him introduced Arabic theatre into Egypt"[2] remains unchallenged, it is clear that the subsequent theatrical activities were much more of a co-operative effort, in which he was perhaps the leading light. One of Sanua's biographers, Paul de Baignières, has remarked that Sanua was not over-modest about his achievement:-

1. Wādī an-Nīl, quoted in al-Jawā'ib, no.537, 27th August, 1871.

2. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-^{c}Arabī - 3, op. cit., p.200.

> À l'entendre, il aurait à lui seul tout préparé, tout guidé, tout prédit, tout prévu. Ce sont là de légères exagerations poétiques auxquelles il convient de ne pas trop prendre garde.[1]

Sanua's patron seems to have been Ismāʿīl Ṣiddīq Pasha, the Minister of Finance, but it is not known whether he gave the theatre financial support. Other important officials, such as ʿUmar Pasha al-Laṭīf, encouraged Sanua's activities. At some stage Khedive Ismāʿīl extended his help to Sanua and gave the company free use of al-Azbakīya theatre (probably the Concert Theatre). The actors hoped to be paid a regular salary by the state.[2] They had received occasional gratuities from the Khedive; after the performance of Rāstūr wa-Shaykh al-Balad wa'l-Qawwās, the Khedive had given Sanua one hundred pounds to distribute among the actors.[3]

The performances of al-Bakhīl and al-Qawwās were probably the first manifestations of a new trend in "Sanua's" theatre: the performance of translations from French, Italian and English. Sanua has stated that in the second year of "his" theatre, he and his friends put on translations as well as many original pieces. The spectators became more discriminating and the public wanted to see "serious" works, so several such works were translated to satisfy public demand. The Arabic theatre thus started to resemble European theatre in the range of works that it presented from comedy to serious drama.[4]

While the authors of al-Jawāhirjī are unknown, the translator of Molière's L'Avare as al-Bakhīl was ʿAbd Allāh Abū's-Suʿūd.[5] Abū's-Suʿūd was the editor of Wādī an-Nīl so

1. de Baignières, op. cit., pp.15-16.
2. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ʿArabī - 3, op. cit., p.201.
3. Ibid., p.219.
4. Chelley, Abou Naddara, op. cit., No.7.
5. L'Ezbékieh 1873 in Sanua, James, L'Aristocratica Alessandrina, (Cairo, 1875), p.IX.

one would have expected him to have publicised the performance, though he modestly makes no reference to his role as translator. This translation may have been the first work in literary Arabic to be performed in the Egyptian theatre; most of Sanua's works appear to have been in the Egyptian dialect. It was probably much more a literal translation of Molière than the work of the same name written by the Syrian Marūn an-Naqqāsh., some thirteen years earlier.

The article in Wādī an-Nīl, perhaps the first report in the Arabic press in Egypt on this new literary genre in the Arabic language, is far from a piece of literary criticism, but it is typical of subsequent press handling of the theatre. While the European press in Egypt carried standard dramatic reviews, commenting on the dramatic piece, production, acting, scenery, music, etc., reports in the Arabic press were restricted to short laudatory items, giving the barest outline of the play. Little advance publicity was carried in the press, and in most cases the press report was a minor item of three or four lines.

Several translations were brought to Sanua, at the same time, to be performed by his company. Sanua recalled that "quand j'avais mon théâtre du Caire, dans la même semaine, on vint m'apporter, pour être jouées, les traductions de L'Avare, du Malade Imaginaire, du Tartuffe".[1]

Jules Barbier, in an article in 1873 in his theatrical review, L'Ezbékieh, published in Cairo, acknowledges that these last two translations from Molière were made by Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl.[2] Jalāl (1245-1316)(1829/30-1898) was the son of a Turkish official and an Egyptian woman. Like Sanua, he was a product of a modern education. He studied in

1. de Baignières, op. cit., p.12.

2. Chelley, L'Ezbékieh, 1873 in Sanua, op. cit., p.IX.

the state schools set up by Muhammad ᶜAlī Pasha, such as Qaṣr al-ᶜAynī and Abū Zaᶜbal, completing his studies in the school of languages, Madrasat al-Alsun, directed by Rifāᶜa Rāfiᶜ at-Ṭahṭāwī. At this school he studied Turkish, French and English, reading literary works in French and Arabic. Upon graduation he occupied a number of government posts as translator or teacher. He had made several translations during his official career, but it is his literary translations that are more important. In 1274 (1857/8) he published at his own expense a verse translation of La Fontaine's Parables, entitled al-ᶜUyūn al-Yawāqiẓ fi'l-Amthāl wa'l-Mawā'iẓ (The Awakening Eyes in Proverbs and Sermons). He later published a brilliant translation of J.H. Bernadin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie in 1285 (1868/9), as al-Amānī wa'l-Minna fī Ḥadīth Qabūl wa-Ward Janna (Desires and Kindliness in the Tale of Qabūl and Ward Janna).

Jalāl made many adaptations from European drama, which he translated into Egyptian colloquial and put in a local setting, Egyptianising the story and characters. The translation of Le Malade imaginaire has not been preserved, but his adaptation of Le Tartuffe was published in a five-act version in prose and rajaz (extempore) verse as ash-Shaykh Maṭlūf[1] at Cairo by ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd's Wādī an-Nīl press in 1290 (1873/4). He had been urged to translate it by ᶜAlī Mubārak, the Minister of Education.[2] The fact that both Jalāl and Abū's-Suᶜūd were so active in publishing and translating plays leads one to believe that they may well have been members of the Society for the Establishment of Arabic Plays.

The Arabic fortnightly magazine, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, published part of the text of a play by Muḥammad

1. For a detailed study of Jalāl's plays, see al-Khozai, op. cit., pp.276-344.

2. Mubārak, op. cit., vol.17, p.65.

Effendi ᶜUthmān Jalāl.[1] This was Molière's Le Médecin Malgré Lui, given the title of al-Fakhkh al-Manṣūb li'l-Ḥakīm al-Maghsūb (The Trap for the Coerced Doctor) in a section entitled Kitāb an-Nukat wa-Bāb at-Tiyātrāt (The Book of Anecdotes and the Chapter for Plays). This was the first time that a play had been published in an Arabic magazine in either Egypt or Syria, and this experiment was not to be repeated for some ten years. No doubt the first flush of enthusiasm for the new Arab theatre led to this publication.

Some other plays translated by Jalāl may have been performed in this period. By May 1880, according to the Cairo Le Moniteur Égyptien, he was well-known as the translator of Molière's Les Femmes Savantes (an-Nisā' al-ᶜĀlimāt) and L'École des Maris (Madrasat al-Azwāj).[2] These plays were not published until 1307 (1889/90) in a collection called al-Arbaᶜ Riwāyāt min Nukhab at-Tiyātrāt (Four Plays from the Choice of Theatrical Works); also in the same volume were published ash-Shaykh Maṭlūf and Molière's L'École des Femmes (Madrasat an-Nisā'). Since none of these plays were performed in the late 1870s or early 1880s, it is reasonable to assume that they were put on in this first bout of Arabic theatre. Another play by Molière, Les Facheux (Riwāyat ath-Thuqalā'), translated into colloquial verse, was published in Cairo in 1314 (1896/7).[3] In 1311 (1893/4) he brought out a direct translation in zajal (popular strophic verse) of three tragedies by the French playwright, Racine, in a work called ar-Riwāyāt al-Mufīda fi ᶜIlm at-Trājīda (Useful Plays in the Science of

1. Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, y.2, no.3, Friday, 15 Ṣafar, 1288 (5th May, 1871), pp.1-4; no.5, Saturday, 15 Rabīᶜ I (3rd June, 1871), pp.5-8; no.7, Monday, 15 Rabīᶜ II (4th July, 1871), pp.9-12.

2. Le Moniteur Égyptien, 16/17 May, 1880; and La Finanza, 18th May, 1880.

3. Najm has republished ash-Shaykh Maṭlūf, an-Nisā' al-ᶜĀlimāt, Madrasat al-Azwāj, Madrasat an-Nisā', ath-Thuqalā', and al-Mukhaddimīn in al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - Dirāsāt wa-Nuṣūṣ 4. Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl, (Beirut, 1964).

Tragedy); this collection included Esther (Astīr al-Yahūdīya), Iphigénie (Ifghānīya) and Alexandre Le Grand (Iskandar al-Akbar). He had also made unpublished translations of Racine's Athalie, and Corneille's tragedies, Le Cid and Les Trois Horaces et les Trois Curiaces.[1]

It may well be that many of these translations were completed in these early years of the Arab theatre, as the reference to him in Le Moniteur Égyptien refers to him as translator "de tant d'autres pièces ou ouvrages français qui n'ont pas peu contribué à sa reputation littéraire". It has been asserted by Carlo Nallino that none of his plays had been performed in the Arab theatre,[2] but Nallino may have been referring to the period after their publication in the 1890s. Nallino also asserts that these dialect versions were not accepted by the public, because the audience only wanted works in the literary language.[3] This statement may also have been true of this later period, but at the time of these early experiments, the audience seems to have welcomed works in colloquial. The success of Sanua's pieces, written in the vernacular, probably influenced Jalāl to choose the colloquial language as the medium for his works. Jalāl's translations differed in this way from the Syrian Arab adaptations of these French classics, which seem to have been mainly in the literary language; unlike the Syrian versions, Jalāl's plays were not set to music, and did not include songs.

Charles Read, at a dinner of Molièrists in January, 1887, credited Sanua with translating Molière:-

> Il a traduit Molière: il l'a fait aimer; grâce à lui, notre grand homme est populaire chez les fellahs; ils goûtent comme nous les beautés de Tartuffe et du

1. G.A.L., vol.II, p.628.

2. Nallino, Carlo Alfonso, L'Arabo Parlato in Egitto, (Milan, 1913), p.486.

3. Ibid., pp.iv-v.

Mysanthrope.[1]

Since Sanua himself has not claimed to have translated Molière, this statement may well be a mistake. Molière's plays had been performed in the European theatre in Cairo, though not very often; in the 1869/1870 season at the Comédie theatre Tartuffe had been presented.[2] Sanua and his colleagues in their readings of French literature probably had read the works of this great French dramatist, those who knew Turkish, like Jalāl, may have known of the success of Turkish adaptations of Molière's comedies, and may have decided to follow the Turkish example.[3]

The Comédie theatre was also used for performances of Sanua's plays. The Khedive and other dignitaries saw a performance of the two-act Ḥulwān wa'l-ᶜAlīl (Hulwan and the Invalid) and the two-act al-Amīra al-Iskandarānīya (The Alexandrian Princess). The audiences were delighted with these two pieces.[4] The first play uses the sickness of one of the characters to defend modern medical methods against quacks and praises the hot-water baths founded at Ḥulwān by Khedive Ismāᶜīl. The second play is a criticism of middle-class Egyptians for indiscriminately mimicking European customs, and thus harming family relations.[5] More than a year after his first productions, he put on al-Hashshāsh, Abū Riḍā al-Barbarī wa-Kaᶜb al-Khayr (Abū Riḍā the Nubian and Kaᶜb al-Khayr) and al-Burṣa al-Miṣrīya (The Egyptian Stock Exchange); the latter was a new comedy.[6] The second play, also known as

1. Abou Naddara, no.1, Saturday, 22nd January, 1887.

2. Douin, op. cit., vol.2, p.472.

3. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.44.

4. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., p.201.

5. Moosa, Matti, The Origins of Modern Arabic Fiction, (Washington, 1983), pp.59 and 61.

6. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., p.205.

al-Barbarī, deals with the practice of arranging marriages through female matchmakers, while the latter play shows how marriages based on financial considerations can fail. Another work of his, perhaps written towards the end of his theatrical career, Mūlyir Miṣr wa-mā Yuqāsīhi (Egypt's Molière and What He Suffers), describes the hardships he faced in establishing the Arab theatre in Egypt. This two-act comedy was performed every night for two months, and was so popular that young people in the audience learnt it and performed it before their friends.[1]

The Arabic theatre (al-malhā al-ᶜarabī) was still active in April 1872; the Cairo correspondent of al-Jawā'ib wrote of its expansion and improvement, and announced that an Arabic play (tamthīla) would be given on 22nd April at the Comédie theatre. There is a somewhat obscure reference to the fact that the audience were pleased that they had dispensed with the Beirut dancing girls.[2] Perhaps the presence of these girls, as an added diversion, had offended the audience; it is difficult to imagine any role for these girls in the plays available to us today.

Whatever his reasons for opposing Sanua, Draneht Bey was not hostile to the idea of an Arab theatre in principal. On 20th April, 1872, he wrote a letter to Khayrī Pasha, supporting a project for an Arab National Theatre, prepared by Muḥammad Unsī and Louis Farrugia, a teacher at the École des Arts et Métiers. Draneht mentioned that he had spoken several times to the Khedive on the subject but had elicited no response. Since Khayrī Pasha was interested in the project, Draneht hoped that the Pasha would resubmit it to Ismāᶜīl.

This project is of interest, since it is the first initiative

1. Najm, op. cit., p.193.

2. al-Jawā'ib, no.580, 11th April, 1872.

to establish an Academy of Dramatic Art, which was not set up until 1930. Muhammad Unsī, the son of ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, was director of the Wādī an-Nīl press. Like his father he had worked in the government translation department. He was a regular contributor to Wādī an-Nīl, and was active in journalism throughout most of the 1870s. He may have been a member of the dramatic society which put on Arabic plays in 1871, and possibly helped his father in the translation of the opera Aida.[1] Little is known about the Italian co-author of the project.

The intention behind this project for a national theatre, included as Appendix B to this thesis, was to put the Arabic theatre on the same footing as the European theatre in Egypt. The sum required to create a national troupe and set up a theatrical school, 115,000 francs, was a relatively insignificant amount compared to the 1.5 million francs spent on the Opera, or the 0.5 million francs for the Comédie theatre in 1870/71. The project seems critical of earlier attempts to found an Arab theatre, perhaps referring to Sanua's work in 1870/71. Draneht may have inspired the proposal by Unsī, so that he could gain control of the Arab theatre, thus effectively excluding Sanua; it is stipulated that the National Theatre would be included under Draneht's administration of the European theatres. An alternative type of theatre was offered instead of Sanua's locally inspired comedies. It was proposed that at first translations should be presented and then perhaps original works:-

> Loin de nous la pensée de debuter par des pièces faites sur place et n'ayant subi aucun contrôle, aucune censure.

1. Abdoun, Genesi, op. cit., pp.96-97.

Draneht and others in the court probably disapproved of Sanua's unbridled theatrical activity, so critical of social and court mores. Under this project all locally written works would have to be submitted to a commission for approval, thus firmly establishing government censorship of the theatre. Locally written works would place a greater emphasis on classical literature; the immortal Arabic poetry would be set to music in yet another departure from Sanua's cruder colloquial works.

The project concludes by giving Muḥammad Unsī credit for having conceived the idea some time ago:-

> Pour être juste, nous devons dire ici que l'idée d'avoir imaginé la création du théâtre arabe et d'avoir étudié et posé les bases de sa formation revient de droit à M.M. Onsy. Du reste, il en a été souvent question dans son Journal.[1]

This is a fairly categorical statement that Sanua was not after all the originator of the idea of creating an Arab theatre, but that Unsī should be acknowledged in his place. This remark was perhaps added to counter Sanua's claims to be sole founder. It is also apparent that the Wādī an-Nīl newspaper was instrumental in sowing the seeds of the idea. Khayrī Pasha is shown again as a prime mover in all attempts to establish the Arab theatre. Unfortunately, we do not know what response the Khedive gave, although it can be assumed that it was negative, since no theatre school was set up. A more thorough search of official archives may reveal further material on this proposal.

The European press in Egypt continued to publicise Sanua's activities. On 11th May, the Cairo newspaper, L'Égypte, published a long article praising him. The article mentioned that Sanua had written five plays (riwāyāt), which

1. Dār al-Wathā'iq, ᶜAhd Ismāᶜīl, 127, 80/5.

were

> highly appreciated by everybody. We hope the august Khedive will take him (Sanua) increasingly under his wing, since all that has emerged from this place (the Arab theatre) has confirmed its literary benefits, as well as being amusing and enjoyable.[1]

One of Sanua's close friends, Shaykh Muhammad ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Miṣrī, a student at al-Azhar, wrote a three-act play, Nuzhat al-Adab fī Shajāᶜat al-ᶜArab al-Mubhija li-Aᶜyun az-Zakīya fī Ḥadīqat al-Azbakīya (A Diversion in Literature on the Courage of the Arabs to Gladden the Blameless Eyes in the Garden of al-Azbakīya), published in 1289 (1872). Its publication was advertised in the local press, indeed this was the first mention in the official gazette, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, of the Arabic theatre. Copies were available from the premises of the author in al-Muskī for one franc. The advert gave the reasons for printing the play:-

> In the reign of His Highness, the Khedive, mankind has made progress in civilisation (tamaddun), until (Egypt) has attained more than previous nations (umam). One of the manifestations of civilisation is the existence of plays (tiyātrāt), especially the (appearance) of the Arab Theatre (at-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī), now performing in the garden of al-Azbakīya. Since everyone is praising the attainment of civilisation, we started printing a play (luᶜba), and published it for (the benefit) of all who love the homeland (waṭan), in order to increase civilisation.[2]

This play, whose short title was Layla, was shown to Sanua, who found it so good that it was performed on his stage by students of al-Azhar.[3] It was performed at Sanua's theatre, al-Azbakīya theatre, which by then was known as the

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.587, 29th May, 1872.
2. al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, no.455, 7th May, 1872.
3. Chelley, Abou Naddara, op. cit., no.6.

National Theatre, before an audience, including Egyptian ministers, learned men and poets,[1] to celebrate the opening of al-Azbakīya gardens for the summer. The theatre in al-Azbakīya, perhaps in the open-air, operated only in the summer season. The Cirque, Comédie and Opera House were only open from about mid-September until mid-March or early April. The play was put on more than twice by public demand. It seems that plays had a short run at al-Azbakīya theatre, barely enough time for the European critics to write their reviews:-

> Le temps de réfléchir, et j'ai bien peur que Leyla ne disparaisse de l'affiche (les pièces sont vite, au théâtre de l'Esbekyeh) auquel cas, j'en serai réduit à rediger mon compte rendu sur le brochure, toute bonne tragédie devant naturellement recevoir les honneurs de l'impression.[2]

The play, based on Voltaire's Mérope (written 1743), is about a young warrior who asks the shaykh of a tribe for his daughter Layla's hand in marriage. The shaykh agrees providing the warrior defeats a hostile neighbouring tribe; this the warrior does. The Shaykh of another tribe also wishes to marry Layla. When his suit is rejected he attacks and defeats her tribe, and puts the young warrior to death when Layla refuses to marry him. Layla then pretends to accept the chief as her husband, but when they embrace she murders him with a dagger. She then kills herself. When the play was performed, the audience believed the actors had really been killed:-

> Le naïf populaire qui assiste à la représentation habitué qu'il est aux marriages par lesquels M. James a coutume de close toutes ses pièces et ne comprenant rien à ces homicides et à ce suicide (il croit que c'est arrivé!...) s'en va requérir la force

1. Chelley, Abou Naddara, op. cit., no.7.

2. Le Nil, no.21, 25th June, 1872, p.2.

armée dans la personne des municipaux de service au jardin. Ils arrivent au moment où le père, entouré des trois cadavres, se lamente sur son malheureux sort et se plaint de n'avoir personne pour le défendre contre la soldatesque ivre de sang et de vengeance, qui est sur le point de lui faire un mauvais parti - Eh bien! ne sommes-nous pas là! s'écrie le chef de la garde urbaine - La toile tombe, l'étonnement est à son comble, et les spectateurs, pour en avoir le coeur net, demandent d'une seule voix, une seconde représentation de Layla pour le lendemain.[1]

This play is remarkable on several counts. It was the first play by a student of the traditional Islamic educational system; Abū's-Su^{c}ūd, Jalāl and Sanua were all products of a Western or westernized education. It may not have, however, been the only work by an Azhari, since Sanua mentions that several Azhari Shaykhs wrote a number of recommendable pieces.[2] It also seems to have been the first tragedy performed in Arabic in Egypt.

It is not known precisely when or how Sanua's theatrical activities ended. The last performance was probably in the autumn of 1872 since it was given at the Comédie Théâtre, which was usually only open for the winter season. After more than two hundred performances by his company, the Khedive authorized him to put on three plays at the Comédie for a gala evening. Up till then the company had been performing regularly two days a week at the "French" theatre,[3] probably the Concert Theatre in al-Azbakīya. Sanua describes what led to the closure of his theatre:-

L'année suivante, ou pour mieux préciser, après plus

1. Le Nil, no.23, Tuesday, 9th July, 1872, p.2.

2. Sanua, op. cit., p.VII.

3. Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.90.

> de deux cents représentations bien accueillies par le public, le Khédive me fit l'insigne honneur de jouer trois autres pièces au théâtre de la Comédie française (du Caire), dans une soirée de gala. Ma troupe fut frénétiquement applaudie même par Son Altesse. Mais il y avait des gros bonnets anglais dans la Salle, ennemis jurés du progrès et de la civilisation, (qui furent vexé de voir John Bull ridiculisé et Joseph Prudhomme glorifié. Comme toujours, par leur partisans au Palais), ils persuadèrent le Khédive que dans mes pièces, (que j'avais fait jouer ce soir-là), il y avait des allusions fines et des insinuations malignes contre lui et son gouvernement. Il ordonna donc la fermeture de mon théâtre au grand mécontentement de la population.[1]

We do not know which plays upset these bigwigs of the British community; he had caricatured Englishmen in his one-act play, as-Sawwāḥ wa'l-Ḥammār (The Tourist and the Donkey-Man), in which an Englishman is ridiculed for his absurd broken Arabic accent, but it is not known whether this two-page playlet, found amongst his effects, was performed at the time. Of the plays whose texts are available, there is barely a work which could have been considered critical of the Khedive and his government. Martin, editor of the French journal, Illustration, mentions that it was a combination of factors which led to the closure of Sanua's theatre:-

> Mais lorsque celui-ci, démasquant ses batteries, fit de la scène une tribune où il critiquait et raillait les moeurs dépravées de la cour Khédiviale; lorsqu'il fit représenter une tragédie de sa composition, intitulée Patrie et Liberté! lorsque les cheikhs de l'Université de l'Azhar, marchant sur les traces de Sanua composèrent et jouèrent des pièces arabes, le vice-roi décréta la suppression du nouveau théâtre.[2]

Martin makes no mention of English attempts to have Sanua's theatre closed. The reference to an attack by Sanua

1. Chelley, op. cit., September, 1906.

2. de Baignières, op. cit., p.14.

on the mores of the court may refer to his attack on polygamy in aḍ-Ḍarratayn, but the dust raised by this affair ought to have settled by this time. The play al-Waṭan wa'l-Ḥurrīya (Patrie et Liberté) may have been one of the three plays performed that evening at the Comédie; nothing is known of this work.[1] Sanua later stated that at-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī (the Arabic theatre) was closed, "when I mentioned in some of the plays that their excellencies the dhawāt (Turkish ruling class) should not treat the fellahin cruelly, but they should strive for the progress and freedom of the Egyptians".[2] Unfortunately, there is no material in the Egyptian press to clarify the exact reasons for the closure of Sanua's theatre.

Financial reasons may also have been a major contributory factor. In his Mulyīr Miṣr wa-mā Yuqāsīhi Sanua tells how his actors were on the verge of refusing to act, because they were not paid regular salaries. Sanua told them he would ask Khayrī Pasha to speak to the Khedive to grant them salaries from his royal purse.[3] Ismāᶜīl did not reimburse Sanua for what he had spent on the theatre, so Sanua was forced to pay the theatre's debts from his own pocket by selling everything he had.[4] Blanchard Jerrold said that Sanua

> had been promised a subvention in support of his theatre and in anticipation of this help, he had reduced the prices of admission, so that this operation, unassisted, could not pay. The satirist of power could not expect to be its protégé; and after a struggle, he rang down his curtain for the last time, to the grief of his poor patrons.[5]

1. Abul Naga (op. cit., p.77) believes Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Miṣrī wrote this play.

2. "Tarjamat Ḥāl Abī Nazzāra...", Abou Naddara, y.11, no.2, 28th February, 1887.

3. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., p.221.

4. Abou Naddara, op. cit.

5. Jerrold, op. cit., p.217.

When he started his theatre, Sanua made a number of enemies in the court, who may have conspired to have his theatre closed. When the Khedive ordered ᶜAlī Mubārak, nāẓir al-maᶜārif (the Minister of Education) to increase Sanua's salary as a teacher at the Muhandiskhāna, the Minister, through jealousy, had Sanua dismissed.[1] De Baignières states that this dismissal took place after the theatre was suppressed.[2] Mubārak was Minister of Education on and off between 1868 and August 1872, but remained an advisor mustashār) to the Ministry after this period. Sanua's theatrical activities were also opposed by Draneht Bey, Superintendent of the Khedivial Theatres throughout this period. He opposed ferociously the foundation of the Arab theatre. Sanua describes him as his greatest enemy, but states that he managed to outwit him.[3] Draneht may have feared losing the Khedive's patronage of the European theatre; an increase in the number of Arabic performances would have meant a decrease in the number of European works performed at the three state theatres, the Opera, the Comédie and the Concert Theatre.

Sanua mentions that his enemies started to attack him in the press,[4] presumably the local European press. Sanua was criticised by an article in the Italian newspaper, L'Avvenire d'Egitto, published in Alexandria, for not following the rules of grammar and for using colloquial in his plays. Sanua replied that the colloquial language was after all that used by people in their daily life. He felt that comedies should reflect life, and therefore the language should be that used by all. According to the version of this story given in his play Mulyīr Miṣr wa-mā Yuqāsīhi, Sanua's actors accused the Italian journalist of being jealous of the playwright. They invited him

1. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., pp.209-210.
2. de Baignières, op. cit., p.14.
3. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., p.201.
4. Ibid., p.209.

to pen an Arabic play; the journalist may have been De Marchi, who had earlier offered to translate Italian opera. The resulting work was awful, written in a peculiar stilted grammatical style.[1]

It is not known just how many performances there were in these first two seasons of the Arabic theatre in Egypt. Sanua claims to have given more than two hundred performances,[2] but the figure of one hundred and sixty performances, including thirty[3] to thirty-two[4] plays written by him, has also been given. Of the thirty odd works written by Sanua himself, only eight texts are available today. None of the texts were published at the time, and until the recent edition by Najm brought out in 1963 only Mulyīr Miṣr wa-mā Yuqāsīhi had been printed, in Beirut in 1912; this play may have been rewritten while Sanua was in France. Abul Naga believes that these thirty-two works can be reduced to about ten, and that the rest of his theatrical pieces were either tirades and playlets taken from the same works or improvisations.[5] Sanua acknowledged that he wrote and performed several one-act comedies and farces;[6] his first work, an operetta, was in one act, as was as-Sawwāḥ wa'l-Ḥammār, and there were also the three short works performed with al-Bakhīl in July, 1871. Apart from the plays already mentioned, his play, aṣ-Ṣadāqa (Friendship) was also performed in this period; this piece concerns a series of intrigues by lovers, in which a young Egyptian pretends to be an English merchant to test his sweetheart's love. It ends with

1. Najm, al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - 3, op. cit., pp.199-200.

2. Chelley, op. cit., September, 1906.

3. Sanua, op. cit., p.VII.

4. Chelley, Abou Naddara, August, 1906, from Karagoz, 6th May, 1876, and L'Ezbékieh, 1873.

5. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.90.

6. Chelley, Abou Naddara, September, 1906.

a triple marriage. This may well be the piece called in French La Constance Récompensée.[1]

Ibrāhīm ᶜAbduh gives the titles of various other plays written by Sanua. Anwar Lūqā believes that one of these Ghazwat Rasṭūr (Rasṭūr's Raid), described by ᶜAbduh as a play criticizing gamblers, is the title of Sanua's first operetta about the wager over the harem, also called by ᶜAbduh, Ghinā'īya bi'l-lugha al-ᶜĀmmīya[2] (An Operetta in the Colloquial Language), and also known as Rasṭūr wa-Shaykh al-Balad wa'l-Qawwāṣ.[3] ᶜAbduh also lists the play Zawjat al-Ab (The Father's Wife), a play attacking old men who marry young girls, and Zubayda which criticizes eastern women who blindly imitate western women;[4] giving a total of at least thirteen plays from this early period.

Sanua confines himself in his comedies written in this period to the treatment of various social themes, love and marriage, polygamy, the ills of the harem system, and the indiscriminate and inappropriate imitation of European customs and manners. He seems to have intended to draw attention to some of the social ills of the traditional eastern society, as well as to the pitfalls of an ill-considered and too rapid borrowing of European customs and habits. The characters of these comedies are usually middle or upper middle class Egyptians and foreigners; bankers, doctors, merchants, actors, even princes or pashas. This group probably made up the bulk of his audience, though it is asserted that his audience ranged from peasants and workers to Cabinet Ministers, covering all classes of Muslim society. Most of the characters are well-

1. Chelley, Abou Naddara, August, 1906.
2. ᶜAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.214.
3. Lūqā, Anwar, "Masrah Yaᶜqūb Sanūᶜ", al-Majalla, y.5, no.51, (March, 1961), p.71.
4. ᶜAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.214.

educated; they live comfortably and can afford to employ domestic servants. They are totally self-centred and do not seem bothered about the political and social problems of their country;[1] this was presumably the social group that Sanua was mixing with at this period.

His comedies, which were probably regarded by most spectators as harmless entertainment, have been given more weight than they deserve. John Ninet, the Swiss friend of Egyptian nationalists, says that in his plays "disguised under the coarsest burlesque, he ridiculed all the contemporary extravagances of the viceregal family".[2] Jerrold claims that Sanua had "levelled his shafts at the rapacity, falsehood and bad faith of Egyptian employees. He hit Government officials, who were, as the Khedive's instruments, the oppressors of the people".[3] Both Jerrold and Ninet were probably echoing Sanua's own statements about his theatre; Sanua certainly made exaggerated claims for the social merit of his plays, which according to him ranged from

> la farce qui châtie le vice, jusqu'à la comédie anatomiste et critique des caractères et des moeurs, depuis le drame inspirateur des nobles sentiments, jusqu'à la tragédie qui fait ressusciter les gestes heroique, et les souvenirs nationaux.[4]

He wrote his plays in a mixture of classical and colloquial, not going as far as the pure colloquial of the modern Egyptian farces. He skillfully presented dialogue, demonstrating his familiarity with the language and topics of conversation of the peasants, bourgeoisie, and high society. He authentically reproduced various accents, like the Nubian

1. Chelley, op. cit.; and Moosa, Origins, op. cit., pp.57 and 63.
2. Ninet, The Nineteenth Century, op. cit., p.128.
3. Jerrold, op. cit., p.217.
4. Sanua, op. cit., p.VII.

accents of the servants in Abū Riḍā al-Barbarī wa-Kaᶜb al-Khayr, the European accent of Theresa in al-Burṣa al-Miṣrīya, or Niᶜmat Allāh's Syrian dialect in aṣ-Ṣadāqa.[1] Much of the comedy of his plays derives from the different accents of his non-Arab characters.[2] Many of his extant plays have one or more songs in them or short poems, often to introduce an act or at the end of the play, but these songs are mere embellishments and do not turn his plays into musicals or operas.

When Sanua's theatre closed, some form of Arabic theatrical activity may have continued. Rawḍat al-Madāris reported in October 1872 that original plays (alᶜāb tiyātrīya), perhaps in Arabic, were performed during the examinations in the state al-Madāris al-Khusūsīya wa't-Tajhīzīya (the Specialist and Preparatory Schools).[3] In comparison to Syria there seem to have been far fewer plays performed in Egyptian schools, although the press published frequent reports on school prize-giving and examination ceremonies.

Sanua was active in other fields when the Arabic theatre ceased. In 1872 he founded a cultural society, Maḥfal al-Taqaddum (The Circle of Progress). When this society was closed in 1873, a second group, Jamᶜīyat Muḥibbī'l-ᶜIlm wa'l-Awtān (The Society of Lovers of Science and Homelands) was formed to replace it.[4] This society was later suppressed by Khedivial order. He had not abandoned the idea of reviving his theatre. The French language paper, Le Nil, carried a report in the spring of 1873 that he intended to reopen his theatre, so the suppression of the theatre, if there was one, must have been only temporary:-

1. Moosa, Origins, op. cit., p.65.
2. Ibid., pp.62-63.
3. R.M., y.3, no.16, end Shaᶜbān, 1289 (1 November, 1872).
4. Gendzier, op. cit., p.42.

> Pour nous consoler (for the end of the winter season) M. James Sanua, nous avait promis pour la saison d'été, la réouverture du théâtre arabe de l'Esbekyeh. Cette promesse ne laissait pas que d'être menaçante ... Heureusement M. James a modifié ses projets et ses vues se portent maintenant sur l'Exposition universelle de Vienne dont il a l'intention de faire une description en langue arabe, à l'usage des indigènes.[1]

Reading between the lines, it seems that this paper was worried that the reopening of the Arabic theatre would cause trouble, perhaps because it had already met so much opposition in Government circles. It is with a sigh of relief that the article reports Sanua's change of mind. Other sections of the European press were more encouraging, Jules Barbier in L'Esbékieh in 1873 called for the reopening for Sanua's theatre.

> Ces productions (the plays of Sanua and others) ne demandent qu'à être représentées. Que manque-t-il pour cela? - Tout - Et que faudrait-il? - Presque rien.
>
> Il suffirait, suivant nous, de réunir un nombre suffisant d'adhérents disposés à former une société dramatique, fondée sous le haut patronage d'un prince égyptien. Les cotisations devraient payer les frais qui ne seraient pas énormes, surtout si la bienvaillance des hauts personnages venait les diminuer. Ne pourrait-on pas, par exemple, tenter l'épreuve cet été, en mettant la salle du Théâtre de la Comédie à la disposition de M. James Sanua? Il faudrait que celui-ci n'eut à payer que les acteurs et certainement les cotisations recueilles d'avance suffiraient pour cela.
>
> M. Sanua est désintéressé; il ne demande rien pour lui, il désire seulement que ses efforts, couronnés de succès au début, ne restent pas stériles. Ce ne sont pas les auteurs qui manqueront; ce ne sont pas non plus les spectateurs; comment ne pas réussir.

1. Le Nil, no.61, Tuesday, 1st April, 1873.

> Les Européens eux-mêmes finiraient par trouver du charme à ces représentations. Les pièces arabes pourraient être traduites en français, en italien, de manière à permettre au spectateur de comprendre les mots qui viendraient lui échapper, et certainement les personnes qui ont déjà une certaine connaissance de la langue arabe ne tarderaient pas à s'y fortifier.
>
> Espérons donc que de nouveaux efforts seront tentés dans ce sens et qu'une fois pour toutes le théâtre arabe sera fondé.[1]

Barbier was to support Sanua's attempts to reopen his theatre again a few years later. There were obviously two schools of thought in the European community towards the Arab theatre. Barbier clearly hoped that a dramatic society, like that patronized by Ismāʿīl Ṣiddīq Pasha a year or so earlier, would be formed. The subscriptions to this society would put the Arab theatre on a surer financial footing. There is no indication that Sanua's plans to revive the theatre bore fruit. In 1874 Sanua went to Europe, entrusted with a semi-official task for the Khedive.[2] While he was in Italy he arranged for three plays[3] of his in Italian to be put on at Genoa.[4] He apparently wrote three Italian plays on Egyptian customs, which were highly successful in the Italian theatre in the East (presumably in Egypt), and also in Italy itself. He wrote or translated at least four plays in Italian. There is an Italian adaptation of al-Amīra al-Iskandarānīya called L'Aristocratica Alessandrina, a one-act comedy Il Marito Infedele (The Unfaithful Husband), and a three-act Italian comedy, Fatima. This last play was performed in 1870, perhaps in Arabic; it

1. Sanua, op. cit., p.X.

2. ʿAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., pp.38-39.

3. Landau (op. cit., p.66) mistakenly believes that these plays were written before the Arabic plays.

4. Sanua, J., Babel Hôtel - saynète en six langues, prose et vers, (Paris, 1890), p.4.

was also put on in French.[1] While he was in France, Italy and Germany, he read his theatrical works to several theatre managers, and to some distinguished men of letters. They all advised him to continue his work, assuring him that the performance of his plays should evoke a lively interest in Europe; he was also promised (financial?) support.[2]

When Sanua returned from Europe, the revolutionary nature of his written report on his trip caused an estrangement with the Khedive. Khayrī Pasha, Sanua's friend and Privy Seal to the Khedive Ismāʿīl, managed to persuade the Khedive that Sanua was a loyal patriot and he was readmitted to court circles.[3] In 1875 Barbier published L'Aristocratica Alessandrina (The Alexandrian Aristocrat) at his own press Typographie Jules Barbier in Cairo. As a preface Barbier published his article from L'Ezbékieh, referred to earlier, calling for the reopening of the Arab theatre. Sanua himself dedicated the adaptation to Khayrī Pasha, thanking him for his patronage which had enabled him to found the Arab Theatre. He admitted that he had been forced to succumb under the heavy (financial?) burden of running his theatre, which was too heavy for him alone to bear, so he had closed his theatre. Sanua was sure that now he had sown the idea, others would follow suit and reap the benefit. He had decided to concentrate his efforts on preparing translations of his works for the European stage. This Italian version of the play had already been performed in Alexandria and Cairo; the success of these performances had encouraged him to translate some of his other plays.[4]

Sanua's Il Marito Infidele was published in Cairo in

1. ʿAbduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.214.
2. Sanua, op. cit., p.VIII.
3. Gendzier, op. cit., p.45.
4. Sanua, L'Aristocratica, op. cit., p.VIII.

1876. Sanua's family possessed until recently a notebook containing French and Italian versions of Fatima. They also held a copy of an unpublished French dialogue, Boulala.[1] In 1890 Sanua published a love story, Babel Hôtel, a playlet in six languages. Whether any of these plays are translations of Arabic plays from his repertoire in these first years is unclear. In 1911 he published in Paris an Ottoman nationalist play, Le Joug Brisé (The Broken Yoke) in French.

Thus ended the Egyptian phase of the Arabic theatre in Egypt; now it was the Syrians who were to almost monopolise the Arabic theatre. Though Sanua, al-Muwaylihi, Jalāl, Unsī, ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ and Abū's-Suᶜūd were still alive or still lived in Egypt when the first Syrian dramatic troupes arrived, they no longer showed an active interest in the Arabic theatre in the period under review. Perhaps Khedive Ismāᶜīl had been so discouraging that they decided to turn their attention to other matters. Now Syrians, supported by the Syrian-dominated private press, were to receive the bulk of official encouragment and support.

1. Gendzier, op. cit., p.40.

CHAPTER VII

THE SYRIAN ARAB THEATRE IN EGYPT (1876-1882)

The performances of the Arab theatre in the summer of 1872 seem to have been followed by a four year break in theatrical activity in the Arabic language. They mark the end of the Egyptian theatre organised and written by Egyptians, and several years later came the first influx of Syrian theatrical troupes that were to dominate the theatrical scene till the end of the century. The arrival of the Syrian troupes coincided with the growth of the Syrian Arabic press in Egypt. This press published an increasing number of reports on theatrical activity in contrast to the occasional reference in the handful of papers published in the early 1870s.

Early in 1875 there were signs that a revival of the Arabic theatre was imminent. The Cairo office of the Beirut magazine al-Jinān reported that the success of the European theatre in Egypt

> has inspired the Arabs to copy it. His Excellency (the Khedive) has taken an interest over a number of years in the writing of Arabic plays (ar-riwāyāt at-tashkhīṣīya) in Egypt. This (concern) is important, because it will (lead) to the spread of benefits amongst the nation (umma), for Arabs can take pride in what (their) kings take pride in. There is hope that we will see Arabic plays next year in this country. When people attend (the theatre), hear its maxims, realise its potential to reform customs that need reform, and its ability to inform them about historical events, they will understand the purpose of theatre and will praise those who introduced it. We believe it is vital (for people) to be concerned about this, and it is

apparent that the matter is now underway.[1]

This is probably the first indication that Arabic theatrical activity was to be revived in Egypt. This renewed interest probably refers to the Syrian Salīm an-Naqqāsh's trip to Egypt from Syria, in which he managed to persuade the Khedive, through the offices of Draneht, to support the formation of a professional troupe in Beirut. This troupe once properly rehearsed would come to Egypt to restart Arab theatrical activity. It may have been intended to construct a special theatre for an-Naqqāsh's troupe. al-Jawā'ib carried reports from some Alexandrian newspapers that the Khedive had ordered the construction of a theatre in Cairo, and another in al-Mansūra in Lower Egypt, and that "performances in them would be in the Arabic language".[2] Unfortunately neither of these theatres was ever built.

An-Naqqāsh's troupe was delayed in Beirut by a cholera outbreak but finally reached Egypt in December, 1876. The Alexandrian al-Ahrām newspaper reported the arrival of the troupe of actors and actresses in an article on Arabic plays. The newspaper welcomed the revival of Arab drama:-

> Needless to say the performance (tashkhīṣ) of plays was one of the primary means to fuse together society and to strengthen its structure ... Moreover all civilised countries give this matter the utmost consideration, and encourage ways to perfect (the theatre). Consequently we are pleased to see that some of our young Arab men have become involved in the field, plunged into it, studied all its facets, and through persistent determination have understood it. They have perfected it by intelligent effort, and have returned to us (in Egypt) experienced (knights). The most brilliant and first amongst them ... was the young, clever, intelligent man of letters Salīm Effendi Naqqāsh, who learnt this art from his

1. "Misr", al-Jinān, no.6, 15th March, 1875, pp.195-196.

2. al-Jawā'ib, no.755, 16th June, 1875.

> uncle, the late Mārūn Naqqāsh... He diligently made an effort, following him in this art, painstakingly revised it, and disclosed its secrets after studies about it in the book of experts. Soon he proved what (knowledge) he had acquired by presenting numerous plays in the city of Beirut and elsewhere. His skill and sound judgement is confirmed by all those knowledgeable in this art.

The article spoke of the skill of the actors, and the writer felt certain that the company's performances would please the audience. The paper expressed the hope that the public would welcome this project, encourage it by their attendance and help it with moral support "so that this (dramatic) society would favourably influence those concerned to open doors in the Arab countries (to enable) this art to be successful amongst every (Arab) people". As in earlier articles on the theatre the emphasis is on the civilising aspects of the theatre. Many early journalists saw their role as reformers and educators striving to bring their fellow countrymen up to the level of European civilisation. The Taqlā brothers, Syrian editors of al-Ahrām, were probably particularly interested in the theatre; Salīm Taqlā had written several Arabic plays when he was a teacher at al-Madrasa al-Batriyarkīya in Beirut.

The first performance was to be of Hārūn ar-Rashīd by Salīm an-Naqqāsh's late uncle, Mārūn an-Naqqāsh, and first staged in January, 1850, in Beirut; the short title of this play was often given rather than the full one of Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Mughaffal aw Hārūn ar-Rashīd (The Gullible Abū'l-Ḥasan or Hārūn ar-Rashīd). This was based on the story of an-Nā'im wa'l-Yaqẓān (The Sleeper and the Awake), told by Scheherezade on the 153rd night of the Thousand and One Nights. It is the story of a commoner, Abū'l-Ḥasan, who falls victim of a ruse of the Caliph, Hārūn ar-Rashīd; in fulfillment of a day-dream he becomes Caliph of Baghdad for one day. It was partially set to music. This play had been put on by Salīm's company in Beirut. The play was to be given at the Zizinia theatre in

Alexandria on Saturday, 23rd December at 8.30 p.m. This was the first performance of an Arabic play in Alexandria. While Arabic theatrical activity had been confined to Cairo in Sanua's time, it was now to alternate between Cairo and Alexandria, as the sea-port grew in importance as a government and commercial centre. Al-Ahrām promised to carry further information on the event in its columns or those of its sister paper, the daily Ṣadā al-Ahrām.[1] On the day of the performance the paper expressed the hope "that those concerned would help this good project". Salīm had written to the Cairo al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, the official gazette, telling them of the arrival of his troupe and his intention to put on plays, but because of pressure of official news, the paper did not publish this news until February.[2] To coincide with the performance, one of the local bookshops, that of the Syrian Ḥabīb Gharzūzī, advertised the sale of Mārūn an-Naqqāsh's Arzat Lubnān, which included the text of the play and that of as-Salīṭ al-Ḥasūd, and al-Bakhīl.[3]

The troupe known as at-Tiyātrū al-^{c}Arabī (the Arab Theatre) presented on Thursday, 28th December, another of Mārūn an-Naqqāsh's plays, al-Ḥasūd as-Salīṭ (or as-Salīṭ al-Ḥasūd) (The Impudent and the Jealous Man); yet another work from their Beirut repertoire, and probably first performed in 1851. This musical comedy tells the story of the rivalry for a young girl's hand in marriage. Al-Ahrām reported that the theatre was crowded on the first night. On Saturday, 30th December, Hārūn ar-Rashīd was repeated.[4] The paper remarked that it was in general a perfect performance by the actors, demonstrating a gradual improvement in production and the increasing competence of the actors. As in most contemporary

1. "ar-Riwāyāt al-^{c}Arabīya", al-Ahrām, no.20, 16th December, 1876.
2. W.M., no.696, 11th February, 1877.
3. al-Ahrām, no.21, 23rd December, 1876.
4. Ibid., no.22, 30 December, 1876.

reports on the Arab theatre, only the barest details of the performance are given; the performances of individual actors are rarely mentioned, nothing is said of the play itself, the production, acting, music or scenery. The writer was sure their performances would earn more praise in the future, and again wished them success.

Salīm an-Naqqāsh's own play, Mayy[1] (or Mayy wa-Hūrās), based on Corneille's tragedy, Les Trois Horaces et les Trois Curiaces, was to be presented on Saturday, 6th January, 1877;[2] this adaptation had been written in 1867-1868. Habīb Gharzūzī advertised in the press the sale of an edition of this play for one and a half francs, and also an edition of Salīm's translation of Verdi's ᶜĀ'ida for two francs.[3] In 1875 Salīm had published in Beirut his adaptation of Antonio Ghislanzoni's libretto for this operatic tragedy, set in ancient Egypt. This version began with a verse dedication to Salīm's potential patron, the Khedive Ismāᶜīl. Later in January Mayy was repeated, and yet another play from the Beirut repertory, Habīb Musk's al-Kadhūb (The Liar), was presented.[4] This comedy based on Corneille's Le Menteur, concerns the endeavours of two young men seeking to win the hands of their loved ones. This piece, in poetry and prose, had been translated by the Syrian, Habīb Musk, from an Italian version, and then revised by Salīm, who added music. It was first presented in Beirut in December 1875. Al-Ahrām carried news of what was probably the last performance of an-Naqqāsh's troupe that season on Sunday, 11th February, at the Zizinia, when the audience was promised aẓ-Ẓalūm wa-ᶜAlī. Aẓ-Ẓalūm (The Oppressor) is presumably Salīm an-Naqqāsh's drama about

1. Najm has republished ᶜĀyida, Mayy, al-Kadhūb, Gharā'ib aṣ-Ṣudaf and aẓ-Ẓalūm in al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī - Dirāsāt wa-Nuṣuṣ. 5. Salīm an-Naqqāsh, (Beirut, 1964).

2. al-Ahrām, no.23, 6th January, 1877.

3. W.M., no.696, 11th February, 1877.

4. al-Ahrām, no.25, 19th January, 1877.

intrigue and romance in an Arab court, but the reference to ᶜAlī is rather misleading. It is not known whether ᶜAlī was another short play or not; there is no character in az-Ẓalūm called ᶜAlī. The newpaper encouraged people to attend the the play.[1]

Salīm's troupe was the first Syrian company to perform in Egypt, and this was the first time that Egyptian audiences had first hand experience of Syrian plays, even though the Syrian theatre had existed for twenty-eight years. The troupe contained twelve actors and four actresses under Salīm's direction, according to a report in the Moniteur Égyptien.[2] The names of most of the actors in the troupe are unknown, apart from Yūsuf al-Khayyāṭ and Sulaymān Qurdāḥī. The only critical appreciation of the troupe was in the Italian newspaper, La Finanza, which, though it lauded Salīm's efforts, was a little more objective than the Arabic press:-

> The men performed with enough naturalness and nonchalance, but one cannot say the same for the women who were somewhat awkward in their movements, perhaps because they are still novices in the art.[3]

Neville Barbour claims that Salīm put on some other translations of European plays during his season at Alexandria, including Jean Racine's tragedy, Andromaque (Andrūmāk) and his Phèdre (Fidrā'), Charlemagne (Sharlamān Malik Faransa), and Zenobia. Both Salīm and Adīb Isḥāq are credited with adapting these works and enlivening them with songs.[4] Salīm had invited Isḥāq to join him in Egypt soon

1. al-Ahrām, no.28, 10th February, 1877.

2. Tagher, Jeannette, "Les Débuts du Théâtre Modern en Égypte", C.H.E., vol.1, no.2, 1949, p.200.

3. La Finanza, no.303, 30th December, 1876.

4. Barbour, Neville, "The Arabic Theatre in Egypt", Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol.VIII, 1935-1937, p.174.

after his arrival to help him write the theatrical pieces and to produce and act with the troupe. Andrūmāk, performed in 1875 in Beirut, was revised by Ishāq after his arrival in Alexandria and new verses of poetry were added. Fidrā' was probably the translation by Ibrāhīm al-Ahdab performed in Beirut in February, 1876. Sharlamān Malik Faransa[1] was written by Ishāq when he arrived in Alexandria. This four-act tragedy in literary Arabic prose and verse is said to have been adapted either from a work by Victor Hugo or Casimir Delavigne,[2] though no work with such a title was written by them.

Another work which may have been performed in this season is Meyerbeer's L'Africaine (al-Ifrīkīya), from a text by Augustin Eugène Scribe, which had been first performed in Europe in 1865. This work had been included in Italian opera seasons in Cairo and Alexandria since 1869. L'Africaine is the story of Vasco de Gama's trip to Africa. He brings back a slave, Seilika, (The Africaine of the title), with whom he falls in love. She finally sacrifices her life, so that Vasco can marry his former lover. This opera was enormously popular in Europe. An-Naqqāsh is also said to have adapted Racine's Mithridate as Mītrīdāt,[3] but this version of the tragic opera was probably the adaptation made by Sāmī Qusayrī, performed in Beirut in April, 1877. While Adīb Ishāq was in Alexandria, he wrote and had performed a third play, Gharā'ib al-Ittifāq fī Aḥwāl al-ᶜUshshāq (The Wonders of Chance in the Affairs of Lovers).[4] This was probably adapted from his translation of the novel, La Belle Parisienne,[5] by Comtesse Dash, a

1. The texts of Sharlamān and Andrūmāk were republished in Beirut in 1975.

2. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.111.

3. Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.97.

4. Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, p.96.

5. Ishāq's translation of the novel al-Bārāsīya al-Ḥasnā' was published in Beirut in 1884, though written much earlier.

pseudonym for Vicomtesse de Poilloüe de Saint-Mars (Anne-Gabrielle de Cisternes de Courtiras). Comtesse Dash wrote a number of sentimental novels; this one had first been published in 1864. This and other works were probably written in classical Arabic; the Egyptian dialect would have been strange to this Syrian troupe, and these two Syrian writers would have had difficulties writing in that dialect.

Al-Ahrām continued to give encouragement to this venture. In the company's second week, Salīm Ḥamawī, a fellow Syrian, wrote a letter to the paper explaining the meaning of comedy:-

> Comedies (Kumūdīya) are plays which convey seriousness through comedy. In them events, which actually happened, are imitated so that man can learn wonderful lessons from them. (The spectator) sees what occurred in strange events, imitates the good and avoids and rejects the bad, since he has seen the praise given to the praiseworthy act and the censure of the rejected evil act. Thus man's morals are refined and he progresses to the peaks of ethics and goodness. It has been said that kings learnt good behaviour from these plays.[1]

The letter was continued in the next issue:-

> For example if they wanted to imitate a Sultan and give in detail all the good and evil things that happen to him, they would represent that on the stage (īwān) of the theatre (marsaḥ), erected before the ordinary people and the notability. They would imitate everything that happened to him, and what they heard about him until the spectator (nāẓir) would almost believe that the scene was without doubt a real event, without illusions or imperfections.

Ḥamawī described how the theatre could faithfully represent an event. The ruler would be seen sitting in a place suiting his station, surrounded by his courtiers, offering their

1. al-Ahrām, no.22, 30th December, 1876.

obedience to him. The audience would start to be confused about reality and would start to believe that the actor (shaykhṣ) was really the imitated Sultan. No doubt to quash any idle gossip about the immorality of the acting profession, Ḥamawī pointed out that most actors and actresses were moral and intelligent people. Actors and actresses (lāᶜibāt) were moral and virtuous. All actresses had to be familiar with literature, immersed in poetical dīwāns, and mathematical sciences. Ḥamawī referred to the travel books of Rifāᶜa Bey (at-Ṭahṭāwī) and Salīm dī Busturus[1] as confirmation of the veracity of his statement. He reassured the reader that Salīm an-Naqqāsh was striving earnestly to achieve perfection.[2] Ḥamawī said he hoped to publish a treatise on this subject at his press (Maṭbaᶜat al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī).[3]

The official gazette, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, also gave encouragement to an-Naqqāsh's efforts, but not until the season had almost ended. Ḥabīb Gharzūzī wrote in the paper praising Salīm for this marvel, which pleased intellectuals generally, whether foreigners, Turks, Egyptians or Syrians. He saw no advantage in the Arabs neglecting the theatre, since Europeans deemed it a school for educating morals. The audience had no trouble understanding the plays they had seen performed, such as Hārūn ar-Rashīd, al-Ḥasūd, al-Kadhūb, Mayy and ᶜĀ'ida.[4]

Despite all this encouragement from the press, subsidies from Khedive Ismāᶜīl,[5] and the help of a number of senior Government officials, such as the Governor of Alexandria,

1. He was referring to Rifāᶜa Bey's Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz ilā Talkhīṣ Bārīz and to Salīm's an-Nuzha ash-Shahīya fi'r-Riḥla as-Salīmīya, (Beirut, 1856) on his trip to Europe in 1855.

2. al-Ahrām, no.23, 6th January, 1877.

3. Ibid., no.24, 13th January, 1877.

4. W.M., no.696, 11th February, 1877.

5. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.2, p.106.

ᶜUmar Lutfī Pasha,[1] some time in 1877 the two friends, Ishāq and an-Naqqāsh decided to give up their theatrical activities. From the press reports it seems that their troupe was a great success disproving statements to the contrary made by Barbour and Najm.[2] It may have been Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī's advice that persuaded them to leave the theatre and become journalists; Ishāq had been introduced to al-Afghānī and soon became one of his disciples. With his help Ishāq started the Miṣr newspaper in July, 1877.

An-Naqqāsh remained interested in the theatre. On 5th March, he finished his five-act play set in India, Gharā'ib aṣ-Ṣudaf[3] (The Wonders of Coincidence), and he may have written another play al-Muqāmir (The Gambler);[4] neither of these plays seems to have been performed at the time. In July an-Naqqāsh went to Cairo. It was reported in Ishāq's paper, Miṣr, that Salīm was hoping to get permission from the Government to perform his plays in one of the Cairo theatres, presumably in the coming winter season. The paper felt certain that the Government would grant permission. The journalist, perhaps Ishāq himself, praised Salīm's plays for being full of outstanding maxims, moving songs, and excellent and delicate poetry. The humour of his plays had a serious side. Salīm's theatre was called the sūq of ᶜUkāz of the modern age. Salīm was a man of letters, excelling in this art.

> He is the first of the ... Arabs to establish an organised theatre ... It was the Effendi's intention to present this (company) in Cairo in the service of the noble Khedive, and he came to this town seeking help for that. We hope that ... the Government will help him to achieve his aim, for Egyptian society is Arab, and the Arab Theatre Company without doubt is more beneficial to it than European theatre.

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.846, 7th March, 1877.
2. Barbour, op. cit., p.174; and Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.100.
3. Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.95.
4. Landau, op. cit., p.245[389].

Like the article in al-Ahrām, this article extolled the virtues of theatre, perhaps trying to persuade a reluctant Government and public. This art was one of the reasons for the progress of human society. In Europe it was one of the requisites of society; the theatres had even remained open when Paris was surrounded by the Germans (in 1871). The paper noted that there were many benefits from the theatre. It is a public display of the faults and merits of mankind; it shows the knowledge of the learned and the ignorance of the uninformed. Events are so represented that the spectator can imagine them afterwards, as an indelible picture is imprinted on his mind. Not merely the image left with the spectator, but the live voice as well has a great effect on the listener. The article explained how they had reaped benefits from (these impressions), since it was apparent that anyone who sees someone murdered is affected in a different way than someone who only hears of the murder.[1] Probably as part of the campaign to stage Salīm's troupe in Cairo, later issues of the paper advertised copies of his plays Mayy and ʿĀ'ida at the reduced price of one franc.[2]

Perhaps in an attempt to revive his own theatre, now that an-Naqqāsh's company had created the right atmosphere, James Sanua presented a new one-act comedy written by him on 2nd August, 1877, at the Théâtre de L'Ezbékieh. This play, Una Avventura di Stenterello al Cairo, written in Italian, was presented before a packed audience. It seems to have been an Italian version of his first Arabic play about the adventures of a European prince in a harem. It met with the general disapproval and whistling of the audience. The correspondent of La Finanza thought that Sanua was wrong to try and correct the customs of the harem on the stage, especially in Egypt, where such customs were held in veneration. In Sanua's

1. Misr, no.2, 6th July, 1877.

2. Ibid., nos.4-7, 20th July to 10th August, 1877.

Arabic play a girl in the harem had voiced her complaints about the deprivations of harem life. The paper felt Sanua should instead have written a book on the subject. He should have known that when one is a guest in someone else's house, one has certain duties of propriety.[1]

Sanua later wrote to the paper about the correspondent's remarks, explaining that he had no intention of making a biting satire of the intimate customs and usages of the country. The paper accepted his remarks, for Sanua was, according to the paper, a man of good sense and was always preoccupied with the intellectual progress of Egypt.[2] It is not known if other translations by Sanua were presented on the European stage in Egypt. Sanua admitted to translating his first operetta also into French, but the text was lost by a friend.[3] Though he remained in Egypt until June 1878, he seems to have played no part in the revival of Arabic drama in the late 1870s and early 1880s.

It seems that an-Naqqāsh failed in his quest to raise money, and the troupe, under the same name at-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī, was taken over by one of its leading actors, Yūsuf al-Khayyāṭ, a fellow Syrian. Al-Khayyāṭ was famous for his skill at female parts. He continued to give women's roles to boys as well, as he could not find actresses to undertake them, but the boys found it difficult to master these roles.[4] He was helped by his brother Antūn. It was Salīm's hope that the success of al-Khayyāṭ would lead to the rest of the troupe reforming.[5]

1. La Finanza, no.180, 5th/6th August, 1877.
2. Ibid., no.190, 18th August, 1877.
3. Chelley, op. cit.
4. Shafīq, Ahmad, Mudhakkirātī fī Nisf Qarn, (Cairo, 1934), vol.1, p.57.
5. al-Janna, no.769, 27th January, 1878.

Yūsuf formed a new troupe of actors in Alexandria. One of the first plays that they put on was Bishara Mirzā's comedy, San^{c} al-Jamīl (Doing a Favour) at the Zizinia on Saturday, 22nd September, 1877, first performed in Beirut in January 1875. Much to the pleasure of the audience, it was repeated the following day. This play had been performed several times in Beirut. It was again the al-Ahrām and Miṣr newspapers which gave the company the most coverage. Al-Ahrām hoped that God would make the project prosper, and that people would respond by attending.[1] This same play was repeated on 29th September,[2] and on Friday, 2nd November, this time with a comedy called al-Bakhīlayn (The Two Misers) of unknown authorship.[3] On 3rd November the company put on another anonymous comedy, al-Bakhīl wa'sh-Shaytān (The Miser and the Devil).[4] The company were to give another performance on Friday, 23rd November.[5] The final performance given on 10th January, 1878, at the Zizinia was to raise funds for the Patriotic Society for Assistance (Jam^{c}īyat al-I^{c}āna al-Waṭanīya) for the Egyptian war-wounded in the Turco-Russian war. The evening included musical entertainments, a lottery and a one-act Arabic play, called al-Ḥakīm al-Maghṣūb. Perhaps this was Muhammad ^{c}Uthmān Jalāl's adaptation of Molière's Le Medecin Malgré Lui, first published in 1871. If it was, it is the only time that an Egyptian's play was presented by one of these Syrian troupes. Al-Khayyāṭ's company gave their services free to the society.[6]

1. al-Ahrām, no.61, 28th September, 1877; and Miṣr, no.14, 1st October, 1877.
2. al-Janna, no.742, 5th October, 1877.
3. Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.103, from al-Ahrām, no.65, 27th October, 1877.
4. Dāghir, Yūsuf As^{c}ad, Mu^{c}jam al-Masraḥīyāt al-^{c}Arabīya wa'l-Mu^{c}arraba, (Baghdad, 1978), p.193[525].
5. Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.103, from al-Ahrām, no.66, 2nd November, 1877.
6. Miṣr, no.27, 6th January, 1878.

The company then moved to Cairo, and possibly on the way they gave performances in Damietta and Zagazig in the Delta, probably the first Arabic theatrical performances in Egypt outside Alexandria and Cairo.[1] Al-Khayyāṭ took his company to Cairo with the Khedive's encouragement; Ismāʿīl ordered that the Opera house be opened for the performance of their plays; this was the first time Arabic plays were put on in Egypt's premier theatre. On 9th February, 1878, the company put on Hārūn ar-Rashīd at the Opera in the Khedive's presence. A week later they put on aẓ-Ẓalūm aw aṭ-Ṭāghiya (The Frequent Wrongdoer or the Tyrant), perhaps yet another title for Salīm an-Naqqāsh's play.[2]

After a short season in Cairo, they returned to Alexandria where they presented an Arabic comedy and farce at the Zizinia on Tuesday, 26th February, for the Greek Catholic Saint John's Charitable Society (Jamʿīyat al-Qiddīs Yuḥannā ar-Raḥūm) for the poor of their community.[3] This was probably instead of al-Akhawān al-Mutaḥāribān (The Two Warring Brothers), another version of Racine's La Thébaide ou les Frères Ennemis, which was going to be presented before the society;[4] Racine's historical comedy deals with the conflict of two brothers for the throne of Thebes. On Saturday, 2nd March, a new Arabic comedy in three acts was to be presented, al-Jabān (The Coward).[5] Al-Ahrām called it al-Jinān (Paradise).[6] This was the last performance of the company's first season.

1. Barbour, op. cit., p.174.
2. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.111.
3. al-Ahrām, no.83, Saturday, 2nd March, 1878.
4. al-Janna, no.769, 27th January, 1878.
5. La Finanza, no.49, 27th February, 1878; and Misr, no.33, 1st March, 1878.
6. al-Ahrām, no.83, 2nd March, 1878.

The company restarted its activities in the autumn of 1878. In the meantime, perhaps to supplement his income in the summer months, al-Khayyāṭ opened a general bookshop, Maktabat al-Iskandarīya, in the al-Manshīya district of downtown Alexandria, near the Zizinia theatre.[1] In the autumn al-Ahrām continued its coverage of the theatre, joined by Miṣr's sister paper, at-Tijāra. On Tuesday, 29th October, the company planned to put on at the Zizinia al-Ikhwān al-Mutaḥāribīn (The Warring Brothers), probably yet another alternative title for Racine's play, to be followed by a farce. This play was presented to raise funds for the Greek Orthodox Charitable Society (al-Jamᶜīya al-Khayrīya al-Urthūdhuksīya).[2]

By December they had moved to Cairo, where the same play was repeated at the Comédie theatre on 23rd December.[3] Early in January, the Coptic newspaper, al-Waṭan, carried a report that the company had given a performance, including Arabic songs, music and poetry (qasā'id).[4] On Monday, 6th January, 1879, they put on a three-act Arabic play before the Khedive and his ministers; Miṣr praised al-Khayyāṭ for his acting ability.[5] No doubt still in Cairo on 12th January, the company put on more "wonderful" plays before the Khedive and many government employees. Al-Waṭan newspaper commented that

> everybody interpreted (the Khedive's attendance) as a clear indication and splendid proof that His Highness was encouraging orientals (sharqīyīn) in their projects and works, and there is no doubt that he graciously bestowed upon all those involved in this excellent project his usual generosity.[6]

1. Miṣr, no.39, 12th April, 1878.
2. al-Ahrām, no.118, 25th October, 1878; and at-Tijāra, no.114, 24th October, 1878.
3. Miṣr, no.26, 26th December, 1878.
4. al-Waṭan, no.60, 4th January, 1879.
5. Miṣr, no.28, 9th January, 1879.
6. al-Waṭan, no.62, 18th January, 1879.

This remark may indicate that al-Khayyāṭ was receiving financial support from the Khedive, as an-Naqqāsh had before him.

By 21st January they had transferred to the Opera, where the Khedive, his family and ministers attended a performance of Mārūn an-Naqqāsh's Hārūn ar-Rashīd;[1] at-Tijāra's Cairo correspondent declared that the troupe were obviously a success in the city.[2] The Cairo correspondent of another Alexandria paper, al-Iskandarīya, enthusiastically welcomed the troupe. He believed that the theatre was not merely for laughing and entertainment, but that it was a great public school, whose benefit lay between amusement and seriousness. The editor in Alexandria echoed these sentiments, and regretted that lack of space had prevented him writing about the company's activities.[3] The last performance in Cairo was given on Sunday, 9th March of Salīm an-Naqqāsh's Mayy wa-Hūrās,[4] to which had been added some "new parts, moving tunes and splendid scenes (manāẓir)".[5] That same month the company returned to the Zizinia in Alexandria.[6] On 2nd April they gave a performance of aẓ-Ẓalūm.[7] They were to give their last performance at the Zizinia on Monday, 21st April, with Hārūn ar-Rashīd.[8]

Salīm an-Naqqāsh and Adīb Ishāq made a brief return to the theatre on Saturday, 17th May at the Zizinia, when they

1. al-Ahrām, no.131, 24th January, 1879.
2. at-Tijāra, no.172, 22nd January, 1879.
3. al-Iskandarīya, no.29, 22nd January, 1879.
4. al-Waṭan, no.69, 8th March, 1879.
5. Miṣr, no.44, 1st May, 1879.
6. Abul Naga, op. cit., p.111, from at-Tijāra, no.209, 31st March, 1879.
7. Ṣadā al-Ahrām, no.598, 4th April, 1879.
8. Ibid., no.608, 19th April, 1879; and al-Iskandarīya, no.41, 17th April, 1879.

presented Hārūn ar-Rashīd for charity for the Committee to help those wounded in the fires in Damascus and al-Muskī in Cairo (Lajnat Iʿānat al-Muṣābīn bi-Ḥarīqat ash-Shām wa'l-Muskī);[1] both an-Naqqāsh and Ishāq were members of this committee. The performance seems to have been put on at an-Naqqāsh's initiative, and was performed by a group of amateurs, perhaps not by al-Khayyāt's troupe. An-Naqqāsh arranged publicity for the event in the two papers which he directed, Miṣr and at-Tijāra, seeking the support of the European press to advertise it.[2] On the evening a military band played, and songs were sung by the famous singer as-Sayyida Bazāda.[3] The performance was attended by a large audience including the Governor of Alexandria, Mustafā Fahmī and Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Afghānī.[4]

During the summer there were a number of Arabic theatrical performances in Alexandria. On 10th June, an Arabic play, Ḥasan wa-Ḥassān (Ḥasan and Ḥassān) was put on at the Alfieri (al-Fiyurī) theatre in Alexandria. It is not known by whom it was presented, nor who was its author, though it may well have been a school play.[5] News of this event was carried in al-Waqt newspaper, which had been opened by the Taqlā brothers when al-Ahrām was suspended. Sulaymān al-Qurdāhī organised a performance of Arabic and and French plays on Thursday, 3rd July, at his wife's girls' school, the Patriotic Girls' School (Madrasat al-Banāt al-Watanīya) in Sharīf Pasha Street in Alexandria, after the annual examinations and prize-giving. Al-Qurdāhī was an actor in both an-Naqqāsh's and al-Khayyāt's troupes.[6] The

1. at-Tijāra, no.239, 13th May; and Miṣr, no.43, 25th April.

2. La Réforme, no.156, 19th May, 1879.

3. Miṣr, no.44, 1st May; and no.47, 24th May, 1879.

4. al-Waqt, no.620, 19th May, 1879.

5. Ibid., no.635, 10th June, 1879.

6. Habīb, Tawfīq, "Ta'rīkh at-Tamthīl al-ʿArabī", as-Sitār, no.15, 9th January, 1928, p.23.

performance was attended by army officers, and many Muslim and Christian dignitaries.[1]

The following summer another performance was given by the school. The play Tilīmāk, perhaps the adaptation by the Syrian, Sa^{c}d Allāh Bustānī, from Fénelon's Télémaque,[2] was presented on Thursday, August 5th, 1880; it was first performed in Beirut in July, 1869, and was published there in 1870. The performance was given at the Zizinia, because the school was not large enough to hold the audience. It was performed before the Khedive Tawfīq, members of the court, and the Governor of Alexandria.[3] It was put on to raise money for the poor for the Société de Bienfaisance Grecque-Catholique d'Alexandrie. The play included many songs. The Moniteur Egyptien pointed out that this was not like the average school play:-

> Jusqu'à ce jour les distributions de prix avaient fourni aux élèves l'occasion de révéler leurs dispositions plus ou moins dramatiques, au moyen de pièces anodines portant l'empreinte d'une moralité à toute épreuve et devant laquelle Berquin lui-même n'aurait pu que s'incliner. - Jeudi soir, au théâtre Zizinia nous avons été temoin d'un essai dont la hardiesse a causé une vive surprise et qui neanmoins a obtenu un vrai succès - les élèves de l'institution Cardahi, renonçant aux traditions de la routine et ne voulent pas s'éloigner toutefois de l'antique voie classique, ont emprunté aux aventures de Télémaque le sujet de leur comédie et ont choisi pour la représenter la vaste scène du théâtre Zizinia. C'est de le témérité, penserez-vous, mais souvenez-vous du précepte ancien: "Audaces fortuna juvat" qu'Alexandre Dumas traduisait ainsi: Les audacieux font fortune - Ce sont les demoiselles de l'institution qui ont eu le rare courage d'oser interpréter en langue arabe les principales scènes de l'immortel chef-d'oeuvre de l'archevêque de Cambrai. - Vous imaginez-vous une Calypso de douze ans, inconsolable du départ d'Ulysse et, voyant arriver dans son île,

1. al-Waqt, no.652, 4th July, 1879.

2. The story of Télémaque is discussed on pp. 314-315.

3. al-Waqt, no.910, 7th August, 1880; and Moniteur Égyptien, no.184, 7th August, 1880.

> un jeune Télémaque de dix ans à peine, aux moustaches et aux allures de mousquetaire, accompagné de son précepteur, un Mentor de onze printemps, en dépit de sa barbe, patriarcale. Tout ce petit monde, à la voix douce et harmonieuse comme le son d'un lyre, sans les comprendre bien sûr, toutes les péripéties de ces aventures merveilleuses que la plume de Fénélon a immortalisées. S.A. Le Khedive assistait à cette représentation doublement extraordinaire. Il a paru charmé surtout de la pureté de prononciation des jeunes interprètes qui ont deployé, durant cinq longs actes une énergie bien au-dessus de leur âge, en traduisant des sentiments dont ils n'ont heureusement encore aucune idée.[1]

It is worth quoting this review in full because it gives a useful idea of the reviews that the European press were publishing in Egypt. Perhaps a little hackneyed, but full of detail and humour, both totally lacking in the short reports on the Arabic theatre in the Arab press, which gave the barest details on the performance as if column space were at a premium.

At-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī, al-Khayyāt's troupe, was nowhere near as active in the winter season of 1879. The troupe's patron, Khedive Ismāᶜīl had been deposed in June 1879, and his successor may have been less enthusiastic about giving financial support to the Arabic theatre. The only performance given by the troupe was scheduled for Thursday, 4th December, 1879, in Cairo, when they planned to put on three one-act operettas to celebrate the new Khedive's accession to the throne.[2] Al-Khayyāt may have hoped that this evening would persuade the new Khedive to continue the financial support given by his father.

For over three years Syrian Christians had monopolised

1. Moniteur Égyptien, no.185, 8th/9th August, 1880.

2. al-Waqt, no.748, 1st December, 1879.

the Arabic stage in Egypt, but that monopoly was to be broken by as-Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, the first Egyptian since 1872 to write for the Arab theatre. Egyptians may have been deterred from involving themselves in the theatre by the peremptory way that Sanua's theatre had been closed. An-Nadīm had become part of al-Afghānī's circle in Cairo. Early in 1879 he went to Alexandria on al-Afghānī's instructions to join forces with Adīb Isḥāq and Salīm an-Naqqāsh to propagate al-Afghānī's doctrines and ideas. He began to write articles for their newspapers, Miṣr and at-Tijāra. He became interested in the theatre through his contact with the two Syrians. In April 1879 an-Nadīm founded al-Jamᶜīya al-Khayrīya al-Islamīya (The Muslim Charitable Society) in Alexandria with advice from his two friends. The society was founded to help the poor of the city.

A school was established for the children of the poor and orphans, and an-Nadīm became its director. On 5th February, 1880, the pupils presented a play in French; the performance was reported in an-Naqqāsh's newspaper, al-Maḥrūsa.[1] At the school an-Nadīm helped found a literary society for the pupils, through which he could propagate his ideas and educate the youth of Egypt. This society, Jamᶜīyat al-Funūn wa'l-Ādāb (The Society of Arts and Literature), was founded on 22nd April by pupils at the school to "reward the successful student and help the poor ones, to use a theatre for discourses, plays and discussions, and to preserve the school rights of the pupil". It was open to any student from any school, country or creed. The president was Aḥmad Munīb.[2] This was the first non-professional dramatic society amongst Arabs in Egypt. An-Nadīm wanted his students to become familiar with this new literary genre, drama. He produced and stage-managed the plays, in which he acted alongside the students; he was also

1. al-Maḥrūsa, no.21, 7th February, 1880.

2. Ibid., no.71, 23rd April, 1880.

playwright of the society.

Al-Maḥrūsa reported on a performance of one of an-Nadīm's plays, al-Waṭan wa-Ṭālic at-Tawfīq[1] (The Homeland and the Star of Success), a pun using the Khedive Tawfīq's name. This four-act play in colloquial was performed in the courtyard of the school on Monday, 5th April by pupils before a packed audience, including Princes and dignitaries; the young Crown Prince cAbbās was patron of the school.[2] So successful was the play that many asked that it be performed again because it showed the virtues of the Khedive and his ministers.[3] That summer, on 12th July, the play was repeated at the Zizinia theatre before the Khedive and his court.[4] The tickets for this performance were sold as soon as they were issued. It was a huge success, and impressed Tawfīq to such an extent that he gave £100 to the society.[5] The society altogether raised £350 from the performance and an-Nadīm ceded his quarter entitlement to the society.

The play was a veiled satire of social and political conditions in the country. It was about Egypt's decline, it attacked misrule and the interference of foreigners in Egypt's affairs.[6] What was new in the play was its nationalist spirit, with which an-Nadīm tried to imbue his fellow countrymen by calling on his fellow citizens to make strenuous efforts on behalf of the country, revealing the deliterious activities of the ruling classes, umdas, and Turkish employees, promoting

1. Part of the text of al-Waṭan is included in Nadīm, op. cit., vol.2, pp.33-63.
2. Taymūr, op. cit., p.16.
3. al-Maḥrūsa, no.60, 7th April, 1880.
4. al-Waqt, no.894, 13th July, 1880.
5. Rifcat, Muḥammad, Ta'rīkh Miṣr as-Siyāsī fi'l-Azmina al-Ḥadītha, (Cairo, 1947), p.50.
6. al-Ḥadīdī (Thesis), op. cit., pp.121 and 134.

the expansion of the education system, and by encouraging the demand for science and knowledge.[1] Towards the end of the play there is some praise for Tawfīq and his ministers as prospective saviours of the nation. An-Nadīm himself described the play in his satirical journal at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt as depicting

> our situation and what we (suffered) of humiliation and insult, and what we bore of iniquities and liabilities (under Ismā^{c}īl). (This) ended with the accession of His Highness the Khedive, whose good ideas and charitable aims were helped by his noble ministers. (It depicts) the efforts made by his men to protect the nation (umma) and preserve the homeland and (shows) how minds were enlightened through him, leading to the opening of societies through which knowledge has been increased and wealth has been returned to the country.[2]

An-Nadīm wrote a play called al-^{c}Arab (The Arabs) or an-Nu^{c}mān. It was also performed at the Zizinia by his students before Tawfīq, "dignitaries, princes, and teachers". The play, according to an-Nadīm, showed the merit of the Arabs and the wonderful things they had accomplished.[3]

Yūsuf al-Khayyāṭ was still hoping for financial support for his activities. In August, 1880, the French impressario, Larose, was granted the concession for the Opera house for the coming winter season and a subvention of £9,000; this allocation at a time of cutbacks raised an outcry in the press. The editors of al-Waqt newspaper hoped that this subvention signalled that support was on its way for al-Khayyāṭ's troupe. Many obviously wanted to see the revival of a professional Arab troupe.

1. Habīb, as-Sitār, no.11, 12 December, 1927, p.23.
2. at-Tankīt, no.5, 10th July, 1881.
3. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.8-9; and Khalaf Allāh, op. cit., p.51.

> Our countrymen (waṭanīyīn) are delighted with that (news), believing that it will be followed by (them) granting permission to help the administration of at-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī as well. This belief is supported by the concern of the present administration with preparing the way for progress and education to spread the benefits for which the Government spent the afore-mentioned sum. Do not teach the patriots matters in which the Arabic language has no share! Most of us do not know Western languages well, and the person who does not know those languages, as is well-known, needs this benefit more than those who know them. Apart from this the Arabic Theatre Company is better provided and costs less; it only needs a quarter of the assistance provided to (Larose) or others. We believe we should say that the country is Arab; this country deserves more consideration and its sons deserve more attention. For these (reasons) everybody is certain that the Council (of Ministers) will soon consider the request made by Yūsuf Effendi Khayyāṭ, director of at-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī. We hope that authorisation will be issued to the director ... quickly so that he can summon the company (qūmbānīya) and have it completely ready in time.[1]

Al-Khayyāṭ had obviously made a request to the Council of Ministers for financial support; this request had the whole-hearted support of al-Waqt. The paper received a lot of letters from readers throughout Egypt supporting its point of view on this matter[2] but there was no immediate response from the Government.

The Coptic community were given their chance to entertain the Khedive. On 14th August, 1880, the students of their school, Madrasat al-Jamᶜiya al-Qubṭīya al-Khayrīya (The Coptic Charitable Society's School), put on a play, al-Malik al-Manṣūr (King al-Manṣūr), at the Zizinia, before a large audience including the Khedive, Dhū'l-Faqār Pasha and the Governor of Alexandria. The play was written in classical Arabic, and was perhaps the story of the famous ḥājib (chamberlain) of

1. al-Waqt, no.909, 4th August, 1880.

2. Ibid., no.926, 30th August, 1880.

al-Andalus. Needless to say this news was carried in the only Coptic newspaper, al-Waṭan.[1] The pupils of another school, Madrasat Mahattat al-Qubārī (al-Qubārī Station School), also put on two plays before the Khedive, one in French and the other in Arabic on 27th August at the Salon Storari in Alexandria. The oldest actor was only twelve. The Director of the school was Yūsuf Kalāba.[2] An-Nadīm's dramatical activities at his school may have led to this spate of activities at other schools.

A new dramatic group, calling itself al-Ittiḥād al-Waṭanī (The Patriotic Union), informed al-Waqt newspaper that it planned to present a play, ash-Shaykh al-Bakhīl al-Jāhil wa'l-Wālī al-Karīm al-Fāḍil (The Miserly Ignorant Old Man and the Noble Distinguished Governor) at the Zizinia in October. The group announced this in a letter to the paper, stating that foreign newspapers, no doubt those published in Egypt, had criticized Arabic plays, asserting that acting was a specialisation for Europeans only, but these newspapers did not know

> that the first innovators in the theatre were the Arabs. Anyone knowledgeable about history would know that European actors are only doing it because it is a profession by which they earn their living. Whereas the patriots (waṭanīyūn) present their plays on the tongues of their small boys and girls for training and progress. The skill of our adults in that (acting) is also known, as is clear from the plays given a few years ago.[3]

All that is known about this group is that one of the actors was Ḥannā Naqqāsh,[4] perhaps a relative of Salīm

1. al-Waṭan, no.144, 14th August, 1880.
2. al-Waqt, no.909, 4th August, 1880.
3. Ibid., no.937, 21st September, 1880.
4. Ibid., no.945, 2nd October, 1880.

an-Naqqāsh.

al-Waqt seized the occasion of the reopening of the Opera, for a full season of European theatre for the first time in three years, to launch an appeal to revive the Arabic theatre. The paper recalled the articles written by Qaysar Zaynīya in al-Ahrām on the need to reform the organisation of the Arab theatre, and expressing concern over the training of actors and actresses. Zaynīya had said that plays were performed not only for amusement and delight, but benefit could be derived from them as well. They are a lesson for the spectators, representing to them the events of the past, portraying good and evil. The writer felt that if the Arabs had more of the motives and requirements for acting, they would have a greater share in the use of the theatres.[1] The paper asked the Government to help the Arabs compete with foreigners in this art, at least next year if assistance was not possible that year.[2]

In November, 1880, the same paper published an article on the Arabic theatre. The writer wondered when an Arabic troupe would be seen and when Arabs would make an effort to support an Arab troupe. He hoped that the (European) theatrical activities in Cairo and Alexandria "will stimulate self-respect amongst the inhabitants of the port (Alexandria) so that they will contribute (finance) to the troupe (to enable it) to present plays in their language".[3] The last performance by al-Khayyāt's troupe had been in December 1879.

In the spring of 1881 the Jewish Charitable Society (al-Jamᶜiya al-Khayrīya al-Isrāᶜīlīya) put on a performance at the Opera on Sunday, 10th April, to raise money for the

1. al-Waqt, no.971, 8th November, 1880.
2. Ibid., no.977, 22nd November, 1880.
3. Ibid., no.978, 23rd November, 1880.

poor of their community; the Khedive had given permission for the theatre to be used. A three-act Arabic play Hifẓ al-ᶜUhūd (Keeping Promises) was put on.[1] The evening ended with a one-act comedy sketch, Lā tansa qafl al-bāb! (Do not forget to lock the door!), perhaps the same sketch that had been performed in Beirut in May, 1878. The theatre was full, and amongst the dignitaries present were ᶜAli Mubārak, the Minister of Public Works, and ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, the Secretary General (wakīl) at the Ministry of Education. Yūsuf al-Khayyāṭ trained the actors, but since al-Ahrām described them as inexperienced, we can conclude that they were not from his troupe. Al-Khayyāṭ himself appeared in the sketch.[2]

Al-Ahrām hoped that this play would make the rulers of Egypt favourably disposed towards the Arab theatre, so that the Arabic theatre would be able to share in the use of Cairo's theatres in the coming season. For, noted the paper, this art and "civilisation are the best entertainment for minds, the best teacher for the people, the best means to prohibit forbidden actions and the best instruction for good deeds. No-one can deny that plays are the tools of civilisation and one of the reasons for material and literary (adabī) success".[3]

Al-Khayyāṭ took advantage of this publicity and presented two petitions for his theatre, one to the Khedive and one to the Minister of Public Works, ᶜAlī Mubārak. In them he asked for a small theatre in which he could present Arabic plays in the following season. An-Naqqāsh's al-Maḥrūsa hoped that the request would be granted for this would please the patriots (waṭanīyūn) immensely.[4] He asked the Government for £2,000, so that he could perform in the small theatre at the Comédie

1. al-Ahrām, no.1077, 7th April, 1881.
2. Ibid., no.1084, 20th April, 1881; and al-Waṭan, no.178, 9th April, 1881.
3. al-Ahrām, no.1077, 7th April, 1881.
4. al-Maḥrūsa, no.284, 22nd April, 1881; and no.314, 7th June, 1881.

in Cairo. His request was passed to the theatre commission, composed of Gay-Lussac, Ornstein and Grand Bey.[1] The Government granted him use of the theatre, free lighting, costumes and scenery, but made no offer of finance. Al-Khayyāt saw no advantage in this offer, and turned it down, so it was thought that there would be no Arabic theatre in the next winter season. Al-Maḥrūsa was sure that the Government had reached this decision after having concluded that it was not in their interests to offer him more.[2]

Another Syrian, Sulaymān al-Ḥaddād, Shaykh of the Greek Catholic community in Alexandria, presented Mayy wa-Hūrās, at the Zizinia on Saturday, 4th June.[3] Al-Ḥaddād had apparently gained a considerable reputation as an actor in Egypt,[4] though it is not known whose troupe he belonged to; he performed the principal role in this production. The French language newspaper, L'Égypte, claimed that he had written the play,[5] but the work was undoubtedly by Salīm an-Naqqāsh.

This summer also saw the last performance of ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm's play, al-Waṭan.[6] Khedive Tawfīq visited the school and gave an-Nadīm to understand that he would welcome a repeat performance of the play. It was therefore presented on Thursday, 14th July, 1881 at the Zizinia on the second anniversary of Tawfīq's accession.[7] The performance was given by pupils from the school for charity "to urge people on the

1. al-Ahrām, no.1118, 1st June, 1881; and L'Égypte, 1st June, 1881.

2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.320, 17th June, 1881.

3. Ibid., no.314, 7th June, 1881.

4. L'Égypte, 12th May, 1881.

5. Ibid., 15th May, 1881.

6. It has been asserted that he wrote further plays, but no details of these could be found in the primary sources. Dāghir (Dāghir, Yūsuf Asᶜad, "Fann at-Tamthīl fī Khilāl Qarn", al-Mashriq, vol.43, April-June, 1943, p.293) refers to one called al-Wabā' (The Epidemic).

7. at-Tankīt, no.5, 10th July, 1881.

virtuous road and to co-operate in carrying out the duties of the homeland". Unfortunately, there were fewer spectators than expected.[1] Husayn Fahmī and Ahmad Pasha Ri^{c}fat, Governor of of Alexandria and deputy president of the society, and some others did their utmost to delay and hinder the sale of tickets, spreading rumours that all the places were booked and the tickets sold. They also induced some of the pupils in the cast to absent themselves on the eve of the performance, hoping to bring about the failure of the play. These members of the Islamic Charitable Society were involved in a conspiracy against an-Nadīm,[2] asserting that his activities in the school were merely a ploy to expand his own circle and wealth;[3] this was instigated by the President of the Council of Ministers, Riyād Pasha.

The next morning, July 15th, an-Nadīm announced his resignation from the society and the school.[4] He pointed out that the burden of financial loss caused by the failure of the play would have to be borne by the society. An-Nadīm's theatrical activities thus ended in this bitter row; the whole affair was reported in detail in his own satirical paper, at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt. One of an-Nadīm's friends and supporters, Shaykh Hamza Fath Allāh, editor of al-Burhān, wrote a letter of reassurance and support to at-Tankīt. He praised an-Nadīm for the quality of the acting which "foreigners have only reached by much toil and over a long passage of time". Foreigners were fond of acting to highlight morals or past events because they were incapable of perceiving them through the perfection of the mind's

1. al-Ahrām, no.1153, 15th July, 1881; and al-Iskandarīya, no.140, 28th July, 1881.
2. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, p.9.
3. at-Tankīt, no.6, 17th July, 1881.
4. Rif^{c}at, op. cit., p.55.

imaginings. "All their works are based on seeing, they do not believe what they do not see. Acting had already taken place amongst many Arabs in the golden age of their state". Shaykh Ḥamza promised to elaborate this point in his own paper.[1]

School plays were also put on in Alexandria. On Sunday, 24th July, the students of al-Madrasa al-Batriyarkīya li'r-Rūm al-Kathūlīk (The Patriarchal School for Greek Catholics) presented the play al-Ibn ash-Shāṭir (The Bright Son) before the French Consul at the Salon Storari in Alexandria for their school prize-giving. The head of the school was al-Khūrī Nīqūlā Hurmus.[2] Another play was presented on Monday, 1st August, after the examinations at the Madrasat al-Amīrkān (The American School) in the Jewish quarter of Alexandria. The play was written by one of the teachers, Fatḥ Allāh Ṣabbāgha.[3]

Sulaymān al-Ḥaddād had been planning for several months to give another performance. He was forced to continually postpone the production from August onwards, because extensive repairs had to be made to the gas network in the Zizinia to lessen the fire risk. The play, al-Ghayūr (The Jealous Man), was finally presented on Wednesday, 9th November; the troupe included actresses, which must have still been an unusual event since it attracted comments from the press. Unfortunately, much of the scenery was missing, due to malice on the part of the hiring firm and the theatre management.[4] Whether al-Ḥaddād had ambitions to form his own troupe is not known; several

1. Fatḥ Allāh, Ḥamza, "Riwāyāt al-Waṭan wa-Ṭāli^{c} at-Tawfīq", at-Tankīt, no.7, 24th July, 1881, pp.112-113.

2. al-Ahrām, no.1161, 25th July, 1881.

3. Ibid., no.1170, 4th August, 1881; and Iskandarīya, no.141, 4th August, 1881.

4. al-Maḥrusa, no.412, 8th November, 1881; no.413, 10th November, 1881; and al-Ahrām, no.1240, 31st October, 1881.

years later he formed al-Jawq al-Waṭanī al-Miṣrī (The Egyptian National Troupe) in 1887. He later worked with the troupes of al-Khayyāṭ, Sulaymān al-Qurdāḥī, Iskandar Farah and George Abyaḍ. Both of his sons, Najīb al-Ḥaddād and Amīn Sulaymān al-Ḥaddād, were active in the theatre.

In October al-Khayyāṭ made yet another attempt to revive the Arab theatre. He had an audience with the Khedive to discuss the matter.[1] He seems to have received a favourable response. Al-Khayyāṭ wrote in al-Maḥrūsa that he had striven to revive the theatre at the request of many dignitaries and lovers of literature, and had now received the support of Tawfīq. The Government had made the Comédie theatre available to him. He hoped that notables and others would welcome the project so that it could survive and grow.[2] It had been two and a half years since his company had last put on regular performances.

Al-Khayyāṭ's company presented at the Comédie on Monday, 14th November, the tragedy, ʿAla'l-Bāghi Tadūr ad-Dawā'ir (The Unjust Suffer Adversities) with a farce (fārsa, uḍḥūka), al-Bakhīl wa'l-Luṣūṣ (The Miser and the Robbers).[3] There were at least three versions of this former work written in the 1870s and 1880s, probably based on Voltaire's Mérope. The author of this version could have been Ibrāhīm ʿAwad al-Irbīlī, whose play had been performed in Beirut in 1873, or Jibrān Butrus[4] or Shimʿūn Mūyāl.[5] This version was about a minister (wazīr) facing a conflict between the two heirs of a king.[6]

1. al-Maḥrūsa, no.392, 4th October, 1881.
2. Ibid., no.410, 29th October, 1881.
3. Ibid., no.407, 25th October, 1881; and al-Ahrām, no.1237, 27th October, 1881.
4. Dāghir, Muʿjam, p.414[2175].
5. Landau, op. cit., p.244[379a].
6. al-Maḥrūsa, no.418, 17th November, 1881.

Two days later, on 16th November, the tragedy was repeated with another farce, al-Muḍḥik al-Mubkī aw an-Najm dhū'dh-Dhanab (The Weeping Comic or the Comet). The Khedive, members of his court and some ministers and princes attended this performance.[1] Al-Maḥrūsa continued its campaign to gain further Government support for the theatre. The paper had already expressed the hope that al-Khayyāṭ would get help from the Government to establish a completely independent Patriotic Theatre (at-Tiyātir al-Waṭanī), perhaps hoping that a special theatre would be built for, or allocated to, the company.[2] It again asked the Government to take an interest in and consider helping al-Khayyāṭ's company, at-Tiyātrū al-ᶜArabī. For, it pointed out, acting was an art which could only be spread or succeed with help from the Government, or by overwhelming acceptance by the public, which would not take place until the habit (of theatre-going) had taken root and this art had a regular life.[3] Al-Khayyāṭ also got support from al-Ahrām, which repeated the request that the Arab theatre should receive its share of Government patronage, for the principles of Government entailed helping every project that would benefit the people (umma) and the country.[4]

But financial considerations finally forced al-Khayyāṭ to abandon this attempt, as he explained in an article in al-Maḥrūsa. He was prevented from establishing Arabic theatre on a firm footing, because of the lack of "financial help without which (the theatre) cannot function in any country or amongst any people", even though he only needed a paltry sum. He had decided not to put on any further performances, but "a person who must be obeyed" (the Khedive?) had charged him to perform Hārūn ar-Rashīd with a company of actors and

1. al-Maḥrūsa, no.419, 18th November, 1881.
2. Ibid., no.407, 25th October, 1881.
3. Ibid., no.419, 18th November, 1881.
4. al-Ahrām, no.1245, 10th November, 1881; and no.1252, 16th November, 1881.

actresses;[1] this play had been part of the repertoire when the company had last performed in the spring of 1879. The play was performed twice on 30th December, 1881, and 2nd January, 1882, at the Comédie.[2] The crowd was not as large as expected on the first night, but the house was full for the second performance. At both performances ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm made a speech calling for patriotic (waṭanī) concern for the theatrical project and encouraging everyone to support it.[3]

Al-Khayyāṭ's company dissolved, not to be reformed until the end of 1884. A new troupe was created on the remnants of this company by Sulaymān al-Qarḍāḥī; he enrolled the Syrian singer, Murād Rūmānū, and some Alexandrine amateurs, including ᶜAlī Wahbī.[4] Al-Ahrām published a lengthy article on the theatre to gain support for al-Qarḍāḥī. The theatre was one of the best ways for man to use his senses and to gain knowledge; "it is a sort of school in which are gathered humour, witticisms, distinction and knowledge, for it also endows benefits". Rulers should devote their attention to the theatre and help it, especially those concerned with public affairs, who wanted to improve the social organisation to bring progress to the country. The paper praised al-Qarḍāḥī for he had chosen the best plays, and the best actors and actresses, and had taken some time to prepare them in his house. Many dignitaries had attended the rehearsals (tajrubāt), and were convinced the troupe would succeed, especially if the Government helped it.[5]

The Government obviously decided to support the company, for it was allowed to give its first performance at the Opera

1. al-Ahrām, no.1270, 9th December, 1881; and al-Maḥrūsa, no.438, 15th December, 1881.

2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.449, 31st December, 1881.

3. al-Ahrām, no.1289, 2nd January; and no.1292, 5th January, 1882.

4. Habīb, op. cit., p.23.

5. al-Ahrām, no.1342, 10th March, 1882.

in Cairo; the Opera had last been used by an Arab company (al-Khayyāt's company) in the 1878/79 season. Tilīmāk, which al-Qurdāhī had put on two years previously at his wife's school, was performed on Thursday, 13th April. The audience included the Khedive, his retinue, Consul-Generals, and locals and foreigners in almost equal numbers.[1] The press in its reports had invariably praised the skill of the actors, but before 1882 it rarely gave credit to a particular actor. On this occasion, perhaps because of the excellence of the troupe, several actors were picked out for praise, and one was given particular attention, Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī.[2] This performance was, as far as is known, Ḥijāzī's first acting role in his long and famous career. He, perhaps more than any other performer, brought the crowds flocking to the theatre, and was the single most important factor that led to the acceptance of a permanent Arabic theatre.

Shaykh Salāma was born in Alexandria. Having a fine voice he found employment as a muezzin, and Qur'ān and dhikr reciter in private houses.[3] By the age of twenty he had become a famous performer in these fields and was also a well-known singer (munshid) of poetry at mawālid, mawāsim and other private and public occasions,[4] having learnt these arts from the famous singers of the epoch. When Ishāq and an-Naqqāsh came to Egypt in 1876, Ishāq had contacted Ḥijāzī and tried to persuade him to join their troupe to perform singing roles and act. He refused because people then considered actors in much the same demeaning light as they used to in Britain in the first part of this century.[5] He felt

1. al-Ahrām, no.1369, 15th April, 1882.

2. For Salāma Ḥijāzī (1852-1917), see al-Ḥifnī, Maḥmūd Aḥmad, ash-Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī, Rā'id al-Masraḥ al-ʿArabī, (Cairo, 1968); Fāḍil, Muḥammad, ash-Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī, (Damanhur, 1932); and Tannūs, Jūrj, ash-Shaykh Salāma Ḥijāzī wa-mā qīla fī ta'bīnihi, (Cairo, 1917).

3. Barbour, op. cit., p.177.

4. al-Ḥifnī, op. cit., pp.33-34.

5. Yūsuf, op. cit., pp.426-427.

that performing with a troupe of actors would be a stain on his honour, since the acting profession was known for its moral depravity. To him, as a Muslim, acting was forbidden, a mortal sin,[1] but al-Qurdāhī obviously persuaded him to override his objections.

Miṣr singled out Shaykh Salāma, who played the role of Tilīmāk, since he "bewitched the minds with the gentleness of his singing (inshād) and the softness of his voice".[2] Al-Ahrām was equally euphoric.

> Everybody was astonished by the (way) Tilīmāk (ash-Shaykh Salāma) mastered his role. They cried when he cried, they were made happy when he was pleased and happy. His gestures and movements in acting showed that he will have a most important role, the first place, in the Arab theatre, not to mention his excellent singing and the mellowness of his voice...

The crowd often applauded him, and asked for several encores. Shaykh Mahmūd, who played the role of Ghūlūs, was also praised, as was the debut of the actress al-Khānim Hunayna, in the role of Calypso.[3]

The next performance was given on Sunday, 16th April, of a new play, al-Faraj baʿd aḍ-Ḍīq (Release from Suffering), based on an historical event.[4] Though the same title is used as a sub-title for Khalīl al-Yāzijī's play, al-Murū'a wa'l-Wafā', it does not seem to be this play. It was performed before a full house, in the presence of the Khedive, and his ministers, consuls, and merchants. Al-Ahrām again praised the excellent performance of Shaykh Salāma, singing the role of

1. Butrus, Fikrī, Fannānū'l-Iskandarīya, (Cairo, 1964), p.28.
2. Miṣr, no.16, 19th April, 1882.
3. al-Ahrām, no.1369, 15th April, 1882.
4. Ibid., no.1369, 15th April; and no.1372, 18th April, 1882.

Nāthān. Some Europeans were heard to remark that even their actors were not up to his standard; again the audience demanded encores. Shaykh Mahmūd, this time in the role of his eldest son, Sharūbīm, received as much applause and demands for encores as Shaykh Salāma for "his mellow voice, his excellent singing, his acting and eloquence". Another actor making his debut, Shaykh ᶜAlī, in the role of Rūmīlūs, also acted well.[1]

On Thursday, 20th April, Fursān al-ᶜArab was presented; this work, written by Nakhla Qalfāt and Iskandar Abkāryūs,[2] had been presented in Beirut in 1875. The play had been performed before an invited audience at a rehearsal (ikhtibār) on 19th April.[3] Three days later on Sunday, 23rd April, the troupe put on a four-act play Zifāf ᶜAntar (The Wedding of ᶜAntar), in front of a packed house, including princes and ministers such as Ahmad Pasha ᶜUrābī, Minister of War and the Navy, Hasan Pasha Sharīᶜi, Minister of Awqaf, and Sultan Pasha, president of the Assembly of Delegates and many army officers, notables and foreigners. Since both these plays deal with the story of ᶜAntar, it may be that we are dealing with one work with two alternative titles. The performance of ᶜAntar, presumably of Hijāzī, was especially praised. Al-Ahrām described how, as his bravery increased, so did his gentleness and manliness. There were many calls for encores for Hijāzī's performance in the third act. Shaykh Mahmūd played ar-Rabīᶜ and demonstrated the same skills that he had shown in earlier performances. Other parts in the play were King Qays and ᶜAntar's beloved cousin, ᶜAbla, played by al-Qurdāhī's wife, Christine.[4] Al-Qurdāhī is renowned for the parts he gave to

1. al-Ahrām, no.1372, 18th April, 1882.

2. Iskandar Abkāryūs (- 1885), a Christian born in Beirut, had been living in Egypt since 1874. See G.A.L., vol.SII, 768; and Shaykhū, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, pp.131-133.

3. Miṣr, no.16, 19th April, 1882; al-Ahrām, no.1374, 20th April, 1882; and Najm, al-Masraḥīya, op. cit., p.108, from al-Ahrām, no.1376, 22nd April, 1882.

4. al-Ahrām, no.1378, 25th April, 1882; and Miṣr, no.17, 26th April, 1882.

women in his plays, until then they had often been played by young men.[1]

The public persuaded al-Qurdāhī to repeat Tilīmāk on Friday, 28th April.[2] On Sunday, 30th April, they gave their last performance of the season in Cairo, before an audience of dignitaries, of Fursān al-ᶜArab; again the audience often demanded encores. After this performance, al-Qurdāhī thanked ᶜUrābī Pasha for his interest and his promise of government assistance, already partly given since the Government had met the cost of the gas lighting. Al-Ahrām was confident that the Government would consider helping him.[3]

After this the company left immediately for Alexandria to perform at the Zizinia, these performances being subscribed to by many local dignitaries. The company intended to return to Cairo later in response to public demand to present some new plays.[4] On Saturday, 20th May, they performed Tilīmāk at the Zizinia. The Government granted them the services of a military band during their season at the theatre. Al-Ahrām took every opportunity to encourage the Alexandrines to ensure the company the same success it had enjoyed in Cairo. On the first night the theatre was crowded; in the audience were the Governor, Deputy Governor and many dignitaries.[5] On Thursday, 25th May they put on Fursān al-ᶜArab.[6] This turned out to be the last performance, as the deteriorating political situation prevented further productions. Al-Qurdāhī was forced to cancel other performances planned.[7] Thus ended al-Qurdāhī's

1. Habīb, op. cit., p.23.
2. al-Ahrām, no.1380, 27th April, 1882.
3. Ibid., no.1384, 2nd May, 1882.
4. Ibid., no.1383, 1st May, 1882.
5. Ibid., n.1390, 9th May; and no.1400, 22nd May, 1882.
6. Ibid., no.1404, 26th May, 1882.
7. Ibid., no.1409, 1st June, 1882.

first attempt to establish a successful Arab troupe in Egypt. After this there was to be no more Arab theatre in Egypt for two years until 1884. A few weeks later the ᶜUrābī revolt was to start, which led to the mass exodus of Europeans and Syrians from the country.

Apart from Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl's play published in Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya in 1871, one other play appeared in the press. In April, 1882, the new Cairo magazine Mir'āt ash-Sharq began publishing the text of Riwāyāt al-Murū' wa'l-Wafā' aw al-Faraj baᶜd aḍ-Ḍīq (Honour and Fidelity and Release from Suffering) with a verse prologue by its Syrian author and editor of the magazine, Shaykh Khalīl al-Yāzijī. This five-act operatic drama, the first entirely in verse, had been performed in Beirut in 1880, and dealt with the conversion of the King of al-Ḥira, an-Nuᶜmān b. al-Mundhir, to Christianity, and his subsequent abandonment of a barbaric custom by which he executed all strangers who came to his court on a certain inauspicious day of the year. A Christian bedouin, Ḥanẓala, who had previously given the king hospitality, fell victim to this practice, but, by his example, brings about the king's conversion. It is not known if the play was published in its entirety, but it seems likely that the ᶜUrābī revolt prevented its completion.[1]

Thus ended the first phase of Syrian participation in the Egyptian theatre. During the 1870s a sizeable number of prominent Syrian playwrights and actors migrated to Egypt. Material considerations were probably the overriding factor, especially for those who came from the Lebanon. Opposition of religious circles to dramatic activities, particularly in Damascus, led later to the migration of Shaykh Aḥmad Abū Khalīl al-Qabbānī in 1884, but in the Lebanon the theatre seems to have flourished unhindered from the late 1860s to well

1. Mir'āt ash-Sharq, no.2, 20 April, 1882.

into the 1870s and 1880s. Unfortunately, it is still impossible to explain why the Egyptians abandoned theatrical activity and left the field to the Syrians. Nearly all those involved in Egyptian theatrical life in the early 1870s, Sanua, Jalāl, Abū's-Su^{c}ūd, Unsī, ^{c}Abd al-Fattāḥ, were still alive or in Egypt when the first Syrian troupes arrived, but none of them was inspired by the Syrians to return to theatrical activity. Perhaps they had been so discouraged by the Government's earlier opposition to the Arab theatre that they decided not to become involved in Arab theatre again.

There was a marked contrast between the Egyptian experiments and the Syrian troupes. The Syrians relied much more on music and opera to embellish their theatrical productions, and in doing this they found a very successful formula. They also borrowed or adapted many of their themes from Arab popular tales, like ^{c}Antara, or the Thousand and One Nights, whereas the Egyptians had plumped for domestic comedy or the adaptation of European classics. There was also a change in language. Rather than using colloquial, the Syrians wrote their plays in the classical language, sometimes in rhymed prose, employing the bombastic style of the epoch.

The major source for translated works were the leading French seventeenth century dramatists: Molière, the great comic dramatist, the great tragedians, Corneille and Racine, and their eighteenth century successor, Voltaire. These French classics may well have been familiar to the Arab dramatists from their school days. Lack of familiarity with the English and German languages may have been the main reason that no attempt was made to translate Shakespeare or such famous dramatists as Schiller or Goethe. Given that the Italian language was known to some of these Arab dramatists, and that the European theatre in Egypt was mainly devoted to Italian drama, it is strange that no one adapted the works of the most notable comic dramatist, Goldoni.

In the early 1870s the popular press was just beginning and the theatre received little support from the press. If further copies of the first independent paper, Wādī an-Nīl, come to light, it may prove necessary to revise this judgement. But the arrival of the Syrian troupes was accompanied by an efflorescence of the popular press in Alexandria and Cairo. The Syrian owners of many of these papers, often playwrights themselves, encouraged the Arab theatre, and reported, if somewhat briefly, on most of its activities. Arabic press coverage of the theatre was still sparse in comparison to the local European press' coverage of the European theatre in Alexandria and Cairo, but by 1882 the Arabic press reports were beginning to resemble real reviews.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENTS IN PROSE WRITING

Fictional works in prose were rarely published in al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya throughout its history. In its early years in the reign of Muḥammad ^{c}Alī it carried only infrequent literary items, whether in prose or poetry. In its first thirty years, Ibrāhīm ^{c}Abduh traced only one literary passage, apart from the odd lines of poetry. In May 1842, in a rare item under the heading of adabīyāt (polite literature) it quoted a passage from Ibn Khaldūn on language.[1]

Soon after its reappearance in 1865 it published two ḥikāyas (stories).[2] They were translations, probably from French, by Muḥammad Ḥamīd b. Muḥammad ^{c}Alī (at-Ṭabīb). These short stories (ḥikāyāt qaṣīra) were considered to be of pedagogical value. They had been corrected by Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī, corrector at the Medical School.[3] The first short story in saj^{c} (rhymed prose), ad-Durra al-Yatīma (The Unique Pearl) was about a child's love for his father and mother. The second was called az-Zurzūr (The Starling); this story avoided saj^{c} and verbal embellishment. It told of a barber who kept a starling in a cage. From visiting ulema this bird learnt to pronounce many words and became famous. One day the door of the cage was left open, and the bird escaped. It joined the other starlings, and enjoyed itself in the meadows, until it was caught in a hunter's trap. The story ended with verses by

1. W.M., no.623, 1 Rabī^{c} II, 1258 (12 May, 1842), quoted in ^{c}Abduh, Ta'rīkh al-Waqā'i^{c}, p.106.

2. W.M., no.4, 26 Rajab, 1282 (16 December, 1865).

3. W.M., no.2, 30 November, 1865.

Imām ᶜAlī.[1] Fayyāḍ, who quotes this story, believes that it was intended to encourage the acquisition of knowledge; the allegory does seem however rather abstruse.

Some four years later, in October, 1869, the paper published a maqāma in sajᶜ on the opening of the Khalīj, an event it celebrated in poetry in other years. This maqāma was in imitation (ḥudhiya bihā ḥadhw) of the maqāmāt of al-Ḥarīrī. It filled three pages of the paper and began in the following ornate manner, full of linguistic puns;

> Jaᶜfar al-Fayyāḍ related to us from Muzayna, he said the morals of youth have weaned me from their teat, and the qualities of manhood are stringing me on the thread of their pearls. (I am) set on (going to) the villages of the surface of the earth. I shortened my stirrup in some countries, galloping off to others. When I left the subtlety of simplicity, the walls of hope are surrounded by vast expanses of hope, with every intention, I aim the arrow of my resolution. I travel to every drinking place, whether it is filled or not, because I travel a lot.[2]

In 1866 the official gazette had followed the example of the European press and began publishing feuilletons. These feuilletons were printed as exact copies of the pages of a book, so that they could be cut and bound together. Two pages usually appeared at the foot of page three of the paper, and the other two pages backed these on the foot of page four. These serials did not appear on a regular basis, often the run would be broken, and some time might elapse before the work was continued or completed; in the meantime the paper might start a new serial. In April the paper announced it would publish "some elegant books to benefit the purchaser of this paper".[3] The first such work was a "literary" work sent by

1. Fayyāḍ, op. cit., p.102.
2. W.M., no.327, 10 October, 1869.
3. Ibid., no.19, 5 April, 1866, from ᶜAbduh, Taᵓrīkh al-Waqāᵓiᶜ, op. cit., p.133.

Ibrāhīm Bey Marzūq to Aḥmad Bey Khayrī,[1] the Royal Chamberlain. This was no doubt his Riḥlat as-Salāma wa-Niḥlat al-Karāma (The Journey of Safety and the Gift of Generosity), a description of the Sudan written in sajᶜ, later republished in Cairo in 1869.[2] Shaykh Muṣṭāfā Salāma's Tuḥfat al-Musāmara wa-ᶜUqūd al-Muḥāḍara wa-Siḥr al-Mudhākara appeared a few weeks later. This work, written in 1265/1848-1849, was intended to entertain (munādama) kings and literati, and contained curiosities of debates (muḥāwarāt), elegant disputes and the marvels of humour (mufākahāt).[3]

A new serial began in 1868 when the paper published a work by Ibn Abī Ḥajala al-Maghribī al-Tilimsānī (d. 776/1375). This was his Kitāb Sukkardān as-Sulṭān, an anthology on the geography and history of Egypt, with a biography of the Mamluk sultan, al-Malik an-Nāṣir Ḥasan.[4] The paper explained that it was printing this work, because "the soul longs to know about the past, so that the reader reaps the advantages, and provides himself with all the embellishments".[5]

All subsequent feuilletons were by contemporary writers. In 1872 the paper published a serial on agriculture by the translator and chemistry teacher, Aḥmad Nadā,[6] translated from French, Bulūgh al-Murād fī Taᶜwīd al-Mafqūd min Ajzā' al-Arāḍ wa-Takhṣībihā bi-s-Samād.[7] The following year there

1. W.M., no.21, 19 April, 1866, from ᶜAbduh, Taʾrīkh al-Waqāʾiᶜ, op. cit., p.134.

2. W.M., no.25, 24 May, 1866 f, and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.19.

3. al-Maktaba al-Azharīya, Fihris al-Maktaba al-Azharīya, (Cairo,), vol.5, pp.42-43. This work is available in manuscript in the Azhar Library (652 Abāẓa 7239) and at Dār al-Kutub in Cairo.

4. W.M., no.170, 9 January, 1868 f. Published later at Būlāq in 1288/1871-1872.

5. Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, no.496, 4 February, 1868.

6. For Aḥmad Nadā (-1877), see Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.1, p.263; and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.403.

7. W.M., no.452, 18 April, 1872 f.

was a feuilleton for the much celebrated royal wedding of Ismā^{c}īl's sons and daughter by Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Ahdab, muftī of Beirut: a nineteen-page work entitled ^{c}Uqud Jīd al-^{c}Aṣr bi-Tahāni' A^{c}rās Wuzarā' Miṣr (Necklaces of the Neck of the Age with Congratulations for the Weddings of the Ministers of Egypt).[1]

Later serials were included in the body of the paper, filling a number of columns. Several travelogues (siyāḥa) were taken and translated from the local French paper, the Moniteur Égyptien. These dealt with voyages of discovery in Africa; there was some local interest for Khedive Ismā^{c}īl had attempted to establish an African empire of his own. One such serial was taken from a lecture by Dr. Gustav Nachtigal[2] to the Italian Geographical Society given on 10th May, 1875.[3] A feuilleton on Africa by Dr. Georg Schweinfurth, President of the Khedivial Geographical Society, also appeared.[4] A description, written by Brūt?, a member of the Egyptian expeditionary force, on his trip from Khartum to ^{c}Ubayd,[5] was also published that year. In the summer and autumn of 1882 the paper published Muḥammad Effendi Niyāzī's Kitāb Siyāḥat as-Sūdān; it also appeared in al-Ahrām.

Most of the serials published by the official gazette were connected in some way with Egypt's history, its territorial ambitions overseas, or with events concerning the Khedivial family. The paper was primarily a government and administrative journal so it was naturally first of all concerned with such matters. The paper did not follow the independent press and publish the new forms of fictional

1. W.M., no.509, 27 May, 1873 f.
2. Details of his voyage to the Sudan had appeared in B.I.E., (1875), no.13.
3. W.M., no.614, 11 July, 1875 f.
4. Ibid., no.613, 4 July, 1875 f.
5. Ibid., no.626, 3 October, 1875.

writing borrowed from Europe. Since the editorial staff were always Azharī Shaykhs, they probably did not wish to encourage the spread of this new genre, which they no doubt considered contained merely the wild fabrications of the author's mind. The attitude of certain Azharites to certain fictional works will be discussed later.

When Wādī an-Nīl appeared, it also had feuilletons (wurayqāt), usually printed at the foot of the first three pages. Most of these early serials lasted for a couple of issues. One of the first was by the French academic, (Eugène) Cortambert, and called ad-Dars al-Mukhtaṣar al-Mufīd fī ᶜIlm al-Jughrāfīya al-Jadīd (A Short Useful Lesson in the New Science of Geography).[1] Two years later it began publishing "a pick of feuilletons selected from the most elegant works of literature". The first such work was Ibn ᶜArabshāh's (d.854/1450) Kitāb ᶜAjā'ib al-Maqdūr fī Akhbār Tīmūr. This was the first time that this famous history of Tamerlane had been published in Egypt; Ibn ᶜArabshāh had been a prisoner of Tamerlane. The serial appeared as a detachable supplement.[2] An historical compendium on Egypt, Kitāb al-Ifāda wa'l-Iᶜtibār fi'l-Umūr al-Mushāhada wa'l-Ḥawādith al-Muᶜāyana bi-Arḍ Miṣr by ᶜAbd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (d.629/1231), appeared in the paper in December, 1869.[3] It included a biography of al-Baghdādī from ᶜUyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaqāt al-Aṭibbā' of Ibn Usaybiᶜa (d.668/1270).[4] It was also published separately that year. The famous Arab travelogue, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey, (Riḥlat Ibn Baṭṭūṭa or Tuḥfat an-Nuẓẓār fī Gharā'ib al-Amṣār), corrected and edited by the editor of the paper, Abū's-Suᶜūd,

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.2, 19 July, 1867 f.
2. Ibid., no.1, 23 April, 1869.
3. Ibid., no.34, 9 December, 1869 f.
4. Ibid., no.50, 11 February, 1869 f.

appeared as a serial in July 1870,[1] and was published separately by the paper's press, Matbaᶜat Wādī an-Nīl in 1288/1871-1872.[2]

More practical supplements were published; one was a translation of the work by the Frenchman Sīlsit Du'āl?, Tadhkirat al-Fallāḥ al-Miṣrī bi Kull ᶜAmal Zirāᶜi Shahrī (Diary of the Egyptian Peasant for all Monthly Agricultural Work),[3] a work that had appeared in Alexandria in 1865. It was also printed in Cairo that year as a separate pamphlet. A translation by ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, was printed as a feuilleton from June, 1869. This was a guide to the new Egyptian Museum (antīqah) by its director, François Mariette Bey, Furjat al-Mutafarrij ᶜalā'l-Antīqahkhānah al-Khudaywīya al-Miṣrīya al-Kā'ina bi Būlāq Miṣr al-Maḥmīya/Une Visite au Musée de Boulaq, ou Description des Principaux Monuments Conservés dans les Salles de cet Établissement.[4] Another of his translations appeared the following year in January, 1870; this was a translation of a work by Felix Maljijī?, a member of the French Academy (of Science), Tarqiyat al-Jamᶜīya bi'l-Kīmīya az-Zirāᶜīya (The Improvement of Society through Agricultural Chemistry).[5]

Few literary contributions seem to have appeared in the paper. In October 1869, under the title "Arabic Polite Literature and Literary Maqāmāt" (adabīyāt ᶜarabīya wa-maqāmāt adabīya) it published nearly ten pages of a literary work by Rifāᶜa Bey's twenty-year old son, ᶜAlī Fahmī; this was called Ishārat aṣ-Ṣafā bi-Bishārat al-Wafā (An Indication

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.20, 2 Rabīᶜ II, 1287 (1 July, 1870).

2. This was not the first Egyptian edition: it had appeared in 1278/1861-1862 and in a lithographed edition in 1279/1862-1863.

3. Wādī an-Nīl, no.5, 21 May, 1869.

4. Ibid., no.10, 25 June, 1869 f.

5. Ibid., no.46, 28 January, 1869 (sic) (should read 1870) f.

of Purity in the Glad Tidings of Loyalty);[1] ᶜAlī was then a teacher of composition (inshā') at the School of Surveying and Accounting. In July/August 1871, Wādī an-Nīl published a literary fragment (nubdha) translated by Mahmūd Wahbī Effendi and Muhammad Hishmat Effendi.[2] The pair had sent translations to Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya the year before.

The translation of literary works from European languages did not begin in earnest until the 1860s in Syria and the 1870s in Egypt, but a few isolated works had been translated earlier in the century. A Syrian merchant and French Consul, Bāsīlī Fakhr, was probably the initiator of the modern translation movement; he was a friend of the Syrian poet, Niqūlā at-Turk. In 1815 he translated from Italian the first volume of Fénelon's Télémaque, but this was never published. A number of other works on history and philosophy were translated by others in Damietta at the same time. This group of translators tried to bring to the Arab world some of the French works which most affected the rise of the French revolution, such as Montesqieu's Esprit des Lois and the works of Voltaire.[3]

Christian missionary activities were responsible for some of the other translations. The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe was translated anonymously in Malta in 1835, as Qiṣṣat Rūbinsūn Krūzī al-Mutaqaddima (The Revised Story of Robinson Crusoe).[4] At the American Press in Beirut in 1844, Butrus al-Bustānī's translation of John Bunyan's (1628-1688) The Pilgrim's Progress was printed as Siyāḥat al-Masīḥī (The Pilgrimage of the

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.25, 15 October, 1869, pp.774-783.

2. Ibid., quoted in al-Jawā'ib, 9 August, 1871.

3. Amer, Attia, Lughat al-Masraḥ al-ᶜArabī, (Stockholm, 1967), pp.20 and 20[2].

4. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.558[1].

Christian).[1] Converts to Protestantism in Syria were brought up on this allegorical work on man's road to Christ.

In Egypt a translation of a work by an anonymous foreign author appeared at Būlāq in 1261/1845, Husn al-Ikhtirāᶜ fī Shakhs Qadr aṣ-Ṣubāᶜ (The Perfection of the Creation of a Person the Size of a Finger). This was a translation by Muhammad b. ᶜAlī of Charles Perrault's (1628-1703) fairy tale Le Petit Poucet; the story of le Petit Poucet's (Tom Thumb) confrontation with an ogre would have appealed to those fond of the extraordinary tales in the Thousand and One Nights (Alf Layla wa-Layla), which had also been published at Būlāq in 1251/1835-1836.[2] The only other literary translation to appear at Būlāq was of the Persian as-Saᶜdī's classic, ethical and humorous, miscellany The Rose Garden (Gulistān), which was published in 1263/1846 as Tarjamat al-Julistān al-Fārisī. It was translated from Persian into a prose and verse version in Arabic by a Syrian Christian, Jibrā'īl Mukhallaᶜ ; this work also included translations of some of the poetry in as-Saᶜdī's dīwān.[3] The translation was edited by the Egyptian poet, Muhammad Shihāb ad-Dīn.

Perhaps the most novel of the early translations was that by Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl of Jean de la Fontaine's (1621-1693) Fables Choisies as al-ᶜUyūn al-Yawāqiẓ fi'l-Amthāl wa'l-Mawā'iẓ (The Awakening Eyes in Proverbs and Exhortations). These little allegorical pictures of life, often employing animals as characters, were drawn from Aesop, Phaedrus, Horace, Bidpai and modern stories, and this was no doubt their appeal to Muhammad ᶜUthmān. Muhammad pointed out that these

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.90.

2. Republished at Būlāq in 1279-1280/1862-1864 and in Cairo in 1297/1879-1880.

3. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1719.

tales were in the tradition of the Arabic works of fiction: Bidpai's Kalīla wa-Dimna,[1] Ibn al-Habbārīya's aṣ-Ṣādiḥ wa'l-Bāghim and Ibn ᶜArabshāh's Fākihat al-Khulafā'. In a letter to ᶜAlī Mubārak he explained that de la Fontaine's work "is one of the greatest (works) of French literature in verse on the tongue of animals".[2]

Most of de la Fontaine's tales have a moral, and Muḥammad stressed the didactic value of the work in his introduction. The work also contains background information on geography, and nature, which would have appealed to the translator from the pedagogic point of view. Muḥammad began the translation in his spare time in ᶜAbbās's reign, when working in the Translation Bureau; on completion he presented it to Saᶜīd Pasha.[3] He published it at his own expense in 1274/1857-1858.[4] The work is of interest because it also represents a revolt against the prevailing highly ornamental style in language. It is written in simple Arabic verse, in a mixture of classical, semi-classical and colloquial language, using the urjūza muzdawija[5] for those lines in classical Arabic and zajal (a strophic verse form) for those in Egyptian colloquial.

Before the press became involved in literary translations Muḥammad ᶜUthmān arabised another work that had immense vogue in Europe, Jacques Henri Bernadin de Saint-Pierre's (1737-1814) Paul et Virginie. This is a tale of passion of two fatherless children brought up in innocence on a tropical

1. Published at Būlāq, 1249/1833-1834; Cairo, 1251/1835-1836; Būlāq, 1285/1868-1869; and Cairo, 1297/1879-1880.

2. Mubārak, op. cit., vol.17, p.64.

3. Ibid., vol.17, p.64.

4. It was republished in 1275/1858-1859; at the Castelli press in 1287/1870-1871 and in a lithographic version in Cairo, 1297/1880.

5. Both hemistichs rhymed and the verse was in the rajaz metre.

island. They love one another from their childhood, but are separated when Virginie has to go to visit her aunt in France. Some two years later she returns, but is drowned when her ship is wrecked on the island. Paul dies of a broken heart; in the Arabic version Qabūl dies from grief as do their two servants, and their dog. This work, translated as al-Amānī wa'l-Minna fī Ḥadīth Qabūl wa-Ward Janna[1] (Desires and Grace in the Tale of Qabūl and Ward Janna) was published in 1285/1868-1869. Muḥammad had worked on the translation when he was working at the Dīwān al-Wāridāt (The Revenue Department) and presented it to Crown Prince Tawfīq;[2] the introduction was written by a fellow man of letters, Muḥammad Qadrī. Muḥammad ᶜUthmān decided to translate it because the work was full of didactic digressions.[3]

By making various changes, arabising the names of the characters, turning the priest into a shaykh, Muḥammad "adapted it from its French form into an Arab one".[4] The translation is slightly abridged. The story keeps its romantic element, but was shorn of its more erotic features; pure love was part of the tradition of Arabic poetry and of Qur'ān stories. As with later translations, the translator added short pieces of poetry to the text in the Arab tradition, replacing the numerous historical reflections of the French author.[5] It was rendered into a simple rhymed prose in the classical language. With these works, Muḥammad ᶜUthmān was to lead the way in introducing Egyptian society to European fictional

1. It was republished at al-Maṭbaᶜa al-Waṭanīya in Alexandria in 1288/1871-1872 and in Cairo in 1289/1872-1873.

2. Mubārak, op. cit., vol.17, p.65.

3. Ḥasan, Muḥammad Rushdī, Athar al-Maqāma fī Nash'at al-Qiṣṣa al-Miṣrīya al-Ḥadītha, (Cairo, 1974), p.88, from al-Amānī, op. cit, p.2.

4. Mubārak, op. cit., vol.17, p.65.

5. Gibb, H.A.R., "Studies in Contemporary Arabic Literature, 4. The Egyptian Novel", B.S.O.S., vol.VII, part 1, 1933, p.2.

writing, just as a few years later he was to become one of the first translators of European drama.

Some members of the Egyptian élite read European literature in the original, but very little had been made available through translation to a broader public. Some idea of the literary taste of an educated Egyptian can be gained from the sale of books belonging to the late ᶜAlī ᶜAlawī Bey, wakīl al-Madāris (Secretary-General of the Education Ministry) in 1868. His library, apart from books in Arabic, included works in Turkish, Persian, French, and English. The French works included "French prose" (nathr faransawī) by Racine, a novel (ḥikāya) by Madame Staël (Istayil), Corinne (al-Qūrīn), Fénelon's Télémaque, Ḥikāyat ar-Rajul aṭ-Ṭayyib (The Tale of the Good Man), Aesop, La Fontaine's Parables (amthāl), the Songs (amthāl) of Solomon, Ta'rīkh Jilblās (Histoire de Gil Blas) by Alain-René Le Sage, Kitāb Tuyūzūr wa-Būlīn, and Voltaire's Poesies (Ashᶜār); in English the library contained Robinson Crusoe by Daniel Defoe.[1]

The translation of European fiction had gathered momentum with the work of the Syrian press in the 1860s. Khalīl al-Khūrī had started publishing feuilletons in 1858 in the Beirut paper, Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, at a time when the Egyptian press was in the doldrums. Most of the translations were also published separately by the newspaper's press, al-Matbaᶜa as-Sūrīya. This paper published a translation by Salīm dī Nawfal of the work by Mlle. Anne Boulet-Mars, Le Marquis de Fontanges[2] (al-Mārkīz dī Fūntāj);[3] an anonymous translation of the novel by Alexandre Dumas Père, Pauline et Pascal Bruno[4] (Riwāyat Būlīna Mūlyān);[5] a translation by

1. W.M., no.183, 2 March, 1868.
2. Published separately in 1860.
3. Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, no.50, 18 December, 1858.
4. Perhaps the work published in 1865 in Beirut.
5. H.A., no.98, 17 November, 1859 f.

Salīm dī Busturus of the novel by Mme. Charles Reybaud, Mademoiselle de Malépeire (Riwāyat Madāmwāzil Mālībiyār);[1] Fénelon's Télémaque translated by Rifā[C]a Rāfi[C] at-Tahtāwī;[2] and a translation by Iskandar Tuwaynī of the novel by François-Joseph Mery, Une Veuve Inconsolable (Riwāyat Yamīn al-Armala).[3] The Syrian paper also published some shorter translations, a story by Mlle. Mars, The Tale of the Two Georges (Riwāyat al-Jirjisayn),[4] an extract from Les Bals Masqués by Comtesse Dash, called Faṣl fī Bādīn (A Season in Baden),[5] and another translation called Natījat al-[C]Ishq (The Consequence of Love).[6]

These translations were by Syrian Christians, the one exception being the translation by the Egyptian man of letters, Rifā[C]a at-Tahtāwī. Rifā[C]a had translated François de Salignac Fénelon's Télémaque as Mawāqi[C] al-Aflāk fī Waqā'i[C] Tilīmāk (The Orbits of the Stars in the Adventures of Télémaque), while he was in exile in Khartum in 1849. Since this work contains a treatise on government, Rifā[C]a probably thought it wiser to have it published outside of Egypt, lest he upset the Egyptian autocrats. Fénelon (1631-1715) wrote this didactic romance for the edification of his pupil the Duc de Bourgogne, the grandson of Louis XIV, to teach him the art of government; the pedagogical nature of the work may have also attracted Rifā[C]a who was involved in teaching most of his life. The work had remained popular in European schools.

The story relates the adventures of Télémaque in search

1. H.A., no.124, 17 May, 1860 f. Published separately that year, 1860.
2. Ibid., no.174, 15 August, 1861 f. Published in 1867.
3. Ibid., no.176, 29 August, 1861 f. Published separately the same year, 1861.
4. Ibid., no.59, 19 February, 1859.
5. Ibid., no.81, 21 July, 1859.
6. Ibid., no.154, 28 March, 1861 f.

of his father, Ulysses, who had not returned from Troy; he is accompanied by a wise old man, Mentor. His search takes him on a journey around the Mediterranean. Mentor saves him from disaster, advises him on many occasions, and indirectly educates Télémaque for his eventual role as king. On the island of Salente the organisation of the state is entrusted to Mentor, who creates an ideal republic. The welfare and happiness of his subjects are shown to be the ruler's first concern. Rifā^{c}a changes the Greek gods in the story into one god; Mentor in the original turns out to be the goddess Minerva. Rifā^{c}a's version includes many Qur'ānic verses, perhaps to reassure Arab readers that it was not the intention to spread unIslamic ideas. The work is not a novel, but the first prose poem in French literature.[1]

The newspaper activity in Beirut may have led to the publication of other translations. The famous Syrian lexicographer, Butrus al-Bustānī, translated the first part of Daniel Defoe's The Adventures of Robinson Crusoe (Kitāb al-Tuḥfa al-Bustānīya fī'l-Asfār al-Krūzīya), published at the American press in Beirut in 1861.[2] Bernadin de Saint-Pierre's Paul et Virginie was translated again by Salīm Sa^{c}b as Riwāyat Būl wa-Firjinī; a second edition appeared in 1864.[3] The year 1865 saw the publication in Beirut of Mikhā'īl Fakhr's translation from Italian of Adelaide Brunswick (Qiṣṣat al-Amīra ^{c}Adilayda Brūnsfīk al-Inklīzīya).[4] Eugene Sue's Mathilde (Matīlda) was translated by Sāmī al-Qusayrī. Several works by the German writer, Joseph Christoph von Schmid (1768-1854), were translated, Das Karthäuserkloster (Qiṣṣat al-Akhawayn, 1865),[5] Die Nachtigall (Qiṣṣat al-Hazār, 1866),

1. This translation is discussed in Altman, op. cit., pp.197-204.

2. Khoury, R.G., Bibliographie raisonée des traductions publiées au Liban à partir des langues étrangères de 1840 jusqu'aux environs de 1905, Doc. d'Université, (Paris, 1966), p.97.

3. H.A., no.346, 1 December, 1864, p.3.

4. Ibid., no.360, 9 March, 1865, p.3.

5. Khoury, op. cit., p.99.

Genevieve (Kitāb Riwāyat Jinifyāf, 1866),[1] and Kurze Erzahlungen (Kitab Mi'at Ḥikāya Qaṣīra, 1866).[2] Salīm Sa^{c}b also translated Dumas' Le Comte de Monte Cristo (Riwāyat al-Amīr Jazīrat dī Monte Cristo, 1866).[3] Jirjis Zuwayn and Muḥammad al-Masābkī had translated Bonaventure Giraudeau's Histoires et Paraboles (Kitāb Laṭā'if al-Aqwāl fī'l-Qiṣaṣ wa'l-Amthāl, 1867).[4]

This was a random selection of translated material hardly representative of the leading French writers of the epoch, Balzac, Stendhal, George Sand, Hugo, Zola, Daudet, Fromentin, etc. French was the first foreign language in Syria and Egypt, so most of the translations are from that language. Of the authors translated, Dumas Père (1802-1870) was one of the most popular French authors of the 19th century; his popularity stemming from the ingenious intrigue and the verve of his works, though he is not a writer of indisputable literary merit. Eugene Sue (1804-1857) like Dumas was an immensely popular writer dealing with the sensational side of urban life; his works are imbued with ideas for social and democratic reform. Von Schmid (1768-1854), the most popular foreign author in Syria according to the number of works translated, was a Roman Catholic priest and schoolteacher. His books, written mostly for children, and the popular book of the French Jesuit Giraudeau (1697-1774) were no doubt translated for their moral value, and perhaps to provide an alternative to the other less edifying translations. The others, Mme. Charles Reybaud (1803-1871) and François-Joseph Méry (1794-1867), a writer of lively short stories, were minor writers; Mlle. Mars (1777-1847) was a famous actress, and these works were presumably from her Mémoires. The translation of Defoe (1660?-1731) was a unique

1. Khoury, op. cit., p.99.
2. Ibid., p.54.
3. Ibid., p.99.
4. Ibid., p.54. These translations are nearly all listed in Khoury.

translation from English; Butrus al-Bustānī gained his knowledge of English through his long association with the American missionaries in Beirut.

Many of these translated works matched Arab taste. In Arabic literature there were many works of historical fiction, such as the sīra (hagiologies) of the Prophet Muḥammad, the stories of the Prophets (qiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'), the stories of the early inter-Arab conflicts (ayyām al-ᶜarab and the maghāzi), and the folk stories of The Thousand and One Nights; these stories were full of exciting adventures. The rudimentary psychological study of the characters and the melodrama of these French novels also mirrored classical Arabic fictional works.

The editor of Wādī an-Nīl, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, would have seen these translations and must have decided that such works should be made available to Egyptian readers. The first translation to appear under his aegis was Bishāra Effendī Shadīd's version of Dumas' Le Comte de Monte Cristo (Qiṣṣat al-Kūnt dū Muntī Krīstū), published by the Wādī an-Nīl press in Cairo in 1287-1288/1871.[1] Nothing is known of the translator, but his name indicates that he was a Christian. It is also unclear why it was felt necessary to bring out another translation of this work after one had recently appeared in Beirut. The same press[2] also published that year, 1288, a translation of a work by the French playwright, Mario Uchard (1824-1893), Le Marriage de Gertrude (Zawāj Girtrūda aw al-Kawkab al-Munīr fī Ḥubb Ibnat al-Amīr).[3] This translation was by a Syrian, Nakhla Effendī Ṣālih,[4] a translator for the

1. W.M., no.411, 8 June, 1871.

2. Khoury, op. cit., p.100, mistakenly states that it was published in Beirut.

3. W.M., no.425, 26 September, 1871.

4. Nakhla Ṣālih (-1899) was an Armenian Catholic. Kahhāla, vol.13, p.83, describes him as an Egyptian, but since he translated Alexandre Dumas fils' short stories L'Antidote de l'Amour into the Syrian dialect as ad-Diryāq fī Aḥwāl al-ᶜUshshāq (Beirut, 1875), it seems that he was a Syrian. See al-Janna, 5 November, 1875, and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1189.

Egyptian railways. The French version had appeared in 1863. These two stories may have appeared as feuilletons in the paper.

Later that year the paper[1] published as a feuilleton Abū's-Su^{c}ūd's[2] translation of Alain-René Le Sage's (1668-1747) Histoire de Gil Blas de Santillana (Jīl Blās an-Nabīl).[3] The story of this work (first published in three instalments in 1715, 1724 and 1735) is based on Spanish tales. Its picaresque nature would have appealed to Arab readers, since the maqāma tradition was still strong. It tells the story of the education and adventures of a young valet as he moves from one master to another. In the service of a quack, he succeeds in killing most of his patients; from a subsequent employer he masters the art of seduction, but the story ends happily when he settles down to married life.

Būlāq published a translation of an unknown French novel, another adaptation by Nakhla Ṣālih in 1289/1872, a work called Qiṣṣat Fu'ād wa-Rifqa Maḥbūbatuhu (The Story of Fu'ād and his Beloved Rifqa):[4] it may have been brought out thanks to the enlightened attitude of Būlāq's director, Ḥusayn Ḥusnī. The government press brought out what was probably another translated French novel in 1291/1874-75, Bībītā al-Ḥusnā' aw Dhāt al-Yad al-Ḥamrā' (The Beautiful Bibita or the Girl with the Red Hand), a second edition translated from the work of Leon Sazi?[5] by Khālid Effendi Ḥimṣī. Three years later in 1292/

1. Wādī an-Nīl, quoted in al-Jawā'ib, no.542, 27 September, 1871.

2. al-Waṭan, 23 February, 1878.

3. This translation has not been preserved in its entirety. A few pages were published in Ḥamza, Ādāb, vol.1, pp.181-184. Part of the book had been translated into the Algerian dialect as Ḥikāyat Jīl Blās Mata^{c} Sāntiyāna and published in Paris in 1850; this translation was by Mouhammed Roudja ben Haffaf (Ellis, A.G., Catalogue of Arabic Books in the British Museum, vol.1, p.945).

4. al-Janna, 18 November, 1874.

5. It has not been possible to trace the French author's name.

1875 Husayn[1] himself wrote and published at Būlāq a short historical tale set in the period of Hārūn ar-Rashīd, Is^{c}āf al-Is^{c}ād bi-mā Ḥaṣala li-Shābūr al-^{c}Awwād (The Help of Happiness in what Happened to the Lutist Shābūr): this was in the tradition of the Arabic folk stories that were then being published in profusion in Egypt. Būlāq also published that year Husnī's translation from Turkish of some moral tales in the language of animals, ad-Durr an-Nathīr fi'n-Naṣīḥa wa't-Taḥdhīr (~~Similar~~ Scattered Pearls of Advice and Warning).[2]

In 1289/1873 a press in Alexandria, al-Matba^{c}a al-Wataniya, published a translation of part of Jonathan Swift's (1667-1745) Gulliver's Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World, translated by Dimitrī Ef Qustandī Bishāra as Kitāb Bashā'ir al-Khayr fī Asfār Jilbīr[3] (Glad Tidings of Good Things in the Travels of Gulliver (Jilbīr). The satire in Swift's work was probably lost on the Arab readers; just like most modern readers they would have enjoyed it more as a fascinating tale of travels in wonderland. The official gazette described Swift's work as nawādir (anecdotes). Al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī press established in this second city of Egypt brought out in 1874 the first Egyptian translation of a work by Johann Christoph von Schmid taken from a French version. This was Kitāb Maṭāli^{c} ash-Shumūs fī Qiṣṣat al-Wazīr Awstākiyūs[4] (The Risings of the Suns in the Story of the Minister Eustachius) taken from the story Eustachius;[5] as with many such translations the title was replaced by an Arab title in rhymed prose. The translator Antūn Ilyās Effendi al-Ḥamawī[6] may have been a relative of

1. Husayn Husnī (-1886) was of Turkish origin. He was educated at the Polytechnique. See Mubārak, op. cit., vol.2, pp.120-122.

2. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.769.

3. W.M., no.501, 1 April, 1875.

4. Miṣr, no.42, 3 May, 1878; and al-Maḥrūsa, no.328, 30 June, 1881.

5. Graf, op. cit., vol.III, p.285.

6. Antūn al-Ḥamawī was a translator at the Russian Agency and Consulate General in Alexandria in 1876. In 1878 he was a director of Salīm al-Ḥamawī's newspaper, al-Iskandarīya.

the owner of the press, the Syrian Salīm al-Ḥamawī, and perhaps this story appeared as a feuilleton in the newspaper al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī.

Mikhā'īl Effendi ᶜAbd as-Sayyid, an English teacher at Madrasat al-Amīrkān al-Miṣrīya (the American School in Egypt) translated an English novel, probably the first English work of literature translated into Arabic in Egypt. The story, Salwat al-Waḥīd fī Qiṣṣat Farīd (The Consolation of the Lonely in the Story of Farīd), appeared as a feuilleton in seventeen issues of the Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya magazine. Mikhā'īl makes no reference to the original title nor the name of the author. The novel was never completed, the magazine promised that "the rest is to follow" (baqiya ta'tī), but it did not. It was fairly common for the magazine to end its serials in this way. This "strange tale" (rīwāya gharība), this "wonderful true story" (qiṣṣa haqīqīya ᶜajība) was translated "because it contained maxims and happy outcomes" (tawfīqāt). It was printed on the orders of the politician Riyāḍ Pasha.[1]

The story, relatively unchanged by its translator, recounts what happens to Shafīqa on the death of her husband, ᶜAbd Allāh. Shafīqa and ᶜAbd Allāh live in reduced circumstances resulting from the bankruptcy of ᶜAbd Allāh's brother. In the first few chapters the scene is set in a long dialogue between ᶜAbd Allāh and his wife. As a result of going to save his employer's property, ᶜAbd Allāh contracts some pulmonary disease and dies a few days later. Shafīqa then takes her fourteen year old son, Farīd by ship to seek the help of his rich uncle ᶜUbayd. En route the gullible Farīd is tricked into forging a signature, which leads to his imprisonment in Hamburg, their destination. The real criminal, Salāma, the nephew of the ship's captain, is discovered, and Farīd is released from prison. Farīd and his mother finally

1. R.M., y.5, no.2, end Muharram, 1291 (19 March, 1874), p.21.

find their way to ᶜUbayd, who after much persuasion offers Farīd a job. ᶜUbayd still does not believe their story, and awaits documentary proof that they are his relatives.

Because it is almost a direct translation, it more closely resembles a modern piece of fiction than anything else that appeared in the magazine. The arabisation is nonsensical but has little effect on the story. Since it is plainly set in Europe, giving the characters Arab names serves no purpose except to make it more palatable to the readers. Mikhā'īl, a Copt, even keeps Christian references in the story referring to the protection offered by the church of Saint Michael and its patron saint. The only Arabic feature of the story are the customary quotations from Arabic poetry, the Qur'ān and proverbs.

Some chapters begin with a three-penny novel synopsis of the contents, no doubt an idea borrowed from the original work:-

> The skeptical owner of the inn, the illness of the boy, his adventure, investigation by a police officer, the hidden dirhams, the anguish of Farīd's mother and trust in God in a difficult situation, a summons to the court.[1]

Developments not apparent from the story are explained in parentheses, again probably a feature of the English work. As with the characters in Sālih Madjī's maqāmas, the mother constantly calls on God for guidance; God is omnipresent in most of this literature. When Farīd is ill, "she begs God to protect him, preserve him, guide him to the true path, and show him the course which God likes".

In his introduction, Mikhā'īl undertook to "adhere to a

1. R.M., y.5, no.12, end Jumādā II, 1291 (15 August, 1874), p.15.

simple style (ta^{c} bīr), so that it would be understood by all people (al-khāṣṣ wa'l-^{c}āmm)".[1] He kept to this promise and thus produced one of the first simple prose translations of a foreign literary work. The dialogue is inserted smoothly into the text and is not given as a dramatic appendage as it was in some translations. There are occasional lines in saj^{c} but these are not obtrusive. A few foreign words are used such as firma (signature), qubṭān (captain), and uqiyānūs (ocean), and these may reflect the fact that such words were gaining currency in the Egyptian colloquial.

When Muḥammad al-Unsī published the newspaper Rawḍat al-Akhbār,[2] the successor to Wādī an-Nīl, he republished in February 1875 his father ^{c}Abd Allāh Abū's-Su^{c}ūd's translation of Gil Blas, which he described as a qiṣṣa mukhtara^{c}a wa-ḥikāya (a fictitious story and tale). This version was introduced with a potted biography of the French author taken from Paul Biyīt's? (Pūl Biyīt) Mu^{c}jam Mashāhīr ar-Rijāl wa'l-Buldān. This was one of the earliest articles in the Arabic press describing a European author and his works. ^{c}Abd Allāh Abū's-Su^{c}ūd "arabised" the translation, making changes to the dialogue and other features of the story. The paper explained to its readers what a feuilleton was, how newspapers and magazines in Europe usually printed feuilletons (wurayqāt) as a supplement at the foot of the paper in a form resembling the pages of a book. In these they published "a historical or geographical story (qiṣṣa), such as the humorous stories with a serious import like the story of ^{c}Antara b. Shaddād, and the like. Perhaps they would include in them copies of the texts (maḥāḍir) of plays (tiyātrāt), meaning public plays (malā^{c}ib), or the minutes of scientific meetings, or of the courts, or a useful scientific or political treatise". This "original story",

1. R.M., y.5, no.2, end Muharram, 1291 (19 March, 1874), p.21.

2. The issues of this paper, seen by Ahmad and Hamza, are now missing from Dār al-Kutub.

according to the paper, was taken from moral works, intending to arouse an interest in virtue and awaken an aversion to sin.[1] The moral value of a literary work whether a play or a story was of paramount importance to writers of this period, thus readers could be reassured that such translations were not intended for mere entertainment, nor would they be likely to corrupt the minds.

Soon after its appearance al-Ahrām began publishing a serial at the foot of its last two pages. This story, Riwāyat ash-Shābb al-Mukhādi^{c}[2] (The Story of the Young Imposter) was a translation by Niqūlā Ḥamwīs, a dragoman at the Greek Consulate in Alexandria.[3] This translation will be analysed in detail since it is representative of the adaptations of European literature that were being made.

There are two parallel stories. Angelo Bātī (Anjilū) meets and falls for a girl, Hanna Conti (Ḥanna Kūntī) in Switzerland. She is rich and her father refuses to let them marry. They elope, but after three months Angelo deserts her and goes to America. A baby daughter, Aida, is born, whom Ḥanna is forced from poverty to leave with Maria, her husband's aunt. Ḥanna has to beg to survive. She meets Giacomo Luciano (Jākamū Lūsiyānū) who takes her in, and eventually marries her; the couple have a daughter. The writer skips between this and a later story set in 1869 in Florence. In the second story Prince (Amīr) George (Jūrj) wants to marry a girl called Aida (Ayda), whom he met in the countryside. He proposes to her, but his father insists that he marry the daughter of a deceased rich man. A strange girl comes to him and advises

1. Ḥamza, Ādāb, op. cit., vol.1, pp.178-184; and Rawḍat al-Akhbār, y.2, no.4, 28 February, 1875, quoted in Aḥmad, op. cit., pp.185-186.

2. al-Ahrām, no.6, 9 September, 1876 f.

3. Apart from the fact that he was no doubt a Christian nothing is known about this translator.

him not to marry Aida; this girl is Aida's step-sister, though the girl does not know this. To cut a long story short, some time later George bumps into Angelo, the young impostor of the title, but now considerably older. Angelo has spent his life in robbery and murder; in America he had a love affair with a woman called Catherine. Angelo repents his life of crime, and the local ruler, Caesar (Qaysar) forgives him. Prince George marries Aida; the sister also gets married, and they all live happily ever after as one family, until death, "the destroyer of pleasures" came to them.

These early novels and translations can be criticised for failing to describe the social, historical and psychological environment of their subjects. There is little causal connection between events, and many chance occurrences. In this story the different characters often meet by chance, with no explanation of how this happens; Prince George meets Angelo in this manner. The author sometimes intrudes himself to enable the scene to be suddenly changed with remarks such as "now let us leave this situation and go on to set forth...", or "now it is proper for us to make clear to the reader", or "and after that let us go back to his beloved Aida who we left in the garden..." An obscure interjection is the repeated phrase "yes" (ayy na^{c} am), which suddenly appears in the middle of a sentence; this is no doubt meant to be the comment of the storyteller (rāwī) as if the tale were being told in a café.

In such stories the author often intervened to explain the inner motivation of the characters, to criticize the society's defects, to attack the work's negative characters, to praise the upright heroes, or to preach moral behaviour discouraging others from taking steps which might lead to disaster.[1] Here George clearly represents good, and Angelo evil. The early

1. Moreh, Shmuel, "An outline of the Development of Modern Arabic Literature", Oriente Moderno, January-February, 1973, vol.55, p.21.

Arabic novels often end with a moral lesson. Angelo towards the end of this story repents to God of his evil practices:-

> Death is nigh, and I will shortly stand up before the just religion. Alas I am wretched, how can I forget with a face blackened by sins and wrongdoings.

Such stories were seen by their authors to have a clear didactic role.

The translators and authors of this period described feelings in an exaggerated melodramatic way, with bitter tears, heartbreaking sighs, faintings, often depicted in naive, ridiculous terms.[1] Some of this exaggeration derives from the classical tradition in Arabic literature, in which authors employed all their rhetorical skills in descriptions. Such description is used when Prince George first meets Aida in a garden, which resembled paradise (janna), full of beautiful trees, the birds were singing, the pigeons cooing in the branches, and the nightingales "dancing"; it was "as if varieties of pearls and sapphires were spread on the emeralds". Writers were hidebound by the accepted metaphors found in classical poetry and prose. When Prince George is first approached by Aida's sister, we are told that "she was frightened of him, with the timidness of a gazelle".

Such translations did bring many contemporary moral issues to the Arab reader in a contemporary setting, though not really problems that then faced Arab society. Taboo subjects such as extra-marital love affairs, elopement, desertion, fatherless and abandoned children are all raised in this story. The foreign setting gave writers the licence to handle these issues without offending local mores.

1. Moreh, op. cit.

The work is essentially an adaptation. Such translations were usually treated in this way to make them acceptable to the Arab reader. The translators did not adhere to the original text; the stories were often abridged or transformed by complete arabisation. Often, as in this case, the name of the original author was not given, nor the title. Niqūlā Ḥamwīs does not even acknowledge that it is a translation. He keeps most of the original names, arabising one or two, such as the girl's name Ḥanna or the title of the Italian ruler, Qaysar (Caesar), hardly a title held in the nineteenth century. These translations became a mixture of European scenes with the addition of Qur'ānic quotations, Arab proverbs and verse. Niqūlā Ḥamwīs quotes several pieces of poetry, even in dialogue, but as the story advances the amount of poetry decreases no doubt because he realised that it interrupted the flow of the story. The dialogues are presented unnaturally as if quoting the text of a play:-

> The Boy:- How do you know that, madame? Who are you and who are your relatives?
> The Girl:- I know everything and I confirm that you are in love.
> The Boy:- How's that?...

Apart from poetry many features of the Arabic narrative genre are introduced; the story begins ḥakā man rawā ("the one who told the story related"). Rhymed prose is occasionally used. These adaptations and additions were made no doubt to make the story attractive to readers of the popular tales (qiṣaṣ sha^{c}bīya) or the tales of the Thousand and One Nights. Though the story is in a semi-classical language, the conversations are usually in classical Arabic (fuṣḥa), making them very artificial; such dialogues are often utilised to artificially impart background information. Sometimes the text itself employs a more classical turn of phrase, such as "akhadhat bi-majāmi^{c} fu'ādihi wa-fatanathu bi-mahāsinihā wa-khasā'ilihā" (she captured his heart completely and captivated him with her merits and virtues).

Dr. Muḥammad Fu'ād Najm has commented that these translations were made in a hurry to meet the demand of the newspapers and magazines, so that the translators did not have time to correct their translations.[1] Many of the translators were inexperienced at literary translations, they often only ever made one translation of a literary work. No one was employed as a full-time translator by the press, even many of the journalists themselves pursued other professions. The translators tended to abandon saj^{c} in favour of a simpler form of Arabic; this was encouraged by the fact that the original French works were not written in a highly rhetorical style. It is clear that Niqūlā Ḥamwīs like many of his fellow translators did not know Arabic well and this is apparent in the pallid style of the translation. He and other translators may also have had an inadequate knowledge of French. Translators made many grammatical and lexical mistakes, because they were not familiar with the rules of their own language. Niqūlā Ḥamwīs uses the wrong plural of rafīq (arfāq instead of rifāq), translates "his extreme poverty" as "faqruhu al-aqṣā" instead of "faqruhu al-mudqi^{c} ", writes "bi'l-iṭlāq" instead of "^{c}alā'l-iṭlāq". He also uses many foreign words that were coming into vogue, such as lūkanda for hotel, būṣta for post office, etc.

Al-Ahrām published other translations. In 1881 it began a serial of Alexandre Dumas' Les Deux Diane, called Riwāyat al-Kūnt dī Mūnghūmīrī[2] (The Tale of Count Montgomery), translated from French by Qaysar Zaynīya. Later that year it began serialising another novel Riwāyat ^{c}Izzat an-Nafs (Self-Respect) from a French story by Eugene Sue,[3] translated by

1. Najm, Muḥammad Yūsuf, al-Qiṣṣa fi'l-Adab al-^{c}Arabī al-Ḥadīth, 1870-1914, (Beirut, 1966), p.83.

2. al-Ahrām, no.1003, 3 January, 1881 f. Later that year it was published in a separate edition.

3. al-Ahrām, no.1160, 23 July, 1881 f.

Dimitrī Effendi Khlāṭ from Tripoli in Syria. The sister paper of al-Ahrām, Ṣadā al-Ahrām also had feuilletons. This paper promised its readers a literary love story (ḥikāya) which it was to carry in a column on page three of the paper. It published Alexandre Dumas' Būlīn aw Nazāhat al-Ḥubb (Pauline or the Purity of Love), no doubt the story of Pauline et Pascal Bruno, already translated in Beirut. It was rendered into Arabic by Qusṭanṭīn Qiṭṭa,[1] a translator at the Governorate of Alexandria.[2]

Other Syrian journalists gave encouragement to these translations. The Syrian-owned Miṣr newspaper set aside four columns at the foot of its first two pages for a serial. It prefaced its first serial with an introduction to this new genre, the novel (rūmān). It explained that Europeans never began a story at the beginning, but usually chose a strange event as a starting point, either because they considered this a skilful move or because they were imitating Greek or Latin poetry. Another characteristic of this genre, it informed its readers, was that it made a serious point through humour and gave advice through descriptions of love. The first translation it published was by its editor Adīb Isḥāq, al-Intiqām (Vengeance) from Pierre Zaccone's (1817-1895) La Cellule no.7;[3] this French author was well-known for his serialised novels and his detective stories. The paper admitted it was not a literal translation because this would not accord with taste.[4] It is claimed that this translation was the first to have an

1. He had made an abridged translation from French of Yūsuf wa-Zawjatuh Maryam (Joseph and His Wife Mary), published in al-Jinān magazine in 1871, thus he may well have been from Syria.

2. Ṣadā al-Ahrām, no.478, 2 September, 1878 f.

3. Miṣr, no.31, 15 February, 1878 f. The paper's press published it separately later that year: it was republished in 1880 by Maṭbaᶜ at al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd. H. Pérès ("Le Roman, le conte et la nouvelle dans la littérature arabe moderne", Annales de l'Institut des Études Orientales, vol.3 [1937], p.267) states that it was translated by Adīb Isḥāq and his co-editor Salīm an-Naqqāsh but the paper only gives Adīb as the translator. In his youth Adīb Isḥāq had made a translation of Comtesse Dash's La Belle Parisienne, which was published as Qiṣṣat al-Bārīsīya al-Ḥasnā' in Beirut in 1884.

4. Misr, no.35, 15 March, 1878.

impact on the literate public in Egypt.[1]

Very few original novels appeared in Egypt in this period. The availability of translations and the increasing popularity of French works themselves amongst the élite may have deterred creative efforts. The al-Ahrām newspaper complained that the public did not respond to new works. The Maqāmāt al-Mubtakar (The Maqāmas on Creation) or Maqāmāt al-Awhām fi'l-Āmāl wa'l-Aḥkām (Maqāmāt on Delusion in (one's) Hopes and Judgements) by the Syrian Amīn Shumayyil, published in Beirut in 1867, had not sold many copies. Such public response the paper noted "was the main reason that intellectuals of the East were incapable of making efforts to enrich their language for (by writing books) they not only create work for themselves, they also have to bear the expenses of publication without compensation, leaving those books to the mercy of rats and book-worms". The paper stressed that readers should give more encouragement to contemporary Arabic literature, instead of becoming absorbed in foreign languages.[2]

The Syrian immigrant Niqūlā Effendi Tūmā informed al-Ahrām that he had begun to write a novel (riwāya) called Zinūbā (Zenobia) about her relationship with her lover Kāstīlārī (Castelari) who came from a Spanish family. The story was set in Spain and from the title appears to deal with a love affair between a Muslim and a Christian. The paper was told that the story would deal with ethics (ādāb) and the legal problems facing the two lovers. Niqūlā intended to present the work to Muhammad Qadrī Pasha, the Minister of Justice, when it was completed;[3] it appears that it was never finished.

1. Pérès, op. cit., p.367.

2. al-Ahrām, no.27, 2 February, 1877.

3. Ibid., no.1251, 17 November, 1881.

The only prolonged piece of original fiction to appear in the period under review was the book, ᶜAlam ad-Dīn by ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak,[1] then Minister of Public Works. The first volume appeared in 1882, and the second of its four large volumes appeared that June. It was printed on the press of al-Maḥrūsa newspaper in Alexandria, publication being paid for by ᶜAlī Mubārak himself. As was the custom advertisements appeared in the press several months before its publication inviting readers to subscribe for copies.[2] In the summer of 1881 it was offered at ten francs per volume, with the price rising to fifteen francs after September; such schemes were common to encourage readers and no doubt to ease the costs of publication. There seem to also have been delays in printing. It was hoped to finish printing within six to eight months,[3] but this goal was not achieved. The book was warmly received by the Egyptian press, and many papers encouraged subscriptions.[4]

It can hardly be described as a novel. A better description would be a fictional encyclopedia. The author himself saw the story as a sugar coating for the mass of information on the arts and sciences that he wanted to impart to the reader. The story concerns a young Egyptian Azharite, ᶜAlam ad-Dīn, who is asked to help a British orientalist edit the great classical dictionary, Lisān al-ᶜArab. ᶜAlam ad-Dīn accompanies this orientalist on his travels to France. The story

1. ᶜAlī Mubārak (1823/1824-1893) studied at the state schools and then at the School of Military Engineering in Metz. He held a number of government posts, and from the 1860s various ministerial positions. He wrote some literary maqāmāt, Sunūḥ al-Afkār (Ideas Come to One's Mind), still in manuscript form in al-Azhar Library (al-Maktaba al-Azharīya, vol.5, p.145). See Dykstra, Darrel Ivan, A Biographical Study in Egyptian Modernisation: ᶜAlī Mubarak (1823/24-1893), Ph.D., University of Michigan, 1977.

2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.318, 13 June, 1881; and no.361, mid-August, 1881.

3. al-Muqtaṭaf, y.6, no.3 (August, 1881), p.191.

4. al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, no.70, 15 June, 1881; at-Ṭā'if, no.31, 12 February, 1882; and al-Mir'āt ash-Sharq, no.2, 10 April, 1882.

of ᶜAlam ad-Dīn is interspersed with chapters providing information on the wonders of nature and the progress of western civilisation. The work is divided into 125 musāmaras (conversations). In the first volume there are musāmaras on marriage, the railways, the sea, volcanoes, geography, history, and so on; the second covers coffee, hashish, sugar, pearls, bees, ants, elephants, Arabs in the Jāhilīya, the Sudan, etc. As in the fiction of ᶜAbd Allāh Nadīm, ᶜAlī Mubārak condemns the vices of the Egyptians, such as narcotics and tobacco. Influenced by developments in prose writing, it was written in a simple journalistic style.[1]

The al-Maḥrūsa press also published in 1882 a historical novel by Najīb Gharghūr,[2] a young Syrian resident of Kafr ash-Shaykh, where he was wakīl (agent) of the Post Office; this was Riwayat Gharā'ib at-Tadwīn[3] (The Story of the Oddities of Writing).

During the summer of 1882 ᶜAbd Allāh Nadīm's newspaper aṭ-Ṭā'if began publishing a feuilleton by the Syrian Salīm Effendi al-Bustānī; this short story, Sāmiya,[4] was one of the original stories published in Salīm al-Bustānī's Beirut magazine al-Jinān. Al-Jinān started to publish this story in 1882 but did not complete it until 1884. It tells the story of a girl who opposes her parents and refuses to accept an arranged marriage. One of the characters Fā'iz is influenced by socialist principles and calls for violent revolt to create a socialist society.[5] It may have been the revolutionary nature of the

1. See Dykstra, op. cit., pp.402-416.

2. Najīb Gharghūr (1863-1910) worked as a provincial correspondent for most of the Syrian newspapers in Egypt. He later translated a number of novels from French. See Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.8, p.12; and Gharghūr, op. cit., p.5.

3. Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, Fihris al-Kutub al-ᶜArabīya al-Mawjūda bi-Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya, (Cairo), vol.4, p.71.

4. The date of publication of this serial is not known as only a scrap of this issue of aṭ-Ṭā'if remains.

5. Najm, al-Qiṣṣa, pp.72-76.

story that induced ᶜAbd Allāh Nadīm to publish it in the midst of that summer's upheavals. Al-Jinān magazine had been founded in Beirut in January, 1870. It published nearly thirty original and translated novels and short stories by Salīm al-Bustānī[1] (1848-1884), the eldest son of Butrus al-Bustānī; Salīm was editor of the magazine and wrote most of the articles as well. Salīm al-Bustānī must be considered the first major writer of fiction in modern Arabic prose.

Stories appeared in nearly every issue; al-Jinān was the first magazine to devote a section to such stories. Some of these stories took place in the contemporary Middle East, others dealt with Arab history, but most like the stories in the Egyptian press were set in Europe. The magazine printed stories by other writers including one in saj ᶜ by Yasā ᶜAbd ash-Shadīd, a translator at the Cairo governorate, Bismika allāhumma - Ḥikāya Malik Jalīl wa-Liṣṣ Nabīl (In Your Name, O God - The Story of an Exalted King and a Noble Thief).[2]

Another new genre introduced by the press was the muḥāwarāt[3] (dramatical reportages), similar to the structure of the dialogues in the translated novels. These muḥāwaras first appeared in Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya; in its fifth year there is a muḥāwara with three characters, addressed to the wakīl al-Madāris.[4] This form of comic-strip dialogue without pictures was exploited to the full by James Sanua in his satirical newspaper, Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā'; and remained an important ingredient in his papers after he moved to Paris.

1. Najm, al-Qiṣṣa, op. cit., pp.41-77. Bustānī's stories are analysed in Georgescu, Constantin I., A Forgotten Pioneer of the Lebanese 'Nahdah': Salīm al-Bustānī (1848-1884), Ph.D., New York University, 1978.

2. al-Jinān, y.7, no.21, 31 October, 1876.

3. The issues containing these muḥāwaras were not available for consultation in Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣrīya and Ibrāhīm ᶜAbduh's microfilm of Sanua's manuscript copy has disappeared from Cairo University Library.

4. R.M., y.5, no.15, 15 Shaᶜbān, 1291 (28 September, 1874), pp.8-10.

Apart from the dialogues, this paper published jokes, amusing stories (fukāhāt) and dialect poetry (azjāl).

These dialogues may have been first written by Sanua to offer the theatre-going public more of his drama in print after his theatrical activity had been proscribed. Sanua was able to extend his dramatic skills into prose writing. His limited command of classical Arabic may have been another reason why he chose to write these dialogues. He also had the opportunity to be much more explicit in his social and political criticism than he had ever been in his plays. Written as they were in colloquial they gave him the opportunity to communicate with as broad an audience as he had in his theatre; less literate members of the public could quickly understand the issues raised. In these muḥāwaras the characters invariably discuss a current social or political problem, sometimes commenting on an actual event.

In the first issue there were two dialogues, one between Abū Khalīl and Abū Nazzāra on good relations between foreigners and Egyptians, and another between Abū Nazzāra and Joseph Ramlé (Yūsuf Ramlih), a merchant from Alexandria in the Cafe des Colonies (Kūlūnī) at Cairo.[1] In the fourth issue there is another dialogue[2] entitled al-Qirdātī-Luʿba Tiyātrīya Ḥaṣalat fī Ayyām al-Ghuzz - 1204 (The Monkey Man - a Theatrical Play that Took Place in the Days of the Oghuz - 1204/1789-1790). Sanua was careful to set many of these dialogues in the Mamluk period, so that he could not be accused of criticising Ismāʿīl's government or the Khedivial family; it was left to the readers to draw their own conclusions from the stories, which were patently contemporary

1. Ahmad, op. cit., pp.218-219.

2. ʿAbduh (Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., pp.48-50) has published the text of this taken from a manuscript version of Abū Naẓẓara Zarqaʾ, no.4, 14 Rabīʿ II, 1295 (17 April, 1878).

social criticism.

This dialogue is between the Turkish Sanjaq Dabbūs Ughlū and Sa^{c}d al-Qirdātī with occasional interjections by the mu^{c}āwin (assistant) and the local Shaykh, Shaykh al-Ḥāra. It tells the story of Sa^{c}d, who is encouraged by another Turk, the mu^{c}āwin Baqlāwah Aghā, to steal in order to pay his taxes. He ends up by stealing the mu^{c}āwin's own donkey, and is brought before the Sanjaq for punishment. After hearing the story the Sanjaq judges in his favour, deciding to chop off the mu^{c}āwin's head. The Sanjaq gives Sa^{c}d some money, which he chooses to spend on hashish. The Shaykh al-Ḥāra (Shaykh of the Quarter) is a typical subservient local official; he gives the Sanjaq the grandest of titles, amīr al-mu'minīn (prince of the believers) a title usually reserved for the Sultan; currying favour he addresses him as yā asad ("o lion"). This fourth issue also has other dialogues between Abū Khalīl and Abū Nazzāra, and between Abū Nazzāra and as-Ṣadafjī.[1]

The tax system is attacked again in the next issue in a dialogue called Ḥukm Qarāqūsh[2] (The Rule of Qarāqūsh) set in 1201/1786-1787. The characters are the Sanjaq Ẓālim Ūghlū, Tartūr Aghā al-Qawwās (the kavass) and Abū Nafūsa the Shaykh al-Balad (the village Shaykh). The Shaykh complains of the heavy taxes that "have destroyed us ... our land, and put us to shame for ever".[3] In a dialogue between Abū Khalīl and Abū Nazzāra on the role of the Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā' magazine in Egyptian society, Abū Khalīl remarks on the difference between the days of the Oghuz and the equality and

1. ^{c}Abduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, op. cit., p.52, from Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā', no.4, 14 Rabī^{c} II, 1295 (17 April, 1878).

2. After the Mamluk Bahā' ad-Dīn Qarāqūsh, chamberlain of Saladin, whose name became a by-word for stupidity.

3. ^{c}Abduh, op. cit., p.51 from Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā', no.5, 21 Rabī^{c} II, 1295 (24 April, 1878).

justice under the present ruler, Ismā^{c}īl, who loves his subjects like his own children. Abū Nazzāra retorts, "Some of the Princes don't try to understand this matter, but God will reveal the truth".[1]

There were rumours that Ismā^{c}īl was murdering those acquaintances that had annoyed him by inviting them to the palace, and giving them poisoned coffee. The victims would go home and die later, leaving their families puzzled as to the reason for their death. In a muḥāwara between Abū'sh-Shukr, Abū'l-^{c}Ayn, Khallāṭ and Abū Nazzāra, Sanua fearlessly raised this issue. Abū Nazzāra points out to his friends that he does not like coffee, for whoever drinks it "becomes tired".[2]

In the early issues Sanua had been careful not to mention the Khedive's name, directing his barbs against his officials. In the tenth issue he came out into the open:-

> Why are you keeping quiet about him. Complain about him. Present petitions about him to Shaykh at-Tumman (the Caliph), who's above him and can dismiss him.[3]

It was a dialogue between Joseph Ramlé and Abū Nazzāra in this same issue that led to the suppression of the paper. The Khedive had made undertakings to his creditors to cease his secret exactions from the peasants, but his agents carried on extorting money by force. These agents were spreading rumours that it was the Christians who were compelling the Khedive to exhaust all the resources of the country to satisfy the demands of the creditors. Abū Nazzāra exposed this lie in

1. ^{c}Abduh, Abū Nazzāra, op. cit., pp.52-53, from Abū Nazzāra Zarqā', no.6, 25 Rabī^{c} II, 1295(28 April, 1878).

2. Ibid, p.53, from Abū Nazzāra Zarqā', no.7, end Rabī^{c} II, 1295 (2 May, 1878).

3. Ibid., p.55, from Abū Nazzāra Zarqā', no.10, 7 Jumādā I, 1295 (9 May, 1878).

a dialogue,[1] showing

> the Arabs that it was the Europeans ... who were endeavouring to restrain the rapacity of the Khedivial family, to emancipate the Fellaheen from the extortions of the moudirs and sheikhs, and who declared that if the country were honestly dealt by, it could easily pay all its liabilities and become prosperous and happy once again.[2]

There were further dialogues between Abū Khalīl and Abū Naddāra in issue ten,[3] and issue twelve; in the latter issue the dialogue is concerned with how Sanua had tirelessly carried on publishing the paper after it had been banned, and before this ruling was enforced.[4] In the last issue there is a dialogue between a foreigner, Mr. Paul (Būl) and an Egyptian.

Sanua had avoided criticising Ismā^{c}īl in the first issues, instead he directed his attacks on the Turkish officials who were exploiting the peasants. Though set in the previous century it was clear that he was depicting oppression under Ismā^{c}īl's rule. Sa^{c}d in the dialogue in the fourth issue complains that since the Turks had ruled the country happiness (sa'd) had gone. These dialogues clearly show the extent of corruption in Egypt, and how severe the multitude of taxes were on the peasants. This paper was breaking new ground with such social satire, even the political press was rarely as explicit in its comments. In this way Egyptian literature for the first time came face to face with the stark reality of Egyptian life. Sanua was at first always cautious not to overstep the limits, ending each dialogue with an invocation:-

O God of the two worlds, protect the ruler of Egypt

1. Text in Appendix, from Jerrold, op. cit., pp.225-231.
2. Jerrold, op. cit., pp.220-221.
3. Ahmad, op. cit., pp.226-227.
4. Ibid., p.217, from Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā', no.12, 10 Jumada I, 1295 (12 May, 1878).

> because he loves your servants and is endeavouring to make them happy.[1]

These muḥāwaras are highly amusing, and may owe something to the comedy of karagöz, where taxation was also a major theme. Sa^{c}d is as devious as the witty rogue in the maqāmas; he manages to keep some money for himself after paying the mu^{c}āwin with the proceeds of the stolen donkey. Many of the names that Sanua gives to his characters have an amusing connotation, several connected with food; baqlāwa is a kind of Turkish ~~delight~~ sweetmeat, tumman means rice, tartūr is a weak individual, and ẓālim, meaning oppressor, is an apposite name for the Sanjaq. Many of these characters reoccur in later dialogues published in his papers in Paris; Sanua employed these dialogues for many decades in his satirical papers. The Shaykh al-Ḥāra eventually came to stand for Isma^{c}īl, thus concealing his attacks on him.

Through such a medium, Sanua was able to communicate a direct social message to his readers. He employed a very simple language; many of the characters speaking other regional dialects or pure Egyptian colloquial depending on their origins and social status. He uses Egyptian dialect with words such as dhī (this), ^{c}amilt ayh (what did you do?), mush (not), illī (alladhī), etc. The Syrian speaks in his own dialect, and the Turkish characters use their own form of broken Arabic; kūlū (for qūlū), shayk (shaykh), hasal (ḥaṣal), himār (ḥimār), etc. Sa^{c}d makes fun of this broken Arabic and attempts to talk what he believes to be Turkish, by adding the suffix lū to every other word:-

> The hangman (Jallādatlū Afandī) will chop the head (rasatlū) off my shoulders (kitāfatlū).

1. ^{c}Abduh, Abū Naẓẓāra, p.53.

This corrupt speech of the peasants and the rulers was also mocking the poor education of these people, and the lack of rapport between the Turkish ruling class and their subjects; in contrast Abū Nazzāra (Sanua himself) talks in classical Arabic. The language of these dialogues was at the other end of the spectrum in comparison to the contrived rhetorical language used in many of the stories in Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya.

These dramatic dialogues were also used by ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm in his magazine, at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt, founded in 1881. The magazine was described as a literary (adabīya) newspaper, publishing instructive maxims, literature, homilies, useful information and witticisms. Like its forerunner Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā', most of its contents were fictional and satirical. Under "Local News" (Akhbār Dākhilīya) come items such as a description of how a whore physically attacked a poor man because he refused her trade, and then pretended that the innocent man was the aggressor.[1] ᶜAbd Allāh used his magazine to attack the vices prevalent amongst the population, rather than concentrating, as Sanua did, on relations between the government and the people. He uses every opportunity to condemn the bars (bīrra) that had opened in the country, and the evils of an older vice, drug addiction.[2]

The magazine contained a number of tales, which are considered by some as embryonic short stories,[3] though it is admitted that ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm's purpose was primarily didactic rather than entertainment. The negative effects of

1. at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt, p.166.

2. A translation of a satirical visitors' guide he wrote to the bars of the provincial town of Mīt Ghamr is included in Appendix E.

3. Some of these stories are discussed in Sabry Hafez Abdel-Dayem, The Rise and Development of the Egyptian Short Story (1881-1970), (London University, Ph.D., July, 1979), pp.38-39, 44-46; and in ᶜAbbās Khiḍr, al-Qiṣṣa al-Qaṣīra fī Miṣr-mundhu Nash'atihā ḥattā Sanat 1930, (Cairo, 1966), pp.31-37.

Europeanisation is a recurrent theme in these stories. In the first issue there is a story called ᶜArabī Tafarnaj[1] (A Europeanised Arab). It tells the story of a boy from a poor peasant background, who completes his education in Europe. He returns to Egypt alienated from his own society. The story revolves around a short dialogue between the boy, Ziᶜayt, and his father Muᶜīt on his return to Alexandria from Europe. Ziᶜayt has forgotten his own language and speaks a mixture of Arabic and French, borrowing words such as būn arrīvī (bon arrivée), nū (non), ūnyūn (oignon), very much like the characters in one of Sanua's plays.

The father consults a sage (nabīh), who gives him advice. This nabīh occurs in several of the stories, giving ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm the chance through this persona to present his own views to the reader. The nabīh's intrusions are not always necessary, for the stories themselves clearly point to the moral. The sage explains to the father that the boy had gone to Europe without understanding the rights (huqūq) of his homeland, without sufficient knowledge of his own language, and without being conscious of the value of preserving the customs of the country. Though he had studied science in Europe, he would not be of benefit to his people. Here was a clear argument in favour of local schooling; ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm had been involved in establishing the school of al-Jamᶜīya al-Khayrīya al-Islāmīya in 1879 in Alexandria.[2]

The drawbacks of contacts with Europeans are condemned in other stories in the first issue. In Majlis Ṭibbī lī-Muṣāb bi'l-Afranjī (A Medical Council for Someone Affected with Syphilis), the story is told of a healthy young man, who is corrupted by a rake, who claims to be a pious and learned man. This rogue brings beautiful girls, and the handsome

1. at-Tankīt, no.1, 6 June, 1881, pp.7-8.

2. The text was republished in Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.82-83; and Khidr, op. cit., pp.31-32.

young man is affected by syphilis. He now appears jaundiced, his eyes are sunken, and the bones stick out in his face. He is seen by a council of doctors, who advise him that he should stop mixing with foreigners. The story is seen as an allegorical tale of Egypt's indebtedness to foreigners because of Ismāʿīl's profligacy. As a result of this, foreign control had been imposed on Egypt's finances, and two foreigners had been made Cabinet Ministers, the Dual Control, to oversee Egypt's affairs.[1] The young man represents Egypt and the rake (muḍill) foreigners.[2]

Foreign exploitation of Egyptians in the countryside is depicted in the dialogue between a foreign merchant and a peasant, Muḥtāj Jāhil fī Yad Muḥtāl Ṭāmiʿ[3] (An Ignorant Man in Need in the Hands of an Avaricious Crook). The peasant wants to borrow a hundred pounds, but the merchant outsmarts him, in the end only giving him seventy and demanding a hundred and twenty pounds back. The sage condemns the merchant and sanguinely states that the government is going to put an end to such practices.

Blind imitation of foreigners is condemned in another story, Ghaflat at-Taqlīd[4] (The Stupidity of Imitation). A man, described in the story as a "donkey with money" (ḥamīr al-amwāl), builds a house and fills it with furniture. He invites his friends to a huge banquet, and brags to them how much he spent on the house. One of his prize possessions is a bookcase, worth a thousand piastres, with books in it to the value of a hundred pounds. After a short introduction a visiting sage, the nabīh again, expounds at length on the merits of the books that the bookshelf contains. The sage

1. Khidr, op. cit., p.34.
2. The text was republished in Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.88-91.
3. at-Tankīt, no.1, 6 June, 1881; and Nadīm, op. cit., pp.86-88.
4. Ibid., pp.13-15; and Nadīm, op. cit., pp.88-91.

having digressed about the virtues of Arabic literature, the ignorant host replies, "There is no Arab poetry in it and no prose". The sage then goes on about the other possible interests of the host, perhaps it is science, religion, or foreign works that he is fond of; he again extols in detail the advantages of reading such works. The host finally admits that he has no particular preference for books, he merely saw that Shaykh So-and-So, Ḥājj So-and-So, and Prince So-and-So all had a bookcase, covered with a green curtain, with a servant dusting and polishing its glass doors. The host simply wanted to be considered civilised (fī ṣaff al-mutamaddinīn), and to follow the fashion (mawda). The sage curses such ignorance and blind imitation.

ᶜAbd Allāh launched several attacks on drug addiction. One very short anecdote tells of an opium addict who goes to the mosque, but is in such a befuddled state that he neglects to pray with the others.[1] This theme is repeated in Sahrat al-Anṭāᶜ[2] (The Evening at the Bar Tables (Leather Mats). An educated man goes into a club, and sees the occupants in a drugged state. He believes that they are troubled by some tragedy that has befallen the owner of the establishment. The newcomer tries to engage these unfortunates in a conversation about important issues of the moment, why Europe is so advanced, the latest news in the newspaper. Most of the story is a dialogue between the outsider and the owner of the club.

The owner reflects the general apathy in Egypt in his reply. He explains that newspapers are the hobby of the khawājāt (foreigners), "for they are tantamount to a story (ḥikāya) for the amusement of the young", and history books are only read by the ulema, having nothing to offer his friends. The people in the bar do not care if the country goes

1. at-Tankīt, pp.166-167.

2. Ibid., no.1, 6 June, 1881; and Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.83-85.

backward or forward; they are happy to waste their time in idle chatter and smoking opium (kayf).

Not only were foreigners manipulating the less-educated section of the Egyptian population, but the educated native elite were just as culpable. In the story of Afūkātū Jāhil lam Yaḥsun Waḍ^{c} Ismihi wa-Fallāḥ Mughaffal[1] (An Ignorant Advocate Who Could Not Write His Name Well and an Artless Peasant), a peasant seeks the help of an advocate to regain his rightful inheritance usurped by his brother. The advocate pretends to be preoccupied with other matters, and his interest is only aroused by the mention of money. Like the foreign merchant he succeeds in extorting a huge sum from the peasant to fight what he alleges will be a long and protracted case. Further stories are told in other issues, Haff Ṭala^{c} an-Nahār[2] (The Puff at Dawn ~~The Flash of Sunlight~~), Majlis Uns[3] (A Meeting for Entertainment), al-Fallāḥ wa'l-Murābi[4] (The Peasant and the Usurer), adh-Dhi'āb Ḥawl al-Asad (Wolves Around the Lion), and Iyyāki A^{c}nī Yā Nafs fa-Ismā^{c}ī wa-^{c}ī[5] (I Mean You, Soul, so Listen and Pay Attention).

^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm adopts a different approach to Sanua to the social problems of Egypt, and deals with the myriad relations between the Egyptians themselves, rather than the Egyptians and their rulers. He draws attention to the widening breach between the Europeanised Egyptian and those sunk in ignorance, and vice, whether in the form of alcohol, hashish, narcotics, brothels, or gambling dens. As with the character Sa^{c}d in Sanua's dialogue, the uneducated are often

1. at-Tankīt, pp.134-135.
2. Ibid., no.2, 19 June, 1881; and Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.101-104.
3. at-Tankīt, no.3, 26 June, 1881.
4. Ibid., no.4, 3 July, 1881.
5. Ibid., no.7, 24 July, 1881.

the prisoners of their own desires. The so-called educated characters, like Zi^{c}ayt and the advocate, are utterly contemptuous of their less-educated fellow citizens, whom they describe as "animals" (bahā'im). He attacks imitation of foreigners and warns against foreign intervention. In Sahrat al-Anṭa^{c} he calls attention to the spread of imperialism throughout the world and foreigners, who "denied the people access to their (own) customs and beliefs".[1] Egyptians must learn from other nations who are protecting themselves from the greedy hands of foreigners.

This is the perennial problem of the Third World, how to preserve culture and tradition against westernization, but at the same time benefit from the technology and advances made in the West. ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm does not reject Europe outright; he admits that many students have benefited from their education abroad, and he shows the advantages of keeping abreast of worldwide developments through a vigorous press. Like Sanua his primary aim in these stories is to educate and advise his readership through the medium of satire but he moralises more in his anecdotes. Through them he was able to say in fiction what might have led to libel action or closure of his newspaper had it been stated overtly.

These stories appear to be aimed at a more educated readership than Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā'. Though several of the dialogues are in colloquial language the classical language pervades most of the stories. The peasants, the illiterate and the wastrels often speak in the Egyptian dialect, using such expressions as mush fāḍī (not free), ^{c}āwzah (want), mā kuntish (I would not), etc. They show their lack of education by mispronouncing sophisticated vocabulary, the fellah addressing the lawyer calls him būkātī, instead of afūkātī (advocate), and pronounces qawānīn as kawānīn. The

1. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, p.84.

foreigners speak a corrupted form of Arabic; the foreign merchant says khabībī for ḥabībī, khimār for ḥimār, etc. As with Sanua's dialogues, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm's colloquial dialogues capture the flavour of everyday life in Egypt for the first time in modern Egyptian prose writing.

The story of the advocate is entirely in a simplified language, but ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm seems to have been undecided as to which style was preferable. He experiments with colloquial, semi-classical and classical Arabic in the magazine. Even in the stories told in colloquial, the introductory and closing remarks are usually in classical Arabic. In Sahrat al-Anṭāᶜ the dialogue is totally in classical Arabic, perhaps because the educated outsider (al-muhadhdhab) does most of the talking; the voice of reason is always the literary language, as with the monologues of the sage in Ghaflat at-Taqlīd. Other stories are written in a highly rhetorical style with passages in sajᶜ. The youth in Majlis Ṭibbī ... is described in the following verbose manner:-

> This sick person used to be sound of body, strong of sinews, attractive of figure, agreeable in appearance; one could not look at him empty-hearted without feeling attracted towards him. From afar one could not hear mention of him, without (wanting) to rush to him out of longing. He grew up in the world like a garden[1]

In Egypt folk tales were much more popular than the translations from an alien European literature; in Syria from the number published it appears that such tales did not enjoy the same popularity. Ridwān believes that such books, and humorous books, and funny stories (nawādir) were the basic reading matter of the Azharites, though most students could not afford books.[2] Through the extraordinary adventures of their

1. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, p.79.

2. Ridwān, op. cit., p.131.

heroes, or the opulence of palace life, the readers could indulge in pure escapism. Though the original folk tales were in dialect these stories were published in a popular language which anonymous authors tried to make as literary as possible.[1] The authors remained anonymous no doubt because as men of letters they did not want to face the opprobrium of being associated with such vulgar tales. Hundreds of folk tales had been published in the 1860s and 1870s under the heading qissa, sīra, ḥikāya and dīwān. These were often the same stories as were recited by the story tellers in the coffee houses. They were brought out in short cheap lithographic editions, which were frequently republished. The Castelli press al-Maṭbaᶜa ash-Sharafīya and Maṭbaᶜat al-Inanīyā, and other presses published the pre-Islamic stories of ᶜAntara, Abū Zayd, Banū Hilāl, Sayf B. Dhī Yazan, az-Zir Sālim, which told the tales of Bedouin tribes and their warriors; the stories from the Islamic conquests, such as the religious folk tale Qiṣṣat Ra's al-Ghūl, or tales from the ᶜAbbāsid period and later, the story of the Sufi Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, of the Persian ministerial family the Barmecides, and the romance of the Mamluk Sultan, the Emir Baybars. Some of these tales were taken from the Thousand and One Nights such as the stories of Qamar az-Zamān and Gharīb and ᶜAjīb.

In a taqrīz to al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya one of the leading literary figures, Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, spearheaded a campaign against the stories recited by the storytellers in the cafés. He encouraged the reading of the official gazette, and tried to discourage people from listening to these "superstitious tales" (qiṣaṣ khurāfīya), such as the story (qiṣṣat) of Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, az-Ẓāhir, Ibrāhīm b. Ḥasan, and the story of ᶜAntara, which he described as mostly "lies and make believe". Wherever these stories were told, he noticed that fights tended

1. Nallino, op. cit., pp.481-482.

tended to break out.[1] Some years later the Shaykh's comments were supported by one of the stories of ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm in at-Tankīt.

In what he describes as a takhrīfa (drivel), entitled al-Junūn Funūn[2] (Madness Takes Many Forms), ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadim attacks the falsification of popular culture. This story describes one of the "tricksters" (muḥtāl), who sit in the coffee houses earning their living by reciting the "lies" called Qiṣṣat ᶜAntara. When the storyteller in the coffee house stopped his story with the cliffhanger of the hero's ᶜAntara's imprisonment, the audience tried to persuade him, even with a bribe to continue, but he refused; this was the storytellers' technique to ensure that they had an audience every night. As Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī had mentioned, the evening ended in insults and blows. One of the audience was so enraged at being left in suspense that he wakes his son up in the middle of the night to complete the story from a book, otherwise the madman asserts he will have to kill himself. When the son tells his father that the story is buncombe, and that ᶜAntara was merely a black slave, famous for his poetry, for unjust killings and pillage, the father is enraged, hits him and throws him out of the house. The son curses his father's ignorance and the corruption of his morals.

ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm takes other opportunities to censure such literature. A corrupt advocate in one of his stories has copies of the popular tales, ᶜAntar, Abū Shādūf and ad-Dalīla al-Muḥtāla on his desk, no doubt to impress his ignorant clients as well as for his own amusement. In a short anecdote, called "New Invention", ᶜAbd Allāh reproaches those who spend the nights of Ramadān in "hotbeds of ignorance" listening to

1. al-Marṣafi, Ḥusayn, al-Wasīla al-Adabīya li'l-ᶜUlūm al-ᶜArabīya, (Cairo, 1296), vol.2, p.701.

2. at-Tankīt, no.1, 6 June, 1881; and Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.85-86.

a storyteller poet (shā'ir) telling such lies.[1]

Other men of letters roundly condemned these stories. Muhammad ᶜAbduh in one of his articles in al-Ahrām described the published versions of these stories as books of lies (akādhīb), the false history of peoples, written in an inferior language.[2] Nallino has pointed out that one of the reasons they were held in contempt was that they were written in a semi-colloquial language.[3] Some of the educated elite, like ᶜAbduh, were no doubt worried at the rate at which these works were being published. ᶜAbduh objected to "books of superstition" (kutub al-khurāfāt) on imaginary beings (ᶜafārīt) and magic, because they dealt with illogical matters in contradiction to the sharī'a.

ᶜAbduh explained that some of these books dealt with ᶜilm ar-rayḥāni, ᶜilm al-kīmīya (alchemy), and included books on al-wafq;[4] al-ḥarf (letter),[5] and az-zāyirjāt,[6] such as Abū Maᶜshar's al-Kawākib as-Sayyāra and Shams al-Maᶜārif,[7] Kitāb al-Ḥarf of al-Ḥakīm Hirmis, al-Bahatīya and its commentary, al-Khalkhalwatīya and commentary, al-Jaljalwatīya and commentary, Daᶜwat as-Sibāb and Daᶜwat al-Qamar and its

1. at-Tankīt, p.167.

2. ᶜAbduh, Muḥammad, "al-Kutub al-ᶜIlmīya wa-Ghayruhā", al-Ahrām, no.1109, 11 May, 1881, in Ridā, op. cit., vol.2, p.164.

3. Nallino, op. cit., pp.481-482.

4. A wafq is a magic square formed of several squares in which one places numbers or letters.

5. The science of the letter is a cabalistic practice, consisting of arranging the letters of the alphabet in magic squares.

6. The zāyirja is a drawing which takes the form of a large circle, enclosing other concentric circles, some symbolising the celestial spheres, others the elements, sub-lunary things, spiritual beings, events of all sorts, and knowledge of various kinds. It is used to predict the future (Dozy, op. cit., vol.1, p.577).

7. This book by Muḥyī'd-Dīn al-Būnī on ᶜilm al-hurūf (science of the letter) had been printed lithographically in Cairo in 1291/1874-1875 (Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.608).

commentary. Such books, he said, were having such an undesirable effect on the population, that finally the Ministry of the Interior had decided to put a stop to their publication and the publication of folk tales which might harm public morals.[1] The Jewish Castelli press, one of the most active presses in all fields of publication, was closed a few months later in September, 1881 for printing such harmful books without permission.[2]

The public were recommended by ᶜAbduh to read "true" history such as that of al-Mas'ūdī, or Rifāᶜa Bey's Anwār al-Jalīl or Ibn al-Athīr's at-Ta'rīkh al-Kāmil, or the Ta'rīkh ad-Dawla al-ᶜUlyā, or moral works.[3] ᶜAbduh drew attention to the moral stories (qiṣaṣ adabīya) appearing in translation in al-Ahrām, and in particular to one just published by al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd press, al-Intiqām. He had already listed the most widely-read "moral" works at that time, books to which he had no objection. He noted that there was public demand for works of history, moral tales and novels (rūmānīyāt), such works as Kalīla wa-Dimna, Fākihat al-Khulafā', Marzubānnāme and Fénelon's Télémaque.[4]

The magazine of the Ministry of Education, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, took a more cautious line with the literary material it published, and gave encouragement to the traditional fictional genres, foremost amongst which was the maqāma. The maqāma (picaresque tale) began in the tenth century with those of Aḥmad Badīᶜ az-Zamān al-Hamadhānī[5] (d.398/1008), reaching its rhetorical peak with the maqāmāt of

1. Ridā, op. cit., vol.2, pp.164-165.
2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.385, 24 September, 1881.
3. Ridā, op. cit., vol.2, p.166.
4. Ibid., vol.2, p.164.
5. His were published at Matbaᶜat al-Jawā'ib, Istanbul, in 1298/1881.

Abū Muḥammad Qāsim al-Ḥarīrī[1] (d.516/1122). Other classical exponents were az-Zamakhsharī (d.538/1143) and Jalāl ad-Dīn as-Suyūṭī[2] (d.911/1505).

In the maqāma there were usually two characters, the hero and the narrator (rāwī), ʿĪsā b. Hishām, in al-Hamadhānī's maqāmas, and Abū'l-Fath al-Iskandarī, a witty rogue. ʿĪsa, a travelling merchant, gains the support of his audience by his eloquent exaggerated tales which are embellished with poetry. Each maqāma is a self-contained unit telling a different story of their adventures and narrow escapes; the two characters are always bumping into one another. It begins with a simple narrative introduction by the rāwī, then the story is told in rhymed prose (sajʿ). They often have a didactic purpose arguing an ethical, literary, linguistic, or philosophical point. Like the post-ʿAbbāsid poetry, it is the linguistic sophistication of the maqāma that is often more important than the plot or the characterisation, still it is considered the nearest approach in Arabic belles-lettres to the novel.

The tradition of writing maqāmas was very much alive in the nineteenth century. At the turn of the century Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār wrote his maqāma on the French invasion.[3] The Syrian Niqūlā at-Turk wrote eleven maqāmas while in the Lebanon.[4] Aḥmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq wrote one in 1830;[5] there

1. Published at Būlāq in 1266/1850, 1272/1855-1856, 1277/1860-1861, 1288/1871, at-Maṭbaʿa al-Kastīlīya in 1277/1860-1861 and 1299/1881-1882, al-Maṭbaʿa ash-Sharafīya in 1299/1881-1882, and at Beirut in 1863 and 1873.

2. Published at Maṭbaʿat al-Jawā'ib in 1298/1880-1881 with the Maqāma of Shaykh Ḥasan al-ʿAṭṭār, and lithographically at Cairo 1275/1858-1859 (G.A.L., vol.SIII, p.1308).

3. GAL, vol.SIII, p.1308. Translated in Gran, Peter, Islamic Origins of Capitalism, Egypt, 1760-1840, (Austin, 1979), pp.189-191.

4. at-Turk, Niqūlā, Dīwān al-Muʿallim Niqūlā at-Turk, (Beirut, 1970), vol.2, pp.344-351, 356,363.

5. Vajda, Georges, Répertoire des catalogues et inventaires de manuscrits arabes, (Paris, 1949), p.37[352].

were also maqāmas in his semi-fictional Rabelaisian autobiography, as-Sāq ᶜala's-Sāq fī ma huwa al-Fāryāq, published in Paris in 1855. They were also written by the Syrian poet Amīn al-Jundī (1766-1841),[1] the Maronite priest Yūsūf al-Hānī'[2] (- 1881 or 1885), and the Iraqi mufti Mahmūd al-Ālūsī (1802-1854).[3] Amīn Shumayyil published in Beirut five maqāmas on the seven stages of man's life in 1867 and 1869.[4] Of Egyptian writers, they were written by as-Sayyid ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh,[5] his disciple Shaykh Mustafā Salāma[6] editor of al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, and by Muhammad Effendi Rāshid al-Khashshāb.[7] The last great writer of the form was Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, whose collection of sixty maqāmas, Majmaᶜ al-Baḥrayn, appeared in Beirut in 1272/1856.[8]

Rawḍat al-Madāris published several maqāmas by different authors. Twelve of these maqāmas were written by Ṣālih Majdī Bey[9] a member of the editorial board of the magazine and ma'mūr (director) of Idārat al-Madāris al-Malakīya (The Royal Schools Administration). These maqāmas or maqālas appeared in the first two years of the magazine, starting in the very first issue,[10] usually published under the heading maqālāt adabīya (literary maqālas), varying between

1. Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, p.327.

2. Published Beirut, 1872 (Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, pp.116-117).

3. Published Baghdad, 1273/1856-1857 (Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.I, p.5).

4. Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, p.158.

5. ad-Darwīsh, as-Sayyid ᶜAlī, al-Ishᶜār bi-Ḥamīd al-Ashᶜār, (Cairo, 1284/1867), pp.401-418.

6. al-Maktaba al-Azhariya, op. cit., vol.5, p.280.

7. Published Cairo, 1291/1874-1875 (Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1655).

8. Republished in 1872 and 1880.

9. Ṣāliḥ Majdī (1827-1881) studied in the new state school system, ending up at the School of Languages under Rifāᶜa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī. He worked as a translator in various government departments, making many technical translations. See Majdī, Ṣāliḥ, Dīwān, (Būlāq, 1312), pp.d-y.

10. R.M., y.1, no.1, 15 Muharram, 1287 (16 April, 1870).

three and twelve pages.

In the second issue his maqāla was called al-Jiẓā' min Jins al-ᶜAmal (The Punishment Fits the Crime). It tells the strange (gharīb) story of experiences at a wedding banquet. It is told in the first person and is quoted as being one of the stories (aḥādīth) of a neighbour, a renowned storyteller. At the wedding banquet the storyteller sees the bride's father, notorious for his avarice. He once went to Hejaz on business, and only agreed to take his mother to perform the ḥajj (pilgrimage) if she paid her own expenses. On the journey her camel collapses, and her son ignores her. She pleads with him, and begs not to be left to the Arabs (bedouin) or the wild animals, but he only consents to help her if she pays him 50 dirhams for a new mount. She is rescued at last by a kind young man, who overhears the conversation.

The story then switches unconvincingly back to the banquet. The guest stays the night in the house, and is terrified to hear the clattering of chains. He is astonished to see a tall, naked, bald old man, (such strings of epithets are common in Ṣālih's stories), who has emerged from the cellars of the house. This frightening apparition turns out to be the miser's father who has been kept locked away for twenty years. When the storyteller offers to help him escape, the father refuses to expose his son, and is resigned to his fate. The father admits that he deserves his punishment, because he had killed his own father for love of money. Thus this contrived, disconnected and melodramatic story ends in an unsatisfactory way. The moral of the story is uncertain.

One of the most emotive and descriptive passages in the piece is the mother's plea to her son, after her mount collapsed:-

> She walked (on her two feet) until she was exhausted, and had totally lost her strength, but her son did not pay any attention to her, and did not show any pity or compassion for her. So she said to him, having stopped walking from fatigue, and looking directly at him, as he sluggishly drew away. 'O my son, carry me on one of these animals, and you will be abundantly rewarded. Don't leave me in these remote wastelands, the tracks and paths are narrow and difficult to trace. I'll die of thirst and starvation, or fall into the hands of a Bedouin, or a furious wild beast will prey on me. You alone can save me from this perilous situation'.[1]

One of the best stories, the ninth maqāla, straight out of the Arabian Nights or the Decameron, is Fī Liṣṣ Ḥalīf Inṣāf Ḥamid Akhlāq wa-Awṣāf (The Thief with Praiseworthy Morals, the Ally of Justice). This story (ḥikāya), the author claims, is from the stories (akhbār) of the tribes. It concerns a thief who steals out of need. He follows a smartly dressed young man, but discovers that he lives in reduced circumstances. A fatuous proverb is quoted to describe his straits:-

> Those who do not squander money, save it, and those who squander it, do not save it.

This poor young man is living with an ancient crone, whom the author describes in a comic verse:-

> The speaker said, 'What's her age?' (sinn)
> I said, 'She doesn't have any teeth (sinn) in her mouth'.

She was so ugly, "one could not possibly look at her".

One of the morals of the story is that one should not be deceived by appearances, for when the thief later follows an old man, blind as a bat, with a long beard, a tattered turban, and ragged garments, he finds that he lives in an

1. R.M., y.2, no.2, end Muḥarram, 1287 (1 May, 1870), pp.5-9.

impressive house, with a bed made in India, its canopy covered in silk. The thief decides to act as a guardian angel. He robs this old man of most of his chests of gold and his beautiful young wife, and bestows these gifts on the impoverished young man, keeping some money for himself. He takes the old woman to the old man. When the old man awakes to find this "corpse" (walīfa) next to him, he kills her, and in the story tale tradition throws her in the cesspit.

The young couple get married, and the young man becomes a successful merchant. The old man finally tracks his wife down, and takes the young man to court. The noble thief confesses his crime, but then the old man is found guilty of murder, and is sentenced to death. The judge as in all good fairy stories, gives the thief the old man's house. The story develops logically, and rapidly. Though in saj^{c} it is in a simple style, and the dialogue does not seem unnatural.[1]

Other stories are less effective. The eighth maqāla is a pointless tale, Fī'l-^{c}Awda min as-Safar bi'l-Masarra wa'ṣ-Ṣafā wa-Tahni'at Aḥad al-Aṣdiqā' bi-sh-Shifā' (On Happily Returning from a Journey and Greetings from a Friend on one's Recovery). It tells of the journey of the storyteller, al-Ḥasan b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Miṣrī, and his friend Shaykh Abū Isḥāq, their studies abroad, and warm reception they are given on their return home. There is no plot as such, and when the traveller is asked to recount his experiences abroad, this merely gives Ṣālih Majdī the chance to insert a totally unrelated tale of a wise Shaykh. One of the skills of the Shaykh was that he could never be caught out by a question, he could even give the non-existent Arabic plural for the names of the Muslim months, Muḥarramāt, Aṣfār, Arbi^{c}ā, or Arbi^{c}ā', Jumādiyāt, etc., or the plural of the days of the

1. R.M., y.1, no.14, end Rajab, 1287 (25 October, 1870), pp.10-13.

week, Subūt, Asbita, Āḥād, Athānīn, etc.[1]

Another story, the tenth maqāla, stressed the importance of upright behaviour, Fī Muṭāwa^{c}at an-Nafs wa'n-Najāḥ ba^{c}d al-Ya^{c}s (Self-Indulgence and Salvation after Hopelessness). The tale is told by Abū'l-Masarrāt b. Abū al-Mabarrāt (Father of Pleasure, son of Father of Good Deeds); this is also the appropriate name for the central character for as a youngster he leads a carefree life, and clashes with his parents. He pays a very heavy price for his behaviour. While travelling to Anbar with a caravan, the caravan is attacked by robbers, and he just escapes with his life. Later he collapses on the coast, and lies there for five days, until he is rescued by sailors. Then when he recovers the ship he is on is hit by a tempest, from which he escapes again, swearing never again to follow the "devil of his desires". The plot is weak, and it is not apparent why the man is punished so much, as little information is given about his sins. A common feature of these stories is that the central characters often pass through the Hejaz, thus Ṣāliḥ stresses how integral the pilgrimage is to a Muslim's life. Another pillar of his life is education; the reformed character in the last story mends his ways and devotes himself to seeking knowledge (ma^{c}ārif),[2] just as al-Ḥasan and Shaykh Abū Isḥāq did in the eighth maqāla.

Most of the other maqāmas have a moral. They were Fī't-Taṣriḥ bi-Ḥamīd al-Akhlāq wa't-Talwiḥ bi't-Tawba ^{c}an al-I^{c}tirāḍ ^{c}alā'r-Razzāq, (Making a Statement about Someone Praiseworthy of Morals and a Hint of Repentance for Rebutting God (the Maintainer)),[3] Fī'l-Yusr ba^{c}d al-^{c}Usr[4] (On Pleasant Circumstances after a Hard Time), Wa-Tilk al-Ayyām

1. R.M., y.2, no.2, end Muharram, 1288 (26 April, 1871).
2. Ibid., y.2, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1288 (31 August, 1871).
3. Ibid., y.1, no.3, 15 Safar, 1287 (16 May, 1870).
4. Ibid., y.1, no.4, end Safar, 1287 (30 May, 1870).

Nudāwiluhā bayna an-Nās (Those Days that We Pass Amongst the People)[1] about a man who is raised from poverty, Fi'l-Ishtighāl bi Mubāsharat al-Manāṣib (To Be Engaged in the Pursuit of Posts),[2] al-Wafā' Malīḥ wa'l-ᶜUdhr Qabīḥ (Fidelity is Comely and an Excuse is Disgraceful).[3] In the second year of the magazine he wrote a story solely for entertainment Fī Aḥlām al-Luṣūṣ wa-Mā Jā'a Fihā min an-Nuṣūṣ (The Dreams of Robbers and What was in the Texts about Them),[4] another story Fī'l-Qiyām bi-Shukr aṣ-Ṣanīᶜa li-man lahu fi'l-Murū'a ad-Daraja ar-Rafīᶜa (Thanking a Most Chivalrous Person for His Good Deeds),[5] and finally at-Takhalluṣ min al-Khaṭb bi'l-ᶜAql wa'ṣ-Ṣārim al-ᶜAḍb (Avoiding a Mishap by (using) Reason and a Caustic Person).[6] In this story Abū'l-ᶜAzm, while pursuing an ostrich confronts a lion which he kills.

Muhammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī Hasan suggests that these maqāmas are the forerunners of the short story in Arabic literature,[7] but they have more in common with the conventional maqāma. Many of them begin in the traditional manner with "so-and-so said" (qāla fulān). God's intercession and fate are a recurring theme throughout the stories. In the ninth maqāla, the beautiful girl says to her new husband, "God saw you with good will and saved you from the calamity of poverty by divine foreordainment (qadar) and divine decree (qaḍā')".[8] Ṣālih generally overcomes the constraints of rhymed prose, although sometimes they are difficult to comprehend. As has been seen not only the text but the titles are also in rhymed prose. Another rhetorical device from classical Arabic

1. R.M., y.1, no.5, 15 Rabīᶜ al-Awwāl, 1287 (12 June, 1870), p.3.
2. Ibid., y.1, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1287 (11 September, 1870), pp.3-12.
3. Ibid., y.1, no.19, 15 Shawwāl, 1287 (7 January, 1871), pp.11-16.
4. Ibid., y.2, no.5, 15 Rabīᶜ I, 1288 (3 June, 1871), p.4.
5. Ibid., y.2, no.17, 15 Ramaḍān, 1288 (29 November, 1871).
6. Ibid., y.2, no.19, 15 Shawwāl, 1288 (27 December, 1871).
7. Hasan, Rawḍa, p.153.
8. R.M., y.1, no.14, end Rajab, 1287 (25 October, 1870), p.12.

literature is the liberal use of poetry. Every maqāla is sprinkled with poetry from a few lines to twenty-three verses of a qaṣīda by Abū Zubayd aṭ-Ṭā'ī. Usually the authors of these verses are not given, and in many cases they may have been written by Ṣālih himself; the poetry varies from doggerel to classical poetry. The tropes used in verse in that epoch are also employed by Ṣālih in sajᶜ. There is ṭibāq in the following passage, "ghayr muktarath bi-ghadᶜihi wa-amsihi" ("unconcerned about his yesterday or his tomorrow"), and the following line contains jinās:-

> He came back to life after seven (sabᶜ) (days), if he had continued like that the lion (sabᶜ) would have eaten him.[1]

Other maqāmas in the magazine should be considered as essays rather than works of fiction Muhammad Fannī, a translator at ad-Dā'ira as-Sanīya wrote a Maqāma fi'l-Ḥaqq wa'l-Bāṭil,[2] in which the concepts of truth and falsehood are personified and have a debate, ending in the final defeat of falsehood. The man of letters and zajjāl, Shaykh Aḥmad Wahbī wrote what is described as a "descriptive maqāma" (maqāma waṣfiya) on gaslight.[3] The words maqāma (picaresque tale) and maqāla (article or essay) are used as synonyms by the magazine.

The maqāma form was also used by ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī.[4] In 1873 he translated a Turkish story that he had come across on a trip to Istanbul; it in turn was derived from a work in a

1. R.M., y.2, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1288 (31 August, 1871), p.3.

2. Ibid., y.2, no.20, end Shawwāl, 1288 (12 January, 1872).

3. Ibid., y.1, no.7, 15 Rabīᶜ II, 1287 (14 July, 1870).

4. ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī (1834-1889) was born in Mecca of an Egyptian father. He studied at al-Azhar. See Mubārak, op. cit., vol.2, pp.46-57; and "Sīrat Fāḍil", al-Muqtaṭaf, vol.15, pt.1, October-November, 1890, pp.9-16; and pt.2, pp.81-89.

foreign language, no doubt from the literature of the European enlightenment. ᶜAbd Allāh gave no further information about the Turkish work nor the original work. In Arabic it was called al-Maqāma al-Fikrīya as-Sanīya fi'l-Mamlaka al-Bāṭinīya (The Exalted Maqāma of Fikrī on the Secret Kingdom). It had first been published by the Wādī an-Nīl press in 1289/1872-1873,[1] and then in the following year it appeared in Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya;[2] ᶜAbd Allāh was then Secretary-General of the Egyptian Popular School's Department.

The rāwī (narrator) of the story is Abū'l-Maqāl b. Dhākir (Father of Speech Son of the Thinking One) taking it from al-Khayāl b. Khāṭir (Imagination son of the Mind). Both these names are obvious puns and the story employs similar devices. It is an allegorical tale about the visit of al-Khayāl to a secret kingdom, whose king, al-ᶜAql (Mind), is advised by a wise minister, al-Baṣīra (Insight) and a treacherous companion, al-Hawā (Desire).[3] Al-Baṣīra finally prevails over the forces of evil, restoring order to the kingdom. The story teller is accompanied by a mysterious companion, al-Firāsa (Intuition). Most of the story is a description of the courtiers in this kingdom of the human soul, in which all good and evil sides of human nature are represented. Al-Khayāl in the end returns to the visible world to tell people what he saw.

All the virtues and vices are personified as are other concepts such as Time. The beautiful female companions of the king are al-Istiqāma (Uprightness), al-ᶜIffa (Chastity), and as-Salāma (Integrity), but an even more seductive woman is ash-Shahwa al-Ḥayawānīya (Animal Lust). Small cameo portraits are given of each of these characters. Al-Khayāl describes how he "saw Pride (Kibr) turning away, haughty amongst his

1. Fikrī, ᶜAbd Allāh, al-Āthār al-Fikrīya, (Bulaq, 1897), p.276. It was republished at Wādī an-Nīl press in 1294/1877-1878, and in Fikrī, op. cit., pp.276-302.

2. R.M., y.4, no.3, 15 Safar, 1290 (14 April, 1873), pp.1-16; and no.4, end Safar, 1290 (28 April, 1873), pp.17-31.

3. Fikrī, op. cit., p.277.

peers, (cocking) his snoot in disdain at his fellow men, finding distasteful (their) company". This personification of philosophical concepts was not unknown in Arabic literature in such works as Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān by Ibn Ṭufayl, and it has its parallel in the personification of animals, plants, birds and abstract concepts in the Qur'ān, Kalīla wa-Dimna and the Maqāmat of as-Suyūṭī.

The translator, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, admitted that he made some additions to the text.[1] Like earlier translators, he employs iqtibās (the citation of another's literary works or ideas) quoting lines of poetry and verses of the Qur'ān. In the maqāma tradition, it is written in highly rhetorical rhymed prose. Though the plot is thin, this story is an attempt to use the traditional maqāma to convey a new theme. Perhaps ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī and Ṣālih Majdī were trying to show that the maqāma could be a viable alternative to the translated European stories, though they did not attempt to compete by grappling with contemporary themes. ᶜAbd Allāh wrote another maqāma[2] for the magazine, Maqāma fī Ḥusn al-Wafā' (A Maqāma on the Excellence of Loyalty),[3] and a nubdha adabīya (a literary fragment).[4]

The magazine in its first few years published a number of short stories[5] under the title of ḥikāya (tale), maqāma, nukhba (selected passage), qiṭᶜa adabīya (literary piece), riwāya (story), ṭarfa (novelty) or lughz nathrī (a puzzle in prose); these literary items denoted different types of "narrative" and "story" in Arabic traditional fictional

1. Fikrī, op. cit., p.276.

2. His collected works contain a third maqāma not published before (Fikrī, op. cit., pp.310-313).

3. R.M., y.1, no.7, 15 Rabīᶜ II, 1287 (14 July, 1870); and Fikrī, op. cit., pp.303-310.

4. R.M., y.2, no.2, end Muharram, 1288 (20 April, 1871).

5. These stories are listed in Appendix D.

narrative. Some were original, others were translations, but most of them were moral tales, intended to improve the minds of the readers. They were written by students and teachers of the state schools, none of whom were or became well-known literary figures. Typical of these is a nukhba or uḥdūtha (narrative) translated by Mustafā Shawqī Effendī, a student at the Khedivial School of Surveying and Accounting. This brief translation, as were all translations, was taken from an anonymous foreign author. It is set in the eighteenth century, and relates the story of a rich banker who asks a builder to make him a secret place where he can store his money. One day while gloating over his fortune, he is locked inside and falls dead on top of his money where his body is found some time later. The moral of this short story was that "he did not know that the yellow love (money) is the blue enemy (death)".[1] This is perhaps a children's story with its primitive plot and lack of characterisation.

It was several decades after the technical translation movement started in the days of Muḥammad ᶜAlī that the first works of modern European literature were translated into Arabic. Isolated attempts were made by individuals such as Rifāᶜa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī and Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl who undertook the first translations without any official encouragement. It was only with the establishment of an independent press that works of contemporary European, mainly French, fiction were made available to Egyptian readers. The newspaper feuilleton was the main means by which this literature was published. Stimulated by the activity of the Beirut press, papers such as Wādī an-Nīl and Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya followed suit in Egypt by printing translations by Egyptians of popular French novels (riwāya), or of French fictional works of a didactic nature.

1. R.M., y.1, no.9, 15 Jumādā I, 1287 (12 August, 1870).

With the creation of the Syrian-owned press in the mid-1870s the translation movement was soon dominated by Syrians, and Egyptian literati were no longer active. In Beirut the press had devoted its literary columns to translations of French fiction or to the publication of original works of Arabic fiction on a European model; this was also true of the Egyptian press, with the one exception of the Rawḍat al-Madāris magazine. This journal encouraged the development of the traditional maqāma and of the short didactic tale (ḥikāya), while at the same time giving space to translated fiction. In the late 1870s and early 1880s Egyptian creativity manifested itself in the satirical writings of Sanua and ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, who challenged tradition not only by their sardonic and penetrating comments on contemporary public and private morals but also by their use of the colloquial, a language up to then rarely used in a literary text.

CHAPTER IX

NINETEENTH CENTURY POETRY

Poets for centuries had slavishly imitated the great poets of the ᶜAbbāsid period and earlier, producing in their own poetry mere shadows of the originals; they had also come under the influence of the highly rhetorical poets of the post-classical period. Arabic poetry had not altered much in form and style for hundreds of years. Poets borrowed the ideas and the turn of phrase of classical authors. Various exercises made a virtue of this imitation, such as tashṭīr or tasmīṭ (repeating the verse of another author, by adding a new hemistich to each hemistich of the original), takhmīs (adding four new hemistichs to a hemistich of an ancient poem), and taḍmīn (introducing into a poem a hemistich, a verse or two verses of another poet). These were practices that had developed in the period of decline, and remained very popular in the nineteenth century. Many poets of this period wrote them, from ᶜAlī Darwīsh, and Muhammad Shihāb ad-Dīn in the first half of the century, to Ḥusayn Ḥusnī at-Ṭuwayrānī and Adīb Isḥāq in the second half. Poets through these devices could thus demonstrate their knowledge of classical poetry, but rarely did such exercises enhance the original. This operation was performed on the works of Ibn al-Muᶜtazz, Majnūn Layla, az-Zamakhsharī,[1] Ibn an-Nabīh,[2] Imru'l-Qays,[3] and many others.

Tashṭīr and takhmīs were hardly ever seen in the periodical press, because poetry was published there for its

1. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.244.
2. Ibid., p.187.
3. Ibid., p.246.

social or political value not for aesthetic reasons. They were employed in May, 1870, when al-Waqā'i ᶜ al-Miṣrīya published an elegy to Shaykh Muhammad al-Khudarī, who had been one of the earliest contributors of poetry to the paper with a poem he submitted in 1847. The elegy was written by the wakīl al-muhāfaza (Deputy Governor) of Damietta, Shaykh Muhammad's home-town.[1] A Shaykh Mahmūd al-Hamza, an ᶜālim from Damietta, employed tashṭīr on this poem, adding a hemistich of his own poetry to each line of the original.[2] The wakīl to outwit Shaykh Mahmūd wrote a takhmīs to his own qaṣīda,[3] no doubt much to the admiration of the paper's readers. In 1878 Ahmad Wahbī wrote a long takhmīs of a poem in the Istanbul newspaper al-Jawā'ib praising the Khedive; this took several issues to publish.[4]

Sometimes poets were more ambitious, attempting to surpass a classical poet with a muᶜāraḍa; this was a poem with the same rhyme and metre as a famous classical poem. It was believed that such action was not plagiary; the poet showed his skill in his own version by his clever choice of words. Muᶜāraḍas were written by Ismāᶜīl al-Khashshāb[5], and Hasan al-ᶜAttār[6] to a qaṣīda of Mutmin b. Nuwayra amongst others.

Little is known about which classical writers were read early in the nineteenth century. From the tashṭīrs, takhāmīs and muᶜāraḍas some idea can be gained of the classical

1. W.M., no.357, 15 May, 1870.

2. Ibid., no.360, 2 June, 1870.

3. Ibid., no.363, 23 June, 1870.

4. Ibid., no.176, 6 February, 1868; no.177, 10 February; no.178, ? February; and no.179, 17 February.

5. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, Ibrāhīm, Madrasat al-Iḥyā' wa't-Turāth - Dirāsa fī Atharash-Shiᶜr al-ᶜArabī al-Qadīm ᶜalā Madrasat al-Iḥyā' fī Miṣr, (Beirut, 1981), p.121.

6. Ibid., p.106.

authors that were known, but whether their works were known from manuscripts of dīwāns (collections of poems) or from anthologies is not so clear. It appears that many great classical works had fallen into oblivion. ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh was familiar with Abū'l-ᶜAlā' al-Maᶜarrī's Luzūm Mā Lā Yalzam,[1] with Ibn an-Nabīh,[2] and with az-Zamakhsharī[3] amongst other writers, Wādī believes that at-Ṭahṭāwī did not read the original dīwāns, but read the popular anthologies, al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd of Ibn ᶜAbd Rabbihi, al-Amālī of Abū ᶜAlī al-Qālī, Khizānat al-Adab wa-Lubb Lubāb Lisān al-ᶜArab of ᶜAbd al-Qādir al-Baghdādī, al-Kashkūl of Bahā' ad-Dīn al-ᶜĀmilī, al-Asmaᶜīyāt of al-Asmaᶜī, Ṣubḥ al-Aᶜshā fī Ṣināᶜat al-Inshā' of al-Qalqashandī, al-Mufaḍḍalīyāt of al-Mufaddal ad-Dabbī, and Dīwān al-Ḥamāsa of Abū Tammām,[4] though he admits that Rifāᶜa was probably much more familiar than most of his contemporaries with the Arabic heritage. Of later writers Maḥmūd Ṣafwat (1825-1881) learned by heart the poetry of al-Mutanabbī[5] and was familiar with the poetry of al-Ḥārith b. Ẓālim al-Murrī.[6] Ismāᶜīl Ṣabrī (1854-1923) as a youngster was fond of reading the work of al-Buḥturī.[7]

What were the characteristics of most nineteenth century poetry? The Arabic was poor and stilted, particularly in the first decades of the century. The style was turgid, and the imagery was conventional. The tropes devised by ᶜAbbāsid

1. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., pp.135 and 137.

2. Ibid., p.187.

3. Ibid., p.244.

4. Wādī, Ṭahā, Dīwān Rifāᶜa aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī, (Cairo, 1979), pp.43-44.

5. Ḥasan, Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī, "Aᶜlām an-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha. 24. Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sāᶜatī", al-Kitāb, y.4, December 1947, p.1884.

6. Ibid., pp.1889-1890.

7. al-Jindī, Anwar, ash-Shiᶜr al-ᶜArabī al-Muᶜāṣir Taṭawwuruhu wa-Aᶜlāmuhu, 1875-1940, (Cairo, 1963), p.47.

poets and later writers were used to excess. Most of the poetry was so overloaded with figures of speech, it became almost incomprehensible. Many rhetorical devises were employed: jinās and tajnīs (paranomasia), which uses in the same phrase two words of similar or almost similar sound, but with different meanings; ṭibāq (antithesis); tawriya (syllepsis), that is using a word with two different meanings, where the second sense is concealed by the first; kināya (metonymy), where a word is replaced by another which has a logical connection with it (a bottle for wine), and many others. The acrostic (taṭrīz) was still used, where a poet, in a panegyric, uses the letters of the name of the person he is praising to begin each initial hemistich; these were used by Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn and ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh amongst others.[1] Only one taṭrīz appeared in the press; this was a poem written up in front of the house of the former American consul, Robert Balkinson? (Balkinsūn), celebrating the arrival of Khedive Ismāᶜīl:[2]-

ا البشر فى مصر نادى فى كل ناد و محفل
س سعد السعود نبدى واليمن ياصاح قدحل
م منذ الخديوى وافى وحظه قد تكمل
ا ايامه باسمات و وجهها يتهلل
ع على سماء علاه سرادق العز سبل
ى يا مصر بشراك لاحت مذحل فيك المبجل
ل له ايادى نوال فى كلّ خير تؤمل
ب بنى اساس المعالى والعسر باليسر بدل
ا اقام شاهد صدق على الكمال معدل
ش شمائل السعد قالت مذ لاح بالبشر شمال
١٢٨٥ سنة ا أرخه جاء الخديوى بالنصر و العز أقبل

1. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.31.

2. W.M., no.236, 1 October, 1868.

The ta'rīkh (poetic chronogram) was so popular amongst poets that the nineteenth century could be called the century of the chronogram. The practice of writing these dates back to the 9th century A.H. and was a characteristic device of the post-Classical period. These chronograms were merely a form of verbal gymnastics, nothing more than an intellectual exercise. The Arabic letters denoting set numbers are formed into words to fit a verse or hemistich coming right after the word arrakha (he dated), or one of its derivatives, ta'rīkh (date) or mu'arrakh (dated); this was usually done in the last verse of the poem. The numbers indicated by the letters equalled a special date of a birth, a death, a wedding, or for inscription on a tomb or building, etc. Sometimes the name of the person praised is included in this verse. The Arabic letters have the following values: أ - 1, ب - 2, ج - 3, د - 4, هـ - 5, و - 6, ز - 7 ح - 8, ط - 9, ى - 10, ك - 20, ل - 30, م - 40, ن - 50, س - 60, ع - 70, ف - 80, ص - 90, ق - 100, ر - 200, ش - 300, ت - 400, ث - 500, خ - 600, ذ - 700, ض - 800, ظ - 900, and غ - 1,000.[1] Thus in the following verse by Muhammad Bey Sa^{c}īd, the letters in the final hemistich add up to 1285 A.H.[2]

سنينك فيها البشر يشدو مؤرخا بعزّ خديوى مصر أسعد عام

111 135 330 630 79

= 1285.

Poems were in the main written to celebrate an occasion (munāsaba), and most nineteenth century poetry is occasional poetry (shi^{c}r al-munāsabāt). The patron, the dignitary, the friend was praised by the poet on the Muslim religious festivals, for the New Year, Ramadān, ^{c}id al-fitr, ^{c}id al-aḍḥā , for the Prophet's birthday (al-mawlid an-nabawī), for religious occasions within the family, on successful completion of the

1. Hasan, ^{c}Abd Allāh Fikrī, op. cit., p.191.

2. W.M., no.199, 7 April, 1868.

pilgrimage (ḥajj),[1] for the circumcision of sons or grandsons, and even if someone converted to Islam.[2] Family occasions would be celebrated in verse; births, usually of sons, sometimes of daughters; birthdays; marriages; deaths; banquets; recovery from an illness, from an accident; escaping the ravages of the plague;[3] completion of studies;[4] departure on a journey or arrival from one. Poetry would record accession to the throne and its anniversary, an official visit, an appointment to a post, a promotion, the award of an honour or title, the issue of a licence (ijāza) to an ᶜālim. Chronograms might register the construction of a building, perhaps a house, a mosque, a citadel, a palace, a barrage, a bridge, or the renovation of such buildings.[5] They might be written or inscribed on such monuments, or to be written on a tomb[6] or a headstone, or to be engraved on a ring. Poems might be addressed to a foreign dignitary at the patron's request, or in anticipation of a reward. Poems of praise (taqrīẓ) sent to the author were included in published editions of books, and with the emergence of the press they were sent to celebrate the establishment of newspapers as well.

The elegy (rithā') or dirge in the memory of a deceased person was a special category of poetry; they might be read at the commemorative celebration (ta'bīn) of the person's death. Such poems did not contain the tashbīb (the amatory introduction) of the ordinary qaṣīdas; they often introduced an internal rhyme scheme resembling saj ᶜ (rhymed prose) called tarṣīᶜ. In such poems the poet weeps for the deceased, blames fate, moralises on the uncertainty of life and the certainty of

1. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.282.
2. Ibid., p.239.
3. Ibid., p.229.
4. Ibid., p.262.
5. Ibid., pp.285 and 297.
6. Ibid., p.242.

death, complains of the deceased's loss of power and glory if a ruler, the loss of his generosity; if appropriate the person might extol the dead person's courage, and finally describe his tomb. Such poetry became riddled with clichés, and rarely reflected the sadness of the writer assuming that he felt any, or evoked any grief in the reader. It was invariably written out of duty, or on request.

To help students learn the terminology of a science, one of the religious disciplines, or a language, poetry might be used to convey information. Such a poem was called a manẓūma (treatise in verse) or an urjūza. Urjūzas were written in the rajaz metre. This rudimentary metre was chiefly used in extempore verse, for there was a feeling that it was doggerel and did not rise to the dignity of poetry.[1] Ḥusayn Ḥusnī at-Ṭuwayrānī devotes only "the nineteenth chapter (of his dīwān) to arājīz because they fall below qaṣā'id".[2] Several of these manẓūmas were published in Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya. The muzdawij form, in which the hemistichs of the poem rhyme together two by two, was as a rule only used in these didactic urjūzas, such as the Alfīya of Ibn Mālik on grammar.

Muzdawijāt were considered a kind of inferior poetry which used the rajaz metre (or sometimes a classical metre). They usually consist of strophes of five hemistichs, in which the first four hemistichs rhyme together, and the fifth has a common rhyme repeated throughout the poem. In another form the strophe has 4 hemistichs, with the first three rhyming together and the fourth providing the common rhyme throughout the poem. This form was used by Shaykh Maḥmūd al-ᶜĀlim, a teacher of Arabic at the Military School, in a poem for the

1. Tritton, A.S., "Shiᶜr", EI (1st edition, 1934), vol.IV, p.373.

2. Ḥusnī, Ḥasan, Min Thamarāt al-Ḥayāt Dīwān Ḥasan Ḥusnī, (Cairo, 1300), vol.1, p.4.

arrival from Europe of the Khedive Ismā^{c}īl's son, Ḥusayn[1]:-

A شرفت من باريس قطر مصر
A بحظه الوافى الجزيل الوفر
A وسيرة سارت له فى السير
B منها اليها حائز التبجيلا
C تم فيها سائر المعارف
C من تالد كان بها أو طارف
C ومن مزايا جمة لطائف
A اضحى بها مهيمنا نبيلا

The more common variety was used by Shaykh ^{c}Alī al-^{c}Alāyālī, former Shaykh of the ulema in Damietta, in a poem in praise of Ismā^{c}īl[2]:-

AA يا من له الحمد بعدّ النعم وجالب النفع بدفع النقم
AA صلّى على خير الورى وسلم وآله والصحب اهل الكرم
B والتابعين واضح السبيل

Poetry ought to be written from inspiration, in response to a genuine emotion, but this was not always the case with poetry in this period. Ḥusayn Ḥusnī at-Tuwayrānī explained what factors may have motivated other poets, though they did not lay behind his own poetry:-

> I did not write poetry to try to deceive the grandees, nor to flatter those of lesser rank. I did not sell its verses to the masters of palaces. I did not use it as a means to (gain) noble things, nor to gain access to anybody. I did not sacrifice its honour asking for high rank and prestige. I did not spend its jewel on an application. I did not aim its arrow at any objective.[3]

1. W.M., no.358, 22 May, 1870.
2. Ibid., no.782, 20 October, 1878.
3. Ḥusnī, op. cit., vol.1, p.3.

The story of the Syrian poet Niqūlā Tūmā is illustrative of the advantages that could be derived from well-chosen verses and shows that poetry was often written with a reward or post in mind, as in fact it had always been. On his arrival in Egypt in 1875, he presented a qaṣīda to the Egyptian politician, Muḥammad Sharīf, who gave him a recommendation for his first government appointment as translator in the Salt Department (maṣlaḥat al-milḥ). When the government of Riyād fell, Niqūlā expressed his criticism of corruption in the department to a higher committee of enquiry and this led to his dismissal. Seeking redress he went to Cairo, and sent a qaṣīda to Riyād Pasha with a booklet on suggested reforms in the department. He subsequently became a favourite of Riyād and visited him often; he was appointed a member of the Egyptian Salt Commission.[1] There are many similar stories on the efficacy of poetry. Sometimes it was not the poet who derived benefit from his poem. Shaykh Ḥasan at-Tawīl once wrote a poem praising one of the princes; it was delivered by another Shaykh, Muḥammad as-Saqqārī, who was given 40 dinars for it.[2]

Many, who had a religious or traditional education, felt that they were qualified to compose poetry whether they had any talent or not, and the press must have been sent many poems by such people. Apart from the court poets, whose non-poetic duties may have been minimal, most poets earned a living in some other way, not from their poetry. As their poetic skills became known by word of mouth, they were given the epithet shā^{c}ir (poet). There was a guild of poets, at least in the 1850s, according to the French traveller, Didier:-

La corporation la plus nombreuse est celle des

1. Zachoura, Elias, Kitāb Mir'āt al-^{c}Aṣr fī Ta'rīkh wa-Rusūm Akābir ar-Rijāl li-Miṣr, (Cairo, 1897), pp.403-404.

2. Taymūr, op. cit., p.122.

> poètes ou Chôarah (shuᶜarā'), nom dérivé de chehr (shiᶜr), qui veut dire vers, d'où chaer (shāᶜir), poète. Ils sont organisés hiérarchiquement, suivant leur talent d'abord, et d'après le genre qu'ils cultivent, depuis le poète sérieux qui compose de poèmes épiques, de grands récits merveilleux, jusqu'au poète infime qui affectionne des sujets bas et malhonnêtes. Un grand nombre de baladins se mêlent aussi de rimer; mais ils sont en dehors de toute hiérarchie et n'appartiennent point à l'association constituée des Choaras. Ce sont des bouffons publics, mangeurs de haschisch pour la plupart, haschaschin, qui improvisent avec des gestes, des contorsions grotesques, des obscénités que le populaire accueille par des trépignements de joie, des explosions d'hilarité. Ceux des Choaras, et ce sont les plus nombreux, que débitent eux-mêmes leurs vers dans les lieux publics, s'accompagnent d'une sorte de basse monocorde nommée rebab. Beaucoup sont aveugles et à ce titre attachés aux mosquées.[1]

It seems unlikely that the leading poets belonged to this guild, since most of them did not recite their poetry as a profession. It is also doubtful that the poet-companions of the court (nudamā') would have belonged to this guild; the members of the guild would have been much humbler and coarser practitioners of the poet's art.

Not all poets wished to be remembered by their poetry. ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm was quite pleased when he discovered that his dīwāns had been lost; he had in any case intended to burn them to destroy the satirical poems he had written. ᶜAbbās al-ᶜAqqād has remarked that poetry in this period was not considered worthy of the nobleman, the pious, or the god-fearing,[2] and this seems to be substantiated. Poetry was written in the main by middle and lower rank civil servants and school teachers, not by princes, courtiers or ministers.

1. Didier, op. cit., pp.67-68.

2. al-ᶜAqqād, ᶜAbbās Muḥammad, Shuᶜarā' Miṣr wa-Bī'ātuhum fi'l-Jīl al-Mādī, (Cairo, 1965), p.90.

The pious Azharite shaykhs only wrote religious poetry or manẓūmas, particularly those who became leading teachers in the university mosque; it was the graduates of al-Azhar that entered other professions who constituted the vast majority of the poets.

The presence of a poet in the court circle was an integral part of court life but their attendance at court functions was often merely a formality. Egyptian rulers probably did not try to understand the works of their poets, nor appreciated their skills. Many members of the ruling family and the court did not speak Arabic and felt no respect for the language, thus giving court poets little encouragement. Dr. Jayyusi has succinctly described the role of the nadīm (the poet companion):-

> The role they played of half poet, half entertainer, is perhaps one of the most degrading roles played by poets in the history of Arabic poetry. The poet companion had to have a good general knowledge; he had to be versed in old Arabic literature, in its poetry, and prose, its anecdotes and proverbs; and had to be patient, amiable, quick-witted and intelligent. He had to offer counsel, or consolation, or humour and wit, according to the situation. He was often called upon to extemporize on different occasions. This increasing urbanity and affectation stole away the remnant of strength and virility which had characterised Arabic poetry. It blocked all the outlets of the poetical self, and a wall now stood between poetry and the human heart.[1]

Nineteenth century poetry has been labelled naẓm (writing metrically) rather than shi^{c}r (poetry). Images were chosen from a traditional repertoire, with only minor changes being made. The poems were full of hyperbole. The skill of the poet was paramount, not the meaning of his verses. Poets, because

1. Jayyusi, Salma Khadra, Trends and Movements in Modern Arabic Poetry, (Leiden, 1977), vol.1, p.36.

of the bonds of tradition and the highly affected language they used, were unable to express their feelings. Poetry had lost its ties with the personal desires and motivation of its composer. The poet in turn had broken his links with his society; he was incapable of describing its problems, or reflecting the changes that were occurring. Poetry had become a clever choice of words; it had stopped performing any serious function.

The Arabic qaṣīda kept the same form for centuries. In the pre-Islamic period it was employed to eulogize the tribe of the poet and denigrate the opposing tribes. It was later concerned with the eulogy of a person or a family, and it is in this guise that it was found in the Arabic press up to 1882. It had one rhyme, and a uniform metre throughout its fifty to 100 lines. The verses (bayt) were divided into two hemistichs, and usually the two halves of the opening verse rhymed; each line of the poem had to be an entity in itself. In the introductory lines of the ancient qaṣīda, the nasīb (erotic introduction), the poet shed some tears over the obliterated camping place of his beloved. He then described the charms of the beloved. In the second part of the poem came the riḥla (journey) to the person to whom the poem was addressed, and finally came the central theme, the panegyric or the satire (hijā').[1]

At the end of the eighth century under the "modern" poets, there arose a description of men drinking, gambling away their goods, and giving a present to the girl who fills the wine cup, and sings. The description of the desert normally in the second part of the poem became a description of nature and gardens, and the description of the mount in this section resulted in the poetry of war or hunting.[2] Such descriptions

1. Krenkow, F. (G. Lecomte), "Kasīda", EI (2nd edition, 1978), vol.IV, pp.713-714.
2. Ibid.

were favoured by nineteenth century poets, rather than the description of the desert.

It was customary to begin dīwāns with a traditional poem in praise of the Prophet (nabawīya); the dīwān of Ibrāhīm Marzūq begins in this way. These madā'iḥ nabawīya (poems in praise of the Prophet) became popular in Ayyubid times; like the qaṣīda they start with the ghazal or nasīb, mentioning the places frequented by the loved one in the Nejd or the Hejaz. The Prophet was then praised, with the poet seeking his intercession to gain forgiveness of his sins. A somewhat contrived form of poem written in praise of the Prophet was the badīʿīya. These were written in the basīṭ metre, each verse containing a kind of badīʿ (trope); ʿAlī Darwish has one in his dīwān.[1] Books of poetry in praise of the Prophet were very popular. Such poems were recited all over the country at the mawālid (birthday of a Muslim saint) and the adhkār (the Sufi ceremonies at which certain words or formulae in praise of God were repeated incessantly). On the nights of Rabīʿ I before the Prophet's birthday (al-mawlid an-nabawī) on the twelth of that month, such recitations and chants were held. The Sufi tracts containing these poems were what the literati, the merchants, and the petty shopkeepers, mostly read at the beginning of the century, acquiring their copies in manuscript from copyists or booksellers. In this period it was the popular religious orders who often determined popular literary taste. The Egyptian Sufi, Aḥmad aṣ-Ṣāwi (1761-1825), typical of the Sufi leaders, encouraged the composition and recitation of poetry in classical Arabic or dialect on important occasions in the community life of his disciples, whether in praise of the Prophet, their Sufi shaykh, or in honour of the grand master of their order, the khalwatīya.[2]

1. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.257.

2. Delanoue, Gilbert, Moralistes et politiques musulmans dans l'Égypte du XIXème siècle (1798-1882), Doct. ès Lett., Universite dé Paris IV, 1977, p.622[201].

The celebrated poem in praise of the Prophet, al-Burda (The Cloak) by Sharaf ad-Dīn al-Busīrī (d.696/1296), was one of the poems recited at mawālid, such as that of Husayn. This poem was also recited at funerals and burials, and was the object of many commentaries and glossaries, several written in the nineteenth century. The badīᶜīya form has its origins in this poem. The odes of ᶜUmar Ibn al-Fārid (d.632/1235) were composed to be sung at Sūfī gatherings. Among Sufis his poem (at-tā'īyya al-kubrā), a penetrating description of the whole series of mystical experiences, is considered a classic. Ibn al-Fārid's tomb is beneath al-Muqattam hills near Cairo, and he is still venerated as a saint.[1] The dīwāns of other Sufi poets were very popular, including the works of Muhyi'd-Dīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī, Safī ad-Dīn al-Hillī, Ibn Nubātah, al-Bahā' Zuhayr, Ibn an-Nabīh and ᶜAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī. Dīwāns in praise of the Prophet were still being written; one was written by the theologian ᶜAlī Sulaymān ad-Dimnātī (1818-1889), Ḥaly Nuḥūr Ḥūr al-Jinān fī Khazā'in ar-Raḥmān (The Necklace of the Houris of Paradise in the Treasury of the Merciful) published at al-Matbaᶜa al-Wahbīya in 1298/1880.[2]

Before the foundation of cultural societies and the creation of a literary press, poets displayed their talents in literary soirées (majālis) in the houses of prominent people, in the company of ulema, fellow poets, men of letters and lovers of literature from all walks of life. The discussions of these circles ranged over literature, music, religion, education and many other subjects. Poets, too, sought the recognition of their peers by exchanging poems of praise (tarāsul) usually in the same metre and rhyme, or in another form (musājalāt competitive poetry) they attempted to outshine their fellow poets.

1. Nicholson, R.A. (J. Pedersen), "Ibn al-Fārid", EI (2nd edition, 1971), vol.III, pp.763-764.

2. GAL, vol.SII, p.737.

Apart from the traditional verse forms, there were seven branches (al-funūn as-sabᶜa) of post-classical verse, the popular song forms, the muwashshaḥ, zajal, mawālīyā, dūbayt, kān wa-kān, qūmā, and ḥimāq, evolved in Andalusia, Baghdad and Persia. Such poems set to music (malḥūnāt) were not considered poetry by the pedants, but in fact these forms were used by most poets in this period; perhaps out of respect to such pedantry their dīwāns tucked such branches well to the back of the volumes, long after the nabawīyat and madā'iḥ. The itinerant men of letters, the udabātī (professional poets who composed a piece of doggerel for a payment), were particularly fond of employing these forms, though they would also improvise and recite panegyrics, fakhr (self-praise) and ghazal (erotic poetry) at the mawlids and other public functions where they performed. In the celebrated competitions that ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm took part in at the mawlid of Aḥmad al-Badawī at Tanta in 1877, the competitors recited a muqaddima (prelude), followed by five bouts in verse, one in Kān wa-Kān, and four in zajal (one madḥ, one fakhr and two ghazal).[1] Such competitions in azjāl or mawwāls might go on for hours. Such poems were also recited at Sufi ceremonies often accompanied by music and dancing, by a professional poet called the munshid (singer); the actor Salāma Ḥijāzī was a munshid in his youth. The munshids sang the praises of the Prophet or rehearsed Sufi teachings using the muwashshaḥ.

The muwashshaḥ is a strophic type of poetry, which has its origins in Andalusia. It was meant to be sung. In its most popular form it has a prelude (madhhab), then the bayt (stanza), made up of a dawr and a refrain (qafla). The qafla has the same rhyme as the madhhab, and was the master rhyme which was repeated at the end of each stanza throughout the poem. It dealt with the same subjects as the traditional qaṣīda, but since it was sung it was usually used for love

1. al-Ustādh, y.1, no.41, 6 June, 1893.

poems. It had its exponents in the press. Rifāᶜa at-Ṭahṭāwī used it for his waṭanīyāt (patriotic poems).

Another strophic form, in the colloquial, was the zajal, a vulgarised form of the muwashshaḥ without grammatical desinence; its reciters were called zajjālīn. It too was first recorded in Spain, and consists of 4 or more verses with a common rhyme on the ultimate verse. It was only used in the press by James Sanua and ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm. It had many exponents, some numbered amongst other poets who wrote in the press, but it rarely found its way into published dīwāns, presumably because it was held in contempt by traditionalists. It was often used for satire. The mawālīya, using the basīṭ metre, were also often written in colloquial, with a regular rhyme scheme of AAABA or AAABBBA.[1] They were sung by professionals called mawāljīs or mughannāwīs at weddings and circumcisions. Since this form used rhetorical devices it was more popular with those poets who usually wrote in the classical language; it was employed by ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn and others.

The Dūbayt, kān wa-kān, qūmā and ḥimāq were less frequently seen in the nineteenth century. The dūbayt is composed of four hemistichs; in one of its most common forms three of these hemistichs rhyme: the 1st, the 2nd and the 4th. Kān wa-kān consisted of four line stanzas with a rhyme scheme of AAAB; the rhyme of the last line is repeated throughout the poem. The qūmā was used to announce the appearance of dawn in the fasting month of Ramaḍān.

1. Bencheneb, Moh., "Mawālīyā", EI (1st edition, Leiden, 1936), vol.3, p.415.

CHAPTER X

POETRY BEFORE THE PRESS REVIVAL

Little is known of literary life in the years of turmoil after the French left. One poet, who lived in Egypt in these troubled times, and who may have frequented court circles, was the Syrian, Niqūlā at-Turk, the writer whose poems had attracted the French orientalists. When Yūsuf Pasha al-Madanī took over the reins of power in 1216/1801 from the departing French forces, Niqūlā wrote a short ta'rīkh to him. Yet another ta'rīkh was written when the Pasha left Egypt in 1217/1803.[1] He also wrote a few lines for the 23 day rule of the Albanian leader Tāhir Pasha al-Arnāwut in 1218/1803.[2] Niqūlā left Egypt in 1804, fleeing the vexations of the Turkish soldiery.

The evidence is contradictory as to Muhammad ᶜAlī Pasha's interest in Arabic literature. Since his command of the language was so limited, those odes addressed to him in Arabic would have to have been translated into Turkish. He may have brought poets into his court, simply because the company of literati was a sine qua non for a cultivated ruler in the Middle East; the neighbouring courts of Amīr Bashīr II in Bayt ad-Dīn in the Lebanon, and Muhammad b. ᶜAwn in Mecca all had their court poets. Men of letters too had standing in the Egyptian community. The Pasha himself probably had little taste for Arabic poetry, and did not respect poetic skills.[3] We are told that the Pasha "had little time for metaphysical writings and (the) richly worded poems

1. at-Turk, op. cit., vol.1, p.4; and vol.2, p.429.

2. Ibid., vol.1, p.5.

3. as-Saᶜᶜafīn, op. cit., pp.24 and 30.

of which Arabic literature is bountiful".

The first poets, whose names were associated with the Pasha, were the court poets of Amīr Bashīr II ash-Shihābī, the Druze ruler of Mount Lebanon. When the Prince visited Cairo in 1238 (1822/1823), Niqūlā at-Turk, who was his court poet, wrote a madḥ to the Pasha.[1] Another Syrian Christian poet, who may well have praised the Pasha in verse, was another court poet at Bayt ad-Dīn and steward (kākhiya) to the Prince, Butrus Karāma.[2] One of his Dīwāns was written in Egypt,[3] presumably when he travelled with his patron to Egypt.[4] A third Syrian, Naṣr Allāh aṭ-Ṭarābulusī,[5] came to Egypt in 1828. He befriended and panegyrised Ḥabīb al-Baḥrī al-Ḥimsī, chief clerk to Muḥammad ᶜAlī's court (ra'īs dīwān al-kuttāb), and was appointed as a clerk. Many later poets were to be associated with the Egyptian court in the capacity of clerk. Through al-Baḥrī, Naṣr Allāh was introduced to Muḥammad ᶜAlī, and was rewarded for encomiums he addressed to him. He became a favourite of the Pasha, but was accused of disloyalty and dropped out of favour.[6] He may well have written poetry to the Pasha in Turkish, and thus have gained his favour.

With the Egyptian invasion of Syria, ties between the court of the Amīr Bashīr and the Egyptian court increased. When Ibrāhīm, Muḥammad ᶜAlī's son, conquered Acre in May

1. at-Turk, op. cit., vol.1, p.159.

2. Butrus Karāma (1774-1851) was a Catholic from Homs. He worked in the Amīr's service from 1810, accompanying him into exile to Malta and Istanbul. See Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.1, pp.58-65.

3. al-Jundī, op. cit., vol.1, p.36.

4. Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.1, p.59.

5. Naṣr Allāh aṭ-Ṭarbulusī (1770-1840) was a Greek Catholic from Aleppo. After a period of imprisonment in Aleppo, he went to Egypt. He wrote poetry in Persian, Turkish and Arabic. See Cheikho, op. cit., vol.1, pp.56-58; and al-Jundi, op. cit., vol.2, pp.16-17.

6. al-Jindi, op. cit., vol.2, p.17.

1832, the Amīr suggested that Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī,[1] another Syrian Christian poet, write a ta'rīkh for the occasion.[2] When Ibrāhīm Pasha saw this, he asked the poet to write a qaṣīda for him like the qaṣīda[3] of an-Nahlāwi.[4] During the campaign and Ibrāhīm's travels in Syria, the Syrian poet Shaykh Amīn al-Jundī[5] became his companion and translator and dedicated a number of poems to him. Amīn visited Egypt with Ibrāhīm, and was presented to Muhammad ᶜAlī. Ibrāhīm asked him to write a ta'rīkh for the construction of the citadel mosque. At the court Amīn is said to have met other poets and literati,[6] thus indicating that by the 1830s a cultural milieu had been created in the Pasha's court, perhaps a majlis where some of the intellectual élite gathered.

Apart from these Syrian poets, there were several Egyptian poets in the service of the Pasha. Muhammad ᶜAlī sent the young poet ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr al-Manfalūṭī[7] to Istanbul in 1263 (1846-1847) to celebrate the circumcision of Sultan ᶜAbd al-Majīd's children. The Pasha probably felt that this gesture would help to improve relations with the Sublime Porte; it was customary for poets to display their skills on such occasions (munāsabāt). While there the poet also presented a poem to the Shaykh al-Islām, ᶜĀrif Bey Ḥikmat.[8]

1. Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī (1800-1871), a major force behind the renaissance of classical Arabic, was a Greek Catholic from near Beirut. See his biography by Kratschkowsky, Ign., EI (1st edition, 1934), vol.IV, pp.1170-1171.

2. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.85.

3. This was the famous qaṣīda written by ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Bahlūl an-Naḥlāwī (- 1750) in praise of his master ᶜAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī containing more than 100 ta'rīkh.

4. ᶜAbbūd, Mārūn, Ruwwād an-Nahḍa al-Ḥadītha, (Beirut, 1966), pp.61-62.

5. Amīn al-Jundī (1766-1841) was from a powerful family of the nobility in Homs. See al-Jundī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.27-30.

6. al-Jundī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.27-28.

7. ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr (1811-1881) was an Azharite from Upper Egypt. See Abū'n-Naṣr, as-Sayyid ᶜAlī, Dīwān (Būlāq, 1300/1883), p.6; and ᶜUmar ad-Dasūqī, Fī'l-Adab al-Ḥadīth, (8th edition, Cairo, 1970), vol.1, pp.125-129.

8. Abū'n-Naṣr, op. cit., p.6.

Apart from the poets gathered around the court, there were no doubt other circles where poets gathered, in the houses of the Pashas and leading officials or at the homes of the Azharite and Sufi Shaykhs. The dīwāns of as-Sayyid ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh and Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn are full of poems dedicated to such personages, while in contrast few of their verses are in praise of the Khedivial family. Of the officials of lower rank, it is known that Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī (-1862), secretary to Muḥammad ᶜAlī's kākhiya (steward) and grandfather of his more famous namesake, the journalist Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, regularly held a majlis attended by many poets and literati.[1]

The Italian chemist Guiseppe Forni (in Egypt from 1815-1831) describes the popularity of poetry amongst the people and the subjects the poets dealt with:-

> Gli Arabi tutti hanno il sentimento del ritmo, dilettansi del ritomo delle consonanze e fanno versi; ond'e che frequenti s'incontrano gl'improvvisatori, e non sono in piccol numero le popolari canzoni. Codesti prometti rassomigliano alle nostre romanze, dividonsi a strofe con sempre il ritornello, e finiscono di consueto con le parole: Oh notte, oh notte! - Ve ne ha di licenziosi e satirici, ma sono melanconici la più parte, sponendo in tuono elegiaco le pene degli amanti - L'odorosa fragranza del gelsomino, il dolce colorito della rosa, la pazienza del cammello la forza e maestà del leone, la dilicita eleganza, la sveltezza ed i begli ochi della gazzella, la fecondità del Nilo, la tranquilla serenità della notti forniscono agli arabi larga messe di figure, mentre la ricchezza e flessibilità dell'idioma somministrano ad essi una forma acconcia e modulata ai sentimenti, onde il cuor loro e compresso. - Sonvi nel Cairo poeti titolati avvezzi a comporre una canzone al mese, la quale vien poi cantata nelle feste pubbliche e private, ed in breve corre per le bocche di tutti.[2]

1. "Ibrāhīm Bīk al-Muwaylihī, al-Kātib as-Siyāsī wa'l-Munshī aṣ-Ṣiḥāfī", al-Hilāl, y.14, p.7, (1 April, 1906), pp.383-384; and Ibrāhīm Mouelhy, "Ibrahim El Mouelhy Pasha. Les Mouelhy en Egypte", CHE, y.1950, p.317.

2. Forni, op. cit., vol.2, pp.63-65.

Such was the appeal of the post-classical verse forms. Moreh believes that there was a growing interest in the muwashshaḥ in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign,[1] but it seems that they had been part of the poet's repertoire for centuries, and nineteenth century poets were merely maintaining the tradition. Poets probably felt that they had to demonstrate that they were capable of composing poetry in the full range of verse forms; at this stage the use of these forms was not part of the revival of classical poetry to counter the influence of foreign poetry. Amīn al-Jundī wrote muwashshaḥāt, which were set to music and sung in Egypt, and were still being sung until recently in Syria.[2] Ibrāhīm Pasha was fond of such poetry, and had adwār (strophic poetry), muwashshaḥāt and qasā'id sung before him, while he rested from his military campaigns in Syria.[3] Amīn was adept at writing these, and also wrote mawālīyāt and aghānī for singers.[4] Post-classical verse forms were used by all the leading poets. The poet Shaykh Ḥasan Quwaydir[5] wrote a number of muzdawijāt, though none were published in his life time. The dīwān of Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn includes dūbayts,[6] and mawwāl,[7] while that of ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh has muwashshaḥāt,[8] adwār,[9] and mawwāl rubāᶜī[10] (quatrains).

1. Moreh, S., Modern Arabic Poetry, 1800-1970, (Leiden, 1976), p.20.

2. al-Jundī, op. cit., vol.1, p.28.

3. Ibid., p.27.

4. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.715.

5. Ḥasan Quwaydir (1789/1790-1845/1846) was born in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar under Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār, and then went into commerce. One of his pupils was the poet Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sāᶜātī. Little remains of his work. See Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.1, p.53.

6. Shihāb ad-Dīn, Muḥammad, Dīwān..., (Cairo, 1277/1861), p.178.

7. Ibid., p.206.

8. ad-Darwīsh, p.459.

9. Ibid., p.463.

10. Ibid., p.467.

Very little contemporary poetry was published in Muhammad ᶜAlī's reign, and what appeared was incidental to the works published. Rifāᶜa Rafīᶜ at-Ṭahṭāwī had several works of his published, some original, and some translations of French works, and his first published poems appeared in some of these works. Rifāᶜa had written poetry in the early 1820s while a student at al-Azhar, including a didactic poem on tawḥīd (dogmatic theology),[1] and one on geometry.[2] He had studied ādāb (polite literature) with Shaykh Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār at al-Azhar. From 1826 to 1831 he was imām to an educational mission to France.

Apart from those Arab poets who made contact with members of the French expeditionary force, he was one of the first Egyptian literati to be exposed to literature in a European language. In Paris, he read French works in many fields, philosophy, history, travel, geography, the sciences, mathematics, but perhaps the only work of literature that he read[3] was J.F.M. Noel and P.A. de la Place's Cours de Littérature Comparée, (Paris, 1823), a selection from French seventeenth and eighteenth century literature,[4] including the poetry of Voltaire and Racine. Typical of his contemporaries, he probably felt that while the East should derive all the benefit it could from the scientific and material advances that the West had made, the Arab world did not need to be familiar with the West's literary heritage, or mimic its social behaviour. Dr. Ṭāhā Wādī believes that Rifāᶜa felt that any borrowing from European literature might shake religious belief and change the national character.[5] But Rifāᶜa's response was

1. Jomard, E.-F., "École Égyptienne de Paris", NJA, Serie 2, vol.II, 1828, p.104[1].
2. at-Ṭahṭāwī, Rifāᶜa Rafīᶜ, al-Aᶜmāl al-Kāmila, (Beirut, 1973), vol.2, p.246.
3. Wādī, op. cit., p.47.
4. Delanoue, op. cit., p.775.
5. Wādī, op. cit., p.48.

more complex for he did translate Fénelon's Télémaque with all its references to Greek theology.

Some of his poetry first appeared in his description of his stay in Paris, Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz fī Talkhīṣ Bārīz, published at Būlāq in 1250/1834-1835 and in a more popular Turkish translation in 1255/1839-1840, published when he was working as a teacher and translator in one of the government's new schools. In one poem written while he was in Paris, he describes his longing for Egypt, singing the country's virtues, and ends by praising Muḥammad ᶜAlī, comparing him to Alexander and Khosrau. He exalts Muḥammad ᶜAlī's and Ibrāhīm's conquests in Arabia over the Wahhabites, Ibrāhīm's campaigns in the Sudan, and his victories over the Turks.[1]

While in Paris he had translated some French poetry, thus becoming aware of the difficulty of translating poetry and the fact that through translation the text lost much of its beauty and vitality.[2] The first poem he translated into Arabic verse was La Lyre Brisée-dithyrambe,[3] written by Joseph Agoub,[4] whose family, perhaps Armenian, had emigrated to France with the French expeditionary force. Its Arabic title was Naẓm al-ᶜUqūd fī Kasr al-ᶜŪd, and it was translated into quintets of AAAAB in the khafīf metre. The poem praised Egypt and its ruler. It was first published in Paris and then republished in Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz.[5] He also translated a few verses of French love poetry that had been addressed to him.[6]

1. at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.71-72.

2. Ibid., p.91.

3. Originally published in Arabic and French in Paris in 1827, and then in 1835 in Mélanges de Littérature Orientale et Française, pp.310-316.

4. Joseph Agoub (1795-1832) was one of Rifāᶜa's teachers in Paris. See Luthi, op. cit., pp. 167^{2}, 167^{6}, 174-175, 268.

5. Wādī, op. cit., pp.187-198; and at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.89-91.

6. at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.2, p.89.

In Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz, he made some general remarks on French poetry. He noted that the French considered rhetorical embellishments as a sign of weakness in poetry only to be used in humorous writings.[1] He also commented that the French did not quote poetry in scientific works;[2] in the Arab world it was good style to quote poetry, the Qur'ān, ḥadīth, in any work whatever its subject matter. Apart from the madḥ (panegyric), the book included some rare lines of erotic verse (ghazal ᶜafīf), written by at-Ṭahṭāwī. These were written as the ship taking him to France approached Marseilles, and he heard the melodious sounds of the church bells.

In the introduction to an historical textbook on the ancient East, Bidāyat al-Qudamā' wa-Nihāyat al-Ḥukamā',[3] published at Būlāq in 1251/1835-1836, there was another madḥ to Muḥammad ᶜAlī by Rifāᶜa.[4]

More translations of French poetry appeared in a later work, a history of the rulers of France and Egypt translated by ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, Naẓm al-La'ālī' fi's-Sulūk fī Man Ḥakama Faransa .. Min al-Mulūk, published in 1257/1841-1842 at Būlāq. Rifāᶜa revised this work by his former pupil, and included in it free translations of the anthem of the French revolution, the Marseillaise, by Rouget de l'Isle, and of the Parisienne, a revolutionary hymn composed during the revolution against Charles X in July 1830;[5] these translations had been made in Paris.[6] These seem rather bizarre works to be translated for publication under Muḥammad ᶜAlī's autocratic rule, calling as they do for freedom and justice. The

1. al-Jayyusi, op. cit., p.17.
2. at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.2, p.230.
3. It was republished in 1254/1838-1839 and 1282/1865-1866.
4. Wādī, op. cit., p.51, from Bidāya, p.4.
5. Ibid., pp.199-202 and 206-208.
6. Ibid., p.65.

explanation for these translations lies in the fact that Muhammad ᶜAlī had brought European musicians to open a conservatory of music at Kankaw to train military bands. These tunes, the Marseillaise and the Parisienne, and the funeral march of Beethoven, were amongst the first tunes that the musicians learnt to play.[1] Rifāᶜa called for the composition of an Egyptian national anthem.[2]

Very few works of foreign poetry were rendered into Arabic up to 1882, while hundreds of prose works were translated, in history, the military arts, geography, and the sciences, and, as was pointed out in the previous chapter, in the 1860s and later some novels and short stories were translated. These verse translations did not influence Rifāᶜa's Arabic poetry. He kept to the conventions in his own poems and translated poems. Nor was he swayed by the French disdain of rhetoric to abandon tropes in his own poetry.

Such was the parlous state of Arabic literature that the first anthology of Arabic poetry published by the Government press at Būlāq, in 1242/1826-1827, was taken from a European work and not from one of the thousands of manuscripts in Egyptian private and mosque libraries. This European work was the Anthologie Arabe/Iltiqāṭ al-Azhār fī Maḥāsin al-Ashᶜār, an anthology of Arabic poetry published in Arabic, Latin and French, with a commentary by its compiler, the Swiss orientalist Jean Humbert (1792-1851); it had been published in Paris in 1819.[3] It included poetry by the most famous Arab poets, ranging from elegies to songs and moral poems. The Frenchman, Michaud, who visited Egypt in 1831, felt this borrowing was strange:-

1. Forni, op. cit., vol.1, p.403.
2. Wādī, op. cit., p.199.
3. Van Dyck, op. cit., p.477.

> C'est une des singularités de l'Orient dans le temps ou nous sommes, que de recevoir d'au delà des mers jusqu'aux chefs d'oeuvre qu'il a lui même produits, et d'avoir besoin, pour multiplier les inspirations de ses poétes les examples de l'Occident.[1]

Michaud had been told by a Cairo bookseller when he asked if there were any poets in the Egyptian capital, "il n'y en a point d'autres que les chansonniers qui font des chansons pour les almées,[2] qui composent des mouals (mawwāls) pour les occasions solennelles".[3] A work that was much recited on such religious occasions was one of the few books of poetry published in the first half of the nineteenth century; this was the famous mīmīya of the Egyptian poet al-Būsīrī, the Sufi poem, al-Burda. It was published at Būlāq in 1256/1840-1841 under the title al-Kawākib ad-Durrīya fī Madḥ Khayr al-Barīya.[4]

This was the cultural climate in which the Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye appeared in a country ruled by a governor largely indifferent to its native literature. The newspaper was to reflect this official indifference for it published very little poetry; besides government announcements and news from Europe, there were very few items of a literary nature. In the early issues, half written in Turkish, the odd verse of poetry that appeared was in that language without an Arabic translation.[5] These verses were often tawārīkh (chronograms) celebrating some official event. One of the first pieces of Arabic poetry to appear in the paper was published in its

1. Geiss, B.I.E., vol.II, p.212 from Michaud, op. cit.

2. Egyptian dancing girls.

3. Michaud, op. cit., vol.VI, p.301.

4. A commentary (sharḥ) on this, ᶜAṣīdat ash-Shahda by Shaykh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Kharbūtī, was published at Būlāq in 1260/1844-1845, and again in Cairo in 1271/1854-1855.

5. W.M., no.108, Wednesday, 16 Shaᶜbān, 1245 (10 February, 1830).

first year, seemingly by a writer, perhaps one of the editors of the paper, who had committed some indiscretion[1]:-

أنا عبد ذا المولى الذى عن زلّتى يعفو وان لم اجو خيراً واحداً

ملك عن الزلّات يعفو قادراً فلذا اكرر فيه مولى حامداً

I am a slave with a master who forgives my sins, even if there is no good in me.

(He is) a master, who is able to forgive sins, therefore I repeat he is a praiseworthy master.

In the 1840s some longer poems were published. In 1258 (1842-1843) a qaṣīda was published by the "skilful man of letters ash-Shaykh Shihāb ad-Dīn",[2] one of the paper's editors, and chief corrector at Būlāq. This poem was a tahni'a (congratulatory verse) recited on the appointment of Shaykh Muḥammad al-Ḥabashī as mufti of the Mālikites.[3] Ibrāhīm ᶜAbduh has commented that this poem is typical of the poetry of this period. It lacks refinement, its expressions are pallid, its measure is weak, and its rhyme confused.[4]

Though it was not possible to consult most of these early issues, the press historian Ibrāhīm ᶜAbduh, who had access to many of these issues, states that from 1258/1842-1843 poetry and literature were neglected,[5] but from time to time poetry appeared. In 1847 a deaf ᶜālim from Damietta, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Khuḍarī,[6] wrote a poem in praise of the surgeon

1. W.M., no.32, 27 Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1244 (31 May, 1829).

2. Muḥammad b. Ismāᶜīl al-Miṣrī, known as Shihāb ad-Dīn (1795-1858) was born in Cairo. He studied at al-Azhar, under Shaykh Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār and others. He taught Fāris ash-Shidyāq language and bayān (exposition). See von Kremer, op. cit., vol.II, pp.294-297; and Mubārak, op. cit., vol.III, pp.20-21; and GAL, vol.II, pp.624-625.

3. W.M., no.624, 1258/1842-1843, from ᶜAbduh, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, op. cit., p.106.

4. ᶜAbduh, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, op. cit., p.106; and Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., pp.125-127.

5. ᶜAbduh, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, op. cit., p.108.

6. Muḥammad ad-Dimyātī al-Khuḍarī (1798-1870) was a leading Shāfiᶜī ᶜālim who taught at al-Madrasa aṭ-Ṭaybarsīya of al-Azhar in Cairo. See Kaḥḥāla, op. cit., vol.12, p.27; and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, pp.885-886.

who had cured him;[1] one wonders if it was his deafness that was cured. He is not known as a poet, and this is the only poem of his found in the press. No doubt Shaykh Muḥammad, like most educated persons, could turn his hand to writing poetry if the occasion demanded.

More poems by Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn appeared in 1847 and 1848, though they were anonymously attributed to the musaḥḥih (corrector) of the newspaper. In 1261/1845 he was invited to the Khedivial Dīwān and asked to write a qaṣīda to be inscribed on the new Khedivial mosque (al-Jāmi^{c} al-Khudaywī) built on the citadel.[2] He composed another poem wishing Ḥusayn Effendi, Director of the paper (nāẓir al-Waqā'i^{c}) and Director of the Būlāq press (nāẓir al-Matba^{c}a al-^{c}Āmira), a speedy recovery from an accident, in which he fell from his horse and broke his leg.[3] The poet reminds Ḥusayn Effendi that there is no escape from fate; he advises him to be patient for the doctor's skill will cure him. He gives a detailed description (waṣf) of how the accident happened. The horse stumbled:

و أطاحه فغدا على وجه الثرى ملقى وعظم الساق منه ترضرضا

It threw him and he was thrown to the ground and
one of the bones of (his) leg was broken into pieces.

We are told that the horse "sacrificed" itself and went to hell. Then the pace of the poem is marred by a long passage praising God for his intercession. Shihāb ad-Dīn had also written poems to a previous nāẓir of the paper, Sāmī Pasha,[4]

1. W.M., no.90, end Dhū'l-Qa^{c}da, 1263 (9 November, 1847).

2. Ibid., no.95, 7 Muharram, 1264 (15 December, 1847); and Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., pp.30-35.

3. W.M., no.103, 2 Rabī^{c} al-Awwāl, 1264 (7 February, 1848); and Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., pp.84-85.

4. Sāmī was associated with the paper from the beginning; it is not known when this connection ceased.

whom he describes as Minister of the paper (wazīr al-Waqā'iᶜ)[1] and these too may have been published in the gazette.

The fact that most of the poems published in the paper were directed to people outside the Khedive's immediate circle is perhaps indicative that Muḥammad ᶜAlī was not concerned whether Arabic poetry was written in praise of him or not; he was probably also not interested in the poetry published in the paper. In contrast to Ismāᶜīl's reign when most of the poetry in the official journal was directed to the Khedive and his family, poetry in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's time, written by the leading poets, was primarily dedicated to religious Shaykhs and senior government officials.

Shihāb ad-Dīn's dīwān is almost exclusively devoted to madḥ, but relatively few poems are devoted to the Khedive. In 1251 (1835-1836) the poet rejoiced that Muḥammad ᶜAlī had escaped the plague; in 1253 (1837-1838) he praised him when his sons were circumcised.[2] He praised his son Ibrāhīm when he returned from the war in Syria.[3] Perhaps at the Pasha's request, he extolled ᶜArif Bey, the Shaykh al-Islam in Istanbul in 1262 (1845-1846).[4] No doubt seeking a reward he addressed the Sherif of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ᶜAwn;[5] a number of poets were in the Sherif's retinue. The Sherif had been removed to Cairo in 1836 after a dispute with Muḥammad ᶜAlī's deputy. He remained there till 1840. Outside court circles he praised the Russian Consul to Egypt, Butrus Bokty (Buktī). He was probably prepared to write poetry on request in return for payment in cash or kind; he wrote a number of poems at the request of the Coptic community.[6]

1. Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., pp.60 and 62.
2. Ibid., p.28.
3. Ibid., pp.35-36.
4. Ibid., p.110.
5. Ibid., p.48.
6. Ibid., p.166.

Most of his poetry was addressed to ministers of the court (nuẓẓār), other government officials and shuyūkh (shaykhs). He wrote many poems to officials of the Ministry of Education (al-Maᶜārif), where he was employed, and to those connected with the government Finance Ministery (al-Mālīya). The Khedive's treasurer, ᶜAbd al-Bāqī Bey was singled out several times for praise.[1] Some of his poems directly sought favours, or were demands for payment of his salary.[2] His complaints and petitions were also raised in poetic form; in nineteenth century Egypt, many a plaintiff solved his problems by a timely verse justifying his case, and reasserting his loyalty.

The writing of tawārīkh, of between two and six verses, may have also brought reward. He wrote them for official occasions, for the construction of new barrages (al-qanāṭir al-khayrīya) in 1263/1846,[3] for the Kaaba covering in 1243/1827-1828,[4] to be written on the covering of the tomb of the Prophet's mother, as-Sayyida Āmina,[5] for the construction of a bath. He penned them for government officials, when they had a house built, for births, marriages, on promotion, to be inscribed on tombs.[6] A whole section of his dīwān contained taqārīẓ (encomiums) to new books published by Būlāq. As chief corrector of the government press, he no doubt wrote those poems to be published at the end of the texts. Some were for literary texts, for a commentary (sharḥ) on Al-Mathnawī by the Persian mystic, Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, published Būlāq 1250/1834-1835,[7] for the Dīwān of Qays b. al-Mulawwah al-ᶜĀmirī, known as Majnūn Layla, published 1260/1844-1845,[8] and for the

1. Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., pp.58-60.
2. Ibid., p.75.
3. Ibid., p.238.
4. Ibid., p. 241.
5. Ibid., p. 260.
6. Ibid., pp.58-60.
7. Ibid., pp.224 and 231.

Arabic translation of Saᶜdī's work, Taᶜrīb al-Julistān al-Fārisi published 1263/1846-1847.[1]

As-Sayyid ᶜAlī Effendi ad-Darwīsh[2] was another prolific writer of poetry in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign, though it is claimed that he did not have to live on the rewards that his poetry brought for he had private wealth.[3] Some of his poetry may have appeared in Vaḳā'iᶜ-i Miṣrīye; in 1251/1835-1836 he wrote a ta'rīkh for the paper which it may have published.[4] As-Sayyid ᶜAlī wrote poems to Muḥammad ᶜAlī Pasha for a number of occasions. His published poems to the Pasha exceed those of Shihāb ad-Dīn. He wrote a ta'rīkh to commemorate the construction of many new barrages in various parts of Egypt,[5] a poem in 1259/1843-1844 when a plague of locusts invaded Egypt and the cattle died,[6] another for the ḥajj in 1263/1846-1847.[7] His poems to the Pasha span the period from 1241/1825-1826 to 1265/1848-1849. He also wrote odes to Ibrāhīm Pasha,[8] including one on his arrival from Istanbul in 1262/1845-1846.[9] Like Shihāb ad-Dīn he paid his respect to the Ottoman court with a poem to Sultan Maḥmūd Khān,[10] and a qaṣīda to Sultan ᶜAbd al-Majīd Khān in 1255/1839-1840.[11] There were several poems addressed to the founder of the Senoussi order, Shaykh

1. Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., p.

2. ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh (1796-1270/1853-1854) was born in Cairo and educated at al-Azhar. See Ḥasan as-Sandūbī Aᶜyān al-Bayān min Ṣubḥ al-Qarn ath-Thālith ᶜAshar al-Hijrī ila'l-Yawm, (Cairo, 1914), pp.46-47.

3. ad-Dasūqī, op. cit., vol.1, p.51.

4. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.142.

5. Ibid., pp.109, 167, 168, and 318.

6. Ibid., p.172.

7. Ibid., p.60.

8. Ibid., pp.59, 110, and 117.

9. Ibid., p.59.

10. Ibid., p.430.

11. Ibid., p.111.

as-Sanūsī al-Kabīr,[1] who visited Egypt around 1830. He too praised the Sherif Muḥammad b. ᶜAwn.[2] The Sherifs may well have been generous patrons, and perhaps visited Egypt on numerous occasions, apart from Sherif Muḥammad's enforced sojourn.

Much of his poetry was written in the form of madḥs or tahni'as to important state officials, provincial governors,[3] Pashas, and those connected with state finances, like ᶜAbd al-Bāqī Bey,[4] the object of Shihāb ad-Dīn's praise. Ad-Darwīsh also praised Muslim religious dignitaries, and judges.[5] The Āl as-Sādāt (Muḥammad's direct descendants) were often praised by ad-Darwīsh and Shihāb ad-Dīn, sometimes coupled with praise to the prophet. One of these, the naqīb al-ashrāf as-Sayyid al-Bakrī,[6] head of the Sufi fraternities in Egypt, had a special place in the hearts of the people because his family tree went back to the Caliph Abū Bakr as-Ṣiddīq.[7] Other religious dignitaries, the rectors of al-Azhar Shaykh Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār,[8] then Shaykh Ḥasan al-Quwaysinī,[9] the Hanafite Muftī Shaykh al-ᶜAbbāsī al-Mahdī,[10] and other shaykhs of al-Azhar had poems dedicated to them. Such people, like the senior officials, might extend their patronage to poets, offer assistance when needed, and could be called upon to settle disputes. The poetry of Shihāb ad-Dīn and ad-Darwīsh reads very much like a Who's Who of the Egyptian hierarchy.

1. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., pp.252 and 349.
2. Ibid., pp.32, 55, and 229.
3. Ibid., p.353.
4. Ibid., pp.31, 229, and 276.
5. Ibid., p.60.
6. Ibid., pp.3, 6, 83, 91, 116, 137, 186, 216, 230, 272, and 274.
7. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.93.
8. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., pp.138, 176, and 273.
9. Ibid., p.273.
10. Ibid., p.288.

Ad-Darwīsh, considered the imām (master) of the tawārīkh,[1] rivalled his contemporary in his output of chronograms, written to be inscribed on the door of a mosque, the door of a house, on the side of a sabīl (public fountain), to be written on a tomb, for the invention of a new water-wheel (sāqiya);[2] the list is endless. He too wrote taqārīẓ for new publications.[3]

Another literary figure associated with the paper was Shaykh Ḥasan al-ᶜAṭṭār. Because of his sympathy with the French, he had fled the country in 1802, returning in 1817. On his return he taught at al-Azhar. He is said to have had considerable influence with Muḥammad ᶜAlī, and was finally appointed Rector of al-Azhar in 1831.[4] Lane met him and said "he is eminently accomplished in polite literature".[5] The poetry he wrote in exile is lost,[6] and little remains of his poetry written in this period. There are a few examples of his verse in his manual on epistolary style, Inshā'ash-Shaykh al-ᶜAṭṭār, published at Būlāq in 1243/1827-1828 and republished in 1250/1834-1835.[7] Amongst his pupils were several literary figures, Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī, Muḥammad ᶜAyyād at-Ṭanṭāwī, Muḥammad ᶜUmar at-Tūnisī, and Rifāᶜa at-Ṭahṭāwī.

The names of many other poets in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign are known, but information is lacking on their poetic activity.

1. Ḥasan, Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī, Aᶜlām min ash-Sharq wa'l-Gharb, (Cairo, 1949), p.62.

2. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.127.

3. Ibid., p.214.

4. Ṭarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.129.

5. Lane, op. cit., p.221.

6. Gran, op. cit., p.108.

7. GAL, vol.II, p.624; and vol.SII, p.720. It was republished at Būlāq in 1266/1849-1850, at the Castelli press in 1270/1853-1854; at Būlāq in 1275/1858-1859, and in Cairo in 1277/1860-1861, 1278/1861-1862, 1288/1871-1872, and 1297/1880.

Muḥammad ᶜAyyād at-Tanṭāwī collected the Dīwān, still in manuscript, of his master, Shaykh ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān as-Safaṭī ash-Sharqāwī (-1848), who like his rival Shihāb ad-Dīn was also a corrector at Būlāq.[1] Other literati of the Pasha's reign reign were as-Sayyid Ḥasan Abāza,[2] Shaykh Muṣṭafā Pasha al-ᶜArūsī,[3] Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Badrī,[4] Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Ghulbān,[5] Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Harīrī,[6] Shaykh Aḥmad al-Masīrī,[7] Aḥmad Effendi al-Azbakāwī,[8] the Azharite Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Qabbānī (1721/1722-1806/1807),[9] the faqīh Shaykh Muṣṭafā as-Safawī (1739/1740-1814/1815),[10] the faqīh, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Basyūnī (-1815/1816),[11] and the Azharite Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh as-Saᶜādī (-1842/1843).[12] Most Azharites probably wrote a few lines of poetry in their life-times; the composition of poetry was one of the skills they had acquired in their training, but few of them attached much importance to their poetry. Nor it seems did posterity for little or nothing remains of their works.

Apart from the Syrian Christians mentioned, most of the early poets were Azharites. With the creation of the new state schools a new generation of writers emerged, but since many

1. GAL, vol.II, p.625.
2. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.92.
3. Ibid., p.389.
4. Ibid., p.254.
5. Ibid., p.130.
6. Ibid., p.102.
7. Ḥasan, Aᶜlām, op. cit., p.60.
8. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.153.
9. al-Jabartī, ᶜAjā'ib (1978), op. cit., vol.3, pp.145-146.
10. Ibid., vol.3, p.498.
11. Ibid., vol.3, pp.530-531.
12. ᶜAbduh, Ta'rīkh al-Waqā'iᶜ, op. cit., p.107, from W.M., no.624, 1258/1842-1843.

of the staff of these schools were Azharites the poetry of this new generation differed little from that of their teachers. The poet Ibrāhīm Marzūq[1] was not an Azharite: he studied at the School of Languages under Rifā^{c}a. Rifā^{c}a took special care to teach Arabic literature at the school, training his pupils in the composition of poetry.[2] Ibrāhīm seems to have been as steeped in classical literature as the Azharites; he is said to have learnt by heart some 20,000 verses of the "choicest" poetry.[3] He also studied French literature but this had no noticeable effect on his literary output. He wrote a madḥ to Ibrāhīm Pasha when he became Governor of Egypt in 1848; he then held a minor post in the government service.

Though there was little press activity in the reigns of ^{c}Abbās I and Muhammad Sa^{c}īd, poets became more of a feature of court life. ^{c}Abbās (1849-1854) was an Arabic speaker, and poetry enjoyed a status in his court that it had not enjoyed under Muhammad ^{c}Alī. When he came to power, ^{c}Alī ad-Darwīsh became his court poet.[4] He also worked in the Khedivial dīwān (chancellery), helping with his command of the Arabic language to develop a good prose style in the court's correspondence.[5] Men of letters were to be given such positions in the court as the Arabic language was increasingly used in government correspondence. Amongst his duties was to write in 1851 a madḥ to Queen Victoria and the British Consul-General in Egypt, Sir Charles Murray,[6] who was a confidant of the Khedive. ^{c}Abbās paid court to the English because he was seeking England's protection against Ottoman interference in Egypt's affairs. As

1. For Marzūq (1817/1818-1866), see Taymūr, op. cit., pp.135-136, and Ibrāhīm Bey Marzuq, ad-Durr al-Bahī al-Mansūq bi Dīwān al-Adīb Ibrāhīm Bīk Marzūq, (Cairo, 1297), p.3.

2. Taymūr, op. cit., p.135.

3. Marzūq, op. cit., p.3.

4. ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.62.

5. Hasan, A^{c}lām, op. cit., p.66.

6. Ibid., pp.62-63.

a consequence of this policy, he replaced many of his French advisors by Englishmen.

For ᶜAbbās, ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh used his skills in ta'rīkh composition to coin names for the new quarters of the city of Cairo, such as al-Ḥilmīya named after ᶜAbbās himself. He also suggested names for ships.[1] ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh used his poetry to attempt to drive his rival Shihāb ad-Dīn out of the court. Shihāb lampooned him in return, though the two eventually reached a peaceful settlement.[2] His dīwān contains several defamatory poems (hijā'), showing that he feared for his position in the court against the attacks of minor poets.[3]

ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh died in the last year of ᶜAbbās' reign. His poetry was highly rhetorical and affected, and employed all the verbal tricks of the age, taṭrīz, jinās, tawriya, ṭibāq, and verbal puns. It is perhaps indicative of the general weakness of the Arabic language at the time that his poetry also contains colloquial expressions.[4] Most of his eulogies followed standard formulae, manifesting little concern about the real qualities of the person praised.

Shihab ad-Dīn was a companion and poet (nadīm) to the nobility, until having praised ᶜAbbās Pasha in poetry he became a courtier and his most important nadim.[5] He accompanied the Khedive wherever he went. He first made contact with ᶜAbbās when the latter was kitkhūda (Steward) to Muḥammad ᶜAlī in 1254/1838-1839.[6] He wrote far more poetry for him than he did for ᶜAbbās' grandfather, Muḥammad ᶜAlī. He

1. Ḥasan, Aᶜlām, op. cit., p.66.
2. Ibid., pp.61-62; and ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.81.
3. Ibid., pp.180, 189, 197, 326, and 327.
4. Ibid., pp.65-66.
5. Mubārak, op. cit., vol.3, p.21.
6. Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., p.37.

PAGE NUMBERING AS IN THE ORIGINAL THESIS

left his post at Būlāq in 1266/1849 and may have then become a courtier. He wrote poems to ᶜAbbās for the ḥajj in 1264/1847-1848,[1] on his return from Istanbul,[2] praising God that ᶜAbbās had survived the plague in 1266/1849-1850,[3] on the birthday of his son, Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣiddīq,[4] and on the arrival of his mother from the Hejaz in 1267/1850-1851.[5] He also dedicated poems to his son Ibrāhīm Il-Hāmī Pasha.[6] When ᶜAbbās died he left the court, and devoted his time until his death to writing and teaching.[7]

Shihāb ad-Dīn in 1268/1851-1852 eulogised Muḥammad b. ᶜAwn's successor, ash-Sharīf ᶜAbd al-Muṭṭalib.[8] He also wrote more taqārīẓ to several Dīwāns of poetry, including the Dīwān of ᶜAbd al-Ghanī an-Nabulusī,[9] and the Dīwān of Muḥyī'd-Dīn Ibn al-ᶜArabī.[10]

There were other poets active in ᶜAbbās' reign. Ibrāhīm Marzūq wrote a ta'rīkh when ᶜAbbās acceded to the throne in 1265/1848, and on the arrival of a delegation from the Hejaz the same year.[11] After spending five years in the court of the the Sherif of Mecca, Muḥammad b. ᶜAwn, the Egyptian poet Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sāᶜātī[12] joined the Dīwān al-Maᶜīya al-

1. Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., p.42.
2. Ibid., p.42.
3. Ibid., p.43.
4. Ibid., p.45.
5. Ibid., p.44.
6. Ibid., p. 265-266.
7. as-Sandūbī, op. cit., p.35.
8. Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., p.53.
9. Ibid., p. 233-235.
10. Ibid., p. 235-236.
11. Marzūq, op. cit., pp.11-12.
12. as-Sāᶜātī (1825-1881) had been a student of Shaykh Ḥasan Quwaydir, and seems not to have attended al-Azhar. He returned to Cairo in 1268/1851-1852 after the Sherif was deposed. See Ṣafwat, op. cit., p.3; ad-Dasūqī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.134-146; and Ḥasan, "Aᶜlām...24", , op. cit., pp.1882-1892.

Khitkhudā'īya (the Court of the Steward) at the time of ᶜAbbās,[1] but he does not seem to have written any poetry for the Khedive. He continued to address his poetry to the Sherifian court and the nobility of the Hejaz.

On the street, other poets captured the public's attention. A French visitor to Cairo in 1853, Didier wrote:-

> Le poete le plus gouté du Caire était un nommé Balah, mot qui signifié dattes, et qui sans doute est un surnom. Il a composé une épopée sur Mehemet-Ali et Ibrahim-Pacha.

Since he only performed in Ramadān it is to be assumed that he was a writer of folk poetry.[2] The modern equivalents of Balah still attract the crowds in Egypt at the mawlids in Cairo and the provinces, especially in Tanta and Dasūq.

Rifāᶜa at-Ṭahṭāwī was the only contemporary poet whose work appeared in print. Just before the School of Languages was closed a second edition was printed in 1285/1849 of Takhlīṣ al-Ibrīz. At the end was included eleven pages of poems by Rifāᶜa and others to the new Khedive ᶜAbbās.[3] It has been suggested that Rifāᶜa wrote this because he had forebodings about his future.[4] But the poem did not save him, his school was closed, and he was exiled to the post of director (nāẓir) of the Egyptian school in the Sudan; a post he held from 1850/1851-1854.

The number of literary works published in ᶜAbbās' reign was again very few. The classical anthology al-Mustaṭraf fī

1. Ṣafwat, Maḥmūd, Mukhtaṣar Dīwān Shiᶜr al-Adīb Maḥmūd Afandī Ṣafwat as-Saᶜātī, (Cairo, 1278/1860), p.4.

2. Didier, op. cit., p.68.

3. Wādī, op. cit., pp.153-157.

4. Ibid., pp.58 and 58[1].

Kull Fann al-Mustaẓraf by the Egyptian Muḥammad al-Ibshīhī (d.850/ 1446) was published at Būlāq in 1268/1851-1852 and 1272/1855-1856.[1] It included material in all the arts, including extracts from another anthology al-ᶜIqd al-Farīd. The influence of the Sufi orders and the popularity of Sufi works can be seen by the other literary works published. The dīwān of the Sufi ᶜAbd al-Ghanī an-Nābulusī (d.1143/1731), Dīwān al-Ḥaqā'iq wa-Majmūᶜ ar-Raqā'iq fī Ṣarīḥ al-Mawājīd al-Ilāhīya was published at Būlāq in 1852 and 1270/1854,[2] edited by Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī. Two sharḥs to al-Burda appeared, one printed lithographically in 1853 and the other, ᶜAṣīdat ash-Shahda fī Sharḥ Qaṣīdat al-Burda, lithographically at Būlāq in the same year. Yet another famous Sufi dīwān by the Andalusian Shaykh Ibn al-ᶜArabī (d.638/1240) was published at Būlāq in 1271/ 1854.[3]

The reign of Muḥammad Saᶜīd (1854-1863) was to witness the emergence of a number of new poets; it was also to see the publication for the first time of dīwāns by contemporary poets. The trickle of classical works being published turned into a flood. Maḥmūd Effendi Ṣafwat as-Sāᶜātī, the poet of the Sherifs, established himself in Saᶜīd's court; he was also appointed an employee of the highest appeal court, Majlis al-Aḥkām al-Miṣrīya. No doubt because of his literary skills his talents were used to write dīwān correspondence.[4] Several of his poems praised Saᶜīd, on his arrival from the Sudan in 1273/1856-1857,[5] and on other occasions.[6] Despite his official appointments in Egypt, he maintained his ties with the

1. GAL, vol.II, p.69.

2. Van Dyck, op. cit., p.281.

3. Van Dyck, op. cit., p.279.

4. Ṣafwat, op. cit., p.4.

5. Ibid., pp.77-78.

6. Ibid., p.47.

Sherifian court. He eulogised the Sherif ᶜAbd Allāh in 1275/1858-1859,[1] and addressed a poem to the Sherif ᶜAlī Pasha b. ᶜAwn on his visit to Egypt in 1276/1859-1860.[2] He was one of the first living poets to have a collection of his work published.

The court circle also included Shaykh Muṣṭafā Salāma an-Najjārī (? -1870). He wrote poetry in praise of the Khedive,[3] and his courtiers, and in return received gifts from Saᶜīd.[4] He had been a pupil of ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh and may have been introduced to the court by him. Another young poet working in the court was ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, involved in writing dīwān correspondence.[5] One of his first qaṣīdas was a waṣf (descriptive poem) in the ṭawīl metre on the Crimean war between Russia and Turkey, describing the fall of Sebastapol to the Ottoman, English and French forces.[6] This war was of concern to Egypt for there was an Egyptian contingent with the Ottoman forces.

Of the established poets, Shihāb ad-Dīn praised Saᶜīd on every occasion, but did not win the same position in the court as he had enjoyed under ᶜAbbās.[7] He praised Saᶜīd on his arrival from Istanbul in 1270/1854,[8] and when his sister came from Istanbul in 1271/1854-1855.[9] ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh died soon

1. Safwat, op. cit., p.38-39.

2. Ibid., p.43.

3. His dīwān, Nazm al-Madā'iḥ as-Saᶜīdīya fī Amjād ad-Dawla al-Khudaywīya, in praise of the Khedive Muḥammad Saᶜīd started in 1275/1858-1859, finished on 28 Ramaḍān, 1279/ 17 March, 1863 , is available in MS in Dār al Kutub. For Shaykh Muṣṭafā, see Taymūr, op. cit., p.137; and Kaḥḥāla, op. cit., vol.12, p.254.

4. Taymūr, op. cit., p.137.

5. ad-Dasūqī, op. cit., vol.1, p.147.

6. Fikrī, op. cit., p.13.

7. Hasan, Aᶜlām, op. cit., p.20; and Shihāb ad-Dīn, p.46.

8. Ibid., p.47.

9. Ibid., p.48.

after Sa^{c}īd came to the throne, but he did write a tahni'a to him shortly before his death.[1] Ibrāhīm Marzūq addressed some poetry to the Khedive on ^{c}Id al-Fitr,[2] 1278/1861-1862, to his son Ṭūsūn Pasha in 1277/1860-1861 and on other occasions,[3] but still had no position in the court. ^{c}Alī Abū'n-Naṣr, who had been employed on official missions by Muḥammad ^{c}Alī, wrote panegyrics to the Khedive, and his son Ṭūsūn.[4] It is not known why he was inactive in ^{c}Abbās' reign.

The young writer, Ṣālih Majdī, began writing poetry in earnest in Sa^{c}īd's reign. As a teenager he had written a poem to Muḥammad ^{c}Alī in 1258/1842-1843, and he had penned some other poems in ^{c}Abbās' reign.[5] He had been appointed to the Turkish Department (Qalam at-Turkī) in the equivalent of the Home Office (Dīwān al-Kitkhudā) in Jumādā al-Ūlā, 1267/1851. After holding several other appointments he gained an appointment to al-Ma^{c}īya al-Khudaywīya/the court of Sa^{c}īd. He dedicated poems to government officials, and to shaykhs of al-Azhar. He wrote a ta'rīkh for the construction of a citadel in 1271/1854-1855.[6] There were poems to fellow writers, one to Rifā^{c}a on his return from Khartum,[7] and an elegy for Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn in 1858.[8] Though little is known of the literary life, this elegy shows the close links that existed between poets.

1. Ḥasan, A^{c}lām, op. cit., p.60.
2. Marzūq, op. cit., p.10.
3. Ibid., p.15.
4. al-Jundī, A^{c}lām, op. cit., vol.2, p.428.
5. Ibid., pp.37-38, and 49.
6. Ibid., p.43.
7. Ibid., p.174.
8. Ibid., pp.15-16.

From the correspondence of the Syrian Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī the names of some other Muslim poets in Egypt are known, Shaykh ᶜAbd ar-Rahman Effendī az-Zaylaᶜī, Shaykh Hamd Mahmūd al-Iskandarī, Shaykh Hasan b. ᶜAlī al-Laqqānī al-Iskandarī, and Shaykh Muhammad ᶜĀqil Kāshif Zāda,[1] all of whom exchanged poems with Shaykh Nāṣīf. It is more than likely that they were minor poets, or only wrote infrequently, for there is no mention of them in any other source.

Under Saᶜīd many of the dīwāns of the ancient and classical poets were published for the first time.[2] These included the great work of pre-Islamic poetry, al-Muᶜallaqāt, the celebrated dīwāns of the ᶜAbbāsid period by Abū Nuwās, al-Mutanabbī, and the dīwān of the great court poet of the Fatimids Abū'l-Qāsim Muhammad b. Hāni' al-Azdī. Kaᶜb b. Zuhayr's poem to the Prophet Muhammad Bānat Suᶜād was published, as was the famous dīwān of the Sufi, Ibn al-Fārid. Shaykh Hasan al-ᶜAttār had collected the dīwān of Ibrāhīm b. Sahl al-Israᶜīlī in 1229/1814, and this fine example of Andalusian poetry was published in Saᶜīd's reign. There also appeared a number of highly rhetorical works of poetry to suit the prevailing literary taste, such as the seventeenth century anthology Rayḥānat al-Alibbā' wa-Nuzhat al-Ḥayāt ad-Dunyā by the Egyptian stylist Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Khafājī (d.1069/1659), and the dīwān of the Ayyubid poet, al-Bahā' Zuhayr (d.656/1258). These dīwāns appeared thanks to the establishment of a number of private printing presses, which published many of these works lithographically.

The young poets could now read the classics, especially from the ᶜAbbāsid period. These poets could imitate the more precise expression, the linguistic conciseness, and the

1. Shaykhu, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.1, pp.83-84.

2. as-Saᶜᶜafīn (op. cit., pp.475-480) lists most of the works of poetry published from 1850.

correctness of the rhyme of Abū Nuwās or al-Mutanabbī. But poetry was still thought of by many as a means of understanding texts, a source for shawāhid naḥwīya and lughawīya (evidential examples in grammar and lexicography) to enable religious texts to be interpreted, not as something to be listened to and enjoyed.[1] The teachers of Arabic language asked for dīwāns to be published to meet these linguistic needs.[2] The Sufi dīwāns were also published to meet public demand.

More post-classical popular poetry was published in the collection of muzdawijāt, Majmūᶜ al-Muzdawijāt, made by Maḥmūd Effendi al-Jazā'irī; this appeared in three editions.[3] It contained muzdawijāt by Shaykh Qāsim in praise of al-Amīr Ridwān, by Aḥmad al-Maqqarī (d.1041/1632), by Shaykh Muṣṭafā Asᶜad al-Luqaymī (d.1178/1765), by Shaykh Shams ad-Dīn as-Sabarbā'i al-Farghalī (d.1210/1795), the late Shaykh Ḥasan Quwaydir, and by the living poet Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī. There was also a qaṣīda by Mudrik b. ᶜAlī ash-Shaybānī and a takhmīs by Ṣafī ad-Dīn al-Hillī (d.750/1349).[4] This collection had originally been made at the request of ᶜAbbāsī (ᶜAbbās?) Pasha.[5]

For the first time commentaries on classical poetry by contemporary writers were published. The rector of al-Azhar, Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Bājūrī (1784-1859) had his gloss (ḥāshiya) on Bānat Suᶜād published. The fame of some Iraqi ulema had spread to Egypt. The Iraqi ᶜālim as-Sayyid Maḥmūd al-Ālūsī (1802-1854) had his commentary on his poem,

1. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.27.

2. Ibid., p.54.

3. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1961.

4. Van Dyck, op. cit., p.397.

5. Hartmann, Martin, Das Muwaššaḥ. Das Arabische Strophengedicht, (Amsterdam, 1981), pp.85-86.

al-Jawwād, published. This work, Fayḍ al-Wārid ᶜalā Rawḍ Marthiyat Mawlānā Khālid elegised his Shaykh, Shaykh Khālid al-Bakrdī an-Naqshabandī.[1] Another Iraqi, the Mosul poet ᶜAbd al-Bāqī al-Fārūqī (1789-1861/1862) had his poetry in praise of the Caliph ᶜAlī printed in Cairo, al-Qaṣīda al-ᶜAynīya fī Madḥ Amīr al-Mu'minīn ᶜAlī b. Abī Ṭālib.[2] These were no doubt printed in Cairo, because this city was able to offer better printing facilities than those available in Iraq.

The first work printed in Egypt devoted exclusively to poetry by a contemporary poet appeared in Saᶜīd's reign. Starting in Rabīᶜ II, 1272/ December 1855 Rifāᶜa at-Ṭahṭāwī published four short pamphlets of songs, under the title Manẓuma Waṭanīya Miṣrīya[3] at Būlāq. Saᶜīd had included a military band in the Egyptian army, so Rifāᶜa as first deputy in 1855, and later nazir of the Military School (al-Madrasa al-Ḥarbīya) (1856-1861) decided to imitate the French patriotic songs he had translated in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign. He wrote songs to be sung while marching, using the muwashshaḥ form as this was similar to western rhyme schemes,[4] the qufl of the muwashshaḥ acting as the refrain of the song.

In these poems he expressed "nationalist" (waṭanī) sentiments, singing the praises of the Egyptian army and praising the glory of ancient Egypt. Throughout the nineteenth century in Europe and later in Egypt there had been a revival of interest in Pharaonic times after the discovery of the Rosetta stone, and the pioneering work of Champollion in decoding the hieroglyphics. Rifāᶜa had just recently returned from exile in the Sudan, and the period of absence had perhaps enhanced his love for his country.[5] He wrote another

1. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.5.
2. GAL, vol.SII, p.782.
3. One was called Qaṣīda Miṣrīya Waṭanīya.
4. Moreh, Modern, op. cit., p.18.
5. Wādī, op. cit., p.62.

waṭanīya the same year, Tahni'a ᶜĪdīya Waṭanīya Saᶜīdīya. This panegyric to Saᶜīd was also in the muwashshaḥ style.[1] It is asserted that he wrote this hoping to get a new appointment.[2]

Though the lack of Arabic newspapers meant that Arab poets had no regular outlet for their work, the primarily European cultural society, l'Institut Égyptien did encourage the writing of poetry. Rifāᶜa Bey was one of a small group of Egyptians, including Maḥmūd Bey, Khurshīd Pasha, Aḥmad Nadā, Dr. Muḥammad ᶜAlī, Nūbār Bey, Sayyid Ḥafnāwī Effendi, Sharīf Pasha, Dhū'l-Fiqār Pasha, and ᶜAbd Allāh Sayyid, who belonged to the Institut. In December 1860 he sent the Institut a copy of a patriotic poem he had written with his own French translation.[3] This poem was warmly received when the French and Arabic versions were read to the society on 11 January, 1861 by M. Kabis.[4] A committee was charged with examining the poem. Their report was read at the meeting on 8 February,[5] and then published in the Institut's Mémoires.[6]

This was a lyric poem dealing with progress and civilisation in Egypt. Departing from traditional themes, Rifāᶜa referred to many new features of Egyptian life, the railways, the telegraph, the museum at Būlāq, and the Institut itself, continually praising Saᶜīd the author of these reforms. According to custom he concluded by thanking the Prophet. Though by contemporary standards the poem would be

1. Wādī, op. cit., p.222.

2. Altman, Israel, The Political Thought of Rifāᶜah Rāfiᶜ aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī. A Nineteenth Century Egyptian Reformer, Ph.D. Thesis, U.C.L.A., 1976, p.27.

3. B.I.E., séance 21 décembre, 1860, Année 1860, (Marseille), no.4, p.93.

4. B.I.E., séance 11 janvier 1861, Année 1861, (Alexandria, 1861), no.5.

5. Ibid., séance 8 fevrier, 1861, Année 1861, no.5, p.69.

6. Kabis, "Rapport sur un poème arabe de M. Rifaa Bey", Mémoires Égyptiennes, y.1, no.1, 1862, pp.5-12.

considered rhetorical, the committee praised its simplicity in comparison to poetry of that epoch:-

> Car vous savez bien, Messieurs, que les auteurs arabes péchent souvent par l'affectation ed de trop grandes recherches dans le choix des mots. Aussi les voit-on souvent sacrifier à des jeux de mots la clarté ou l'énergie de la pensée. Un auteur arabe, dans le but d'impressioner ses lecteurs par l'étendue de ses connaissances dans la langue, ce qui est toujours considéré par ceux-ci comme une des premières sciences, peut facilement préferer aux expressions simples et familières les termes recherchés et peu usités.[1]

A year later H. de Montant read a French translation of another Arabic poem by Rifā^{c}a at a meeting of the Institut, in which he sang of the improvements that the Suez Canal would bring to Egypt.[2]

One of Rifā^{c}a's disciples, Ṣālih Majdī also had some of his waṭanīyāt and qaṣā'id published at the end of a translation of a work on military sciences, Kitāb Tadhkīr al-Mursal bi—Taḥrīr al-Mufaṣṣal wa'l-Mujmal (Būlāq, 1276/1859-1860). Majdī was working in the Translation Department (Qalam at-Tarjama) at Rifā^{c}a's Military School.[3] These poems were no doubt written under Rifā^{c}a's influence. Since Ṣālih was also working as mubāshir (manager) in charge of printing military books at Būlāq,[4] he may have been able to use his influence to have these poems included in the book.

Perhaps the most important work of contemporary poetry published in Sa^{c}īd's reign was an exquisite work on Arabic music by Shihāb ad-Dīn al-Miṣrī, Safīnat al-Mulk wa-Nafīsat

1. Kabis, op. cit., pp.5-6.

2. B.I.E., séance 7 mars, 1862, Année 1862, (Paris), no.7.

3. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1187.

4. Majdī, op. cit., p.2.

al-Fulk. In it he presented an anthology of odes (qaṣīdas), short lyrical poems, and popular songs, dūbayt, mawwāl, muwashshaḥāt, waṣalas (song items), mijdafs (a type of song), maqāṭīᶜ (short poems), ahāzīj (songs), and zajalīyāt, on musical instruments, musical theory, taverns, wine, flowers, etc.[1] He also collected all known muwashshaḥs, zajals and panegyric songs to the prophet Muḥammad.[2] Three hundred of these verses were Shihāb ad-Dīn's own composition; the others ranged from the works of Ibn ar-Rūmī ash-Shihāb al-ᶜAzāzī (d.912/1506) to those of recent poets such as Shaykh ᶜAbd Allāh ash-Shubrāwī. It had been completed some fifteen years earlier in Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1259/1843 , but Shihāb ad-Dīn may not have been able to persuade Būlāq to publish it then.

At the request of his friends, Shihāb ad-Dīn published in 1273/1856-1857 his own dīwān a year or so before his death. It was divided into eight parts: the first in praise of the prophet, the second to statesmen (arbāb ad-dawla) and those with power and warriors (aṣḥāb ash-shawka wa'ṣ-ṣawla), the third to high dignitaries (dhawū'l-manāṣib wa'l-marātib), the fourth for friends, companions, girls and youths (ikhwān, nidmān, jawāri wa-ghilmān), the fifth in praise of books, the sixth self-praise (ᶜizzat an-nafs), the seventh for elegies, and the eighth and final part for rajaz and muzdawijāt. His dīwān, typical of the era, shows the predominance of madḥ.

This was the age of rhetorical embellishments and verbal skills; poetry no longer reflected the sentiments of the poet. Words had lost their meaning, they had become mere symbols showing the mental agility of the poet.[3] Shihāb ad-Dīn's poetry reflects this situation; it is full of clichés, affectation, and

1. GAL, vol.SII, p.721.

2. Moreh, Modern, op. cit., p.20.

3. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.88.

all sorts of verbal tricks. Jinās is common, particularly at the beginning of his odes. Such tropes as kināya (metonymy) are plentiful, which he uses to give exaggerated descriptions of everyday subjects such as the moon or wine. One of his favourite devices was to include his own name, shihāb, in his poems.[1] Even his elegies (rithā'), which might have been profound and moving, were turned into vehicles for displaying his rhetorical skills, his knowledge of the terminology of grammar, fiqh (jurisprudence) or badīᶜ (stylistics).[2] They have been turned into a sermon, beginning with a lecture on the vanities of life and its deceptiveness.[3]

A dīwān by the younger poet, as-Sāᶜātī, appeared in 1278/1861-1862; his poetry has been discussed earlier in this chapter. It was collected by ᶜAbd al-Ḥamīd Bey Nāfiᶜ, no doubt one of his admirers, and was called Mukhtaṣar Dīwān Maḥmūd Effendi Ṣafwat. It included a badīᶜīya to the Prophet with 150 types of badīᶜ similar to that of Ibn Hijja; indeed as-Sāᶜātī wrote his badīᶜīya in 1275/1858-1859, a few years after the first Būlāq edition of Ibn Hijja's poem in 1855. The bulk of this dīwān was devoted to madḥ to the Sherifs of Mecca.

When Muḥammad Saᶜīd Pasha visited Syria (in 1859?) for health reasons, a collection of poems Majmūᶜ al-Qaṣā'id ash-Shāmīya was written in his praise. Like Rifāᶜa's panegyrics to the Pasha it was published at Būlāq.[4] One of those who wrote a qaṣīda for the 1859 visit was Khalīl al-Khūrī, editor of the Syrian paper Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār.

It appears that in Muḥammad ᶜAlī's reign, literary activity centred around the Pashas, Shaykhs and leading

1. Ḥasan, Aᶜlām, op. cit., pp.22-25.
2. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.100; and Shihāb ad-Dīn, op. cit., p.355.
3. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.94.
4. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1961.

officials. Poets re-entered court circles through Ibrāhīm Pasha, the viceroy's son. With the accession of ᶜAbbās the ties between the leading poets and the Khedive were strengthened. The introduction of the printing press did not make poetry more accessible to the public; until Saᶜīd's reign, few classical or contemporary dīwāns had appeared in print. The official gazette, the only regular paper, devoted little space to literary items, and when poets again became the Khedives' companions in the 1850s and 1860s the paper was ailing.

CHAPTER XI

THE REIGN OF THE PANEGYRIC

With Ismāʿīl's accession the periodical press was to play a major role in bringing the works of poets to the public's attention, but it was to be two years into his reign before this press was re-established on a sound footing. Under Ismāʿīl, the literary character of the official gazette, al-Waqāʾiʿ al-Miṣrīya, changed considerably from the days of Muḥammad ʿAlī, probably because the paper was addressed to a much wider readership, the product of the educational reforms of the last forty odd years. The poetic content of the paper increased dramatically, as did the number of active poets, no doubt because of the increase in the educated population through the establishment of the state educational system. Most literate persons were able to write poetry, and there were perhaps few who did not attempt to write it sometime in their lives.

The profusion of official occasions encouraged the composition of poetry. Most poetry in the gazette was written as panegyric (madḥ) or commendation (itrāʾ) to the Khedive. Poetry celebrated the anniversary of his accession to the throne, his birthday, congratulated him on the Muslim feasts, on ʿId al-Fiṭr, ʿId al-Aḍḥā, on the fasting month (Ramaḍān), on the Hijrī New Year, on his travels, his recovery from illness, on births, circumcisions, mourning in his family. On New Year's day, and no doubt on other feast days, the ulema, the notables (dhawāt), and the merchants would go to ʿAbdīn palace to congratulate the Khedive; poets may well have accompanied them, for on such occasions they usually eulogised the Khedive in verse.[1] Poetry was also dedicated to his

1. W.M., from al-Jawāʾib, 4 April, 1872.

immediate family, to the Crown Prince, and later to his Ministers and others. Poetry was recited for other events which the press recorded, such as the celebrations associated with school examinations; the press, in its support to educational advances, always gave prominence to school activities. Sometimes issues of the paper had more than one poem, usually on the first page under the heading "internal affairs" (al-ḥawādith ad-dākhilīya), perhaps to catch the eye of the court.

One of the first poems to appear in the revitalized paper was published in December, 1865. It was a congratulatory ode written on the Khedive Ismā^{c}īl's return from Istanbul by Shaykh Mustafā Salāma an-Najjārī,[1] according to the Istanbul al-Jawā'ib newspaper, one of the most famous poets of the early years of the Khedive's reign.[2] In July 1866, the paper serialised his Majmū^{c} ath-Thanā' al-Jamīl fī Madḥ Ismā^{c}īl (A Collection of Exquisite Eulogy in Praise of Ismā^{c}īl), which contained a collection of odes and articles written after Ismā^{c}īl's return from Istanbul in 1862, and after he had obtained in 1863 the firman settling the succession on his son Tawfīq. This work included qaṣīdas by as-Sā^{c}ātī, Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, Ibrāhīm al-Dusūqī, Ṣālih Majdī, Muhammad ^{c}Abd ar-Rāziq,[3] Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, and a tawshīḥ (muwashshaḥ) by Rifā^{c}a at-Ṭahṭāwī.[4]

On October 1st, 1866, Shaykh Mustafā was appointed second editor on the paper. Shortly after his appointment he wrote some verses on the construction of the Suez docks.[5] In

1. W.M., no.3, 19 Rajab, 1282 (7 December, 1865).

2. al-Jawā'ib, no.485, 22 March, 1870.

3. A teacher of geography at al-Madrasa at-Tajhīzīya (the Preparatory School).

4. W.M., no.31, 5 July, 1866; no.32, 12 July; no.39, 2 September; no.41, 17 September; and no.42, 24 September, 1866.

5. Ibid., no.51, 25 October, 1866.

this short poem he praises Ismāᶜīl for the benefits he had brought to Egypt. On several occasions in the poem he uses a Persian word, dāver, meaning ruler. The poem shows how much poets used tropes:-

أجرى بفيض البر بحر نواله في البر للبادى به والحاضر

The sea of his grace brought an abundance of kindness (birr) into the land (barr) for the Bedouin and the townsman.

This line contains jinās (paranomasia) between the words "birr" and "barr", and a double ṭibaq (antithesis) between "land" and "sea", and "bedouin" and "townsman". The paper printed other poems he wrote,[1] including a "patriotic" madḥa.[2]

Advance publicity was also given by the paper to ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh's dīwān, al-Ishᶜār bi-Ḥamīd al-Ashᶜār[3] (Notice of the (Writer) of Praiseworthy Poetry),[4] which Shaykh Mustafā had collected and edited; Shaykh Mustafā had studied poetry under ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh. ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh was described as "the absorber of balāgha (rhetoric) and the priest of bayān". This dīwān contained "all types of rhetoric, beauties of art and wording, wonderful figurative expressions, the most exquisite eulogies (madā'iḥ) and felicitations (tahāni')" to public figures of various ranks.[5] When the work was completed by the printers, it was advertised again in the paper, and reference was made to ad-Darwīsh's "newly created rhetorical figures which give pleasure to whoever sees them".[6] It was not

1. W.M., no.78, 31 January, 1867.

2. Ibid., no.61, 29 November, 1866.

3. It was compiled in Ramaḍān 1271/1855 and published at the Castelli press in Cairo in 1284/1867. It comprised only a small part of his poetry (ad-Darwīsh, op. cit., p.2)

4. W.M., no.132, 22 August; no.134, 29 August; and no.136, 5 September, 1867.

5. Ibid., no.132, 22 August, 1867.

6. Ibid., no.171, 13 January, 1868; and no.173, ? January.

exclusively madḥ, there was a rare personal note in some poems written to his son,[1] to many of his friends, and in an elegy on the death of his daughter.[2] The dīwān was also advertised in Wādī an-Nīl and the Istanbul al-Jawā'ib.[3]

Rifā'a Bey at-Ṭahṭāwī, appointed head (nāẓir) of the Translation Department in 1863, and head of the Schools' Commission (ra'īs Qūmisyūn al-Madāris) was a regular contributor of articles, and poetry to the paper.[4] As he had praised Sa'īd, he frequently wrote panegyrics to Ismā'īl. In 1281/1864-1865 he had a Qaṣīda Waṭanīya Miṣrīya (An Egyptian Patriotic Poem) published at Būlāq, dedicated to Ismā'īl on his accession;[5] the following year 1282/1865-1866 this press also printed his Manẓūma Ukhra Miṣrīya Waṭanīya (Another Egyptian Patriotic Poem). The Castelli press published on 20 Sha'bān, 1281/18 January, 1865, a long poem by him, Qaṣīda Waṭanīya Ismā'īlīya (A Patriotic Poem to Ismā'īl), a translation of a poem by an Italian Conte Bulgarini? written on behalf of the architect Pietro Avoscani. Avoscani had built a theatre at Alexandria for Comte Zizinia,[6] and he may have hoped through this poem to gain a commission from Ismā'īl. This poem praised the Khedive on his accession, and lauded the Italian colony. Since there is no indication that Rifā'a knew Italian, it must be assumed that it had first been translated into French, or was rendered into Arabic by another translator, before Rifā'a put it into verse.[7] As in many other of these waṭanīyāt he used the muwashshaḥ form. Since, unlike

1. ad-Darwish, op. cit., pp.85-86, and 91.

2. as-Sa'afīn, op. cit., p.116.

3. Wādī an-Nīl, no.25, 3 January, 1868; no.26, 10 January; and no.28, ? January; and al-Jawā'ib, 26 January, 1868.

4. In 1868 he was appointed Director of the School of Administration and Languages.

5. Moreh, Modern, op. cit., p.19.

6. Abdoun, Genesi, op. cit., p.143[79].

7. Wādī, op. cit., pp.64 and 64[1].

his other poems, it was not published at Būlāq, it is probable that he translated it on commission from the Italian colony.

The first poem he wrote in al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya was written in the tasmiṭ pattern so that it could be used as a military marching song or could be sung by school-children. It was a page-long piece praising Shāhīn Pasha.[1] Rifāᶜa was one of the poets who eulogised the opening of the new Assembly of Delegates (Majlis Shūrā an-Nuwwāb) on 10 November, 1866; he again contributed a muwashshaḥ.[2] Reports from the majlis were to fill the colomns of the paper. Though on a novel theme, this poem avoids any controversy on the constitutional role of the body. That year he also published a strophic quatrain (rubāᶜī) at Būlāq. This 16-page work, Muqaddima Waṭanīya Miṣrīya (An Egyptian Patriotic Prologue), after praising the Prophet and Ismāᶜīl, went on to praise Rifāᶜa's home town of Ṭahṭā and some of the nobles of Upper Egypt.[3]

Many taḥani' waṭanīya (patriotic eulogies) or madḥ to the Khedive by Rifāᶜa were published in the paper for ᶜīds and other occasions.[4] The taḥni'a he wrote in November 1868 was a typical sycophantic poem in the muzdawija form.[5] Rifāᶜa praises the generosity of the Khedive (baḥr jūdik). He makes a point of praising the Khedive's family:

1. W.M., no.25, 24 May, 1866.

2. Ibid., no.60, 26 November, 1866; and al-Hilāl, vol.XLIV, July 1, 1936, pp.989-990. This poem was later published in Cavalliere Frances Cantanio de Marchi's collection, adh-Dhikra as-Saᶜīda li-Khudaywī Miṣr al-Muᶜẓam wa-Ahālīhā, published in Alexandria in 1869 (Wādī, op. cit., pp.165-166).

3. Wādī, op. cit., pp.113-114 and 114[1].

4. W.M., no.157, 18 November, 1867; no.160, 28 November; no.264, 2 January, 1869; and no.341, 19 January, 1870.

5. Ibid., no.245, 3 November, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 24 November); and Appendix H, no. XVIII. These poems included in the appendix were not published in Wadi's collection of Rifāᶜa's poetry.

انت الخديوى المليك　　تروى المهابة عن ابيك

و سناء جدك لاح فيك　　و حصين ملكك فى اعتصام

You are the Khedive, the king, dignity has passed on from your father,
The majesty of your grandfather appeared in you and the fortified (nature) of your kingdom is protected.

In a rare urjūza he catalogued Ismā^{c}īl's achievements.[1] The urjūza form allowed him to use a simple language akin to the everyday speech of an educated person. He compares him to Ma'mūn and the peak of the ^{c}Abbāsid period. Egypt has become Baghdad; Cairo has the beauty of Paris, the splendour of London. He talks of progress (taqaddum), and the age of science (^{c}ulūm). He refers to Egypt's ambitions in Africa. Under the Khedive the schools (madāris), and the plantations (maghāris) were organised. Now there is the justice of the Mixed Courts (maḥākim mumtazija), the expanded road network (banādir), the new canals (khuljān), the bridges, and the "thousand" new parks. Ismā^{c}īl was employing all available talents:-

جلب رجال النفع من كل الملل　　انتج فى موطنه حسن العمل

He brought men of benefit from every religious community and generated good work in his native country.

Schools benefited all communities, he wrote; in them were students from Greece (banū al-Yūnān), from Egypt and other countries. This poem is unique in that it gives a clear description of what was happening in Ismā^{c}īl's reign. Most poems of this age impart little information about the society, full as they are of platitudes in praise of the person praised. Because he was using the rajaz metre, Rifā^{c}a no doubt felt

1. W.M., no.364, 30 June, 1870. See Appendix H, no.XIV.

free to describe accurately the Egyptian scene, instead of merely comparing the Khedive to a crescent or full moon.

When the Nile flooded in 1868, he wrote a muzdawija, called a waṭanīya nīlīya (a patriotic poem to the Nile); it also praises the Khedive.[1] A poem he wrote for the New Year in 1288 shows his love for Egypt, which he calls "paradise of the world" (jannat ad-dunyā).[2] The Nile is its lifeline:-

لبن وخمر ماؤه او شئت قل عسل وسكر

Its water is milk and wine or if you want call it honey and sugar.

In some of these poems he uses modern concepts not usually encountered in poetry, waṭan (homeland), tamaddun (civilisation), maᶜārif (education), manāzih (parks), etc. There may even be an oblique reference to the genesis of the press:-

ولمجدهم من مهدهم صحف العلا فى مصر تنشر

And to their glory from their cradle, the papers of nobility are unfolded in Egypt.

All these are aspects of the progress that the country has made under Ismāᶜīl, and to which the poet draws attention.

Muhammad Fannī and Rifāᶜa congratulated Ismāᶜīl on the circumcision of his son, Ibrāhīm Pasha, in 1871.[3] Rifāᶜa also praised other members of the Khedival family; in February,

1. W.M., no.234, 24 September, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 3 November and 10 November). See Appendix H, nos.XI and XII.

2. Ibid., no.400, 23 March, 1871 (al-Jawā'ib, 19 April, 1871); and Appendix H, no.XV.

3. Ibid., no.399, 16 March, 1871 (R.M., y.2, no.1, 5 April, 1871; and al-Jawā'ib, 12 April, 1871) and Wādī, op. cit., pp.161-163.

1870, he wrote a piece in saj^{c}, including some lines of verse, congratulating Mansūr Pasha on his child's birth.[1] The praises of the Khedivial family were sung in many of Rifā^{c}a's other works published in his lifetime. His translation of Fénelon's Télémaque, Mawāqi^{c} al-Aflāk fī Waqā'i^{c} Tilīmāk, published in Beirut in 1867, included in the introduction a qaṣīda waṭanīya in the form of an anthem and other poems. This work was translated while he was in exile in the Sudan, so thus the poetry reflects his longing for Egypt, and praises the Khedive Sa^{c}īd.[2] In the same work in a rubā^{c}ī (quatrain), written later, he praises Ismā^{c}īl and what he had achieved for Egypt.[3] In 1289/1873 he published at Būlāq an opuscule of panegyrics for the joint wedding ceremony in 1873 of the Khedive's sons, Ḥusayn Kāmil Pasha, Ḥasan Pasha, Tūsūn Pasha, and of his daughter, Princess Zaynab. This work, al-Kawākib an-Nayyira fī Layāli Afrāḥ al-^{c}Azīz al-Muqmira, contained madḥs and taḥni'as to all the parties involved.[4]

Poems were sent to the paper by Rifā^{c}a for many other reasons.[5] In December 1868 he wrote a muzdawija on the ballet at al-Azbakīya.[6] The following year he wrote a review of the commentary Sharḥ Tanwīr Saqṭ az-Zand by Ibn Ṭāhir an-Naḥawī on al-Ma^{c}arri's dīwān, just published by Būlāq 1286/1869. This had been published under the supervision of Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī.[7] This review included a poem by Rifā^{c}a.[8]

1. W.M., no.345, 13 February, 1870.

2. Wādī, op. cit., pp.93-96, from Mawāqi^{c} (Beirut, n.d.), pp.7-22.

3. Ibid, pp.103-106, from Mawāqi^{c}, p.7.

4. Ibid., pp.168-182.

5. W.M., no.27, 4 June, 1866; no.231, 13 September, 1868; and no.237, 5 October, 1868. See Appendix H, no.X.

6. Ibid., no.257, 14 December, 1868.

7. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.145.

8. W.M., no.302, 10 June, 1869, p.1 (al-Jawā'ib, 4 July). See Appendix H, no.XIII.

The poem begins with a muqaddima ghazalīya (an erotic introduction) in which he describes the garden of Egypt, its flowers, nightingales and doves. It then mentions the success achieved by Ismā^{c}īl. In a reference to the Golden Age he compares Tawfīq to the Caliph Ma'mūn, son of Harūn ar-Rashid.

و مأمون تخيره رشيد وزير الملك وهو له قوام

A wise man (Rashīd) chose an honest man (Ma'mūn) to be minister of the kingdom and he was its guardian.

Crown Prince Tawfīq had given his patronage in April 1869 to the society which had printed the Sharḥ, Jam^{c}īyat al-Ma^{c}ārif,[1] and Rifā^{c}a refers to this in the poem:

حمايته المعارف عرفتنا بان عكاظ فى مصر تقام

His patronage to knowledge (ma^{c}ārif) informed us that ^{c}Ukāz is erected in Egypt.

Some years before an order had been issued appointing a group of people to collect rare books for publication. These books were collected in Bayt al-Māl al-Misrī, and the society, Jam^{c}īyat al-Ma^{c}ārif had been established to publish them at a reasonable price. The society had issued shares to its members[2] to enable it to carry out its aims; by February, 1870, the membership was over a thousand,[3] including most of the leading literary figures in Egypt. The wakīl (president) of the society was ^{c}Ārif Pasha, one of the members of Majlis al-Aḥkām (the Council of Justice); Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī had set up the society's press Maṭba^{c} at al-Khalīj al-Murakhkham,

1. W.M., no.289, 22 April, 1869.
2. Ibid., from al-Jawā'ib, 23 September, 1868.
3. Ibid., no.344, 7 February, 1870.

and also sold its publications.[1] The society published the celebrated dictionary Taj al-ᶜArūs of Muhammad az-Zabīdī, az-Zamakhsharī's Asās al-Balāgha, the Dīwān of Ibn Khafāja, ath-Thaᶜālabī's Fiqh al-Lugha, the Dīwān of Ibn al-Muᶜtazz, the Rasā'il al-Bādīᶜ of al-Hamadhānī, and many other classics. Rifāᶜa in the poem notes that Tawfīq contributed his shares (sihām) to the society (majmaᶜ). He explained the structure of the society:-

وجمعيات كتب العلم شدّت به الاعضاء وصحّ لها اعتصام

Because of him societies of books of knowledge supported (their) members and they were right to seek shelter.

He makes a pun on Abū'l-ᶜAla' al-Maᶜarrī's name:-

كأنّ ابا العلاء قد صاغ عقدا لجيد اخي العلا فدنا المرام

It was as though Abū'l-ᶜAla' molded a necklace for the neck of the brother of (his) highness and the wish has drawn near.

He then mentions how well the book was published. This may seem a mundane subject for a poem, but descriptive poems were rare in the nineteenth century and contemporary themes were not often dealt with in verse.

Some of his poems were republished in al-Jawā'ib in Istanbul.[2] This Istanbul Arabic paper was subsidised by Ismāᶜīl, so it published a lot of material taken from the government or pro-government press in Egypt. One such poem published in August 1868 was also published separately.[3] This

1. W.M., no.290, 26 April, 1869.

2. Ibid., no.174, 29 January, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 25 February); and Appendix H, no.VIII.

3. Ibid., no.220, 2 August, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 18 August, 1868).

may have been the waṭanīyāt Rifāᶜa wrote after the return of the Egyptian battalion sent to Mexico as part of Napoleon III's expeditionary force between 1863 and 1867.

In the last few years of his life, several of his books were published. In a book on the growth of civilisation in Egypt, Manāhij al-Albāb al-Miṣrīya fī Mabāhij al-Ādāb al-ᶜAṣrīya, published Būlāq 1286/1869, there were several pieces of poetry. There is a takhmīs to the Prophet on az-Zamakhsharī's work on ḥikma (philosophy). In this erudite vainglorious poem (fakhr ᶜilmī) he reflects on his aversion to ignorant and malevolent people.[1] This work was written shortly after his return from the Sudan, hence his feelings of animosity expressed in this poem. He was in the Sudan for four years, and during that time half of the Egyptian staff of his school died from the terrible conditions there. Another poem, a panegyric, written between 1850 and 1854 to Ḥasan Pasha, Kitkhudā of Egypt, called on him to intervene to bring about his recall from the Sudan.[2] This is considered one of the most expressive of his poems.[3] In it he talks of the plots that led to his exile, the agony of exile, and expresses the hope that he can return to his country and family. He also boasts of his contribution to the intellectual progress of Egypt. This book also has a poem (waṣf) on a steam boat (wābūr) and the opening of the Suez Canal.[4] Another takhmīs in the book of 208 verses, written in 1853 in Khartum, develops the famous poem in praise of the Prophet by the Sufi Shaykh ᶜAbd ar-Raḥīm al-Buraᶜī. It contains a plea for God's intercession to discover why he was exiled.[5] One of his last works, al-Murshīd al-Amīn li'l-Banāt wa'l-Banīn (The Reliable Guide for Girls and Boys),

1. at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.1, p.290.
2. Ibid., vol.1, pp.453-456.
3. Wādī, op. cit., p.61.
4. at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.1, p.340.
5. Ibid., vol.1, pp.456-462.

a school book presenting the bases for a civilised society, published in 1289/1872, contained an anonymous ghazal, probably by him.[1] This work also has a fakhr singing the praises of Egypt.[2]

Despite Rifā'a's standing as a literary figure and intellectual, his poetic ability was limited. Odd lines of poetry adorned many pages of his works, that was the accepted style. According to custom he often quotes other poets without giving their names. His poetry did not excel that of his contemporaries, indeed it suffered from the same lack of imagination. Though he wrote many poems he admitted that poetry was of secondary importance to him.[3]

وما نظم القريض برأس مالى ولا سندى أراه ولا سنادى

ووافر بحره ان جاد يوماً فممدوحى له وصف الجواد

Versifying is not my capital, nor do I consider it my security or support.
Its metre is wāfir, if it grants generously one day, the person I praise will have the description of generous.

When Rifā'a died in May 1873, the paper carried his obituary and an elegy by his former student Muḥammad Effendi 'Uthmān Jalāl, translator at the Ministry of Defence (Dīwān al-Jihādīya).[4] It was also carried in Rawḍat al-Madāris.[5] Rifā'a was particularly honoured, for few elegies were printed except those to leading ulema. This rithā' shows how deeply moved the writer was, though the fabric of the poem is weak.[6]

1. at-Tahtāwī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.504-505; and Wādī, op. cit., pp.129-130.
2. at-Tahtāwī, op. cit., vol.2, p.431.
3. Ibid., vol.1, p.456.
4. W.M., no.510, 3 June, 1873.
5. R.M., y.4, no.7, 15 Rabī' II, 1290 (12June, 1873).
6. Hasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., p.126.

Rifāᶜa's poems are full of rhetorical devices. Jinās is used all the time:-

بشرى فقد عادت سعاد والنيل بالاسعاد عاد

Glad tidings, Suᶜād (the beloved) has returned, the Nile has brought (us) happiness (isᶜād).

In a poem on the park "Mīrkūn", he uses jinās again when referring to the changes wrought in Egypt under Ismāᶜīl:-

فى طولها وعرضها ظهرت افانين الفنون

In its length and breadth, the branches (afānīn) of the arts (funūn) appeared.

In another two verses in the poem there is tashbīh (simile) when Tawfīq is compared to trees, jinās between aᶜlā and aghlā, and perhaps tawriya in the penultimate hemistich which could read "to his highness the love of order"[1]:-

فى روضة هو دوحها والاصل ابنع والغصون

أعلى وأغلى مايرام لعلاه حب الانتظام

In a garden he is the tall trees, whose trunk and branches are mellower.
It is the tallest and dearest thing one wants,
For the people who are longing for love of order.

A clear tawriya appears in another poem[2]:-

فقالت ثق بتوفيق فمصر تنال بمجده مالا يرام

She said have confidence in Tawfiq and Egypt will gain by his glory what could not be wished for.

1. W.M., no.234, 24 September, 1868.
2. Ibid., no.302, 10 June, 1869.

This line could read "have confidence in success".

The chief editor of the paper, Shaykh Aḥmad ᶜAbd ar-Raḥīm at-Ṭahṭāwī,[1] wrote the occasional poem for the paper;[2] he had become chief editor in November, 1865, and remained in that post till October, 1880. The editor (presumably Shaykh Aḥmad) wrote a short ta'rīkh for the construction of al-Qumrī mosque near ᶜAbdīn square (raḥba). Though such chronograms for buildings were written in their thousands, few appeared in the press.

لسابع عشر الشهر اى شهر مولد ... لطه عليه الله صلى وشرفا

عنى مسجدا قد تم مبنى وزاحموا ... بجمعيته الاولى كفى من تخلفا

ولقمرى الاصل اذ كان قد عفا ... لقد شاده الباشا حسين ابو اصبع

فمنهم لذا الباشا مهاد بدعوة ... ومنهم شكور لما به اليوم اتحفا

جزاه عن الدين الحنيفى ربه ... تعالى جزاء المتقين ذوى الوفا

بدا منه اخلاص فقال مؤرخ ... حسين بنى الله بيتا مشرفا

On the 17th of the month, that is the month of the birthday of Ṭahā (the Prophet Muḥammad), God bless him and honour him.
They made for a mosque whose construction has been completed and crowded it, yet there was room for those who arrived late.
It was (re-)built by Ḥusayn Abū Iṣbaᶜ Pasha since the original building by al-Qumrī had been obliterated
Some of them offered prayers for the Pasha, and others were grateful for the gift he had made that day.
May Almighty God reward him for the Hanafite religion, the reward of the God-fearing who have faith.
He has shown fidelity, so the historian said that Ḥusayn has built God an exalted mosque (house).
Year 1289.[3]

1. He studied at al-Azhar, and taught at the School of Languages and al-Muhandiskhāna (the Polytechnique). He wrote an unpublished dīwān in praise of the Prophet, Durr ash-Sharaf al-Munaẓẓam fī Madḥ an-Nabī al-Aᶜẓam. For Shaykh Aḥmad (1818-1885), see Kahhāla, op. cit., vol.1, p.271.

2. W.M., no.39, 2 September, 1866.

ā'ib, 12 June, 1872.

A small collection of his religious poems and short poetic pieces was published in Cairo in 1874, Baᶜd Ḥamdī wa-Ṣalātī wa-Salāmī (After my Praise, Prayers and Greetings).

A notable literary figure, Shaykh Ahmad Wahbī at-Tarābīshī,[1] was appointed by Shaykh Mustafā Salāma as second editor on the paper after his business had gone bankrupt. He had owned a tarbush shop in al-Ghūrīya, which had become a meeting place for literati and poets. His majlis was attended by many poets. Muḥammad as-Saᶜīd, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sāᶜātī, Shaykh Aḥmad az-Zurqānī, and Maḥmūd al-Bārūdī. Another member of the circle, ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr, used his influence to get Aḥmad Wahbī a government post, when he was dismissed from the paper. Shaykh Aḥmad also knew the al-Muwaylihī family.[2] Most of his contributions to the gazette were in the form of panegyrics to al-Jawā'ib newspaper, and its editor, taken from that newspaper,[3] though he did praise al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya.[4]

Other poets active in Saᶜīd's reign continued writing poetry for Ismāᶜīl. It seems unlikely that as-Sāᶜātī was one of Ismāᶜīl's courtiers, as is claimed,[5] for he did not address many poems to the Khedive, and only two appeared in the gazette.[6] His dīwān includes a poem addressed to Ismāᶜīl when he was head of Majlis al-Aḥkām,[7] and reference has already been made to the poem he wrote at the beginning of his reign. He and ᶜAlī al-Laythī wrote a ta'rīkh in 1286/1869 for the opening of the Suez Canal,[8] and as-Sāᶜātī praised Ismāᶜīl's

1. For Shaykh Aḥmad, see Taymūr, op. cit., p.144; and ᶜAtiyat Allāh, op. cit., p.20.
2. Taymūr, op. cit., p.144.
3. W.M., no.78, 31 January, 1867; and no.160, 28 November.
4. Ibid., no.161, 2 December, 1867.
5. al-Jundī, op. cit., vol.2, p.431.
6. W.M., no.244, 29 October, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 24 November).
7. Ṣafwat, op. cit., pp.45-47.
8. W.M., no.335, 2 December, 1869; and Ṣafwat, op. cit., p.127.

Minister of Finance (nāẓir al-mālīya), Ismā^{c}īl Pasha Ṣiddīq. It may be that he did not find favour with Ismā^{c}īl. He had devoted many years of his life to praising the Meccan Sherifs, and he continued singing their praises when he returned to Egypt. Since Ismā^{c}īl and his court were not ethnically Arabs, and only used Arabic as a second or third language, as-Sā^{c}ātī may have felt that his talents would be better employed in praising an Arab ruler descended from the Prophet. Despite the fact that his poetry was not often printed in the Egyptian press, another of his poetic works was published in Cairo in 1287/1870-1871, his muzdawijāt.[1]

Other courtiers began to send poems to the paper. Shaykh ^{c}Abd al-Hādī Najā al-Abyārī[2] had taught the Khedive's sons, including Crown Prince Tawfīq; he was one of the most important ulema of the epoch. The paper published several of his poems addressed to the Khedive.[3] He also wrote an elegy for his former teacher at al-Azhar, as-Sayyid Muḥammad ad-Damanhūrī, one of the leading ulema at the university mosque, as did as-Sayyid Aḥmad Abū'l-^{c}Izza and Shaykh Maḥmūd al-^{c}Alim.[4] Al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya rarely published odes dedicated to people other than members of the court in these years, indeed the vast majority were addressed to the Khedive himself. Obituaries were equally rare, the exception being those written for the leading Azharites. Since the editor of the paper was an Azharite, and because the leading Azharite teachers, like the shaykhs of the Sufi orders, were held in special esteem by the community at large, the paper paid its respects to such figures. Apart from poems, ^{c}Abd al-Hādī also

1. GAL, vol.SII, p.733.

2. Shaykh ^{c}Abd al-Hādī (1821-1888) studied and taught at al-Azhar. ^{c}Abbās Pasha appointed him to educate his sons. Over forty works are attributed to him, on such diverse subjects as Sufism, rhetoric, fiqh, ḥadīth, and astronomy. See Dāghir, Maṣādir, op. cit., vol.2, pt.1, pp.81-83; and Muḥammad ^{c}Abd al-Mun^{c}im Khafāji, Qiṣṣat al-Adab fī Miṣr, vol.3, p.52.

3. W.M., no.115, 20 June, 1867.

4. Ibid., no.272, 15 February, 1869.

wrote literary conundrums for the paper.[1] He conducted poetic correspondence with Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī and Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab in the Lebanon. But apart from the poems published in al-Waqā'i[c] al-Miṣrīya and al-Jawā'ib,[2] very little of his poetic output was published.[3] One work that he edited that seems to be in verse was Sihr al-[c]Uyūn fi'l-Ghazal (The Enchantment of the Eyes in Love Poetry), published lithographically in Cairo in 1286/1869-1870.[4]

None of the poets so far mentioned enjoyed the status of nadīm in Ismā[c]īl's court. Shaykh [c]Alī al-Laythī[5] and [c]Alī Abū'n-Naṣr were the Khedive's chief poet companions. They had their own accomodation in the palace and often accompanied the Khedive on his journeys. Shaykh [c]Alī al-Laythī's official post was as munshi' (secretary) in the court.[6] Not all the poetry he wrote was in praise of the Khedive and his family, though much of it was no doubt written at his behest, such as a qaṣīda in praise of the Emperor Napoleon III written in April 1867. Rifā[c]a Bey and Muṣṭafā Salāma wrote poems for the same occasion.[7] After 1872 the gazette published dozens of his poems, showing his status in the court. Up to that year his poems had infrequently appeared in the paper, and it may be that in this period he was not attached to the court. In March, 1875, the paper reported his visit to the Royal Oriental Society in Vienna. He gave a speech and read some of his

1. W.M., no.59, 22 November, 1866.

2. Fāris, Salīm, (ed.), Kanz ar-Raghā'ib fī Muntakhabāt al-Jawā'ib (Istanbul), vol.4, pp.17-18, 45, and 65-68.

3. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.86-87.

4. Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.359.

5. Shaykh [c]Alī (1820/1821-1896) studied at al-Azhar. He was appointed shaykh of the Dalā'il al-Khayrāt by [c]Abbas Pasha's mother. See Taymūr, op. cit., pp.140-143; and Kahhala, op. cit., vol.7, p.66.

6. W.M., no.602, 18 April, 1875.

7. Ibid., no.100, 27 April, 1867.

poetry.[1] While in Vienna he visited the sights, and the High School accompanied by two young translators.

The official gazette printed many of his poems to the Khedive and the court.[2] The poet accompanied the Khedive to Istanbul in 1873,[3] and recorded the trip in poetry.[4] Probably at the Khedivial request, he wrote a madḥ to Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz on the anniversary of his accession;[5] he was no doubt included in the Khedivial entourage for the purpose of eulogising the Sultan. In July 1873, he wrote a qaṣīda on the visit of the Turkish Prince Yūsuf ᶜIzz ad-Dīn to the Khedive and the issue of an imperial firman.[6] He wrote an ode to Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq Pasha for his wedding;[7] Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Majīd ash-Sharbūnī also wrote one for this occasion.[8] He congratulated the Khedive's mother, Khūshiyār, on her return from Istanbul;[9] both he and Abū'n-Naṣr are said to have competed to praise her, not without reason, for she was considered the power behind the throne. He was also one of several poets who wrote marāthī for the death of Zaynab Hānum, the Khedive's daughter, in 1875.[10] These poems in the press were just one side of Shaykh ᶜAlī's activity as a poet;

1. W.M., no.602, 18 April, 1875, taken from al-Jawā'ib, based on a Viennese journal dated 11 March, 1875 (R.M., y.5, no.5, 15 Rabīᶜ I, 1292 [21 April, 1875]).

2. W.M., no.141, 23 September, 1867; no.485, 9 December, 1872; no.513, 24 June, 1873; no.516, 15 July, 1873; no.540, 6 January, 1874; no.568, 28 July.

3. Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, p.98.

4. W.M., no.517, 17 July, 1873.

5. ad-Dasūqī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.131-132.

6. W.M., no.514, 1 July, 1873.

7. Ibid., no.546, 24 February, 1874.

8. Ibid., no.547, 3 March, 1874.

9. Ibid., no.547, 8 September, 1874.

10. W.M., no.624, 19 September, 1875.

he was also well-known as a zajjāl. He and his friend ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr were regular participants at literary soirées, whether held in the houses of the rich and prominent, or in popular cafés.

As-Sayyid ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr al-Manfalūṭī became a companion and confidant to Khedive Ismāᶜīl, accompanying him on some of his trips to Upper Egypt in 1287/1870.[1] It is not known why he made no contributions to al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya before 1872, in a period when Ismāᶜīl's praise was being sung by so many other poets. He had been writing poetry for the court since the time of Muḥammad ᶜAlī. He too praised the the Khedive on all the appropriate munāsabāt,[2] and as a secretary in the court he probably attended the festivities associated with these events. When the Khedive went to Upper Egypt in February 1872 he sang his praises for ᶜId al-Aḍḥā.[3] He accompanied the Khedive on his trip to Istanbul in 1872, celebrating his arrival[4] and departure in verse.[5] In one of his poems he describes the Khedive's meeting with the Sultan on the anniversary of the Sultan's accession.[6] During the same visit he praised Crown Prince Tawfīq for the nīshān majīdī (Turkish order) given him by the Sultan.[7] He also addressed a qaṣīda to Sultan ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīz while in the Ottoman capital,[8] though this does not seem to have appeared in the Egyptian press. Sometimes these poems filled the whole front

1. GAL, vol.SII, p.721.

2. W.M., no.483, 9 December, 1872; no.512, 17 June, 1873; no.573, 1 September; no.574, 8 September; no.577, 6 October; and no.630, 4 November.

3. Ibid., no.445, 27 February, 1872.

4. Ibid., no.466, 23 July, 1872.

5. Ibid., no.469, 13 August, 1872 (R.M., y.3, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1289 [19 August, 1872]).

6. Ibid., no.466, 23 July, 1872.

7. Ibid., no.468, 6 August, 1872.

8. Abu'n-Nasr, op. cit., p.6.

page of the four-page newspaper, such as the ones written by Abū'n-Nasr and al-Laythī in October 1877.[1]

In 1873 he again greeted the Khedive on his return from Istanbul, congratulating him on the firman on inheritance and succession that he had obtained.[2] Greeting the Khedive during Ramaḍān he repeats some platitudes, employing jinās:-

اذا الصوم وافت بالسرور طلائعه وبدر التجلى فيه لاحت مطالعه

The harbingers of fasting have come with happiness and in it the first features of the moon of revelation appeared.[3]

A few years later in a poem on ᶜId al-Fiṭr he makes a rare topical comment on the renovation of one of the Khedive's palaces:-

وواصل بتجديد السراى مسرة ففى بابها وفد الاماجد وارد

He perpetuated happiness by renovating the palace and to its door arrives a delegation of nobles.[4]

He could not find much of interest to say when the Finance Minister, Ismāᶜīl Ṣiddīq Pasha, was appointed mushīr, except to make a pun on his name:-

وهو صديق الخديوى المرتجى خير من يعطى الامانى أو يجير

And he is the veracious one (ṣiddīq) longed for by the Khedive, and he is the best of those who grant wishes and protection.[5]

1. W.M., no.731, 11 October, 1877.
2. Ibid., no.521, 20 August, 1873.
3. Ibid., no.534, 24 November, 1873.
4. Ibid., no.680, 23 October, 1876.
5. Ibid., no.526, 23 September, 1873.

Since he wanted to end the poem with the word mushīr, he had to mould the poem to suit the rhyme scheme. A teacher and graduate of al-Azhar, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Basyūnī al-Bībānī[1] wrote a poem for the same occasion;[2] he was to write many poems for the paper in Tawfīq's reign.

The most important poet of the epoch was Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī,[3] but he made very few contributions to the Egyptian press. His poetry rivalled that of the ᶜAbbāsid poets, reaching the level of al-Mutanabbī and ash-Sharīf ar-Radī. Unlike the poetry of his contemporaries it was not a weak copy of the ancients, but powerful, vigorous, and full of life and spirit. The accretions of the centuries, the many superfluous rhetorical devices, were abandoned. There is no easy explanation of his achievement; he did not study at al-Azhar, so unlike many Azharites, he did not write poetry simply because he had learned prosody (ᶜarūḍ) and wished to practice his skill.[4] His mother had him taught poetry as a child, before he went to school.[5] He later read poetry in Persian, Turkish and Arabic, particularly during his stay in Istanbul. He more than anyone else in Egypt was the precursor and guide of the neo-classical school of modern Arabic poetry; in the Lebanon, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī and Sulaymān al-Bustānī performed a similar role.[6] His qaṣīdas displayed his innate talent, and his poetry had a depth of feeling which was totally lacking in the work of his predecessors.

1. For Shaykh Muḥammad (?-1892), see Kaḥḥāla, op. cit., vol.10, p.311; and Mujāhid, op. cit., vol.2, p.171.

2. W.M., no.523, 16 September, 1873.

3. al-Bārūdī (1839(40)?-1904) was from a Circassian family. He was educated at the Military School. On graduation he worked from 1855-1863 in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Istanbul. From 1863? he was in command of the Viceregal Guard in Egypt. See Shawqī Ḍayf, al-Bārūdī, Rā'id ash-Shiᶜr al-Ḥadīth, (Cairo, 1964); ᶜUmār ad-Dasūqī, Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, (Cairo, 1981); and the introduction to the Dīwān al-Bārūdī, (Cairo, 1971).

4. al-ᶜAqqād, op. cit., p.125.

5. Ḍayf, al-Bārūdī, op. cit., p.47.

6. Jayyusi, op. cit., p.

Very few of his poems appeared in the press.[1] A short madḥ he wrote in 1863 when the Sultan recognised the wilāyat of Egypt, has already been referred to. In this poem he praises and thanks Ismāʿīl. Egypt has returned to its former glory. At the end of the tahni'a the poet indulges in self-praise (fakhr), claiming that his poetry is better than that of al-Walīd, that is al-Buḥtūrī (d.284/897), and Ḥabīb, that is Abū Tammām (d.231/846):-

ترك الوليد ملثما بغباره ومضى فكفكف من عنان حبيب

It (his poetry) left Walīd veiled in dust and kept holding back the reins of Ḥabīb.[2]

In his dīwān there are only five such poems addressed to the Khedives, most of them written early in his life; this must be contrasted with the pages of panegyrics written by ʿAlī ad-Darwīsh, Muḥammad Shihāb ad-Dīn and Rifāʿa at-Taḥtāwī. He did not have to practise the profession of nadīm, and see his poetic craft humbled to the demands of his patrons. He came from a wealthy family, so was not forced to write poetry seeking rewards or advancement.[3] Though he was one of Ismāʿīl's favourites,[4] he dedicated very few poems to him. Ismāʿīl had recruited him to his service on a visit to Istanbul in 1863.

His early poetry was written for his own amusement, though it may have been discussed at the majlis of leading poets and literati that met at his father's palace in Bāb

1. Part of his Dīwān was published in Cairo in 1915. It was reprinted in 1940, and 1971.

2. al-Bārūdī, Maḥmūd Sāmī, Dīwān al-Bārūdī, (Cairo, 1971), vol.1, pp.93-100.

3. as-Saʿāfīn, op. cit., pp.165-166.

4. Badawi, M.M., "al-Bārūdī, Precursor of the Modern Arabic Poetic Revival", Die Welt des Islams, 1969, vol.12, p.231.

al-Khalq; Mahmūd's father was Ḥasan Bey Ḥusnī al-Bārūdī. These meetings not only discussed literature, but also philosophical, religious and social issues. Classical poetry was recited, muᶜāraḍāt were improvised, tales told, and jokes cracked.[1] Books were often read aloud and the contents analysed. No doubt such sessions were attended by al-Bārūdī's friends, Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Marṣafī, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī and Muḥammad ᶜAbduh. His poetry written between 1863 and 1865, most unpublished at the time, shows his pride in his noble origin. These Bacchic descriptions (waṣf al-Khamra) sing of the beauty of gardens, the bouquet of the wine, and his love for a girl, variously called Layla, Lamyā', and Ẓabyat al-Miqyās.[2] In 1865 he was sent to help suppress the revolt in Crete. The verse that he wrote during this campaign struck his contemporaries by its inspiration and profound sentiment. In it he evokes images of the battles he fought, and gives a vivid description of the island.

On his return he became Ismāᶜīl's aide-de-camp, spending twelve years at court.[3] There are various poems from this period. In one he writes of a girl he saw at the baths of Ḥulwān, a favourite spa of the court near Cairo.[4] In 1289/1871 he wrote a rare ta'rīkh on the return of Khedive Ismāᶜīl from Istanbul;[5] his contemporaries of course wrote an excess of these contrived chronograms. He became aide-de-camp to Crown Prince Tawfīq, holding this post until 1875.[6] He served in the Russo-Turkish war of 1877 with the rank of liwā' (brigadier). He wrote three poems during this war. In these he again described the battles, the sights he saw, and expressed

1. al-Hadīdī, (book) op. cit., p.35.
2. Ḍayf, op. cit., p.55.
3. Ibid., p.58.
4. Ibid., pp.59-60.
5. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.174.
6. Ḍayf, op. cit., p.58.

his longings for his homeland. Of particular note is a powerful, somewhat derogatory, description of the people he encountered, the Bulgars.

He advanced his career further on his return. He was appointed Governor (mudīr) of the province of Sharqīya, then in 1879 he became governor (muḥāfiz) of Cairo, and later that year commissioner of police (ma'mūr Dabṭīyat Miṣr) in Cairo. In June he accepted the first of several ministerial posts, that of Education and Endowments (al-Maᶜārif wa'l-Awqāf), in the governments of Sharīf Pasha and then Riyāḍ Pasha. His career and political pre-occupations may have restricted the amount of poetry he wrote. About this time, as he became more involved in the national movement, he wrote an unpublished poem talking of the need for a revolt against Ismāᶜīl.[1] In contrast to his public commitment to the government, it has been suggested that he harboured an inveterate hatred for Ismāᶜīl Pasha and his family.[2] These calls for national freedom were one of the original features of his poetry, though obviously they never saw the light of day in Egypt at the time.

Others connected in some way with the court sent poetry to the paper. Muḥammad Effendi Fannī, a translator in al-Masrūfāt al-Khudaywīya, then in 1873 in al-Khāssa al-Khudaywīya, began contributing to the paper in 1871. After the death of ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd in 1878, al-Waqā'iᶜ published ᶜAbd Allāh's obituary[3] and an elegy by Muḥammad Fannī.[4] Abū's-Suᶜūd, like his mentor, Rifāᶜa Bey, was one of the few figures elegised in the Egyptian press, no doubt in recognition

1. Ḍayf, op. cit., p.61.

2. Charmes, Gabriel, "L'Insurrection militaire en Égypte. 1. Le triomphe du Parti Militaire", Revue des Deux Mondes, vol.58, 15 August, 1883, p.765.

3. W.M., no.748, 17 February, 1878.

4. Ibid., no.754, 31 March, 1878.

of his contribution to Egypt's progress through his literary and technical translations, and his paper Wādī an-Nīl, the first non-governmental Arabic newspaper in Egypt. Yahyā Fu'ād, an assistant in al-Khāssa as-Sanīya, wrote a qaṣīda in 1871 praising the Khedive with reference to the celebrations for the laying of the foundation for the new port in Alexandria.[1]

Several people had been involved in educating the Khedive's children. Muḥammad Qadrī Bey[2] had taught them since the 1860s at Madrasat al-Anjāl al-Khudaywīya (the Khedivial Children's School). He had taught the Crown Prince, Muḥammad Tawfīq, and had become mutasharrif in his retinue.[3] He sent poems to the paper between 1872 and 1874.[4] One of the few Copts sending poems to the paper in Ismā^{c}īl's reign was a court employee Masīḥa Salāma Effendi Labīb, who had worked as a translator in the Khedivial dīwān (dīwān al-Khāssa al-Khudaywīya).

One of the first group of poets to write for the resuscitated al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, as-Sayyid Ṣālih Majdī, had been appointed to Ismā^{c}īl's court (al-ma^{c}īya as-sanīya) in 1863 in the Translation Department,[5] but he did not stay there long. From 1869 he contributed a number of poems to the gazette for most of the munāsabat.[6] His poems exhibit the run-of-the-mill expressions in praise of the Khedive; he compares the Khedive to a lion (ghayth, layth), a gazelle (ẓaby) and

1. W.M., no.408, 18 May, 1871 (an-Najāḥ, 1 June).

2. Muḥammad Qadrī had worked as a government translator. Before 1873 he wrote a satirical poem on the French, which is no longer extant, Hijā' Faransāwī. See Kahhāla, op. cit., vol.II, p.149; and R.M., y.5, no.2, end Muharram, 1291 (19 March, 1874).

3. W.M., no.527, 30 September, 1873.

4. Ibid., no.480, 29 October, 1872 (R.M., y.3 , no.16, end Sha^{c}bān, 1289 [1 November, 1872]); and no.527, 30 September, 1873.

5. Majdī, op. cit., p.H.

6. W.M., no.278, 8 March, 1869 (al-Jawā'ib, 13 April, 1869).

he praises his generosity. Like Muhammad Shihāb ad-Dīn he often incorporates his own name into his poems of praise to the Khedive:-

ولا زال مجدى فى التهانى مؤرخا تجلى باسماعيل عيد البشائر

Majdī is still through congratulations writing a chronogram (ta'rīkh), a feast of glad tidings reveals Ismā^{c}īl.[1]

Another poem to the Khedive for the New Year in 1287 begins with a typical Bacchic prologue (muqaddima khamrīya):-

فطف بى على الحانات فى كل لحظة ودعنى لتقبيل وضم قدود

Roam with me to the bars at every opportunity, and let me kiss and embrace the figures (of the girls).[2]

In 1869 when he was wakīl Idārat al-Madāris al-Misrīya (Secretary-General in the Egyptian Schools Department), he wrote a madḥa to Crown Prince Tawfīq on his appointment to the rank of qā'immaqāmīya misrīya (Lieutenant Colonel).[3] He wrote a taghazzul (erotic poem) to the Prince in July, 1870, on his return to Egypt from a trip to Istanbul and Europe.[4] Sometimes the Khedive and the Crown Prince were addressed on the same occasion.[5]

But the official gazette only published a small percentage of his poetry; in his dīwān there are poems addressed to Khedive Ismā^{c}īl's mother, to other Princes, to Pashas, and

1. Ibid., no.282, 29 March, 1869 (Wādī an-Nīl, no. 1 , 23 April, 1869).

2. W.M., no.352, 10 April, 1870.

3. Ibid., no.300, 3 June, 1869 (Wādī an-Nīl, no.8, 11 June, and al-Jawā'ib, 22 June, 1869).

4. Wādī an-Nīl, y.1, no.28, 26 July, 1870; al-Jawā'ib, 11 August; R.M., y.1, no.8, 28 July; and W.M., no.368, 28 July, 1870.

5. W.M., no.398, 9 March, 1871 (Wādī an-Nīl, no.88, 13 March; and al-Jawā'ib, 2 April).

Government Ministers such as Riyād Pasha, Ismāᶜīl Ṣiddīq, Shāhīn Pasha, and Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha. He also wrote poetry for occasions apart from the Muslim ᶜids, he wrote for weddings, births, circumcisions, for the maḥmal ceremony, for the opening of the Khalīj. He too addressed poetry to the Sherifs of Mecca, and to the Bey of Tunis, Muḥammad as-Sādiq (1859-1882). His work had been read by the Bey, who had given him an award. When Majdī received this, he wrote poems praising the Bey and his ministers. After he became an assistant in the Ministry of Finance (muᶜāwin Dīwān al-Mālīya) in 1290/1873-1874,[1] he only wrote infrequently for the paper.[2]

Between 1867 and his death in March 1873, as-Sayyid Bey Abāza, a senior provincial administrator from one of the noble families of ash-Sharqīya,[3] sent many poems to the paper.[4] In 1869 he was a member of the Council of Justice and nāẓir Majlis az-Zirāᶜa (Director of the Agricultural Council) in ash-Sharqīya. Most of his poems were dedicated to the Khedive.[5] He was one of the few writers from outside the metropolis to send poems regularly to the paper. The paper's journalists and courtiers had a virtual monopoly of its columns with their poetry. He continued submitting poems to the paper when he was raised to the rank of Pasha and became mudīr ᶜumūm al-Wajh al-Baḥri (Governor-General of Lower Egypt). It was uncommon for such a senior official to publish his poetry. He also addressed poems to the Crown Prince Muḥammad Tawfiq.[6]

1. Majdī, op. cit., p.7.

2. W.M., no.568, 28 July, 1874.

3. Ibid., no.597, 14 March, 1875.

4. Ibid., no.103, 9 May, 1867; and no.436, 19 December, 1871 (al-Jawā'ib, 31 January, 1872).

5. W.M., no.242, 22 October, 1868; no.243, 26 October (al-Jawā'ib, 17th November and 24 November); and no.485, 9 December, 1872.

6. Ibid., no.291, 29 April, 1869.

One such poem was written when Tawfīq became a waẓīr and mushīr. The gazette was fulsome in its praise of the poem, remarking "this ode is all beauties, and an agent for pearl necklaces"; poetry was often compared to a string of pearls. In the poem as-Sayyid Abāẓa took advantage of the double entendre of Tawfīq's name as many poets had before. He describes Tawfīq as "the sun of knowledge" (shams al-maᶜārif) and "the sea of noble deeds" (baḥr al-makārim); the word baḥr was often used in poetry to describe a noble or great man whose magnanimity or knowledge is comparable to the vastness of the sea. The paper drew attention to one unique feature of the poem, the fact that it ended with two ta'rīkhs:-

فاجابه يمن الديار مورخا وأجاب توفيق العزيز مشيرا

So the good fortune of the dwellings replied to him making a date and upright Tawfīq replied offering advice (mushīr).[1]

He sang the praises of the new society, Jamᶜīyat al-Maᶜārif,[2] which was republishing the classics. He himself had obtained the concession to bring out the first Egyptian editions of Ibn Khaldūn's Ta'rīkh and Muqaddima, and ash-Sharīshī's (d.619/ 1222) commentary on the Maqāmāt al-Ḥarīrī,[3] thus anticipating the society's activities.

At the same time that Rifāᶜa Bey was contributing poems to the press, his son, ᶜAlī Fahmī Bey,[4] an employee at the Translation Bureau, also started to make contributions. Like other contributors most of his poems were addressed to the Khedive.[5] In 1869 when he was teaching inshā' (composition)

1. W.M., no.225, 20 August, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 9 September). See Appendix H, no.IX.

2. Ibid., no.291, 29 April, 1869 (al-Jawā'ib, 17 May and 24 May).

3. They both appeared at Būlāq in 1284/1867-1868.(W.M., no.62 , 3 December, 1866)

4. For ᶜAli Fahmī (1849-1903), see Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, pp.1365-1366.

5. W.M., no.110, 2 June, 1867; no.471, 27 August, 1872; and no.573, 1 September, 1874.

PAGE NUMBERING AS IN THE ORIGINAL THESIS

at the School of Surveying and Accounting (Madrasat al-Misāha wa'l-Muhāsaba), he and some of his pupils, Muhammad Fathī, Muhammad Hishmat, Mustafā Rāshid, Muhammad Zuhdī, Ahmad Shākir, Muhammad Fakhrī, ᶜAlī Rushdī and Ahmad Nazmī, all wrote poems for the New Year addressed to the Khedive and his son.[1] But ᶜAlī Fahmī was more innovative than other poets; he tried to introduce popular forms of poetry to the press. Like his father, he was fond of the muwashshah. The gazette commented on one such poem that he was "imitating his father in every rhetorical expression (maᶜna)".[2] He wrote a muwashshah for the return of the Khedive from his trip to Europe in 1867.[3] He wrote a tahni'a thanā'īya at-tawshīhīya (a eulogistic tawshīh) on the promotion of the Chief of Police in Cairo to liwā' Pasha.[4] His tawshīh for the wedding of Ismāᶜīl's daughter in 1869 has already been referred to.

It was unusual for the paper in these early years to receive contributions from abroad. There were of course the poems taken from al-Jawā'ib newspaper. Poems were however received from the Sudan in 1868, from Muhammad Bey Saᶜīd, son of the commandant (Hikimdār) of the Sudan Jaᶜfar Pasha Mazhar, and a member of al-Majlis as-Sūdānī (the Sudanese Council). They followed the pattern of poems sent in praise of the Khedive.[5] Writing from the Sudan, one of Egypt's territories, it was appropriate that Muhammad should point out the extent of Ismāᶜīl's power:-

وفى كل ارض اذعنت لاقتدا .... رسلالة سام او سلالة حام

1. W.M., no.292, 6 May, 1869 (Wādī an-Nīl, no.4, 14 May, 1869).

2. Ibid., no.247, 10 November, 1868.

3. Ibid., no.140, 19 September, 1867.

4. Ibid., no.247, 10 November, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 24 November).

5. Ibid., no.251, 23 November, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 22 December); no.267, 25 January, 1869; no.285, 8 April, 1869; and no.346, 21 February, 1870.

The offspring of Shem and Ham have submitted to his might in every land.[1]

In a poem for the Prophet's birthday (mawlid an-nabī) there are few references to the Prophet, and the poem devotes its praise to the Khedive. Muhammad Sa^{c}īd in this poem combines many of the images of gardens, that were found in the prologues of many poems, into one line; describing Ismā^{c}īl's Egypt he says:-

عهد نضير زهاه في روض دولته غرس العلا و سحاب العدل هطال

It is a flourishing epoch in which the plant of highness has bloomed in the garden of his state and the clouds of justice are pouring down rain.[2]

A more serious event commemorated in his poetry was Ismā^{c}īl's surviving the second attack on his life in 1869.[3] When Muhammad Sa^{c}īd returned from the Sudan, as a member of Majlis al-Isti'nāfī (Appeal Council) he continued his contributions to the paper.[4] In 1874 he and ^{c}Alī Abū'n-Nasr sent their congratulations for the birth of a son to the Khedive's heir, Muhammad Tawfīq.[5] Apart from these eulogies to the Khedive, he wrote some verse (taqrīz) in an article reviewing Rifā^{c}a Bey's book on the history of Egypt, Anwār Tawfīq al-Jalīl fī Akhbār Miṣr wa-Tawthīq Banī Ismā^{c}īl, which had just been published;[6] this was one of the first taqrīz to be printed in the gazette.

1. W.M., no.199, 7 April, 1868.
2. Ibid., no.217, 20 July, 1868 (al-Jawā'ib, 11 August).
3. W.M., no.276, 29 February, 1869.
4. Ibid., no.498, 11 March, 1873.
5. Ibid., no.572, 25 August, 1874.
6. Ibid., no.221, 6 August, 1868.

All the poets active in Ismāʿīl's reign and indeed all the major Egyptian poets since the French conquest had been Muslims. Many had learned their literary craft in al-Azhar, but some had been trained in the state schools. Until the establishment of these schools, a few Copts attended their primitive community schools, where pupils were given only the rudiments of an education. In the 1870s a number of Coptic writers began contributing to the press. One such was Tādrus Wahbī, but though a Copt he had studied language and fiqh at al-Azhar. From 1874, and perhaps earlier, he taught French, English and Arabic at the Coptic school in Cairo, Madrasat Hārat as-Saqqāyin al-Misrīya (The Egyptian School of the Water Carriers' Quarter).[1] Though a Christian he addressed many panegyrics to the Khedive for the Muslim feasts, and other occasions.[2] He was one of the poets who wrote a rithā' on the death of the Khedive's beloved daugher, Zaynab, in 1875. Elegy was another major theme of Arabic poetry. His poem is characteristic of the genre. He reminds the Khedive that fate plays with mankind, and life is a mere illusion (khayāl). The poet notes that there was universal grief on her death. She was the sun (shams) of His Highness. Such adversities show us that we must be patient. He ends with a ta'rīkh, declaring that "Zaynab has come to the house of the resurrection" (dār al-iqāma). Like most other elegies of the period there are few personal references and the poem shows no genuine grief for the deceased; these marāthi were written to please the patron.[3] In 1878 he sent al-Waqā'iʿ al-Miṣrīya a congratulatory ode for a marriage contract, no doubt for another member of the Royal Family.[4]

There were a number of journalists, shaykhs, and

1. R.M., y.5, no.22, 1 Dhū'l-Hijja, 1291 (11 January, 1875).
2. W.M., no.568, 28 July, 1874.
3. Ibid., no.623, 12 September, 1875.
4. Ibid., no.791, 29 December, 1878.

officials who sent one or two poems to the paper, usually in praise of the Khedive. Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl, famous as a translator of French literature, and later as a zajjāl,[1] contributed to the press when he was a member of the examiners' committee at the Alexandria schools (Madrasat al-Iskandarīya) in December, 1868. He and a Shaykh ᶜAlī Muḥammad al-ᶜAwāmirī wrote qaṣīdas for the occasion, which al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya published.[2] A few months later some other poems by them were published.[3] In 1873, when working as a translator in the Ministry of War, he wrote his elegy to Rifāᶜa Bey. One can only wonder why the muse visited him and others so rarely. Since he wrote more frequently in Tawfīq's reign, perhaps he was not closely linked to Khedive Ismāᶜīl's court.[4]

From Banhā al-Qalyūbīya ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm,[5] the famous orator of the ᶜUrābī revolt, made his first contribution to the Egyptian press, while working as a telegraph officer on the railways there. It was a qaṣīda dedicated to Khalīl Aghā,[6] the chief eunuch at the residence of the Khedive's mother, al-Qaṣr al-ᶜAynī, in Cairo. The purpose of this poem may have been to obtain an appointment at the palace. The poem was sent to the paper with a Turkish letter from Khalīl Wahbī Effendi, Turkish clerk at Her Highness' household. The

1. Riyād, Ḥusayn Mazlūm, Ta'rīkh Adab ash-Shaᶜb, (Cairo, n.d.), pp.101-104.

2. W.M., no.256, 10 December, 1868.

3. Ibid., no.281, 18 March, 1869.

4. He wrote a dīwān on the Russo-Turkish war of 1877-1878, which was not published. Anonymously, under the initials mīm ᶜayn jīm, he published several zajal poems, Ḥamla Zajal Aḥaduhumā fi'l-Azhar wa'th-Thānī fi'l-mākūlāt, Cairo, Maṭbaᶜat al-Waṭanīya; Ḥaml Murabbaᶜ Ghazl wa-Naṣāyiḥ wa-Tankīt, n.d., n.p.; Ḥamlayn Zajal-Aḥaduhumā fi'sh-Shiᶜr wa-Kasād Bidāᶜatihi wa-Fasād Sināᶜatihi wa'l-Akhir fi'l-ᶜUṣfūr wa's-Ṣayyād (with mīm qaf), n.d., n.p.; and Ḥamla Zajal fi'l-Mukayyifāt, lith., n.d., n.p. They probably appeared after 1882.

5. ᶜAbd Allāh had studied classical Arabic prose works, maqāmat and poetry as a youngster at the mosque of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha in Alexandria under Shaykh Muḥammad al-ᶜAshrī. He developed a talent for improvising verse in the colloquial language, and in his youth he frequented literary majālis, where he listened to and participated in recitals of zajal and classical poetry.

poem lauds Khalīl Āghā:-

بحر النوال فكل افضاله له والمجد فيه مع الفخار اثنين

He has all the virtues of a man of generosity, and honour and glory are in him.[1]

Some three years later when he was deputy (wakīl tilighrāf) in charge of the office in Banhā, he sent another qaṣīda to the paper.[2]

Later to become a well-known poet, Mustafā Ṣubhī, then an employee in al-ᶜAzīzīya company, first brought his poetry to the public's attention through the paper.[3] Four years later, ~~then~~ now Mustafā Ṣubhī Bey and Deputy Chief of Police (wakīl ad-dabṭīya) in Alexandria, he wrote a qaṣīda for some school examinations in the city.[4]

Amongst the minor contributors of poetry was as-Sayyid Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī, who wrote verses for the paper congratulating the Khedive on the New Year and on other occasions.[5] These poems were written about the time that the Khedive freed him and his brother, ᶜAbd as-Salām, from heavy debts they had accumulated after speculating on the stock exchange. The brothers were silk traders and manufacturers.[6] Ismāᶜīl remembered the services rendered by their grandfather to Muhammad ᶜAlī's court.[7] As-Sayyid Ibrāhīm may have written these few poems to thank the Khedive for his help. He

1. The text of this unpublished poem is in Appendix H, no.XVII.
2. W.M., no.498, 11 March, 1873.
3. Ibid., no.284, 4 April, 1869.
4. Ibid., no.528, 7 October, 1873.
5. Ibid., no.470, 20 August, 1872; and Rāmītsh, op. cit., p.84.
6. Scholch, op. cit., (German edition), p.294[164] from Sāmī
7. "Ibrāhīm Bik", al-Hilāl, y.14, p.385.

also wrote a poem to Ismā^{C}īl's son, Prince Husayn Pasha Kāmil, but this was not published in the paper.[1] Ibrāhīm was not renowned for his poetry, and little of it was recorded.[2]

Several Azharite Shaykhs sent poems to the paper. A judge in Alexandria, Shaykh ^{C}Abd ar-Rahmān Effendi al-Abyārī sent a few poems,[3] including an elegy in 1877 for Shaykh Muhammad Abū'l-Fath.[4] Shaykh Muhammad al-Qādī ash-Shāmī al-Munsī b. an-Nābulusī sent some poems to the paper in 1874 and 1875; in 1875 he wrote a ta'rīkh for the birthday of Kamāl ad-Dīn Bey, son of Prince Husayn Kāmil Pasha, Minister of War (nāẓir al-jihādīya).[5] Shaykh Mahmūd al-^{C}Ālim, one of the teachers of Arabic in the Military Schools (al-Madāris al-Harbīya), sent some poems in 1869, one in praise of the Khedive,[6] another to the Shaykh al-Islām,[7] and the elegy, already mentioned, to Shaykh Muhammad ad-Damanhūrī. Though the dīwāns of ^{C}Alī ad-Darwīsh and others abound with poems to the religious Shaykhs, the press rarely printed these, because of its preoccupation with eulogising the Khedive. Shaykh Ahmad ^{C}Abd al-Ghanī,[8] a teacher at al-Azhar, sent several poems from 1873, one of which was a marthiya.[9]

Two members of the nobility who were to become better known for their poetry in Tawfiq's reign had poems published.

1. Ramītsh, op. cit., p.87.
2. Cheikho, Ta'rīkh al-Ādāb, op. cit. , p.13; and Rāmītsh, op. cit., p.87.
3. W.M., no.281, 18 March, 1869.
4. Ibid., no.699, 4 March, 1877.
5. Ibid., no.589, 10 January, 1875.
6. Ibid., no.263, 4 January, 1869.
7. Ibid., no.264, 7 January, 1869.
8. He later became known for a poem he wrote supporting ^{C}Urābī.
9. W.M., no.645, 20 February, 1876.

Mustafā Tawfīq Bey,[1] the son of Ibrāhīm Pasha, farīq as-sawārī (lieutenant-general of the cavalry) sent a few poems between 1873 and 1875. Salīm Rahmī Bey, son of the late Salīm Pasha al-Arna'ūtī, had some poems published in 1878. The gazette remarked that the poems "show his nobility, the industry he put into his studies and good upbringing".[2]

But the totality of poetic activity, even in the field of panegyrics, was far from represented by the poems published in the official gazette. The paper published only one poem in February, 1873, by ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, then wakīl al-Makātib al-Ahlīya (Secretary-General in charge of the Popular Schools), in which he congratulated the Khedive on ᶜĪd al-Aḍhā. ᶜAbd Allāh had been in the retinue of Ismāᶜīl since 1279/1861, and accompanied him to Istanbul for his investiture,[3] and again in 1863. Between 1284/1866 and 1286/1868 he worked as tutor in oriental languages to some of the princes of the royal family, including the heir-apparent Tawfīq Pasha and his brothers Hasan and Husayn Pasha. ᶜAbd Allāh taught them Arabic, Turkish and Persian. He then helped to establish the National Library, and worked for al-Majlis al-Khusūsī (the Privy Council) until early Rajab, 1287/1871.[4] He was appointed to the Dīwān al-Makātib in 1288/1871.[5]

Though he wrote a significant amount of poetry throughout his life, poetry only forms a small part of his collected works.[6] There are about half a dozen poems to Khedive Ismāᶜīl in his dīwān,[7] most of which were written in

1. He was a French teacher at the Preparatory School in 1874 (R.M., y.5, no.18, 1 Shawwāl, 1291 (10 November, 1874)
2. W.M., no.790, 22 December, 1878.
3. "Sīrat Fādil", al-Muqtataf, vol.15, p.10.
4. Ibid., vol.15, p.11.
5. Mubārak, op. cit., vol.2, p.47.
6. al-Āthār al-Fikrīya, Būlāq, 1897.
7. Fikrī, op. cit., pp.13, 19, 32, 34, 46 and 51.

the first half of his reign from 1282/1865-1866 to 1289/1872-1873; he also wrote poems to the Khedive's son, Prince Husayn Pasha Kāmil, one on his marriage in 1289/1873 to Princess ᶜAyn al-Hayāt.[1] Presumably these poems were presented to the Khedive, but it is not known why they were not published in the gazette. ᶜAbd Allāh was never a nadīm to the Khedive, like ᶜAlī al-Laythī and ᶜAlī Abū'n-Nasr, but he held positions close to the Khedive for many years.

In this period he wrote some unusual poems not published in his lifetime. He wrote adwār for the examination at the girls' school (Madrasat al-Banāt) in as-Suyūfīya to be sung by the girls in 1293/1876-1877 and 1294/1877-1878 in honour of their headmistress, Jashm Khānim.[2] His most famous poetic work was a poem of advice to his son Amīn (1856-1899) written in 1876 when he was still at school. He instructed his son on how he should conduct his life, in the tradition of the poem of Ibn Saᶜīd al-Maghribī (d.685/1286) to his son. Hardly a work of poetry, it became a text studied in schools and was still being memorized by students until about twenty years ago.[3]

His collected works, the correspondence, elegies, etc., give a rare insight into the ties that existed between literary figures in Ismāᶜīl's and Tawfīq's reigns. ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī had contacts with most of the men of letters, with fellow poets, such as Hifnī Nāsif, Sālih Majdī, ᶜAlī al-Laythī, Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, ᶜAlī Abū'n-Nasr, Mahmūd Safwat as-Sāᶜātī, Ismāᶜīl Sabrī, Shaykh Muhammad al-Basyūnī, Muhammad Ahmad an-Najjār, Shaykh Tāhā Qatrīya, and ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj, with scholars and translators, such as Shaykh Husayn al-Marsafī, Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl, Shaykh ᶜUthmān Madawwakh, Shaykh Ahmad az-Zurqānī, and Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī, with

1. Fikrī, op. cit., pp.15 and 34.
2. as-Saᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.434; and Fikrī, op. cit., pp.48-50.
3. Hasan, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, op. cit., pp.221-224; and Fikrī, op. cit., pp.17-18.

poet-journalists, such as ᶜAbd Allāh Nadīm, ᶜAlī Fahmī, Aḥmad Samīr, Wafā Muḥammad Effendi and the Syrian Amīn Shumayyil, and with state functionaries, such as ᶜAlī Mubārak, Aḥmad Khayrī Pasha, and Muḥammad Qadrī.

ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī was not the only poet to make infrequent contributions to the paper. Shaykh Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī, well-known for his poetry,[1] had only three poems published: one in Shaykh Muṣṭafā Salāma's anthology printed in the paper in 1866, when Shaykh Ibrāhīm was editor of the medical journal, Yaᶜsūb aṭ-Ṭibb and an employee of the medical school (Madrasat aṭ-Ṭibb),[2] and another in April 1869,[3] when he was chief corrector (raᵓīs aṭ-taṣḥīḥ) at Būlāq.[4] The only other qaṣīda to appear was one he wrote in 1878 thanking the Khedive for rewarding him for his services.[5] Shaykh Aḥmad az-Zurqānī, a member of Wahbī's circle, sent two poems to the paper in praise of al-Jawāᵓib and its editor in 1867.[6] Only one poem[7] was received from the famous zajjāl, Shaykh Ramaḍān Ḥalāwa (?-1887).[8] One of the merchants from al-Jamālīya in Cairo, Shaykh ᶜUthmān al-Jindī ad-Dimyātī, who had a number of poems published in later years, sent a tawshīḥ to the paper in 1872.[9]

Many who later became famous journalists began their press careers with the poems they sent to the paper. An

1. Khafājī, op. cit., vol.3, p.29.

2. W.M., no.2, 30 November, 1865.

3. Ibid., no.284, 4 April, 1869.

4. Ibid., no.222, 10 August, 1868.

5. Ibid., no.758, 28 April, 1878.

6. Ibid., no.78, 31 January, 1867; and no. 91, 21 March, 1867; Taymūr, (op. cit., p.91) describes him as "shaykh" of the literati.

7. W.M., no.281, 18 March, 1869.

8. GAL (vol.SI, p.470) incorrectly calls him Jallāwa.

9. W.M., no.470, 20 August, 1872.

Alexandrine, Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh, already a contributor to the educational magazine Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, sent a qaṣīda to the paper in 1873.[1] Shaykh Ḥamza had studied at the mosque of Shaykh Ibrāhīm Pasha in Alexandria, and may have developed his interest in poetry there, as did the mosque's more famous pupil, his friend, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm. A friend of Maḥmūd al-Bārūdī, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, and ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī later editor of Mir'āt ash-Sharq, sent one poem to the paper in 1874. The visiting Syrian journalist, Ibrāhīm ᶜAlī al-Aḥdab at-Tarābulusī wrote a poem for the examinations at Madrasat al-Mubtadiyān (the Primary School) in 1872.[2] A year later, the owner of the Syrian newspaper Ḥadīqat al-Akhbār, Khalīl Effendi al-Khūrī wrote a poem for Ibrāhīm Pasha's wedding. Khalīl was one of the most prolific poets in Syria, where he had published several dīwāns and other works of poetry.

Apart from madḥ for Royal events, elegies were published for Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Jawwād as-Sā'arīn[3] and to Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Jawwād al-Qāyātī from Ḥal.dat al-Qāyāt,[4] by his son, Shaykh Aḥmad.[5] The Azharite Shaykh Muṣṭafā Ḥabīb al-ᶜAdawī, sent an elegy in 1876.[6] The only other category of poetry was that written for school examinations. The press, whether government or independent, gave publicity to these examinations and the accompanying celebrations; the Egyptian press still publishes details of university matriculation examinations and of university examinations.

The wakīl al-Majlis al-Ibtidā'ī (deputy on the Court of

1. W.M., no.500, 25 March, 1873.
2. Ibid., no.479, 22 October, 1872.
3. Ibid., no.361, 9 June, 1870.
4. Ibid., no.363, 23 June.
5. For Shaykh Aḥmad (1841-1890), see az-Ziriklī, vol.1, p.143.
6. Ibid., no.645, 20 February, 1876.

First Instance) had a poem published for the examination at the Alexandria school in December 1869.[1] Al-Qummūs Filūtā'ūs sent some hymns (tarnīmat), that had been sung at the Coptic school examinations in February, 1871.[2] Examinations at this same school were reported in the paper the following year. Rifā^{c}a Bey gave a speech on the occasion, and it may have been his presence or influence that led to the examinations being publicised. One of the teachers, Mustafā Effendi Ridwān[3] read a poem.[4] After the school examinations in Berber in the Sudan, Muhammad Husayn Barkārah recited a qaṣīda; this, together with verses by other pupils in praise of the Khedive, was sent to the paper.[5]

For some twelve years all the poetry published in al-Waqā'i^{c} had been concentrated on the Khedivial family and matters Egyptian, but in August 1878, qaṣīdas were published praising dignitaries from the principality of Bhōpāl in India. One such poem was dedicated to Shaykh Muhammad Jamāl ad-Dīn, the Minister of the Bēgam of Bhōpāl.[6] Another poem praised as-Sayyid Muhammad Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, amīr ri'āsat (the prince of Bhōpāl) for having paid for the printing at Būlāq of a book, Fatḥ al-Bārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī by Ibn Ḥajar al-^{c}Asqalānī (d.777/1375), the great commentary in 14 volumes including al-Bukhārī's famous Ṣaḥīḥ.[7] A final qaṣīda praised the Shāhjahān Bēgam (ra'īsat baladat) Bhōpāl.[8] No doubt the

1. W.M., no.336, 9 December, 1869.

2. Ibid., no.397, 23 February, 1871.

3. Mustafā had been a student at the School of Languages under Rifā^{c}a Bey and was teacher of French and Arabic literature at the Medical School.

4. W.M., no.446, 5 March, 1872 (al-Jawa'ib, 27 March).

5. Ibid., no.611, 20 June, 1875.

6. Ibid., no.775, 25 August, 1878.

7. Ibid., no.778, 15 September.

8. Ibid., no.779, 22 September.

emissaries of the Bēgam of Bhōpāl had distributed their largesse in Cairo, and thus attracted this praise, or else the Azharite Shaykhs may have wished to praise them for making generally available such a large religious work.

There were strong ties between the Istanbul Arabic newspaper, al-Jawā'ib, and the official gazette. Al-Jawā'ib received a subsidy from Khedive Ismā^{c}īl, so it carried a lot of material about Egypt and often quoted al-Waqā'i^{c} and other Egypian newspapers in the period from 1866 to 1873. al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya in turn carried items taken from al-Jawā'ib, usually a week or so after their publication in Istanbul. The Istanbul newspaper printed dozens of poems from the Egyptian gazette praising its paymaster, Ismā^{c}īl,[1] and the gazette published many poems lauding the Khedive, first published in the Istanbul paper, and congratulating the Khedive on the customary anniversaries.[2] Many of these poems from al-Jawā'ib were anonymous, and it can be assumed that they were written by its editor, Aḥmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq, who may have worked on the Egyptian paper in his youth. ash-Shidyāq did write a qaṣīda dedicated to the Crown Prince Tawfīq Pasha in January, 1869,[3] republished in the gazette. Al-Jawā'ib had led the way in praising personalities outside the royal family, such as Rāghib Pasha, wazīr ad-dākhilīya and nāzir al-mālīya (Minister of the Interior and Finance),[4] and the Minister of Finance, Ismā^{c}īl Siddīq Pasha. ^{c}Alī Fahmī, Rifā^{c}a Bey's son, had sent al-Jawā'ib a takhmīs to this latter poem.[5] Other poems by ^{c}Alī Fahmī, in al-Jawā'ib, were

1. Many of these poems were republished in volumes 3 and 4 of Kanz ar-Raghā'ib.

2. W.M., no.115, 20 June, 1867; no.175, 3 February, 1868; no.248, 12 November; no.270, 8 February, 1869 from al-Jawā'ib, 19 January; W.M., no.391, 12 January, 1871, from al-Jawā'ib, 27 December, 1870; and W.M., no.485, 9 December, 1872.

3. Ibid., no.263, 4 January, 1869, from al-Jawā'ib, 12 December, 1868.

4. Ibid., no.176, 6 February, 1868.

5. Ibid., no.285, 8 April, 1869.

republished in the gazette.[1] Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Malik al-Makkī, kātib qalam idārat al-Jawā'ib (clerk in the newspaper's administrative office) wrote a naẓm (poem) praising Riyāḍ Pasha in July 1873.[2] There was also a poem praising the recently formed Assembly of Delegates in 1867 from al-Jawā'ib.[3]

It was not only poetry by ash-Shidyāq and Egyptian writers that al-Waqā'iᶜ took from al-Jawā'ib. Some poems and puzzles by Aḥmad Sāmī Effendi ᶜIzzat al-Fārūqī,[4] an administrator and poet from Mosul, appeared.[5] One such poem praised ash-Shidyāq for an award he had received; the editor of al-Jawā'ib in turn praised al-Fārūqī for being awarded the third rank. The editor of al-Waqā'iᶜ published both these, and added his own praises to the two men.[6] A poem by as-Sayyid Yāsīn b. Muḥammad Rahdal an-Nābulusī, nephew of the famous Sufi Shaykh ᶜAbd ar-Raḥman an-Nābulusī (d.1143/1731) was quoted.[7] In 1872 both papers published a poem to the Khedive by as-Sayyid Muḥammad Amīn Effendi al-Jundī, who had just arrived from the Yemen.[8] The two papers also indulged in mutual praise. Al-Jawā'ib praised its sister paper, al-Waqā'iᶜ.[9] The gazette panegyrised the editor of al-Jawā'ib with a poem by Shaykh Khalīl al-ᶜAzāzī,[10] an umda from Banhā. Al-Jawā'ib was no doubt widely distributed and popular in Egypt, and thus able to attract contributions by Egyptian

1. W.M., no.298, 27 May, 1869, from al-Jawā'ib, 17 May.

2. Ibid., no.514, 1 July, 1873.

3. Ibid., no.71, 3 January, 1867.

4. Aḥmad ᶜIzzat al-Fārūqī al-ᶜUmarī (1828-1892) was born in Mosul. He held several government posts and left a large dīwān of poetry. See Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.1, p.169.

5. W.M., no.103, 9 May, 1867; and no.134, 29 August.

6. Ibid., no.39, 2 September, 1866.

7. Ibid., no.160, 28 November, 1867.

8. Ibid., no.472, 3 September, 1872.

9. Ibid., no.70, 28 December, 1866.

10. Ibid., no.107, 23 May, 1867.

poets.

Wādī an-Nīl, first published in 1867, did not carry as much poetry as al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, but it did elicit a rare contribution to the political press by ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī. He wrote a taqrīẓ in sajᶜ and a poem welcoming the paper's appearance; this was published in Wādī an-Nīl and the official gazette.[1] Taqārīẓ were written welcoming newspapers as well as books, and regularly heralded the appearance of new journals. The poetry that was published in Wādī an-Nīl was usually taken from al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, and consisted of the standard panegyrics. It carried a poem from al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya for the opening of the Suez Canal by the court poet ᶜAlī al-Laythī, which it described as "one of the best poetic utterances said for this occasion (munāsaba)". According to al-Laythī, Ismāᶜīl had achieved what previous kings had not been able to do:-

طالما حاول الملوك اتصالا بين بحريها وما يستقرّ

How often the kings tried to link the two seas and what abides (therein).

Now the land had become a sea. ᶜAlī al-Laythī welcomed the visiting monarchs invited for these celebrations.[2] One of the poems not in the gazette was a qaṣīda praising the director of schools (mudīr al-Madāris) by a student, Aḥmad Rashīd Bey.[3]

The paper received a kurrāsa (booklet) from ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī, in which he commented on developments in poetic skills:-

1. W.M., no.125, 25 July, 1867.
2. Wādī an-Nīl, no.33, 6 December, 1869.
3. Ibid. quoted in al-Jawā'ib, 9 August, 1871.

> One of the contemporary merits and advances made in Egypt is the concern of the schools with literary (adabīya) sciences, enabling (students) to attain knowledge of inshā' (composition), so that they do not devote themselves to strutting around earnestly and with effort in the cloak of the embellished (poetry).

ᶜAlī Fahmī obviously felt that poetry was becoming less rhetorical. With this booklet he sent the paper his own poem to the Khedive for the New Year. In this he speaks of the increased agricultural wealth of the country under the Khedive, describing new agricultural methods:-

فانها الكيميا بالنيل ان مزجت وقضض الارض بالتقطير زيبقه

> The chemicals if they are mixed with the Nile, its mercury will plate all the land with (its) drops.

He concludes the poem with fakhr (self-praise) on his own poetry, comparing it with the ancient masters:-

قصيدة بتهانى العام قدقصدت ماكان فى الشعر حاكاها فرزدقه

صفى نظمى اتى ابن النبيه به و انت ناصر هذا العصر ارتقه

> A qaṣīda with greetings for the (New) Year tried to say what was in the poetry that Farazdaq imitated.
>
> Ibn Nabīh brought the purity of my composition, and you, o protector of this age, are the chief possessor

The paper did publish one of the first translations of French poetry in the Egyptian press in January 1871 as "a sign of European culture (faḍl)". It was a prose translation of a poem written by one of the soldiers of the Prussian army (Landwehr) in France, and sent to his wife in their village

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.4, 14 May, 1869.

during the Franco-Prussian war. It was reproduced from the French paper, Le Moniteur Universel, and filled two and a half pages of Wādī an-Nīl.[1] The paper also printed Arabic puzzles (alghāz) and literary riddles (rumūz); the nadīm as-Sayyid ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr sent a verse reply to one of these puzzles in 1869.[2]

Since so few copies of this paper are available, one can only surmise that the paper did not give much column space to poetry. The editor, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, is said to have published a Dīwān in Cairo,[3] but few, if any, of his poems appeared in his paper. In 1293/1876-1877 on the paper's press, Maṭbaᶜat Wādī an-Nīl he had published his resumé in verse of the history of Egypt of al-Jabartī,[4] Minḥat Ahl al-ᶜAṣr bi-Muntaqā Ta'rīkh Muḥyī Miṣr bi-Himmat al-Marḥūm Muḥammad ᶜAlī Bāshā. This monumental work, an urjūza of 10,000 verses on the life of Muḥammad ᶜAlī, had appeared in 1876 as a feuilleton in Rawḍat al-Akhbār,[5] the newspaper of ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd's son.

Many of the poets, who sent material to the official gazette, graced the pages of the educational magazine, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya founded in 1870 with their work.[6] Often this fortnightly magazine merely republished poems that had already appeared in the weekly gazette, as the footnotes earlier in this chapter have shown. Its first issue had a qaṣīda by Ṣālih Majdī and Aḥmad Nazmī that had appeared earlier in the gazette.[7] Sometimes, but rarely, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya took

1. Wādī an-Nīl, no.7, 6 Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1287 (27 January, 1871).

2. Ibid., no.2, 30 April, 1869.

3. Van Dyck, op. cit., p.479; and Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.1, p.130. Sarkīs (op. cit., vol.1, p.315) was unable to trace this.

4. GAL, vol.SII, p.733.

5. Rawḍat al-Akhbār, y.3, no.4, 24 February, 1876, from Aḥmad, op. cit., p.182.

6. The poetic content of the magazine is discussed in Ḥasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., pp.116-142.

y.1, no.1, 15 Muḥarram, 1287 (16 April, 1870).

material from the magazine. Panegyrists probably thought that the court was more likely to read their poems in the political paper.

Though the magazine had more of a literary bent than the newspaper, and published maqāmas, translated fiction, and even a play, the poetry it published was of the traditional pattern. There was rarely a poem which revealed the poet's sentiments or might have sparked the readers' imagination. Poetic inspiration was lacking in most of the poetry.[1] The magazine published various categories of poetry, madḥ, rithā', moral, literary and scientific manẓūmāt or urjūzas, riddles in verse, and spiritual (rūḥī) poetry. But, as with the gazette, most of the poems were panegyrics to Khedive Ismāʿīl and Crown Prince Tawfīq. Since it was an official magazine, it had to praise the ruler on official occasions. The poets were fulfilling a social duty and an artistic tradition. Since many were well established in their respective careers they were not writing these verses for gift or favour.[2] ʿAlī Fahmī explained the currently held concept of madḥ:-

> One of the noblest virtues is to praise those whose conduct has been good, one of the best acts is to laud those whose heart is kind, that is a certain tradition laid down by (our) forefathers, nevertheless it is a precious and original tradition for which human beings have a propensity.[3]

Like the gazette, Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya published poetry praising the Khedive and the Crown Prince on all official occasions. The only way it differed was that it published more poetry connected with the Ministry of Education; the magazine was the responsibility of that Ministry. In June

1. Hasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., pp.116-117.
2. Ibid., p.120.
3. R.M., y.1, no.10, end Jumādā I, 1287 (27 August, 1870), p.6.

1870, the magazine published a manẓūma by Maḥmūd Ḥusayn Effendi bāshmuhandis (chief engineer) at the Ministry of Endowments and head of the Engineering Department (ra'īs Qalam al-Handasa) praising the magazine and its patron, ᶜAlī Mubārak,[1] then Minister of Education.

In January 1873, Rifāᶜa Bey, nāẓir of the magazine, made a speech thanking the Khedive for visiting the Dīwān al-Maᶜārif (the Ministry of Education); this speech included several pieces of poetry (maqṭūᶜāt) in praise of the Khedive.[2] When the Khedive's son, Ḥusayn Kāmil Pasha was appointed Minister in the Ministry of Education (Dīwān al-Madāris or al-Maᶜārif) ta'rīkhs were published by Rifāᶜa Bey,[3] and Ṣālih Majdī.[4] Rifāᶜa's son, ᶜAlī Fahmī, wrote a congratulatory ode to the new minister for ᶜĪd al-Fiṭr later that year.[5] Majdī addressed him again in 1873.[6]

ᶜAbd ar-Rāziq Effendi in the Translation Department of the Ministry of Education wrote a congratulatory ode when another member of the royal family, Muḥammad Ṭūsūn Pasha, son of (Muḥammad) Saᶜīd Pasha, was appointed Minister of Education[7] (Royal Schools) and Endowments (nāẓir ᶜUmūm al-Madāris al-Malakīya wa'l-Awqāf al-Miṣrīya) in 1874.[8] The only poem in the magazine by the famous nadīm, Shaykh ᶜAlī

1. R.M., y.1, no.5, 15 Rabīᶜ I, 1287 (13 June, 1870).

2. Ibid., y.3, no.22, end Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1289 (29 January, 1873) (W.M., no.494, 13 February); and Wādī, op. cit., p.167.

3. Ibid., y.3, no.12, end Jumādā II, 1289 (3 September, 1872).

4. Ibid., y.3, no.13, 15 Rajab, 1289 (18 September, 1872) (W.M., no.473, 24 September).

5. Ibid., y.3, no.20, end Shawwāl, 1289 (30 December, 1872).

6. Ibid., y.3, no.22, end Dhū'l-Qaᶜda, 1289 (29 January, 1873).

7. In six years there were seven different Ministers: ᶜAlī Mubārak Pasha (13 May, 1871 - 25 August, 1872); Prince Ḥusayn Kāmil Pasha (26 August, 1872 - 14 August, 1873); Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha (15 August, 1873 - 28 February, 1874); Muḥammad Thābit Pasha (25 May, 1874 - 6 September, 1874); Ṭūsūn Pasha (7 September, 1874 - 21 August, 1875); Yaḥyā Manṣūr Pasha (1 September, 1875 - 21 June, 1876); and Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha (25 June, 1876 - 13 October, 1877).

, y.5, no.14, end Rajab, 1291 (11 September, 1874).

al-Laythī, was a marthiya on the death of Tūsūn Pasha two years later. An Azharite, Shaykh Ḥusayn Wālī, a teacher at the Preparatory School, elegised him as well, as did as-Sayyid ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr in al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya.[1] Al-Laythī's elegy dwells on the misfortune of man facing the tragedy of death, and the transient nature of life. Souls wish to live long but everything perishes. Tūsūn, the "moon of encomiums and good qualities", was a young man of twenty-three:-

أسفي على ذاك الشباب فانه قد كان في وجه المحاسن رونقا
أسفي على تلك الشمائل أنها تحكي النسيم معطرا ومعبقا

I am (very) sad for that youth for he was a splendour that (radiated) in the face of beauties,
I am sad for those good qualities that resemble the breeze which is perfumed and fragrant.[2]

This poem is much more moving than Shaykh Ḥusayn's elegy.

The magazine eulogised a quick succession of ministers. In 1874 the Copt, Tādrus Wahbī, then working as a trainee mulāzim (assistant) in the Translation Department of the Ministry of Education wrote a congratulatory ode to Muḥammad Thābit Pasha, the next new Minister. He could not find much of relevance to say to the Minister on his appointment:-

قد تباهت بكم مدارس مصر و بك الوقف قد غدا في ازدهاء

The schools of Egypt are proud of you, under you the waqf has become flourishing.[3]

1. R.M., y.7, no.12, end Jumādā II, 1293 (21 July, 1876) (W.M., no.667, 23 July).
2. Ḥasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., pp.127-129.
3. R.M., y.5, no.8, end Rabīᶜ II, 1291 (14 June, 1874).

Muhammad Thābit was Minister for just over three months. Another new Minister of Education and Religious Endowments, Mansūr Pasha, was praised in 1875 in a qasīda by Mustafā Tawfīq.[1] Apart from the ʿids, appointments, etc., ʿAlī Fahmī, when editor, also recorded royal births, such as that of Ahmad Bey Nasrat with a tawshīḥ in 1876.[2]

The madḥ that Rifāʿa Bey wrote to the Khedive in the magazine in 1872 was more in the nature of a waṣf (descriptive poem), for it was more concerned with aspects of civilisation in Egypt than it was with praising the viceroy.[3] In this eulogy for the New Year, the poet, instead of calling on the reader to leave the encampment, asks him to leave Berlin and London, to reject the friendly atmosphere of Damascus and Baghdad. With all the reforms under Ismāʿīl, Egypt had become the centre of the world (markaz ad-dunyā). Rifāʿa evokes the spirit of the age, and in a unique poem for this period describes exactly what happened in Egypt. The arts had expanded. The laws had been amended on a religious basis; there were new commercial laws. Egypt's army could outstrip others. The poem contains many nineteenth century terms not often seen in poetry. Rifāʿa mentions the railways (ṭarīq min ḥadīd), the telegraph (barīd kahrubā'ī), steamers (wābūrāt miyāh) "steaming like mountains of fire", tall buildings, and gas lamps (shumūs al-ghāz). He also refers to the construction of the Suez Canal (ḥuwwila al-barzakh baḥran "the isthmus has become a sea"). Rifāʿa was the only poet in the press to adapt poetry to describe the modern world. Rifāʿa included some poetry in one of his books serialised in the magazine, Nihāyat al-Ījāz fī Sīrat Sākin al-Ḥijāz,[4] a work on the life of the

1. R.M., y.6, no.17, 15 Ramadān, 1292 (14 October, 1875).

2. Ibid., y.7, no.18, end Ramadān, 1293 (18 October, 1876) (W.M., no.681, 29 October).

3. Ibid., y.3, no.1, 15 Muharram, 1289 (24 March, 1872); and Wādī, op. cit., pp.126-128.

4. R.M., y.3, no.4, end Ṣafar, 1289 (7 May, 1872). This book was published separately in 1873.

Prophet. In it he wrote a maqṭūᶜa (short poem) on the family of the Prophet.[1]

Despite his western education, Rifāᶜa's poetry shows no sign of being influenced by French poetry. He kept very much within the confines of his classical training. His poetry is full of all the negative features that bedevilled the poetry of his contemporaries; all the rhetorical embellishments are there, tashbīh, tawriya, jinās, ṭibāq, and the beloved chronogram. There was nothing original about his language, nor about the metres he used. He kept to the popular metres of ṭawīl and kāmil and he ensured in the classical tradition that there was always taṣrīᶜ (that is that the first hemistich always rhymed with the second)[2] in the first two hemistichs of the first line of his poems.

When he died in 1873 the magazine printed the same obituary that was published in al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, plus two letters from Damascus, one of which, by as-Sayyid Muḥammad Ṭāhir, included an elegy to Rifāᶜa Bey.[3]

Ismāᶜīl Effendi Ṣabrī,[4] one of the leading poets by the turn of the century, began his poetic career in the magazine. He made his first contribution, a tahni'a to the Khedive in 1871, when he was a sixteen year-old student at the School of Administration and Accounting.[5] His poems were imitative of those appearing in the magazine, but for all their immaturity they may have attracted the attention of other poets for he became a member of al-Bārūdī's literary circle and his pupil.[6]

1. at-Ṭahṭāwī, op. cit., vol.4, p.82.

2. Wādī, op. cit., pp.73-74.

3. R.M., y.4, no.9, 15 Jumādā I, 1290 (10 July, 1873).

4. Ismāᶜīl Ṣabrī (1854-1923) was educated in the state school system. See Muhammad Ṣabrī, Ismāᶜīl Ṣabrī, Ḥayātuhu wa-Shiᶜruhu, Cairo, 1923.

5. R.M., y.1, no.20, end Shawwāl, 1287 (21 January, 1871).

6. as-Sᶜafīn, op. cit., p.186.

A few months later, Ismāʿīl praised the Khedive again in an elegant poem.[1] He begins by mentioning the loved one in a ghazal, and then turns from her to praise the Khedive. According to convention, the loved one is referred to as "the crescent moon of good fortune" (hilāl suʿūd), and "the gardens of beauties" (rawḍ al-maḥāsin). In an accepted cliché, the generosity (karam) of the Khedive is compared to an ocean (baḥr).

Still at the same school in 1872, now called the School of Administration and Languages, he wrote another congratulatory ode.[2] He was then sent on an educational mission to France, where he studied administration. While in France he may have studied French literature, but even under the impact of French culture he still wrote poetry in the same pattern. From France he sent another qaṣīda tahni'a (congratulatory ode) to the magazine. Like Rifāʿa Bey's poem, written when he was in Paris, the poem echoes his longings for his homeland.[3]

In his dīwān,[4] there are nine poems from this period, six of which appeared in Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya and al-Waqā'iʿ al-Miṣrīya. Those poems not published in the periodical press are a poem addressed to Ṣālih Majdī in 1872, a tahni'a written in 1878, and a taqrīẓ written in 1880.[5] On his return from France in 1878, he worked as a prosecutor in the Mixed Courts.[6] There is nothing very significant about his early poetry; his best works, written in a simple and much

1. R.M., y.2, no.5, 15 Rabīʿ I, 1288 (3 June, 1871); and Hasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., pp.112-116.

2. R.M., y.2, no.23, 15 Dhū'l-Hijja, 1288 (24 February, 1872).

3. Ibid., y.5, no.18, 1 Shawwāl, 1291 (10 November, 1874); and Ṣabrī, op. cit., pp.14-15.

4. His dīwān was published in Cairo in 1938. In September 1873, he sent a poem to al-Waqā'iʿ al-Miṣrīya.

5. Ṣabrī, Ismāʿīl, Dīwān, (Cairo, 1938), pp.11, 21, and 23.

6. Mandūr, Muḥammad, Muḥāḍarāt ʿan Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī, (Cairo, 1956), p.3.

more personal style than the poetry of this period, were written in the twentieth century. These early poems are in the traditional mould, lack sincerity and do not express his feelings as his later works did.

ᶜAlī al-Laythī's companion, as-Sayyid ᶜAlī Abū'n-Nasr wrote a lament for Shaykh ᶜAlī ᶜAbd al-Khāliq al-Qusī in May 1875.[1] According to ad-Dasūqī this is one of the maturest poems in the magazine with its penetrating philosophical reflection on life and death.[2] Each line encapsulates the facets of death. With death fate plays a trick on us. The poet asks the question has anyone lived for ever. The caravan (of life) is guided to its final stopping place. People shine brightly like stars, but all comes to an end.

كالزرع يعجب من يراه نباته وحصاده حيث انتهى بالمنجل

Like the crops, which make (those) who look at them wonder at its vegetation, though its harvesting when it is done is by the scythe.

The famous zajjāl, Shaykh Ahmad Wahbī wrote a muzdawija about the imprints of Muhammad's feet, that were visited by pilgrims.[3] He later contributed a qaṣīda on the completion of the shrine to Husayn (al-Mashhad al-Husayni).[4]

Shaykh ᶜAlī al-ᶜAwāmirī, who had written poems for celebrations connected with school examinations in Alexandria in al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya in 1868, sent a qaṣīda madḥīya read at the end of the examinations held in 1870,[5] and in 1872.[6] Muṣṭafā Pasha, wakīl al-Bahrīya (Secretary-General of the Navy

1. R.M., y.6, no.7, 15 Rabīᶜ II, 1292 (20 May, 1875).
2. Hasan, Rawḍa, op. cit., p.127.
3. R.M., y.3, no.10, end Jumādā I, 1289 (4 August, 1872).
4. Ibid., y.4, no.18, end Ramaḍān, 1290 (21 November, 1873).
5. Ibid., y.1, no.16, end Shaᶜban, 1287 (23 November, 1870).
6. Ibid., y.3. no.17, 13 Ramaḍān, 1289 (16 November, 1872).

Department) made a speech, including a long poem, at the examinations in 1870.

Most of the remaining poetry published was related to school affairs, the primary preoccupation of the magazine. Ahmad Rashīd Bey, a student at the School of Administration, wrote a qaṣīda in praise of the mudīr al-Madāris (director of schools),[1] the first of several poems he was to send to the press. Shaykh Khalīl al-ᶜAzāzī, an occasional contributor to al-Waqā'iᶜ visited the Royal Schools (al-Madāris al-Malakiya) in 1872 and wrote an article on his visit, including a qaṣīda.[2] Shaykh ᶜUthmān Mudawwakh,[3] a teacher of Arabic in al-Madāris al-Malakiya, wrote some tawshīḥāt to Tawfīq Pasha in 1877. His most bizarre contribution, illustrating the ludicrous extremes that these poetic craftsmen could go to, was a tahni'a for ᶜĪd al-Aḍḥā in the shape of a tree (qaṣīda shajarīya).[4] In the last issue were verses by ᶜAbd al-Halīm Effendi, nāẓir Maktab Wālidat al-Marḥūm ᶜAbbās Pasha (Director of School of the late ᶜAbbās Pasha's Mother) in praise of Ṣādiq Effendi Shanān,[5] nāẓir of the Preparatory School.

Rawḍat al-Madāris had many analytical articles on rhetoric, popular poetry and other aspects of the classical literature; in these articles there were extensive quotations from classical poetry. There were articles on the merits of poetry, both ancient and modern. ᶜAlī Fahmī wrote an article Nubḍha fi'sh-Shiᶜr wa'l-Musīqā[6] (An Article on Poetry and

1. R.M., y.1, no.3, 15 Safar, 1287 (16 May, 1870).

2. Ibid., y.3, no.3, 15 Safar, 1289 (24 April, 1872).

3. Shaykh ᶜUthmān (- 1899) was an Azharite known for his poetry. In 1871 he was teaching at the School of Surveying, and was also teaching Arabic at the Preparatory School. See Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1722; and Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.4, p.214, where his name is incorrectly given as Badūkh.

4. R.M., y.8, no.1, 15 Muharram, 1294 (29 January, 1877).

5. Ibid., y.8, no.16, end Shaᶜbān, 1294 (8 September, 1871).

6. Ibid., y.5, no.15, 15 Shaᶜbān, 1291 (26 September, 1874).

Music) on the European attitude to poetry from the times of the ancient Greeks to the modern era. Another poet, Muhammad Sa^{c}īd Bey wrote a work on Arab literary criticism, Irtiyād as-Si^{c}r fi Intiqād ash-Shi^{c}r (Exploring the Music in the Criticism of Poetry).[1] This was the first time that the literary heritage had come under scrutiny in the Egyptian press. This side of the magazine is outside the scope of this study.

Shaykh Husayn al-Marsafī in his monumental series of lectures on Arabic literature given at Dār al-^{c}Ulūm, and published in the magazine, rarely quotes a modern author, the one exception being the poetry of Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī. In his poems quoted by Shaykh Husayn Mahmūd Sāmī returns to some of the themes dealt with by the ancient Arab poets. One poem is in imitation of the famous pre-Islamic poet an-Nābigha adh-Dhubyānī, and recreates the pre-Islamic qaṣīda. It begins with a nasīb, in which the poet regrets that he has to leave a beautiful Bedouin girl he has fallen in love with:-

هيفاء ان خطرت سبت واذا رنت سلبت فؤاد العابد المتشدد

A slender girl when she walks with a swinging gait she captivates (me), and if she looks she would steal the heart of the fanatical worshipper.

Like the Jāhilīya poets he rhapsodizes at length about the girl, and then turns to the pursuit of war. In a skirmish he stabs the enemy until the ground is stained with blood like the hem of a robe dyed with saffron. He also extols the virtues of his horse, which "gallops like a grey wolf from the rugged hills".[2]

1. R.M., y.7, no.17, 15 Ramadān, 1293 (3 October, 1876).

2. al-Marsafī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.494-496.

Another poem quoted by Shaykh Husayn was on the Russo-Turkish war (1877-1878), which Mahmūd Sāmī fought in with the Egyptian contingent; there was also a poem describing his experiences in the war in Crete. The first poem begins with the poet expressing his longing for his country and his beloved. As the soldiers leave Egypt, "the steamship (wābūr) screamed of the separation between them". As he faces the battle he sees his fate in the hands of God. These thoughts cross his mind on the battlefield as he looks to see himself surrounded by "a nation of Russians ... kneeling on the hill top" ready for the attack. This is an accurate but not a glamorous description of war, for even "the noble hero himself talks about flight". Mahmūd Sāmī shows the horror of the thick of the battle:-

على الارض منها بالدماء جداول و فوق سراة النجم من نقعها لبد

On the ground streams of blood from it, and on its high parts thick masses of clouds from its dust.[1]

These poems were chosen as an example for Shaykh Husayn's students, no doubt because they were written in a rich archaic language; they were far less rhetorical than most of the poetry of the period. Each verse served a purpose, conveyed a meaningful picture, and accurately described the poet's feelings, rather than consisting, as many contemporary poems did, of a mass of meaningless clichés. These poems far surpassed Mahmūd Sāmī's eulogies which had appeared in al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Misrīya.

The literary nature of Rawdat al-Madāris was more pronounced than that of the official gazette, indeed Shaykh ^{c}Uthmān Mudawwakh had been appointed to the editorial council with special responsibility for anecdotes, funny stories,

1. al-Marsafī, op. cit., vol.2, pp.498-500.

puzzles, riddles and jokes. In May 1870, then a teacher of Arabic, humanities and composition[1] at the School of Surveying and Accounting, the Shaykh sent in his first anecdote (nukta) and a riddle in verse;[2] he wrote riddles in several other issues.[3] Riddles (lughz) and their solutions (ḥalla), in verse and rhymed prose (saj^{c}), became a regular feature, sometimes in the form of a maqāma or a ḥikāya. They were intended for amusement, or to test the intelligence. They covered all fields, including literature, mathematics, engineering, fiqh and inheritance. They were submitted mainly by students and staff of the main government schools, the Preparatory School,[4] the Polytechnic,[5] the Royal Schools,[6] the School of Surveying,[7] the Primary School,[8] Madrasat al-^{c}Amalīyāt[9] (the School of Arts and Crafts), the Khedivial School (al-Madrasa al-Khudaywīya), the school in Banhā[10] and Dār al-^{c}Ulūm.[11] Some of the answers were to puzzles that had first appeared in other Egyptian newspapers such as Rawḍat al-Akhbār[12] or in the Beirut magazine, al-Jinān.[13]

1. al-Jawā'ib, no.500, 27 February, 1871.

2. R.M., y.1, no.2, end Muharram, 1287 (1 May, 1870).

3. Ibid., y.1, no.3, 15 Safar, 1287 (16 May, 1870); and y.4, no.2, end Muharram, 1290 (31 March, 1873).

4. Ibid., y.2, no.2, end Muharram, 1288 (20 April, 1871).

5. Ibid., y.2, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1289 (31 August, 1871).

6. Ibid., y.6, no.10, end Jumādā I, 1292 (3 July, 1875); and y.7, no.3, 15 Safar, 1293 (2 March, 1876).

7. Ibid., y.8, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1294 (28 June, 1877).

8. Ibid., y.1, no.6, end Rabī^{c} II, 1287 (28 July, 1870).

9. Ibid., y.6, no.13, 15 Rajab, 1292 (18 August, 1875).

10. Ibid., y.2, no.7, 15 Rabī^{c} II, 1288 (4 July, 1871).

11. Ibid., y.6, no.20, end Shawwāl, 1292 (14 October, 1875); and y.6, no.21, 15 Dhū'l-Qa^{c}da, 1292 (14 December, 1875).

12. Ibid., y.6, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1292 (20 July, 1875).

13. Ibid., y.5, no.6, end Rabī^{c} I, 1291 (15 September, 1874).

Many well-known literati set these brain-teasers and their solutions. Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim,[1] who was to become a prominent lawyer and actor and who was the first assistant in the Governorate of al-Fayyūm, contributed a riddle,[2] and solutions in verse,[3] as did Shaykh Ḥamza (Fatḥ Allāh?) of Alexandria,[4] Muṣṭafā Effendi Ṣubḥī,[5] and Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī Effendi then an employee in the Ministry of Works (Dīwān al-Ashghāl).[6] Ḥasan Effendi ash-Shamsī, later to become a radical journalist and a leading partisan of ʿUrābī, made one of his first contributions to the press, when he sent a solution to a puzzle in sajʿ[7] when he was a teacher of Arabic and grammar at Maktab as-Sayyida Zaynab (as-Sayyida Zaynab School). Shaykh Ḥusayn Sālim ash-Shabbāsī, a teacher of Arabic grammar in the Alexandria School included poetry in a riddle on inheritance;[8] Shaykh Ḥusayn had had two manẓūmas on grammar and literature published in the magazine. ʿAlī Effendi Riḍwān, who had written verse for al-Waqāʾiʿ, contributed a literary riddle in 1872,[9] as did Shaykh Muḥammad Dīyāb,[10] then a student at Dār al-ʿUlūm and later author of many books on Arabic language and literature.[11] Shaykh Muḥammad also wrote another riddle for the magazine in the form of a muḥāwara (dialogue).[12]

1. Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim (- 1920) was an Azharite. See Kaḥḥāla, op. cit., vol.2, p.272; and Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.1, p.316.

2. R.M., y.1, no.10, end Jumādā I, 1287 (27 August, 1870).

3. Ibid., y.1, no.13, 15 Rajab, 1287 (10 October, 1870); and y.1, no.14, end Rajab, 1287 (25 October, 1870).

4. Ibid., y.1, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1287 (11 September, 1870); and y.2, no.15, 15 Shaʿbān, 1288 (29 October, 1871).

5. Ibid., y.1, no.14, end Rajab, 1287 (25 October, 1870).

6. Ibid., y.7, no.18, end Ramaḍān, 1293 (18 October, 1876).

7. Ibid., y.8, no.15, 15 Shaʿbān, 1294 (26 August, 1877).

8. Ibid., y.1, no.7, 15 Rabīʿ II, 1287 (14 July, 1870).

9. Ibid., y.3, no.2, end Muḥarram, 1289 (8 April, 1872).

10. Muḥammad Dīyāb (1852-1921) studied at al-Azhar. See Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.6, p.122.

11. R.M., y.6, no.11, 15 Jumādā II, 1292 (18 July, 1875).

12. Ibid., y.7, no.3, 15 Safar, 1293 (2 March, 1876).

One of the rare Syrian contributors to the magazine was As^{c}ad Ṭirād Effendi,[1] a Syrian Christian merchant then living in al-Manṣūra. The quality of his poetry,[2] in the simple style of his teacher, Shaykh Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, has led to him being considered one of the best Syrian poets of the epoch,[3] but the only poem of his to appear in the Egyptian press was a verse solution he sent to a riddle.[4] These literati apart, several civil servants,[5] Shaykhs,[6] and others,[7] had their riddles or solutions published in the paper.

The official press, through al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya and Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya, were the primary vehicles by which poets presented their works to the Egyptian public. The independent press, according to the Egyptian Press Law, was not allowed to publish poetry, unless this permission had been granted in the original concession, but many papers stretched this law and printed verse from time to time. This press brought to the public eye some new poets, whose work had never appeared in the official press.

The first issue of the short-lived Nuzhat al-Afkār in 1870 began with a poem, presumably by the founder of the paper, Muḥammad ^{c}Uthmān Jalāl, then a student at Madrasat al-Lughāt wa'l-Funūn (the School of Languages and Arts).[8]

1. As^{c}ad Ṭirād (1835-1891) was a Greek Orthodox from Beirut, who had lived in Egypt since 1872. See Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, pp.367-368; and Cheikho, al-Ādab, op. cit., vol.II, p.145.

2. His dīwān has been published in Beirut and selections from it in Alexandria in 1899.

3. Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.II, p.143.

4. R.M., y.6, no.6, end Rabī^{c} I, 1292 (6 May, 1875).

5. Ibid., y.1, no.6, end Rabī^{c} I, 1287 (29 June, 1870); y.6, no.16, end Sha^{c}bān, 1292 (15 September, 1873); and y.6, no.23, 15 Dhū'l-Hijja, 1292 (13 January, 1876).

6. Ibid., y.6, no.1, 15 Muḥarram, 1292 (21 February, 1875); y.7, no.6, end Rabi^{c} I, 1293 (26 April, 1876); and y.8, no.3, 15 Safar, 1294 (1 March, 1877).

7. Ibid., y.8, no.10, end Jumādā I, 1294 (13 June, 1877).

8. al-Jawā'ib, no.457, 21 August, 1870; and Rāmitsh, op. cit., pp.79-80.

The publication of al-Ahrām in August 1876 was welcomed by several poems (taqrīẓ) from members of the Syrian community in Egypt. The editors of the paper, the Taqlā brothers, were Syrians and would have been glad to receive letters and articles from their compatriots. Poems were received from the Shumayyil brothers, Amīn,[1] Milḥam,[2] and Rashīd,[3] from Shaykh Sulaymān Ḥaddād,[4] and from Niqūlā Tūmā. These maqtū^{c}āt (short poems) were the only poems to appear in al-Ahrām in Ismā^{c}īl's reign. Shaykh Sulaymān, head of the Greek Catholic community and later a noted actor, wrote several poems in the 1870s and 1880s, mainly addressed to his friends in the Syrian community. His dīwān[5] also includes a poem to Amīn Shumayyil and another on a speech given by al-Afghānī. Amīn Shumayyil, considered by some an excellent poet, wrote philosophical poetry and ḥikmīyas (gnomic poetry),[6] but few poems by these writers ever appeared in the periodical press.

In November, 1877, the Syrian-edited paper, Miṣr, received a qaṣīda from Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sā^{c}ātī, but did not publish it immediately for lack of space;[7] the paper devoted its issues to political affairs and commerce. A poem in praise of Shāhīn Pasha, a special favourite of Ismā^{c}īl's, appeared in the next issue.[8] Later that month Ibrāhīm Bey al-Muwaylihī, a confidant of Khedive Ismā^{c}īl, sent a qaṣīda in praise of Prince Ḥusayn Kāmil Pasha, Minister of Finance.[9] In 1878 the

1. al-Ahrām, no.2, 12 August, 1876, p.3.
2. Ibid., no.3, 19 August.
3. Ibid., no.4, 26 August, p.4.
4. Ibid., no.3, 19 August.
5. It was called Qilādat al-^{c}Aṣr and was published in Alexandria in 1891.
6. al-Jundī, A^{c}lām, op. cit., vol.2, p.330.
7. Miṣr, no.18, 1 November, 1877.
8. Ibid., no.19, 8 November, 1877.
9. Ibid., no.21, 23 November, 1877.

paper published a poem encouraging service to the nation (watan) by Shaykh Hamza al-Fiqqī al-Janbāwī.[1] In the summer of 1879, the paper carried a report on a speech by ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm at al-Jamᶜīya al-Khayrīya al-Islāmīya in Alexandria; this speech included some poetry.[2]

The editorial staff of Miṣr included the Syrian poet and journalist, Adīb Isḥāq, but he does not seem to have included much of his own poetry in the paper. He had written a dīwān as a child; some of his poetry had been included in a dīwān[3] by Yūsuf ash-Shartūnī, published in Beirut in 1874, called Anīs al-Jalīs. That year too he published anonymously in Beirut a collection of love poetry, Nuzhat al-Aḥdāq fī Maṣāriᶜ al-ᶜUshshāq.[4] There were also verse pieces (muqaṭṭaᶜāt), intended to be sung, in his plays, Andrūmāk and Sharlamān.[5]

Only the Coptic newspaper, al-Waṭan, amongst the independents, regularly published poetry. Some of the verses were directed to the Khedive. In the first issue a poem by perhaps a Copt, Tādrūs Effendi Ibrāhīm, a translator at al-Maḥkama al-Ibtidā'īya (Court of the First Instance) in Cairo, was published.[6] The paper led the field in acclaiming the virtues of the various Presidents of the Council of Ministers and the Ministers themselves, after a cabinet system of government was started in August 1878 with Nūbār as the first President. With the development of this constitutional system, the press averted its gaze somewhat from the Khedive and his family to the Cabinet. Nūbār's Ministry included Wilson as

1. Miṣr, no.27, 6 January, 1878.

2. Ibid., no.51, 20 June, 1879; and no.52, 27 June.

3. Van Dyck (op. cit., pp.482-483) believes that Isḥāq was the real author of this.

4. Isḥāq, op. cit., pp.5-6.

5. Sharlamān from Henri de Bornier's La Fille de Roland was published in Alexandria in 1876.

6. al-Waṭan, no.1, 17 November, 1877.

Minister of Finance and de Blignières as Minister of Public Works. The Copt ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj,[1] a teacher at al-Madrasa al-Waṭanīya al-Qubṭīya (the National Coptic School) in al-Minyā, made his first contribution to the press with a poem in praise of Nūbār, when he became President (ra'īs Majlis an-Nuẓẓar).[2] Muḥammad Effendi Fannī, ra'īs Qalam Tarjamat al-Khāssa al-Khudaywīya (Head of the Translation Bureau in the Department of the Khedivial Private Domain) and a contributor to al-Waqā'iᶜ, wrote several poems in praise of Muṣṭafā Riyād Pasha, Minister of the Interior (nāẓir Dīwān ad-Dakhilīya).[3]

Other officials were lauded. Salīm Bey Raḥmī, a contributor to al-Waqā'iᶜ and now translator in the Interior Ministry, praised Ḥaydar Pasha.[4] Muṣṭafā Effendi Riḍwān wrote a qaṣīda praising ᶜUthmān Pasha.[5] Shaykh Ḥasan ash-Shawāribī praised the Coptic official, Buṭrus Bey Ghālī,[6] bāshkātib (chief clerk) in the Justice Ministry (Niẓārat al-Ḥaqqānīya).[7] Shaykh Muḥammad an-Najjār, now a teacher at al-Azhar and at the Popular Schools, sent a qaṣīda praising Dr. Aḥmad Bey ash-Shāfiᶜī, the Egyptian Health Inspector (mufattish aṣ-Ṣiḥḥa al-Miṣrīya) in the Hejaz.[8]

Together with other papers al-Waṭan mourned the death of ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, the founder of the popular press in Egypt. Al-Waqā'iᶜ had published his obituary and a few days later al-Waṭan published an obituary and an elegy by

1. For ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj (- 1907), see Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1449; and GAL, vol.SII, p.723.

2. al-Waṭan, no.51, 2 November, 1878.

3. Ibid., no.49, 19 October, and no.57, 14 December, 1878.

4. Ibid., no.84, 21 June, 1879.

5. Ibid., no.19, 23 March, 1878.

6. He later became Prime Minister from 1908-1910.

7. al-Waṭan, no.79, 17 May, 1879.

8. Ibid., no.85, 27 June, 1879.

Muhammad Effendi ᶜUthmān, then head translator at the Interior Ministry;[1] Miṣr published a few lines of this.[2] Another elegy in the form of a ta'rīkh was written for the late Qāsim Pasha, by Muṣṭafā Tawfīq, then a translator in the Justice Ministry, at the request of one of the Pasha's brothers.[3] Other writers of poetry in al-Waṭan were Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm Effendi Muṣṭafā, a teacher of mathematics and Arabic sciences at Madrasat al-Qubba at-Tawfīqīya (Tawfīq's al-Qubba School),[4] and the well-known ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr.[5]

Al-Waqt newspaper, the sister paper of al-Ahrām, once in a while published poetry, though it informed its readers that "the publication of poetry (ashᶜār) is contrary to our press laws". In the summer of 1879, it printed a qaṣīda from Shaykh Amīn Abū Yūsuf, the paper's agent, and agent for al-Waṭan in Damietta. The poem congratulated Khalīl Pasha Bayyāmī,[6] Secretary-General of the Finance Ministry. Shaykh Amīn was one of the few poets outside Alexandria and Cairo who had his qaṣā'id published in the periodical press. He wrote almost exclusively for al-Waqt, which rarely published poetry by other poets.

1. al-Waṭan, no.15, 23 February, 1878.

2. Miṣr, no.33, 1 March, 1878.

3. al-Waṭan, no.29, 1 June, 1878.

4. He was at the school at least until 1881 teaching different subjects, including mathematics and literature and latterly history and geography. Ibid., no.71, 22 March, 1879.

5. Ibid., no.63, 25 January, 1879.

6. al-Waqt, no.627, 28 May, 1879 (al-Waṭan, no.81, 31 May, 1879).

CHAPTER XII

TAWFĪQ AND THE POETRY OF REVOLT

The poetry published in al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya in Tawfīq's reign followed the same pattern as Ismāᶜīl's reign, with most of it directed towards the new Khedive himself. Some new occasions in the Muslim calendar were celebrated. In Shawwāl another event was celebrated, the departure of the maḥmil (or maḥmal) for the pilgrimage. Shaykh Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī and Shaykh Aḥmad Muḥammad Jadāwī al-Aswānī wrote qaṣīdas praising the Khedive on the ᶜId of the maḥmal in 1880.[1] The maḥmal was an empty covered litter on a camel sent by the ruler of Egypt with each year's caravan of pilgrims, as an emblem of royalty.[2] On the ᶜid the principal officers and escort of the great caravan of pilgrims passed through the city, followed by the maḥmal.[3]

A poem was sent by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Basyūnī to celebrate the Prophet's birthday, an event rarely marked by verse in the press.[4] The Prophet's birthday (mawlid an-nabī) was and is celebrated from the third day to the eleventh night of Rabīᶜ al-Awwal. It is a Sufi festival, and in Lane's time the celebrations took place on the western side of al-Azbakīya.[5] For the first time, in 1881, the Christian New Year was celebrated. Ismāᶜīl Effendi ᶜĀṣim wrote a ta'rīkh to the Khedive for this event.[6] This may be an indication that it

1. W.M., no.931, 29 September, 1880.
2. Lane, op. cit., pp.445-446.
3. Ibid., p.490.
4. W.M., no.1038, 15 February, 1881.
5. Lane, op. cit., pp.448-449.
6. W.M., no.1009, 11 January, 1881.

was becoming the custom to celebrate this event in some way in court circles.

The paper also celebrated the opening of the Khalīj by the new Khedive in 1879. This festival celebrated the cutting of the dam on the Nile, opposite the island of ar-Rawda in Cairo; this dam closed the mouth of the Canal (Khalīj) of Cairo. It was generally cut between the 6th and 16th of August when the Nile had reached the sixteenth cubit of the Nilometer. The ceremony attracted a great crowd of spectators; formerly the Khedive or the Shaykh al-Balad had presided over this fête.[1] Shaykh Aḥmad ᶜAzzām and Shaykh ᶜUthmān al-Jindī celebrated this with an ode in 1879.[2]

Khedive Tawfīq, who acceded to the throne after his father had been exiled, was congratulated on his accession by nearly all the poets of note in Ismāᶜīl's reign. The editor of the gazette, Aḥmad ᶜAbd ar-Raḥīm at-Ṭahṭāwī added his poem too.[3] The paper received so many congratulatory odes it was unable to publish them all; they came from all parts of the country and from all the leading figures. His accession was eulogised in other papers, including al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī and al-Waqt. Shaykh Amīn Abū Yūsuf went to Cairo to congratulate the Khedive on his accession. The paper again transgressed the Press Law by publishing his qaṣīda, enthusiastically praising it as a work of art.[4]

There was a similar flood of odes to the gazette congratulating the Khedive on his firman of appointment from the Sultan, written by the leading poets. A new contributor to the gazette, Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Khashshāb sent a tawshīḥ.[5]

1. Lane, op. cit., pp.499, 501 and 503.
2. W.M., no.823, 11 August, 1879.
3. Ibid., no.818, 5 July, 1879.
4. al-Waqt, no.656, 11 July (al-Waṭan, no.87, 12 July, 1879).
5. W.M., no.827, 7 September, 1879.

Al-Waqt also promised to publish a qaṣīda to His Highness from Shaykh Sulaymān ᶜAyyad ad-Dimyāṭī,[1] but lack of space space prevented the paper from publishing it immediately.[2] This poem was probably sent to congratulate the Khedive on receiving his firman of appointment. The paper did publish on 19 August a qaṣīda for this from Shaykh Amīn. Each line of this multiple ta'rīkh added up to the hijrī date of 1296. It was reported that the Khedive gave the poem his close attention. It was obviously much admired by newspaper editors for it appeared in three of the papers.[3]

More private events in the Khedive's life were celebrated in the gazette. In 1881 Muhammad ᶜUthmān,[4] Shaykh Muhammad al-Basyūnī,[5] and Shaykh ᶜUthmān al-Jindī celebrated the Khedive's birthday.[6] The Khedive received that year the Grand Cordon of the Legion d'Honneur from the French Government, and Muhammad ᶜUthmān wrote an ode in honour of the occasion.[7] Muhammad ᶜUthmān,[8] Shaykh Muhammad al-Basyūnī,[9] and Ismāᶜīl Effendi ᶜĀsim[10] dedicated odes to him when he received decorations from the Greek and Austro-Hungarian governments. When the Khedive's daughter, Niᶜmat Allāh Hānum, was born, Salīm Rahmī wrote a ta'rīkh.[11] Poems were written for the circumcision of the Khedive's children by leading poets, and Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Hādī Najā al-Abyārī.[12] The latter, a rare

1. Then a student at Dār al-ᶜUlūm (ᶜAbd al-Jawwād, op. cit., p.561).

2. al-Waqt, no.680, 19 August, 1879 (W.M., no.825, 24 August).

3. al-Waqt, no.680, 19 August (al-Watan, no.93, 23 August; and W.M., no.825, 24 August).

4. W.M., no.1135, 11 June, 1881.

5. Ibid., no.1136, 12 June

6. Ibid., no.1138, 14 June.

7. Ibid., no.1011, 13 January.

8. Ibid., no.1077, 2 April, and no.1082, 7 April.

9. Ibid., no.1081, 6 April.

10. Ibid., no.1080, 5 April.

11. Ibid., no.1258, 17 November.

12. Ibid., no.1138, 14 June.

contributor, was then imam to the court and may well have officiated at the ceremony.

A few months after his accession, Khedive Tawfīq visited the major cities of the provinces. The official gazette recorded in many articles the events, including the speeches of provincial governors (mudīr) and administrators (ma'mūr) of the marākiz. These tours were celebrated by the poets of the capital, but they also gave the opportunity to many provincial poets to sing the Khedive's praises. In February 1880 the Khedive was in Upper Egypt, and received poems from Asyut, Luxor and other places. When the Khedive visited Lower Egypt shortly afterwards, the paper was inundated with poems from the provinces, from provincial shaykhs, a Consul, a priest, a khaṭīb, from the towns of Sindbis, Tanta, Sammūd, and even from Muhammad al-Bakhātī, Deputy to the Servant of the Flag (wakīl khādim al-ᶜalam) in al-Maqām al-Ahmadī (the tomb of Ahmad al-Badawī) in Tanta.[1] Of these only Shaykh Khalīl al-ᶜAzāzī and Amīn Shumayyil had sent poems to the press before; Shaykh Ahmad Sayf al-Bārī, a first clerk in a court, sent a poem; he was to become renowned for a poem he wrote later in the ᶜUrābī revolt.

As the tour progressed, the poetry flowed in. Some poems were by previous contributors. ᶜAlī Fahmī sent a congratulatory ode to the Khedive which was intended to be set to music.[2] In Rosetta the Khedive received the congratulations of al-Hājj ᶜAlī Badr ad-Dīn, sar tujjār (chief of the merchants) and from Madrasat al-Qubba al-ᶜĀmira (the Royal School of al-Qubba).[3] In Damanhūr he was greeted by his regular panegyrists and many others; As-Sayyid ᶜUthmān al-Jindī sent a muzdawija.[4] Al-Maḥrūsa published a special

1. W.M., no.879, 2 May, 1880.

2. Ibid., no.881, 9 May.

3. Ibid., no.883, 15 May.

4. Ibid., no.884, 18 May.

supplement on the Khedive's visit to Lower Egypt republishing poems taken from other papers, and printing some of its own. Al-Waqt too, like the rest of the press, published many articles on the Khedive's trip to Lower Egypt, printing some poems sent from the Delta in celebration . It expressed its apologies to its readers for not publishing more, announcing that "if our press law allowed (us) to publish poetry, we would have been proud to publish it", but it did find space to publish part of a qaṣīda to the Khedive by Shaykh Amīn Abū Yūsuf.[1]

In 1881 the Khedive paid a visit to the Canal Zone, and al-Waqā'i ᶜ and al-Maḥrūsa published odes from local residents to commemorate the visit, from Shaykh Ḥusayn al-Qūsī, a judge at Suez, and from as-Sayyid Muḥammad Surūr an-Naqādī, a leading merchant in the town.[2] Al-Maḥrūsa published poems when the royal party reached Alexandria. Other journeys of the Khedive were recorded, such as his return to Cairo from Alexandria.

When the Khedive visited the schools in Cairo in April 1880, his visit was celebrated by the students, in particular by Shaykh Ḥifnī Nāṣif, a student at Dār al-ᶜUlūm al-Khudaywīya.[3] Shaykh Ḥifnī Nāṣif[4] wrote another qasida to the Khedive from Dār al-ᶜUlūm (or Madrasat al-Muᶜallimīn al-Miṣrīya) in March 1881.[5] These were the only contributions of this poet to the press in the period. Muḥammad ᶜUthmān wrote an ode to the Khedive when al-Madrasa al-ᶜAlīya as-Sanīya

1. al-Waqt, no.842, 24 April, 1880 (al-Maḥrūsa, no.79, 5 May, republished the poem by Shaykh Amīn).

2. W.M., no.1103, 4 May, 1881.

3. Ibid., no.872, 13 April, 1880.

4. Ḥifnī Nāṣif (1855-1919) studied at al-Azhar and Dār al-ᶜUlūm. He had written poetry as a youngster which the Azharites thought he had plagiarised from classical dīwāns. The poetry he wrote later in his life deals with new themes, making him an intermediary between the old and the new school of poets. His dīwān appeared in 1957.

5. W.M., no.1070, 24 March, 1881.

was opened in 1881.[1]

The last contribution to the press of Mahmūd Ṣafwat as-Sā^{c}ātī was a madḥa to Khedive Tawfīq written in February, 1881.[2] He had praised Tawfīq on his accession when a member of the Majlis Miṣr (the Cairo Court). He was said to have been close to Khedive Tawfīq.[3] He was now a judge in the courts (Majlis al-Aḥkām) of Giza and al-Qalyūbīya near Cairo. When he died a few months later the paper published a short elegy to him by Ḥusayn Effendi Khaṭṭāb ash-Shawāribī,[4] an employee of the Justice Ministry. Only a small proportion of his poetry had appeared in the press. Apart from his poetry to the Meccan court, he also wrote poetry to Egyptian provincial governors, Pashas and Shaykhs. The circumstances of his early life in the Hejaz show that he was close to the ancient concept of a nadīm;[5] not content with extolling virtues, he also gives advice to those praised.[6] He did not rid himself of the rhetorical affectations of the immediate poetic tradition, but more than his contemporaries his personality intrudes into his poetry. Indeed his madḥ has much less hyperbole than was normal. Though his poetry has its weaknesses, he is considered to be far the best and most spontaneous poet before al-Bārūdī.[7] He is judged to be the link between the majority of nineteenth century poets, mere prosodists (^{c}arūḍīyīn), and the modern poets (muḥdathīn).[8]

1. W.M., no.1001, 2 January, 1881.

2. Ibid., no.1028, 3 February.

3. Mujāhid, op. cit., vol.2, p.107.

4. W.M., no.1104, 5 May, 1881. In 1880 he was an employee of the Justice Ministry (W.M., no.880, 6 May, 1880).

5. as-Sa^{cc}afīn, op. cit., p.140. as-Sā^{c}ātī's best poetry to al-^{c}Awn family has been compared to that of al-Mutanabbī to Sayf aḍ-Ḍawla and of Ibn Hānī' to the Fatimids. He had learnt by heart the poetry of al-Mutanabbī and this seems to have influenced the style of his own work.

6. ad-Dasūqī, op. cit., vol.1, p.142.

7. Jayyusi, op. cit., p.35.

8. al-Jami^{c}ī, op. cit., p.40^{21}.

The Crown Prince, ᶜAbbās Ḥilmī, was only a child of eight in 1882 and the poets no doubt saw little advantage in addressing poetry to him; only Ṣālih Majdī wrote an ode to him in November, 1880.[1] The press began to regularly praise cabinet ministers not of royal blood. Muḥammad Ramzī Effendi, a clerk in the Finance Ministry, wrote an ode for Ramaḍān to Muṣṭafā Riyāḍ Pasha,[2] the President of the Council of Ministers. Amīn Abū Yūsuf wrote a poem to Riyāḍ when he was raised to the rank of mushīr in 1880, published in al-Waqt.[3] The same paper published part of a muwashshaḥ by Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀṣim to the President of the Council of Ministers for ᶜId al-Aḍḥā.

When Muḥammad Sharīf Pasha became President of the Council of Ministers and Minister of the Interior, over a ministry including Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī as War Minister, the event was celebrated by ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm's magazine, at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt with poems by Ḥasan Bey Ḥusnī[4] and others. Riyāḍ's pro-European government had been brought down on 9 September, 1881, by an army demonstration in ᶜAbdīn Square, ostensibly against the transfer of pro-ᶜUrābī regiments out of Cairo. The editor of the Alexandrine weekly, al-Burhān, Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh was one of the most anti-European writers,[5] so he was, like an-Nadīm, no doubt delighted when Riyāḍ's government, with its European ministers, fell; his paper published congratulatory odes to Sharīf. In the official gazette ᶜAbd Allāh Effendi Furayj, then head (ra'īs) of the teachers of foreign languages in the Charity School (al-Madrasa al-Khayrīya) in Alexandria sent a

1. W.M., no.953, 1 November, 1880.

2. Ibid., no.919, 17 August.

3. al-Waqt, no.892, 10 July, 1880.

4. at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt, no.15, 25 September, 1881. Not Ḥasan Ḥusnī at-Ṭuwayrānī.

5. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.159.

congratulatory ode to Sharīf.[1] A month later Shaykh Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh sent two ta'rīkhs to the gazette, one for Sharīf Pasha for al-ʿĪd al-Akbar.[2] Other ministers were praised; Ṣāliḥ Majdī wrote a qaṣīda to Ḥusayn Fakhrī Pasha, Minister of Justice, in October 1879,[3] published in al-Waṭan; he wrote another in the official gazette in August, 1880.[4] The Syrian paper, al-Maḥrūsa published another qaṣīda by him to the Minister in 1881.[5] Ṣāliḥ was a member of the Mixed Courts, so naturally he praised the Minister responsible. A year later Muḥammad Qadrī Pasha, a poet himself, was appointed to the same post. He was praised in a ta'rīkh on his appointment by Maḥmūd Bey Ḥusayn, nāẓir Qalam ʿImārāt (Head of the Bureau of Buildings) in the Ministry of Endowments,[6] and by Aḥmad Effendi Rashwān,[7] now muḥarrir Qalam az-Zirāʿa (editor in the Agricultural Bureau) in the Ministry of Public Works.[8]

It was now obviously considered proper to praise even less senior officials in the press. Verses were published on the appointment of Butrus Bey Ghālī as wakīl (Secretary-General) in the Ministry of Justice in October 1881. Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim sent a qaṣīda for Butrus to al-Waṭan[9] after his appointment on 20 October as a member of a civil service commission to regulate promotion and dismissal in the civil service.[10] When a week later he was given a decoration, a ta'rīkh was published in the gazette.[11] Aḥmad Rashwān wrote an ode on the promotion

1. W.M., no.1226, 4 October, 1881 (at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt, 12 October, 1881).

2. Ibid., no.1250, 8 November, 1881.

3. al-Waṭan, no.102, 25 October, 1879.

4. W.M., no.918, 14 August, 1880.

5. al-Maḥrūsa, no.350, 30 July, 1881.

6. Ibid., no.1220, 27 September, 1881.

7. He had sent poems to the paper earlier that year when a clerk in at-Taḥrīrāt (dispatches office) in the Ministry of Public Works.

8. W.M., no.1232, 11 October, 1881.

9. al-Waṭan, no.203, 22 October, 1881.

10. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.191.

11. W.M., no.1241, 22 October, 1881.

to second rank of Mahmūd Bey Fahmī, Head of the Arabic Bureau (ra'īs al-Qalam al-ᶜArabī) in the same ministry.[1] It is not clear why the Justice Ministry was suddenly given so much attention.

The official gazette gave more column space to school examinations under Tawfīq. Ahmad Effendi Jadāwī al-Aswānī sent a poem recited at the examinations at the Khartum School (Madrasat al-Khartūm) in August 1881.[2] In November a qaṣīda was published from the students at the Military Schools (al-Madāris al-Ḥarbīya).[3] The following year poetry was printed on the opening of a school in Qalyūb.[4]

Obituaries remained as infrequent in the press as they had been under Ismāᶜīl; they were reserved for figures particularly respected. When ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr died in 1880, the paper published several elegies in his honour by Ṣālih Bey Majdī,[5] ᶜAlī Fahmī Bey, Salīm Bey Rahmī,[6] and Muḥammad Bey ᶜUthmān.[7] ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr's poetry had followed traditional lines, and was full of affectation. But when given licence he was capable of criticism as well as praise. Soon after Tawfīq came to power, he made some caustic comments on the state of Egypt under Ismāᶜīl. Egypt's pastures had been turned into wastelands (balāqiᶜ):-

اكرمتم الغرباء النازلين بكم لكن فلاحكم ضاقت مزارعه

You treated favourably the foreigners settling amongst you, but as for your peasant his farms became restricted (in size).

1. W.M., no.1264, 24 November, 1881.
2. Ibid., no.1194, 18 August.
3. Ibid., no.1265, 26 November.
4. Ibid., no.1296, 1 January, 1882.
5. Ibid., no.923, 1 September, 1880.
6. Ibid., no.925, 14 September.
7. Ibid., no.935, 11 October.

This was a reference to foreigners acquiring land.[1]

His poems printed in the press do not reflect the full range of his poetic activity; he wrote alghāz, tashṭīr, taṭrīz, takhmīs, and tadmīn. Apart from madḥ and tahāni', his dīwān[2] includes tashbīb, ghazal, and murāsalāt. It contains many madḥ and ta'rīkh that never appeared in the periodical press, directed to Princes, Pashas, and officials for such occasions as the building of houses and mosques, for appointments, awards, for marriage and circumcision celebrations. He also wrote popular verse mawālīyāt and azjāl,[3] which were not included in his dīwān.[4] The dīwān contains the customary verses in praise of the Prophet, and tawassul (entreaties) to the famous Sufi Saint as-Sayyid Aḥmad al-Badawī, whose mawlid attracted huge crowds to his shrine at Tanta. The poet, accompanying the Khedive, may have attended such festivities and found there the occasion to recite his verses.

When one of the leading Azharīs died, Shaykh Ibrāhīm as-Saqqā, chief khatib (preacher) there for over twenty years, the paper published elegies by ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī, one of his pupils Shaykh Muḥammad al-Hijrisī,[5] and by Maḥmūd Effendi ᶜAwnī, a clerk in Qalam at-Taḥrīrāt in the Ministry of Public Works.[6] It also printed a poem recited at al-Azhar after his death by an ᶜālim, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Harāwī.[7] Al-Ahrām

1. W.M., no.837, 30 November, 1879.

2. His dīwān was published in 1300/1883 and the preface written by Aḥmad Khayrī Pasha, a former Minister of Education and court chamberlain.

3. W.M., no.935, 11 October, 1880.

4. Abū'n-Naṣr, op. cit., p.234.

5. W.M., no.1118, 22 May, 1881 (al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.109, 10 June). For the Azharī Shaykh Muḥammad (- 1910), see Kaḥḥala, op. cit., vol.9, p.292; and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.1, p.332.

6. W.M., no.1123, 28 May, 1881 (al-Maḥrūsa, no.311, 2 June).

7. W.M., no.1112, 15 May, 1881 (al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.107, 26 May).

newspaper also lamented his passing with part of a marthiya by Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fawwī.[1] With several Azharīs on its editorial staff, al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī could not ignore the death of the Shaykh. As well as some of the poems that had appeared in other papers, it published elegies by Shaykh Ḥasan Aḥmad Qāsim al-Ābī al-Ḥanafī,[2] and by a student at al-Azhar, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Rādī.[3]

The translator and dramatist Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl became one of the most active contributors in Tawfīq's reign, celebrating all the major events in court life; no doubt because he had become a translator to the court. In February 1880, then Head of the Translation Bureau at the Ministry of the Interior, he was appointed Second Translator in the Court Translation Bureau in place of the recently deceased Zīwar Bey.[4] He became the favourite translator of Tawfīq, and accompanied the Khedive on his journey through Upper Egypt and the Delta in 1880, publishing a verse description (urjūza) of the latter part of the trip, as-Siyāḥa al-Khudaywīya fi'l-Aqālīm al-Baḥrīya (The Khedivial Journey in the Lower Egyptian Provinces), published at Bulaq in 1297/1880.[5] He had a number of other poems published in the official gazette apart from those already mentioned,[6] including a marthiya written in January, 1881.[7] His poems to Tawfīq were later collected in an unpublished dīwān.[8]

1. al-Ahrām, no.1120, 3 June, 1881.

2. al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.107, 26 May, 1881.

3. Ibid., no.108, 2 June, 1881.

4. La Finanza, 21 February, 1880.

5. Riyāḍ, p.100; and Karl Vollers, "Der neuarabische Tartuffe", Z.D.M.G. (Leipzig, 1891), vol.45, p.39.

6. W.M., no.948, 26 October, 1880 (al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, 29 October), and W.M., no.950, 28 October.

7. Ibid., no.1012, 15 January, 1881.

8. Vollers, op. cit., p.39.

Another poet, Shaykh Muḥammad al-Basyūnī became an important contributor;[1] he had been appointed to the court, becoming in January 1880 teacher of religious sciences, literature and Arabic to the Khedive's children;[2] he may also have become imam to the Khedive about this time.[3] ᶜAlī al-Laythī, still court poet, praised Ismāᶜīl's son, Tawfīq, as much as he had praised Ismāᶜīl.[4] Other leading contributors were Shaykh ᶜUthmān al-Jindī. He had also become a court employee. In 1879 he was working in ad-Dā'ira as-Sanīya.[5] In 1880 and 1881 he was a munshi' in ad-Dā'ira al-Khudaywīya.[6]

Outside the court several other poets came into the limelight. Salīm Raḥmī held various posts. In 1879 he was an employee in the Translation Bureau in the Foreign Ministry, but in August of that year he was working in the Translation Bureau of the Interior Ministry. Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀṣim, ma'mūr Jard Amlāk Miṣr (manager in the Land Registry) in ad-Dā'ira al-Baladīya, began sending more poems.[7] Information about Shaykh Aḥmad ᶜAzzām, one of the leading citizens of ash-Shawbak in Giza and another contributor, is not available.

The wakīl (Secretary-General) at the Ministry of Education, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, sent just one poem to the paper. Most of his poems did not appear in the press; his collected works contains madḥ to princes and pashas. He too belongs to the school of the art of poetry (madrasat aṣ-ṣanᶜa)[8] in

1. W.M., no.913, 29 July, 1880; no.949, 27 October, 1880; and no.1008, 10 January, 1881.

2. al-Kawkab al-Miṣri, 16 January, 1880, and W.M., no. 913, 29 July, 1880.

3. Mujāhid, op. cit., vol.2, p.171.

4. W.M., no.1003, 4 January, 1881, and no.1042, 20 February.

5. Ibid., no.821, 27 July, 1879.

6. Ibid., no.971, 28 November, 1880, and no.1138, 14 June, 1881.

7. al-Waqt, 17 November, 1880.

8. ad-Dasūqī, vol.1, p.148.

nineteenth century poetry; he skilfully uses metaphor, rhyme and metre but with little individuality. He uses all the rhetorical devices to excess, yet his ta'rīkhs on the death of some of his close relatives show more emotion than such elegies usually manifested. Shaykh Muḥammad Darwīsh (? - c.1916) too wrote just one poem in 1879. He was the son of the late ᶜAlī ad-Darwīsh and had been one of the leading song writers of Ismāᶜīl's reign. He wrote many famous songs, and some mawwāls[1] for one of the leading singers, Muḥammad ᶜUthmān;[2] ᶜAlī al-Laythī also wrote songs for this singer.[3] Other minor literary figures such as Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Majīd ash-Sharnūbī, Shaykh Muḥammad an-Nashshār, Ḥusayn Bey Ḥusnī, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Ghanī al-Azharī, Shaykh Muḥammad an-Najjār, Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī Bey,[4] Muḥammad Effendi Fannī,[5] Shaykh Ḥusayn Wālī,[6] and Maḥmūd al-ᶜAkkām sent one or two poems to the paper, as did the celebrated Beirut newspaper editors, Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab,[7] and Khalīl al-Khūrī.

Under Tawfīq al-Ahrām published more poetry than it had in Ismāᶜīl's reign, but not many verses were addressed to the Royal Family. An unknown poet, as-Sayyid Maḥmūd Sharābīh, sent several poems to this and other independent newspapers. al-Ahrām published extracts of an ode by him to the Khedive.[8]

1. Riyāḍ, op. cit., pp.173-174.

2. Not Muḥammad Bey ᶜUthmān Jalāl, the poet and translator.

3. Butrus, op. cit., p.71.

4. Then ma'mūr (commissioner) of Alexandria Police.

5. Head of the Translation Department in the Finance Ministry. His eulogies came to an end in May 1880 when he composed a petition to the Minister of War, deploring the decrease in loyalty towards the Porte in the indigenous press. The petition demanded that papers libelling the Porte be banned and suggested that the time had also come to end submissiveness towards Europeans. Riyāḍ ordered his arrest and he was sentenced to two years' imprisonment (Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.129).

6. A teacher at al-Azhar and also a teacher of Arabic in al-Madāris al-Malakīya al-Miṣrīya.

7. Ibrāhīm al-Aḥdab was now na'ib (prosecutor) in the Beirut court.

8. al-Ahrām, no.1188, 30 August, 1881, p.3 (al-Maḥrūsa, no.376, 10 September).

In January 1882 it published a qaṣīda in praise of the Khedive by Shaykh Khalīl al-Yāzijī, a new arrival from Syria. The paper described him as a spontaneous (maṭbūᶜ) poet.[1] He had written poetry[2] in Beirut, and while in Egypt he wrote a madīḥ, not in the press, to ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī Pasha, when Minister of Education in the spring of 1882.[3] This poem in al-Ahrām was the only piece of verse by him to be published in the press in Egypt, though he may have included his own poetry in Mir'āt ash-Sharq when he took over its editorship in 1882.

Prime Ministerial appointments attracted poetry to the paper, though those papers that were hostile to the Nationalist movement, like al-Ahrām, may have purposefully omitted any praise of the Nationalist governments. When as-Sayyid Muḥammad al-Yamanī al-Fawwī sent a manẓūma dedicated to the new Prime Minister, Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, lack of space prevented its publication.[4] Al-Waṭan expressed the hope that it could print "later" a poem sent it by Salīm Raḥmī for the new Prime Minister.[5] In October 1881, the Syrian Niqūlā Effendi Tūmā,[6] wrote a manẓūma in al-Ahrām congratulating Prince Haydar Pasha Yakan on his appointment as Minister of Finance.[7] Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fawwī also sent a poem congratulating Ḥasan Bey Fahmī, Governor of al-Minūfīya.[8] The

1. al-Ahrām, no.1294, 9 January, 1882 (W.M., no.1307, 14 January, and Iskandarīya, no.137, 13 January).

2. His dīwān, Nasamāt al-Awrāq, was first published in Cairo in 1882, containing some 2,000 verses, then republished in 1888 and 1908.

3. Cheikho, al-Ādāb, op. cit., vol.2, p.37.

4. al-Ahrām, no.1331, 25 February, 1882.

5. al-Waṭan, no.219, 11 February, 1882.

6. Tūmā (1857-1905) was born in the Lebanon. He held various posts including that of journalist on the Beirut at-Taqaddum newspaper before migrating to Alexandria in 1874. There he contributed to Ḥaqīqat al-Akhbār. He began writing poetry as a young man. See Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, pp.291-295 and Zachoura, op. cit., pp.394-409.

7. al-Ahrām, no.1221, 8 October, 1881, p.3 (al-Maḥrūsa, no.405, 22 October).

8. al-Ahrām, no.1252, 18 November.

paper published a few lines of an elegy for Nasrat Bey, son of Mansūr Pasha, by as-Sayyid Mahmūd Sharābīh.[1]

Once in a while it published a lughz fukāhī (amusing riddle) such as the following:-

> A mother did not give birth to any of the female or male sex, except seven, and she did not lose a child during her life. Then she died leaving one child, what happened to the rest? S. KH.[2]

The Coptic paper, al-Watan, published a number of poems praising the Khedive. It also eulogised various cabinet ministers, including Mustafā Pasha Fahmī, the Foreign Minister, with a poem written by Salīm Rahmī in September, 1880.[3] When Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī's cabinet was formed in February 1882, it received but did not publish a poem from Hannā Effendi Jirjis praising the new Finance Minister, ᶜAlī Pasha Sādiq on his first Ministerial post.[4]

The paper cemented its ties with one of the leaders of the moderate constitutional movement, Muhammad Sultān Pasha. In November 1879 ᶜAlī al-Laythī's qasīda, expressing his pleasure that his friend Sultān Pasha had recovered from an illness, was published twice in the paper.[5] The second time it appeared because the paper "wished to gather its scattered pearls and to create visions for the homeland with the marvels (of the poem)".[6] In this poem Sultān Pasha was praised for various qualities and for his benefactions, for building mosques "to the glory of his creator", and for giving "priceless amounts" to

1. al-Ahrām, no.1162, 26 July.
2. Ibid., no.1077, 7 April.
3. al-Watan, no.148, 22 September, 1880.
4. Ibid., no.219, 11 February, 1882.
5. Ibid., no.103, 1 November, 1879, and no.104, 8 November.
6. Ibid., no.105, 15 November.

schools. Sultān Pasha was a rich member of the Chamber of Delegates, and a leading member of the recently formed National Party.[1] In 1881 Sultān Pasha led the delegates making demands for representational government,[2] and in December, 1881, al-Waṭan, simultaneously with al-Maḥrūsa, published a poem by Ismā^{c}īl ^{c}Āṣim to the Pasha congratulating him on his appointment, by Khedive Tawfīq, as President of the Assembly (Majlis Shūrā an-Nuwwāb).[3] It is clear from this publication that poets sent their works to several papers. A few weeks later al-Waṭan, on 14 January, 1882, published an ode by Aḥmad Effendi Rashwān congratulating Sultān Pasha and the members of the Assembly.[4] The Assembly had been discussing the Assembly Law to extend its powers, and Britain and France had issued their notorious joint-note on 8 January supporting the Khedive against the presumptions of the Assembly.[5] Publishing this poem may have been one of the ways the paper expressed its support to the demands of the Assembly.

Since it was a Coptic paper, it extended its praises to senior Coptic officials. The Copt Bāsīlī Bey Tādrūs was congratulated on his promotion to second rank in a poem by Muḥammad Effendi ^{c}Alī, an employee at the Finance Ministry.[6] The paper had received a number of qaṣīdas from Cairenes congratulating this person and a Nakhla Bey Yūsuf on his promotion, but it did not publish them because of lack of space.[7] In September 1881 another junior official was praised in the paper; this was the Kurd, Ibrāhīm Bey Adham, head of the Dā'ira of the Khedive's grandmother (ra'īs Dā'irat Ḥadrat

1. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.376.
2. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.170.
3. al-Waṭan, no.212, 24 December, 1881; and al-Maḥrūsa, no.445, 24 December.
4. Ibid., no.215, 14 January, 1882.
5. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.202.
6. al-Waṭan, no.204, 29 October, 1881.
7. Ibid., no.205, 1 November.

Jiddat al-Khudaywī), praised in a qaṣīda for ᶜId al-Fiṭr by Hanna Bey Bakāriyūs.[1]

Given the amount of poetry it published, the paper not unnaturally mourned the passing of literary figures. It was the first paper to carry Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Laythī's elegy to his friend ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr.[2] This was the last contribution to the press in the period under study by Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Laythī. ᶜAlī al-Laythī has been called the best and "most poetic of poets" of the epoch,[3] and "master of the nadīms" by the celebrated twentieth century poet, Aḥmad Shawqī,[4] but he wrote in what would now be considered an obscure style, full of literary allusions, overloading the verses of his poems with figures of badīᶜ. Though one of the most prolific poets of the period, he did not publish his dīwān. Al-Laythī put a curse on whoever might publish it.[5] Ad-Dasūqī believes he took this action because he was wealthy, and wanted to maintain his dignity which would have been tarnished had he published his clowning and jokes in verse.[6] Because of the puns, the exaggerated praise and the verses of reproach, he might have created trouble for himself and his family had he allowed its publication. The development of poetic taste by his death in 1896 may have also made him revise his opinion of his own poetry.[7] An elegy to another poet, Aḥmad Abū'l-Faraj ad-Damanhūrī,[8] appeared in the paper in October 1881, penned by Muḥammad Effendi ᶜAbd al-Wahhāb.[9] Aḥmad Abū'l-Faraj was

1. al-Waṭan, no.197, 10 September, 1881.
2. Ibid., no.149, 18 September, 1880 (W.M., no.927, 19 September).
3. Cheikho, op. cit., vol.2, p.98; and Zaydān, Ta'rīkh Ādāb, vol.2, p.584.
4. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.131.
5. ᶜAqqad, op. cit., p.90.
6. ad-Dasūqī, op. cit., vol.1, p.130.
7. as-Saᶜᶜāfīn, op. cit., p.134.
8. For Shaykh Aḥmad, see Taymūr, op. cit., pp.88-95.
9. al-Waṭan, no.203, 22 October, 1881.

a companion, like ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, of the Tantā patron of arts, Shāhīn Pasha Kinj. Ahmad became naqīb al-ashrāf (head of the descendants of the Prophet) in Damanhūr. He wrote madā'iḥ (panegyrics) and ṭarā'if (choicest passages) in a highly rhetorical style, but his only poem to appear in the press was written during the Khedivial tour of the Delta, appearing in al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya in May 1880. He was a frequent visitor to Cairo and may have mixed in its literary circles. Another marthiya appeared by Mahmūd Bey Ḥusayn, nāẓir Qalam al-ᶜImārāt, on the death of Manṣūr Effendi Aḥmad.[1]

The most entertaining poem published by the paper, far removed from the world of panegyrics, was a qaṣīda by an ᶜālim as-sannārīya (a scholar from Sennaar) from al-Azhar about some rogues who had stolen his clothes when he was doing his washing in the Ismāᶜīlīya Canal.[2] This event lead him to make a tongue-in-cheek attack on Egyptian society. His amusing poem laments the lack of truth in society. The people of shame have inherited all their errors from the Pharoahs.

فيهم لصوص عفاريت معيشتهم خطف الثياب و اخذ النعل والعمم

There are amongst them thieves, ifreet, whose living is (made) from snatching clothes, and taking sandals, and turbans.

Such scoundrels, he explains, steal in mosques from those praying, and are found in markets, and even in cemeteries, so little do they fear their creator. This was the sort of poem poets wrote for their own entertainment but such poems rarely appeared in the press.[3]

1. al-Watan, no.179, 16 April, 1881.
2. Ibid., no.102, 25 October, 1879.
3. Text in Appendix H, no.XVI.

Another member of the Khedivial family was praised in al-Waqt; as-Sayyid Ṣālih Majdī Bey sent his congratulations to Prince Aḥmad Farīd Pasha on his appointment as mīrmīrān (Pasha of the second class),[1] and took the opportunity of praising Tawfīq; the Khedive was always eulogised in these poems. The poet persists in his exaggerated praise of the ruler, claiming that he heals the sick with his justice (ᶜadl) and wisdom. Tawfīq was driving away disaster from the people of the country (ahl al-bilād). Al-Waqt paid court to Riyād Pasha and also to his Minister of Works, ᶜAlī Pasha Mubārak, with a manẓūma by Niqūlā Tūmā.[2] Apart from these cabinet ministers, Amīn Shumayyil in September 1880, sent some verses praising his local administrator, the ma'mūr of Kafr ash-Shaykh,[3] and another qaṣīda a few days later.[4]

The paper mourned the passing of some Muslim religious dignitaries. Though a paper run by Syrian Christians it obviously intended to cater for as broad a public as possible. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Maghribī of Tanta wrote an elegy in April 1880 for Shaykh al-Ḥafnāwī, Shaykh of the Malikite community in Tanta.[5] ᶜAlī Jamāl, naqīb al-ashrāf in Damietta sent an elegy for as-Sayyid ᶜAlī Effendi al-Bakrī in November 1880;[6] ᶜAlī al-Bakrī was the naqīb al-ashrāf for the whole of Egypt and had been an important political figure in Ismāᶜīl's reign.

A whole issue of al-Waqt was devoted to a new law, qānūn at-taṣfiya al-ᶜumūmī (the Law of Liquidation) arranging the payment of Egypt's debts. One of those no doubt involved in its preparation, Muḥammad Qadrī Bey, Secretary-General

1. al-Waqt, no.902, 26 July, 1880; and Majdī, op. cit., p.311.
2. al-Waqt, no.908, 3 August, 1880.
3. al-Waqt, no.937, 21 September, 1880.
4. Ibid., no.943, 29 September.
5. Ibid., no.832, 10 April.
6. Ibid., no.969, 5 November.

(wakīl) at the Ministry of Justice, and a counsellor in the Court of Appeal in the Mixed Courts (Mahkama al-Isti'nāf al-Mukhtalata) in Alexandria,[1] wrote a ta'rīkh for the event.[2] As-Sayyid Mahmūd Sharābih wrote a qaṣīda on the same law.[3] These poems may have been written for the 17 July, the day the law had been signed, as this day had been proclaimed a patriotic feast day.

When the young Crown Prince became president of the Cairo Welfare League (Jam^{c}īyat al-Maqāsid al-Khayrīya) al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī published a ta'rīkh by ^{c}Abd Allāh Effendi Furayj, then a teacher of languages at al-Madrasa al-Khayriya al-Islāmīya,[4] which belonged to its sister organisation in Alexandria, and of which the Crown Prince was also president; it had published another of his poems earlier that year.[5] The death of Antūn Yūsuf Effendi ^{c}Abd al-Masīḥ al-Baghdādī was commemorated in an ode by the Syrian poet Iskandar Bey Abkāryūs in August 1881.[6] Abkāryūs had been working in Egypt since 1874,[7] but this was his only poem to appear in the press.

The staff of al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī included several poets.

1. Moniteur Égyptien, 5 July, 1879.

2. al-Waqt, no.898, 20 July, 1880 (W.M., no.911, 25 July).

3. al-Waqt, no.898, 20 July, 1880.

4. al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, no.74, 8 October, 1880. ^{c}Abd Allāh Effendi was working at this school from 1879 to at least 1882.

5. Ibid, no.52, 7 May, 1880.

6. Ibid., no.117, 5 August. Iskandar Abkāryūs (?-1885) was a Beiruti Christian of Armenian extraction. His dīwān, Nuzhat an-Nufūs wa-Zīnat aṭ-Ṭurūs, published in Cairo, 1883, contains panegyrics to Khedives Ismā^{c}īl and Ṭawfīq. In 1299/1882 he published with Muḥammad Makkawī a panegyric in rhymed prose and verse on the life of Ibrāhīm Pasha of Egypt, al-Manāqib al-Ibrāhīmīya wa'l-Ma'āthir al-Khudaywīya, printed at Matba^{c}at al-Wahbiya, Cairo.

7. GAL, vol.SII, p.768.

One of its editors Wafā Effendi Muḥammad al-Qūnawī[1] (or al-Qūnī[2]) had poems published after 1882, but none of his poems appeared in the period under study. Another editor, Shaykh Muḥammad an-Najjār,[3] has been described as amīr fann az-zajal (prince of the art of zajal):[4] he was a highly innovative composer of this genre of poetry, inventing many new metres. He wrote many social, moral and religious azjāl, while a teacher at al-Azhar.[5] Though biographical details are lacking, it is known that he was teaching at al-Azhar in 1879 and also at al-Makātib al-Ahlīya.[6] It can thus be assumed that he was writing zajal in Tawfīq's reign. These popular poems were much admired and were memorized and recited by his followers. He also held a majlis at the Grāsmū? coffee house near al-Azbakīya, where he presided over zajal competitions amongst his circle of friends and students.[7] But no one, apart from Sanua, had yet dared to introduce this vulgar form of poetry into the press, and Shaykh Muḥammad did not do so.

The Syrian-owned paper, al-Maḥrusa, eulogised Tawfīq on numerous occasions. One of its regular contributors was as-Sayyid Maḥmūd Sharābih. A few lines of a poem by him to the Khedive, printed in al-Maḥrūsa appeared in al-Ahrām, with the comment "in short it is a fluent, noble poem, which bears witness to the erudition of its writer".[8] Mustafā Effendi

1. For the Azharite Wafā Muḥammad (1849-1898 or 1899), see Kaḥḥāla, op. cit., vol.13, p.165; and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1533.

2. az-Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.8, p.117.

3. Shaykh Muḥammad (? -1911), an Azharite, had been a teacher of Arabic at Maktab al-ʿAqqādin in Cairo in 1873, and in 1874 he was teaching grammar at Maktab al-Qūzlār in Būlāq. His Majmūʿat Azjāl was published in Cairo in 1318/1900-1901, and a Ḥaml Zajal in Cairo in 1308/1890-1891. See Riyāḍ, op. cit., pp.123-136; and Sarkīs, op. cit., vol.2, p.1700.

4. az-Ziriklī, op. cit., p.122.

5. Riyāḍ, op. cit., pp.125-126.

6. al-Waṭan, 27 June, 1879.

7. Riyāḍ, op. cit., p.124.

8. al-Maḥrūsa, no.314, 7 June, 1881 (al-Ahrām, no.1123, 8 June).

Tawfīq, then a translator in the Ministry of Justice sent a short ta'rīkh for the birth of Tawfīq's daughter, Niᶜmat Allāh Khānim Effendi[1] on 4 November, 1881.

When Sharīf Pasha became Prime Minister in 1881, Adīb Ishāq, then editor of at-Taqaddum in Beirut sent a one-line ta'rīkh by telegraph to al-Maḥrūsa congratulating him on his appointment; it was taken from a Qur'ānic verse. The telegraphic chronogram was born:-

فهذه النعمة تاريخها نصرٌ من الله بفتح قريب
سنة ١٢٩٨

The date of this blessing is a victory from God with a triumph close at hand.[2]

He also sent a tahni'a to al-Maḥrūsa praising Sharīf Pasha when the Pasha received an Ottoman award of the first rank from the Sultan.[3] Adīb was offered a post in the Ministry of Education and in the secretariat of the Assembly by the new government; he had for several years had close ties with the nationalists. On his return to Cairo from Syria to take up the posts al-Maḥrūsa published a couple of lines of poetry, perhaps by his friend, the editor, Salīm an-Naqqāsh.

لله خلٌّ صادق زارنا بعد النوى لكنه ما أسر

فلم يقم معنا بمقدار ان قلنا له اهلاً وسهلاً ومرّ

God has a faithful friend who has visited us after being remote from (us) but he did not make (us) happy,
He did not stay with us as much as we said welcome and he left.[4]

1. al-Maḥrūsa, no.412, 8 November, 1881 (W.M., no.1252, 10 November).
2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.382, 20 September.
3. Ishāq, op. cit., p.260.
4. al-Maḥrūsa, no.401, 17 October.

A French educated lawyer, Husayn Bey Wāsif was appointed, in September, 1881, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Justice in place of Butrus Ghālī, who became Secretary-General to the Council of Ministers;[1] this appointment was praised in one verse by Fransīs Effendi Ghabrīyāl, mufattish (inspector) of taḫṣīlāt (taxes) in ad-Dā'ira al-Baladīya in Alexandria.[2]

Some five months after the other papers, ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj's elegy to the poet Maḥmūd Effendi Ṣafwat as-Sāᶜātī was published in al-Maḥrūsa.[3] In November, 1881, the press reported the death of the man of letters Ṣālih Majdī, then a member of the Mixed Courts of the First Instance in Cairo,[4] a post he had held since 1292/1875-1876.[5] Al-Burhān newspaper published an elegy by Ḥasan Ḥusnī at-Tuwayrānī.[6] Ṣālih had been ill for the last two years of his life, so only wrote a handful of poems to Tawfīq.[7] His dīwān shows that his poetic range was much wider than the madḥ printed in the press. He had written some amusing verse, such as a poem on the French word "merci".[8] He also wrote many poems in the popular forms of poetry, urjūzas, tawshīḥ,[9] adwār,[10] and muzdawijas.[11]

Even the poets bound to tradition were capable of writing

1. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.168.
2. al-Maḥrūsa, no.385, 24 September, 1881.
3. Ibid., no.384, 23 September, 1881.
4. Ibid., no.413, 10 November, 1881 (al-Waṭan, no.207, 19 November).
5. Majdī, Dīwān, op. cit., p.7.
6. al-Burhān, no.28, 25 Dhū'l-Ḥijja, 1298 (18 November, 1881) from Fayyāḍ, op. cit., p.205; and in Ḥusnī, op. cit., vol.2, p.100.
7. Majdī, Ṣālih, al-Maqālāt al-Adabīya, (Cairo, 1316/1898-1899), p.5.
8. Majdī, Dīwān, op. cit., p.199.
9. Ibid., pp.411-413.
10. Ibid., pp.426-428.
11. Ibid., pp.117, 162 and 335.

outspoken poems; in one poem, probably written for his friends and certainly not amongst those sent to the press, Ṣālih makes a clear attack on Khedive Ismāʿīl's profligacy:

> Ask, may God bring your efforts to nothing, how often you rely on the misrepresentations of the deceitful.
> He threw your country into the depths of the abyss of debts at the wish of Ḥūsyār.
> He spent, not in a miserly or generous way, on a whore, a pimp, and wrongdoers.
> Man is content with one (house?) in life, while he is not satisfied with a milliard.
> Man is satisfied with one house while he has 90 of wood and stone.
> Awake, may God not forgive you, from the indifference which has dressed you in the dress of disgrace.[1]

Adīb Isḥāq wrote a few verses of his own for the Egyptian newspapers that he worked on. In the literary style of his age, he often included poetic quotations in his articles in Miṣr (1877),[2] al-Maḥrūsa, and al-ʿAṣr al-Jadīd.[3] In al-ʿAṣr al-Jadīd, after his return from Beirut in 1881, he wrote a qaṣīda on Sharīf Pasha's appointment; Adīb was the paper's Cairo correspondent. It begins with a traditional nasīb in the pre-Islamic manner:-

غبنا وكانت اليك عودتنا يا سكناً لم يغب عن الفكر

> We were absent, and to you we returned, O dwelling place you were not absent from our thoughts.[4]

Though he dabbled in playwriting and translated novels from French, his poetry kept to the conventions, and was full of rhetorical devices. He did not use it in the press to express

1. Majdī, op. cit., pp.179-180.
2. Isḥāq, op. cit., pp.58, 61, 62, and 66.
3. Ibid., pp.245 and 247; and Ḥamza, op. cit., vol.2, p.58.
4. Isḥāq, op. cit., pp.235-238.

his sometimes controversial political ideas.

Perhaps the most provocative poem published in the period was one in al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd in October 1880 from its correspondent in Beirut.[1] It was by an anonymous author and taken from a placard recently put up in that city. The paper's correspondent commented that

> whoever reads it knows that its author is a leading poet. It saddens us that this excellent poet should apply his talent in such an unprofitable way. I am sending you this poem because I believe it should be preserved.

Part of it, presumably the less seditious verses, had been printed in the Beirut press. The paper's statement may have been tongue-in-cheek, for by publishing the poem in Egypt the paper was indirectly aiding the writer by giving his work further publicity.

This satirical poem (hijā') was a call for revolt against Ottoman rule, in which the Turks by implication, though not by name, were denigrated.[2] The poet showed the influence of his classical background by beginning with the traditional nasīb:-

دع مجلس الخيد الاوانس وهوى لواحظها النواعس

ودع التنعم بالمطا ..... عم والمشارب والملابس

> Leave the gathering of young ladies and the passion
> of their langorous glances,
> Stop indulging in food and drink and clothes.

1. al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd, no.41, 14 October, 1880.

2. Ḥasan Ḥusnī aṭ-Ṭuwayrānī, who was descended from a Turkish prince of Macedonia, wrote a reply to this using the same rhyme scheme (sīnīya), asserting his Turkishness against the Arabs in revolt (Husnī, op. cit., vol.1, pp.64-65).

The poem went on, declaring that the Arabs had been humiliated; they were the slaves of the Turks. They had sold their rights. Their countries (awṭān) had been destroyed. Business, industry, agriculture, and schools had all been ruined. The poet compared the Turks to predatory birds; they were corrupt by nature. These oppressors had built their courts of justice (majālis) on corruption and falsehood:-

وعلى الرشى والزور قد شادوا المحاكم والمجالس

The Turks, he wrote, had spread hatred and animosity amongst the Arabs. They had shattered Arab unity. The Arab nation (qawm) should rise against the Turks by guerilla warfare. In a gross description, he suggests they imitate other nations:

ملأوا البطاح بهم فدا س على الجماجم كل دائس

They filled the valleys with them, and everyone who tramples trampled their skulls underfoot.

This placard was one of several that had appeared at night on the walls near the consulates of the foreign powers in Beirut, Damascus, Tripoli and Sidon in 1880. There had been Arab demands for reform after the suspension of the Ottoman Constitution in 1876. When Midhat Pasha, "the father of Reform", had become governor (wālī) of Syria (1878-1880), there were hopes that reforms would be introduced but little progress was made. A group of young Christians wanted to emancipate the Lebanon from the Turkish yoke, so they formed a secret society in 1876 for this purpose. The author of this poem, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, son of the famous man of letters Nāṣīf al-Yāzijī, was a member, as were Ibrāhīm al-Ḥurānī, Yaʿqūb Ṣarrūf, Fāris Nimr and Shāhīn Makāryūs. They believed that the only way to achieve their objective was with the support of their Muslim fellow citizens, so they made Arabism (ʿurūba)

their slogan. In 1880 this group was involved in putting up some of these anonymous Arabic placards in Beirut, denouncing the evils of Turkish misgovernment and exhorting the population to overthrow it.[1]

The text of one[2] of these placards,[3] preserved by the British consul in Beirut, begins with the Arabic for the word "woe" (wayl), just as the poem in al-ᶜAṣr al-Jadīd does. The Muslim Benevolent Society in Beirut was accused of responsibility for these placards and the authorities proscribed the society. The consul in his report mentions Midhat Pasha as the instigator.[4] Jūrjī Zaydān, writing in 1903, cautiously suggests (Syria was still part of the Ottoman Empire) that the poem was written on the orders of a prominent person (Midhat?), or at the suggestion of a group.[5] In a pamphlet written in 1910 in New York, al-ᶜArab wa't-Turk (The Arabs and the Turks), Ibrāhīm acknowledges that it was Midhat Pasha who made him write the poem to frighten the Sultan into reforming the Empire.

This was not the last such poem he was to write. An even more vitriolic and patriotic poem, the famous ode calling on the Arabs to awake, had been read by Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī[6] at a secret meeting of one of the Beirut cultural societies, al-Jamᶜīya as-Sūrīya al-ᶜIlmīya.[7] This poem appeared in the

1. Zeine, Zeine N., The Emergence of Arab Nationalism, (Beirut, 1966), pp.57-62.

2. Ibid., Appendix I, p.173.

3. Appendices G - I in Zeine's book.

4. Tibawi, A.L., A Modern History of Syria, (London, 1969), p.167.

5. Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, p.158.

6. Antonius, George, The Arab Awakening, The Story of the Arab National Movement, (Beirut, 1969), p.54. Ibrāhīm (1847-1906) was born in Beirut. He began writing poetry as a youth. He sent a madḥ to Khedive ᶜAbbās. In 1872 he worked for one year as editor of an-Najāḥ newspaper in Beirut. He taught maᶜānī (concepts), bayān and ādāb al-lugha (the art of lexicography) at al-Madrasa al-Baṭriyarkīya in Beirut. His dīwān, al-ʿIqd was published in Cairo in 1910; these poems appear on pp.56 and 59. See Père Paul Soueid, Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, L'Homme et Son Oeuvre, (Beirut, 1969) and ᶜĪsā Mikhāᶜīl Sābā, ash-Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Yāzijī, (Cairo, n.d.).

7. Tibawi (op. cit., p.161) says it is also ascribed to an unnamed Muslim Shaykh.

text of another placard that was posted up on 31 December 1880.[1]

The correspondent of al-ʿAṣr al-Jadīd may well have known who the author was, but said nothing fearing it would lead to his arrest. Several persons were detained, but the authorities failed to discover the authors of these placards. Ibrāhīm was already a well known literary figure; he had become famous for his excellent verse, and literati came to him seeking advice on their poetry. He held a majlis where literary and poetic discussions were held.[2] Though the author escaped discovery, al-ʿAṣr al-Jadīd was confiscated in Syria for its coverage of these events.[3]

Since he sent his poems to al-Waqā'iʿ al-Miṣrīya from Banhā, ʿAbd Allāh an-Nadīm had been appointed to the post he sought as a telegraph clerk in al-Qaṣr al-ʿĀli, the residence of Khedive Ismāʿīl's mother in Cairo. While in this post he frequented the cultural circles of Cairo. He was often at the shop of the poet, Aḥmad Wahbī at-Tarābīshī in al-Ghūrīyā,[4] and through him may have gained admittance to Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī's salon. Through Wahbī he met other poets and "literati of the age", ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr, ʿAbd Allāh Fikrī, Maḥmūd Ṣafwat as-Sāʿātī, Shaykh Aḥmad az-Zurqānī, Muḥammad Bey Saʿīd, and ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ḥāfiẓ.[5] He also joined the circle of Muḥammad Pasha Sayyid Aḥmad in Shubrā.[6]

When he was dismissed from his post at the palace, he

1. Zeine, op. cit., Appendix I, p.173.
2. Zaydān, Tarājim, op. cit., vol.2, p.144.
3. al-ʿAṣr al-Jadīd, no.42, 29 October, 1880.
4. ʿAtiyat Allāh, op. cit., p.20.
5. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, p.24.
6. al-Hadīdī, (book) op. cit., p.38.

wandered the delta, where he held various posts. In 1875 he ran a haberdasher's shop in al-Manṣūra, which became a rendezvous for literati.[1] Then in 1293/1875 in Tanta he became nadīm to Shāhīn Pasha Kinj, inspector of Lower Egypt. In the Pasha's majlis he displayed his poetic skills. His famous competition[2] with those udabātī who excelled in the spontaneous composition of zajal, took place before a reported audience of thousands at the mawlid of Sayyidī Aḥmad al-Badawī in Tanta in 1294/1877, in the presence of ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr, the famous zajjāl Shaykh Ramaḍān Ḥalāwa, as-Sayyid Muḥammad Qāsim, Shaykh Aḥmad Abū'l-Faraj ad-Damanhūrī and Jaᶜfar Pasha Maẓhar, father of Muḥammad Saᶜīd.

When his paper at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt, written in a mixture of classical and colloquial language, first appeared, it published "passages of praise (taqārīẓ) from lovers of literature" from Dimitrī Effendi Khlāṭ and ᶜAbd Allāh Effendi Furayj.[3] A few months later there was a humorous qaṣīda from a young man in Alexandria.[4] Many of an-Nadīm's articles, in the style of the period, were interspersed with odd lines of poetry. The performance of his play, al-Waṭan wa-Ṭālicat Tawfīq at the Zizinia had been opened with a qaṣīda to the Khedive, verses of which were also directed through verbal puns to his ministers, Riyāḍ Pasha, Fakhrī Pasha, Maḥmūd Sāmī, ᶜAlī Mubārak and Muḥammad Qadrī. ᶜAbd Allāh responded to the demands of friends to publish in at-Tankīt some of the verses of this qaṣīda waṭanīya recited by the character, al-Waṭan[5] in the play:

1. Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, p.6.

2. Several pages of the poetry recited in this competition appeared in al-Ustādh, no.41, 6 June, 1893.

3. at-Tankīt, no.2, 19 June, 1881.

4. Ibid., no.10, 15 August.

5. Ibid., no.8, 31 July, pp.132-133.

و اجعل رياضك للافكار منتزها و سس بعزمك قاصينا و دانينا

فالفخر يحسن من سامى المقام لدى مبارك فهمه يبديه تبيينا

ولا يساير ارباب الفنون سوى على قدر يجل العلم يدنينا

والله يحفظ بالتوفيق دولتنا ويرحم الله عبدا قال آمينا

In the next issue congratulations were extended to Sharīf's Ministry, with a six-line poem to Sharīf, and four-line poems to Mahmūd Sāmī the War Minister, to Haydar Pasha the Minister of Finance, Muhammad Qadrī Pasha the Minister of Justice, Muhammad Dhakī the Minister of Education, Ismā^{c}īl Ayyūb the Minister of Works, and Mustafā Fahmī the Minister of Foreign Affairs. The last line in each poem incorporated the name of the Minister praised.

In August he published some of his popular poetry[1] a ḥaml zajal ^{c}āl.[2] This was one of the rare occasions that this popular metre appeared in the press. Though ^{c}Abd Allāh was considered the best extempore composer of zajal in Egypt, his poems and those of his companions were not seen in the press. Perhaps because it used colloquial language, zajal was rarely published. The Azharites and other guardians of the classical language would probably have resisted the publication of such vulgar literature in any other journal. This poem was also controversial in its contents, mentioning how foreign bankers and landowners had become lords over the country at the expense of the fellah, foreign customs and dress were imitated, and the Egyptians, rejecting education and industry, had turned to drink.

1. He wrote three dīwāns, but they are lost without trace (Nadīm, op. cit., vol.1, pp.20-21).

2. at-Tankīt, no.9, 7 August, 1881, pp.149-151. Text republished in al-Hadīdī, (book) op. cit., pp.116-119.

أهل البنوكا و الاطيان صاروا على الاعيان اعيان

و ابن البلد ماشى عريان مَمْعاه و لاحق الدخان

شرم برم حالى غلبان

The bankers and landlords have become nobles over the nobles,
While the native is walking naked, and does not even have tobacco.
What can I do, my life is miserable.

The poem was full of colloquial, non-grammatical words and expressions, like khawīh - "my brother", biddak - "you want", dā - "this", batāᶜ - "of" (instead of using the construct), and illī - "which". No other journal followed in the footsteps of Sanua and ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm and published zajal, but some years later a fellow journalist, the famous zajjāl, Shaykh Muhammad an-Najjār, brought out in 1894 a weekly literary review, al-Arghūl[1] and his friend, Muhammad Tawfīq, founded Ḥimārat Munyatī (The Donkey of my Desire) a political review, both of which filled their columns with zajal.

When al-Mufīd appeared in 1881, Mustafā Bey Tawfīq sent a poem in praise of the paper, as did ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj,[2] and Ḥasan Bey Ḥusnī.[3] When Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī became Prime Minister in February 1882, this pro-ᶜUrābist paper published a qaṣīda by Shaykh Muhammad ad-Darwīsh praising him on his appointment.[4] The poet and literary figure, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, became Minister of Education in his cabinet, and

1. A wind instrument related to the clarinet. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.4, p.281.
2. al-Mufīd, no.3, 19 October, 1881.
3. Ibid., no.6, 31 October.
4. Ibid., no.34, 16 February, 1882.

in March qasīdas in his praise appeared in the paper by ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj and others.[1] Later that month al-Mufīd published an ode to a senior civil servant, Ahmad Pasha Nash'at, nāẓir (Director-General) of ad-Dā'ira as-Sanīya.[2] On 19 April the paper showed its support to the War Minister Ahmad ᶜUrābī, over the Turco-Circassian plot to liquidate the Egyptian officers, by publishing verses to him from Ahmad Effendi Kāmil, a first lieutenant (mulāzim awwal) in the 6th (Infantry) Regiment,[3] which was commanded by a Circassian officer.[4] Several arrests had been made on 10 April.

Papers in this period were more concerned about political developments than they were about praising the right dignitary. ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm's new paper, aṭ-Ṭā'if, did not publish the poetry that was sent to it. In February, 1882, a poem was received from ᶜAbd Allāh's friend, Salīm Bey Rahmī, congratulating the new Prime Minister, together with other panegyrics (tahāni' and madā'iḥ) to ministers. Though it supported the ministry the paper did not publish these, "begging pardon from the eulogisers, and seeking forgiveness from those praised, for our paper is a paper of action not words (aqwāl)".[5]

Another pro-ᶜUrābī newspaper, al-Fusṭāṭ, founded in April 1882, had a section on adabīyāt (polite literature). Soon after its appearance it published a few lines of a taqrīẓ. ᶜAbd Allāh Effendi Furayj sent a ta'rīkh, introduced by a passage in sajᶜ praising the paper. The paper also published extracts of a taqrīẓ in poetry and prose from Muhammad Effendi Husnī, a first lieutenant in the Infantry at Damietta.[6] These letters

1. al-Mufīd, no.39, 6 March.
2. Ibid., no.46, 30 March.
3. Ibid., no.49, 19 April.
4. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.228.
5. aṭ-Ṭā'if, no.31, 12 February, 1882.
6. al-Fusṭāṭ, no.3, 24 April, 1882.

and contributions from serving soldiers probably reflect the increasing military involvement in political affairs.

Of the many other political journals that appeared, very little is known of their literary content as few copies are available. But if they followed the line of those extant papers, it can be assumed that their literary content would have been negligible. Ṣālih Majdī had written a taqrīẓ[1] to the clandestine Cairo paper, al-Ḥijāz, which appeared in July 1881; this was one of the poems written shortly before his death. Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim sent a congratulatory poem[2] to az-Zamān newspaper, founded on 6 March, 1882 by his fellow poet, Ḥasan Ḥusnī at-Ṭuwayrānī. The magazine Mir'āt ash-Sharq had a taqrīẓ addressed to it from the Syrian Shaykh Sulayman al-Ḥaddad,[3] when it reappeared in April 1882. The editor of al-Ḥaḍāra, founded in May, 1882, the Syrian Mikhāʿīl ʿAwrā', was known for his poetry,[4] but no copies of his paper are available.

When Tawfīq came to the throne, Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī was Minister of Awqāf in Riyāḍ's government. He wrote a poem congratulating the Khedive on his accession. He no doubt sent this poem to the Khedive, but deemed it inappropriate that a poem by a cabinet minister should be published in the press. In the poem he called for a constitution and a meeting of the Assembly of Delegates; arguing in favour of responsible government he said that religion calls for constitutional government. He advised the Khedive to take good care of the army and its equipment, so as to protect the independence of the nation.[5]

1. Majdī, op. cit., p.170.
2. Ḥusnī, op. cit., vol.1, p.173.
3. al-Haddād, Shaykh Sulaymān, Qilādat al-ʿAṣr (Alexandria, 1891).
4. He was in Egypt from 1880 to 1882. al-Jundī, op. cit., vol.2, p.319.
5. Ḍayf, op. cit., p.71.

In early February 1881, he became Minister of War and Awqāf and it is believed that at this point he first came into contact with the army officers,[1] Ahmad ᶜUrābī, ᶜAlī Fahmī[2] and ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀl, who were calling for reform within the army to benefit Egyptian officers as against the Turco-Circassians. In August he was dismissed from Riyād's cabinet because he had refused the Khedive's request to remove ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀl when the opportunity occurred. Back in his village he wrote poems about his dismissal.[3] He wrote a hijā' (satire) against Riyād. In it he spoke of despotism and corruption, and blamed Egypt's rulers for foreign intervention in Egyptian affairs. He called for revolution, for the people of Egypt despaired of freeing themselves from oppression.[4] Some writers have suggested that these poems show that he wanted to become Khedive rather than Prime Minister, but he denied this accusation.[5] With the collapse of the Riyād ministry, on 17 September he became Minister of War and the Navy in the government of Sharīf as the army officers wished. Blunt, who visited Egypt from December 1881 to February 1882, described Mahmūd Sāmī:-

> Intellectually, he was far superior to Arabi, and was indeed one of the most cultivated intelligences of Egypt, with a good knowledge of literature, both Arabic and Turkish, and especially of Egyptian history, besides being an elegant and distinguished poet.[6]

In February 1882 Mahmūd Sāmī became President of the Council of Ministers with ᶜUrābī as War Minister. He

1. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.343[21].
2. Not Rifāᶜa Bey's son.
3. Dayf, op. cit., p.74.
4. Ibid., pp.67-69.
5. ad-Dasūqī, vol.1, pp.212-213.
6. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.107.

subsequently wrote a poem insisting on his stance over the Turco-Circassian plot and trial; the plotters were accused of wanting to liquidate the Egyptian officers. Tawfīq had refused to implement the judgement of the court martial exiling the Turco-Circassian officers to the Sudan, thus hoping to bring down Mahmūd Sāmī's government. The government suggested that they merely be expelled from the country, and be dismissed from the army, but the Khedive granted the officers an amnesty. In the poem he talks of Tawfīq and his evil entourage.[1] None of the controversial and seditious poems he wrote in this period appeared in the press. They were no doubt written for the private consumption of his friends and political allies.

No women wrote for the press. Women still led a secluded life. Though women actresses were now appearing on the stage, the women of the court watched them from behind their screened boxes. There was a single famous poetess, as-Sayyida ᶜĀ'isha at-Taymūrīya[2] (1840-1902), and though she celebrated some of the major events of Tawfīq's reign, her poems were not published till some years later. She was born in Cairo to a rich Kurdish family.[3] Her enlightened father had given her the opportunity to study literature as a child. She began writing poetry as a child, but stopped writing when she married and went with her husband to Istanbul in 1271/1854. Her husband died in 1292/1875-1876 and she returned to Egypt.[4] In her poetry she recorded many events in her family life; the birth of her brother, Ahmad Taymūr, in 1871,[5] the death of her father in 1299/1882. She also marked official occasions, the accession of Tawfīq in 1879,[6] and the death of Shaykh Ibrāhīm

1. Ḍayf, op. cit., p.76.

2. Her Arabic dīwān, Hulyat aṭ-Ṭirāz was published in 1302/1884-1885, 1303/1885-1886, 1310/1892-1893, 1327/1909-1910, and 1952. She also published dīwāns in Persian and Turkish.

3. GAL, vol.SII, p.724.

4. Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.3, p.240.

5. Ziyāda, Mayy, ᶜĀ'isha Taymūr, Shāᶜirat aṭ-Ṭaliᶜa, (Beirut, 1975), p.142.

6. Ibid., p.138.

as-Saqqā', whose passing is elegised as if he were a member of her family.[1] Her poetry is considered to be on a level with that of al-Bārūdī and as-Sā^{c}ātī.

One of the few contemporary dīwāns published in Tawfīq's reign was that of Ibrāhīm Marzūq, ad-Durr al-Bahī al-Mansūq bī-Dīwān al-Adīb Ibrāhīm Bīk Marzūq, published at the end of Sha^{c}bān 1297/1880 at al-Matba^{c}a al-Wahbīya. It had been collected by another poet, Muḥammad Bey Sa^{c}īd, on the orders of his father, Ja^{c}far Mazhar Pasha, ḥikimdār (commandant) of the Sudan.[2] Ibrāhīm had worked in the Pasha's service,[3] and praised him in his poetry;[4] he died in 1866 in the Sudan. The dīwān contained a taqrīẓ by Shaykh Ṭahā b. Maḥmūd Qaṭrīya,[5] of whom little is known. ^{c}Abd Allāh Furayj published part of his dīwān, ^{c}Arā'is al-Afkār bī Bahī al-Ash^{c}ār (The Brides of Thoughts in Beautiful Poetry) in May 1882.[6]

As the summer of 1882 wore on, the press lined itself up with the respective sides in the dispute. One of the literati of Benghazi, ^{c}Abd as-Salām Effendi Abū Hadīma, sent to al-Fusṭāṭ a poem in support of the ^{c}Urābists.[7] This was published on 21 June in the uneasy days after the "massacre", when the country was on the verge of invasion. A new coalition government under Rāghib Pasha had been appointed on 17 June, but everyone still feared European intervention. In these circumstances the poem offered a veiled threat to the European powers. "Egypt is prepared to conquer every enemy", the poet wrote. He continued:

1. Ziyāda, op. cit., p.145.
2. Marzūq, op. cit., pp.3-4.
3. Taymūr, op. cit., p.136.
4. Marzūq, op. cit., p.30.
5. Ibid., p.73.
6. al-Ahrām, 17 May, 1882.
7. al-Fusṭāṭ, no.10, 21 June, 1882.

> How honourable is Aḥmad ᶜUrābī and his plan (sīra) to root out those who have ill-treated us...
> Our Aḥmad still protects the Muslims, and will deal a mortal blow to whoever tries to deceive us...

The editor of al-Fusṭāṭ and al-Ḥijāz, Shaykh Ibrāhīm Sirāj ad-Dīn al-Madanī, has been described as one of the best poets of the age, but none of his poetry has been found in the press.[1]

Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī had satirized privately the new President of the Council of Ministers, Rāghib Pasha. Louis Ṣābūnjī, the Syrian journalist in Egypt as Blunt's representative, describes a dinner he attended at as-Sayyid Ḥasan al-ᶜAqqād's house on 17 June:

> Arabi, Mahmud Sami, Ahmed Pasha, Abdu, Nadim and I were in the principal sitting room, where we recited poetry, making or composing elegies and satires, and amusing ourselves at Raghib's expense. Arabi composed a satire, Abdu two, Nadim made four, and Sami two.[2]

But soon the time for dinner parties passed, negotiations broke down, and the pro-ᶜUrābī forces and the English came into open conflict.

The Khedive's imam, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī, now with the ᶜUrābī camp adapted a famous classical poem to rally the fighters against the English. Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbduh, editor of al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya during the revolt, described the event to ᶜUrābī's lawyer. Broadley:

> The Khedives Imam (chaplain) the pious and learned Sheikh El-Abyiary was prominent in the vivacity of his patriotic zeal. This man published the soul-stirring poem written by Ibrahim Diraid when the

1. Tarrāzī, op. cit., vol.3, p.19.

2. Blunt, Secret, op. cit., p.260.

> Tartars took Baghdad, in (the) time of Molasem (Mustaᶜsim 1258 A.D.) the Abbasid Khalifa, which is a prayer to God Almighty. The sheikh added to it some stanzas of his own composition and requested people to read it and recite it publicly, after the reading of Bokhary. He also asked me to insert it in the paper, so that the army might read it too. This was perfectly justifiable, as the war was believed by all to be a Moslem war against Infidels; and the same sheikh I have mentioned was the man who preached the sermon on the return of the Khedive to Cairo after the war, exhorting all men to obey him.[1]

The official gazette carried several poems encouraging the war effort, the first time that shiᶜr al-ḥamāsa (poetry on bravery in war) had appeared in the press. Just as the poets in Jāhilīya encouraged their tribes to fight, ᶜUrābī's supporters called on the Egyptians to take up arms. The first such poem[2] was by Shaykh Aḥmad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī. In a humorous style, he reminded the Egyptians:

> This is not the time for sitting in cafes, not the time to be careless and unaware...
> It is not the time to fall madly in love with the ladies of the curtained canopies and the dyed hands...
> It is not the time for passionate love for what is behind the curtains and veils...
> It is not the time for listening to yarns (Khuzaᶜbalāt) nor to stories of a Ḍabba or Kilāb...
> It is a time only right for staying in citadels and fortresses...
> It is the time to be ready to do one's religious duty (farḍ) to carry out the orders of ᶜUrābī...
> The death of a free man (ḥurr) is better than a life in which he sees the rule of dogs.

The rhyme scheme was chosen to match the name of ᶜUrābī.

In the same issue most of a poem in the same vein by Aḥmad Effendi Rashwān, corrector in the Agricultural Bureau

1. Broadley, op. cit., p.232.

2. See Appendix H for these poems.

in the Ministry of Public Works (Nāfiᶜa), was published.[1] The poet reminded the readers of the threat an English occupation would pose to Islam:

> There would be no religion if the enemy settled in your country, no honour left for the young or the old...
> ᶜUrābī is driving disgrace away from them,
> ᶜUrābī is the best at achieving (your) wishes,
> ᶜUrābī is the head of a party (ḥizb) which supports other than (His) Highness and God does not desire (rāghib) (it).

The last word employs tawriya, a play on the name of the new President of the Council of Ministers, Ismāᶜīl Rāghib, who supported the Khedive, thus giving a hidden meaning of "God is not with Rāghib". A few weeks later on 3 September, Shaykh Muḥammad an-Najjār was still able to write an optimistic poem, even though Suez had been occupied on 2 August, and the Canal Zone on 20 August, and the English were taking one Egyptian position after the other. The poet placed his hope in Islam and ᶜUrābī:

> The book (the Qur'ān) gave an indication of victory and with it came the guide of mankind (the Prophet Muḥammad), a bearer of glad tidings...
> O victorious one, advance your army to strike at the English and to kill Sīmūr (Seymour the British commander).
> Cut down with your sword a nation that has made a female its ruler, since they don't have males.
> A people whose flocks are brought up in the snow, (their flocks) like the cold and cannot bear the heat...
> You bombarded the houses of Alexandria, war is not the bombarding of buildings and houses.
> We were the people then when there was no justice when our emir was ruler we were sleeping.
> We slept a long time like Ahl al-Kahf, would that Qitmir had been looking after our affairs.[2]

1. W.M., no.1469, 8 August, 1882. See Appendix H, nos.I and II.

2. A reference to the legendary Seven Sleepers of Ephesus and their "holy" dog Qitmir.

We were the people then we were weak, since there was no law of Islam, and our book (the Qur'ān) was abandoned...
O how often your newpapers (jarā'id) lied to the sons of Egypt, and you told untruths.
You sent your sons and women, and you gave wine to the people of corruption.
We were weak, for we had no freedom (hurrīya), and we did not know that it was vanishing...
The pure Arabs, the god-fearing people, whose horses came to descend like eagles on the enemy...
(The men of religion)... feared the mosques would become places where horses are tied, or that men would be made donkeys...
They feared for the key of the house of God, and for the places which have been totally sanctified...
Do as you used to, fight the true jihad and watch out for delay...
If one of us lives how happy he would be, if he dies he will gain paradise and silk.

The message of the revolution was clearly a religious one. Under Tawfīq there was no justice, Islamic law was not enforced, perhaps the poet was attacking Europeanisation of laws and customs. The Egyptians were being persuaded to think that the English would destroy Islam in Egypt. The English, the poet claims, also had designs on the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina. These were most of the points the ᶜUrābist propagandists were making. The war against the English was a jihad; anyone killed in battle would go to heaven. The poet then turned to nationalism and the course of the war up to then:

(Egypt is) a nation (waṭan) whose land we have sowed with our hands, it flourished and made the elixir grow...
In Port Said and elsewhere you were treacherous, you did things for the English.

The ulema like this Shaykh were in the first rank of those leading the propaganda campaign. But the war effort did not affect relations or loyalty to the Ottoman Sultan:

Supreme power is to the Sultan, and he is a helper and backer to it.[1]

As final defeat loomed on the horizon, the paper published a few lines from another two poems, one from Shaykh Ahmad Sayf al-Bārī, first clerk at the court of Mahalla al-Kubra, the other from as-Sayyid al-Marsafi al-Azharī. Both poems praised the army commanders and encouraged the people to fight. The second poet urged people to give their money to the war effort.[2] The gazette was full of lists of contributions in cash and kind. The last poem, published on 12 September on the eve of defeat at at-Tall al-Kabir, came from Shaykh Hamza al-Fiqqī al-Janbīhī. Even at a time like this, the Shaykh began with the conventional nasīb:

Leave off relations with women and the young heavy hipped girls,
Glory is only in embracing the broad swords...
Young Egypt (Miṣr al-fātāt) is noble, she is unattainable and we in giving to her are for ever misers.[3]

Since the revolution was not an attempt to displace the Khedive, but merely to drive out the English the poems generally avoided mentioning his name.

In July ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, later called the orator of the revolt, had toured the countryside urging the population to fight the English. His speeches often included odd lines of poetry to emphasise the point of the argument.[4] Later in the campaign he published aṭ-Ṭā'if from ᶜUrābī's camp. In

1. W.M., no.1479, 3 September, 1882. See Appendix H, no.III.

2. Ibid., no.1484, 10 September, 1882. See Appendix H, no.IV.

3. Ibid., no.1485, 12 September. See Appendix H, no.V.

4. aṭ-Ṭā'if, 28 July, 1882, from al-Hadīdī, (book) op. cit., p.212, and at-Ṭā'if, 3 August from al-Hadīdī, (book) op. cit., p.224.

September his paper published a long poem[1] by him in which he urged the Arabs to fight. He emphasised that the martyrs (ibn shahāda) would go to paradise.

ᶜUrābī in his memoirs mentions the names of Shaykh as-Sayyid al-Marṣafī, Shaykh Aḥmad Sayf al-Bārī[2] and Shaykh Aḥmad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī and quotes a few lines of their poems. He refers to the outstanding people (nubahā') who gave stirring speeches, and read "poems showing their pride in themselves" in support of the campaign, naming as-Sayyid ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, Shaykh Muḥammad Abū'l-Fadl, and Shaykh Muḥammad Fatḥ Allāh.[3] Led by Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Laythī, the poets sang the "anthems" of the revolution and encouraged people to support it and to help the Egyptian army. Shaykh ᶜAlī had gone to the front line at Kafr ad-Dawwār.[4] According to ᶜUrābī, another man of letters, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, was so incensed that he suggested that the Khedive should be killed.[5] The young Ḥifnī Nāṣif wrote, and gave speeches during the revolt, distributing these speeches to orators in the mosques and streets.[6] Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀṣim was also one of the leading orators of the revolt.[7] The former editor of Rawḍat al-Madāris and a frequent writer of poetry for the press throughout the period, ᶜAlī Fahmī Rifāᶜa, then Secretary-General (wakīl) at the Ministry of Education, became a member of the emergency government (Majlis al-ᶜUrfī) in Cairo.[8]

1. The text is available in al-Ḥadīdī, op. cit., pp.230-231 quoting at-Tā'if, 1 September, 1882.

2. ᶜUrābī, Aḥmad, Mudhakkirāt ᶜUrābī, (Cairo, 1953), vol.1, p.205.

3. Ibid., vol.1, p.203.

4. Ibid., vol.2, p.163.

5. Ibid., vol.2, p.164.

6. Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.2, p.265.

7. Ibid., vol.1, p.312.

8. Schölch, Egypt, op. cit., p.273.

Several men of letters were vocal on the Khedive's side, but no poet of any stature. Most of the panegyrists kept strangely silent. When Shaykh Hamza Fath Allāh founded his pro-Khedivial newspaper, al-Iᶜtidāl in Alexandria on 31 July, 1882, he was sent a taqrīẓ by Shaykh Hasan at-Tuwayrānī.[1] It contained no reference to the division in the country. ᶜUrābī had been dismissed as Minister of War and of the Navy on 20 July, the British troops had landed, ᶜUrābī had withdrawn his own soldiers to the interior, and on 29 July a meeting of notables held in Cairo had decided to disregard any further orders from the Khedive, yet this poem merely made various puns on the editor's name and the names of his previous journals, avoiding any allusion to the troubles:

والحق و البرهان فضل الفتى لا الفضل ما بيديه جاه ومال

Truth and proof (al-Burhān) are the (true) merit of the young man, not the merit shown by rank and money.

Al-Ahrām, which supported Tawfīq and had reappeared in Alexandria during the war, printed poetry in praise of the Khedive. One such poem by Muḥammad Effendi Munib, bikbāshī (major) in one of the regiments that remained loyal to the Khedive, was a madḥa to His Highness for ᶜId al-Fiṭr. From this poem the reader would be totally unaware that the country was at war. The poem begins with the conventional tashbīb (exordium), talking of "the gardens of happiness" (rawḍ al-masarra), drinking from "the cup of felicity" (kās aṣ-ṣafā), and comparing the Khedive to a "full moon" (badr kāmil). Only one of the Khedive's epithets has a bellicose ring about it; he is called "lion of wars" (asad al-ḥurūb).[2]

1. Husnī, op. cit., vol.1, p.130.

2. al-Ahrām, no.1422, 18 August, 1882.

Another poem published on 23 August, an elegy to the city of Alexandria, did face up to reality:

> Alexandria, what is this destruction, so much disaster had befallen you, alas!
> Murder, death, destruction, flight, pillage, looting, fires, and the hand of captivity...
> Is it in you? As long as you live the fingertips of that one who was the reason for your humiliation, will not live...
> How many of your streets which the promenading women graced yesterday have become piles of rubble on which the owls screech.

The poet concluded with the hope that God would restore the city to its previous splendour.[1]

A few days later, the paper published a poem by the poet Qadrī Bey, Second Secretary to the Sultan and a member of the Ottoman Commission, sent in the summer of 1882 to prevent a military intervention by the European powers. Qadrī addressed his poem to Alexandria, lamenting the destruction that had been wrought.

> ᶜUrābī, you burnt the port of our country, by God
> Evil doings have surrounded you,
> See your reward, and how quickly it will come, oh bastard (ibn az-zinā) what are these crimes.[2]

This poem clearly shows Ottoman support to Tawfīq, but none of the poems in al-Ahrām call on the people to rally to the Khedive's forces, for the war was being waged by the English. Nor do they make any impassioned appeals to the rebels to surrender. Ibrāhīm al-Kafrūnī wrote a poem in al-Ahrām in support of the Khedive early in September.[3] Other poets opposed ᶜUrābī, Mustafā Ṣubhī Pasha showered him with

1. al-Ahrām, no.1426, 23 August, 1882. See Appendix H, no.VI.
2. Ibid., no.1432, 20 August, 1882. See Appendix H, no.VII.
3. Ibid., no.1437, 5 September.

abuse. ᶜUrābī says he was "in love with lies and slanders, the poet of those aligned with the enemy, (and) the creature of the despots". ᶜUrābī quoted part of a poem written by Subhī attacking him.[1]

After the English occupied the country, many of those who supported ᶜUrābī had to backtrack or they would have been imprisoned, or would have lost their status in Egyptian society. Many apologised in verse for the stance they had taken. Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Laythī, Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī and Shaykh Muhammad al-Basyūnī were amongst those who managed to redeem themselves in this way. ᶜUrābī felt that in these retractions "they said what was not in their hearts out of love of life and fearing the oppression of the victors".[2]

Of the poets involved in the revolt, Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, considered one of the leaders of the rebellion, faced execution, but was finally exiled with his family to Ceylon with the other leaders. Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀsim was given a long sentence of imprisonment.[3] Hifnī Nāsif[4] and ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī were imprisoned briefly after the revolt; Fikrī's official career came to an end no doubt as a result of his complicity in the revolt. Amongst the minor poets Shaykh Muhammad al-Hijrisī was exiled for four years to Mecca, Ahmad Effendi Rashwān ad-Dishnāwī was exiled for three years to Beirut.[5] Hasan Bey Husnī was arrested.[6] Many Syrian men of letters fled the country during the revolt; Sulaymān al-Qūrdāhī left and did not return until 1884.[7]

1. ᶜUrābī, op. cit., vol.1, p.209.

2. Ibid., vol.2, pp.163-164.

3. Ziriklī, op. cit., vol.1, p.312.

4. Jindī, ash-Shiᶜr, op. cit., p.53.

5. ar-Rāfiᶜī, ᶜAbd ar-Rahmān, ath-Thawra al-ᶜUrābīya wa'l-Ihtilāl al-Inglīzī, (Cairo, 1937), p.491.

6. al-Watan, no.250, 26 September, 1882.

7. Shalfūn, Butrus, "at-Tamthīl al-ᶜArabī", al-Hilāl, y.15, pt.2, 1 November, 1906, p.118.

CONCLUSION

There have been many attempts to survey the development of the Egyptian periodical press, starting with the important pioneering work of Fīlīb dī Ṭarrāzī on the Arabic press as a whole. ᶜAbduh and Abū'l-Layl developed this research as regards the Arabic and European press in Egypt, and more recently Aḥmad and Phelps have supplemented these studies with useful insights into the press in the reign of Ismāᶜīl and during the ᶜUrābī revolt. But the picture remains incomplete because so many of the newspapers and magazines from this early period of publishing in Egypt are lost without trace. As students of the Egyptian press spread their net it is certain that yet more information will come to light. This thesis has shown that, apart from those periodicals mentioned in previous studies, there were at least another half a dozen periodicals in Arabic or partially in Arabic published in the period 1798 to 1882, such as La Fama - 1868, al-Munabbih at-Tijārī al-Miṣrī - 1870, al-Kurrāsa al-Azharīya, Jurnāl li-Kāffat al-Iᶜlānāt - 1872, L'Égypte Judiciare - 1876, ash-Shāṭir al-Kaslān - 1877, al-Kashshāf - 1877, and al-Fallāḥ - 1881. This thesis has also attempted to correct some of the errors of fact that have appeared in previous studies, and that are still being made in the most recent theses.

This study has attempted to show the growth of the press in the perspective of the rise of the European press in Egypt, giving additional information on European press activity as well. The European press, mainly in French, Italian and Greek, was much more active than the Arabic press throughout the period under study. The European community in Egypt though small was proportionately more literate than the Arabic speaking native population, and Europeans had developed the habit of reading a newspaper or a magazine. The periodical

press was totally alien to the Arab population, and it was to be almost forty years after the creation of the official gazette that the Arabic press was to display some of the vitality shown by the European press, though the total readership for the Arabic press no doubt remained much less than that of the European press.

The French expedition revealed to the Egyptians the value of a periodical press and its potential to disseminate works of literature with their publication of the proverbs of Luqmān, and Niqūlā at-Turk's panegyric to Napoléon, but it was nearly thirty years later that the first Egyptian paper appeared, the official gazette the Vaḳā'i^{c}-i Miṣrīye. This paper for much of its early life was in Turkish and Arabic, for Turkish remained the language of the administration and the élite for several decades. The gazette was not envisaged as a medium for literature but was intended to publish administrative and foreign news. Though many literati worked as journalists or translators on the papers that appeared in the reigns of Muhammad ^{c}Alī, ^{c}Abbās I and Muhammad Sa^{c}īd, they only rarely had the chance to make literary contributions. Under Muhammad ^{c}Alī and ^{c}Abbās little support was given to literary life; few contemporary or classical works of Arabic literature were published. Only under Sa^{c}īd did this situation change with both the government press at Būlāq and the many recently opened private presses printing classical dīwāns of Arabic poetry, classical prose works and one or two works of contemporary prose and poetry.

Khedive Ismā^{c}īl, despite his obvious preference for French and Italian culture, also encouraged native activities, though often with much less financial support than he devoted to the arts of Europe. Modelled on the local European press, and the Arabic press in Syria which had started to blossom in the 1850s, the official and an independent periodical press were allowed to develop in Egypt with the backing of the

Khedive. Though his predecessors countenanced an independent local European press they would not have permitted freedom of expression amongst their own subjects. Even Ismā^{c}īl, who allowed this development for his own political advantage, kept the independent press under a tight rein and at first discouraged attempts at its expansion.

The late 1860s and early 1870s were the heyday of Egyptian press and cultural activity. The revitalised official gazette, al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya, the official pedagogical magazine Rawḍat al-Madāris al-Miṣrīya and the independent newspaper Wādī an-Nīl all played a major role with the encouragement they gave both to old and new literary trends. Wādī an-Nīl tried to emulate the European press with theatrical criticism, book reviews and feuilletons, but there was no tradition of criticism and most comments that papers passed on plays, books or poetry amounted to unbridled praise. Since the practice of publishing literary works in the press was a new one, it was no doubt natural that editors gave every encouragement to contributors and possible advertisers of book advertisements. Literary criticism did not develop in the period under study. The most ambitious magazine was the journal of the Ministry of Education, Rawḍat al-Madāris (1870-1877). It printed short stories, a translated novel, the text of a play, poetry and feuilletons by all the leading writers and translators; sometimes these feuilletons ran in all to hundreds of pages in length. However it lacked a consistent approach to literature, many of its major literary contributions were never completed, and sometimes nothing of a literary nature was published for months. An excellent study has been made of this magazine by Ḥasan and ad-Dasūqī.

Most papers included literature within their purview, but often the editors' promises were not fulfilled. al-Ahrām, Miṣr (1877), al-Waṭan, Abū Naẓẓāra Zarqā', al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, Bustān al-Akhbār, al-Maḥrūsa, al-^{c}Aṣr al-Jadīd, Miṣr (1881),

at-Tankīt wa't-Tabkīt, al-Ḥijāz, al-Mufīd, Mir'āt ash-Sharq, al-Ḥaḍāra, as-Safīr and al-Fusṭāṭ had all proclaimed their intention to include literary sections, but none of them regularly allocated space, neither a column nor a page, to literature. Literary contributions to the press were to be infrequent throughout the period. Local and international political news and commercial news filled the columns of the journals. Only the second edition of Mir'āt ash-Sharq in 1882 attempted to rival Rawḍat al-Madāris in its literary contents, but this magazine was peremptorily ended by the ᶜUrābī revolt.

Egyptian journalists, such as ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, Rifāᶜa at-Tahtāwī, ᶜAlī Fahmī and Muḥammad Unsī had their day in the first bout of press activity in Ismāᶜīl's reign. By the mid-1870s Egyptian journalists were leaving the field to newly arrived Syrians. No satisfactory explanation has been given as to why Egyptians in the main gave way to Syrians, though the most likely explanation must be official animosity to the native press. The first Syrian-owned newspaper may have been in the 1850s but the major Syrian-owned papers appeared in the 1870s published by the Taqlās, Adīb Isḥāq, Salīm an-Naqqāsh, Shaykh Khalīl al-Yāziji, Mikhāᶜīl ᶜAwrā' and others. It was the Syrians who founded the first Arabic dailies in the late 1870s with Ṣadā al-Ahrām, and at-Tijāra, and later al-Maḥrūsa, and al-Ahrām; the Egyptians likewise converted the official gazette, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya, into a daily. Apart from the official gazette and the Coptic paper al-Waṭan which followed in the politically moderate tradition of Wādī an-Nīl, in the late 1870s a new brand of Egyptian journalist emerged bent on righting the wrongs of Egyptian society, whatever the official reaction to his efforts.

James Sanua was the first to establish an Arabic satirical paper; there had been several local European language satirical papers in the 1860s and 1870s. Sanua's efforts ended in the suppression of his short-lived paper by Khedive

Ismā^{c}īl, just as the Khedive had quickly closed similar European language papers. ^{c}Urābī's protegé, ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm, was more cautious in his satire, and most active in the reign of Ismā^{c}īl's successor, Tawfīq. As the situation grew tense in Egypt, and the ^{c}Urābists gained the upper hand in their political struggle against the Khedive's policies, a number of vehemently nationalist papers appeared, many of them published by Azharites, leading the campaign against increasing European financial and political control and promoting the cause of the native Egyptians against the Turco-Circassian élite.

Most studies on the Egyptian press have been on individual journalists and writers, such as Sanua, ^{c}Abd Allāh an-Nadīm, Adīb Isḥāq, etc. Few attempts have been made to study the press as a whole. Only two studies have looked at the role of the press in literary life: Fakkar on the French influence on the Arabic literary press and Fayyāḍ on the literary press up to the First World War. Both of these studies only briefly and superficially deal with the period studied in this thesis, covering as they do an even longer period of Egyptian history; Fayyaḍ's study has unfortunately not been published. Works on modern Arabic or Egyptian literary history or on the Arab nahḍa (renaissance), such as those by Luwīs Shaykhū, ad-Dasūqī, Shawqī Ḍayf, Aḥmad Haykal and ^{c}Abd ar-Rashīd Sālim[1] invariably start where this study ends, or have dealt with the most prominent participants ignoring all other activity.

European theatre was introduced into Egypt by the French expeditionary force. In the 1820s it was restarted on an amateur basis. It became firmly established with visiting

1. See Shawqī Ḍayf, al-Adab al-^{c}Arabī al-Mu^{c}āṣir fī Miṣr, Cairo, 1979; Aḥmad Haykal, Taṭawwur al-Adab al-Ḥadīth fī Miṣr, Cairo 1978; and ^{c}Abd ar-Rashīd ^{c}Abd al-^{c}Azīz Sālim, Muqaddimāt an-Nahḍa al-Adabīya wa-^{c}Awāmiluhā fī Miṣr, Cairo, 1981.

professional troupes in the 1840s. Major theatres were built in the 1860s: the Zizinia, Vittorio Alfieri and Rossini in Alexandria, and the Comédie, Opera and the Théâtre de l'Esbékieh in Cairo. Just as European press activities exceeded those of the Arabic press, it was the European theatre that dominated the stage in Egypt. Theatres were built for the performance of European drama and opera, and vast amounts were given by the government to pay for companies from Europe. The Arabic theatre took a back seat and seems only to have been allocated time and space in the major theatres when there was no competing European attraction. There seems to have been little interaction between the two apart from the occasional Egyptian actresses on the European stage and the rare attempt by a European orientalist to write an Arab drama. The European theatre, apart from Abdoun's work on Aïda, has not up till now attracted scholarly attention.

The Arabic press first manifested an interest in the European theatre in 1868. The Wādī an-Nīl newspaper tried to explain to Arab readers this strange phenomenon, European drama. The Arabic press's approach to European drama and the novel, also relatively unknown to its Arab readers, was to point out the moral benefits that these genres could bring to Arabic literature. The press encouraged the public to buy the first translations of European drama, the librettos translated by Rifāᶜa at-Tahtāwī and Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl; Rawdat al-Madāris later published another of Muhammad ᶜUthmān's translations. It was the Wādī an-Nīl press that published the Arabic and Turkish versions of Aïda, and Muhammad ᶜUthmān's ash-Shaykh Matlūf. The official gazette also helped to create the climate in which Arabic theatre was started.

This study has revealed that it was probably the Society for the Establishment of Arabic Plays, and not just Sanua, that started modern Arabic theatrical activity in Egypt. The members of the Society are unknown, but it can be assumed

that they included Sanua, Muhammad Unsī, his father ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, Muhammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl and perhaps Rifāᶜa at-Tahtāwī; the last three had made translations or adaptations of European drama. Future research may reveal more information on the founding role of Muhammad Unsī. It is now known that Sanua carried on some sort of theatrical activity until 1877, but there is no apparent reason why the other members of the Society lost all interest in the theatre after these first experiments.

The Arab theatre was revived by Syrian troupes some four years later. The leaders of the first troupe, Salīm an-Naqqāsh and Adīb Ishāq, were both to become leading journalists. The press was enthusiastic about this second attempt to establish an Arab theatre in Egypt. The Syrian-owned papers, al-Ahrām, Miṣr, at-Tijāra, al-Waqt and the Egyptian papers, al-Kawkab al-Miṣrī, al-Waṭan, al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya and al-Iskandarīya all gave their support to these experiments; al-Ahrām also encouraged attendance at the European theatre. al-Maḥrūsa, al-Ahrām and al-Waqt called for government support for Yūsuf al-Khayyāt when he too tried in vain to found an Arab theatre; al-Maḥrūsa was owned by the former theatre director Salīm an-Naqqāsh, and Salim Taqlā owner of al-Ahrām and al-Waqt had been involved in theatrical activity in Beirut.

Later Syrian troupes also received the backing of the press; al-Maḥrūsa and al-Ahrām publicized the activities of Sulaymān al-Haddād and al-Ahrām and Miṣr carried news of of Sulaymān al-Qurdāhi's troupe. With the appearance on the stage of the outstanding actor Shaykh Salāma Hijāzī the press began to give more detailed descriptions of the performances. A fellow journalist, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm, was the only Egyptian involved in the theatre in this second period of Arab theatrical life.

Apart from the reference works of Landau and Dāghir on the Arab theatre, Najm has made the only significant historical study of theatrical performances in this period. Many, including Amer, Khozai, Abul Naga, Moosa and Dughmān[1] have critically analysed the published texts of some of these plays. This study has shown that there were many performances other than those revealed by Najm and one additional troupe, al-Ittihād al-Waṭanī; the names of twelve previously unknown plays have been given.[2] It is also now apparent that not only was Muḥammad ᶜUthmān's ash-Shaykh Maṭlūf written before 1882 but also his other adaptations of Molière, an-Nisā' al-ᶜĀlimāt, and Madrasat al-Azwāj, had been written and performed.

Just as the Wādī an-Nīl press published some of the first Arabic plays, it also brought out some of the earliest translations of European novels. The editor of Wādī an-Nīl, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, himself translated Le Sage's Gil Blas. The only other translation by an Egyptian to appear in the press was that of an English novel by the Copt Mikhāᶜīl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid, later editor of al-Waṭan, published in Rawḍat al-Madāris. All the other translations were by obscure Syrian translators, who often made just one such translation. The only literary figure amongst the Syrians who attempted a translation was the journalist and playwright Adīb Isḥāq. The Beirut press had led the translation movement and Syrian-owned papers in Egypt, such as al-Kawkab ash-Sharqī, al-Ahrām, Ṣadā al-Ahrām and al-Maḥrūsa, were the main publishers of translated popular French fiction in feuilleton form.

1. See Saᶜd ad-Dīn Hasan Dughmān, al-Uṣūl at-Ta'rīkhīya li-Nash'at ad-Drāmā fi'l-Adab al-ᶜArabī, Beirut, 1973.

2. Two other plays remain a mystery and copies have not been found: the anonymous Farīd wa-Waḥīd wa'd-Durr an-Naḍīd maᶜa al-Malik ash-Shāmikh Malik al-Fārs, published 1297/1879-1880 and Muḥammad as-Sikandarī al-Iyādī's Riwāyat Abī'l-Futūḥ al-Malik an-Nāṣir, published circa 1880 in Alexandria (GAL, vol.SIII, p.266; and Dāghir, Muᶜjam, op. cit., p.447[2415].

Though there must have been many competent Egyptian translators, graduates of the state schools, who could have made translations of European literature, none did so, other than Muḥammad ᶜUthmān, whose translations of European classics had been published in the 1850s and 1860s. Mikhāᶜīl ᶜAbd as-Sayyid's translation shows the influence of the translation movement and journalism on the development of a clear simple prose style untrammelled by the affectation and sajᶜ of much Arabic writing before the rise of the press, but many of the Syrian translators did not share his command of the Arabic language. al-Maḥrūsa press published one of the first original novels in Egypt, ᶜAlī Mubārak's ᶜAlam ad-Dīn, but no creative writer of the calibre of the Syrian Salīm al-Bustānī came to the fore.

Egyptian writers devoted their energies to developing traditional narrative forms such as the maqāma and the ḥikāya, often written in a highly rhetorical style of sajᶜ. Rawḍat al-Madāris printed many maqāmas by Ṣālih Majdī and the philosophical maqāma of ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī. The magazine also allowed little-known writers, school teachers and students, to publish short fictional contributions. At the other end of the spectrum from these conventional stories was the social and political satire, written by James Sanua and ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm in their periodicals, in the form of short stories and dialogues. This satire broke all linguistic and social conventions in its use of the colloquial language and its outspoken criticism of the moral ills of Egyptian society and its rulers, attacking as it did the prevalent vices, drinking, drugs and prostitution, and the oppressive tax system, the rapacity and tyranny of the government and the Turkish élite. Brief reference to these developments in prose writing has been made in the works on the history of the novel (riwāya) by ᶜAbd al-Muḥsin Ṭahā Badr and Kawsar El Beheiry, and by Sabry Hafez Abdel Dayem, Muṣṭafā ᶜUmar, and

Khidr in their works on the short story (qiṣṣa).[1]

There has been no detailed survey of poetic activity before 1882. The most important work to have appeared is Sa^{c} C^{c}āfīn's study on the influence of classical Arabic poetry on the neo-classical school, which concentrates on the published dīwāns of Ismā^{c}īl al-Khashshāb, ^{c}Alī ad-Darwīsh, Muhammad Shihāb ad-Dīn, as-Sā^{c}ātī, ^{c}Alī Abū'n-Nasr, Hifnī Nāsif, Ismā^{c}īl Ṣabrī and Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī and the poetry of ^{c}Abd Allāh Fikrī. The importance of the periodical press in publishing poetry can be appreciated by the fact that only five contemporary dīwāns were published in Egypt before 1882. Apart from Riyād's valuable study on folk poetry, most works on modern poetry such as Badawi, Moreh, Jayyusi and al-^{c}Aqqād discuss this period as a background to later developments. This thesis has revealed that there are many other important poets, whose work must be studied before there is a clear picture of poetic activity in the period. What is needed is a study akin to ^{c}Izz ad-Dīn's study[2] of Iraqi poetry in the nineteenth century which uses many manuscript dīwāns.

Though many poets were associated with the Egyptian Arabic press in its first forty years, little poetry was published in its columns, no doubt because of Muhammad ^{c}Alī's indifference to the native culture and the indifference of his immediate successors, ^{c}Abbās and Sa^{c}īd, to the press itself. Apart from the odd poem the only contemporary poetry published in Muhammad ^{c}Alī's reign were poems by Rifā^{c}a at-Ṭahṭāwī that he included in his works; Rifā^{c}a Bey's poetry has recently been collected by Wādī, but this dīwān overlooks

1. See ^{c}Abd al-Muḥsin Ṭahā Badr, Taṭawwur ar-Riwāya al-^{c}Arabīya al-Ḥadītha fī Miṣr, 1870-1938, (Cairo, 1963), and Kawsar Abdel Salem El Beheiry, L'Influence de la littérature française sur le roman arabe, Sherbrooke, 1980, and Muṣṭafā ^{c}Alī ^{c}Umār, al-Qiṣṣa wa-Taṭawwuruha fī'l-Adab al-^{c}Arabī, Cairo, n.d.

2. See Yūsuf ^{c}Izz ad-Dīn, ash-Shi^{c}r al-^{c}Irāqī - Ahdāfuhu wa-Khaṣā'iṣuhu fi'l-Qarn at-Tāsi^{c} ^{c}Ashar, Cairo, 1965.

many of the poet's contributions to the periodical press. With Ismā^{c}īl's accession to the throne the periodical press opened its columns to the predominant poetic genre, madḥ (panegyric). Occasional poetry addressed to the court and cabinet ministers was to be given prominence in the official gazette and other papers from then onwards. It had become the custom for poets to show their obeisance and loyalty to the ruler whenever official and private occasions demanded and the press reflected this situation.

A group of poets monopolized the literary columns of the press; though they included the well-known poets ^{c}Alī al-Laythī and ^{c}Alī Abū'n-Naṣr, it has been revealed that there were many others whose names are not usually included in any discussion of poets associated with the Khedivial court. In Ismā^{c}īl's reign it is apparent that Muṣṭafā Salāma, Rifā^{c}a at-Ṭahṭāwī, his son ^{c}Alī Fahmī, Muḥammad Sa^{c}īd Bey, as-Sayyid Abāẓa, Ṣālih Majdī and Tādrus Wahbī were all official poets, in the sense that it was their poetry to the Khedive that al-Waqā'i^{c} al-Miṣrīya published. It seems likely that it was not merely an editorial decision that led to their work being given preference, but more probably because they were court favourites. In Tawfīq's reign some poets, such as ^{c}Alī Fahmī and ^{c}Alī al-Laythī maintained their position, but other poets came to the fore, like Salīm Raḥmī, Muḥammad ^{c}Uthmān Jalāl, ^{c}Abd Allāh Furayj and as-Sayyid Maḥmūd Sharābīh.

Poetry became a regular feature of the official gazette from 1868 to 1876. The decline in poetry published in the years 1877 to 1878 may reflect the increasing disillusionment with Ismā^{c}īl's rule. Under Tawfīq even more poetry was published than had been under Ismā^{c}īl. In Ismā^{c}īl's reign Rawḍat al-Madāris at first followed in the footsteps of the gazette, publishing the standard panegyrics, but the amount of poetry published waned in later years. With the growth of

the Syrian-owned press, al-Ahrām, al-Mahrūsa and al-Waqt gave the opportunity for previously little-known poets, such as ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj, Amīn Abū Yūsuf, Mahmūd Sharābīh, Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀsim and Niqūlā Tūmā, to publish their poems; the Egyptian papers, al-Watan and al-Mufīd also gave encouragement to these lesser known poets.

Whereas the theatre and the translation of fiction became increasingly the preserve of Syrians, few Syrians resident in Egypt had their poems published in the Egyptian press, apart from the occasional poem by Amīn Shumayyil and Niqūlā Tūmā. The Syrians may have been more interested in developing new fields of literary endeavour than in writing encomiums. The Egyptian poets who contributed to the press were not exclusively Azharites; graduates from the state schools were equally active. There were few Copts writing poetry, apart from Tādrus Wahbī and ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj. Poetry was not a field to which journalists, whether Egyptian or Syrian, contributed to any extent, with the exception of Rifāᶜa Bey and his son; James Sanua claims that he was court poet for a while but this has yet to be substantiated. Not all leading poets sent their poems to the press; few poems were published by ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī, as-Sāᶜātī or by Mahmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī, in the latter's case because he wrote few panegyrics. The press did however provide the opportunity for young poets such as Ismāᶜīl Sabrī and Hifnī Nāsif to bring their work to the attention of the public.

Developments in other areas of literary life, in fiction and drama, had no parallel in poetry. The metres and tropes remained unchanged; European poetry was not translated and had no influence whatsoever on Arabic poetry in the period. Poetry continued to make a virtue of imitation and repetition of hackneyed clichés. Though this poetry was much admired throughout the nineteenth century it is considered in the main as an extension of the poetry of the "age of decline" by most

contemporary critics. Some originality was shown by Rifāᶜa Bey and his son ᶜAlī Fahmī in their use of popular forms of poetry such as the muwashshaḥ, but apart from these poems, popular poetry, such as zajal and mawwāl, was not published in the press, and the many poets engaged in writing this poetry were denied access. Rifāᶜa Bey's poetry came closer to describing his society than much of the work of his contemporaries, giving greater emphasis to ideas rather than rhetoric, and in his waṭanīyāt he shows his love of Egypt and describes many of the manifestations of progress in Egyptian society. As the threat of European occupation grew stronger, poets such as Ṣālih Majdī, ᶜAbd Allāh an-Nadīm and ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr dared to vent their feelings in poetry about the shortcomings of their society; the press itself was becoming more brazen in its comments on maladministration. During the ᶜUrābī revolt a few poems brought poetry face to face with reality and played their part in the country's struggle but these aberrations were written by minor poets, the leading poets, Muḥammad ᶜUthmān, Shaykh ᶜUthmān al-Jindī, Salīm Raḥmī, Shaykh ᶜAlī al-Laythī, ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj, ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī and others were either too preoccupied with the war effort or kept as low a profile as possible for they wrote no poems during this period.

This period of literary life was the age of the dilettante. Men of letters wrote poems and fiction, translated novels, wrote or translated plays and then lost interest and turned their attention to other endeavours. Few, apart from some of the poets, gave their energies wholeheartedly to just one field of literary activity. Muḥammad ᶜUthmān Jalāl, Rifāᶜa at-Ṭahṭāwī, ᶜAbd Allāh Abū's-Suᶜūd, James Sanua, Adīb Isḥāq and many others moved from one literary genre to another and as a result literary developments were erratic. The press fluctuated in the attention it gave to literary life; no exclusively literary journal had yet been established in Egypt. Though the support of the press had failed to lead to the

establishment of an Arab theatre, it was the periodical press rather than the publishing houses which brought another European genre, the novel, to an Egyptian readership. The ᶜUrābī revolt and the subsequent closure of many papers, the flight and banishment of leading journalists and writers disrupted literary activity in the press but the foundations had been firmly laid.

APPENDIX A

THE FOREIGN LANGUAGE PRESS IN EGYPT

Sa^{c}īd Pasha (1854-1863)

1857	Il Progresso d'Egitto	Bi-weekly	Alexandria
	Il Commercio (?1861)		"
1859	Le Sphynx Égyptien		"
	La Presse Égyptienne	Bi-weekly	"
	Le Courrier de la Gironde		"
	Giornale Marittimo		
1860	La Trombetta		Alexandria
1862	L'Eco d'Egitto	Weekly	"
	L'Echo d'Europe		
	I Egiptos		Alexandria
	O Kerdios Ermis		"
	O Iatros Tou Laos	Bi-monthly	"
	L'Égypte	Daily	"
			Then Cairo 1866
	Mémoires		

Ismā^{c}īl Pasha (1863-1879)

1863	Rūz-nāme-i Vakā'i^{c}-i Misrīye	Weekly	Cairo
	L'Argus	Weekly	Alexandria
	Le Phare?		
	Egiptos Ermos		Alexandria
	O Egiptos Aetos (or 1864, or 1865)		"
	La Frusta		

1864	Fimi		
1865	Ethniki Bibliothiki (or 1876)		Alexandria
	Bulletin Financier		"
	L'Avvenire d'Egitto	Thrice-weekly	"
1866	Le Moniteur d'Égypte (became Le Moniteur de la Publicité en Egypte, 1867?)	Bi-weekly	"
	Journal Maçonnique		"
	Bollettino di Legislazione e di Guirisprudenza in Egitto		Alexandria
	Le Nil (or 1865)		"
1867	La Publicité d'Égypte		Cairo
	Les Petites Affiches Égyptiennes		Alexandria
	Il Diritto		"
	To Chrimatisterion		"
	Le Journal du Canal		Port Said
1868	La Fama		
	Ekho		Alexandria
	L'Égypte Séricicole		Cairo
?	Bulletin Maçonnique		
	Le Progrès Égyptien	Weekly	Alexandria
1869	Le Nouvel Argus		"
	Diogène		
	Le Djinn		Alexandria
	L'Impartial d'Égypte	Weekly	"
	Ermis	Daily	"
	Indicateur Commercial		Cairo
	Yildiz		"
	Corrière di Suez		Port Said

1869	Corrière Mercantile d'Egitto (1860s)		
	Lo Semi-Serio	Weekly	Cairo
	Le Programme des Théâtres de S.A. Le Khédive	Daily	"
1860s	Lancetta Medica Egiziana	Twice monthly	
	Giornale di Politica		
1870	La Bandiera	Bi-weekly	Alexandria
	Mnimosyni		"
	The Egyptian Messenger	Bi-weekly	"
	L'Égypte Agricole	Monthly	Cairo
	Le Crocodile		
	Idotea		Alexandria
1871	L'Independant d'Égypte		"
	Liberté		
	Imerinia Nea (or 1869, 1872 or 1874)	Daily	Alexandria
	Memphis (or 1868, 1872)	Daily	Alexandria
	La Ragione		"
1872	Il Corriere Egiziano	Weekly	Cairo
	Le Théâtre		"
	La Piastra Egiziana		"
	Étoile d'Égypte		"
	Il Bahria (Maltese)		
	La Rivista		
	L'Egitto Illustrato (or 1874)	Weekly	Cairo
	Le Sport	Weekly	Alexandria
1873	Il Giornale Umoristico		
	O Faros tis Alexandrias		Alexandria
	Elpis	Daily	"

1873	Cairon	Weekly	Alexandria
	La Finanza	Bi-weekly (Then Daily 1874)	"
	L'Avenir Commercial de Port Said		Port Said
	La Farfalla		Alexandria
1874	Le Phare d'Alexandrie	Weekly (Then Daily 1875)	"
	Moniteur Égyptien	Daily	Alexandria
	La Borsa	Weekly	"
	Le Thersite Galant		"
	Lo Staffile		"
	Il Fanus Alexandrino		"
	Le Commerce	Daily	"
	Diritto e Dovere	Bi-monthly	"
	La Cronaca Nera		
	L'Echo d'Orient	Daily	Alexandria
	L'Economista	Weekly	Cairo
	Masciala		"
	Verità e Bugie		
?	Le Mustiqueur		
	Occhialetto (L'Occhialino?)	Weekly	Cairo
	Le Courrier de Port Said	Weekly	Port Said
1875	Bulletin Financier de la Bourse	Daily	Alexandria
	Les Petites Affiches		"
	Il Corriere Anglo-Italiano		"
	Il Canocchiale (or 1876)		"
	Rivista Egiziana?		"
	Alexandrini Bibliothiki (or 1878, 1879)	Bi-monthly	"
	Athina	Monthly	"
	Kleopatra		"
	Phoenix	Bi-monthly	"

1875	Democrito		Alexandria
	Satanas		Cairo
1876	Il Diavolo	Weekly	Alexandria
	Il Concetto	Monthly	"
	Il Lloyd Egiziano	Weekly	"
	Afriki	"	"
	Revue Financière		"
	Menfis Risorta/Memphis Renaissante		"
	L'Arte	Weekly	"
	L'Égypte Commerciale, Financière et Judiciare	Bi-weekly	
	Le Journal d'Alexandrie	"	"
	Il Masr	Weekly	Cairo ? Alex.
	La Gazette des Tribunaux	Bi-weekly (Then Daily 1881)	?Alexandria
	Le Droit/To Dikaion	Bi-weekly	Cairo
	L'Égypte Judiciaire		Alexandria
	Jurisprudence des Tribunaux de la Réforme en Égypte		"
	La Réforme		Cairo
	Karagöz		"
	Kekrops	Monthly	"
	Proodos	Daily	"
	La Jusrisprudence	Thrice-weekly	"
	Bulletin Trimestiel de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie du Caire	Quarterly	"
1877	Le Sphinx	Bi-weekly	Alexandria
	Le Nouvelliste	Daily	"
	Il Fulmine		"
	Telegrafos	Daily	"
	Il Lavoratore		
	Journal Officiel des Tribunaux		

1877	Il Concetto?		
	Egyptian Lloyd		
	Bulletin de Législation et de Jurisprudence		
	Euterpi	Twice-monthly	Cairo
	La Jurisprudence d'Ismailia	Twice-weekly	Ismailia or ?Port Said (1878 al-Mansūra)
1878	Le Bavard Egyptien		Cairo
	Le Nil	Weekly	"
	L'Arte	Twice-monthly	Alexandria
	Takhidromos	Daily	"
	Il Messiagiere Egiziano	Daily	"
	Bulletin Hebdomadaire du Comité des Créanciers du Gouvernement Egyptien	Weekly	"
	L'Imparziale	Weekly	Cairo
	Le Bosphore de Suez	Twice-weekly	Port Said
	Le Mansourah		al-Mansūra
1879	Elettrico		Alexandria
	Don Marzio	Weekly	"
	Serapeon (GK)	Monthly	"
1870s	Corrière Anglo-Egiziano		
	Proletario		

Tawfīq Pasha (1879-1882)

1879	L'Ordre		Alexandria
	The Egyptian Herald		"
	Kleopatra		"
	Anatoli		? "
	La Stafetta	Daily	"
	Progres d'Orient?		"

1879	Le Courrier Égyptien	Weekly	Cairo
1880	Bulletin de la Société Égyptienne d'Agriculture	Monthly	"
	Bulletin Trimestiel de la Navigation par le Canal de Suez	Quarterly	"
	Bulletin des Lois et Décrets		"
	Recueil de Tous Documents Officiels du Gouvernement Egyptien	Monthly	"
	Le Farceur Égyptien		"
	Alexandria	Daily	Alexandria
	Telegrafos (1882?)		"
	Takhidromos		"
	Pharos	Daily	"
	Omonoia (1881?)		"
	Don Marzio?		"
	Le Bosphore Égyptien		Port Said
	The Egyptian Gazette	Weekly	Alexandria
	L'Égypte	Daily	"
1881	Sabir		Cairo
	Journal des Étrangers	Weekly	"
	Le Sport	"	Alexandria
	L'Innominato	Monthly	"
	Anton/Le Parterre?	Weekly	"
	Manethon	Bi-monthly	"
	Port Said Journal	Daily	Port Said
	Le Progrès (Greek/French)	Weekly	" ?
1882	La Banque des Ventes	"	Cairo
	Bulletin Judiciare et Financier		"
	The Times of Egypt	Weekly	"
	Epicimon Miniaeon Delteon tis en Alexandreia Ellinikes Ergatikes Etairias		Alexandria

1882	Arrivi	Alexandria
	Bulletin du Comité Agricole	"
	La Gazette des Étrangers	Cairo

APPENDIX B

"Projet d'un Théâtre National par M.M. Mohammad Onsy et Louis Farrugia - Fait au Caire le 15 mars 1872"

Projet d'un Théâtre National - La création des théâtres n'est pas un fait isolé ou arbitraire. Elle est le résultat d'un besoin que personne n'ose contester. L'homme, après avoir trouvé ou inventé les choses utiles, dut s'occuper naturellement des choses agréables. Après le travail vient la récréation et aux fatigues forcées de la vie matérielle succèdent les bienfaits précieux de la vie morale. Parmi ces bienfaits se rangent, en première ligne, l'amour des Beaux-Arts, ces chefs-d'oeuvre de l'humanité qui nous enchantent par tous les sens. Nos mains intrépides, en fouillant dans la Nature, ont découvert cet idéal admirable qu'on appelle l'Architecture; nos yeux pénétrants, en parcourant l'horizon, se sont arrêtés avec ravissement sur cet autre idéal, qui a nom la Peinture; nos oreilles délicates, en combinant mille et mille sons, ont fini par créer ces divines et mélodieuses harmonies qui nous transportent au-delà de ce monde au pied de la Déesse séduisante qu'on adore sous le nom de Musique; nos pieds eux-mêmes, par des pas rapides et cadencés, rendent hommage a cette volupteuse folâtre qui n'est que la Danse; enfin, notre bouche crée et reproduit tour-à-tour ces accents sublimes et touchants de la Littérature et de la Poèsie, ces récits réels ou fabuleux, ces critiques mordantes ou légères, l'historique de ces drames grandioses et célèbres, les traits saillants de ces comédies frappantes de la vie, qui tantôt nous émeuvent et tantôt nous font rire. Cet idéal du Vrai et du Beau, ce parfum sain des Muses, cette ambrosie des Dieux, cette gloire de l'esprit et du coeur nous a valu les chefs-d'oeuvre des Grands-Maîtres. Le théâtre n'est autre chose que le panorama vivant des prouesses humaines et le temple

par excellence où se sont donné rendez-vous les amateurs sublimes des Beaux-Arts. C'est le temple sacré des Grands Hommes et l'école naturelle des peuples. Tous les peuples ont connu plus ou moins les amusements du théâtre, car les plaisirs sont de tous les temps et de tous les lieux; toutes les nations civilisées possèdent ce genre d'éducation populaire qui fait les délices de tous, grands et petits, riches et pauvres. Peut-il en être autrement? Cette école charmante nous plaît en nous instruisant, nous recrée en nous rendant meilleurs, et corrigé, en nous amusant, l'âpreté de nos moeurs. Le théâtre n'a-t-il pas pour objet de nous enseigner, sans férule comme sans contrainte, la Morale universelle et les vertus qui en découlent par les traits les plus touchants tirés de l'histoires de tous les peuples. C'est là en effet, dans une prose attachante ou dans des vers immortels, que nous voyons grandir ou tomber, prospèrer ou végéter les héros de la terre. C'est là que se déroule, sous nos yeux émerveillés, la chaîne sans fins de nos vices et de nos vertus, la source inépuisable de nos talents et de nos travers, bref, la somme étonnante de toutes ces vicissitudes de la vie auxquelles l'homme est condamné. Le théâtre est, pour ainsi dire, le miroir ou se reflète l'humanité toute entière avec ce qu'elle a de bon, de suave, de sublime, comme avec qu'elle a de mauvais, de désagréable, de vicieux. On ne peut que devenir meilleur en appréciant ou milieu des contrastes et des contradictions, les conséquences funestes du mal et les ineffables résultats du bien. La création des théâtres est donc une oeuvre éminement utile parce qu'elle est et doit être morale. Certes, une question aussi intéressante n'a pu échapper à l'esprit clairvoyant et pratique de son Altesse le Khédive qui a fait tant de grandes choses en Égypte. Après avoir doté le pays d'institutions remarquables, après avoir gagné la sympathie universelle par la charmante hospitalité donnée à tous les étrangers et par les bienfaits qu'il a su répandre parmi tous; après avoir remanié et embelli le pays comme nul de ses Prédécesseurs n'a pu le faire; car, et l'histoire rendra cette justice, si Mehemet-Aly a

pu conquérir par les Armes cette belle contrée, Ismail Pacha a voulu la reconquérir par les bienfaits de la civilisation, persuadé que que (sic) si les conquerants savent fonder une dynastie, les Beinfaiteurs de l'humanité savent encore mieux l'assoir plus solidement sur l'amour de leurs peuples et le respect du monde entier; après avoir transformé sa Capitale, le Caire, par mille travaux d'agrément et d'utilité publique, par le percement d'innombrales rues et de charmants boulevards, par la substitution de riches palais, de coquettes maisons, de saines habitations à de vieilles mansardes insalubres et lézardées, par le création d'agréables jardins, de gentilles promenades, de ponts superbes, par l'installation de l'eau et du gaz, par mille choses, enfin, qu'il serait trop long d'énumérer ici; après avoir accompli tant d'oeuvres grandoises, Ismail Pacha, qu'on a le droit d'appeler le Magnifique, mit le comble à sa gloire, en consacrant quelques monuments à l'art dramatiques. S'il est glorieux pour son Altesse d'avoir rempli une tâche en Egypte, il sera encore plus glorieux pour Elle d'y avoir inauguré cet art divin qui a le mérite de charmer tous les hommes. Ne sera-ce pas flatteur de pouvoir dire un jour: C'est à ma voix qu'Apollon apporta ici sa lyre! C'est à ma voix que les Muses privent le talisman de leur art et de leurs charmes! Il y a de ces choses que nul Prince n'a pu faire avant l'Avénement d'Ismail Pacha, et il y a de ces choses que nul ne pourra faire apres Lui, du moment qu'elles seront toutes faites. On ne fonde qu'une fois certaines institutions. Par les ordres et les soins de son Altesse on a construit au Caire plusieurs édifices destinées aux divertissements du public. Notre Hippodrome et notre Cirque travaillent à merveille. L'Opéra, construit sur un pied très riche, très comfortable et très élégant, a donné déjà de très beaux résultats et vient de s'immortaliser en donnant, avec un luxe inouï, la première d'Aïda, ce charmant enfant du Pays qui est allé chanter par toute la terre la Magnificence vice-royale. Le théâtre de la Comédie a également droit à nos hommages pour le variété des piéces qu'on y a jouées et pour

certains artistes qui s'y sont distingués. Somme toute, il n'y a pas jusqu'au petit Kiosque de l'Eskebieh qui n'attire les amateurs de la Musique et du chant arabes. Comme on voit, l'Art dramatique, presque sous toutes ses formes, est implanté dans l'antique terre des Pharaons et y fleurit de jour en jour. Le succès d'une entreprise justifie sa création et, il y a longtemps, que le public intelligent et reconnaissant rend hommage au Magnanime Fondateur des Beaux-Arts en Égypte. Oui, tous ceux qui ont le bonheur de comprendre les avantages que nous procurent les délassements de l'esprit remercient mille fois son Altesse d'avoir fondé sur son règne l'art théâtral et d'avoir confié le soin de le diriger et de le faire réussir à l'esprit éminent et éclairé de Son Excellence Draneth-Bey, qui a pleinement justifié la confiance du Prince en méritant l'estime de tout le monde. Toutefois, il n'y a pas de médaille qui n'ait son revers. Une seule chose semble vouloir se dérober à l'appel du Souverain. Nous voulons parler du théâtre arabe. Par amour pour le pays, son Altesse daigna encourager une oeuvre éminement patriotique. Ici, nous le disons avec regret, le desir de son Altesse n'a pas été compris et, malgré les encouragements de toute nature, l'essai n'a pas abouti. Cela devait arriver pour plusieurs raisons faciles à comprendre. Bornons-nous à dire simplement (ce que nous avons dit ailleurs) que les éléments qui devaient faire réussir cette Institution, n'étaient pas aptes à ce travail. Aussi, le théâtre arabe fit pis que de végéter et ne pourra se relever que par un autre plan et d'autres moyens. L'éxpérience est faite. Que l'on se rende bien compte de sa necessité, de la Volonté généreuse de son Altesse, du plan que nous proposons: que l'on veuille bien peser, sans parti pris, nos raisons, notre programme et nos moyens et l'on se convaincra aisément de la vérité! D'abord, nous croyons inutile d'insister sur l'utilité d'un théâtre arabe et sur l'appui qu'il trouvera en Haut Lieu. Son Altesse, n'a pu écarter le peuple égyptien du festin de ses Munificences. D'Autant plus qu'il est evident pour tous qu'elle créera, tôt ou tard, un théâtre de ce genre, quelles que soient

d'ailleurs les idées des spécialistes à ce sujet. Le peuple égyptien, tout comme les autres peuples, a des yeux pour voir et des oreilles pour entendre. La langue arabe se prête admirablement à l'art dramatique et aux agréments de l'esprit les Arabes ont prouvé au moyen-âge leur tact et l'étendue de leurs connaissances, préparant ainsi une mine féconde aux générations à venir. Cette mine peut être exploitée avec avantage; car s'il n'a pas été donné aux Arabes d'inventer l'art dramatique, comme nous le comprenons aujourd'hui, ils ont su, en revanche, cultiver au suprême degré la Littérature et le Poésie qui sont l'âme même des Muses, le cannevas de l'Art théâtral ou érotique, le feu sacré de toute pensée humaine. Au surplus, tous les hommes aiment le Beau et le Vrai, courent après les spectacles et paient facilement un tribut d'admiration aux Grandes Hommes et aux Grandes Choses. Que l'on fasse donc un essai simple et pratique, que l'on suivre un plan logique, que l'on daigne créer généreusement les resources nécessaires et l'en pourra dire alors que le théâtre National est fondé en Égypte. Notre rapport y aidera puissamment. En résumé, pour que ce nouvel Essai réussisse, nous avons jugé à propos d'en donner ici les bases et les développments. Deux points à considérer: 1° Le but que nous nous proposons dans cette entreprise; 2° Les Moyens qui la feront réussir. 1. Le but que nous nous proposons dans cette entreprise - Le but que nous nous proposons est la création definitive d'un Théâtre Arabe qui prendra officiellement le nom de théâtre National. Comme notre plus vif désir est, avant tout, d'atteindre au but, nous avons imaginé un plan auquel tout le monde applaudira. Un vrai théâtre arabe est une nouveauté à laquelle on n'est pas fait. Nous ne pouvons donc proceder comme en Europe. Il nous faut, dans le début, instituer un théâtre école qui aura le double avantage de dresser des sujets, préparer des artistes et donner en même temps des représentations. Les élèves, artistes suivront donc, d'après un sage réglement, des cours de Déclamation, de Littérature arabe et de Musique, s'il le faut ? tout en jouant

des pièces. De cette façon, on préparera de loin un élément sérieux pour l'Art dramatique arabe. Son Altesse, qui ne recule devant aucun sacrifice pour ce qui regarde l'instruction publique approuvera sans nul doute ce projet . II. Les Moyens que nous emploierons pour la faire réussir. Tous les moyens ne sont pas bons pour mener une affaire à bonne fin. Pour nous les moyens que nous emploierons, sont de deux espèces. Les Moyens intrinsèques et les moyens extrinsèques. Moyens intrinsèques. Les moyens intrinsèques regardent l'entreprise en elle-même et, sous ce point de vue, ils embrassent 1° La Direction Générale, 2° La Direction Particulière, 3° Les Artistes, 4° L'Orchestre, 5° Les Employés subalternes, 6° Le Répertoire. 1° La Direction Générale. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, le théâtre arabe sera fondé sous le Haut Patronage de son Altesse. Il sera, par conséquent, attaché à la Direction générale des théâtres et dépendra de l'Administration particulière de S.E. Draneth-Bey. Ceci va de soi. Le Contrôle sera donc chose facile. 2° La Direction particulière - Cette Direction sera confiée à un Directeur et à un Régisseur capables, connaissant bien le pays et les langues et versés dans l'art théâtral. Nous n'en dirons pas davantage là-dessus. 3° Les Artistes - Comme notre théâtre sera un théâtre-école, il est évident que la première troupe ne sera pas ce qu'elle pourra être plus tard. Il est important, toutefois, que nos jeunes sujets remplissent certaines conditions avant leur admission. Ils seront au nombre de vingt, nombre suffisant pour le début (6 filles et 14 jeunes gens) et leur admission dépendra de leur moralité, de leur connaissance de la langue arabe et d'une langue étrangère, le français de préférence, de leur volonté à se soumettre au réglement que nous sommes en train de préparer. Ils auront, comme on verra plus bas, des appointements qui leur permettront de se consacrer à l'art dramatique. 4° L'Orchestre - La question musicale est énorme dans le théâtre. Au début, l'Orchestre aura un rôle plus restreint, celui d'exécuter des ouvertures et des entr'actes, mais, un peu plus tard, il fournira un précieux concours dans

les pièces où entre le chant. Cela ne pourra tarder. Car le cours de musique vocale, inscrit dans notre programme, habituera nos élèves à chanter en les exerçants d'abord aux quatrains et romances, puis aux choeurs, enfin à l'opérette. L'application de la Musique aux paroles arabes se fera insensiblement et préparera le public à une innovation qui saura bien l'enthousiasmer. L'harmonie, même la plus élémentaire, ne nous trouve jamais froids. Cela deviendra un fait accompli et l'on sera étonné alors que tant de beautés ont été ignorées jusqu'à ce jour. Ne sera-ce pas une gloire pour son Altesse de voir réaliser sous son règne une si magnifique transformation? et ne sera-ce pas une grande et noble satisfaction pour Elle de voir son Entourage applaudir à ces immortelles poésies arabes chantées avec goût et avec grâce? L'Orchestre sera composé du même personnel que celui de la Comédie pendant la saison théâtrale et, en dehors de cette saison, d'un chef, d'un sous-chef qui pourront donner le cours de musique vocale, et de douze musiciens. Leurs appointements sont fixés plus bas. 5° Les Employés subalternes - Nul ne peut contester que dans un théâtre il faille des machinistes, des contrôleurs, des ouvreurs. Il sera, bien entendu, loisible a l'Administration de conserver pendant toute l'année le même personnel qu'elle emploie pendant la saison théâtrale. Il est donc superflu de s'étendre sur cette question. Nous dirons seulement que, dans un théâtre-école, on a dû créer un cours de Déclamation, un cours de musique vocale, un cours de littérature arabe et ces cours nécessitent la présence de professeurs spéciaux. De plus, nous avons été forcés d'avoir secours à des traducteurs pour former le répertoire. 6° Le Répertoire - Le répertoire est une partie essentielle de tout bagage théâtral. Il n'en peut être ainsi dans une chose qu'il s'agit de créer. C'est le passé qui prépare les resources de l'avenir et, ici, le passé ne compte pas. Malgré ce vide et grâce à un programme intelligent, le répertoire ne tardera pas à se faire. S'il plaît a son Altesse de donner l'exequatur à notre projet, nous nous mettrons à l'oeuvre. Dans le principe, le

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répertoire sera composé de Pièces traduites, puis des pièces du crû. Loin de nous la pensée de débuter par des pièces faites sur place et n'ayant subi aucun contrôle, aucune censure. Nous débuterons par des pièces traduites soit du français, soit de l'Italien et puis viendront les pièces locales. De plus, il y aura une commission de Littérateurs et de gens de l'art, se réunissant une fois par semaine et composée d'au moins six membres parmi lesquels seront de droit le Directeur et le Régisseur, et qui aura pour tâche de reviser les traductions et d'admettre, s'il y a lieu, les pièces composées sur place. Moyens extrinsèques. Les moyens extrinsèques s'occupent du local, des costumes, du temps, de la Recette, des frais que nécessite cette entreprise. 1° Du Local - Le local est la chose la plus simple. Nous comptons sur le théâtre de la Comédie et sur celui du jardin de l'Esbekieh pendant l'été. Notre oeuvre ne se fera pas au détriment de la Comédie française. Car, comme nous l'avons dit, on pourra alterner pendant la saison théâtrale. De plus, l'Administration se fera un plaisir de nous assigner une salle ou deux pour les cours. 2° Des costumes - Il en est du local comme des costumes. L'administration n'a pas de peine à nous fournir les costumes qu'elle possède déjà. Quant aux costumes à l'orientale qu'elle n'a pas, on y suppléera par les économies qui se feront sur les appointement des élèves-artistes, vu que, pendant les six premiers mois ils ne toucheront tous, à titre d'élèves, que les mêmes appointements et ils ne toucheront intégralement les sommes assignées plus bas qu'au sûr et à mesure qu'ils seront des progrès. 3° Du temps - Le temps n'est pas une chose indifférente bien qu'il soit assujétti à une foule de circonstances. Nous disons, seulement, qu'aussitôt notre projet admis et notre théâtre organisé, nous donnerons une ou deux pièces par semaine et nous irons progressivement. Le temps regarde aussi le règlement qui sera fait plus tard. 4° De La Recette - La Recette, naturellement, sera versée dans les caisses du Gouvernment. La recette du théâtre arabe suivra le chemin des autres recettes sous la surveillance et le contrôle

de l'administration. Tout sera du ressort de la même compatibilité que les autres théâtres. Nous ne voulons pas omettre, pourtant, que, pour les pièces du crû et à titre d'encouragement, il sera prélevé des primes que la Haute Administration fixera elle-même. 5° Des frais que nécessite cette entreprise - Nous arrivons à la question capitale. Après avoir mûrement réfléchi sur le projet, sur les frais généraux et les frais particuliers, nous nous sommes arrêtés à la somme de cent quinze mille francs (115,000). Cette sera nécessaire pour commencer et justifiera son emploi par les détails que nous allons fournir. Nous ne doutons pas que son Altesse, édifié sur notre manière de voir et de faire, daigne accueillir avec sa Bienvaillance accoutumée une dépense qui a pour but d'enrichir le pays d'une institution patriotique et de lui procurer l'honneur insigne d'avoir fondé définitivement le théâtre National. Il ne faut pas oublier que cette somme sera considérablement amoindrie par les recettes subséquentes et par une économie de quinze à vingt mille francs (15,000 a 20,000f.) sur l'orchestre, les Machinistes, etc, pendant la saison théâtrale. Nous allons donner maintenant les détails de la répartition de cette somme après avoir tenu compte des personnes, des circonstances, du pays où nous vivons.

	Chaque	Par Mois	Par an	Total
A. Administration	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.
1 Directeur	650	650	7800	
1 Régisseur	550	550	6600	
				14400
B. Employés				
1 Maître de Déclamation	300	300	3600	
1 Professeur de littérature arabe	100	100	1200	
Note 1 1 Professeur de Musique vocale	100	100	1200	
1 Traducteur	400	400	4800	
2 Souffleurs et copistes	75	150	1800	

		Chaque	Par Mois	Par An	Total
		Fr.	Fr.	Fr.	Fr.
Note 2	2 Contrôleurs	75	150	1800	
	4 Placeurs ou ouvreurs	75	300	3600	
	1 Magasinier ou Costumier	150	150	1800	
	1 Buraliste	75	75	900	
	1 Chef Machiniste	150	150	1800	
	4 Machinistes	100	400	4800	
	1 Commissionaire	40	40	480	
					26580
	C. Orchestre				
Note 3	1 Chef d'Orchestre	500	500	6000	
	1 Sous-Chef	300	300	3600	
	10 Musiciens	200	2000	24000	
					33600
	D. Artistes				
Note 4	2 Filles (premiers rôles)	250	500	6000	
	2 Filles (rôles divers)	200	400	4800	
	2 Filles (comparses, etc)	150	300	3600	
	2 Jeunes gens (premiers)	200	400	4800	
	4 Seconds rôles	150	600	7200	
	2 Rôles divers	125	250	3000	
	6 Figurants etc	100	600	7200	
					36600
	E. Dépenses				
Note 5	1° Dépenses imprévues	100	100	1200	
	2° Frais d'impression et du Bureau	218.33	218.33	2620	
					3820
				Total fr.	115000

Récapitulation et Reports

A. Administration	fr.	14,400
B. Employés		26,580
C. Orchestre		33,600
D. Artistes		36,600
E. Dépenses		3,820
Dépense totale par an	fr.	115,000

Ce budget, comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, sera considérablement allégé pour plusieurs motifs - Note 1, 3. Nous avons supprimé les appointements du Professeur de Musique, par la raison que le chef d'orchestre et meme le sous-chef pourront se charger de ce soin - Note 2. Pendant la saison théâtrale on économisera de vingt à trente-cinq mille francs sur les recettes, l'Orchestre, les Machinistes etc. - Note 4. Les économies prélevées sur les élèves-artistes nous serviront pour acheter des costumes à l'Orientale. Ceci est indispensable - Note 5. L'administration supérieure, ayant la haute main dans ce projet, contrôlera toutes les dépenses et écartera ainsi tous les abus possibles. - Il résulte finalement de tout ceci que la somme demandée est plutôt nominal et deviendra un jour insignificante grace aux recettes que l'on fera. De façon que la suite fera oublier le début au grand contentement de tout le monde. Comme dans le début de toute entreprise, la création d'un théâtre a son côté amer, mais, et nous en sommes persuadés, avec le temps cette amertume fera place à une douceur pleine des charmes et de satisfaction - Tel est le projet qui nous a paru le plus logique et le plus practicable. Il y a longtemps que mon excellent ami en eut le premier l'idée. Mais des circonstances défavorables ont empeche M M^{d} Onsy de la réaliser. Pour être juste, nous devons dire ici que l'idée d'avoir imaginé la création du théâtre arabe et d'avoir étudié et posé les bases de sa formation revient de droit à M M Onsy. Du reste, il en a été souvent question dans son Journal. Aujourd'hui les temps ont changé, et par une

collaboration qui n'a en vue que le bien du Pays dans une question intéressante, et la Gloire du Prince dans une innovation digne de Lui, nous avons fait ce rapport que nous avons l'honneur de soumettre à l'attention des hommes compétents. Nous aurions pu lui donner de plus amples développements, mais il nous a paru suffisant, quant à present, de tracer les points les plus saillants et les plus nécessaires. Si notre plan n'est pas adopté, on nous saura gré, du moins, de nos bonnes intentions; si on l'approuve, tout l'honneur en reviendra à son Altesse que l'a inspiré par l'élan irrésistible donné au Pays, et qui, Seule, un ? définitive peut faire réussir de semblable entreprises.

(signed) M M^{d} Onsy
Directeur du Journal Vadi-el-Nil

Louis Farrugia
Professeur à l'Ecole des Arts et Métiers

APPENDIX C

DIALOGUE BETWEEN ABBU NAZZARA (THE MAN WITH THE BLUE SPECTACLES) AND MR. JOSEPH RAMLÉ, A MERCHANT OF ALEXANDRIA

Scene - The Café des Colonies at Cairo.

Abbu Nazzara. - What's this? You're not yet gone?

Joseph Ramlé. - How could I go away and leave you, Abbu Nazzara? I have been looking for you all the morning. I have been from one café to another, asking every one, 'Have you seen **James, the man with the blue spectacles**?' And the European girls, who adore you, shook their charming heads, and answered, with a sigh, 'No, sir, we haven't seen him!' So Allah be praised that I have met you at last; for I was really uneasy about you, and my heart beat terribly.

A.N. - Calm your fears. Here I am before you, as straight as a palm. I don't run the slightest risk. The Prophet has said, 'Do good, and thou wilt get good.' I have never harmed any one. On what side, then, could my enemies, if I had any, attack me? Believe me, Joseph, the man who loves his country is sure of a happy end. Allah protects and blesses him. That is why you see me full of courage and hope.

J.R. - A kiss for that good speech, Abbu Nazzara. How sweet! By Allah! that kiss seems more delicious than that which I left upon the chaste lips of my bride the first night that I went to her after our wedding. Now give me another kiss for the youth of Cairo and Alexandria. Every one loves you, believe me; and all your brothers - the freemasons - have

assumed the noble task of watching over your life. Perhaps you don't know it, but your existence is threatened.

A.N. - Any one hearing you speak like that might be led to think that I am in danger. Be reassured, my friend. Am I not liked by the ministers - esteemed by the great personages at Court - loved by his Highness the Khedive, who has done me the great honour of surnaming me the Egyptian Molière, because of one or two of my Arabic comedies, which were played at the theatre? Resume your serenity; drive away all uneasiness; and let us change the subject. Tell me to what circumstances I owe the pleasure of seeing you still in our midst?

J.R. - Well, do you want to know? I met at Cairo a certain number of creditors of the Egyptian Government, who told me that, following the example of the European shareholders at Alexandria, they had formed themselves into a society, had elected a president, and delegates to advocate their rights; and that, having heard the speeches of a distinguished man, Mr. Le Moyne, so far most fair, they had appointed a committee.

A.N. - If that is so, my dear Joseph, I don't approve of what you've done. What! isn't it enough that you people of Alexandria have turned everything upside down in your own town, without your coming to Cairo to disturb our minds and ruin our affairs? By Allah! you are too selfish; and if I were the Government, if I had got hold of you, I would chain you up; for, I don't hide it from myself, the aim of all these societies is none other than to pocket the revenue of our unfortunate country, so as to pay up the shares which you have in your hands, instead of leaving us the money to save us from the misery which we endure.

J.R. - My poor fellow, I see what it is! You are repeating the

lesson which they teach the mudirs and the poor fellahs, so that you may conceive and nourrish hatred against the Europeans. They are always telling you that it is to satisfy us that the tax-gatherer goes round so many times a year; and it is just the contrary.

A.N. - How's that? I implore you, by Allah, not to speak lightly! Give me proofs, and I will believe.

J.R. - Proofs? Why, they are more clear and dazzling than sunbeams. I have seen with my own eyes the letters which the Government addressed to the heads of provinces, telling them to demand from the fellahs three-fourths of the taxes for the current year, to pay - so they said - the May coupons. This tax produced, after having been wrung from the unfortunate farmers 'in the manner that you know,' the modest sum of six million Egyptian pounds, whose glitter would blind you.

A.N. - Then the coffers for the Public Debt must be well filled; and yet I have been assured that there were wanting seven hundred thousand pounds. What has become of the surplus? Allah alone, no doubt, knows where it has gone. But, my dear Joseph, I think that you exaggerate. Were you present when all those millions were recieved? You know yourself that the Nile has been very low this year; and that our good father the Khedive has asked for scarcely any taxes.

J.R. - It is useless pursuing this subject any further. I see, my good Abbu Nazzara, that you are only fit to give lessons in literature and music.

A.N. - Don't be so hasty. I will listen silently.

J.R. - Know then, simpleton, that I have correspondents not only in Lower Egypt, but also in Central Egypt, as well as in Said and the Sudan. I buy cotton, grain, ostrich-feathers,

gum, cereals; I even lend money to the fellahs, to help them with their agriculture, since the Government extorts all that they possess. Look here! Come to my counting-house; I will show you my books, and you will see that, if the fellah is nearly throttled, it is still the European who saves him, and that the six millions which were screwed out of him last April are gone to another place than the Public Debt Fund, of which they make a scare for you.

A.N. - But, the remaining five millions three hundred thousand pounds have perhaps been spent by the Government for the good of the country.

J.R. - In truth, my friend, they have paid for some whims of the Effendinah, and, they say, one or two months' salary to the **employés**, when they owe for twelve. They even say that a portion of the tribute has been sent to his Highness the Sultan of Stamboul, who is, it is said, the most in want of it. As Ismail is in need of his master's clemency, this is not the moment that he would choose to be mean towards him.

A.N. - From what you have told me, the Europeans don't seem to have caused all the misery which is crushing the poor fellahs. They appear rather to be their friends.

J.R. - No doubt of it.

A.N. - I will let them know it. Good-bye!*

* From Jerrold, op. cit., pp.225-231.

APPENDIX D

STORIES IN RAWḌAT AL-MADĀRIS AL-MIṢRĪYA

Muḥammad Maḥmūd Wahbī, student at the School of Administration (translated ḥikāya - RM, y. 1, no. 3, 15 Ṣafar, 1287 [16 May, 1870]).

Muḥammad Effendi Ḥishmat, student at the School of Surveying and Accounting (translated ḥikāya - RM, y. 1, no. 3, 15 Ṣafar, 1287 [16 May, 1870]).

Muṣṭafā Effendi Sāmī, muᶜīd (assistant) in English at the Royal Schools (translated from English, mulḥa adabīya wa-shaḍhra ta'rīkhīya (funny literary story and a historical fragment) - RM, y. 1, no. 5, 15 Rabīᶜ I, 1287 [13 June, 1870]).

Muṣṭafā ᶜAlawī Bey, student at the School of Administration and Languages (translated ḥikāya - RM, y. 1, no. 8, end Rabīᶜ II, 1287 [28 July, 1870]).

Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥamūda, a teacher of Arabic in a school in Alexandria (maqāma farḍīya hypothetical maqāma - RM, y. 1, no. 9, 15 Jumādā I, 1287 [12 August, 1870]).

Aḥmad Naẓmī Effendī, School of Surveying and Accounting (ḥikāya gharība wa-nikāya muḍḥika ᶜajība [A Strange Story and an Odd Amusing Offence] - RM, y. 1, no. 11, 15 Jumādā II, 1287 [11 September, 1870]).

ᶜAlī Rushdī, a student at the School of Surveying and Accounting (Fikra Ḥamīda wa-Qawla Sadīda [A Praiseworthy Idea and a Relevant Statement] - RM, y. 1, no. 11, 15 Jumādā II, 1287 [11 September, 1870]).

Muhammad Fannī Effendi, translater in Dīwān al-Murūr (the Traffic Department) (hikaya - RM, y. 1, no. 12, end Jumādā II, 1287 (25 September, 1870).

Muhammad Munīb Effendi, student at the School of Administration and Languages (jumla inshā'īya [exclamatory sentence], al-Ḥulm Manbaᶜ al- Khayrāt wa-Ḥijāb al-Āfāt Dreams, the Spring of Blessings and the Veil of Harm - RM, y.1, no.15, 15 Shaᶜbān, 1287 (9 November, 1870).

Mahmūd Husnī Effendī, student at the School of Administration and Languages (qiṭᶜa adabīya [a literary fragment] - RM, y. 2, no. 1, 15 Muharram, 1288 [5 April, 1871]).

Shaykh ᶜUthmān Mudawwakh, a teacher of Arabic in the Preparatory School (nikāt [jokes] - RM, y. 2, no. 7, 15 Rabīᶜ I, 1288 (4 July, 1871).

Ahmad Rashīd Bey, student at the School of Administration and Languages (Riwāyāt fi'l-Bukhl [Tales of Avarice] - RM, y. 2, no. 11, 15 Jumādā II, 1288, p. 20 [31 August, 1871]); and later, when a student at the School of Surveying and Accounting (Ḥikāya fī Shābb taᶜallaqa min al-ᶜUlamā' bi'l-Adhyāl dūnā akhawayhi alladhayna Iᶜtamadā ᶜalā'l-Māl [The Tale of a Young Man Who Clung to the Coat Tails of the Ulema Disregarding His Brothers Who Depended on Money] - RM, y. 2, no. 23, 15 Dhū'l-Hijja, 1288 [24 February, 1872]).

Mahmūd Effendi Khayrat, a student at the School of Administration and Languages (Ḥikāya fī man Sāda bi'l-Ḥulm wa' Iᶜtāda at-Tawāḍuᶜ maᶜa'l-ᶜIlm [The Tale of Someone Who Ruled Through Dreams and Got Used to Humbling Himself With Knowledge] - RM, y. 2, no. 18, end Ramadān, 1288 [12 December, 1871]).

Shaykh Rashwān Marwān (maqāma adabīya - RM, y. 2, no. 24, end Dhū'l-Hijja, 1288 [10 March, 1872]).

Muḥammad Effendi ᶜIṣmat, son of Saᶜīd Effendi, student at the School of the Ancient Egyptian Language (madrasat al-lisān al-miṣrī al-qadīm) (translated ḥikāya - RM, y. 3, no. 9, 15 Jumādā I, 1289 [22 July, 1872]).

Shaykh Aḥmad Qitta al-ᶜAdawī, a teacher of Arabic at the Polytechnique (riwāyāt adabīya - RM, y. 4, no. 8, end Rabīᶜ II, 1290f [27 June, 1873]).

Maḥmūd Talᶜat Effendi, student at the School of the Ancient Egyptian Language (translation from German of a Ḥikāya Ẓarīfa wa-ᶜIbāra Laṭīfa [A Witty Tale and an Elegant Passage] RM, y. 5, no. 15, 16 Shaᶜbān, 1291 [29 September, 1874]).

Muḥammad Luṭfī, student at the School of the Ancient Egyptian Language (translation of a ḥikāya from ancient Egyptian - RM, y. 5, no. 20, end Shawwāl, 1291 [11 December, 1874]).

Jirjis Ḥunayn Effendi, muᶜīd (assistant) in languages at the Egyptian American School (ḥikāya, al-Misk al-ᶜĀṭir fī Riwāyat al-Asīr wa't-Tājir [The Sweet-Smelling Musk in the Story of the Prisoner and the Merchant] - RM, y. 5, no. 23, end Dhū'l-Hijja, 1291 6 February, 1875 and y. 6, no. 1, 15 Muḥarram, 1292 [21 February, 1875]; and a nubdha ḥakawīya (fragment of a tale) - RM, y. 6, no. 7, 15 Ramaḍān II, 1292 [20 May, 1875]).

APPENDIX E

MĪT GHAMR

It has coffee houses and bars (khimārāt) classified as in this list:-

The First Class Hashish Dens

Ward as-Sirsīya
Stīta al-Kharsā'
Umm as-Sa^{c}d

These coffee houses are for the drug addict ^{c}umdas

Second Class

Mahmūd al-^{c}Adawī
ad-Diqādūs
Shu^{c}ā^{c}

These coffee houses are for the drug addicts of Mīt Ghamr, that is the town rabble

- - - - - - - -

Bars - First Class

Makhālī — Bar for civilised ^{c}umdas, that is those who do not mind drinking.

The New Bar for ^{c}umdas who enter wearing cloaks on their heads.

Second Class

Banī Bar for the drunks of Mīt Ghamr and district.

Amālī Bar for the poor drunkards.

Banābūtī Bar for those with mistresses.

The prices are at one's discretion, according to one's ability (to pay) or not. Whoever owns a 100 feddans buys a glass for a franc, who owns 500 feddans for three francs, that is according to their wealth. Some ᶜumdas drink what they want then pay according to how generous they feel. Perhaps someone drinks two glasses and pays 10 pounds, as his exalted status demands. God purge the country of them."[1]

1. at-Tankīt, p. 165.

APPENDIX F

OCCASIONAL POETRY[1]

1865

Khedive's return from Istanbul	Sh. Mustafā Salāma	WM.3. 7/12/65

1866

Construction of Suez Docks	Sh. Mustafā Salāma	WM.51. 23/10/66

1867

	Sh. Mustafā Salāma	WM.99. 25/4/67
Arrival from trip to London, Paris and Istanbul	ᶜAlī Fahmī	WM.134. 29/8/67
	ᶜAlī Fahmī	WM.140. 19/9/67
		WN.11. 20/9/67

1868

New Year 1285	Muhammad Bey Saᶜīd	WM.199. 7/4/68 (Jaw. 26/5/68)
Nile	Rifāᶜa at-Ṭahṭāwī	WM.234. 24/9/68 (Jaw. 3/11/68) (Jaw. 10/11/68)
Arrival from Istanbul	as-Sayyid Bey Abāza	WM.237 5/10/68
	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwi	
	ᶜAlī Ef. Ridwān	WM.237. 5/10/68 (Jaw. 1/12/68)
	as-Say. ᶜAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī	WM.238. 8/10/68 (Jaw. 27/10/68)
	M. Bey Saᶜīd	WM.240. 15/10/68
Khedive's Birthday	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī	WM.245. 3/11/68

1. Unless otherwise indicated these poems are dedicated to the Khedive. Some poems mentioned in the text may not be included in this list.

1869

Attack on Khedive's life	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.276. 29/2/69
ʿId al-Fiṭr	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.282. 29/3/69 (WN. 23/4/69)
Wedding of Manṣūr P. Yakan with Nafīda Hānum	Sh. ʿAbd al-Ghanī	WM.285. 8/4/69 (Jaw. 28/4/69)
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.284. 4/4/69
	Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī	(Jaw. 20/4/69)
	as-Say. ʿA. al-Abyārī	WM.284. 4/4/69
	Sh. Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī	"
	ʿAlī Fahmī	"
	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	"
	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī	WM.286. 12/4/69
	Maḥmūd Ef. al-ʿAkkām	"
	Sh. ʿUmār al-Wāfī	"
ʿId al-Adhā	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.291. 29/4/69 (WN.2. 30/4/69)
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.292. 6/5/69
New Year 1286	ʿAlī Fahmī	WN.4. 14/5/69
	M Bey Saʿīd	WM.298. 27/5/69 (Jaw. 15/6/69)
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.298. 27/5/69
	ʿIzzitlū Ibrāhīm Bey Karama	"
Tawfiq appointed qa'immaqām miṣri	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.300. 3/6/69 (WN.8. 11/6/69)
Return from Europe	as-Say. Bey Abāza	WM.317. 5/8/69 (Jaw. 31/8/69)
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.325. 30/9/69
Arrival of Prince Ḥusayn Pasha from Paris	Khalīl Thābit Bey	WM.329. 21/10/69
Opening of Suez Canal	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	WM.334. 27/11/69 (WN.33. 6/12/69)
	Maḥmūd Ṣafwat	WM.335. 2/12/69
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.346 21/2/70

1870

ʿId al-Adhā	Saʿīd ʿIzzat Bey	WM.350. 27/3/70
New Year 1287	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī	WM.351. 3/4/70
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.352. 10/4/70
	Aḥmad Nazmī	"
		(RM.1.1. 16/4/70)

Khedive & Crown Prince Return from Istanbul and Europe	Sālih Majdī	WN.33. 12/8/70 (WM.371. 18/8/70) (RM.1.10. 27/8/70) (Jaw. 7/9/70)
	ʿAlī Fahmī	RM.1.10. 27/8/70
	ʿAbd Allāh Fikrī	"
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.381. 27/10/70 (Jaw. 6/12/70)
Return of Prince Ḥusayn from Europe	Sh. Maḥmūd al-ʿĀlim	WM.382. 3/11/70) (Jaw. 16/11/70)
ʿId al-Fitr - Crown Prince	Sālih Majdī	RM.1.18. 23/12/70 (WM.390. 5/1/71)
ʿId al-Fitr	Sālih Majdī	RM.1.18. 23/12/70 (WM.390. 5/1/71) (WN. 2/2/71)
	as-Say. Bey Abāza	WM.389. 29/12/70 (Jaw.493. 25/1/71)

1871

ʿId al-Adhā - Khedive	Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī	RM.1.20. 21/1/71
ʿId al-Adhā Crown Prince	Sālih Majdī	"
New Year 1288	Muḥammad Fannī)	WM.399. 16/3/71
	as-Say. Bey Abāza)	(Jaw. 16/4/71)
	R. at-Tahtāwī	WM.400. 23/3/71 (Jaw. 19/4/71)
	Ibrāhīm al-Muwaylihī	WM.401. 30/3/71 (Jaw. 28/5/71)
Circumcision of Ismāʿīl's son Ibrāhīm Pasha	R. at-Tahtāwī	WM.399. 16/3/71 (RM.2.1. 5/4/71) (Jaw. 12/4/71)
	M. Ef. Fannī)	WM.400. 23/3/71
	Sh. Aḥmad aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī)	(Jaw. 24/4/71)
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.400. 23/3/71 (RM.2.1. 5/4/71) (Jaw. 24/4/71)
ʿId al-Fitr		WM.436. 19/12/71
ʿId al-Fitr and award of nīshān to Ḥusayn Pasha	Sh. Maḥmūd al-ʿĀlim	" (Jaw. 31/1/72)

1872

ʿId al-Adhā	Ismāʿīl Ṣabrī	RM.2.23. 24/2/72
	as-Say. Bey Abāẓa	WM.445. 27/2/72 (Jaw. 13/3/72)
	ʿAlī Abū'n-Nasr	WM.445. 27/2/72
New Year 1289	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī	RM.3.1. 24/3/72
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM. (Jaw. 24/4/72) (RM.3.2. 8/4/72)
Visit to Istanbul	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.466. 23/7/72
Crown Prince receives nīshān majidi from Sultan	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.468. 6/8/72
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	RM.3.11. 19/8/72
Return from Istanbul	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	RM.3.10. 4/8/72 (WM.468. 6/8/72)
	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī) Muḥammad Qadrī) ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr)	WM.469. 13/8/72 (RM.3.11. 19/8/72)
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.470. 20/8/72
Khedive's birthday.	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	WM.477. 10/10/72
Ramaḍān	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.483. 19/11/72
ʿId al-Fiṭr		WM.485. 9/12/72

1873

Visit to Dīwān al-Maʿārif	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī	RM.3.22. 29/1/73
	ʿAlī Fahmī	(WM.494.13/2/73)
Weddings of Ṭūsūn Pasha, Ḥasan Pasha Ibrāhīm Pasha, Ḥusayn Kāmil Pasha and Tawfīq Pasha	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.493. 4/2/73
	as-Say. Bey Abāẓa	"
	Muḥammad ʿAbd ar-Rāziq	"
	Sh. ʿUmār Mawāfī (Wāfī)?	"
	Khalīl al-Khūri	"
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.494. 13/2/73
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	"
	M. Qadrī Bey	"
	ʿAlī Fahmī	WM.495. 18/2/73
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	"
	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	"
	Muḥammad ʿUthmān Jalal	WM.496. 25/2/73
	Sh. ʿAbd al-Ghanī ar-Rāfiʿi	
	ʿAbd ar-Raḥmān al-Abyārī	
	M. Ef. Fannī	
	Ḥasanayn Ef. ar-Rashīdī	

	Muḥammad Effendi Qāsim	WM.496.	25/2/73
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī		
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr		
Wedding and ᶜId al-Adhā	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Nasr	WM.494.	13/2/73
Crown Prince for ᶜId al-Adhā	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa		"
ᶜId al-Adhā	ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī		"
	Sh. ᶜAbd al-Ghanī		
	ar-Rāfiᶜi		
	R. aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī		
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī		
	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa		
New Year 1290	ᶜAlī Fahmī	WM.497.	3/3/73
	ᶜAbd Abū'n-Naṣr		
	ᶜAbd Allāh Nadīm	WM.498.	11/3/73
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī		
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.499.	18/3/73
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.515.	7/7/73
Trip to Istanbul	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.517.	17/7/73
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.521.	20/8/73
	Muḥammad Ḥusnī		"
	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa		"
	Muṣṭafā Tawfīq Bey		"
	Aḥmad Rashīd Effendi		"
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.522.	26/8/73
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī		"
	Muḥammad Qadrī		"
	Sh. Muḥammad ad-Dishnāwī		"
	Sh. Muḥammad al-Ibrāshī	WM.523.	2/9/73
	Salīm Raḥmī		"
	Sh. Rashwān		"
	Ismāᶜīl Ṣabrī		"
	Hasanayn Ef. Muḥammad		"
Khedive's birthday	ᶜAlī Fahmī	WM.524.	9/9/73
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.525	16/9/73
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.526.	23/9/73
For Ramadān and Laylat al-Qadr	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Nasr	WM.534.	24/11/73
ᶜId al-Fitr	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.534.	24/11/73
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī		
	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa	WM.535.	2/12/73
	Tādrus Wahbī		"
		(RM.4.19.	6/12/73)
	ᶜAli Fahmī	RM.4.19.	6/12/73

1874

Birth of Prince Tūsūn Pasha's son Muhammad Jamil Bey as-Saʿīd	ʿAlī Fahmī	WM.541. 13/1/74
	Sh. ʿAbd al-Majid ash-Sharbūnī	RM.4.22. 18/1/74 (WM.542. 20/1/74)
Anniversary of Accession	ʿAlī Fahmī	RM.4.22. 18/1/74 WM.542. 20/1/74
ʿId al-Adhā	Muṣṭafā Tawfīq	RM.4.23. 2/2/74 (WM.543. 3/2/74)
	Tādrūs Wahbī	WM.543. 3/2/74
	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa	"
	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	"
	ʿAlī Abu'n-Naṣr	"
New Year 1291	Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī	WM.545. 17/2/74
	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	"
	Sh. Muḥammad al-Basyūnī	"
	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	"
	M. Qadrī	"
	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.546. 24/2/74
	Tādrūs Wahbī	WM.547. 3/3/74
	Sh. Muḥammad an-Najjār	"
	Sh. Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Fawwī al-Arnāwut	"
Wedding Muṣṭafā Ṣādiq	Sh. M. ad-Dishnāwī	WM.547. 3/3/74
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	
Birth of Tawfīq's son, ʿAbbās	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.570. 11/8/74
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.572. 25/8/74
Arrival of Khedive's mother from Istanbul	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.573. 1/9/74
The Night of mid Shaʿbān	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.577 6/10/74
ʿId al-Fitr	Muṣṭafā Tawfīq	RM.5.18. 10/11/74
	Ismaʿīl Ṣabrī	"
	Sh. Muḥammad al-Qādī	WM.581. 14/11/74
	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa	"
	Aḥmad Rashīd Ef.	"
	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	
	Tādrūs Wahbī	WM.583. 29/11/74

1875

ʿId al-Adhā	Tādrūs Wahbī	WM.591. 31/1/75
	as-Say. Pasha Abāẓa	

New Year 1292	Aḥmad Rashīd Bey	RM.5.23. 6/2/75
	Salīm Raḥmī	WM.592. 7/2/75
		(RM.6.1. 21/2/75)
	Tādrūs Wahbī	WM.593. 14/2/75
Death of Khedive's daughter Zaynab Hānum	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.621. 29/8/75
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.622. 5/9/75
	Aḥmad Nāmī	WM.623. 12/9/75
	Tādrūs Wahbī	"
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.624. 19/9/75
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	"
ᶜId al-Fitr	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.630. 4/11/75
	Tādrūs Wahbī	"
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	"
	Sh. ᶜAbd al-ᶜĀzim Muṣṭafā	WM.631. 14/11/75

1876

ᶜId al-Adhā	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.639. 9/1/76
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	"
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	WM.640. 16/1/76
	Tādrūs Wahbī	"
	"	(RM.6.24. 26/1/76)
	Masīḥa Labīb	WM.641. 23/1/76
	"	(RM.6.24. 26/1/76)
New Year 1293	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.642. 30/1/76
	Sh. M. al-Ibrāshī	WM.643. 6/2/76
	Masīḥa Labīb	"
	Tādrūs Wahbī	"
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	WM.644. 13/2/76
ᶜId al-Fitr	Muṣṭafā Tawfīq	RM.7.18. 10/10/76
	"	(WM.680. 23/10/76)
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.680. 23/10/76
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	"
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	WM.681. 29/10/76
ᶜId al-Adhā	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.690. 31/12/76
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	

1877

New Year 1294	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.694. 28/1/77
Khedive's birthday	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.721. 5/8/77

Anniversary of Accession	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.722. 12/8/77
ᶜId al-Aḍḥā	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.740. 23/12/77
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	"
		(Waṭ.7. 29/12/77)

1878

ᶜId al-Fiṭr	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.780. 6/10/78
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	"
Riyāḍ Pasha	ᶜAbd Allāh Furayj	Waṭ.51. 2/11/78
ᶜId al-Aḍḥā	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.789. 12/12/78
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	"
	Tādrus Wahbī	"
	Salīm Raḥmī	"
To Riyāḍ for ᶜId al-Aḍḥā	M. Ef. Fannī	Waṭ.57. 14/12/78

1879

Butrus Ghālī	Sh. Ḥasan ash-Shawārabī	Waṭ.79. 17/5/79
Khedive Tawfiq's accession	Salīm Raḥmī	WM.817. 29/6/79
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	"
	Aḥmad ᶜAbd ar-Raḥīm	KM.8. 3/7/79
	aṭ-Ṭahṭāwī	WM.818. 5/7/79
	M. ᶜUthmān Jalāl	WM.819.13/7/79
	ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī Pasha	"
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	"
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	"
	Muṣṭafā Ṣubḥī Bey	"
	M. Ef. Fannī	"
	Murqus Mikhāᶜīl	Waqt.659. 15/7/79
	Muḥammad Ef. Kamāl	KM.10. 18/7/79
	Sh. Ḥusayn al-Wālī	WM.820. 20/7/79
	Maḥmūd Ef. Ṣafwat	"
	Sh. ᶜAbd al-Majīd ash-Sharnūbī	"
	M. Bey Saᶜīd	"
	Ismāᶜīl Bey Ṣādiq	"
	Tādrus Wahbī	"
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jundī	WM.821. 27/7/79
	Sh. Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Iskandarānī	WM.822. 4/8/79
Opening of Khalīj	Sh. Aḥmad ᶜAzzām	WM.823. 11/8/79
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jindī	

Firmān of Appointment	Ibrāhīm Ef. ᶜUsharī	Waṭ.92. 12/8/79 (WM.825. 24/8/79)
	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.824. 16/8/79
	Sh. Ḥusayn Wālī	"
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jindī	"
	Maḥmūd Ef. Ḥusayn	"
	Salīm Raḥmī	"
	Sh. Amīn Abū Yūsuf	Waqt.680. 19/8/79 (Waṭ.93. 23/8/79) (WM.825. 24/8/79)
Firman of Appointment	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	Waṭ.93. 23/8/79 (WM.825. 24/8/79)
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.825. 24/8/79
	Maḥmūd Ef. Ṣafwat	"
	Sh. Aḥmad Nāzil	"
	Muḥammad Kāmil Ef.	"
	Amīn Shumayyil	Waqt.686. 27/8/79
	Sh. M. ad-Darwīsh	WM.826. 31/8/79
	Aḥmad Ef. Ḥamdī	"
	Tādrūs Wahbī	"
	ᶜAlī Fahmī	Waṭ.95. 6/9/79
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Khashshāb	WM.827. 7/9/79
	ᶜAbd al-Majīd an-Naqshabandī	"
	Fītā Ef. Fransīs	Waqt.696. 12/9/79
	Sh. Ibrāhīm al-Ahdab	WM.828. 14/9/79
ᶜId al-Fitr	ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīm Muṣṭafā	WM.829. 25/9/79
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	"
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jindī	"
	Salīm Bey Raḥmī	"
	Tādrūs Wahbī	"
	Sh. ᶜAbd ar-Raḥman al-Abyārī	"
	Sh. Aḥmad ᶜAzzām	
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.830. 4/10/79
	Sh. M. an-Najjār	"
ᶜId al-Adhā	Salīm Bey Raḥmī	Waṭ.105. 15/11/79
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.837. 30/11/79
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	"
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jindī	KM.30. 5/12/79
	Tādrūs Wahbī	WM.838. 7/12/79
	Salīm Bey Raḥmī	"
	Sh. Aḥmad ᶜAzzām	"
New Year 1297	Sh. Muḥammad al-Hijrisī	KM.32. 19/12/79
	Salīm Bey Raḥmī	WM.840. 21/12/79
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jindī	"
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.841. 28/12/79
	Muhammad Bey Saᶜīd	"

1880

Tour of Upper Egypt	Sh. ʿAbd ar-Raḥman al-Abyārī	WM.854.	15/2/80
	ʿAlī Bey Fahmī		"
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī		"
	Sh. ʿUthmān al-Jindī		"
	M. Bey ʿUthmān		"
	ʿAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.855.	17/2/80
	Muṣṭafā ʿAlawī Bey		"
	Muḥammad Rifāʿa Anbar		"
	Sh. Aḥmad Ṭāhir	WM.856.	19/2/80
	Sh. Yūsuf Aḥmad Surūr		"
Return from Upper Egypt	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	Waṭ.121.	6/3/80
Visit to Cairo Schools	Sh. Muṣṭafā al-Barāsī	WM.872.	13/4/80
	Muḥammad Ef. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ al-Bardī		"
	Muḥammad Ef. Khālid		"
	Sulaymān Ef. Dhihnī		"
	Ḥāfiẓ JalālEf.	WM.873.	15/4/80
	Sh. M. an-Nashshār		"
	Maḥmūd Ef. al-Makkawī		"
	ʿUthmān Ef. ʿAbd al-Ghani		"
	Yusuf Sulaymān Ef.	WM.874.	18/4/80
Visit to Lower Egypt	Ghabriyāl Yūsuf		"
	Sh. Muḥammad al-Maghribī		"
	Sh. Aḥmad as-Ṣawwāf		"
	Sh. Muḥammad Jumʿa	WM.875.	20/4/80
	Sh. ʿAlī al-ʿAlāyatī al-Khaffājī	WM.876.	22/4/80
	M. Ef. Kamāl		"
	Muṣṭafā al-Bakrī	Waqt.842.	24/4/80
	Sh. ʿAlī al-Bandāwī	WM.877.	26/4/80
	Sh. Muḥammad Jabr Ef.		"
	Sh. al-ʿAzāzī		"
	Sh. Muḥammad al-Munhī ash-Sharqāwī al-Azharī		"
	Sh. ʿAwad ʿAfīfī		"
	Sh. Aḥmad Sayf al-Bārī an-Nabrāwī	WM.878	29/4/80
	Sh. Maḥmūd Najm ad-Dīn		"
	Ḥusayn Qandīl		"
	Amīn Shumayyil		"
	Dimitrī Dahhān		"
	as-Sayyid ʿAbduh ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Hashīm	WM.879.	2/5/80
	Sh. Muṣṭafā al-Mīhī ash-Shabīlī		"
	as-Sayyid Maḥmūd ʿIzza	Maḥ.79.	5/5/80

	Aḥmad Shafīq	WM.880.	6/5/80
	Sh. ᶜAli al-Laythī		"
	Sh. M. Darwīsh		"
	ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī		"
	Sh. M. al-Ibrāshī		"
	Ḥusayn Khaṭṭāb Ef.		"
	ash-Shawārabī		
	Sh. Maḥmūd Wahba		"
	as-Sayyid Muṣṭafā ᶜAbd		"
	al-Hayy Hāshim		
Visit to Lower Egypt	Sh. ᶜAlī Muḥammad	WM.880.	6/5/80
	an-Naqīb al-Milījī		
	Salīm ᶜĪsā		"
	Muḥammad Ef. Fahmī	Waqt.850.	8/5/80
	Sh. Aḥmad Abū'l-Faraj	WM.881.	9/5/80
	Sh. Shiḥātā al-Ḥufī		"
(Visit to Damanhur)	Sh. Shiḥātā al-Ḥufī	WM.882.	12/5/80
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī		"
	Salīm Bey Raḥmī		"
	Sh. Ṣāliḥ al-Khūlī		
	al-Bakhkhātī		"
	Muḥammad Bey al-Minshāwī		"
	Sh. Aḥmad ad-Dayy		
	ar-Rushdī		"
	Sh. Aḥmad Maḥmūd		"
	Sh. ᶜAbd al-Majīd ash-		
	Sharnūbī		"
	Sh. M. as-Nashshār		"
	Ḥusayn Bey Ḥusnī		"
	Maḥmūd al-ᶜAkkām	WM.883.	15/5/80
	Sh. Aḥmad ᶜAbd al-Ghanī		
	al-Abyārī		"
	Sh. M. an-Najjār		"
Visit to Lower Egypt	Furayj Bey Shitā	WM.884.	18/5/80
Anniversary of Accession	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.900.	27/6/80
	M. Bey ᶜUthmān		"
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr		"
	ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī		"
	Salīm Bey Raḥmī		"
Riyāḍ Pasha appointed mushīr	Sh. Bakrī Muḥammad ᶜĀshūr	WM.904.	6/7/80
	Ṣalīḥ Majdī	WM.905.	8/7/80
	Sh. Amīn Abū Yūsuf	Waqt.892.	10/7/80
	Khalīl al-Khūrī	WM.910.	21/7/80
	M. Qadrī Bey		"
	Niqūlā Tūmā	Waqt.908.	3/8/80
	ᶜAlī Abū'n-Naṣr	WM.915.	4/8/80
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.916.	7/8/80
	Aḥmad Ef. Rashwān	WM.917.	11/8/80

Opening of Khalīj	M. ᶜUthmān Jalāl	WM.915. 4/8/80
Ramaḍān	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Waqt.910. 7/8/80
	M. Bey ᶜUthmān	WM.919. 17/8/80
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.920. 21/8/80
Ḥusayn Fakhrī P. Minister of Justice	Ṣāliḥ Majdī	WM.918. 14/8/80
Riyāḍ P. for Ramaḍān	Muḥammad Ramzī	WM.919. 17/8/80
ᶜId al-Fiṭr	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Waqt.931. 11/9/80
	Sh. Amīn Abū Yūsuf	"
	M. Bey ᶜUthmān	WM.924. 11/9/80
	Salīm Raḥmī	"
	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.925. 14/9/80
	Sh. Aḥmad ᶜAzzām	"
	M. Bey ᶜUthmān	"
	Muḥammad Ef. Ramzī	WM.927. 19/9/80
Riyāḍ P. for ᶜId al-Fiṭr	ᶜAlī Ef. Rashwān	WM.926. 16/9/80
Maḥmal	Sh. Ibrāhīm ad-Dusūqī	WM.931. 29/9/80
	Sh. Aḥmad Jadāwī al-Aswānī	"
Crown Prince for ᶜId al-Aḍhā	Ṣālih Majdī	WM.953. 1/11/80
Riyāḍ P. for ᶜId al-Aḍhā	Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀṣim	Waqt.975. 17/11/80
ᶜId al-Aḍhā	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.963. 18/11/80
	M. Bey ᶜUthmān	"
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.970. 27/11/80
	Sh. ᶜUthmān al-Jindī	WM.971. 28/11/80
	Ahmad ᶜAzzām	"
New Year 1298	M. Bey ᶜUthmān	WM.976. 4/12/80
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.979. 7/12/80
Riyāḍ	Ibrāhīm Ef. Ṣawlah	Waqt.1001. 27/12/80

1881

Christian New Year	Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀṣim	WM.1009. 11/1/81
Award of Legion d'Honneur	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.1010. 12/1/81
	M. Bey ᶜUthmān	WM.1011. 13/1/81

Prophet's Birthday	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1038. 15/2/81
Decorations from Greek and Hungarian Governments	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1077. 2/4/81
	Ismāʿīl Ef. ʿĀṣim	WM.1080. 5/4/81
	M. Bey ʿUthmān	WM.1081. 6/4/81
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1082. 7/4/81
Visit to Canal Zone	Judge in Ismāʿīlīya	Maḥ.292. 5/5/81
	Sh. M. ad-Dishnāwī	Maḥ.294. 7/5/81
Visit to Alexandria	M. Ef. Fatḥ al-Bāb	Maḥ.293. 6/5/81
	as-Say. Maḥmūd Ef. Sharābīh	Maḥ.296. ?/5/81
Khedive's Birthday	M. Bey ʿUthmān	WM.1135. 11/6/81
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1136. 12/6/81
	Sh. ʿUthmān al-Jindī	WM.1138. 14/6/81
Circumcision of Khedive's children	Sh. ʿAbd al-Hādī al-Abyārī	"
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1139. 15/6/81
	M. Bey ʿUthmān	WM.1147. 25/6/81
	Sh. ʿUthmān al-Jindī	"
Anniversary of Accession	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Maḥ.327. 27/6/81
	ʿAbd Allāh Furayj	"
	M. Bey ʿUthmān	WM.1152. 30/6/81
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	"
	Sh. ʿUthmān al-Jindī	WM.1157. 6/7/81
	Salīm Bey Raḥmī	Wat.191. 9/7/81
Ḥusayn Fakhrī Pasha for Ramadān	Sālih Majdī	Maḥ.350. 30/7/81
Ramadān	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Maḥ.350. 30/7/81
		(Ah.1167. 1/8/81)
	M. Bey ʿUthmān	WM.1179. 1/8/81
	Sh. ʿUthmān al-Jindī	WM.1181. 3/8/81
	M. Bey Saʿīd	WM.1188. 11/8/81
ʿId al-Fitr	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Ah.1188. 30/8/81
		(Maḥ.376. 10/9/81)
	Sh. ʿAlī al-Laythī	WM.1198. 30/8/81
	M. Bey ʿUthmān	WM.1199. 31/8/81
	ʿAbd Allāh Ef. Furayj	"
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1200. 1/9/81
	Sh. ʿUthmān al-Jindī	"
Return to Cairo from Alexandria	Ismāʿīl ʿĀṣim	WM.1204. 7/9/81
	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1205. 8/9/81
Sharīf P. appointed President of Council of Ministers	Ḥasan Bey Ḥusnī	Bur.21. 23/9/81
		(Tan.15. 25/9/81)
	ʿAbd Allāh Ef. Furayj	WM.1226. 4/10/81
		(Tan.16. 12/10/81)
	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Ah.1221. 8/10/81
	Salīm Bey Rahmī	Tan.17. 19/10/81

Muḥammad Qadrī appointed Minister of Justice	Maḥmūd Bey Ḥusayn	WM.1220. 27/9/81
	Aḥmad Ef. Rashwān	WM.1232. 11/10/81
	ᶜAbd Allāh Ef. Furayj	Ah.1225. 13/10/81
	Niqūlā Tūmā	Ah.1248. 14/11/81
Buṭrus Bey Ghālī appointed Wakīl in Ministry of Justice	Anon.	WM.1234. 13/10/81
	Ismāᶜīl ᶜĀsim	Waṭ.203. 22/10/81
	Qādī Ef.	WM.1243. 24/10/81
	Aḥmad Ef. Rashwān	WM.1247. 29/10/81
	ᶜAlī Bey Fahmī	WM.1252 10/11/81
ᶜId al-Aḍḥā	Sh. ᶜAlī al-Laythī	WM.1249. 7/11/81
	as-Say. Maḥmūd Sharābīh	Ah.1243. 8/11/81
	Sh. Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh	WM.1250. 8/11/81
	ᶜAbd al-ᶜAẓīm Ef. Muṣṭafā	WM.1257. 15/11/81
To Sharīf Pasha for ᶜId al-Aḍḥā	Sh. Ḥamza Fatḥ Allāh	WM.1250. 8/11/81
Birth of Niᶜmat Allāh Hānum	Salīm Raḥmī	WM.1258. 17/11/81
New Year	Sh. M. al-Basyūnī	WM.1266. 27/11/81
	ᶜAbd al-Raḥīm Muḥammad	WM.1274. 6/12/81

1882

Appointment of ᶜAbd Allāh Fikrī as Minister of Education	ᶜAbd Allāh Ef. Furayj	Muf.39. 6/3/82
	ᶜAlī Effendi Jalāl	"
	ᶜAbd Allāh Ef. Hashīm	"

Abbreviations in Appendix:

Ah = al-Ahrām; Bur. = al-Burhān; Jaw. = al-Jawā'ib; Mah. = al-Mahrūsa; Muf. = al-Mufīd; Tan. = at-Tankīt; Wat. = al-Watan; WN. = Wādī an-Nīl.

APPENDIX G

The following sent one or two poems to the Egyptian press in the period under study. Where their names are included in the list of poems sent to the Khedivial Family and Government Ministers (appendix F), the details of the paper to which they contributed are not given in this list:-

Shaykh ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīm, son of Shaykh Muḥammad ᶜAbd al-ᶜAzīm at-Ṭahṭāwī the Ḥanafite Muftī, a student at Dār al-ᶜUlūm. He graduated 1877, eventually becoming wakīl of the Household of Princess Niᶜmat Allāh Khānim. (ᶜAbd al-Jawwād, Muḥammad, Taqwīm Dār al-ᶜUlūm [Cairo, 1952], p. 15).

ᶜAbd Allāh Effendī Hāshim, student at madrasat al-tajhīzīya.

Shaykh ᶜAbd al-Majīd ash-Sharbūnī. Wrote qaṣīda for a mosque 1873 (WM, no. 533, 11 November, 1873).

ᶜAbd ar-Raḥīm Muḥammad, a corrector on the staff of al-Waqā'iᶜ al-Miṣrīya.

as-Sayyid ᶜAbduh ᶜAbd al-Ḥayy Hāshim from Shiblī.

Shaykh Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Iskandarānī, an Azharite.

Aḥmad Nāmī, assistant at al-muḥāfaẓa al-miṣrīya as-sanīya (the Cairo Governorate).

Shaykh Aḥmad Nāzil, a Meccan.

Aḥmad Nazmī, a pupil at the School of Surveying and Accounting (Poem - WM, no. 352, 10 April, 1870; RM, y. 1, no. 1, 16 April, 1870).

Shaykh Ahmad Rashīd Effendi, son of Ahmad Rashīd Pasha, student at School of Surveying (1873-1874).

Shaykh Ahmad as-Ṣawwāf, ᶜālim from Sammūd.

Ahmad Shafīq, a court employee.

Shaykh Ahmad Tāhir from Luqsor.

ᶜAlī Effendi Jalāl, student at madrasat al-huqūq (the Law School).

ᶜAlī Effendi Ridwān, clerk to the Council of Justice.

Anonymous (Poem - WM, no. 240, 15 October, 1868).

Shaykh ᶜAwad ᶜAfīfī, preacher (khaṭīb) at the mosque of az-Zaqāziq.

Shaykh Bakrī Muhammad ᶜĀshūr, muftī of bayt al-māl (the Treasury) and the majlis hasbī (Probate Court) of the Khedive.

Dimitrī Dahhān, German Consul in Tanta.

Ghabriyāl Yūsuf, priest from Sindbīs.

Hāfiz Jalāl Effendi, student at the Polytechnique.

Hasanayn Effendi Muhammad ar-Rashīdī, clerk in al-Jamālīya (tawshīh for weddings 1873).

as-Sayyid Ibrāhīm Effendi, kātib majlis al-mudīrīya (clerk in the Governorate Council) (Poem - WM, no. 501, 1 April, 1873).

Shaykh Ibrāhīm al-Laqqānī, khatib at the mosque of Sayyidī Yaḥyā Abū Mandūr.

Ibrāhīm Effendi Sawlah, attaché at the Finance Ministry.

Ibrāhīm Sirāj (poem - RM, y. 6, no. 10, end Jumādā I, 1292/ 3 July, 1875).

Ibrāhīm Effendi ᶜUsharī, a clerk in ad-dā'ira as-sanīya.

The Inspector of the town of al-Fayyūm (Poem - WM, no 29, 21 June, 1866).

A judge at Bandar Girgah. (A tawshīh - WM, no. 232, 26 November, 1868).

A judge in the Governorate of Girgah (Poem - WM, no 251, 23 November, 1868).

Shaykh Khalīl al-ᶜAzāzī, an ᶜumda (village chief) and ᶜālim from Banhā (Poems - WM, no. 258, 17 December, 1868; and no. 443, 6 February, 1872). See Kaḥḥāla, vol. 4, p. 110.

Khayr Allāh Effendi, a translator in dīwān al-muḥāfaza (Poem- WM, no. 281, 18 March, 1869).

Khurshid Effendi Talᶜat, bashjāwīsh (master sergeant) in Bulūk al-Jirkhājīya (the company of engineers)
(Poem - al- Waṭan, no. 146, 27 August, 1880).

Shaykh Maḥmūd ᶜAlī al-Ḥanāwī from Qena (Poem - WM, no. 380, 3 November, 1874).

Maḥmūd Ḥasan Effendi al-ᶜAkkām (Poems - WM, no. 286, 12 April, 1869; and no. 318, 9 August [al-Jawā'ib, 31 August]).

Mahmūd Effendi Ḥusayn, inspector of imārat al-awqāf (endowments office).

as-Sayyid Mahmūd ᶜIzza from Damietta.

Shaykh Mahmūd Wahba, a judge.

Mufti of Qena (Poem - WM, no. 259, 21 December, 1868).

Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Hāshim (Poem - WM, no. 1172, 24 July, 1881).

Shaykh Muhammad al-Amīn al-Basīr, ᶜālim in the Sudan, (madhīya - WM, no. 265, 11 January, 1869).

Shaykh Muhammad ad-Dishnāwī, a teacher at al-madrasa al-khayrīya al-ᶜarabīya, Port Said.

Muhammad Effendi Fahmī, employee at the Governorate of Rosetta.

Muhammad Effendı Fath al-Bāb, bāshkātib (chief clerk) of the Alexandria Police Force.

Muhammad Husnī Effendi, madrasat al-idāra wa'l-alsun.

Shaykh Muhammad al-Ibrāshī al-Azharī, son of late Shaykh Muhammad al-Ibrāshī.

Shaykh Muhammad Ismāᶜīl, teacher at the Preparatory School (Poem - WM, no. 177, 10 February, 1868; and no. 178).

Shaykh Muhammad Jabr Effendi, former judge from ash-Sharqīya and an employee of the Mixed Courts in Cairo.

Muhammad Effendi Kamāl, a secretary in the Interior Ministry.

Muhammad Effendi Kamāl, nāzir qalam qadāyā mudīrīyat Banī Suwayf wa'l-Fayyūm (the Litigation Bureau in the Governorate of Beni Suef and al-Fayyūm) (Poems - WM, no. 117, 27 June, 1867; and no. 141, 23 September).

Muhammad Kamīl Effendi, mufattish ru'yatih (inspector in its inspectorate), Kafr ash-Shaykh.

Muhammad Effendi Khālid, student at the School of Languages.

Shaykh Muhammad al-Maghribī, ʿālim from Tanta.

Shaykh Muhammad Muhammad ad-Dishnāwī al-Azharī (- 1892). Student at Dār al-ʿUlūm, 1874. He graduated 1878 and became a teacher in Port Said and then Giza (ʿAbd al-Jawwād, p. 15).

Muhammad Effendi Qāsim, a calligrapher near Sayyidnā al-Husayn.

Muhammad Safwat Effendi, muʿāwin (assistant) bayt al-māl al-misrīya (the Egyptian Treasury Department).

Muhammad Sāyib Bey (Poem - WM, no. 240, 15 October, 1868 [al-Jawā'ib, 1 December]).

Shaykh Muhyi'd-Dīn an-Nabhānī (Long poem in al-Ahrām, no. 1227, 15 October, 1881).

Murqus Mikhā'īl from Rosetta.

as-Sayyid Mustafā ʿAbd al-Hayy Hāshim, one of the elders of the mosque of Sayyidī Muhammad Shibl.

Mustafā Effendi Najīb, Arab clerk of court (Poem - WM, no. 1024, 29 January, 1881).

Nasr Allāh az-Zahr, Belgian Vice-Consul in Suez (Poem - WM, no. 49, 18 October, 1866).

Qādī Effendi, Alexandria.

as-Sayyid Ridwān al-Hafnāwī, mufattish kuttāb al-qudāt (Inspector of the Judicial Clerks) in Cairo (Poem in al-Waṭan, no. 102, 25 October, 1879).

Shaykh Rashwān, Arabic teacher at Madrasat al-Mubtadayān (Poem - WM, no. 849, 3 February, 1880).

Saʿīd ʿIzzat Bey, a student at the School of Surveying and Accounting, son of late Salīm Pasha as-Silāhdār.

Salīm ʿĪsa, a teacher at the Coptic School.

Sulaymān Effendi Dhihnī, student at the School of Languages.

Shaykh ʿUmar al-Wāfī (Poem - WM, no. 284, April 1869 [al-Jawā'ib, 20 April, 1869]).

as-Sayyid ʿUthmān Effendi, a judge in Beni Suef (Poems - WM, no. 117, 27 June, 1867; and no. 141, 23 September).

Teacher at the American School, Asyut (Poem - WM, no. 855, 17 February, 1880).

ʿUthmān Effendi ʿAbd al-Ghanī, student at the Polytechnique.

Yahyā Qadrī Effendi, muʿāwin (assistant) in the dīwān al-Khazāna (the Treasury) (Poem - WM, quoted in al-Jawā'ib, 4 April, 1872).

Yūsuf Sulaymān Effendī, School of Administration.

APPENDIX H

POETRY

I

لعمرك ليس ذا وقت التصابى ... ولا وقت السماع على الشراب

ولا وقت الجلوس على القهاوى ... ولا وقت التغافل والتغابى

ولا وقت التشبب فى سليمى ... ولا وقت التشاغل بالرباب

ولا وقت التلاهى بالملاهى ... ولا وقت الخلاعة والعتاب

ولا وقت التغالى فى ولوع ... بربات الحجال ولا الخضاب

ولا وقت التمادى فى هيام ... بماخلف الستائر والنقاب

ولا وقت استماع خرعبلات ... ولا أخبار ضبة او كلاب

ولا وقت التوانى عن أمانى ... ولا وقت السكون عن الصواب

ولا وقت التقاعد فى بيوت ... ولا وقت الخمول والاحتجاب

ولكن ذا زمان الجدّ وافى ... وذا وقت الفتوة والشباب

ووقت الاتحاد مع التصافى ... وعقد عرى الاخاء والانتساب

ووقت ليس فيه يليق الا الـ ... اقامة بالقلاع وبالطوابى

ووقت البر بالايمان صدقا ... لتجريد السيوف من القراب

ووقت فيه الاستعداد فرض ... لتنفيذ الاوامر من عرابى

وزير نال بالسيف المعالى ... وانقذ مصر من ايدى الذهاب

وقام لنصر دين الله فيها ... باخلاص وحزم واحتساب

وعيد الحق لم يسلك طريقا ... وغير الصدق لم يدخل بباب

وكم قاس الصعاب مفاجئات ... وما كانت لمصر فى حساب

الى م سكوتكم يا اهل مصر ... على من سامكم سوء العذاب

وماجاءت اساطيل الاعادى ... بظهر البحر الا للخراب

وها هم أوقدوا للحرب نارا ... وان النار زائدة التهاب

وقد نصبوا لصيدكم شباكاً ... وهل تقعون فى ظفر وناب

وقد طالت حبالهم واخشى ... بها تمسون من ضمن احتطاب

وفى مصر لقد طمعوا و مصر ... بكم والله امنع من عقاب

ارى الاطماع والحراس اسداً ... وهم (؟) انتم من العجب العجاب

حذار من السكوت اما كفى ما ... اصاب اسكندرية من خراب

وان كانت سترجع عن قريب ... لما كانت عليه من الشباب

لعمر الله نازلة واخشى ... تصيبكم وتمسى فتح باب

وليس مخلص منها سوى ان ... تكونوا فى اجتماع واصطحاب

ومن كان الاله له نصيرا ... رأيت عداه فى شر انقلاب

فلا تستبدلوا بالغير مصرا ... فما ذَهَبٌ يُبَدَّلُ بالتراب

وقوموا بالثبات على الاعادى ... وقولوا فيهم فصل الخطاب

وان سألوكم من بعد هذا ... فما غير المدافع من جواب

وهزوا للطعان بهم رماحا ... وفيهم جردوا سيف الضراب

فلولا السيف ما سجدت قريش ... ولا كانت مطاطأة الرقاب

فكيف بامة ليست بشىء ... لها مثل الطنين من الذباب

وبُعداً للأولى بالنفى قالوا ... لتسكن مصر من بعد اضطراب

وما مصت الحياة وذاك فيها ... بعيد والاجانب فى اقتراب

ومرت الحر خير من حياة ... يرى فيها السيادة للكلاب

وقولوا يا عرابى مر بأمر ... تراه فانت ذو الامر المجاب

و دم لوزارة لِسواكَ تأبى ... وان وصلت اليك بلا طلاب

فما نيل الوزارة كان سهلا ... فكم قاسيت فيها من صعاب

و ان فداك الارواح منا ... وقد قل الفدا لك يا عرابى

وقولوا يا عرابى دم رئيسا ... لحزب النصر محفوظ الجناب

II

نوال المعالى من طعان الكتائب ... و نيل الامانى من ثمار المتاعب

و قهر الاعادى بالتدبر اولا ... وبعد باشهاد السيوف القواضب

فلا مجد الا فى المحامح يفتنى ... ولا فخر الا للكمى المحارب

فمن لم يجد بالحمر فى صون عرضه ... كساه صغار العار ثوب الهثالب

و من لم يكن ذا ذمة فى عهوده ... فقد فُقِدَتْ منه كرام المناقب

و من لا يعشق الحرب يغد مولعا ... تخطفه طير الردى بمخالب

فكن ناضيا سيف العزيمة دائما ... لنيل المعالى دون خوف العواقب

فاما حياة بالوفاء شريفة ... و اما ممات فيه درء المعايب

واى فتى فى الناس يرضى مذلة ... جدير بفقد دون ندب النوادب

فان يكون المجد للشخص حلية ... اذا لم يقابل معضلات الصعايب

فلولا الثرى لم يعرف البدر ساميا ... ولولا القلى مالذ وصل الحبائب

ولولا عرابى الشهم ما طار صيتنا ... بشأن لنا فى شرقها والمغارب

فهيا بنا يا آل مصر لنصره ... لتعزيز اوطان و دفع مصائب

فلا دين ان حل العدو بارضكم ... ولا عرض يبقى فى شباب وشائب

وثمة لا للمال نفح يسرنا ... ولا ستر للاحرار غير المثارب

وكيف وانا فى قتال عدوّنا ... نهيم و نشدو فى صفوف المضارب

بشيب وشبان ليوث كواسر ... خلاصة قوم من خيار الاعارب

نراهم كما شاء الفخار ثوابتا ... مقادم لو ولت صفوف الكتائب

يُوَفُّونَ بالميثاق لو فيه حينهم ... ويرمون بالحزم كبار النوائب

وحسبك منا كل نفس أبية ... يعز عليها أن تذل لصاحب

فما ان لهت بالهيف يوما نفوسنا ... ولا افتننت بالغانيات الكواعب

ولا خامرت منا العقول مدامة ... ولا هى قد ضلت بسود الدوائب

تلين بمعروف لضد قلوبنا ... فنلحظه فضلا بعين التحايب

ومهما خطوب قد عرتنا حرورها ... بسيف حسمناها من الرأى صائب

وكم (؟) مجد سعيه فى خداعنا ... وعاد بسعى فى الحقيقة خائب

وأمسى بخسران و عار مخلد ... يشين بنيه فى بطون الحقائب

ولسنا كقوم عن طريق الهدى عموا ... الى اليوم من اضلا لهم فى غياهب

وحقك ما وهم الاعادى يروعنا ... فانا سبرنا هم بحكم التجارب

شداد لدى الادبار من حومة الوغى ... ضعاف لدى الاقبال حال التضارب

سرى الحزف من أصلاب آبائهم لهم ... وهم نطف بين الحشا والترائب

فراش اذا هموا لاطفاء شعلة ... نراهم رمادا فى شديد اللهائب

فتبا لهم بالحزى راحوا أو اعتدوا ... وتعسا لهم باؤا بكل النكائب

وكم من عيوب ليس تحصى ولم تكن ... بذات دخول تحت عد محاسب

وما تم فى الدنيا وجوبا ثناؤه ... خلاف عرابى الشهم سامى المناقب

اذا ما امتطى الشهبا فاول فارس ... و ان سل سيف فهو اول ضارب

سل الحال واستخبر من الناس كلهم ... تنبئك عن كتب له وكتائب

فان عرابى دافع العار عنهم ... و ان عرابى للمنى خير كاسب

وان عرابى رأس حزب مؤيد ... لغير العلى، والله ليس براغب

و من كعرابى فى البرايا وحزبه ... أُولي العزم أصحاب القنا والقواضب

فلله من قوم ليوث و فتية ... بصيتهم تحدو حداة الركائب

عساكر مصركم لهم من وقايع ... وكم من كمى فيهم و محارب

رجال أُعِدّو للحمى، وهم الحمى ... عن الاهل و الاوطان فى كل جانب

فلا زال هذا الحزب لله ناجحا ... باحمد سعيا فى تمام المطالب

III

بالنصر قد جاء الكتاب مشيرا ... و به اتى هادى الانام بشيرا

يا احمد المرجو لمصر ومن غدا ... فينا امينا للجيوش أميرا

بشراك بالنصر المبين فثق به ... وكفى بربك هاديا و نصيرا

فازحف بجيشك يا مظفر ضاريا ... فى الانجليز و قاتلا سيمورا

و اقطع بسيفك أمة قد امرّوا ... انثى عليهم اذ عدمن ذكورا

قوم تربوا فى الثلوج قطيعهم ... يهوى البرود ولا يطيق حرورا

يا قوم قد خرجوا و جرّو بورهم ... رمما و جرحاهم تمج بحورا

رجعوا و يوم السبت مبغوض لهم ... اذ لم يروا فى يوم سبت نورا

قد احرقوا قتلاهم من ظلمهم ... حتى لقد ظلموا بذاك سعيرا

ضربوا مدافع حزنهم اسفا على ... من مات منهم خاسئا و حسيرا

ندبوا رؤوسهم و قد هلكوا و ما ... بالبحر الا من رأيت صغيرا

سمك يذوب من التراب وكم غدا ... نتناً بمس الشمس فيه خميرا

كتبوا لسيدة لهم أن جهزي ... غنما لعيد المسلمين كثيرا

وتغيبوا عنا زمانا و انشوا ... مثل الفراش فدمروا تدميرا

يا انجليز ومن ينادى ميتا ... يخطئ وكيف اخاطب المقبورا

بالثغر جئتم بغتة و ضربتم ... من غير وعد اولا و اخيرا

و اسكندرية قد ضربتم دورها ... ما الحرب ضربكم البناء الدورا

ماعندنا الا الرجال ذكرهم ... يسمو على مر الزمان دهورا

ماعندنا الا أسود عساكر ... وقفت لتنحر بالسيوف نحورا

انسيتم ارضا حبتكم ثروة ... و سكنتموها جنة و قصورا

ورأيتم فيها رجالا أمرهم ... فى حفظهم لكم غدا مشهورا

انسيتم ارضا دخلتم روضها ... و جنيتم ثمرا به و زهورا

ذوقوا رصاصا من بنادق هيئت ... لكم لتشرخ فى الصدور صدورا

و خذوا مدافع بالقنابل أرسلت ... لكم لتأخذ جسمكم و تطيرا

هذا جزائكم على كفرانكم ... نعما و لا يرضى الاله كفورا

نحن الاولى كنا نيا ما حيث لا ... عدل وكان اميرنا مأمورا

نمنا كاهل الكهف دهرا ليتنا ... قد كان حافظ امرنا فطيرا

نحن الاولى كنا ضعافا حيث لا ... شرع وكان كتابنا مهجورا

حتى فقدنا قوة العرب الاولى ... فتحوا البلاد وأحسنوا التدبيرا

و اليوم نبهنا الزمان و جاءنا ... حامي حمى القطر السعيد مجبرا

يا طالما كذبت جرائدكم على ... اولاد مصر و اقترفتم زورا

و بعثتم اولادكم و نساءكم ... و سقيتم اهل الفساد خمورا

كنا ضعافا حيث لا حرية ... فينا و لم نخرف لذاك غيورا

و اليوم قام لاحمد الجيش الذى ... وافى و أصبح جيشه منصورا

و أتته من اهل البلاد اعانة ... و عساكر ضربوا لذاك نفيرا

عرب النقى اهل التقى من خيلهم ... سبقت لتنزل فى العدو صقورا

و عساكر هجموا اسودا فى الوغى ... و لدى اصطفاف الصف صاروا سورا

و رجال دين حيث قد خافوا على ... ذرية من بعدهم تكفيرا

خافوا على اعراضهم من أمة ... خانت و كم فضحت و فضت خورا

خافوا على اوطانهم و بلادهم ... خافوا على جعل الغنى فقيرا

خافوا على جعل المساجد مربطا ... للخيل او جعل الرجال حميرا

خافوا على آل الرسول و بيته ... و الله فضلهم عليك كثيرا

خافوا على الدين القويم و اهله ... من أشبهوا فى الاهتداء بدورا

خافوا على مفتاح بيت الله و ال ... بقع التى قد طهرن تطهيرا

خافوا على ترك الفروض و قطعنا ... جهر الاذان و هجرنا التكبيرا

يا مسلمون استبشروا فعدوكم ... ولى و أصبح جيشه مكسورا

و لسوف يعلو قدركم و مقامكم ... يعلو و أمركم يكون شهيدا

يا ايها الشجعان هذا وقتكم ... فاروا العدا عزما لكم مشهورا

ان الحياة مع المذلة موتة ... و بها نرى عذب المذاق مريرا

كونوا كما انتم عليه وجاهدوا ... حق الجهاد وحاذروا التأخيرا

بيضتم صحف التواريخ التى ... فاحت بذكركم الزكىّ عبيرا

لا كان اخذ الانكليز بلادنا ... أبدا ولا قد كان ذا مقدورا

والله لو رحنا جميعا ما نرى ... تسليمنا تلك البلاد يسيرا

ارض سقيناها دموع عيوننا ... وبها جرى النيل السعيد غزيرا

ارض عليها استشهدت اجدادنا ... فعلام لا يرث الصغير كبيرا

ان عاش منا واحد يا سعده ... او مات لاقى جنة وحريرا

وطن بايدينا زرعنا أرضه ... فغدا نضيرا ينبت الاكبيرا

يا آل مصر ألا فقووا عزمكم ... واستغنموا بيد الجهاد اجورا

يا آل مصر ألا اعينوا جيشكم ... اذ قام يحفظ بالنفاع ثغورا

اذ قام يحفظ ارضكم وبلادكم ... ونساءكم وصغيركم وكبيرا

يا آل مصر الا انزكوا من عضدوا ... قوما لقد خانوا فكانوا بورا

هم خائنو الوطن الذى شبعوا به ... وفقيرهم منه بقى بنكيرا

هم خائنو الرتب التى (؟) نقصت ... بهم فكانوا للعباد شرورا

آل النفاق علام تبغون العدا ... الكم بهم نسب غدا مستورا

ام انهم لا كنتم استثنوكم ... ولديهم صار اسمكم مسطورا

فى بور سعيد وغيره قد خنتم ... وفعلتم للانجليز امورا

بور لكم وسعيد طالع وقتنا ... ولكم بذا يوم يكون عسيرا

من لم يكن فيه لمسقط رأسه ... خيرا رأى فى غيره التحقيرا

سأرى بسعد الفال شعرى ناطقا ... ولرب اشعار تكون جفورا

عما قريب سوف يظفر جيشنا ... ويجي عرابينا لنا مسرورا

وترى الاولى حملوا لواء النصر في ... حفظ البلاد وانجزوا المأمورا

ويرنا تقبيل ترب نعالهم ... فلقد بنوا لحمى الشريعة سورا

وترى بهذا القطر اعظم زينة ... فرحا بما قد ناله وسرورا

وترى لمصر سعادة ابدية ... ويكون من فيها بذاك فخورا

وتكون للسلطان اعظم قوة ... ولها يكون معضدا وظهيرا

يا ربنا انصره وزد في عزه ... واجعل الهي ذنبنا مغفورا

وأدم صلاتك والسلام على الذي ... أضحى به هذا الحمى معمورا

واحفظ عرابي ما ترنم قائل ... بالنصر قد جاء الكتاب مشيرا

IV

الى م يسوء فعل الجاهلينا ... ونمنحهم بفضل الجاه لينا

ونخفض للعلوج جناح ذل ... لنرفع نصبهن فيجزمونا

ومنها في وصف الشهداء

وقل لا تحسبوا الشهداء هلكى ... بلى والله أحيا يرزقونا

ومنها في وصف المجاهدين

واحببتم معالم دارسات ... فدبت نشوة الاسلام فينا

ومنها في مدح سعادة ناظر الجهادية والبحرية

اذا ما راية رفعت لمجد ... تلقاها عرابينا يمينا

وهنا مدح امراء العسكرية ثم قال:

اولئك عصبة الاسلام حقا لهم خضعت رقاب العالمينا

وهذه القصيدة الثانية فمطلعها وهو المخلص ايضا :

يا صاح قم و اشكر الهك واحمد فالدين منصور على يد احمد

بطل همام فى الخطوب مدبر ذو همة بـــدير رأى اوحد

و منها

اســـد تظل الاسد حول جنابه منثورة كاللؤلؤ المتنضد

و منها

قوم هم الغر الكرام بهديهم فينا اهتد يا ويل من لم يهتد

وهنا مدح حضرات امراء العسكرية ثم قال

فجزاهم الله الكريم بفضله اذ أوردوا الكفار شر المورد

و منها فى الحض على بذل الاموال فى سبيل الجهاد

من يبذل الاموال يكتسب الثنا الهال ينفد و الثنا لم ينفد

V

دع عنك وصل البيض والخود الرداح ما المجد الا فى معانقة الصفاح

فالعز يبدو تحت مشتجر القنا حيث المعامع تصطلى لا شرب راح

ما الوقت وقت فكاهة و خلاعة بين الرياض وبين ريات الوشاح

هذا زمان قد تفاقم خطبه و تطامحت لشرورة عين الطماح

من غير وعد للحروب تقاذفت كلل الكروب و ذاك ظلم و افتراح

كفوا عن الشره المبيد لجمعكم ... يا عصبة لعبت بها أيدى الجماح

ما ارض مصر يا عدو غنيمة ... من دون مصر وليلها القدر المتاح

هى مربض الاسد الهصور وساحة ال ... بطل الغيور اخى الوغى ليث الكفاح

قطب الكتائب فارس الهيجاء من ... سطعت بنور جبينه شمس النجاح

ذاك بن بجدتها عرابى الذى ... نالت به كل المفاخر والفلاح

تأتى اوامره فنعلم انها ... فرض فنلقاها ببشر وانشراح

مصر الفتاة عزيزة و منالها ... صعب ونحن ببذلها أبداً شحاح

كم تحت هالة خدرها من فارس ... فوق المطهم للعدا شاكى السلاح

ينقض أسرع من عقاب نحوهم ... فكانما فى كل جارحة جناح

لا تطمعوا يوما بخلد جنانها ... فنعيمها حفت به سمر الرماح

موتوا بغيظ فالقلوب تجمعت ... وجيوشنا لقتالكم ملأى البطاح

قد عودوا خيل الطراد دماءكم ... رِيّاً فقد سمت من الماء القراح

ما بالكم لا تصبرون على اللقا ... جُبْنا أما فيه عليكم من جناح

صحنا و نحتم عند اول وقعة ... هل يستوى زؤر الضراغم والنباح

يوم القتال فلا تسل عن حالهم ... شربوا المنون وشربها شر اصطباح

عقدت سنابك خيلنا من فوقهم ... سحبا و شاموا الموت فى لمع الصفاح

كم من طريح بالدماء مضرج ... ترك المعرة للبقية واستراح

سيمورکم سيمور مِنْ كَمْدٍ به ... و نساؤكم سَتُعلِم الثكلى النواح

كم من خداع قد تترتم به ... فالآن من مصر تنالون انتضاح

ان تعهدوا فى السلم لين عريكة ... منا فنحن لدى الوغى السم الذباح

حتما علينا أن نجرد بالنفس ... صونا لعرض لايهان ولا يباح

فقد الحياة ولا مذلة عيشة ... بين اللئام وسطوة القوم الوقاح

زودوا عن الشرف الرفيع بما لكم ... يا اهل مصر فانتم اهل السماح

بالنصر من روح الالة تيقنوا ... فلكل ليل حالك يبدو صباح

هذى رجال الحرب بالبيض الظبا ... أضحت مدافعة عن البيض الملاح

باتت بكل مثقف ومهند ... تحت القتام كانها شهب اجتياح

كالراسيات اذا لقاهم فَيْلَقٌ ... واذا سطوا سبقت جيادهم الرياح

ماصادموا جيشا يموج عرمرما ... الا وقد نعق الخراب به وناح

من كل شهم ماجد بطل يرى ... أن لامناص عن القتال ولا براح

الله اكبر فالمرة أقبلت ... والبشر وافانا وفجر النصر لاح

VI

تفطر القلب من حزن ولا عجبا ... والدمع فاض على الخدين منسكبا

اسكندرية ماهذا الخراب وكم ... من نكبة بك قد حلت فواحربا

قتل وموت وتدمير ومهجرة ... سلب ونهب ونيران وكم سبا

دخلت ميناك ابغى الوصل ملتهفا ... وجدت قلبك بالنيران ملتهبا

تملّتْ مما رات عيناى واضطربت ... منى الحواس وطار العقل منسلبا

وقفت والقلب قد قامت قيامته ... سَيْرِي كسير الاسير الطالب الهربا

أفيكِ ماعشت لاعاشت انامله ... ذاك الذى كان فى اذلالك السببا

اين القصور واين الناس قد رحلت ... عنها واين الغنى والمال قد ذهبا

كم شارع زينته الغادياتُ غدا ... تلا من الردم فيه البوم قد نصبا

خلت ربوعك من اهليك واندرست ... و انداس كل ثمين فيك وانقلبا

فكنت راقصة مثل العروس وها ... اصبحت تكلى فلا حظا ولا طربا

وكنت بالأمس مثل الشمس مشرقة ... فنأى كل ضياء عنك و احتجبا

ما هذه الحال في يوم و ليلته ... يحل فيك مصاب قط ما كتبا

يا زينة الشرق يا خير البلاد ومن ... بالمجد و الفخر و العز ارتقت رتبا

ندبت حظك ندبا الطفل والده ... ولست اول من قد ناح وانتدبا

يبكيك دانٍ وقاصٍ والدموع دم ... وقد كوت نارك الأهلين الغربا

سألت ربي ان يكولك ثانية ... ثوب الجمال معيداً كل ما خربا

وان يحفك بالتوفيق رافلة ... فان ربي مجيب كل من طلبا

VII

اسكندرية هذه احلام ... ام قد قضت فيما نرى الايام

ما هذه الاحوال، يا ثغر الغنا ... حارت بها الافكار و الاوهام

اليوم اضحى باكياً اسكندر ... مما اعتراك، و ما بذا اعظام

لو ان تذرية (؟) يا بلد الهنا ... لتدكدكت من حزنها الاهرام

تكون قاعاً بلقعا منسية ... ان العمارة بعدها لحرام

جَلَست خِلالكِ يا ديارُ بواغمُ ... تبأً لهم ان البغام بغام

يا ثغر حسن للبلاد لقد كفى ... ما مر فليصفو اللمى و الجام

اضرمتِ نارا في القلوب تاججت ... لما بدى بحريقك الاضرام

وتنظر العينان ابهج بلدة ... أضحت رماداً فالسماء قتام

او بعد ذا المنشية الكبرى لذى ... فكر محل تنزه و مقام

هيهات بعد النقض يا منشية ... ان يستعاد بحالة الابرام

ويل امن يرجو الصفا من دهره ... فلمأته الاحزان و الآلام

يبكيك من يدريك يا ثغر العنا ... واقل حزن للبكاء لزام

حرقت عرابي ثغر بلادنا ... والله قد حاطت بك الاثام

فانظر جزاك وكيف يأتي عاجلاً ... يا ابن الزنا ماهذه الاجرام

يا ليت تدرى ما اقترفت فانه ... ما سام هذا الفعل قبلك حام

وبعزة التوفيق تلقى فى غدٍ ... ما تستحق و تنسد الاحلام

فتقول من فرط الهنا اهل العنا ... اسكندرية هذه احلام

VIII

(دور) لله من اعلى المنار لسماء مصر ومن أنار
الداورى قطب المدار فلك الاثير الاطلس
شمس المهابة و الجلال مصباح نور الانفس
(ذهب) يا سعدان جزت الحمى و الدهر حادد انعما
هنى العزيز المنعما بنفيس عيد انفس
فقد اكتسى حلل الجمال ومن المهابة مكسى
(دور) اعياده متجددة و على الهدى متعددة
مولى الموالى اسعده و بسعده المتأنس
سعد الاهالى فى اقتبال و الدهر اقسم لايس
(ذهب) يا سعدان جزت .....الخ

(دور) نور المسرات انبلج و الكون بالانس ابتهج
ارج الرجا فيه درج فانهض لحسد الاكوس
(ذهب) واغنم اوقات الوصال ببساط روض السندس
يا سعدان جزت.....الخ

(دور) عيد الامانى و المبره عيد التهانى والمسره
عيد الجلوس على الاسره اكرم به من المجلس
سام جليل الاحتفال للحازم المتفرس
(ذهب) يا سعدان جزت.....الخ

(دور) عيد يعود على قدر ... في ليلة القدر ابتدر
وبه الزمان قد افتخر ... انواره لم تقتبس
الا من البدر الكمال ... و من الجوارى الكنس

(مذهب) يا سعد ... الخ

(دور) نور على الدنيا عميم ... بغزارة الملك الفخيم
و مؤثل المجد الصميم ... على المفاخر يكتسى
و يميس نحو الاعتدال ... ميس القضيب الاملس

(مذهب) يا سعد ... الخ

(دور) كم للخديوى من اياد ... بيض لاسعاد العباد
من شاد بيت العز ساد ... وحظى بحظ الاكيس
و من ابتنى درج المعال ... فله حقوق مؤسس

(مذهب) يا سعد ... الخ

(دور) لم يبتهج هذا الزمان ... بسوى الخديوى المعان
الحسن يشهد و العيان ... ببديع سر اقدس
و رفيق توفيق المنال ... زالى النما و المغرس

(مذهب) يا سعد ... الخ

(دور) من مثل اسماعيل فاق ... املاك مصر باتفاق
حاشا يقاس به رفاق ... من مبلغ المقوقس
اتحاف مصر من الجمال ... ازهى و اتحف ملبس

(مذهب) يا سعد ... الخ

IX

بشرى لقطر الداورى سرورا ... فعلى ابتسام الروض فاق حبورا

كلٌّ الى التوفيق يعجل قصده ... و ارى به التوفيق قام وزيرا

بعزيزه الشهم المؤثل من بنى ... للمجد بيتا لم يزل معمورا

بحر المكارم من اذا اجرى الندا ... أمسى له البحر انخضم غديرا

لم يتصل ميسور احسانا ته ... فى الناس الا اسقط المعسورا

من قلد العليا محمدا الذى ... يعلو بتوفيق فكان جديرا

فهو الذى سام الكمال فناله ... وأنى لمرتاد الثناء ظهيرا

حتى ترشح للوزارة و اغتزى ... بلبانها تحذ الذكاء سميرا

امست به الاوطان باد بشرها ... وبه بدا وجه الزمان منيرا

ليس الحلال على جمال معترف ... بصر الحسود بها يرد حسيرا

للناظرين يلوح ليث كتيبة ... وعلى الكتابة لايزال اميرا

و به جليلات اللغات تزخرفت ... و الرأى عاد برأيه منصورا

فابت علاه ان تحمل رأيه ... الا من الشرف الرفيع خطيرا

جاءت بدايته نهاية غيره ... حتى الذى بالمشكلات خبيرا

شمس المعارف من خصائصه بدت ... فزها به تمّ المعارف نورا

تحنو له شوس المعانى لاهيا ... و اذا عنى بالرأى نال اثيرا

فرعى اصول العلم فى محفوظه ... فغدا بطرس ذكائه مسطورا

سر السرائر فالعيون قريرة ... وبه التبسم كم اضاء ثغورا

فنوالله و جلاله و زمانه
و ادلة الآراء تام خطيبها
فاجابه يمن الديار مؤرخا

٩٢ ١٠٠ ١٤٦ ٨٤٧
(١٢٨٥)

خصبا تراه وما أشاد سرورا
مستدعيا لعزيزهن وزيرا
وأجاب توفيق العزيز مشيرا

١٣ ٥٩٦ ١٢٥ ٥٥١
(١٢٨٥)

X

الا يا ايها الملك المفدى
فعصرك عطر الدنيا بشكر
فعال صالحات باقيات
مساعيك الجليلة للمعالى
فموطنك السعيد عليك راض
سهام جفا اراشوها فطاشت
و من كان الاله له نصيرا
و عين الله ترعى من يراعى
سلامة نفس اسماعيل فينا
تُهَنِيه المدارسُ حيث احيا
و نظمها على شكل عجيب

لقد شرفت مصرك بالمزية
على أعمالك الحسنا البهية
و مصدرها الوفاء وحسن نية
بها اكتسب الحمى الرتب السنية
و غيظ عداك من سوء الطوية
بالطاف من الموالى خفية
تولى امره وغدا وليه
من الاملاك اصلاح الرعية
سلامة مصر بل كل البرية
معالمها بهمته العلية
بحسن النظم انتاج القضية

XI

بشرى فقد عادت سعاد ... والنيل بالاسعاد عاد
و نداء بالفيضان زاد ... يستعطف البحر الخضم
فانظر لاعجب ماجرى ... النيل فورا قد جرى
ومن العيون تفجرا ... بقدوم فياض النعم
اجراه مولانا الكريم ... بكرامة الملك الفخيم
فى اثره النيل العميم ... بالهمين يسعى والقدم
يا حبذا هذا القدوم ... فيه حياة للعدم
نرجو له عزا يدوم ... غوث الحمى غيث الكرم (؟)
كم مرة قد شرفا ... والنيل قابل بالقرفا
سلب الجفا جلب الصفا ... و بمينه اجرى النسم
وحياة مولانا الجليل ... بالعز و الستر الجميل
بالنيل قد صح الدليل ... ان الوفا ابهى الشيم
الشمس يخجلها ضياه ... والبدر يحسده سناه
وطن يشرفه علاه ... ظل ظليل للامم

XII

قد صح عن ارج النسيم ... بشرى اجتلا الوجه الوسيم
طف بالمدامة يا نديم ... حبا لنزهة ميركون
لا غرو ان سار القمر ... فيما يطيب به السمر

وجنى لموطنه الثمر ... في روضة العز المصون
قد حل في برج السعود ... و رقى الى اوج الصعود
بدر العلى كيما يعود ... لحماه مكتمل الشؤون
بحر و تمّ سواحله ... قمر و تلك منازله
روض تهب شمائله ... بغياضه تجري العيون
في ميركون قد اقتبس ... اوقات انس تلتمس
و ندى يديه ما احتبس ... فيض الندى غيث هتون
ان سرنا سفر الامير ... لبلوغه ما في الضمير
فبعوده كدنا نطير ... فرحا به قرت عيون
اذ عوده من ميرجان ... عيد لنا او مهرجان
فاشار بالسعد البنن ... لاب به سَعُدَ البنون
هو غوث مصر و روحها ... حصن الهنى و بدوحها
في روضة هو دوحها ... و الاصل ابنع و الغصون
اعلى و اغلى ما يرام ... لعلاه حب الانتظام
من رام نفعا للانام ... كل الصعاب له تهون
فقد اقتفى الملك العزيز ... ما سنه المولى العزيز
اذ عدله حرز حريز ... اغنى البلاد عن الحصون
كم صان في هذى الديار ... منهج البلاد من الدمار
بسلوكه نهج العمار ... و حماه من الشجون
في شرعة الانصاف سار ... و هاد سيرته الفخار

من مثله اعلى المنار ... و عُلاه لا يَرْضِيهِ دون
كم خصها هذا الامير ... بمآثر تعلو الاثير
فوصف محييها حدير ... لنشاطها بعد السكون
من مثله يرعى الحقوق ... و به رعاياه تفوق
ولمجد مصر به وثوق ... و به تحسنت الظنون
تمكينه من ارضها ... سن القيام بفرضها
فى طولها او عرضها ... ظهرت امانين الفنون
وافى بها فتأرجت ... وتزينت و تبرجت
فازت باعظم ما رجت ... باهت منازعَ مبركون
لازال يصلح حالها ... لبلوغها آمالها
ملك يريد كمالها ... لنظامها يقظَ الجفون

XIII

هلال ضاء ام بدر تمام ... و فجر لاح فانزاح الظلام
ام ابتسمت ثنايا البرق وهنا ... فهاجَ الشوقَ ذاك الابتسام
وهل سعدى على المراة تجلو ... محيا عنه قد رفع اللثام
ام افترت ثغور الزهر تزهو ... بروضة مصر يسقيها الغمام
بفوج الشيح منها و الحزامى ... و فيها الرند يعبق و البشام
صحيح نسبها يحكى اعتدالا ... فتور (؟) شبح تملكه الغرام
و سقط المزن نقطها بُدرٍ ... بروق الطرف منه الانسجام

و دار على الندامى فى رباها ... صباحا من شراب الأُنس جام
وقد صدحت بلابلها وغنت ... على عذبات دوحتها الحمام
فلما انشدَتْ وشَدَتْ فَهُمنا ... فَهُمنا و الهوى مستهام
وما برحت طيور الايك تُملي ... على الأسماع ما رقم الغمام
فقلت لها بحقك اسعديني ... بذكرى من يتم به المرام
ومن فى دولة العرفان ترقى ... به الأوطان تشاد الابتسام
لننظم فى مدائحه جمانا ... بسلك حلاه يحلو الانتظام
فقالت ثق بتوفيق فمصر ... تنال بمجده ما لا يرام
دعته الهدى فدعت سميعا ... على اخلاقه يثنى الانام
توسمنا به تنظيم قطر ... لنشر علومه حسن النظام
وحق لشخصه التعظيم لما ... بدت منه لنا الهمم العظام
عظامى باسماعيل يسمو ... ولكن فى مجاوته عصام
به قد ساد موطنه اعتزازا ... بما اسدت ايادية الجسام
إمامٌ اعظمُ اَوْلاه عهداً ... وحقَّ الحقَّ واجتهد الامام
ومأمون تخيره رشيد ... وزير الملك وهو له قوام
بنو الأملاك فى المعنى ملوك ... فمن بهم احتمى ماشا يضام
حمايته المعارف عرفتنا ... بان عكاظ فى مصر تقام
فابدى همة عظمى ترينا ... تفرده اذا عد الكرام
سهام من دنانير حباها ... لمجمعنا فيا نعم السهام
وجمعيات كتب العلم شدَّتْ ... به الاعضاء وصح لها الاعتصام

ميادين المعارف فى حماه ... لها النصر المؤزر والدوام
ويقظة عارف امر عجيب ... تكاد العين منه لا تنام
لوجدان الوسائل رب وجد ... ومستجدى الوسائل لا يسام
كسقط الزند فكرته لهذا ... تحسن طبعه وحلا النظام
كان ابا العلا قد صاغ عمدا ... لجيد اخى العلا فدنا المرام
واهل مَعَرَّة النعمان فازوا ... بعجم الراء و بالتعزيز هاموا
ففى ديوانهم والشرح تعلو ... مذاكرة يطول بها الكلام
لو التنوير كحل طرف اعمى ... باثمده انجلى عنه القتام
فكم قد حل فى بيت معمى ... فنور (؟) وطاب به المقام
الا حفظ الاله لنا وزيرا ... مضاء ذكائه السامى حسام
مجامع المعارف منه تحظى ... بحظ ما لعروقه انفصام
الوف من تآليف ستبدو ... وفيها البدء يحسن والختام

XIV

وبعد حمد الله فالتقدم ... له بمصر فى الرسوخ قدم
إسعاد اسمعيل بالمئون ... ايجاد عهد نهن المأمون
فقد غدت مصر به بغدادا ... بل عصر مصر فى العلوم ازدادا
جمال باريس وزهو لندره ... سرى بمصر عن غنى ومقدره
اليس مصر منبع التمدن ... ويرجع الشىء لاصل المعدن
وما بدا فى اقرب الاوقات ... بدل عن اغرب ما فى الآتى

فليس بدعا ان ترى الامريقة ... بسعي مصر روضة انيقة

في عهد اسماعيل هذا الفطر ... قد زاره الغيث وعم القطر

فكم بمصر من دروس تتلى ... على نفوس كم علوم تملى

وكم مدارس له تجددت ... وكم مغارس به تمهدت

تعديله المحاكم الممتزجة ... يُرقى بها لاعلى درجة

توسيعه لطرق البنادر ... راحة كل وارد وصادر

عمله الخلجان والجسورا ... صَيَّرَ بُورَ مِصْرِهِ مُصورا

ووصله البحرين للاسفار ... شتت شمل البعد والاخطار

تخصيصه بالوطن المزيه ... حبب فيه سائر الرعية

جلب رجال النفع من كل الملل ... انتج في موطنه حسن العمل

تنظيمه الحمى باعلى نظم ... اجبُ(؟) تمكين الهنا والسلم

فهو عزيز للعلا موفق ... وشاوه لغيره لا يلحق

في ظله كم انشئت مدارس ... اوغرست بعدله مغارس

مدرسة في عصره لرفله ... موصلة النفع لكل ملة

تفيد ان رفلة عُبَيْدا ... من كل قلب حل في السوريا

بها الكثير من بني اليونان ... ومن اهالي مصر والبلدان

فيها الفنون واللغات تدرس ... على رفاق ما نوى المؤسس

تديرها جمعية معتبره ... وعند الامتحان تبدو الثمره

متى عناية الخديو تشمل ... قصدا بمَنِّه تعالى يكمل

دام له توفيقه عالي المقام ... ومثله انجاله العز الكرام

XV

من شاهد الدنيا وأمصر ما مثل مصر رأى وابصر

فمقامها العالى سما ونطاقها اشهى واشهر

فى عهد اسماعيل وصف الواصف النحرير قصر

ماكان منها ذاويا قد عاد فيه العود اخضر

هى جنة الدنيا ونيلها النيل ان امعنت كوثر

لبن وخمر ماؤه او شئت فل عسل وسكر

حسا ومعنى قد نما غرس التمدن حين اثمر

أرج المعارف فى ذرا ها عنبر الارجا وعطر

من قبل فيها ازهر واليوم فيها الف ازهر

ماجنة قد أزلفت فى غير مصر تكاد تذكر

وبراتع الآرام كم برباعها ظبى وجؤذر

اما المناظر والهنا طرقل ان تعصى وتحصر

يامن يبلغ ازبكا بخليج منزهه تغير

أو ان مصر تحسنت فى ألف منتزه واكثر

لله در عزيزها عن ساعد التجديد شمر

ان رام مشروعا سعى لبلوغه حالا وبكر

منذ ارتقى متن العرا زة صاعدا فى اوج منبر

لم يخل عن فعل لمعـ ـروف ولا إلغاء منكر

فرد وفيه تجمعت درر المحاسن عقد جوهر

و هو المتوج بالحجى ... و بجوهر العقل المنور

كم انتجت افكاره ... عن سر كلّ (؟) مسور

مرآة فكر قد صفت ... شخص الكمال بها تصور

و عيون آثار جرت ... قلب الحسود بها تأثر

لا تذكروا كرم الرشيد ... و لا ندى يحيى و جعفر

ما كان عن سرف و طيش ... لا يوافق ان يسطر

ان الصنيعة إن تكن ... بمحلها لاشك تشكر

شمس السعادة أشرقت ... و جبين اسماعيل أقمر

اسمى أب، إبساؤه ... ادب الملوك بهم تبختر

و لمجدهم من مهدهم ... صحف العلا فى مصر تنشر

ترفيقهم و رفيقهم ... صوب المعالى قد تصدر

العرب قوم أبي الفدا ... حامى حمى الوطن المطفر

صون الحقيقة و الوفا ... داب لمعشرهم و مفخر

ان النزيل بحيهم ... دون الورى بالمهد يحفر

احسابهم موصولة ... أنسابهم أبهى و أبهر

ملكية حربية ... و رجال تدبير و عسكر

وطنية افعالهم ... حيث الحمى قطب و محور

ما أنهموا او أنجدوا ... الا و نصرهمو مؤزر

اخلاصهم لرئيسهم ... بين البرية قد تقرر

من يزرع الخير اجتنى ... ثمر المغارس حيث نور

وجناب اسماعيل يظهر — في المعالي خير مظهر
نادته ألسنة العلا — ولسان حال السعد بشر
عام يعود على المدى — تاريخه بمناه يظفر

XVI

ضاع الأمان وضاع الصدق وانشرت — مقالة الزور بين الناس كلهم
وأصبح الحق مطرودا بلا سبب — والدين أمسى غريبا غير محترم
عم البلاء ولكن منشؤه — من اهل مصر التي في الكون كالعلم
لم أعن بالاهل حكاما ولا علماء — ولا ذوي الفضل والاحسان والكرم
حاشا اولئك من عيب يقوم بهم — فهم أولوا الشرف الاعلى مع الحكم
إعنى به السفها من لا امان لهم — من احرزوا كل شرفٍ في صدورهم
قوم اذا استرسلوا هانوا وان نطقوا — ما نوا وكل ضلالي قائم بهم
ترى البشاشة منهم حين تنظرهم — لكن باطنهم ممزوج بالظلم
هم يوصفون باوصاف الرجال ولا — شجاع فيهم وهم انذال عصرهم
الباطل اتسعت فيهم جوانبه — وأشربوا كل سوءٍ في قلوبهم
والذل سيمتهم والخوف شيمتهم — والمكر منهم سري في سائر الامم
هم اللئام وبئس اللؤم لؤمهم — ان الخيانة حلت في نفوسهم
لو يُجمَع الحِبْر والكُتّاب قاطبة — لم يَحْصِ ما جمعوه من ثروتهم
وكيف يحصى واهل الذل قد ورثوا — كل الضلالات من فرعون جدهم
فيهم لصوص عفاريت معيشتهم — خطف الثياب واخذ النعل والعمم

محل سرقتهم بطن الساجد من ... كل الانام خصوصا فى صلاتهم
وفى المجامع والاسواق اجمعها ... وفى اماكن اهل البيت كلهم
وكل وقت فلا يخشون خالقهم ... وفى المقابر والانهار والديم
لاسيما ترعة ساءت موارِدها ... هم حولها كذئاب البرفى الغنم
لا يبصرون اناسا يعملون بها ... الا وقد حيَّروهم فى ثيابهم
تبالهم ثم تبا انهم امم ... يا ويحهم بذل وبغض من الاهم
لو يعلمون والاة الامر ما فرطوا ... اولئك القوم من عهد ومن ذمم
لأحرموهم نزول البحر قاطبه ... وأهلوهم حيارى فى ديارهم
ما قلت هذا سماعا بل مشاهدة ... وقت الظهيرة لا فى ساعة القتم
قد اغفلونى والاثواب اجمعها ... لم يتركوا منها شيئا عند بحرهم
فصرت فى الوقت حيرانا ومكتئبا ... وحامدا لاله العرش ذى القدم

XVII

ما الخير الا ما جنته يمين ... فضلا وقول بالجميل مبين
فاحرص اخى على الجميل فانه ... من كل هول جُنَّة وسدين
واجهد لعل من الذخائر تقتنى ... مثل الذى انشا خليل امين
بحر النوال فكل افضاله له ... والمجد فيه مع الفخار اثنين
من سالم الاقصال حتى أمّه ... فهو الامام وراحتاه اذين
لو ان ثاو فى العراق بفاقة ... ناداه لبى لؤلؤ مكنون
سل عنه عِيساً ضرَّها عِبء الجدا ... والعاقلين وما بهم مغبون

أولا فسل خير المآثر انها ... بحر الثواب وللنجاة سفين

حيث البحيرة فى ذراها جنة ... والماء فيها أنهر وعيون

ما تم روض مثل مسترد التى ... أدنى ثراها عنبر ورقون

كم من موالى فيئها ورتابها ... عتقى وكل فى النعيم قطين

انظر افق الى مآثره التى ... يغنى الزمان وحليها برزين

ما شاد للخيرات شخص مثله ... حصنا به نهر الثواب معين

اذ جاور النور الحسين بمكتب ... نعم الحمى فالجار فيه مصون

يغدو اليتيم اليه مبغوض الورى ... ويعود وهو مسود مأمون

أحيا العلوم بخزنة كتبية ... فيها علوم الشرع ثم فنون

انواع برجمعت بتكية ... ما شادها الا هدى ويقين

لا تعجبوا فمشيدها الجار الذى ... أوصى النبى بحفظه جبرين

حلى الزمان بطيب خالد ذكره ... فالكل وقف بالرضاء قمين

ربع الديار مع الاباعد بعضه ... لجهات بر ساعد مرصون

وعلى الموالى ما بقى من ريعها ... والنسل منهم ما استهل جنين

مهلا ترى الخيرات منه تضاعفت ... مادام فيه تحرك وسكون

يا سيدا أوج المعالى ارضه ... وندأوه بين الانام امين

ما شئت فافعل من وجوه محاسن ... فالمجد وجه انت فيه عيون

والفضل داع انت منه فؤاده ... والعفو ايد والرضى آمين

XVIII

(مذهب) الدهر اسعد والمنا — أعوام عيدك بالهنا
و العز أنشد معلنا — ابدا تعيش لكل عام
(دور) عيد و سكرة معاد — وافى على طبق المراد
فيه المسرة للعباد — فى الكون من خاص وعام
(دور) ميعاد مولدك الشريف — مجد على العليا طريق
و بمصر موطنك المنيف — ثغر التهانى فى ابتسام
(دور) عيد اضاء الخافقين — و زها كزهو النيرين
و سما سمو الفرقدين — و رفيع مجدك لايسام
(دور) انت الخديوى المليك — تروى المهابه عن ابيك
و سناء جدك لاح فيك — و حصين ملكك فى اعتصام
(دور) فى عصرنا كل الملوك — فى سعد مصرك املوك
فرقى بها حسن السلوك — نحو العلا اعلى مقام
(دور) لا زلت تشهد مولدا — ابدا يرى متجددا
عيد يعود على العدا — باشد من ضرب الحسام
(دور) ترنو لمجدك عينهم — شزرا البذ لو حينهم
غدر العداة و شينهم — ليخفوا حر الغرام
(دور) الله قدر فى الازل — ان الذى عاداك ذل
ضن حيث ما تعلو نزل — فبقاؤه فينا حرام
(دور) فانشر على هذا الوطن — اعلام تحسين الزمن

ان المليك المؤتمن توفيقه اعلى مرام

(دد) دم في امان الله يا من بث في مصر الضيا

الغيث يروى و الحيا عن بحر جودك والسلام

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